

# ILIANEN MANOBO SENTENCE STRUCTURE

JEAN SHAND

## 0. INTRODUCTION

Ilianen Manobo<sup>1</sup> has sixteen independent sentence types, and one dependent sentence type which is an exponent of sentence margins.

0.1. The independent sentences enter a sentence system with five orders (addition, equivalence, opposition, quotation and cross reference) and three series (loose, tight, and balanced). The Simple Sentence (1) which has an Independent Clause as base is in addition to this system.

CHART 1

### INDEPENDENT SENTENCE TYPES

	Addition	Equiv- alence	Opposition	Introduced	Cross Referenced
Loose	Juxtaposed	Equiv.	Antithetical	Dir. Quote	Neg. Conditional
Tight	Sequence	Merged	Interdependent Conditional	Ind. Quote	Merged Goal
Balanced	Coordinate	Quasi- Clausal Equiv.	Alternative	Ind. Reference	Reason

0.2. There is one dependent sentence, a Relator-axis Sentence (RAS), which will not be discussed in detail in this paper. It has the following subtypes: condition (RAS<sub>cond</sub>), concession (RAS<sub>conc</sub>), circumstance

(RAS<sub>cir</sub>), cause (RAS<sub>caus</sub>), and time (RAS<sub>time</sub>). These structures are considered to be Relator-axis Sentences rather than Relator-axis Clauses in that they may involve structures clearly extending beyond that of the clause, i.e. (a) a periphery occurs on the Independent Sentence (IndS) which expounds the axis; (b) some other sentence types than Simple Sentence (SimS) expound the axis; and (c) in a Relator-axis Clause the relator draws the clitic pronoun actor of the clause which expounds the axis.

Certain relators such as *apey so that* and *misa/misan even* occur both as relator of RAS and relator of RACl. The contrast between the two structures is clear in that the relator of RACl draws the pronoun of the clause which expounds the axis. There is also a slight shift of meaning depending on its distribution: *wey* as relator of RACl means *when* or *later* and as coordinating conjunction means *and*.

The relator complex of both RAS and RACl includes clitic adverbs and adverbs of time. e.g., *wey embe when now indeed*, *embiya ve guntaani if indeed now*.

## 1. PERIPHERY

The independent sentences have an optional periphery represented by Chart 2.

CHART 2

SENTENCE PERIPHERY: LINEAR ORDER AND EXPONENTS

± inj	± excl	± aff.	± voc.	± conj seq	± conj man	± TM	± prog	± ST	± ConM	± CirM	± Conc M	+ (N)	± CauM
hane take note	etuwey surprise	uya yes wey hesitant yes	pn	wey su and so then	engkey pe' be te what next should happen but	ComP IndCl IndS RAS <sub>t</sub> RACl <sub>t</sub>	netaman finally	TopP	RAS conc	RAS Cir	RAS conc		RAS cause

Rules:

1. The inj, exc, aff, voc and conjunction<sub>seq</sub> tagmemes do not occur in a sentence which is exponent of a base 2.
2. The progression tagmeme may permute to a position preceding the TM. In the permuted position it functions on a higher than sentence level, as discourse or paragraph linkage.
3. The voc tagmeme occurs in any position in the periphery or within the nucleus between clause or sentence tagmemes except preceding clitics.
4. CondM, CirM and ConcM may permute to post nucleus position.
5. ne links all tagmemes except those preceding TM to the following tagmeme.

1.1. The interjection tagmeme hane initiates a narrative discourse and indicates the resumption of narrative (1), a shift from narration to dialogue (3) or a shift from speaker to speaker.

- (1) HANE, nekeipus ka se ebmamà ne ebpememetien nu ne meritan.  
 (inj) *finished you the chew then wonder you the woman*  
*Note, when you finished chewing, you, the woman, wonder what to expect.*
- (2) HANE, riyà te pè ma te pelaas.  
 (inj) *there you yet indeed the lizard*  
*Note, once upon a time there was a lizard.*
- (3) HANE, midlalag ke iney ni Ukap te "Iyan tumù ne  
 (inj) *said the mother of Ukap (rel) that best (lk)*  
*ed-uyahen te red ke minge etew."*  
*revive we yet the (pl) people*  
*Note, the mother of Ukap said, "It's best that we revive the people."*

1.2. The exclamation tagmeme is represented by the class <etuwey>. Included in the class are such items as *etuwey surprise*, *babeba surprise and emphasis* (6), *i apprehension* (5), *a rejection* (4), and *etu look* (7).

- (4) A, kenà, su leheren iya.  
*rej don't because selfish really*  
*UGH, don't, because he is really selfish.*
- (5) I, i, ki Ukap, kenà ed-urung-urung se ebpenuva kayi  
*oh oh (rel) Ukap not take-thought that poison here*  
*te irehaan dey.*  
*the sleeping-quarters our*  
*EE, EE, Ukap, he doesn't take thought that he will poison our sleeping quarters.*
- (6) BABEBA, kayi taman te irek nu ke wayig.  
*surprise here until the armpit your the water*  
*WOW, the water was up to your armpits.*
- (7) "ETU", ke se kenakan, "baley ves en kayi."  
*excl. said the young-man house indeed now here*  
*"LOOK!" said the young man, "here indeed is a house!"*

1.3. The affirmation tagmeme consists of *uya yes* (9), *wey hesitant affirmation* (10), *wey uya well, yes* (8). It indicates an affirmative

reply or an expression of courteous agreement or consent.

- (8) WEY, UYA, ed-imeley ki pà tumù.  
 aff. aff. rest we yet best  
 WELL, YES, it's best that we rest yet.
- (9) UYA, edlevundus ki en.  
 yes proceed we now  
 ALL RIGHT, let's go.
- (10) WEY, embiya arà se igkesuati nu kediey.  
 aff. if that the want you me  
 YES (hesitant) if that's what you want for me.

1.4. The Vocative tagmeme consists of a personal noun or phrase which is used as a direct address (11). In calling style the vocative tagmeme is expounded by a 3rd person relator-axis phrase which even though it is 3rd person is actually a form of direct address (12). The vocative tagmeme in direct address between husband and wife is expounded by a 3rd person noun phrase; i.e., iney rin *his/her mother* is the direct address of a husband to a wife, meaning *mother-of-my-child*, or *wife*. amey rin *his/her father* is used by a wife to her husband, meaning *father-of-my-child*, or *husband* (13). In narrative discourse the narrator may address a character in his own story or a personification of one of the significant items of the tale. (For a fuller description of this see Wrigglesworth (1971).) In the first sentence of a paragraph or with the first mention of a character that character's name is used but subsequent references within the paragraph may switch to either 3rd person (as in Western literature) or very frequently to 2nd person direct address and this is an example of the vocative tagmeme (14). This is common not only to story telling but also to narration of recent events where it is less frequent and occurs where attention is on the action rather than on the identity of the actor.

- (11) Ne keeselem ne andew, INÀ, ne ebpenhumale e rà ded duen.  
 now tomorrow when day Mother then make-a-try I only yet there  
 Tomorrow, MOTHER, I will make a try there.
- (12) Ey, KI BAYI, ne behu pè bes ne nekeuma.  
 Oh at Sister who new yet only (lk) arrived  
 Look, SISTER, only now you arrive.

