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TELEFOL NOUN PHRASES

by

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# TELEFOL NOUN PHRASES

## 0.1 THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 0.2 ABBREVIATIONS

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

<i>A<sub>1</sub></i> :	Qualifier (Colour)
<i>A<sub>2</sub></i> :	Qualifier (Size)
<i>A<sub>3</sub></i> :	Qualifier (Quality)
<i>A<sub>4</sub></i> :	Qualifier (Quantifier)
<i>B</i> :	Beneficiary
<i>Co</i> :	Complement
<i>Cl</i> :	Clause
<i>D<sub>1</sub></i> :	Pre-Direction
<i>D<sub>2</sub></i> :	Post-Direction
<i>D<sub>i</sub></i> :	Direction Indicator
<i>D<sub>n</sub></i> :	Destination
<i>If</i> :	Indefinite Marker ( <b>maak</b> )
<i>Is</i> :	Instrument

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

### 0.3 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

### 1.0 THE NOUN PHRASE NUCLEUS

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

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

SIMPLE NUCLEUS =  $Ps \ N_n \ A_1 \ A_2 \ A_3 \ A_4$

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

COMPOUND NUCLEI - by Co-ordination:  $N \ soó \ N \ soó$   
 $N \ <min> \ N \ <min>^7$   
 $N \ ilé \ minte \ N \ noo$   
 $N \ N$   
 by Apposition:  $N \ N$   
 by **koo ake**  $N \ koo \ ake \ N$

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

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

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

### 1.1 NOUNS

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

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

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

PERSONAL NAME NOUNS. These are very restricted in that they may not be possessed, are only qualified by Kin Quantifiers (*A<sub>4</sub>*) and the only laterals occurring with them are Post-Direction (*D<sub>2</sub>*), Person (*Pr*), and Phrase Modifiers (*M<sub>p</sub>*). The Phrases in which they occur must therefore be regarded as a sub-type of the General Noun Phrase.

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

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

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

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

<b>abál</b>	'verandah'	<b>ibkúk</b>	'right side'
<b>ábiib</b>	'village'	<b>íleb</b>	'path, way'
<b>abiltikiin</b>	'sky'	<b>íiliim</b>	'foot of mountain'
<b>abiin</b>	'floor'	<b>ilum</b>	'slope'
<b>afáb</b>	'back of house'	<b>iluung</b>	'gully'
<b>afaam</b>	'behind'	<b>kafin</b>	'ground'
<b>afaán</b>	'left side'	<b>kakám</b>	'lower'
<b>al</b>	'over', 'on'	<b>koót</b>	'cliff'
<b>am</b>	'house'	<b>mákaang</b>	'corner, edge'
<b>amdutikiin</b>	'mountain'	<b>meebso</b>	'near'
<b>ánang</b>	'place, area'	<b>milií</b>	'side'
<b>atem</b>	'forest'	<b>miliil</b>	'men's floor'
<b>bakán</b>	'ground, territory'	<b>muumál</b>	'sink hole'
<b>baán</b>	'its place'	<b>muun</b>	'an old garden'
<b>beél</b>	'ridge'	<b>samánim</b>	'a long way'
<b>biil</b>	'hollow, wide valley'	<b>seéb</b>	'the bush'
<b>díkím</b>	'women's floor'	<b>teém</b>	'hole'
<b>iib</b>	'middle'	<b>tibín</b>	'headwaters'
<b>iibák</b>	'middle'	<b>tulúm</b>	'ramp'
		<b>uulmong</b>	'inside corner'

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

(d) TIME NOUNS occur primarily in the Time Phrase which occurs as the Time unit at the clause level. Time Nouns do not occur in Equations, but occasionally do occur as Subject or Object in a Clause. There are three sub-groupings of Time Nouns (*Nt<sub>1</sub>*, *Nt<sub>2</sub>*, and *Nt<sub>3</sub>*), defined by their differential behaviour in the Time Phrase. Of these only *Nt<sub>1</sub>* may not be possessed.

<i>Nt<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>Nt<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>Nt<sub>3</sub></i>
<b>kamaá</b> 'first', 'recent', 'new'	<b>am</b> 'day'	<b>kaál, kaáltá</b> 'before yesterday'
<b>meéb</b> 'soon', 'near'	<b>am oókdiim</b> 'the fifth day - Friday'	<b>kaálkaal</b> 'two days be- fore yesterday'
<b>siin</b> 'a long time ago', 'old'	<b>amsáb, amsábtá</b> 'tomorrow'	<b>kutim</b> 'morning'
	<b>amsin, amsintá</b> 'yesterday'	<b>kwiina</b> 'afternoon'
	<b>átool</b> 'singsing', 'Christmas', 'year'	<b>milileb</b> 'evening'
	<b>kamánó</b> 'today'	<b>teenkilok</b> 'ten o'clock' (etc.)
	<b>káyob</b> 'moon', 'month'	
	<b>Saándé</b> 'Sunday' (etc.)	
	<b>wiik</b> 'week'	

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

**dook, dookab** 'what?', 'which?', 'who?', 'when?', 'where?'

**intab, íntabén, intabok** 'what?'

**wantab** 'who?'

## 1.2 EXPANSIONS OF THE NUCLEUS

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

### 1.21 POSSESSION

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

<i>N U C L E U S</i>					
<i>Lat.</i>	<i>Ps</i>	<i>Ps</i>	<i>Nn</i>	<i>Laterals</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
			<b>koong</b> pig		'pig'
		<b>mán ímí</b> chd.his	<b>koong</b> pig		'(the) child's pig'
	<b>ímí</b> his	<b>mán ímí</b> chd.his	<b>koong</b> pig		'his child's pig'
<b>yák</b> across	<b>ímí</b> his	<b>mán ímí</b> chd.his	<b>koong</b> pig	<b>kweék íyó</b> there it	'his child's pig across there'

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

Because the Possessor Phrase Person is optional, and the resulting possessor-possessed construction (possessive construction) can be simply Noun-Noun, it can be very similar to Noun compounds which also have the morphological form Noun-Noun. Compounds sometimes involve unpredictable tone change, which help to distinguish them from possessive constructions. Possessive constructions have no tone changes, or predictable changes in some instances.<sup>9</sup> Many of the compounds have as second member **teém** 'hole', **teem** 'in' or **diim** 'on', which also commonly occur free in Location and Destination Phrases as possessed items. In these cases it is possible to identify compounds by what items may follow in the Phrase. In a Location Phrase only + Post-Direction (*D*<sub>2</sub>) + **kal** 'at' follow; in a Destination Phrase nothing follows; with a compound General Noun Phrase, Laterals may follow. Direct elicitation, also, will reveal whether a **-mí** series Pronoun **úmí** may be inserted between the Nouns, in which case they constitute a possessive construction; if not, then the sequence may be a compound, or may be becoming a compound by a process of fossilization. Examples of such compounds are:

