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SELEPET GRAMMAR

PART I: FROM ROOT TO PHRASE

by

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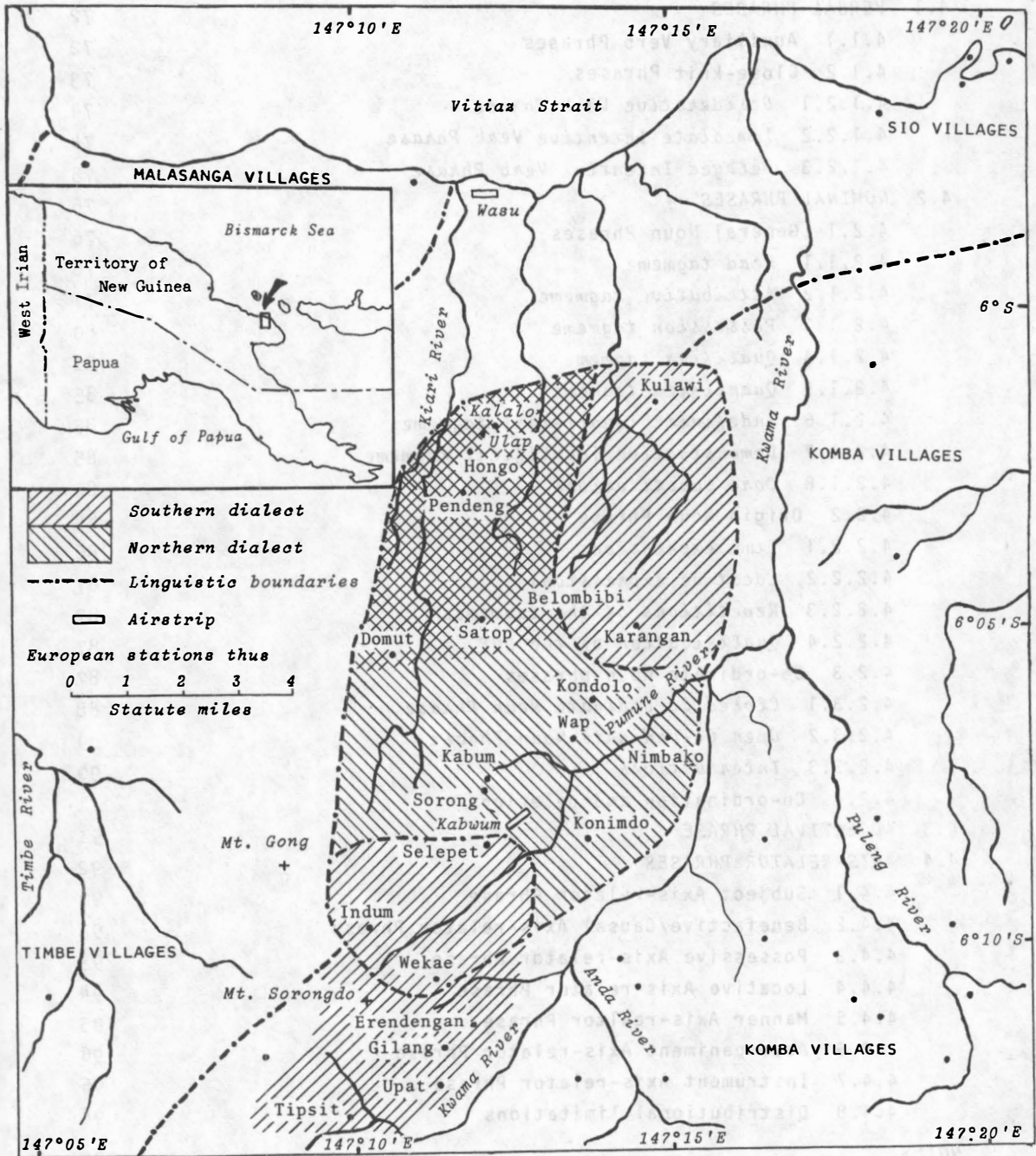
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MAP: SELEPET DIALECTS

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 GENERAL

This present paper represents a slight revision of chapters 4-7 of the writer's unpublished thesis *The Selepet Language within the Finisterre-Huon Phylum, New Guinea*.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

The Selepet people live on the northern slopes of the Saruwaged Mountains in the Morobe District, Papua New Guinea. There are two dialects of the language, 88% lexicostatistically related. The northern dialect is spoken by about 3,000 people living in ten villages (Domut, Hongo, Kabum, Kondolo, Konimdo, Nimbako, Pendeng, Satop, Sorong and Wap) located in the lower Pumune River valley and on the seaward side of the coastal ridge (see map). The southern dialect is spoken by about 2,500 people living in three villages (Indum, Wekae and Selepet) in the upper Pumune valley and three villages (Belombibi, Karangan and Kulawi) located near the coast. These latter three villages represent a migration from the upper Pumune valley about a century ago. Also as a result of this migration the speech of the people living in Domut, Satop, Pendeng and Hongo shows influence from the southern dialect. The southern dialect is also spoken by an undetermined number

of bilingual Komba people living in four villages (Erendengan, Gilang, Upat and Tipsit) with a total population of over 2,000. The data upon which this description is based were collected primarily in Indum village during 1964-69 while the writer was under the auspices of the Australian National University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

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

0.2 ABBREVIATIONS

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

1d	first person, dual number
1p	first person, plural number
1s	first person, singular number
2-3d	second or third person, dual number
2-3p	second or third person, plural number
2s	second person, singular number
3s	third person, singular number
Acc.	Accompaniment tagmeme
acc.	accompaniment enclitic
Acc.P.	Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase
Act.	Actor tagmeme of the Intransitive Clause
AddO-CoNP	Additive Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrase
aj.	adjective class
ajct.	adjunct class
ajH.	Head tagmeme of the Adjectival Phrase
ajzer.	adjectivizer
AltO-CoNP	Alternative Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrase
ante.	antecedent action
Att.	Attributive tagmeme
auxH.	Head tagmeme of the Auxiliary Verb Phrase
auxP.	auxiliary Predicate tagmeme
av.	adverb class
AVP.	Auxiliary Verb Phrase
avzer.	adverbializer
Ax.	Axis tagmeme of axis-relator phrases
Bene.	Benefaction allotagma

Bene./Cau.	Benefaction/Cause tagmeme
bene./cau.	benefactive/causal enclitic
Bene./Cau.P.	Benefactive/Causal Axis-relator Phrase
b.pr.	verbal benefactive-marking suffixes
Cau.	Cause allotagma
cch.	Head tagmeme of the Closed Co-ordinate Noun Phrase
C-CoNP.	Closed Co-ordinate Noun Phrase
Com.	Complement tagmeme of the AVP.
ctf.	contrary-to-fact mode
Dem.	Demonstrative tagmeme
dem.	demonstrative pronoun class
dIVP.	Delayed Intentive Verb Phrase
dp.cl.	dependent clause
DVP.	Desiderative Verb Phrase
GNP.	General Noun Phrase
H.	Head tagmeme of the GNP.
hab.	habitulative mode
hbt.	future tense, habitulative mode
hetero.	subject of following verb is hetero-personal (different)
homo.	subject of following verb is homo-personal (same)
icft.	inceptive future tense
ICl.	Intransitive Clause
ift.	immediate future tense
iIVP.	Immediate Intentive Verb Phrase
inch.	inchoative future tense
Ind.	Indefinite tagmeme of the GNP.
indp.cl.	independent clause
Inst.	Instrument tagmeme
inst.	instrument enclitic
Inst.P.	Instrument Axis-relator Phrase
Intens.	Intensifier tagmeme
iP.	Predicate tagmeme of the Intransitive Clause
ipt.	immediate past tense
lit.	literally
Loc.	Location tagmeme
loc.	locative enclitic

Loc.P.	Locative Axis-relator Phrase
M.	Manner tagmeme
man.	manner enclitic
Man.P.	Manner Axis-relator Phrase
iv.	intransitive verb class
nomzer.	nominalizer
num.	numeral class
O.	Object ₁ tagmeme
och.	Head tagmeme of the Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrase
O-CoNP.	Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrase
oh.	Head tagmeme of the ONP.
ONP.	Origin Noun Phrase
o.pr.	verbal object-marking affix
past.	past tense
per.	person
perm.	permissive mode
p.m.	nominal possession-marking suffix
Poss.	Possession tagmeme
poss.	possessive enclitic
Poss.P.	Possessive Axis-relator Phrase
pres.	present tense
proh.	prohibitive mode
punct.	punctiliar mode
Qual.	Qualifier tagmeme
Quant.	Quantifier tagmeme
r.	root
Rel.	Relator tagmeme
rft.	remote future tense
rpt.	remote past tense
S.	Subject tagmeme of the Transitive Clause
s.	stem
simul.	simultaneous action
s.m.	verbal subject-marking suffix
s.o.	someone
s.th.	something
sub.	subject enclitic
Sub.P.	Subject Axis-relator Phrase
T.	Time tagmeme

t.	time (temporal) class
TCl.	Transitive Clause
temp.	temporal suffix
tp.	Predicate tagmeme of the Transitive Clause
tv.	transitive verb class
tv.I	transitive verb root, subclass I
tv.II	transitive verb root, subclass II
tv.III	transitive verb root, subclass III
vbzer.	verbalizer
{ }	Braces enclose a morpheme with allomorphic variants other than those based upon morphophonemic processes.
:	A colon in the formula means "is manifested by; is expounded by".

1. ROOTS

1.1 PROBLEMS IN CLASSIFICATION

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

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

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

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

There are other roots, primarily kinship terms and body parts, which occur only with nominal affixation or in compounds. The form *ata elder brother* occurs with nominal affixation as in *atane my elder brother* or in compounds as in *ata imi male siblings*.

Some roots occur with optional nominal affixation, but occur unaffixed as the first element of compounds or as free forms in certain phrase and clause level tagmemes. The form *lok man* occurs with nominal affixation as in *lokŋe her husband*, without affixation in the Head (H.) tagmeme of the General Noun Phrase (GNP.) with the meaning *men*, without affixation in the Qualifier (Qual.) tagmeme of the GNP. with the meaning *male* or in the compound *lohibi adults, people* from *lok + ibi woman*.

A few roots occur with optional nominal affixation and also with an adjectivizer suffix. For example, the form *kut* occurs optionally with nominal affixation meaning *name* but also occurs with an adjectivizer suffix *-dâ* as in *kutdâ famous*.

Many roots occur with wide, but slightly variant, ranges of distribution in the nuclei of distinct word classes and as free forms in certain higher level tagmemes. Often these roots also occur in the cores of stem classes. The form *bâle* occurs in compounds such as *biwi bâle* (lit. *insides bad*) *sadness*, in the Qual. tagmeme of the GNP. with the suffix *-ŋe* as in *bâleŋe bad*, in the Manner tagmeme with a suffix having the same phonological shape and meaning *badly*, in the core of a transitive verb stem with a verbal object-marking suffix as in *bâlenek do evil to me*, in the nucleus of the intransitive verb as in *bâleap it turned out badly*, or reduplicated and added to another root as in *sen bâle bâle a glare*.

The form *bet* occurs without affixation in the Manner tagmeme as *later*, affected by reduplication in the Manner tagmeme as *betbet backwards* or in the Head tagmeme of the GNP. as *kind of grub* (which is reputed to crawl upside down on its back), with nominal affixation as in *betŋe its back*, in the Complement (Com.) tagmeme of the Auxiliary Verb Phrase (AVP.) as in *bet yap he followed*, and in the core of the transitive verb stem as in *betnoho turn one's back on me*.

A number of roots never occur as free forms but occur only in compounds, as derived forms, or in the nuclei of particular word classes. For example, the form *âlip* occurs in compounds as in *biwi âlip happiness*, with the suffix *-ŋe* either in the Qual. tagmeme as *âlipŋe good* or in the Manner tagmeme as *well*, and reduplicated in the Manner tagmeme as *âliwâlip excellently*.

The form *ari* occurs in the nucleus of the intransitive verb as in *ariap he went* or reduplicated in the Head tagmeme of the GNP. as in *ari ari going*.

Although the foregoing data by no means exhaust the possibilities of variant overlapping distributions of roots, they do serve to illustrate the complexity of root classification in Selepet.

1.2 STANDARD SOLUTIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

Due to the extreme variability in the distributional patterns of the roots, the second solution soon leads to such a profusion of classes that the analysis becomes unmanageable and economy in the description is sacrificed.

The third solution is the mirror image of the first and subject to the same difficulties. Rather than assigning a multiplicity of class memberships to the roots, one posits a multiplicity of homophonous roots.

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

1.3 HIERARCHY OF CRITERIA

It is convenient to posit a hierarchy of criteria for the classification of roots, stems and words with the primary criterion at the top of the hierarchy.¹ In the classification of Selepet roots, stems and words which follows, structural (morphological) criteria are given primary value. Word classes are set up on the basis of contrasting types of syntagmemes and the roots manifesting the nuclei are unambiguously identified if they occur in the nucleus of only one type of syntagmeme.

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

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

1.3.1 When it comes to the assignment of labels to roots (i.e., the classification of roots) it is more difficult because the assignment has to be done solely on distribution. The starting point for the

classification is with groups of semantically related items which alone manifest a single tagmeme. These semantically and functionally related groups are potential classes and once they are identified they are assigned a class label. Groups may be considered as etic and classes as emic.

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

Once a class is so identified it does not mean that the class has no further distribution. On the contrary, such a class may have quite a wide distribution but its classification is not based on this further distribution. This further distribution, however, does play an important role in the identification of other classes. Thus class *a* may have a distribution which overlaps with that of other semantically related groups, for example group *b*. If group *b* shares the manifestation of tagmeme *B* with class *a* only, then group *b* can be identified as class *b*. That is to say, all the forms belonging to class *a* may be omitted in the classification of the forms manifested in tagmeme *B*, so that theoretically group *b* alone manifests tagmeme *B*.² One may say that group *b* is primary and class *a* is secondary in the manifestation of tagmeme *B*. If class *a* did not occur in tagmeme *B*, then group *b* would have a unique relationship with tagmeme *B*. On the other hand, if group *b* did not occur, then class *a* would have to be redefined in terms of a wider distribution because it alone would manifest two tagmemes, or alternatively, the tagmemes *A* and *B* would have to be considered as allotagmas. In assigning a label to class *b*, however, a label different from that for tagmeme *B* should be used because the tagmeme in reality manifests two classes. It should perhaps be noted here that not all tagmemes will be significant in the classification of word or stem level syntagmemes or roots.

This process of classification is continued with groups of semantically related forms of ever wider distributions until all the groups are unambiguously identified or until the remaining forms show such a variety of distributions that they cannot be unambiguously classified. This process reduces the number of ambiguous roots and thereby simplifies the application of any of the four solutions outlined above.

1.3.2 In the process of classification it is advantageous to work down the grammatical hierarchy and to classify free forms on the basis of their distribution in clause level tagmemes. This is because very rarely do free forms occur manifesting more than one clause level tagmeme. That is to say, if *mukan* occurs in the Time tagmeme it is very unlikely that it will also manifest the Subject or Manner tagmemes. In lower levels, particularly that of the word, these root forms may occur in the nucleus of a single syntagmeme or in the nuclei of a variety of syntagmemes. For example, it has been noted that *bet* occurs in the nucleus of the noun as in *betŋe his back* and in the core of the transitive verb stem as in *betnoho turn one's back on me*. On the basis of this distribution the form *bet* cannot be unambiguously classified; i.e., it functions every bit as much as a verb root as it does as a noun root. But, because as a free form it manifests the clause level Manner tagmeme, it can be classified as an adverb. Similarly *pato* occurs as a free form in the Qual. tagmeme. Although it also occurs with nominal affixation, it may be classified as an adjective root.

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

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

1.3.4 Reduplication as a derivational process also is given secondary status. In a case where a reduplicated form is derived from a root which occurs only in the nucleus of a word syntagmeme, the root may be classified according to the word nucleus tagmeme it manifests because structural suffixes are given primacy over derivational suffixes or processes. Thus in *gâre gure intertwined* (adjunct stem) the root *gâre* only occurs elsewhere in the core of the transitive verb stem and so may be classified as a transitive verb root.

1.3.5 When a root occurs only affected by derivational suffixes and reduplication, the derivational suffixes are given primacy over the reduplication. The root *kâit* may be classified as a transitive verb root because its occurrence in the core of the transitive verb stem *kâit-ku to deceive s.o.* has primacy over its occurrence in reduplicated forms *kâit kâit deception* (noun stem) and *kâit mâit in a deceitful manner* (adverb stem). Also *lohot lohot weakly* (adverb stem) is secondary to *lohot-ŋe weak* (adjective stem) and *lohot-e to weaken* (intransitive verb stem).

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

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

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

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

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

The roots *kuriŋ rust* and *kaok European* may be omitted in the considerations because these are obvious semantic extensions of the roots found

in the Qual. tagmeme as a result of the Europeans' arrival. Because of these gaps in the pre-European speech of the people, one may posit that all of these roots are adjective roots, and that the root *helen* evidences an extension of meaning to include the referent *firehood*.

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

1.4 THE CLASSIFICATION

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

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

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

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

<i>helen black</i>	<i>kaok white</i>	<i>lebe ginger brown</i>
<i>golâ leaf green</i>	<i>kisi blue</i>	<i>kâmâtâ tawny</i>

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

1.4.1.3 Some of the adjective roots indicating age are:
ago new, young *sihan youthful* *sobo old*

1.4.1.4 The adjective roots indicating quality include:
hulin wild *maren tame* *kamen empty*
salek clean *tânât useless* *irawut unripe*

1.4.1.5 The adjective roots indicating size include:

pato big titipâ minute

1.4.1.6 The adjective roots indicating shape include:

kâlip long bawaləŋ thin

1.4.1.7 The adjective roots indicating quantity include:

sabe plenty ɲerek all amon how many

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

putuk yap it collapsed âbu oap it was inflamed

purik yap it turned around aman ek to dream

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

1.4.3 Adverb roots occur in the Manner tagmeme and include the following:

haonmâ always dârek dârek freely, additionally

bâsok nearly bâhâ almost

iholok in spite of in freely, just

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

Reduplication:

ârâdâŋdâŋdâŋ comple

âllogologo very fruitful from âllogo well, healthy

Addition of suffix *-âk*:

ârâdâŋâk completely sufficient from ârâdâŋ sufficiently

getahâk very shortly from getek soon

1.4.4 Demonstrative pronoun roots may be divided into two subclasses on the basis of slightly different distribution: the regular demonstrative pronoun roots and the interrogative demonstrative pronoun roots.

