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STATEMENT OF RESPONSIBILITY

My husband, Alan Healey, and I have been working together on the analysis of the Telefol language since 1959.

Alan Healey has surveyed the languages of the Family to which the Telefol language belongs, and has been responsible for the phonological and morphological analyses of Telefol itself. Many of the results of these investigations are incorporated in his "The Ok Language Family in New Guinea", Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Australian National University in September, 1964. He has also been responsible for nearly all the eliciting and checking of data, and for the recording and transcribing of much of the large corpus of text materials upon which this thesis is based.

I have been responsible for most of the analysis of the data, phonology and morphology excepted. I have filed and charted lexical and syntactic materials, and built these into a dictionary of 5000 words and the syntactic statement which constitutes this thesis.

Although the projects were divided between us as described above, we helped each other with some of our specific problems. In particular, my husband helped me in preparing the lists in Chapter II section 2.4 and section 3.27, and Chapter V section 1.4; Tables A_A^C and D in Chapter V; and the analyses of Chapter II section 4, Chapter III section 2.4, and Adverb order analysis in Chapter III section 1.3.

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Ukerumpa, T.F.N.G.
September, 1965.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Every one of us "stands on the shoulders" of others in one sense or another, though we may not even be aware of the existence, present or past, of some of the people who have contributed to our store of knowledge. So in acknowledging my academic debt, I can only list those whose influence is most immediate.

My introduction to linguistics came via Dr. Capell at the University of Sydney and then the Summer Institute of Linguistics, especially via the classroom teaching of Drs. H.L. Fike and R.S. Pittman. My education in this subject has continued through 10 years of membership of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and field work done under its auspices in the Philippines and New Guinea.

Throughout these 10 years I have been working alongside my husband, Dr. Alan Healey, whose influence has undoubtedly been greatest of all. In respect of the analysis of Telefó syntax, his comments on my thesis had a different value from the comments of others, in that they were made from "inside" the language. Gaps discovered and questions posed during my writing of this thesis were filled in and answered by his data checking and elicitation.

Máákis (Tiínokál) has been our primary Telefólmiín informant for several years, and though his task must have been both difficult and incredibly tedious at times, his faithfulness and patience have never wavered. He has contributed some of the text materials, and has assisted in the transcription of texts by himself and many others. He has shown great insight in proffering examples illustrative of problems

to be solved and in filling gaps in our grammatical knowledge. Other Telefólmiin too numerous to mention have contributed text materials.

Dr. S.A. Wurm, my supervisor at the Australian National University, has never spared himself in helping his students. He has answered my many questions, commented upon drafts of parts of the thesis, and supplied information and literature, much of it by mail.

Several members of the New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics have also given valuable comments on drafts of parts of this thesis. Mrs. Rosemary Young has commented on Chapters II, III, and V, Mr. Karl Franklin on Chapters II and III, Mr. Ellis Deibler on Chapter I, and Mr. Robert Litteral on Chapter V. Mr. Karl Franklin and Mr. Bruce Hooley have contributed books from their own libraries while I was writing on the field without access to library facilities.

Rev. Brian Beaver of the Australian Baptist Missionary Society at Telefomin gave helpful comments on Chapter II.

The Linguistic Circle of Canberra has kindly published Chapters I, II, III, and IV in time to be bound in the thesis. These have been repaginated serially, with the old page numbers in square brackets.

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INTRODUCTION

1. GENERAL REMARKS

This description of Telefol syntax constitutes a contribution to linguistic science, in particular a contribution to the small but growing number of detailed depth-studies of New Guinea languages.¹ It was also written with a view to the needs of missionaries, linguists, and anthropologists at work in Telefolain and the surrounding areas. In utilizing the tagmemic approach developed by Kenneth L. Pike and others of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, it helps to illustrate the usefulness of this approach to languages of widely divergent types.²

1.1 METHODS

Since this grammar has practical application in language mastery, translation, and various types of elicitation among its goals, an attempt was made to make the description easy to follow and as close to the actual language as possible.

(a) For this reason, the goal of economy, so often flaunted in linguistic circles, was not desirable and not striven for. Formulae and tables were given for clarity, but these were invariably accompanied by a prose description and extensive language examples.

(b) Included among the examples given were both elicited paradigms and text examples. Each of these kinds of examples has its particular advantages. (i) The advantages of syntax paradigms have received emphasis recently for the illustration of contrastive types of structure.³ In Chapters II, III, and V the Verb *bákenin* 'talk', 'say', 'tell' has been used in citation paradigms to illustrate both morphological and syntactic features at various levels. Other syntax paradigms have also been employed. See particularly Chapter I section 2.18 (I.2.18); continuously through Chapter II; III.1.22, III.1.1, III.2.2, III.3 and Table C; and Chapter IV Chart II and examples. (ii) Text examples have the advantage of being parts of unforced, spontaneous utterances. These have been used throughout the thesis, and in Chapter V particularly, where they illustrate the actual structuring of sequences or Chains in discourse.

(c) An attempt has been made to present the illustrative examples in a way that focuses attention only upon the feature they are illustrating. This makes use of a tagmeme-by-tagmeme translation format, described in 1.0.1, and used throughout the thesis except for Chapter IV. The tagmeme-sized chunks translated in this way are those pertinent to the particular level being described.

(d) The semantics of many linguistic structures has been described for the practical purpose of using the structures.⁴ Semantic sub-groups have occasionally been set up in the definition of the area of meaning

of a construction. Semantics enters the description particularly in I.1.21, I.1.22; III.2.4; IV.2; and V Table D.

(.) Once again because of the practical purposes to be served by this syntactic description, the author has followed R.S. Pittman's descriptive model in two respects. (i) The minor word-classes and even some affixial morpheme classes have been listed at those points in the description where the grammatical Unit they manifest is described.⁵ (ii) The ordering of the description has attempted to avoid forward references by building onto what has already been given. This is Pittman's principle of presupposition.⁶ It has necessitated proceeding from the lowest level of syntactic structure to the highest level in the description, since the Units at each level are for the most part realized by grammatical constructions from the next lower level.

(f) Transform rules and notation have not been used in this description because they are highly abstract. However, there are many places where the underlying analysis was only reached after checking with the informant on transform potential. Transform potential has been particularly useful as an analytical tool in I.1.24 on apposition, and throughout Chapters II and V.

(g) For the sake of the general reader, the specialized terminology of tagmemics has been avoided wherever possible in favour of more traditional terminology. In particular the term "Unit" is used for the Pike-Longacre "tagmeme", the well-defined unit of syntax.

(h) Tagmemic methodology has made extensive use of charts for both syntactic analysis and syntactic description. (i) Arising from the notion of the well-defined unit, the charting of contrastive features has been useful in data-sorting, and in separating composites into contrastive types of structures. A number of contrastive features charts were used in this thesis to show types of constructions: Chapter I Tables B and C, Chapter III Tables A and B, Chapter IV Chart I, and Chapter V Table F. (ii) Distribution charts are equally useful, pointing up both systematic structural gaps, and also data gaps needing to be filled in. Chapter I Table A, Chapter III Table C, and Chapter V Table A are distribution charts of this type. (iii) One type of chart which is now very much in vogue among those using a tagmemic approach is the "matrix", in which the occurrences of structure types are shown in two or more dimensions. One such two-dimensional matrix is Table F in V.1.2, showing types of Sentences. A three-dimensional matrix of Clause Types and their modifications could well have been included in Chapter III section 1.

(i) Citation paradigms can sometimes go hand-in-hand with a "matrix" type of structural abstraction, or with a chart of contrastive features. However, since the Verb class manifesting the Predicate, the one obligatory clause-level Unit, is different for each Clause Type, this use of a syntax paradigm was not possible for Telefol Clauses at least. But syntax paradigms were used extensively in other connections in this

thesis, as indicated by the list in section 1.1(b) above.

1.2 METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

(a) Longacre's distinguishing criterion of dual structural difference is sometimes difficult to apply because of the analytical uncertainty as to whether a particular feature should or should not be viewed as a significant "structural" feature.⁷ One problem is that the border between grammatical sub-class and lexical co-occurrence is by no means clear in some cases. For instance, if one set up a sub-class of "Instrumental Verbs", a separate "Instrumental Clause" would have to be set up (see III.1.3). Longacre's requirement that the contrast between Verb sub-classes be relevant at two points in the grammar does not easily solve this problem, since the Predicate of each basic Clause Type is manifested by a syntactic sub-class of Verbs occurring in that Clause Type and nowhere else.⁸ Another problem arises in relation to agreement. Are two related structural features in agreement or not? If they are regarded as being in agreement, then they may constitute but one distinctive feature. Otherwise they may be two distinctive features, and enough to identify the construction containing them as separate from other constructions. This problem arose particularly in connection with Quotes involving a potential tense Predicate (Chapter IV), and Dependent Clauses involving non-finite dependent, finite dependent, and neutral tense forms (V.1, V.2).

(b) As indicated in I.1 and V.2.7, some of the solutions to problems pertaining to intermediate levels are still tentative. Two problem areas are the Nucleus of the Noun Phrase and the Paratactic Chain. In the Noun Phrase, the Nucleus Level could be regarded as a distinct level below the Phrase Level. Its constituent Units are a different set from the Noun Phrase Laterals, and these nuclear Units may together be repeated in co-ordination and apposition expansions within the Nucleus, whereas each of the Laterals may occur only once in a Noun Phrase, as does the minimal or expanded Nucleus as a Unit of the Phrase. See Chapter I. The Paratactic Construction and the Dependent are treated as being on different successive levels, since the Paratactic Chain in the former has non-finite clauses and paratactic linkage, while the Dependent Chain in the latter has finite Clauses and postclitic linkage showing agreement which ignores embedded Paratactic Chains. See Chapter V.

(c) Applying transform potential as an analytical tool to a language not the author's own presents problems. Checking identity versus contrast of structures by elicitation of transforms proved difficult, as the informant wanted to keep overall meaning, structural as well as lexical, constant.

(d) The tageme-by-tageme translation of examples which was developed for this thesis, and which identifies and translates each Unit of the particular level being illustrated, has presented some problems.⁹ Sometimes, especially within Units containing embedded Chains in Chapter V, it seems desirable to translate a Clause at a time rather than to

give an overall free translation of the whole Unit. But it still seems that identifying lower-level Units with additional symbols and multiple bracketing would only obscure the point at hand instead of clarifying it. The solution to this problem which has been adopted has been a less-than-free translation in which each embedded Clause is separately translated in turn, but without lower-level tagmemic identification. The question of whether the tagmeme-by-tagmeme translation could be useful for text materials was raised in Chapter I. Perhaps the Clause, which minimally manifests the repeating Units at each intermediate level within the Sentence, and which minimally manifests the Sentence itself, would be the most appropriate span for identification-translation in Telefol text.

(e) It is difficult to make a clear statement of co-occurrence restrictions. Most such statements throughout this thesis have been made in prose, which can be clear, but cannot be economical. The Possessor-Qualifier restriction in I.1.0 is an example. Others are the restricted occurrences of kaa and kaib in I.2.15. Other ways of stating co-occurrence restrictions are the "circuit diagram", which is economical but hard to read, and the "matrix", which can show one set of co-occurrences along each axis and a third set at the intersections.¹⁰

(f) Syntactic descriptions have had various starting points. Traditionally, grammars started with morphemes and word-classes, and built upwards to phrase, clause, etc., often concluding before they had gone very far into syntax. On the other hand, transform grammarians insist on the Sentence as a starting point and work down from there.^{10a} Some tagmemicists have started with the Sentence too, and have descended the grammatical hierarchy.¹¹ More tagmemicists, however, have worked up the hierarchy, especially from Clause to Sentence, following Longacre, whose procedures begin with the Clause and go both up and down the hierarchy from there.¹² The present author worked up through the hierarchy from the Phrase level, in accordance with the principle of presupposition (see I.1(e) above), since the structures manifesting Units at any level were for the most part composed of Units from the level below. Because of this ordering in the syntactic description, it is not possible for the reader to make a complete utterance till very late in his reading. This is undesirable, and might perhaps be resolved by a reordering of the description, if that could be done without doing violence to the principle of presupposition. On the other hand, starting with the Sentence in Telefol is inconceivable to the author, since the long, multi-clause Sentence is the rule rather than the exception, the Sentence encompasses too many unknowns, and the Discourse, not the Sentence, is the Unit of closure. It is noteworthy that transform grammar actually begins with a Clause, conceived of presumably as a minimal Sentence. However a Clause is not by itself a Sentence in Telefol.

2. LATER DISCOVERIES

Any grammatical statement, however detailed, is bound to be incomplete. As a statement of the syntax of the Telefol language, this thesis is no

exception. The Chapters were written and published in the following order over a period of over two years: IV, I, III and II, and finally V. Throughout the whole period the corpus expanded, and new discoveries were being made pertinent to every level. As was bound to happen, some information on lower levels of the syntax came to light after the article to which it was pertinent had gone to press. The most important discoveries are as follows:

- (a) The phonemic analysis was completed after the publication of Chapter IV.¹³ After this paper, medial vowel length and length of non-initial a and o no longer needed to be written with a double vowel, but it was found that phonemic juncture did need to be written.
- (b) The Instrument Phrase, described in I.3.15, was then thought to manifest a separate Instrument Unit at the Clause Level. But the analysis for Chapter III revealed that this was not a separate Unit from the Manner Unit, but part of it, as described in III.1.3.
- (c) The clause-level Unit called Object in Chapter IV was later seen to be distinct from the Object Unit in a Transitive Clause, and was re-named Referent in Chapter III.
- (d) The fact that the Direct Imperative Quotative Clause was always independent, though dependent in form, was overlooked during the writing of Chapter III, but came to light again as Chapter V was being written.
- (e) There are more types of agreement than those described in III.2. These further types are described in V.2.2.
- (f) The analysis of the Verb keemin 'do' for Chapter II throws some doubt on its status as a Complementary Predicate capable of co-occurring with a Complement Unit as described in Chapter III sections 1.21 and 3.

3. TELEFOL SYNTAX IN OUTLINE: GENERAL FINDINGS

This thesis confines itself to a description of the syntax of the Telefol language, a member of the Ok Family of languages.¹⁴ It is spoken by about 4000 people in the vicinity of Telefomin, Sepik District, Australian Territory of New Guinea.

The analysis of Telefol pointed up the advisability of approaching a language without an assumption of universal linguistic categories, such as subordination, for example, or even universal grammatical levels.¹⁵

The most outstanding impression formed during the analyzing and writing down of Telefol syntax has been the irregularity of language. In the syntactic levels of this language at least, it was rarely possible to make an "only/never" type of distributional statement.¹⁶ Rules of occurrence rarely held 100% of the time, although predominant trends were very apparent. Time and again the data had to be listed,

charted, and reduced to percentages. The percentages had to be compared and examined to see if they indicated significant trends or not. The ordering of Adjectives, Adverbs, and Connectives were handled in this way, as was the wider distribution of postclitics and Connectives. The data of Chapter V posed many problems of overlapping distribution, some of which are as yet unsolved. As a result of this irregularity, proportionately more space had to be given to the "exceptions" than to the "rules". This tended to throw the highlight of the description off the predominant patterns, where it ought to be, onto the rarer patterns.

The use of the tagmatic model involves, of course, a predisposition towards the discovery of multinary rather than binary structure. Nevertheless, it is hard to conceive of an analysis that would reveal binary constituents in the General Noun Phrase (Chapter I) for example, or in the Chains of Chapter V.

The notion that the head of a grammatical construction must be present for Laterals to be present receives something of a blow from the Telefol Noun Phrase, in which the Nucleus is not obligatory to the Phrase, and the Noun is not obligatory to the Nucleus. Phrases occur in which the Nucleus lacks a Noun, and Anuclear Phrases occur, composed of one or more of the possible Laterals.¹⁷

3.4 LEVELS

The hierarchy of Telefol Syntax has been described in terms of 6 ascending levels which have been referred to as the Phrase, Clause, Paratactic, Dependent, Sentence, and Discourse Levels respectively.

PHRASE LEVEL (Chapters I and II). Noun Phrases consist of a Nucleus, which is internally expandable, and up to 7 Laterals. Neither Nucleus nor Laterals are obligatory. The predominant type is the General Noun Phrase, which has 5 variants. There are 6 other Noun Phrase Types. These are diagnostic of the clause-level Units they manifest. Verb Phrases consist of a simple Verb, an uninflected Adjunct with an inflected Auxiliary, or a periphrastic expansion of one of these two, optionally followed by a Phrase Modifier. There are also Adverb and Connective Phrases of lesser complexity (III.1.3, V.3.4).

CLAUSE LEVEL (Chapters III and IV). Clauses consist of an obligatory Predicate Unit and optional non-predicate Units. There are 6 basic Clause Types, identified by Predicate type and related occurrence of non-predicate Units: Transitive, Intransitive, Motion, Complementary, Equational, and Quotative. The Quotative Type has one extra obligatory Unit, the Quote, and it divides into 5 sub-types according to the composition of the Quote. There are benefactive variants of all but the Equational and Quotative Types, and dependent variants of all non-benefactive and benefactive types except Equational and one sub-type of Quotative. Noun Phrases manifest most non-predicate Units, and Verb Phrases manifest most Predicate Units.

PARATACTIC LEVEL (Chapter V.1). The Units of the Paratactic Level are a Paratactic Chain of non-finite Dependent Clauses followed by an obligatory finite Clause.

DEPENDENT LEVEL (Chapter V.2). The Units of the Dependent Level are a Dependent Chain of Clause sequences, each with an optional embedded Paratactic Chain and obligatory finite Dependent Clause, linked together by postclitics, and followed by an obligatory Independent Clause.

SENTENCE LEVEL (Chapter V.3 and V.4). Sentences may be clausal or non-clausal, dependent or independent. The majority of Sentences are clausal, consisting of an optional Independent Chain of Clause sequences (each optionally embedding Paratactic and Dependent Chains and terminating in an obligatory Independent Clause) linked together by Connective Phrases, and a final obligatory Independent Clause, followed by a Sentence Terminal plus Intonation. Dependent Sentences also contain an initial Discourse Linkage. There are a number of Independent Clausal Sentence Types, each with its Dependent equivalent, and these are identified by their final Predicate and Sentence Terminal, and in one case by internal linkage as well. There are also several types of Independent Non-Clausal Sentences, which consist of a member of a special class of Exclamations, or a Noun Phrase followed by a Sentence Terminal, plus Intonation.

DISCOURSE LEVEL (Chapter V.5). There are two major Discourse Types. The Oratorical Discourse consists of an Independent Sentence followed by a string of Dependent Sentences. The first and last Sentences of the Discourse have special features. The Conversational Discourse involves a sequence of utterances by 2 or more speakers. The first and last pair of utterances are stereotypes, and the individual utterances in the sequences have characteristic onset features, and may even themselves be Oratorical Discourses.

3.2 CONSTITUENT STRINGS

The various constructions that occur within the 6 syntactic levels of Telefol exhibit several different types of internal structure. These are all described in terms of Longacre's flexible string constituent analysis rather than in terms of binary immediate constituent analysis.¹⁸

(a) The most outstanding example of SUCCESSIVE UNION-LIKE LAYERING is the expanded complex Verb Phrase Nucleus, described in II.5. Similar structuring occurs in the Noun Phrase Nucleus (I.1.21, I.1.27) and in nested Quotes (IV.4).

(b) The Clause (Chapter III) is a NECKLACE-LIKE STRUCTURE in which every Unit in the string is different, and none is repeated. The Noun Phrase Nucleus with up to 7 equally-ranking different laterals is another example of this structure type (I.2).

(c) The Paratactic, Dependent, Independent and Sentence Chains of Chapter V are REPETITIVE AND ALTERNATING STRUCTURES, in which a type of Clause or Clause sequence, followed by a linkage mechanism, may be repeated any number of times.

3.3 AGREEMENT

Within each level of Tolofol syntax, agreement is an important device for signalling meaning and resolving potential ambiguities.

(a) PERSON-NUMBER-GENDER agreement. Within the Clause, the Subject Unit, Object Unit, and Beneficiary Unit (or a Possessor in a non-predicate Unit) all show this type of agreement with a Predicate affix (III.2). Within the Dependent Chain, the subject of a Clause with a nonpersonal suffix usually agrees with the subject of the following Clause (V.2.2). Within Clause sequences, there is a complex type of Pronoun suffix correlation involving the Subject Units of first and later Clauses in the string (V.3.52).

(b) TENSE agreement. Within the Clause, there is agreement between tense in the Predicate and the Time Unit (III.2.4). Within the Independent Chain, all of the Independent Clauses in a sequence linked by Connectives ... eg ... eg 'either ... or ...' are of the same tense. There also tends to be tense agreement between the Independent Clauses denoting contrary to fact connectives nirua and bole, and adversative kale ale (V.3.4).

(c) POSTCLITIC agreement. The postclitic linkages in a single Dependent Chain tend all to be the same (V.2.4).

(d) STRUCTURE agreement. Matched Clauses before the Auxiliary Verb ka (II.3.4) have identical syntactic structure, but usually have lexical contrast in one clause-level Unit. Interrogative Sentences, especially Substitution Interrogative Sentences which contain an Interrogative word (V.4.35), and their replies also show structural identity, with a Noun Phrase containing a -ta series Pronoun as Person substituting for the Interrogative word (V.3.52(c)).

4. SYNTACTIC DESCRIPTIONS OF OTHER NEW GUINEA LANGUAGES

Certain syntactic features are very wide-spread among the non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea, at least from the Wissel Lakes in Irian Barat to Bougainville.¹⁹ Tolofol and the other languages of the Ok Family share these features.

(a) Despite the fact that the ordering of Units in the Clause is fluid in some languages and rigid in others, the predominant pattern is for the Predicate to be final, the Subject to be initial or near initial, and the other non-predicate Units to intervene between Subject and Predicate. The Predicate is the only obligatory clause-level Unit. There is a wordless equational or stative clause type, in which a Noun or other non-

verb, with or without some of the verbal affixes, functions as Predicate.

(b) The structure of Clauses and even of Sentences is closely correlated with morphological features in the Verb as Predicate. The Verb is morphologically complex in most languages (except for a chain from the Serik to the Southern Highlands, including Washkar, Iwua, Gahon, Okrapin, Duna, and Wasu). Verbs are divided morphologically into dependent and independent, the former usually occurring non-final in the sentence, the latter usually occurring in the sentence-final Clause. Dependent Verbs indicate whether the subject of the next following Clause is the same or different, and also indicate the relationship of the present Clause to the next following Clause (consecutive, simultaneous, causal, conditional, etc.). Independent Verbs are marked for tense and aspect. In most languages other than those mentioned by name above, subject person is indicated by suffix, and often object and beneficiary person are indicated by either prefix or suffix, at least on some Verbs.

(c) The Noun Phrase usually shows considerable potential complexity, though minimal manifestations of it are commonest. The number of Units within the Phrase is usually quite large. There may be internal complexity in the Nucleus of the Phrase. In many languages, the clause-level Unit a Noun Phrase is manifesting is indicated by a postclitic or a special series of Pronouns within the Phrase. This is especially marked in those languages that lack person affixes in the Verb morphology.

(d) Some languages have syntactically complex Verbs, as well as simple ones which consist of stem and affixes. Complex Verbs consist of an uninflected root with lexical meaning followed by one of a restricted set of inflected Verbs, whose lexical meaning as simple Verb is not present in this context, and whose function is as carrier of the Verb morphology.

Until recently there have been few syntactic descriptions in English of non-Austronesian New Guinea languages. The following have come to the author's attention. The symbol **ENHS** refers to the East New Guinea Highlands Stock.

Keckers, J.H.A.C., 1950, *The Linguistic Position of South-Western New Guinea*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, pp.xix + 217. [Surveys 15 languages belonging to at least 11 different families in Irian Barat. Syntax orientated around word classes.]

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NOTES

1. The language family which includes Telefol has been described and delineated with maps in Alan Healey 1964b. The need for depth studies has been emphasized by Capell 1962, p.373b, and Wurm 1962, p.106, 1964b, pp.29-30.
2. The bibliography lists articles on Amerindian, New Guinea, Vietnamese, Philippine, Australian Aborigine (Godfrey 1964), and Dravidian (Zvelebil 1962) languages which utilize tagmemics.
3. Pike 1963a, McCarthy 1965, Banker 1964, Thomas 1964.
4. Pike insists on the validity of the retention of meaning in grammatical description since a grammatical unit is a "for -meaning composite", 1954, p.74b.
5. In the author's view, this keeps the grammatical description close to the actual language and so makes for clarity. Longacre 1964, p.8, however, in criticizing some of the methods of transform grammar opines that, "Attempts to incorporate the lexicon directly into the grammar will lead only to the oversimplification of the former or to the endless stenization of the latter." Perhaps he would allow the limited minor word classes into the grammar, while excluding the open-ended major word classes.
6. Hittson 1954.
7. Longacre 1964, p.18.
8. Longacre 1964, p.19.
9. This method of translation was developed independently of a similar method used by Longacre and his students in recent days. Longacre's method is more repetitive, giving (a) language, (b) free English translation, (c) in parentheses: single (slot) tageme symbol, language for tageme manifestation, and literal translation for tageme manifestation, all for each tageme in the string. See Engel and Longacre 1963, Lind 1964.
10. The former is illustrated by Wolfenden 1962, Tables 16A-C, the latter by Hoeweke and Ray 1965, both for verb morphology rather than syntax.
- 10a. Bach 1964, pp.12-13 and Chomsky 1962, p.15.
11. Waterhouse 1962, Eastman 1963, Godfrey 1964.
12. Longacre 1964, Fickett 1960, Lind 1964, Engel and Longacre 1963, Hittson 1965, McCarthy 1965.

13. Alan Healey 1964a.
14. Alan Healey 1964b establishes the Ok Family of languages.
15. Longacre 1964, p.57 implies that subordinate clauses are universal.
16. There is an article in Language about 1950 which treats Spanish syntax statistically. [Unavailable in library at time of writing.]
17. Longacre 1964, p.18, footnote.
18. Longacre 1960ab.
19. Munn 1962, esp. pp.114-115, 1964a, pp.81-82 describes the distribution of some of these features in the East New Guinea Highlands Stock, and mentions that they are common to Ndani, Ok, Hdu, and Minandene family languages as well. Alan Healey 1964b, pp.113-115 and Beckins 1950, pp.124-133, 201-216 show that the same features are present in the languages of the Murind-kuni, Awgu-Dumat, and Central South Coast Families and other languages of south-east Irian Barat. In addition, the author has checked on the distribution of these features with colleagues of the Summer Institute of Linguistics working in 15 other language families in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea: T. Dye (Gahon, April R., Sepik District), R. Conrad (Iwom, May R., Sepik District), K. Kooyers (Wachuk, Sepik District), R. Farnsworth (Menambu, Hdu Family, Sepik District), P. Staalsen (Iatmul, Hdu Family, Sepik District), D. Cochrane (Dua, Southern Highlands), H. Loeweke and J. Hay (Dusu, Lake Kutubu), J. Hainsworth and K. Johnson (Ganja, Kobon-Karam-Santa Family, Madang District), D. Davis (Wantout, Huon Peninsular), B. Richert (Guhu-Serene, Wanda R., Morobe District), H. Boxwell (Weldi, Morobe District), R. Hloya (Barua, Wonenara, Eastern Highlands), J. Parlier (Managulasi, Northern District), H. Weimer (Yarobe, Musa R., Northern District), B. Kubanc (Baga, Collingwood Bay, Northern District), D. Hurd (Nasioi, Bougainville), J. Allen (Halua, Bougainville).
20. Unless stated otherwise, the typescript articles listed here are by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, New Guinea Branch, and are on file at the S.I.L. headquarters, Ukarumpa, Territory of New Guinea.

CHAPTER 1

TELEFOL NOUN PHRASES

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TELEFOL NOUN PHRASES

by

PHYLLIS M. HEALEY

CANBERRA 1965

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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TELEFOL NOUN PHRASES

0.1 THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

In analysing the materials underlying this paper and others to follow on further levels of the grammar of Telefol, the approach has been that of Longacre's modification of Pike's tagmemic system.¹ That is, structural units were recognized at each level of the grammatical hierarchy - Pike's "spot-class correlates" or "tagmemes". In stating the grammar of Telefol, however, the characteristic tagmemic terminology has been avoided where possible, and obvious traditional terms have been used. The "tagme" has usually been referred to as a "unit", and the "filler" classes have usually been described in prose, rather than being represented in formulae. A separate name has been given to each "slot" and each "filler class", but for formulae and literal translations the whole tagme has been represented by an abbreviation of the "slot" name only, for brevity's sake, rather than a "SLOT: class" representation such as has frequently been used by tagmemists. The reason for this was the need for a simple symbol to use in a "tagmemic" translation.

Many grammars were examined in the search for an adequate method of translating language examples so as to enlighten the reader. It was found that the majority of grammarians gave only free English translations of language examples, and that these were most unenlightening in respect of the points the examples were there to illustrate. At the other extreme was the painfully detailed and exact literal translation - so cumbersome and heavy with hard-to-memorize symbols as to be equally unintelligible. In between were various types of literal translation - morpheme-by-morpheme and word-by-word; interlinear, consecutive, and footnoted - and none of these seemed to throw the spotlight clearly on the thing the author was trying to illustrate. It seemed desirable that both language example and free translation be retained, but that something new in between was also needed. Father Drabbé's method gave a clue - he gave a word-by-word translation in parentheses after each language word of the text or illustration. Another clue came from an article by John Banker in which tagmemes were shown separately from language and from both literal and free translations.²

Developing Drabbé's method along tagmemic lines, a new way of showing the break-down of language illustrations is suggested and demonstrated in this paper. For each grammatical level, a tagme-by-tagme translation is given of the tagmemes just at that particular level. The language illustrations are broken up in such a way that

each tagme is followed by its symbolic identification plus its translation, all in parentheses. Thus tagme-sized chunks of language and their translations alternate, and a free English translation follows afterwards. Now the need for simple tagmic abbreviations becomes apparent. In this paper, the material in parentheses consists of abbreviation, colon, translation; and unless some specific purpose can be served by a literal word-by-word or morpheme-by-morpheme translation for a particular tagme, such as when the nature of a complex "filler" is in focus, the translation within the parentheses is free. It is considered that the reader needs a break-down only as far as the level illustrated. Beyond that, the point is lost in lower-level detail.

It must be admitted that problems arise with this method when dealing with nested examples. The material in the parentheses rapidly becomes unintelligible if all the layers of nesting are spelled out together. It seems better either to give a free translation of the whole if it is at the outermost layer a single tagme of the level under discussion (as in sections 2.18(b), 3.1, 3.2, 3.4); or to begin with the innermost layer and handle each layer separately and successively until the outermost is reached, if the focus is upon the nesting (as in sections 1.26, 1.27).

The question arises as to the usefulness of the tagme-by-tagme translation for text materials. If, as has been asserted above, only the tagmes of the particular level under discussion should be identified, what level should be chosen for the translation of text? Should a combined method be used for text, whereby a word-by-word or morpheme-by-morpheme translation would be adopted within the parentheses, but the chunk of language thus translated would be a clause-level tagme, say, identified by its appropriate symbol? Experimentation with text is being undertaken in an attempt to answer these questions.

Two very useful devices have recently been developed for the presentation of grammatical materials, namely the use of matrices to display significant contrastive grammatical units, and the use of syntax paradigms to illustrate them.³ This paper did not lend itself to the former, as the materials to be presented were at too low a level to exhibit the required dimensions and symmetry of contrast. Some use has been made of paradigmatic illustration, especially in section 2.18. However, the potential usefulness of syntax paradigms also is to be better realized at higher levels.⁴

Up to this point, the clear-cut hierarchical levels of the tagmic system have been assumed. However, the data upon which this paper is built raise again the question raised by Pickett in connection with the clause level in Isthmus Zapotec.⁵ As in her clause level, the phrase level in Telefol contains a nucleus of potentially very complex

internal structure, and laterals which are not expandable. The open question is whether the nucleus should be regarded as a separate level, in this case between the word and the phrase. In favour of the setting up of such a level, it can be stated that the structure of the expanded nucleus cannot be paralleled elsewhere in the language, as can the structure of an included clause for example. Nor do its constituent units appear elsewhere in the language. On the other hand, string constituent analysis does not necessarily require that all the beads in a string be the same size or shape, nor that all the laterals to a nucleus should have the same intensity of relationship. It is demonstrated here that certain items within the nucleus stand in a subordinate relationship to their head, the noun, and that certain items outside the nucleus stand in a subordinate relationship to the nucleus as such, even when it is manifested by one of the nuclear subordinates in isolation, without its noun head.

Although this is a paper about syntactic structure, at several points semantic sub-groupings of a particular construction are discussed, in order to reveal and amplify the meaning of the construction. This is done without apology, as discreteness of semantics and structure is at this point impossible, and adherence to it too limiting of the structural description.

0.2 ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used for the identification of syntactic units in formulae, tables, and examples in this paper. The classes manifesting these units are described in this paper, but not indicated in the formulae.

<i>A</i> ₁ :	Qualifier (Colour)
<i>A</i> ₂ :	Qualifier (Size)
<i>A</i> ₃ :	Qualifier (Quality)
<i>A</i> ₄ :	Qualifier (Quantifier)
<i>B</i> :	Beneficiary
<i>Co</i> :	Complement
<i>Cl</i> :	Clause
<i>D</i> ₁ :	Pre-Direction
<i>D</i> ₂ :	Post-Direction
<i>D</i> _i :	Direction Indicator
<i>D</i> _n :	Destination
<i>If</i> :	Indefinite Marker (mark)
<i>I</i> _s :	Instrument

<i>L:</i>	Location
<i>Li:</i>	Location Indicator (kal)
<i>Mp:</i>	Phrase Modifier
<i>N:</i>	Nucleus
<i>Nm:</i>	Number
<i>Nn:</i>	Noun
<i>Nq:</i>	Negative Quantifier (binim)
<i>Nt1:</i>	Time Noun, Sub-Class 1
<i>Nt2:</i>	Time Noun, Sub-Class 2
<i>Nt3:</i>	Time Noun, Sub-Class 3
<i>O:</i>	Object
<i>Pc:</i>	Complementar. Predicate
<i>Pcb:</i>	Benefactive Complementary Predicate
<i>Pe:</i>	Educational Predicate
<i>Ph:</i>	Phrase
<i>Pi:</i>	Intransitive Predicate
<i>Pib:</i>	Benefactive Intransitive Predicate
<i>Pm:</i>	Motion Predicate
<i>Pmb:</i>	Benefactive Motion Predicate
<i>Pq:</i>	Quotative Predicate
<i>Pr:</i>	Person
<i>Ps:</i>	Possessor
<i>Pt:</i>	Transitive Predicate
<i>Ptb:</i>	Benefactive Transitive Predicate
<i>R:</i>	Referent
<i>S:</i>	Subject
<i>Se:</i>	Equational Subject
<i>Ti:</i>	Time
<i>To:</i>	Topic (ise)
<i>W:</i>	Accompaniment (with...)
<i>Wi:</i>	Accompaniment Indicator (soó)

0.3 INTRODUCTION

In the Telefol language,⁶ each clause level unit, except for the verbal Predicate and Manner (a clause modifying unit manifested by a very limited class of adverbs), is manifested by a Noun Phrase. The

non-verbal Predicate of an Equation Clause is also a Noun Phrase. The predominant Noun Phrase type, which occurs in most clause level units, has been termed the GENERAL NOUN PHRASE. Some special variants of the General Noun Phrase are diagnostic of certain clause level units, while other clause level units are manifested by different Noun Phrase types, which are also diagnostic of the units in which they occur.

The Noun Phrase NUCLEUS constitutes an inner syntactic layer, analogous to the morphological unit Stem which may be a compound of several roots, or roots plus derivational affixes. Similarly, the Nucleus may be composed of co-ordinate or apposed items, or possessed or qualified items. The Noun Phrase LATERAL units constitute an outer syntactic layer and are analogous to the inflectional affixes of morphology.

1.0 THE NOUN PHRASE NUCLEUS

The term "Nucleus" has been used even though this unit is not obligatory to the Phrase. It is the structural Nucleus, however, as this unit alone in the phrase is capable of syntactic expansion within itself, and in its minimal form it is a NOUN. The sub-class of Noun occurring in the Nucleus is diagnostic of Phrase Type, and also of clause level units manifested by the Noun Phrase.

The MINIMAL NUCLEUS, the Noun, may be expanded by the occurrence of a nested sequence of Possessor Phrases immediately preceding the Noun (each possessed by the one preceding it, and each being in itself a General Noun Phrase), and of a series of preferentially-ordered Qualifiers immediately following the Noun. This expanded unit is termed the SIMPLE NUCLEUS. None of the items of the simple Nucleus is obligatory, but Possessor and Qualifier may not co-occur without a Noun being present though each may occur alone.

SIMPLE NUCLEUS = $Ps N_n A_1 A_2 A_3 A_4$

The simple Nucleus is the maximal non-compound unit which may occur as an item in a compound Nucleus. The COMPOUND NUCLEUS is the product of expansion by co-ordination, and/or apposition, and/or the koo ake construction. It has the following minimal shapes, since the compounding of more than two Nuclei is possible in each case, and nesting is also possible.

COMPOUND NUCLEI - by Co-ordination: $N \text{ soó } N' \text{ soó}$

$N \langle \text{min} \rangle N \langle \text{min} \rangle^7$

$N \text{ ilé minte } N \text{ neo}$

$N \quad N$

by Apposition: $N \quad N$

by koo ake $N \text{ koo ake } N$

Both the simple and the compound Nuclei have been referred to as expanded Nuclei in this paper, as contrasted with the included clause as Nucleus and the minimal Nucleus, the Noun.

In a Phrase occurring as Complement or Equational Predicate in the clause, a Possessor Phrase alone (without a possessed Noun) or a Qualifier alone may constitute the Nucleus. Adjectives, Numerals, or Pronouns in co-ordination may also constitute the Phrase Nucleus without a Noun being present. However these variations are comparatively rare, and the types of construction described in this paper are termed Noun Phrases on the grounds that the most frequently occurring Nucleus, apart from the included clause, contains at least one Noun.

The occurrence of the Nucleus is not correlated with the occurrence or non-occurrence of other items in the Phrase.

1.1 NOUNS

There are a number of limited structural sub-classes of Nouns, whose occurrence in the Phrase helps to identify the Phrase type or the clause level unit in which they occur, or both. They have, however, been given semantic labels for convenient reference. These include the following:

(a) **ANIMATE NOUNS** occur in General Noun Phrases occurring as all clause level units other than Instrument, Time, Location and Destination. They include the following sub-groups, which are defined by co-occurrence restrictions within the phrase:

HUMAN NOUNS (Common Nouns, e.g. *tanúm* 'man', *unáng* 'woman'; and Kin Nouns, e.g. *aaben* 'my mother', *aalab* 'his father', etc.),⁸ and **ANIMAL NOUNS**. These may optionally be preceded by Possessors, and freely occur with phrase laterals.

PERSONAL NAME NOUNS. These are very restricted in that they may not be possessed, are only qualified by Kin Quantifiers (*A₁*) and the only laterals occurring with them are Post-Direction (*D₂*), Person (*P_r*), and Phrase Modifiers (*Ψ_p*). The Phrases in which they occur must therefore be regarded as a sub-type of the General Noun Phrase.

(b) **INANIMATE NOUNS** (concrete and abstract). These do not occur in a Phrase functioning as Beneficiary, but may occur in a Phrase functioning as: Subject (not common), Equational Subject (predominant), Object, Equational Predicate (predominant), and Complement (predominant).

(c) **LOCATION NOUNS** occur in Phrases occurring as Location and Destination units at the clause level, but very rarely elsewhere. They include the following sub-groups:

PLACL NAMES, which are not possessible, and may be followed immediately by the Locative Indicator *kal* in the Location Phrase.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOUNS, which may be possessed, and may be immediately followed by *kal* in the Location Phrase. They include the following:

abál	'verandah'	ibkúk	'right side'
ábíib	'village'	íleb	'path, way'
abiltikiín	'sky'	íliím	'foot of mountain'
abiín	'floor'	ilum	'slope'
afáb	'back of house'	fluúng	'gully'
afaam	'behind'	kafín	'ground'
afaán	'left side'	kakám	'lower'
al	'over', 'on'	koót	'cliff'
am	'house'	mákaang	'corner, edge'
amdutikiín	'mountain'	meebso	'near'
ánúng	'place, area'	milií	'side'
aten	'for: st'	míliil	'men's floor'
bakán	'ground, territory'	muumál	'sink hole'
baán	'its place'	muun	'an old garden'
beél	'ridge'	samáním	'a long way'
bíi	'hollow, wide valley'	seéb	'the bush'
díkím	'women's floor'	teém	'hole'
iib	'middle'	tibín	'headwaters'
íibák	'middle'	tulúm	'ramp'
		uulmong	'inside corner'

POSITIONAL NOUNS. This is a small sub-class of three words: *diim* ~ *díim* 'on', *diím* 'beside', 'up in', and *teem* ~ *téem* 'in'. These are obligatorily preceded by a Possessor, which usually is an Inanimate Noun. These Positional Nouns provide a device for building locative expressions from non-Location Nouns (as Possessor).

(d) TIME NOUNS occur primarily in the Time Phrase which occurs as the Time unit at the clause level. Time Nouns do not occur in Equations, but occasionally do occur as Subject or Object in a Clause. There are three sub-groupings of Time Nouns (*Nt1*, *Nt2*, and *Nt3*), defined by their differential behaviour in the Time Phrase. Of these only *Nt1* may not be possessed.

<i>Nt1</i>	<i>Nt2</i>	<i>Nt3</i>
kamaá 'first', 'recent', 'new'	am 'day'	kaál, kaáltá 'before yesterday'
meeb 'soon', 'near'	am oókdiim 'the fifth day - Friday'	kaálkaal 'two days be- fore yesterday'
siín 'a long time ago', 'old'	amsáb, amsábtá 'tomorrow'	kutím 'morning'
	amsín, amsintá 'yesterday'	kwiina 'afternoon'
	átool 'singsing', 'Christmas', 'year'	miliileb 'evening'
	kamánó 'today'	teenkilok 'ten o'clock' (etc.)
	káyob 'noon', 'month'	
	Saándé 'Sunday' (et...)	
	wiik 'week'	

(e) INTERROGATIVE NOUNS occur as Nucleus without possibility of expansion, and may be followed by Person. They do not, however, co-occur with any of the other possible lateral items of the General Noun Phrase. Only *dook* occurs in a Time Phrase, and only *dook* or *dookab* in a Location Phrase. Otherwise an Interrogative Noun may substitute for the Nucleus of any Phrase Type. The following are the Interrogative Nouns:

dook, *dookab* 'what?', 'which?', 'who?', 'when?', 'where?'
intab, *intabén*, *intabok* 'what?'
wantab 'who?'

1.2 EXPANSIONS OF THE NUCLEUS

The Phrase Nucleus, unlike any of the other phrase level units, is internally syntactically expandable. It may be regarded as an inner-layer complex unit at the Phrase level, parallel to a derived or compound Stem, say, at the morphological level. The Phrase Nucleus is most commonly a Noun, though a Noun is not obligatory in the Noun Phrase. Similarly, the parts of an expanded Nucleus usually contain Nouns, though occasionally it is made up of Anuclear parts. The Nucleus may be expanded by any one or a combination of the following: possession, qualification, co-ordination, apposition, *koo ake* 'that is', or it may be a Clause, or a sequence of Clauses.

1.21 POSSESSION

A limited General Noun Phrase, or sequence of General Noun Phrases, may occur within the Phrase Nucleus as POSSESSOR. The Possessor optionally contains any of the constituents of the General Noun Phrase described in section 2.1 apart from *Mp*. However the optional, but very frequent, Person must be a Pronoun of the *-mi* series. This Pronoun is rarely omitted except after a single Noun by itself. Possessors precede the possessed Noun head of the Nucleus. In a sequence of Possessors, each Phrase is the possessed of the Phrase preceding it. The final possessed Noun, if any, is head of the Nucleus. The whole possessive sequence functions as a single Nucleus (though of course each included Phrase as Possessor may contain its own Nucleus), in that the normal phrase-level laterals may occur with it in their fixed orders. For example:

NUCLEUS					
Lat.	Ps	Ps	Nn	Laterals	Meaning
			koong pig		'pig'
		mán ímí chd.his	koong pig		'(the) child's pig'
	ímí his	mán ímí chd.his	koong pig		'his child's pig'
yák across	ímí his	mán ímí chd.his	koong pig	kweék íyó there it	'his child's pig across there'

A Possessor Phrase may by itself constitute the Nucleus, as commonly occurs in Phrases as Equational Predicate, and occasionally occurs in Phrases as Subject or Object. It may by itself constitute the whole phrase in the Equational Predicate, e.g. kábí 'yours'. Qualifiers do not follow a Possessor Phrase occurring alone as Nucleus.

Because the Possessor Phrase Person is optional, and the resulting possessor-possessed construction (possessive construction) can be simply Noun-Noun, it can be very similar to Noun compounds which also have the morphological form Noun-Noun. Compounds sometimes involve unpredictable tone change, which help to distinguish them from possessive constructions. Possessive constructions have no tone changes, or predictable changes in some instances.⁹ Many of the compounds have as second member *teém* 'hole', *teém* 'in' or *díim* 'on', which also commonly occur free in Location and Destination Phrases as possessed items. In these cases it is possible to identify compounds by what items may follow in the Phrase. In a Location Phrase only a Post-Direction (*Dz*) + *kal* 'at' follow; in a Destination Phrase nothing follows; with a compound General Noun Phrase, Laterals may follow. Direct elicitation, also, will reveal whether a *-mí* series Pronoun *ímí* may be inserted between the Nouns, in which case they constitute a possessive construction; if not, then the sequence may be a compound, or may be becoming a compound by a process of fossilization. Examples of such compounds are:

<i>atem</i>	(<i>at</i> 'tree' + <i>teém</i> 'many')	'forest'
<i>boóntém</i>	(<i>boón</i> 'jaw' + <i>teém</i> 'hole')	'mouth'
<i>aketem</i>	(<i>aket</i> 'thought' + <i>teém</i> 'in')	'feelings', 'insides'
<i>kafíndíim</i>	(<i>kafín</i> 'ground' + <i>díim</i> 'on')	'earth', 'world'
<i>boónám</i>	(<i>boón</i> 'jaw' + <i>am</i> 'house')	'skillion-roofed house'
<i>suukkón</i>	(<i>súuk</i> 'tobacco' + <i>koón</i> 'leaf')	'cigar wrapper', 'paper', 'book'

The possessive construction handles a wide variety of semantic relationships, to be discussed hereunder. The element of possession is

not necessarily present in them all. It should be pointed out that the following divisions are semantic ones only, and are for convenience of description. Structurally, there are no varieties of the possessive construction.

(a) GENERAL. By far the commonest relationship is that of ordinary possession. In this the first part or POSSESSOR is animate (including a -mí series Pronoun occurring alone; or an Animate Noun with or without a following -mí series Pronoun, or a Clause or sequence of Clauses obligatorily followed by a -mí series Pronoun), and the second part or POSSESSED is an Animate Noun (other than a Personal Name), Location Noun (other than Place Name), or Inanimate Noun. In the following examples, and all others illustrating the Possessive Construction, the first item followed by its translation is Possessor, the second is Possessed.

nímí haábén úmí (Ps: my elder-sister her) koong (Nn: pig) 'my elder sister's pig'

kákkum nímí (Ps: your-friend my) ímán (Nn: taro) 'your friend's (i. e. my) taro'

Alumeyok (Ps: Alumey am (Nn: house) 'Alumeyok's house'

Human Nouns, especially KIN NOUNS are frequently the Possessed in this possession relationship.

kábmí (Ps: your-masc.) kaúláb (Nn: your-father) 'your father'

unáng boómí (Ps: woman that-her) ímák (Nn: husband) 'that woman's husband'

Nifinim ímí (Ps: Nifinim his) mulúbtan (Nn: clan) 'Nifinim's clan'

[C1] ímí (Ps: those-who... their) mán (Nn: child) 'the children of those who...'¹⁰

The relationship may be one of INCLUSION. Where the first part is Animate, the second part is frequently its body-part. Or the second item may be an Included abstract, such as wín 'name', síník 'spirit', 'soul', kukuúb 'custom', 'way', aket 'thoughts'.

koong (Ps: pig) úmsán (Nn: tail) 'the pig's tail'

beémí (Ps: that-his) yaan (Nn: foot) 'his feet'

númí (Ps: our) kukuúb (Nn: customs) 'our customs'

tanim ímí (Ps: man his) aket (Nn: thoughts) 'the man's thoughts'

koókén ulúmí (Ps: your-mother her-own) weéng (Nn: words) 'what your mother said'

[C1] kábmí (Ps: those who... your-masc.) kukuúb (Nn: customs) 'the ways of you people who...'

Where the first part is Inanimate, the second part is semantically

an included part of it. This type of relationship is very common, and it is here that the distinction between possessive constructions and compounds blurs, especially as the Pronoun is more frequently omitted in this type.

ámítúng (Ps: doorpiece) fút (Nn: carving) 'carving on the doorpiece'
 uunaal (Ps: pumpkin) duk (Nn: stalk) 'pumpkin stalk'
 waán (Ps: sweet-potato) koón (Nn: leaves) 'sweet-potato leaves'
 súkkón teem úmí (Ps: book inside its) weéng (Nn: words) 'a story out of the book'
 kafindiim koómí (Ps: earth this-its) mufekmufek (Nn: things) 'the things of this earth'

Both parts of an inclusion relationship may be abstract. The first of these is frequently a clause (or clause sequence) as Possessor, in which instance a following -mí series Pronoun is obligatory.

máfakálin úmí (Ps: illness its) makám (Nn: origin) 'the cause of the illness'
 sang boómí (Ps: story that-its) makám (Nn: origin) 'the start of the story'
 ímí ook (Ps: his work) makám (Nn: origin) 'the meaning of what he did'
 ímánílang kamaá kí díkínubib úmí (Ps: they first clear a garden its) sang (Nn: story) 'a story about how they first clear a garden'

Similar to the inclusion relationship is that involving SUBSTANCE, where the second part is composed of the substance of the first.

bíyaal (Ps: biyaal-wood) sinám (Nn: club) 'a club of biyaal wood'
 ímán flib (Ps: taro cuttings) tíng (Nn: bundle) 'a bundle of taro cuttings'
 sínsong koón (Ps: kunai leaves) tíng (Nn: bundle) 'a bundle of kunai grass'
 ún (Ps: arrow) siník (Nn: spirit) 'picture of an arrow'

(b) INTERROGATIVE Nouns occur in the Possessive Construction as possessor, as does the Interrogative Possessive Pronoun waámí 'whose?'. intab, intabén 'what?' possessing an Inanimate Noun has the meaning 'what kind of?'. dook as Possessor has the meaning 'of which one?'.
 intab (Ps: what?) waán (Nn: sweet-potato) 'what kind of sweet-potato?'
 intab (Ps: what?) at (Nn: tree) 'what kind of tree?'
 intabén (Ps: what?) sang (Nn: story) 'what kind of topic (if any)?' - an idiom for 'a lot of trivialities'
 dook úmí (Ps: what? its) timtim (Nn: roots) 'the roots of which one?'

waámí (Ps: whose?) mán (Nn: child) 'whose child?'

Two special cases involve the restricted Nouns *kalan* 'for', 'on account of' and *finang* 'to', 'towards'. *intab* or *intabén* plus either of these means 'what for?', 'why?'.
 There is something in common between all the semantic varieties of the Possessive Construction described above. However there follow now a number of specialized usages of the Possessive Construction, and these usually lack the semantic element of possession or inclusion entirely, though the form of the construction is the same.