<b>atem</b>	( <b>at</b> 'tree' + <b>teém</b> 'many')	'forest'
<b>boóntém</b>	( <b>boón</b> 'jaw' + <b>teém</b> 'hole')	'mouth'
<b>aketem</b>	( <b>aket</b> 'thought' + <b>teem</b> 'in')	'feelings', 'insides'
<b>kafíndiim</b>	( <b>kafín</b> 'ground' + <b>diim</b> 'on')	'earth', 'world'
<b>boónám</b>	( <b>boón</b> 'jaw' + <b>am</b> 'house')	'skillion-roofed house'
<b>suúkkón</b>	( <b>suúk</b> 'tobacco' + <b>koón</b> 'leaf')	'cigar wrapper', 'paper', 'book'

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

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

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

**ními baábén úmí** (*Ps: my elder-sister her*) **koong** (*Nn: pig*) 'my elder sister's pig'

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

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

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

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

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

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

[C11] **ímí** (*Ps: those-who... their*) **mán** (*Nn: child*) 'the children of those who...' <sup>10</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**ámítung** (*Ps*: doorpiece) **fút** (*Nn*: carving) 'carving on the doorpiece'

**uunaal** (*Ps*: pumpkin) **dúk** (*Nn*: stalk) 'pumpkin stalk'

**waán** (*Ps*: sweet-potato) **koón** (*Nn*: leaves) 'sweet-potato leaves'

**súukkón teem úmí** (*Ps*: book inside its) **weéng** (*Nn*: words) 'a story out of the book'

**kafíndiim koómí** (*Ps*: earth this-its) **mufekmufek** (*Nn*: things) 'the things of this earth'

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

**máfakálin úmí** (*Ps*: illness its) **makám** (*Nn*: origin) 'the cause of the illness'

**sang boómí** (*Ps*: story that-its) **makám** (*Nn*: origin) 'the start of the story'

**ímí ook** (*Ps*: his work) **makám** (*Nn*: origin) 'the meaning of what he did'

**ímáníláng kamaá ki díkinubib úmí** (*Ps*: they first clear a garden its) **sang** (*Nn*: story) 'a story about how they first clear a garden'

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

**biyaal** (*Ps*: biyaal-wood) **sinám** (*Nn*: club) 'a club of biyaal wood'

**ímán fiib** (*Ps*: taro cuttings) **tíng** (*Nn*: bundle) 'a bundle of taro cuttings'

**sínsong koón** (*Ps*: kunai leaves) **tíng** (*Nn*: bundle) 'a bundle of kunai grass'

**ún** (*Ps*: arrow) **siník** (*Nn*: spirit) 'picture of an arrow'

(b) INTERROGATIVE Nouns occur in the Possessive Construction as possessor, as does the Interrogative Possessive Pronoun **waámí** 'whose?'. **intab**, **intabén** 'what?' possessing an Inanimate Noun has the meaning 'what kind of?'. **dook** as Possessor has the meaning 'of which one?'.  
**intab** (*Ps*: what?) **waán** (*Nn*: sweet-potato) 'what kind of sweet-potato?'

**intab** (*Ps*: what?) **at** (*Nn*: tree) 'what kind of tree?'

**intabén** (*Ps*: what?) **sang** (*Nn*: story) 'what kind of topic (if any)?' - an idiom for 'a lot of trivialities'

**dook úmí** (*Ps*: what? its) **tíntim** (*Nn*: roots) 'the roots of which one?'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Place Name + **kayaak** 'inhabitant of'

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

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

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

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

**nímí** (*Ps*: my) **ál** (*Nn*: on) '(fall) upon me'

**nímí** (*Ps*: my) **diim** (*Nn*: on) '(come) right up to me'

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

**koong boómí** (*Ps*: pig that-its) **finang** (*Nn*: to) '(come) to (for) the pig'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(e) TIME USAGE. There are three sub-classes of Time Nouns, *Nt<sub>1</sub>*, *Nt<sub>2</sub>*, and *Nt<sub>3</sub>*, as listed in section 1.1(d). These sub-classes are defined by their relative rank within the Nucleus of the Time Phrase. *Nt<sub>3</sub>* if present is the head, in that it may be possessed by a Phrase consisting of an *Nt<sub>2</sub>* Noun with or without the Pronoun **úmí** 'its'. *Nt<sub>2</sub>* if present may be possessed by a Phrase containing *Nt<sub>1</sub>* and either of the Pronouns **úmí** 'its' or **koómí** 'this-its'. The *Nt<sub>1</sub>* Possessor Phrase may also contain the laterals **yák** (*D<sub>1</sub>*) 'across there' and **maak** (*If*) 'a', 'one', 'the other'. These may occur without a Noun as *Nt<sub>1</sub>* to form an Anuclear Possessor Phrase. The *Nt<sub>1</sub>* Nouns also occur in a Possessor Phrase within the Nucleus of any General Noun Phrase, and here they have English adjectival meanings, **siin** 'old', 'former', **kamaá** 'new', 'recent', **meéb** 'near', 'close'. (The additional forms **féén** 'real', **atin** 'real', though not Time Nouns, occur as Possessor and have English adjectival translations.)

**meéb koómí** (*Ps: Nt<sub>1</sub>: near this-its*) **wíik** (*Nn: Nt<sub>2</sub>: week*) 'this week'

**amsín úmí** (*Ps: Nt<sub>2</sub>: yesterday its*) **kutím** (*Nn: Nt<sub>3</sub>: morning*) 'yesterday morning'

**siin maak úmí** (*Ps: Nt<sub>1</sub>: old one its*) **wíik** (*Nn: Nt<sub>2</sub>: week*) 'last week'

**siin maak úmí** (*Ps: Nt<sub>1</sub>: old one its*) **sang** (*Nn: story*) 'something that was said before'

**kamaá** (*Ps: Nt<sub>1</sub>: new*) **am** (*Nn: house*) 'a new house'

**yák maak úmí** (*Ps:* across-there one its) **Saánde** (*Ps:* *Nt2:* Sunday) **kutím**  
(*Nn:* *Nt3:* morning) 'next Sunday morning' (said on Sunday)