1.4.4.1 The regular demonstrative pronoun roots are fused forms which consist of formatives indicating position and distance relative to the speaker and hearer. The linear order of the vectors is position and distance. The position formatives are: *y-* *this, that*, *ed-* *that over there*, *eb-* *that down below* and *ew-* *that up above*. The distance formatives are: *-u* *near* and *-a* *distant*.

<i>yu</i>	<i>this, these</i> (near the speaker)
<i>ya</i>	<i>that, those</i> (near the hearer)
<i>edu</i>	<i>that, those over there</i> (removed from both speaker and hearer but near by)
<i>eda</i>	<i>that, those over there</i> (distantly removed from both speaker and hearer)
<i>ewu</i>	<i>that, those up there</i> (near)
<i>ewa</i>	<i>that, those up there</i> (distant)
<i>ebu</i>	<i>that, those down there</i> (near)
<i>eba</i>	<i>that, those down there</i> (distant)

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

kât pato ya (H: *stone*, Qual: *big*, Dem: *that*) '*that big stone*'
âlâ ya (Ind: *another*, Dem: *that*) '*that other one*'

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

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

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

wuân gogoŋe (GNP. core: *what*, Qual: *crooked*) '*what crooked thing*'

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

(a) Subject Axis-relator Phrase.

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

wuân-ŋe ari edaken ŋerek tâtuk tâtuk yap
what-sub. go over there all it became rotten
'What has all gone over there and become rotten?'

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

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

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

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

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

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

ya-ân (*that-at*) '*there*'

won-ân (*what-at*) '*where?*'

wosa-ân (*which-at*) '*where?*'

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

ya-kât sâm katbi
that-for speaking they put it
'Speaking about that they put it.'

wuân-gât gial
what-for they came down
'Why did they come down?'

(e) Possessive Axis-relator Phrase. The forms wosa, ebu, edu and ewu do not occur in the axis of this phrase.

âlâ-hât emet yu
who-of house this
'Whose house is this?'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

âlâ *a, an, another* âlâlâ *others, some, a few*
 odop *a, an, another* odowodop *others, some, a few*

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

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

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

wahap bâlene âlâ (H: *thing*, Qual: *bad*, Ind: *a*) *'a bad thing'*

konok âlâ (Num: one, Ind: another) 'another one'

When âlâ occurs alone (i.e., as the only item of the **GNP.**) in the axes of the **Sub.P.**, the **Bene./Cau.P.** and the **Poss.P.**, it has the meaning *who?* and refers only to human referents.⁴

1.4.5.1 Subject Axis-relator Phrase.

imiŋe âlâ-ŋe sâop
his younger brother another-sub. he said
'Another younger brother of his spoke.'

âlâ-ŋe mem yinglap
who-sub. holding he gave it to them
'Who gave it to them?'

1.4.5.2 Benefactive/Causal Axis-relator Phrase.

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

âlâ-gât sâwi
whom-for they spoke
'For whom did they speak?'

1.4.5.3 Possessive Axis-relator Phrase.

mesik âlâ-gât soki soki
sickness another-of germs
'germs which cause another sickness'

âlâ-gât hânângan
who-of to the ground
'to whose country'

The pronoun âlâ also occurs in the following tagmemes.

1.4.5.4 Object tagmeme.

âlâ yat 'What did you say?'

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

bia bâgup âlâ kâdâk kuop
no club another with he hit it
'No, he hit it with another club.'

1.4.5.6 Locative Axis-relator Phrase.

âlâ-engen sot bia-engen ariop

another-to food no-to it went

'It went to another place, to a place with no food.'

1.4.6 There are three noun root subclasses based upon distribution.

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

1.4.6.2 Noun root subclass II includes the majority of the noun roots and occurs in the nucleus of subclass II nouns and so occur with possessive suffixes. Some examples are:

emet-ŋe *his house* kapaŋ-ŋe *his village* to-ŋe *its water*

hân-ŋe *his ground* den-ŋe *his voice* tebe-ŋe *his bow*

1.4.6.3 Noun root subclass III includes a few noun roots which occur without structural affixes in phrase and clause level tagmemes. This subclass includes proper names. Some examples are:

mesik *sickness* bubum *epidemic*

Pawi *a man's name* Hetgat *a place name*

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

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

1.4.9 Regular personal pronoun roots indicate seven distinctions of person and number: 1s, 1d, 1p, 2s, 2-3d, 2-3p and 3s. In some instances third person may be distinguished from second person in the dual and plural number by the compounding of the 3s form before the dual or plural form. The personal pronoun roots substitute for the core of the GNP. (Poss., Att., H.) and thus may be further qualified by the peripheral elements (Qual., Quant., Ind., Dem.).

The regular personal pronoun root is a person-number composite in which the formatives, vectors and categories are clearly distinguishable. These are presented in Matrix 1. The linear order of the vectors in the realized forms is person (indicated by the formatives *n* first, *g/y* second and *y* third), number (indicated by the formatives *â* singular and *e* non-singular) and number (indicated by the formatives *k* singular, *t* dual and *n* plural).⁵

Matrix 1: Selepet regular personal pronoun roots

	Sg.Sg. (â)(k)	Non-Sg. Du. (e) (t)	Non-Sg. Pl. (e) (n)
1st per.	(n) n â k	n e t	n e n
2nd per.	(g/y)g â k	y e t	y e n
3rd per.	(y) y â k	(yâk)y e t	yâk y e n

The formative *k* singular is lost in all the first and second person regular personal pronoun forms except when the contrastive suffix {-ku} is added (see 2.6 and 3.2.1.3). The distinction between second and third person is absent in the dual and plural forms but this lack of distinction is overcome by the compounding of the 3s form *yâk* with the dual and plural forms to specify third person.

Context indicates in most cases whether second or third person is to be inferred in the use of the ambiguous forms. In the forms of address, commands, etc., the forms *yet* or *yen* refer only to the second person. In narrative structure, when *yet* or *yen* refer to the second person, these forms always occur within a quotative as the object of the verb *nâgâ- to think* or *sâ- to say*. When the forms refer to the third person, the referent is clearly stated. Once the referent is stated, however, the ambiguous pronominal forms are used freely without further specification unless another referent intervenes. When another referent intervenes, the original referent is again brought into focus either by restating the referent or using the third person form *yâk* before the ambiguous forms are again used for indicating the third person.

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

atalipne kapam pato ahom tatmâ yene ahom ba tatmâ
his elder brother stick big fighting staying you/they fighting go staying
'his elder brothers fought hard and stayed there, they fought and went
and stayed...'

The 3s pronoun *yâk* occurs in the Actor or Object tagmemes without regard to number, the number of the actor or object being indicated in the verbal subject-marking or object-marking affixes respectively.

(a) Actor tagmeme.

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

(b) Object tagmeme.

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

The regular personal pronoun roots substitute for the core (Possession, Attributive and Head tagmemes) of the GNP. As such they may be qualified by the adjectives, numerals, indefinite pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. They occur in the clause level object tagmeme and in the axes of most of the axis-relator phrases.⁶ They do not occur in the axis of the Instrument Axis-relator Phrase (Inst.P.). In the Object tagmeme these pronoun roots occur with no affixes but in the axes of the various axis-relator phrases they are followed by either a relator enclitic or relator root. In addition to occurring with the suffixal relator enclitics, they also occur with certain unrestricted suffixes: *-âmâ* however, on the other hand which indicates comparison, *{-âk}* only which indicates exclusion or emphasis and *{-bân}* too, also which indicates that the item so identified is one of a number of similar items or that the item includes a number of subcategorized items.

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

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

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

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

Matrix 2: Regular personal pronouns as subject⁷

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1st per.	nâŋe	netŋe	nenŋe
2nd per.	gâŋe	yetŋe	yeŋe
3rd per.	yâkŋe	(yâk)yetŋe	(yâk)yeŋe
	nen-ŋe	hân-gât	pâiŋ pâiŋ yawu mansin
	<i>we-sub. ground-for searching thus we live</i>		
	<i>'We live always searching for ground.'</i>		

1.4.9.3 Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase. The **Acc.P.** manifests the relator root *rop* *with*. The regular personal pronouns occur as free forms in the axis. Note that *yâk* does not occur with *yet* or *yen* to distinguish third person.

nâ rop with me yen rop with you yâk rop with her/him/them

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

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

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

When the regular personal pronoun roots occur in the axis of the **Poss.P.** with the enclitic {-gât} the resulting forms show normal possession. The regular personal pronoun roots agree in person and number with the nominal possession-marking suffixes (if any) on the noun qualified by the **Poss.P.**⁸ In this regard the pronominal forms duplicate much of the information given in the possession-marking suffixes but have the additional clarification of person when *yâk* occurs before the forms *yet* or *yen*. The resultant forms are given in Matrix 3.⁹

Matrix 3: Regular personal pronouns showing possession

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1st per.	nâhât	netkât	nengât
2nd per.	gâhât	yetkât	yegât
3rd per.	yâkât	(yâk)yetkât	(yâk)yegât

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

yet-gât emet (*you(du.)-of, house*) '*your(du.) house*'

yâkyet-gât emet (*them(du.)-of, house*) '*their(du.) house*'

Amerika yâkye-gât orotmeme (*America, them-of, customs*) '*the customs of those Americans*'

Amerika ye-gât âi (*America, them-of, work*) '*the work of those Americans*'

atalipne ye-gât kâiyeᅇan (*his el.brs., them-of, on their legs*) '*on his brothers' legs*'

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

Amerika ya ye-gât sum (*America, those, them-of, graveyard*) '*the graveyard of those Americans*'

nak ya ye-gât topyeᅇan (*trees, those, them-of, at their bases*) '*at the bases of those trees*'

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

1.4.9.5 Locative Axis-relator Phrase. The regular personal pronoun roots usually do not occur in the axis of the Loc.P.¹⁰ Rather, the Poss.P. manifesting the regular personal pronoun in its axis occurs embedded in the axis of the Loc.P.

nâhâlân (nâ-gât-ân *me-of-at*) '*with me*' (lit. *at my (place)*)

nâhâlângen (nâ-gât-ângen *me-of-towards*) '*towards me*'

nâhâlâgebâ (nâ-gât-âgebâ *me-of-from*) '*from me*'

nengâlâbâ nen-gât-âbâ *us-of-out of*) '*out from among us*'

1.4.10 Emphatic personal pronoun roots occur only in the singular number: nine *I myself, my, mine, gike you yourself, your, yours* and *ikŋe he himself, she herself, his, her, hers, its*. They have the following distribution:

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

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

1.4.10.2 Object tagmeme.

gike kâit-gohom
you-yourself trieking-you
 'tricking YOU'

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

nine emet-ne (Poss: MY, H: *house-my*) '*MY house*'
 gike emet-ge (Poss: YOUR, H: *house-your*) '*YOUR house*'

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

nine emet gowetŋan (Poss: MY, Att: *house*, H: *its lower area-at*) '*underneath MY house*'

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

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

1.4.10.4 Benefactive/Causal Axis-relator Phrase.

ikŋe-gât gâlakmâ mem tipi tapi tuhum
himself-for cutting himself holding in small pieces doing
 'He held and cut himself in small pieces to his own advantage...'

1.4.10.5 Locative Axis-relator Phrase.

Selepet ikŋe-ân yanâmâ Indumŋe tatbi

Selepet itself-at there-however Indum they stayed

'The Indum people stayed there at Selepet village itself.'

1.4.10.6 Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase.

yâk nine orop takawit

he me-myself with we(du.) came

'He came with me alone.'

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

1.4.12 Time roots are a class of roots which occur in the Time tagmeme at the clause level. Some of these are:

mukan yesterday halihu day after tomorrow gâmâlâk later

1.4.13 Intransitive verb roots occur in the nucleus of the verb syntagmeme and generally indicate an emotion, a state or condition, or movement. Some examples are:

<i>ari to go</i>	<i>tat to be situated</i>	<i>âle to lust</i>
<i>yâhâ to ascend</i>	<i>blat to vanish</i>	<i>âwihî to not germinate</i>
<i>eke to flee</i>	<i>lse to cry</i>	<i>ketok to neglect a responsibility</i>

1.4.14 Transitive verb roots occur in the core tagmeme of the transitive verb stem and generally indicate action. Some examples are:

<i>man to live</i>	<i>gâl to pour s.th. out</i>	<i>kârâ to cut s.th.</i>
<i>hâi to insult s.o.</i>	<i>ai to dig</i>	<i>kat to place s.th.</i>

All mono-syllabic roots with the simple vowel nucleus *e* undergo the following root changes: *e* → *i* in the *ipt.*, *rpt.* and *3s inch.*; the roots add a root-final velar nasal *ŋ* if followed by the *2s* object marker. In all future tenses the roots *ne-* to *eat* and *me-* to *hold* add a root-final *N* which assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant.

<i>ne Eat!</i>	<i>negekmap It might devour you.</i>
<i>se Burn it!</i>	<i>segekmap It might burn you.</i>
<i>me Hold it!</i>	<i>megekmap It might grab you.</i>
<i>ge Come down!</i>	<i>gewuap It will come down.</i>

niap <i>He ate it.</i>	nebuap <i>He will eat it.</i>
siap <i>It burned it.</i>	sewuap <i>It will burn it.</i>
miap <i>He held it.</i>	mebuap <i>He will hold it.</i>

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

kârâ → kara <i>to cut it</i>	sâhâ → saha <i>to bind it</i>
pilâ → pila <i>to throw it</i>	hâgâ → haga <i>to pick s.th. off a stalk</i>

2. STEMS

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

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

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

2.1 NOUN STEMS

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

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

2.1.1.1 Noun roots.

gibâ-ŋe mountain from *gibâ ridge pole, roof*

2.1.1.2 Adjective roots.

pare-ŋe *stair tread* from pare *horizontal*
 hewuk-ŋe *forest* from hewuk *thick, dense*

2.1.1.3 Demonstrative pronoun roots.

wuân-ŋe *which one* from wuân *what?*
 edâ-ŋe *that one over there*
 ewâ-ŋe *that one up there*
 ebâ-ŋe *that one down there*

The forms edâŋe, ewâŋe and ebâŋe occur only in the axis of a Loc.P. followed by the clitic -ân *at* as in edâŋan *over there*.

When the demonstrative pronoun roots qualify a time noun in the Head of the GNP, the derived noun may be regarded as a nominalized GNP. It occurs only with the locative clitic -ân *at* in the Time tagmeme.

Sande ebâ-ŋe-ân '*on Sunday before last*' (lit. *on that Sunday below*)

Sande ewâ-ŋe-ân '*Sunday week, a week from Sunday*' (lit. *on that Sunday above*)

2.1.1.4 Locative phrases.

betŋan-ŋe *the one behind it* from betŋan *at its back*
 wosapâ-ŋe *those from which place* from wosapâ *which way?*

2.1.1.5 Transitive verb stem.

ahoak-ŋe *junction, fork, joint* from ahoak- *to hit oneself*.

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

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

2.1.1.8 That the nominalizer -ŋe is different from the homophonous relator clitic of the Subject Axis-relator Phrase (Sub.P.) is evident in that a Sub.P. does not occur embedded in the axis of a Loc.P. Thus such forms as Sande ebâŋe *Sunday before last* are better regarded as

nominalized General Noun Phrases. Moreover, a **Loc.P.** does not occur in the axis of the **Sub.P.** so that *betŋan-ŋe the one behind it* is better regarded as a nominalized **Loc.P.**

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

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

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

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

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

lok âlâ (S: man, a) bukuŋe orop (Acc: friend, with) kalam-ân (Loc: garden-in) kinmâ (iP: standing) sot-gât (Bene: food-for) sâŋ (tP: speaking) kapam kâdâk (Inst: stick, with) pawarakmâ (tP: quarrelling) ahoresâŋ oawot (tP: they went to fight) ya (Dem: that) bâleŋe (Qual: bad). 'This is bad: that a man will be in the garden with his friend (and) speaking about food will quarrel and fight with sticks.'

2.1.2.2 Intransitive verb roots (ivr.) alone.

kin kin standing from kin to stand

mumu death from mu to die

manman *existence* from man to live
 ari ari *travelling* from ari to go

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

(a) Actor tagmeme with ivr.

gelâk ga² (Act: rain, iP: to come) 'the coming of the rain'

emet kin² (Act: place, iP: to stand) 'the dry season'

(b) Location tagmeme with ivr.

kaknan tat² (Loc: on top of, iP: to stay) 'chair'

hânân tat² (Loc: on the ground, iP: to stay) 'relaxation'

sennan ge² (Loc: on his eyes, iP: to descend) 'teasing'

When the intransitive verb is a motion verb the locative clitic is frequently absent.

glop ari² (Loc: road, iP: to go) 'travelling'

(c) Accompaniment tagmeme with ivr.

kahañât ari² (Acc: with sister-in-law, iP: to go) 'walking with one's sister-in-law'

(d) Accompaniment and Benefaction/Cause tagmemes with ivr.

buku orop (Acc: friend, with) ibi-gât (Bene: women-about) ise² (iP: to weep) 'weeping over women with friends'

(e) Manner tagmeme with ivr.

sururuk ari² (M: quickly, iP: to go) 'hurriedness'

tihâk ari² (M: secretly, iP: to go) 'stealth'

(f) Location and Manner tagmemes with ivr.

emetnan (Loc: into his house) in (M: just) yâhâ² (iP: to ascend) 'ascending into a house for no reason'

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

When the transitive verb root is Ø, however, the third person singular object marker or the reflexive/reciprocal marker is reduplicated.

subclass I: ehek *seeing* from ek *him, her, it* class I object marker
 subclass II: agl agl *reciprocity, exchange* from agl class II benefactive
 reciprocal object marker
 subclass III: aho aho *fighting* from aho class III reflexive object
 marker

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

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

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

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

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

(a) Manner tagmeme.¹¹

ki nâgâ² (M: not, tP: to hear) '*inattention*'
 biwi bâle nâgâ² (M: insides, bad, tP: to know) '*sadness, pity*'
 biwi purik pan² (M: insides, turn, tP: to throw) '*(act of) repentance*'
 konok tuhu² (M: one, tP: to do) '*joining, collection*'

(b) Object tagmeme.

kara tuhuak² (O: sorcery, tP: to do to one another) '*self affliction
 by means of sorcery*'
 ibi miak² (O: women, tP: to take for oneself) '*marriage*'
 den lou² (O: words, tP: to carry) '*obedience*'
 den bâleŋe sâ² (O: words, bad, tP: to say) '*profanity*'

(c) Object plus Manner tagmemes.

kalem ki me² (O: generosity, M: not, tP: to hold) '*greed*'
 den hilâm konok sâ² (O: words, M: quickly, tP: to say) '*speaking
 rapidly*'

iholok maholok tep tet² (M: everywhere, O: dung, tP: to excrete)
'promiscuous defecation'

den ki nâgâ² (O: words, M: not, tP: to hear) 'inattention'

(d) Location tagmeme.

nekamnan sâ² (Loc: on his chin, tP: to speak) 'accusations'

senğan tuhu² (Loc: on his eye, tP: to do) 'temptation to an individual'

senyenğan tuhu² (Loc: on their eyes, tP: to do) 'temptation to many persons'

(e) Dependent Clause. Expansion is also possible by including dependent clauses preposed to the reduplicated verbal form.

nep iholok maholok kârâm kâmet² (dp.cl: garden, anywhere, cutting, tP: to plant) 'the cutting and planting gardens anywhere'

ibi hâkân otmâ watyek² (dp.cl: dislike, doing, tP: to chase them)
'disliking and chasing away women' (of a man who repeatedly rejects women after trial marriage)

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

(f) Accompaniment tagmeme.