(c) KAYAAK. *kayaak*, plural *kasel*, is a unique Noun in that it is obligatorily possessed, and its meaning in any particular context is determined by the Noun of the first part or Possessor.

Human Noun + *kayaak* 'associate of, employee of'

Máasta Sítenkalaas ímí (Ps: Mr Steinkraus his) *kayaak* (Nn: employee) 'Mr Steinkraus' employee'

Animal or Inanimate Noun + *kayaak* 'owner of'

kayaam boómí (Ps: dog that-its) *kayaak* (Nn: owner) 'the owner of that dog'

Place Name + *kayaak* 'inhabitant of'

Ilibtaman (Ps: Ilib valley) *kasel* (Nn: inhabitants) 'those who live in the Ilib valley'

Inanimate Noun + *miit* + *kayaak* 'expert in'

mafuum ban miit (Ps: plaited-headress ceremony source) *kayaak* (Nn: expert) 'an expert in the hair-plaiting ceremony'

(d) LOCATION AND DESTINATION USAGE. The four Nouns *diim* ~ *díim* 'on', *díim* 'beside', 'up in', *teem* ~ *téem* 'in', and *ái* 'on', 'upon' very frequently occur as second part or possessed of a Possessive Construction. The first part most often contains an Inanimate Noun, but Animate Nouns also occur there. The resulting construction occurs as Nucleus of a Phrase as Location or Destination. The obligatorily possessed Nouns *finang* 'to', 'towards' and *ilo* 'to', 'from' also occur in a Phrase as Destination.

ními (Ps: my) *ái* (Nn: on) 'sit down on me'

ními (Ps: my) *díim* (Nn: up) 'fight up to me'

ními (Ps: my) *finang* (Nn: to) 'come to/before me'

koong boómí (Ps: pig t' its) *finang* (Nn: to) '(come) to (for) the pig'

súukkón (Ps: book) *teem* (Nn: in) 'in the book'

áatúm ímí sakaal (Ps: my-father his hand) diim (Nn: on) '(what comes)
from our father's hand'

úóot ímí tiin (Ps: God his eyes) diim (Nn: on) 'in God's eyes (sight)'

A particular variety of this locative usage involves two layers of Possessive Construction, and constitutes a set of locative idioms. The head Noun is diim or teem as above, and the inner layer Possessor involves a body part or similar expression. The outer layer Possessor may involve any Noun, or a Pronoun.

nímí (Ps: my) mít (Ps: source) teem (Nn: in) 'at my feet', 'near me'

nímí (Ps: my) umík (Ps: behind) keem (Nn: in) 'behind me'

nímí (Ps: my) túb (Ps: breastbone) teem (Nn: in) 'in front of me'

nímí (Ps: my) arák (Ps: under) keem (Nn: in) 'under me'

nímí (Ps: my) dibím (Ps: crown) diim (Nn: on) 'above me'

úmí (Ps: its) íibák (Ps: centre) keem (Nn: in) 'inside it'

Other locative idioms of similar type do not involve diim or teem, but the possessed body-part, etc., is head of the Nucleus.

nímí (Ps: my) meébsó (Nn: near) 'near me'

nímí (Ps: my) samánim (Nn: a long way) 'a long way from me'

nímí (Ps: my) malán millí (Nn: waist side) 'beside me'

nímí (Ps: my) ool ban ilo (Nn: abdomen skin from) 'in front of me'

(e) TIME USAGE. There are three sub-classes of Time Nouns, *Nt1*, *Nt2*, and *Nt3*, as listed in section 1.1(d). These sub-classes are defined by their relative rank within the Nucleus of the Time Phrase. *Nt3* if present is the head, in that it may be possessed by a Phrase consisting of an *Nt2* Noun with or without the Pronoun *úmí* 'its'. *Nt2* if present may be possessed by a Phrase containing *Nt1* and either of the Pronouns *úmí* 'its' or *koómí* 'this-its'. The *Nt1* Possessor Phrase may also contain the laterals *yák* (*D1*) 'across there' and *maak* (*If*) 'a', 'one', 'the'. These may occur without a Noun as *Nt1* to form an Nuclear Possessor Phrase. The *Nt1* Nouns also occur in a Possessor Phrase within the Nucleus of any General Noun Phrase, and here they have English adjectival meanings, *siin* 'old', 'former', *kamaá* 'new', 'recent', *meéb* 'near', 'close'. (The additional forms *feén* 'real', *atin* 'real', though not Time Nouns, occur as Possessor and have English adjectival translations.)

meéb koómí (Ps: *Nt1*: near this-its) wíik (Nn: *Nt2*: week) 'this week'

amsín úmí (Ps: *Nt2*: yesterday its) kutím (Nn: *Nt3*: morning) 'yesterday morning'

siin maak úmí (Ps: *Nt1*: old one its) wíik (Nn: *Nt2*: week) 'last week'

siin maak úmí (Ps: *Nt1*: old one its) sang (Nn: story) 'something that was said before'

kamaá (Ps: *Nt1*: new) am (Nn: house) 'a new house'

yák maak úmí (Ps: across-there one its) Saánde (Ps: Ntz: Sunday) kutím
(Nn: Ntz: morning) 'next Sunday morning' (said on Sunday)

In a sequential or included Clause expressing time, the Subject Noun *am* 'day' may be possessed, the significance being 'the day of/for such-and-such an event'.

úlotu (Ps: church) *am* (Nn: day) 'the day for church - Sunday'
koong (Ps: pig) *am* (Nn: day) 'the day for (killing) the pigs'
ifín (Ps: abstinence) *am* (Nn: day) 'a day of abstinence'

(f) POSSESSED OBJECTS. Certain combinations of Object (O) + Transitive Predicate (Pt) characteristically have a possessive expansion of the Phrase occurring as Object. The Possessor in these cases is frequently equivalent to the object in the English translation, and the combination of the Possessed plus the Transitive Predicate is often the equivalent of the verb in the English translation. This restricted group of expressions are idioms having a common semantic area - that of the EMOTIONS. The Possessive Construction within these idioms contrasts in tonal behaviour with other possessive expressions, in that all tonemes of the Possessed are affected by the final tone of the Possessor. However, instead of writing the actual tonal changes, in the orthography used here a hyphen is written between words wherever external tonal sandhi operates.¹¹ This is illustrated by the following contrastive examples:

ními (Ps: my) aket (Nn: thoughts) 'my thoughts'
ními-aket (O: thought about me) fúkúnin (Pt: think) 'to think about me'
ními (Ps: my) sang (Nn: story) 'my story'
ními-sang (O: story about me) bákamin (Pt: talk) 'to talk about me'

Here are more idiomatic expressions of the same type:

ními-aket (O: thought about me) ilúkamin (Pt: forget) 'to forget me'
ními-ilak (O: regard for me) dukamin (Pt: have) 'to love me'
ními-kalan (O: for me) ámemin (Pt: cry) 'to cry for me'
ními-kalan (O: with me) oolsák tébcmín (Pt: angry be) 'to be angry with me'
ními-atul (O: pain about me) fínanin (Pt: fear) 'to fear me', 'to be afraid of me'
ními kaábák úmí moók (O: spittle about my axe) únángkálín (Pt: eat) 'to envy me my axe'

One case has been observed of the same type in a Complementary Clause in which the Complement (Co) is possessed:

ními deeng (Co: happy about me) tébcmín (Pc: be) 'to be happy about me', 'to be pleased with me' (an idiom)

In these constructions as elsewhere a clause or sequence of

clauses may occur as Nucleus of the Possessor:

íbikum ímí wééng bákanbe úmí-ílak (O: regard for what his friends said)

doólá (Pt: he had) 'he had faith in (loved) what his friend said'

siin mán kaanse ímí-aket (O: about the child who died before)

fúkúnbommalale (Pt: he thought) 'he remembered the child's death'

1.22 QUALIFICATION

Since ADJECTIVES occur in the unit which may be linked by co-ordination, nuclear apposition, or *koo ake* 'that is', and since these three constructions all occur within the Noun Phrase Nucleus, Adjectives must be regarded as being inner-layer QUALIFIERS within the Nucleus, as distinct from the Laterals which only occur outside of the Nucleus. Where more than one Qualifier is required in a given context, the mechanisms normally used are those of Nuclear or Phrasal Apposition (see section 1.24, 3.4). However, more than one Qualifier occasionally does occur within a single Nucleus, in which case the preferred ordering is as follows: Qualifiers consisting of Adjectives of COLOUR (A_1), SIZE (A_2), QUALITY (A_3), and QUANTIFIERS (A_4). These four semantic divisions also represent structural sub-classes, as only one Adjective of each type may occur at a time in a Nucleus. In contrast to the Laterals, whose relative order is rigidly fixed, the above order of Adjective sub-classes is not fixed. A_2 may precede A_1 , and in particular A_4 may precede the others. Each of these Adjective sub-classes is very limited in membership, and the Quantifier sub-class (A_4) contains two sub-types, (i) General Quantifiers, and (ii) Kin Quantifiers,¹² whose occurrence is dependent upon the sub-class of the Noun with which they co-occur.

A Qualifier may occur as lone representative of the Noun Phrase occurring in the clause as Equational Predicate or Complement. Its subsidiary status within the Nucleus is indicated, however, by the fact that it cannot be directly preceded by a Possessor Phrase as a Noun can be. The non-occurrence of a following Qualifier is diagnostic of Place Name Location Nouns and Time Nouns. Kin Quantifiers (type (ii) of A_4) are the only Qualifiers occurring with Personal Name Nouns.

(a) Sub-class A_1 , COLOUR, includes:

áyók	'white' (pig)	miil	'blue'
buút	'red' (human skin)	naám	'yellow'
duum	'faded', 'brown'	namaál	'white', 'pale'
ifuúm	'purple' (also a purple taro)	silín	'speckled, mottled, ginger-brown' (pig)
íim	'black', 'dark'	simsim	'mid-brown' (human skin)
isák, isákúlut	'red' (also blood)	tíib	'brown' (dog)
kaalasíit	'green'		

títák 'yellow'
 túkúl 'whitish', 'pale', 'indeterminate colour'
 waám 'reddish-brown', 'ginger', 'mottled' (pig)

(b) Sub-class *A₂*, SIZE, includes:

afálikén, afálik, afék 'big'
 duúmaat, duúmaak 'short'
 katíb 'small'
 kiimén 'large', 'plump' (person)
 tímitím 'long', 'tall'

(c) Sub-class *A₃*, QUALITY, includes:

bulúb 'poor' (materially)
 kásaak 'handsome' (person),
 'fertile' (ground),
 'good'
 mafak 'bad', 'no good'
 támbál, támbálím, támbálím 'good'
 usaab 'poor', 'pitiful'

(d) Sub-class *A₄*, QUANTIFIERS, includes two mutually exclusive sub-types:

(1) GENERAL QUANTIFIERS, which occur with all Nouns except Personal Name Nouns and Kin Nouns:

alíkaab 'whole'
 alúkum 'all', 'whole'
 iibmakmaak 'few'
 maakinón 'only one', 'one by itself'
 maaksó 'another', 'more'
 mikik 'another', 'a different'
 takáng, kwíintakáng 'very many', 'a lot of'
 tikíb 'all'
 yámyám, yámám 'many'

(11) KIN QUANTIFIERS, which occur only with Human Nouns and Personal Name Nouns. That these are Adjectives rather than Nouns is indicated by their occurrence in sequence with other Adjectives, and by the fact that they are mutually exclusive with General Quantifiers and cannot be possessed. The list below is exhaustive:

úlim 'a man and his "child"
 (mán)'
 úlímal 'men with "child"/
 children"; man with
 "children"; man with
 wife and "child/
 "children"

áfaat	'a woman and her "child" (mán)'	úbtíl	'women with "child"/ "children"; woman with "children"'
álob	'two persons of the same sex and generation, being either blood-relatives or related as samaá or as co-wives'	níngdíil	'three or more males of the same generation, being either blood-relatives or related as samaá, ¹³
máikim	'two persons of opposite sex and of the same generation, being either blood-relatives or related as samaá'	mángkál	'three or more persons of the same generation, one or more of whom is female, being either blood-relatives or related as samaá, or as co-wives'
ákám	'husband and wife'	úkmál	'husband and wives; husbands and wives; husband, wife and other/ others'
úmdim	'two persons related as in-laws in other than a samaá relationship'	úmdímal	'three or more persons related as in-laws in other than a samaá relationship'

The Kin Quantifier *níngdíil* occurs with all Nouns, but when it follows other than Human Nouns and Personal Name Nouns, its meaning becomes 'a few'. The Kin Quantifier *álob* has been taken over from the Number class (see section 2.13 below), with the above particularization of meaning. For semantic reasons, *álob*, *maaksó*, and *maakinón* do not occur in the same Phrase with Numerals, and *maaksó* and *maakinón* do not co-occur with the Post-Directions (*D2*) *bilíb*, *kalíb*, or *kulíb* (see section 2.15). They may, however, be followed by the Indefinite Indicator (*I*), section 2.14) *maak*.

tanúm (*Nn*: man) *katíb* (*A2*: small) 'a small house'

tanúm (*Nn*: man) *mufak* (*A3*: bad) 'a bad man'

tanúm (*Nn*: man) *takáng* (*A4*: very many) 'a lot of people'

tanúm (*Nn*: man) *úlmál* (*A4*: family) 'a man and his family'

ími (*Ps*: his) *ílim* (*Nn*: cloth) *íim* (*A1*: black) 'his black laplap'

ílim (*Nn*: cloth) *íim* (*A1*: black) *mikik* (*A4*: another) 'another black laplap'

ílim (*Nn*: cloth) *íim* (*A1*: black) *katíb* (*A2*: small) 'a small black laplap'

meéb (*Nn*: near) *duúmaát* (*A2*: short) *támháil* (*A3*: good) 'a nice short distance'

nulúmi (Ps: our) ook (N: work) alíkaab (A: whole) 'entirely our responsibility'

1.23 CO-ORDINATION

The Nucleus of the Noun Phrase may be internally expanded by co-ordination. Each of the co-ordinated parts may be any kind of Nucleus, simple or compound, described in Section 1, or a -só Series Pronoun. The latter consists of an unemphatic pronoun stem (see section 2.16) suffixed by -só or -sinó. Co-ordinated Nuclei are each followed by sóó or sinó as a free form. Each co-ordinated item in the list is usually so marked, though the sóó of the first co-ordinate may take in addition -lé ± minte. It should be noted that the aggregate of two or more co-ordinated Nuclei is still a single compound Nucleus with respect to the Phrase. Although similar items usually occur in co-ordination, it is also possible to have dissimilar combinations of the items mentioned. The following involve similar co-ordinates:

ibsó (N: you-pl.-and) nisó (N: I-and) 'you(pl.) and I'
 kwina sóó (N: afternoon and) kutím sóó (N: morning and) 'morning and afternoon'
 oókén sóólé (N: his-mother and) aáláb sóó (N: his-father and) 'his mother and father'

The following involve dissimilar co-ordinates:

isólé minte (N: he-and) imí duub sóó (N: his friend and) 'he and his friends'

[Cl] soólé (N: those-who... and) nusó (N: we-and) 'we and those who...'

Most cases of co-ordination are binary as in the examples above. Where a longer series of three or more co-ordinated items occur, it is usual for the first item to be followed by sóó-lé ± minte or sinó-lé ± minte, and the sóó or sinó of the last item may be replaced by noo 'too', 'also'. In a very long string, sóó or sinó may be omitted from later items.

Alumeyok soólé (N: Alumeyok and) Almosimnok sóó (N: Almosimnok and) Dilisibik sóó (N: Dilisibik and) 'Alumeyok, Almosimnok, and Dilisibik'

kasólé (N: this-and) kasó (N: this-and) dabóm sóó (N: head too) 'this (limb) and this (limb) and the head too'

ilábilab sinó (N: laplap and) miiit sinó (N: meat and) másíis (N: matches) kalaléng (N: knife) kaábák (N: axe) 'laplapps, meat, matches, knives, and axes'

Yoonengaal sinólé (N: Yoonengaal and) Olobengaal sinó (N: Olobenengaal and) númí moom sinólé (N: our my-mother's-brother and) nímf

baáb Siinonseb (*N*: my my-elder-brother Siinonseb) 'Yoonengaal, Olo-benengaal, our uncle, and my elder brother Siinonseb'

A somewhat different type of co-ordination has as its indicators *aa*, *aác*, *mín*, or *aaémín*, of apparently undifferentiated meaning. The construction which has any one of these following each Nucleus in the string may mean 'and', 'and/or', 'or', or sometimes a linkage of synonyms in an oratory style similar to Hebraic poetic parallelism. As with the *soó* construction above, the whole co-ordinated construction is a single compound Nucleus. In this type Pronouns do not occur as co-ordinates. The Laterals *maak* 'a' (*If*) and Person (*Pr*) have been observed following this type of Nucleus.

unáng aa (*N*: woman and) tanum aa (*N*: man and) 'men and/or women'

kábmí aket aa (*N*: your thought and) búbúl aa (*N*: heart and) 'your mind and heart'

ilángúlib kasel ímí man aa (*N*: children of garden owners and) kalél aa (*N*: wives and) 'the children and wives of the garden owners'

unáng mafak aác (*N*: bad women and) tanum mafak aác (*N*: bad men and) 'bad men and women'

tanum aaémín (*N*: men and) saamanim aác (*N*: wild-pig and) 'men or wild pigs'

ímán san aaémín (*N*: taro seed and) waán san aaémín (*N*: sweet-potato seed and) kweét san (*N*: sugar seed) ilub san aaémín (*N*: pitpit seed and) suum san aáce (*N*: banana seed and) 'taro cuttings, sweet-potato runners, sugar cuttings, pitpit cuttings, and banana suckers'

kábmí bán mín (*N*: your ceremony and) weéng keém mín (*N*: clear words and) 'both your ceremony and instructions'

yák mín (*N*: (of) across and) isé yák meék ábíí; tanum mín (*N*: men of the villages across here and) 'anybody and everybody in the various villages' (idiomatic)

mákálim mín (*N*: nature-spirits and) síník mafak mín (*N*: bad spirit and) 'nature spirits or evil spirits'

sa dákanim mín (*N*: immorality and) yúkút uunin mín (*N*: stealing and)... kukuúb támbal waafunamin binim mín nóo (*N*: not practising good customs and also) 'immorality, stealing, and not behaving properly'

Very occasionally closely parallel Nuclei are linked in co-ordination without any overt marker.

aaláb (*N*: his-father) oóken (*N*: his-mother) 'fathers and mothers', 'parents'

unáng takáng (*N*: many women) tanum takáng (*N*: many men) 'lots of people'

úlímal (*N*: family) mángkúl (*N*: sisters) níngdíil (*N*: brothers) ' (we) families and sisters and brothers'

It has been said that *-ilé + minte* often follows the first *soó* or *sinó* in a co-ordinated list of items. Occasionally *-ilé minte ... noo* occur as co-ordinate markers following co-ordinate Nuclei without *soó* or *sinó* being present. It may be noted that *-ilé minte ... noo* is the mechanism whereby complex Numerals are built up (see section 2.13).

ními ábén ilé minte (N: my mother and) *ními nakálál noo* (N: my brothers also) 'my mother and my brothers'

ními níng ilé minte (N: my young-brother and) *neeng ilé* (N: young-sister and) *ábén nco* (N: my-mother also) 'my brothers and sisters and mother'

1.24 APPPOSITION

The apposition construction links items which have essentially the same non-linguistic referent. The relationship is indicated by juxtaposition without overt markers. There are two types of apposition which appear to be synonymous but which differ syntactically, namely Nuclear Apposition (dealt with here), and Phrasal Apposition (see section 3.4). In Nuclear Apposition two or more Nuclei are linked together to form a single complex Nucleus.

A common coupling in apposition is a Kin Noun with a Personal Name Noun:

ántúm (N: my-father) *Goot* (N: God) 'our Father God'

taabálaséb (N: European) *máasta Daal* (N: Mr Doull) 'Mr Doull, the European'

kákkum (N: your-friend) *Biimanengim* (N: Biimanengim) 'your friend, Biimanengim'

baáb (N: my-elder-brother) *Dakasimnok* (N: Dakasimnok) 'my brother Dakasimnok'

As mentioned in section 1.22, Qualifiers, and especially Quantifiers (*A₁*), often occur in apposition constructions:

alúkum (N: *A₁*: all) *ánáng* (N: land) 'the whole land'

unáng biséi soó tán soó (N: the women and girls) *alúkum* (N: *A₁*: all) 'all the women and girls'

unáng soó tanúm soó (N: women and men) *kwíntakáng* (N: *A₁*: many) 'a crowd of people'

A clause may occur in an apposition combination:

íbkum kóób'éesá (N: his friend gave it to him) *kayaak* (N: owner) 'the friend who gave it to him, the owner'

In the sense of 'seat of the emotions', *aket* 'thought' and *búbúl*

'heart' are synonymous, and when they are used in this sense, they are often apposed:

- aket mafak (*N*: bad thoughts) búbúl mafak (*N*: bad heart) koo ake (that is) 'whatever evil notions' (see section 1.25)
 númí aketem (*N*: our thoughts) búbúitem (*N*: hearts) 'our minds, hearts'

1 25 KOO AKE

koo ake 'that is', 'kind of' links two Phrase Nuclei not necessarily otherwise related in meaning in an explanatory semantic relationship. As with the other constructions described above, the complex unit thus formed is a single Phrase Nucleus. The link **koo ake** is composed morphologically of the statement indicator **koo**, normally an utterance terminal, and **ake**, the punctiliar stem of the Quotative verb **akankalin** 'say'.¹⁴ Their usage in combination in this particular construction is fossilized.

For a non-cultural item, the first part names the nearest cultural item, and the second part specifies the item in another language:

- koong (*N*: pig) koo ake kamel (that is *N*: camel) 'a kind of animal called "camel"'
 kutok (*N*: fish-trap) koo ake umben (that is *N*: umben) 'a kind of fish trap called "umben"' (umben 'fishing net' from Neo-Melanesian)

Sometimes the first part is a generic term, and the second part specifies or describes the item:

- at (*N*: song) koo ake fuúb (that is *N*: dancing-song) 'a kind of song for dancing'
 ban (*N*: ceremony) koo ake imán (that is *N*: taro) 'harvest festival'
 aseng (*N*: song) koo ake úun unkwáláb (that is *N*: you-killed birds) 'a song about your killing birds'
 mufekmufek (*N*: thing) koo ake díímdúm díímdúm (that is *N*: meats) 'such things as meat foods'
 numi ban (*N*: our ceremony) koo ake tabaa doosub (that is *N*: we-cut tanket) 'our ceremony at which we cut the "tanket" (a sacred plant)'
 tabayung (*N*: garden-charm) koo ake tanúm kún (that is *N*: man's bone) 'a garden charm consisting of human bone'

Similarly, if the speaker suspects the first part may not be understood, the second part may be added as explanation:

- tiiksa (*N*: teacher) koo ake kafál' éemin (that is *N*: he-shows-him) 'a "teacher" or instructor'
 unáng ilími dungam (*N*: women's menstrual house) koo ake am katib (that is *N*: small house) 'a women's menstrual house or small house'

unáng soó tanúm soó ímí dúb' sunín (N: insult women and men) koo ake at mafak (that is N: bad song) 'to sing about people insultingly, that is, sing songs that aren't nice'

A single Nucleus followed by koo ake may occur, there being no second part, and the meaning being 'a kind of...':

kwéng koo ake 'a kind of insect'

koong aném koo ake 'a kind of pig sacrifice'

sóong koo ake 'a "song"'

unáng fuúb koo ake 'women's kind of dancing songs'

aket mafak (N: bad thought) búbúl mafak (N: bad heart) koo ake 'whatever evil notions'

ímán ban koo ake 'a kind of taro ceremony' (i.e. harvest festival, cp. ban koo ake ímán, above)

1.26 INCLUDED CLAUSES

As indicated several times already, an included Clause¹⁵ may occur as Nucleus of any Phrase type, including Possessor, and as one or more of the Nuclei linked by co-ordination, apposition, or koo ake into a complex Nucleus. An included clause occurring as a Noun Phrase Nucleus is not followed by a clause connective or utterance terminal, and this helps to distinguish it from sequential clauses. Except when it occurs in a non-ultimate position in a list linked by co-ordination, apposition, or koo ake, or in a Phrase occurring as Equational Predicate or Location at the clause level, it is obligatorily marked by following Person (usually a Pronoun of the -ó, -tá or -mí series), and this too distinguishes it from sequential clauses. It may be followed by the other Laterals as can any other Nucleus, simple or compound.

Several examples have already been given of included clauses occurring as one part of a compound Nucleus, and these are identifiable by a full clause as translation in the parentheses. In the following paired examples, a breakdown into clause-level units is given, first of the included clause itself, then of the larger clause in which it is embedded. A phrase-level breakdown is given of the Phrase of which it is the Nucleus within the double parentheses. This interpolation of clause-level analysis into a statement of phrase-level phenomena is necessary to give meaning to the English translation of included clauses.

koómí Salade (O: this Saturday) dakkan keebíb (Pt: they passed) 'the Saturday of last week'

koómí Salade dakkan keebíb koótá (Ti: (N: the Saturday of last week Pr: this)) daákinbá (Pm: he left) 'he left on the Saturday of last week'

koókén úyó (S: your mother) kanúmál oo (Q: do it!) akanbo (Pq: she is saying) 'your mother is telling you to do it'¹⁴

koókén úyó kanúmál oo akanbo úyó (Ti: (N: your mother is telling you to do it Pr: it)) kanúmín (Pt: do it) 'when your mother tells you to do something, you do it'

tanúm (S: men) ooksaam ukúlin (Pi: are washed) 'the men are washed'

tanúm ooksaam ukúlin iyó (S: (N: the men are washed Pr: they)) maak (O: others) doóng dokob' éelíb (Ptb: they will help him) 'the men who have been washed will help the others'

waáfúbab (Pt: you are holding it) 'you are holding it'

waáfúbab boóyó (O: (N: you are holding it Pr: that)) kúb'kaálál (Pt: you let it go) 'let go what you're holding'

ilámi kukuúb (O: his own ways) kanumnúba (Pt: he always does) 'he always does it his way'

ilámi kukuúb kanumnúba úyó (O: (N: he always does it his way Pr: it)) kúfilíná (Pt: he is sorry for it) 'he's sorry for what he's been doing'

tanúm beéyó (S: that man) baalut (O: plane) kwééb (Pt: take-it) tíñemín (Am: walks) 'that man flies the plane'

tanúm beéyó baalut kwééb tíñemín beéyó (B: (N: that man flies the plane Pr: that-he)) weeng (O: word) báka'eebe (Ptb: he is talking to him) 'he is talking to the man who flies the plane'

baalut (S: plane) tálánbo (Am: it is coming) 'a plane is coming'

boótá (Se: that) baalut tálánbo (Pe: (N: a plane is coming)) 'that (sound) is a plane coming'

1.27 NUCLEAR NESTING

It has already been shown that a General Noun Phrase may occur as Possessor within the Nucleus of another Noun Phrase, and several layers of such possession are possible in a single Nucleus. Similarly, the various other types of nuclear expansion may co-occur, in that an expanded Nucleus may occur as one or more of the units linked by any one of them. In the following examples, nested expanded Nuclei are spelled out layer by layer, beginning with the innermost.

áatúm (N: my-father) Góot (N: God) 'my Father God'

baáb (N: my-elder-brother) Yeesus (N: Jesus) 'my Brother Jesus'

áatúm Góot soó (my Father God and) baáb Yeesus soó (my Brother Jesus and) 'my Father God and Brother Jesus'

unáng bisél soó (mature women and) tán soó (children and) 'women and girls'

unáng bisél soó tán soó (*N*: women and girls) alúkum (*N*: *A*₄: all) 'all the women and girls'

Ilibtaman kayaa (*N*: inhabitant of Ilibtaman) unáng (*N*: girl) Weénbeén (*N*: Weenbeén) 'Weénbeén, the girl from Ilibtaman'

Bataliseb oóké (*N*: Patricia's mother) Akamónok (*N*: Akamónok) 'Akamónok, Patricia's mother'

Ilibtaman kayaa unáng Weénbeén soólé minte (Weénbeén, the girl from Ilibtaman and) Bataliseb oóké Akamónok soó minte (Akamónok, Patricia's mother and) Kweémén soó (Kweémén and) 'Weénbeén, the girl from Ilibtaman, Akamónok, Patricia's mother and Kweémén'

Ilibtaman kayaa unáng Weénbeén soólé minte Bataliseb oóké Akamónok soó minte Kweémén soó (*N*: Weénbeén, the girl from Ilibtaman, Akamónok, Patricia's mother, and Kweémén) mángkái (*N*: (*A*₇: sisters) 'Weénbeén, the girl from Ilibtaman, Akamónok, Patricia's mother, and Kweémén'

meén amém (*N*: sacred bag) koo ake fakeb (that it *N*: garden-charm) 'a sacred bag constituting a garden charm'

koong soólé (*N*: pig and) meén amém koo ake fakeb nóo (*N*: sacred bag constituting garden charm also) 'a pig and a sacred bag constituting a garden charm'

2.0 THE NOUN PHRASE LATERALS

It has been shown that the simple Noun Phrase Nucleus consists of a Noun which may be preceded by Possessors and/or followed by Qualifiers, and that this unit may be compounded by various mechanisms. With the simple or compound Nucleus, an outer layer of LATERALS may occur. Although Possessors and Qualifiers are subsidiary to the Noun (in that they cannot co-occur without a Noun being present, and comparatively rarely and only in restricted environments occur alone), they enter with the Noun into Nuclear expansions. The Laterals do not enter into co-ordination, apposition, or *koo ake* constructions, and the Laterals may occur in the same phrase with an included clause, which Possessors and Qualifiers do not. The Laterals do resemble Qualifiers, however, in being manifested by very restricted classes. They differ from Qualifiers in their fixity of order, and in the frequency with which several of them co-occur in a Phrase. The Laterals differ from the Nucleus in that they are not internally expandable, except for the mechanism by which large Numerals are built up (see Section 2.13).

Any one of the General Noun Phrase Laterals except the Phrase Modifier (*Mp*) may occur alone, or in combination with other Laterals, to constitute a Phrase in the absence of the Nucleus. This has been termed an ANUCLEAR PHRASE. The distinction between Nuclear and ANuclear Phrases is relevant only within the phrase structure, and does not affect external distribution. The Laterals that are restricted to other Phrase Types than the General Noun Phrase, however, do not occur alone. They only occur with a Nucleus or permitted General Noun Phrase Lateral.

2.1 LATERALS OF THE GENERAL NOUN PHRASE

The GENERAL NOUN PHRASE is that which occurs, with minor diagnostic limitations, as the following clause level units: Time, Subject, Equational Subject, Beneficiary, Object, Destination, Complement, and Equational Predicate, and as Possessor within the Nucleus of the Noun Phrase. Other special types of Noun Phrase occur as Accompaniment, Location, Instrument, and also as Equational Predicate. The General Noun Phrase has the following shape, in which the relative order of items is fixed but no item is obligatory. The occurrence of the Phrase Modifier (*Mp*) presupposes the occurrence of at least one other item.

$$+ (\pm To \pm D1 \pm N \pm Nm \pm If \pm D2 \pm Pr) \pm Mp$$

Two Laterals precede the Nucleus, Topic (*To*) and Pre-Direction (*D1*). Where a Nucleus contains one or more included Possessor Phrases, the status of *To* and/or *D1*, if they occur, is ambiguous. Structurally they could belong either to the outermost Possessor Phrase, or to the main Phrase which includes it. The Laterals following the Nucleus are Number (*Nm*), Indefinite Indicator (*If*), Post-Direction (*D2*), Person (*Pr*), and Phrase Modifier (*Mp*). These singly or in combination follow both simple and compound Nuclei, and also an included clause as Nucleus. There are some co-occurrence restrictions between *D2* and *Pr*, and these will be dealt with in section 2.15.

2.11 TOPIC

The TOPIC (*To*) identifies the semantic referent of the Phrase as something recently referred to in the discourse or conversation, 'the thing that we have been talking about'. It is manifested by the single item *isé*. It has no co-occurrence restrictions within the Phrase, except possible non-occurrence before expanded Nuclei.

2.12 PRE-DIRECTION

A class of seven DEMONSTRATIVES occur as PRE-DIRECTION (*D1*): *íit* 'above', *meet* 'up', *yáng* 'over, along', *yak* 'across (path, river, valley)', *toob* 'down', *daák* 'below', *tám* 'inside', 'outside', 'up'.

These forms may optionally be compounded with the non-finite multiple action form of motion verbs *únemín* 'go', *télemín* 'come', and *tíinemín* 'walk', 'go'. The resulting compounds with *tám*, for example, are *únánbutám*, *tálánbutám*, *tíinánbutám*, or *únánbitám*, *tálánbitám*, *tíinánbitám* respectively. These compounds belong to the same Demonstrative class as do the simple Demonstratives, and their meaning is apparently not altered. They occur as *D₁*.¹⁶

The seven Demonstratives also occur in *D₁* prefixed by *ma-* ~ *mi-* 'motion towards', when they occur in a Phrase as Destination in a clause whose Predicate is a form of *télemín* 'come'. The following resultant fused forms occur: *miít* 'above here', *mamet* 'up here', *meéng* 'over, along here', *meék* 'across here', *matob, mitob* 'down here', *malaák* 'below here', and *matám, mitám* 'in here', 'out here', 'up here'.

A Pre-Direction may redundantly co-occur in the same Phrase with a Post-Direction (*D₂*) (see section 2.15). Such a Phrase usually occurs as Destination or Location. There are no other co-occurrence restrictions within the Phrase.

2.13 NUMBER

NUMBER (*Nm*) is manifested by a class of NUMERALS. These are based on a BODY SYSTEM of counting, commencing at the little finger of the left hand, working up the left arm, across the face, and down the right arm to the right hand little finger.¹⁷ A few people go the other way, beginning with the right hand little finger, but this variant is non-significant. Once round the body totals 27. The Numerals are as follows:

<i>maakub</i>	'one', 'left hand little finger'; 'together'
<i>álob, aléb</i>	'two', 'left hand ring finger'; 'both'
<i>asúno, asíno</i>	'three', 'left hand middle finger'
<i>káibinim, wóolatab</i>	'four', 'left hand index finger'
<i>oókál</i>	'five', 'at left thumb' (irregular consonant reduction)
<i>búkúbkál</i>	'six', 'at left wrist' (irregular tone)
<i>bankál</i>	'seven', 'at left forearm'
<i>ífanekál</i>	'eight', 'at left inner elbow'
<i>tukál</i>	'nine', 'at left biceps'
<i>nákalkál</i>	'ten', 'at left shoulder'
<i>kumkál</i>	'eleven', 'at left side of neck'
<i>tulúnkál</i>	'twelve', 'at left ear'
<i>tíinkál</i>	'thirteen', 'at left eye'
<i>mítkál</i>	'fourteen', 'at nose'
<i>tíin milií foko</i>	'fifteen' (<i>O</i> : eye other-side, <i>Pt</i> : done) 'to the other eye'
<i>tuluún milií foko</i>	'sixteen' (<i>O</i> : ear other-side, <i>Pt</i> : done) 'to the other ear'

kum milií foko	'seventeen' (O: side-neck other-side, Pt: done) 'to the other side of neck'
nákaal milií foko	'eighteen' (O: shoulder other-side, Pt: done) 'to the other shoulder'
tu milií foko	'nineteen' (O: biceps other-side, Pt: done) 'to the other biceps'
ífaan milií foko	'twenty' (O: inner-elbow other-side, Pt: done) 'to the other inner elbow'
ban milií foko	'twenty-one' (O: forearm other-side, Pt: done) 'to the other forearm'
búkúb milií foko	'twenty-two' (O: wrist other-side, Pt: done) 'to the other wrist'
oók milií foko	'twenty-three' (O: thumb other-side, Pt: done) 'to the other thumb'
yoolatab	'twenty-four', 'right hand index finger'
iib, dííl	'twenty-five', 'right hand middle finger'
iib	'twenty-six', 'right hand ring finger'
kakkát	'twenty-seven', 'right hand little finger'
intabkal	'how many?', 'how much?'

One unit of 27 is known as *deéng*, and multiples of 27 are formed thus: *deéng maakub* 'one unit of 27' (=27), *deéng álob* 'two units of 27' (=54) ... *deéng mítkál* 'very many' (rather than the literal meaning of '14 units of 27' (=378)).

Numerals above 27 which are not multiples of 27 are obtained by means of co-ordination (see section 1.23): X *ilé minte* Y *noo*. The second numeral may be specific, such as *álob* 'two', or non-specific, *atuk* 'part', 'half'. *atuk* may also be added in the same way to one of the basic Numerals between one and 27.

deéng maakub ilé minte (one twenty-seven and) *álob noo* (two also)
'twenty-nine'

deéng álob ilé minte (two twenty-sevens and) *atuk noo* (more also)
'over fifty-four'

asúno ilé minte (three and) *atuk noo* (more also) 'three and a half',
'three plus'

It will be noted that the Numerals 5 to 14 and the Interrogative Numeral *intabkal* 'how many?' are suffixed by the locative indicator *kal* 'at'. This is the same Lateral as occurs obligatorily in the Location Phrase. Except for the Numerals, it is exclusive to the Location Phrase, and diagnostic of it. However, because of irregular consonant reduction (i.e. *oók + kal* becomes *oókál*) and irregular lack of tone change (i.e. *búkúb + kal* remains *búkúbkal*), *kal* has been treated as a suffix with all the Numerals.¹⁸ For example, *bankal* 'seven', 'at the wrist', but, *am kal* 'at home'.

The Numerals 15 to 23 contain the same body-part stems used in the Numerals 5 to 14, but in reverse order, followed by *milií* '(other) side' plus the punctiliar verb stem *foko* 'done'. Each of the Numerals so formed are preceded by the expression *mit diim ka foko* (*O*: nose on here, *Pt*: done) 'done as far as the nose here', a clause-like structure. The Numeral that follows is itself also an included clause-like structure (*O*: X the other side, *Pt*: done). The two together constitute an idiom, which is confined to the Number position in the General Noun Phrase, and this idiom is the only exception to the general rule that Noun Phrase Laterals are not internally syntactically expandable. An example of this idiom in a Noun Phrase is: *tanúm (N: man) mit diim ka foko tuluún milií foko (Nm: done as far as the nose here, done to the other ear - 16) kalíb (D2: these) itá (Pr: they)* 'these sixteen men'.

These qualifying Numerals which occur in Number position in the Phrase should not be confused with counting numbers, which do not contain either *-kal* or *mit diim ka foko ... foko*.¹⁹

Some of the Numerals have characteristic Demonstrative-based participles which may occur with them or substitute for them. These are: *títob* (down past) 'seven'; *tíyak* (across past) 'nine'; *títám* or *téc kít* (up past) 'ten', 'eleven', or 'twelve'.

2.14 INDEFINITE INDICATOR

The Indefinite Indicator (*If*) is manifested by a single item, *mank* 'a', 'a certain', 'one (vs. the other)', 'the other', 'some', 'indefinite (i.e. 'three men' as against 'the three men')'. It occurs very frequently in the Noun Phrase, often co-occurring with Quantifiers (*A_q*) and Numbers (*Nm*). Its co-occurrence with Person (*Pr*) is comparatively rare.

2.15 POST-DIRECTION

In the Post Direction (*D₂*) position, the seven DEMONSTRATIVES may occur here, this time compounded with *ka* 'here' or *ku* 'there', resulting in the following fused forms:

<i>ka</i>	'here', 'this'	<i>ku</i>	'there', 'that'
<i>kít</i>	'above here'	<i>kwít</i>	'above there'
<i>kamet</i>	'up here'	<i>kumet</i>	'up there'
<i>keéng</i>	'over, along here'	<i>kweéng</i>	'over, along there'
<i>keék</i>	'across here'	<i>kweék</i>	'across there'
<i>katob</i>	'down here'	<i>kutob</i>	'down there'
<i>kalaák</i>	'below here'	<i>kulaák</i>	'below there'
<i>katám</i>	'in here', 'out here', 'up here'	<i>kutám</i>	'in there', 'out there', 'up there'

The Demonstratives *ka* and *ku* also occur alone as Post-Direction, without being compounded with the more specific Demonstratives. Any of the above Demonstratives, including *ka* and *ku*, occurring as Post-Direction may alone form an Anuclear Phrase (as Location or Destination), or may occur in combination with other Laterals in a Nuclear or Anuclear Phrase.

Although Post-Direction occurs most frequently in a Phrase as Location or Destination, it has also been observed in Phrases occurring in every Clause-level unit except Equational Predicate. No co-occurrence restrictions involving *D2* have been observed within the Phrase, except that a Post-Direction does not co-occur with the morpheme *kaa* 'this', which apparently is mutually exclusive with *D2 + Pr*. Sometimes *D1* and *D2* co-occur in the same Phrase, in which case they usually redundantly contain the same Demonstrative morpheme.

- yáng* (*D1*: along) *kweéng* (*D2*: along there) 'those over there'
yák (*D1*: across) *alák* *koong* (*N*: his-cousin's pig) *kweék* (*D2*: across-there) *íyó* (*Pr*: it) 'his cousin's pig across there'
yák (*D1*: across) *súukkodn teem* (*N*: inside the book) *kweék* (*D2*: across-there) *ímí* (*Pr*: its) 'in the book' (idiomatic non-directional usage)
yáng (*D1*: along) *am afálík* (*N*: big house) *kutám* (*D2*: in-there) *kal* (*L1*: at) 'in the big house over there'

There are three further Demonstratives which occur in the Post-Direction position: *kalíb* 'these', 'they', 'the'; *kulíb* 'those', 'they', 'the'; and *bilíb* 'those', 'they', 'the'. These three items have been included in the Demonstrative Class because they occur in Post-Direction position, and are mutually-exclusive with other Demonstratives. However, they have some differences from the other Demonstratives. They do not occur in Phrases as Location or Destination. They are vaguer as to direction, and intrinsically plural. They are obligatorily followed by a third person plural Pronoun in the Person position. The forms *ka* and *ku* appear to occur in *kalíb* and *kulíb*, but it has not been possible to identify the remainder *-*lib* as a morpheme. Here *bilíb* is probably a stereotyped usage of the verb 'they are'. The distinction between *kulíb* and *bilíb* is uncertain. They have no co-occurrence restrictions within the Phrase except that they, like the other Post-Direction Demonstratives, do not occur with *kaa* 'this'.

2.16 PERSON

The word class occurring in the Person Lateral (*Pr*) has been called PRONOUN, although the Person does not substitute for a Noun or Nucleus, but rather co-occurs very frequently with it, and amplifies its meaning. It frequently also occurs alone or with other Laterals, however, to form an Anuclear Noun Phrase. A Person Lateral usually follows an

Included clause or clause sequence within the Noun Phrase Nucleus, and is thus the main means of distinguishing an included clause from a sequential clause.

A PRONOUN consists of a bound stem, signifying person, number, and gender, plus any one of twelve pronominal suffixes. These suffixes have syntactic significance, some such as *-mí* and *-ó* at the phrase and clause level, and others such as *-lé* and *-tá* at the complex sentence and discourse levels.

The PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES are as follows:

- ó (~-yó after a vowel) This is the most frequent, and is of non-specific meaning
- tá 'syntactic focus'
- mí possessive, beneficiary, object (occasionally, especially with prefixed Transitive Predicate)
- kal (~kol after u and o, ~-kil after i) '-self' (emphatic)
- kál (~kól after u and o, ~-kíl after i) '<I> also'
- táb 'like', 'similar to', 'the same as'
- síik 'first' (and other untranslatable meanings)
- sinón 'alone', 'only'
- só ~ -sinó (free alternates) 'and' (co-ordinate), 'with', 'has'
- lé (~-dé after consonants) 'and what about <me>?', 'and as for <me> ...'
- há (~-kí after i) (followed by negative há) 'not <me>'; (followed by connective -ilé) 'and <me>' (?)
- kúb exclamatory
- ba (interrogative) 'do you mean <me>?'
- aa vocative

Pronouns containing a particular suffix, say *-mí*, are referred to throughout the paper as "*-mí* series Pronouns", etc.

There are two sets of PRONOUN STEMS, occurring with different sets of Pronominal Suffixes, except that both sets occur with the suffixes *-mí* and *-tá*. The UNEMPHATIC stems occur with: *-ó*, *-kal*, *-kál*, *-síik*, *-só*, *-lé*, *-ká*, *-kúb*, *-ba*, and also *-mí* and *-tá*. The EMPHATIC stems occur with: *-táb*, *-sinón*, and also *-mí* and *-tá*. The occurrence of *-mí* and *tá* with both sets of stems is illustrated by the following: *nímí am* 'my house', *nalámí am* 'my own house'; *nítá* 'me' (Object), *nalátá* 'myself' (Object, reflexive).

PERSON, NUMBER, GENDER	UNEMPHATIC STEMS	EMPHATIC STEMS
1 Singular	ní- ~ ná-	nalá-
1 Plural	nú- ~ nó-	nulú-
2 Singular Masculine	káb-	kaláb-
2 Singular Feminine	kúb-	kulúb-
2 Plural	íb-	ilíb-
3 Singular Masculine, 'IT'	í- ~ yá-	ilá
3 Singular Masculine, 'this'	keé-	
3 Singular Masculine, 'that'	beé-	
3 Singular Feminine, 'IT'	ú- ~ ó-	ulú
3 Singular Feminine, 'THIS'	koó-	
3 Singular Feminine, 'THAT'	boó-	
3 Plural	í-	ilí-

The distribution of the vocalic alternants is as follows:

- ní- before -ó-, -tá-, -mí-, -síik-, -só-, -lé;
- ná- before -kal-, -kál-, -ká-, -kúb-, and -ba;
- nó- before -kal and -kál;
- ó- before -kal and kál;
- yá- before -kál-, -kal-, and -ka.

Unemphatic stems containing a single vowel have tonal alternants with a down toneme (e. g. na- 'I') when suffixed by -kal-, -só-, -sinó or -lé.

The 3rd Person stems i- and u- are non-specific with respect to location of the item referred to in relation to the speaker, while keé- and koó- signify 'this one' (near, held in the hand), and beé- and boó- signify 'that one' (at a little distance, referred to). The feminine forms koó- and boó-, and the masculine forms keé- and beé- are used for both singular and plural. These four latter Pronouns are often best translated into English simply by 'the'.

For humans gender is based on sex (masculine = male, feminine = female). For inanimates gender is based upon size (masculine = small, feminine = large). Usually absolute size is the criterion, but for emphatic purposes relative size is considered instead. For example, a small specimen of an intrinsically large species may be masculine instead of the more usual feminine. For non-human animates gender is usually based on size, but may occasionally be based on sex instead if sex is in focus in the discourse. This gender/size complex is indicated in neuter translations of 3rd Person Pronouns by capital letters for feminine.

The third person Pronouns *keéyó*, *koóyó*, *beéyó*, and *boóyó* in the -ó series are frequently contracted to simple *keé*, *koó*, *beé*, and *boó*, and *níyó* and *núyó* are both sometimes contracted to *nóó*.

The Post-Direction Demonstratives *ka* 'this' and *ku* 'that' occur before a third person -táb series Pronoun instead of the bound Pronoun Stems *keé-* and *koó-* 'this' and *beé-* and *boó-* 'that' occurring with the Pronominal Suffix -táb. In this event, elision of the initial vowel of the Pronoun occurs:

ka + ílátáb > kalátáb 'like this'
ku + ílátáb > kulátáb 'like that'
ka + ulútáb > kalútáb 'like THIS'
ku + ulútáb > kulútáb 'like THAT'

It appears that an Unemphatic Stem plus the emphatic suffix -kal is the emphatic equivalent of Unemphatic Stem plus -ó: *níyó* 'I', *nakal* 'I myself', in the same way as *nalámí* 'my own' is the emphatic equivalent of *nímí* 'my', and *nalátá* 'I myself' is the emphatic equivalent of *nítá* 'I'.

The suffix -tá differs in function from other emphatic forms in that it occurs in replies or in the preferred one of a pair of coordinated clauses giving alternatives, and highlights a syntactic antecedent.

There is a series of fused Pronouns formed from: Unemphatic Stem + -kal (emphatic) + Emphatic Stem + -mí, having the meaning '<I> ... <my> own'.

<i>nákál + nalámí</i>	becomes	<i>nákalámí</i>	'I ... my own'
<i>nókól + nulúmí</i>	"	<i>nókulúmí</i>	'we ... our own'
<i>kábkál + kaláb mí</i>	"	<i>kábkalá(b)mí</i>	'you ... your own' (masc.)
<i>kúbkál + kulúb mí</i>	"	<i>kúbkulú(b)mí</i>	'you ... your own' (fem.)
<i>íbkíl + íl íb mí</i>	"	<i>íbkilí(b)mí</i>	'you ... your own' (pl.)
<i>yákál + ílámí</i>	"	<i>yákalámí</i>	'he ... his own'
<i>ókól + ulúmí</i>	"	<i>ókolúmí</i>	'she ... her own'
<i>íkilí + íl ímí</i>	"	<i>íkilímí</i>	'they ... their own'

A fused Pronoun of this type, or simply a -kal series or Emphatic -mí series Pronoun, occurring alone as Possessor in the Nucleus of a Phrase (often in the Equational Predicate), and usually followed by the Lateral *maak* (*If*), means 'different'.

ókolúmí (*N*: its-own) *maak* (*If*: a) 'a different kind'
íkilímí (*N*: their-own) *maak* (*If*: a) 'they are different (from you)'
kaláb mí (*N*: your-own) *maak* (*If*: a) 'different from you'
yáng (*D*: along) *íkilímí* (*N*: their-own) 'other people'
íkilímí mílílí (*N*: their-own other-side) *maak* (*If*: a) 'somewhere else'

There are two Interrogative Pronouns, *waáhtá* (-*tá* series) 'who?', 'whom?' and *waámí* (-*mí* series) 'whose?', 'to/for whom?'. These Pronouns may be reductions of *wantab + itá* or *utá* and *wantab + ímí* or *úmí* respectively. They only occur alone as an Anuclear Phrase.

The Phrase Lateral, Person, is often diagnostic of the syntactic function of the Phrase within the clause. Person does not occur in a Phrase as Location, or as Accompaniment or Equational Predicate unless there is no Nucleus present in the Phrase, or unless the Nucleus is a Personal Name Noun. A Phrase consisting of a -*só* series Pronoun alone may constitute the Accompaniment or Equational Predicate. Only a Third Singular Feminine Pronoun of the -*ó*, -*tá*, or -*lé* series occurs as Person in a Phrase as Time. Pronouns of the -*ká* series occur as Person only in a Phrase in the Equational Predicate. The -*mí* series Pronouns occur in Possessor Phrases included within the Nucleus of the General Noun Phrase and also in Phrases as Beneficiary and Object, but not elsewhere. In Beneficiary they predominate over other series that occur; in Object they are not so common, usually co-occurring with an object-prefixed verbal Predicate. The -*kúb*, -*ba*, and -*aa* series Pronouns only occur as Person in single-Phrase exclamatory utterances.

The morpheme *kaa* 'this' is mutually exclusive in the Phrase with both Post-Direction and Person, so must arbitrarily be allotted to one of these Phrase Laterals. It does not co-occur with a Phrase Modifier (*Mp*). It does however occur in the same Phrase as the morpheme *ise* 'this' which occurs as Topic.