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

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

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

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

Here are more idiomatic expressions of the same type:

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

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

**nímí deeng** (*Co:* happy about me) **tébemin** (*Pc:* be) 'to be happy about me', 'to be pleased with me' (an idiom)

In these constructions as elsewhere a clause or sequence of

clauses may occur as Nucleus of the Possessor:

**íbkum ímí weéng bákánbe úmí-ilak** (O: regard for what his friends said)  
**doólá** (Pt: he had) 'he had faith in (loved) what his friend said'

**siin mán kaanse ímí-aket** (O: about the child who died before)  
**fúkúnbomnalale** (Pt: he thought) 'he remembered the child's death'

## 1.22 QUALIFICATION

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

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

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

<b>áyók</b>	'white' (pig)	<b>miil</b>	'blue'
<b>buút</b>	'red' (human skin)	<b>naám</b>	'yellow'
<b>duum</b>	'faded', 'brown'	<b>namaál</b>	'white', 'pale'
<b>ifuúm</b>	'purple' (also a purple taro)	<b>silín</b>	'speckled, mottled, ginger-brown' (pig)
<b>iím</b>	'black', 'dark'	<b>simsim</b>	'mid-brown' (human skin)
<b>isák, isákúlut</b>	'red' (also blood)	<b>tíb</b>	'brown' (dog)
<b>kaalasiit</b>	'green'		

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

(b) Sub-class *A<sub>2</sub>*, SIZE, includes:

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

(c) Sub-class *A<sub>3</sub>*, QUALITY, includes:

<b>bulúb</b>	'poor' (materially)
<b>kásaak</b>	'handsome' (person), 'fertile' (ground), 'good'
<b>mafak</b>	'bad', 'no good'
<b>támbál, támbaliím, támbálim</b>	'good'
<b>usaab</b>	'poor', 'pitiful'

(d) Sub-class *A<sub>4</sub>*, QUANTIFIERS, includes two mutually exclusive sub-types:

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

<b>alíkaab</b>	'whole'
<b>alúkum</b>	'all', 'whole'
<b>iibmakmaak</b>	'few'
<b>maakinón</b>	'only one', 'one by itself'
<b>maaksó</b>	'another', 'more'
<b>mikik</b>	'another', 'a different'
<b>takáng, kwiintakáng</b>	'very many', 'a lot of'
<b>tikib</b>	'all'
<b>yámyám, yámám</b>	'many'

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

<b>úlím</b>	'a man and his "child" (mán)'	<b>úlímal</b>	'men with "child"/ children"; man with "children"; man with wife and "child/ "children"'
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<b>áfaat</b>	'a woman and her "child" (mán)'	<b>úbtíl</b>	'women with "child"/ "children"; woman with "children"'
<b>álob</b>	'two persons of the same sex and generation, being either blood-relatives or related as <b>samaá</b> or as co-wives'	<b>níngdíI</b>	'three or more males of the same generation, being either blood-relatives or related as <b>samaá</b> ' <sup>13</sup>
<b>míkím</b>	'two persons of opposite sex and of the same generation, being either blood-relatives or related as <b>samaá</b> '	<b>mángkál</b>	'three or more persons of the same generation, one or more of whom is female, being either blood-relatives or related as <b>samaá</b> , or as co-wives'
<b>ákám</b>	'husband and wife'	<b>úkmál</b>	'husband and wives; husbands and wives; husband, wife and other/others'
<b>úndím</b>	'two persons related as in-laws in other than a <b>samaá</b> relationship'	<b>úndímal</b>	'three or more persons related as in-laws in other than a <b>samaá</b> relationship'

The Kin Quantifier **níngdíI** occurs with all Nouns, but when it follows other than Human Nouns and Personal Name Nouns, its meaning becomes 'a few'. The Kin Quantifier **álob** has been taken over from the Number class (see section 2.13 below), with the above particularization of meaning. For semantic reasons, **álob**, **maaksó**, and **maakinón** do not occur in the same Phrase with Numerals, and **maaksó** and **maakinón** do not co-occur with the Post-Directions (*D*<sub>2</sub>) **bilíb**, **kalíb**, or **kulíb** (see section 2.15). They may, however, be followed by the Indefinite Indicator (If, section 2.14) **maak**.

- tanúm** (*Nn*: man) **katíb** (*A*<sub>2</sub>: small) 'a small house'  
**tanúm** (*Nn*: man) **mafak** (*A*<sub>3</sub>: bad) 'a bad man'  
**tanúm** (*Nn*: man) **takáng** (*A*<sub>4</sub>: very many) 'a lot of people'  
**tanúm** (*Nn*: man) **úlímal** (*A*<sub>4</sub>: family) 'a man and his family'  
**íimí** (*Ps*: his) **íilím** (*Nn*: cloth) **iím** (*A*<sub>1</sub>: black) 'his black laplap'  
**íilím** (*Nn*: cloth) **iím** (*A*<sub>1</sub>: black) **mikik** (*A*<sub>4</sub>: another) 'another black laplap'  
**íilím** (*Nn*: cloth) **iím** (*A*<sub>1</sub>: black) **katíb** (*A*<sub>2</sub>: small) 'a small black laplap'  
**meéb** (*Nn*: near) **duúmaát** (*A*<sub>2</sub>: short) **támbál** (*A*<sub>3</sub>: good) 'a nice short distance'

**nulúmi** (*Ps*: our) **ook** (*Nn*: work) **alíkaab** (*Aj*: whole) 'entirely our responsibility'

### 1.23 CO-ORDINATION

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

**ibsó** (*N*: you-pl.-and) **niso** (*N*: I-and) 'you(pl.) and I'

**kwiina soó** (*N*: afternoon and) **kutim soó** (*N*: morning and) 'morning and afternoon'

**oóken soolé** (*N*: his-mother and) **aaláb soó** (*N*: his-father and) 'his mother and father'

The following involve dissimilar co-ordinates:

**isolé minte** (*N*: he-and) **imí duub soó** (*N*: his friend and) 'he and his friends'

[C1] **soolé** (*N*: those-who... and) **nusó** (*N*: we-and) 'we and those who...'