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

(g) Object and Location tagmemes.

âllwahap emet gowelân plîâ² (O: rubbish, Loc: house, under, tP: to throw) 'throwing rubbish under the house'

(h) Instrument tagmeme.

sehe kâdâk hâre² (Inst: saw, with, tP: to cut) 'cutting with a saw'

tewet kâdâk karak² (Inst: knife, with, tP: to cut one another) 'cutting one another with knives'

(i) Subject tagmeme.

lohibi sobo meduhuak² (S: people, old, tP: to meet together) 'an old people's meeting'

(j) Benefaction/Cause tagmeme.

sotgât pawarak² (Bene: food-for, tP: to quarrel) 'quarrelling over food'

2.1.2.5 In the following examples the benefactive markers occurring in the transitive verb are included in the reduplication. When the benefactive markers are so included the verbal form is usually reduplicated with other clause level tagmemes.

(a) Manner tagmeme.

kadi meagi² (M: temporarily, tP: to hold for one another) 'borrowing from one another'

(b) Object tagmeme.

kobo meagi² (O: theft, tP: to hold for one another) 'stealing from each other'

ibi meagi² (O: woman, tP: to hold for one another) 'wife stealing'

2.1.2.6 Nouns derived from clauses manifesting subclass II transitive verbs in the transitive Predicate tagmeme.

mabot mabot *waiting* from mabot- *to await someone*

mewale mewale *cheating* from mewale- *to cheat someone*

In the following example the benefactive marker is also included in the reduplication.

ihagi ihagi *biting (to death) of one another's domestic animals*
from Ø-ihagi *bite-it-for one another*

2.1.2.7 Nouns derived from clauses manifesting subclass III transitive verbs in the predicate tagmeme. Generally the verbal form manifests the reflexive/reciprocal object marker.

aho aho *fighting* from Ø- *to hit* and aho *one another*

tânaho tânaho *self help* from tân- *to help* and aho *one another*

hillwaho hillwaho *self destruction* from hillip *to destroy* and aho *one another*

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

2.1.2.8 Nouns derived from the Auxiliary Verb Phrases. Only the auxiliary verbal form is reduplicated.

hoŋ bawa *servant* from hoŋ ba- *to serve, be a messenger*

gulip orot *disappearance* from gulip ot- *to disappear*

gârur gurur orot *dizziness* from gârur gurur ot- *to be dizzy*

telan telan orot *laziness* from telan telan ot- *to be lazy*

hutuk sâsâ *silence* from hutuk sâ- *to be silent*
 orok sâsâ *diminishing* from orok sâ- *to diminish*

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

(a) Actor.

emet haŋ sâ² (Act: *place*, AVP: *to dawn*) '*daybreak*'

nâgâ nâgâ pârâŋ sâ² (Act: *thought*, AVP: *to be pierced*) '*thinking clearly*'

(b) Object.

den alahu golahu ot² (O: *words*, AVP: *to converse*) '*conversation*'

2.1.2.10 Nouns may be derived from roots by reduplication.

(a) Adverb roots.

betbet k. *of grub* from bet *later*

(b) Noun roots. The resultant noun stem generally expresses diminution.

tebetebe *play bows for children* from tebe *bow*

bâtbat *bough* from bâ *hand, arm*

toto *juice, serum* from to *water*

lâmun lâmun *snail* from lâmun *conch*

hâpu(â)pu- *larynx* from hâpu *bamboo*

kulem melem *designs* from kulem *mark*

kawit tawit *small insects* from kawet *insects (larger)*

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

2.1.3.1 Noun root and noun root.

togelâk *tempest* from to *water* and gelâk *rain*

lohibi *parents, adults* from lok *man* and lbi *woman*

ata imi *male siblings* from ate *elder brother* and imi *younger brother*

kâi bâ (leg, hand) which occurs only in the construction lok kâi bâ towatŋe (Att: *man, leg, hand*, H: *its appearance*) '*a person's manners*'

2.1.3.2 Unclassified root and noun root.

wârâtou *female siblings* from wârâ (?) and tou *elder sister of male speaker*

nimnaom *children* from nim (?) and naom *child*

âliwahap *rubbish* from âii (?) and wahap *thing*

2.1.3.3 Noun root and unclassified root. This compound differs from the above compound in that the unclassified root occurs as the second element and as a distinct phonological word.

bokosok bero *kind of fish (carp?)* from bokosok *mud* and bero *eater (?)*

hep bero *soldier* from hep *blood* and bero *eater*

wik bero *worm eater* (a vulgarism) from wik *worm* and bero *eater*

The compound bāt kadi bero (*hand, borrow, eater*) *a person who lives off others* consists of noun root, adverb root and bero.

The compound sot pato bero (*food, big, eater*) *glutton* consists of a General Noun Phrase (H: noun, Qual: ajr.), plus bero.

The compound hâwurum bero *scavenger* consists of a dependent homopersonal verb hâwurum *gathering* and bero *eater*.

2.1.3.4 Noun root and adjective root.

biwi âlip *happiness* from biwi *insides* and âlip *good*

biwi bâle *sadness* from biwi *insides* and âlip *bad*

2.1.3.5 General Noun Phrase manifesting Attributive and Head tagmemes (cf. phrasal compounds in Hockett, 1958:243).

emesenŋe *moon* from Att: *place* and H: *its eye*

emesâpŋe *afternoon* from Att: *place* and H: *its time*

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

um kiriŋ pâroŋ *sumptuousness* from um *cooking* and kiriŋ pâroŋ *the sound made by a splitting bamboo cooking-container*

mem kitiŋ kâtiŋ *a kind of magic used for causing things to become invisible or to go unnoticed* from mem *holding* and kitiŋ kâtiŋ (?)

um pitiriŋ *a kind of divination* from um *burning* and pitiriŋ *a noise*.

This noise is made by a bamboo blade which is bent under tension and burnt in half. As the tension is released the bamboo shoots away with a pitiriŋ noise.

nem ŋotuk ŋotuk- *oesophagus* from nem *eating* and ŋotuk ŋotuk *the noise made by swallowing*.

Adjunct roots which occur in the Com. tagmeme of the AVP. in un-reduplicated forms occur with reduplication in this construction.
 nâgâm gulip gulip *forgetfulness* from nâgâm *thinking* and gulip *disappear*

otmâ hilip hilip *destruction* from otmâ *doing* and hilip *ruin*.

2.1.3.7 Two transitive verb roots.

kukumagan *greetings* from kuku *to carry it* and magan *to shake someone in greeting*

2.1.3.8 Noun root and adjunct root.

kun tâwoŋ *kind of beetle* from kun *head* and tâwoŋ ot *to nod*

âdâp bok *pupa* from âdâp *ear* and bok yap *it became deaf*

2.1.3.9 Noun root and adjective root.

hân hewuk *death adder* from hân *ground* and hewuk *thick*

awu kârik *kind of herb* from awu *plant family* and kârik *strong*

awu kaok *kind of herb* from awu *plant family* and kaok *white*

2.1.3.10 Noun root and relator.

awu bia *kind of banana* from awu *banana blossom* and bia *without*

2.1.3.11 Noun root and intransitive verb root.

den biat *Black-throated Monarch* from den *talk* and biat *to disappear*

hân tete *plant* from hân *ground* and tete *to appear*

2.1.3.12 Noun root and transitive verb stem.

hân tâmâtgu *bandicoot* from hân *ground* and tâmâtgu *to root*

nak âsit *wood plane* from nak *wood* and âsit *to scratch, scrape it*

hân kârâ *hoe* from hân *ground* and kârâ *to cut it*

2.1.3.13 Locative Axis-relator Phrase and adjective root.

kunŋan kuriŋ *Little Coronated Fruit Dove* from kunŋan *on its head* and kuriŋ *red*

2.1.3.14 Locative Axis-relator Phrase and adjunct root.

hâhân hâtik *pimple* from hâhân *on the skin* and hâtik *crossing*

2.1.3.15 Noun root and Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase.

hâk kukŋâi *cinnamon* from hâk *skin* and kukŋâit (loss of a final t) *with a fragrance*

2.1.3.16 A large number of syntactic nouns consist of simple descriptions of referents. These nouns are generally other word or stem classes or larger constructions which simply function as nouns. Since they are descriptive in themselves there is little qualification of them. Some examples are:

(a) Homopersonal dependent verb.

âbâkum *necklace* from âbâku *to hang s.th. on the neck or arm*

(b) Head plus Qualifier.

kâine hibitdâ *Australian Brown Hawk* (lit. *its legs, with orchids*)

(c) Locative Axis-relator Phrase.

barahanân *bracelet, armband* (lit. *at the upper arm*)

hânângen *kind of marsupial* (lit. *at the ground*)

tâk pânan *kind of tree-climbing marsupial* (lit. *at the middle of the vine*)

(d) Independent clause.

bekom arlap *kind of cat's cradle* (lit. *The flying fox went away.*)

habe mohasap *rainbow* (lit. *The snake vomits.*)

(e) Attributive plus Head.

emet abone *kind of lizard* (lit. *the owner of the place*)

(f) Adjective stems derived by noun roots plus -dâ.

kâlâpdâ (*fiery red*) *Stephan's Bronze wing* (?)

pigirâ (*spiny*) *anteater*

awurâ (*coloured like a kind of red herb*) *red ochre*

2.2 VERB STEMS

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

2.2.1 Intransitive derived verb stems are formed from adjective roots by the addition of the intransitive verbalizer suffix -e. Some examples are:

lohot-e *to weaken* from lohot-ŋe *weak*

hapak-e *to remain unripe* from hapak-ŋe *tough, hard*

kârik-e *to become strong* from kârik-ŋe *strong*

2.2.2 Transitive derived verb stems are formed by the addition of the object-marking suffixes to transitive verb roots as in the case of

subclasses I and II and to other root classes as well as in the case of subclass III. The verbalizing force of the object markers is most evident in the subclass III stems.

With the exception of a single verb root, *-n to call someone, to name someone*, all Selepet transitive verb roots occur with object-marking suffixes. The subclass III object-marking affixes which occur with the verb root *-n*, however, are clearly prefixal:¹³

noho-n-sap (*me-call-he*(ipt.)) '*He called me*'; goho-n-sap (*you-call-he* (ipt.)) '*He called you*'.

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

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

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

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

Matrix 4: Subclass I Object Markers

		Sg.	Du.	Pl.
		(∅)	(l)	(n/∅)
1st per.	(n)	n-e-∅-ek	n-e-l-ek	n-e-n-ek
2nd per.	(g/y)	g-e-∅-ek	y-e-l-ek	y-e-∅-ek
3rd per.	(∅/y)	∅-e-∅-ek	y-e-l-ek	y-e-∅-ek

reflexive/reciprocal marker is -ak

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

pihâ-nek-sap He dismissed me. *pihâ- \emptyset -ap* He cast it.
gâi-nek-sap He out me. *gâi- \emptyset -ap* He out it.
gâi-ak-sap He out himself. *yerâ-ak-sai* They shot one another.
kâhâi-nek-sap He offended me. from *kâhâi-* temple (of the head)

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

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

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

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

Matrix 5: Subclass II Object Markers

		Sg. (\emptyset)	Du. (t)	Pl. (n)
1st per.	(n)	n-i- \emptyset -gi	n-i-t-gi-	n-i-n-gi
2nd per.	(\emptyset /y)	g-i- \emptyset -gi	y-i-t-gi	y-i-n-gi
3rd per.	(\emptyset)	\emptyset -i- \emptyset -gi	y-i-t-gi	y-i-n-gi

reflexive/reciprocal marker is *-agi*

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

The benefactive markers occur as a first order verbal suffix and all forms are identical with the subclass II object markers except 3s which has the form *-wagi*.¹⁴ That the benefactive markers are distinct from the subclass II object markers is evident in the following example:

Ø-ihi-nihi-ap (*bite-it-for-me-it(ipt.)*) 'It chewed up it (my rooster) for me.'

(a) Subclass II object markers.

mabot-nihi-ap *He awaited me.* mabot-Ø-sap *He awaited him.*

mewale-nihi-ap *He cheated me.* mewale-Ø-ap *He cheated him.*

(b) Benefactive markers.

Ø-ku-nihi-ap (*hit-it-for me-he(ipt.)*) 'He killed it for me.'

kat-Ø-yingi-ap (*put-it-for them-he(ipt.)*) 'He put it away for them.'

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

Matrix 6: Subclass III Object Markers

		Sg. (Ø)	Du. (t)	Pl. (n)
1st per.	(n)	n-o-Ø-go	n-o-t-go	n-o-n-go
2nd per.	(Ø/y)	g-o-Ø-go	y-o-t-go	y-o-n-go
3rd per.	(Ø)	Ø-Ø-ku	y-o-t-go	y-o-n-go

reflexive/reciprocal marker is -aho

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

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

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

(a) Noun roots.

lâm-gu *to watch him* from lâm *hole*

kâiâp-gu *to arouse him* from kâiâp *fire*

tân-gu *to help him* from tân *bone*

kulem-gu *to draw it* from kulem *mark*

hewum-gu *to bundle it* from hewum *bundle*

(b) Adjective roots.

helen-gu *to blacken s.th.* from helen *black*

kuriŋ-gu *to ripen* from kuriŋ *red*

(c) Adjunct roots. Only adjuncts occurring with the auxiliary *ot to do* have been observed as derived transitive verb stems.

gulip-gu to erase s.th. from *gulip ot to disappear*
heŋ-aho to play together from *heŋ ot to play*

(d) Transitive verb roots. The following roots have been observed only in the core of transitive verb stems.

<i>ulit-gu to beg him</i>	<i>âik-ku to ask him</i>
<i>hegem-gu to decorate it</i>	<i>ek-ku to tell him</i>
<i>hawam-gu to encircle it</i>	<i>walip-ku to touch it</i>

(e) Unclassified roots.

hilip-gu to destroy it from **hilip destruct*
dirin-gu to put side by side from **dirin adjacent*

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

2.2.3.1 *Ari* occurs principally as root one and occurs as root two only when *ba* occurs as root one.

<i>ari kat to go and put it</i>	<i>ari me to go and hold it</i>
<i>ari man to go and live</i>	<i>ari kin to go and stand</i>
<i>ba ari to go</i>	

2.2.3.2 *Ba* occurs only as root one.

<i>ba yâhâ to ascend</i>	<i>ba kin to go and stand</i>
<i>ba tat to go and stay</i>	<i>ba ari to go</i>

2.2.3.3 *Ga* occurs only as root one.

<i>ga taka to come</i>	<i>ga tat to come and stay</i>
<i>ga toho to come</i>	<i>ga kin to come and stand</i>

2.2.3.4 Ge occurs only as root one.

ge taka to come down ge tat to sit down
ge toho to come down ge kin to come down and stand

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

ba yâhâ to ascend yâhâ kin to go up and stand
yâhâ tat to go up and stay yâhâ taka to come up
yâhâ me to go up and get it yâhâ toho to come up

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

ge taka to come down taka tat to come and stay
ga taka to come taka man to come and live
yâhâ taka to come up taka kin to come and stand
taka me to come and get it

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

ari man to go and live man tat to live (here)
taka man to come and live ot man to do and live

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

ari kin to go and stand yâhâ kin to go up and stand
ba kin to go and stand taka kin to come and stand
ge kin to come down and stand kin tat to stand (here)
ga kin to come and stand

2.2.3.9 Tat occurs only as root two

ari tat to go and stay taka tat to come and stay
ba tat to go and stay toho tat to come and stay
ga tat to come and stay yâhâ tat to go up and stay
ge tat to sit down kin tat to stay
ot tat to do and stay

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

ari me to go and get it me man to do and live
ga me to come and get it yâhâ me to go up and get it
taka me to come and get it ge me to come down and get it

2.2.3.11 Ot occurs only as root one when tat or man occurs as root two.
 ot tat to do and stay ot man to do and live

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

2.3 ADJECTIVE STEMS

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

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

2.3.1.1 Noun roots.

kun-*ŋe* *first born* from kun *head*
 kâbuk-*ŋe* *forbidden* from kâbuk *tabu*
 bâlâp-*ŋe* *cold* from bâlâp *wind*

2.3.1.2 Adjective roots. This is simply to say that these roots occur only in the core of a derived adjective.

hâgi-*ŋe* *old* umat-*ŋe* *heavy*

2.3.1.3 Adverb roots.

in-*ŋe* *insignificant* from in *for no reason, just*
 dodâ-*ŋe* *large* from dodâ *hard, fiercely*

2.3.1.4 Numerals. Adjectives derived from numerals are equivalent to English ordinal numerals.

konok-*ŋe* *first*, yâhâp-*ŋe* *second*, kalibu-*ŋe* *third*, etc.

2.3.2 Reduplication of verbal forms plus the adjectivizer -*ŋe*. This derivation is similar to that for nouns derived from verbs (2.1.2.1) except that the adjectivizer -*ŋe* is suffixed to the reduplicated verbal form. There appears to be very little overlap, however, and only rarely do such derived nouns form adjectives by the addition of the adjectivizer. As in the case of nouns derived from verbs, other clause level tagmemes occur with the reduplicated verbal form. Some examples follow.