Table A shows the total known occurrences of the various Pronoun series in the Person unit of Phrases occurring in each clause-level

Table A
Distribution of Pronoun Series in Clause-Level Units

Pronoun Series	Occurrence as Person in Phrase as Clause-Level Unit											
	S	Se	B	O	R	Dn	Co	Pe	Ti	N	L	Is
Ø	x	x	x	P	x	P	P	P	x	x	P	P
-ó	P	P	x	x	P	x	x	-	P	-	-	-
-tá	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	P	P	-	-	x
-mí	-	-	P	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-siik	x			x				x	-	-	-	-
-táb				x			x	x	-	-	-	-
-kál	x	x	x	x				x	-	-	-	-
-kál	x								-	-	-	-
-sinón	x								-	-	-	-
-só	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	P	-	-
-lé	x			x				x	-	-	-	-
-ká	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-

position. The predominant Pronoun series occurring as Person in each clause-level unit is indicated by (P), other occurrences by (x), and non-occurrence by (-). Gaps indicate where further checking is needed. Ø represents a Phrase without a Person.

2.17 PHRASE MODIFIERS

There is a small group of Phrase Modifiers (*Mp*) which may follow a General Noun Phrase occurring in any of its syntactic positions, and also a Verb Phrase as Predicate. They are, however, uncommon after a Phrase as Subject. These Modifiers include: *kub*, 'just', 'only', 'very' (when following an Anuclear Phrase consisting only of a Qualifier); *úmak* 'if any' (often untranslatable); *mín* 'also', 'too' (the same morpheme as also occurs in one type of co-ordination, see section 1.23); and, after a Noun Phrase as Equational Predicate only, *tab* 'perhaps', 'rather'. By far the commonest Phrase Modifier is *kub*. However, if *kub* follows Person, that Person is a Pronoun of the -*tá* series and the *kub* is suffixed to it. *kub* does not follow *kaa* 'this' (see section 2.16).

A Predicate, including a Noun Phrase occurring in the Equational Predicate, may also be followed by the sentence-level items, *bá* 'not', and *noo* 'also', 'too', 'as well'. These may occur with one another, and also with *kub* and *úmak*, in which case the relative order is fixed: *kub bá úmak noo*.

The forms *ki* and *kimín*, of unascertained meaning, are mutually exclusive with all of the above following a Phrase of any kind, including Verb Phrase as Predicate and Connective. These Phrase Modifiers frequently co-occur with Person, though Person is not an obligatory co-occurrent.

2.18 ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE GENERAL NOUN PHRASE

(a) THE NUCLEAR PHRASE

- tanúm* (*N*: man) 'the man'
tanúm (*N*: man) *íyó* (*Pr*: he) 'the man'
isé (*To*: this) *tanúm* (*N*: man) *íyó* (*Pr*: he) 'the man in question'
yák (*D1*: across) *tanúm* (*N*: man) *maak* (*If*: a) 'some men across there'
tanúm (*N*: man) *maak* (*If*: a) *íyó* (*Pr*: he) 'a man'
tanúm (*N*: man) *maakub* (*Nm*: one) *maak* (*If*: a) 'one man'
tanúm (*N*: man) *álob* (*Nm*: two) *maak* (*If*: a) 'two men'
isé (*To*: this) *yák* (*D1*: across) *tanúm* (*N*: man) *álob* (*Nm*: two) *maak* (*If*: a) *bilib* (*D2*: those) *ítá* (*Pr*: they) 'both of those two men across there (referred to before)'

tanúm (N: man) bectá (Pr: that-he) kub (Mp: just) 'only that man'
 dook (N: what) itá (Pr: he) 'who?'
 wantab (N: who) itá (Pr: he) 'who?'

(b) THE EXPANDED NUCLEAR PHRASE

All of the following examples contain expanded Nuclei. An expanded Nucleus contains something other than or more than one Noun or included clause.

mafak (N: A3: bad) '(it is) no good'
 tanúm mafak (N: bad man) maak (If: a) 'a bad man'
 afálikén (N: A2: big) kub (Mp: just) '(it is) very big'
 tanúm imí (N: man his) iyó (Pr: it) 'the man's'
 níngdíil (N: A4: few) nútá (Pr: we) 'a few of us'
 maakinón (N: A4: one-only) ilásinón (Pr: it-only) 'only one'
 úlimál (N: A4: family) maakub (Nm: one) 'a whole family'
 tanúm úlimál (N: man family) iyó (Pr: he) 'the man and his family'
 alúkum ánáng (N: whole land) koóyó (Pr: THIS-IT) 'this whole land'
 atuk atuk tinángkúbe (N: he half listened) yáká (Pr: him) (bá) (not)
 'not the half-hearted'
 koong namaal kumúnso (N: pig white pregnant) 'the pregnant white pig'
 ibso nasó (N: you-pl.-and we-and) maakub (Nm: one) 'you(pl.) and we together'
 kabsó nisó (N: you-and I-and) álob (Nm: two) 'we two'
 míil soólé mínte waán soó (N: beans and sweet potato and) boósiik
 (Pr: THAT-first) 'beans and sweet potatoes first'
 maasta Daal soólé mínte nisó (N: Mr Doull and I-and) iyó (Pr: they)
 'Mr Doull and I'
 aatum Góot soó baáb Yeesus soó (N: my father God and my elder brother
 Jesus and) imí (Pr: their) 'of my Father God and Brother Jesus'
 aaláb soó oóken soó kilisten (N: his father and his mother and
 Christians) nuyó (Pr: we) 'we Christian parents'
 díibdíib noonók keet (N: lowlands' noonok flower) ílátáb (Pr: he-like)
 'he is (beautiful) like a noonok flower of the lowlands'
 alukum ábiib maakmaak unang soó tanúm soó (N: all men and women of sur-
 rounding villages) kalíib (D2: these) iyó (Pr: they) 'the people of
 all the surrounding villages'
 Yoonengaal sínolé Olobenengaal sínó númí moom sínó'é ními baáb
 Síinonseb (N: Yoonengaal and Olobenengaal and our mother's-brother
 and my elder brother Síinonseb) kulíib (D2: those) iyó (Pr: they)

ki (*Mp*) 'Yoonengaal, Olobenengaal, our uncle, and my elder brother Siinonseb'

atuk maak ukad kweéb kweéng daála albu soólé minte atuk maak mitám talbab sinó (*N'*: some who have been set aside and some of you who have come in and) álob (*Nm*: two) íbtá (*Pr*: you-pl.) kub (*Mp*: just) 'you two kinds - some who have been set aside and some of you who have come in'

(c) THE ANUCLEAR PHRASE

isé (*To*: this) 'this (previously referred to)'

yák (*Di*: across) 'that across there'

ítá (*Pr*: he, it) 'he', 'it'

isé (*To*: this) yák (*Di*: across) 'that across there (previously referred to)'

yák (*Di*: across) ítá (*Pr*: he, it) 'that (person, thing) across there'

yák (*Di*: across) keék (*Dz*: across-here) ítá (*Pr*: he, it) 'this (thing, person) across here'

keék (*Dz*: across-here) ítá (*Pr*: he, it) 'this (thing, person) across here'

álob (*Nm*: two) nókól (*Pr*: we) 'we two'

álob (*Nm*: two) maak (*If*: a) ítákub (*Pr*: they *Mp*: just) 'just two at a time'

maak (*If*: a) íyó (*Pr*: they) 'some people (among others)'

waántá (*Pr*: who?) 'who?'

waámí (*Pr*: whose?) 'whose?'

koótá (*Pr*: THIS) kí (*Mp*) 'this'

kaa (*Pr*: this) 'this'

isé (*To*: this) beéyó (*Pr*: that-he) 'that person (previously referred to)'

bilíb (*Dz*: those) ítákub (*Pr*: they *Mp*: just) 'just those'

2.2 OTHER PHRASE LATERALS

A few other Laterals occur in Phrases that are different in shape from the General Noun Phrase, and these Laterals are diagnostic both of the Phrase Type and the clause level unit in which they occur. Each of these Laterals terminates its Phrase.

2.21 DIRECTION INDICATOR

The Direction Indicator (*Di*) terminates one Noun Phrase Type, the

Direction Phrase, occurring as Destination in the clause, and is diagnostic of this type, and also of the Destination unit when it occurs. However, a restricted General Noun Phrase also occurs as Destination. This small Lateral class, *D₁*, includes: *téle* and *tálák* 'via', 'by way of', and perhaps *ilota* 'from'. No semantic contrast between *tele* and *talak* has been discovered. *ilota* is known to have some relationship to the Location Noun *ilo* 'to', 'from'. Also occurring in this class is the morpheme *ileb* 'by means of'. *ileb* occurs elsewhere in the language as a Noun meaning 'way', 'path'.

2.22 LOCATION INDICATOR

The Location Indicator (*Li*) *kal* is obligatory to and diagnostic of the Location Phrase.

2.23 ACCOMPANIMENT INDICATOR

The Accompaniment Indicator (*Wi*) *soó* ~ *sińó* (free variants) 'and', 'with' has already been introduced in connection with the co-ordination construction within the Nucleus, where it usually follows each co-ordinate. Thus each co-ordinated Nucleus followed by *soó* is from one point of view a *soó* Phrase included within the Nucleus of the larger Phrase. *soó* also occurs terminating a single un-co-ordinated restricted Phrase, a *soó* Phrase, as clause level units Accompaniment and Equational Predicate. It is a free form except when occurring with a Pronoun stem in a *-só* series Pronoun.

2.24 NEGATIVE QUANTIFIER

The Negative Quantifier (*Nq*) *binim* 'there is none', 'has no ...' is diagnostic of one Phrase type occurring only in the Equational Predicate. The Phrase type has been termed the *binim* Phrase.

3.0 NOUN PHRASE TYPES AND THEIR OCCURRENCE IN THE CLAUSE

3.1 VARIANTS OF THE GENERAL NOUN PHRASE

Mention needs to be made at this point of various Phrase sub-types which, while they do not deviate from the General Noun Phrase described in section 2.1 in any respect, are nevertheless very restricted forms of it, both in structure and distribution. Some of these sub-types occur only in one clause-level unit, so are diagnostic of their unit.

3.11 PERSONAL NAME PHRASE

A Personal Name Phrase may occur in any General Noun Phrase position except Complement. Its Nucleus is a Personal Name Noun which may not be possessed, may only be qualified by a Kin Quantifier (*Aj*), and may only occur with the following Phrase Laterals: Post-Direction (*D2*), Person (*Pr*), and Phrase Modifier (*Mp*).

Alumeyok 'Alumeyok' (a man)

Alumeyok (*N*: Alumeyok) beétá (*Pr*: that-he) 'Alumeyok'

Alumeyok (*N*: Alumeyok) itákub (*Pr*: he *Mp*: just) 'just Alumeyok'

Alumeyok (*N*: Alumeyok) iyó (*Pr*: he) ki (*Mp*) 'Alumeyok'

Alumeyok ulímal (*N*: Alumeyok family) iyó (*Pr*: he) 'Alumeyok and his family'

3.12 POSSESSOR NUCLEUS PHRASE

A Possessor Phrase (itself a typical General Noun Phrase, except that its Person must be a Pronoun of the -*mí* series) may by itself constitute the Nucleus of a Phrase commonly occurring as Equational Predicate, and rarely as Subject, Object, or Complement. When it thus occurs without a Noun head, it may not be followed by a Qualifier within the Nucleus, nor by the Lateral Number. And while the other Phrase Laterals co-occur with it, a lengthy Phrase expansion has not been observed. The clause-level unit in which the following examples occurred is indicated following the free translation.

kábmí (*N*: your) 'yours' (*Pe*)

kalábmí (*N*: your-own) úyó (*Pr*: IT) 'your own (thing)' (*O*)

kalábmí (*N*: your own) maak (*If*: other) 'different from you' - idiom (*Pe*)

mán úmí (*N*: child her) iyó (*Pr*: it) 'the child's (thing)' (*S*)

waamí (*N*: whose?) 'whose?' (*Pe*)

dook úmí (*N*: who? her) 'whose?' (*Pe*)

ilámí (*N*: his-own) itákub (*Pr*: it *Mp*: just) 'his very own' (*Pe*)

beémí (*Dn*: *N*: that-his) noo támita (*Pm*: go *Pt*: I-will-see) 'I'll go and see him'

The Destination unit in the last example would usually contain the possessive construction: beémí (his) finang (to) 'to him', finang being a normally possessed Noun as described in 1.21 (d).

3.13 TIME PHRASE

Although the Time Phrase, which occurs only as the Time unit at clause level, conforms to the General Noun Phrase pattern, it is very

limited as to what items occur in the Nucleus, and as Person (*Pr*). Other Laterals are very rare. Only Time Nouns occur in the Time Phrase Nucleus. (Time Nouns also occasionally occur in a Phrase as Subject or Object of an included clause in the Time Phrase Nucleus, or a sequential clause about time.)

In 1.21 (e) the layered possessive constructions which occur in the Time Phrase Nucleus are described. The maximal expansion may be represented by the formula:

Nt1 Pr/-mí Nt2 Pr/-mí Nt3,

and the membership of the three Noun sub-classes is described in section 1.1 (d).

The only Pronouns occurring as Person in the Time Phrase are: *úyó*, *útá* 'IT', *koóyó*, *koótá* 'THIS-IT', and following an included clause as Time Phrase Nucleus only, *boóyó*, *boótá* 'THAT-IT'. *kaa* 'this' also occurs. *koóyó* or *koótá* may occur alone as an Anuclear Time Phrase.

kooyó (Pr: THIS-IT) 'now'

koótá (Pr: THIS-IT) kimín (Mp) 'now'

kaa (Pr: this) 'now', 'this time'

dook (N: what?) kótá (Pr: THIS-IT) 'when?'

kamaá (N: Nt2: new) koótá (Pr: THIS-IT) 'recently'

siin (N: Nt1: old) úyó (Pr: IT) 'before'

am ookdiim (N: Nt2: fifth-day) koótá (Pr: THIS-IT) 'this coming Friday'

koomi wiik (N: Nt2: THIS-ITS week) útá (Pr: IT) 'this week'

koomi Saandé (N: Nt2: THIS-ITS Sunday) koótá (Pr: THIS-ITS) 'this coming Sunday', 'Sunday of this week'

am kwiina (N: (Nt2: day Nt3: afternoon)) útá (Pr: IT) 'in the afternoon'

amsin kaalta (N: (Nt2: yesterday Nt3: before-yesterday)) 'the day before yesterday'

amsin úmí kutim (N: (Nt2: yesterday ITS Nt3: morning)) úyó (Pr: IT) 'yesterday morning'

maak úmí Salade (N: (Nt1: one ITS Nt2: Saturday)) koótá (Pr: THIS-IT) 'the Saturday of next week'

biilu (N: it is for some time) úyó (Pr: IT) 'later on'

suunkúb telebilli (N: I always come) koótá (Pr: THIS-IT) 'every time I come'

siin imán bán doósilib (N: they held taro ceremonies before) úyó (Pr: IT) kí (Mp) 'after previous taro ceremonies'

yák maak ímí átol dúkúiantemib (*N*: they will hold the next dance)
koótá (*Pr*: THIS-IT) 'next Christmas'

káyob tébenala átaan ímí tíin kúbáb' mantem (*N*: the moon will appear
and cover the eye of the sun) boótá (*Pr*: THAT-IT) kimín (*Np*) 'when
the moon covers the disc of the sun'

3.14 DESTINATION PHRASE

The Destination Phrase occurs only as Destination (*Dn*), a clause level unit occurring only in a Motion Clause with a motion verb as Predicate (*Pm*). The head of the Nucleus, if present, is a Location Noun. The only Laterals following the Nucleus are Post-Direction (*Dz*, *ku* or *ka* or one of their compounds with *D1* Demonstratives) and Person (-ó or -tá series Pronoun only). However, Person is relatively rare in the Destination Phrase. The preceding Laterals, Topic and Pre-Direction, also occur.

Three particular Location Nouns occur only as the obligatorily possessed head of the Nucleus of a Destination Phrase, namely *finang* 'to', 'towards', *iló* 'from (places)', 'to (persons)', and *diim* 'to (persons)'.

dook (*N*: what?) '(go) where?', '(go) which way?'

ábilb (*N*: village-square) '(take it) outside'

seéb (*N*: bush) '(go) to the bush'

Tifalam (*N*: Tifalmin) '(go) to Tifalmin'

yáng (*D1*: along) '(come) along here'

simaán (*N*: long-way) '(go) a long way'

yáng (*D1*: along) simaán (*N*: long-way) '(go) a long way away'

daák (*D1*: down-below) kafín diim (*N*: on the ground) '(put it) on the ground'

malaák (*D1*: down-below) kafín diim (*N*: earth) '(come) down to earth'

kábmi diim (*N*: on you) '(fall) on you'

meén tecm (*N*: in bag) '(put it) in the bag'

unáng umík keem (*N*: in woman's back) '(come) behind the woman' i. e.
'follow the woman'

ileb (*N*: path) úyó (*Pr*: IT) '(go) by the path'

daák (*D1*: down-below) Keeltaman (*N*: Keel valley) booyó (*Pr*: THAT-IT)
'(go) down to the Keel valley'

ka (*D2*: here) '(come) here'

meet (*D1*: up) ku (*D2*: there) '(go) uphill there'

- yák (*D1*: across) isál (*N*: up-above) ku (*D2*: there) '(put it) on top (of the fire)'
- meéng (*D1*: along) '(come) along here'
- kweéng (*D2*: along-there) '(put) aside'
- intab finang (*N*: towards what) 'why (have you come)?', 'what (have you come) for?'
- Yeesus ímí finang (*N*: to Jesus) '(come) to/before Jesus'
- beemí (*N*: to-him [finang understood]) '(go) to him'
- Yeesus ímí ilo (*N*: to Jesus) '(go) to Jesus'
- keéng ilo (*N*: from over-here) booyó (*Pr*: THAT-IT) '(come) from over here'

3.15 INSTRUMENT PHRASE

The INSTRUMENT is an infrequent clause-level unit which only occurs with a very few verbs as Transitive Predicate (*Pt*), including 'cut', 'hit', 'kill'. The Phrase which manifests this unit usually consists of a Nucleus only. The head of the Nucleus is the Noun tuub 'with', and is obligatorily possessed. The Possessor Phrase involves a concrete INANIMATE NOUN, such as a tool, weapon, or limb. One example below involves a co-ordinated Nucleus and the Laterals Person and Phrase Modifier.

- yaan tuub (*N*: with feet) 'with (your) feet'
- kulmim tuub (*N*: with fist) 'with (his) fist'
- kaabák tuub (*N*: with axe) 'with an axe'
- at dukúm tuub (*N*: with wood piece) 'with a piece of wood'
- isè kaábák mafak tuub (*N*: with referred-to bad axe) 'with that bad axe'
- kaabák asúno koomí tuub (*N*: with this three axes) 'with the three axes'
- deem tuub soólé bílílíl tuub soó (*N*: with bird-arrow and with possum-arrow and) útá (*Pr*: IT) kub (*Mp*: just) 'with bird arrows and possum arrows only'
- deem soólé bílílíl soó úmí tuub (*N*: with bird-arrow and possum-arrow and) kub (*Mp*: just) 'with bird arrows and possum arrows only'

3.2 OTHER NOUN PHRASE TYPES

There are several types of Phrase which do not fit the General Noun Phrase formula, even in a restricted form. As the internal structure of each is different, and as the occurrence of each in a clause-level

unit is diagnostic of the function of the unit, each of these remaining Phrase Types is handled separately. However, it might be noted that these non-General-Noun-Phrase Phrases do have one feature in common: all of them are composed basically of a Nucleus and one Lateral, one of the special indicators discussed in section 2.2. Few other Laterals enter into any of them.

3.21 DIRECTION PHRASE

The Direction Phrase, which is one of the possible manifestations of the clause-level Destination unit, and is confined to occurrence in that unit, consists basically of a Nucleus containing a Location Noun as head and a Direction Indicator (*Di*). However both Pre-Direction *D₁* and Post-Direction *D₂* can occur in the Phrase, and *D₂* or both of these may occur with the obligatory Direction Indicator to form an Anuclear Phrase.

- dookab (*N*: what?) tálák (*Di*: via) '(come) by which way?'
 dook (*N*: what?) ku (*D₂*: there) téle (*Di*: via) '(come) by which way?'
 ka (*D₂*: here) téle (*Di*: via) '(come) along here'
 kamet (*D₂*: up-here) téle (*Di*: via) '(go) up this way'
 meet (*D₁*: up) ku (*D₂*: there) téle (*Di*: via) '(come) by that way up there'
 Ilibtaman (*N*: Ilibtaman) ku (*D₂*: there) téle (*Di*: via) '(come) via Ilibtaman'
 ileb afálikén (*N*: big road) kutám (*D₂*: other-side) téle (*Di*: via) '(go) along the broad road'
 dook (*N*: what?) ilota (*Di*: from) 'where (come) from?'
 am (*N*: house) ilota (*Di*: from) '(come) from the house'
 Ilibtaman (*N*: Ilibtaman) ilota (*Di*: from) '(come) from Ilibtaman'
 seeb (*N*: bush) ilota (*Di*: from) '(come) from the bush'
 baalut teem (*N*: in the plane) ileb (*Di*: way) '(come) by plane'
 ook daángkún diim (*N*: on the back of the water) ileb (*Di*: way) '(pass) on the surface of the water' (i.e. 'swim')
 koong kaal diim (*N*: on the skin of animals) '(pass) on the skin of animals' (i.e. 'ride horses') (ileb apparently understood)

3.22 LOCATION PHRASE

The Location Phrase is the only Phrase that occurs as the clause level Location unit. As in a General Noun Phrase or Direction Phrase occurring as Destination, the Nucleus of the Location Phrase contains a Location Noun as head. See sections 1.1(c) and 1.21(d). In

addition, a particular Motion Clause involving *ilo* 'to', 'from' occurs as Nucleus of a Location Phrase with an idiomatic meaning:

keéng ilo (*Dn*: from over-here) *télemin* (*Pm*: come) 'to come from over here', i.e. 'this side'

keéng ilo (*Dn*: from over-here) *únemin* (*Pm*: go) 'to go from over here', i.e. 'the other side'

keéng ilo boóyó télemin or *keéng ilo boótá télemin*, and *keéng ilo boóyó únemin* or *keéng ilo boótá únemin* also occur, the inclusion of the Person not altering the meaning of the clause.

The one obligatory Lateral, the Location Indicator, (*Li*) *kal* 'at' characterizes the Location Phrase. As in the Phrases as Destination, other Laterals occurring in this Phrase are Pre- and Post-Direction (*D1*, *D2*), and *D2* or both of these followed by *Li* can occur as an unclear Phrase. The Indefinite Indicator (*If*) *maak* also occurs occasionally. Rarely a Phrase Modifier, such as *úmak*, has been observed following *kal*, which otherwise closes the Phrase.

Where a Demonstrative occurring in Post-Direction ends in *k*, the following *Li*, *kal*, is phonologically tied to it and one *k* is lost. The Demonstratives *ku* 'there' and *ka* 'here' are also tied to *kal*: *ka + kal > kakal*, *ku + kal > kokol*. Otherwise, *kal* is a free word.

dookab (*N*: what?) *kal* (*Li*: at) 'where?'

kokol (*D2*: there *Li*: at) 'there'

kamét (*D2*: up-there) *kal* (*Li*: at) 'up there'

kalákál (*D2*: down-there *Li*: at) 'down there'

am (*N*: house) *kal* (*Li*: at) 'at home'

am katíb (*N*: little house) *kamét* (*D2*: up-there) *kal* (*Li*: at) 'at that little house up there'

meet (*D1*: up) *am katíb* (*N*: little house) *kutám* (*D2*: inside) *kal* (*Li*: at) 'in that little house up there'

meet (*D1*: up) *ilámí am* (*N*: his house) *kokol* (*D2*: there *Li*: at) 'at his house up there'

toob (*D1*: down) *ábiib* (*N*: village) *maak* (*If*: a) *kokol* (*D2*: there *Li*: at) 'at one of the villages down there'

meet (*D1*: up) *kafín díim* (*N*: on the ground) *kamét* (*D2*: up-there) *kal* (*Li*: at) 'on the ground up there'

nímí díbím díim (*N*: on my crown) *kal* (*Li*: at) 'above me'

nímí samáním (*N*: a long way from me) *kal* (*Li*: at) 'a long way from me'

keéng ilo télemin (*N*: come from over-here) *kokol* (*D2*: there *Li*: at) 'on this side'

kumeet il(o) únemin (*N*: go from up-there) kokol (*D2*: there *Li*: at)
'beyond', 'on the far side'

It appears that the clause Nucleus in examples like the last two may be reduced by omission of the Predicate, e.g. keéng ilo (*N*: (come) from over-here) kokol (*D2*: there *Li*: at) 'on this side'.

3.23 SOÓ PHRASE

There are two slightly different usages of the soó Phrase at the clause level, one occurring as Accompaniment with the meaning 'with', and the other as Equational Predicate with the meaning 'has'. These usages are to be distinguished from the co-ordinate construction involving soó terminating each co-ordinated item, for that is not a Phrase, but an internal expansion of one phrase-level unit, the Nucleus. On the other hand, the soó Phrase contains only one soó (unless its Nucleus is expanded by co-ordination), potentially preceded by Laterals.

There are two sub-types of soó Phrase, Non-Pronominal and Pronominal:

(a) The NON-PRONOMINAL soó Phrase is marked by terminal soó (*Ni*) as a free form. Personal Name Nouns do not occur as Nucleus of it. In Accompaniment it may only have as Nucleus a Human Noun, whereas in Equational Predicate it is not limited, though Inanimate Nouns predominate. Its Nucleus may be expanded by co-ordination, in which case a further soó is not added to mark the Phrase, the Phrase concludes with the soó marking the last co-ordinate. As with most other Phrase types, an included clause may constitute the Nucleus. This soó Phrase may be expanded by Laterals other than Person, though a soó Phrase as Equational Predicate, as with other Phrases in that position, does not contain Topic or Post-Direction. In the case of the soó Phrase as Accompaniment, Post-Direction (*D2*) is limited to the minimal Demonstratives *ka* 'this' and *ku* 'that'. An Anuclear Phrase, consisting of one or more of the Laterals following the Nucleus (such as *Nm*, *If*, *D2*) terminated by soó, may occur.

ku (*D2*: that) soó (*Ni*: with) 'with that person' (*N*)

wantab (*N*: who?) soó (*Ni*: with) 'with whom?' (*N*)

unáng (*N*: woman) soó (*Ni*: with) 'with a woman' (*N*)

neeng (*N*: younger-sister) soó (*Ni*: with) 'with his younger sister' (*N*); 'has a younger sister' (*Pe*)

kayaam (*N*: dog) soó (*Ni*: with) 'has a dog' (*Pe*)

kaábák (*N*: axe) soó (*Ni*: with) 'has an axe' (*Pe*)

kaábák (*N*: axe) áloh (*Nm*: two) maak (*If*: a) soó (*Ni*: with) 'has two axes' (*Pe*)

isé (To: this) tanúm (N: man) ku (D2: that) soó (N: with) 'with that man' (N)

maak (If: a) ka (D2: this) soó (N: with) 'with this other fellow' (N)

taabálaséb máasta Daal ímí kalél (N: the wife of Mr Doull, the European) sinó (N: with) 'with the wife of Mr Doull, the European' (N)

oókén soólé sáláb soó (N: his-mother and his-father and) 'with his mother and father' (N)

meéb taabálaséb maak tál alba (N: a certain European has come to stay) ku (D2: that) sinó (N: with) 'with that European who has come to live here' (N)

(b) The PRONOMINAL soó Phrase consists of a -soó series Pronoun as Person as an Anuclear Phrase; or a -soó series Pronoun preceded by a Personal Name Noun as Nucleus, without expansion and without Laterals.

isó (Pr: with-it) 'has it' (Pe)

kabsinó (Pr: with-you) 'with you' (N)

Alumeyok (N: Alumeyok) isó (Pr: with-him) 'with Alumeyok' (N)

3.24 BINIM PHRASE

Occurring only in the Equational Predicate is a Phrase type involving the Negative Quantifier (Nq) *biním* 'no...'. Unlike the other special Phrase Laterals discussed in section 2.2, each of which is always preceded by some other item, whether Nucleus or Lateral, *biním* may constitute an Anuclear Phrase by itself, with the meaning, 'not any', 'none'. Like those other special Laterals, it is obligatory to its Phrase. The maximal observed form of the *biním* Phrase is:

N Nq Np

tanúm (N: man) *biním* (Nq: none) '(there were) no men', '(there was) nobody'

mafak (N: bad) *biním* (Nq: none) '(there is) nothing wrong'

kaabák (N: axe) *biním* (Nq: none) '(there is) no axe', '(...has) no axe'

3.25 DESCRIPTIVE PHRASE

A Qualifier of the type *A1*, *A2*, or *A3* occurs by itself as Nucleus only in a Phrase as Equational Predicate or Complement, and occurs without any Lateral, except occasionally the Phrase Modifier (*Np*) *kub* 'only', 'just', which has the special meaning 'very' in this context, or the dubitative *tab* 'perhaps', which only follows a Phrase occurring as Predicate and which means 'fairly', 'rather' in this context. Colour (*A1*) and Size (*A2*) Adjectives mostly occur in the Equational Predicate; Quality Adjectives (*A3*) mostly occur in the Complement. Of

the Quality Adjectives occurring in Complement, some (including those listed in 1.22(c)) also occur in expanded Noun Phrase Nuclei. The following, however, seem only to occur alone in Complement:

abalabaál	'itchy'	eeng	'thick'
abálib	'sweet'	fining	'lonely'
aláng	'unfriendly' (person); 'dry' (food); 'strong'	foóng	'light weight'
asít	'raw'	ifálam	'in mourning'
beet	'weak', 'soft'	iluúm	'heavy'
díil	'cold' (weather)	kún	'strong', 'hard'
dúbom	'uninitiated'	tool	'right', 'correct'

The Descriptive Phrase contrasts sharply with a General Noun Phrase containing a Quantifier (A_1) by itself as Nucleus, both in internal structure and distribution. The latter may occur in any of the clause-level positions of the General Noun Phrase, and may contain any of the General Noun Phrase Laterals:

maakinón	(<i>N</i> : A_1 : one-only)	ilásinón	(<i>Pr</i> : it-only)	'only one'	
ningdíil	(<i>N</i> : A_1 : few)	nútá	(<i>Pr</i> : we)	'a few of us'	
ulímal	(<i>N</i> : A_1 : family)	maakub	(<i>Nm</i> : one)	'a whole family'	
alúkum	(<i>N</i> : A_1 : all)	maakub	(<i>Nm</i> : one)	maak	(<i>If</i> : a) 'all together'

3.26 CONTRASTIVE FEATURES OF THE NOUN PHRASE TYPES

Table B summarizes the internal features of each Noun Phrase Type which are significant in distinguishing it from other Noun Phrase Types. Significant differences in external distribution are shown in Table C.

From Table B, non-contrastive phrase-level units (To , D_1 , Mp , and nuclear expansions) have been omitted altogether. Obligatory occurrence or non-occurrence are shown by + and - respectively, and optional occurrence by ±. Where a diagnostic limited sub-class occurs in a particular position, that sub-class is named. Parentheses () indicate rare occurrence. <ku> represents all members of D_2 except *kulíb*, *kaliíb* and *biíib*.

3.3 THE OCCURRENCE OF NOUN PHRASE TYPES IN THE CLAUSE

A Noun Phrase occurs as the following clause-level units: Subject (S) of predicative and equational clauses; Object (O), other Object-like units including Destination (Dn), Referent (R), and Complement (Co); Beneficiary (B); Time (Ti); Accompaniment (W); Location (L); Instrument (Is); and Equational Predicate (Pe). The occurrence of the various Phrase types in these units is summarized in Table C. Parentheses indicate rare or limited occurrence.

Table B

Internal Contrastive Features of Noun Phrase Types

P H R A S E T Y P E	N U C L E U S			L A T E R A L S				
	<i>Ps</i>	<i>Noun Sub-Class</i>	<i>Qualifier</i>	<i>Nm</i>	<i>If</i>	<i>D2</i>	<i>Pr</i>	<i>Other</i>
General Noun Phrase	±	± various, not Name	±	±	±	±	± various	-
Personal Name Phrase	-	+ Name	± <i>A₁</i> Kin	-	-	±	± various	-
Possessor Nucleus Phrase	+	-	-	-	(±)	(±)	± -ó	-
Time Phrase	±	± Time, <i>dook</i>	-	(±)	(±)	-	± 3f -ó, -tá	-
Destination Phrase	±	± Location, <i>dook(ab)</i>	(± <i>A₂, A₃</i>)	-	-	± <ku>	(± -tá, -ó)	-
Instrument Phrase	+	+ <i>tuub</i>	-	-	-	-	(± -tá)	-
Direction Phrase	±	± Location, <i>dook(ab)</i>	(± <i>A₂, A₃</i>)	-	-	± <ku>	-	+ <i>D₁</i>
Location Phrase	±	± Location, <i>dook(ab)</i>	(± <i>A₂, A₃</i>)	-	(±)	± <ku>	-	+ <i>L₁</i>
<i>soó</i> Phrase, Non-Pronominal	-	+ various, not Name	±	±	±	± <ku>	-	+ <i>W₁</i>
<i>soó</i> Phrase, Pronominal	-	± Name	-	-	-	-	+ - <i>soó</i>	-
<i>binim</i> Phrase	-	± various	(± <i>A₂, A₃</i>)	-	-	-	-	+ <i>Nq</i>
Descriptive Phrase	-	-	+ <i>A₁, A₂, A₃</i>	-	-	-	-	-

Table C

Distribution of Noun Phrase Types in Clause-Level Units

NOUN PHRASE TYPE	CLAUSE LEVEL UNITS											
	S	Se	B	O	R	Dn	Co	Pe	Ti	W	L	Is
General Noun Phrase	x	x	x	x	x		x	x				
Personal Name Phrase	x	x	x	x	x			x				
Possessor Nucleus Phrase	(x)			(x)			x	x				
Time Phrase	(x)			(x)					x			
Destination Phrase						x						
Instrument Phrase												x
Direction Phrase						x						
Location Phrase												x
soó Phrase								x		x		
binim Phrase								x				
Descriptive Phrase							x	x				

3.4 MULTIPLE PHRASES AS CLAUSE-LEVEL UNITS

It is necessary at this point to return to the types of construction described in section 1.2 concerning expansions of the Nucleus. Besides nuclear apposition, certain types of apposition occur which involve the relating of whole Phrases by juxtaposition. The multiple unit, the result of this PHRASAL APPPOSITION, occupies the same syntactic position as does a single simple Phrase. That is, it functions as a clause-level unit just as a simple Phrase does. The distinction between nuclear and phrasal apposition is purely one of internal structure. They can be semantically parallel, and their syntactic status is the same in that their external distribution is identical. Phrasal apposition is a convenient grammatical device for linking items that do not otherwise co-occur. A Quantifier (*A_q*) frequently occurs as Nucleus of a Phrase appearing in a phrasal apposition sequence. In particular, since two Quantifiers cannot occur in one Phrase, a Kin Quantifier often occurs in one part of a phrasal apposition, a General Quantifier such as *alúkum* 'all' or *alikaab* 'whole' in the other.

The clause-level unit in which the following examples occurred is indicated following the free translation.

- ulín itá (*N*: club *Pr*: it) sinám itá (*N*: club *Pr*: it) 'clubs' (synonyms) (O)
- úkem maak (*N*: sacrifice *If*: a) koong maak (*N*: pig *If*: a) 'a sacrifice, a pig' (O)
- alúkum (*N*: all) kafín ka (*N*: ground *D2*: this) 'all the world' (Se)
- alúkum (*N*: all) ánáng koóyó (*N*: land *Pr*: THIS-IT) 'this whole land'
- koótá (*Pr*: THIS-IT) alíkaab (*N*: whole) 'the whole of this (week)' (Ti)
- úlímál ka (*N*: family *D2*: this) alúkum maakub (*N*: all *Nm*: one) 'all the family together' (S)
- nímí ímánííáng beésiik (*N*: my garden *Pr*: that-it-first) alúkum (*N*: all) 'all of my garden first' (O)
- tanúm maakub maak (*N*: man *Nm*: one *If*: a) úlímál (*N*: family) 'one man with women and children' (S)
- tanúm úlímál maak (*N*: man family *If*: a) alúkum maakub maak (*N*: all *Nm*: one *If*: a) 'one man with all of his family together' (S)
- yáng ábe boó (*D1*: along *N*: go *Pr*: THAT-IT) alúkum maakub bílíl iyó (*N*: all *Nm*: one *D2*: those *Pr*: they) 'everyone around there' (S)

A specialized form of phrasal apposition involves a soó Phrase as one part, and a Kin Quantifier (*A₄*) as the other, the whole complex occurring in the clause as Accompaniment. The Kin Quantifier semantically summarizes the clause Subject and the Accompaniment. In the following examples the Phrase as Subject, if any, is shown separated from the apposed Phrases as Accompaniment by a slant line (/).

- aaniing soó (*N*: his-uncle *Wi*: with) úlím (*N*: man-and-child) '(he) with his uncle' (W)
- mán tanúm beéyó (*N*: boy *Pr*: that-he) / oókén soó (*N*: his-mother *Wi*: with) áfaat (*N*: woman-and-child) '(the boy) with his mother' (W)
- beéyó (*Pr*: that-he) / ílámí kalél soó (*N*: his wife *Wi*: with) ákám (*N*: couple) '(he) with his wife' (W)
- Dooe soólé minte Daabit soó iyó (*N*: Joy and David and *Pr*: they) / oókén soólé nááb soó (*N*: his-mother and his-father and) úlímál (*N*: family) '(Joy and David) with their mother and father' (W)

NOTES

1. Kenneth L. Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour*, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Glendale, 1954, 1955, 1960; Robert E. Longacre, "String Constituent Analysis", *Language*, Vol.36, No.1, 1960, esp. p.34.
2. P. Drabbé, *Kaeti en Nambon*, Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 'S-Gravenhage - Martinus Nijhoff, 1959; John E. Banker, "Transformational Paradigms of Bahnar Clauses", *Non-Khmer Studies I* (Publication No.1 of the Saigon Linguistic Circle). In press 1964.
3. On matrices see: Kenneth L. Pike, "Dimensions of Grammatical Constructions", *Language*, Vol.39, No.3, 1962, pp.221-244, and "Matrix Permutation in Fore", *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol.5, No.8, 1963. For syntax paradigms see: Kenneth L. Pike, "A Syntactic Paradigm", *Language*, Vol.39, No.2, 1963, pp.216-230; David D. Thomas, "Transformational Paradigms from Clause Roots", *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol.6, No.1, 1964, pp.1-6; Banker, *op. cit.*
4. See Phyllis M. Healey, "Teleefol Quotative Clauses", *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No.1, Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series A - Occasional Papers, No.3, 1964, pp.27-34.*
5. Velma Bernice Pickett, "The Grammatical Hierarchy of Isthmus Zapotec", *Language Dissertation No.56, 1960, p.91; cf. Longacre, op. cit., p.82.*
6. The Telefol language is spoken by over 4000 people in the vicinity of Telefomin in the south-western corner of the Territory of New Guinea. It is one member of a language family extending south into Papua along the Fly and Strickland headwaters, west over the border into Irian Barat as far as the Digoel River and its headwaters, and north along the headwaters of the Sepik and its tributaries. Study of the language has been carried out over a four year period under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Australian National University. The orthography used in this paper is described in Alan Healey, "Telefol Phonology", *Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series B - Monographs, No.3, 1964.* Thanks are due to S. A. Wurm and E. W. Deibler for helpful comments on a previous draft of this paper.
7. Pointed brackets around a form signify the potential occurrence of any member of its class in that position.
8. For the complete list of Telefol kinship terms see, Alan Healey.

"Linguistic Aspects of Telefolin Kinship Terminology", *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 4, No. 7, 1962, pp. 14-28.

9. For details of tonal sandhi see Alan Healey 1964, especially section 7.4.

10. Here and elsewhere in the paper an illustration is given which involves an included clause, which is too cumbersome to be given in full. For simplicity, the position of the clause is marked by the clause abbreviation in square brackets: clause = [C1], clause sequence = [C11].

11. For details of these tonal changes see Alan Healey 1964, p. 45.

12. Kin Quantifiers are introduced under the name "kin group terms" in Alan Healey 1962, p. 19, and discussed on p. 28, note 8. Analysis since the writing of that article has revealed that their function is qualifying, not nominal.

13. samaá is a blood relative's spouse's blood relative.

14. See Phyllis M. Healey, *op. cit.*

15. A description of the clause is to appear in: Phyllis M. Healey, "Telefol Clause Types". For the present purposes it is sufficient to define a clause as a unit minimally consisting of one Predicate, but expandable by the inclusion of optional non-Predicate units.

16. These compounds, as well as the seven basic Demonstratives, also occur as non-finite verbal forms in Motion Predicates (*Pm*) elsewhere in the grammar.

17. Various versions of a body system of counting occur in New Guinea. For another discussion of this subject, see Karl and Joice Franklin, "The Kewa Counting Systems", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 71, No. 2, 1962, pp. 188-191.

18. See Alan Healey 1964, p. 38.

19. Counting numbers are: maakub (1), álob (2), asúno (3), kálbinim (4), oók (5), búkúb (6), bañ (7), ífaan (8), tu (9), nákaal (10), kum (11), tuluún (12), tiin (13), mīt (14), tiin mīlī (15), tuluún mīlī (16) . . . oók mīlī (23), yoolatab (24), iib, díí (25), iib (26), kakkát (27).

CHAPTER II

TELEPOL WORD PHRASES

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TELEFOL VERB PHRASES

by

PHYLLIS M. HEALEY

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TELEFOL VERB PHRASES

PHYLLIS M. HEALEY

ABBREVIATIONS

- < > : Pointed brackets signify that the bracketed item is cited to represent all the members of its class
- Co*: Clause Complement Unit
- D₁*: Noun Phrase Pre-Direction Unit
- D₂*: Noun Phrase Post-Direction Unit
- Mp*: Phrase Modifier
- O*: Clause Object Unit
- Pc*: Clause Complementary Predicate Unit
- P_i*: Clause Intransitive Predicate Unit
- P_n*: Clause Motion Predicate Unit
- Pq*: Clause Quotative Predicate Unit
- Pr*: Noun Phrase Person Unit
- Pt*: Clause Transitive Predicate Unit
- Ptb*: Clause Transitive Benefactive Predicate Unit
- S*: Clause Subject Unit
- Ti*: Clause Time Unit

0. INTRODUCTION

In Telefol, a Verb Phrase consists of an obligatory Nucleus followed by optional Laterals.¹ The Nucleus may contain either:

- (a) a Simple Verb,
- (b) an Inseparable Adjunct + Auxiliary Verb,
- (c) a usually separable Adjunct + *keemin* 'be', 'do',
- (d) a verbal Periphrase,

or it may contain a nested combination of two or more of these.

A SIMPLE VERB consists of one simple or derived stem and its affixes. There are at least three types of COMPLEX VERB, which may nest with one another. An Inseparable ADJUNCT + AUXILIARY VERB con-

sists of one of a small set of Simple Verbs immediately preceded by a non-inflected stem or pair of stems as Adjunct. A usually separable ADJUNCT + KEEMIN consists of an expandable unit resembling a Noun Phrase followed by the versatile Verb keemin 'do', 'be'. A verbal PERIPHRASE consists of a non-finite Verb followed by one of a small set of finite Simple Verbs. The finite Verb terminating each of these Complex Verb types loses the meaning it has when it occurs as a Simple Verb.

Though they have some superficial similarities, the three types of Complex Verb contrast. (a) A different, though partly overlapping, group of Verbs occurs as the second part of each. (b) The first part of a Periphrase is any Verb, in certain affixed forms; the first part before keemin is expandable and may be a member of a wide variety of word-classes; the inseparable Adjunct is uninflected, unexpandable, and belongs to a restricted word-class. (c) The second part of an Adjunct + Auxiliary is marked for benefactive and may exhibit tonal sandhi; the second part of Adjunct + keemin is marked for benefactive unless the first part is a Verb, and only the few inseparable cases exhibit tonal sandhi; but the first part of a Periphrase is usually marked for benefactive and the second part does not show tonal sandhi. Just a few Periphrases may have either part marked for benefactive.

1. SIMPLE VERB

The STEM of the Simple Verb has the following morphological shape:²

(a) NON-BENEFACTIVE STEM:

object				
± person	+ root	± derivational	+ aspect	
prefix		suffix	suffix	

(b) BENEFACTIVE STEM:

object						
± person	+ root	± deriv.	+ aspect	+ benef./	+ benef.	+ aspect
prefix		suffix	suffix	suffix	marker	suffix

Many Verbs have more than one root. In particular, it is common for the root associated with punctiliar aspect to be different from that associated with continuative aspect. E. g. *boko-1-* (talk/punctiliar - punctiliar), *boko-b-'nee-1-* (talk/punctiliar-benefactive/punctiliar-me-punctiliar), *báka-m-* (talk/continuative-continuative), *bákaa-φ-'nee-m-* (talk/continuative-benefactive/continuative-me-continuative).

About 20% of all Verbs are marked for object by prefixation. There are several sets of prefixes indicating varying numbers of person-

number distinctions. The commonest is the 5-way distinction as exemplified by:

ní-ffli-n	'sorry for me'
ká-ffli-n-	'sorry for you-sing.'
kú-ffli-n-	'sorry for her'
dú-ffli-n-	'sorry for him'
f-ffli-n-	'sorry for us/you-pl./them'

Verb stems are derived from Adjectives and Nouns by the suffix **-an**:

duum	'faded'	duum-an-	'fade'
dam	'body'	dam-an-	'ripen'
katíb	'small'	katíb-án-	'diminish'
bíním	'none'	bíním-an-	'be finished'

Although the above object person prefix and derivational suffix are both shown in the composite formula, they are mutually exclusive in occurrence, the former occurring only with certain Transitive Verbs (*Pt*), the latter only with certain Intransitive Verbs (*Pi*).

Punctiliar aspect is marked by the suffix **-i**, which is lost next to a consonant. Continuative aspect is marked by one of the suffixes **-n**, **-m**, **-n'kal**.

There are several sets of suffixes which occur with the above stems:³

(a) FINITE INDEPENDENT VERB:

+ stem + tense + negative + subject
 suffix ± suffix + suffix

bókol-antem-á!-á (*Pt*: talk-will-not-he) 'he will not talk'

bákán-mans-á (*Pt*: talking-yesterday-he) 'he was talking yesterday'

(b) NON-FINITE INDEPENDENT VERB:

+ stem + mood
 suffix

bákan-in (*Pt*: talking-customary) 'talk'

bókol-íntém (*Pt*: talk-not) 'did/do/will not talk'

(c) POTENTIAL INDEPENDENT VERB:

potential
 + stem + subject
 suffix

bókol-ák (*Pt*: talk-potential/he) 'he must/will/wants to talk'

ditang akan kalin	(Pi)	'be self-disciplined'
fuu akan kalin	(Pt)	'blow (dust, air-borne ashes, insect) away'
mitik akan kalin	(Pi)	'(weather) becomes dark'
niil (kub) akan kalin	(Pi)	'be stiff'
tangaung akan kalin	(Pi)	'ring a bell'
dakamin (does not occur as a Simple Verb) ⁵		
ham dakamin	(Pi)	'recover'
difii dakamin	(Pt)	'attract his attention'
ding dakamin	(Pt)	'wash clothes'
dubkem dakamin	(Pt)	'reveal him, betray him, clear around it'
dumakatem dakamin	(Pt)	'step, jump over him'
filit dakamin	(Pt)	'vibrate, be noisy', 'make it vibrate'
ilek dakamin	(Pt)	'push into', 'encroach upon'
kubaket dakamin	(Pt)	'remember', 'keep in mind'
sing dakamin	(Pt)	'spill something'
kubkamin (does not occur as a Simple Verb)		
dee kubkamin	(Pt)	'tie up', 'gaol'
doko kubkamin	(Pt)	'dislocate, break (joint)'
ilo kubkamin	(Pt)	'divide in two'
moomin (Pt) stand up'		
du moomin	(Pt)	'carry him on shoulders'
takka moomin	(Pt)	'seduce'
tiin moomin	(Pt)	'look after'
saanin (Pt) 'buy'		
bubat saanin	(Pi)	'disappear'
deek saanin)	(Pt)	'bump (head)', 'stub (toe)', 'shut (door)'
kweck saanin)	(Pt)	'have reserved', 'have set aside'
dil saanin		
dook saanin)	(Pn)	'bounce back', 'reflect off'
soek saanin)		
fii saanin	(Pi)	'go right to sleep'
koong saanin	(Pi)	'be startled'
nakat saanin	(Pt)	'lock, shut firmly', 'be firm, locked'
niil saanin	(Pi)	'be paralyzed'
talaat saanin	(Pi)	'become emaciated'
tiik saanin	(Pt)	'have reserved', 'have set aside'
tukakift saanin	(Pt)	'shoot (arrow)'
unang kalin (Pt) 'eat'		
mumulik unang kalin	(Pt)	'swallow'
windl unang kalin	(Pi)	'moan in light sleep when sick'
yukuut unang kalin	(Pt)	'steal'

2.2 ADJUNCTS

The Adjunct is uninflected, and is inseparable from its Auxiliary. It resembles a Verb stem manifesting a preceding Predicate, a single Noun manifesting the Object or Complement Unit, or an Adverb occurring as Manner Unit.⁶ Each of these possible alternatives may be distinguished by testing. If the form is a Verb stem, eliciting will produce inflected forms of the Verb:

tál únelá 'he came and ate'
tálnálata únelá 'he came and ate'

If the form is a Noun, eliciting will produce Noun Phrase expansions and Laterals, particularly the occurrence of a Pronoun as Person (e.g. úyó, útá, boóyó, or boótá) between the Noun and the Verb:

ímán únelá 'he ate taro'
ímán úyó únelá 'he ate taro'

If the form is an Adverb, and so a member of a class of uninflected stems, it may be distinguished from an Adjunct by the mobility of the Manner Unit in which it occurs. Although Manner usually immediately precedes the Predicate, it may also occur preceding any one of the other clause-level units later than Accompaniment:

ásók únelá 'he ate again'
ásók ímán únelá 'he ate taro again'

Many of the forms occurring as Adjunct never occur in any other position, and these may therefore be said to constitute an Adjunct class. A very few others, however, come from other classes. For example, the Noun *tíin* 'eye' occurs as Adjunct with the Verb *moomin* 'stand'. But its status as an Adjunct rather than an Object is identified by the non-occurrence of a following Pronoun as Person or Adverb as Manner Unit, and is confirmed in this case by the potential co-occurrence of another Noun Phrase as Object of the Transitive Complex Verb *tíin moomin* 'look after', 'care for'.

2.3 ADJUNCTS MARKED FOR OBJECT

Many of the Verbs prefixed for Object are of the Adjunct + Auxiliary shape, the Adjunct Unit being of the Adjunct class, and being the carrier of the object prefix:

náfál dákamin (Pt) 'leave me behind'
káfál dákamin (Pt) 'leave you-sing. behind'
kúfál dákamin (Pt) 'leave her behind'
dúfál dákamin (Pt) 'leave him behind'
ífál dákamin (Pt) 'leave us/you-pl./them behind'

Each of the following Complex Verbs is cited in the 'him' form, and has equivalent forms for the other object persons as above. For each

object person there are several prefixial allomorphs.⁷

dííí dákamin	(Pt)	'attract his attention'
dúbkém dákamin	(Pt)	'reveal him', 'betray him', 'clear around it'
dúmkátém dákamin	(Pt)	'step, jump over him'
déé fúumin	(Pt)	'burn him'
dú móomin	(Pt)	'carry him on shoulders'
dúb díimin	(Pt)	'hang him'
dúb kúkumin	(Pt)	'test him out'
dúbtál míkimin	(Pt)	'hug, embrace him'
an tókonin	(Pt)	'angry with him', 'scold him' ⁸

2.4 PUNCTILIAR STEM + TĒBEMIN

A very limited list of punctiliar Verb stems occur before *tébemin* (Pc) 'become', 'appear'. All forms of *tébemin* may occur, but the punctiliar forms are more commonly used. The two parts of the resultant Complex Verb are inseparable. The meanings of these Complex Verbs are not predictable from their parts, that is, they are Phrase Idioms. Since they differ from other Complex Verbs involving a Verb as first part, in their inseparability and their idiomatic meanings, they have been tentatively included in the Adjunct + Auxiliary section of this paper.