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

**Alumeyok soolé** (*N*: Alumeyok and) **Alemosimnok soó** (*N*: Alemosimnok and) **Dilisibik soó** (*N*: Dilisibik and) 'Alumeyok, Alemosimnok, and Dilisibik'

**kasolé** (*N*: this-and) **kasó** (*N*: this-and) **dabóm noó** (*N*: head too) 'this (limb) and this (limb) and the head too'

**ilábilab sinó** (*N*: laplap and) **miit sinó** (*N*: meat and) **másiis** (*N*: matches) **kalaléng** (*N*: knife) **kaábák** (*N*: axe) 'laplaps, meat, matches, knives, and axes'

**Yoonengaal sinolé** (*N*: Yoonengaal and) **Olobenengaal sinó** (*N*: Olobenengaal and) **númi moom sinolé** (*N*: our my-mother's-brother and) **nímí**

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

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

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

**kabmi aket aa** (*N*: your thought and) **bubúl aa** (*N*: heart and) 'your mind and heart'

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

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

**tanum aaemin** (*N*: men and) **saamanim aae** (*N*: wild-pig and) 'men or wild pigs'

**imán san aaemin** (*N*: taro seed and) **waan san aaemin** (*N*: sweet-potato seed and) **kweet san** (*N*: sugar seed) **ilub san aaemin** (*N*: pitpit seed and) **suum san aae** (*N*: banana seed and) 'taro cuttings, sweet-potato runners, sugar cuttings, pitpit cuttings, and banana suckers'

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

**yak mín** (*N*: (of) across and) **ise yak meek abiib tanum mín** (*N*: men of the villages across here and) 'anybody and everybody in the various villages' (idiomatic)

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

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

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

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

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

**ulimal** (*N*: family) **mangkal** (*N*: sisters) **ningdil** (*N*: brothers') '(we) families and sisters and brothers'

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

**nímí âbén ilé minte** (*N*: my mother and) **nímí nakálál noo** (*N*: my brothers also) 'my mother and my brothers'

**nímí niing ilé minte** (*N*: my young-brother and) **neeng ilé** (*N*: young-sister and) **âbén noo** (*N*: my-mother also) 'my brothers and sisters and mother'

#### 1.24 APPPOSITION

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

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

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

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

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

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

As mentioned in section 1.22, Qualifiers, and especially Quantifiers (*A<sub>4</sub>*), often occur in apposition constructions:

**alúkum** (*N*: *A<sub>4</sub>*: all) **ánáng** (*N*: land) 'the whole land'

**unáng bisel soó tan soó** (*N*: the women and girls) **alukum** (*N*: *A<sub>4</sub>*: all) 'all the women and girls'

**unáng soó tanúm soó** (*N*: women and men) **kwiíntakáng** (*N*: *A<sub>4</sub>*: many) 'a crowd of people'

A clause may occur in an apposition combination:

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

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

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

**aket mafak** (*N*: bad thoughts) **búbúl mafak** (*N*: bad heart) **koo ake** (that is) 'whatever evil notions' (see section 1.25)

**númi aketem** (*N*: our thoughts) **búbúltem** (*N*: hearts) 'our minds, hearts'

### 1 25 KOO AKE

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

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

**koong** (*N*: pig) **koo ake kamel** (that is *N*: camel) 'a kind of animal called "camel"'

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

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

**at** (*N*: song) **koo ake fuúb** (that is *N*: dancing-song) 'a kind of song for dancing'

**ban** (*N*: ceremony) **koo ake iman** (that is *N*: taro) 'harvest festival'

**aseng** (*N*: song) **koo ake úun unkwáláb** (that is *N*: you-killed birds) 'a song about your killing birds'

**mufekmufek** (*N*: thing) **koo ake dííndúm dííndum** (that is *N*: meats) 'such things as meat foods'

**numi ban** (*N*: our ceremony) **koo ake tabaá doosub** (that is *N*: we-cut tanket) 'our ceremony at which we cut the "tanket" (a sacred plant)'

**tabayung** (*N*: garden-charm) **koo ake tanum kun** (that is *N*: man's bone) 'a garden charm consisting of human bone'

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

**tiiksa** (*N*: teacher) **koo ake kafál'éeemin** (that is *N*: he-shows-him) 'a "teacher" or instructor'

**unáng ilími dungam** (*N*: women's menstrual house) **koo ake am katíb** (that is *N*: small house) 'a women's menstrual house or small house'

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

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

**kwéeng koo ake** 'a kind of insect'

**koong amém koo ake** 'a kind of pig sacrifice'

**sóong koo ake** 'a "song"'

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

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

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

## 1.26 INCLUDED CLAUSES

As indicated several times already, an included Clause<sup>15</sup> may occur as Nucleus of any Phrase type, including Possessor, and as one or more of the Nuclei linked by co-ordination, apposition, or **koo ake** into a complex Nucleus. An included clause occurring as a Noun Phrase Nucleus is not followed by a clause connective or utterance terminal, and this helps to distinguish it from sequential clauses. Except when it occurs in a non-ultimate position in a list linked by co-ordination, apposition, or **koo ake**, or in a Phrase occurring as Equational Predicate or Location at the clause level, it is obligatorily marked by following Person (usually a Pronoun of the **-o**, **-tá** or **-mí** series), and this too distinguishes it from sequential clauses. It may be followed by the other Laterals as can any other Nucleus, simple or compound.

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

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

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

**kóokén úyó** (S: your mother) **kanúmál oo** (Q: do it!) **akanbo** (Pq: she is saying) 'your mother is telling you to do it'<sup>14</sup>

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

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

**tanúm ooksaam ukúlin íyó** (S: (N: the men are washed Pr: they)) **maak** (O: others) **doóng dokob' eelíb** (Pt: they will help him) 'the men who have been washed will help the others'

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

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

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

**ilámí kukuub kanumnúba úyó** (O: (N: he always does it his way Pr: it)) **kúfíliná** (Pt: he is sorry for it) 'he's sorry for what he's been doing'

**tanúm beeyó** (S: that man) **baalut** (O: plane) **kwééb** (Pt: take-it) **tiñemin** (Pm: walks) 'that man flies the plane'

**tanúm beeyó baalut kwééb tiñemin beeyó** (B: (N: that man flies the plane Pr: that-he)) **weeng** (O: word) **báka' eebe** (Pt: he is talking to him) 'he is talking to the man who flies the plane'

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

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

### 1.27 NUCLEAR NESTING

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Ilibtaman kayaak unáng Weénbeén soolé minte** (Weénbeén, the girl from Ilibtaman and) **Bataliseb oókéén Akamónok soó minte** (Akamónok, Patricia's mother and) **Kweémén soó** (Kweémén and) 'Weénbeén, the girl from Ilibtaman, Akamónok, Patricia's mother and Kweémén'