- (13) Hune ve su netaman keniya` ne migkahi ini se  
*when indeed because finally there then said this the*  
 lipetuan, ke sikandin ne iyan kayi te kedì ne INEY RIN  
*datu' said he (1k) what here with me (1k) mother his*  
 se ebpemunuwit e pa.  
*that go-fishing I yet*  
*Then finally indeed this datu' spoke, said he, "That which I*  
*want to do, WIFE (literally his mother) is that I will go fishing."*
- (14) Ne nekepurut ke en, UKAP, te rasang, ne midtiang nu  
*then gathered you now Ukap the sticks and carried you*  
 en te ed-uli  
*now the return-home*  
*YOU gathered small branches, UKAP, and you carried them*  
*on your shoulder to go home.*

1.5. The sequence conjunction tagmeme <wey su> and so (16) includes phrases such as *dayi su good that*, *su so, because* (17) and *dayi ma su good indeed* (15). It indicates a sequence relationship chronological or logical to that which precedes the sentence.

- (15) "DAYI MA", ke se ratu', "SU ruen senge vatil ne  
*good indeed said the datu' because there one basket of*  
 ringkut ne id-epan te takep wey vuu, SU ibpesayu an  
*flour which baiting the weir and trap because make-use there*  
 se ringkut ne neurun.  
*the flour which collected*  
*"GOOD INDEED," said the datu', "BECAUSE there is a basketful*  
*of rice flour to bait the takep-weir and the vuu-traps,*  
*BECAUSE that will take advantage of the rice flour which has*  
*collected."*
- (16) WEY SU nepawa` en ne mibpenguli ke menge etew.  
*and so dawned now and went-home the (pl) people*  
*AND SO when it was dawn the people returned home.*
- (17) SU ini pa` ne nekekuwa ki ini; nekeserungar te iring kayi.  
*so here yet (1k) got we this looked-toward the like this*  
*SO only now have we got this; looked toward something like this.*

1.6. The manner conjunction tagmeme <engkey pe be> *what but* (18), includes such phrases as *ubpat te but* (19), *takin te simultaneous with* (20), *abpeg te including* (21). The manner conjunction tagmeme indicates

specific manner in which the sentence is related to that which precedes it. In distribution *takin te* and *abpeg te* occur only in the periphery of a sentence which is embedded in base 2 of another sentence.

- (18) ENGKEY PÈ BE te gune su netaman ne mibevelegkas  
*what yet indeed but when because until then got-dressed*  
 en ini se raha.  
*now this the girl*  
*WHAT YET BUT then finally the young lady got dressed.*
- (19) UBPAT TE midlalag en si Ukap te "Kenà a mulà  
*but (rel) spoke now (rel) Ukap (rel) not I anyway*  
 ebpendiyà, su netuenan ku en se iyan ebuyen dut  
*go because know I now that what beg there*  
 datù ke kati ku ini.  
*datu' the wild-cock my here*  
*BUT Ukap said now, "I will not go because I know already*  
*that the datu' will beg for this my wild cock."*
- (20) Ne gune ne neवलुंग ini se vatà ne midwaleng ini  
*then when (lk) satisfied this the child then got-busy this*  
 se meritan ne kua rin ini se lembung din ne iseluub ne  
*the woman then took she this the dress her and put-on and*  
 TAKIN TE migkahi ini se meritan te "Beletamey  
*simultaneously (rel) said this the woman (rel) Beletamey*  
 ne up-upiya ke rè be su ebpekebelag ki.  
*(lk) take-care you only indeed because divorce we*  
*Then when the child was satisfied the woman got busy and took*  
*her dress and put it on and AT THE SAME TIME she said "Beletamey,*  
*you just be good because we are going to be divorced."*
- (21) Wey embe medwaleng ini se kelesanen ne mibpemehìpì  
*and indeed got-busy this the rooster and flapped-wings*  
 dutun ne ABPEG TE mid-ukara maa sikandin, ne langun te  
*there then also (rel) crowed again he and all the*  
 gugut dan malung wey kumbalà, minge kulambu, ne  
*things their wraps and shirts (pl) sleeping-nets (lk)*  
 rutun en.  
*there now*  
*And the rooster got busy and flapped his wings then he ALSO crowed*  
*and all of their things their wraps and shirts, sleeping nets,*  
*appeared there now.*

1.7. The time margin tagmeme states the time of the activity indicated by the sentence nucleus. The exponents of this tagmeme are a comment phrase (22), an independent clause (23, 24), a relator-axis clause (RAC1) (25), a simple sentence (SimS) (27), or an RAS<sub>time</sub> (28, 29). The relator of the RAC1 is *wey when*. *Wey* occurs elsewhere as coordinating particle of coordinate constructions in which case it means *and* also as affirmation tagmeme in which case it means *hesitant affirmation*. The relators of the RAS<sub>time</sub> are *hune/gune su then when*, *ne then* and *embiya when*. *Embiya* occurs elsewhere as relator of RAS<sub>cond</sub> in which case it means *if*. A sequence of two time margins may occur in the same sentence (26).

- (22) MESELEM EN ne intulid en ni Mensupiya se emakan diyà  
*morning now then unrolled now by Mensupiya the mat there*  
 te luuk te lama.  
*the middle of yard*  
 WHEN IT WAS MORNING, Mensupiya unrolled the mat the in the  
 middle of the yard.
- (23) NERINEG DUT TE LANGUN NE MENGE ETEW ne keseveka  
*heard by the all of (pl) people (lk) as-one*  
 ne mid-itindeg.  
*then stood-up*  
 WHEN THE PEOPLE HEARD they stood up as one.
- (24) EGKUKU KE KELIYAWA ne mibpenirew ran kayi te takep dan.  
*calls the callaw and investigated they here the trap their*  
 AT THE CALLING OF THE CALLAW they investigated their traps.
- (25) WEY KE VE NEKEIRAT DUEN ne mebpekituved ka  
*when you indeed boiled-off there then got-veg. you*  
 ne meritan.  
*who woman*  
 WHEN YOU HAD BOILED OFF THE WATER, you the woman got vegetables.
- (26) Hane NEKEUMA SI UKAP KAYI TE WAYIG ne WEY NU SENDENGA  
 (inj) arrived (rel) Ukap here the water then when you looked-at  
 UKAP SE TAKEP NU ne neneparinparin en.  
*Ukap the trap your and changed (pl) now*  
 NOTE, THEN WHEN UKAP ARRIVED AT THE WATER and WHEN YOU HAD  
 LOOKED AT YOUR TRAP, UKAP, it had changed.

- (27) Engkey pà te EBPELINGGUMA EN SI UKAP KAYI TE PATAG TE  
*what yet but come-in-view now (rel) Ukap here the front of*  
 MENGE KENAKAN SU NEUNA RAN TE ED-ULÌ ne nepemulinggitan  
*(pl) young-men because first they in returning and caught-sight*  
 kayi te menge kenakan ini se kati nu.  
*here the (pl) young-men here the wild-cock your*  
*What next but WHEN UKAP ARRIVED IN FRONT OF THE YOUNG MEN*  
*BECAUSE THEY HAD RETURNED FIRST they caught sight of your*  
*wild cock.*
- (28) EMBIYA EBPEKETUEN KEY TE RAHA ne egkuwa key te sengetiman  
*when find we the girl then get we the one-piece*  
 ne ahung.  
*of gong*  
*WHEN WE FIND A GIRL we will get one gong.*
- (29) Gune su neuhet ne egenat en maa si Beletamey  
*then-when so long-time then depart now again (rel) Beletamey*  
 se ebpengati.  
*in hunting-cocks*  
*THEN WHEN IT HAD BEEN A LONG TIME Beletamey set out to*  
*hunt wild cocks.*
- 1.8. The progression tagmeme indicates the general progress of the theme of the discourse whether temporal or logical. The <netaman> class of phrases included such phrases as *ikeruwa rin secondly* (32), *etawa rin its alternative* (33), *upama rin its example* (34) and *netaman din its result*, *netaman finally* (30), *add netaman guntaani finally now* (31).
- (30) Ne NETAMAN ne mid-engked ini se vatà.  
 (lk) *finally then stopped this the child*  
*FINALLY this one, the child, stopped.*
- (31) Hane NETAMAN GUNTEAN ne merukilem pà ne ebpekehimerat kew.  
 (inj) *finally now then night yet and woke-up you*  
*Note, FINALLY NOW, it was still night and you woke up.*
- (32) "IKERUWA RIN", ke si Ukap, ne "egkelilingey a ki Inà."  
*second its said (rel) Ukap (lk) worried I about Mother*  
*"SECONDLY", said Ukap, "I am worried about my mother."*