2.3.2.1 Intransitive verb root.

yâhâ yâhâ-*ne* *arrogant* from yâhâ *to ascend*

mumu-*ne* *dead* from mu *to die*

yahat yahat-*ne* *high (of pay)* from yahat *to arise*

irike irike-*ne* *buck (of teeth)* from irike *to protrude*

2.3.2.2 Location tagmeme and intransitive verb root.

hânân tat² + -*ne* (Loc: *on the ground*, iP: *to be situated*) '*which is on the ground*'

hibimân ari² + -*ne* (Loc: *in the sky*, iP: *to go*) '*flying (of aeroplanes)*'

saruân ari² + -*ne* (Loc: *on the sea*, iP: *to go*) '*sailing (of ships)*'

2.3.2.3 Manner tagmeme and intransitive verb root.

kadi taka² + -*ne* (M: *temporarily*, iP: *to come*) '*temporarily resident*'

2.3.2.4 Transitive verb stem.

ehék-*ne* *visible* from Ø-ék *see-it* (subclass I)

ihi ihi-*ne* *bitten* from Ø-ihi *bite-it* (subclass II)

golagu golagu-*ne* *stirred* from golaḡ-gu *to stir it* (subclass III)

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

naom-yâhât-*ne* (H: *child-du.-his*) me-yelek² + -*ne* (tP: *to hold them (du.)*)
'*his two initiated children*'

naom-lip-*ne* (H: *child-pl.-his*) me-yek² + -*ne* (tP: *to hold them (pl.)*)
'*his initiated children*'

2.3.2.5 Object tagmeme and transitive verb stem.

den lou² + -*ne* (O: *words*, tP: *to carry it*) '*obedient*'

emet huhu² + -*ne* (O: *house*, tP: *to smash it*) '*perverted*'

kobo me² + -*ne* (O: *theft*, tP: *to hold it*) '*thieving*'

biwi ku² + -*ne* (O: *insides*, tP: *to hit it*) '*angry*'

2.3.2.6 Subject tagmeme and transitive verb stem.

weke alit² + -*ne* (S: *spirit*, tP: *to withhold*) '*stunted*'

gelak ihi² + -*ne* (S: *rain*, tP: *to bite it*) '*rain-washed*'

turebe hioḡak² + -*ne* (S: *ditch*, tP: *to break oneself*) '*fissured (of ground)*'

2.3.2.7 Location tagmeme and transitive verb stem.

bitiŋan ku² + -ŋe (Loc: *on the trap*, tP: *to hit it*) '*trapped*'

iwân pan² + -ŋe (Loc: *on the rope*, tP: *to throw*) '*strung*'

hâkŋan sâ² + -ŋe (Loc: *on his skin*, tP: *to speak*) '*accused*'

2.3.2.8 Location and Object tagmemes with transitive verb stem.

lohân denŋe sâ² + -ŋe (Loc: *on a man*, O: *its word*, tP: *to speak*)
'*betrothed*'

2.3.2.9 Manner tagmeme and transitive verb stem.

sen konok ek² + -ŋe (M: *eye, only*, tP: *to look at it*) '*unhelpful*'

ki ek² + -ŋe (M: *not*, tP: *to see it*) '*invisible, not for viewing*'

ki ne² + -ŋe (M: *not*, tP: *to eat it*) '*inedible, not for eating*'

2.3.2.10 Manner and Object tagmemes with transitive verb stem.

kâi bāt towatŋe ki ek² + -ŋe (O: *leg, hand, appearance*, M: *not*, tP:
to see it) '*ill-mannered*'

sâliku sâlikuhât topŋe (O: *basis of counting*) ki nâgâ² + -ŋe (M: *not*,
tP: *to know*) '*illiterate*'

2.3.2.11 Instrument tagmeme and transitive verb stem.

tewet kâdâk hâre² + -ŋe (Inst: *knife, with*, tP: *to cut it*) '*cut by a
knife*'

2.3.2.12 Dependent homopersonal clause and transitive verb stem.

den sâm pâpku² + -ŋe (dp.cl: *speaking words*, tP: *to err*) '*aphasic*'

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

palatak sâ² + -ŋe (Com: *slip*, auxH: *to say*) '*slippery*'

kuguŋ sâ² + -ŋe (Com: *ripe*, auxH: *to say*) '*ripe*'

kododoŋ sâ² + -ŋe (Com: *cascade*, auxH: *to say*) '*cascading*'

tân tân sâ² + -ŋe (Com: *swell*, auxH: *to say*) '*swollen*'

Adjective stems derived from the AVP. may be expanded by the inclusion of the Actor tagmeme. In such derivation the affixes on the noun filling the Actor tagmeme are deleted.

âdâp lak sâ² + -ŋe (Act: *ear*, Com: *full*, auxH: *to say*) '*cauliflower-eared*'

hâk orok sâ² + -ŋe (Act: *skin*, Com: *collapse*, auxH: *to say*) '*skinny*'

kâi tân tân sâ² + -ŋe (Act: *leg*, Com: *swell*, auxH: *to say*) '*swollen-legged*'

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

2.3.3.1 Noun roots.

tewet tewet *sharp (of a nose)* from tewet *knife*

kubut mabut *very knobby (of potatoes)* from kubut *knot, knob*

yogo yogo *sharp (of a nose, mountain ridge)* from yogo *corner*

esen esen *soft* from esen *leaf*

piwot piwot *stringy* from piwot *kind of vine*

hâk(ŋe) hâkŋe *ordinary* from hâkŋe *its skin*

2.3.3.2 Adjunct roots.

turuk baruk *obese* from turuk yap *it swells up*

bok bok *smouldery* from bok yap *it dies (of a fire)*

aman aman *squint-eyed* from aman i *to sleep*

2.3.3.3 Relator.

kâdâk kâdâk *broad* from kâdâk *with* (instrument relator)

2.3.4 Compounding.

2.3.4.1 Two adjectival forms (antonyms).

kâlîp tâlâwâk *uneven* from kâlîp *long* and tâlâwâk *short*

pato tipîŋe *unequal sizes* from pato *big* and tipîŋe *small*

2.3.4.2 Unclassified root and adjective root.

ikisobo *senile* from *iki (?) and sobo *old*

wan sihan *virginal* from *wan (?) and sihan *young*

2.3.4.3 Unclassified root and noun root.

kâwâkoda *promiscuous* from kâwâ (?) and koda *fornication*

2.3.4.4 Noun root and numeral root.

pâŋ konok *short* from pâŋ *middle* and konok *one*

2.3.4.5 Noun root and compound adjective stem.

nelâm pân konok *forgetful* from nelâm *mind* and pân konok *short*

2.3.4.6 Two adverb roots of related meanings.

mian kadi *of migrant standing* from mian *immigrate* and kadi *temporarily*

2.3.4.7 Two verbal antonyms in the inchoative future tense.

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

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

huņbero *poor* from huņ (*round worm?*) and *bero eater* (?)

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

gegogoņ gagogoņ or bagogoņ gagogoņ *wriggly* from *ge to descend, ga to come, ba to go* and *gogoņ crooked*

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

kubutņe *orop knotty*

kukņe *orop fragrant*

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

kigitdâ *fearful* from kigit *fear*

kutdâ *famous* from kut *name*

nepdâ *industrious* from nep *work*

derepdâ *paralytic* from *derep *paralysis*

egatdâ *responsible* from egat *neck*

One adjective of this type is derived from the instrument relator root *kâdâk with* and *-dâ*, viz., *kâdâkdâ whole*.

2.3.6 Derivation by the suffixation of *-âk*. The relation of this suffix to the homophonous forms occurring as the adverbializer (2.5.3), the relator of the Manner Axis-relator Phrase, or as the unrestricted suffix is not clear. Only two adjective stems of this type have been observed.

2.3.6.1 Adverb root plus -âk.

bâwâk *plenty* (= sesegât) from bâp *tightly*

2.3.6.2 Noun plus -âk.

tânñiâk *heavy set, stocky* from tânñe *his bone*.

2.3.7 Intensification of adjectival forms.

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

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

heroñe *friendly* heroñe maroñe *very friendly*

gogoñe *crooked* gogoñe magoñe(e) *very crooked*

bâleñe *bad* bâleñe mâleñe *very bad, wicked*

llok ilok *matted* llok malok *very matted*

kârikñe *strong* kârik kârikñe *very strong*

lohotñe *weak* lohot lohot(ñe) *very weak*

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

kâlip *long* kâkâlip *very long, slender*

tâlâwâk *short* tâtâlâp *very short, stout*

pato *big* papato *gigantic*

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

(a) If the noun in the axis is a count noun the phrase is intensified by a reduplication of the relator.

yâbâñe orop (*whiskers with*) '*bearded*' yâbâñe orop orop *heavily bearded*

kubutñe orop (*knots with*) '*knotty*' kubutñe orop orop *very knotty*

bâokñe orop (*crack with*) '*cracked*' bâokñe orop orop *fractured*

(b) If the noun in the axis is a mass noun the phrase is often intensified by pato *big* following the relator.

kukñe orop (*fragrance with*) '*fragrant*' kukñe orop pato *very fragrant*

korokñe orop (*stench with*) '*smelly*' korokñe orop pato *very smelly*

(c) Idioms which occur in the axis of the **Acc.P.** are intensified only by *pato big* following the relator. If the intensifier *pato* is included in the axis, the idiom loses its idiomatic meaning or the result is nonsense.

egatŋe pato orop (*neck big with*) '(one) with a big neck (goitre)'

egatŋe orop (*neck with*) 'mature' egatŋe orop pato *very mature*

hâmeŋe mumuŋe orop (*nose dead with*) 'disagreeable' hâmeŋe mumuŋe orop pato *very disagreeable* but hâmeŋe mumuŋe pato orop (*one*) with a big dead nose (nonsense).

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

mesik orop (**Ax:** *sickness*, **Rel:** *with*) 'sickly' becomes mesik pato orop *very sickly* (lit. *with a big sickness*)

nâgâ nâgâŋe orop (**Ax:** *his thoughts*, **Rel:** *with*) 'intelligent' becomes nâgâ nâgâŋe pato orop *very intelligent* (lit. *with very big, important thoughts*)

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

2.3.7.4 A few adjectives which occur only in a reduplicated form are intensified by *pato big*.

turuk baruk *obese* turuk baruk pato *extremely obese*

den (*words*) gilân gilân (*chatter*) 'chatter' den gilân gilân pato *much chatter*

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

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

palatak sâsâŋe pato *very slippery*

yahat yahatŋe pato *very high (of pay)*

yahat yahatŋe papato *extremely high (of pay)*

nepâ pâruŋ orotŋe pato *full of freckles, very freckled*

(b) Transforming the derived adjective to a homopersonal dependent clause and adding another verb which is then reduplicated.

huruj sâsâ-ŋe *sunken* becomes huruj sâm ari ariŋe (*being sunken, gone on*)
'*sunk very deeply*'

tântân sâsâ-ŋe *swollen* becomes tântân sâm tiŋtiŋ sâsâ-ŋe (*being swollen, stretched tightly*) '*very swollen*'

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

hâkŋe tântân sâm (*his skin, having swollen*) tiŋtiŋ yap (*it became tight*) ya (*that*) '*that skin which swelled and became tight*'

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

palatak sâsâ-ŋe *slippery* becomes palatak sâsâŋeâk *very slippery*.

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

hân (*ground*) turebe hioŋak hioŋak-ŋe (*ditch, self-broken*) '*fissured ground*' becomes hân turebe amokŋan hioŋak hioŋak-ŋe (*ground, ditch, at-its-depth, self-broken*) '*deeply fissured ground*'

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

bitiŋân (*in the trap*) kuhu-ŋe (*struck*) '*trapped*' becomes bitiŋ kârikŋan (*in the strong trap*) kuhu-ŋe (*struck*) '*firmly trapped*'

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

yâhâ yâhâ-ŋe *arrogant* yâhâ yâhâŋe odop *very arrogant*
yahat yahat-ŋe *high (of pay)* yahat yahatŋe odop *very high*

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

seduk *crazy* seduk seduk *foolish*

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

2.4 NUMERAL STEMS

The base numerals are the roots konok *one*, yâhâp *two*, kalibi *three* and ibât *four*. These roots occur in compound stems for many of the higher numerals.

2.4.1 *bâtnobot five*. This is a compound derived from the noun roots *bât hand* and *nobot part, half, side*.

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

nobolân konok six (lit. *one at the side*)

nobolân yâhâp seven (lit. *two at the side*)

nobolân kalibu eight (lit. *three at the side*)

nobolân ibât nine (lit. *four at the side*)

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

kâiân konok eleven (lit. *one at the foot*)

kâiân yâhâp twelve (lit. *two at the foot*)

kâiân kalibu thirt en (lit. *three at the foot*)

kâiân ibât fourteen (lit. *four at the foot*)

kâiân bâtnobot fifteen (lit. *five at the foot*)

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

kâi nobolân konok sixteen (lit. *one at the other foot*)

kâi nobolân yâhâp seventeen (lit. *two at the other foot*)

kâi nobolân kalibu eighteen (lit. *three at the other foot*)

kât nobolân ibat nineteen (lit. *four at the other foot*)

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

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

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

2.5 ADVERB STEMS

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

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

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

yawu thus, like that *girawu in which manner*

yuwu thus, like this

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

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

2.5.2.1 Adjective roots.

tâhât tâhât babbling from *tâhât useless* as in *den tâhât tâhât yap he babbled*

golâ golâek suddenly from *golâ green, alive* as in *golâ golâek muop he died suddenly, without warning*.

2.5.2.2 Adjective words.

herone marone in a pleasing manner from *herone pleasant*

bâlene malene badly from *bâlene bad*

2.5.2.3 Noun roots.

hohet guhet tuhu to mix, intermingle s.th. from *hohet middle area*

2.5.2.4 Noun words.

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

2.5.2.5 Number roots.

konok konok singly, one at a time from konok one

yâhâp yâhâp two at a time from yâhâp two

2.5.2.6 Time roots.

gâmâlâk gâmâlâk slowly from gâmâlâk later

getek getek quickly from getek soon

2.5.2.7 Adverb roots.

betbet backwards from bet later

inin superficially from in just

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

(a) Manner and Complement tagmemes.

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

(b) Object tagmeme.

biwi nâgâm nâgâm ek to self-examine from biwi- nâgâ to think to oneself (lit. to feel one's insides)

(c) Location tagmeme.

den hohetŋan hohetŋan sâ to mix different languages in speaking from den hohetŋan in the middle of the languages

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

2.5.2.9 Predicateless Clause. Adverbs may be derived from predicateless clauses by the reduplication of the filler of the final tagmeme. *hâkge kou kou unwashed from hâkge kou your skin is ashen.*

2.5.2.10 Adverbs may also be derived from Attributive-Head constructions by a reduplication of the root in the last element.

sen ginjin *with a sideways glance* from sen- ginne *the edge of one's eye*.

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

2.5.2.12 Adjunct roots.

hero hero *well* from hero kat- *to be agreeable*.

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

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

2.5.3.1 Adjective roots.

kuriñâk *reddened* from kuriñ *red*

kerehâk *completely* from kerek *all*

patoâk *only big* from pato *big*

2.5.3.2 Adjective stems.

âlipneâk *well* from âlipne *good*

ukenneâk *pleasantly* from ukenne *sweet*

2.5.3.3 Adverb roots.

kiâk *never* from ki *not*

inâk *without a purpose* from in *just*

2.5.3.4 Emphatic pronoun roots.

ikñiâk *alone* from ikñe *he himself, she herself*

2.5.3.5 Noun roots.

kigilâk *fearfully* from kigit *fear*

2.5.3.6 Noun words.

hodoneâk *fruitless* from hodone *its dry banana leaf*

uwurupneâk *in a flood stage* from uwurupne *its flood*

Adverb stems derived from adjectival or nominal forms may be intensified by the occurrence of pato *big* following -âk.

hodoŋeâk pato *completely fruitless*
 kuriŋâk pato *very reddened*
 kigilâk pato *in great fear*
 uwurupŋeâk pato *in a state of enormous flood*

2.5.3.7 Numeral roots.

konohâk *in common* from konok *one*

2.5.3.8 Relators.

orowâk *also* from orop *with* (accompaniment)

2.5.3.9 Intransitive verb roots.

teteâk *openly* from tete *to appear*

2.5.3.10 Compound noun stem.

hâk nelâmâk *without affliction* from hâk *skin*, nelâm *mind*

2.5.3.11 Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase.

topŋe biaek *without a purpose* from topŋe bia *without its base*

2.5.3.12 Unclassified roots.

bunewâk *completely* from *bunep *all(?)*

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

2.5.4.1 Adjunct roots.

heŋâk heŋâk *playfully* from heŋ ot *to play*

tiŋ tiŋâk *to the finish* from tiŋ yap *it is used up, finished*

2.5.4.2 Adjective roots.

ŋirik ŋirihâk *pleasantly* from ŋirik *sweet*

2.5.4.3 Noun words.

pâŋiâk pâŋiâk *in part* from pâŋe *its middle*

2.5.4.4 Adverb roots.

bâpbâwâk *in a continuous line* from bâp *tightly*

2.6 CONTRASTIVE PRONOUN STEMS

The regular personal pronoun roots and the indefinite pronoun root âlâ *a, an, another*, may be modified to indicate contrast by the suffixation of the morpheme {-ku} -ku ~ -gu ~ -hu. The resulting forms

emphasize that the person so identified is contrasted with other persons. For instance, when a host distributes food to a group of guests but omits one person, the omitted person could say *nâku bla* (I-contrastive morpheme, *no*) which, freely translated, means *But what about me!* The 3s form *yâku* is regularly used with inanimate referents and fulfills the semantic distinctions of the demonstrative pronouns which do not occur with the morpheme {-ku}. The resulting forms are given in Matrix 7.

Matrix 7: Contrastive pronoun stems from regular personal pronoun roots

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1st per.	<i>nâku</i>	<i>netku</i>	<i>nengu</i>
2nd per.	<i>gâku</i>	<i>yetku</i>	<i>yengu</i>
3rd per.	<i>yâku</i>	<i>yâk(yet)ku</i>	<i>yâku</i> or <i>yâkyengu</i>

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

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

2.6.1 Actor and Subject tagmemes.

nâku ariwom *I will go (not anyone else).*

nâku kuan *I hit it (not anyone else).*

2.6.2 Object tagmeme.

nâku nohowuap *He will hit me (and no one else).*

2.6.3 Possession tagmeme. When the pronouns showing contrast occur in the Possession tagmeme the nominal possession-marking suffixes also occur on the noun if it occurs in the Head of the GNP.

nâku emet-ne (*my, house-my*) *'my house and no one else's'*

2.6.4 Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase.

gâ nâku orop arirom

you me with we(du.) will go

'You will go with me and no one else.'

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

nâku niniâk tatbom (*I, myself, I will remain*) *'I will remain alone by myself.'*

2.7 COMPARATIVE PRONOUN STEMS

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

Matrix 8: Comparative pronoun stems from regular personal pronoun roots

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1st per.	nâmâ	nerâmâ	nenâmâ
2nd per.	gâmâ	yerâmâ	yenâmâ
3rd per.	yâhâmâ	yâhâmâ	yâhâmâ

From the demonstrative pronoun roots:
yuâmâ this one, however yamâ that one, however
edamâ or eduâmâ that one over there, however
ewamâ or ewuâmâ that one up there, however
ebamâ or ebuâmâ that one down there, however
wuânâmâ what, however
wosamâ which one, however.