**Ilibtaman kayaak unáng Weénbeén soolé minte Bataliseb oókéén Akamónok soó minte Kweémén soó** (*N*: Weénbeén, the girl from Ilibtaman, Akamónok, Patricia's mother, and Kweémén) **mángkál** (*N*: (*A*<sub>4</sub>: sisters)) 'Weénbeén, the girl from Ilibtaman, Akamónok, Patricia's mother, and Kweémén'

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

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

## 2.0 THE NOUN PHRASE LATERALS

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

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

## 2.1 LATERALS OF THE GENERAL NOUN PHRASE

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

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

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

### 2.11 TOPIC

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

### 2.12 PRE-DIRECTION

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

These forms may optionally be compounded with the non-finite multiple action form of motion verbs **únemin** 'go', **télemin** 'come', and **tiínemin** 'walk', 'go'. The resulting compounds with **tám**, for example, are **únánbutám**, **tálánbutám**, **tiínánbutám**, or **únánbitám**, **tálánbitám**, **tiínánbitám** respectively. These compounds belong to the same Demonstrative class as do the simple Demonstratives, and their meaning is apparently not altered. They occur as *D<sub>1</sub>*.<sup>16</sup>

The seven Demonstratives also occur in *D<sub>1</sub>* prefixed by **ma-** ~ **mi-** 'motion towards', when they occur in a Phrase as Destination in a clause whose Predicate is a form of **télemin** 'come'. The following resultant fused forms occur: **miit** 'above here', **mamet** 'up here', **meéng** 'over, along here', **meék** 'across here', **matob, mitob** 'down here', **malaák** 'below here', and **matám, mitám** 'in here', 'out here', 'up here'.

A Pre-Direction may redundantly co-occur in the same Phrase with a Post-Direction (*D<sub>2</sub>*) (see section 2.15). Such a Phrase usually occurs as Destination or Location. There are no other co-occurrence restrictions within the Phrase.

## 2.13 NUMBER

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

<b>maakub</b>	'one', 'left hand little finger'; 'together'
<b>álob, aléb</b>	'two', 'left hand ring finger'; 'both'
<b>asúno, asíno</b>	'three', 'left hand middle finger'
<b>kálbiniim, yoolatab</b>	'four', 'left hand index finger'
<b>oókál</b>	'five', 'at left thumb' (irregular consonant reduction)
<b>búkúbkál</b>	'six', 'at left wrist' (irregular tone)
<b>bankal</b>	'seven', 'at left forearm'
<b>ífankal</b>	'eight', 'at left inner elbow'
<b>tukal</b>	'nine', 'at left biceps'
<b>nákalkal</b>	'ten', 'at left shoulder'
<b>kumkal</b>	'eleven', 'at left side of neck'
<b>tulúnkál</b>	'twelve', 'at left ear'
<b>tiinkal</b>	'thirteen', 'at left eye'
<b>mítkál</b>	'fourteen', 'at nose'
<b>tiin milií foko</b>	'fifteen' ( <i>O:</i> eye other-side, <i>Pt:</i> done) 'to the other eye'
<b>tuluún milií foko</b>	'sixteen' ( <i>O:</i> ear other-side, <i>Pt:</i> done) 'to the other ear'

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

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

Numerals above 27 which are not multiples of 27 are obtained by means of co-ordination (see section 1 23): **X ilé minte Y noo**. The second numeral may be specific, such as **álob** 'two', or non-specific, **atuk** 'part', 'half'. **atuk** may also be added in the same way to one of the basic Numerals between one and 27.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.14 INDEFINITE INDICATOR

The Indefinite Indicator (*If*) is manifested by a single item, **maak** 'a', 'a certain', 'one (vs. the other)', 'the other', 'some', 'indefinite (i. e. 'three men' as against 'the three men')'. It occurs very frequently in the Noun Phrase, often co-occurring with Quantifiers (*A<sub>1</sub>*) and Numbers (*Nm*). Its co-occurrence with Person (*Pr*) is comparatively rare.

## 2.15 POST-DIRECTION

In the Post Direction (*D<sub>2</sub>*) position, the seven DEMONSTRATIVES may occur again, this time compounded with **ka** 'here' or **ku** 'there', resulting in the following fused forms:

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

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

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

**yáng** (*D1*: along) **kweéng** (*D2*: along there) 'those over there'

**yák** (*D1*: across) **alák koong** (*N*: his-cousin's pig) **kweék** (*D2*: across-there) **iyó** (*Pr*: it) 'his cousin's pig across there'

**yák** (*D1*: across) **súukkoón teem** (*N*: inside the book) **kweék** (*D2*: across-there) **ímí** (*Pr*: its) 'in the book' (idiomatic non-directional usage)

**yáng** (*D1*: along) **am afálík** (*N*: big house) **kutám** (*D2*: in-there) **kal** (*Li*: at) 'in the big house over there'

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

## 2.16 PERSON

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

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

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

The PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES are as follows:

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

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

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

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

The distribution of the vocalic alternants is as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<b>nákál</b>	+	<b>nalámí</b>	becomes	<b>nákalámí</b>	'I ... my own'
<b>nókól</b>	+	<b>nulúmí</b>	"	<b>nókulúmí</b>	'we ... our own'
<b>kábkál</b>	+	<b>kalábmí</b>	"	<b>kábkalá(b)mí</b>	'you ... your own' (masc.)
<b>kúbkál</b>	+	<b>kulúbmí</b>	"	<b>kúbkulú(b)mí</b>	'you ... your own' (fem.)
<b>íbkíl</b>	+	<b>ilíbmí</b>	"	<b>íbkilí(b)mí</b>	'you ... your own' (pl.)
<b>yákál</b>	+	<b>ilámí</b>	"	<b>yákalámí</b>	'he ... his own'
<b>ókól</b>	+	<b>ulúmí</b>	"	<b>ókolúmí</b>	'she ... her own'
<b>íkil</b>	+	<b>ilímí</b>	"	<b>íkilímí</b>	'they ... their own'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table A  
Distribution of Pronoun Series in Clause-Level Units

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

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

## 2.17 PHRASE MODIFIERS

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

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

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

## 2.18 ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE GENERAL NOUN PHRASE

### (a) THE NUCLEAR PHRASE

**tanúm** (*N*: man) 'the man'

**tanúm** (*N*: man) **íyó** (*Pr*: he) 'the man'

**isé** (*To*: this) **tanúm** (*N*: man) **íyó** (*Pr*: he) 'the man in question'

**yák** (*D<sub>1</sub>*: across) **tanúm** (*N*: man) **maak** (*If*: a) 'some men across there'

**tanúm** (*N*: man) **maak** (*If*: a) **íyó** (*Pr*: he) 'a man'

**tanúm** (*N*: man) **maakub** (*Nm*: one) **maak** (*If*: a) 'one man'

**tanúm** (*N*: man) **álob** (*Nm*: two) **maak** (*If*: a) 'two men'

**isé** (*To*: this) **yák** (*D<sub>1</sub>*: across) **tanúm** (*N*: man) **álob** (*Nm*: two) **maak** (*If*: a) **bilíb** (*D<sub>2</sub>*: those) **ítá** (*Pr*: they) 'both of those two men across there (referred to before)'

**tanum** (*N*: man) **beeta** (*Pr*: that-he) **kub** (*Mp*: just) 'only that man'  
**dook** (*N*: what) **ita** (*Pr*: he) 'who?'  
**wantab** (*N*: who) **ita** (*Pr*: he) 'who?'