- (33) Neipusan be te ebpekaras su sika pengengewiran ne  
*finished indeed the harrowing because that field then*  
 meawang en ne egutuk te hewii te kebuwuri wey  
*clean now then set the day the rice-planting and*  
 ETAWA RIN be ke ed-uran  
*or its indeed the rains*  
*When the harrowing is finished because the field is clear then*  
*next the day is set for planting or AN ALTERNATIVE is they will*  
*see if it rains.*

- (34) UPAMA RIN liyu te kendulì ebuwis  
*example its apart-from the prayer-ceremony offer*  
 key te manuk.  
*we the chicken.*  
 FOR EXAMPLE, apart from the prayer ceremony we give a wave  
 offering of the chicken.

1.9. The sentence topic tagmeme is expounded by a relator-axis phrase (RAP) with either the ke<sup>2</sup> class relators (35) or relators such as *misa even* (38), *embiya if* (39), or *mekeatag te relative to* (40). The relator is optionally omitted when paragraph linkage makes it clear that the phrase is a sentence topic (41) or when the axis is a comment phrase (42). The sentence topic is cross referenced in the nucleus of the sentence by a pronoun except when the sentence topic represents a process in which case it is cross referenced by an expanded paraphrase.

- (35) KE KINEBULANG KU DIYÀ TE KILAVEW ne warà mepesà  
*at New Year ceremony my there at Kilavew then not break*  
 ke etelug.  
*the egg*  
 AT MY NEW YEAR CEREMONY THERE AT KILAVEW the egg did not  
 break (there).
- (36) INI SE INEY NU, ne mibpenahù en te kendidu wey  
*this the mother your put-away now the pots and*  
 kuvung.  
*coconut-shell*  
 YOUR MOTHER HERE, she put away the pots and dipper.

- (37) HEINI VE ne sengekuwan en maa ne kedlalag ku ini  
*this indeed now different now again of speech my here*  
 rut te langun dut sikita.  
*to the all of us*  
*THIS, this is a different speech of mine to all of us.*
- (38) MISA SIKUNA ARA SE TENDAYAG, ne egkeketen ke rà an  
*even you there the serpent (lk) killed you only there*  
 ke ebpekeinum ka kayi te wayig.  
*if drink you here the water*  
*EVEN YOU THERE THE SERPENT, you will be killed there if you*  
*drink the water.*
- (39) EMBIYA SI BELETAMEY ne ebmerungkug en.  
*if (rel) Beletamey then sad now*  
*IF BELETAMEY, he was sad now.*
- (40) MEKEATAG DÀ MA RUEN TE EDLELEHEN nu ne kenà  
*relative only indeed there to words your now don't*  
 ka ebpenganun-anun.  
*you complain*  
*RELATIVE TO THAT WHICH YOU ARE SAYING, don't complain.*
- (41) MEKEAMUNG DUT TE LUKES ne edtavang su engketà  
*son-in-law there of parent (lk) help because like-that*  
 imbe se ukit kayi.  
*indeed the custom here*  
*THE SON-IN-LAW OF THE PARENT, he will help because that*  
*indeed is the custom here.*
- (42) DEISEK, DEKELÀ NE SERÀ NE rutun nu en mekita, Ukap.  
*small big of fish then there you now saw Ukap*  
*LITTLE AND BIG FISH, you saw them there now, Ukap.*

1.10 The condition margin tagmeme imposes a condition upon the activity indicated by the sentence nucleus and is expounded by RAS<sub>cond</sub>. The relator is optionally omitted (54) when another margin occurs between condition margin and the sentence nucleus. The relator complex of RAS<sub>cond</sub> includes the following: ke relator (45, 46) (seldom pre-nucleus), embiya if (43), ke embiya if (44), misa ke even if (47). The axis of the RAS<sub>cond</sub> is expounded by a comment phrase (48, 49), an IndCl, IndS (50, 51, 52) or an RAS<sub>cause</sub> (53). The condition margin may be permuted to post nucleus (45).

- (43) EMBIYA KUN DUEN IGKETAHÙ DUT TE ITUNGAN NU  
*if he-said there-is planned there the mind your*  
 ne ipanew ke en.  
*then go you now*  
*IF YOU HAVE A PLAN IN MIND then go ahead, he says.*
- (44) Ipanew ke en kun KE EMBIYA DUEN IGKETAHÙ DUT  
*to you now he-said (rel) if there-is planned there*  
 TE ITUNGAN NU.  
*the mind your*  
*"Go ahead," he says, "IF YOU HAVE A PLAN IN MIND."*
- (45) Misa imbe sikuna a se tendayag, ne egkeketen ke  
*even indeed you there the serpent then killed you*  
 rà an KE EBPEKEINUM KA TE WAYIG.  
*only there if drink you the water*  
*Even you there the serpent, you will be killed IF YOU DRINK THE WATER.*
- (46) KE MEUPIYA KE VE KANDAN ne ebpekekahi te "Id-awà  
*if good you indeed them then can-say (rel) remove*  
 a se sunggud; kenà ebpesungguren su metulanged bes."  
*that the fine don't fine-him because generous indeed*  
*IF YOU ARE GOOD TO THEM they will be able to say, "Remove the fine; don't fine him because he is generous."*
- (47) MISA KE MIDTENGE EN ne mibpuntilan pà.  
*even if wrapped now then put-inside yet*  
*EVEN IF THEY WRAPPED IT they would have put it inside a bottle.*
- (48) EMBIYA KENÀ INI SE LEMBUNG ne kenà ebpekelesed diyà  
*if not this the dress then not able-to-fly there*  
 te divavew.  
*to sky*  
*IF NOT FOR THE DRESS she cannot fly up to the sky.*
- (49) EMBIYA ARUS DÀ NE EBPUSEKAAN A NIKUNA ne asì  
*if fitting only that owned I by-you then see*  
 dè be ke ibehey a nikuna.  
*only indeed you give I by-you*  
*IF IT IS FITTING THAT I WILL BE OWNED BY YOU see that you don't give me away.*

- (50) EMBIYA KENÀ DIN EGKEULÌ SU WARÀ TAMUK DIN ne ed-imetayi.  
*if not he return-it because not wealth his then killed*  
 IF HE CANNOT RETURN IT BECAUSE HE HAS NO MEANS he will be killed.
- (51) EMBIYA DUMA NE KUKUMAN NE EBPETIBASEY KE ELIN MEAMA  
*if another of case and slash-one-another the both men*  
 ne minatey ke seveka ne edwaleng ke ratù ne egkukumen din.  
*then dead the one then get-busy the datu' and settle he*  
 IF IT IS ANOTHER KIND OF CASE WHERE TWO MEN SLASH EACH OTHER  
 AND ONE IS DEAD, the datu' will get busy and settle it.
- (52) Embiya iyan nu rà ebpulungan te merukilem meandew se  
*if that you only do at night day the*  
 ebaal ka te tikes ...  
*make you the knee-bracelets*  
 If the only thing you do night and day is to make knee-bracelets...
- (53) EMBIYA VE SU KENÀ ED-URIPENEN DIYA TE DATU' ne  
*if indeed because not enslaved there the datu' then*  
 ruma pà se egketemanan din.  
*other yet the fate her*  
 IF IT IS BECAUSE SHE WILL NOT BE ENSLAVED BY THE DATU' there  
 will be another fate for her.
- (54) EDUPANG DEMA KE ESAWA NU ne apey rà kenà ka ebpengelikud  
*misbehave also the wife your and even only not you jealous*  
 ne egketuenan nu rema  
*then will-know you also*  
 IF YOUR WIFE MISBEHAVES even if you are not jealous, you will  
 know about it.

