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NEMBI PROCEDURAL AND NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

by

Ruth A. Tipton



Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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The Secretary
PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
Department of Linguistics
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PREFACE

This volume is based largely on my M.A. thesis (Tipton 1979) and deals with the way paragraphs, sentences, and clauses are brought together in Nembi discourse to form a coherent unit. Insights into discourse structure and discourse analysis gained from Joseph Grimes, Robert E. Longacre, and Michael A.K. Halliday are applied in the study of Nembi narrative and procedural texts. The volume is based on the analysis of fourteen texts: four procedural and ten narrative. Six of the narratives are ancestral legends, and four are based on recent events. The analysis has led to several conclusions about discourse in the Nembi language.

Narrative discourse is organised into an introduction, a body, and a closure. The introduction, which consists of only one paragraph, establishes the setting, names the topic, and identifies the main participants. The body of the discourse is made up of one or more paragraphs that develop the topic. In the body there are two sequences of action going on simultaneously, one giving primary information, and the other giving secondary or background information. The closure consists of one paragraph which brings the discourse to a proper conclusion.

Two phenomena that work together to give cohesion to Nembi discourse are linkage and chaining. Linkage is an anaphoric relationship in that it repeats information that was given previously in the text. Chaining is a type of cataphoric relationship in that it predicts whether the next clause will have the same or a different subject.

The four paragraph types are opening, closing, sequential, and consequential. Sequential paragraphs relate a series of events. A cause-effect relationship may be implied, but none is asserted. Consequential paragraphs assert a cause-effect relationship between the primary information and the secondary information.

The two basic sentence types are verbal and non-verbal. Sentences may be conjoined to other sentences.

Halliday's notion of systemic grammar is useful for explaining the Nemb1 clause system. A chart is developed illustrating the choices available to a speaker when he produces a clause. He must choose to produce either an independent or dependent clause. If he chooses to produce a dependent clause, he must choose between adjunct and medial clauses. If he chooses a medial clause, he must then choose between chronological, durative, resultative, or purposive clauses.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Discourse is made up of paragraphs, sentences, and clauses, but these can be understood only when they are considered in terms of the parts they play within the larger units to which each belongs. Discourse is not formed by randomly joining sentences. Rather, there are grammatical and semantic restrictions which bring them together to form coherent units. Without discourse perspective, language analysis fails to account for many of the relationships between sentences and for the restrictions which discourse places upon its constituents. Discourse analysis seeks to explain how sentences are brought together to form logical wholes. The purpose of this book is to discuss how paragraphs, sentences, and clauses are brought together in Nembi discourse.¹

The Language

The Nembi people live in the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea in the Nembi Valley and on the Nembi Plateau. Classification of the languages of the area was first made in detail by S.A. Wurm (1961, 1964a, 1965). Nembi belongs to the East New Guinea Highlands Stock, West Central Family, Mendi-Pole sub-family. Wurm identified five languages in the sub-family: Mendi, Sau, Augu, Kewapi, and Pole.² Karl Franklin (1968) identified Wurm's Pole as the South dialect of Kewa, and

¹Data was collected by the author during fieldwork between 1970 and 1979 under the auspices of Christian Union Mission.

²Augu was later identified as a dialect of the Waola language (Rule 1965) and has also been called Angal Heneng West (B. Grimes 1974). It is spoken near the Nipa patrol post in the northern part of the Nembi Valley from the Wagi Valley west to the western half of the Lai Valley. Sau is spoken around Samberigi. Mendi is spoken in Mendi town and to the north and westward. All of these are located in the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. It is worth noting that Wurm (1960) and Wurm and Laycock (1961) have suggested that all the languages in the Mendi-Pole sub-family may be one language.

he divided Wurm's Kewapi into the East and West dialects of Kewa. Franklin also identified a link language between Mendi and West Kewa which he called Magi. It is Franklin's Magi which I call Nembí, but it seems to extend over a much larger area than Franklin first indicated. The language has also been called Angal Heneng South (B. Grimes 1974). This comes from *angal enen* and means literally '*true talk*'. I have called the language Nembí because it is the name of the valley and plateau where the people live, and because it is the name which the government has given to the census divisions. There are an estimated 12,000 speakers of the language. More recent estimates place the figure at 22,000.

In spite of the early work done by A. Capell (1948) and Wurm (1961), there has been very little linguistic material published for most of the languages of the West Central Family. However, numerous unpublished linguistic materials have been prepared by missionaries for most of the languages, including Nembí. The one exception is Kewa for which Karl and/or Joice Franklin working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics of Papua New Guinea have published numerous articles.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A reasonable place to begin a discussion of discourse is with a definition of it. However, it is impossible to formulate a definition of discourse and discourse analysis without a knowledge of what the experts in the field of discourse are saying about it.

In this section I discuss the approach which five different linguists have taken to discourse analysis. The first is Zellig Harris, who was the first linguist to develop a method for discourse analysis. He set up equivalence classes and discovered patterned combinations of these classes in the text. The second is Robert Longacre. He uses tagmemics to develop his theory of discourse. The third is Joseph Grimes. He has much to say about the semantic and linear relationships in discourse and the way they work together to make the discourse a coherent whole. The fourth is Michael A.K. Halliday. He views language as serving certain social functions which are reflected and expressed in the grammatical structure. He also develops a theory of systemic grammar, which is based on the choices that a speaker has available to him in producing a complex grammatical unit. The fifth is Teun A. van Dijk. His work typifies that which European linguists have been doing on text grammars.

After I discuss the approaches taken by these five linguists, I indicate my own understanding of discourse and discourse analysis and enumerate the ways the work of Grimes, Longacre, and Halliday have influenced my work on Nembí discourse structure.

Zellig Harris

Zellig Harris was one of the first linguists to develop a method for discourse analysis. According to Harris, language occurs in connected discourse rather than in stray words or sentences. Thus, one can learn about grammatical relationships by studying the sentences of a particular connected discourse. Discourse analysis yields considerable information about the structure of the text and about the role that each element plays in such a structure. He further defines discourse analysis (1952a:6-7) as:

a method of seeking in any connected discrete linear material, whether language or language like, which contains more than one elementary sentence, some global structure characterising the whole discourse (the linear material) or large sections of it.

The method that he uses to investigate discourse is to set up equivalence classes and to discover patterned combinations of these classes in the text. An equivalence class is established when two elements occur in identical or equivalent environments. That is, if two elements within the discourse occur in identical environments, they constitute an equivalence class. In turn, any elements which occur with any of the members of an established equivalence class constitute yet another equivalence class. For example, if a text contains the sentences, '*John saw the dog*', '*Mary saw the dog*', '*Mary heard the cat*', and '*John ate the banana*', '*Mary*' and '*John*' constitute an equivalence class because they occur in identical environments. '*Saw the dog*', '*heard the cat*', and '*ate the banana*' form a second equivalence class because they occur in equivalent environments, '*Mary*' and '*John*'.

Additional considerations which may also be accepted as ground for establishing an equivalence class include the grammatical relationship of elements, an asserted equivalence, and semantic assumptions (Harris 1963:8-10).

Entire texts may be analysed by establishing equivalence classes. However, linguistic transformations must be applied so that sentences can be normalised and made parallel in form. For example, by applying transformations, '*the ball hit the window and bounced off*' may be normalised to '*the ball hit the window*', and '*the ball bounced off the window*', pointing out '*hit the window*' and '*bounced off the window*' is an equivalence class not easily seen unless the transformational process is applied. The complexity of many sentences makes it difficult to analyse discourse into equivalence classes unless the text has been normalised by transformations. That is, if possible, sentences which contain the same words must be normalised so that they have the same structure. Although Harris considered transformations to be necessary

for discourse analysis, the method of discourse analysis was independent of them. It is worth noting that his notion of normalising sentences foreshadowed and was directly related to his pioneer work in the development of the theory of transformational grammar (Harris 1957).

Harris's work dealt with analytical procedures. It led to a matrix of equivalent structures in a text and demonstrated morphological recurrences within the text. Although it failed to deal with grammatical and semantic restrictions which bring sentences together as a coherent unit, it did introduce the concept of discourse analysis. A number of linguists have adopted Harris's term 'discourse analysis', re-defining it and using it in a much broader sense than he did. Also, Harris's idea that there is a "global structure characterising the whole of discourse" (Harris 1952a:6) became an important element in the European theory of text grammar (Van Dijk 1972).

Robert E. Longacre

Another linguist who has contributed extensively to discourse analysis is Robert E. Longacre. He uses tagmemics to develop his theory of discourse structure, first formalised in his work on Philippine languages (Longacre 1968). In the grammatical hierarchy, extending from the level of morpheme, with no internal grammatical constructions, to the level of discourse, which has maximal grammatical construction, Longacre describes the intermediate levels between morpheme and discourse as stem, word, phrase, clause, sentence, and paragraph. He points out that work on the lower levels of the hierarchy is lacking in perspective until the higher levels, especially paragraphs and discourse, have been analysed. Without discourse perspective, one cannot tell when to use various options. For example, it may be impossible to determine under which circumstances optional time and location phrases are used until the discourse level has been analysed. Therefore, discourse analysis is a necessity rather than an option or a luxury (Longacre 1976b).

Longacre's (1968) identification of discourse genre, later modified by Keith Forster (1977)¹ is especially useful. The major discourse genre or types are narrative, procedural, expository, and behavioural.

¹When Keith Forster (1977) wrote about narrative discourse in a Cuna language dialect that is spoken along the border between Colombia and Panama, he modified Longacre's (1968) original classification of discourse genre. He replaced Longacre's hortatory discourse with behavioural discourse and made hortatory a sub-category of behavioural discourse. Forster's (1977) scheme says narrative and behavioural discourse are agent oriented, whereas procedural and expository discourse are not. Narrative and procedural discourse employ chronological linkage whereas behavioural and expository discourse employ logical linkage. Linkage is defined as grammatical or lexical phenomena which point back to old information and relate it to new. Longacre (1977) endorses these modifications to his earlier classification of discourse genre.

Regardless of the kind of discourse being produced, cohesion is necessary for it to be a discourse. Cohesion has to do with the means of introducing new information and keeping track of old information. Longacre (1968) defines two cohesive phenomena which are especially worth noting here. One is linkage, which occurs at the discourse and paragraph levels. Linkage is grammatical or lexical phenomena which point back to old information and relate it to new. At the discourse level, linkage occurs between paragraphs. Grammatical linkage between paragraphs involves a number of devices. One uses what is known as tail-head linkage, involving repeating all or part of the final sentence in one paragraph in the first sentence of the next paragraph. Another uses temporal sequence to relate one paragraph to the next. A third uses particles and conjunctions to make relationships explicit. A fourth uses what is known as head-head linkage. That is, part or all of the first sentence of one paragraph is repeated in the first sentence of the second paragraph. A fifth device similar to head-head linkage is to repeat the discourse topic at the beginning of each paragraph. Finally, paragraphs may be linked by beginning each one with a sentence that is parallel in construction to the first sentence of the previous paragraph. At the paragraph level, linkage occurs between sentences. Here linkage mechanisms are simpler and usually consist of repeating, paraphrasing, or referring in some manner at the onset of a succeeding sentence to all or part of the preceding one (Longacre 1968).

The second phenomenon which Longacre helps to define and clarify is chaining which, occurs 'at the clause level' in many New Guinea languages. One independent clause with a final verb occurs at the end of the sentence. Dependent clauses with medial verbs, which are frequently affixed to indicate whether the next clause will have the same or a different subject, are strung together in a series of clauses preceding and often dependent on the independent clause which has a final verb.¹ Longacre (1972) describes the phenomenon as a structure with an engine at the end and a bunch of cars hooked on preceding it. An example from the Nembu language may help to clarify what is meant by clause chaining. The following sentence has five clauses in it. Four of the clauses have medial verbs that are marked to indicate that the next clause will have the same subject, but they are not marked for person, number, or tense. The final clause is the last word in the sentence. Its only

¹The distinction between medial and final verbs has been widely discussed in literature about languages of Papua New Guinea. Pilhofer (1933) appears to have been the first to suggest the distinction. Capell (1969) identifies the medial-final verb distinction as one of three morphological features marking a group of 53 languages belonging to the East New Guinea Highlands (Micro) Phylum.

constituent is a verb fully marked for person, number, and tense. The medial verbs may have the same tense, person and number as the final verb.¹

Ya apa mend mu, taoll, epowar, ya apa onda no, pirisao.

Bird egg one get-same-subject, carry-purposive-same-subject, come-same-subject, bird egg that eat-same-subject, she-sat-singular-distant-past.

'Having taken the bird's egg² and coming carrying it, she sat eating that bird's egg.'

In many languages of Papua New Guinea chaining is a common occurrence which one must carefully consider in analysing sentences, paragraph and discourse levels of the grammatical hierarchy (Longacre 1972).

Thus, Longacre's (1968, 1972) emphasis has been on the hierarchical organisation of discourse. He has defined the various levels of discourse and has identified discourse and paragraph genre. He has been especially concerned with recognising relationships which occur between hierarchical levels and with demonstrating restrictions which the higher levels of discourse place on the lower ones.

Joseph E. Grimes

A third linguist who has contributed significantly to theories of discourse analysis is Joseph E. Grimes. He refers to discourse as being undefined. He characterises it only in terms of Kenneth Pike's notion of verbal behavioreme. He considers Pike's most fundamental contribution to discourse studies to be his insistence that chunks of human behaviour can be taken as culturally defined. These are recognisable to those who participate in them as having a definite beginning and end. Thus, a behavioreme is a segmentable chunk of behaviour which has a beginning, an ending, and an internal structure. This is Pike's starting point for the analysis of both verbal and non-verbal behaviour. Grimes recognises Pike's concept of behavioreme as a good starting point in discourse analysis and chooses not to give a more precise definition of discourse (J. Grimes 1975a:4-8).

¹The final verb suffixes are discussed and given in Appendix B.

²Language examples are followed by a literal word-for-word interlinear gloss; if more than one English word is required to translate a Nembu word, the English words are hyphenated. If an example has more than one sentence, these as well as the gloss and the translation are numbered. Insofar as possible, a single English sentence in the free translation corresponds to a single Nembu sentence. However, because of complexity of some Nembu sentences it is sometimes necessary, for the sake of clarity, to use more than one English sentence to translate a Nembu sentence.

Grimes (1975a) describes his theory of discourse structure as being related to theories of generative semantics. However, where useful insights into language have been developed from other points of view, he attempts to incorporate the insights into his theory of discourse. Thus, he recognises tagmemics as an extremely useful tool for gathering and processing language data, but considers it to offer an inadequate view of what language is like. He is less concerned about the hierarchical relationships of discourse and more concerned about semantic and linear relationships (J. Grimes 1975a:28-32).

Semantic relationships have to do with content organisation which is sometimes referred to as cognitive structure. Mechanisms for keeping track of temporal sequence, identifying participants, establishing setting, and giving background information usually involve the semantic organisation of the discourse.

Linear relationships have to do with the process of arranging elements of speech one after the other and is distinct from the process of deciding what to say and putting it into a hierarchy. Hierarchical relationships are concerned with how clauses can be built into sentences, sentences into paragraphs, and paragraphs into discourse, and with the grammatical restrictions higher levels of the hierarchy place on the lower levels. Linear relationships penetrate both the hierarchical and semantic organisation of discourse and are concerned with the cohesive and thematic phases of language. Thematic relationships have to do with the speaker's perspective or point of view. The speaker chooses to give prominence to some information making it of primary importance and bringing it to the foreground, while he makes other information of secondary importance and keeps it in the background. Grimes (1975a) refers to the process of thematisation as staging. Cohesion has to do with introducing new information and relating it to old. Cohesive relationships may be either anaphoric or cataphoric. Anaphoric relationships point back or refer to something that has already occurred in the text. Grimes identifies linkage between paragraphs and sentences as an anaphoric relationship. Cataphoric relationships point ahead and refer to something which will be identified and discussed at a later point in the text. Chaining in languages of Papua New Guinea is a type of cataphoric relationship in that it predicts what the next clause will contain. That is, it tells whether the next clause will have the same subject or a different one. These types of relationships work together to give cohesion to the discourse (J. Grimes 1975a).

Thus, while Longacre's emphasis has been on the hierarchical organisation of discourse, and on the relationships which occur between the

hierarchical levels, Grimes' emphasis has been on linear relationships which penetrate the semantic and hierarchical organisation of discourse.

Michael A.K. Halliday

A fourth linguist who has made significant contributions to discourse analysis is Michael A.K. Halliday (1967, 1968; Kress 1976). Halliday uses a sociolinguistic approach to language. Language is a social act and has developed in response to the demands made by society and as a reflection of these demands. Language serves certain functions in the society. These functions may be broadly classified into three very general types known as macro-functions. The first macro-function is ideational and involves transmitting information between members of the society. The second macro-function is inter-personal and embodies all the use of language to express social and personal relations. The third macro-function is textual and involves the organisation of discourse and cohesion, and it makes the difference between a message and a mere dictionary entry. The syntax or grammar of a language is its inter-functional hookup. It integrates the various functional components into a unified structural form, and embodies all the components at the same time. That is, no part of the grammar, such as the clause, can be segmented into little bits with each bit expressing a different function. Instead the clause (or any part of the grammar) as a whole expresses all the functions simultaneously. Grammatical structure is the means by which the various components of meaning, deriving from the inter-personal, ideational, and textual functions of language are integrated together (Kress 1976).

In Halliday's scheme for English, the clause is the domain for transitivity, mood, and theme which are three main areas of choice derived from the ideational, inter-personal, and textual functions of language. Transitivity is derived from the ideational component, and has to do with cognitive content and processes and the linguistic representation of extra-linguistic experience. Mood is derived from the inter-personal function and has to do with the speaker's option to inform, question, confirm, command or contradict. Theme is derived from the textual function and has to do with the cohesive structure of the language and the way the speaker relates old information to new.

The notion of choice is central to Halliday's systemic grammar. A system is a set of mutually exclusive features. When a speaker enters a system, he must choose one and only one of the features in that system. Each system may have some other feature as an entry condition for yet another system. One entry condition may entail several systems simultaneously, or a system may have multiple entry conditions one or all of which must be present.

Thus, in English the clause is the entry condition for the systems of transitivity, mood, and theme (Halliday 1967:38). Therefore, these three syntactic systems occur simultaneously. Within each of the three systems there is a different set of features or mutually exclusive choices which the speaker must make. However, the choices in the three systems interact and depend on each other in their impact on linguistic form.