From the indefinite pronoun roots:
âlâmâ another, however
odowâmâ another (of a different sort), however

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

2.7.1 Actor and Subject tagmemes.

yen-âmâ den waialesiân agimai
you-however talk on radios you give one another
'You [Europeans], however, always talk to one another on the two-way radios.'

2.7.2 Object tagmeme.

hân ya-âmâ nerek mem pesuk pilâwi
ground that-however all holding they did it completely
'They took all of that ground, however,...'

2.8 INCLUSIVE PRONOUN STEMS

The regular personal pronoun roots also occur with the inclusive (incl.) suffix {-bân} *-bân ~ -wân too, also*. When suffixed to nouns this suffix focuses attention on the items sub-classed under the noun,

and can best be translated as *all kinds of* or *different kinds of*. Thus *lokbân* (*man-incl.*) focuses attention on the various groups of people: Europeans, New Guineans, Chinese, Japanese, etc. and *gokawân* (*sweet potato-incl.*) focuses attention on all the various sweet potato cultigens. When the suffix occurs on the personal pronoun root the pronoun stem includes its referent plus someone else. The resulting forms are given in Matrix 9.

Matrix 9: Inclusive pronoun stems

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1st per.	nâwân	netbân	nenbân
2nd per.	gâwân	yetbân	yenbân
3rd per.	yâkbân	yâk(yet)bân	yâk(yen)bân

These pronoun stems have a very limited distribution.

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

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

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

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

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

2.9 EXCLUSIVE PRONOUN STEMS

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

Matrix 10: Exclusive pronoun stems from regular personal pronoun roots

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1st per.	nâek	nelâk	nenâk
2nd per.	gâek	yelâk	yenâk
3rd per.	yâhâk	yâhâk	yâhâk

From regular demonstrative pronoun roots:

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

2.10 EMPHATIC PERSONAL PRONOUN STEMS

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

Matrix 11: Emphatic personal pronoun stems

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1st per.	(nâ) niniâk/ninak	(net) netŋiâk	(nen) nenŋiâk
2nd per.	(gâ) gikiâk/gikak	(yet) yetŋiâk	(yen) yeŋiâk
3rd per.	(yâk) ikŋiâk/ikŋak	(yâk) yetŋiâk	(yâk) yeŋiâk

These forms have the following distribution:

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

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

2.10.2 Object tagmeme. In the Object tagmeme the emphatic pronoun usually occurs without the preposed regular personal pronoun roots.

gikiâk ge gohom negekmâ yâhâwuap (*You yourself, descending, killing you, eating you, it will ascend*) '*It will descend, kill and eat only you and go back up.*'

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

2.10.4 Benefactive/Causal Axis-relator Phrase. The relator enclitic is {-gât}.

nâ niniâk-gât yap *He spoke only about me.*

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

2.10.6 Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase. When the emphatic personal pronoun stems occur in the axis, the relator word *orop with* is permuted to a pre-axis position.

orop netjiâk *with us (du.) only*

orop yenjiâk *only with them*

2.11 DERIVED DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN STEMS

These stems have the structure: + core + -wu *like* + -ya. The core manifests the regular demonstrative pronoun roots eba, eda, ewa, ya and yu or the adverb gira *how*.

ebawuya *one like that down there*

edawuya *one like that over there*

ewawuya *one like that up there*

yawuya *one like that (one) near you*

yuwuya *one like this (one) near me*

girawuya *which kind of one?*

These pronoun stems have the following distribution:

2.11.1 Actor and Subject tagmemes.

yuwuya kinmâ nitkiap (*One like this, standing, he gave us*) '*One like this one stood and gave it to us (du.).*'

2.11.2 Subject Axis-relator Phrase.

girawuya-ŋe kasai (*What kind of one-sub., they put it*) '*What kind of people put it.*'

2.11.3 Object tagmeme.

yuwuya mem tohorâ (*One like this, holding, you come*) '*When you bring one like this...*'

2.11.4 Benefactive/Causal Axis-relator Phrase.

girawuya-kât nagat (*What kind of thing-for, you thought*) '*About which kind of thing did you think?*'

2.11.5 Possessive Axis-relator Phrase.

girawuya-kât topŋe ki nagan (*What kind of thing-poss., its essence, not, I know*) '*Which kind of thing do I not know the meaning of?*'

2.12 ADJUNCT STEMS

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

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

2.12.1.1 Adjective roots.

kuriririŋ yap *to become reddened* from kuriŋ red

2.12.1.2 Adjunct roots. When an adjunct root is reduplicated the resultant form shows intensification.

dâŋdâŋâk ek *to stare intently* from dâŋâk ek *to stare*
 puriririk yap *it spins, rotates* from purik yap *it turns*
 gileŋ beleŋ yap *it flashes* from beleŋ yap *it reflects*

2.12.1.3 Adverb roots.

bâp bâp oap *it sticks* from bâp *tightly*

2.12.1.4 Noun roots.

tâp tâp oap *it is frothy* from tâp- *spittle*
 iwit iwit oap *it is bleached* from lwit *white hair*
 belâm belâm oap *it became whole again* from belâm- *place*
 kât kât yap *it is stiff* from kât *stone*

2.12.1.5 Intransitive verb roots including optional preposed clause level tagmemes.

yâhâ yâhâ ot *to be arrogant* from yâhâ *to ascend*
 hâk gehe ot *to be haggard* from hâkŋe giap *he is haggard* (lit. *his skin came down*)

2.12.1.6 Transitive verb stems including optional preposed clause level tagmemes.

bât kuhu ot *to marry* from bâtyetŋe kuawot *they shook hands* (lit. *hit their hands*)

gâre gure ot or hâre gâre ot *to twine around s.th.* from gâre *to sew it*
 meloŋ guloŋ ot *to wallow* from meloŋ *to stir it*

2.12.1.7 A number of reduplicative adjuncts involve the antonyms ba, ari *to go* and ga *to come* in compounds with either ku *hit it* or -wa(?)

baku gaku ot or ariku gaku ot *to sway back and forth*

bawa gawa tuhu *to slide s.th. back and forth*

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

2.12.2.1 Adjunct root and noun root.

aman nelâm i *to sleep deeply* from aman *sleep* and nelâm *mind*

2.12.2.2 Unclassified root and noun root.

olo gilâp tuhu *to weep bitterly* from *olo (?) and gilâp *tear*

oŋ giriŋ ot *to be joyous* from *oŋ (?) giriŋ *laughter*

2.13 TIME STEMS

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

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

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

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

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

2.13.5 edâŋân *beyond the day after tomorrow*. This is a phrasal compound derived from the Loc.P. manifesting the nominalized demonstrative edâŋe *that beyond* and the locative clitic -ân *at*.

2.13.6 omoŋânâk *morning*. This is a phrasal compound derived from a Loc.P. embedded in the axis of a Man.P.: omoŋ-ân-âk *night-at-only*.

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

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

2.13.9 A number of time stems are derived from noun roots by the suffixation of the time word derivative suffix -dâŋe *at, in*.¹⁶

hilâm dâŋe <i>in the daytime</i>	omoŋ dâŋe <i>at night</i>
ŋiŋ dâŋe <i>in the evening</i>	gelâk dâŋe <i>in the time of rain</i>
elem dâŋe <i>in cloudy weather</i>	

2.14 PARTICLE STEMS

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

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

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

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

3. WORDS

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

3.1 NOUNS

The noun class may be divided into two subclasses on the basis of the number of obligatory suffixal tagmemes.

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

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

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

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

Matrix 12: Nominal possession-marking suffixes

		Sg.	Du.	Pl.
		(\emptyset)	(t)	(n/ \emptyset)
1st per.	(n)	-n e \emptyset \emptyset	-n e t η e	-n e n η e
2nd per.	(g/y)	-g e \emptyset \emptyset	-y e t η e	-y e \emptyset η e
3rd per.	(\emptyset /y)	\emptyset - \emptyset η e	-y e t η e	-y e \emptyset η e

An analysis which is more apparent in diachronic studies is to regard the $-\eta$ e as a fossilized adjectivizer. In an early stage of development the proto-structure was a noun plus an adjective which was derived from a regular personal pronoun root as in *emet yet η e house their du.* Later on fusion occurred and the derived adjective became a nominal suffix.

The formative \emptyset indicating third person with the singular number is also found in the singular forms of the subclass II verbal object-marking affixes occurring with the verb *to bite*: *n-ihî me*, *g-ihî you* and \emptyset -*ihî him, her, it*.

3.1.1.3 The nucleus may be manifested by:

- (a) Subclass I noun roots (kin terms, titles, body parts).
 $\text{ata}-\emptyset\text{-ne}$ (*elder brother-sg.-my*) 'my elder brother'
 $\text{barat}-\emptyset\text{-ne}$ (*daughter-sg.-my*) 'my daughter'

barat-lip-ne (*daughter-pl.-my*) 'my daughters'
 soṅaṅ-lip-ne (*church elder-pl.-my*) 'my church elders'
 kiap-lip-nenṅe (*patrol officer-pl.-our*) 'our patrol officers'

Body parts rarely occur in the nucleus of subclass I nouns, and when they do so the reference is usually to a larger portion of the body which includes the named parts.

kâi-yâhât-ne (*leg-du.-my*) 'the lower part of my body'

Inanimate nouns are regarded as having body parts.
 esen-lip-yeṅe (*leaf-pl.-their*) 'their leaves'

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

bau-lip-ṅe (*pig-pl.-his*) 'his precious pigs'
 sogo-lip-ṅe (*animal-pl.-his*) 'his precious livestock'

(b) Compound noun stems.

lok-ibi-lip-ṅe (*man-woman-pl.-his*) 'his people'
 wârâ-tou-lip-ṅe (?-elder sister-pl.-his) 'his female siblings'

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

lok kutdâ-lip-nenṅe (H: *man*, Qual: *famous-pl.-our*) 'our prestigious men'
 lok pato-lip-nenṅe (H: *man*, Qual: *big-pl.-our*) 'our leaders'
 papato-lip-nenṅe (Qual: *very big-pl.-our*) 'our great ancestors'

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

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

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

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

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

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

sâtṅan meme-lip-ṅe (Loc: *at his teeth*, tP: *to hold²-pl.-his*) 'his henchmen'

Note that concord exists between the possession markers of the noun in the Location tagmeme and the possession markers modifying the noun nucleus.

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

hoŋ bawa-lip-ŋe (Com: *inform*, auxH: *to go*²-pl.-his) '*his servants*'

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

emet-ŋe *his house*

tebe-ŋe *his bow*

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

denenŋe (den-nenŋe *language-our*) '*our language*'

nenŋeren (nenŋe-den *our-language*) '*OUR language*'

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

In the following example nenŋe-ân occurs rather than nen-gât-ân (see 1.4.9.5).

yakenâmâ

bau hulin sesegât nenŋe-ân yuân biatmu

over there-however pig wild many our-at here they disappeared

'Over there, however, are many wild pigs. Here at our (place) they disappeared...'

In the following example yeŋe-gât occurs rather than yegât (see 1.4.9.4).

yeŋe-gat nam nem im âdeŋetâ

their-of milk eating sleeping they continued

'they slept on drinking their (mother's milk...'

3.2 VERBS

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

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

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

Table A: Non-immediate future verb

+ nucleus	± bene.	+ mode	+ tense	+ person-number		
tv.	-nihl 1s	-minl hab.		1s	2s	
ivr.	-gihi 2s					
ivs.	-bagi 3s	-∅ punct.	-w ~ -o rpt.		-n	
	-nitki 1d			-an		
	-yitki 2-3d	-m hab.				
	-ningi 1p	proh.	-a ~ -∅ ipt.		-t	-p 3s
	-yingi 2-3p	-∅ punct.				-it 1d
						-wot 2-3d
		-bâ cft.	----	-m		-in 1p
						-l 2-3p
		-bisâ hbt.			-n	
		-wio rft.				

The chart above is intended to illustrate the co-occurrence restrictions amongst the suffixes. The allomorph -an 1s. occurs with past tenses; allomorph -m occurs elsewhere. The allomorph -t 2s. occurs with ipt. and cft. only; allomorph -n occurs elsewhere. Allomorphs -w ~ -o rpt. are phonologically conditioned: -w precedes vowels, -o precedes consonants.¹⁷ Allomorph -a ipt. occurs with all person-number

forms; -∅ occurs only with 1st person, dual and plural forms.¹⁸ The remaining person-number suffixes have no co-occurrence restrictions.

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

mukan ari-bâp

yesterday go-ctf.-3s.

'He should have gone yesterday.'

hâdâhân ari-bâ-p

tomorrow go-ctf.-3s.

'He might go tomorrow.'

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

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

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

Table B: Immediate Future Verb

+ nucleus	± bene.	+ number	+ tense/mode (ift.)	+ person-number		
As in Table A		-w sg.	-om	-∅ 1st person		
		-r du.	-ua	-t 2s		
		-n pl.		-p 3s		
					-oma	-wot 2-3d
						-i 2-3p

Co-occurrence restrictions are: -∅ 1st person occurs with -om; -t 2s. and -p 3s. occur with -ua; and -wot 2-3d. and -i 2-3p. occur with -oma. Concord exists between the number indicated in the number slot and the number indicated in the person-number composites.

3.2.1.3 A comparison of *inch.* (§10) and *perm.* (§11) forms with those of the *ift.* (§5) verb reveals some similarities but also some striking dissimilarities. The 1st person *inch.* forms resemble the 1st person *ift.* forms inasmuch as only the tense-mode marker *-e* is different. A comparison of the formatives indicating 2nd and 3rd person in *inch.* with the formatives of the regular personal pronoun roots is interesting. The formatives of the regular personal pronoun roots are given in Matrix 14.

Matrix 14: Regular personal pronoun formatives

	Sg. Sg. (â)(k)	Non-Sg.Du. (e)(t)	Non-Sg.Pl. (e)(n)
1st per.	(n) n â k	n e t	n e n
2nd per.	(g/y) g â k	y e t	y e n
3rd per.	(y) y â k	(yâk)y e t	(yâk)y e n

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

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

Matrix 15: Inchoative future tense suffixes

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1st per.	we	re	ne
2nd per.	\emptyset	yet	net
3rd per.	âk	yet	net

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

3.2.1.4 The formatives of the permissive (§11) are not clearly discernible. Number is evident in the *l* of *-welo η* dual. Perhaps a zero may be posited for plural as in *-wi- \emptyset -o η* since zero may indicate plural in the person-number composites (see 3.2.1.5).

3.2.1.5 The person-number composites may be analyzed to indicate that the person-marking formative precedes the number-marking formative. This is immediately apparent in comparing -it ld. with -in lp. The t marks dual and the n marks plural. One may posit that \emptyset marks singular. The structure is + person + number and the formatives are given in Matrix 16.

Matrix 16: Person-number formatives of verbal subject suffixes

	Sg. (\emptyset)	Du. (t)	Pl. (n/ \emptyset)
1st per.	(an/i) -an- \emptyset	-i-t	-i-n
2nd per.	(t/wo/i)-t- \emptyset	-wo-t	-i- \emptyset
3rd per.	(p/wo/i)-p- \emptyset	-wo-t	-i- \emptyset

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

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

3.2.2.1 The structure of the dependent homopersonal (i.e., same subject as following verb) verb may be posited as follows: + nucleus \pm benefactive + identity + mode.²⁰ The fillers of the nucleus and benefactive tagmemes are the same as those of the independent verbs. The identity tagmeme is manifested by the morpheme -m homopersonal. The mode tagmeme is manifested by the morpheme {-â} -â \sim \emptyset punctiliar, in which -â occurs when the preceding -m follows consonants and - \emptyset occurs when it follows vowels, and by the morpheme -a *prolonged*. Examples are:

sâ-m kinsap *he stood and spoke*

sâ-ma kinsap *he stood and spoke for a prolonged time*

ek-mâ kinsap *he stood and watched it*

ek-ma kinsap *he stood and watched it for some time*

3.2.2.2 The structure of the dependent heteropersonal (i.e., different subject as following verb) verb may be posited as follows: + nucleus \pm benefactive + identity + number + person. The nucleus and benefactive tagmemes manifest the same fillers as those of the independent verbs. The remainder of the periphery consists of fused forms indicating identity, person and number. In paradigm §12, one may tentatively

isolate -mu heteropersonal as a second order suffix. This leaves the remaining forms indicating person-number. These are shown in Matrix 17.

Matrix 17: Heteropersonal subject-marking person-number composites

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1st per.	-ne	-t η e	-n η e
2nd per.	-râ	-tâ	- η etâ
3rd per.	- \emptyset	-tâ	- η etâ

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

Matrix 18: Rewritten heteropersonal person-number composites

		Sg. (\emptyset)	Du. (t)	Pl. (n/ η e)
1st per.	(ne/ η e)	- \emptyset -ne	-t- η e	-n- η e
2nd per.	(dâ)	- \emptyset -dâ	-t-dâ	- η et-dâ
3rd per.	(\emptyset /dâ)	- \emptyset - \emptyset	-t-dâ	- η et-dâ

Examples follow:

- ari-mu-t-dâ (go-hetero.-du.-2-3 per.) 'you/they (du.) went and...'
 ari-mu-t η e (go-hetero.-du.-1 per.) 'we (du.) went and...'
 ari-mu-n- η e (go-hetero.-pl.-1 per.) 'we (pl.) went and...'
 ari-mu- \emptyset - \emptyset (go-hetero.-sg.-3 per.) 'he went and...'

4. PHRASES

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

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

4.1 VERBAL PHRASES

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

4.1.1 Auxiliary Verb Phrase (AVP.). The AVP. has the structure + Complement + auxiliary Predicate. The Complement tagmeme (Com.) manifests adjuncts (1.4.2 and 2.12) and the auxiliary Predicate tagmeme manifests a limited number of intransitive or transitive verb roots/stems. The verbs most frequently occurring in the auxP. are *ot to become*, *do* and *sâ to say*. The AVP. occurs manifesting the intransitive Predicate tagmeme (iP.) of the Intransitive Clause (ICl.) and the transitive Predicate tagmeme (tP.) of the Transitive Clause (TCl.). There are no formal features which can be correlated with the occurrence of any particular manifestation of the AVP. within either the iP. or tP. Rather the basis for the distribution of particular AVP. manifestations within the iP. or tP. tagmemes appears to be whether the Com. and auxP. fillers yield AVP.'s with transitivity or intransitivity; e.g., *hâkân ot to dislike* manifests the tP. and occurs with an Object as in *lok ya hâkân oan* (O: *man, that*, Com: *dislike*, auxP: *I do*) '*I dislike that man*' but *gulip ot to disappear* manifests the iP.