All of these Verbs are intransitive, and their typical subjects are the typical objects of the corresponding Simple Verbs. They involve either no agent or an unstated agent, and are therefore equivalent to an English agentless passive.

Most of these Phrase Idioms also occur with the punctiliar stem reduplicated. In the reduplicated forms, the final vowel of the stem is absent, and the tonemes of the second part of the reduplication are reversed. In respect of this tonal sandhi they contrast formally with the Periphrase described in section 4.42. Also, most of them involve Verbs of a particular morphological class, while the Periphrase may involve any Verb.

bakélámin	(Pt)	'split (wood)'	bakélá tēbemin)	(Pi)	'(a fallen tree) is smashed'
			bakél bákel tēbemin)		
bíkímin	(Pt)	'pierces'	bíkí tēbemin		(Pi)	'be split down the middle'
bíkínamin	(Pi)	'sprout, explode'	bíkín tēbemin		(Pi)	'be burst open'
dalátámin	(Pt)	'dis-mantle'	dalátá tēbemin)	(Pi)	'(cloth) full of holes, falling to pieces'
			dalá(t) dálat tēbemin)		
dekélámin	(Pt)	'loosen, remove'	dekélá tēbemin)	(Pi)	'be separated'
			dekél dékel tēbemin)		

duúlámin	(Pt) 'butcher'	duúlá tébemin duúl dúul tébemin	(Pi) 'be lacerated'
fakélámin	(Pt) 'break'	fakélá tébemin fakél fákel tébemin	(Pi) 'be broken, rusted'
feélámin	(Pt) 'squirt it out'	feélá tébemin feél féel tébemin	(Pi) '(pus) oozes out'
fubkélámin	(Pi) 'turn'	fubkélá tébemin	(Pi) 'be loaded down' (tree with fruit, man with heavy bag)
ibálámin	(Pt) 'strip leaves off'	ibálá tébemin	(Pi) '(a fallen tree) is smashed'
kabtúkámin	(Pt) 'break, smash'	kabtúká tébemin kabtúk kabtuk tébemin	(Pi) 'be broken, smashed'
kalélámin	(Pt) 'crush'	kalélá tébemin kalél kálel tébemin	(Pi) 'be broken into small pieces'
keenamín	(Pi) 'shine, burn' (fire, lamp)	keen tébemin	(Pi) 'be burnt'
keéngámin	(Pt) 'pull'	keéngá tébemin	(Pi) 'be taken back', 'be abducted'
koólámin	(Pt) 'crunch, smash'	koólá tébemin koól kóol tébemin	(Pi) '(a fallen tree) is smashed'
teétámin	(Pt) 'break into splinters'	teétá tébemin teét téet tébemin	(Pi) 'be splintered'

3. ADJUNCT + KEEMIN

A wide variety of different forms occur as Adjunct before the Verb *keemin* 'do', 'be' to form Complex Verbs. These forms resemble the type of Adjunct described in section 2 in determining the syntactic class of the Complex Verb, and in that where this Verb is Transitive (Pt) they may co-occur with a Noun Phrase manifesting the Object Unit (O), or where it is Motion (Pm) they may co-occur with a Noun Phrase manifesting the Destination Unit (Dn). Most of these Adjuncts differ from the inseparable Adjuncts of section 2, however, in their expandability. It is characteristic of Adjuncts preceding *keemin* that many of them are reduplicated forms indicating repetition of action or plurality of object. Most are also separable in that they are occasionally followed by certain Laterals, notably Person (manifested by the Pronoun *úyó*) and Phrase Modifiers (such as *kub* which in this context means 'very', 'still', and *úmak* 'any'). However, the types of

Adjunct described in sections 3.22 and 3.27 are inseparable.⁹ It is usually *keemin*, the second part of these types of Complex Verb, which is modified for benefactive, as is the Auxiliary in section 2 above. However, where the Adjunct before *keemin* is formed from a Verb, either part may be modified for benefactive.

Most of the separable Adjuncts described in this section, especially the reduplicated Verb forms of 3.3, may be followed by *nin* 'be' as an alternative to *keemin* without change of meaning.

3.1 ADJUNCT (ADJUNCT CLASS) - KEEMIN

The Verb *keemin* may be preceded by a simple form not belonging to any other word class, or a reduplicated form the parts of which do not occur elsewhere. Some of these have *i* changing to another vowel in the reduplication.

<i>bát kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'be disappointed'
<i>fádn kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'be unattended, abandoned'
<i>íil kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'do to no avail', 'be unable to do as intended'
<i>kan kéemin</i>	(Pl) 'get ready', 'tidy up'
<i>kukúm kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'behave inexplicably'
<i>maakálo kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'be lost'
<i>mísám kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'be thankful'
<i>súkuul kéemin</i>	
<i>bal bal kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'be kind, friendly'
<i>bikek bikek kéemin</i>	(Pt) 'part (grass, to look or go through)'
<i>biteng biteng kéemin</i>	(Pi) '(legs) kick around' (e.g. dying pig)
<i>bitng bitng kéemin</i>	
<i>fákálik fákálaak kéemin</i>	(Pt) 'mix, stir it', '(pig) messes up (ground)'
<i>fíing fóong kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'whistle'
<i>kabi kabi kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'stagger', 'walk erratically'
<i>kafi kafi kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'flap wings', 'flutter', 'hover'
<i>kali kali kéemin</i>	(Pt) 'tickle'; (Pi) 'sprinkle down'
<i>kaling kálung kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'make booming sound', 'clatter' (e.g. tin)
<i>makib makib kéemin</i>	(Pt) 'suck (e.g. a sweet)'
<i>muk muk kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'chide'
<i>nililii nililii kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'growl'
<i>seek seek kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'hiss'
<i>tangaang tangaang kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'ring', 'clang' (e.g. bell)

3.2 KEEMIN AS A MECHANISM FOR FORMING COMPLEX VERBS

The Verb *keemin* provides a mechanism whereby a Complex Verb may be formed from a Noun Phrase Nucleus, from the classes manifesting such Noun Phrase Laterals as Pre-Direction (*D1*), Post-Direction (*D2*), and Person (*Pr*), from an Adverb, from an Adjunct, from a loan word, and from a Verb.

3. 21 FROM A NOUN PHRASE NUCLEUS

There are a few special collocations of NOUN PHRASE NUCLEI + *keemin*:

<i>bíním</i>	'none'	<i>biním keemin</i>	(Pi) 'be finished'
<i>kaal foóng</i>	'light weight'	<i>kaal foóng kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'be easy' (e.g. a short task)
<i>mán</i>	'child'	<i>mán kéemin</i>	(Pt) 'bear a litter'
<i>moók báán</i>	'spitting place'	<i>moók báán kéemin</i>	(Pt) 'despise'
<i>dábán báán</i>		<i>dábán báán kéemin</i>	
<i>usaán báán</i>		<i>usaán báán kéemin</i>	

However, any NOUN may precede *keemin*, the combination having the meaning 'act as a ---'. This involves both the sense of deputizing for another and the sense of pretending to be another as in a game or a play. The Noun as Adjunct is not followed by a Phrase Modifier.

ábén kéemán (...mother I-will-be-doing) 'I'll be Mother'

kamókím kéemán (headman I-will-be-doing) 'I'll act as headman'

Quite rarely a Noun is reduplicated before *keemin*:

<i>atúk</i>	'part', 'half'	<i>atúk átúk keemin</i>	(Pi) 'be half-hearted'
<i>tíb</i>	'top'	<i>tíb tíb keemin</i>	(Pt) 'pile one on another'
<i>biningok</i>	'star', 'firefly' (-ok is a regular Noun suffix)	<i>bining bining keemin</i>	(Pi) 'glow'; (Pt) 'swing (firestick to keep it glowing)'

Also rarely an ADJECTIVE is reduplicated before *keemin*. Adjectives normally occur as Qualifiers following the Noun within a Noun Phrase Nucleus.¹⁰

<i>asít</i>	'raw', 'green'	<i>asít ásít keemin</i>	(Pi) 'be not properly cooked'
<i>katíb</i>	'small'	<i>katíb kátíb keemin</i>	(Pi) 'be half-hearted'

3. 22 FROM A PRE-DEMONSTRATIVE OR POST-DEMONSTRATIVE

(a) A restricted Anuclear *soó* Phrase, consisting of a PRE-DEMONSTRATIVE plus the Accompaniment Indicator *soó* 'with', occurs with *keemin* meaning 'move ... a little'.¹¹ The Pre-Demonstrative normally occurs as the Pre-Direction Unit (*D1*) within a Noun Phrase. These Complex Verbs are all Intransitive, and their Adjuncts are inseparable. The latter restriction is unusual with Adjuncts occurring with *keemin*.

<i>yáng</i> (<i>D1</i>)	'along'	<i>yáng soó kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'move along a little'
<i>iit</i> (<i>D1</i>)	'up'	<i>iit soo keemin</i>	(Pi) 'move up a little'
<i>daák</i> (<i>D1</i>)	'down'	<i>daák soó kéemin</i>	(Pi) 'move down a little'

(b) A PRE-DEMONSTRATIVE, or a POST-DEMONSTRATIVE, which normally occurs as the Post-Direction Unit (*D2*) in the Noun Phrase, may be reduplicated and followed by *keemin* to form a Complex Verb.¹² Unlike

the *soó* Phrase Adjuncts above, these reduplicated Adjuncts are separable as is usual before *keemin*. Reduplicated *yák* (*D1*) 'across' reduces to *yákkák*, and reduplicated *yáng* (*D1*) 'along' reduces to *yángáng*, but the other forms remain two phonological words and are written as such. This series has the general meaning 'go repeatedly in a particular direction'. All of them are Motion Verbs, and may co-occur with a Destination Unit (*Dn*) in the Clause.

<i>yáng</i>	(<i>D1</i>) 'along'	<i>yángáng keemin</i>	(<i>Pm</i>) 'go repeatedly along'
<i>íft</i>	(<i>D1</i>) 'up'	<i>íft íft keemin</i>	(<i>Pm</i>) 'go repeatedly up'
<i>daák</i>	(<i>D1</i>) 'down'	<i>daák daák keemin</i>	(<i>Pm</i>) 'go repeatedly down'
<i>meéng</i>	(<i>D1</i>) 'along here'	<i>meéng meéng keemin</i>	(<i>Pm</i>) 'come repeatedly along here'
<i>keéng</i>	(<i>D2</i>) 'along here'	<i>keéng keéng keemin</i>	(<i>Pm</i>) 'go repeatedly along here'
<i>kweéng</i>	(<i>D2</i>) 'along there'	<i>kweéng kweéng keemin</i>	(<i>Pm</i>) 'go repeatedly along there'

As well as *meéng keéng keemin* as listed above, there is a special tonally contrastive form *keéng kéeng keemin* meaning 'go somewhere or other nearby', 'wherever <he> is going'. Also, *yákkák keemin*, without tonal change, has a second and more frequent meaning 'go to various places'.

3.23 FROM A PRONOUN

Those PRONOUNS of the *-tá* series which are non-directional may be reduplicated with the meaning 'excel', 'win'.¹³ The Complex Verbs which they form together with *keemin* are Intransitive. The reduplicated Pronoun as separable Adjunct agrees with the subject-person suffix of *keemin* and with the Person, if any, in the Subject Unit. This Person is usually manifested by an emphatic Pronoun, such as one of the *-kal* or *-sinon* series.

<i>nítá</i>	'I'	<i>nítá nítá keéli</i>	(<i>Pi</i>) 'I won'
<i>kábtá</i>	'you sing.'	<i>kábtá kábtá keéláb</i>	(<i>Pi</i>) 'you won'
<i>ítá</i>	'he'	<i>ítá ítá keelá</i>	(<i>Pi</i>) 'he won'
<i>útá</i>	'she'	<i>útá útá keelú</i>	(<i>Pi</i>) 'she won'

3.24 FROM AN ADVERB

Some of the ADVERBS, which normally manifest the Manner Unit, occur in reduplicated form as separable Adjuncts before *keemin*.⁶ The resultant Complex Verbs are all Intransitive.

<i>akól</i>	'slowly, gently'	<i>akól akól keemin</i>	(<i>Pi</i>) 'do carefully, slowly'
<i>aaltámsó</i>	'again'	<i>aaltámsó aaltámsó keemin</i>	(<i>Pi</i>) 'do repeatedly'

eekub	'quickly'	eekub eekub keemin	(Pi) 'do quickly'
fiyaab	'slowly'	fiyaab fiyaab keemin	(Pi) 'do slowly'
oongffét	'quickly'	oongffét oongffét keemin	(Pi) 'do quickly'
oongsákám	'quickly'	oongsákám oongsákám keemin	(Pi) 'do quickly'
suínkúb	'always'	suínkúb suínkúb keemin	(Pi) 'keep on always doing'
yúkúsákám	'quickly'	yúkúsákám yúkúsákám keemin	(Pi) 'do quickly'
yúkút	'quickly'	yúkút yúkút keemin	(Pi) 'do quickly'
yúut	'quickly'	yúut yúut keemin	(Pi) 'do quickly'

3.25 FROM AN ADJUNCT

An inseparable Adjunct of the type described in section 2 may occasionally occur reduplicated and separable before *keemin*. It is neither reduplicated nor separable before its usual Auxiliary Verb. There is no apparent change of meaning.

min kúunin	- min min keemin	(Pt) 'smell', 'sniff'
fít dákamin	- fít fít keemin	(Pt) 'vibrate, be noisy', 'make it vibrate'
ilék dákamin	- ilék flek keemin	(Pt) 'encroach on'

3.26 FROM A LOAN WORD

The use of various word classes and various grammatical forms in Telefol as separable Adjuncts before *keemin* as a verbalizing mechanism has facilitated the adoption of loan words as Adjuncts before *keemin*.¹⁴ The forms borrowed, usually from Neo-Melanesian or English, may be either Nouns or Verbs in the source language.

béékkim	keemin	(Pt) 'settle a debt'
bóólbol	keemin	(Pi) '(water) boils'
faasim	keemin	(Pt) 'not let <him> go'
sékel	keemin	(Pt) 'weigh', 'measure'
síksik	keemin	(Pi) 'be sick'
súkul	keemin	(Pi) 'attend school'

3.27 FROM A VERB

There is a limited set of inseparable Adjuncts occurring with *keemin* which are derived from Verb stems by the addition of the suffix *-kán* 'remove'. All these derived Verbs are Transitive. Most of the source Verbs belong to one morphological class. There are two limited sets of special Homopersonal Dependent Verb forms that closely parallel these Adjuncts. Both are used in multi-clause collocations, one set having the overall meaning 'get', the other the overall meaning 'bring'.¹⁵

PROBABLE SOURCE VERB	ADJUNCT	MEANING OF ADJUNCT + KEEMIN AND TYPICAL OBJECTS
bíltomin 'push over (rotten tree or stump)'	bálkán } bálakán }	'push over (rotten tree or stump)', 'cut soft parts off (hard core of rotten log)', 'take hard crust off (dry ground)'
—	dálkán } dálakán }	'peel (skin)', 'take off (clothes, belt)', 'pick off (lice)', 'take (eggs from nest, animal from trap)'
dákamin 'pick (fruit), steal'	dákkán }	'remove (scaffolding, stones, eggs from nest, branches in the way, leeches, beans, pumpkin, stolen goods)', 'spend (year, month, week)'
dúkkomin 'remove (scaffolding, stones, branches in the way)'	dúkakán }	
dúkamin 'take (it/him)'	dúbkán	'remove, pass (it/him)'
dulúkwáin 'take (them)'	(dúkán)	'remove, pass (them)'
—	fálkán } fálakán }	'drag out (weeds from pool, belly fat from pig)'
fákamin 'pull off (branch or part of roof)', 'harvest (taro)'	fákkán } fákakán }	'strip (branches from log)', 'take out (part of wall, roof; taro, many of any garden produce)'
ímdúkamin 'take (them)'	ímkán	'remove, pass (them)'
kálamín 'pick (cucurbits)'	(kálakán)	'pick (cucurbits, fungi)'
kámdúkamin 'take (you)'	káakán	'remove, pass (you)'
kúkamin 'take (IT/her)'	kúbkán	'remove, pass (IT/her)'
kulúkamin 'take (THEM)'	(kúkán)	'remove, pass (THEM)'
málamín 'pull out'	málkán } málakán }	'pull out (stone, tooth)', 'pick (banana from bunch)'
námdúkamin 'take (me)'	námkán	'remove, pass (me)'
sálamín 'pinch'	sálkán } sálakán }	'pull (a small sample off meat before it is shared around)'
tákamin 'distribute'	tákkán }	'distribute (pitpit leaves for ground-oven, part of load to carry)'; 'unstuck, remove (stain, clinging child)'
tákamin 'get (salt out of ashes)'	tákakán }	
—	tálkán } tálakán }	'take down (anything hanging up - clothes, bag of taro, bundle of taro sticks, smoked meat)'

PROBABLE SOURCE VERB	ADJUNCT	MEANING OF ADJUNCT + KEEMIN AND TYPICAL OBJECTS
dkamin 'cut (a piece) off'	dkkán }	'grab (arrows)', 'cut a piece off (cane, meat, fingernails)'
dkamin 'pick up, grab (bows and arrows)'	dkakán }	
úlamín 'take back', 'select'	úlkán }	'pull out (newly-planted taro stick, stake, stick)'
	úlakán }	

3.3 REDUPLICATED VERB FORM + KEEMIN

Certain forms of many Verbs may be reduplicated before *keemin*. This reduplication usually signifies multiple action. Depending upon the particular Verb and the context, this may be either repeated action, or action upon a plural object.

dísálú (*Pt*) 'she scraped ash off (a taro)'

dísá dísá keélú (*Pt*) 'she scraped ash off several (taros)'

fuúbámin (*Pt*) 'thatch (roofing)'

fuúbá fuúbá keemin (*Pt*) 'thatch (roofing) often'

Reduplicated benefactive forms often have their normal significance, but for certain Verbs the reduplicated finite benefactive signifies reciprocal action. 18

bóko bóko keemnúbá (*Pt*) 'he is always talking'

bokób'ée bokob'ée keemnúbá (*Ptb*) 'he is always telling him'

bítolá bítolá keélí (*Pt*) 'they each cut (their hair)', 'they each had (their hair) cut'

bitob'ée lá bitob'ée lá keélí (*Ptb*) 'they cut each other's (hair)'

Where one and the same subject is involved in the multiple action, the reduplicated form is non-finite. Where more than one subject is involved in the action, the reduplicated form is finite, always containing a third person singular suffix, and usually the third person masculine singular. The equivalent feminine form occasionally occurs where all the participants are women. The Verb *keemin* always has a plural suffix of any person, not just third person, after reduplicated finite forms, and implies that the action is performed by each person. Thus non-finite *dálá* 'make' and finite *dálálá* 'he made' give:

dálá dálá keélí (*Pt*) 'I made some (ladders)'

dálá dálá keélúb (*Pt*) 'we made some (ladders)'

dálálá dálálá keélúb (*Pt*) 'we each made a (ladder)'

The aspect and interval suffixes on the reduplicated forms have the significance normal to them in the particular sequence involved.

bóko 'say and...' bóko bóko keemin (*Pt*) 'say it a few times'

bákánbom	'while saying...'	bákánbom bákánbom keemin	(Pt)	'say it often'
bákánbii	'been saying and...'	bákánbii bákánbii keemin	(Pt)	'tell stories often'
bókolá	'he said and <they>...'	bókolá bókolá keemin	(Pt)	'each speak, 'discuss'
báka' balá	'while he is saying <they>...'	báka' balá báka' balá keemin	(Pt)	'all talk at once'

One large morphological class of Verbs has alternative stem forms in the Customary Continuative, one terminating in $\acute{V}C\acute{a}m$ and the other in $\acute{V}Cm$ (V representing any vowel and C representing any consonant), e.g. fufálám-in, fufálm-in 'go round'. The punctiliar stem of these Verbs terminates in $\acute{V}C\acute{a}$ in isolation, but in its reduplicated form up to three apparently free variants have been observed, terminating in $\acute{V}C\acute{a}$, $\acute{V}C$ with tonal sandhi, or VC. E.g.

fufálá fufálá keemin	}	'roll up'
fufál fufál keemin		
fufal fufal keemin		

3.4 MATCHED CLAUSES + KEEMIN

A similar type of Adjunct to the reduplicated Verb of section 3.3 above involves a pair of juxtaposed Clauses before keemin. The commonest combinations involve Motion Clauses signifying opposite directions. The matching of the two Clauses consists of their having identical syntactic structure and the same morphemic content except at some one point, where diverse morphemes occur. These are usually antonyms. Either the Verb stems in the Predicates may differ, or a pair of morphemes in one of the other clause-level units. The two Verbs in the Predicates are inflected identically, and show a similar range of inflections to the reduplicated forms of section 3.3.

uná (Pm: he-went)	talá (Pm: he-came)	keemin	(Pm)	'(people) mill around'
únánbii (Pm: going)	tálánbii (Pm: coming)	keemin	(Pm)	'(e.g. clothes on line) go, flap back and forth'
úne' bala (Pm: he-went-and)	téle' bala (Pm: he-came-and)	keemin	(Pm)	'(some) go and (some) come'
íft óó (Dn: up, Pm: return)	daák óó (Dn: down, Pm: return)	keemin	(Pm)	'jump, bounce up and down' (e.g. exuberant child, ball)
yák úneba (O: across, Pt: he-ate)	meék úneba (O: across-here, Pt: he-ate)	keemin	(Pt)	'eat two bits of food at once'
yák mift mák úne (O: that kind, Pt: eat)	meék mift mák úne (O: this kind, Pt: eat)	keemin	(Pt)	'sample some of each kind of food'

koongeng úmkaa'ebe (O: pig, Pt: he-is-greeting-it) káyaameng
 úmkaa'ebe (O: dog, Pt: he-is-greeting-it) keemin (Pt) 'be
 friendly (to)' (lit. 'greet pigs and dogs' - an idiom)

3.5 CO-ORDINATED CLAUSES + KEEMIN

A sequence, usually a pair, of co-ordinated Clauses may occur as a complex Adjunct before keemin.¹⁷ The Predicates of these Clauses are usually Dependent Verbs, the action of which is simultaneous ('while..'). The Clauses are linked by the Connectives *ilé* + *mínte* 'and' following the first and other non-final Clauses, and the Phrase Modifier *noo* 'also' following the Verb in the Predicate of the final Clause. The suffixes with *kee-* summarize the tenses and subject-person-numbers of the Predicates of the co-ordinated Clauses.

únáng' kálintem boóm' bululé mínte (Pt: she was not eating, and)

únáng' kálintem boóm' balá nóo (Pt: he was not eating also) keébfb
 (they-did) 'neither he nor she ate'

bóko' nama bñim ilé mínte (Pt: he never spoke, and) úne' namá bñim noo
 (Pt: he never ate also) keebe (he-is-doing) 'he is neither speaking
 nor eating'

weéng báka' balalé mínte (O: talk, Pt: he was talking, and) meén sóok
 fáka' bulú nóo (O: twine, Pt: she-was-making also) kee' bilfb (they-
 were-doing) 'he was talking while she was making twine'

weéng bákabomnululé (O: talk, Pt: she-is-talking, and-she) meén sóok
 fákabom noo (O: twine, Pt: talking also) keebo (she-is-doing) 'she is
 talking while she makes twine'

únánbomnalalé mínte (Pt: he-is-eating, and-he) weéng bákabom noo (O:
 talk, Pt: talking also) keebe (he-is-doing) 'he is talking while he
 eats'

tísol fákaa' eebomnilibilé mínte (O: payment, Pt: they-are-collecting-
 for-him, and-they) koong ung knob' ée noo (O: pig, Pt: kill-for-him
 also) keelibta (they-did-and) 'they collected money and killed a pig
 for him...'

sookéng kále dáka' bululé mínte (they hung themselves and - an idiom)
 ook íne' bilfb nóo (Dm: river, Dm: they-went also) keelibta (they-
 did-and) 'some hung themselves and others jumped into the river...'

4. VERB PERIPHRASES

Several Verbs occur following other Verbs in periphrastic usages. The first part of a Periphrase is the appropriate form of any kind of Verb, including a Simple Verb, an Adjunct + Auxiliary, and a complex Adjunct + keemin. The second part of a Periphrase may only be a form

of one of the following Verbs: *keemin*, *nin*, *tébemin*, *kuól-*, or a Motion Verb. The meanings which these Verbs have as Simple Verbs are lost in their usage as second part of a Periphrase. Instead they supplement in meaning the aspect suffix normally occurring with the first part, or they serve to carry suffixes when they follow non-finite Verb forms. The two parts of a Periphrase are inseparable. It is the first part, not the second, which normally occurs in the benefactive form in a Periphrase.

4.1 PERIPHRASTIC USAGES OF KEEMIN

The Verb Periphrases involving *keemin* 'do', 'be' may all occasionally occur with the Verb *keemin* replaced by *nin* 'be'.

4.11 CONTINUATIVE CUSTOMARY VERB + *KUÓ-* + ANY CONTINUATIVE FORM OF *KEEMIN* implies a habitual action at the time indicated by the tense of *keemin*. The Phrase Modifier *kub* 'very', 'still' is integral to this Periphrase, the two parts of which are otherwise inseparable.

bákamin kub keemantémá 'he will always be talking'
bákaa'eeemin kub keemantémá 'he will always be talking to him'
fu'u'yeemin kub keemnúbú 'she cooks for him permanently'
únáng'kálín kub keemnúbú '(whenever) she eats'

4.12 NEGATIVE REPLY VERB + ANY FORM OF *KEEMIN* is equivalent to a negative Independent Verb of the same tense as the second part and the same aspect as the first part. The aspects of the first and second parts usually agree, but non-agreement has also been observed. This Periphrase is the usual way of negating a Dependent Verb.¹⁸ The benefactive is usually marked on the first part as in the other Periphrases of this section, but occasionally it appears on the second.

bókolintem keelá = bókolalá 'he didn't talk'
bákamintem keemnúbá = bákánubalá 'he never talks'
bokob'neelintem keelá or *bókolintem keeb'neelá = bokob'neelalá* 'he didn't tell me'
únelintem keenalata ... 'he (went) without eating'
tilintem kee'namá 'he couldn't come'

4.2 PERIPHRASTIC USAGES OF NIN

The periphrastic usages of *nin* 'be' are distinguishable from Complementary Clauses by two things: (a) the two parts are inseparable, and (b) they have no transforms involving *keemin*.

4.21 CONTINUATIVE STEM + *ALB<A>* implies a recent action that was a lengthy process. The action may be either still progressing in the present, or already completed and recommenced in the present, depending upon the context. When preceded by an appropriate Time Unit

(Ti), this Periphrase conveys the idea of 'begin' or 'since'. It has a habitual meaning when it co-occurs with the Adverb *suúnkúb* 'always'.¹⁹

bákán álbá 'he talked at length'

báksan'neem álbá 'he talked to me at length'

bákánbii álbá 'he talked at great length'

báksánbom álbá 'he talked at great length'

doók koótá (Ti: when) *bákán álbíb* (Pt: talking you-are) 'when did you start talking'

kutím mílilib koótá (Ti: dawn today) *kúbák koob'ée* *bákán álbá* (Pt: start-it talking he-is) 'he started talking at dawn' or 'he's been talking since dawn'

kutím koótá (Ti: this early morning) *tál'boómtá* (Pm: came-and-stayed-and) *okók keem álbúb* (Pi: working we-are) 'we've been working from early morning (till now)'

weéb' m'ánbii úkonbu koótá (Ti: when the rain stopped) *ee' koón* (O: roofing) *dúbák* (Pt: bring-it) *fuúbám álbá* (Pt: thatching he-is) 'he's been thatching the roof ever since the rain stopped'

4.22 CONTINUATIVE STEM + BIITÁ: 'Á' seems to be semantically equivalent to the above Periphrase. The form *biitáb<,>* 'be (there) a long time', 'stay (there) ... day' comes from the Verb *nin* 'be'.

bákán biitábá 'he talked at length'

4.23 Certain INDEPENDENT OR HETEROPERSONAL DEPENDENT FORMS of any Verb + NALALÉ or NALÁTÁ produce corresponding Homopersonal Dependent Verb forms with the same aspect, tense or interval, and subject-person-number value as the first part. When suffixed to Verb stems, *nalá* signifies Homopersonal Dependent third person singular masculine, but in this usage it has lost its third person singular masculine significance.

sina' nák' bilibilé 'they had been sleeping (there) and (someone else)...

sina' nák' bilib nalalé 'they had been sleeping (there) and (they)...

The range of Verb forms which may occur as the first part of this Periphrase are illustrated in the third person plural for *bákámin* 'say, tell':²⁰

INDEPENDENT ("open" tonal forms)	DEPENDENT
<i>bákán' bilíb</i>	<i>bóko' boóm' bilíb</i>
<i>báká' nák' bilíb</i>	<i>bóko' boóm' silíb</i>
<i>bákánubíb</i>	<i>bákánbii' boóm'></i>

INDEPENDENT ("open" tonal forms)	DEPENDENT
bákán' boómííb	bákánbíí' boóm' síl'íb
	bákánbom' boóm' bil'íb

4.3 PERIPHRASTIC USAGES OF MOTION VERBS

(a) All forms (but especially continuative forms) of *únemín* 'go' and *<kwééb> únemín* 'take it' following a continuative stem imply intensive duration. So also do continuative dependent forms of *ábemín* 'go, do abruptly' and *<kwééb> ábemín* 'take it'.²¹

bákán únánbe, bákán kwééb únánbe 'he is keeping on talking'
 kanum unómflíbilé 'they keep on doing it and...'
 bákán kwééb ábehomnalíbilé 'you can talk all about...'
 bákán ábe' bilíbilé '(while) they were talking...'

Punctiliar forms of the Motion Verb following a continuative stem indicate that the continuous or repetitive action is a block or unit in time:

daám (O: fence) fákán úná (Pt: he was making) 'he was building the fence'

(b) Continuative forms of *tfinemín* 'walk', 'go past' following a continuative stem imply a distributive or repetitive action:

bákán tfinánbe 'he is telling everybody'
 abán díim tfinánubá 'he laughs wherever he is', 'he laughs whatever he is doing'

(c) Continuative forms of *télemín* 'come', *<kwééb> télemín* 'bring it', *tébémin* 'appear', 'become', and *<kwééb> tébémin* (which has not been observed out of this context) imply an action involving a progression of events or an action that progresses from stage to stage, when they follow a continuative stem.

bákán tálánbe, bákán kwééb tálánbe, bákán tábá... bákán kwééb tábánbe
 'he is saying one thing after another', 'he is developing his theme'
 oólán duléé tubulé 'she called out again and again and...'

Punctiliar forms of these Motion Verbs indicate that the progressive action is a block or unit in time, as in (a) above:

sáng úyó (O: story) bákán tíse (Pt: he told them for some time) 'he told a string of stories'

(d) The Motion Verb *yákák keemín* is a Complex Verb of the type described in section 3.22(b). In this periphrastic usage, where it follows a punctiliar stem, it has the meaning 'do repeatedly'.

díng dáá yákák keemín 'wash many clothes'
 bóko yákák keemín 'say it often'

(e) Another Complex Motion Verb involved in periphrasis is *uná talá k' sín* '(people) mill around' (see section 3.4), or <*kwééb*> *uná talá keemín*. A continuative stem followed by this Verb emphasizes corporate action by a plural subject.

boómí áket (O: about it) *fúkún uná talá kee'bilíb* (Pt: they are thinking together) 'they are all thinking about it', 'they are pooling their thoughts on it'

ám (O: house) *dínán kwééb uná talá kee'bulúb* (Pt: we are building together) 'we are building the house together'

The two parts of these Periphrases cannot be split without destroying their particular periphrastic meaning. Corresponding to all of these Periphrases there are morphologically identical non-periphrastic forms which are a sequence of Nuclei of two Predicates. In most utterances the linguistic context makes it plain whether the two Verbs comprise sequential Clauses or a Periphrase. For example, if the context mentions in a Time Unit or Manner Unit the duration, progression, or distribution of the action, the periphrastic meaning of the Motion Verb and its preceding Verb may be assumed. On the other hand, if the context contains a Destination Unit or another Motion Verb having the same subject, the normal meaning of the Motion Verb may be assumed.

4.4 PERIPHRASTIC USAGES OF *TÉBES<Á>*

4.41 CONTINUATIVE STEM + *TÉBES<Á>*

One periphrastic usage of *tébeemín* 'become', 'appear' has been described in section 4.3(c) above, where it behaves like a Motion Verb. In addition, a continuative stem followed by one of the Historic Past Punctiliar forms of *tébeemín* implies a habitual action.²²

bákún tébesá 'he is always talking', 'he is talkative'

bftán tébesú 'she is always cutting her hair'

súuk (O: cigar) *dínán tébesá* (Pt: he is always making) 'he is always rolling cigars'

This active periphrastic usage contrasts with the non-predictable Phrase idioms described in section 2.4. The latter involve the punctiliar stems of just a few Verbs, mostly of one morphological class, and the meaning changes are unpredictable. The periphrastic usage involves any continuative stem, and the meaning is predictable.

4.42 REDUPLICATED STEM + *TÉBES<Á>*

Either the punctiliar or continuative stem of any Verb may be reduplicated and followed by the Historic Past Punctiliar (stative) forms of *tébeemín*. The meaning of the resultant forms is predictable,

and involves frequent or habitual repetition of the action. There is no tonal sandhi in the reduplication. This Periphrase contrasts in several respects with the reduplicated idioms of section 2.4, whose meanings are unpredictable, whose forms show tonal sandhi, and whose second part may be any form of *tébemin*.

bító bító tébesá, bítán bítán tébesá 'he is always cutting (hair)',
'he is always having (his hair) cut'

ú ú tébesú, úm úm tébesú 'she is always planting'

fungó fungó tébesá 'he is always nesting'

ífo ífo tébesáb 'you are always serving (food)'

bakélá bakélá tébesá 'he is always splitting (wood)'

4.5 PERIPHRASTIC USAGE OF KOÓL-<ANTÉMÁ>

The Verb *koól-<antémá>* only occurs in the punctiliar aspect, and it does not occur by itself as a Simple Verb. Any punctiliar form of it occurs preceded by a punctiliar Verb stem to form a Periphrase which seems to emphasize the reality or completion of the action. Like all other Periphrases, this one may manifest benefactive modification of the first part, but the benefactive may alternatively occur with the second part.

bóko koólá (= bókolá) 'he spoke'

bokob'née koólá, bóko koób'néelá (= bokob'néelá) 'he told me'

ang koólá 'he killed him'

duúlá koóláb ... '(when) you have butchered it...'

ilet (O: bier) dáá koónfibilé (Pt: they made and) 'they made the bier and...'

A continuative stem terminating in *-bil* followed by *koól-<antémá>* implies a plural object or a multiple action, and sometimes also requires a plural subject:

bákánbil koóbú 'she talked about several things'. 'she said it several times'

Most of the reduplicated punctiliar stems listed in section 2.4 may also be followed by *koól-<antémá>*:

duúl dúul koóí 'I cut (the meat) into little pieces'

Whereas all the reduplicated forms in section 2.4 are Intransitive and agentless, this form is Transitive and implies multiple action.

5. NESTING

It is possible for two or more of the types of Verb complexity described in this paper to co-occur. A similar situation occurs involving Noun Phrase nuclear expansions, and this has been described elsewhere.²³

(a) The primary or innermost layer of complexity is that described in section 2 and the earlier part of section 3 (i.e. 3.1, 3.2). It involves Adjunct + Auxiliary collocations that are static.

(b) Secondary expansion involves Verb reduplication + keemin as described in section 3.3, and any Simple Verb or Adjunct + Auxiliary may be expanded in this way. So may most of the types of Adjunct + keemin of sections 3.1 and 3.2. This secondary Verb reduplication usually involves both parts of the original Complex Verb. Alternatively, the first part may often be single and only the second part reduplicated.

díng dákamin 'wash clothes'	díng dǎá díng dǎá keemin díng dǎá dǎá keemin	} }	'wash lots of clothes' (2.1, 3.3) ²⁴
dúb dímin 'hang it up'	dúb dí dí keemin		'hang it up often' (2.2, 3.3)
kan keemin 'tidy up'	kan kee kan kee keemin kan kee kee keemin	} }	'be always tidying up' (3.1, 3.3)
fansim keemin 'keep <him> home'	fansim kee fansim kee keemin fansim kee kee keemin	} }	'be always keeping <him> home' (3.26, 3.3)

Most Complex Verbs involving reduplication are not capable of further reduplication of the 3.3 type. Exceptions to this general rule are the types described in sections 3.23 and 3.25.

útá útá keélú 'she won'	útá útá kee útá útá kee keemnúbú		'she always wins' (3.23, 3.3)
min min keemin 'sniff'	min min keebii min min keebii keemin		'be always sniffing' (3.25, 3.3)
fíft fíft keemin 'vibrate'	fíft fíft kee fíft fíft kee keemin		'be always vi- brating' (3.25, 3.3)

(c) Periphrasis constitutes tertiary expansion, and may affect any Simple Verb, or any Complex Verb not already involving tertiary expansion.

tál tál nin kub boómú 'it is always coming' (3.3, 4.11)

díng dǎá yákák keemin 'wash many clothes' (2.1, 3.22(b), 4.3(d))

koólá tébelintem keenukulé 'it (fell) without getting smashed' (2.4, 4.12)

koólá tébe koólú 'it smashed' (2.4, 4.5)

bám dǎá bám dǎá keem tébesá 'he always recovers' (2.1, 3.3, 4.41)

ábén kee ábén kee tébesú 'she is always playing "Mother"' (3.21, 4.42)

faasim kee kee keem álbú 'she is always keeping <him> at home for a long time' (3.26, 3.3, 4.21)

(d) A fourth but rarer layer of expansion consists of the reduplication of the first part of certain Complex Verbs involving primary complexity or tertiary expansion, but not Complex Verbs involving secondary expansion. The second part remains unchanged. Although in mutually exclusive distribution with the type of reduplication described in section 3.3, this expansion contrasts with it in applying to Periphrases, and in the reduplication of the first part only.

yáng soó keemin 'move along a little' (3.22(a))	yáng soó yáng soó keemin 'move along little by little'
faasim keemin 'not let <him> go' (3.26)	faasim faasim keemin 'continually not let <him> go'
dúbkán keemin 'remove it' (3.27)	dúbkán dúbkán keemin 'often remove it'
bókolintem keéá 'he didn't talk' (4.12)	bókolintem bókolintem keéá 'he didn't say (those things)'
bákán únánbe 'he is keeping on talking' (4.3)	bákán bákán únánbe 'he is keeping on talking'
bítán tébesú 'he is always cutting (his hair)' (4.41)	bítán bítán tébesú 'he is always cutting (his hair)' (4.42)

(e) Only one change in the order of nesting has been observed. Periphrases involving *koól-<antésá>* (section 4.5), though themselves tertiary expansions, are primary for purposes of further secondary and tertiary expansion.

bóko koó bóko koó keelabta 'you tell (the stories)' (4.5, 3.3)
bakél bakél koólintem keenukulé 'it (fell) without getting smashed'
(4.5, 5(d), 4.12)

6. PHRASE MODIFIERS

The only Laterals following the Nucleus of a Verb Phrase are Phrase Modifiers (*Ÿp*). Phrase Modifiers may also terminate Noun Phrases.²⁵ Those occurring in Verb Phrases and Noun Phrases as Predicates are:

bá	'not', 'don't'
bínim	'not', 'never'
úmak	'any'
tab	'perhaps'
noo	'also'

More than one of these may co-occur in a single Phrase. However, *bá* and *bínim* do not co-occur. Otherwise they are listed in their preferred order of occurrence.

Although *úmak* and *tab* occur freely, the others are restricted in their occurrence. The Modifiers *bá* and *bínim* normally only follow the Abilitative and Customary Continuative forms of the Verb. With the Abilitative either *bá*, *bínim*, or the suffixial negative *-ál* may occur, all three having the same meaning, 'not'. The suffix is, however, rare with the Abilitative.

bókó' namá bá = bókó' namá bínim = bókó' namáál 'he couldn't talk'

With the Customary Continuative form of the Verb *bá* and *bínim* contrast in meaning, and the suffix *-ál* does not occur. *bákamin bá* may only have a second person subject, and this is the form used for negative imperative, 'Don't talk!'. *bákamin bínim* may have any person as subject, and the meaning is negative customary, '<he> does not talk', '<he> never talks'. All other Independent Verb forms are very occasionally negated by *bá* or *bínim* instead of the usual suffix *-ál*. Sometimes the Modifier *bá* also redundantly occurs following a Verb already containing the negative suffix *-ál*, the meaning being an intensified negative.

The Modifier *noo* 'also' only occurs with the Predicate of the last of a set of co-ordinated Clauses.

NOTES

1. The Telefol language is spoken by about 4000 people in the vicinity of Telefomin, Sepik District, New Guinea. The present paper is one of a series being written on Telefol syntax, and is based on the results of field work carried out under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Australian National University between 1959 and 1965. The author is indebted to Karl J. Franklin and Rosemary Young for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper, and to Alan Healey for the elicitation of data and for checking the manuscript.

2. In this outline statement of Verb morphology no attempt is made to list all the affixes. The Verb morphology is to be described in detail in Alan Healey, "Telefol Morphology".

3. For tenses see Phyllis M. Healey, "Telefol Clause Structure", *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No. 3, Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series A - Occasional Paper No. 5*, Canberra, 1965, pp. 15-18 (henceforth referred to as T.C.S.), section 2.4; for subject suffixes see T.C.S. section 2.1.

4. The Quotative Verb *akan'kalin* loses its distinctive grammatical character as well as its meaning when it occurs as an Auxiliary. In particular, it occurs in the benefactive form as an Auxiliary, but never otherwise. See Phyllis M. Healey, "Telefodi Quotative Clauses", *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No. 1, Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series A - Occasional Papers, No. 3*, Canberra, 1964, pp. 27-34.

5. There are also a number of separable Adjuncts that occur with *dákamin* and other Auxiliaries. These forms may co-occur in the Clause with an Object Unit as may inseparable Adjuncts, but they are occasionally followed by Noun Phrase Laterals such as Person (*Pr: úyó* 'it') and Phrase Modifier (*Mp: kub* 'still', 'only', 'just', *úmak* 'any'). Very rarely they also may be separated from the following Verb by an Adverb as Manner Unit. In these respects they resemble the separable Adjunct before *keemin* (section 3). They include:

<i>malúnéng dákamin</i>	(Pi)	'shuffle'
<i>sá dákamin</i>	(Pi)	'have illicit relations'
<i>tiin dákamin</i>	(Pt)	'notice', 'watch for'
<i>úmtál dákamin</i>	(Pt)	'feel (unpleasant sensation)', 'suffer'
<i>yukuút dákamin</i>	(Pt)	'steal'

The customary Continuitive form of the Verb, terminating in *-in*, has been used as the citation form of all Verbs throughout the paper.

6. Adverbs are described in T.C.S. section 1.3.
7. There are a number of sets of object prefixes. Four representative sets are listed in T.C.S. section 2.2.
8. *dúb'kaákamin* 'let him go', 'leave him' might have been included in this list, as it contains a phonological juncture. However, it is written as one word since there is no Verb *kaákamin* occurring elsewhere as do other Verbs in this list.
9. The distinction between the types of Complex Verb described in sections 2 and 3 is not completely clear-cut, as section 2 has mostly inseparable Adjuncts with a residue of separables (see Note 5), while section 3 has mostly separables but also a few inseparables. Section 3, of course, involves only the Verb *keemin* as second part, while section 2 involves several Verbs excluding *keemin*.
- Another problem is the ill-defined distinction between an Adjunct and a Complement Unit (*Co*) preceding *keemin*. Many of the Intransitive Complex Verbs listed in section 3 could conceivably be re-analyzed as *Co + Pc*, though *Co* has not been observed to contain the wide variety of forms which have been subsumed under Adjunct here in section 3. Such a re-analysis is not possible for the Transitive and Motion Complex Verbs of section 3, or for any of the Complex Verbs of section 2. The Complement is described in Phyllis M. Healey, "Telefol Noun Phrases", *Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series B - Monographs, No.4*, Canberra, 1965 (hereafter referred to as T.N.P.), section 3.25.
10. Adjectives are described in T.N.P. section 1.22.
11. Pre-Demonstratives are described in T.N.P. section 2.12. The *soó* Phrase is described in T.N.P. section 3.23.
12. Post-Demonstratives are described in T.N.P. section 2.15.
13. Pronouns are described in T.N.P. section 2.16. The directional Pronouns are *keetá*, *koótá*, *heetá*, *hoótá*.
14. The majority of borrowed Nouns and Verbs appear to function as Nouns, the usual Noun Phrase Laterals potentially occurring with them. They have therefore been analyzed as Complement (*Co*), and *keemin* following them then becomes Complementary Predicate (*Pc*). Some of these are:

<i>bábtisim (úyó) keemin</i>	'present oneself for baptism'
<i>béeten (úyó) keemin</i>	'pray'
<i>kilisten (úyó) keemin</i>	'become a Christian'
<i>koóbbul (úyó) keemin</i>	'be made a corporal'
<i>okok (úyó) keemin</i>	'work', 'be employed'
<i>úlotu (úyó) keemin</i>	'attend church'

15. The sets meaning 'get' and 'bring' are to be described in another paper on sentence structure.
16. The normal meaning of benefactive forms is discussed in T.C.S. section 2.3.
17. Clause sequences are to be discussed in another paper on sentence structure.
18. Dependent Verbs are discussed in T.C.S. sections 1.2 and 4.
19. See T.C.S. section 2.4 for information on other habitual forms.
20. The third person plural morphemes are -fb and -ilfb. The independent forms are all continuative, and are present, recent habitual, past habitual, and timeless habitual respectively. The Dependent forms all involve a time interval.
21. <kwééb> represents the limited set of special Homopersonal Dependent Verb forms meaning 'bring', 'take' (see section 3.27). The commonest are: kwééb, dééb 'bring it'; kulééb, dulééb 'bring them'.
22. See T.C.S. section 2.4 for information on other habitual forms.
23. Noun Phrase nuclear expansions are described in T.N.P. section 1.27.
24. In the examples in this section the types of expansion are indicated by their section numbers in this paper, arranged in the order in which the processes have been applied.
25. Phrase Modifiers in Noun Phrases are described in T.N.P. section 2.17. The only other Phrase Modifier, kub 'only', 'just', 'still', 'very', occurs at the end of Noun Phrases and after a separable Adjunct in a Complex Verb Phrase, as in section 3. It does not occur at the end of a Verb Phrase.

CHAPTER III

TELEFOL CLAUSE STRUCTURE

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TELEFOL CLAUSE STRUCTURE

by

PHYLLIS M. HEALEY

CANBERRA 1965

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TELEFOL CLAUSE STRUCTURE

PHYLLIS M. HEALEY

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 GENERAL

The present paper is a continuation of the statement of the structure of the Telefol language, which commenced with *Telefol Noun Phrases* and *Telefol Verb Phrases*.¹ This paper presents in some detail the internal structure of Telefol Clauses so as to show the contrasts between the various Clause Types.

The basic Clause Types are Transitive, Intransitive, Motion, Complementary, Equational, and five contrasting Sub-Types of Quotative Clauses.² Four of these basic types (Transitive, Intransitive, Motion, and Complementary) may be modified by a change in the Predicate and correlated changes elsewhere in the Clause, to indicate benefactive. All of the basic Clause Types except the Equational may be modified by changes in the Predicate correlated with differences of external distribution, to indicate dependence or independence and same or different subject from that of the following Clause.

0.2 ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A_q</i> :	Noun Phrase Quantifier Unit
<i>B</i> :	Beneficiary Unit
<i>C</i> :	Complementary Clause
<i>CB</i> :	Benefactive Complementary Clause
<i>Co</i> :	Complement Unit
<i>Dn</i> :	Destination Unit
<i>E</i> :	Equational Clause
<i>I</i> :	Intransitive Clause
<i>IB</i> :	Benefactive Intransitive Clause
<i>L</i> :	Location Unit
<i>M</i> :	Motion Clause
<i>Ma</i> :	Manner Unit
<i>MB</i> :	Benefactive Motion Clause
<i>N</i> :	Noun Phrase Nucleus

Nm: Noun Phrase Number Unit
Nn: Noun
O: Object Unit
P: any Predicate Unit
Pc: Complementary Predicate Unit
Pcb: Benefactive Complementary Predicate Unit
Pe: Equational Predicate Unit
Pi: Intransitive Predicate Unit
Pib: Benefactive Intransitive Predicate Unit
Pm: Motion Predicate Unit
Pmb: Benefactive Motion Predicate Unit
Pq: Quotative Predicate Unit
Pqi: Direct Imperative Quotative Predicate Unit
Pr: Noun Phrase Person Unit
Pt: Transitive Predicate Unit
Ptb: Benefactive Transitive Predicate Unit
Q: any Quote Unit
Qd: Desiderative Quote Unit
Qn: Naming Quote Unit
Qp: Perceptive Quote Unit
Qs: Saying Quote Unit
R: Referent Unit³
S: Subject Unit
Se: Equational Subject Unit
T: Transitive Clause
TB: Benefactive Transitive Clause
Ti: Time Unit
W: Accompaniment Unit (with...)

1.0 THE CLAUSE-LEVEL UNITS

In all Telefol Clauses the PREDICATE is obligatory. All Clause Types other than Quotative Sub-Types are determined by the form of the Verb occurring in the Predicate, and by at least one other diagnostic clause-level unit. A diagnostic unit is one which helps to identify the Clause Type in which it occurs. Its occurrence is not necessarily obligatory, however. A number of optional, non-diagnostic clause-

level units may also occur in a Clause, though no more than three optional units have been observed in a single Clause, and most Clauses have just one, or none at all. In text, the most commonly occurring unit other than Predicate is Object, and the commonest Clause Type is Transitive.

1.1 THE OCCURRENCE OF UNITS IN THE CLAUSE

Table A illustrates the possible occurrences of the various units within the contrastive Clause Types. Obligatory occurrence is indicated by (+), optional occurrence by (±), and significant non-occurrence by (-).

Table A

CLAUSE TYPE ⁴	CLAUSE-LEVEL UNITS								
	Ti	S	W	L	B	O	Q	Ma	P
Transitive (T)	±	±	±	±	-	±O	-	±	+Pt
Transitive Benefactive (TB)	±	±	±	±	±	±O	-	±	+Ptb
Intransitive (I)	±	±	-	±	-	-	-	±	+Pi
Intransitive Benefactive (IB)	±	±	-	±	±	-	-	±	+Pib
Motion (M)	±	±	±	-	-	±Dn	-	±	+Pm
Motion Benefactive (MB) ⁵	±	±	±	-	-	±Dn	-	±	+Pmb
Complementary (C)	±	±	-	±	-	±Co	-	±	+Pc
Complementary Benefactive (CB) ⁵	±	±	-	±	-	±Co	-	±	+Pcb
Equational (E)	±	±Se	-	-	-	-	-	±	+Pe
Perceptive Quotative ⁶	±	±	-	-	-	-	+Qp	-	+Pq
Saying Quotative	±	±	-	-	-	-	+Qs	-	+Pq
Desiderative Quotative	±	±	-	-	-	-	+Qd	-	+Pq
Direct Imperative Quotative	-	±	-	-	-	-	+Qd	-	+Pqi
Naming Quotative	-	±	-	-	-	+R	+Qn	-	+Pq

The relative order of the units as shown in the table is the predominant one. However, the relative order of Subject, Beneficiary and Object (or Object-like units) is not fixed. In particular, Beneficiary sometimes follows Object. Object can also precede Subject. Time has not been observed in other than first position or immediately following S ± W.