Transitivity has to do with cognitive content and with the choices related to processes and participants. Halliday (1968:181) defines processes as either action or ascription. Action involves both physical and mental processes such as speaking, throwing, seeing, and washing. Ascription assigns attributes as in '*she looked happy*', '*it costs two dollars*', and '*he is old*'. He defines participants as any function that can combine with that of subject. The speaker chooses what roles such as actor or goal he will assign to participants. Halliday (1967) demonstrates the choices within the transitivity system available to a speaker of English.

Mood is a simultaneous system to transitivity. The speaker must choose to inform, request, demand, confirm, question, or contradict. That is, a speaker cannot choose to do all of these at the same time. Rather he must choose only one. However, at the same time the speaker chooses from the system of mood, he must also choose from the transitivity system.

The third simultaneous set of systems in the English clause is theme. Halliday (1967:199) refers to theme as the grammar of discourse. It has to do with the way the speaker related old information to new. Old information refers to that which has already been given or defined in the text. It is anaphorically recoverable. That is, it can be identified by looking back in the text at previously defined information. On the other hand, new information cannot be anaphorically recovered. It is given for the first time and cannot be recovered by looking back in the text. Intonation and stress patterns are of extreme importance in the systems of theme.

These three sets of systems in English operate simultaneously. Each has its own sets of choices available to a speaker when he produces a grammatical unit. Thus, the options available in the transitivity systems are distinct from those within the theme systems, but they interact, each affecting the other. This is made explicit in Halliday (1968).

Grimes' (1975a:272) thinking in regard to linear relationships in discourse has been greatly influenced by some of Halliday's writings. Although he changes Halliday's terminology, Grimes incorporates into his theories on staging and cohesion much of what Halliday (1967, 1968) says about transitivity and theme in English.

Terry Winograd¹ (1972) reviews and reiterates Halliday's theory of systemic grammar, and he clarifies the notations used for representing the network of a system.

In English there are three basic levels or ranks of units: the word, the group, and the clause. The word is the basic building block. The next unit above the word is the group, and it includes such units as noun group, verb group, adjective group, and preposition group. The highest rank is the clause. Rank shifting (embedding) occurs when a word group becomes part of another word group, or a clause becomes part of another clause or a word group. There is no need for a separate syntactic unit of sentence since a sentence is either a single clause or a series of conjoined clauses.

A set of mutually exclusive features is called a system. That is, in producing a grammatical unit, a speaker must select one of the features from a system. The feature he has selected may become an entry condition for yet another system. Thus, in English the clause is the entry condition for a system of major and secondary clauses. A major clause stands by itself as a complete unit. A secondary clause is one that shifts rank or embeds itself in another clause or a word group or is in some way dependent on another clause.

The major clause is the entry condition for a system with the features of declarative, imperative, and question. All major clauses (sentences) must be one of those three. Thus, when a speaker chooses a major clause, it becomes mandatory that he make another choice among declarative, imperative, and question. The question is the entry condition for another system whose features are 'yes-no' and 'wh' questions. Therefore, when the speaker opts to produce a question, he must choose one of the features belonging to the next system - either a 'yes-no' or 'wh' question. Notations for representing a network system are explained and illustrated in Winograd (1972).

¹Terry Winograd (1972) has worked on a research programme in artificial intelligence conducted at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In a project designed to show how language understanding can be simulated, Winograd developed a computer system for understanding English. The system contains a parser, a recognition grammar for English, programmes for semantic analysis and a general problem-solving system. The system which takes in typed English displays its responses on a screen. It enters into dialogue with a person, responding to English sentences with actions and replies and seeking clarification when it cannot understand something. The plan behind the system is broad enough to allow it to add new grammatical constructions to ones already understood, increase or change vocabulary, and amplify information. It gives a realistic simulation of linguistic behaviour (Winograd 1972).

It is worth noting that Grimes has applied Winograd's work on the computer model to the concept of field of reference in discourse. Field of reference involves our total mental world. It has to do with our imagination, dreams, motivations, inspirations, and perceptions. Most of Grimes' (1975a:302) comment on field of reference are directly related to Winograd's model.

Teun A. van Dijk

Fifth, European linguists working on text grammars have made significant contributions to discourse analysis. Teun A. van Dijk (1972) discusses the theoretical framework for text grammars. He argues that many relevant and systematic phenomena of language are properties of discourse and cannot be adequately described by sentence grammars. A text grammar is needed to account for the formal structure of texts. Text grammars adopt the approach of generative-transformational grammar, but they include text structure in the scope of the grammar.

Texts have both a surface and a deep structure. The surface structure of a text consists of an ordered sequence of sentences and their inter-relations and is distinct from the syntactic surface structure of individual sentences. Sentences in a text are strung together one after the other in a linear sequence. This is not done haphazardly, but in a way that gives coherence and continuity to the text. Sentences relate to each other, and these relationships manifest themselves in the surface or micro-structure of the text. Some of the inter-sentential relationships include relativisation, pro-nominalisation, co-ordination, focus, and tenses, modes and aspects of the verb. Although these relationships are exhibited in the textual surface structure, they are manifestations of underlying relations between semantic representations which operate in the textual deep structure (Van Dijk 1972, Petöfi and Rieser 1973).

Textual deep structure or macro-structure is the abstract underlying logical form of a text. Texts are produced and interpreted as one global coherent structure. Underlying semantic representations dominate and place constraints upon the entire text. These constraints operate in a global framework giving coherence and meaning to the entire structure. The coherent linear sequence of sentences and the relationship between them can only be accounted for in the textual deep structure.

A text grammar attempts to describe the macro-structure or underlying logical form of the text and relate it to the micro-structure or linear sequence of sentences in a text (Van Dijk 1972, Petöfi and Rieser 1973).

Although I have not incorporated the approach taken by text grammars into my work on Nembu discourse structure, even a brief survey of theories of discourse analysis is not complete without at least mentioning the work European linguists are doing in text grammar.

APPROACH OF THIS WORK

I have come to think of discourse as a segment of speech which has a beginning, some discourse genres, an end, and an internal structure. It is made up of paragraphs, sentences, clauses, phrases, words, and

morphemes. These cannot be strung together in a haphazard way, but rather obey grammatical and semantic restrictions that bring them together as coherent units.

Sentence grammars analyse the internal structure of sentences, identify types of sentences, and pinpoint relationships within the sentence, but they fail to deal with relationships between sentences and paragraphs. Discourse analysis goes a step further in that it attempts to account for semantic and syntactic relationships between sentences and paragraphs. It seeks to understand what gives coherency and continuity to discourse as a whole.

Longacre, Grimes, and Halliday have greatly influenced my work on Nembu discourse structure. Longacre was helpful for three things. First, his classification of discourse genre was useful in sorting out types of discourse. Second, his discussions on the phenomena of linkage (Longacre 1968) provided some valuable insights into textual coherence. Third, because Nembu is one of the Papua New Guinea clause chaining languages, Longacre's (1972) remarks on chaining were especially useful.

Many of the terms and underlying concepts that I use in explaining Nembu discourse structure belong to Grimes. His comments on semantic and linear relationships particularly influenced my thinking. My understanding of events, participants, background information, setting, collateral, staging, reference, cohesion, and prominence in discourse is mainly derived from Grimes' (1975a) discussion of discourse phenomena.

Finally, in explaining the Nembu clause system, I develop a clause system network based on Halliday's (1967, 1968; Kress 1976) systemic grammar as it was clarified and modified by Winograd (1972).

CHAPTER TWO

DISCOURSE

Speakers of Nembí are capable of producing any of the four kinds of discourse defined by Longacre (1968-1977 see bibliography). However, the scope of this volume is limited to Nembí procedural and narrative discourse. It is based on the analysis of fourteen texts. Four of these are procedural texts which tell how to do something, and ten are narrative texts which tell a story. Four of the narratives are quite short and are based on recent events which the narrator took part in or observed. Six are ancestral legends in which the narrator was neither participant nor observer. He serves only as a reporter. These are much longer and more complex than the other four narrative texts.

INTRODUCTION OF DISCOURSE

All procedural and narrative discourses begin with an introduction. In the introduction, temporal and spatial setting are established, and the topic and main participants are introduced.

TEMPORAL SETTING

Once a speaker has chosen to produce a procedural discourse, he must choose whether or not to establish a temporal setting. All the procedural texts analysed are told in customary tense, which expresses an action performed customarily without reference to time. However, within the text the sequence of events implies the passing of time. Therefore, in procedural discourse, the speaker does not establish a specific temporal setting, but he may choose to imply a general time or none at all. Three examples follow. The first is from a text about planting a garden. The time is loosely implied when the speaker says that there are no sweet potatoes.

¹Omapo. ²Olle ne aolla re e kaonga poallma.

¹Garden. ²Sweet-potatoes negative are consequent-marker garden new we-plant.

¹'I am talking about a garden.' ²'Since there are no sweet potatoes, we plant a new garden.'

In the second example, the text is about dressing up for a traditional dance. The time is implied when the speaker says that we get ready for a dance. He then makes the temporal setting more explicit by using the temporal noun 'Christmas'. It is a generic term referring to any Christmas rather than to a specific one.

Mel lu wamine korismelen ri esmba iri pima.

Dance hit prepare-for Christmas and head hair we-do.

'Preparing for a dance and at Christmas too, we dress our hair.'

The third example is from a text about how to build a house, and it makes no evident reference to time.

And tiriyanen ere es pundiyu kaembe lallma.

House first consequent-marker grass cut cane we-hit.

'As for a house, first we cut the grass and cut down the cane.'

If on the other hand, the speaker chooses to produce a narrative discourse, he must use one of the past tenses. If the action was completed not long before the telling, the speaker uses near past tense. If it took place a long time before the narration, he uses distant past tense.

In addition, in narrative discourse, a specific time must be either stated or implied. In the ancestral stories, the temporal setting is usually implied. The narrator often begins the legends by saying that he is going to tell them a story about their ancestors. In this way, he establishes the temporal setting by implication. He assumes the hearer knows that stories about their ancestors took place in the remote past.

Inji mend llowam piyung, paongaollpaepe.

Ancestral-story one to-say I-sit, you-hear.

'I am sitting to tell you an ancestral story, all of you listen.'

Inji is a particular kind of legend. There are also other types of legends. Occasionally a speaker will begin a story that took place in the remote past by saying,

Embes embes oro,
Before before superlative,
 'Long long ago,'

In this case the audience knows that it is going to hear a story from the distant past, but it does not know which type of legend will be forthcoming.

If the speaker is telling about an event which took place within his or his clan's memory, he establishes temporal setting by using a time word, by referring to a well-known event, or by telling what the approximate size or age of a clansman was when the story took place. In the recent past he usually uses an explicit time word such as yesterday or morning. One speaker began his story about a lost key by saying,

Ambulla Emb anda pomau.
Yesterday name-of-village house we-went,
 'Yesterday we went to Embi village.'

Temporal setting in both distant and recent past may also be established by referring to a well-known event which he assumes the hearer knows about. In the following example the event had taken place only a day or two before the telling, and the entire clan had been involved in it. Therefore, by referring to the event, the temporal setting was established explicitly.

Angal ngo re Eyo Kurup aelem nopo ngo Emb anda epaimi.
Story this consequent-marker Name-of-clan-from-Lake-Kutubu
Lake-Kutubu men down-there this Name-of-village house
they-came.

'As for this story, the men from Lake Kutubu came down there to the village of Embi.'

Time words for the distant past cover a very broad spectrum of time. To make temporal setting in the distant past more specific, a speaker must refer to a well-known event or mention the approximate age of a clansman. In the example, the time word 'before' is made explicit by identifying the age of the speaker's father at the time the events occurred.

Embes na aorao ael weni romb...

Before my father man in-process when...

'Before when my father was a young man...'

For most of the narratives told in distant past tense, establishing when the action took place in relation to the time of the narration is adequate. However, if the time of day or season when the events in the story began is especially significant to the rest of the story, the speaker must further define the temporal setting so that the audience knows what time of day or during which season the sequence of events began. The example uses distant past tense. The speaker begins by saying that he is telling an ancestral story. At the end of the introduction he indicates that the sequence of events began at night.

¹Inji mend llowam piyu. ²Ael epe oro mend a isao.

³Or epe oro. ⁴Ael epe oro a isao nda nipuna timba upellisao.

¹*Ancestral-story one to-say I-sit.* ²*Man good superlative one stand was.* ³*Very good superlative.* ⁴*Man good superlative stand was in-reference he night he-slept.*

¹*'I am sitting to tell you an ancestral story.'*

²*'There was a very good man.'* ³*'He was very good.'*

⁴*'That man who was very good slept at night.'*

SPATIAL SETTING

Spatial setting as well as temporal setting is established in the introduction of the discourse. If the speaker has chosen to produce a procedural discourse, the spatial setting is not stated explicitly, although one is implied. For example, that the preparation of a new garden must take place at the garden site is so obvious to both speaker and hearer that it is not stated.

In contrast, the location in narrative texts is usually defined very explicitly. In narratives about recent events the name of the village where the action took place is actually given.

Ambulla Emb anda pomau.

Yesterday Name-of-village house we-went.

'Yesterday we went to Embi village.'

In the one exception the speaker was talking about an important feast that had taken place the previous day, and the hearer was well aware of the specific location. In this instance although the temporal setting is established in the introduction, all reference to spatial setting is omitted.

Tunitimba ambulla rup an to puwara mel lu.

Morning yesterday manner stone arrange do traditional-dance hit.

'Yesterday morning we arranged the stones and danced.'

In the ancestral stories, the narrator usually identifies the location by comparing it to a place that is well-known to both speaker and hearer.

Tenael onge lap mend Tikip anda nonpil puru aispi.

Woman-man old two other Name-of-village house just-like sat they-two-stood.

'An old man and woman lived at a village just like Tikip.'

The one legend that does not establish spatial setting in this way emphasises the temporal setting and leaves the spatial setting undefined.

ESTABLISHING THE TOPIC

If the speaker has chosen to produce a procedural discourse, he usually introduces the topic in the initial sentence of the text. A consequent or co-ordinate marker conjoins the first part of the sentence which names the topic to the second part of the sentence which gives the first event in the sequence of actions that develop the topic. In the example, the text is about how to get ready for a feast. The topic is given in the first part of the sentence. It is followed as a consequent marker which shows there is a cause and effect relationship between the first part of the sentence and that which follows. That is, because of the festivities certain actions are carried out.

Ngo ya paombullen ere tiriyanenel and su luwar laman and pima.

This long-house dance consequent-marker first house ground hit straighten house do.

'Because we dance at the long house, first we level the ground and build the house.'

There is one example of a procedural text where the topic is introduced in a non-verbal sentence consisting of only one word. The second sentence then limits the topic and conforms to the pattern just described. That is, the first part of the sentence limits the topic, and the second part gives the first event in the sequence of actions that develop the topic.

¹Omapo. ²Olle ne aolla re e kaonga poallma.

¹Garden. ²Sweet-potatoes negative are consequent-marker garden new we-plant.)

¹'I am talking about a garden.' ²'Since there are no sweet potatoes, we plant a new garden.'

In the above example, sentence-final intonation is placed on the one word sentence which begins the discourse. It is followed by a lengthy pause which along with the intonation separates it from the rest of the discourse. Elsewhere in narrative discourse these three factors combine in the same way when the narrator wishes either to keep a participant in focus or to re-introduce him and bring him back to the centre of attention.

If the speaker has chosen to produce a narrative discourse, he sometimes implies the topic rather than overtly stating it. Most of the narratives about recent activities begin with an introductory time word, followed by an event. In this way the speaker implies the topic. The time word indicates that the events which took place at that time are the topic of the story. The first event is not a topic event, but rather it begins the sequence of action.

Ambulla Emb anda pomau.

Yesterday Name-of-village house we-went.

'Yesterday we went to Embi village.'

In most of the legends the speaker gives the topic when he says that he is going to tell an ancestral story. He then further limits the topic when he indicates who the main participants are. The hearer learns that the story will be about two brothers, a young girl, or an old man and woman. At this point, the speaker may choose to give names to the participants, or he may refer to them in a more general way and assign them names later in the text. In the following example, the speaker says he is going to tell an ancestral story, and then he indicates that it is a story about two sisters. They are not assigned names until much later in the text.

¹Inji mend llowam piyu. ²Emb anda nonpil lle aki yall ilap mend pirispi.

¹Ancestral-story one to-say I-sit. ²Name-of-village house just-like connector sister plural-marker two one they-two-sat.

¹'I am sitting to tell you an ancestral story.' ²'It was a place just like Embi village, and two sisters lived there.'

In the second example the speaker gives the names to the participants at the outset. Thus, he limits the topic to a story about these two men whose names he mentions.

¹Inji mend llowam piyu. ²Kowen anda nonpil lle Kendama nonpi por Perip Kuind aorao nonpi lap awespi.

¹Ancestral-story one to-say I-sit. ²Name-of-village house just-like connector name-of-man just-like relator-word Name-of-village Name-of-boy father just-like two they-were.

¹'I am sitting to tell you an ancestral story.'
²'It was a village just like Kowen, and there was a man just like Kendama and one just like Kuind's father from Perip and the two of them lived.'

IDENTIFYING THE PARTICIPANTS

After the speaker limits the topic by telling who the main participants are, he proceeds to identify them more fully giving other pertinent information about them. Participants are of extreme importance in narrative discourse. However, if the story is told in the first person, the devices used to identify and inform about the participants are less involved than when it is told in third person. The speaker is well known to the audience, and his use of the first person makes him one of the principal participants. A name or generic reference is usually sufficient to identify any other participants who are also known to the audience. However, if at any point he introduces a participant that the hearer does not know, he must describe him in more detail. In the following example, the hearer knows the speaker is a participant because the speaker uses first person plural verb affixes. The speaker also mentions a group of boys so the hearer knows that the boys will be involved in the action.

¹Ambulla Emb anda pomau. ²Naik yem allmi yaondo aondall.
³Ngo aondall awar, and nao awar poma.

¹Yesterday Name-of-village house we-plural-went.
²Boy group were long-house I-see. ³This to-see stand, house we-plural stand we-plural-go.

¹'Yesterday we went to Embi village.'
²'I saw a group of boys gathered at the long house.'
³'Having stood in order to see, we went to the house.'