1.11. The circumstance margin tagmeme defines a circumstance pertinent to the activity indicated by the sentence nucleus and is expounded by RAS<sub>cir</sub>. The relator complex includes the following: *te relator* (55) (whose most frequent distribution is post-nucleus following a question), *tehaad te since* (56), *geina te since* (57).

- (55) Ebmenmenuwen ki embe sikuna ini TE KENÀ IYA EGKEPAKEY  
*how-about-it we indeed you here since not really possible*  
 NE EDSUKUVEN KU SIKUNA KAYI TE LEMBUNG KU.  
*that get-inside I you here the dress my*  
 What will we do about you SINCE IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR ME  
 TO GET YOU INSIDE MY DRESS.

- (56) TEHAAD TE KENÀ KA EDUMA ne kenà a rema ebpendiyà.  
*since (rel) not you accompany then not I also go*  
 SINCE YOU WILL NOT GO WITH ME I also will not go.
- (57) GEINA VE TE NEUYAG E RED, Ukap, ne iyan ke en  
*since indeed (rel) revived I yet Ukap then that you know*  
 ratù; siaken ke ratù ne kenà ad ederatù.  
*datu' I the datu' then not I datu'*  
 SINCE YOU HAVE REVIVED ME, Ukap, you are now the datu'; I  
 the datu' will not rule.

1.12. The Concessive margin tagmeme states a concession in relation to the assertion indicated by the sentence nucleus. It is expounded by RAS<sub>conc</sub> with the following included as part of the relator complex: *misa/misan even though* (58), *misa se/misan se even since* (59), *epiya even though* (60), *epiya se even since*, *apey ke even if* (63), *apey te even since* (64), *endei se wherever* (61), *engkey se whatever* (62), *se/te relator*. *se* and *te* occur most frequently in post nucleus position following a question. The axis is expounded by a comment phrase, *IndCl* or *IndS*.

*apey even* as relator of RAS<sub>conc</sub> contrasts with its distribution as relator of an *RACl* in that the relator of an *RACl* draws the clitic pronoun actor of the clause which expounds the axis.

- (58) MISA KENÀ NU IGKESUAT ne idtehel ku iya keykew  
*even-though not you want (lk) force I really you*  
 EVEN THOUGH YOU DON'T WANT IT I will force it on you.
- (59) MISAN SE NEKESAHAD EN ne edtentenuran nu pad.  
*even-though (rel) passed-by now then remember you yet*  
 EVEN THOUGH IT HAS PASSED BY try to remember yet.
- (60) EPIYA ENGKEY NE SAKIT ne ebpekegaga en.  
*even whatever of sickness then sufficient now*  
 WHATEVER IS THE KIND OF THE SICKNESS, it is adequate.
- (61) Ini se munge raha ne ENDEI SE EBPEKEUMA KAYI  
*this (rel) (pl) young-ladies then where the arrive here*  
 TE PELIGÌ ne edluungen din en se lembung din ne  
*the pool then remove she now (rel) dress her (lk)*  
 ebpemihù en.  
*bathe now*  
 These young ladies, WHEREVER THEY ARRIVE HERE AT THE POOL, they  
 remove their dresses and bathe.

- (62) ENGKEY SE EDLELAHEN DUT TE INEY NU ne asì dà ke  
*what (rel) say there the mother your then see-only-that*  
 kenà ka edtavak.  
*not you answer*  
 WHATEVER YOUR MOTHER SAYS see that you do not answer.
- (63) APEY KE ED-IPANEW a ne kayi red ke itungan ku te keykew.  
*even if go I then here yet the mind my with you*  
 EVEN IF I GO my thoughts are here with you.
- (64) APEY GUNTEAN TE MIBPIPINTÙ INI SE RAHA ne kenà ma  
*even now since closed-up this the girl (lk) not indeed*  
 ebpekelipereng.  
*sleep*  
 EVEN NOW SINCE THE GIRL HAD CLOSED THE DOOR she could not sleep.

1.13. The cause margin tagmeme states a reason, cause, intention or result of the activity or situation indicated by the sentence nucleus and is expounded by RAS<sub>caus</sub>. The relator is *su because, evidenced by*. The axis is a comment phrase (65), RAC1 (67, 68, 69), IndC1 (66) or IndS (70, 71, 72). The fact that the cause margin indicates result as well as cause is seen in the following examples which give essentially the same information regardless of which item occurs in the nucleus. *Nekesinehew a te merukilem su egkelimengawan a. I cried at night because I am lonely. Egkelimengawan a su nekesinehew a te merukilem. I am lonely as evidenced by the fact that I cried at night.*

- (65) Kenà edlaus sikandin SU KE ANAK DIN NE EDREDETAN.  
*not proceed he because the child his who fevered*  
 He will not go ahead BECAUSE OF HIS CHILD WHO IS ILL.
- (66) Nekelutù ne ebpemendiyà en ke langun te perevenian SU  
*cooked then go now the all to seed-box because*  
 EDSAKUP TE KEBPENAWAGTAWAG TE WELIAN.  
*attend the praying the shaman*  
 When it is cooked everyone will go to the seedbox BECAUSE THEY WILL ATTEND THE PRAYING OF THE SHAMAN.
- (67) Lùlù ke en SU EMU KA MEKEKAAN EN.  
*rinse you now because so you eat now*  
 Rinse your hands SO THAT YOU CAN EAT NOW.

- (68) Merungkug SU WEY RIN EBPENUHURA SE LANGUNLANGUN  
*sad because when he recollects the all*  
 NE EGKEGAGA RIN.  
*of wealth his*  
*He is sad (BECAUSE) WHEN HE RECOLLECTS ALL OF HIS WEALTH.*
- (69) Engked kew en bayi ke ebpelahuy SU MATAG KEW  
*stop you now sister the running because only you*  
 RÀ EGKERUUHI.  
*yet tired*  
*Stop running, Sister, BECAUSE YOU WILL ONLY JUST GET TIRED.*
- (70) Liveri nu, Beletamey, arà se upi SU (Ind. Ref. S. as axis)  
*return you Beletamey that the case because*  
 KALU KE DUEN TAHÙ DIN MAA.  
*perhaps (rel) there-is contents it yet*  
*Return to the case, Beletamey, BECAUSE PERHAPS THERE IS SOMETHING IN IT.*
- (71) Embiya meselem ne sengkiyew ka te bulù ne mebpengemanga  
*when morning then grasp you the bolo and sharpen*  
 se egkamet, SU (Quasi Cl. Equiv. S. as axis) ARÀ DÀ  
*to clear-field because that only*  
 IMBE SE KEUPIYANAN TA SE EBPENGENGAWID.  
*indeed the welfare our the farming*  
*When it is morning grasp your bolo and sharpen it to make a field BECAUSE THAT'S OUR ONLY WELFARE, FARMING.*
- (72) Iyan igkebuku ni Ukap ne neawà ke kati SU MIDTIDTU  
*that problem of Ukap (lk) went the wild-cock because that*  
 RUT TE KEMUNEY KE AYAM DIN SU ARÀ SE KATI NE  
*there the owner the pet its because that the wild-cock (lk)*  
 IYAN KEMUNEY KETA SE RAHA TE ELIMUGKAT.  
*that owner that the young-lady of Elimugkat*  
*The problem of Ukap is that his wild cock left BECAUSE IT WENT RIGHT TO ITS OWNER BECAUSE THE OWNER OF THAT WILD-COCK IS THE YOUNG LADY OF ELIMUGKAT.*

## 2. SENTENCE TYPES

2.1. The Simple Sentence contrasts with the other sentence types in that it has only one base, it is not introduced by a formula, and its exponent is an independent clause. It is represented by the following bidimensional array:

CHART 3  
SIMPLE SENTENCE

(± Peri)	+ Base(simple)
	IndCl

In the following examples the sentence Base is shown in upper case.