## (b) THE EXPANDED NUCLEAR PHRASE

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

**mafak** (*N*: *A*<sub>3</sub>: bad) '(it is) no good'  
**tanum mafak** (*N*: bad man) **maak** (*If*: a) 'a bad man'  
**afálikén** (*N*: *A*<sub>2</sub>: big) **kub** (*Mp*: just) '(it is) very big'  
**tanum imi** (*N*: man his) **iyó** (*Pr*: it) 'the man's'  
**ningdil** (*N*: *A*<sub>4</sub>: few) **nutá** (*Pr*: we) 'a few of us'  
**maakinon** (*N*: *A*<sub>4</sub>: one-only) **ilásinon** (*Pr*: it-only) 'only one'  
**úlimal** (*N*: *A*<sub>4</sub>: family) **maakub** (*Nm*: one) 'a whole family'  
**tanum ulimal** (*N*: man family) **iyó** (*Pr*: he) 'the man and his family'  
**alukum anang** (*N*: whole land) **kooyo** (*Pr*: THIS-IT) 'this whole land'  
**atuk atuk tinangkube** (*N*: he half listened) **yaka** (*Pr*: him) (**bá**) (not) 'not the half-hearted'  
**koong namaal kumunso** (*N*: pig white pregnant) 'the pregnant white pig'  
**ibso nuso** (*N*: you-pl.-and we-and) **maakub** (*Nm*: one) 'you(pl.) and we together'  
**kabs<sup>o</sup> niso** (*N*: you-and I-and) **álob** (*Nm*: two) 'we two'  
**miil soole minte waan soo** (*N*: beans and sweet potato and) **bo<sup>o</sup>siik** (*Pr*: THAT-first) 'beans and sweet potatoes first'  
**maasta Daal soole minte niso** (*N*: Mr Doull and I-and) **iyó** (*Pr*: they) 'Mr Doull and I'  
**aatum Goot soo baab Yeesus soo** (*N*: my father God and my elder brother Jesus and) **imi** (*Pr*: their) 'of my Father God and Brother Jesus'  
**aalab so<sup>o</sup> ooken soo kilisten** (*N*: his father and his mother and Christians) **nuyo** (*Pr*: we) 'we Christian parents'  
**diibdiib noonok keet** (*N*: lowlands' noonok flower) **ilatab** (*Pr*: he-like) 'he is (beautiful) like a noonok flower of the lowlands'  
**alukum ábiib maakmaak unang soo tanum soo** (*N*: all men and women of surrounding villages) **kalib** (*D*<sub>2</sub>: these) **iyó** (*Pr*: they) 'the people of all the surrounding villages'  
**Yoonengaal sinolé Olobenengaal sino numí moom sinolé nimi baab Siinonseb** (*N*: Yoonengaal and Olobenengaal and our mother's-brother and my elder brother Siinonseb) **kulib** (*D*<sub>2</sub>: those) **iyó** (*Pr*: they)

**ki** (*Mp*) 'Yoonengaal, Olobengaal, our uncle, and my elder brother SInonseb'

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

(c) THE ANUCLEAR PHRASE

- isé** (*To*: this) 'this (previously referred to)'  
**yák** (*Di*: across) 'that across there'  
**ítá** (*Pr*: he, it) 'he', 'it'  
**isé** (*To*: this) **yák** (*Di*: across) 'that across there (previously referred to)'  
**yák** (*Di*: across) **ítá** (*Pr*: he, it) 'that (person, thing) across there'  
**yák** (*Di*: across) **keék** (*D2*: across-here) **ítá** (*Pr*: he, it) 'this (thing, person) across here'  
**keék** (*D2*: across-here) **ítá** (*Pr*: he, it) 'this (thing, person) across here'  
**álob** (*Nm*: two) **nókól** (*Pr*: we) 'we two'  
**álob** (*Nm*: two) **maak** (*If*: a) **ítákub** (*Pr*: they *Mp*: just) 'just two at a time'  
**maak** (*If*: a) **iyó** (*Pr*: they) 'some people (among others)'  
**waántá** (*Pr*: who?) 'who?'  
**waámí** (*Pr*: whose?) 'whose?'  
**kootá** (*Pr*: THIS) **ki** (*Mp*) 'this'  
**kaa** (*Pr*: this) 'this'  
**isé** (*To*: this) **beeyó** (*Pr*: that-he) 'that person (previously referred to)'  
**bilíb** (*D2*: those) **ítákub** (*Pr*: they *Mp*: just) 'just those'

## 2.2 OTHER PHRASE LATERALS

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

### 2.21 DIRECTION INDICATOR

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

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

## 2.22 LOCATION INDICATOR

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

## 2.23 ACCOMPANIMENT INDICATOR

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

## 2.24 NEGATIVE QUANTIFIER

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

## 3.0 NOUN PHRASE TYPES AND THEIR OCCURRENCE IN THE CLAUSE

### 3.1 VARIANTS OF THE GENERAL NOUN PHRASE

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

### 3.11 PERSONAL NAME PHRASE

A Personal Name Phrase may occur in any General Noun Phrase position except Complement. Its Nucleus is a Personal Name Noun which may not be possessed, may only be qualified by a Kin Quantifier (*A<sub>q</sub>*), and may only occur with the following Phrase Laterals: Post-Direction (*D<sub>2</sub>*), Person (*Pr*), and Phrase Modifier (*Mp*).