Accompaniment (*W*) immediately follows Subject (*S*), if present. The occurrence of *S* is not necessary to the occurrence of *W*. The occurrence of *S + W* may be distinguished from a co-ordinate construction occurring in the Subject. The latter has *soó* 'and', 'with' following each co-ordinated item; the former lacks *soó* following the first item, which may have Noun Phrase Laterals, particularly Person, occurring with it instead.⁷ In a Clause containing *W*, the person-number suffix of the Verb in the Predicate may be in agreement with the Subject alone, or in agreement with *S + W* together (see section 2.1). In the former case, the person-number suffix is additional evidence of the unit status of *W*. However, a Kin Quantifier (*A_k*) may follow *S + W* as though they were a single unit:

beéyó (*S*: he) naning soó (*W*: with his uncle) úlím (*A_k*: man-and-child)
'he with his uncle'

mán tanúm beéyó (*S*: the lad) oókén soó (*W*: with his mother) áfaat
(*A_k*: woman-and-child) 'the lad with his mother'

beéyó (*S*: he) ílámí kalél soó (*W*: with his wife) ákám (*A_k*: husband-and-wife) 'he with his wife'

Dóoe soolé mínte Díabit soó íyó (*S*: Joy and David) oókén soolé aáláb soó (*W*: with their mother and father) úlímá (*A_k*: family) 'Joy and David with their mother and father'

1.2 PREDICATE UNITS

In all Clause Types except the Equational, the Predicate is manifested by a Verb. In the Equational Clause the Predicate is manifested by a Noun Phrase, which is not subject to the modifications of the Predicates of other Clause Types.

1.21 VERBAL PREDICATES IDENTIFIED BY STEM CLASS

Most Verbs are transitive, and so constitute the major syntactic Verb class. A Transitive Clause is also distinguished by the optional occurrence of an Object.

The other syntactic Verb classes are smaller: Intransitive, Motion, Complementary, and Quotative.

INTRANSITIVE VERBS manifest the Predicate of an Intransitive Clause. This syntactic class consists of all the members of two morphologically defined classes of Verbs together with a few other miscellaneous Verbs:

- (a) boonamin 'disappear'⁸
- daanamin 'dawn'
- kaanamin 'die'
- keenamin 'burn', 'shine'
- tábanamin 'shelter'

toonamin 'sit'
 waanamin 'hide (oneself)'

(b) Verbs derived from Adjectives and Nouns, e.g.

afálikénánamin	'enlarge'	from afálikén	'big'
bínímanamin	'be finished'	from bíním	'none'
dabómánamin	'be lopped'	from dabóm	'head'
damanamin	'mature'	from dam	'body'
diílanamin	'cool off'	from diil	'cold'
duumanamin	'fade'	from duum	'faded, brown'
katibánamin	'diminish'	from katib	'small'
máfákanamin	'deteriorate'	from máfák	'bad'
yámanamin	'ripen'	from yám	'ripe'

(c) Miscellaneous Verbs, e.g.

ímúnin 'doze'
 mínán' kálin 'be raining'
 oólmín 'shout'

MOTION VERBS, which co-occur with the distinctive optional clause-level unit, Destination, maní est a Motion Predicate. Beside being a syntactic class, Motion Verbs are all members of a distinctive morphological stem-class, those whose stems terminate in -em in the Customary Continuative form, and are followed by the -on and -ontema suffixial variants of Potential and Future Tenses in the Punctiliar Aspect.⁹ They include:

ábemin	'do, go abruptly'
am' íinemin	'go home', 'go into house'
bííinemin	'run away'
daákínemin	'leave, depart, go away, escape'
téemin	'come'
teémínemin	'go down, set' (sun, moon)
tíinemin	'walk, go past, fly, flow'
úncemin	'go'
yákínemin	'move out of the way'

There are just three Verbs which occur as Predicate of a COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSE, in which the other diagnostic unit is an optional Complement. These are

nin	'be', 'reside'
tébémin	'become', 'appear', 'happen', 'be'
keemin	'be', 'become', 'do'

The QUOTATIVE VERB, akan'kalin 'say', 'want', 'see', is the only Verb occurring as Predicate of all Quotative Clauses.

1.22 VERBAL PREDICATES MODIFIED BY INFLECTION

Just as the Clause Type may be partially identified by the Verb stem-class as described above, so also it may be further identified by some of the affixes of the Verb, whether or not the other diagnostic units are present in a particular manifestation of a Clause.

Transitive, Intransitive, Motion, and Complementary Clauses may be modified for benefactive. In a Clause so modified the benefactive form of the Verb involves an expansion of its stem and this is correlated with the addition of an optional clause-level unit, the Beneficiary, or with special features in one of the other optional clause-level units such as Subject or Object.

The independent non-benefactive Verb has the general morphological shape:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{object} \\ \pm \text{person} + \text{root} \pm \text{derivational} + \text{aspect} \\ \text{prefix} \quad \quad \quad \text{suffix} \quad \quad \text{suffix} \end{array} \right] + \begin{array}{l} \text{tense} \pm \text{negative} + \text{subject} \\ \text{suffix} \quad \quad \text{suffix} \quad \quad \text{suffix} \end{array}$$

NON-BENEFACTIVE STEM

for example,

bóko-l-antém-á (Pt: talk/punctiliar-punctiliar-will-he) (T) 'he will talk'

báka-m-antém-á (Pt: talk/continuative-continuative-will-he) (T) 'he will be talking'

The corresponding benefactive form of the Verb consists of a complex benefactive stem which differs from the non-benefactive stem by containing in addition a benefactive/aspect suffix and a beneficiary person marker:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{object} \\ \pm \text{person} + \text{root} \pm \text{deriv.} \quad \text{benef./} \quad \text{benef.} \\ \text{prefix} \quad \quad \quad \text{suffix} \quad \text{aspect} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{aspect} \\ \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{suffix} \quad \text{marker} \quad \text{suffix} \end{array} \right] + \begin{array}{l} \text{tense} \pm \text{negative} + \text{subject} \\ \text{suffix} \quad \quad \text{suffix} \quad \quad \text{suffix} \end{array}$$

BENEFACTIVE STEM

There is a phonological juncture before the beneficiary person marker, and this is marked by (') in the following examples, which have been written as single words:¹⁰

boko-b-'néc-l-antém-á (Ptb: talk/punctiliar-benefactive/punctiliar-me-punctiliar-will-he) (TB) 'he will tell me'

boko-b-'ná-m-antém-á (Ptb: talk/punctiliar-benefactive/punctiliar-me-continuative-will-he) (TB) 'he will tell me'¹¹

bákaa-Ø-'nec-m-antém-á (Ptb: talk/continuative-benefactive/continuative-me-continuative-will-he) (TB) 'he will be telling me'

The equivalent dependent forms replace the tense suffix by one of the dependent suffixes, for both non-benefactive and benefactive.

The Quotative Clause Sub-Types do not occur in the benefactive. But the Predicate of an associated clause may occur in the benefactive, the beneficiary person marker then being in agreement with the prefix of the Quotative Verb *akan'kalin*.¹²

A more far-reaching modification is indicated by the occurrence of the Homopersonal Dependent suffix *-nVI* and the Heteropersonal Dependent suffixes *-bVI*, *-sVI*, or rarely *-kVI*.¹³ One of these indicates that a particular Clause is Dependent, in contrast to an Independent Clause which contains instead in its Predicate a Verb marked by a tense suffix. The Dependent Clause, marked as above in its Predicate, is usually non-final in a sequence of Clauses in a Sentence; the Independent Clause is the final Clause of a sequence being affirmed, negated, or questioned. The Homopersonal suffix indicates that the subject of the following Clause is the same as that of the Dependent Clause; the Heteropersonal suffix indicates a change of subject in the following Clause. This suffix is in agreement with the Subject Unit of each Clause, if present, and with the subject-person suffixes of the two Predicates. The one partial exception to this agreement is the case in which the subject of the Dependent Clause includes the subject of the following Clause, in which case the Homopersonal suffix is used. All Clause Types except Equational may occur in either Dependent or Independent form.

1.3 NON-PREDICATE UNITS

The various distinct non-predicate clause-level units are: Time (*Ti*), Subject (*S*), Equational Subject (*Se*), Accompaniment (*A*), Location (*L*), Beneficiary (*B*), Object (*O*), Destination (*Dn*), Complement (*Co*), Referent (*R*), Quote (*Q*), and Manner (*Ma*). All of these are optional except Quote. Of these, Object, Destination, Complement, Referent, and Quote are diagnostic of the Clause Type in which they occur - Transitive, Motion, Complementary, Naming Quotative, and all Quotatives respectively. Similarly, Beneficiary is diagnostic of the benefactive modification of the Transitive and Intransitive Types.

With two exceptions, all of the non-predicate clause-level units are manifested by a Noun Phrase, the particular Noun Phrase Type often being diagnostic of the unit in which it occurs. The two exceptions are the Manner Unit and the Quote.

The occurrence of the various Noun Phrase Types in clause-level units is shown in Table B.¹⁴ Some of these clause-level units contrast with one another internally: in the Phrase Types which manifest them, and/or in some of their components, such as Noun sub-class and Pronoun series.¹⁵ They also contrast with one another externally: in their position within the Clause, and in the Clause Types in which

they occur.

However, *S*, *Se*, *B*, *O*, *R*, *Co*, and *Pe* may all be manifested by a General Noun Phrase, so may not contrast internally, but such ambiguities may usually be resolved. *B* usually marked by a *-mi* series Pronoun. *S*, *O*, and *B* may co-occur in a Clause and are not fixed in their preferred relative order. But they are then distinguished by agreement of each unit with an affix in the Verb of the Predicate (see section 2). *Se* and *Pe* are fixed in their relative order. *R* and *Co* occur in Clause Types where confusion is not likely to occur.¹⁸

Parentheses in Table B indicate limited, rare occurrence.

Table B

NOUN PHRASE TYPE	CLAUSE-LEVEL UNITS											
	<i>S</i>	<i>Se</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>Dn</i>	<i>Co</i>	<i>Pe</i>	<i>Ti</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>Ma</i>
General Noun Phrase	x	x	x	x	x		x	x				
Personal Name Phrase	x	x	x	x	x			x				
Possessor Nucleus Phrase	(x)			(x)			x	x				
Time Phrase	(x)			(x)						x		
Destination Phrase						x						
Instrument Phrase												x
Direction Phrase						x						
Location Phrase												
soó Phrase												x
bíním Phrase								x			x	
Descriptive Phrase							x	x				

Occurring in the Manner Unit is a class of ADVERBS, which includes the following:

akól	'slowly, gently'	eekub	'quickly'
aaltamsó	'again'	féén	'really, truly'
amíft	'permanently, definitely'	fiyaab	'slowly'
asok	'again'	foómtuub	'loudly, strongly,
átín	'really'	foóm	'firmly'
baán	'quickly' ?	ínget	'quickly'
bisfl	'quickly'	kuun	'temporarily', 'for a little while'
bisob	'for no reason'	maaksó	'again', 'more'

múngkúb	'similarly'	tambal	'well'
nangkaal	'slowly'	telé	'thoroughly'
oongifét	'quickly'	túluun	'really, actually'
oongsákám	'quickly'	yukút	'quickly'
séeng	'quickly'	yúkúsákám	'quickly'
suún	'always'	yúut	'quickly'
suúnkúb)			

Careful checking indicates that all of the words for 'quickly' except *baán* are near synonyms, and antonyms of *fiyaab* 'slowly'.

These Adverbs most frequently occur singly in the Manner Unit, but may occur more than one at a time. When a sequence of Adverbs manifests the Manner Unit, the following characteristics appear.

(a) The order in which they occur is not fixed, though loose preferences of order appear. *múngkúb*, *fiyaab*, *yúut*, and *asok* in particular change order very freely.

(b) However, the following in particular do show a tendency to occur first: *baán*, *féén*, *támbál*, and *múngkúb*. The following show a tendency to occur last: *túluun*, *foómtuub*, *bisfl*, *yúúut*, *yúkúsákám*.

(c) Most of the Adverbs apart from antonyms seem to co-occur, but *túluun* seems more restricted than the others.

The Manner Unit may also be manifested by an Instrument Phrase. This is a restricted type of General Noun Phrase.¹⁷ An Adverb and an Instrument Phrase may co-occur in the Manner Unit, their relative order being interchangeable. This co-occurrence parallels the co-occurrence of two Adverbs in the Manner Unit.

nímí kalél booyó (O: my wife) *foómtuub kúlmím tuub* (Na: hard with fist) *úng kwaálí* (Pt: I-hit-her) (T) 'I hit my wife hard with my fist'

or alternatively, *nímí kalél booyó* (O) *kúlmím tuub foómtuub* (Na: with fist hard) *úng kwaálí* (Pt).

Two further alternative analyses of the status of the Instrument Phrase are possible. Both alternative analyses involve an Instrument Unit which is distinct from the Manner Unit. (a) The Instrument Unit could be regarded as an additional optional unit in Transitive Clauses.¹⁷ (b) The Instrument Unit could be regarded as an optional unit diagnostic of an Instrument Clause Type. This Clause Type would also be characterized by a restricted set of Verbs in the Predicate, those involving a gross physical transitive action, e.g. break, hit, kick, bite, cut, make, pull, wipe, plait, tie, bore (hole), pick out, squash, pull up, paint, and the like. Such semi-cerebral actions as think, see, talk are excluded. However, it has not been easy to delimit this group of Verbs since the elicitation of Verb-Instrument collocations is limited by the ingenuity of the linguist. Both of

these alternative analyses have been rejected as more complex than the first analysis presented above.

Whereas the Manner Unit most frequently immediately precedes the Predicate, it may occur in any one of the positions shown in parentheses:

Ti S W (Ma) L (Ma) B (Ma) O (Ma) P

and in analogous positions in the other Clause Types.

The Quote, an obligatory unit occurring only in Quotative Clauses, is manifested by a whole sentence, from a single ejaculation or one-word Predicate to a sequence of Clauses, terminating with a Quotative Marker, *oó* or *kalaá*.¹⁸

2. AGREEMENT

There is agreement of person and number between Subject and Predicate, sometimes between Object and Predicate, and between Beneficiary and Predicate. There is also temporal agreement between Time and Predicate.

The Nucleus of a Noun Phrase as Subject, Object, Beneficiary, or Possessor may be singular or plural. Plural number may be indicated by one or more of the following:

- (a) the plural suffix *-al* on Kin Nouns, Personal Name Nouns, and a few other Human Nouns,¹⁹
- (b) the occurrence of a Quantifier (*A₁*),²⁰
- (c) co-ordination in the Nucleus,⁷
- (d) the Lateral Number,²¹
- (e) one of the Post-Demonstratives (*D₂*) *kalíb*, *kulíb*, or *bilíb* 'those'.²²

In addition, the Noun Phrase may contain a Person Unit, manifested by a Pronoun whose stem exhibits one of the following 8 distinctions of person and number:

1 sing.	'I, me'	<i>ní- ~ ná-</i>
1 plural	'we, us'	<i>nú- ~ nó-</i>
2 sing. masc.	'you'	<i>káb-</i>
2 sing. fem.	'you'	<i>kúb-</i>
2 plural	'you'	<i>íb-</i>
3 sing. masc.	'he, him'	<i>í- ~ yá-, keé-, beé-</i> ²³
3 sing. fem.	'she, her'	<i>ú- ~ ó-, koó-, boó-</i>
3 plural	'they, them'	<i>í-</i>

2.1 AGREEMENT OF SUBJECT AND PREDICATE

The finite Predicate exhibits the following 6 distinctions of

person and number by suffixation:

		Set A	Set B	Set C
1 sing.	'I'	-í	-ii	-án ~ -ón
2 sing.	'you'	-áb	-aláb	-ál ~ -aal
3 sing. masc.	'he'	-á	-e	-ák ~ -ók
3 sing. fem.	'she'	-ú	-o ~ -uu	-úk ~ -uúk
1 plural	'we'	-úb	-ulúb	-úm ~ -uúm
2/3 plural	'you/they'	-íb	-ilíb	-ín ~ -iín

Normally the Subject and Predicate agree in person and number:

beeyó (S: he) úná (Pm: he-went) (N) 'he left'²⁴

beeyó (S: he) weéng (O: talk) bókobá (Pt: he-talked) (T) 'he talked'

níyó (S: I) seéb (Di: forest) úní (Pm: I-went) (N) 'I went to the forest'

tanúm bilíb iyó (S: those men) weéng (O: talk) bákán' bilíb (Pt: they-are-talking) (T) 'the men are talking'

However there are two circumstances in which modification of agreement may occur. In each of these the Subject may be regarded as a collective unit and co-occur with a singular suffix in the Predicate, or as a plurality and co-occur with a plural suffix in the Predicate.

Firstly, a Phrase as Subject containing a Human Noun and a Quantifier in the Nucleus may have the shape:

Nífinim úlmal (N: (Nn: Nífinim A₁: family)) kábó (Pr: you-sing.masc.)
'Nífinim and his family, you'

The Predicate relating to this Subject may agree with the Pronoun in the Subject, and have a second person singular suffix (e.g. -áb 'you-sing. '), or it may agree with the total semantic configuration including úlmal 'family', and have a second person plural suffix (e.g. -íb 'you-pl. '). The Subject Phrase, with the same meaning, may have the alternate shape:

Nífinim úlmal (N: Nífinim and family) íbó (Pr: you-pl.)

In this case the Predicate will be in complete agreement with the Subject (e.g. -íb 'you-pl. ').

Nífinim úlmal kábó (S: Nífinim and family, you-sing.masc.) unóntemáb
(Pm: you-sing.-will-go) (N) 'Nífinim, you and your family will go'

Nífinim úlmal kábó (S: Nífinim and family, you-sing.masc.) unóntemáb
(Pm: you-pl.-will-go) (N) 'Nífinim, you and your family will go'

Nífinim úlmal íbó (S: Nífinim and family, you-pl.) unóntemíb (Pm:
you-pl.-will-go) (N) 'Nífinim, you and your family will go'

unáng alíkaab (S: woman all) túlú (Pm: she-came) (N) 'all the women came'

The other modifying circumstance is a Clause involving an Accompaniment Unit (*W*). Whether or not the Clause contains a Subject Unit (e.g. *niyó* 'I') immediately preceding *W*, the presence of a *soó* Phrase as Accompaniment (e.g. *kabsó* 'with-you-sing.masc.') permits two alternatives in the Predicate. *P* may agree with the Subject alone (e.g. *-ón* 'I will'), or with *S + W* (e.g. *-úm* 'we will'), thus:

niyó (*S*: I) *kabsó* (*W*: with-you) *unón* (*Pm*: I-will-go) (*N*) 'I'll go with you'

niyó (*S*: I) *kabsó* (*W*: with-you) *unúm* (*Pm*: we-will-go) (*N*) 'I'll go with you'

Kéeni *beéyó* (*S*: Keeni) *ímí* *kaléí* *sinó* (*W*: with his wife) *ímán* *úyó* (*O*: food) *funbe* (*Pt*: he-is-cooking) (*T*) 'Keeni is cooking food with his wife'

kábó (*S*: you-sing.masc.) *wantab soó* (*W*: with whom) *únáb* (*Pm*: you-sing.-went) (*N*) 'who did you go with'

wantab ítá (*S*: who) *kabsó* (*W*: with-you-masc. sing.) *úníb* (*Pm*: you-pl.-went) (*N*) 'who went with you'

2.2 AGREEMENT OF OBJECT AND PREDICATE

About 20% of all Transitive Verbs indicate object by prefixation. These prefixed Verbs are divided into several classes according to the particular set of prefixes they take. These sets of prefixes involve a varying number of person-number distinctions, as may be illustrated by the following four representative sets, although the majority of Verbs show a five-way distinction like the third column below.

1 sing.	'me'		na-	na-	namd-
2 sing.	'you'		ka-	ka-	kamd-
1/2/3 pl.	'us/you/them'			i-	imd-
3 masc. sing.	'him/it'	} d- }	} a- }	} du-	d-
3 masc. pl.	'them'				
3 fem. sing.	'her/IT'	} k- }	} a- }	} ku-	k-
3 fem. pl.	'THEM'				
					kul-

A Predicate involving one of these Verbs agrees with the Object Unit to the extent of the number of distinctions available for the particular Verb. The Object Unit may be marked by a *-mí* series Pronoun before one of these object-marked Predicates, in place of the more usual Pronoun series such as *-ó* and *-tá*.

beéyó (*S*: he) *nímí* (*O*: me) *náng* *koó lá* (*Pt*: he-hit-me) (*T*) 'he hit me'

beéyó (*S*: he) *mán* *ítá* (*O*: the boy) *áng* *koó lá* (*Pt*: he-hit-him) (*T*) 'he hit the boy'

beéyó (*S*: he) *mán* *ítá* (*O*: the boy) *áng* *koob'* *néelá* (*Ptb*: he-hit-him-for-me) (*TB*) 'he hit the boy for me'

beéyó (S: he) númí (O: us) ífflinbe (Pt: he-is-sorry-for-us/you/them)
(T) 'he is sorry for us'

beéyó (S: he) ímí (O: him/them) ífflinbe (Pt: he-is-sorry-for-us/you/
them) (T) 'he is sorry for them'

2.3 AGREEMENT INVOLVING BENEFACTIVE PREDICATES

The beneficiary person marker in a benefactive Predicate (*Ptb*, *Pib*, *Pmb*, *Pcb*) shows the following three-way contrast:

'nee-	~ 'na-	'for me'
'kee-	~ 'ka-	'for you-sing.'
'ee-	~ Ø	'for him/her/us/you-pl./them'

This person marker agrees in person and number, to the extent of this three-way contrast, with the Beneficiary Unit if there is one. If there is no Beneficiary Unit, it may agree with the Possessor within any clause-level unit manifested by a Noun Phrase.

The Beneficiary Unit occurs in Transitive and Intransitive Clauses only. It appears, however, that not all Transitive and Intransitive Verbs co-occur with the Beneficiary Unit. Those which do so, occur in the benefactive form far more frequently than those which do not. Some of the Verbs characteristically occurring in benefactive form and having a Beneficiary Unit associated with them are:

(a) Transitive:

bákaa' eemin	'tell him'	kafal' éemin)	'show him'
		kúkú' eemin)	
bákkaa' eemin	'miss him'	oksam úkaa' eemin	wash him'
kúkaa' eemin)	'give him'	úkaa' eemin	'cut and give him
kúbkaa' eemin)			a share of meat'

(b) Intransitive:

oól' eemin	'call him'	doóng dákaa' eemin	'help him'
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The Beneficiary Unit is manifested by a General Noun Phrase. This commonly and characteristically contains a Pronoun of the -mí series, though a Pronoun of the -ó, -tá, or -kal series also occasionally occurs. Very occasionally there is no Pronoun. The following examples show agreement with Beneficiary in Transitive and Intransitive Clauses.

mufekmufek bodyó (O: those things) waámí (B: who?) moób' mantéádt (Pcb:
you-will-buy-for-him) (TB) 'who are you buying those things for'

níyó (S: I) kaáhkák mák (O: an axe) tanúm beémí (B: the man) koób' mí
(Ptb: I-gave-to-him) (TB) 'I gave the man an axe'

oókén ítá (S: her mother) mán (B: child) kafal' éébo (Ptb: she-is-
snowing-it-to-her) (TB) 'her mother is showing it to her'

- súng booyó (O: the story) unáng tanúm ímí (B: the people) bokob'eeleá
(Ptb: he-told-them) (TB) 'he told the people the story'
- tanum iyó (S: the men) íkkum beeyó (B: their friends) doóng dákaa'eeemín
(Pib: customarily-help-them) (IB) 'one man helps another'
- meet Nífinim beeyó (S: Nífinim up there) yáng mán beémí (B: that child
along there) oól'eebe (Pib: he-is-calling-him) (IB) 'Nífinim is
calling that child'

The other type of benefactive agreement is far more versatile. It may occur with any benefactive Predicate (Ptb, Pib, Pmb, Fcb). The Predicate may be in agreement with a Possessor in any clause-level unit manifested by a General Noun Phrase. The Possessor is itself a General Noun Phrase, which usually terminates with a -mí series Pronoun as Person. It occurs within the Nucleus of the Phrase, preceding the Noun Head.²⁵ Note that the presence of a Possessor in any clause-level unit does not require a benefactive Predicate plus this type of agreement. But the presence of a benefactive Predicate normally does involve agreement.

The following examples illustrate this type of agreement, the unit containing the relevant Possessor being indicated in each case.

- S - ními kaábák íkú (S: my axe handle) kún (Co: strong) tebeb'eeebú
(Pcb: it-has-become-for-me) (CB) 'my axe handle has hardened'
- S - beémí káyaam (S: his dog) kaaneb'eeleá (Pib: it-died-for-him)
(IB) 'his dog died'
- S - bilíh ímí aket úyó (S: their thoughts) támbólaneb'múk (Pib: it-
will-become-good-for-them) (IB) 'they will be satisfied'
- O - tanúm mák ímí at (O: a man's song) kwaa'eebilíh (Ptb: they-are-
singing-to-him) (TB) 'they are singing about/to a man'
- O - ookén úmí koong sook (O: his mother's pig rope) íla eebe (Ptb: he-
is-making-for-her) (TB) 'he is making a pig rope for his mother'
- Dn - ními kaábák ífnang (Dn: up to my axe) uneb'eeleá (Pmb: he-went-
for-me) (NB) 'he went for my axe'
- Dn - ními ílángdíh (Dn: my garden) tebeb'náma (Pmb: he-came-for-me)
(NB) 'he came to my garden'
- Co - beeyó (S: he) nírí kamókím (Co: our headman) keeb'eesá (Pcb: he-
is-for-us) (CB) 'he is our headman'
- Co - íse booyó (S: that) nulímí ookok alíkaab (Co: our responsibility
entirely) keeb'eesú (Pcb: it-is-for-us) (CB) 'it is our respon-
sibility entirely'
- L - náyó (S: I) fuut mak úyó (O: a carving) kábmí kaal díim kól (L: on
your skin) dooleb'keeli (Ptb: I-wrote-for-you) (TB) 'I wrote on
your skin'

L - booyó (S: she) ook úyó (O: water) beémí dubóm dífí kal (L: on his head) deeleb'mí (Ptb: she-poured-for-him) (TB) 'she poured water on his head'

2.4 AGREEMENT OF TIME AND PREDICATE

Table C summarizes the collocations of Time Unit and Predicate tense that occur. It will be noted that the Time Unit and the Predicate tense are in agreement, the agreement being more exact between more specific time and more specific tense, and being less exact between less specific time and tense. Senseless forms will be seen to occur with all Time expressions, relative Time expressions with all tenses.

All the Verb forms cited in the table are Independent forms of the Verb *bákamin* 'say', 'tell', 'talk', and all finite forms contain one of the third person singular masculine subject suffixes -á, -e, or -ák.

Occurrence is indicated by (x), non-occurrence by (-), and doubtful occurrence by (?).

The -sá past tense punctiliar only occurs with time expressions for the very remote past, especially for times preceding the birth of the speaker, whereas the -se past tense punctiliar occurs with expressions for the less remote past.

One Verb form, *bákán-boómá* 'he is always talking', does not occur with the Time Unit at all. The only time-like co-occurent of this form is the Adverb *suúnkúb* 'always'. Similarly, the Customary Continuative form *bákam-in* '<he> talks', except in its Imperative usage, does not occur with the Time Unit, or with *suúnkúb*. When used with *suúnkúb* rather than with a time expression, *báká-nuubá*, *báká-nákbe*, *báka-bá*, and periphrases *bákán álbá* (recent extended) and *bákán téhesá* (stative habitual) all seem to be synonymous with *bákán-boómá*.

Imperative forms, which show the same agreement pattern as general future forms, include the following: Customary Continuative, *bákam-in*, in a Clause having a second person Pronoun as Person in the Subject Unit; Potential when followed by Sentence Terminals *a*, *oo*, or by *oo aketa koo*; second person Abilitative (with negative meaning).

Table C: AGREEMENT OF TIME AND PREDICATE

THE TIME UNIT TENSE IN THE PREDICATE	SPECIFIC TIME						VAGUE TIME				RELATIVE TIME	
	more than 2 days ago	1 or 2 days ago	less than 1 day ago	less than 1 day ahead	1 or 2 days ahead	more than 2 days ahead	a long time ago	some time ago	recently, soon	now		some time ahead
FAR PAST: bóko-sá, boko-se, ²⁶ bákam-sá	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	x
GENERAL PAST PUNCTILIAR: bóko-bá	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	x	x	?	-	x
YESTERDAY PAST: bóko-mansá, bákán-mansá	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	x
IMMEDIATE PAST: bókol-á	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	x
PAST HABITUAL: báká-nubá	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	?	-	-	x
RECENT HABITUAL: báká-'nákbe, báká-bá	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	x
PRESENT CONTINUATIVE: bákán-be	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	x
IMMEDIATE FUTURE: bákam-á	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	x
TOMORROW FUTURE: bóko-'boóntemá, bákán-'boóntemá	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	?	x	x
GENERAL FUTURE: bókol-antémá, bákam-antémá, also Imperative forms	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	x	x
TENSELESS FORMS: Potential: bókol-ák, bákam-ák Abilitative: bóko-'namá, bákam-'namá Negative: bókol-íntém, bákam-íntém Unfulfilled Obligation: bókol-anakin, bákam-anakin	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

A representative sample of possible Noun Phrases occurring as the Time Unit is as follows:²⁷

SPECIFIC TIME:

siin yák mák úmí falaédé úyó	'Friday of last week'
amsínsín ilo	'day before yesterday'
amsíntá	'yesterday'
amsín mililiib koótá	'last night'
kamáno mililiib koótá	'last night', 'tonight'
kamáno kutím koótá	'this morning'
kamáno kwilina koótá	'this afternoon'
amsáb kutím koótá	'tomorrow morning'
amsáb úyó	'tomorrow'
amsáb bíí kaál	'the day after tomorrow'
amsáb bíí kaálkaal	'two days after tomorrow'
yák mák úmí falaédé koótá	'Friday of next week'
yák mák úmí átol dúkúlantemib koótá	'next Christmas', 'next year'

VAGUE TIME:

sukáyok sukayok koótá	'a very long time ago'
sukámí koótá	'a long time ago'
siin úyó	'some time ago'
kamaá koótá	'recently', 'just'; 'soon', 'about to'
meéb kamaá koótá	
ka	
kamáno	'now' (?)
kamáno an ka daanu koótá	'today'
an ka daanu koótá	'now'
suúktá, suúkká	'later on', 'sometime'

The expressions kamaá koótá, meéb kamaá koótá, and ka indicate general proximity to the present. Their translation as 'recently' or 'soon' depends on whether a past or future tense occurs in the related Predicate.

RELATIVE TIME:

aaltam	'afterwards'
kamaá kí	'(at) first'

The same full distribution as these two expressions have is shared by Sequential Clauses indicating relative time, such as siita 'soon', hiita 'later'.

There are two aspects in Telefol Verbs: Punctiliar for momentary or short action, often marked by suffix -l, and Continuative for more protracted action, marked by -m, -n, or -n'kal. Many Verbs also have contrastive stems for Punctiliar and Continuative Aspect.

The Interrogative Time Phrase *dook koótá* 'when?' occurs with Punctiliar Aspect Verb forms almost exclusively. So also does the Sequential Clause *dokóbe dokobe keeta* 'whenever'.

The expression *kwiina soó kutím soó*, a 2nd idiom meaning 'all day long', occurs mostly with Continuative Aspect Verb forms. The Adverb *suúnkúb* 'always' also occurs mostly with Continuative forms.

3. CONTRASTIVE FEATURES OF CLAUSE TYPES

The following abbreviation of part of Table A shows for the Clause Types listed only those units which are diagnostic for their establishment as separate Clause Types:

Transitive (T)		±O	+Pt
Transitive Benefactive (TB)	±B	±O	+Pt _b
Intransitive (I)			+Pi
Intransitive Benefactive (IB)	±B		+Pi _b
Motion (M)		±Dn	+Pn
Motion Benefactive (MB)		±Dn	+Pn _b
Complementary (C)		±Co	+Pc
Complementary Benefactive (CB)		±Co	+Pc _b

Benefactive Clause Types are distinguished from the corresponding non-benefactive Clause Types by: (a) a modification of the Predicate, as described in sections 1.22 and 2.3, and (b) agreement between the Predicate and either a Beneficiary Unit or else the Possessor in one of the other units in the Clause as described in section 2.3.

The evidence for distinguishing Transitive, Intransitive, Motion, and Complementary Predicates has already been given - a separate syntactic class of Verb occurs in each one, and these syntactic classes tend to be manifested by Verbs of different morphologically-defined stem-classes.

With each of these types of Predicate other than Intransitive a contrastive Object-like unit occurs: Object, Destination, and Complement respectively. Each of these contrastive units is manifested by a Noun Phrase.

INTRANSITIVE Clauses, of course, have no Object-like unit:

beémí oókén úyó (S: his mother) *kaansuu* (Pi: she-has-died) (I) 'his mother is dead'

beémí oókén úyó (S: his mother) *támálanbú* (Pi: she-got-better) (I) 'his mother is better'

beémí ímán úyó (S: his taro) *damánsú* (Pi: it-has-matured) (I) 'his

taro has matured', 'his taro is mature'

beémí ímán uyo (S: his taro) damaneb' éesú (Pt: it-has-matured-for-him) (TB) 'his taro has matured'

In the TRANSITIVE Clause, the Object is manifested by a General Noun Phrase, which may contain various sub-classes of Noun other than Location Nouns in its Nucleus, and which may have as Person any one of a wide variety of Pronoun series. However, it is more common for Object to occur without Person in the Phrase, especially when it immediately precedes the Predicate.

Tikínékál iyó (S: Tikinekal) am (O: house) dínanbe (Pt: he-is-building) (T) 'Tikinekal is building a house'

kabmí (O: you) kakánbe (Pt: he-is-insulting-you) (T) 'he is insulting you'

ookén soolé aalah soo (O: his mother and father) imkánalale (Pt: he-left-them-and) (T) 'he left his father and mother....'

kookot imí sáng (O: your uncle's saying) bakánbe (Pt: he-is-telling) (T) 'he's telling what your uncle said'

am (O: house) díne'neemantémí (Pt: they-will-build-for-me) (TB) 'they'll build me a house'

tanúm beéyó (O: that man) Tifalam kal (L: at Tifalmin) ang koólib (Pt: they-killed-him) (T) 'they killed that man at Tifalmin'

There is a group of Idiomatic Object-Predicate collocations in which just one possible Noun occurs with a particular Verb, and the Noun is characteristically possessed. Many of these collocations are in the semantic area of the emotions. The Possessor within the Object is equivalent to the English Object, and the possessed Noun + Predicate is equivalent to the English Predicate:²⁸

kabmí áket (O: thought about you) fúkúnbí (Pt: I-am-thinking) (T) 'I am thinking about you'

nímí ílak (O: regard for me) dúkanúbá (Pt: he-has) (T) 'he loves me'

kúbmí kálan (O: for you) amánbe (Pt: he-is-crying) (T) 'he is crying for you'

beémí atul (O: pain about him) fínanúbí (Pt: I-fear) (T) 'I am afraid of him'

boómí wéeng (O: her word) úmob' éelf (Pt: I-contracted-it-with-her) (TB) 'I greeted her'

In the MOTION Clause, Destination is manifested by either a Destination Phrase or a Direction Phrase. The Destination Phrase is a variant of the General Noun Phrase containing a Location Noun as Head of the Nucleus, few Laterals other than Post-Direction, Pre-Direction,

and occasionally Person.²⁹ Person, if present, is manifested by a third person -ta or -o series Pronoun. It always occurs if the Destination Unit is followed by Manner Unit. The Direction Phrase also contains a Location Noun in the Nucleus, may contain Pre-Direction and Post-Direction, and is obligatorily terminated by one of a very small class of Direction Indicators. These two Phrase Types are confined to the Destination Unit and so are diagnostic.

scéb (Dn: forest) úní (Pm: I-go) (M) 'I'm going to the forest'

Tifálam (Dn: Tifalmin) daákiníb (Pm: they-left) (M) 'they left Tifalmin'

mamet (Dn: up-here) tálaal (Pm: you-come) (M) 'come up here'

Tifálam kweék téle (Dn: via Tifalmin across there) tílíb (Pt: they-came) (M) 'they came via Tifalmin'

Tifálam ilota (Dn: from Tifalmin) tílíb (Pm: they-came) (M) 'they came from Tifalmin'

A Descriptive Phrase is the usual manifestation of the Complement in a COMPLEMENTARY Clause, but occasionally a General Noun Phrase occurs there.

támbáliim (Co: good) álbí (Pc: I-am) (C) 'I am well'

támbáliim (Co: good) keélú (Pc: she-became) (C) 'she got better'

kún (Co: strong) tébesú (Pc: it-has-become) (C) 'it is strong'

miít álob mak (Co: just two kinds) álbíb (Pc: they-are) (C) 'there are just two kinds'

scéb kál (L: in the forest) álbíb (Pc: they-are) (C) 'they are in the forest'

bodýó (S: she) scéb kál (L: in the forest) támbáliim (Co: good) álbú (Pc: she-was) (C) 'she was all right in the forest'

bodýó (S: it) nulúmí ook aifkaab (Co: our responsibility entirely) keébu (Pc: it-has-become) (C) 'it is our responsibility entirely'

kanúbe ákánbíllí ámeba ulútáb (Co: he cried because I scolded him like-it) kéebe (Pc: he-is-doing) (C) 'he is crying as though I had scolded him'

The EQUATIONAL Clause is different in several respects from all other Clause Types. It has fewer optional units, only Subject, Time, and Manner occurring. Its Predicate is a General Noun Phrase, a Descriptive Phrase, a Location Phrase or a hínim Phrase. These latter two types of Noun Phrase are diagnostic of the Equational Predicate. The Complementary Clause is the most similar type to the Equational, but differs in containing a verbal Predicate, which may be benefactive, and in the possible occurrence of a Location Unit. However, the Noun Phrase Types most commonly occurring as *Pe* and as *Co* are similar.

though not identical. Neither *soó* nor *bíním* Phrases occur as Complement. Qualifiers of the *A₁* (colour) and *A₂* (size) types tend to manifest a Descriptive Phrase as *Pe*, while those of the *A₃* (quality) and *A₄* (quantifier) types tend to manifest a Descriptive Phrase as Co.³⁰

- beéyó* (Se: he) *tímitím* (Pe: tall) (E) 'he is tall'
beéyó (Se: he) *Álúmeyók* (Pe: Alumeyok) (E) 'that's Alumeyok'
beéyó (Se: he) *nímí dátúm* (Pe: my father) (E) 'that's/he's my father'
Álúmeyók íyó (Se: Alumeyok) *nímí dátúm ítá* (Pe: my father) (E) 'Alumeyok is my father'
boóyó (Se: it) *nímí* (Pe: my) (E) 'it's/that's mine'
beéyó (Se: he) *koong álob soó* (Pe: has two pigs) (E) 'he has two pigs'
beéyó (Se: he) *koong biním* (Pe: no pigs) (E) 'he has no pigs'
koong úyó (Se: pig) *bíním* (Pe: none) (E) 'there are no pigs'
beéyó (Se: he) *kábká bá* (Pe: not you) (E) 'it wasn't you'
íse mán boóyó (Se: this child) *nalátáb* (Pe: like-me) (E) 'this child is like me'

All Sub-Types of the QUOTATIVE Clause contrast with other Clause Types in two features: (a) the obligatory Quote Unit, which is not a Noun Phrase, but a sentence terminating in a Quotative Marker instead of a Sentence Terminal, and (b) the single Quotative Predicate Verb *akan' kalin*. The five Sub-Types of the Quotative Clause contrast with each other in their internal structure. This is partly shown in Table A, and is discussed in detail elsewhere.²

The Referent Unit, which occurs only in the Naming Quotative Clause, is manifested by a General Noun Phrase and looks like an Object. However, it does not agree with the prefix of the Verb as do other Objects. It is therefore a different unit, and an additional contrastive feature of its Clause.³¹

4. DISTRIBUTION OF CLAUSES IN THE SENTENCE

The Sentence in Telefol may be brief, but is frequently of great length. Its onset may be marked by certain stereotyped formulae:

- (a) a time expression such as *kamá kí...* 'Now...',
- (b) an Equational Subject, like *koóyó kí...* 'This is (about)...',
- (c) a repetition, in dependent form, of the final Predicate of the preceding Sentence.

In addition to one of these, it may be marked by certain Connectives, particularly *kale* 'so', 'and' and *minte* 'and', and it is always marked by the beginning of a new intonation contour.

Its conclusion is marked by a falling intonation superimposed upon the tones of the final words, regardless of the type of the final Clause, and may also be marked by:

- (a) an Independent Predicate in other than Punctiliar neutral tense,
- (b) a Sentence Terminal, such as

<i>koo</i>	'statement indicator' (sentence)
<i>kwa</i>	'statement indicator' (discourse)
<i>kuba</i>	'emphatic statement indicator'
<i>aka</i>	'interrogative indicator'
<i>akuu</i>	'familiar interrogative indicator'
<i>a</i>	'interrogative indicator' (after interrogative word)
<i>a</i>	'imperative indicator'
<i>uu</i>	'familiarity indicator' (statement and imperative)
<i>bel⁴ ɛi</i>	'interrogative indicator' (= 'or not?')
<i>belé ɛ</i>	
<i>oo</i>	'polite imperative indicator' ³²

It has already been demonstrated that a Clause or sequence of Clauses may occur as Nucleus of a Noun Phrase. Such Clauses have been termed INCLUDED CLAUSES.³³

A Clause or Clause sequence may also occur followed by *oó* or *kalaá* as the Quote Unit in a Quotative Clause.¹⁸

Clauses occurring in sequence in a Sentence have been termed SEQUENTIAL CLAUSES. Sequential Clauses occur in the chronological order of the events they describe, except for certain co-ordinated Clause sequences where no semantic element of time is present. Any number of Sequential Clauses may occur in a string. Non-final in the string both Independent and Dependent Clauses occur, the majority being Dependent. Homopersonal Dependent Clauses are those whose Predicate is unmarked (i.e. an uninflected stem) or is marked by the suffix *-nvi* for same subject in the following Clause; Heteropersonal Dependent Clauses are those whose Predicate is marked by the suffix *-svi*, *-bvi*, or *-kvi* for different subject in the following Clause. Most non-final Independent Clauses have their Predicate in the Punctiliar neutral tense. The final Clause of the string is almost always Independent. The one exception is the use of a Homopersonal Dependent Predicate suffixed by *-abta* or *-ibta* as an imperative, a semantically similar alternative to the more commonly used Potential Tense forms *-al* and *-in*. The former is used when an extra-linguistic connection with another unstated event is implied. The final Clause may contain Predicate Modifiers such as: *tab* 'perhaps', *bá* 'negative', *noo* 'also'.

úmak 'any', within the Predicate Phrase. The first two of these affect semantically all the preceding Dependent Clauses as far back as the last Independent Clause of the string. The semantic force of Sentence Terminals also affects preceding Dependent Clauses back to the last Independent Clause.

NOTES

1. Phyllis M. Healey, "Telefol Noun Phrases", *Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series B - Monographs, No. 4*, Canberra, 1965 (henceforth referred to as T.N.P.); "Telefol Verb Phrases", *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No. 3, Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series A - Occasional Papers, No. 5*, pp. 27-53. The Telefol language is spoken by about 4000 people in the vicinity of Telefomin, Sepik District, Territory of New Guinea. This paper is based on the results of field work carried out under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Australian National University between 1959 and 1965. Thanks are due to Karl J. Franklin, Rosemary Young, and Alan Healey for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.
2. The common and contrastive features of these Sub-Types of Quotative Clauses are described in detail in Phyllis M. Healey, "Teleéfool Quotative Clauses", *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No. 1, Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series A - Occasional Papers, No. 3*, Canberra, 1964, pp. 27-34 (henceforth referred to as P.M.H. 1964). Since the publication of this article the orthography has been modified as a result of machine measurement of vowels, and the language name for bibliographical purposes has been re-spelt **Telefol**.
3. Referent is called Object in P.M.H. 1964.
4. For each of these Clause Types except the Equational, there are three possible modifications, discussed in section 1.2.
5. Although in this table these two Clause Types appear to differ in one respect only from their non-benefactive counterparts, there is in fact an additional feature of agreement that distinguishes them further. See section 2.3.
6. Although in this table some of the Quotative Clauses also appear to differ in one respect only, more than one significant structural difference is encompassed within the one Clause-level unit, the Quote (Q). See P.M.H. 1964.
7. Co-ordination is discussed in section 1.23 and Laterals in section 2.1 of T.N.P.
8. The Customary Continuative form of the Verb, terminating in the suffix *-in*, has been used for citation, to represent the particular Verb in all its forms. It is the nearest equivalent of an English Infinitive, and it is easily elicited.

9. Tense and aspect are discussed in section 2.4.
10. For the evidence for this juncture see Alan Healey, "Telefol Phonology", *Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series B - Monographs, No.3*, Canberra, 1984, pp.37-38.
11. This punctiliar form, which contains conflicting aspect suffixes, occurs with only one-third of the tense suffixes.
12. The function of the associated Clause of a Quotative Clause and of the prefix of *akan'kalin* are described in P.M.H. 1984, section 3.
13. The V in these suffixes represents a vowel which is identical to the first vowel of the following subject suffix.
14. Table B is a repetition of Table C of section 3.3 of T.N.P.
15. For the contrasts between Phrase Types see Table B in section 3.26 and Table A in section 2.16 of T.N.P.
16. For examples of Clauses containing the various clause-level units, see section 3.
17. The Instrument Phrase is described in T.N.P. section 3.15, where alternative analysis (a) was still employed.
18. For a detailed discussion of types of Quote see P.M.H. 1984.
19. See section 2.1 of Alan Healey, "Linguistic Aspects of Telefomin Kinship Terminology", *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol.4, No.7, 1982, pp.14-28. Noun sub-classes are described in T.N.P. section 1.1.
20. For a description of Quantifiers see T.N.P. section 1.22(d).
21. Number is described in T.N.P. section 2.13.
22. Post-Demonstratives are described in T.N.P. section 2.15.
23. Pronouns are described in T.N.P. section 2.16. The extra third person Pronoun stems *keé-* and *koó-* indicate position 'here', *beé-* and *boó-* position 'there'.
24. All the examples of Clauses in this paper are given as part-sentences only. The Sentence Terminal is not shown, nor is the equivalent English punctuation.
25. The Possessor is more fully described in T.N.P. section 1.21.
26. The details of Telefol Verb morphology are to be described in Alan Healey, "Telefol Morphology".
27. The internal composition of the Noun Phrase as Time is described in T.N.P. sections 1.21(e) and 3.13.

28. Possessed Objects are described in more detail in T.N.P. section 1.21(f).
29. These various Laterals are described in T.N.P. section 2.1.
30. The Qualifiers are described in T.N.P. section 1.22.
31. This statement represents a revision of the analysis given in P.M.H. 1984, section 1.
32. This may be a contraction of the Direct Imperative Quotative which terminates in ... od aketa.
33. Included Clauses are described and illustrated in T.N.P. section 1.26.

CHAPTER IV

RELATIVE CLAUSES

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TELEÉFOÓL QUOTATIVE CLAUSES

by

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The Australian National University

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1

TELEÉFOOL QUOTATIVE CLAUSES¹

PHYLLIS M. HEALEY

1. STRUCTURE OF THE QUOTATIVE CLAUSE

One of the contrastive clause types of Teleéfool is the QUOTATIVE². It is characterized by the obligatory occurrence of some form of the verb *akankalin* as PREDICATE, and the obligatory occurrence of a QUOTE, a clause-level unit unique to the Quotative Clause. The Quote consists of a complete utterance terminated by one of the almost obligatory QUOTATIVE MARKERS, *kalad* or *od*. This utterance may be a single-clause or multi-clause utterance, or an exclamation, i.e. a non-clause.³ The verb *akankalin* and the markers *od* and *kalad* do not occur elsewhere.

The clause-level units occurring in the Quotative Clause are limited to three: optional Subject, obligatory Quote, and obligatory Predicate (a form of *akankalin*), in that order. The Naming sub-type alone has an additional obligatory unit, an Object, which follows the Subject in order.⁴ Most other clause types contain many more (optional) clause-level units, including Time, Accompaniment, Location, Beneficiary, Complement, Destination, Instrument.

The Quotative Clause is in fact a class of clause types which resemble one another much more than they resemble any other clause type. However, they also differ contrastively from one another in several important ways, and so may be said to constitute sub-types of the Quotative Clause. The following sub-types have been distinguished.

(a) SAYING, in which the final Predicate of the Quote may contain any tense, and the Quote Marker is *od*, or, more rarely (16% of occurrences), one of the common Utterance Terminals, such as the Indicative Indicators *koo*, *kwa*, or *kuba*, or the Interrogative Indicators *a* or *aka*. These occur more frequently in this context in the speech of members of the older generation. The younger generation prefer always to use *od* rather than to distinguish the character of the Quote by using Utterance Terminals. Only the Saying sub-type may have an exclamation as Quote.

(b) DESIDERATIVE, in which the final Predicate of the Quote contains a non-real tense (Potential or Future), and the Marker is obligatorily *od*.

(c) DIRECT IMPERATIVE, in which the tense of the Quote-final Predicate is usually Potential, but may be Dependent or Abilitative, the Marker is *od*, and the Quotative Clause Predicate is unmarked for person and followed by an Indicative Utterance Terminal (*akeeta koo*). That is, it is a non-finite closed Predicate. Only the Imperative

sub-type may not have an Equational Clause as Quote. It should be noted that this is the Direct Imperative ('Do it!'), not the Quoted Imperative ('Do it!' he 'said.'). which is a variety of the Saying sub-type.

(d) NAMING, in which the Quote consists of the NAME (analysable as an Equational Clause), and an obligatory Object occurs. This Object is a Noun Phrase, and is the thing named or REFERENT. A clause-level free Object does not occur in other sub-types of Quotative Clause. The Marker is *od*.

(e) PERCEPTIVE, in which the Potential tense does not occur in the Quote-final Predicate, and the Marker is obligatorily *kalad*.

The contrastive features of these five Quotative Clause sub-types are tabulated in Chart I, and illustrated in a syntax paradigm in Chart II.

CHART I

CONTRASTIVE FEATURES OF QUOTATIVE CLAUSES

Clause Sub-Type	Object	Quote		Predicate and Clause Terminal
		Tense of Verbal Predicate	Marker	
SAYING	-	Non-Potential, Potential	<i>od</i> , < <i>koo</i> >	Finite; Non-Finite Open
DESIDERATIVE	-	Potential	<i>od</i>	Finite; Non-Finite Open
DIRECT IMPERATIVE	-	Potential	<i>od</i>	Non-Finite Closed
NAMING	Noun Phrase	(Equation) Name	<i>od</i>	Finite; Non-Finite Open
PERCEPTIVE	-	Non-Potential	<i>kalad</i>	Finite; Non-Finite Open

CHART II

ILLUSTRATIVE PARADIGM OF QUOTATIVE CLAUSES

Clause Sub-Type	Object	Quote		Predicate and Clause Terminal	Free Translation
		Predicate	Marker		
SAYING	-	ʒnbi "I went"	yóó	akeéla koo. he said	He said he went.
DESIDERATIVE	-	unoón "I'll go"	óó	akeéla koo. he wanted	He wanted to go.
DIRECT IMPERATIVE	-	unoón "I'll go"	óó	akeeta koo. must	I must go.
NAMING	boómí wín her name	Fuúneen "Fuúneen"	óó	akeéla koo. he called	He called her Fuúneen.
PERCEPTIVE	-	unbú "She went"	kalaá	akeéla koo he saw	He saw her go.