- (73) Hane nekuwa rà ni Ukap ini se rekelà en se tahù kayi  
 (inj) took only by Ukap this the large now the contents here  
 te sakù din NE MID-ULÌ EN KAYI TE INEY RIN.  
 of sack his and returned now here to mother his  
 Note, when Ukap got the great amount that was put in the sack  
 HE WENT HOME TO HIS MOTHER.
- (74) Wey LEVUNDUS KE EN su edlevundus ad dema su warà  
 well proceed you now because proceed I also because not  
 дума nu ayan te ed-ipanew.  
 companion your there to go  
 Well, GO AHEAD because I will go also because you have no  
 companion to go with.
- (75) ENGKEY SE NERINEG NU NE LALAG DUT TE APÙ NU?  
 what the heard you of words there the grandfather your  
 WHAT DID YOU HEAR YOUR GRANDFATHER SAY?
- (76) Apey rà sika meama ne warà meakat ke migemew te arà  
 even only those men who not invited-to-help if come-out to that  
 ne kinepepeamung NE EGKETEVIANGAN su iyan din uleula arà  
 (lk) helping then helped because that he do that  
 ne mid-iket sikandin su apey merakel ke ebpeketavang kandin.  
 (lk) tied he because so many the must-help him  
 Even those men who were not invited to help if they come out to  
 that work group THEY WILL BE HELPED because what he has done is  
 to tie them so that many will have to help him in return.

2.2. The Juxtaposed Sentence is an addition type sentence. It contrasts with the other addition sentences (Sequence Sentence and Coordinate Sentence) in that (1) its bases are not joined by a coordinating conjunction but by juxtaposition, and (2) its base 2 amplifies or paraphrases the action or state of base 1. It is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 4

## JUXTAPOSED SENTENCE

(±Peri)	+Base <sub>1</sub> (statement)	+Base <sub>2</sub> (amplification)...	±(Base(ampli.))
	IndCl SimS	IndCl SimS	IndCl SimS

- (77) (Base 1) *Langun dut te minge weliyan din ne mibpinuu en*  
*all there of (pl) shaman his then sat now*  
*diyà te emakan;*  
*there the mat*
- (Base 2) *si Anggam Pedro mibpinuu en, si Ansihem mibpinuu*  
*(rel) uncle Pedro sat now (rel) Ansihem sat*  
*en dutun wey senge etew ne langkat ne nekeamut dutun.*  
*now there and (sing.) person of sect (lk) joined there*  
*All of his shamans sat down on the bamboo mat;*
- (Base 2) *Uncle Pedro sat down, Ansihem sat down, and a member*  
*of the langkat sect joined them.*
- (78) *Pemevavas kew; (Base 2) pemengusu kew dut te lengesa dut*  
*get-anointed you rub you there the blood of*  
*te manuk su bavas kew*  
*the chicken because get-anointed you*  
*Get anointed; (Base 2) rub on the blood of the chicken because*  
*you will get anointed.*
- (79) *Embiya leheren ka ne ebpekekahi ke etew te "A, kenà*  
*if selfish you then can-say the people (rel) ugh don't*  
*su leheren iya; (Base 2 of D.Q.) kenà ebehey; (Base 3 of*  
*because selfish really not give*  
*D.Q.) kenà edtavang te ruma rin ne egkerasey: kenà edtavang*  
*not help the companion his who troubled not help*

dut te ruma ne egkeuru.  
*there the companion who worried*

*If you are selfish people will say "Ugh, don't because he is really selfish; (Base 2 of D.Q.) he doesn't give; (Base 3 of D.Q.) he doesn't help his companions who are in difficulties; (Base 4 of D.Q.) he doesn't help his companions who are worried."*

- (80) Endei be ke ibpeangey ku keniyu: (Base 2) meambe ke warà  
*where indeed the sent-for I you who the not*  
 meduma si Ukap?  
*come-with (rel) Ukap*

*Where is the one I sent you for; (Base 2) why didn't Ukap come?*

- (81) Helevek kew en ne menge kenakan, (Base 2) pilaya niyu  
*work you now who (pl) young-men fell you*  
 en ke memaan.  
*now the betel-palm*

*Work, men; (Base 2) cut down the betel palm.*

- (82) Nelened en; (Base 2) diyan en te dilarem en te wayig  
*submerged now there now the bottom now the water*  
 si Ukap.  
 (rel) Ukap

*Now he is submerged; (Base 2) now Ukap is down under the water.*

- (83) ...su mibpengirehà a ini; (Base<sub>2</sub>) mid-abbet a mibpenuva  
*because camped-out I here came-for I poison-fish*  
 ...because I camped out here; (Base 2) I came to poison fish.

2.3. The Sequence Sentence is an addition type sentence which contrasts to other sentence types in the following ways: (1) Its bases are joined by coordinating conjunction *ne then*; (2) The actions or states indicated by the bases must occur in the same event in the chronological or logical order given. A Sequence Sentence whose Base<sub>1</sub> (antecedent) is expounded by IndCl (84) may at first glance resemble a Simple Sentence whose Time Margin is expounded by IndCl. They clearly contrast, however, in that a Time Margin functions in paragraph linkage, i.e., it repeats part of the previous sentence and provides the time setting for the action indicated by the sentence nucleus. Base<sub>1</sub> (antecedent) of the Sequence Sentence is not exploited for paragraph linkage. It does not present a time setting but rather an antecedent action which is followed in sequence by a consequent action or actions. Thus in

example (23) of section 1.7. *The people heard it*, is the time setting for the action *and stood up as one*. In example (24) of the same section *At the calling of the callow* is the time setting for the action *they investigated their traps*. In both cases the time setting is an IndCl which in itself has no tense or mode restriction which would contrast it from the IndCl expounding a Base<sub>1</sub> (antecedent). The contrast is made clear, however, in such examples as (87) below where *she snatched up a cooking pot* is clearly the antecedent action (not time setting) for *she filled it*.

The Sequence Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array.