If the narrative is told in third person, the speaker must introduce the participants more carefully than in a first person narrative, giving more detail about them. He accomplishes this either by describing the participant and giving information that is pertinent to the story, or by comparing him to someone the hearer is acquainted with or both. The speaker may be less explicit about a participant whom the hearer already

knows. That is, since the hearer already knows the participant, the narrator does not need to specify such things as the name of the participant's village or clan, his marital status, his degree of wealth, or his age. A name or a vague reference is sufficient to identify a participant the hearer already knows. In the following example, the speaker introduces the participants by comparing them to someone the hearer is acquainted with. He then describes them more fully by saying they were not married. From that point on throughout the text, he refers to them either by reiterating the comparison or by simply using the name of the men to whom the participants were compared.

¹Kendama nonpi por Perip Kuind aorao nonpi lap awespi.

²Or nipi onguma. ³Nipi telpun ten re ne kelle awespi.

¹*Name-of-person just-like relator-word Name-of-village Name-of-boy father just-like two they-stood.* ²*Very they-two alone.* ³*They-two both woman consequent-marker negative buy they-two-were.*

¹*'One was just like Kendama, and one was just like Kuind's father from the village of Perip.'* ²*'There were only the two of them.'* ³*'Both of them were not married, and so they lived.'*

In the second example, when the speaker introduces the participants, he identifies them as an old man and woman who lived at a certain village. However, he never assigns them a name. Rather, he always refers to them as *'that old man'* and *'that old woman'*.

Tenael onge lap mend Tikip anda nonpil puru aispi.

Woman-man old two other Name-of-village house just-like sat they-two-stood.

'An old man and woman lived at a village just like Tikip.'

Participants are not so important in procedural discourse. The speaker uses first person plural for procedural texts. When he says *'we'*, he is referring to a group to which he belongs. Unless otherwise specified, he means *'we, the members of my clan'*, or *'we, the people who share this culture'*. In all of the procedural texts studied, the speaker has used *'we'* in this sense. It is conceivable that he might want to limit *'we'* to a smaller group such as *'we men'* or *'we young boys'*. He would then identify the group being referred to at the beginning of the text after which he would simply use *'we'*.

Thus, the choices that are available to a speaker who has chosen to produce a procedural discourse vary significantly from the choices available to one producing a narrative discourse. For procedural discourse, temporal and spatial setting need not be well defined. The speaker uses customary tense which has no reference to time. However, in the

text, the sequence of events implies the passing of time. Spatial setting is so obvious that it need not be stated. The topic is clearly identified in the procedural discourse, and a co-ordinate or consequent marker conjoins and relates it to the rest of the sentence in which it occurs. Finally, the speaker uses first person plural to produce a procedural text. His identification of participants is rarely more explicit than to say '*we*', meaning '*myself and the group to which I belong*'.

On the other hand, temporal and spatial setting are well defined in the narrative discourse. A specific time is stated or implied, and tense also helps to make the temporal setting explicit. When talking about recent occurrences, the speaker usually names the village where the action took place. In the ancestral stories he compares the location to a place that is well-known to both speaker and hearer. In narratives the topic may either be implied or stated specifically. Finally, participants are extremely important in narrative discourse. The speaker clearly identifies the main participants, often assigning them names and giving other information about them that is pertinent to the rest of the story.

EXAMPLES OF INTRODUCTIONS TO DISCOURSE

Three examples of introductions to discourse follow. The first example is from a procedural text. The general topic is established in the first part of the sentence, and a consequent marker conjoins it to the rest of the sentence which gives the first event in the sequence of events that develop the topic.

And tiriyanen ere, es pundiya kaembi lallma.

House first consequent-marker, grass cut can we-hit.

'As for a house, first we cut the grass and cut the cane.'

The introductions to most procedural discourses are quite short. I gave other examples of complete introductions to procedural discourse when I discussed establishing the topic earlier in this chapter.

The second example is from a narrative text about a recent event, and is rather short having only two sentences. The temporal setting is implied since the speaker refers to a recent event which he assumes the hearer knows about. The topic is established, the first participants introduced, explicit spatial setting given, and the first event in the story stated in the initial sentence. The second sentence introduces less important participants and repeats the first event of the story.

¹Angal ngo re Eyo Kurup aelem nopo ngo Emb anda epaimi.

²Puwar, nimin ten ongetu naik ongetu ten naik por aru epaimi.

¹Story this consequent-marker Name-of-clan-from-Lake-Kutubu Lake-Kutubu men down-there this Name-of-village house they-came.

²Do, their women group-of boy group-of women boy relator-word. along-with they-came.

¹'As for this story, the men from Lake Kutubu came down there to the village of Embi.' ²'Doing this, their women and children came with them.'

The third example is from an ancestral legend. The narrative is longer than the other two texts, and the introduction is more involved. In the first sentence, the speaker says that he is going to tell an ancestral story. Sentence two and three are non-verbal sentences which introduce the two main participants. In this story the two main participants are given fictional names. The speaker does not compare them to anyone the hearer is acquainted with, but he names the participants' clans. Sentence four gives additional background information about the main participants. The fifth and final sentence in the introduction makes the spatial setting explicit by comparing it to a nearby village.

¹Inji mend llowam piyu. ²Tenon mbire Osikisaek waene Yomo ten. ³Aelen mbire Ond Tima Ponki Tellel. ⁴Ngo lap tomen llo espi yo, nipin pispi. ⁵Ulaell anda nonpi puru espi.

¹Ancestral-story another to-say I-sit. ²Woman's name Name-of-person daughter Name-of-clan woman. ³Man's name Name-of-mountain Name-of-mountain Name-of-man Name-of-clan. ⁴This two courted say they-stood co-ordinate-marker, they-two they-two-went. ⁵Name-of-village house just-like sat they-stood.

¹'I am sitting to tell you an ancestral story.' ²'The woman's name was Osikisaek's daughter and she was from the Yomo clan.' ³'The man's name was Ponki from the mountains of Ond and Tima and his clan was Tellel.' ⁴'The two of them courted, and they married.' ⁵'They lived at a village just like Ulaell.'

BODY OF DISCOURSE

The body of the discourse is made up of one or more paragraphs which develop the topic that was established in the introduction to the discourse by continuing the sequence of action begun in the introduction. That is, after establishing the topic, introducing the participants, and giving the pertinent information about them, the introductory paragraph concludes by giving the first of the sequence of actions that develop the topic. The end of the introductory paragraph is marked by falling intonation and a lengthy pause. The initial word in the next paragraph is then spoken at a higher level of pitch than the speaker

has been using. The speaker nearly always uses tail-head linkage by repeating the last clause of the introductory paragraph in the first clause of the next paragraph. Frequently, but not always, he relates the repeated clause to those which follow by using a co-ordinate or consequent marker. The following example shows the last sentence of an introductory paragraph and the first sentence in the second paragraph. The speaker employs tail-head linkage, and a co-ordinate marker relates the repeated clause to that which follows.

¹Tenael onge lap mend Tikip anda nonpil puru aispi.

²Puru aispi yo men ul pambor mend kaollo pirispi.

¹*Man-woman old two other Name-of-village house just-like sat they-two-stood. #*

²*Sat they-two-stood co-ordinate-marker pig number-marker one other take-care-of they-two-sat.*

¹*'An old man and woman lived at a place just like Tikip.'*

²*'They lived and they took care of a pig.'*

Procedural and narrative discourse involve a chronological sequence of events (Longacre 1968). That is, they are arranged and related to each other in a consequential order, and if there happens to be a logical relationship, it is of secondary importance (Forster 1977). The events in the chronological sequence form the backbone of the narrative and procedural texts. Much of the information included in the discourse is outside the main sequence of events. This includes information about participants, temporal and spatial setting, explanations, evaluations, secondary events, rhetorical questions, negatives, predictions, and most quotations (Grimes 1971, 1975a). Thus, as the speaker develops a narrative or procedural discourse, he keeps the hearer's attention focused upon the main sequence of events, but he also gives a lot of extra information that adds interest, highlights, informs, and gives perspective.

Nembi may be viewed as having two sequences of action going on simultaneously. One gives primary information, is central to the discourse, and is kept in the foreground. The other gives secondary information, adds interest and detail, but is kept in the background. The primary information is distinguished by the frequent use of tailhead linkage and remote back reference. Secondary information uses minimal linkage. It may be either interspersed in among numerous repetitions of the primary information, or given in a chained sequence of medial verbs occurring between two primary events. Secondary information is rarely repeated more than once, whereas primary information is nearly always repeated at least once and frequently more than once. Secondary information often has a logical relationship to the primary information in

that it frequently expresses either the cause or the result of the primary information.

The following example is taken from one of the ancestral stories. The main participants are going from the land of the living to the place of the dead. The going is the main event, and it is repeated numerous times. Between the repetitions of the primary information is some secondary information which identifies one of the places they pass on their journey.

¹Pispi yo pispi yo pispi. ²Ama sollu mend opaspi.
³Ngo ama ra llisao. ⁴Pil il arer pipi ama pe llisao.
⁵Pispi yo pispi yo pispi.

¹*They-two-went* co-ordinate-marker *they-two-went* co-ordinate-marker *they-two-went*. ²*Cleared-place long one they-two-arrived-at*. ³*This cleared-place* question-marker *she-said*.
⁴*Name-of-tree fruit fight they-do cleared-place do he-said*.
⁵*They-went* co-ordinate-marker *they-two-went* co-ordinate-marker *they-two-went*.

¹'*They went and went and went.*' ²'*They arrived at a long cleared place.*' ³'*"What is this cleared place?" she said.*'
⁴'*"It is the place where they fight over the fruit of the pil tree," he said.*' ⁵'*They went and went and went.*'

The second example is taken from a procedural text about getting ready for an important feast. The primary event is setting the post for a house. The secondary information is given in a chain of medial verbs after which the speaker repeats the primary event of setting the posts. The causal relationship between primary and secondary information is made explicit by the use of a consequent marker.

No ngo ir aonda ngo awallma re, Eyo po taeke irin llowar awallma.

Down-there this post big this we-set consequent-marker,
Name-of-clan-from-Lake-Kutubu chop split burn-different-subject say we-went.

'*We set the big post down there. Saying that because the people from Lake Kutubu will chop, split, and burn it, we set the post.*'

In the third example, the secondary information is given in a series of medial clauses which occur between two primary events. The first primary event given at the beginning of the sentence repeats a previously stated action, and it is related to the rest of the sentence by a co-ordinate marker. The secondary primary event is given at the end of the sentence. Between the two primary events, the speaker gives a lot of background information. There is an implied causal relationship between the first primary event and those which follow.

Yen aengi kembo mend ipisae yo, ten nong ul pamboror
e ri ne polle, and ri ne pulle, ir kapul ri ne wes
tulle, olle ri ne mondulle, ngup llowar, aenen toreyao
ponaismi.

*Rain mother many one came co-ordinate-marker, woman girl
number-marker one garden too negative plant, house too
negative do, wood dry too negative gather carry, sweet-
potatoes too negative carry, in-this-way say, inside door
they-plural-closed.*

*'An extremely hard rain came, and one young girl did not
work in the garden, build a house, gather and carry in
firewood, or carry sweet potatoes, and saying this, they
closed the door from the inside of the house.'*

In longer narratives, secondary information is sometimes an entire paragraph, or a miniature discourse embedded in the larger one. These give background information and add interest, but they are outside the main stream of events and could be omitted without unduly detracting from the story. When secondary information involves several sentences, the main event is repeated both before and after the speaker digresses to give the background information. For example, in a story about a young man who marries a girl from the sky, the man has just received an invitation to sleep at his father-in-law's house that night. The speaker then digresses to explain what the sky people do to cause thunder and lightning. When he returns to the main sequence of events, the speaker repeats the old man's invitation to his son-in-law. The comments about the activities causing the thunder and lightning are outside the main sequence of events, but they do give background and help the hearer comprehend what the sky people are like.

Procedural texts are much less involved, having less secondary information than narratives. Usually procedural texts give one main event after the other with very little or no background information given between the main events. When secondary information is included, it is usually given in medial verbs. The following example is from a procedural text. It illustrates a sequence of primary events. The speaker uses maximal linkage, repeating each main event in the first clause of the next sentence.

¹E kaonga powara, kaembi lallma. ²Kaembi luwar ere,
kap sendo ekepo pima.

¹Garden new planting, cane hit. ²Cane hit consequent-
marker dry be fence do.

¹'Planting a new garden, we cut down the cane.'

²'Since we cut down the cane, allowing it to dry, we
build a fence.'

CLOSURE OF DISCOURSE

The third main part of the discourse is the closure. Every language has some way to bring discourse to a proper conclusion. Often the conclusion of narrative and procedural discourse involves both a closure and a finis. Closure gives a final commentary on the main participants. Finis occurs after the closure and says this is the end or the story is finished (Longacre 1968, 1972).

Nembi narrative and procedural discourse use both a closure and a finis. The closure is a short paragraph of one to three sentences which complete the narration. The speaker may choose to close the discourse with a return to the original setting or state, with a sequel to the main events in the text along with an optional summation of the main events, or with a moralisation and a statement of what might have been.

Procedural discourses are usually closed with a sequel to the main events. The one exception, a text about dressing up for a ceremony, closes with a return to the original state. Two examples follow. The first gives a sequel to the main part of the text which is about planting a sweet potato garden.

Olle powara re, olle kombe romb, olle awalma.

Sweet-potatoes plant consequent-marker, sweet-potatoes ready when, sweet-potatoes we-dig-out.

'Since we have planted the sweet potatoes, when they are ready, we dig them out.'

The second example is the closure that involves a return to the original state. That is, the participants return home and remove and store the finery which they put on before the ceremony. A chain of medial verbs is used to show the sequence of actions which bring them back to their original state.

Anda epowara, esmba iri kombo, ya iri kopo, tonga, ngorup pimi.

House come, head hair comb, bird feather remove, fasten, in-this-manner we-do.

'We do this: having come home, we comb our hair, remove the bird feathers, and put them away.'

Narratives use any of the three methods of closure. When a summation of the story is a part of the closure, the speaker may either enumerate the main events or simply say *'they did this'*. In the first example there is a summation of the story and a return to the original setting.

Ngo rup pa, aondall pir anda epaim.

This in-this-way complete, to-see go house they-came.

'After they finished this, having gone to see, they came home.'

The second example gives a sequel to the main events. The first part of the closure summarises the final events in the story by enumerating them, and then the speaker closes by giving a logical sequel to those events.

Oren umull upellu yuwara, seker nda yel mondu, men mon isao yel meninj min pa, nipi tepall e po and pu, nipi tepall pirispi.

Wife's bosom sleep put, pearl-shell this-in-reference thing carry, pig this was thing rope hold complete, they-two spouses garden plant house do, they-two spouses they-two-sat.

'Having slept on his wife's bosom, having carried these pearl shells, and having fastened these pigs with rope, the two spouses planted a garden and built a house, and two of them lived as spouses.'

The third example moralises and tells what might have been if the story had ended differently.

¹Ngup puwar ngo pisae re, nao tolo mo yandis pismae yor, ngo ip maellem yel ngo isae yo, yono te ne llapaepe, te ne llapaepe llismi yo, naom te el ipa ngo ne kopall pisma. ²Nao ri purull pisma. ³Yo no pull pisma.

¹In-this-way do this he-did consequent-marker, we skin causative change we-did co-ordinate-marker, this water get nominaliser this was co-ordinate-marker, up-there cry negative say, cry negative say they-said co-ordinate-marker, we cry eye water this negative fall we-did. ²We too sat we-did. ³Up-there down-there go we-did.

'Because he did this, he went into the water, and this is what we do when we are baptised and change our skins. Up there they do not cry. They said do not cry. Had we not cried and our tears not flowed,' ²'we too could always have lived.' ³'We could have gone up there and come down again.'

Most Nembli narrative and procedural discourses also have a finis which occurs at the very end of the discourse after the closure. Usually the speaker says ngo oro (*this finish*) 'This is the end'. Sometimes he will shorten it by saying simply ngo 'this'. At other times he will expand it by saying angal ngo oro (*story this finish*) 'this story is finished'. The finis is omitted only occasionally.

CHAPTER THREE
LINKAGE AND CHAINING

LINKAGE

In Nembi linkage occurs between paragraphs and also between sentences. That is, paragraphs are linked to preceding paragraphs, and sentences are linked to preceding sentences.

Longacre (1968) presents an extensive discussion of linkage between paragraphs and sentences suggesting several possible kinds of linkage. Between paragraphs Nembi employs three of these types. One is tail-head linkage, another is temporal sequence, and a third uses grammatical particles to make relationships explicit.

Nembi paragraphs most often use tail-head linkage. All or part of the final sentence in one paragraph is repeated in the first sentence of the next paragraph. Sometimes a word or phrase in the first sentence of the new paragraph summarises the information given in the previous paragraph. In the following examples the last sentence of one paragraph and the first sentence of the next paragraph are shown by '#'. The final verb of the last sentence in the first paragraph is repeated in the first sentence of the second paragraph.

¹Es pamom puwar lisan, wall aenen upelluwar lisana, wall aenen upellisao. #

²Pellisao o, onda nipu omend pelu omisae.

¹*Look-for do do serialisation, again inside sleep prolongation, again inside he-slept. #* ²*He-slept co-ordinate-marker, that he soon sleep he-died.*

¹*'Having searched for it, and having gone inside to sleep, he again slept inside.'* # ²*'He slept, and soon he was sound asleep.'*

Sometimes Nembí paragraphs are linked by temporal sequence. When there is a noticeable time lapse between the action of one paragraph and that of the next paragraph, the speaker may choose to relate the two paragraphs by using a time word or phrase. In the following example, the speaker links the two paragraphs by indicating that there was a time lapse between the events in the two paragraphs. Tail-head linkage is not used.

¹Mond tall pisae. ²Seker ollell men ollell ngo nga ngoI
tellemba aendipombai esao. ³Puru esmi. #
⁴Yaerel ilap re pepin esmi. ⁵Embekire ten mo ngen anda mend
mgan kone isao mon Kendama nonpim.

¹Carry carry did. ²Pearl-shell dowry pig dowry this
this-in-reference this lead-by-rope fastened-up it-was.
³Sit they-were. #
⁴Week two consequent-marker go they-were. ⁵Now woman
this your house other let-us-go mind was this Name-of-
person just-like.