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

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

(b) When the clause manifesting an AVP. in the predicate is transformed to a dependent clause the adjunct is repeated with the auxiliary verb in its dependent form. The occurrence of the Object or Manner tagmeme in the dependent transform, however, is optional.

(c) In the derivation of an adjective from an AVP. the adjunct occurs with the reduplicated root/stem of the auxiliary verb. The noun as Object or the adjective or adverb as Manner is separated from the verb in the predicate tagmeme and undergoes other derivational processes in the adjective derivation (cf. 2.3).

Some examples follow:

kin kin kân kân oap *it oozed* hatak oap *he detected sorcery*
 ɲâtâk oap *he hiccupped* gulip oap *he disappeared*
 kitik patak yap *it crackled* saŋ yap *it dried up*
 kirik kârâk yap *it rattled* putuk yap *it collapsed*
 bik bik giap *it dripped* buk buk giap *it swelled up*
 kotok kunsap *he coughed* asioŋ kunsap *he sneezed*
 bululuŋ pilap *it exploded* kitiŋ kâtân tuhuap *he put it back together*
again

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

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

4.1.2 Close-knit verb phrases. There are three subtypes of close-knit verb phrases: the Desiderative Verb Phrase, the Immediate Intentive Verb Phrase and the Delayed Intentive Verb Phrase. Verb paradigms illustrating these three verb phrases are found in §8, §3 and §4 respectively in the Appendix. In all of the close-knit verb phrase subtypes the constituents are inseparable; i.e., no other tagmeme may intervene.

4.1.2.1 Desiderative Verb Phrase (DVP.). The DVP. has the structure: + inch. verb in first person + *sâm speaking* + *ot- to do*. Concord exists between the number indicated in the inch. verb and the number indicated in *ot- to do*. The inch. verb is an independent clause functioning as the object of the dependent verb *sâm saying*. The examples given below are written indicating grammatical structure rather than phonological unity as in paradigm §8.

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

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

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

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

When *ot-* occurs with *ipt.* suffixation the phrase has the phonological characteristics of a single word and *ot-* occurs in its contracted form *o-*.

In singular forms of paradigm §3 the *o-* is lost. In dual and plural forms the *o-* and the following tense marker *-a* contract to form *â*. Some speakers, particularly younger people, replace 2nd and 3rd person, dual and plural forms with the corresponding *ift.* (§5) forms. The *ift.* verb functions as the object of *ot-* and concord exists between the number indicated in the *ift.* verb and the number indicated in *ot-*.

ari-wom o-a-an (*go-I will, do-ipt.-I*) 'I am about to go.'

ari-wom o-a-t (*go-I will, do-ipt.-you*) 'You are about to go.'

ari-rom o-a-it (*go-we(du.) will, do-ipt.-we(du.)*) 'We(du.) are about to go.'

ari-rom o-a-wot (*go-we(du.) will, do-ipt.-you/they(du.)*) 'You/they(du.) are about to go.'

ari-nom o-a-in (*go-we(pl.) will, do-ipt.-we(pl.)*) 'We(pl.) are about to go.'

ari-nom o-a-i (*go-we(pl.) will, do-ipt.-you/they(pl.)*) 'You/they(pl.) are about to go.'

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

ari-wom o-sa-an (*go-I will, do-ipt.-I*) 'I will soon go.'

ari-wom o-sa-t (*go-I will, do-ipt.-you*)

ari-rom o-sa-it (*go-we(du.) will, do-ipt.-we(du.)*) 'We(du.) will soon go.'

ari-nom o-s-in (*go-we(pl.) will, do-ipt.-we(pl.)*) 'We(pl.) will soon go.'

ari-nom o-sa-i (*go-we(pl.) will, do-ipt.-you/they(pl.)*) 'You/they(pl.) will soon go.'

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

4.2 NOMINAL PHRASES

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

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

The structure of the GNP. is $+(\pm \text{Poss.} \pm (\pm \text{Att.} + \text{H.}) \pm \text{Qual.}^2 \pm \text{Quant.} \pm \text{Ind.} \pm \text{Dem.})$. The GNP. consists of a Head tagmeme which typically manifests any of several nominal forms. The Head may be qualified in the following ways:

- (a) the Attributive tagmeme manifesting a GNP. (usually Att.-H. or H.-Qual.), homopersonal dependent clause, names, or adjectival forms.
- (b) the Possession tagmeme manifesting a Poss.P., regular or emphatic personal pronoun roots, or contrastive pronoun stems.
- (c) the Qualifier tagmeme manifesting an adjectival form or a limited GNP. (usually H.-Qual.).
- (d) the Quantifier tagmeme manifesting a numeral.
- (e) the Indefinite (Qualifier) tagmeme manifesting indefinite pronouns.
- (f) the Demonstrative tagmeme manifesting demonstrative pronouns, regular personal pronoun roots or contrastive pronoun stems.

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

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

4.2.1.1 Head tagmeme (H.). The Head tagmeme manifests a wide variety of nominal forms (see 1.4.6 and 2.1) as well as the interrogative demonstrative pronoun *wuân what*. The noun in the Head tagmeme may occur reduplicated with the meaning *each and every*. When it is reduplicated the noun is marked by the suffix *-ŋe* occurring optionally on the initial occurrence of the noun and obligatorily on the latter occurrence. Such

a construction expresses plural number. It has been observed in the following phrase and clause level tagmemes:

Location:

kapaiṅe kapaiṅe ari kinbi *'They went and stayed at each and every village.'*

Axis of Bene./Cau.P.:

sot topṅe topṅa-hât (*for every food*) sâwi (*they spoke*) *'They called for each and every kind of food.'*

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

Attributive tagmeme:

kapaiṅe kapaiṅe abolipṅe (*every village, owners*) *'the leaders of all the villages'*

Actor:

lok topṅe topṅe gam tatbi *'Every kind of man came and stayed (here).'*

Object:

denṅe denṅe nagap *'He knows every language.'*

Manner:

nâ hilâm hilâmṅe manmâ gaman (*I, every day, living, I always come*) *'I come (here) continually, every day.'*

4.2.1.2. Attributive tagmeme (Att.). The fillers of the Att. and H. tagmemes together bear a variety of semantic relationships.²¹ In most cases the filler of the Att. qualifies the filler of the H. but there are exceptions as noted below.

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

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

goka (Att. *sweet potato*) esen-ṅe (H: *leaf-its*) *'sweet potato leaf'*

hâpu (Att. *bamboo*) papa-ṅe (H: *splinter-its*) *'bamboo splinter'*

saru (Att. *sea*) sât-ṅe (H: *teeth-its*) *'seacoast'*

tebe lok (Att:(Att: *bow*, H: *man*)) hohet-yenṅe-ân (H: *midst-their-at*) *'among the policemen'*

lok kaok (Att:(H: man, Qual: white)) tânâm-nenŋe-ân (H: midst-our-at)
 'in the midst of us Europeans'
 opon kalibu (Att:(H: men's house, Quant: three)) oset-yeŋe-ân (H: midst-
 their-at) 'in the area between the three mens' houses.'

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

Proper name:

Pawi emet-ŋe (Att: Pawi, H: house-his) 'Pawi's house'

Adaria awâ-ŋe (Att: Adaria, H: father-his) 'Adaria's father'

Limited GNP.:

lok âlâ (Att:(H: man, Ind: a)) tebe-ŋe (H: bow-his) 'another man's bow'

lok yâhâp (Att:(H: man, Quant: two)) kut-yetŋe (H: name-their(du.))
 'the names of the two men'

kiap ya (Att:(H: patrol officer, Dem: that)) emet-ŋe (H: house-his)
 'the house of that patrol officer'

ya (Att:(Dem: that)) bon-ŋe (H: truth-its) 'the truth of that'

When nouns derived from clauses by reduplication of the verb occur in the Att. they qualify the filler of the H.

kalem meme (Att:(O: generosity, tP: hold²)) lok (H: man) 'a generous man'

ki orotŋe tuhu tuhu (Att:(Qual:(M: not, tP: do²-ajzer.), tP: do²)) lok (H: man) 'an ill-behavioured man'

kâwi piri piri (Att:(O: floor, tP: wash²)) somot (H: hair) 'floor brush'

umut ehek (Att:(O: picture, tP: see it²)) emet (H: house) 'theatre'

gelâk gaha (Att:(Act: rain, iP: come²)) sâp-ŋe (H: time-its) 'rainy season'

When an unpossessed noun with or without a Qual. tagmeme occurs in the Att. it qualifies the noun in the H.

hat lok (Att: forest, H: man) 'a hunter'

saru mesik (Att: sea, H: sickness) 'malaria'

pet kulem (Att: H: loincloth, Qual: marked) emet-ŋe (H: house-its)
 'gaol'

The Att. also qualifies the H. when it is manifested by a homo-personal dependent clause:

to pirim (Att:(O: *water*, tP: *washing it*)) kut-ŋe (H: *name-its*) '*baptismal name*'

loum (Att:(tP: *carrying it*)) kukumagan (H: *greeting*) '*greeting a person by wrapping one's arms around him*'

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

hâgi den (Att: *old*, H: *words*) '*very useless outdated speech*'

kopa den (Att: *handicapped*, H: *words*) '*very illogical speech*'

perâk den (Att: *deceitful*, H: *words*) '*very deceitful talk*'

kâwâkoda lok (Att: *promiscuous*, H: *man*) '*a very promiscuous man*'

kâniŋ den (Att: *false*, H: *words*) '*misrepresentations*'

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

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

lok kâi bât towat-ŋe (Att:(Att: *man*, H: *leg, hand*), H: *appearance-its*) '*a man's manners*'

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

bau (Att: *pig*) hape-ŋe (H: *tail-its*) '*a pig's tail*'

lok (H: *man*)bâle-ŋe (Qual: *bad-ajzer.*) '*a bad man*'

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

different relationship to lok than hapene has to bau; namely that of Qual. to H. rather than H. to Att.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

nâ-gât emet (*me-of, house*) '*my house*' nine emet '*my own house*'

Lumat-gât (Poss: *Lumat-of*) bau maren (H: *pig*, Qual: *tame*) '*Lumat's tame pig*'

seduk banearâ ye-gât (Poss: *spirits, them-of*) lâm-yene (H: *hole-their*)
'*the hole of the evil spirits*'

A relationship of inclusion is shown when the noun in the H. denotes location or a body part.

mâmâ-ŋe-gât (Poss: *mother-his-of*) got-ŋe-ân (H: *vicinity-her-at*) '*near his mother*'

kât kârîken topŋan nak pato âlâ talop (indp.cl: *stone, cave, at-its-base, tree, big, a, it stayed*) ya-kât (Poss: *that-of*) hikîŋ-ŋe-ân (H: *dry area-its-at*) '*at the dry sheltered spot of that big tree which stands at the base of the cave*'

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

be-gât (Poss: *taro-about*) bem denŋe (H: *story*) '*the story about taro*'

lok-gât (Poss: *man-for*) den (H: *message*) '*a message for men (to come)*'

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

Puleŋ-gât (Poss: *Puleŋ-for*) mâmâ-ŋe (H: *mother-its*) '*the female ancestress from the Puleng valley*'

Niu Gini-gât (Poss: *New Guinea-for*) kapam (H: *stick*) '*fighting which originates in New Guinea*' (i.e., *New Guines style fighting*)

Hae Oroŋ-gât (Poss: *Hae Oroŋ ceremony-for*) pat-ŋe (H: *promises-its*) '*the promises which originate with the Hae Oroŋ ceremony*'

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

(a) roots:

kopa *lame, handicapped* golâ *living*

kâsî *childless* maren *tame*

(b) stems derived by reduplication:

esen esen *soft* aman aman *squint-eyed*

gare gare *oily*

(c) stems derived by -*ne*:

âlip-ne good bâle-ne bad

(d) stems derived by -*dâ*:

kut-dâ famous koda-dâ adulterous

(e) phrasal compounds derived from Acc.P.:

toŋe orop juicy gutŋe orop knotty

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

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

Table C provides a tabulation of the frequency of occurrence for differing GNP. constructions. The particular combinations of Head plus other tagmeme(s) are given in the left hand column. The next three columns list the frequency of occurrence for the particular construction per 1,000 words of text as the text has been divided into the three categories: Descriptive narrative (*des.*), Mythology (*myth.*) and Conversation (*conv.*). The right hand column gives the overall percentage of

occurrence for the construction within the total number of GNP. constructions. Entry number (9) 'repeated phrases' indicates that rather than using two adjectives qualifying a single noun, the speaker has chosen to repeat the Head, each time with a different adjective: e.g., *lok kaok (man, white), lok bâleŋe ya (man, bad, that) 'the white man, that bad man'*.

Table C: GNP. Occurrences

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

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

nane ya (H: my son, Dem: that) sihan âlipŋe (Qual: youthful, Qual: good) ya (Dem: that) 'that son of mine, that one in the prime of youth'
orotmeme ya (H: custom, Dem: that) bâleŋe dodâ ya (Qual: bad, very, Dem: that) 'that custom, that very bad (one)'
hoŋ bawa ya (H: servant, Dem: that) kaok ya (Qual: white, Dem: that) 'that servant, the European (one)'

Occasionally H.-Qual. collocations are repeated with the same filler in the H.

lok kutdâ (H: *man*, Qual: *famous*) lok yahat yahatŋe yu (H: *man*, Qual: *important*, Dem: *this*) '*this important and famous man*'

Frequently the Qual. is repeated with the second filler expressing a meaning related to the first.

lok wawi (H: *man*, Qual: *greedy*) tepŋe umatŋe ya (Qual: *heavy stomach (selfish)*, Dem: *that*) '*that inhospitable greedy man*'

waga pato (H: *canoe*, Qual: *big*) tipŋe bia (Qual: *little not*) '*a big canoe, not a little (one)*'

In paragraph structure, apparently a H.-Qual. collocation is used initially and thereafter the Qual.-Dem. collocation is used; that is, the H. is deleted.²² This occurs very frequently when the noun in the H. is animate or human.

ibi yâhâp (H: *women*, Quant: *two*) Wiliki-hebâ takaowot (Loc: *Wiliki-from*, iP: *they came*) '*Two women came from Wiliki village.*'

Wiliki-hebâ taka taka-ŋe (Qual:(Loc: *Wiliki-from*, iP: *came*²-ajzer.)) ya (Dem: *those*) '*those who came from Wiliki village*'

kadi taka taka-ŋe (M: *temporarily*, iP: (Qual: *come*²-ajzer.)) ya (Dem: *those*) '*those who came only (to stay) temporarily*'

When an adjective stem which is a phrasal compound of an Acc.P. (cf. 2.3.4.10) occurs in the Qual. tagmeme, concord exists between the number expressed by the noun in the qualified H. tagmeme and the number expressed by the possession-marking suffixes on the noun in the axis of the Acc.P. from which the adjective stem was derived. In the following examples the morphemes in concord are shown underlined.

naom-yâhât-ne obe-yetŋe bia
child-du.-my necks-their(du.) without
'my two irresponsible children'

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

The occurrence of this concord is probably related to the fact that there exists a transform relationship between the GNP. and the so-called predicateless clause. Note that a GNP. may be transformed into a predicateless clause by permuting the order of the tagmemes.²³

lok sobo ya (H: *man*, Qual: *old*, Dem: *that*) '*that old man*'

lok ya sobo (H: *man*, Dem: *that*, Qual: *old*) '*That man is old.*'

Similarly:

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

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

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

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

buku-lip-ṅe hâme-yene mumuṅe sesegât
friend-pl.-his noses-their(pl.) dead many
 'his many unsociable friends'

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.1.7 Demonstrative (qualifier) Tagmeme (Dem.). This tagmeme typically manifests the demonstrative pronoun (1.4.4, 2.11) and infrequently manifests the regular personal pronoun roots (1.4.9) or contrastive pronoun stems (2.6).