**Alumeyok** 'Alumeyok' (a man)

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

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

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

**Alumeyok úlimal** (*N*: Alumeyok family) **íyó** (*Pr*: he) 'Alumeyok and his family'

### 3.12 POSSESSOR NUCLEUS PHRASE

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

**kábmi** (*N*: your) 'yours' (*Pe*)

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

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

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

**waámí** (*N*: whose?) 'whose?' (*Pe*)

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

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

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

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

### 3.13 TIME PHRASE

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

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

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

*Nt<sub>1</sub> Pr/-mí Nt<sub>2</sub> Pr/-mí Nt<sub>3</sub>,*

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

The only Pronouns occurring as Person in the Time Phrase are: **úyó**, **úta** 'IT', **kooyó**, **kootá** 'THIS-IT', and following an included clause as Time Phrase Nucleus only, **booyó**, **bootá** 'THAT-IT'. **kaa** 'this' also occurs. **kooyó** or **kootá** may occur alone as an Anuclear Time Phrase.

**kooyó** (*Pr*: THIS-IT) 'now'

**kootá** (*Pr*: THIS-IT) **kimín** (*Mp*) 'now'

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

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

**kamaá** (*N*: *Nt<sub>1</sub>*: new) **kootá** (*Pr*: THIS-IT) 'recently'

**siin** (*N*: *Nt<sub>1</sub>*: old) **uyó** (*Pr*: IT) 'before'

**am oókdiim** (*N*: *Nt<sub>2</sub>*: fifth-day) **kootá** (*Pr*: THIS-IT) 'this coming Friday'

**koomi wiik** (*N*: *Nt<sub>2</sub>*: THIS-ITS week) **úta** (*Pr*: IT) 'this week'

**koomi Saandé** (*N*: *Nt<sub>2</sub>*: THIS-ITS Sunday) **kootá** (*Pr*: THIS-ITS) 'this coming Sunday', 'Sunday of this week'

**am kwiina** (*N*: (*Nt<sub>2</sub>*: day *Nt<sub>3</sub>*: afternoon)) **úta** (*Pr*: IT) 'in the afternoon'

**amsin kaalta** (*N*: (*Nt<sub>2</sub>*: yesterday *Nt<sub>3</sub>*: before-yesterday)) 'the day before yesterday'

**amsin umí kutim** (*N*: (*Nt<sub>2</sub>*: yesterday ITS *Nt<sub>3</sub>*: morning)) **úyó** (*Pr*: IT) 'yesterday morning'

**maak umí Salade** (*N*: (*Nt<sub>1</sub>*: one ITS *Nt<sub>2</sub>*: Saturday)) **kootá** (*Pr*: THIS-IT) 'the Saturday of next week'

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

**suunkúb telebili** (*N*: I always come) **kootá** (*Pr*: THIS-IT) 'every time I come'

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



- yak** (*D1*: across) **isál** (*N*: up-above) **ku** (*D2*: there) '(put it) on top (of the fire)'
- meeng** (*D1*: along) '(come) along here'
- kweeng** (*D2*: along-there) '(put) aside'
- intab finang** (*N*: towards what) 'why (have you come)?', 'what (have you come) for?'
- Yeesus imi finang** (*N*: to Jesus) '(come) to/before Jesus'
- beemi** (*N*: to-him [*finang* understood]) '(go) to him'
- Yeesus imi ilo** (*N*: to Jesus) '(go) to Jesus'
- keeng ilo** (*N*: from over-here) **boóyó** (*Pr*: THAT-IT) '(come) from over here'

### 3.15 INSTRUMENT PHRASE

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

- yaan tuub** (*N*: with feet) 'with (your) feet'
- kulmim tuub** (*N*: with fist) 'with (his) fist'
- kaábak tuub** (*N*: with axe) 'with an axe'
- at dukum tuub** (*N*: with wood piece) 'with a piece of wood'
- ise kaábak mafak tuub** (*N*: with referred-to bad axe) 'with that bad axe'
- kaábak asuno koomi tuub** (*N*: with this three axes) 'with the three axes'
- deem tuub soolé biliil tuub soó** (*N*: with bird-arrow and with possum-arrow and) **utá** (*Pr*: IT) **kub** (*Mp*: just) 'with bird arrows and possum arrows only'
- deem soolé biliil soo umi tuub** (*N*: with bird-arrow and possum-arrow and) **kub** (*Mp*: just) 'with bird arrows and possum arrows only'

### 3.2 OTHER NOUN PHRASE TYPES

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

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

### 3.21 DIRECTION PHRASE

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

**dookab** (*N*: what?) **tálák** (*Di*: via) '(come) by which way?'

**dook** (*N*: what?) **ku** (*D2*: there) **téle** (*Di*: via) '(come) by which way?'

**ka** (*D2*: here) **téle** (*Di*: via) '(come) along here'

**kamet** (*D2*: up-here) **téle** (*Di*: via) '(go) up this way'

**meet** (*D1*: up) **ku** (*D2*: there) **téle** (*Di*: via) '(come) by that way up there'

**Ilibtaman** (*N*: Ilibtaman) **ku** (*D2*: there) **téle** (*Di*: via) '(come) via Ilibtaman'

**ileb afalikén** (*N*: big road) **kutám** (*D2*: other-side) **téle** (*Di*: via) '(go) along the broad road'

**dook** (*N*: what?) **ilota** (*Di*: from) 'where (come) from?'

**am** (*N*: house) **ilota** (*Di*: from) '(come) from the house'

**Ilibtaman** (*N*: Ilibtaman) **ilota** (*Di*: from) '(come) from Ilibtaman'

**seéb** (*N*: bush) **ilota** (*Di*: from) '(come) from the bush'

**baalut teem** (*N*: in the plane) **ileb** (*Di*: way) '(come) by plane'

**ook daangkun diim** (*N*: on the back of the water) **ileb** (*Di*: way) '(pass) on the surface of the water' (i.e. 'swim')

**koong kaal diim** (*N*: on the skin of animals) '(pass) on the skin of animals' (i.e. 'ride horses) (**ileb** apparently understood)

### 3.22 LOCATION PHRASE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**meet** (*D1*: up) **kafin diim** (*N*: on the ground) **kamet** (*D2*: up-there) **kal** (*Li*: at) 'on the ground up there'