¹'They went carrying and carrying it.' ²'They left a
dowry of pigs and a dowry of pearl shells.' ³'They
lived there.' #
⁴'Two weeks went by.' ⁵'Now this one just like Kendama
thought, "Woman, let us two go to your house."'

Occasionally the speaker will use both temporal and tail-head linkage. In the following example, the first sentence of the new paragraph repeats one of the events of the previous paragraph after which a temporal word is used. The repeated information and the temporal word work together to link the two paragraphs.

¹Toll ora minur pu tukmaisae. ²Tukmawar, toll ilapor
mender monda songo nipun kellismi. #
³Ngo tukma pewara, tuninaen ere e yaond mend mullwama
ne yawemena llowara, kore tani ilap mondu yu, ir kapu wesu
yu, so pu yu, ngup pisae.

¹Number-marker six hold do they-divided. ²Dividing,
number-marker two one this boy he they-gave. #
³This divide did, tomorrow consequent-marker garden
work-together-to-plant one take food to-cook said, pitpit-
shoots greens two carry put, wood dry gather put, leaves
cut put, in-this-manner she-did.

¹'They divided them and each had six.' ²'Dividing them,
they gave two to the boy.' #
³'Having divided in this way, the next day they agree to
join together to plant a garden and cook food; and they
carried and put the shoots and greens; they gathered and
put the firewood; they cut and put the leaves; and they
did in this way.'

Another type of linkage involves the use of grammatical particles to make relationships explicit. In Nembí this usually occurs when the speaker uses remote back reference to give cohesion to the discourse. That is, the first sentence of a new paragraph may jump over several of

the previous paragraphs and refer back to an earlier point in the text. The speaker uses remote linkage either to bring a participant back into focus, or to talk about an event or other information mentioned earlier. Whenever he employs remote linkage, the speaker uses a grammatical particle *nda*¹ meaning '*the thing in reference*'. Occasionally a new paragraph uses only remote linkage. More often, however, this type of linkage is used in conjunction with tail-head or temporal linkage. In the first example, the speaker refers to a participant who has not been mentioned for several paragraphs. The reference particle indicates that he is using remote linkage. There is no repetition of any part of the final sentence in the preceding paragraph.

¹...mm sumb yao or pallapon, llisao. ²Yao pellapon. #
³Ore ndam ore olle yalle ngo, llisao.

¹...yes father-in-law we-two superlative let-us-two-sleep, he said. ²We-two let-us-two-sleep. # ³Wife reference-particle consequent-marker sweet-potatoes cooked this, she-said.

¹'... "yes, father-in-law, let us two sleep," he said.' ²"Let us two sleep." # ³'That wife I was referring to said, "Here are some cooked sweet potatoes."'

In the second example, the speaker employs both remote and tail-head linkage. The reference particle relates the information in the first clause to an earlier point in the text. The second part of the sentence uses tail-head linkage in that it repeats part of the information given in the last sentence of the previous paragraph.

¹Ngup llisao rombu, a yaor onguma puru allpa ndang, na waene ngo mall epawe yor oro mondu yu perapon llopaem puwaong, ngae llisao. # ²Ngo nda men nda ya tengenowar pellispi romine, onda tenom onda naik mondu yu pellisae.

¹In-this-way he-said when, true we-two only sit we-stand but, my daughter this bring I-come co-ordinate-marker superlative carry put let-us-sit say do, this she-said. #
²This reference-particle pig reference-particle cooked put-aside they-two-slept while, that woman that boy carry put she-slept.

¹'When he said this, she said, "True, but there are only two of us, and I am going to carry and look after my daughter which I have brought home with me." # ²'While they put aside that cooked pig that I was talking about and they slept, that woman put that boy in her string bag and slept.'

¹The grammatical particle *nda* is also used to emphasise that the speaker is referring to a particular person or thing. It can mean, 'I am talking about that one and no other'. Thus, although it is used to bring participants or other information back into focus, its presence in the sentence does not necessarily mean that the speaker is using remote linkage.

Between sentences linkage mechanisms are simpler and usually consist of repeating, paraphrasing, or referring in some manner at the onset of a succeeding sentence to all or part of the preceding one (Longacre 1968). In Nembí, linkage between sentences occurs when the last clause of one sentence is repeated in the first clause of the next sentence. If the first sentence of the pair has several actions which occur simultaneously or in sequence, the word 'do' may be used in the first clause of the new sentence to summarise all the actions of the previous sentence. Sentence linkage is similar to tail-head linkage between paragraphs. However, between paragraphs, any part or all of the last sentence of the preceding paragraph may be repeated in any part of the first sentence of the next paragraph. In contrast, linkage between sentences nearly always repeats the final clause of the previous sentence in the first clause of the succeeding sentence. Nearly all sentences within a paragraph are linked to each other. The following example is taken from a narrative about a recent event. Although the sentences are extremely short, each one is linked to the previous sentence by repeating the final clause in the previous sentence.

¹Ngo rup pawar, an to pu mbawar, pellowara, men laim.
²Tunitimba luwara, iri iraim. ³Iri iruwara, kepaim.
⁴Kepuwara, tolloroll luman enjarim. ⁵Tolloroll luman enjawara, an iraim. ⁶An iruwara, an arim. ⁷An awara, wall an paombull ngo tukmawar, memen emi yawaim.

¹*In-this-way manner complete, stone arrange do remain, sleep, pig they-killed.* ²*Morning having-killed, hair they-burned.* ³*Hair having-burned, they-cut-it-up.*
⁴*Having cut-it-up, wooden-rack hit they-hung.* ⁵*Wooden-rack hit having-hung, stone they-burned.* ⁶*Stone having-burned, stone they-removed.* ⁷*Stone having-removed again stone lay-aside this having-divided, pig's intestine they-cooked.*

¹*'Having done these things, having arranged the stones, and having slept, they killed the pig.'* ²*'Having killed in the morning, they singed the hair.'* ³*'Having singed the hair, they cut up the pig.'* ⁴*'Having cut it up, they hung it on wooden racks.'* ⁵*'Having hung it on wooden racks, they heated the stones.'* ⁶*'Having heated the stones, they removed them.'* ⁷*'Having removed the stones, and again having placed them aside and having divided them, they cooked the pig's intestines.'*

Even when sentences become longer and more involved, they usually link to each other by repeating the final clause of each preceding sentence in the first clause of the next sentence. Although the sentences in the following example are lengthier than those in the previous example, they follow the same linkage pattern.

¹Toreyao ponasmi yo, ye aond mo ipisan aenen puru aepe, ngo ae llo mare llowar lisan, toreyao kombisao. ²Toreyao kombowar ere, aeng yol tepen yawar, iter aenen in, aengem and yal por ip toreyao po pirisao. ³Ip toreyao po puruwar, komb paisae.

¹Door they-closed co-ordinate-marker, rain big there came inside sit stand, this yes say tired saying serialisation, door she-opened. ²Door having-opened consequent-marker, foot stretched-out outside put, buttock inside was, foot house wall relator-word water road close she-sat. ³Water road close having-sat, open she-did.

¹'They closed the door, and a big rain came and they stayed inside. Saying that she was tired, she opened the door.'
²'Since she had opened the door, she stretched her foot outside and her buttock was inside, and putting her foot toward the wall of the house, she closed the water's road with her foot.'
³'Having closed the water's road, she opened it again.'

Nearly all sentences within a paragraph are linked, but occasionally the link will be omitted. This sometimes happens in narratives when a dramatic climax occurs involving an element of surprise or an unexpected event. In the following example, taken from one of the ancestral legends, the sentences are not linked. A young man grabs a girl from the sky, and she changes first into a snake, then a worm, and finally into some thorny bushes. The events are unexpected, abrupt, and fast moving, and there is no link between the sentences.

¹Ngup iki wekiyall puru pirisao. ²Yaellell onda yel ndapol minaisaendi. ³Kowaek olisae. ⁴Weran olisae. ⁵Mopono ollombteke makteke mambone olisae.

¹In-this-way hand stretched-out sit he-sat. ²Reached that thing grasped he-held. ³Snake turned-into. ⁴Earthworm turned-into. ⁵All-of-these a-thorny-bush another-thorny-bush another-thorny-bush she-turned-to.

¹'He sat with his hand stretched out in this way.'
²'Reaching out and grabbing that thing, he held it.'
³'She turned into a snake.'
⁴'She turned into an earth-worm.'
⁵'She turned into an ollombteke bush, a makteke bush, and a mambone bush.'

In longer narratives near paragraph boundaries, a short sentence is sometimes repeated numerous times. The repeated information involves an action which took place over an extended time or space and indicates a change in temporal or spatial setting or both. When this occurs, the first of the sentences containing the repeated information is linked to the preceding text, but the link is dropped in the rest of the sentences containing the repeated information.

¹Onda aengi ki nda embes pisae. ²Embes powar lisan, okull lar pirisao. ³Pirlsao. ⁴Okull lar pirisao. ⁵Pirisao. ⁶Okull lar pirisao. ⁷Pirisao pisendi.

¹*That mother diminutive-marker in-reference quickly she-went.*
²*Quickly go serialisation, barrier hit she-sat.* ³*She-sat.*
⁴*Barrier hit she-sat.* ⁵*She-sat.* ⁶*Barrier hit she-sat.*
⁷*She-sat she-did.*

¹*That little mother I am talking about went quickly.'*
²*Having gone quickly, she sat hitting a barrier.'*
³*'She sat.'* ⁴*'She sat hitting a barrier.'* ⁵*'She sat.'*
⁶*'She sat hitting a barrier.'* ⁷*'She did sit.'*

Thus, linkage is one device used to relate old information to new. It is an anaphoric relationship in that it points back to and repeats information that has already been given in the text.

CHAINING

A second device which Nembi uses to give cohesion to the discourse is clause chaining. Chaining always looks ahead to the next clause, and it is a type of cataphoric relationship in that it predicts what the next clause will contain (Grimes 1975a). Typically clause chaining takes place in the framework of a sentence, which ends in an independent clause preceded by dependent clauses with medial verbs affixed to indicate whether the next clause will have the same subject or a different one. The medial verbs are distinct from final verbs, which are affixed for person, number, tense, mood, and aspect. The distinction between medial and final verbs has been made explicit in McCarthy (1965), Lawrence (1972), Huisman (1973), and Longacre (1972).¹

In Nembi, clause chaining takes place either within a sentence or more rarely within dependent adjunct clauses which have final verbs. The dependent adjunct clauses are time and manner clauses formed by adding the clitics *romb* 'when', *rup* 'in this manner', or *romlne* 'while' after the final verb. These occur at the beginning of a sentence and are subordinate to the independent clause in the sentence. They are discussed more fully in chapter VI. They are mentioned here because it

¹The medial verbs have also been called non-final, non-terminal, secondary, and non-finite. The final verbs have been called by the antonymous terms, terminal, primary, and finite. The dependent clauses have also been called subordinate, and independent clauses, superordinate or primary. However, Franklin (1971) in his analysis of Kewa thought it more appropriate to view the medial-final distinctions as properties of co-ordinate sentences, and the clauses which expound the bases of the sentences as interdependent. Longacre (1972) concurs that the medial-final distinction may be different in kind than the subordinate-co-ordinate distinction in the Indo-European languages.

is possible for the final verb in time and manner clauses to have dependent clauses with medial verbs chained to it. Frequently there are no medial clauses preceding the final verb of an adjunct clause, but sometimes there are one or two. The example is a sentence with a time clause. There is one medial verb chained to the final verb in the adjunct clause, but the independent clause has no medial clauses chained to it.

Monem lutull ipullumi romb, pa supum lutaellemi.

*Money to-buy-medial-same-subject they-come-final when,
two kina-notes twenty they-buy-final.*

'When they come to buy with money, they buy for forty kina.'

Medial verbs may be classified into four types according to the aspect or intention which they carry. The four types are referred to as chronological, durative, resultative, and purposive. Durative and purposive verbs always have the same subject as the verb they precede. Resultative verbs always have a different subject, and chronological verbs may have either the same or a different subject as the verb which follows. The object of transitive medial verbs may be either stated overtly with the verb, or if several verbs share the same object, it is stated with the first verb, and all the transitive verbs which follow share that object until another is overtly stated. In chapter VI I discuss and illustrate clauses and clause chaining phenomena more fully.

CHAPTER FOUR

PAPAGRAPHS

Each of the three main parts of Nembu discourse - the introduction, the body, and the closure - is made up of paragraphs. The four kinds of paragraphs in Nembu discourse are opening, closing, sequential and consequential.

Opening paragraphs are the introduction to the discourse. In all the texts studied, the introduction has only one paragraph. They are usually short, often having only one to three sentences. Shorter narratives told in near past tense and procedural texts have shorter opening paragraphs, whereas longer narratives told in distant past tense have longer opening paragraphs. The sentences in the paragraph are usually short and may either be non-verbal sentences, consist of only one independent clause, or have dependent and independent clauses.

Closing paragraphs are the closure of the discourse. As with introductions, in the texts studied, the closure has only one paragraph. They are also short, having one or two sentences. Introductions and closures are discussed and illustrated in Chapter Two.

In the body of a discourse the speaker must choose whether to produce consequential or sequential paragraphs. The relationships which he wishes to demonstrate between the topic or primary information and the secondary information are the basis on which he chooses between sequential and consequential paragraphs. As the name implies, sequential paragraphs relate a series of events. Sequence is shown, but a cause-effect relationship is not asserted. On the other hand, consequential paragraphs are those in which a cause-effect relationship is stated to exist between the topic of the paragraph and the secondary information.

At an abstract level, however, there is only one form of paragraph organisation. That is, every paragraph has an introduction, a body, and a closure. In Nembu, paragraph organisation parallels that of

discourse. There is an introduction that identifies topic and setting, a body that develops, and a closure which brings it to a proper conclusion. Therefore, I use the same terms to refer to the beginning, the middle, and the ending of both paragraphs and discourse.

PARAGRAPH BOUNDARIES

Several phenomena mark paragraph boundaries. The introduction of the new paragraph establishes a change in setting. The temporal setting changes either by implication or by an explicit time word or clause in the first sentence of the new paragraph,¹ and the spatial setting frequently changes.

Paragraph closure involves the repetition, summation, or completion of the main events or a return to the setting established at the beginning of the paragraph. Sentences at the end of the paragraph are often spoken more rapidly than the rest of the text. When the main events of one paragraph are repeated or summarised at the end of that paragraph, they are again repeated or summarised in the first sentence of the next paragraph if the speaker uses tail-head linkage. However, after that they are usually not mentioned again during the remainder of the discourse. The one exception is if part or all of the information again becomes pertinent at a later point in the text, the speaker uses remote back linkage or reference to bring it back into focus again.

The following example shows the final sentence of one paragraph and the first sentence of the next paragraph. In the final sentence of the first paragraph the speaker summarises the previous event by using the verb 'do'. The paragraph ends with a final event completing the sequence of action. The speaker uses tail-head linkage to relate the two paragraphs. In the first sentence of the second paragraph, the speaker uses a time word to make the change in the temporal setting explicit. The spatial setting does not change. The events in the preceding paragraph are not referred to again during the rest of the narrative.

¹In the data studied, the temporal setting always changes in the first sentence of the new paragraph. However, procedural and narrative discourse involves a sequence of events that implies the passing of time, whereas expository and behavioural discourse are not developed by a sequence of events. Therefore the temporal setting probably will not change in paragraphs that develop expository and behavioural discourse.

¹Ngup puwar pe na pemberain llowar pe ungunal tonga isao. #
²Tonga yuwara ambo isaondo pirisao.

¹*In-this-manner do do eat allow to-say do place-for-pillow
 fasten he-put. #* ²*Fasten put afternoon was he-sat.*

¹*Having done this, and having eaten, she allowed him to
 wrap her up and put her at the place for his pillow.' #*
²*Having fastened and put her there, it was afternoon and
 he sat.'*

Sometimes the main events in a paragraph are brought to a completion when an event is repeated numerous times. Such a series of repeated sentences is spoken extremely rapidly, involves an action that takes place over an extended period of time or space, and is usually followed by a time as '*much later*' or '*the next day*'.

In the following example, the final sentence of the first paragraph is repeated three times, indicating that the action was repeated again and again over a long period of time. The succeeding paragraph is begun with a time word, making the change in temporal setting explicit. The spatial setting does not change.

¹We powar pisaondo, e ne nda ngup mondu yallma esao.
²We nda ngup mondu yallma esao. ³Mondu yallma esao. #
⁴Oropiyenen or mend ere olle we mu yall pisao lle, olle
 we pora onda ael eke mba pirisao.

¹*Seedlings plant did, garden food this-in-reference
 in-this-way carry cook he-did. ²Food this-in-reference
 in-this-way carry cooked he-did. ³Carry cooked he-did. #*
⁴*Later superlative another consequent-marker sweet-potatoes
 seedlings get put he-did co-ordinate-marker, sweet-potatoes
 seedlings relator-word that man hide remain he-sat.*

¹*She had planted that garden, and he was getting the
 food and cooking it.' ²'He was getting that food and
 cooking it.' ³'He was getting it and cooking it.' #*
⁴*'Since it was much later, he got sweet potato seedlings
 and put them, and that man hid under them.'*

Finally, the sequence of events in a paragraph is sometimes brought to a completion when the participants move from one location to another. The upcoming change in spatial setting is anticipated by using '*come*' and '*go*' in the last sentence of the paragraph. In the following example the final sentence of the preceding paragraph repeats the major events that took place in the paragraph. It then completes the sequence of events for that paragraph and anticipates the upcoming change in setting by saying that they ate some pig and went down. The first two sentences in the succeeding paragraph are shown. In the first, the speaker uses remote linkage and makes the change in spatial setting obvious by bringing into focus a participant who has been in the background. That is, earlier in the narrative the one participant had

left the other and climbed a mountain. Therefore, because the speaker anticipates the change in the last sentence of the previous paragraph, and then brings the other participant back into focus, it is obvious to the hearer that the spatial setting has changed. The action no longer takes place on the mountain, but has returned to the original spatial setting. The participant who has been in the background asks the other what he has been doing. The second sentence gives the response which is a very general summation of the events in the previous paragraph. Thus, the second sentence also helps to relate the old information to the new.

¹Tatepa pa minuwar lisan, men eyae nda i yel nopon Puripo pun nowa mambu onda ten komb tall pir no pisao. # ²Kuind aorao nonpi ndam na aeme eki pai pe, la. ³Ngup, ngup, ngup, ngup.