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

nen kalibu (GNP.core: *we*, Quant: *three*) '*we three*'

nen helen̄ yu (GNP.core: *we*, Qual: *black*, Dem: *these*) '*we black people here*'

wuân gogoŋe (GNP.core: *what*, Qual: *bent*) '*which bent thing*'

emelâk kara tuhuakminiwi (GNP.core: *indp.cl.: long ago they used to do sorcery to one another*) *konok ya* (Quant: *one*, Dem: *that*) *bâleyingiminiop* (tP: *it used to harm them*) '*Long ago, that one practice of performing sorcery upon each other used to be harmful to them.*'

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

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

Munen̄ Yigua yet-kât (Poss: *Munen̄ Yigua them(du.)-for*) *lain pato* (H: *lineage*, Qual: *big*) '*Munen̄ and Yigua's large lineage*'

Ise Kâte Hulinân Waporâ ya ye-gât (Poss: *Ise, Kâte, Hulinân, Waporâ their-for*) *opon* (H: *men's house*) '*the men's houses of Ise, Kâte, Hulinân and Waporâ*'

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

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

4.2.2.1 Time Expressions.

emelâk (*before*) *gâtŋe* *one from out of the past, an aged person*

kâdikum (*at first*) *gâtŋe* *the one who started it*

4.2.2.2 Locative Expressions. The locative expressions include place names, regular personal pronoun roots and Loc.P.

(a) Place names:

koba (Komba) gâtŋe *a person from the Komba tribe*

Gilaŋ (village name) gâtŋe *a person from Gilaŋ*

(b) Regular personal pronoun roots:

yâk (*them*) gâtŋe *one from among them*

nen (*us*) gâtŋe *one from among us*

(c) Locative Axis-relator Phrase:

kalam-ân (Loc: *garden-in*) gâtŋe *'garden produce'*

nep hâgiŋe-ân (Loc: *garden, old-in*) gâtŋe *'something (to plant) from the old garden'*

Gâtok-gât tep-ŋe-ân (Loc: *Gâtok-of, stomach-his-at*) gâtŋe *'a descendant of Gâtok'*

mâni yu-pa (Loc: *money, this-out of*) gâtŋe *'some (more) of this money'*

4.2.2.3 Repetition of the tagmemes. The oH. tagmeme is repeated when the filler of the repeated oH. tagmeme is more general than that of the first oH.

nep-âbâ (Loc: *garden-out of*) ya-pâ (Loc: *that-out of*) gâtŋe *'something from that (place), from that garden'*

patro post Wasu (Loc: *Wasu patrol post*) ya-pâ (Loc: *that-out of*) gâtŋe *'the patrol officer from there, from Wasu'*

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

4.2.2.4 Qualification of the ONP. The ONP. is qualified only by the Ind. and Dem. tagmemes. Adjectival and numeral qualification is shown by the phrase occurring in collocation with a GNP.

koba gâtŋe (Loc: *Komba tribe; one for*) lok sobo ya (H: *man*, Qual: *old*, Dem: *that*) *'that old man from Komba'*

kâdikum gâtŋe (T: *starting out; one for*) ataŋe (*his elder brother*) *'his first-born brother'*

hohetŋe-ân gâtŋe (Loc: *its midst-at; one for*) gasumŋe yu (H: *his side*, Dem: *this*) *'the rib from his side here'*

4.2.3 Co-ordinate Noun Phrases. The GNP. may be conjoined to form two types of Co-ordinate Noun Phrases, the Closed Co-ordinate Noun Phrase (C-CoNP.) and the Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrase (O-CoNP.). These two phrases differ in the following ways:

(a) The C-CoNP. has no more than two Head tagmemes; the O-CoNP. is open ended and theoretically has an unlimited number.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(a) Actor of ICl:

Idum yet Hulinân (Act: *Idum and Hulinân*) *gaowot* (P: *they came*) '*The inhabitants of the Idum and Hulinân men's houses came.*'

(b) Subject of TCl:

Yawo yet Yemet yâk-ŋe (S:(GNP.core: *Yawo and Yemet*, Dem: *they*)-sub.) *kuowot* (tP: *they killed it*) '*Yawo and Yemet killed it.*'

(c) Object of TC1:

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

(d) Attributive of GNP:

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

(e) Possession of GNP:

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

(f) Locative Axis-relator Phrase:

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

(g) Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase:

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

(h) Benefactive Causal Axis-relator Phrase:

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

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

No statement can be made regarding the regularity with which the
connectors occur. Differing speakers insert or omit them at random.
Kaok, Amerika otmu Austrelia otmu Japan yen
White (people) Americans and Australians and Japanese you
Amerika Austrelia German otmu England otmu kaok topŋe topŋe
*Americans, Australians, Germans and British and every nationality of
Europeans*

The two subtypes, AddO-CoNP. and AltO-CoNP., differ in that in the additive subtype the connector *otmu* and is completely optional and so may not occur at all as in:

Pebuŋ Peraru Kalasa Luam (*village names*) yaŋe (*they*) gam (*came and...*)
'*The people of Pebuŋ, Peraru, Kalasa and Luam came and...*'

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

lohobilipŋe me papatolipŋe awâŋ mâmâŋe (*his people, or, leaders, parents*) ya yegât (*those, theirs*) '(that) which belongs to his people or leaders or parents...'

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

baratyetŋe konok (GNP:(H: *their-daughter*, Quant: *one*)) otmu (*and*) lohobi sobo yâhâp (GNP:(H: *people*, Qual: *old*, Quant: *two*)) ya (Dem: *those*)
'*that one daughter (of theirs) and those two old people*'

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

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

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

sogo, hanangen tâkpaŋan dehom bahan dia mâne (*kinds of animals*)
'*tâkpaŋan, dehom, bahan, dia, etc.*'

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

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

asawok gogone eda (*kind of tree, crooked, that*) otmu yâhâ (*and, going up*) Hemŋak (*place name*) otmu yâhâ (*and, going up*) Wainep Bâlân (*Wainep, Bâlân places*) '*that crooked asawok tree over there are going on up, Hemŋak, and going on further, Wainep and Bâlân...*'

4.2.4 Co-ordination and Deletion. When noun phrases are joined in co-ordinate constructions the Possession, Attributive and Demonstrative tagmemes may be deleted if they manifest the same fillers and qualify differing fillers of the Head tagmemes.

In a series of Possession tagmemes all but the first are deleted: nâ-gât awâŋne (Poss: *me-of*, H: *my father*) nâ-gât yâwutne (Poss: *me-of*, H: *my uncle*) nâ-gât seselipne (Poss: *me-of*, H: *my grandfathers*) becomes nâ-gât awoŋne yâwutne seselipne (Poss: *me-of*, H: *my father*, H: *my uncle*, H: *my grandfathers*) '*my father, uncle and grandfathers*'

In a series of Attributive tagmemes all but the first are deleted: naom yioŋe-gât (Bene:(Att: *child*, H: *his-uncle*)-for) naom awâŋe-gât (Bene:(Att: *child*, H: *his-father*)-for) naom mâmâŋe-gât (Bene:(Att: *child*, H: *his-mother*)-for) becomes naom yioŋe-gât (Bene:(Att: *child*, H: *his uncle*)-for) awâŋe-gât (Bene: *his father-for*) mâmâŋe-gât (Bene: *his mother-for*) '*for the child's uncle, father and mother*'

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

The Head tagmemes may be deleted when they manifest the same fillers, but the fillers of qualifying tagmemes are different.

egatyene-ân-gât tihitŋe (Poss:(Loc: *their necks-on*)-for, H: *health*) buwuripyene-gât tihitŋe (Poss: *their napes-for*, H: *health*) becomes egatyene-ân-gât (Poss:(Loc: *their necks-on*)-for) buwuripyene-gât tihitŋe (Poss: *their necks-for*, H: *health*) '*healing for the front of their necks and the napes of their necks*'

lok papato (H: *man*, Qual: *very big*) otmu (Conn: *and*) lok sihan (H: *man*, Qual: *youthful*) becomes lok papato (H: *man*, Qual: *very big*) otmu (Conn: *and*) sihan (Qual: *youthful*) '*big and young men*'

4.3 THE ADJECTIVAL PHRASE

The Adjectival phrase is single-centered and consists of an adjective-Head tagmeme (ajH.) followed by an Intensifier tagmeme (Intens.). The function of the phrase is to show intensification of adjectival forms. The ajH. tagmeme manifests various adjective roots (1.4.1) and adjective stems derived by the adjectivizer -ŋe (2.3.1) or -dâ (2.3.5).

The Intens. tagmeme manifests four adjectival forms: âlipņe *good*, bâleņe *bad*, pato *big* and dodâ *much, many*. If the adjective to be intensified represents a generally desirable quality it occurs with âlipņe *good* as intensifier.

hikinņe âlipņe *very dry (of firewood)*

maren âlipņe *very tame*

salek âlipņe *very clean*

sihan âlipņe *very young, youthful*

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

kopa bâleņe *very handicapped*

seduk bâleņe *very crazy*

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

kârikņe bâleņe *very strong (of wild animals)*

kârikņe âlipņe *very strong (of strength as a virtue)*

hewewej bâleņe *very light (of Japanese war currency)*

hewewej âlipņe *very light (of a burden)*

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

kâlâp dodâ *very hot* umatņe dodâ *very heavy*

When the adjectives âlipņe *good* and bâleņe *bad* occur in ajH. tagmeme, they are intensified by dodâ *much, many*.

âlipņe dodâ *very good* and bâleņe dodâ *very bad*

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

nimnaom âlipņeâk kerek *completely good children*

4.4 AXIS-RELATOR PHRASES

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

correlate with the distribution of the phrases in clause level tagmemes. The following axis-relator phrases occur.

4.4.1 Subject Axis-relator Phrase. Sub.P. = Axis plus Relator: -ŋe. The Sub.P. occurs optionally in the Subject tagmeme of the Transitive clause.

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

4.4.3 Possessive Axis-relator Phrase. Poss.P. = Axis plus Relator: {-gât}. This enclitic is the same as that of the Bene./Cau.P. The Poss.P. differs from the Bene./Cau.P. in that it is relevant to a lower level of the grammatical hierarchy; the Bene./Cau.P. occurs in the Benefaction or Cause allotagmas at the clause level but the Poss.P. occurs in the Possession tagmeme of the GNP. This relevancy is evidenced by the dependence of the Poss.P. upon a following element of the GNP. of which it is a part. The Poss.P. always immediately precedes another element of the GNP. and if the clause level tagmeme manifesting the GNP. is permuted to another position in the clause the position of the Poss.P. within the GNP. is not affected. The Bene./Cau.P. however, is subject to clause level tagmeme permutations and may precede any of the fillers of other clause level tagmemes.

Some general features relating to the occurrence of expansions within the Axis of the Poss.P. may be noted. When the GNP. occurs in the Axis of a Poss.P. the GNP. normally does not manifest more than three tagmemes. The most commonly manifested tagmemes are Head, Qual. and Dem.

(a) Head and Ind.

mesik (H: *sickness*) âlâ (Ind: *another*) -gât (*for*) soki soki (H: *insects*)
'germs which cause another illness'

(b) Head, Qual. and Dem.

lok (H: *man*) kutdâ (Qual: *famous*) ya (Dem: *that*) -kât (*for*) emet (H:
house) 'the house of that famous man'

When a GNP. consisting of the Att. and H. tagmemes occurs in the Axis of the Poss.P. it usually occurs substituted for the GNP. core and qualified by Dem.

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

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

lok kâbukne hawat kâmelop ya-kât delem âlâ hârewi
man forbidden magic he planted it that-for shell another they cut it

This construction may be interpreted as two clauses: '*The practitioner planted the blessing. Therefore (yakât) they prepared the payment.*' Or it may be interpreted as a clause plus the demonstrative (ya) manifesting the axis of a Poss.P. marked by the clitic -kât of: '*They prepared the pay of the practitioner who planted a blessing.*' Phonological and grammatical features resolve the ambiguity. In order for the former interpretation to be correct, a potential pause point occurs following kâmelop and yakât is commutable with yanak *therefore*.

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

Niu Gini-gâ (Axis: *New Guinea* -Rel: *for*) kapam-gâ (Axis: *stick* -Rel: *for*) top-ŋe (H: *essence-its*) '*the essence of the New Guinean's method of fighting*'

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

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

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

These enclitics may be divided into two groups: the first group contains only {-ân} and occurs with any verb manifesting the Predicate

tagmeme and the second group contains the remaining enclitics and generally occurs with verbs indicating motion. In addition to the verbs of motion given in 2.2.3 some other verbs which include the idea of motion are *dâi to pull*, *hidâ to pull out*, *hangu to bury, descend*, *kion to fall over*, *wat to chase* and *yerâ to shoot*. The enclitics have the following allomorphs.

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

These clitics rarely occur following place names or regular pronouns.

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

4.4.4.3 {-ângen}: -ângen follows adjectival forms ending in e, unpossessed nouns and Poss.P. as in *kaliwângen into the distance*, *howângen on the ripening rack*, *yegâlângen to their place*; -engen follows *âlâ another* as in *âlâengen to another place*; -gen follows nouns marked for possession, adjectival forms ending in e and names as in *emetŋehen in his house*, *bâlêŋehen at the bad (place)*, *Bemtapgen at Bemtap*; -ken follows demonstrative pronoun roots *eba, eda, ewa, ya, yu, yi* and *wosa*.

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

4.4.5 Manner Axis-relator Phrase. Man.P. = Axis plus Relator: {-âk}. There are three allomorphs of {-âk}: -âk occurs following vowels i, e, o and u; -ok occurs following *ya that*; and -ek occurs following vowels a and â. The adverb stems of 2.5.3 may be regarded as simple Man.P.'s.

4.4.6 Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase. Acc.P. = Axis plus Relator: -ŋâit *with*, orop *with*, bia *without*, or -dâ *with*. The suffix -dâ has morphophonemic variants. The relator bia follows all nominals; -ŋâit follows only animate nouns not marked by possessive suffixes; -dâ follows any noun not marked by possessive suffixes; and orop follows nouns which are marked by possessive suffixes. When -dâ occurs the phrase is usually embedded in the axis of the Man.P. as in itâ-dâek takap *he came with a string bag* (i.e., *in the manner of carrying a string bag*).

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

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

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

embedded clauses and of the verbal forms occurring in the Predicate tagmeme of the clause manifesting these embedded clauses. Whereas Healey and Franklin treated these clausal relations as conjoining at levels above that of clause, the present writer treats them as embedding at the phrase level.

Table D: Clause manifestations in axis-relator phrases

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

Indp.Cl. (tense/mode)	a Time -ân	b loc. -ân	c sub. -ŋe	d acc. orop	e inst. kâdâk	f man. -âk	g bene./ cau. -gât	h poss. -gât
1. ipt.	x	x	x	*	x	x	x	**
2. rpt.	x	x	x	*	x	x	x	**
3. rpt./ipt. hab.	use dpcl.	x	x	*	x	x	x	**
4. proh.	---	---	---	---	ya-ŋe that- with	x	x	---
5. ctf.	sâp-ân time-at	ya-ân that-at	x	*	---	x	x	**
6. inch.	---	---	---	---	---	x	x	---
7. ift.	x	x	x	*	ya-ŋe that- with	x	x	**
8. rft.	x	x	x	*	ya-ŋe that- with	x	x	**
9. hbt.	---	---	x	*	ya-ŋe that- with	x	x	**
10. Dp.Cl.homo. punct.	ya-ân that-at	---	---	---	---	x	---	---
11. homo. prolonged	ya-ân that-at	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
12. hetero.	ya-ân that-at	ya-ân that-at	---	x	ya-ŋe that- with	x	x	---
Verb Phrases								
13. intent.	x	---	x	x	---	x	x	**
14. desid.	x	---	x	x	---	---	x	**
15. Predicate- less Clause	---	x	x	ya/yâk that/ him	ya-ŋe that- with	---	x	**

* The clause occurs followed by either *ya/yâk that/him* or the nominalizer *-ŋe*.

** The clause occurs followed by *ya* which yields *yakât of that*.

Loc.P.

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

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

(a) Time

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

(b) Location

- 1b. utun siap-ân ariwe (smoke, it burns-at, I must go) 'I must go to the smoke.'
- 2b. utun siop-ân ariwom (smoke, it burnt-at, I will go) 'I will go to the place where there was smoke.'
kadikum talon-âbâ tohowi (at first, you stayed-through, they came) 'They came through the place where you first stayed (when you came to live among us).'
- 3b. sâp ârâdâñâk utun semap-ân ariwe (time, always, smoke, it always burns-at, I must go) 'I must go to the place where there is always smoke.'
- 3b. lok sobo âlânge lok nereke neyekmap-âbâ yet
man old an-sub. men all he devours them-in spite of you(du.)
teteawot
you were born
'You(du.) were born in spite of that old man eating up all the men.
mesik takamap-ângen arimu benge mesik pato otmain
sickness it comes-to it goes then sickness big we do
'Whenever it goes to a place where sickness comes we are very sick.'
- 5b. ples balusi tuhubâi ya-ân ariwom (place, aeroplane, they should have built it, that-at, I will go) 'I will go to the place where they should have built the airstrip.'
- 7b. soron unomai-ân ariwom (old garden, they will burn it-at, I will go) 'I will go to the old gardens which they will burn.'
- 8b. hoban kaknan sitesan tuhuwioi-ân manbom (holiday, on top of it, European centre, they will build it-at, I will live) 'I will live at the European centre which they will build after Christmas.'
- 12b. kâlâp huhumu ya-ân ariwom (firewood, he smashed it, that-at, I will go) 'I will go to where he is chopping firewood.'
- 15b. balusi ya bâleñe-ân ariwom (aeroplane, that, bad-on, I will go) 'I will go on the aeroplane which is bad' (i.e., old and perhaps unreliable).

(c) Sub.P.

- 1c. yiwereñe takap-ñe arap (just now, he came-sub., he went) 'The man who just came went away.'

- 2c. *mukan takaop-ŋe yuwu yap (yesterday, he came-sub., like this, he said) 'The man who came yesterday said this.'*
- 3c. *lok ya sâp ârâdâŋâk kuk otmap-ŋe girawu tuhuap (man, that, time, always, anger, he always does-sub., like how, he did) 'How did that man who is angry all the time behave?'*
- 5c. *lok ya Lae aribâp-ŋe yiwerene tetem takap (man, that, Lae township, he should have gone-sub., just now, appearing, he came) 'That man who should have gone to Lae has just now arrived.'*
- 7c. *Lae ariwuap-ŋe taka den sâm eknohom arap (Lae township, he will go-sub., come, words, speaking, telling me, he went) 'The man who will go to Lae came, talked to me and went away.'*
- 8c. *gâmâlâk âlâengen ariwiop-ŋe taka den sâm eknohomu bia sâmune kuk otmâ arap (later, at another (time), he will go-sub., come, words, speaking, he told me, no, I said, anger, doing, he went) 'The man who will go at a later time came and talked to me; I said no and he was angry as he went away.'*
- 9c. *bukune yuân ibisâp-ŋe sâm ki eknohoap (my friend, here, he will always sleep-sub.; speaking, not, he told me) 'My friend who will always sleep here did not tell me.'*
- 13c. *ariwomap-ŋe tap (he will go-sub., he is here) 'The one who will go is here.'*
- 14c. *ariwe sâm oap-ŋe tap (I will go, saying, he did-sub., he is here) 'The one who wants to go is here.'*
- 15c. *ya tep korokŋe-ŋe yongominiop (that, dung, its odour-sub., it used to hit them) 'That (which was the) odour of excrement used to kill them.'*

(d) Acc.P.

Note that when a clause occurs in the Axis of an Acc.P. it is always followed by a demonstrative or regular personal pronoun root or it occurs with the nominalizer *-ŋe*. The nominalizer *-ŋe*, when it occurs with clauses with the final verbal form in rpt. or ipt., is also acceptable to Selepet informants. Preference is shown, however, for the demonstrative *ya that* or the personal pronoun root *yâk he, she* following the clause. Note in examples 7d and 8d that the tenses of the verb in the embedded clause and the verb of the independent clause are the same.

- 1d. sot niap-*ne* orop arirom (*food, he ate-nomzer., with, we(du.) will go*) '*I will go with the one who ate the food.*'
- 2d. makan den kuop-*ne* orop arirom (*yesterday, words, he hit-nomzer., with, we(du.) will go*) '*I will go with the one who disobeyed the order yesterday.*'
- 3d. den bâlene sâmap ya orop arirom (*words, bad, he always says, that, with, we(du.) will go*) '*I will go with that one who always speaks vulgarisms.*'
- 5d. Pawi*ne* makan kasa*ne* kubâp yâk orop arirom (*Pawi, yesterday, his enemy, he should have killed him, him, with, we(du.) will go*) '*I will go with Pawi who should have killed his enemy yesterday.*'
- 7d. ariwuap ya orop arirom (*he will go, that, with, we(du.) will go*) '*I will go with the one who is going.*'
- 8d. âlâenâmâ ariwiop ya orop arirom (*at another (time)-however, he will go, that, with, we(du.) will go*) '*Some other time (in the distant future) I will go with the one who is going.*'
- 9d. yuân ibisâp ya orop arirom (*here, he will always sleep, that, with, we(du.) will go*) '*I will go with that one who always sleeps here.*'
- 12d. arimu yâk orop arinom (*he goes, him, with, we will go*) '*We(du.) will go with the one who is going.*'
- 13d. ariwomap ya orop arirom (*he intends to go, that, with, we(du.) will go*) '*I will go with the one who is about ready to go.*'
- 14d. ariwe sâm oap ya orop arirom (*I will go, saying, he does, that, with, we(du.) will go*) '*I will go with the one who wants to go.*'
- 15d. lok ya itâsukum*ne* orop (*man, that, wealthy*) ya orop arirom (*that, with, we(du.) will go*) '*I will go with the man who is wealthy.*'

(e) Inst.P.