## CHART 5

## SEQUENCE SENTENCE

(±Peri)	+Base <sub>1</sub> (anteced.)	+lk	+Base <sub>2</sub> (conseq.)...±	(+lk	+Base <sub>2</sub> (conseq.))
	IndCl	ne	IndCl	ne	IndCl
	IndS	then	IndS	then	IndS

- (84) (TM) Nepawè en ne (Base<sub>1</sub>) midwaleng si Ukap ne  
*dawned now (lk) got-busy (rel) Ukap (lk)*
- (Base<sub>2</sub>) kuwaa rin se malung din (Base<sub>2</sub>) ne tuus te egkeayuayu  
*took he the wrap his (lk) sign that poor*
- nevenar si Ukap su iyan din midtehuan kayi te lutù  
*really (rel) Ukap because that he put-in here the lunch*
- din ne malung din.  
*his which wrap his*
- (TM) *When it had dawned (Base<sub>1</sub>) Ukap got busy (Base<sub>2</sub>) and he took his wrap (Base<sub>2</sub>) and it is a sign that Ukap is really poor because that which he took in his lunch is his wrap.*
- (85) (TM) Ne nerineg dut te minge etew (Base<sub>1</sub>) ne nevurun  
*then heard there the (pl) people (lk) gathered*
- en diyà te valey ne egkeenan (Base<sub>2</sub>) ne mibpehendad en ke  
*now there the house of eating (lk) served now the*
- langun ne meritan (Base<sub>2</sub>) ne langun dut te minge meama ne  
*all of women (lk) all there the (pl) men then*
- edtundug en dema se egkemkem te idserà (Base<sub>2</sub>) ne langun  
*followed now also the holding the viand (lk) all*

dut te etew ne nekekaan en.  
*there the people then ate now*

(TM) *When all the people heard it then (Base<sub>1</sub>) they gathered there in the eating house and (Base<sub>2</sub>) all the women served and (Base<sub>2</sub>) all of the men followed holding the dishes of viand and (Base<sub>2</sub>) all of the people ate.*

- (86) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Embiya egkeamin ini se egkeenen dey ki Inà ne  
*if consumed this the food our with Mother then*

warà en keduwa ku te ebpetaan te lukes ku ne (Base<sub>2</sub>)  
*not now alternative I to death of parent my (lk)*

sebseveka ne ed-uyehen ku ne kenà ku egkegaga.  
*one of provide-living I and not I sufficient*

(Base<sub>1</sub>) *If this food of ours, mine and Mother's, is consumed, I have no choice but to be the death of my parent and (Base<sub>2</sub>) even though I am making a living for only one, I am not sufficient.*

- (87) (TM) Hune ve su nekita te iney ni Ukap ke mid-ullì  
*then-when indeed so saw by mother of Ukap that returned*

en ke anak din ne (Base<sub>1</sub>) edsengkiyew en te kendidu, ne  
*now the child her (lk) snatched-up now the pot (lk)*

(Base<sub>2</sub>) midtikuren ini se meritan.  
*filled-it this the woman*

(TM) *Then when the mother of Ukap saw that her child had returned, (Base<sub>1</sub>) she snatched up a cooking pot and (Base<sub>2</sub>) the woman filled it.*

- (88) (TM) Nekepasek ini se menge kenakan ini te pelaus ne  
*erected this the (pl) young-men here the post (lk)*

(Base<sub>1</sub>) intangen en se hinarang, ne (Base<sub>2</sub>) ke ruma ne  
*added now the floor-poles (lk) the other of*

kenakan ne migaad en te vangel wey hasew, menge  
*young-men (lk) got now the rafters and roof-poles (pl)*

atep; midtimpad te atep.  
*roofing cut the roofing*

(TM) *When the young men had erected the corner posts (Base<sub>1</sub>) they added the floor-poles and (Base<sub>2</sub>) some of the young men got the rafters and the roof poles, roofing, they cut roofing.*

- (89) Hane (TM) nekeuma si Ukap kayi te iney rin ne (Base<sub>1</sub>)  
*(inj) arrived (rel) Ukap here the mother his (lk)*

inrenà nu en se pentiyari nu ketuhasan din duen ne  
*set-down you now the catch your gain his there (lk)*

(Base<sub>2</sub>) impelantap nu se kati nu te pepasan.  
*placed you the wild-cock your on blank*

*Note, (TM) when Ukap arrive here at his mother's house (Base<sub>1</sub>)  
 you set down your gain, his catch (YOUR and HIS both refer  
 to Ukap) then (Base<sub>2</sub>) you placed your wild cock on the plank.*

2.4. The Coordinate Sentence is an addition type sentence which contrasts to other sentence types in the following ways: (1) Its bases are joined by the coordinating conjunction *wey and*; (2) The actions indicated in the bases need not be presented in chronological sequence and may be permuted in order (91); (3) The actions indicated are not necessarily related and may be somewhat heterogenous (90). *wey and* in its distribution as a coordinating conjunction does not draw the pronoun as it does when it occurs as relator of an RAC1. When there are more than two bases *wey*'s other than the last one may be dropped. It is represented in the following bidimensional array.

## CHART 6

## COORDINATE SENTENCE

(±Per1)	+Base <sub>1</sub> (head)	+ lk	+Base <sub>2</sub> (head...±)	(+lk	+Base <sub>2</sub> (head))
	IndCl	<i>wey</i>	IndCl	<i>wey</i>	IndCl
	IndS	<i>and</i>	IndS	<i>and</i>	IndS

(90) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Kenà a ebpekepedian su warà kurata ku wey (Base<sub>2</sub>)  
*not I can-market because not money my and*

*keduwa rin ne warà ebpekepevantay kayi te valey.  
 secondly its then not able-to-watch here the house*

*I cannot go to market because (Base<sub>1</sub>) I have no money and (Base<sub>2</sub>)  
 secondly there is no one wo watch the house here. (The Coordinate  
 Sentence is axis of the RAS<sub>caus</sub>)*

(91) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Inrenà ke manuk ne deruwa ne midsivurakan te  
*set-down the chicken of two and sprinkled with*

*kasag (Base<sub>2</sub>) wey seveka se etelug ne in-antug.  
 popped-rice and one the egg (lk) is-cast*

*(Base<sub>1</sub>) When the two chickens are set down, popped rice is  
 sprinkled (Base<sub>2</sub>) and one egg is tossed down.*

- (92) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Ruen en se mevavà (Base<sub>2</sub>) ruen en se  
*there-are now the short there-are now the*  
 mepatag wey (Base<sub>2</sub>) ruen pà manen metikang pà dut langun.  
*level and there-are yet also tallest yet there all*  
 (Base<sub>1</sub>) *There are those which are short,* (Base<sub>2</sub>) *there are those*  
*which are level, and (Base<sub>2</sub>) there are those which are tallest*  
*of all.*

2.5. The Equivalent Sentence<sup>3</sup> is one of three equivalence type sentences whose bases are all joined by *se equals* or *simultaneous with*. It contrasts to other sentence types in that the exponent of Base<sub>1</sub> (statement) is an RAC1 which states *that which...* and the exponent of Base<sub>2</sub> (equivalent) is an IndC1 (95,96,97) or IndS (93,98) which completes the equation. It is represented in the following bidimensional array.

CHART 7  
 EQUIVALENT SENTENCE

(±Per1)	+Base <sub>1</sub> (statement)	+ marker	+Base <sub>2</sub> (equivalent)
	RAC1 <sub>nom</sub>	se <i>equals</i> or <i>simultaneous with</i>	IndC1 IndS

- (93) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Iyan nu rà edtentenuran se (Base<sub>2</sub>) egkeveladnà  
*that you only remember (mk) low*

ke andew ne ed-ipanew ke en.  
*the sun and go you now*

(Base<sub>1</sub>) *That which you remember is* (Base<sub>2</sub>) *that when the sun is low you will go.*

- (94) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Iyan nu kebpenirew, Ukap se (Base<sub>2</sub>) langun dut  
*that your investigation Ukap (mk) all there*

takep ne id-awè en dut wayig.  
*traps (lk) removed now there water*

(Base<sub>1</sub>) *What you are investigating, Ukap (Base<sub>2</sub>) is all of the traps which are being taken out of the water.*