¹Let-loose do hold serialisation, pig cut this-in-reference put thing down-there Name-of-place level-place eat walking that woman bring carry go down they-went. # ²Name-of-person father just-like this-in-reference my brother what do question-marker he-said. ³In-this-way, in-this-way, in-this-way, in-this-way.

¹'Having grabbed her and let go again, down there at the level place at Puripo as they were walking, they ate the pig meat that I was talking about. Then, bringing that woman with him, he went down.' # ²'The one that I was talking about just like Kuind's father said, "My brother, what have you been doing?"' ³'I've done this, this, this, and this.'

SEQUENTIAL PARAGRAPHS

A sequential paragraph establishes a topic event and then relates a sequence of other events to it. A cause-effect relationship may be implied, but none is asserted. Most of the paragraphs in procedural and narrative discourse are sequential paragraphs.

In procedural texts and in narratives about recent events, sequential paragraphs rarely have more than two dependent clauses per sentence, and tail-head linkage between sentences is used heavily. The paragraph ends with a sentence which indicates that the sequence of events is completed. This involves a change in temporal or spatial setting.

Two examples of sequential paragraphs from narratives about recent events follow. In the first example, the first clause of the first sentence establishes the setting. The spatial setting is Upa, and the temporal setting is 'when I went to Upa'. The paragraph ends when the speaker who is the main participant returns home, for which a new spatial setting is defined. In every sentence of this paragraph, tail-head linkage is used. The first sentence of the paragraph that follows

is also shown. As frequently occurs, the consequent marker ore is attached to the first clause of the new paragraph. It indicates that the second clause is a consequent of the first. However, the cause-effect relationship is between the two clauses and is distinct from that in consequential paragraphs.

¹Upa powa romb, kiyapon kar epao. ²Kar epowar, Yaerer yao.
³Kar yuwar, an piksa mao. ⁴An piksa mao romb, na anda epowa. #
⁵Anda epowar ore, upelluwa.

¹Name-of-village I-went when, patrol officer's car he-came.
²Car come, Name-of-place he-put. ³Car put, stone picture he-got.
⁴Stone picture he-got when, I house I-came. #
⁵House come consequent-marker, I-slept.

¹'When I went to Upa, the patrol officer's car came.'
²'The car having come, he parked it at Yaerer.'
³'Having parked the car, he took pictures of the stones.'
⁴'When he took pictures of the stone, I came to my house.'
⁵'Since I came to my house, I slept.'

The next example shows two consecutive sequential paragraphs. The first paragraph relates a sequence of action which begins with the slaughter of pigs and ends with cooking the pigs in a pit. The second paragraph begins after the pigs have finished cooking, thus implying the time lapse between paragraphs since it is obvious to both speaker and hearer that the pigs must remain in the pit for some time before they are done. The paragraphs are linked by using the verb 'cook in a pit' in both the final clause of paragraph one and the first clause of paragraph two. Sentence 8 refers back to sentences four and five. Thus, back reference is used to plug sentence eight into the rest of the paragraph. In sentence eleven, the number marker on the verb changes from plural to singular, and the singular noun is used instead of the plural pronoun. Thus, the subject changes from 'they' to 'he'. There is a referential rule that once plurality is established for a third person referent, mention of them may revert to the unmarked singular form.

¹Ngo rup pawar, an to pu mbawar, pellowara, men laim.
²Tunitimba luwara, iri iraim. ³iri iruwara, kepaime.
⁴Kepuwara, tolloroll luman enjarim. ⁵Tolloroll luman enjawara, an iraim.
⁶An iruwara, an arim. ⁷An awara, wall an paombull ngo tukmawar, menen emi yawaim. ⁸Ngo wall yo tolloroll luyami men paiki ngo tall epo puwar yawaim. # ⁹Yawara, ya mbawar, puruwar, kopaim. ¹⁰Kopowara, eyarim. ¹¹Uli perekeyo, eyawara, nipun tenael yem willo tukmarop.

¹This in-this-manner having-completed, stone arrange do remain, sleep, pig they-killed. ²Morning having-killed, hair they-burn.
³Hair having-burned, they-cut-it-up.
⁴Having-cut-it-up, wooden-rack hit they-hang. ⁵Wooden-rack hit having-hung, stone they-burned. ⁶Stone having-burned,

stone they-removed. ⁷Stone having-removed, again stone lay-aside this having-divided, pig's intestines they-cook. ⁸This again up-there wooden-racks hit pig quarter this carry come do they-cooked. # ⁹Having-cooked, cook remain, sit they-remove. ¹⁰Having removed, they cut. ¹¹Bone turn, having cut, his people group call he-divided.

¹'Having done these things, having arranged the stones, and having slept, they killed the pig.' ²'Having killed the pig in the morning, they singed the hair.' ³'Having singed the hair, they cut the pig up.' ⁴'Having cut it up, they hung it on the wooden racks.' ⁵'Having hung it on the wooden racks, they heated the stones.' ⁶'Having heated the stones, they removed them.' ⁷'Having removed the stones, and again having put them aside and having divided them, they cooked the pig's intestines.' ⁸'Again they carried over the quarters of pork which they had hung there on the rack, and they cooked the pig.' # ⁹'Having sat and having let the pigs cook, they removed them from the pit.' ¹⁰'Having removed them from the pit, they cut them.' ¹¹'Having cut them and turned the bones, he called his family and divided them.'

In the ancestral stories, the participants and the setting are less well-known than they are in procedural texts and in narratives about recent events. Unusual and unexpected things happen. Lizards talk; banana trees jump back when one tries to cut off their leaves; people travel between the earth and the sky and between the land of the living and the place of the dead; and participants change into snakes and thorny bushes. All this requires that the speaker give a lot more background and secondary information so that the hearer can understand what is happening. Therefore, sequential paragraphs in ancestral stories have longer more involved sentences. However, the overall organisation of sequential paragraphs remains the same in the longer more complex narrative. Secondary and background information is frequently given in embedded clauses (see chapter Six) and in dependent medial clauses. Most sentences are linked unless an unexpected event occurs, or they occur in quoted speech and reported conversation. However, information contained in quoted speech is usually outside the main sequence of events (Grimes 1971, 1975a).

The following example shows a sequential paragraph from an ancestral story. It has eight sentences some of which are quite lengthy and involved. Although it contains a lot of secondary information, it does not assert a cause-effect relationship. The first sentence has two independent clauses conjoined by a co-ordinate marker. The first clause establishes the spatial setting for the paragraph, and the second clause names the topic event. Tail-head linkage is used to relate sentence one to sentence two. Sentence two, which is quite lengthy, begins with an independent clause with the letter -l suffixed to the verb, relating it to the rest of the sentence. Following the first

clause are two embedded clauses occurring in succession and describing a body of water that was there. Sentence three links to sentence two by talking about the place that is 'in reference'. It has one embedded clause that describes a bridge over the water and is outside the main sequence of events. Sentence four uses tail-head linkage to relate to sentence three. The second half of sentence four quotes one of the participants. The events in sentence five are totally unexpected, and there is no link between sentences four and five. The speaker addresses his audience with the first two words of sentence five, thus adding to the surprise effect. The first clause in sentence five is a time clause. The rest of the sentence has four dependent medial clauses chained to the independent clause at the end of the sentence. Sentences five and six are related by tail-head linkage. Although the main sequence of events in the paragraph ends with sentence six, the speaker adds some additional secondary information in the last two sentences. There is no link between sentence six and seven, but sentence seven quotes one of the participants. Sentence eight is a non-verbal sentence and is the narrators added comment explaining the content of the quotation in sentence seven. The paragraph ends here.

The first sentence of the next paragraph is also shown. It jumps over sentence seven and eight and repeats the last part of sentence six, thus linking the new paragraph to the last event in the main sequence of events in the previous paragraph. The change in temporal setting for the new paragraph is stated overtly.

¹Ya kol yoen isao o, onda tenael lap pep pispi. ²Pispil, ipon aengi kembo nopo ip Pe nda re nonpi yel ipon aengi kembo mend ngol ndal tokull nenalla ip mend ngol isaoya. ³Ngo nda kiler aendae ir to ki amull amull pi ngupi mend isae. ⁴Ir to ngo ndal amull amull pi ngo ndal e, mopo ael nge amboll mban ngol yum lla. ⁵Na aeme, onda aeng aoll piris romine, ngoi nda yel mbun tomba pallar lisan ael nda paemin sokolwe posaendi. ⁶Ne pongelle aen umb ten ndam iri mina tullumbi misae. ⁷Ael mopo, ael mopo, ngen taemaele tollo re ngol ngol, nono: pupombal yel aond, llisae. ⁸Na tamallom tolloll. # ⁹Tullumbi muwar lisan, oropiyenen oro pispi.

¹*Sky above-the-clouds up-there was-there co-ordinate-marker, that woman two go they-went.* ²*They-went-and, water's mother very-big down-there water Name-of-water in-reference consequent just-like thing water's mother very-big another this this-in-reference kind-of-plant kind-of-plant water another this was-there.* ³*This this-in-reference this-place saw wood bridge diminutive-marker dirty dirty be in-this-way another it-was.* ⁴*Wooden bridge this this-in-reference dirty dirty do this this-in-reference stand, over-there man you before let-us-go this you-put she-said.* ⁵*My brothers, that foot stand sat while, this this-in-reference thing break step-on break serialisation man this-in-reference for-no-reason fell-into-water he-fell.*

⁶Not fall stand attractive woman this-in-reference
 hair hold pulled took. ⁷Man over-there, man over-there,
 your rotting skin consequent-marker this this, down-there
 stinking thing look, she-said. ⁸Our rotting skin. #
⁹Pulled took serialisation, later superlative they-two-went.

¹'They were up there in the sky above the clouds, and that
 man and woman, the two of them went.' ²'They went and there
 was one really big water just like the water Pe, and this
 water was very blue.' ³'At this place I am talking about
 they saw there was a wooden bridge that was very very dirty.'
⁴'This wooden bridge that I am talking about was very very
 dirty, and she said, "Man, let us go over there, and you
 must put your foot here."' ⁵'My brothers, while he stood
 on that, that thing I am talking about broke, and for no
 reason he fell into the water.' ⁶'He had not fallen all
 the way in, and that woman grabbed his hair and pulled him
 out.' ⁷'She said, "Man over there, man over there, since
 it is your rotting skin, look here and here, at the stinking
 thing down there."' ⁸'It was our rotting flesh.' # ⁹'Having
 pulled him up, much later they went.'

CONSEQUENTIAL PARAGRAPHS

Consequential paragraphs are those which assert a cause-effect relationship between the topic or primary information and the secondary. Although they do occur in procedural and narrative discourse, not every narrative or procedural discourse has consequential paragraphs. They occur only when the speaker decides that it is important to assert a cause-effect relationship between the primary and secondary information.

The most obvious difference between the body of a sequential and a consequential paragraph is in the overall organisation. Consequential paragraphs nearly always have rather long sentences in which some embedded clauses occur and numerous lengthy chains are used frequently. There is a lot more repetition in consequential paragraphs than in sequential paragraphs. The introduction of the paragraph links the paragraph to the previous one, and defines the topic. Once the topic event is established, it is repeated several times. Interspersed between repetitions of the topic is secondary information which is either the cause or the result of the topic.

In the first example, the topic event is setting up tally sticks. It is the result for which the secondary information, counting how many pigs each man gives, is the cause. That is, the counting of the pigs must take place before the sticks can be set up. The main topic is established in the independent clause of the first sentence, and the first dependent clause of that sentence links back to the previous paragraph. The time change is implied in the second dependent clause of the first sentence by showing that the action in the previous paragraph has been completed. After the topic is established, it is repeated

twice more before the initial secondary information is given. After the topic is repeated again, additional secondary information is given. The paragraph ends with a summary, and that topic is not mentioned again in the text.

¹And pu mbawara, ngo and auya pa mbawar, ir tullu sollupu awallma. ²ir tullu ngo awallma re, ir tullu ngo awallma re, mena aelem ekirup kaollo aereml aondollwam, ir tullu ngo awallma. ³Ngo ir tullu ngo awara re, ael mendum i su men kaollowaem, mendum parana, mendum kerpo, mendum supu, mendum ngo ya. ⁴Ngo re ngo men ngo kaollewae rup, aondollwamin ir tullu awallma.

¹House do remain, this house dig-ground complete remain, wood stick long we-set-up. ²Wood stick this we-set-up consequent-marker, wood stick this we-set-up consequent-marker, pig men how-many give have to-see, wood stick this we-set-up. ³This wood stick this we-set-up consequent-marker, man another number-marker five pig give, another six, another seven, another twenty, another this alone. ⁴This consequent-marker this pig this give in-this-manner, in-order-to-see wood stick we-set-up.

¹'Having built the house, levelled the ground, and left them in that state, we customarily set up long wooden sticks.'
²'We set them up. We set them up; in order to see how many pigs the men have to give, we set up the sticks.'
³'As we set up the sticks, one man gives five pigs, another six, another seven, another twenty, and another only one.'
⁴'Giving these pigs in this way, we set up the sticks in order to see how many.'

The second example comes from an ancestral story. The secondary information is the cause, and the primary information the effect. This paragraph is different from most consequential paragraphs in that the sentences are rather short. The change in spatial setting is given in the first clause of the first sentence, which is an independent clause joined to the rest of the sentence by a co-ordinate marker. The second part of the first sentence repeats the topic event four times. There is no link between sentence one and two. In sentence two and three the speaker begins explaining the cause of the primary information in a quotation that begins in sentence two and ends in sentence three. Sentences four and five continue with the secondary information by quoting a second participant. Sentence six summarises the previous four sentences and links itself to sentences two through five. Sentence seven is linked to sentence six by using the verb do. It makes explicit the cause-effect relationship between the primary information and the secondary information. There are two clauses in sentence seven, a dependent and an independent one. The independent clause repeats part of the first clause in the paragraph. Although there is no link between sentence seven and eight, the relationship between them is clear because they contain the same information that was given in the first sentence of the paragraph. In the final sentence, the topic event is repeated four times.

¹Eyo anda noen pisao o, man we nda yel okol peraim, okol peraim, okol peraim, okol peraim pisao. ²Aki mendem eyo kowes we aendaepe, llisao. ³Nge epolle yo. ⁴Aki mendem eyo man aendaepe, llisao. ⁵Nge epolle yo. ⁶Ngup lla lla puwar, tillako paispi. ⁷Ngup puwar, nipu noen pisao. ⁸Man we nda okol paim, okol paim, okol paim, okol paim, pisao.

¹Lake-Kutubu house down she-went co-ordinate-marker, kind-of-tree seedlings this-in-reference thing let-loose sat, let-loose sat, let-loose sat, she-went. ²Sister another interjection kind-of-tree seedling you-look-at, she-said. ³You will-come co-ordinate-marker. ⁴Sister another interjection kind-of-tree you-look-at, she-said. ⁵You will-come co-ordinate-marker. ⁶In-this-manner say say do, separate they-went. ⁷In-this-manner do, she down she-went. ⁸Kind-of-tree seedling this-in-reference let-loose went, let-loose went, let-loose went, let-loose went, she-went.

¹'She went down to Lake Kutubu, and she went planting and planting and planting the seedling of the man tree.'
²'Another sister had said, "You watch for seedlings of the kowes tree."' ³"You will come." ⁴'The other sister had said, "You watch for the man tree."' ⁵"You will come."
⁶'Having spoken in this way, they separated and went.'
⁷'Having done in this manner, she went down.'
⁸'She went planting, and planting, and planting, and planting the seedling of the man tree.'

The following example has much longer sentences than the previous one. It differs from many consequential paragraphs in that it uses medial rather than final verbs to repeat the topic event. The frequent use of consequent markers helps to make the cause-effect relationship explicit. The first clause of sentence one gives the topic event, the carrying home of some pearl shells, and it is followed by a consequent marker. The rest of the sentence has twelve verbs which give the cause of the topic event. The first two verbs are in a sentence conjoined to the rest of the sentence by the relator word poror. The speaker then launches into a quotation, the first part of the quote having four medial verbs chained to a final verb. This chain repeats and summarises the events in the previous paragraph. Thus, they not only help show the cause of the topic event, they also link this paragraph to the preceding one. They are conjoined to the rest of the sentence by a relator word por. The next string of verbs, two medial followed by a final one, repeat the topic event. The eleventh verb is the verb 'to say', signalling that the quotation has ended. The final verb, 'to do', is in distant past tense, showing that all of these actions occurred in the past. Usually the subject of a clause occurs at the beginning of the clause. However, here the subject follows the final verb.

The second sentence quotes one of the participants, but it has only two verbs besides the verb 'to say'. It also gives the cause of the topic event, and it contains background information. There is no link

between sentence one and two or two and three. Sentence three reiterates a shortened form of the topic event, and it is extremely short containing only one independent clause with a final verb and a goal. The first clause of sentence four is a link to sentence three, and it is followed by a second consequent marker. The second part of the sentence gives additional secondary information. Sentence five contains an embedded clause which is also the link between sentences four and five. The embedded clause is the direct object of the final verb. In sentence six, the first three medial clauses repeat the topic event, and they relate to the final verb of the sentence. The second clause in sentence six is a time clause, and it has three medial verbs chained to the final verb. They relate to information given in the previous paragraph and also add new information. The time clause is followed by a consequent marker. The rest of the events in the paragraph tell the result or effect of the topic event. That is, they carried home the pearl shells, and so they divided them. The last part of sentence six has two verbs: a medial one and a final one. Sentence seven tells exactly how the pearl shells were divided, and completes the action begun in sentence six. The speaker uses tail-head linkage to relate sentence eight to sentence seven. He concludes the paragraph by telling what they did with the leftover pearl shells. The repeated information in the last two sentences of the paragraph is an indication that the paragraph is about to end.

¹Onda mandall powar ere, anda poll apap poror, aki aoll pora ael mendem na seker mondu njull aengel pu arepa por, mondu yu aep llo, pisae aki ki ndam. ²Mo ten iki mo paongarop ndam paeng ngae, llisae. ³Anda pismi. ⁴Anda powar ere, seker nda supu laplap or ilap mend mondu kellisae. ⁵Ngo kaollar pisao aeler ne aende. ⁶Mondu yu awar, onda songo aond yuwar, iri ae ar pipisao romb ore, aki papu nda yel kiriluwar tukmaisae. ⁷Toll su minur, toll su minur, toll su minur, toll su minur, toll ora minur, pu tukmaisae. ⁸Tukmawar, toll ilapor mender monda songo nipun kellismi.