It will be noted that the Potential tense may occur in the Quote of the Saying sub-type. In the majority of these cases the Potential represents a Quoted Imperative, and there is little ambiguity with the Desiderative sub-type. However, a few utterances occur involving other than second person, particularly first person cases, and here the Quotative Clause is ambiguously of the Saying or the Desiderative sub-type.⁵

2. MEANING OF THE QUOTATIVE CLAUSE

The semantic range of the verb *akankalin* extends from 'say, think' (Saying sub-type) to 'see, know, feel' (Perceptive sub-type).⁶ However the whole class of clauses has been termed Quotative because all must be regarded as a kind of "direct speech" - or "direct cerebration". The pronoun suffix of the final verb of the Quote is that which one would predict for direct speech involving a SPEAKER (Subject of *akankalin*), an ACTOR (Subject of the final Predicate of the Quote), and a HEARER.

The Hearer is often not overtly indicated. It may, however, be indicated by a benefactive affix in the Predicate of an Associated Clause; or, very occasionally, when there is no other indication in

the context at all, by a first or second person prefix on *akānkalin* itself. For example, the Saying example in the paradigm could read: *unhi yod nakeéid koo*. 'He told me he went.' ('I went,' he said to me.').

If Actor and Speaker refer to the same individual, or if the Actor includes the Speaker, the Actor will be a first person suffixed pronoun. 'He told me he'd go' may be literally translated, 'I'll go,' he told me'. 'He wanted to go' may similarly be translated, 'I will go,' he wanted'.

If Actor and Hearer refer to the same individual, the Actor will be a second person suffixed pronoun. So, 'He told me to go' would be literally, 'Go!' he told me'. 'He wanted you to go' would be, 'He'll go', he wanted (concerning you)'.

If Actor, Speaker, and Hearer all refer to different individuals, then the Actor will be a third person suffixed pronoun. So, 'He told them I'd gone' would be, 'He has gone,' he said to them (concerning me)'. 'He wanted me to go' would be, 'He will go,' he wanted (concerning me)'. 'He told them you'd gone' would be, 'He has gone,' he told them (concerning you)'. 'He saw them go' would be, 'They went,' he saw'.

The Quotative Clause sub-types appear to have roughly the following central areas of meaning:

SAYING: 'say, tell <him>⁷, think, wonder' (The Quote is what is said, etc.)

DESIDERATIVE: 'want to, try to, be going to' (The Quote is what one wants to do or wants done.)

DIRECT IMPERATIVE: 'do!, must, should, ought to, let <him>' (The Quote is the command, etc. All person suffixes occur in the Direct Imperative.)

NAMING: 'call <him>, name <him>' (The Quote is the name.)

PERCEPTIVE: 'see (that), know (that), feel that, realize that' (The Quote is what is seen, etc.)

The Saying sub-type particularly has a very wide semantic range of usage, as illustrated by the following, of which the first three have an Exclamation as Quote, the next two an Equational Clause as Quote, and the final two a Predicative Clause as Quote.

(uu) od akeéid koo. 'He agreed.' ('Yes,' he said.)

wádk(uu) od akeéid koo. 'He refused.' ('No,' he said.)

míśám od akeéid koo. 'He thanked (him).' ('Thanks,' he said.)

náfeén od akeéid koo. 'He believed it.' ('It is true,' he said.)

boótá támbálim oó akeéla koo. 'He approved it.' ('That is good,' he said.)

unodnteemadú tab oó akeéla koo. 'He doubted that she would go.' ('She will not go perhaps,' he said.)

Fuumeen kanubú yóó akeéla koo. 'He accused Fuumeen.' ('Fuumeen did it,' he said.)

The areas of meaning of the various clause sub-type overlap to some extent, and make analysis more difficult. Within each area of meaning, the exact meaning of the clause is specified by the context, especially by the Associated Clause, if present, and the content of the Quote, as can be seen in the above examples. Thus, the Saying sub-type means 'ask' if the verb *dákaákaamin* is the Predicate of the clause associated with the Quotative Clause, and/or if the Quote is an interrogative utterance.

3. ASSOCIATED CLAUSE

In about one-third of its occurrences the Quotative Clause has associated with it another clause in apposition with it. In most instances the Associated Clause precedes the Quotative Clause, in some instances it follows, and in about as many instances Associated Clauses both precede and follow a Quotative Clause, redundantly conveying similar information.

The main function of the Associated Clause is to spell out the specific meaning of the *akankalin* verb of the Quotative in any particular instance. For instance, the commonest verb of the Associated Clause of a Saying Clause is *bákaamin* 'say', while the commonest one with a Perceptive Clause is *utámaamin* 'see'. The Associated Clause also serves as a vehicle for additional clause-level units that do not occur in the Quotative Clause, such as Time and Beneficiary.⁸

In the great majority of instances there is a connective suffix on the Predicate of the first of the two apposed clauses, and this is overwhelmingly either *-ta* or *-ileé* (~-leeé after a vowel), of which *-ta* is the commoner. No meaning distinction between these connectives can be ascertained, but they differ slightly in distribution, as will be demonstrated later.

The verb occurring as Predicate of the Associated Clause, therefore, and to some extent its connective suffix, provide extra diagnostic criteria for establishing the sub-types of Quotative Clause, which have already been set up on internal structural evidence. There is a further criterion for distinguishing the Saying Clause from the Desiderative Clause. The suffixed Subject of the Predicate of the Associated Clause is always the same as that of the Quotative Pre-

dicate *akanhalin*, except in the case of the Purposive variant of the Desiderative sub-type, where it may be same or different.

The SAYING Clause co-occurs most frequently with the verb *bákaamin* 'say, tell <him>', often co-occurs with *dákaakaamin* 'ask' and *fúkúnin* 'think', and less frequently with certain other verbs. The connective is usually *-ileé* (55% of all occurrences), though *-ta* also occurs. The Saying Clause in the paradigm could therefore be extended to: *bókoonalaleé únbí yóó akeéíá koo*. 'He said he went.' ('He said "I went" he said.')

The DESIDERATIVE may have an Associated Clause. When this occurs the pair of clauses have a PURPOSIVE meaning, the Quote being the purpose for which the action of the verb of the Associated Clause is performed. The Associated Clause may contain any verb as Predicate. This Associated Clause is not in an apposition relationship with the Quotative Clause as are the Associated Clauses of the other sub-types. A special case of the Desiderative (Purposive) is that involving a "why" clause as Quote. The "why" clause has only two possible forms, *Intabeén* 'Why (is it)?' (Equational), and, *Intabeén nílám* 'Why did I/you/he?' or, *Intabeén nílám* 'Why did we/you/they?' (Predicative). The suffixed pronouns so far observed in this situation are always first person. The Associated Clause always follows a "why" Quote Clause. The most frequent connective occurring with the Desiderative (Purposive) is *-ta* (70% of all occurrences), but *-ileé* also occurs.

Intabeén nílám óó akeeta tálbá ya. 'Why did he come?' ('What will I do?' wanting he came.')

talnalata unoon óó akeéíá koo. 'He came because he wanted to go.' ('He came "I will go" he wanted.')

(This is an extension of the Desiderative Clause in the paradigm.)

The IMPERATIVE type does not have an Associated Clause.

The NAMING type may have an Associated Clause, in which *bákaamin* 'say' is the only verb observed to occur. *-ileé* and *-ta* occur, but there are insufficient examples to assess their relative frequency. An extension of the Naming Clause in the paradigm could be:

bókoonalaleé bodúf wín Fuumeen óó akeéíá koo. 'He called her Fuumeen.' ('He said her name "Fuumeen" he called.')

The PERCEPTIVE type has an Associated Clause in at least half of its occurrences, and in 70% of these occurrences the verb occurring in the Associated Clause is *utámanin* 'see, know, feel'. *fechin* 'wait, watch for' and *tinángkaamin* 'hear' also occur. There is a connective suffix *-tiyéé* which occurs with the Perceptive in 40% of its occurrences, and rarely occurs elsewhere. The connective *-ta* also often occurs here (30% of occurrences); *-ileé* occurs more rarely. The Perceptive Clause in the paradigm might be extended thus:

utdmntiyéé únbú kaláá akééíá koo. 'He saw her go.' ('He saw *She went* he saw.')

4. COMPLEX QUOTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Two types of complex Quotative construction occur in the language - Sequential and Nested constructions.

The SEQUENTIAL construction involves a string of Quotes, each ending in *óó* (or *kaláá*), occurring before a single *akankalin* Predicate. In this construction, the Quotes are in a co-ordinate relationship with one another, and therefore all belong to the same sub-type. For example, *talbadúú kaláá únbú kaláá akééíá koo*. 'He saw that she didn't come, she went.' ('*She didn't come, she went,* he saw.')

The NESTED construction on the other hand may consist of various different Quotative Clause sub-types. A number of Quotative Clauses may occur in a layered or nested arrangement such that the first span of speech containing a Quote and terminating in a form of the verb *akankalin* followed by *óó* or *kaláá* is the Quote of the second *akankalin*; that Quote plus the second *akankalin* followed by *óó* or *kaláá* is the Quote of the third *akankalin*, and so on. The following example contains four syntactic layers, all of clause level, nested within one another. The innermost is a Quote consisting of a minimal clause, the Predicate *kanumanteémí* 'I will do it' plus *kaláá*; the second layer, *kanumanteémí kaláá akééíá* 'I will do it,* he has decided', a Perceptive Clause, plus *kaláá*, is the Quote of the third layer, also a Perceptive Clause. Similarly, the whole third layer plus *óó* is the Quote of the fourth and outermost layer, a Saying Clause.

Transitive Clause	<i>kanumanteémí</i> I will do it			
Perceptive Clause	<i>kanumanteémí kaláá</i> "I will do it,"	<i>akééíá</i> he has decided		
Perceptive Clause	<i>kanumanteémí kaláá</i> "He has decided to do it,"	<i>akééíá kaláá</i> you don't know	<i>akeebáíífb</i> you don't know	
Saying Clause	<i>kanumanteémí kaláá</i> "You don't know that he has decided to do it,"	<i>akééíá kaláá</i> he has decided	<i>akeebáíífb óó</i> he said....	<i>akeenalaléé</i> he said....

NOTES

1. This is the language spoken in the vicinity of Telefomin, Sepik District, New Guinea.
2. This paper represents findings based upon 600 examples of the Quotative Clause found in 120 pages of transcribed text (including a group discussion, a conversation, narratives and discourses on various subjects, sermons and prayers, and involving at least ten different speakers belonging to two generations, two speakers predominating), 60 pages of translated material, and elicited data.
3. A clause occurring as Quote is characterized by the Quotative Marker *od* or *kalad* that follows it, in contrast to an included clause within any other clause-level unit, which is obligatorily marked by a following pronoun.
4. In clause types other than the Quotative, the Object is an optional unit.
5. When there is an Associated Clause (see section 3 below), three factors operate to resolve this ambiguity: (a) the verb occurring as Predicate of the Associated Clause (*bdkaamin* and a very few others occur in the Saying sub-type, while any verb may occur in the Desiderative); (b) the Subject of the Associated verb is the same as that of *akankalin* in the Saying sub-type, but may be different in the Desiderative; (c) the connective suffix is predominantly *-ilee* for the Saying sub-type, predominantly *-ta* for the Desiderative.
6. A single grammatical feature encompasses a similar wide semantic range in certain other known languages. In the Turkic languages, especially the Central Asian languages such as Uzbek, one construction covers saying, wishing, assuming, purposive, naming, and perceptive (information from S. A. Wurm). Similarly, in Waiwai of British Guiana one construction covers saying, naming, perceptive, and many related concepts (Robert E. Hawkins, *Waiwai Translation, Bible Translator* 13.164-171, 1962).
7. The brackets < > around a particular word denote the use of that word to represent the whole syntactic class to which it belongs.
8. The first and second person singular Beneficiaries may occur at the morphological level within the Quotative Clause as a prefix, *na-* and *ka-* respectively, to *akankalin*, forms which in all other prefixable verbs indicate Object. However, where there is no ambiguity the third person and plural form *a-* is used even when the Beneficiary of the Associated Clause is first or second person singular. *na-* and *ka-* therefore occur relatively rarely with *akankalin*.

CHAPTER V

LEVELS AND GRAMING IN TELEFOL SENTENCES

LEVELS AND CHAINING IN TELEFOL SENTENCES

Phyllis H. Healey

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0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 GENERAL

This paper is the fifth in a series of articles describing the syntax of Telefol.¹ The analytical approach used throughout the series is mainly Longacre's version of Pike's tagmemics, but the terminology of tagmemics has been avoided where possible in the presentation.² In particular, the term UNIT has been used throughout for the significant structural unit of each level of the syntax, rather than the term "tagmemes".

One of the analytical problems faced by those who have developed and used the tagmemic approach has been the identification of LEVELS within the syntactic hierarchy.³ One of the characteristic problem areas in this regard has been the levels above the Clause. In Telefol this area has proved a problem too, which has been solved by positing two levels intermediate between Clause and Sentence. These have been called the PARATAGMATIC level and the DEPENDENT Level. Neither of these intermediate levels exhibits the multiplicity of contrastive structures such as is found at the Clause Level and the Sentence Level.

A striking structural feature of each of these levels is the possibility of repetition of a given structural Unit any number of times.⁴ The repeated structural Units in such a sequence are linked together in a way characteristic of the particular level. The sequence as a whole has the same status as each individual Unit plus linkage within it. Such a sequence of repeated Units and linkages has been called a CHAIN.⁵ A minimal Chain consists of one Unit plus its linkage. At each level the Units and the linkages in a Chain exhibit characteristic agreements and correlations the one with the other.

0.2 ABBREVIATIONS

- (): Pointed brackets signify that the bracketed item is cited to represent all the members of its class.
- ±: optional occurrence
- +: obligatory occurrence
- : simultaneous occurrence (intonation only)
- CS: Closing Sentence

<u>DC</u> :	Dependent Chain
<u>DX</u> :	Dependent Construction
<u>EU</u> :	Exclamatory Unit
<u>FDC1</u> :	Finite Dependent Clause Unit
<u>FDU</u> :	Finite Dependent Unit
<u>H</u> :	Head (of Non-Clausal Sentence)
<u>IC</u> :	Independent Chain
<u>IC1</u> :	Independent Clause Unit
<u>In</u> :	Intonation
<u>IU</u> :	Independent Unit
<u>IX</u> :	Independent Construction
<u>Ld</u> :	Paratactic linkage
<u>Lc</u> :	Connective linkage
<u>Ld</u> :	Discourse linkage
<u>Lp</u> :	Postclitic linkage
<u>Lt</u> :	Sentence Terminal
<u>n</u> :	(superscript) occurs singly or repeated any number of times
<u>NDC1</u> :	Non-Finite Dependent Clause Unit
<u>OS</u> :	Opening Sentence
<u>PC</u> :	Paratactic Chain
<u>PX</u> :	Paratactic Construction
<u>QS</u> :	Question
<u>RY</u> :	Reply
<u>SC</u> :	Sentence Chain
<u>SU</u> :	Sentence Unit

In formulae, linkages are arbitrarily joined to the preceding Unit by a period instead of a plus (+). However, nowhere are they conceived of as being necessarily joined to or dependent upon the preceding Unit. In fact linkages are equally related to the Units preceding and following them. The notation here used is merely for convenience of representation of a repeating sequence.

0.3 FROM CLAUSE TO DISCOURSE: A FORMULAIC SUMMARY

Table A gives a formulaic summary of the various levels, and the Units and Chains occurring in them. The formulae used in this Table are the most simplified possible. They illustrate how the Constructions at

one level manifest the Units in the Chain and Constructions at the next level. Table B gives some of the same information in maximally expanded form to show the composition of each Construction and Chain, and to show once again how each Construction occurs in the Units of the next level above. Table C shows the analysis of an expanded Sentence into Constructions at successive levels down to the Paratactic Level. These Tables have been placed at the front of the paper so as to be readily referred back to for comparison, section by section. They will be more meaningful to the reader when the whole paper has been read.

1. THE PARATACTIC CHAIN

1.1 THE NON-FINITE HOMOPERSONAL DEPENDENT CLAUSE UNIT

The repeating Unit in a Paratactic Chain (PC) is the non-finite Homopersonal Dependent Clause (NECL).⁶ Any basic Clause Type except Equational and Direct Imperative Quotative may manifest this Unit, although half of all the Clauses in Paratactic Chains are Motion Clauses.⁷ While most of the Clauses in a Paratactic Chain are minimal, that is, composed of a Predicate only, non-predicate clause-level Units may also occur within them. Of these clause-level Units, Object of a Transitive Clause and Destination of a Motion Clause are the most common. The Subject Unit, if present, occurs only in the first Clause of the Chain. All the Clauses in the Chain, as well as the next Clause following the Chain, have the same subject.

The Predicate of a non-finite Dependent Clause consists of a Verb stem with or without an interval suffix.⁸ This stem is not marked for subject-person, tense, or previous subject (described in section 2.2), although it is in fact always followed in the next Clause by a Predicate having the same subject as itself. It is the most frequently occurring of the possible Homopersonal Dependent forms.

About 80% of the Predicates in a Paratactic Chain are in the punctiliar aspect. Those in the continuative aspect form always contain an interval suffix. The interval suffixes, and their occurrences and meanings with punctiliar and continuative stems, are shown in Table D.

Some Transitive Predicates are prefixed for object. If more than one

TABLE A

LEVEL	Characteristic CHAIN of Units at each Level	CONSTRUCTIONS at each Level	The most characteristic UNITS of each Level: manifested by Constructions from lower Levels
Discourse Level	$\underline{SC} = \underline{Id} + \underline{SU}^n$	Two main Discourse Types: (1) + $\underline{CS} + \underline{SC} + \underline{CS}$ (2) Conversations as described in section 5.2	\underline{SU} : \underline{IX}
Sentence Level	$\underline{IC} = \underline{IU.Lc}^n$	Several Sentence Types as described in sections 4.3 - 4.5. All Independent Clausal Sentences have the shape: $\underline{IX} = + \underline{IC} + \underline{IU.It} - \underline{In}$	\underline{IU} : \underline{DX}
Dependent Level	$\underline{DC} = \underline{FDU.Lp}^n$	$\underline{DX} = + \underline{DC} + \underline{PC} + \underline{ICl}$	\underline{FDU} : \underline{PX} \underline{ICl} : All of the basic Clause Types (see section 3.1)
Paratactic Level	$\underline{PC} = \underline{NlCl.Lp}^n$	$\underline{PX} = + \underline{PC} + \underline{FDCl}$	\underline{NlCl} : 8 of the basic Clause Types (see section 1.1) \underline{FDCl} : 9 of the basic Clause Types (see section 2.1)
Clause Level	-----	10 basic Clause Types and their modifications as described in T.C.S.	Most Predicate Units: Verb Phrase Most Non-Predicate Units: Noun Phrase

TABLE B

<u>SE</u>	=	<u>Ld</u> + [+ <u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ + <u>FDCL.Lp</u> ⁿ + <u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ + <u>ICL.Lc</u>] ⁿ + (+ <u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ + <u>FDCL.Lp</u> ⁿ + <u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ + <u>ICL.Lt</u>) ⁿ -- <u>In</u> ⁿ
<u>IX</u>	=	+ [+ (+ <u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ + <u>FDCL.Lp</u> ⁿ + <u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ + <u>ICL.Lc</u>) ⁿ + (+ <u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ + <u>FDCL.Lp</u> ⁿ + <u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ + <u>ICL.Lt</u>) ⁿ -- <u>In</u>
<u>IE</u>	=	[+ (+ <u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ + <u>FDCL.Lp</u> ⁿ + <u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ + <u>ICL.Lc</u>) ⁿ
<u>DY</u>	=	+ (+ <u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ + <u>FDCL.Lp</u> ⁿ + <u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ + <u>ICL</u>
<u>LC</u>	=	(+ <u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ + <u>FDCL.Lp</u> ⁿ) ⁿ
<u>IX</u>	=	+ <u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ + <u>FDCL</u>
<u>IC</u>	=	<u>NDCL.Lc</u> ⁿ

TABLE C

IX = Independent Clausal Sentence

IC

IU: DX

IU: DX

DC

FDU: PX

FDU: FX

PC

PC

PC

NDC1.L/	NDC1.L/	FDC1.Lp	NDC1.L/	FDC1.Lp	IC1.Lc	NDC1.L/	IC1.Lc	IC1.Lt	--In			
fákaá	dééb	tál-tá	kwee	fuu	ifolu-ta	utáni	kútá	kúp'kaá	unitá	kalé	únelú	koo.
harvest	get	come	it	cook	she-	I-saw	but	left-it	I-went	and	she-ate	.
				served								

'When she had harvested (the taro) and brought it (home) I saw that she had cooked it and served it up, but I left (without eating it) and went away so she ate it (by herself).'

TABLE D

VERB FORM	GENERAL NATURE OF INTERVAL	ENGLISH GLOSSES	
		with punctiliar stem	with continuative stem
stem	minimal or nil	when, after, and	-----
stem + <u>-om</u>	minimal or nil (natural consequence)	when, after, and	-----
stem + <u>-ciit</u>	short	soon after	soon after
stem + <u>-son</u>	medium (co-ordinated actions)	and (co-ordinated actions), some time after	while; some time after
stem + <u>-hom</u>	long	(much) later	while; (much) later
stem + <u>-bii</u>	very long (multiple action)	-----	while still, since; a long time later

such prefixed Predicate occurs in a Chain, the prefixes will usually agree in person-number-gender.⁹ In the following examples, the third person feminine prefix is separated from each prefixed Verb by a hyphen:

kw-ééb (NDCL.Lg: get-her) nóo (NDCL.Lg: go) kúb-a'silíb (131: they-buried-her) (DX) 'they took her and buried her.'¹⁰

u-náwáá (NDCL.Lg: kill-it) kw-ééb (NDCL.Lg: get-it) nóo (NDCL.Lg: go) kúb-dii (NDCL.Lg: hang-it-up) kúb-'kaánálalé (FDCL.Lp: he-left-it and) (DC) 'he killed it, took it away, and left it hanging up'

1.2 LINKAGE BY PARATAxis

There may be any number of Units juxtaposed in a Paratactic Chain, from 2 to 6 having been observed in text. The Paratactic Chain may therefore be represented by the formula:

$$\underline{PC} = \underline{NDCL.Lg}^n$$

where Lg indicates linkage by parataxis, and n superscript indicates that the whole may be repeated any number of times.¹¹ The type of linkage is indicated following the type of repeating Unit, but separated by a period in the notation. Since at other levels of the grammar the linkages are overt forms, linkage by parataxis has been given a distinctive symbol in formulae.

The end of the Chain is followed by any finite Clause, Dependent or Independent. A Paratactic Chain followed by a finite Dependent Clause constitutes a Paratactic Construction (PX). Such a Chain followed by an Independent Clause, whether finite or non-finite, constitutes a Dependent Construction (DX) or an Independent Construction (IX).

dú'kaá (NDCL.Lg: leave-it) tál (NDCL.Lg: come) (PC) 'leave there'

ang koó (NDCL.Lg: kill-it) dce fuu (NDCL.Lg: cook-it) úne (NDCL.Lg: eat) (PC) 'kill, cook and eat it'

áwáá (NDCL.Lg: butcher) kwce fuu (NDCL.Lg: cook-it) úne (NDCL.Lg: eat) (PC) 'butcher it and cook and eat it'

kamé daák ábe (NDCL.Lg: fall down) koóá tčebúb (IC1: it-smashed) (DX) 'it fall down and smashed'

kańkəran (HDCl.Lg: become-emaciated) kaaná (ICl: he-died) (DX) 'he became emaciated and died'

úne (HDCl.Lg: eat) kúb'kaanáalalé (FDCl.Lp: he-finished-it and) (DC) 'he finished eating ...'

úne (HDCl.Lg: eat) kulaá'káhá (ICl: he-finished-it) (DX) 'he has finished eating'

noo (HDCl.Lg: go) dééč (HDCl.Lg: get-him) tál (HDCl.Lg: come) ábiib
daálibta (FECl.Lp: they-put-him in the village and) (DC) 'they went and brought him to the village'

... so ake (HDCl.Lg: said ...) kúb'kaá (HDCl.Lg: left-it) wéng telélabii
(HDCl.Lg: fixing-at-length the matter) kúb'kaálibilé (FDCl.Lp: we-finished-it and) (DC) '... we said, and we settled the matter'

koong únak wáwəwə (HDCl.Lg: kill a pig) kwééč (HDCl.Lg: get-it) tál
(HDCl.Lg: come) baakkin kee ki (HDCl.Lg: repay) (PC) '(or they) kill a pig and bring it in repayment ...'

In the sixth and seventh examples above, any Paratactic Chain could substitute for úne 'eat'. The punctiliar forms of the Verbs kúb'kańkəmin, kulańkəmin, dúb'kańkəmin, dulańkəmin 'leave-it', 'finish-it' frequently follow a Chain to indicate that a process is completed.¹²

Repetition of clause-level Units does not occur within a single Telefol Clause. To describe a motion, therefore, which involves both a place departed from and a place reached, requires two Clauses linked by parataxis. The first Clause consists of a Motion Clause with the place of departure as Destination Unit; the second Motion Clause contains the place reached as Destination Unit.

keéyó Ilibtəran ilota tál (HDCl.Lg: he came from Ilibtəmin) Telefólan
tálbá (ICl: he-came to Telefəmin) (DX) 'he came to Telefəmin from Ilibtəmin'

Semantically, the Paratactic Chain and the Clause following it represent a sequence of actions by one actor, viewed as occurring in chronological order without interruption. If the stem of the Predicate is punctiliar, indicating a brief action, the time interval between the action of this Clause and the next is indicated by the interval suffix

or its absence. If the stem is continuative, indicating a lengthy action, the interval marker indicates how long after the commencement of the action of this Clause the action of the next begins. The first action may still be in progress when the next one interrupts it, or it may be simultaneous with it, or the first action may have already been completed when the next begins. The actions represented by a Paratactic Chain and the Clause following it are usually related to one general topic, and are frequently associated together, often as parts of a single process.

1.3 TÉBE AS SUBJECT MARKER

There is one situation in which a sequence of two Clauses linked by parataxis does not describe two sequential actions as part of a process. The first Clause contains a Subject Unit and the stem tébe as Predicate; the second Clause contains other non-predicate Units and a Transitive Predicate. The Object Unit, if present, may occur either in the second Clause or in the first Clause preceding the Subject. Normally tébe means 'appeared', 'happened', 'became', but it has little meaning here except as a Subject marker. This sequence is especially likely to occur to mark the Subject Unit where there is a change of subject in the middle of a higher-level Chain, where the previous subject carried through many Clauses. The subject-marking Predicate may in other circumstances take the form of a finite Homersonal Dependent Predicate, i.e. tébe-nal-(á,-)lé (see section 2.2).

náá nán íyó únib (FECL.Lp: my children went away and) nakálál tébe
(NECL.Lg: (their)-younger-siblings) kwée fuub'ée (NECL.Lg: cook-it-
for-them) únesiláb (ICL: they-ate) (DX) 'my children went away
and their younger siblings cooked and ate it instead'

fik íyó ... kolaná akanalata beólé (FECL.Lp: the elder brother saw that
... and then) tébe (NECL.Lg: (elder brother)) niing íyó úkelata
(FECL.Lp: he-scolded the younger brother and) (IC) 'the elder
brother saw ... and scolded his younger brother ...'

Yéesus tébe (NECL.Lg: Jesus) unáng soólé tamún soó kwintákáng íyó
telélé ínosú (ICL: he-healed very many people) (DX) 'Jesus
healed a great many people'

1.4 VERBS WITH SPECIAL PARATACTIC FORMS

There are two limited groups among the Transitive Verbs each of which has several special non-finite dependent forms and usages in addition to those shared by all Verbs.

(a) The Verbs for 'get' have two interchangeable sets of special non-benefactive punctiliar stems, one ending in -ééb ~ -éé and the other in -támo. These occur preceding Motion Verbs (including the two Verbs toóáa 'put them' and daákamin 'put') instead of the more usual non-benefactive punctiliar stems. For example, whereas há is the usual punctiliar stem for 'get her/it', the special forms kwééb or kwétámo occur instead if the Predicate of the next Clause is a Motion Verb. When the following Predicate is télerin 'come', the overall meaning is 'bring her/it'; when the following Predicate is ínemin 'go', the overall meaning is 'take her/it'. The o of the -támo form is elided before ínemin. These special stem forms have not been observed to take interval suffixes. In this context the usual benefactive punctiliar stems occur; there are no special benefactive equivalents of the -éé forms, although there is a rare benefactive equivalent of the -támo forms, e.g. kwétamob'ínoé 'get it for me'. There are 7 prefixed 'get' Verbs:

VERB	NORMAL MOTION STEM	SPECIAL PUNCTILIAR STEMS		MEANING
<u>áá'á</u>	<u>áá</u>	<u>áééb</u>	<u>áwtámo</u>	'get it/him'
<u>du'áááin</u>	<u>du'áá</u>	<u>du'lééb</u>	--	'get them'
<u>áw'áááin</u>	<u>áw'áá</u>	<u>áw'lééb</u>	<u>áw'támo</u>	'get them (human)/you/us'
<u>káá'áááin</u>	<u>káá'áá</u>	<u>káá'lééb</u>	<u>káá'támo</u>	'get you (singular)
<u>káá'ááá</u>	<u>káá</u>	<u>káá'wééb</u>	<u>káá'wtámo</u>	'get it/her'
<u>kw'ááááin</u>	<u>kw'ááá</u>	<u>kw'áá'lééb</u>	--	'get them'
<u>náá'ááááin</u>	<u>náá'ááá</u>	<u>náá'áá'lééb</u>	<u>náá'áá'támo</u>	'get me'

(b) The second group of Transitive Verbs are a morphological class having several special forms not common to other Verbs. They are typified by dááááin, dááááántémá 'pick (fruit)'.¹³ Whereas dáááá is the usual punctiliar stem of this Verb, the special form dááááá is used whenever it is immediately followed by a 'get' Verb (including -éé and -támo forms), or a 'remove' Verb derived from a 'get' Verb, when such

Verbs are marked for singular object. If these Verbs are marked for plural object, then the usual punctiliar stem dúrá precedes them.

In addition to the special forms listed above, certain combinations of these result in fused forms. (i) dúrá dúléb and dúrá kuléb 'pick and get (a plural object)' both become dákéb. Similarly, the corresponding benefactives dúrá dúlub'née and dúrá kulub'née 'pick and get them for me' become dúrá'née. There is no contraction for the singular object forms, dáka kééb and dákaá kweéb. (ii) dákaá dúbtámo and dákaá kúbtámo both become dádkámo 'pick and get it'. Similarly, the corresponding benefactives dákaá dúbtámob'née and dákaá kúbtámob'née 'pick and get it for me' become dákkámob'née. The meaning of the first Verb in all of these combinations is difficult to make explicit in English translation.

The Verbs of this morphological class are listed below, together with their special and fused forms, their meanings, and their typical objects.

VERB	USUAL PUNCT. STEM	SPECIAL PUNCT. STEM	FUSED FORMS	PLURAL ¹⁴ VERB	MEANING AND OBJECTS
<u>bákaamin</u>	<u>búrá</u>	<u>bákaá</u>	<u>bákéb</u>	--	<u>búkkomin</u> 'chop off (piece of wood)', 'cut off (strip of corn shells)', 'take out (share of pay or pig, animal from trap, suicide from noose)'
<u>bálaamin</u>	<u>búlú</u>	<u>bálaá</u>	<u>béléb</u>	<u>bíltámo</u>	<u>bíltomin</u> 'push over (tree, rotten stump)', 'snap off (stalagmite, ochre)'
<u>bícaamin</u>	<u>bísú</u>	<u>bísaá</u>	<u>bíseéb</u>	<u>bísatámo</u>	-- 'take only part (of heap of taro)', 'grab (stick to hit with)'
<u>dákaamin</u>	<u>dúrá</u>	<u>dákaá</u>	<u>dákéb</u>	<u>dákkámo</u>	<u>dúkkomin</u> 'pick (fruit, beans, cucurbits)', 'pick off (dead branch, leech)', 'remove (scaffolding, stone)', 'steal'
<u>dálaamin</u>	<u>dúlú</u>	<u>dálaá</u>	<u>déléb</u>	--	<u>díltomin</u> 'take (animal) out of trap', 'take (eggs) out of nest'
<u>dúraamin</u>	<u>dúrá</u>	<u>dúkaá</u>	<u>dúkéb</u>	--	<u>dúkkomin</u> 'pick (mature corn, edible shoots)'

VERB	USUAL FUNCT. STEM	SPECIAL FUNCT. STEM	FUSED FORMS		PLURAL VERB	MEANING AND OBJECTS
<u>fákamin</u>	<u>fúú</u>	<u>fáúá</u>	<u>fákéb</u>	<u>fákkámo</u>	<u>fúkkomin</u>	'harvest (taro, any multiple produce)', 'collect (tadpoles, fungi, poles)', 'strip (branches) from log'
<u>fáiarin</u>	<u>fúú</u>	<u>fáúá</u>	<u>féléb</u>	--	<u>fáltomin</u>	'pull (grass) out of swamp', 'pull (belly fat) out of pig', 'get (edible vine leaves)'
<u>ilamin</u>	<u>ilú</u>	--	<u>iléb</u>	--	--	'get (drinking water) in vessel', 'collect, cut (firewood to bring home)'
<u>kálarin</u>	<u>káú</u>	<u>káúá</u>	<u>káieb</u>	--	<u>káltomin</u>	'pick (cucurbits, fungi)'
<u>kálarin</u>	<u>káú</u>	<u>káúá</u>	<u>káieb</u>	<u>káltámo</u>	<u>káltomin</u>	'pull out (stone, tooth, banana from bunch)'
<u>sálarin</u>	<u>súú</u>	<u>sáúá</u>	<u>séieb</u>	--	<u>síltomin</u>	'pinch (person's skin)', 'pinch off (tidbit of pork)'
<u>tákarin</u>	<u>túú</u>	<u>táúá</u>	<u>táieb</u>	<u>tákkámo</u>	<u>túkkomin</u>	'remove (stain, clinging child)', 'unstuck (something stuck on)', 'seize (her as a wife)', 'get (cane leaves)'
--	<u>túú</u>	<u>táúá</u>	<u>téieb</u>	--	<u>tíltomin</u>	'take down (things hung up)', 'untie (prisoner, pig)'
<u>úkarin</u>	<u>úú</u>	<u>úúá</u>	<u>úieb</u>	<u>úkkámo</u>	<u>úkkomin</u>	'cut piece off (meat, vine, fingernail)', 'trim (posts for house)', 'pick up (bow and arrows)'
<u>úlarin</u>	<u>úú</u>	<u>úúá</u>	<u>úieb</u>	<u>úttámo</u>	<u>últomin</u>	'select (person, thing)', 'pull out (splinter, stake, newly-planted taro)', 'seize (her as wife)'
<u>undú-</u>	<u>undú</u>	--	<u>undéb</u>	--	--	'cut, gather (roofing grass)', 'pick (vegetable greens)', 'harvest and trim (taro)'
<u>undú-</u>	<u>undú</u>		<u>undéb</u>			

The special stems and fused forms of the above Verbs occur only as Predicates in non-finite Dependent Clauses in Paratactic Chains. The

following Motion Clause may manifest either a further Unit in the Paratactic Chain, or a following FDCl or ICl Unit.

In these Transitive Clause + Motion Clause sequences, the Transitive Clause may contain any Transitive Clause non-predicate Units except Location and Manner, but the Motion Clause may contain Destination and Manner only.¹⁵

The following examples are illustrations of Dependent Chains and Constructions containing Paratactic Chains involving some of the special Transitive Verb forms described above.

alíkaab ade (NDCl.Lp: tie on a pole whole) kuléb (NDCl.Lp: get-them)
tílib (ICl: they-came) (DX) 'they brought them (home) whole'

alíkaab ade (NDCl.Lp: tie on a pole whole) kúbtámo (NDCl.Lp: get-it) tílib
(ICl: they-came) (DX) 'they brought it (home) whole'

mufekmufek úyó dákréb (NDCl.Lp²: steal-get the things) nóonalale (FDCl.Lp:
he-went and) (DC) 'he took away what he had stolen ...'

unakwá (NDCl.Lp: kill-it) kwééb (NDCl.Lp: get-it) unómá bá (ICl: they-
could-not-go) (DX) 'they couldn't have killed it and taken it
away'

kuléb (NDCl.Lp: get-them) meéng ée találé (FDCl.Lp: he-came along-here)
(DC) 'he accepted them and brought them here'

deel dákréb (NDCl.Lp²: remove-get the throat) daák unuta (FDCl.Lp: it-
goes down and) kulúubta (FDCl.Lp: let-us-sing and) (DC) 'let us
sing it in a lower key ...'

kwééb (NDCl.Lp: get-it) mitám abiín toonilibilé (FDCl.Lp: they-put-her
on the floor inside and) (DC) 'they (even) put her on the floor
inside ...'

koam tálaá (NDCl.Lp: release the pig) kwééb (NDCl.Lp: get-it)
únébiyáng wárib bíil yámmúlulé (FDCl.Lp: she-went way-along to
Kinip Hills and) (DC) 'she released the pig and took it way
along to Kinip Hills ...'

táká (NDCl.Lp: seize) kwééb (NDCl.Lp: get-her) unálé (FDCl.Lp: he-went
and) (DC) 'he seized her and took her away ...' 'he abducted her'

kaléi Unadibén hoóyó úláá (NDCL.Lp: seize-(back) (ny)-wife Unggiben)
krééb (NDCL.Lp: get-her) úmbí (ICL: I-went) (DX) 'I seized my
 wife Unggiben back and took her away'

2. THE DEPENDENT CHAIN:

2.1 THE FINITE DEPENDENT UNIT

The repeating Unit in a Dependent Chain is a Finite Dependent Unit (FDU), manifested by a Paratactic Construction (PX) consisting of a Finite Dependent Clause (FDCL), or a Paratactic Chain followed by a Finite Dependent Clause. The Paratactic Construction may therefore be represented by the formula:

$$\underline{PX} = \pm \underline{NDCL.Lp}^n + \underline{FDCL}$$

or by the simplified formula:

$$\underline{PX} = \pm \underline{FC} + \underline{FDCL}$$

Any basic Clause Type except Direct Imperative Quotative may manifest a Finite Dependent Clause, although the Equational Type has very rarely been observed there, and when it has been observed to occur, only the one postclitic -ta has followed.⁷

The Dependent Chain of Finite Dependent Units may be of considerable length, and is followed by any Independent Clause (ICL), optionally preceded by a Paratactic Chain. This Dependent Chain consists of either Homopersonal or Heteropersonal Dependent Units, or both. Homopersonal ones are more frequent. The Dependent Chain may be represented by the following progressively simplified formulae:

$$\begin{aligned} \underline{DC} &= (\pm \underline{NDCL.Lp}^n + \underline{FDCL.Lp})^n \\ &= (\pm \underline{FC} + \underline{FDCL.Lp})^n \\ &= \underline{FDU.Lp}^n \end{aligned}$$

Lp represents a class of POSTCLITICS, consisting of -ta, -ilé and -tivé, which link the Finite Dependent Units in a Dependent Chain. As before, n indicates that the whole construction may be repeated any number of times. In text, from 1 to 8 Finite Dependent Units have been observed in a single Chain. Finite Dependent Units are infrequently, and in certain special circumstances, linked by parataxis instead of one of the above postclitics. But for convenience the linkage at this level has been summarized as Lp.

In the following examples and hereafter the postclitics have been separated from the Predicate of the Clause by a hyphen.

kaanu-ta (FDCl.Lp: she-died and) kwééb nóo kúbanilib-ilé (FDU.Lp: get-her go they-buried-her and) alúawa keékkek ívó bókcnilib-ilé (FDCl.Lp: everyone around said and) ... oó akenilib-ta (FDCl.Lp: they-said ... and) (IC) 'she died, they took her and buried her, and everyone around said ...'

wééas úvó seéncénu-lé boólé (FDCl.Lp: the gossip gets-around and then) kaanu unéanilib-ilé (FDCl.Lp: they-keep-on-doing and) kaáwan ívó sébanlá-lé (FDCl.Lp: the government and) ilámí bóólis boos ívó ínlála (FDCl.Lp: he-sends his policemen) tánilib-ilé (FDCl.Lp: they-come and) ngádeb dańc dańlib-ilé (FDU.Lp: get-me go-down they-put-(he) and) ookok keementéńc (ICl: I-will-work) (DX) 'the gossip will get around, and they will keep gossiping, and the government will send policemen to come and take me down there and I'll have to work'

dańńála-ta (FDCl.Lp: he-went-down and) bákaa kwééb mitám an dańla-ta (FDU.Lp: untie get-her come-here he-put her in the house and) wééng kwálib (FDCl.Lp: they-sent word) tée meet dóokta ábiib tánu-ta (FDCl.Lp: it-arrived up at the hospital and) inák tée yák-ká (FDCl.Lp: the husband went-across and) ade kwééb tée meet dańlib-ta (FDU.Lp: tie-on-pole get-her come-up they-put-her and) hán daásuu (ICl: she-recovered) (DX) 'he went down and untied her, and brought her and put her in the house, and sent word up to the hospital, and her husband went across, and they tied her on a pole and carried her up, and she recovered'

2.2 FINITE DEPENDENT PREDICATE. 5

2.21 HOMOPERSONAL AND HETEROPERSONAL DEPENDENT PREDICATES

One type of Predicate of the Finite Dependent Clause has the morphological shape:

+ stem + interval suffix + subject preview + subject suffix

The INTERVAL SUFFIXES are the same as for the non-finite Dependent Clause in section 1.1 above. All of these suffixes co-occur with the homopersonal subject preview suffix. However, only -bon 'and some time later' and -bid 'and a long time later' co-occur with the heteropersonal subject preview suffixes.

The SUBJECT PREVIEW SUFFIXES indicate whether the subject of the next following Clause is HOMOPERSONAL - the same as that of the present Clause, or HETEROPERSONAL - different from that of the present Clause. They are as follows:

Homopersonal: -nVl

Heteropersonal: -'bVl, -'sVl, -'kVl

Y represents the same vowel as that of the following subject person suffix. The suffix -'bVl indicates a longer interval than the suffix -'sVl when, and only when, the interval suffix -bon precedes each of these preview suffixes. An interval suffix does not precede the rarer heteropersonal suffix -'kVl.

The SUBJECT PERSON SUFFIXES are those of Set A: -í 'I', -áh 'you' (sing.), -á 'he/it', -ú 'she/it', -úh 'we', -íb 'you' (pl.)/'they'.¹⁶

..... ó akan-bi-nal-a-ta (FDC1.Lp: ... thinking-while/still-homopersonal-he and) koong ung kulála (FDU.Lp: kill a pig he-sent-it) (DC) 'while he was thinking ... he killed a pig'

títar bec-'bal-á-tá (FDC1.Lp: go-inside remove-heteropersonal-he and) Saleben útá atáru-ta (FDC1.Lp: Saleben saw-him and) (DC) 'he went inside and while he was removing things Saleben spotted him'

itá-bon-'bil-í-tá (FDC1.Lp: saw-later-heteropersonal-I and) dúbalib (FDC1.Lp: they-buried-him) tánsii (IC1: I-saw) (DX) 'I watched them and I saw them bury him'

kúbáke-'sul-ú-tá (FDC1.Lp: scold/her-heteropersonal-she and) daák-núl-u-ta (FDC1.Lp: go/down-homopersonal-she and) man kol sok unkwáá koólu-ta (FDC1.Lp: she-was-killed by rope in an old garden)¹⁷ (DC) '(the woman) scolded her, so she went down and hung herself in an old garden'

Where the homopersonal suffix -nVI occurs, there is usually AGREEMENT of the subject-person suffix following -nVI and the subject-person suffix of the Predicate of the next finite Clause. However, where the subjects in two consecutive finite Clauses are different, the first being plural and the actor(s) of the second being included among the actors of the first, the Predicate of the first Clause is marked by -nVI.

sina'nákbílib nala-lé (FDCl.Lp: they-were-sleeping and) tám aáláb iyó íránílang dílin uná-lé (FDU.Lp: then his father went to work in the garden and) (DC) 'they were sleeping (there), and his father went to work in the garden'

únánbíyáng ténák híil yáragálab-ilé (FDCl.Lp: they-went-along to Ninip Hills and) tám Atubén inák iyó bókonala-lé (FDCl.Lp: then Atuben's husband said ... and) (DC) 'they went along to Ninip Hills and Atuben's husband said ...'

There are a few other situations in which a Homopersonal Dependent Clause is followed by a Clause with a different subject. In all these situations the second Clause terminates with a Predicate having a third person feminine singular subject suffix used in a non-personal sense. For example,

(a) The second Clause has a benefactive Predicate signifying a psychological or physical state. In these cases the subject suffix of the Predicate in the first Clause agrees with the beneficiary affix of the Predicate in the second Clause.

tinán'cúnála-lé (FDCl.Lp: he-heard and) ímí aketen úyó náfákaneb'mú (ICl: his mind was-sad-for-him) (DX) 'when he heard it he was sad'

daál boóyó fíkrámbinla-ta (FDCl.Lp: he-was-making the fence and) daál tebeb'cébú (ICl: tiredness happened-to-him) (DX) 'he got tired of fencing'

seéb kál bisób biinala-ta (FDCl.Lp: he-was in the bush without food and) íran tócb tebeb'cébú (ICl: hunger happened-to-him) (DX) 'he was in the bush for some time without food, and he became hungry'

táí wafáí-a-lé (FDCL.Lp: come he-grabbed-her and) colán duléb tab-u-lé
(FDCL.Lp: she-called-out-at-length and) bílii tab-a-lé (FDCL.Lp: he-
ran-away and) (DC) 'he came and grabbed her, and she screamed,
and he ran away!'

2.23 A PROBLEM DEPENDENT PREDICATE

A third type of Predicate is tentatively included here, though it is
in fact a Nonpersonal Non-Finite Dependent Predicate. It consists only
of a Verb stem + interval suffix, and it is linked into the Dependent
Chain by the postclitic -ta. It is not skipped for purposes of linkage
agreement (see section 2.4) as is the NDCL, the Unit of the Paratactic
Chain.

fitón tabel 'éclu-ta (IDCL.Lp: shame happens-to-him and) tál-tá (FDCL.Lp:
comes) ... oó akambinalu-ta (FECL.Lp: ... he-is-thinking-over-and-
over and) (DC) 'he is ashamed, and comes, and is thinking ...'

tée daáb-ká (FECL.Lp: went-down and) adé kwééb tée meet daábib-ta
(FEU.Lp: she-to-pole get-her go-up they-put and) (DC) 'they went
down and tied her on a pole and brought her up!'

ítá wí atára-ta (FEU.Lp: he came saw-him and) bákaá daá-tá (FEU.Lp:
untie send-him and) daáb nóo dúbá'siléb (FEU.Lp: get-him go they-
buried-him) (DC) 'he came and found him, and they untied him and
took him and buried him!'

wákaí daá dúb'kod-tá (FEU.Lp: untie send-him leave-it and) daake táí-tá
(FECL.Lp: come back and) lókola-ta (FDCL.Lp: he-told and) (DC)
'he untied him completely, and came back and told ...!'

2.3 LINKAGE BY POSTCLITIC

The linkage in a Dependent Chain is usually marked by a postclitic
(lx) suffixed to the Predicate of each Finite Dependent Clause. There
are three such postclitics: -ta (~ -ka following velar consonants),
-lé (~ -lé following a vowel), and -tiyé. All of these signal a
sequence of events in chronological order, but the events are not
necessarily related as integral parts of a single process as they are in

the Paratactic Chain. They may represent a miscellaneous sequence of events not intrinsically related to each other.

2.31 The POSTCLITIC -ta occurs with more than half of all Finite Dependent Units. It represents sequential action in chronological order, often with an implication of cause-and-effect. Perhaps the following continuum of meanings could be attributed to -ta: 'after' (with previous Clause), 'then', 'and', 'and so', 'so', 'so that', 'because' (with previous Clause), and 'therefore'. However, in many examples there does not seem to be any contrast in meaning between the linkages -ta, -ilé, and absence of linkage in the same environment. Many of the examples already listed in section 2 illustrate the general sequential usage of -ta. The following illustrate the cause-and-effect usage.²⁰

áán'álib-ta (FDCL.Lp: they-scolded-him so) daák íná (ICL: he-went away) (DX) 'they scolded him, so he's gone away'

mán író oókéń dúb'káń seéb urú-tá (FDU.Lp: the mother left the child she-went to the bush so) áwáńbe (ICL: he-is-crying) (DX) 'the child's mother left him and went to the bush so he's crying'

írán seéb teob'ée'bulú-tá (FDCL.Lp: hunger happened-to-him so) íuube (ICL: he-is-cooking) (DX) 'he's cooking because he's hungry'

One particular usage of -ta is as linkage between a Desiderative Quotative Clause as purpose and any action Clause as Associated Clause of consequence.²¹ Unlike the Associate Clause of the other Quotative Clause Sub-types, the Associate of the Purposive sub-type of the Desiderative usually follows its Quotative Clause, as this is the chronological order of the events described in the two Clauses. It should be noted that the subject of the Quotative Clause and of the Associated Clause is always the same in this purpose-consequence sequence. The subject within the Quote may be different, however.

míré táń wóng bákamón óo áí . . . (FDCL.Lp: said "I'll come and talk" and) táń (ICL: I-came) (DX) 'I've come to talk'

táń ímng'kolón óo skenula-ta (FDCL.Lp: "I'll come and eat" he-said and) táń (ICL: he-came) (DX) 'he came to eat'

mán itá únelín oó ake-ta (FDCl.Lp: "the children may-cat" said and)
faul'éebii (ICl: I-am-cooking-for-them) (DX) 'I'm cooking it for
the children to eat'

feen'íli wóób úvó hínímanú kalaá akenili-ta wííwak unón oó akenala-ta
(FDCl.Lp: "I'll-wait 'the rain is finished' I'll-see and I'll-go to
Wewak" he-says and) feenbe (ICl: he-is-waiting) (DX) 'he's
waiting in case the rain stops and he can go to Wewak'

mán heé aa'hili-ta (FDCl.Lp: I-am-hitting the child and) dákaa kúlák oó
ake-ta (FDCl.Lp: "he-may-learn" said and) ambii (ICl: I-am-hitting-
him) (DX) 'I am hitting the child so he will learn'

2.32 The POSTCLITIC -ilé occurs with less than one-quarter of all Finite
Dependent Units. In most of its occurrences it does not contrast with
-ta in meaning, and in many of them it seems to be interchangeable with
-ta. In these occurrences it represents sequential action in
chronological order. But with -ilé there is no implication of cause-
and-effect, and part of its distribution is different from that of -ta.
Furthermore, in two situations -ilé has no chronological sequence
implications.