Note that two relators are used: the relator root *kâdâk* as in examples 1-3e and the relator enclitic *-ne* which occurs suffixed to *ya* that as in examples 7-9e, 12e and 15e. The forms *kâdâk* and *ya*ne** are not fully commutable since the informants rejected *kâdâk* in examples 4e and 13e, but not in examples 7e or 15e. Nor was *ya*ne** rejected in examples 1-2e. The tense of the verb in the clause embedded in the Axis of the Inst.P. must not be future to that indicated by the verb in the independent clause.

- 1e. tebe yuân tap ya-ŋe yerâwom (*bow, here, it is, that-with, I will shoot it*) '*I will shoot it with that bow there.*'
- 2e. unam talop kâdâk kârâwan (*axe, it was here, with, I cut it*) '*I cut it with the axe which was here.*'
- 3e. tatmap kâdâk kârâwan (*it is always here, with, I cut it*) '*I cut it with the one which remains here.*'
- 4e. unam ya kârâhekmap ya-ŋe kâlâp huhuwom (*axe, that, it must not cut you, that-with, firewood, I will break it*) '*(Careful) the axe with which I will chop firewood must not cut you.*'
- 12e. hama yuân takamu ya-ŋe kubom (*hammer, here, it comes, that-with, I will hit it*) '*I will hit it with that hammer which will come (i.e., be brought) here.*'
- 15e. hama ya kanŋe kuriŋ ya-ŋe kubom (*hammer, that, handle, red, that-with, I will hit it*) '*I will hit it with the hammer with the red handle.*'

(f) Man.P.

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

- 1f. Puketang niap-âk nagan (*Puketang, she ate it-man., I thought*) '*I was certain that Puketang ate it.*'
- 2f. Lae ariop-âk nagan (*Lae township, he went-man., I thought*) '*I was certain that he went to Lae.*'
- 3f. kiap ya takamap-âk nagan (*patrol officer, that, he always comes-man., I thought*) '*I thought that the patrol officer regularly comes here.*'
- 4f. gohomap-âk nagan (*it must not hit you-man., I think*) '*I am concerned lest you fall down; I was concerned lest he kill you.*'
- mesik otmâ muman-âk nagan (*sickness, doing, I must not die-man., I think*) '*I am concerned that I might become sick and die.*'
- 5f. mebâi-âk nagan (*they should have held it-man., I think*) '*I think that they should have got it.*'

- 6f. When the first person *inch.* occurs in the embedded clause, provided the number shown in the *inch. verb* of the embedded clause and the verb of the independent clause are in concord, the result is either desire or else concern which is the result of intense desire.

nebeâk nagan (I must eat it-man., I think) 'I very much want to eat it; I worry about not being able to eat it.'

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

When the person and number of the embedded *inch. verb* are different from the person and number of the independent verb the effect is that the subject of the independent verb wants the subject of the embedded *inch. verb* to perform the action denoted by the *inch. verb*.

ariñet-âk nagan (you must go-man., I think) 'I want you to go away.'

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

- 7f. *ariwuap-âk nagan (he will go-man., I think) 'I am certain that he will go.'*
- 8f. *hobañ kakñan kârikñe ariwiop-âk nagan (holiday, on top of it, strong, he will go-man., I think) 'I am certain that after Christmas he will go and never return.'*
- 9f. *yuân ibisân-âk nagan (here, you will always sleep-man., I think) 'I think that you will always sleep here.'*
- 10f. *to kârikñe nem-âk tap (water, strong, drinking-man., he is here) 'He is only (here) drinking alcoholic beverages.'*
- 12f. This construction is regularly used to show that one action in the past preceded another action.
- ki takamune-âk muop (not, I come-man., he died) 'He died before I had come; when I had not yet come, he died.'*
- Note that this construction is used for past time and is equivalent to the use of *irak not yet* which only occurs with the future tense verbs as in *irak ariwom I have not yet gone*.
- 14f. *ariwe sâm oap-âk nagan (I must go, saying, he does-man., I think) 'I think that he wants to go.'*
- 15f. *lok ya orotmemeñe âlipñe dodâ-ek nagan (man, that, his manners, good, very-man., I think) 'I think that the manners of that man are very good.'*

(g) Bene./Cau.P.

When 1-3g, 7-9g or 12-15g occur, the phrase expresses cause; when 4g occurs it expresses negative purpose *lest*; when 5g occurs it expresses condition; and when 6g occurs it expresses either purpose or cause.

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

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

5g. When a verb with the ctf. mode occurs in the Bene./Cau.P. the verb in the final independent Predicate also occurs with ctf.

tatbâm-gât ahobâin (*I should have been here-because, we should have fought*) *'If I had been here we would have fought.'*

6g. yeŋe bonŋanâk nâhâlân wahap bâleâk-gât otbi
you truly to me thing let it turn out badly-for you did
'Truly you did it in order that things would turn out badly for me.'

kiap yiken takam ehâk-gât goronhiap (*patrol officer, here, coming, let him see it-because, it worries me*) *'I am worried because the patrol officer plans to come here and see it.'*

(h) Poss.P.

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

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

lok muop ya-kât sum-ân (*man, he died, that-of, grave-at*) *'At the grave of that man who died...'*

Table E: Embedding of axis-relator phrases

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

	Loc.	Sub.	Acc.	Man.	B/C.	Poss.
Loc.P.		1	---	2	3	3
Sub.P.	---		5	6	---	---
Acc.P.	7	8		9	---	---
Man.P.	---	10	6		6	6
Bene./Cau.P.	---	11	---	12		13
Poss.P.	14	11	---	---	---	

- (1) emelâk yuân nengât-ân-ŋe yawu sâminiwi (*long ago, here, our (place)-at-sub., like that, they used to say*) 'Long ago those from here used to speak like that.'
- (2) emesenŋe-gen-âk ekmâ tatminiop (*moon-towards-man., looking at it, he used to be here*) 'He used to sit here with his eyes fixed upon the moon.'
- (3) emet lohotŋe-ân-gât sâm (*place, weak-at-about, speaking*) 'Speaking about the at-the-weak place (time) - i.e., the rainy season.'
- (4) egatyŋe-ân-gât tihitŋe (*their necks-at-of, health*) 'the sake (well-being) of their necks'
- (5) lok pato mukan takaop-ŋe orop arirom (*man, big, yesterday, he came-sub., with, we(du.) will go*) 'I will go with the important man who came yesterday.'
- (6) When -âk precedes orop or -gât or follows -ŋe, it has been regarded as the unrestricted suffix meaning *only*. Whether or not this distinction between the two posited homophonous forms of -âk is fictitious is not clear at this stage of analysis.
- (7) bukŋe orop-ân ariap (*his friend, with-at, he went*) 'He went to (the place where he had been) with his friend.'
- (8) bukŋe orop-ŋe takap (*his friend, with-sub., he came*) 'The one who has his friend (staying) with him came.'
- (9) korokŋe orop-âk giowân ariŋetâ (*its stench, with-man., on the road, they went*) 'As they travelled there was always a stench about them.'

- (10) yawu-âk-ŋe biwi katmu (*like that-man.-sub., insides, he put*)
'The one who (acted) in a manner like that made a decision.'
 (Note: alternatively, the -ŋe may be regarded as a nominalizer).
- (11) See Origin Noun Phrase (4.2.2).
- (12) sum-gât-âk kara tuhuyekminiwi (*grave-for-man., sorcery, they used to perform upon them*) *'They used to perform sorcery upon them in a deadly manner (i.e., for the purpose of (putting them in) the grave).'*
- (13) yawu-gât-gât topŋe (*like that-for-of, its reason*) *'The reason for (their behaviour) with respect to (events which happened) like that.'*
- (14) Indum nen-gât-ân (*Indum village, we-of-at*) *'at our (village of) Indum'.*

N O T E S

1. The idea of a hierarchy of criteria is taken from Newman (1967) and Van Wyk (1967).

2. This portion of the process of classification contrasts with the approaches 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 above which would simply list all the forms and posit classes on the basis of the extent of their distribution.

3. It is probable that the root wârâ is a noun root. One would expect that as the corpus of data is expanded such unclassified roots as this would be classified.

4. In narrative structure, however, the noun is frequently omitted from the GNP. when there is no confusion over the item under discussion. This omission frequently leaves âlâ as the only remaining item.

bukuŋa-ŋe âlâ tetmu

his friend-sub. another he excreted

'and his friend excreted another (stool)'

hân âlâ-gât mene sâm, âlâ-gât âlâ-gât mene sâm
ground another-for wanting to hold another-for another-for wanting to hold

'wanting to take over another country, wanting to take over another and another...'

5. To obtain the correct phonological realizations of the morphemes in the matrices and the morphemes marked by hyphens in the examples morphophonemic rules must be applied (see McElhanon 1970a:25-6). In the matrices the forms enclosed in parentheses are optional.

6. In early treatments of the noun morphologies of other languages of the Huon Peninsula Stock, Pilhofer (1926-27, 1927-28, 1933) and Wacke (1930-31) used the case system approach. Pilhofer (1926-27, 1933), in describing Kâte noun morphology, listed ten cases: *indiff.* (the ergative, i.e., intransitive actor and transitive object), *nominativ agentis* (transitive subject), *destinativ* (benefaction/cause, possession), *adlativ* (location), *delativ* (direction from, origin), *adversiv* (direction towards), *deversiv* (direction away from), *komitativ* (association), *karitiv* (lack of possession) and *Instrumentalis* (instrument). Because these case markers are regarded as phrase level enclitics rather than word level affixes, the present writer has not applied the case system approach. The enclitics occur as relators in axis-relator phrases in which the axis may be manifested by a variety of constructions from various levels of the grammatical hierarchy.

7. The formative indicating plural number has two alloformatives in this matrix: *n* as in *ne-n-ŋe* and *ø* as in *ye-ø-ŋe*. For *ø* indicating plural number in the verbal subject-marking suffixes see 3.2.1.5.

8. There are three subclasses of Selepet nouns: those which occur with obligatory possession-marking suffixes, those which occur with optional possession-marking suffixes, and those which do not occur with possession-marking suffixes. All subclasses of nouns may occur qualified by the Poss.P. so that possession may be shown only by the phrases or the nominal suffixes or redundantly by both.

9. The *n* in *yen* assimilates to the point of articulation of the *g* in *-gât* for and then reduces before the prenasalization of the *g* yielding *yegât* rather than *yengât*.

10. The one exception is that the regular personal pronouns do occur in the Loc.P. when it occurs in the Head of the Origin Noun Phrase: *nâ-en gâtŋe* (*me-at, one from*) 'a member of my family'.

11. The forms *ki agi agi* not *exchanging* and *ki aho aho* not *fighting* do not occur; rather the nouns *wawl greed* and *sâduk peace* occur.

12. Compounds may be one or more phonological words. No systematic relationship between grammar and phonology has been observed at this level and so no further statement can be made at this stage of analysis.

13. An alternate solution would be to posit a discontinuous morpheme $\emptyset \dots n$.
14. An historical explanation of the similarity between the benefactive markers and the subclass II object markers as well as the development of the disparate forms *waŋ*, *wagi* and *ihi* for 3s is expected after diachronic studies are completed. The forms *wagi* and *ihi* may follow regular sound shifts. Note that the verb root *to beg* has two forms *ulit-* and *welet-*. The vowels *u* and *i*, moreover, often fluctuate. Thus as *u* is a correspondence of *we* so also *i* may be posited as a correspondence of *wa*. The form *waŋ* then may reflect a simple loss of the class marker *gi*.
15. It is apparent that the verb roots are related to the reflexive/reciprocal marker *-aho* and may be derived from that form. Whether one should regard the forms *aho-* and *ahon-* as allomorphs of \emptyset and *-n* respectively or whether one should posit special derived verbal forms may become evident after diachronic studies are completed.
16. The suffix *-dâŋe* may be the *ajzer*. *-dâ* (2.3.5) plus the suffix *-ŋe* (*nomzer*--2.1.1, or *inst*--4.4.7).
17. The allomorphs indicating *rpt.*, when given in a matrix (Matrix 13) indicating their co-occurrence with person-number formatives, reveal a clearly discernible L pattern opening to the lower left.

Matrix 13: Person-number composites
and allomorphs of *rpt.*

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1st per.	w-an	w-it	w-in
2nd per.	o-n	o-wot	w-i
3rd per.	o-p	o-wot	w-i

This raises the interesting question posited by Pike and Erickson (1964:212) "that emic matrices may prove to be subject to historical reconstruction and to occur in diachronic oscillation from approximations of simple toward ideal matrix, and from ideal toward simple matrix structures". As more data from languages related to Selepet become available, historical reconstructions of the phonological development of matrix patterns may indeed be possible.

18. This morpheme has an alternate form *-sa* following consonant-final fillers of the nucleus.

19. The designation 'inchoative future' is preferred over the designation 'imperative' because the idea of time is foremost. The English translation, however, is best represented by the English imperative. An alternative analysis would be to posit that the composite forms *yet* and *net* indicate 'dual' and 'plural' respectively (see 3.2.2.2 for *net* 'plural' in the heteropersonal person-number composites). To do so would necessitate a zero allomorph indicating 'inchoative future' with the dual and plural forms. Both analyses are very tentative in view of the apparent complexities involved. Because the structure of the inchoative future verb is similar in most of the languages of the Finisterre-Huon Phylum (see McElhanon, forthcoming) one may expect that diachronic study would clarify the apparent complexities.

20. The terms 'heteropersonal' and 'homopersonal' are adopted from P. Healey, 1965:7.

21. These present comments represent a preliminary attempt to formulate collocational rules.

22. This observation must be regarded as tentative inasmuch as paragraph structure has not been investigated in detail.

23. The construction which is referred to here as a 'predicateless clause' is usually assigned some label such as 'an Equational Clause' or 'Stative Clause'. However, in Selepet it appears that such constructions may be formed by tagmeme permutation or deletion.

APPENDIX: VERB PARADIGMS

The forms given in paradigms §3, §4 and §8 are analyzed in Section 4, Phrases.

§1 remote past tense (rpt.) *I went a long time ago* etc.

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1st per.	ari-wan	ari-wit	ari-win
2nd per.	ari-on	ari-owot	ari-wi
3rd per.	ari-op	ari-owot	ari-wi

The rpt. is made habituitive by the occurrence of -mini preceding the above suffixes: ari-mini-wan *I used to go* etc.

§2 immediate past tense (ipt.) *I recently went* etc.

1st per.	ari-an	ari-ait -it	ari-ain -in
2nd per.	ari-at	ari-awot	ari-ai
3rd per.	ari-ap	ari-awot	ari-ai

The ipt. is made habituitive or prohibitive by the occurrence of -m preceding the above suffixes: ari-m-ap *He always goes* or *He should not go*.

§3 inceptive future tense (icft.) *I am about to go* etc. These forms are analyzed as constituting an Intentive Verb Phrase (4.1.2.2)

1st per.	ari-woman	ari-româit	ari-nomâin
2nd per.	ari-womat	ari-româiwot -romawot	ari-nomâi -nomai
3rd per.	ari-womap	ari-româiwot -romawot	ari-nomâi -nomai

§4 delayed future tense (dft.) *I will soon go* etc. These forms are also analyzed as constituting an Intentive Verb Phrase (4.1.2.3)

1st per.	ari-womosan	ari-romosait -romosit	ari-nomosain -nomosin
2nd per.	ari-womosat	ari-romosawot	ari-nomosai
3rd per.	ari-womosap	ari-romosawot	ari-nomosai

§5 immediate future tense (ift.) *I will go, you will go, you must go* etc.

1st per.	ari-wom	ari-rom	ari-nom
2nd per.	ari-wuat	ari-romawot	ari-nomai
3rd per.	ari-wuap	ari-romawot	ari-nomai

§6 remote future tense (rft.) *I will go in the distant future* etc.

1st per.	ari-wiom	ari-wioit -wieit	ari-wioin -wiein
2nd per.	ari-wion	ari-wiowot	ari-wioi -wiei
3rd per.	ari-wiop	ari-wiowot	ari-wioi -wiei

§7 future tense, habituitive (hbt.) *I will always go* etc.

1st per.	ari-bisâm	ari-bisâit	ari-bisâin
2nd per.	ari-bisân	ari-bisâwot	ari-bisâi
3rd per.	ari-bisâp	ari-bisâwot	ari-bisâi

§8 desiderative (desid.) *I want to go* etc. These forms are analyzed as constituting a Desiderative Verb Phrase (4.1.2.1)

1st per.	ari-wesâman	ari-resâmait	ari-nesâmain
2nd per.	ari-wesâmat	ari-resâmawot	ari-nesâmai
3rd per.	ari-wesâmap	ari-resâmawot	ari-nesâmai

In addition to the above forms the desiderative may evidence labialisation after the m: [áʔibèsomʷan] etc.

§9 contrary-to-fact (ctf.) *I should have gone* or *I might go* etc.

1st per.	ari-bâm	ari-bâit	ari-bâin
2nd per.	ari-bât	ari-bâwot	ari-bâi
3rd per.	ari-bâp	ari-bâwot	ari-bâi

§10 inchoative future (inch.) *I must go! You go! Let him go!* etc.

1st per.	ari-we	ari-re	ari-ne
2nd per.	ari-∅	ari-yet	ari-ŋet
3rd per.	ari-âk -ek	ari-yet	ari-ŋet

Allomorph -ek follows vowels a and â and allomorph -âk follows vowels i, e, o, u and consonants.

§11 permissive (perm.) *You may go* etc.

2nd per.	ari-wot	ari-weloŋ	ari-wioŋ
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§12 dependent heteropersonal (hetero.) *I went and... (someone else)...* etc.

1st per.	ari-mune	ari-mutŋe	ari-munge
2nd per.	ari-râ	ari-mutâ	ari-ŋetâ
3rd per.	ari-mu	ari-mutâ	ari-ŋetâ

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