¹*That carry go consequent-marker, house to-go prepare relator-word, sister plural-marker relator-word man another our pearl-shells carry give-us continue do was relator-word, carry put we-are say, she-did sister diminutive-marker this-in-reference. ²This woman son causative-marker pregnant this-in-reference did this, she-said. ³House they-went. ⁴House go consequent, pearl-shells this-in-reference twenty two superlative two other carry she-gave. ⁵This give he-went man negative see. ⁶Carry put were, that boy big was, hair stood was he-went when consequent-marker, sister many this-in-reference thing gather they-divided. ⁷Number-marker five hold, number-marker five hold, number-marker five hold, number-marker five hold, number-marker six hold, do they-divided. ⁸Dividing, number-marker two other this boy he they-gave.*

¹'Since they went carrying that thing, they were ready to go home and that little sister said to all the sisters, "A man did keep on carrying and giving us pearl shells and we are carrying and putting them." She said this, and she did.' ²'She said, "I think this man impregnated this woman."' ³'They went home.' ⁴'Since they went home, they carried and gave the forty pearl shells.' ⁵'They did not know who gave the pearl shells and went.'
⁶'Having carried and put those things, therefore when the boy was grown and had a lot of hair, all those sisters that I was talking about gathered and divided the pearl shells.' ⁷'One had five, another had five, another had five, and another had five, and they divided them and each had six.' ⁸'Dividing them they gave two to the boy.'

CHAPTER FIVE

SENTENCES

BASIC SENTENCE TYPES

Nembi has two basic sentence types: verbal and non-verbal. Sentence-final intonation, a rapid decline in pitch, is superimposed on the final word of all sentences.

VERBAL SENTENCES

Verbal sentences have an obligatory independent clause which optionally has one or more dependent clauses before it. One type of verbal sentence is the quotative sentence so called because it is the type that contains direct and indirect quotations. Karl Franklin (1970:120), in his analysis of the Kewa language, which is another member of the Mendi sub-family and the West Central family of languages, defines quotative sentences as,

consisting of two tagmenes: the identification and the quote. The identification is typically discontinuous, i.e. it appears on both sides of the quote. The quote is, in turn, unlimited in its range of syntagmemic exponents. The functional pattern of a quotational sentence is similar to that of a ditransitive clause.

Virtually the same situation holds for Nembi. Information given in the first part of the sentence, which Franklin (1971) calls the 'identification tagmeme', may indicate who is talking, to whom he is talking, and when and where the quote was made, after which the verb occurs in either medial or final form. The speaker then gives the quotation which varies in length from only one or two words to several sentences. When the quote is finished, the verb is repeated, this time using a final form of the verb. The quotative sentence is not complete until the verb

has been repeated following the quote even though the quote itself may contain several sentences. It is as though the speaker places the quoted information within a set of parentheses by repeating the verb both before and after the quote. Although a verb of saying is used more frequently than the others, the verb of a quotative sentence is not limited to verbs of saying or telling. The set of verbs which may occur include llowar 'to say', llanjuwar 'to tell you or me', llaokaollowar 'to tell him', kone yuwar 'to think', nawar 'to think', aondowar 'to see', paongowar 'to hear', kone kimb puwar 'to remember', and angal muwar 'to ask'.

Two examples of quotative sentences follow. The first is taken from a narrative told in first person and in the near past tense. In the first part of the sentence, the speaker indicates who he was talking to and then uses a dependent medial form of the verb 'to say'. The quote is quite short having only one independent clause and no dependent clauses. The sentence concludes by using an independent final form of the same verb that was used in the first part of the sentence.

Penerop por llowar, mone ngom mop, llau.

Name-of-person relator-word *say*, *money this come-and-get*, *I said*.

'I said to Penerop, "Come and get this money," I said.'

In the second example, the identification part of the sentence is much longer and more involved than the one in the first example. There are two medial verbs chained to the final verb and two locational phrases, one going with the medial verb 'to put', and the other with the quotative verb. Usually locational phrases precede the verb they modify, but here they have been permuted and both occur after the verb. A final verb form comes both before and after the quote. However, sentence-final intonation is not used until the quote is complete and the quotative verb is repeated.

Aong mellel rae ollop yeperaep onda yelara kuru yuwara, mopol, te llall isao, eli tonga por, Ond Tima Ponki yango, ar Kesu Ponki yango, ar Angara Ponki yango, llo te llall isao.

A-type-of-plant mourning-skirt connector *a-type-of-plant mourning-beads that things remove put, over-there, cry say was, husband grave relator-word, Name-of-mountain Name-of-mountain Name-of-man husband, mountain Name-of-mountain Name-of-man husband, mountain Name-of-mountain Name-of-man husband, say cry say she-was*.

'Having taken off her mourning skirt, her mourning beads, and all these things, and having put them over there, she was crying at her husband's grave site, "Ponki my husband from Old Tima; Ponki my husband from the mountain of Kesu; Ponki my husband from the mountain of Angara," she was crying.'

The predominate pattern for the identification part of a quotative sentence is discontinuous. However, in the ancestral stories, the first part of the identification is often deleted. At the beginning of the sentence the speaker launches into the quote, after which he gives the information that usually precedes it. The deletion of the initial identification has only been observed in these ancestral stories, and it is similar to the omission of a link between sentences in that both occur when a dramatic climax is reached involving an unexpected event. In the following example, the quote begins with the first word of the sentence. The verb 'to say' comes immediately after the quote and is chained to the final verb. Between the verb of saying and the final verb, the participant being quoted is identified.

Yam aelen iki eki pulluwam pae, llowar onda tenom uwae
llelle pipisao.

*Desire man's hand what do question-marker, say that woman
shout talk she-went.*

*"Are you a man of lust, and what are you doing?"
saying this, that woman went shouting.'*

Other types of verbal sentences involving dependent and independent clauses are not discussed here, but the clauses which make up verbal sentences are discussed in chapter six.

NON-VERBAL SENTENCES

Non-verbal sentences either have a single predicate which is an adjective, preceded by its argument, either a noun or pronoun, or they consist of two or more nominals in an equative construction or of a single nominal. Non-verbal sentences rarely occur in formal discourse except in the introduction or closure. The most common non-verbal sentence is used in the finis of most discourses and is simply *ngo oro this end 'this is the end'*. In the introduction of discourse, non-verbal sentences sometimes assign a name to a participant or a place. In the following example, the predicate is an adjective of comparison preceded by a noun.

Tek anda nonpi.

Name-of-village house just-like.

'It was a place just like the village of Tek.'

When this type of construction occurs in a verbal sentence, it may be viewed as an embedded non-verbal sentence as in the following example.

Tenael onge lap Tikip anda nonpil puru aispi.

Woman-man old two Name-of-village house just-like sit they-stood.

'The old man and woman, the two of them lived at a place that was just like the village of Tikip.'

One or both parts of an equative construction may be an embedded sentence. In the following example, the first nominal is a possessive noun phrase, and the second is an embedded equative construction.

Tenon mbire Osikisaek waene Yomo ten.

Woman's name Name-of-person daughter Name-of-clan woman.

'The woman's name was Osikisaek's daughter of the Yomo clan.'

The embedded construction is:

Osikisaek waene Yomo ten

Name-of-person daughter Name-of-clan woman

'Osikisaek's daughter is from the Yomo clan.'

Locative phrases may be incorporated in a noun phrase which is one of the nominals in an equative sentence. The following example comes from the body of an ancestral narrative. It occurred when the narrator waited until he was in the middle of the story to name the main participants. The locative phrase which occurs with the first noun phrase helps to clarify which participant the name belongs to.

Aki mende non Eyo Eyotekin aengi.

Sister other down-there-at Lake-Kutubu Name-of-person mother.

'The other sister down there at Lake Kutubu was Eyotekin's mother.'

Questions requesting identification of a person or object occur in non-verbal sentences. When they occur in formal discourse, they are usually a type of rhetorical question expressing surprise by one of the participants, but in informal dialogue they are ordinary questions. The first part names the person or thing to be identified, and the second asks the question by using a question word. Some examples follow.

Ngor eki

This what?

'What is this?'

Ngen mbir aip?

Your name who?

'What is your name?'

Nge ekip?

You what?

'What are you?'

Ama, nger epullu?

Exclamation-of-surprise, you why?

'Oh, why you?'

These are distinct from questions such as *aipim pao who did 'who did it?'*, *eki pai what you-did 'what did you do?'* and *epull pai why you-did 'why did you do it?'* where the same question words are used to request information.

Non-verbal sentences sometimes consist of a single nominal. In one example, it is the first sentence in the text, and it identifies the topic.

Omapo.

Garden.

'I am talking about a garden.'

In another example, a sentence consisting of a single nominal occurs in the body of the discourse. The preceding sentence says the participant had turned into a snake. The non-verbal sentence repeats the word 'snake' and seems to be used for emphasis.

¹Kowaek olisae. ²Kowaek

¹Snake he-turned-into. ²Snake

¹'He turned into a snake.' ²'He was a snake.'

In the non-verbal sentences discussed so far, the verb is obligatorily absent. A second type of non-verbal sentence involves a stative construction from which the copula has been optionally deleted. This type of sentence is used frequently in less formal situations and more rarely in procedural and narrative texts. Nembi does not have one verb corresponding to the English verb 'to be'. There are, however, a number of verbs which in certain contexts take a similar meaning and function: *omowar 'to die'*, *puruwar 'to sit'*, *puwar 'to do'*, *yuwar 'to put'*, *awar*

'to stand', and sowar 'to bear fruit'.¹ When these verbs are used as a copula, the primary meaning of these verbs becomes insignificant. Two examples follow. First the verb 'to sit' and then the verb 'to die' function as the copula.

Na aorao ngo por piya.

My father this relator-word he-sits.

'My father is here.'

Nipu kom omelliya.

He angry he-will-die.

'He will be angry.'

When sentences of this sort do occur in formal discourse, it is either in the introduction to help describe and identify participants or more rarely in the body of the discourse to help keep track of the participants. The first example comes from an introduction to an ancestral story. Two sentences are shown. The first refers to a participant and makes a comment about him followed by the copula. The second sentence repeats part of the information given in the first, but the verb has been deleted.

¹Ael epe oro mend a isao. ²Or epe oro.

¹Man good superlative other stand he-stood.

²Very good superlative.

¹'A man was very good.' ²'He was very good.'

The second example consists of only two words. The copula has been deleted, but the speaker could have chosen to include it.

Nipi onguma.

They-two alone.

'they two were alone.'

The third example comes from the body of an ancestral story, and the verb has been deleted.

¹A discussion as to which verb a speaker must choose to function as the copula is outside the scope of this paper. However, the choice is based on animate and inanimate, the ability or inability to stand erect, mobility or immobility, and the emotional and physical state of being.

Kupkakupin aengi nda.

Name-of-person mother this-in-reference.

'This was Kupkakupin's mother.'

CONJOINED SENTENCES

Any sentence type may be conjoined to any other sentence type by one of several clitics indicating that either a consequential, contrastive, or co-ordinate relationship exists between the sentences they conjoin. *re* indicates a consequential, *ong* a contrastive, and *o* a co-ordinate relationship.¹

When *re* conjoins sentences, the preceding sentence may be either a cause or an effect of the succeeding one. That is, they are logically related, but the syntax does not tell how. In the following example, the first sentence has only an independent clause. In the second sentence, three medial clauses are chained to the final verb which is the same as the final verb in the first sentence. The action of the dependent clauses is a consequence of that in the independent clauses.

Ngo ir aonda ngo awallma re, Eyo po taeke irin llowar awallma.

This wood big this we-set-up consequent-marker, Name-of-tribe chop split burn-different-subject say we-set-up.

'We set up this log; thus, saying that the Eyo tribe will chop, burn, and split it, we customarily set it up.'

The second example shows a non-verbal sentence conjoined to a verbal one. The thing identified in the non-verbal sentence is the cause of the command given in the verbal sentence. This relationship is made explicit by using *re* to conjoin the two sentences.

Ngen taemaele tollo re ngol ngol, nono pupombal yel aond.

Your rotting-stinking skin consequent-marker this this, down-there stinking thing look.

'Since it is your rotting skin, look here and here at the stinking thing down there.'

¹*re*, *o*, and *ong* are the basic forms. However, morphophonemic restrictions change *re* to *ore* following words ending in consonants preceded by back vowels, and *ere* following consonants preceded by front and central vowels. *o* and *ong* become *yo* and *yong* when they follow words ending in high front vowels.

The clitics *ol*, *ri*, and *por* are occasionally used to conjoin sentences. However, they conjoin words or phrases more often and are not included in the discussion here.

The third example shows *re* conjoining two verbal sentences whose independent clauses have different final verbs.

Olle ngo llisao re, apapull yalle nda yel por pel ma kombo
por ngo yel ama ya kaololl opisao.

*Sweet-potatoes this she-said consequent-marker, kind-of-bird
cooked this-in-reference thing relator-word kind-of-tree
kind-of-tree new-leaves relator-word this thing plural-marker
cooked to-give she-came.*

*'Since she said here are your sweet potatoes, she cooked and
came to give that bird meat, the new leaves of the pel tree,
and all these things.'*

Conjoined sentences showing a contrastive relationship occasionally occur in narrative and procedural discourse, but they occur more frequently in other types of discourse. The following example is taken from the introduction to an ancestral story. In the second part of the sentence, the direct object is an embedded sentence.

Men ondopur kaollo espi yong, ul pambor oror mend aerenem
yopo Wangapeyemem kaolla nda nonpi mend kaollo espi.

*Pig many take-care-of they-were contrast-marker, number-marker one
superlative other father over-there Name-of-person gave this-
in-reference just-like other take-care-of they-were.*

*'They were taking care of many pigs but they took care of
one really big one that was just like the one over there
that Wangapeyem gave to your father.'*

O sometimes conjoins information which is repeated several times, as in the following example. There are three independent clauses conjoined by *o*.

Pispi yo, pispi yo, ama sollu ngupl mend isao.

*They-two-went co-ordinate marker, they-two-went co-ordinate-
marker, cleared-place long in-this-way other it-was.*

*'They went and they went, and there was another long cleared
place like that.'*

In the next example *o* conjoins a sentence with two dependent clauses and an independent clause to one with only an independent clause.

Pongolla mba esao o, yono aepen pisao.

*Tied remain it-stood co-ordinate-marker, up-there
over-there-on-this-side he-went.*

'They were tied together, and he went up and over there.'

CHAPTER SIX

CLAUSES

Halliday's (1967, 1968; Kress 1976) notion of systemic grammar is useful for explaining the Nembí clause system. The primary emphasis is on the choices which the speaker has available to him in producing a complex grammatical unit and on how different choices made by a speaker interact and depend on each other in their impact on linguistic form. The series of choices available to a speaker of Nembí when he produces a clause is illustrated in chart 1. The clause system involves independent clauses that take final verb forms and dependent clauses that take medial verb forms. There are four kinds of medial clauses: chronological, durative, purposive, and resultative.

INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

All independent clauses have final verb forms. They are optionally preceded by dependent clauses. The final verb always has person, number, and tense affixation and is the only obligatory constituent of the independent clause. The speaker may choose to state subjects, objects, time, and location overtly, or he may omit them. Objects may be omitted if they were identified at an earlier point in the text and have not changed. When the subject is stated overtly, it is for emphasis or specific identification. An embedded clause may occur as subject, object, or location in an independent clause.

An independent clause is the only obligatory clause in a verbal sentence. However, it is usually preceded by at least one dependent medial clause. In longer narratives it is not uncommon for an independent clause to be preceded by ten dependent medial clauses, and as many as sixteen have preceded it. In discourse when an independent clause does occur by itself as the only clause in the sentence, it is either in the

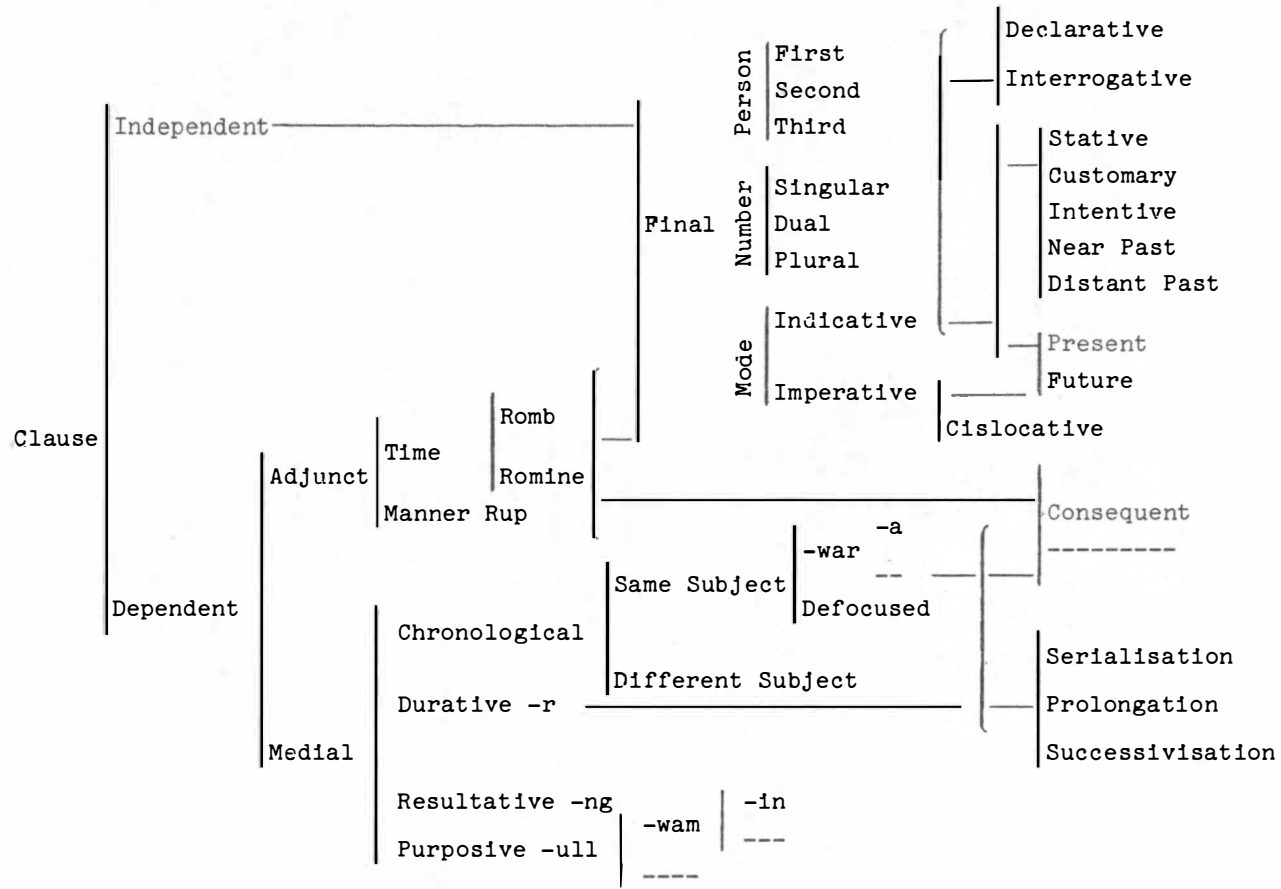


CHART 1

Systems in the Nembu Clause

introduction, or, when in the body of the discourse, serves to repeat or clarify something.