Firstly, it occurs as the obligatory part of the linkage between co-
ordinated Dependent Clauses which form a complex Adjunct before the Verb
keerin.²² It may optionally be followed by the Connective mínte 'and',
and the whole Clause sequence may optionally be followed by the Phrase
Modifier noo 'also'. This Dependent Construction terminates in an
unusual way. If the Clauses in the Construction are homopersonal, the
last Clause is non-finite, and has one of the interval markers -bom or
-saa, here meaning 'for some time'. If the Clauses in the Construction
are heteropersonal, the last Clause is finite, and marked by the
heteropersonal preview suffix -'bVl. The whole is concluded by a form
of the Verb keerin 'do', which summarizes in tense and subject-person
the actions or states and subject-persons involved in the whole
Construction. This usage of -ilé + mínte closely parallels its
co-ordinating function in Noun Phrases.²³ In this context, the meaning
is simultaneous action ('while ...') or merely a timeless assortment of
actions in co-ordinate relationship to one another because of the

relationship of all of them to something else.

wééng bákabomulu-lé (FDCL.Lp: she-is-talking and) meén sóok fákabom noo
(FDCL.Lp: making twine also) keebo (ICL: she-is-doing) (DX)
'she is talking while she makes twine'

wééng báka'balá-lé mánite (FDCL.Lp: he-is-talking and) meén sóok
féka'bulá noo (FDCL: she-is-making twine also) kee'bilíib (ICL: they-
are-doing) (DX) 'he is talking while she is making twine'

Secondly, -ilé frequently occurs as the linkage between a Saying Quotative Clause and its Associated Clause, where the two Clauses are in an apposition relationship to each other.²¹ The Associated Clause is semantically a reiteration or amplification of the Quotative Clause. It most frequently precedes the Quotative Clause, in which case it acts as a marker of the beginning of the Quote. This linkage may also be manifested by -ta, but much less frequently. Just a few Verbs manifest the predicate of the Associated Clause of the Saying Quotative, notably dákámin 'talk', 'tell', dákákamin 'ask', and fúkámin 'think'.

wééng dákála dákála keebomlib-ilé (FDCL.Lp: each one they-each were-
saying and) hoó náka báwó akéla akéla kee'bilíib-ilé (FDCL.Lp: "It is
not me" they-each-were-saying and) (IC) 'each of them asked, "It
is not me, is it?" ...'

bókónlá-lé (FDCL.Lp: he-said and) tísol fákáa'neebomlib-ilé mánite
koeng wá koob'née noo keélin óo akéla-ta (FDCL.Lp: "You gather
valuables and kill a pig for me" he-said and) (DC) "'You gather
valuables and kill a pig to compensate me," he said ...'

áá kalél úwé tén bókónlá-lé (FDCL.Lp: he-said to his wife and) taláb
ááan káyanan fákán unúu óo akéla-lé (FDCL.Lp: "Let us go hunting with
the dog" he-said and) (DC) "'Let's go hunting with the dog," he
said to his wife ...'

náki bokob'éeli-lé (FDCL.Lp: I-say-to-them and) bookim keélin óo
áá-ta (FDCL.Lp: "You pay compensation" say and) (DC) 'I'll tell
them to pay compensation'

unáng úvó úmí akot fúánsitnulu-lé (FDCL.Lp: the woman was-thinking and)
úvó noonili-ta ise beévó teléla námolák óo akenulu-lé kímín (FDCL.Lp:
"I'll go and he'll heal me" she-said and) (DC) 'the woman was
thinking, "I'll go and he'll heal me," ...'

2.33 The POSTCLITIC -tiyé occurs as linkage between the Perceptive Quotative Clause and its preceding Clause, and rarely elsewhere. It does not manifest several successive linkages in a single Dependent Chain as -ta and -ilé often do, though it may occur singly here and there in a long Chain elsewhere linked by -ta. The preceding Clause is often an Associated Clause similar to the one described above in that it is semantically a reiteration or amplification of the Quotative Clause, and that just a few Verbs manifest its Predicate. The commonest are utáman 'see', 'know', 'feel', tinánkamin 'hear', 'know', and feenin 'wait, watch for'. The postclitic -ta occurs almost as often as -tiyé in these circumstances. For some reason, although the two Clauses have the same subject, the Clause followed by -tiyé or -ta in this context is usually in the neutral tense form. This form elsewhere indicates a change of subject (see section 2.22). The only other form observed with -tiyé is the non-finite homopersonal dependent form (see section 2.23).²⁴

utámb-tiyé (FDCL.Lp: you-see-it and) ámon amon keebe kalaá akenalab-ta
(FDCL.Lp: "he is ignorant" you-see and) (DC) 'you see that he is ignorant'

núvó utámb-tiyé (FDCL.Lp: we see-it and) íyó áséng máfak úvó kulúlib
kalaá akenulub-ilé (FDCL.Lp: "they sing bad songs" we-see and)
(DC) 'we hear them sing bad songs'

wááá utámb-tiyé (FDCL.Lp: he saw-it and) wééng úvó bákán kwééb uná talá
keebon seéngánú kalaá akenala-ta (FDCL.Lp: "the gossiping is increasing" he-saw)
(DC) 'he realized that everyone was gossiping about it'

wáááááulu-tiyé (FDCL.Lp: she-heard and) beétá unéng áa tanún áa itá
teléla íno wááááá kóem'náábe kalaá akenulu-lé (FDCL.Lp: "he is healing-
all-the-time men and women" she-saw and) (DC) 'she had heard how
he was healing people all the time'

2.34 In quite restricted circumstances, a Finite Dependent Unit may be linked into its Chain by parataxis. PARATACTIC LINKAGE between Finite Dependent Clauses is characteristic of a Chain which is included within a Noun Phrase manifesting a clause-level Unit, marked at its terminal by a Pronoun (úvó) as Person, or by undií, nandé 'if'. For some speakers, though not for others, it occurs within a Quote.²⁵ In all of these cases, it especially occurs as the linkage between the last Clause of the Dependent Chain and the Independent Clause which follows the Chain.

tañá: mák saanin am dalátá koónála (FDCL.Lp: a man broke into the store) sook ang koósuu (IC1: he-was-hung by rope) úvú sáng (its account) 'an account of how a man broke into the store and hung himself'

kááran noo Telefólmin kálintem boóm'balá (FDU.Lp: the government had not yet come and taken over the Telefólmin people) Telefólmin yák kaáuh mápak waáfúbá'silib (IC1: the Telefólmin held a bad custom) úvú sáng (its account) 'an account of a bad custom the Telefólmin people had before the government came and took them over'

tanún mák tébe taabálaséb unáng mák dábák koob'éé' boóm'balá (FDU.Lp: a man chased a European girl) ise dábák koob'éé' sulub (IC1: we-chased him) úvú sáng (its account) 'an account of how a man chased a European girl and we chased him'

The neutral tense form as Dependent Predicate sometimes occurs with paratactic linkage to the following Clause. In this case, it is very closely linked to the Predicate in the following Clause. In the case of kaáal(a) and kaál(a) '(he) sent, throw, rolled, pushed it away ...', for example, it is usual for a Motion Clause to follow, and for its subject to be the object of the first Clause.

kaáalab (FDCL.Lp: you-throw-it) únúk (IC1: it-must-go) (DX) 'you threw it away'

kaáala (FDCL.Lp: he-threw-it) meet ínú (IC1: it-went up) (DX) 'he threw it up there'

koong kwaab'kánu (EDCl.Lp: she-sent-to-me the pig) túú (ICl: it-came)
(DX) 'she sent the pig to me'

koong kwaab'kánu (EDCl.Lp: he-sent-to-you the pig) úú (ICl: it-went)
(DX) 'he sent the pig to you'

Similar close collocations in which the second Clause is not obligatory to the first include the following:

wófónu (EDCl.Lp: it-deteriorated) kulálá (ICl: he-stopped-it) (DX)
'he ignored it'

mbakónu (EDCl.Lp: it-is-less) káib'kaálá (ICl: he-left-it) (DX) 'he ignored it'

wa kóla (EDCl.Lp: he-hit-it) kaansu (ICl: it-died) (DX) 'he killed it'

In all the above examples the linkage Unit is marked as Lp, the characteristic linkage at this level, despite the fact that the actual linkage in these few situations is parataxi.

2.4 AGREEMENT OF POSTCLITICS

Within a single Dependent Chain there tends to be agreement of the postclitics, that is, there tends to be a sequence of linkages all marked by the postclitic -ilé, or all marked by the postclitics -ta and -tiyé, or all marked by parataxis as in the inclusion examples of section 2.34 above. This agreement skips over any Paratactic Chains which might happen to be contained in the Finite Dependent Units comprising the Dependent Chain. Paratactic Chains do not affect their environment. The examples of section 2.1 and section 2.2 illustrate Chain linkage agreement.

Unlike the non-finite Clause in a Paratactic Chain, the non-finite Clause followed by the postclitic -ta described and illustrated in section 2.23 above usually occurs in a Chain involving Finite Dependent Units linked by -ta. This non-finite Clause may be preceded and/or followed by a Paratactic Chain, which, of course, consists of non-finite Clauses without postclitic linkage. Non-finite Clause followed by -ta

tíli tabú-lé boôlé (FDCl.Lp: he-ran-away and then) unáng boómí oókén úvó
tébelú-tá boôlé (FDCl.Lp: the girl's mother appeared and then)
káláleng bísaá dééb at koom foóká'boóm'bulú-lé (FDU.Lp: took-one
mile got-it she-chased-him and) (DC) 'he ran away, then the
girl's mother came along, grabbed a knife, and chased him'

bákán kwééb uná talá kee'bilib-ta boôlé (FDCl.Lp: they-were-gossiping and
then) yárál utéma-tiyé (FDCl.Lp: he-also saw-it and) ... kalaá
akenala-ta boôlé (FDCl.Lp: ... he-saw and then) ... oó akenala-ta
boôlé (FDCl.Lp: ... he-wondered and then) ímí aketem úyó
yá'ákeneb'ná-ta boôlé (FDCl.Lp: his thoughts deteriorated-on-him and
then) yá'ne-ká (FDCl.Lp: went-and) (DC) 'they were gossiping, then
he too realized that ..., and he wondered ..., and then he became
depressed and went ...'

Ínte 'and', 'in addition', 'but', frequently following -ilé,
indicates a relationship between Dependent Units that is co-ordinate or
paired or parallel. Sometimes it is used between a reiteration and its
original.

talá-lé ínte (FDCl.Lp: he-came and and) wéeng úyó bokob'éenili-lé
(FDCl.Lp: I-told-him and) (DC) 'he came and I said to him ...'
ake'boóm'salá-tá ínte (FDCl.Lp: he-said-and-afterwards and) boómí éém
kálan rik itá bókonala-ta (FDCl.Lp: his-elder-brother talked about the
marita-fruit and) (DC) 'he said ... and afterwards his elder
brother scolded him about the marita-fruit ...'

ene koósuu koo akenalab-ilé ínte ná (FDCl.Lp: you-tell about his
hanging himself and and and) naak ímí úkól núnkáb ise ímí kálan itá
kanuu uná'nála-ta koo akenalab-ilé ínte (FDCl.Lp: similarly you-tell
what the reason was for the others doing so and and) (DC) 'tell
about his hanging himself and similarly what the reason was for the
others being so ...'

kanódm ísiik wéeng bákánbii kúb'kaála-lé ínte (FD.Lp: the headman
spoke-at-length first he-stopped and and) ólóbéngaal ísiik bákánbii
kúb'kaála-lé ínte (FD.Lp: Olobenagal spoke-at-length next he-

stopped and and) Tanúmtélngaal íta bákánbe (IC1: Tanuntelengal is-speaking) (DX) 'first the headman spoke, then Olobenengal spoke, and now Tanuntelengal is speaking'

The special usage of -iló + mínte to indicate simultaneous action has already been described in section 2.32 above.

2.5 A NDCL OR FDCL TRANSFORM OF THE INSTRUMENT PHRASE

The Instrument Phrase is a Noun Phrase with an obligatorily possessed head Noun túub 'with'. The Possessor is the semantic instrument. The Instrument Phrase occurs in the clause-level Manner Unit.²⁶ This + Possessor + Noun Head construction (e.g. sakaál túub 'with (his) hands') may be transformed to a Dependent Transitive Clause. The Possessor of the Phrase is the Object of the Clause, and the head Noun túub 'with' is replaced by a punctiliar dependent form of the Transitive Verb kúkamin 'get-it' (e.g. sakaál kúnála-ta 'he-got (his)-hands and' or 'with his hands').

kaábák túub ung koólá (IC1) -----> kaábák kú (NDCL.Lp) ung koólá
(IC1) or kaábák kúnála-ta (FDCL.Lp) ung koólá (IC1) (DX) 'he hit it with an axe'

at koón boóyó íntabén túub fákamin (IC1) -----> íntabén kú-tá
(FDCL.Lp) at koón boóyó fákamin (IC1) (IX) 'what does one break off leaves with'

kábó koong boó íntabén túub moóháb (IC1) -----> kábó íntabén úta
kúnálat-ta (FDCL.Lp) koong boó moóháb (IC1) (DX) 'what did you buy that pig with'

kábó boóyó ilo koob'óe-ta (FDCL.Lp: you break-for-him that and) íntabén
túub moolantémáb (IC1: what will-you-pay with) -----> kábó
boóyó ilo koob'óe-ta (FDCL.Lp) íntabén kú (NDCL.Lp) moolantémáb (IC1)
(DX) 'if you break that (borrowed thing), what will you pay for it with'

2.7 AMBIGUOUS PROBLEMS

The Paratactic Construction presented considerable problems of analysis. It has been described here as constituting a syntactic level in between the Clause and the Dependent Construction. However, two other analyses were considered before this one was adopted.

Should the Paratactic Chain, together with the Clause that follows it, all be regarded as a single compound Clause or as a sequence of Clauses? The former analysis was put forward by Watson 1965 for similar structural phenomena in Tacoh of Viet Nam. However, Tacoh has the lower-level structural feature that non-verbal as well as verbal clause-level units of various kinds may occur more than once in the Clause. Tacoh does not have the repetition of any clause-level Unit, so the foundation for setting up a compound Clause is missing here, and the Chain has therefore been analyzed as a sequence of non-finite Clauses.

This raises a second question. Where do these non-finite Clauses fit in the total sequence that makes up a Sentence? Are they of the same rank as homopersonal ^{finite} Dependent Clauses whose Predicate is marked by -nV, or are they of lower rank? The skipping of a Paratactic Chain for purposes of postclitic agreement suggests that it is of lower rank, but the occurrence of a minority (about 1/5) of non-finite forms followed by the postclitic -ta throws doubt on this analysis. These latter forms have been tentatively included with the finite forms at the next level, since they enter into postclitic agreement and since they are not linked by parataxis. But they do not fit there much better than in the Paratactic Chain. The fact that the whole non-finite Paratactic Chain is homopersonal, whereas Finite Homopersonal Dependent Clauses are part of a Chain of mixed homopersonal and heteropersonal sequences also suggests a rank difference.

In text materials, non-finite Homopersonal Clauses are more frequent than finite Homopersonal Clauses marked by -nV in a proportion of 5 : 2. Perhaps this reflects the closer relationship between the actions of a single actor, as compared with the looser relationship between the actions of various actors, represented by mixed homopersonal and

heteropersonal finite sequence. But the problem of when a Homopersonal Clause will be non-finite and when finite has not been solved. So, for the present, non-finite Homopersonal Dependent Clauses paratactically linked together have been left as a separate level in the Grammatical Hierarchy.

In heteropersonal sequences, neutral tense forms are far more common than <-'bVI> forms, in a ratio of 7 : 2. The <-'bVI> forms occur both with and without interval marker, whereas interval is not shown in neutral forms, but apart from this fact the author can offer no explanation as to why two alternate heteropersonal forms are used, why the <-'bVI> forms are so rare, or what is the semantic difference, if any, between them.

3. THE INDEPENDENT CHAIN

3.1 THE INDEPENDENT UNIT

The repeating Unit in an Independent Chain is an Independent Unit (IU) manifested by a Dependent Construction (DX) which consists of an Independent Clause (ICI), or a Dependent Chain followed by an Independent Clause with or without an associated Paratactic Chain. Any basic Clause Type may manifest an Independent Clause Unit, although it is uncommon for an Equational Clause to follow a Dependent Chain. The Dependent Construction may therefore be represented by the following formulae, progressively simplified:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \underline{DX} &= \pm (\pm \underline{NDCL.Lp}^n + \underline{FCI.Lp})^n \pm \underline{NDCL.Lp}^n + \underline{ICI} \\
 &= \pm (\pm \underline{IC} + \underline{FDCL.Lp})^n \pm \underline{IC} + \underline{ICI} \\
 &= \pm \underline{FDCL.Lp}^n \pm \underline{IC} + \underline{ICI} \\
 &= \pm \underline{IC} \pm \underline{IC} + \underline{ICI}
 \end{aligned}$$

Minimal DX is a single Independent Clause.

The Dependent Construction has several important features, which are related to the fact that its final Clause is an Independent Clause. The predicate of an Independent Clause (apart from the Equational) has one of the following morphological shapes: ²⁷

+ stem + tense suffix, ± negative suffix + subject suffix

+ stem + root
+ suffix

+ stem + potential
+ stem + infinit
+ suffix

A finite Dependent Predicate followed by the postclitic -ta also occasionally occurs in place of an Independent Predicate, where it has an intentional meaning similar to one of the meanings of the future, abilitative, and potential tenses, with the additional implication that another action will follow the intended act.

áshásh-ta (FPE.Lg. = áshá) (IX) 'I'll go (and do it)'

... leatá kashá áshásh-ta (FPE.Lg. = áshá) (IX) 'I'll tell you this' (want-and so) áshásh-ta (FPE.Lg. = áshá) (IX) 'you-will-be-telling-it-and-later'... '... I want to tell you about this so that you will hear it ...'

áshásh-ta (FPE.Lg. = áshá) (IX) 'he-would-not-tell-me and so' áshásh-ta (FPE.Lg. = áshá) (IX) 'he told' (IX) 'he left without telling so'

In addition, an Independent Predicate may contain a Phrase Modifier, such as áshá 'not', áshásh 'never', áshásh 'any', áshásh 'perhaps', and áshásh 'also'. And if the Independent Clause is the final Clause of a Sentence, it may be followed by a Sentence Terminal, such as áshásh 'statement indicator', áshásh 'interrogative indicator', áshásh 'interrogative indicator' (after an interrogative word), áshásh 'imperative indicator' (after potential tense forms, etc.), etc. 26

The Independent Clause, therefore, signals tense, mood, negation, doubt, etc. The following Sentence Terminal signals statement, question, and command. All of these meanings apply to every preceding Clause within the Dependent Construction modifying the Independent Unit.

áshásh (IX) 'will-it come-it stay-stay' áshásh (IX) 'interrogative' (IX) 'will they come and will it and take it away?'

bilí íwé dokoh' énnilíb-tá (FDI.Lp: they how-did-they-do-it and) tá
uánsá hwésh u.áshít há (IU: some kill-it get-it they-could-not-go)
(DX) 'they couldn't possibly have come and killed it and taken it
away'

The Independent Unit is also a Unit of chronological sequence. Chronological order, like tense, negation, affirmation, interrogation, command, etc., does not automatically carry back over an Independent Chain Marker (IG) to the preceding Independent Unit.

3.2 A DEPENDENT CONSTRUCTION AS NOUN PHRASE NUCLEUS

A dependent chain followed by an Independent Clause constitutes a dependent construction (DX, see section 3.1). The dependent construction may manifest the Nucleus of a Noun Phrase.²⁹ When such a clause sequence occurs in a Noun Phrase, and especially where its minimal manifestation, a single Independent Clause, occurs, it is frequently internally indistinguishable from the same Dependent Construction occurring elsewhere. It can, however, be identified by certain external features - the occurrence of Noun Phrase Laterals with it, especially the occurrence of a Pronoun as Person, or uáshí 'if', 'even'. A Pronoun or uáshí is obligatory, except where the DX is manifesting an Equational Predicate or where it is embedded in a Noun Phrase Nuclear expansion.³¹

In each following illustration, the Noun Phrase nuclear DX is enclosed in square brackets, the Laterals in its Phrase are double underlined, and the clause-level Unit it manifests is shown at the beginning before the hyphen.

íwé íwé - [íwé óó tolóntá (IU: left he-will-return)] hoóyó (it)
hokoh' uáshí (IC1: when-he-returns I-will-tell-him) (DX) 'when
he returns I'll tell him'

íwé íwé (within Noun Phrase) - [koóyó í itábon' bilí (FDI.Lp: this-is-
about I-saw-then) uáshí íwé rák dínelib (FDI.Lp: they-fought with
club) uáshí (IC1: I-saw)] uá náng úta (its account) hókolán (IC1:
I-will-tell about-a-club-fight-I-saw) (DX) 'I'll tell you about a
club fight I witnessed'

Location Unit - bcóyó [halána ímámláng keesii (ICl: I-made my garden)]
kokol (at-there) coónterá (ICl: he will-sleep at-the-garden-I-made)
(DX) 'he'll sleep at the garden I made'

Object Unit - [koom; nakh kúlét vál káábmán ímí daám téem toomir (IU:
get some pigs come put-them inside the government's fence)] bcóyó
(it) áb'kaálán (ICl: you-stop bringing-pigs-onto-the-government-
compound) (DX) 'you must stop bringing your pigs onto the
government compound'

Object Unit - [kúláí éo kokoln (FICl.Ip: "you-take-it" he-said-to-you)
utó'kúláb (ICl: you-heard-it)] undíí (whichever) tée daák kwééh
énaí (IU: go-down get-it you-go whichever-pig-he-told-you-you-could-
take) (DX) 'take whichever pig he told you you could take'

Time Unit - [komúe nakhm ímí (ICl: seeing good-weather poss)] undíí (if)
asón sán úyó fúfá'antekálí (ICl: I-will-not-plant the vegetable seed
if-th-dry-weather-continues) (DX) 'if the dry weather continues
I won't plant the vegetables'

Equational Subject, Equational Predicate Units - [tanún atábon'bilí
(FICl.Ip: I-saw a man) stúu dárlítá kookúle; wá'kruufak stááko wóó
undíí (IU: "he broke into the store and stole things" I-told)] undíí
(whoever) [yák íu wáláube (ICl: he-is-coming across-there)] keétá
(that) (DX) 'the fellow whom I told you I saw break into the
store and steal things is the one coming across there'

There are also a few internal features which may be present, and which help in the recognition of a DX as Nucleus of a Noun Phrase:

(a) If the DX contains a Dependent Chain, the DX usually lacks postclitic linkages, as described and illustrated in section 2.34 and in some of the examples immediately above.

(b) Within the DX as Noun Phrase Nucleus, one non-predicate clause-level Unit may be terminated by a -ní series Pronominal Person. This Unit is usually either Subject or Object, which are elsewhere commonly marked by -ó or -tá series Pronouns. The Unit marked by a -ní series Pronominal may be viewed as functioning ambivalently at two different levels - as a clause-level Unit within the DX (such as Subject or

Object), and as a phrase-level Unit - namely Possessor in the Noun Phrase Nucleus whose possessed head is the rest of the DX.³²

Object Unit - níyó [beéni kuúbala (IC1: he did)] úyó (it) utáminté.
(IC1: I did-not-see what-he-did) (DX) 'I didn't see what he did'

Object Unit - [ábrá weéna báka'tááii (IC1: you are-talking)] boóyó (it)
bokó áááá (IC1: you-tell-me what-you-are-talking-about) (DX)
'tell me what you are talking about'

Subject, Complement Units - [beéni tíínein (IC1: he walks)] úyó (it)
áááá áááá tíínein (IC1: his-father walks way) ulútáb (like-it)
kaáá (IC1: he-does his-walk like-the-way-his-father-walks) (DX)
'He walks like his father'

(c) Any of the actual or potential clause-level Units within a DX as Noun Phrase Nucleus may be the semantic focus of the Noun Phrase containing the DX.³³ The focused item may be identified by one or more of the following. (i) The semantic nature of the wider linguistic context might indicate the focused item.

Subject Unit - [ááá káááá koong aabon úáááá (IU: that dog is-always-killing is-always-eating pigs)] úyó (it) toob Kúááááá kal koong
kaáá kaáá kaáá áááá (IU: that-dog-that-is-always-killing-and-eating-pigs killed ate a pig down at Kúááááá)
(DX) 'the dog that is always killing and eating pigs has killed and eaten a pig down at Kúááááá'

(ii) The person-number-gender of the Pronoun as Person terminating the Phrase might indicate the focused item. If the time of the action or the action as a whole is in focus, a third person singular feminine pronoun is used.

Subject Unit - [ááá áááá kaáá áááá (IC1: you-are-half-hearted)] úyó (it)
áááááááááá ááá (IC1,2p: you-stop being-half-hearted and) (IC)
'stop being half-hearted ...'

Object Unit - ááá áááá [kaááá áááá (IC1: he-yours planted-it)] áááá
(that across) kaáá kaááá (IC1: you-chop-down that-across-there-that-I-planted) (DX) 'chop down that one across there that I planted'

(iii) A Noun may occur in apposition with the DX within the Noun Phrase.

Object Unit - [baak ímí nuuk yeerín (IC1: my-elder-brother hunts possums)] bokan úyó (ground it) kafaleb'néebá (IC1: he-showed-me where-my-elder-brother-hunts-possums) (DX) 'my elder brother showed me where he hunts possums'

Possessor (within Noun Phrase) - [íní koonr ítá maak ang koólantema (IC1: someone will-kill my pig)] tánuu ímí koonr íyó maak ka'í'í'í'í' (IC1: someone will-not-miss the pig of-the-man-who-kills-my-pig) (DX) 'the pig of the man who kills my pig won't escape'

Destination Unit - [ilob úyó [áiní malárá yéu: íinóm utám únsí (IU: I went along; saw-it went before)] keéng bóle (via ^{the path-}along-here) ímí (IC1: I-go along-the-path-I-went-along-before) (DX) 'I'm going along the path I used to use before'

(iv) A ni series Frenchu terminating the Object indicates Object focus, and terminating the Subject usually indicates that the action as a whole is in focus.

Object Unit - [boórá utámab (IC1: you-saw it)] úy' (it) noo bákarín bá (IU: I-don't-tell what-you-saw) (DX) 'don't go and talk about what you have seen'

Object Unit - [kárá utámab (IC1: you saw-it)] úyó (it) noo bákarín bá (IU: I-don't-tell when-you-see-it) (DX) 'when you see something don't go and talk about it'

Time Unit - [ímí kuanoo (IC1: he died)] úyó (it) seéí kákaí noóm'bílí-tá (IC1.Lp = IC1: I-was in the bush when-he-died) (DX) 'when he died I was in the bush'

Marker Unit - beeyó [ímí ar ílanabi (IC1: I always-cut firewood)] alútá (like-it) ílanbe (IC1: he-is-cutting like-I-always-cut-firewood) (DX) 'he is cutting firewood like me'

5.3 LINKAGE BY CONNECTIVE

Independent Units may be linked together into an Independent Chain by means of a Connective or Connective Phrase. This linkage is shown by the symbol Ic. Chains may be of considerable length. In text, from 1 to 8 Independent Units have been observed in a single Chain. The Independent Chain may therefore be summarized by the formulae, progressively simplified:

$$\begin{aligned} \underline{IC} &= \left[+ \left(+ \underline{NDC1.Lc}^n + \underline{FDC1.Lc}^n \right) + \underline{NDC1.Lc}^n + \underline{IC1.Lc} \right]^n \\ &= \left[+ \underline{IC} + \underline{IS} + \underline{IC1.Lc} \right]^n \\ &= \underline{IC.Lc}^n \end{aligned}$$

nítá kánlanakin kítá (IC1.Lc: I would-have-shot-it but) toob bíkíintém
kále (IC1.Lc: was-not-guarding below and) koó dúb'kaáli mitámbii
támbá koo (IU.Lt: I-let-it-go coming-towards-(me) it-went-past
statement) (IX) 'I would have shot it, but I wasn't on guard
below, and I let it go past.'

tanún beémá wín úvó utansa kítá (IC1.Lc: he-knows the man's name but)
kekob'noómá bá kále (IC1.Lc: he-won't-tell-me and) fúlmala (IC1.Lt:
he-concealed statement) (IX) 'He knows the man's name, but he
wouldn't tell me, he concealed it.'

náyó utáintém kále (IC1.Lc: I do-not-know-it but) ise tanún beétá
utansa kále kanúbe (IC1.Lc: this man knows-it and seeing)
kokob'ké-ta táibá kálasa mín kakémá kwa (IU.Lt: tell-you and "saw he-
came or" he-can-tell-you discourse-terminal) (IX) 'I don't know,
but this man knows and can tell you whether he came or not.'

Across the linkage Ic in an Independent Chain, change of subject is unmarked, except that, of course, the subject-person suffix on each finite Independent Predicate shows what its subject is. There is no equivalent, however, of the preview marker in the Predicate of a Finite Dependent Clause.

However, there are relationships which do cross the linkage. The Independent Clauses, which are the heads of each Independent Unit in the Chain, tend to show agreement in tense across certain Connectives, and there may be a significant syntactic relationship between the series of

Pronouns included in the Phrase manifesting the Subject Unit of each Independent Clause in an Independent Chain.

3.4 THE CONNECTIVE PHRASE

Up to three Connectives may be strung together in a Phrase. This Phrase may be concluded by the emphatic Phrase Modifier hi, hiín. The whole Phrase constitutes the linkage (Lo) between the Units in an Independent Chain. The following Connectives enter into the Connective Phrase:

<u>ále</u>	'on the other hand'
<u>bele</u>	'or'
<u>boóle</u>	'then', 'next'; 'if' (contrary to fact - with intentional tenses)
<u>dí</u>	'perhaps', 'maybe'
<u>bele</u>	'so', 'and', 'but'
<u>kanúte</u>)	'unless', 'seeing'
<u>keéte</u>)	
<u>kúte</u>	'but'
<u>án</u>	'and' (?)
<u>núte</u>	'and', 'in addition'
<u>númán</u>	'if' (contrary to fact - with other than intentional tenses)
<u>saké</u>	'even so', 'though', 'nevertheless', 'despite'
<u>tán</u>	'and' (?)
<u>tánúte</u>	'therefore', 'because' (with preceding Clause)

The relative ordering of these Connectives within a Phrase is diagrammed in Table E.

TABLE E

<u>kalé</u>	<u>álé</u>	<u>boólé</u>	<u>tán</u>	<u>hi</u>
<u>kítá</u>		<u>mínte</u>		<u>kinjá</u>
<u>nimán</u>		<u>kanúbe</u>		
<u>táná</u>		<u>keébe</u>		
<u>bolé</u>		<u>áí</u>	<u>saák</u>	
			<u>nín</u>	

The Connectives in the first column are the PRIMARY Connectives. With the one exception of álé, which may co-occur with kalé, they are mutually exclusive in their occurrence in the Phrase. They may, however, co-occur with one or more of the SECONDARY Connectives in the second column, and with tán. They are vertically arranged in order of their potentiality for co-occurring with secondary Connectives. That is, kalé is the most versatile in its co-occurrence, while bolé usually occurs alone. The secondary Connectives may each occur alone, as do the primary Connectives, but they may also co-occur with a primary Connective and/or other secondary Connectives. They are arranged in a mildly preferred order of occurrence in the Phrase, but this order is by no means fixed. As has already been shown in section 2.5, certain secondary Connectives occur following a postclitic in a Dependent Chain. There they modify the semantic force of the postclitic. In the Connective Phrase they modify the semantic force of the primary Connective, if there is one.

Of all occurrences of primary Connectives, 70% are kalé and 20% kítá. All of the Connectives may manifest a linkage (Le) alone, except saák, which always follows at least one other Connective.

keévó táná afúlik kalé (IC1.L_g: he is a big man and) kún kúb bílísá koo
 (IC1.L_g: he is strong state st) (IX) 'He is both a big and strong man.'

únelantermálá kalé (IC1.Lc: he-will-not-eat and) sal kub dínanbe (IC1:
e-is-playing just) (IX) 'He's fooling instead of eating.'

katábíb kále (IC1.Lc: they-saw-you and) kámóntemáb koo (IC1.Lt: they-
will-marry-you statement) (IX) 'They have seen you and they will
marry you.'

áran'kolóntemáb kále (IC1.Lc: they-will-be-scolding-him so) únelantermálá
koo (IC1.Lt: he-will-not-eat statement) (IX) 'He won't eat it
lest they scold him.'

atámintén kále (IC1.Lc: did-not-see-him and) waántá talá únak a (IC1.Lt:
who came any interrogative) (IX) '(I) didn't see who came.'

... úlaá kúáb kále mínta (IU.Lc: seize you-took-her and in-addition)
kábkáá ook nín an nín ileb boó utámabom-ta baláb-tá (IC = IU: you-
also looking-after the work, house, and road and you-will-be and)
(IX) 'now that you've taken her back, you can take care of the work,
house, road, etc. all by yourself'

lanám beýó Ingbilí'ook íta kále tán (IC1.Lc: the man was Ingbilimok
and) kamáá kí ímí kalél úyó tán bókonala-lé (FDIC1.Lc: first he
said to his wife and) 'the man was Ingbilimok. Now first he
said to his wife ...'

neóni úyó kwéekál balélábií noo kwééé taláb kalé saák (IU.Lc: wasting
money there buy get-it you-came and even-so) únelál a (IC1.Lt: you-
must-eat imperative) (IX) 'Seeing you've wasted your money on
this you'll have to eat it even so (i.e. if it's bad).'

neet baalus ábiib booyó afálikén kalé kanúbe (IC1.Lc: the airstrip up
there is big so seeing) baalus afálik úyó táí abómí kwa (IU.Lt: a big
plane can come down discourse-terminal) (IX) 'The airstrip up
there is big enough for a big plane to land.'

wák siin zrak úrú wáik kootá atámsii kalé dí (IC1.Lc: I-saw-it the other
week but maybe) kootá noo atámáí a (IU.Lt: now go you-must-see-it
imperative) (IX) 'I saw it the other week, but you'd better go
and look at it now.'

irák iyó tímitím kútá (ICl.Lc: the husband is tall but) kalél útá
duúnát koo (ICl.Lt: the wife is short statement) (IX) 'The
husband is tall but his wife is short.'

irák iyó talba kútá (ICl.Lc: the husband came but) írán úyó fuub'míntém
(ICl: didn't-cook-for-him food) (IX) 'Even though her husband
came (home) she didn't cook him any food.'

baalut úyó tolónácin kútá (ICl.Lc: the plane would-have-come but) ííb
wúánu-ta kuldá á koo (IU.Lt: clouds blocked and it-left-it statement)
(IX) 'The plane would have come but the clouds blocked it.'

kanúba bokob'nóomib kútá (ICl.Lc: seeing they-can-tell-me but) unómí bá
(ICl: I-cannot-go) (IX) 'Even if they invited me I wouldn't go.'

talinter kee'naka kútá (ICl.Lc: he-can't-come but) nókól waéng úyó
bóko'nunúb koo (ICl.Lt: we-also can-talk statement) (IX) 'If/
though he can't come, we can talk about it.'

kanúba sáfák úwolinter kútá mínte (ICl.Lc: seeing hadn't-become sick but
in-addition) tilíntém aka (ICl.Lt: didn't-come interrogative) (IX)
'He wasn't sick and yet he didn't come!'

tanú sáfák kanba kútá sáfák (ICl.Lc: a man died but even-so) átol
dákón'biláb kuba (ICl.Lt: they-are-holding dances emphatic-statement)
(IX) 'Even though a man died they still hold dances.'

sáfák kútá dí sáfák (ICl.Lc: it-is-bad but maybe even-so) kwéeb ílén (IU:
get-it I-will-carry) (IX) 'Even though it's no good I'll bring it.'

sáfák kútá mín sáfák (ICl.Lc: it-is-bad but and even-so) únolantémí koo
(ICl.Lt: I-will-eat statement) (IX) 'Even though it's bad I'll
eat it.'

kwíránt iyó tál ébiib talba kútá (ICl.Lc: the patrol-officer came to the
village but) bokob'nóomá bá kálé (ICl.Lc: he-could-not-talk-to-me and)
kúb'kaábá koo (ICl.Lt: he-left-it statement) (IX) 'The patrol
officer came to the village, but he left without saying anything to
me.'

kalél úyó kanúba íwón ku fuub'éelu boólé (ICl.Lc: seeing his-wife cooks-

for-him taro if) úne'nará kwa (ICL.Lt: he-can-eat discourse-terminal)
'If his wife cooks him taro he can eat it.' (IX)

yák kanúbe tala boólé (ICL.Lc: seeing he-came across then) únelantémá
kwa (ICL.Lt: he-will-eat discourse-terminal) (IX) 'Seeing he's
come (hungry), he shall eat it!'

ten keelu boólé saák (ICL.Lc: she-didn't-come if even-so) meet-ta
feenbii-ta kulaá tolómí koo (IU.Lt: go-up and wait-a-while and leave-
it I-can-come statement) (IX) 'Even if she hasn't come I'll go
up and wait for a while and then come back.'

kiívaáb tébenala waákun oó akela úyó binim nimmám (ICL.Lc: the officer
refused - 'it wasn't if) ang koólib koo (ICL.Lt: they-killed-him
statement), (IX) 'If the officer hadn't refused they would have
killed him.'

kanúbe weéb úyó malaák ábensu nimmám (ICL.Lc: seeing the rain fell if)
ú únsii kalé (IU.Lc: plant I-went but) weéb binim keelu-ta kúb'kaá
únsii koo (IU.Lt: the rain finished and left it I-went statement)
(IX) 'If it had rained I would have done some planting as a gone, but
there was no rain so I went without doing it.'

weéb ínim kee'nunu boólé (ICL.Lc: it-could-not rain if) nuuk úyó dúbák
koob'abomí kítá (IU.Lc: I-can-hunt possums but) weéb afék úta tébe-ta
íleb únaá kwanab'néebú koo (IU.Lt: heavy rain cut my road statement)
(IX) 'If it hadn't rained I would have hunted possums, but heavy
rain prevented me going.'

kiívaáb noo tolóntemí oó akéba kulaá aketa feen aľbub úyó binim nimmám
(ICL.Lc: "I will come" the officer said" heard and we-were-waiting -
it-wasn't if) daák ínbí kwée (ICL.Lt: I-left exclamatory) (IX)
'If the officer hadn't said he was coming and we hadn't waited for
him, I would have gone (long ago)!'

kanúbe mífák úmolintem kee'nimi boólé (ICL.Lc: seeing I-couldn't-become-
sick if) íléngdiib unomí kítá (ICL.Lc: I-could-go to the garden but)
mífák uno'boó'ndi-ta kale (FDCL.Lc = ICL.Lc: -got-sick so) am ó
koo (ICL.Lt: I-am at home statement) (IX) 'If I hadn't got
could have gone to the garden, but I got sick so I stayed home.'

boóyó kúbmí belé (ICl.Lc: that is yours or) nímí ya (ICl.It: it-is-mine interrogative) (IX) 'Is that yours or mine?'

boóyó tolong koom belé ki (ICl.Lc: he is deaf or) kábó bokob'éelintém a (ICl.It: you did-not-tell-him interrogative) (IX) 'Is he deaf or didn't you tell him?'

ansín kanumansab úyó tinánγκúbáb belé (ICl.Lc: yesterday you-heard them-do or) tinánγκúbaláb a (ICl.It: you-did-not-hear interrogative) (IX) 'Did you hear them do it yesterday or not?'

ilibtaman kasel íbmí aket úyó kamáκén'bilíb belé ki (ICl.Lc: you Eliptamin people are-thinking or) kanúbe ílúm ílum kaem'nák'bilíb kále (ICl.Lc: seeing you-are-wandering-off so) tám-tá bokob'éé tílín óo akelib belé a (IU.Lt: go-up tell-them "you-come" you-say interrogative) (IX) 'Are you Eliptamin people thinking this way, or are you wandering off (and showing no interest) and so you've gone up and asked them to come?'

boóyó kakíneng belé (ICl.Lc: this is scolding-you or) kántúlineng bá kále (ICl.Lc: it isn't gossiping-about-you but) (IC) 'this isn't scolding you or gossiping about you, but ...'

boóyó ki waaskan ímí weéng belé mínte (ICl.Lc: this is the pastor's word or in-addition) úyó waámí weéng bá kále kimín (ICl.Lc: it is not whose word but) boóyó ki ... (it is ...) (IC) 'this isn't what the pastor or anyone else said, it's ...'

It has become usual for people using the tagmemic approach to set up sentence types on the basis of formal features of the kind exemplified here by the linkage of Independent Units by the above Connectives.³⁴ It is not useful to do this for Telefol. A Sentence in Telefol frequently contains a very long Chain of Independent Units, all of equal rank, and the binary sequence of Independent Units flanking a particular Connective linkage (Lc) are only two in the Chain. It is true that ... nizém ... kátá ... normally occurs only once in a Sentence, but it may be embedded in a Chain linked elsewhere by kále, for example, which is of the same rank. The Connective Phrase kále álé 'but on the other hand'

also seems to occur only once in a Sentence, but it too is frequently embedded in a Chain elsewhere linked by kalé and/or kítá. Diverse linkages within a single Chain are common, as many of the examples already given in this section illustrate.

... óó akla nirmán boólé (ICl.Lc: ... he-said if then) súkaul keebon-ta átin áákná kulúli kítá boólé (IU.Lc: staying at school and I really understood-it but then) kamákolá kále (ICl.Lc: he-said-this so) kúb'kaá kaák áínóntemí koo (IU.Lt: leave-it I-will-go-away statement) (IX) 'If he had said ... I would have stayed at school and really understood, but he said this, so I'll leave.'

nívó máfák kúb álbí kále (ICl.Lc: I am very sick so) unóntemí kále álé (ICl.Lc: I-will-not-go but on-the-other-hand) kabde támbaliím kúb álbáb kalé (ICl.Lc: you are very well so) noe onalab-ta táI-tá úmí úmí után bolóntekab úmí sáng úyó bokob'ncelab-ta tinángólantemí koo (IU.Lt: go you-turn-and come-and you-tell-me about all you will see so I-will-hear statement) (IX) 'I'm very sick and can't go, but you are very well, so you can go and come back and tell me all about it so that I can hear it.'

It may be possible to set up pairs of Independent Units flanking a particular linkage as contrastive Construction types, but these pairs of Units do not manifest an identifiable higher-level Unit in the language any more than contrastive homopersonal and heteropersonal sequences do in the Dependent Chain. Further, it has not been possible to set up a consistent co-ordinate/subordinate dichotomy for Lc linkages, or to attribute the Connective to one Unit rather than the other.

There is one type of Connective linkage which does not enter into the Connective Phrase, namely (... ee) ... ee ... ee 'either ... or ...'. These occur singly as linkages, but are normally repeated at least twice in an Independent Construction, once after each successive Independent Unit. The Phrase Modifier tab 'perhaps' usually follows the final ee. The fact that a Phrase Modifier follows only the last Independent Unit plus linkage raises the question as to whether the sequence should be regarded as a single co-ordinate Clause rather than

as an Independent Chain. Additional evidence favouring the former analysis is the fact that the linkage follows each Independent Unit, including the last one, in the same manner as Connectives do in Noun co-ordination.³⁵

karéno meloma yéé (ICl.Lc: today, he-might-come or) amsábtá toloma yéé
(ICl.Lc: tomorrow he-might-come or) kaáltá toloma yee (ICl.Lc: the-
next-day he-might-come or) (IX) 'he might come today or
tomorrow or the next day'

kábtá unomab eé (ICl.Lc: you can-go or) nítá unomi yee ^{koó} tab (ICl.Lc.Lt: I can-
go or perhaps statement) (IX) 'Either you or I can go.'

nívó utárintém kále (ICl.Lc: I do-not-know and) talavéé (ICl.Lc: he-
came or) tilintem ee úmak tab kwa (ICl.Lc.Lt: did-not-come any perhaps
discourse-terminal) (IX) 'I don't know whether he came or not.'

3.5 INTRA-CHAIN AGREEMENTS AND RELATIONSHIPS

3.51 TENSE AGREEMENT ACROSS A CONNECTIVE LINKAGE

For the most part a Predicate of any tense may precede a Connective, one of any tense may follow it, and any tense combination is possible across a Connective. There are, however, a very few restrictions and trends that should be noted.

The same tense occurs throughout a sequence co-ordinated by ... eé ... ee 'either ... or ...' (see section 3.4 above).

The contrary to fact Connective nimám tends to be flanked (preceded and followed) by past tense forms, and contrary to fact boólé tends to be flanked by future/intentional tense forms. The Constructions containing nimám and boólé nevertheless have the same meaning. See the examples in section 3.4.

The Connective Phrase kale álé 'but of the other hand' tends to be flanked by intentional tense forms, and always one is positive, the other negative. In contrast, kútá 'but' may be flanked by any combination of tense forms, and only about half of the Clause combinations are one positive, one negative.

níyó fécén unóntemáí kále álé (ICl.Lc: I truly will-not-go but on-the-other-hand) kábtá fécén unóntemáb koo (ICl.Lt: you truly will-go statement) (IX) 'I can't go so you had better go.'

beétá fécén kaa'namá kále álé (ICl.Lc: that truly can-die but on-the-other-hand) maak beé kaa'namá bá (ICl: that other cannot-die) (IX) 'That one might die but that other one wouldn't.'

ímán úyó únélómála-ta weéng úyó bákamantémá kále álé (IU.Lc: he-has-eaten food and he-will-be-talking but on-the-other-hand) ímán únclinter boóyó weéng úyó bákamantemá koo (ICl.Lt: if he has not eaten food he-will-not-be-talking statement) (IX) 'When he's eaten he'll talk, but if he hasn't eaten he won't talk.'

3.52 SYNTACTIC RELATIONSHIPS INDICATED BY PRONOUNS

The -tá, -siik, -lé, -kál and -kal series of Pronouns are significant indicators of inter-clause relationships in Clause sequences, especially within the Dependent and Independent Constructions, but also between Sentences.³⁶

A -tá series Pronoun in the Person Unit of a Noun Phrase:

(a) marks the Subject Unit within the final Independent Clause of a comparative, adversative, or alternative sequence, where the subject differs from that of preceding Clauses. The Subject Unit of the preceding Clause, if present, is marked by an -ó or -tá series Pronoun.

ímák íyó t'áitím kítá (ICl.Lc: the husband is tall but) kaléí útá duúmaát koo (ICl.Lt: the wife is short statement) (IX) 'The husband is tall but his wife is short.'

ímák íyó t'áitím kále (ICl.Lc: the husband is tall and) kaléí útá duúmaát koo (ICl.Lt: the wife is short statement) (IX) 'The husband is taller than his wife.'

ímák ítá únela-ta (FDCl.Iv: the husband ate and) kaléí útá únclinter keélú koo (ICl.Lt: the wife did-not-eat statement) (IX) 'The husband ate but his wife didn't.'

írák úvó weéng bákaa'balá-lé míte (FDC1, Lp: the husband was-talking and in-addition) kalél útá meén sóok fákaa'bulu noo (FDC1: the wife was-making a bag strap also) kee'kilíib koo (IC1, Lt: they-were-doing statement) (IX) 'The husband was talking while his wife was making a bag strap.'

álob unótemalib kítá (IC1, Lc: you two will-not-go but) nítá álob unómúb kwa (IC1, Lt: I two we-can-go discourse-terminal) (IX) 'He won't go with you, but I'll go with you.'

íik beéyó ímán únáng'kála úvó weéng úvó bókolentemála kalé (IC1, Lc: the elder brother does-not-talk while he eats but) niing beétá ímán únáng'kála úvó ímán únbonnala-lé míte weéng báka'boom noo keemúbá (IC1: the younger brother eats and talks at the same time as he eats) (IX) 'The elder brother is quiet while he eats, but the younger brother talks while he eats.'

Sóoi ítá dééb unuu eé (IU, Lc: get Sol we-will-go or) Félebnok ítá dééb unuu eé tab koo (IU, Lc, Lp: get Felebnok we-will-go or perhaps statement) (IX) 'I might take either Sol or Felebnok with me.'

kítá unomab eé (IC1, Lc: you can-go or) nítá unomí eé tab koo (IC1, Lc, Lt: I can-go or perhaps statement) (IX) 'Perhaps either you or I could go.'

(b) It marks the Subject Unit of the last Clause in a Dependent or Independent Construction where there has been a series of different preceding subjects, all marked by a -siik series Pronoun.

kanóda ísiik weéng bákánbii kúb'kaéla-lé míte (FDC1, Lp: first the headman speaking stopped and in-addition) ólóbenengal ísiik bákánbii kúb'kála-lé míte (FDC1, Lp: next Olobenengal speaking stopped and in-addition) Tanútelengal ítá bákánbe koo (IC1, Lt: Tanútelengal is-speaking statement) (IX) 'First the headman spoke, next Olobenengal spoke, and finally Tanútelengal is speaking.'

(c) In a Conversation Discourse, it marks the equivalent clause-level Unit in replies to 'who' questions.

beévo waántá ya (CS: that is who interrogative). Félebnok ítá koo (RY: it is Felebnok statement) 'Who is that?' 'It is Felebnok.'

waántá ímán koó únebá ya (CS: who ate this taro interrogative). ními mán ítá únebá kwa (RY: my child ate statement) 'Who ate this taro?' 'My child ate it.'

A -siik series Pronoun in the Person Unit of a Noun Phrase:

(d) marks the Subject Unit of the first and other non-final Clauses in a sequence where the subject changes with every Clause, as in the example under (b) above. It has the meaning 'first', and 'next' or 'in turn'. This commonly occurs in a reported conversation, where the first speaker as Subject Unit is marked by -siik and the last one by a -káá series Pronoun. A -siik series Pronoun may also mark the onset of a reported discourse by a single speaker as Subject Unit.

ísiik bokob'égnala-lé oó akan'kala koo (IU.Lt: he began to say-to-them and he-said statement) (IX) 'He began to address them. "..." he said.'

Félebnok ísiik bókonala-lé oó akela-lé mínte (EG: first Felebnok said and he said and in-addition) íbkunál íkál múngráb kamáke noo koémíb koo (IU.Lt: his-friends spoke similarly also statement) (IX) 'First Felebnok said "...", and his friends spoke similarly in their turn.'

maak ísiik oó akela-lé mínte (FDCl.Lp: first one said and in-addition) maak yákaál oó ake uná talá koémíb koo (IU.Lt: another they-said-to-one-another statement) (IX) 'First one and then another said "...".

A -lé series Pronoun in the Person Unit of a Noun Phrase:

(e) marks the Subject Unit of the second Clause of an adversative sequence. The Subject Unit of the first Clause may be marked by a -siik series Pronoun or another -lé series Pronoun.

unóntemáí kálc álé (ICl.Lc: I-will-not-go but on-the-other-hand) kabde támbaliím káb álbáb kalé (ICl.Lc: you are very well so) unóntemáb koo (ICl.Lt: you-will-go statement) (IX) 'I can't go but you are well so you had better go!'

ibde dam kutam uyó dílin tál'bilib-ta (FDCl.Lp: you keep-on-gardening the main part up there and) nilé malaák kakám boótá utámantémí koo (ICl.Lt: I will-look-for a spot down here below statement) (IX) 'You keep on making your gardens up there and I'll make mine down here.'

kúb'kmalab-ta (FDCl.Lp: you-leave-her and) tiing ísiik kúla-ta (FDCl.Lp: your-elder-brother (can)-marry-her and) kabde mínte tán (ICl: you are young) (DX) 'you leave her alone so your elder brother can marry her; you are young'

Dukán bíl úní yoó akan'kali-ta mínte (FDCl.Lp: "I'm-going to Dukun Hills" I-said and in-addition) ilé Mitakun bíl úní yoó akanbe koo akanala-ta (IXCl.Lp: "'I'm-going to Mitakun Hills' he-is-saying" he-thought and) úmbá koo (ICl.Lt: he-went statement) (IX) 'I said I was going to Dukun Hills but he thought I said I was going to Mitakun Hills and he went (there).'