- (95) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Engkey pè be te iyan en pulungan ni Ukap se  
*what yet but (rel) that now go of Ukap (mk)*  
 (Base<sub>2</sub>) edsinehew diyà te rilarem te wayig.  
*cry there at bottom of water*  
 (Base<sub>1</sub>) *What then, but that which Ukap did (Base<sub>2</sub>) was to cry at the bottom of the river.*
- (96) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Iyan nu en ebpulungan te merukilem meandew se  
*that you now do at night day (mk)*  
 (Base<sub>2</sub>) ebpemukpuk ka.  
*clap-hands you*  
 (Base<sub>1</sub>) *That which you did night and day (Base<sub>2</sub>) was to clap your hands.*
- (97) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Iyan din neumaan se (Base<sub>2</sub>) minatey ke anak din.  
*that he arrived-at (mk) dead the child his*  
 (Base<sub>1</sub>) *That which he found on arriving (Base<sub>2</sub>) was that his child was dead.*
- (98) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Iyan ku rà impengkayi se (Base<sub>2</sub>) midsuhù a  
*that I only reason-to-come (mk) sent I*  
 ni Amà ke edlaus ke red ke ebpengirehà su eduma  
*by Father if proceed you only to camp-out because accompany*  
 si Amà keykew.  
 (rel) *Father you*  
 (Base<sub>1</sub>) *That which is my reason for coming (Base<sub>2</sub>) is that I am sent by Father to see if you will still proceed to camp out because Father will go with you.*

2.6. The Merged Sentence is an equivalence sentence. It contrasts to other sentence types in that a single shared noun phrase expounds the topic tagmeme of the clauses of both bases. The verb which occurs in the IndCl which expounds the Base(action) is from a restricted list of action verbs which includes such verbs as *itideg stand up*, *edlaus proceed*, *pemenaug go down*, *ipaneu go*, *rembiyur disturb*, etc.

The Merged Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array.

## CHART 8

## MERGED SENTENCE

(±Per1)	+Base <sub>1</sub> (action)	+ marker	+Base <sub>2</sub> (Simultaneous action)
	IndCl with <laus> verb stems	se <i>equals</i> or <i>simultaneous</i> <i>with</i>	IndCl

**Note:** The shared topic tagmeme need not have the same grammatical relationship to the verb of Base<sub>1</sub>(action) as it has to the verb of the Base<sub>2</sub>(simultaneous action). Most frequent in occurrence is a topic which is actor of both verbs (99-103) but there are also Merged Sentences where the shared topic is actor of one verb and goal of the other verb (104-107).

- (99) Nekeipus dema si UKAP INI se ebmamà ne sengeleya  
*finished also (rel) Ukap here (mk) chew then tucked-under-arm*  
 nu en ini se kati ne mid-itindeg ke en.  
*you now this the wild-cock and stood you now*  
*When UKAP HERE finished chewing, tucking his wild-cock under*  
*his arm he stood up.*
- (100) Ne kenà AD INI edlaus se pengirehà su warà  
*then not I here proceed (mk) camp-out because not*  
 duma ku.  
*companion my*  
*I will not proceed to camp out because I have no companion.*
- (101) Nerineg dà ni Ukap ne ed-ip-ipanew en se elilikuvung  
*heard only by Ukap then go now (mk) carrying-on-head*  
 te sakù. (Actor topic is 3rd person zero pronoun)  
*the sack*  
*When Ukap heard that he went now carrying a sack on his head.*
- (102) Mibpemenaug KE en se ebpemengà te kayu.  
*went-down you now (mk) look-for the wood*  
*YOU went down to look for wood.*
- (103) Hane nerineg dà ni Ukap, ne mid-itindeg KE en se  
 (inj) *heard only by Ukap and stood you now (mk)*

edubpù te senar nu.  
draw-near to place your

*Note, when Ukap heard that YOU stood up to draw near to your place.*

(104) Egkerembiyur Kl en se ebpeeneng-eneng.

*disturbed we now (mk) resting*

*WE are disturbed now from resting.*

(105) Egkevangen A se ebpenulam.

*prevented I (mk) embroidering*

*I am being prevented from embroidering.*

(106) Ebpengelaga Kl en se ebpengehaten. (Topic is goal of both verbs)  
*jinxed we now (mk) bitten*

*WE are jinxed and will be bitten.*

(107) ...su nerasey AD dema se ed-anak

*because afflicted I also (mk) giving-birth*

*...because it is made difficult for ME also in giving birth.*

2.7. The Quasi-clausal Sentence resembles a clause in that the sequence of + marker + Base<sub>2</sub>(equivalent) is similar to a topic noun phrase on the clause level. The Quasi-clausal Sentence contrasts with a clause in that in a clause (1) a topic noun phrase is introduced by the relator *ke* rather than the marker *se* and (2) a noun phrase introduced by *ke* does not permit the degree of recursion in the head slot which is permitted following the marker *se*. The exponents of Base<sub>2</sub> are IndCl (109,110) or IndS (108,111,112). It is represented by the following bidimensional array.

#### CHART 9

##### QUASI-CLAUSAL SENTENCE

(±Peri)	+Base <sub>1</sub> (statement)	+ Marker	+Base <sub>2</sub> (equivalent)
	IndCl (-topic)	<i>se</i> <i>equals</i>	IndCl IndS

- (108) ...ne (Base<sub>1</sub>) egketendaan dan se (Base<sub>2</sub>) itung  
*then witnesses they (mk) (excl)*  
 mibped-esawa ke anak dan.  
*got-married the child their*  
 ... (Base<sub>1</sub>) *they are witnesses (Base<sub>2</sub>) that really their child got married.*
- (109) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Kenà egked-uleula ni Anggam se (Base<sub>2</sub>) kenà din  
*not custom of uncle (mk) not he*  
 ebpekeenen ke anak din.  
*feed the child his*  
 (Base<sub>1</sub>) *It is not the custom of Uncle (Base<sub>2</sub>) that he does not feed his children.*
- (110) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Angin be perem te hinawa ku se (Base<sub>2</sub>)  
*have indeed hope the feelings I (mk)*  
 egkesuat a ne eduma...  
*want I (Ik) go*  
 (Base<sub>1</sub>) *I have the feelings (Base<sub>2</sub>) that I want to go...*
- (111) ... (Base<sub>1</sub>) netueanan ke en se (Base<sub>2</sub>) iyan ebuyuen dut  
*know you now (mk) that beg there*  
 datù ke kati ku ini.  
*datu' the wild-cock of-mine here*  
 ... (Base<sub>1</sub>) *you know now (Base<sub>2</sub>) that that which the datu' will beg for is my wild cock.*
- (112) ... (Base<sub>1</sub>) su nepespesaran se (Base<sub>2</sub>) eduma ke  
*because agreement (mk) accompany the*  
 apù nu kedì te kebpengirehà  
*grandfather your me in camp-out*  
 ... (Base<sub>1</sub>) *because it was the agreement (Base<sub>2</sub>) that your grandfather would accompany me in camping out.*

2.8. The Antithetical Sentence is one of three opposition sentences. It contrasts to other sentence types in that its two bases (1) are not permutable, (2) are joined by an antithetical marker,<sup>4</sup> (3) Base<sub>2</sub> (anti-thesis) may be expounded by a single negative (114). It is represented by the following bidimensional array.