The first example of an independent clause as the only clause in the sentence is taken from an introduction to the discourse, and it is used to establish both temporal and spatial setting, and to give the first event in the story.

Ambulla Emb anda pomau.

Yesterday, name-of-village house we-went.

'Yesterday we went to Embi.'

The second example also comes from the introduction to a discourse and gives the first event in the story. The subject of the independent clause is an embedded clause.

Ael epe oro a isao nda nipuna timba upellisaio.

Man good very stand he-stood this-in-reference, he night he-slept.

'That man who was very good slept at night.'

The next example illustrates an independent clause occurring as a sentence in a series of repeated information. These two sentences occur at the end of a paragraph summarising the events that have just occurred.

¹Ngup ngup ama ngup ama plsaie. ²Ngup ama plsaie.

¹In-this-way in-this-way continually in-this-way continually he-did. ²In-this-way continually he-did.

¹'He continually did this again and again.'

²'He did this continually.'

The first sentence in the following example has both an independent and a dependent medial clause. The next three sentences, consisting of one word, the final verb, repeat the independent clause of the preceding sentence. As in the previous example, the repetition indicates that the action continued over an extended period of time.

¹Onda songo yollomi pisao. ²Pisao. ³Pisao. ⁴Pisao.

¹That boy pulling it-went. ²It-went. ³It-went. ⁴It-went.

¹'It went pulling that boy.' ²'It went.' ³'It went.'
⁴'It went.'

The following example shows the speaker using an independent clause as a sentence to clarify some information. The preceding sentence is also

shown. The first sentence tells what one participant was doing, and the second clause explains why.

¹iki nda nono ndal kowaek yel pe pipull esae.
²Kowaek olisae.

¹*Son this-in-reference down-there this-in-reference
 snake thing go to-go he-was.* ²*Snake he-turned-into.*

¹*'That son was down there walking like a snake.'*
²*'He turned into a snake.'*

DEPENDENT ADJUNCT CLAUSES

A dependent clause may be either an adjunct clause or a medial clause. The dependent adjunct clauses are time and manner clauses formed by adding the clitics *romb* 'when', *rup* 'in this manner', or *romine* 'while' to the end of clauses otherwise having the form of independent clauses. These clauses occur at the beginning of a sentence and are subordinate to the independent clause in the sentence. Dependent medial clauses often occur between adjunct clause and the independent clause which follows. It is rare for more than one adjunct clause to occur per sentence, but it is possible. The following example shows a rare occurrence where a single sentence has three adjunct clauses. All three are time clauses. *Romb* is added to the first two clauses, and *romine* to the third. All three are subordinate to the independent clause which comes at the end of the sentence. Three dependent medial clauses occur between the third adjunct clause and the independent clause.

Ya angal kepi kopa minisao romb, nare pol piya nda nonpi
 romb, amboll powar pirisao romine, ir pel menden te por
 urul pel urul nda yel na aeme yalla pel mama yae mend koru
 tal papapu esaiya.

*Bird talk light fall it-covered when, sun light it-was
 this-in-reference just-like when, before go he-sat while,
 tree kind-of-tree other trunk relator-word orange-ground
 kind-of-tree orange-ground this-in-reference thing my
 brothers plural-marker hardwood-tree branch-with-new-leaves
 thing other dig carry climb-up it-was.*

*'When the birds sang and it became light, when it was just
 like the time that the sun becomes light, and while he sat
 where he had gone earlier, all my brothers, at the trunk
 of the pel tree something was digging out the orange ground,
 carrying it and climbing up the branches of the pel tree.'*

Within discourse, adjunct clauses are often used to link either a sentence or paragraph to a previous one. Adjunct clauses may or may not have the same subject as the subject of the independent clause they precede. As in the following example, they frequently link two sentences whose independent clauses have different subjects.

¹Or peraoll pir, Upa powa. ²Upa powa romb, kiyapon
kar epao.

¹Pray sit go, Name-of-village I-went. ²Name-of-village
I-went when, patrol-officer's car he-came.

¹'Having gone to worship, I went to Upa.' ²'When I went
to Upa, the patrol officer's car came.'

In the second example, the adjunct clause and the independent clause have different subjects. In the adjunct clause, the subject is understood from the context and made explicit by final verb suffixes. In the independent clause, the new subject is stated overtly.

Ond Tima Ponki nonpi nda omu aendisao romb. Ond Tima
Ponki nda ipisae.

Name-of-mountain Name-of-mountain Name-of-man just-like
this-in-reference turn-head she-saw when, Name-of-mountain
Name-of-mountain Name-of-man this-in-reference he-came.

'When she turned her head and saw this thing just like
Ponki from the mountains of Ond and Tima, Ponki from Ond
and Tima had come.'

The next example is a time clause using the clitic romine after the final verb.

Timbanen aendis romine, ten nda imu no kop mar pir pisae.

At-night see while, woman this-in-reference heart eat remove
carry go he-went.

'While it was night, he removed, ate, and went carrying
the heart of that woman.'

Manner clauses indicate that the action in the independent clause was performed in the same manner as the action in the adjunct clause. Thus, where both actions are a part of the same sequence of events, the action in the adjunct clause is always completed before that in the independent clause begins, thus involving either tail-head or remote linkage. The verb in the adjunct clause in the following example has near past tense indicating that the action has been completed recently. The verb in the independent clause uses intensive tense indicating the participant's intention to immediately carry out the intended action in the same manner that the completed action was performed. The two clauses have different subjects.

Nena iki pao nda rup pono.

My son he-went this-in-reference in-this-manner I-will-go.

'I will go in the same way that my son went.'

In the second example, both verbs use distant past tense, and they have the same subject. However, the verb in the adjunct clause refers back to an earlier event that preceded the action in the independent clause, and the second action was performed in the same manner as the first.

Wall tumisao rup, wall pisae.

Again climb-up in-this-manner, again she-went.

'She again went in the same way that she had climbed up again.'

In narrative discourse the information will occasionally be explanatory information outside the main sequence of events. When this occurs, the speaker either mentions something the hearers are familiar with such as one of their customs or a habit of one of their clansmen, or he points out something that can be observed, comparing the information in the manner clause to that in the independent clause, thus producing a type of metaphor. The manner clause in the following example points out a mountain that the audience can see and compares it to the stance of one of the participants.

Yon an esmba ki yopo esmbal rael yelllya rup, mend
aond kopa awar lisan, aond kopa pirisaendi.

*Up-there stone mountain diminutive-marker up-there
mountain relator-word put in-this-manner, other look
gaze-down stand serialisation, look gaze-down she-sat.*

*'Just as that little stone mountain up there is on that
mountain up there, she stood looking down, and she sat
looking down.'*

DEPENDENT MEDIAL CLAUSES

Some dependent clauses are medial clauses. The verb is the only obligatory constituent of a medial clause. As with independent clauses, the subject, object, or location words need not be stated overtly, but the speaker may use them. When the speaker has chosen to produce a medial clause, he must then decide whether to produce a chronological, durative, resultative, or purposive clause.

CHRONOLOGICAL CLAUSES

The chronological clause is chosen when the speaker wants to show simultaneity or sequence of action. Once the speaker has chosen a chronological clause, he must decide whether it is to have the same subject or a different one from the next clause. If he has chosen to produce a same subject clause, he may choose either a defocused verb,

or he may add the -war suffix to the verb. If he chooses a -war form, he has to decide whether to leave it unmarked or add the suffix -a. Because -war and -wara are so similar, they are discussed as one.¹

The -war clauses contain information which may be either old or new in Halliday's (1967) sense. That is, they may repeat information that has already been given in the preceding text and can be anaphorically recovered, or they may contain new information which has not been mentioned earlier in the text. Thus, they are frequently used in both chaining or cataphoric relationships by predicting what the next subject will be and in linkage or anaphoric relationships by repeating or summarising old information. -War clauses frequently link two independent clauses that have the same subject.

The following example illustrates two -war clauses and one -wara clause. The first two -war clauses link by summarising the previous events, but the -wara clause gives new information. All clauses in the chain share the same subject.

Ngo rup pawar, an to pu mbawar, peluwara, men laim.

This manner complete-chronological-same-subject, stone arrange-chronological-defocused do-chronological-defocused remain-chronological-same-subject, sleep-chronological-same-subject, pig they-kill.

'Having completed this and letting the stone remain in that state, and having slept, they killed the pigs.'

The next example shows two consecutive sentences both containing chronological -war clauses. The first is preceded by two chronological defocused clauses. These three clauses summarise old information and link the rest of the sentence to the preceding text. In the second sentence, the chronological -war clause again summarises and repeats old information, linking that sentence to the preceding text. The independent clauses in the two sentences have different subjects. The final verb in sentence one is marked for third person dual, and the final verb in sentence two is marked for third person singular. The free pronoun in sentence two helps to make the change in subject explicit. In the preceding part of the text, the narrator has been talking about two sisters, but beginning with the second sentence in this example, he talks about only one of the sisters. Thus, the subject of sentence

¹The distinction between -war and -wara is not clear. There is evidence that they may be chosen on the basis of whether the events in the chained sequence have an antecedent or simultaneous relationship: -war may be antecedent, and -wara simultaneous. Data from Kewa (Franklin 1971) and Mendi support this possibility.

two was a part of the subject in sentence one. Since the subject change involved only a change in number, and not in person, the *-war* clause could still be used to link the two independent clauses. Had the subject change involved a change in person, or a different third person referent, the speaker would not have used the *-war* clause to link the two sentences.

¹Ngup lla lla puwar, tillako paispi. ²Ngup puwar,
nipu noen pisao.

¹*In-this-manner say-chronological-defocused say-chronological-defocused do-chronological-same-subject, separate-chronological-defocused they-two-went.* ²*In-this-manner do-chronological-same-subject, she down she-went.*

¹*'Having spoken in this way, they separated and went.'*
²*'Having done in this manner, she went down.'*

The following example shows three consecutive sentences taken from a procedural text. The first sentence has a *-war* clause followed by an independent clause. The second sentence has a chronological defocused clause followed by a *-war* clause and then an independent clause. The third sentence has a *-war* clause followed by two chronological defocused clauses and another *-war* clause. The second and third sentences have consequent markers between the last *-war* clause and the independent clause. The subject in all sentences is the same, and the first clause in each sentence links.

¹Yopor te aowara, and su lallma. ²And su lu yuwar ore,
and ipai awallma. ³And ipai awar, and ipai a pa mbawar
ore, komoku yallma.

¹*Kind-of-plant roots dig-out-chronological-same-subject, house ground we-hit.* ²*House ground hit-chronological-defocused put-chronological-same-subject consequent-marker, house post we-set.* ³*House post set-chronological-same-subject, house post set-chronological-defocused complete-defocused remain-chronological-same-subject consequent-marker, cane we-fasten.*

¹*'Having dug out the pitpit roots, we level the ground for the house.'* ²*'Having levelled and put the ground for the house, we consequently set the house posts.'* ³*'Having set the house posts and having set them in the ground and completed it, and left it remaining that way, we consequently fasten the cane.'*

The speaker who chooses to produce a chronological medial clause with the same subject as the following verb has a second option available to him. He may choose to add no ending to the verb stem. Clauses containing such unmarked verbs are called chronological defocused clauses, and are chosen to portray secondary information which is stated only

once. They are used in both consequential and sequential paragraphs. Defocused clauses often occur in lengthy chains of medial clauses, but one may occur by itself immediately preceding the final clause, as in the following example.

Naoma men seker mone ngo rup mondu kaollam.

We pig pearl-shells money this in-this-way carry-defocused we-give.

'Carrying them, we give these pigs, pearl shells, and money in this way.'

The second example shows a defocused clause in a chain of two dependent clauses which precede the final independent clause. Although the defocused clause has a transitive verb, its object is not stated since it is clearly understood from the context.

Espu awar, Apkas llaokallau...

Look-for-defocused stand-chronological-same-subject, boy's-name I-told...

'As I was looking for it, I told Apkas...'

The next example shows a chain of six chronological defocused clauses followed by an independent clause. The object of the first two defocused clauses is the same. The third and fourth clauses share another object, and the fifth and sixth clauses take a third object. The final clause summarises the previous actions by using the word *do*. That is, the final independent clause in a very general way tells what the participant did, and the medial clauses tell specifically.

Kore tani ilap mondu yu, ir kapu wesu yu, so pu yu, ngup plisao.

Pitpit-shoots greens two carry-defocused, put-defocused, wood dried gather-defocused put-defocused, leaves cut-defocused put-defocused, in-this-way he-did.

'Carrying and putting both pitpit shoots and greens, gathering and putting firewood, cutting and putting leaves, he did in this manner.'

The next example shows a sentence with two defocused clauses, each with its own object. The subject is stated at the beginning of the sentence and again in the independent clause at the end of the sentence.

Nipi tepall e po, and pu, nipi tepall pirispi.

They-two spouses garden plant-defocused, house do-defocused, they-two spouses they-two-sat.

'The two spouses having planted a garden and built a house, the two spouses lived.'

It is common to have a sentence with both chronological defocused and -war clauses occurring in the same chain of medial clauses. The first example has three -war clauses, and two defocused clauses.

Ngo rup pawar, an to pu mbawar, pellowara, men laim.

This manner complete-chronological, stone arrange-defocused do-defocused remain-chronological, sleep-chronological, pig they-killed.

'Having completed this and letting the stones remain in that state and having slept, they killed the pigs.'

The second example has a chain of seven chronological clauses. Six are defocused, but one, the second in the chain, adds the -war suffix to the verb.

Anda toreyao po nawar ne mondu tu na no puru espi.

House door close-defocused put-chronological-war food carry-defocused carry-defocused put-inside-defocused eat-defocused sit-focused they-two-were.

'Having closed the door, carried the food, and put it inside, they were sitting and eating.'

The speaker may choose to produce a chronological clause whose verb is affixed to show that the next clause has a different subject. Chronological different subject clauses are usually found in chains of two or more dependent clauses, and they usually come somewhere before the last dependent verb in the chain. However, they may immediately precede the final verb. They are formed by adding the suffix -n to the verb stem. Chronological different subject clauses occur infrequently. Most medial clauses are marked to indicate that the next clause will have the same subject. When different subject clauses do occur, one of the subjects must be stated overtly. Objects may be omitted if they are understood.

The first example illustrates a chain of clauses in which one of the clauses is marked to indicate that the next clause will have a different subject. The chain, consisting of four medial clauses and an independent one, occurs in the second part of a conjoined sentence. The different subject marker is found on the third medial verb. Thus, the last medial verb and the final verb share the same subject that occurs in the first part of the conjoined sentence and is, therefore, understood from context. The first three verbs in the chain share another subject which is stated overtly preceding the first chained clause.

Ngo ir aonda ngo awalma re, Eyo po taeke irin llowar awalma.

This wood big this we-set-up consequent-marker, Name-of-tribe-from-Lake-Kutubu chop-defocused split-defocused burn-different-subject sat we-set-up.

'We set up this log, saying that the Eyo clan will chop, burn, and split it, we customarily set it up.'

In the next example, the subject changes after the second clause. That is the first two clauses share the same subject, the first being marked for same subject and the second for different subject. The rest of the clauses all share another subject which is stated overtly immediately after the clause marked for different subject.

Ne pongelle aen, umb ten ndam iri mina tullumbi misae.

Negative fall-defocused-same-subject stand-different-subject, attractive woman this-in-reference hair hold-defocused-same-subject pulled-defocused-same-subject she-took.

'He had not fallen all the way, and the woman grabbed his hair and pulled him up.'

The next example illustrates a sentence with a clause marked for different subject immediately preceding the final verb. The subject of the first two clauses is stated overtly, but it changes before the third and final clause which has an imperative verb.

E nem pull pon, ip.

Yes I do-purposive go-different subject, you-come.

'Yes, I am going in order to do it, now you come.'

DURATIVE CLAUSES

A durative clause represents an event as extending over a period of time or space. The durative clause is formed by adding a suffix *-r* to the verb stem, and it always indicates that the following verb has the same subject.¹ These clauses often occur in discourse at points where the setting changes taking the participants from one time or location to another. They are often followed by a verb of going which has a goal occurring between the chain of medial verbs and the final verb. The durative verb is not necessarily the last medial verb in the chain, but

¹In the data there is one sentence which may have a durative clause marked to indicate that the next clause will have a different subject. However, the evidence is insufficient to warrant a change in the current analysis.

frequently it is. The first example shows a chain of two dependent clauses both of which have a durative verb form. The independent clause has a goal which is stated overtly following the second durative clause and immediately preceding the final verb.

Mel lar pir, anda ipullemi.

Dance dance-durative go-durative, house they-came.

'They were dancing as they came to their houses.'

The second example shows a chain of two medial durative clauses followed by the consequent marker *re*. The independent clause with its final verb comes after *re*, and there is also a goal before the final verb.

Wall mar pir re, Kuind aoraon anda aenen paombaum.

*Again carry-durative go-durative consequent-marker,
Name-of-boy father-s house inside we-entered.*

*Since we had carried it and gone again, we entered
Kuind's father's house.*

The following example shows a durative verb occurring immediately preceding the final verb. The speaker is emphasising that the action continued for a long time both by using a durative clause and by repeating the independent clause.