A -kal series Pronoun in the Person Unit of a Noun Phrase:

(f) marks the Subject Unit of a non-initial Clause in which there is a change of subject. The earlier subjects, especially the first, are often marked by a -siik series Pronoun. The -kal series Pronoun indicates that the new action by the new actor is similar to and in series with the actions of previous actors represented in the sequence of clauses. Two examples under (d) above illustrate this.

(g) It constitutes the Subject Unit in a non-initial Clause in a homopersonal sequence, where the subject previously had another form. The previous indication of the subject may have been simply the subject-person suffix on the Predicate of a preceding Clause, or it may also have been manifested by a Possessor in a Noun Phrase, or other pronominal form embedded within a Noun Phrase. The Pronoun -kal appearing late in a homopersonal sequence indicates further action by the same actor.

kanúbe ibsó nísó noo ábiib mikik unóntemúb kalé (ICl.Lc: you and I will go to another village so) noo kokol nákal weéng uyó háma'eehom noo kee'bili-ta unúm uú (IU.Lt: I will-tell-them there too and let-us-go

imperative) (IX) 'Let's go on to another village so that I can tell them too.'

kanúbe ilíbmí feéngamin boóyó kúb'kaánílib-ta (FDCl.Lp: seeing you-leave your sin and) aket díkíít móolib-ta boólé (FDCl.Lp: you-change (your)-minds and then) God íyó íbmí feéngamin úyó kúb'kaab'má-ta (FDCl.Lc: God will-leave-for-you your sin and) íbkíí bábtsin keéíín a (ICl.Lt: you must-be-baptized imperative) (IX) 'If you leave your sin and change your minds, then God will forgive you your sin, and then you should be baptized.'

A -kal series Pronoun in the Person Unit of a Noun Phrase:

(h) marks the Subject Unit of the second Clause of a sequence in which the subject of the first Clause has become the unspecified object of the second. This happens when the first Clause manifests the Nucleus of a Noun Phrase as well as when the first Clause is sequential.

dook itá iféákambe kalcá akanilib-ilé (FDCl.Lp: "whoever harms-us" you-know and) íbkíí bóéten kee'eebon doóng dákaa'eeamin (IY: you-yourself praying help-them) (IX) 'You ought to pray for whoever you know is harming you.'

kanúbe taním hulúb íyó íbsó suúnkúb beómíb kalé (ICl.Lc: there are always poor people with you so) íbkíí teleleb'mám oó akomib boólé kanúbe (ICl.Lc: you-yourself "we-should-help-them" can-went then seeing) íbkíí teleleb'móomíb koo (ICl.Lt: you-yourself can-help-them statement) (IX) 'There are always poor people around you, so you can help them if you want to.'

4. THE SENTENCE

4.1 THE SENTENCE UNIT AND SENTENCE CHAIN

The repeating Unit in a Sentence Chain is a Sentence Unit (SU), which may be manifested by an Independent Construction (IX) consisting of an Independent Clause, or an Independent Unit, or an Independent Chain followed by an Independent Unit, all followed by a Sentence Terminal (Lt). The Independent Construction may therefore be represented by the following progressively simplified formulae, in which --In represents

a simultaneous feature of intonation:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \underline{IX} &= + \left[(+ \underline{NDCL.Lp}^n + \underline{FDCL.Lp})^n + \underline{NDCL.Lp}^n + \underline{ICl.Lc} \right]^n \\
 &\quad + (+ \underline{NDCL.Lp}^n + \underline{FDCl.Lp})^n + \underline{NDCL.Lp}^n + \underline{ICl.Lt} \text{ --In} \\
 &= + \left[\underline{DC} + \underline{PC} + \underline{ICl.Lc} \right]^n + \underline{DC} + \underline{PC} + \underline{ICl.Lt} \text{ --In} \\
 &= + \underline{IC} + \underline{IU.Lt} \text{ --In}
 \end{aligned}$$

The Independent Construction is potentially very large, as indicated by the above formula, yet it is minimally a single word - an Independent Clause consisting of a simple Verb as Predicate, or a single Noun or Noun Phrase Lateral Unit as Equational Predicate.³⁰ Within a narrative or discursive Discourse, however, the Independent Construction may well last for five minutes.

Sentence Units are linked together into a Sentence Chain by means of a preceding Discourse Linkage (Ld). The Sentence Chain may therefore be represented by the following formula, progressively simplified as above:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \underline{SC} &= \{ + \underline{Ld} + \left[(+ \underline{NDCL.Lp}^n + \underline{FDCL.Lp})^n + \underline{NDCL.Lp}^n + \underline{ICl.Lc} \right]^n \\
 &\quad + (+ \underline{NDCL.Lp}^n + \underline{FDCl.Lp})^n + \underline{NDCL.Lp}^n + \underline{ICl.Lt} \text{ --In} \}^n \\
 &= \{ + \underline{Ld} + \left[\underline{DC} + \underline{PC} + \underline{ICl.Lc} \right]^n + \underline{DC} + \underline{PC} + \underline{ICl.Lt} \text{ --In} \}^n \\
 &= \{ + \underline{Ld} + \underline{IC} + \underline{IU.Lt} \text{ --In} \}^n \\
 &= \{ + \underline{Ld} + \underline{SU} \text{ --In} \}^n
 \end{aligned}$$

The Sentence Unit plus the linkage Ld plus Intonation In, that is, Ld + SU --In, constitutes the commonest type of SENTENCE, namely the Independent General Sentence. Sentences of this type comprise the bulk of any Discourse, and are the non-initial, non-final Units of it.

The Sentence Chain is preceded by a Discourse Opening Sentence (OS), which has special characteristics, and is followed by a Discourse Closing Sentence (CS), which usually ends in the Sentence Terminal wa, which has a characteristic "winding down" intonation, and which may have other special characteristics. The DISCOURSE may be briefly summarized thus:

$$\text{Discourse} = + \underline{OS} + \underline{SC} + \underline{CS}$$

4.2 SENTENCE TYPES

The Sentence has long been regarded by linguists as a complete, independent utterance, a unit of closure.³⁷ In Telefol, however, the vast majority of Sentences in any text are of a type that do not occur alone as a complete Discourse. Some do so occur. All Sentences except the first Sentence of a Discourse obligatorily begin with a Discourse Linkage (Id), which is not pertinent to the internal structure of the Sentence, but to the larger construction of which it is a part. The Discourse Linkage is pertinent as one of the mechanisms whereby the Sentence Unit is linked into a Sentence Chain, and eventually a Discourse. Sentences are usually terminated by a Sentence Terminal (It), a deeply-falling intonation /./ which does not occur elsewhere within the Sentence, and a pause. The Sentence Terminal has structural pertinence both within the Sentence and as a mechanism linking the Sentence Unit into a Sentence Chain and Discourse. Within the Sentence, it indicates statement, interrogation, command, etc. for all the Clauses of the final Independent Unit. It may also indicate whether the Sentence is final or non-final in a Discourse, whether the anticipated response to it, if a question, is of the 'yes/no' type or the more specific type. The final indicative Sentence in a Discourse is usually terminated by kwa; non-final indicative Sentences are usually terminated by koo.

The Sentence Terminals (It) are as follows:³⁸

<u>koo</u>	'statement indicator' (Sentence)
<u>kwa</u>	'statement indicator' (Discourse)
<u>kuba</u>	'emphatic statement indicator'
<u>éé</u>	'exclamatory statement indicator'
<u>kwée</u>	'exclamatory statement indicator'
<u>aa</u>	'sympathetic statement indicator'
<u>kuba uú</u>	'emphatic statement indicator' (calling)
<u>uu</u>	'statement indicator' (calling)
<u>áka</u>	'interrogative indicator' (requiring 'yes/no' reply)
<u>áka uú</u>	'interrogative indicator' (calling)
<u>belé lí</u>	'interrogative indicator' (requiring 'yes/no' reply)
<u>belé ya</u>	

<u>a</u>	'interrogative indicator' (especially after interrogative word)
<u>a</u>	'imperative indicator'
<u>ihí?</u> , <u>ehé?</u>	'imperative indicator' (exclamatory, containing extra-systemic phones)
<u>uí</u>	'interrogative and imperative indicator' (calling)

The Sentence Types which begin a Discourse do not usually contain a Discourse Linkage (Ld). Similarly, many of the Sentence Types that begin utterances (little Discourses) in Conversation do not contain a Discourse linkage. These Sentences are complete in themselves, and are termed Independent Sentences. One such Sentence, if it also has the discourse-closing features described above, manifests the minimal Discourse; it may even be a single word.

Most Sentences in text are clausal, containing a Sentence Unit which is minimally manifested by an Independent Clause. There are, however, a few types of non-clausal Sentences.

The basic Sentence Types of Telefó, including the clausal/non-clausal dichotomy, have been set up on the basis of contrast in two or more internal features. Sub-types of these, including the independent/dependent dichotomy, have been set up on the basis of contrast in one internal feature and in external distribution. Table F gives contrastive formulae for the basic Sentence Types and for their dependent modifications.

4.3 INDEPENDENT CLAUSAL SENTENCE TYPES

4.31 THE INDEPENDENT GENERAL SENTENCE has the shape $\pm \underline{IC}_1 + \underline{IU}_1 \cdot \underline{Lt}_1 \text{ --} \underline{In}_1$ where \underline{IC}_1 is any Independent Chain, \underline{IU}_1 is manifested by any type of Independent Construction other than those whose final Clause contains a potential tense form as Verb in the Predicate, \underline{Lt}_1 is any Sentence Terminal other than imperative indicators a, uí, ihí?, and it is occasionally missing, and \underline{In}_1 is either the final deeply-falling intonation /. or, more rarely, the emphatic high-falling intonation !/.

TABLE F

SENTENCE TYPES	Independent	Dependent
CLAUSAL:		
General	+ \underline{IC}_1 + \underline{IU}_1 . \underline{Lt}_1 -- \underline{In}_1	+ \underline{Ld} + \underline{IC}_1 + \underline{IU}_1 . \underline{Lt}_1 -- \underline{In}_1
Imperative	+ \underline{IC}_1 + \underline{IU}_2 . \underline{Lt}_2 -- \underline{In}_1	+ \underline{Ld} + \underline{IC}_1 + \underline{IU}_2 . \underline{Lt}_2 -- \underline{In}_1
Prohibitive	+ \underline{IC}_1 + \underline{IU}_3 -- \underline{In}_1	+ \underline{Ld} + \underline{IC}_1 + \underline{IU}_3 -- \underline{In}_1
Alternative Interrogative	+ \underline{IC}_2 + \underline{IU}_1 . \underline{Lt}_3 -- \underline{In}_1	+ \underline{Ld} + \underline{IC}_2 + \underline{IU}_1 . \underline{Lt}_3 -- \underline{In}_1
Substitution Interrogative	+ \underline{IC}_1 + \underline{IU}_4 . \underline{Lt}_5 -- \underline{In}_1	+ \underline{Ld} + \underline{IC}_1 + \underline{IU}_4 . \underline{Lt}_5 -- \underline{In}_1
NON-CLAUSAL:		
Vocative	+ \underline{H}_1 . \underline{Lt}_1 -- \underline{In}_1	
Nominal Imperative	+ \underline{H}_2 . \underline{Lt}_2 -- \underline{In}_1	
Saying Imperative	+ \underline{H}_3 . \underline{Lt}_2 -- \underline{In}_1	
Nominal Interrogative	+ \underline{H}_4 -- \underline{In}_2	
Exclamatory	+ \underline{EU} -- \underline{In}_1	

(a) The Independent INDICATIVE Sentence. Most of the Independent Construction (IX) examples in section 3 are Independent Indicative Sentences, ending in Lt: koo, kuba, kwa, uu, or no Terminal. Independent Indicative Sentences also include replies to statements:

dan kwa. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'That's the root of the matter.' 'That's it.'

aifén kwa. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'That's true.' 'That's right.'

kakal kwa. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'You be the one!'

boórí makón kwa. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'That's the reason.' 'That's why.'

They also include replies to Substitution and Alternative Questions:

boótá kwa. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'That's it.'

ti boótá kab kwa. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'That's enough.'

Alumeyok íta kwa. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) '(It's) Alumeyok.'

ními mán íta ánebá kwa. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'My child ate it.'

Most of the Dependent Construction (DX) examples of sections 1 and 2 become Independent Indicative Sentences by the addition of a Sentence Terminal Lt: koo, kuba, kwa, uu, or no Terminal:

kwééb nóc kúba'silíb koo. (IU.Lt₁--In₁) 'They took her and buried her.'

úne kuláá k' á koo. (IU.Lt₁--In₁) 'He's finished eating.'

tálnála-ta any koólu kaánsé koo. (IU.Lt₁--In₁) 'He came and committed suicide and he died.'

koong kwaab'númu túlú koo. (IU.Lt₁--In₁) 'She sent the pig to me.'

(b) The Independent NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE Sentence contains a customary continuative Verb form in the Predicate followed by Phrase Modifier bá 'not', and optional Lt: koo. This is the form of the usual negative command.

bákanán bá. (ICl --In₁) 'Don't say it!'

bákanán bá koo. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'Don't say it!'

(c) YES/NO QUESTIONS are identical to Independent Indicative Sentences, except that the Sentence Terminal is áka, áka uú, belé ki, belé ya, or a. They anticipate a 'yes/no' reply. By far the commonest of these, and the most neutral in meaning, is áka. The Terminal a does not occur frequently with these Questions; it is the commonly-occurring Terminal for Substitution and Alternative Questions.

seé úká áka. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'Are you going to the bush?'

beévo kárá káísh áka. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'Is he your father?'

koong wó kutob kal áhú yáka. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'Is the pig down there?'

kábé tinánáuláb belé ki. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'Did you hear (or not)?'

kábó áráh soó belé ki. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'Have you any taro (or not)?'

beévo kárá tíng belé ya. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'Is he your elder brother (or not)?'

Identical forms as these Yes/No Questions sometimes have the semantic force of sarcastic opposite statements or commands.

(d) The clausal Independent EXCLAMATORY Sentence is usually brief, but otherwise differs from the Independent Indicative Sentence only in being terminated by one of the exclamatory Sentence Terminals ée, kwée, áá, or ehé:

usaáb ée. usaáb áá. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'Sorry!' 'Too bad!'

neébé yée. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'Help!' (lit. 'It-has-hit-me!')

kanuh'kóomí kwée. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'You'll cop it!' (lit. 'It-can-happen-to-you!')

ká-ké? (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'Hurry!' (lit. 'Here!')

tálang ée. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'It's slippery!'

yaan ée. (ICl. 1--In₁) 'Oh, my foot!' (I've spiked it)

tárbál áá kwée. (ICl.Lt₁--In₁) 'It's no good!'

4.32 The INDEPENDENT IMPERATIVE SENTENCE has the shape

$\pm \underline{IC}_1 + \underline{IU}_2 \cdot \underline{It}_2 \text{ -- } \underline{In}_1$ where \underline{IU}_2 is manifested by an Independent Construction whose final Clause has (a) a potential Verb form, or (b) a Finite Dependent Verb form + -ta, or (c) an unfixed punctiliar Verb stem, as Predicate without Phrase Modifiers; and one of the 'imperative indicators' a, ú or ohó? occur as \underline{It}_2 . However, a alone occurs with type (c). The Terminal is not obligatory. An Independent Imperative Sentence is usually a single-sentence Discourse.

(a) The potential tense form is by far the commonest form of the Imperative. Set C subject-person suffixes occur in the potential tense.¹⁶

bókoláí. ($\underline{IC}_1 \text{ -- } \underline{In}_1$) 'Say it!'

bókoláí a. ($\underline{IC}_1 \cdot \underline{It}_2 \text{ -- } \underline{In}_1$) 'Say it!'

kwééb únaal úú. ($\underline{IU}_2 \cdot \underline{It}_2 \text{ -- } \underline{In}_1$) 'Take it away!'

unáa úú. ($\underline{IC}_1 \cdot \underline{It}_2 \text{ -- } \underline{In}_1$) 'Let's go!'

kwáálab únúk ohó?. ($\underline{IU}_2 \cdot \underline{It}_2 \text{ -- } \underline{In}_1$) 'Throw it away!'

noonii úyó kweékáí belélabii noo kwééb táláb kalé saák úneláí a.

($\underline{IC}_1 + \underline{IC}_1 \cdot \underline{It}_2 \text{ -- } \underline{In}_1$) 'Seeing you've wasted your money on this you'll have to eat it even so (i.e. even though it is bad)!'

wák siin wáak úmí wáik kootá atámsii kalé dí kootá noo atámál a.

($\underline{IC}_1 + \underline{IU}_2 \cdot \underline{It}_2 \text{ -- } \underline{In}_1$) 'I saw it the other week, but you'd better go and look at it now!'

(b) The Finite Homopersonal or Heteropersonal Dependent Verb form followed by postclitic -ta implies that a further event will follow obedience to the command.²³

bóko'baláb... wa ($\underline{FDI} \cdot \underline{Lp} = \underline{IC}_1 \cdot \underline{It}_2 \text{ -- } \underline{In}_1$) 'Say it!' (and (I) ...)

boóm'saláb-tá yuú ($\underline{FDI} \cdot \underline{Lp} = \underline{IC}_1 \cdot \underline{It}_2 \text{ -- } \underline{In}_1$) 'Wait awhile!' (and (I) ...)

(c) The punctiliar Verb stem form is not followed by Terminals other than a.

bóko va. (NDCl = ICl₂.Lt₂--In₁) 'Say it!'

tái a. (NDCl = ICl₂.Lt₂--In₁) 'Come!'

4.33 The INDEPENDENT PROHIBITIVE SENTENCE has the shape
± IC₁ + IU₃ --In₁ where IU₃ is manifested by an Independent Construction
whose final Clause contains a second person abilitative Verb form
without Phrase Modifiers in the Predicate. This form is semantically
negative imperative despite the lack of a negative morpheme.

bóko'nanáb. (ICl₃ --In₁) 'Don't say it!'

yanúbe kwina úvó weéb malaák ábelú unáif tolómíb. (ICl₃ --In₁) 'If
it rains this afternoon, don't come!'

4.34 The ALTERNATIVE INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE has the shape

+ IC₂ + IU₁.Lt₃ --In₁ where IC₂ has belé as its final Connective (IC),
and only 'interrogative indicators' a or uí occur as Lt₃. This Terminal
is rarely missing. Alternative Questions anticipate as reply a choice
of one of the alternatives.

beévó kánní tíng belé beémí fik úú. (IC₂ + ICl₁.Lt₃--In₁) 'Is he
your elder brother or his?'

koong úvó katób kai álbú belé kweékál álbú va. (IC₂ + ICl₁.Lt₃--In₁)
'Is the pig down there or across there?'

4.35 The INDEPENDENT SUBSTITUTION INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE has the shape
± IC₁ + IU₄.Lt₃ --In₁ where IU₄ contains an interrogative word in some
clause-level unit, such as dook or intab as Nucleus of a Noun Phrase in
one of the optional, non-predicate clause-level Units in the Sentence,
or ðokonwin or intab nurin as Predicate of a Clause. The anticipated
reply to a Substitution Question is minimally a substitute for the
interrogative word.

boóvó waámí ímán a. (QS:ICl₄.Lt₃--In₁) 'Whose taro is that?'

níná ímán kwa. (RY:ICl₁.Lt₃--In₁) 'It's my taro.'

dook ínáb úú. (QS:ICl₄.Lt₃--In₁) 'Where are you going?'

uu. (RY:ICl₁.Lt₃--In₁) 'I'm going to the bush.'

seéb úní

koóvó intabón a. (OS:IC1₄.Lt₃--In₁) 'What is that?' koóvó ímún

koo. (RY:IC1₁.Lt₁--In₁) 'This is taro.'

wańtá oólanbe ya. (OS:IC1₄.Lt₃--In₁) 'Who is calling out?'

Alumeyok íta koo. (RY:IC1₁.Lt₁--In₁) 'It's Alumeyok.' OR

Alumeyok íta oólanbe koo. (RY:IC1₁.Lt₁--In₁) 'Alumeyok is calling out.'

áok koóá táháb a. (OS:IC1₄.Lt₃--In₁) 'When did you come?'

koońá koótá wáńbí koo. (RY:IC1₁.Lt₁--In₁) 'I have just come.'

kábo káyaam hoóvó intab nu'vca'baláb a. (OS:IC1₄.Lt₃--In₁) 'What are

you doing to the dog?' dúbák koob'éelí koo. (RY:IC1₁.Lt₁--In₁)

'I'm chasing it.'

3.4 DEPENDENT CLAUSAL SENTENCE TYPES

Each of the above Independent Sentence Types has its Dependent counterpart, as shown in Table F. DEPENDENT GENERAL SENTENCES form the bulk of any Discourse, as has already been stated. The closing Sentence (OS) of a Discourse is often also a Dependent General Sentence which terminates with the Sentence Terminal kwa. The other types of Dependent Sentence, IMPERATIVE, PROHIBITIVE, ALTERNATIVE INTERROGATIVE, and SUBSTITUTION INTERROGATIVE, usually occur as the last Sentence of a Discourse, in place of a General Sentence marked by kwa. These do not normally occur in the middle of a Discourse, although a rhetorical question occasionally appears in mid-Discourse. The only Imperative Sentence observed in mid-Discourse is an Independent Imperative Sentence in a small parenthetical Discourse, such as: unáng íbaa. sínáń'kálín a. 'Keep quiet, you women!'

The internal and terminal structure of Dependent Sentences is the same as that of their Independent counterparts. However, they obligatorily begin with a DISCOURSE LINKAGE (Ld). By far the commonest Discourse linkage is the Connective kalé, or a Connective Phrase beginning with kalé, which here seems to mean, 'Now ...', 'So ...'. Other Connectives less frequently occurring are ńínte, kanúbe, and tám, each with apparently as weak a lexical meaning.

- ... ibaó dákamín bá koo. Kalé koóyó alúkaun tinánkálílib ... 'don't dance with them. Now you've heard all this ...'
- ... sang úta bákaantémá koo. Kale tám kamaá kí ... maakálo keelu-lé ... 'I'll tell you about ... Now the first time it was lost ...'
- ... sang úta koo. Kale kanúbe tám mán iyó dééb talá talá keenilib-ilé ... 'It's an account of ... Now they brought the lads together and ...'
- ... ábiib kokol kúbasúb koo. Mínte Malanibén ananing iyó ... '... we hid her in that village. And her uncle Malaniben (said) ...'
- ... ñitóm tebeb'mānterálú koo. Lín kalé mīnt. maak írí tanúm dééb úndriyóng daña ... 'he won't be ashamed. But if he takes a man of another family with him ...'

As well as a Connective, or where there is no Connective, linkage is indicated by REPETITION of the last part of the previous Sentence. The repeated portion may take various forms:

(a) Most commonly, the final Independent Predicate of the preceding Sentence is repeated in dependent form. If this Predicate is complex, such as an Adjunct + Auxiliary or a periphrase, it is frequently only the tense-carrying Auxiliary that is repeated. Sometimes the actual final Predicate is replaced by a substitute Verb, such as the general kaamin or keemin 'do', or kúb'kaá- 'leave-it', 'stop doing'. The Quotative Verb akan'kalín is often repeated without its Quote. This Verb does not occur alone elsewhere.

- ... oó akan'kalá koo. Akenala-lé ... "'..." he said. When he had said this ...'
- ... kaamin bá koo. Boóyó kúb'kaánílib-ilé ... '... don't sing it. Stop doing this and ...'
- ... ñinóngómá línim. Keenubib boóyó kímán ... '... they haven't heard it. If they have(n't) ...'
- ... bákan uná talá keésib koo. Keenilib-ilé ... '... they discussed it. When they had done so they ...'

... sook unglawácuu koo. Kalé unglawálu-ta kaanu-ta ... '... she hung herself. She hung herself and died and ...'

... dakaá dééb Híníb biíl únsílíb koo. Dakaá dééb únánbiyang Híníb biíl yángmílíb-ilé ... '... they went to Ninip Hills. They went along to Ninip Hills and ...'

(b) Sometimes the repeated fragment is larger, such as a full repetition of the final Independent Unit of the preceding Sentence, followed in the new Sentence by a Connective, such as kalé. If the final Clause in the preceding Sentence is an Equation, it, or its Predicate, may be repeated, perhaps as a non-predicate Unit in a Clause with a verbal Predicate. Sometimes non-predicate Units from the final Clause of the preceding Sentence are repeated along with the Predicate, but oftener they are not.

... kalaú ake-ta kulásii koo. Kulásii kalé mánite ... '... I saw it and stopped it. I stopped it and ...'

... koo tíkíilá koo. Koo tíkíilá kále mánite kímín íse boómí sâng boó dook útu okómáb ... '... he has read it. He's read it and what does it say ...'

... boómí makám boótá bókobíb koo. Bókobíb kále mín ... '... they have told the reason for it. They've told it so ...'

... boómí sâng útu koo. Boómí sâng útu bákémbí káb'kaábúb kále ... '... it was about ... We've finished talking about this so ...'

Bólolím beómí níng íta koo. Bólolím beómí níng íta tébe tákaá kwééb únémbí talá-lé ... 'It was Bololim's younger brother. Bololim's younger brother carried her off and ...'

(c) Instead of, or as well as, one of the above linkage devices, a Noun Phrase from the preceding Sentence, particularly a Subject Unit, may be repeated with a new Predicate to follow. In this case, the new Phrase often contains the antecedent Topic marker ise. Sometimes simply an Anuclear Phrase consisting of a Pronoun as Person preceded by ise occurs.⁴⁰ Very frequently the repeated Phrase is followed by the Phrase Modifier ki or kímín. The second example of the above set illustrates

this type of linkage as well as type (b).

Íse beóyó kimín ... 'He (the person referred to before) ...'

... Atíkésé ítá koó. Íse tanún beétá ... '... it was Atíkésé. This man ...'

4.5 INDEPENDENT NON-CLAUSAL SENTENCE TYPES

Since the non-clausal Sentence Types contain only one or two Units, it has not always been possible to distinguish them by two sentence-level features. However, they are distinguishable by two or more features within their Head Units, and, of course, they have different distributions.

4.51 The VOCATIVE SENTENCE has the shape + H_1 .Ít, --In₁ where a General Noun Phrase or a Personal Name Phrase occurs as Head (H_1), and the Sentence Terminal (Ít) may be one of the following:⁴¹ aa 'vocative indicator', úú 'vocative indicator' (calling), éé 'Look!', 'Here, take it!' The Personal Name Phrase may be manifested by a Personal Name or Kin Noun alone. The Phrase does not contain a Phrase Modifier. A second person Pronoun as Person, if present, is fused with the Sentence Terminal:

<u>káaa</u>	<u>kábe</u>	<u>kábuú</u>	'you masculine singular'
<u>kábaa</u>	<u>kúbe</u>	<u>kúbuú</u>	'you feminine singular'
<u>íbaa</u>	<u>íbe</u>	<u>íbuú</u>	'you plural'

The Vocative Sentence occurs first in a Discourse, most frequently in a Discourse embedded in a Conversation. Some oratorical Discourses, such as sermons, begin with a Vocative Sentence, and the Sentence containing the title formula comes second.

íbaa. 'you (all)!'

Baásín úú. 'Brother-in-law!'

Unáá íbe. 'You women!'

Ábén kábaa. 'Mother!'

Alumeyok aa. 'Alumeyok!'

Unáá soó tanún soó íbaa. 'Men and women!'

4.52 The NOMINAL IMPERATIVE SENTENCE has the shape $+ \underline{H}_2 \cdot \underline{It}_2 \text{ -- } \underline{In}_1$ where a General Noun Phrase without Person or Phrase Modifier occurs as Head (\underline{H}_2), 'imperative indicator' a, uú, ehé?, éit, or ehée? obligatorily occurs as \underline{It}_2 . The construction has meanings such as 'Bring me ...!', and it tends to occur alone as a single-sentence Discourse.

Kaábák uú. 'Hand me the axe!'

Inán ehée? 'Please give me some taro!'

Háá méén káábá a. 'Pass over my small bag!'

Personal names, Kin Nouns, and certain Pronouns may also occur as \underline{H}_2 with meanings such as '... do it!'

Aluneyok uú. 'Aluneyok, you can go!'

Reháín uú. 'You do it, brother-in-law!'

Kááká a. 'You do it! I'm tired.'

Kábehé? 'Hurry up!' (fused form)

4.53 The SAYING IMPERATIVE SENTENCE has the shape $+ \underline{H}_3 \cdot \underline{It}_2 \text{ -- } \underline{In}_1$ where any short Sentence may occur as \underline{H}_3 , and only a 'imperative indicator' obligatorily occurs as \underline{It}_2 . The meaning is 'Say, "...!"' and the construction occurs alone as a single-sentence Discourse.

Sii kwa ya. 'Say, "Good-morning!"'

Wáákos ya. 'Say that you don't want to!'

Máán kwa ya. 'Say, "Thank-you!"'

4.54 The NOMINAL INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE has the shape $+ \underline{H}_4 \text{ -- } \underline{In}_2$ where a General Noun Phrase or a Personal Name Phrase terminating in an -ó series Pronoun as Person without a following Phrase Modifier occurs as \underline{H}_4 , and only the emphatic high-falling intonation /! / occurs as \underline{In}_2 . It is a Yes/No Question and it occurs as a single-sentence Discourse.

Éodó! 'Is that the one?'

Híyó! 'Do you mean me?'

Alumeyok beéyó! 'Alumeyok?'

loet ábiib kumet úvó! 'When he was up in the village?'

Sukári kámaat álob hoóyó! 'These two old blade-arrows?'

4.55 The EXCLAMATORY SENTENCE has the shape + LU --In₁ where the Exclamatory Unit is manifested by a small class of Exclamations, some of which contain some extra-systemic phones. These include:

(a) SPONTANEOUS EXCLAMATIONS, which occur first in a Discourse, or constitute a whole Discourse.

ʔáé, ʔáíáʔ. 'Oh!' (suddenly remembering something forgotten)

hái. 'Too bad!' 'Sorry!' 'Oh!'

éé. 'Here!' (calling for attention)

ii. 'Don't!' (cry, etc., said to child)

kwín éé. 'Ouch!' 'Bother!' 'Too bad!'

teelak éé. (as for kwín éé - a common ritual loan)

yááig. (as for kwín éé - a rare Fermanin loan)

yéé. (as for kwín éé)

(b) EXCLAMATORY REPLIES, which occur as first Sentence in a little Discourse response to Yes/No Questions, or Imperatives preceding the title formula, if there is one.

aa. aa. uu. (calling) 'Yes!'

áá. uúá. 'What did you say?'

ʔéééʔ. ʔáíʔ. 'No!'

xálo. 'Let's start!'

ká ya. 'Right!' 'Let's do it!'

koc. 'Yes, that's right!'

uúbae. hué. 'No!'

hué * 'No (disgusted)!' (* = lateral click)

waááuu. 'I don't like it!' 'I don't want to!' 'No!'

4.6 THE QUOTE

The Quote Unit within a Quotative Clause may be manifested by a Sentence of any of the above Types, minimal or expanded, minus its Sentence Terminal Lt.⁴² Except in the speech of some of the older generation, the Sentence Terminal is replaced by the Quotative Marker oó or kalaá. However, there is one Terminal that always seems to remain - áka 'interrogative indicator' elides with the Quotative Marker oó to form ákoó.

koótá unóntemá koo. 'I'll go soon.' ----> bokob'néenala-ta
(koótá unóntemá yoó) akéla koo. 'He told me that he would go
soon.'

íntabén nú'bilíb a. 'What are they doing?' ----> dáká-tá
(íntabén nú'bilíb oó) akélah belé ki. 'Did you ask (him) what they
are doing?'

dook koótá toíóntemáh a. 'When will you come back?' ---->
dákánála-ta (dook koótá toíóntemáh oó) akéla koo. 'He asked him
when he would come back.'

kúlál a. 'Accept it!' ----> (kúlál oó) akanbe koo.
'"Accept it!" he is saying.'

níní titíl tébesu yó maakálo keélú kaba. 'My strength is gone.'
----> (níní titíl tébesu yó maakálo keélú yoó) akenala-lé ...
'"My strength is gone," he said ...'

5. THE DISCOURSE

The two main types of Discourse in Telefol are discussed here. These are the ORATORICAL DISCOURSE and the CONVERSATION. Letters and Christian prayers have the basic structure of an oratorical Discourse, but they are developing distinctive features of their own. The Conversation as a whole is a Unit with its own opening and closing features, but the individual utterances within a Conversation are mostly little oratorical Discourses with their own opening and closing features. It is possible that the Drama might be another type of Discourse, or it might be a

variant of the Conversation. However, it only occurs in the men's house, and no records of it have been obtained. No records have been obtained of the old-style prayers either, though these have been overheard sufficiently to suggest that they belong to a further separate type or group of types with their own very fixed characteristics. They include the mourning wail to the dead, prayer to the dead for the sick, for the growth of taro, for hunting, etc. Men's and women's songs used at dances are another type of Discourse with very different characteristics, including special vocabulary and lower-level syntax.

5.1 THE ORATORICAL DISCOURSE

The Oratorical Discourse includes all lengthy utterances by a single individual, such as narratives, how-to-do-it and why-they-do-it explanations, sermons, and the like. Letters and Christian prayers are deviating variants of it.

The general Oratorical Discourse is of the shape $+ \underline{OS} \pm \underline{SC} + \underline{CS}$, as described in section 4.1 above, and is characterized by the following features.

5.1.1 It's OPENING is marked by:

- (a) A Discourse Linkage (Id) is absent at the beginning of the first Sentence, except where a series of narratives are being told by the same speaker or different speakers.
- (b) The first Sentence may be a Vocative.
- (c) The first Sentence, or the second Sentence after a Vocative, is nearly always a variant of a TITLE formula.
- (d) The Pronoun manifesting Person in the Subject Unit of the first Clause in the title Sentence is usually followed by the emphatic Phrase Modifier hi or hiwán. Alternatively, if time is very much in focus, and a Time Unit begins the first Clause, hi or hiwán follows the Time Unit.

Occasionally a Discourse begins without any such formal opening, as well as without a Connective.

The following Discourse openings are typical. The most minimal are

given first, and the more expanded last. It is not uncommon for the title type, [DX] úńí sǎng, to be very protracted, the Dependent Construction being an up to one-minute summary or précis of the account to be given subsequently.

<kuuk> boóyó kí ... (Phrase as Subject Unit) '(Animals)...'

Kamá kí ... (Phrase as Time Unit) 'Once upon a time ...'

Hímí wééng uéé kí ... (Phrase as Predicate of Equational Clause)

'This is my account ...'

[DX] sǎng útá bákamán áka. (DX as Possessor of Object) 'Do you want me to tell about ...?'

boóńí sǎng úwó dook útá akómáb kále ... (Possessor of Subject of included Clause) 'You are wondering what this is about, well ...'

Sǎng koóyó kí [DX] úńí sǎng útá koo. (DX as Possessor of Equational Predicate) 'This is an account of ...'

Koóyó kí [DX] úńí sǎng bákamán oó aketa koo. (DX as Possessor of Predicate of Equation as included Clause in Object) 'This story I'm going to tell you is about ...'

Sǎng koóyó kí [DX] úńí sǎng kamákánubib útá ka álbú koo. (DX as Possessor of Predicate of Equation as Object of included Clause in Complement) 'Here is this story they always tell about ...'

The alternative directional Pronoun boóyó 'that' may occur instead of koóyó 'this'. wééng 'word', 'account', or mákám 'meaning', 'reason', 'explanation', 'origin' may occur instead of sǎng 'story', 'account', 'about'. The future tense forms bákamantémí or bókolantémí, or the intentional dependent form bókonilita may occur instead of the potential tense forms bákamán and bókolán. All are translatable by, 'I'll tell you'.

5.12 The CLOSING of an Oratorical Discourse is marked by:

- (a) The Discourse Terminal (Lt) kwa at the end of the last Sentence.
- (b) A "winding-down" intonation over the whole of the last Sentence.

(c) The last Sentence is usually a variant of a FINISHING formula. As in the case of title formulae, the finishing formula may be a minimal Sentence, or it may be very considerably expanded.

(d) The penultimate Sentence is sometimes a brief reiteration or summary of the entire Discourse, or a restatement of the outcome of the story.

(e) The last Sentence often begins with kalé, like other non-opening Sentences. But kalé is omitted oftener here than in the middle of the Sentence Chain.

Occasionally a Discourse terminates abruptly, without any formal closure, apart from the Discourse Terminal kwa and the "winding-down" intonation.

The following typical Discourse closers are listed from the minimal type to the more complex.

(Kale) boótá kwa. '(And) that's it.'

Boótá kub kwa. 'That's all.'

(Kale) ti kwa. '(And) it's enough.'

Bíním kalé ti kwa. 'It's finished and it's enough.'

Kale weéng úyó boótá kub kwa. 'And that's all of the matter.'

Ti bókólí kwa. 'I have said enough.'

Kale weéng úyó binim keélú kwa. 'And the account is finished.'

Kale ti boótá kub keélí kwa. 'And I have done enough of that.'

Kale weéng úyó boótá kub bókólí kwa. 'And I've told you all there is of the matter.'

Ise boómí gáng útá bókólán óo akenili-ta bákánbii kalé sáng úyó ti bókólí kwa. 'That's the story I was going to tell you and have been telling you, now I've told you enough of the story.'

The letter begins with a greeting, as does a Conversation, or with a Vocative Sentence, in which the recipient is usually named:

Mùm aa. 'My friend!'

Nŭn kába. 'My friend!'

Oó níná nŭn kábe. 'Oh, my friend!'

Níná neék Alumeyok kábó ... 'My cousin Alumeyok, you ...'

Oó nŭn Alumeyok kábó nuúbáb áka. 'Oh, my friend Alumeyok, how are you?'

Oó níná nŭn Alumeyok úlímál íbó nuúbíb áka. 'Oh, my friend Alumeyok, how are you and your family?'

Sometimes the writer announces his identity in the second Sentence:

Níyó kéelí daub káákis nítá koo. 'I am your friend Maakkis.'

More often, however, the signature is kept for the end. The penultimate Sentence is usually a closing Sentence of the type listed above for the Grational Discourse, or the signature and the closing Sentence may be fused into one Sentence.

Ti kwa. Níyó Máákkis koo. 'It's enough. I am Maakkis.'

Kale hákdam níná weéng úyó bínímanú koo. Níná wín úyó Máákkis koo.

'How your friend's message is finished. My name is Maakkis.'

Weéng boóyó bíním kale ti bokob'kéelí koo. Níyó Máakséb nítá koo.

'The message has finished and I've told you enough. I am Maksep.'

Sometimes a closing greeting, such as ends a Conversation, is added:

Kale nŭn úlímál sín oó aketa koo. Níyó Máákkis nítá kale súukkón koóvó doólá kóób'kéelí koo.

'How good-bye, my friend and your family. I am Maakkis, the letter is written, and I'm giving it to you.'

Strangely enough, the Discourse Terminal kwa does not often appear at the end of a letter.

The Christian prayer is an innovation exhibiting equivalents of the opening and closing features of an English or Neo-Melanesian Christian prayer. It opens with a Vocative Sentence:

Níná God kába. 'My God!'

Oó Áatún God kába. 'Oh, Father God!'

Oó Áatún God abíí tikiin kyaak kábaa. 'Oh, Father God, inhabitant
of Heaven!'

It closes with the minimal Sentence:

Ááféń kwa. OR Ááféntáb kwa. 'It is true.' (= 'Amen.')

The Sentence Chain between the opener and closer is structurally the same as that of an Oratorical Discourse. It commences with a statement of theme, and the penultimate Sentence is usually a typical closing item as listed above.

5.2 THE CONVERSATION

The Conversation includes both informal conversations and formal group discussions such as are held in the middle of the village. Like the Oratorical Type above, it has characteristic opening and closing features. But most utterances within a Conversation are little discourses in that they too have characteristic opening and closing features.

5.21 CONVERSATION OPENERS

A discussion may open as an Oratorical Discourse does, with a statement of topic, but an informal conversation usually begins with a GREETING back and forth, and a polite question or two. The greetings are idioms. A close and a functionally-equivalent translation will therefore be given for each example. Change of speaker is marked by □.

Nún saláb áka. □ Káldam sii kwa. (Did you sleep, friend? □ Your friend slept.) 'Good-morning!' □ 'Good-morning!'

Úlím álbáb áka. □ Úlím álbúb kwa. (Are you there, father-and-child? □ Father-and-child are here.) 'Good-day, father and child!' □ 'Good-day!'

Nún álbáb áka. □ Álbí kále nún álbáb áka. (Are you there, friend? □ I am here and are you there, friend?) 'Good-day!' □ 'Good-day!'

Úndím nuúbáb áka. □ nuúbúb kwa. (Have you been, in-laws? □ We have been.) 'How are you, in-laws?' □ 'We're fine thanks.'

Kamot íiníá e. □ Aa. Kamot íiní kawa. 'Are you going up there?' □

'Yes. I'm going up there.'

And there it frequently ends. If the replying party does not want it to end, he may omit the Terminal kwa. In any event, the conversation may go on from there.

5.22 CONVERSATION CLOSERS

During the day, if the parties are separating and going their various ways, they may end their conversation with:

Nm táí boóm'baláb uu. □ Uu. Nm noo boóm'baláb uu. (Stay awhile, friend! □ Yes. Go, friend!) 'Good-bye!' □ 'Good-bye!'

However, in the evening, or when parting for the last time in the day, friends voice an idiom corresponding to the morning greeting:

Nm saal uu. □ Uu. Soómí kále nm noo saal uu. (Sleep, friend! □ Yes. I'll sleep and you go and sleep!) 'Good-night!' □ 'Good-night!' OR 'Good-bye!' □ 'Good-bye!'

Nmáí meé ífo koólibta yuu. □ Uu. Meé soómú kále ífo koólabta yuu. (Curl up up there, friends! □ Yes. We will sleep up there and you curl up, friend!) 'Good-night!' □ 'Good-night!'

Natob finón óo aketa kalé nm meé saal uu. □ Uu. Nm toob saal uu. (I'm going down now so sleep up there, friend! □ Yes. You sleep down there, friend!) 'I'll go on down now, so I'll say good-night.' □ 'Good-night!'

When someone is going away for a long period, the following may be said in parting:

Nmáíal támbálam káb noo biita tánín uu. □ Uu. (Keep well and come back later, family □ Yes.) 'Keep well and come back again!' □ 'We will!'

5.23 LITTLE DISCOURSE OPENERS

A little discourse is an utterance by an individual person during a conversation. Initiating little Discourses are independent, while little

Discourse replies are dependent.

(a) The following may occur as independent little Discourse openers:

A Vocative Sentence, as described in section 4.51.

An Exclamatory Sentence, as described in section 4.55(a).

An opening Sentence, as described in section 5.11.

(b) The following may occur as dependent little Discourse openers:

A Nominal Interrogative Sentence, as described in section 4.54, e.g.
Boóyó! Ísè ... 'That one? Well, that ...'

An Independent General (Indicative) Sentence as reply, as described
in section 4.31(a).

An Exclamatory Sentence, as described in section 4.55(b).

5.24 LITTLE DISCOURSE CLOSERS

A little Discourse may close as an Oratorical Discourse does, or it may close with:

An Imperative Sentence, dependent or independent, as described in sections 4.32 and 4.4. This is sometimes followed by an Independent General (Yes/No Question) Sentence (4.31(c)) such as, Tinánḡkúlíḡ áka. 'Did you hear?'

An Independent General (Negative Imperative) Sentence, as described in section 4.31(b), or more usually its dependent equivalent (4.4).

A Prohibitive Sentence, dependent or independent, as described in section 4.35 and 4.4.

A General (Yes/No Question) Sentence, dependent or independent, as described in section 4.31(c).

An Alternative Interrogative Sentence (4.34) or a Substitution Interrogative Sentence (4.35), dependent or independent.

An assertion (General Indicative Sentence - 4.31(a)) such as
... kaḡé tábaliḡn kwa. '... and that would be good.'

5.25 SINGLE-SENTENCE DISCOURSES

Single-Sentence Discourses may be independent or dependent too. The independent ones include:

An Independent General (Indicative) Sentence ending in kva and having a "winding-down" intonation, as described in section 4.31(a).

An Independent Imperative Sentence (4.32) or an Independent Prohibitive Sentence (4.53), or an Independent General Sentence (4.31(b)).

An Independent General (Yes/No Question) Sentence, as described in section 4.31(c).

An Independent Alternative Interrogative Sentence (4.34) or an Independent Substitution Interrogative Sentence (4.35).

An Exclamatory Sentence, as described in section 4.55(a).

The dependent single-Sentence Discourses are the various types of reply:

Indicative replies as described in section 4.31(a).

Exclamatory replies as described in section 4.55(b).

A Nominal Interrogative Sentence, as described in section 4.54.

NOTES

1. The other four papers are: Phyllis M. Healey 1965a, 1965b, 1965c, and 1964. These papers are henceforth referred to as T.N.P., T.V.P., T.C.S., and T.Q.C. respectively. The Telefol language is spoken by about 4000 people in the vicinity of Telefomin, Sepik District, Territory of New Guinea. This paper is based on the results of field work carried out under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Australian National University between 1959 and 1965. 100 pages of tape-recorded and transcribed text were closely scrutinized for the paper. The texts involved a conversation, a group discussion, two sermons, several letters, and a number of narratives of various types. As much material again was screened to confirm findings, and a considerable quantity of material was elicited by Alan Healey to check various points. Of over 2000 Clause sequences examined, 3/4 were Dependent and 1/4 Independent. Thanks are due to Rosemary Young, Robert Litteral, S.A. Wurm, and Alan Healey for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

2. The publications which particularly affected the approach of this paper are: Pike 1954, 1955, 1960, 1962, 1963a; Longacre 1960ab, 1964.

3. This problem of levels is discussed in: Pickett 1960, p.91; Longacre 1960a, p.82 and 1964, pp.16-17, 74, 112-113, 132-133; Watson 1965; Engel and Longacre 1963.

4. Repeated tagemes are featured in Watson 1965; Engel and Longacre 1963.

5. The term CHAIN has been taken from McCarthy 1965. Her emphasis is on features of agreement and correlation between sequential Clauses. These features are present in Telefol too, except that preview subject person is not shown. But for Telefol the emphasis in the usage of the term CHAIN is on repeating Units and their linkages.

6. The term FINITE is used in this paper to mean "the Predicate contains subject person-number-gender suffixes". NON-FINITE therefore means "the Predicate does not contain subject person suffixes". The

terms FINITE and NON-FINITE have been used in the same sense, but without definition, in T.Q.C. Charts and section 1(c), and in T.V.P. sections 1, 3.3, and 4. The term HOMOPERSONAL means "same subject follows". It is more fully defined in section 2.2.

7. Clause Types are described in T.C.S. sections 1.1 and 3, and their dependent and benefactive modifications in T.C.S. section 1.22.
8. The Verb stem is described in T.V.P. section 1.
9. Verb prefixes are described in T.V.P. section 1 and T.C.S. section 2.2.
10. The orthography used in this paper is that recommended in Alan Healy 1964a section 11.2, except that hyphen is here used to mark morpheme boundaries rather than tonal sandhi. Tonal sandhi has been written phonemically throughout this paper. Consequently the same word may be written with 2 or even 3 different tonal patterns in different linguistic contexts.
11. There are other cases of parataxis in the language at other levels, but these are minority variants of constructions characterized by other types of linkage. See section 2.34.
12. These Verbs may also follow a Dependent Chain to indicate completion of a process, and for this reason they, with the preceding stem(s), have not been analyzed as a verbal periphrase similar to that described in T.V.P. section 4.5. Note that here and throughout the paper Verbs have been cited in the customary continuative form, which consists of continuative stem + customary suffix -in.
13. T.V.P. section 3.27 describes Adjuncts derived from this same group of Verbs by addition of the suffix -kán 'remove'.
14. This set of Verbs have a plural object, e.g. dúkkomin 'pick (many fruit)'. These all appear to be compounds containing the Verb toomin 'put them'.
15. The non-predicate clause-level Units are described in T.C.S. sections 1.1 and 1.3.

16. See T.C.S. section 2.1 for the full lists of subject-person suffixes.

17. This exceptional use of the homopersonal ending before a Clause of different subject is discussed at the end of this section.

18. See T.V.P. section 1, T.C.S. section 1.22 for descriptions of the Verb stem, and T.C.S. section 2.1 for a list of subject-person suffixes. The Telefol tonal system is described in Alan Healey 1964a.

19. Tense is discussed in T.C.S. section 2.4.

20. The cause-and-effect usage of -ta may be distinguished from the general sequential usage in that kalé may be inserted following -ta in the former case, but not the latter.

21. The Associated Clause is described in T.Q.C. section 5.

22. This complex Adjunct is described in T.V.P. section 3.5.

23. The usage in Noun Phrases is described in T.N.P. sections 1.23 and 2.13.

24. There is one parallel case worth noting. Predicates involving punctiliar forms of the Verb tébe_{min} in a subject-marking capacity (see section 1.41) are usually in a Homopersonal Dependent form - either the stem tébe (NDC1) or that stem plus -nV1 plus a subject-person suffix (FDC1). However, in some cases these forms are interchangeable with the corresponding punctiliar neutral tense form plus -ta, which would in other contexts be heteropersonal in significance.

25. The Quote is described in section 4.6. See also T.Q.C.

26. The Instrument Phrase is described in T.N.P. section 3.15. Its syntactic status is re-analyzed in T.C.S. section 1.3.

27. These Independent Verb forms are illustrated in T.V.P. section 1.

28. The full list of Sentence Terminals is given in section 4.2.

29. This phenomenon has been discussed and illustrated under the title of "Included Clauses" in T.N.P. section 1.26.

30. Noun Phrase Laterals are described in T.N.P. section 2. Pronouns are described in T.N.P. section 2.16.

31. Noun Phrase nuclear expansions are described in T.N.P. sections 1.23-1.25.

32. Possession is described in T.N.P. section 1.21.

33. By "potential" Unit is meant one that could have occurred in that particular Type of Clause. The particular clause-level Unit in focus may tentatively be defined as that one whose Nucleus, when substituted for the whole DX as Noun Phrase Nucleus, produces the least shift in meaning of the total Noun Phrase.

34. See Engel and Longacre 1963; John O. Lind 1964. Other papers, particularly those written in workshops under Joseph E. Grimes of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, describe particular types of Clause linkage as "relationships", but they do not set up Sentence Types on the basis of it. See McCarthy 1965; Borgman and Cue 1963.

35. Noun Phrase co-ordination is described in T.N.P. section 1.23.

36. Pronouns are described in T.N.P. section 2.16.

37. Leonard Bloomfield 1933, p.170 says, "each sentence is an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form." Waterhouse 1963 writes her article to confute this statement. Some have taken the matter up, and have written descriptions of Dependent and Independent Sentences, for example: Borgman and Cue 1963; Kindberg 1961; Eastman 1963. Pike 1954, p. 5 discusses "unit of closure". For him at that time the verbal unit of closure was the "utterance", i.e. a sentence, maximally a conversation, but including (etically) speeches, sermons, songs, and the like. See also Pike 1955, p. 7. This same point of closure is also taken up as a characteristic of Sentences in Longacre 1964, pp.14, 125.

38. Sentence Terminals are also listed in T.C.S. section 4. They were called utterance terminals in T.Q.C.

39. See section 2.2 for the description of the Finite Homopersonal and Heteropersonal Dependent Verb. Section 3.1 describes this Independent usage.
40. Topic in the Noun Phrase is described in T.N.P. section 2.11, the Anuclear Phrase in T.N.P. section 2.
41. These Phrase Types are described in T.N.P. sections 2.1 and 3.11.
42. The Quotative Clauses are described in T.Q.C.

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