**nimi dibim diim** (*N*: on my crown) **kal** (*Li*: at) 'above me'

**nimi samanim** (*N*: a long way from me) **kal** (*Li*: at) 'a long way from me'

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

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

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

### 3.23 SOÓ PHRASE

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

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

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

**ku** (*D2*: that) **soó** (*Wi*: with) 'with that person' (*W*)

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

**unáng** (*N*: woman) **soó** (*Wi*: with) 'with a woman' (*W*)

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

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

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

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

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

**maak** (*If:* a) **ka** (*D2:* this) **soó** (*Wi:* with) 'with this other fellow' (*W*)

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

**oókén soolé sáláb soó** (*N:* his-mother and his-father and) 'with his mother and father' (*W*)

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

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

**isó** (*Pr:* with-it) 'has it' (*Pe*)

**kabsinó** (*Pr:* with-you) 'with you' (*W*)

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

### 3.24 BÍNÍM PHRASE

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

*N Nq Mp*

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

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

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

### 3.25 DESCRIPTIVE PHRASE

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

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

<b>abalabaál</b>	'itchy'	<b>eeng</b>	'thick'
<b>abálim</b>	'sweet'	<b>finíng</b>	'lonely'
<b>alaáng</b>	'unfriendly' (person); 'dry' (food); 'strong'	<b>foóng</b>	'light weight'
<b>asít</b>	'raw'	<b>ifálam</b>	'in mourning'
<b>beet</b>	'weak', 'soft'	<b>iluúm</b>	'heavy'
<b>diil</b>	'cold' (weather)	<b>kún</b>	'strong', 'hard'
<b>dúbom</b>	'uninitiated'	<b>tool</b>	'right', 'correct'

The Descriptive Phrase contrasts sharply with a General Noun Phrase containing a Quantifier ( $A_4$ ) by itself as Nucleus, both in internal structure and distribution. The latter may occur in any of the clause-level positions of the General Noun Phrase, and may contain any of the General Noun Phrase Laterals:

**maakinón** ( $N: A_4$ : one-only) **ilásinón** ( $Pr$ : it-only) 'only one'  
**ningdíl** ( $N: A_4$ : few) **nútá** ( $Pr$ : we) 'a few of us'  
**ulímal** ( $N: A_4$ : family) **maakub** ( $Nm$ : one) 'a whole family'  
**alúkum** ( $N: A_4$ : all) **maakub** ( $Nm$ : one) **maak** ( $If$ : a) 'all together'

### 3.26 CONTRASTIVE FEATURES OF THE NOUN PHRASE TYPES

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

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

### 3.3 THE OCCURRENCE OF NOUN PHRASE TYPES IN THE CLAUSE

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

Table B

## Internal Contrastive Features of Noun Phrase Types

P H R A S E   T Y P E	N U C L E U S			L A T E R A L S				
	<i>Ps</i>	<i>Noun Sub-Class</i>	<i>Qualifier</i>	<i>Nm</i>	<i>If</i>	<i>D<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>Pr</i>	<i>Other</i>
General Noun Phrase	±	± various, not Name	±	±	±	±	± various	-
Personal Name Phrase	-	+ Name	± <i>A<sub>4</sub></i> Kin	-	-	±	± various	-
Possessor Nucleus Phrase	+	-	-	-	(±)	(±)	± -ó	-
Time Phrase	±	± Time, <b>dook</b>	-	(±)	(±)	-	± 3f -ó, -tá	-
Destination Phrase	±	± Location, <b>dook (ab)</b>	(± <i>A<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>3</sub></i> )	-	-	± <ku>	(± -tá, -ó)	-
Instrument Phrase	+	+ <b>tuub</b>	-	-	-	-	(± -tá)	-
Direction Phrase	±	± Location, <b>dook (ab)</b>	(± <i>A<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>3</sub></i> )	-	-	± <ku>	-	+ <i>Di</i>
Location Phrase	±	± Location, <b>dook (ab)</b>	(± <i>A<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>3</sub></i> )	-	(±)	± <ku>	-	+ <i>Li</i>
<b>soó</b> Phrase, Non-Pronominal	-	+ various, not Name	±	±	±	± <ku>	-	+ <i>Wi</i>
<b>soó</b> Phrase, Pronominal	-	± Name	-	-	-	-	+ -so	-
<b>bínim</b> Phrase	-	± various	(± <i>A<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>3</sub></i> )	-	-	-	-	+ <i>Nq</i>
Descriptive Phrase	-	-	+ <i>A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>3</sub></i>	-	-	-	-	-

Table C

## Distribution of Noun Phrase Types in Clause-Level Units

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

## 3.4 MULTIPLE PHRASES AS CLAUSE-LEVEL UNITS

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

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

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

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

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

## NOTES

1. Kenneth L. Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour*, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Glendale, 1954, 1955, 1960; Robert E. Longacre, "String Constituent Analysis", *Language*, Vol.36, No.1, 1960, esp. p.64.
2. P. Drabbé, *Kaeti en Wambon*, Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 'S-Gravenhage - Martinus Nijhoff, 1959; John E. Banker, "Transformational Paradigms of Bahnar Clauses", *Mon-Khmer Studies I* (Publication No.1 of the Saigon Linguistic Circle). In press 1964.
3. On matrices see: Kenneth L. Pike, "Dimensions of Grammatical Constructions", *Language*, Vol.38, No.3, 1962, pp.221-244, and "Matrix Permutation in Fore", *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol.5, No.8, 1963. For syntax paradigms see: Kenneth L. Pike, "A Syntactic Paradigm", *Language*, Vol.39, No.2, 1963, pp.216-230; David D. Thomas, "Transformational Paradigms from Clause Roots", *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol.6, No.1, 1964, pp.1-6; Banker, *op. cit.*
4. See Phyllis M. Healey, "Teleéfoól Quotative Clauses", *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No. 1, Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series A - Occasional Papers, No.3, 1964, pp.27-34.*
5. Velma Bernice Pickett, "The Grammatical Hierarchy of Isthmus Zapotec", *Language Dissertation No.56, 1960, p.91; cf. Longacre, op. cit., p.82.*
6. The Telefol language is spoken by over 4000 people in the vicinity of Telefomin in the south-western corner of the Territory of New Guinea. It is one member of a language family extending south into Papua along the Fly and Strickland headwaters, west over the border into Irian Barat as far as the Digoel River and its headwaters, and north along the headwaters of the Sepik and its tributaries. Study of the language has been carried out over a four year period under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Australian National University. The orthography used in this paper is described in Alan Healey, "Telefol Phonology", *Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series B - Monographs, No.3, 1964.* Thanks are due to S.A. Wurm and E.W. Deibler for helpful comments on a previous draft of this paper.
7. Pointed brackets around a form signify the potential occurrence of any member of its class in that position.
8. For the complete list of Telefol kinship terms see, Alan Healey,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18. See Alan Healey 1964, p. 36.

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



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