¹Embes powar lisan, okull lar pirisao. ²Pirisao.

¹Quickly go-chronological serialisation, barrier hit-durative
she-sat. ²She-sat.

¹Having gone quickly, she sat hitting the barrier.'
²She sat.'

The next example is a conjoined sentence with five clauses: three dependent medial and two independent final clauses. The two durative clauses occur in a string of three medial clauses in the second part of the conjoined sentence. The first two medial clauses, a chronological defocused clause and a durative clause, have transitive verbs sharing the same four objects. The sentence is somewhat unusual in that it has four noun phrases naming the objects of the transitive verbs. The third medial clause and the independent final clause have verbs of going, and the goal of the independent final clause is also stated.

Ngup isae yo, men we tu lapo, ep tongo, sok kapu, taengel
ake mondu tar pir, Eyo anda pipisao.

*In-this-manner it-was co-ordinate-marker, pig female male
two, salt wrapped, tobacco dried, shell-necklace white carry-
defocused carry-durative go-durative, Name-of-clan house she-went.*

'It was like that, and she went to the village of the clan of Eyo carrying a male and a female pig, salt, dried tobacco, and white shell necklaces.'

RESULTATIVE CLAUSES

A third kind of medial clause is identified as resultative. The clause is formed by adding the suffix -ng to the verb. The choice to use a resultative clause is rather restricted. It always precedes an independent clause whose final verb is a command, and the subject always changes. The action in the resultative clause enables the command to be given. That is, because the statement in the first clause is true, the command can be given, as in the following examples.

Ki nda kopeyaeng, ngem wall me.

Key this-in-reference break-resultative, you again get-present-command-singular.

'Because my key is broken, you must get another one.'

Ngupi yemer tenael naollang, aendaepe.

In-this-manner group women-men eat-resultative, see-future-command-singular.

'These kinds of things eat people, and so you be careful.'

Aeren mbelli mong eyong, pu.

Father brothers over-there stand-resultative, go-present-command-singular.

'Your father and brothers are over there, and so you go.'

Resultative clauses occur only rarely in narrative and procedural discourse.

PURPOSIVE CLAUSES

When producing a medial clause, the speaker may choose a purposive clause so called because they give the purpose or reason for carrying out the act named by the verb they precede. English *'in order to'* parallels the Nembí purposive clause reasonably well *'in order to buy bread, I went to the store.'* The first clause gives the reason or purpose for carrying out the act which is named by the verb in the second clause. Nembí purposive clauses indicate that the next clause will have the same subject, and they are subordinate to the medial or final verb they precede. A purposive clause, formed by adding the suffix -ull to the verb stem, is usually part of a longer chain of clauses.

In the first example, the purposive clause is attached to the final verb. There are three clauses in the sentence: a chronological, a purposive, and an independent clause.

Ya iri ngo esmba awara, mel lull pullemi.

*Bird feather this head set-chronological-same-subject,
dance dance-purposive they-will-do.*

*'Setting those bird feathers on their heads, in order
to dance, they will do this.'*

In the next example, the purposive clause occurs in a chain of four medial clauses, and is subordinate to the chronological -war clause that it precedes.

Ngo por Eyom waombull taoll epowar, pellin, llowar pinim.

*This relator-word Name-of-clan oily-sap carry-purposive
come-chronological-same-subject, sleep-chronological-
different-subject, say-chronological+same-subject they-do.*

*'They do this, and they say that at this place the people
from the Eyo clan, in order to carry oily sap, will come
and sleep.'*

In the next example, the purposive clause occurs in a chain of three medial clauses. The first two are chronological defocused clauses, and the third is the purposive. All have the same subject which is stated overtly in the independent clause immediately preceding the final verb.

Lu yollo tall nipu pipisao.

Hit-defocused pull-defocused carry-purposive he he-went.

'Having hit and pulled her, he went in order to carry her.'

Once the speaker has chosen to produce a purposive clause, he has another choice to make: whether or not to add a second suffix -wam. If he chooses to add the -wam suffix, he must then decide between adding -in or not adding it. The suffixes -wam and -in are so rarely added to the purposive clauses that I have been unable to formulate a principle for their use. Two examples follow. The first has both -wam and -in, but the second has only -wam.

Ngo re ngo men ngo kaollowae rup, aondollwamin ir tulli awallma.

*This consequent-marker this pig this give in-this-manner,
see-purposive wood sticks we-set-up.*

*'Giving these pigs in this manner, we set up the sticks in
order to see how many.'*

...and pullwam, and lpai awalma.

...house do-purposive, house posts we-set-up.

'In order to build the house, we customarily set up the house posts.'

OTHER CLAUSAL PHENOMENA

CONSEQUENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Chronological clauses marked for the same subject, durative clauses, and time and manner clauses may be followed by the consequent marker *re*. When this occurs it indicates that there is a consequential relationship between it and the clause which follows it.¹ The first example shows *re* added to a dependent medial chronological clause followed by an independent clause.

Ir ponawar re, yopor te awalma.

Wood sharpen-chronological consequent-marker, plant roots we-dig-out.

'We sharpen the sticks since we dig out the roots.'

The next example shows *re* added to a durative clause followed by a chronological clause and an independent clause. The actions which follow the consequent marker are the result, and those preceding it are the cause.

Ngup awara, men ngo nall pir re, mongo mena ya and pu mbawar, men kang oyallma.

This set-up, pig this in-order-to-eat go-durative consequent-marker, over-there pig long-ceremonial house build remain, pig small we-buy.

'Having set up the posts, since we go in order to eat pig, after having built the long ceremonial house over there, we buy small pigs.'

The next example shows *re* following a time clause. This is very similar to the English use of *'therefore, when...'*.

Mondu yu awar, onda songo aond yuwar, lri ae ar pipisao romb ore, aki papu nda yel kiriluwat tukmaisae.

Carry put stand, that boy big put, hair stood was he-went when consequent-marker, sister many this-in-reference thing gather they-divided.

'They had carried and put those things, and therefore, when the boy was grown and had a lot of hair, all those sisters gathered and divided the pearl shells.'

¹It is the same relationship that is exhibited when *re* is used to conjoin sentences.

MODIFIED TIME RELATIONSHIPS

If a speaker chooses to produce either a chronological same-subject clause ending in the *-war* suffix or a durative clause, he must choose whether or not to modify the time relationship between clauses. The three time relationships are successivisation, serialisation, and prolongation.¹

Successivisation refers to unmarked and unspecified time relationships that occur between clauses. Chronological clauses show simultaneity or sequence of action, and durative clauses show that the action extended over a period of time or space, but they do not specify time relationships between clauses. That is, an event may end before the next begins, or it may continue on through a number of other events. Two events may begin and end simultaneously, or one may begin before the other, but end at the same time. Although the events occur in succession, the time relationships between them are not made explicit by the syntax.

Sometimes the speaker will choose to specify the time relationship between chronological and durative clauses, by showing either serialisation or prolongation. Serialisation means that a second event begins just as the first ends, and it is indicated by inserting *lisan* immediately following the event that has just ended. In the first example there are two chronological *-war* clauses. The second is followed by *lisan* after which a defocused and an independent clause occur.

Opna pewar, olle we nda yel muwar lisan, po posao.

*Came-up do-chronological-same-subject, sweet-potatoes vines
this-in-reference thing take-chronological-same-subject
serialisation, plant-defocused she-planted.*

*'Having come up and having taken those sweet potato vines,
she planted them.'*

In the second example, there are two *-war* clauses and an independent final clause. *lisan* occurs after the first *-war* clause indicating that the action of the first clause was completed just before that in the second clause began.

¹The terms serialisation and prolongation are borrowed from Franklin (1971:110) who reports a similar situation for Kewa. However, in Kewa, the modification of time relationships occurs between clauses marked for different subjects. In Nembi it occurs between clauses marked for the same subject.

Na pewar lisan puruwara, ek ul mar mend pirisae.

Eat-defocused do-chronological serialisation, moon number-marker four other she-sat.

'Having eaten, and sitting she sat for four months.'

If the speaker wishes to show prolongation, he uses *lisana*. Prolongation indicates that the first event is prolonged and continues even after the second event has begun. In the example *lisana* follows the *-war* which is preceded by two defocused clauses.

Onda eke mba puruwar lisana, pell isao.

That hide-defocused remain-defocused sat-chronological prolongation, sleep-defocused he-was.

'That man having hidden and having remained there sitting, he was sleeping.'

CLAUSE EMBEDDING

Clauses may be embedded in the subject, object, or locational phrases of another clause. In simpler narratives and procedural discourse there is less clause embedding, but in longer more involved narratives there is more. Embedded clauses which parallel the English relative clause¹ may be used for tail-head or remote linkage, but more often they identify a prop¹ that has not been mentioned before. They may be embedded in either independent or dependent clauses, and they may have either final or medial verb forms. They are usually followed by either a noun, the reference particle, or a definite (one, two, three) or indefinite (some, other) numeral. There seem to be no restrictions as to which verbs may occur in embedded clauses.

In the first example the embedded clause occurs in the subject of an adjunct clause. The clause is followed by the generic noun *yel* 'thing' to which the subject marker *-m* is suffixed.

Aki papu ngo isao yelem iki mandau wae llisao romb...

Sister many this were thing son bore shouted he-said when...

'When the many sisters that were there shouted that she had borne a son...'

¹Grimes (1971, 1975a) defines props as being distinct from participants. Participants are usually animate and props inanimate, but that distinction does not always hold. Participants are part of a participant orientation scheme, and props stand outside that scheme.

The second example has only one independent clause, but its subject is an embedded clause followed by the reference particle *nda*.

Ael epe oro a isao nda nipuna timba upellisao.

Man good very stand he-stood in-reference he night he-slept.

'That man who was very good slept at night.'

The third example illustrates a clause embedded as the direct object in the independent clause. The embedded clause is followed by the generic noun *yel* 'thing'.

...wak sollu mend isae yel, misao.

...wooden-dish long other it-was thing, he-took.

'He took a long wooden dish.'

Embedded clauses sometimes show location. In the example, the embedded clause is followed by the relator word *por*.

Te tall powar, omap anga mendel ur wepa mend isao por,
i ellall pirisao.

Intestines carry-purposive go-chronological, garden edge other reed pond other it-was relator-word, faecal-remains remove-purposive she-sat.

'Having gone in order to carry the intestines, she was sitting at a reed pond that was at the edge of the garden, in order to remove the faecal remains.'

In the next example, there is no noun, reference particle or numeral following the embedded clause which is the object of the verb.

Aki mende, men mend isao, lisao.

Sister other, pig another it-was, she-killed.

'The other sister killed a pig that was there.'

A sentence may have more than one embedded clause. The following sentence has three. Each is followed by either a noun or indefinite numeral, and they are conjoined by the relator word *por*.

Seker tonga pai mend por, men paiki ya pai men emi
por, aond ngo ya pai mend por, ir kapu por ngo ndal
yall pir ngo nda ael tepeyaisae.

Pearl-shells fastened-defocused he-did some relator-word, pig side cook-defocused he-did pig grease relator-word, big this cook defocused he-did some relator-word, wood dried relator-word this this-in-reference put-purposive go-durative this this-in-reference man he-left.

'Having gone in order to put some pearl shells that he had fastened, some pig meat and grease that he had cooked, a lot of these things that he had cooked, and some firewood, that man left these things.'

The following example shows an embedded clause, the subject of the sentence, that has a medial verb followed by the generic noun 'thing'.

Opor piri yel, onda songo yollomi pisao.

Over-there sit-defocused thing, that boy pull-defocused he-went.

'A thing that was sitting over there went pulling that boy.'

APPENDIX A
PHONOLOGICAL CHARTS

	Front Unrounded	Central Unrounded	Back Rounded
High			
close	i		u
Mid			
close	e		o
Low			
close	ae		ao
open		a	
Glides	ei		ui
		ai	oe
		au	

CHART 2
Vowels

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar
Stops				
simple	p	t		k
prenasalised	mb	nd		ng
Affricates			nj	
Sibilants			s	
Nasals	m	n		
Lateral		l		
flapped		ll		
Vibrant				
flapped		r		
Semi-consonants	w		y	

CHART 3
Consonants

APPENDIX B

FINAL VERB AFFIXATION FOR PERSON NUMBER TENSE AND MODE

TENSES DEFINED

Final verbs are inflected for person, number, tense, and mode. The number suffixes are readily identified. Singular is unmarked, dual is -p, and plural is -m. However, since it is difficult to distinguish the person markings from the tense affixes, and all three obligatorily co-occur, they are given together in the charts which follow.

Indicative mode is unmarked, but imperative has affixes for both number and tense. Imperative forms have no dual.

Indicative declarative sentences are unmarked. Interrogatives add *pe* after the last word of the sentence. Indicative mode takes one of seven tense forms. They are defined briefly, and then the endings are given in charts which follow.

1. Customary tense expresses an action which is performed regularly without reference to time.
2. Stative is used only rarely. It means that something is in the state of happening. That is, a person may be in the state of going, the state of sitting, the state of sleeping, and so forth.
3. Stative contrasts with present tense which means that the action is taking place at the time of the telling. That is, present tense means that something is in the process of happening, and it corresponds closely to present progressive tense in English.
4. The speaker uses intentive when he is about to do something. It expresses his intention to carry out the act immediately.
5. Future tense means that the events will occur at an unspecified time in the future.
6. Near past means that the action was completed not long before the telling.
7. Distant past endings are used to indicate an action was completed a long time before the telling. Customary, present, and past tense endings are also inflected for degree of perception. Greater perception means that both speaker and hearer have participated in or witnessed

the event, whereas lesser perception means that either speaker, hearer, or both neither participated in nor witnessed the event.

Verbs in Nembi are divided into two classes according to the endings they take. Most verbs take class one endings, but a much smaller group requires class two endings. However, when class one verbs are preceded by the causative marker *mo*, they take class two endings.

Nembi has two phonemic tones: high and low. In the verb charts, second and third person forms which appear to be identical are distinguished by tone. Second person endings have low tone, and third person endings have high. Tone, however, carries a low functional load in the language and is not written. In discourse, the context makes second and third person referents clear, and tone is not marked.

The morphophonemic analysis is at a preliminary stage. Phonologically conditioned allomorphs are the result of vowel harmony between the verb stem and its suffixes. When the vowel in the verb stem is /ao/ or /o/, it changes as follows: 1. When the first vowel in the ending is /u/, the /u/ becomes /o/. 2. When the first vowel in the suffix is /e/ or /ae/, the /ao/ or /o/ becomes /ae/. Thus, *aondo* 'see' and *-ullwa* 'first person singular, future' becomes *aondollwa* while *aondo* 'see' and *-aepe* 'singular command future' become *aendaepe*. In all other occurrences, when the stem ends in a vowel, the final vowel is dropped when the stem is added.

The following abbreviations are used in the verb charts:

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
Cis	Cislocative
Com	Command
Cust	Customary tense
D	Dual
DP	Distant past tense
Fut	Future tense
GP	Greater perception
Inc	Inclusive
Int	Intentive tense
LP	Lesser perception
NP	Near past tense
P	Plural
Pres	Present tense
S	Singular
Stat	Stative tense

	Cust GP	Cust LP	Stat	Pres GP	Pres LP	Int
1S	-aollo	-eyo	-eyu	-all	-ewo	-un
2S	-aelle	-elle	-el	-ael	-elo	-en
3S	-alla	-eya	-e	-all	-eyo	-en
1D	-allpa	-epa	-ep	-allop	-epo	-upun
2D	-aellepe	-epe	-ep	-aellep	-epo	-ullepin
3D	-aellepe	-epe	-ep	-aellep	-epo	-en
1P	-allma	-ema	-em	-allom	-emo	-umun
2P	-aelleme	-eme	-em	-aellem	-emo	-ullemin
3P	-aelleme	-eme	-em	-aellem	-emo	-en
	Fut	NP GP	NP LP	DP GP	DP LP	
1S	-ullwa	-au	-uwa	-isu	-iswa	
2S	-ulle	-ai	-ai	-isi	-isi	
3S	-elliya	-ao	-ai	-is	-isao, -isae	
1D	-ullpa	-ap	-upa	-isup	-ispa	
2D	-ullepi	-aip	-api	-isip	-ispi	
3D	-ullepi	-aip	-api	-isip	-ispi	
1P	-ullma	-am	-uma	-isum	-isma	
2P	-ullemi	-aim	-ami	-isim	-ismi	
3P	-ullemi	-aim	-ami	-isim	-ismi	
	Pres Com	Fut Com		Inc Com	Cis Com	
S	-a	-aepe		-apon	-op	
P	-allop	-allpaepe		-emin	-ollop	

CHART 4

Class I Verb Endings

	Cust GP	Cust LP	Stat	Pres GP	Pres LP	Int
1S	-allo	-aiyo	-ayu	-all	-aiwo	-aun
2S	-alle	-alle	-al	-arel	-ailo	-aren
3S	-alla	-aiya	-al	-all	-aiyo	-ain
1D	-allpa	-alpa	-alp	-allop	-aipo	-apon
2D	-allepe	-ape	-aip	-allep	-aipo	-allepin
3D	-allepe	-ape	-aip	-allep	-aipo	-aln
1P	-allma	-aima	-aim	-allom	-aimo	-amon
2P	-alleme	-ame	-aim	-allem	-aimo	-allemin
3P	-alleme	-ame	-aim	-allem	-aimo	-ain
	Fut	NP GP	NP LP	DP GP	DP LP	
1S	-allwa	-aru	-aruwa	-asu	-aswa	
2S	-alle	-ari	-ari	-asl	-asi	
3S	-alliya	-arip	-arlpae	-as	-asao, -asae	
1D	-allpa	-arup	-arupa	-asup	-aspa	
2D	-allepi	-arip	-arlp	-asip	-aspl	
3D	-allepi	-arip	-aripi	-aslp	-aspl	
1P	-allma	-arum	-aruma	-asum	-asma	
2P	-allemi	-arim	-arimi	-asim	-asmi	
3P	-alleml	-arim	-arimi	-aslm	-asmi	
	Pres Com	Fut Com		Inc Com	Cis Com	
S	-a	-ape		-apon	-ap	
P	-allop	-allpaepe		-amin	-allop	

CHART 5

Class II Verb Endings

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