## CHART 10

## ANTITHETICAL SENTENCE

(±Per <sub>1</sub> )	+Base <sub>1</sub> (thesis)	+Antithetical Marker	+Base <sub>2</sub> (antithesis)
	IndC1	ugaïd however mesi se instead	IndC1 IndS Negative

(113) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Ebpekeutang ka UGAID (Base<sub>2</sub>) duen dà iseg din.  
*can-charge you however there-is yet increase its*

(Base<sub>1</sub>) *You can charge it BUT* (Base<sub>2</sub>) *there is an increase in price.*

(114) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Kunaan ku ke mibpengkayi UGAID (Base<sub>2</sub>) warà.  
*thought I that came however not*

(Base<sub>1</sub>) *I thought that he had come HOWEVER* (Base<sub>2</sub>) *he hadn't.*

(115) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Mibitiyaraan din si Ansihem te edteveken ke  
*took-counsel he (rel) Ansihem to inject the*

lukes UGAID (Base<sub>2</sub>) kenà sikandin egkiyug.  
*old-one however not he permit*

(Base<sub>1</sub>) *He counselled with Ansihem about injecting the old man HOWEVER* (Base<sub>2</sub>) *he would not permit it.*

(116) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Iyan ku itungan se edtelavuk a kayi te keniyu  
*that my thought (mk) attend I here at you*

UGAID (Base<sub>2</sub>) dut te warà med-engked ke uran ne warà  
*however there at not stop the rain then not*

a medlaus.  
*I continue*

(Base<sub>1</sub>) *My thought was that I would come here to see you, HOWEVER,* (Base<sub>2</sub>) *since the rain did not stop I did not continue.*

(117) Enta ke warà ka migkulayì ne (Base<sub>1</sub>) kenà ki red perem  
*only if not you yelled then not we only hopefully*

egketuntulan MESÌ BE (Base<sub>2</sub>) se migkulayì ka.  
*found instead indeed (rel) yelled you*

*If only you hadn't yelled (Base<sub>1</sub>) we would not have been found out, BUT INSTEAD, you yelled.*

(118) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Iyan embe ke meupiya ne egkeenen, MESI BE  
*that indeed the good of food instead indeed*

(Base<sub>2</sub>) se iyan niyu egkeenen se ukap.  
*(rel) that you eat the chaff*

(Base<sub>1</sub>) *That's the good food, BUT INSTEAD (Base<sub>2</sub>) you eat chaff.*

(119) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Warà ded mevinsuli ke valey ke riyà ke red,  
*not only burn the house if there you only*

MESI SE (Base<sub>2</sub>) midtelukun ka.  
*instead (rel) followed you*

(Base<sub>1</sub>) *The house would not have burned had you been there BUT INSTEAD (Base<sub>2</sub>) you came along.*

(120) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Kenà en maa perem edetengen UGAID (Base<sub>2</sub>)  
*not now again hopefully fevered however*

nekehasà din dà.  
*got-thin he yet*

(Base<sub>1</sub>) *He is not fevered, HOWEVER, (Base<sub>2</sub>) he has become thin.*

2.9. The Interdependent Conditional Sentence<sup>5</sup> is also an opposition sentence contrasting to all other sentence types in that neither base is expounded by an independent clause. Base 1 is expounded by a relator axis clause and base 2 by RAS<sub>cond</sub>. RAC1<sub>time</sub> gives a negative implication to base 1 and RAC1<sub>conc</sub> expounding base 1 gives a negative implication to the whole nucleus. Misa/misan *even* and apey *even* in the examples given here (121,122,123) contrast to their distribution as relators of RAS in that here, as relators of RAC1, they draw the clitic pronoun actor from the clause which expounds the axis.

The Interdependent Conditional Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 11

INTERDEPENDENT CONDITIONAL SENTENCE

(±Peri)	+ Base <sub>1</sub> (condition 1)	+ Base <sub>2</sub> (condition 2)
	RAC1 <sub>time</sub>	RAS <sub>cond</sub>
	RAC1 <sub>conc</sub>	

- (121) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Misa enir, Ukap, te takep nu (Base<sub>2</sub>) ke ruen pad  
*even scale Ukap of trap your if there-is yet*  
 iya edsahad.  
*really entered*  
 (Base<sub>1</sub>) *A fish scale, Ukap, (Base<sub>2</sub>) not even that had entered.*
- (122) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Misan kew ukasi (Base<sub>2</sub>) ke egkevulung kew en neraan.  
*even you killed if satisfied you now already*  
 (Base<sub>1</sub>) *Don't go to be killed (Base<sub>2</sub>) without getting full first.*
- (123) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Apey rà idsapà (Base<sub>2</sub>) ke egkaan a te etew.  
*even only cursed if eat I the people*  
 (Base<sub>1</sub>) *I would not eat people (Base<sub>2</sub>) even if I were to be cursed.*
- (124) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Wey ad buwa ebpekelived kayi (Base<sub>2</sub>) ke meputi  
*when I perhaps return here if white*  
 en ke uwak.  
*now the crow*  
 (Base<sub>1</sub>) *I won't return here (Base<sub>2</sub>) until the crow turns white.*
- (125) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Wey ad ed-ilotu (Base<sub>2</sub>) ke egkeviti a.  
*when I cook if hungry I*  
 (Base<sub>1</sub>) *When I cook, (Base<sub>2</sub>) it won't be until I am hungry.*

2.10. The Alternative Sentence is an opposition sentence which contrasts to all other sentence types in the following ways: (1) Its two bases are joined by an alternative marker *etawa* *or*; (2) Base<sub>1</sub> and Base<sub>2</sub>(alternative) may permute in which case the permuted Base<sub>1</sub> may delete (a) all of a negative clause except the negative, (b) all of the RACl<sub>time</sub> except the relator complex which includes adverb clitics. It is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 12

## ALTERNATIVE SENTENCE

(± Peri)	+ Base <sub>1</sub>	+ Alternative Marker	+ Base <sub>2</sub> (alternative)
	IndCl NegCl RACl <sub>time</sub>	<i>etawa</i> <i>or</i>	IndCl

- (126) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Edlevundus ki en etawa (Base<sub>2</sub>(alternative)) ed-eles  
*proceed we now or hide*

ki pà?

*we yet*

(Base<sub>1</sub>) *Will we proceed now or (Base<sub>2</sub>) will we hide yet?*

permuted

(Base<sub>2</sub>) Ed-eles ki pà etawa (Base<sub>1</sub>) edlevundus ki en?  
*hide we yet or proceed we now*

(Base<sub>2</sub>) *Will we hide yet or (Base<sub>1</sub>) will we proceed now?*

- (127) Belehad ke (Base<sub>1</sub>) kenà a ed-apug etawa (Base<sub>2</sub>) ed-apug a.  
*nevermind if not I chew or chew I*

*Nevermind if (Base<sub>1</sub>) I don't take a chew or (Base<sub>2</sub>) if I chew.*

permuted

Belehad ke (Base<sub>2</sub>) ed-apug a etawa (Base<sub>1</sub>) kenà.  
*nevermind if chew I or not*

*Nevermind if (Base<sub>2</sub>) I chew or (Base<sub>1</sub>) not.*

- (128) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Kenà eduma ke amey nu keykew etawa (Base<sub>2</sub>)  
*not accompany the father your you or*

eduma? (actor is 3rd person zero pronoun)

*accompany*

(Base<sub>1</sub>) *Will your father not go with you or (Base<sub>2</sub>) will he go?*

permuted

(Base<sub>2</sub>) Eduma ke amey nu keykew etawa (Base<sub>1</sub>) kenà?  
*accompany the father your you or not*

(Base<sub>2</sub>) *Will your father go with you or (Base<sub>1</sub>) not?*

- (129) (Base<sub>1</sub>) Wey ki en egkaan etawa (Base<sub>2</sub>) egkaan ki  
*later-when we now eat or eat we*

pà neraan?

*yet beforehand*

permuted

(Base<sub>2</sub>) Egkaan ki pà neraan etawa (Base<sub>1</sub>) wey en?  
*eat we yet beforehand or later-when now*

(Base<sub>2</sub>) *Will we eat beforehand or (Base<sub>1</sub>) later on?*

2.11. The Direct Quote Sentence is one of three introduced sentences. It contrasts with all other sentence types in the following ways: (1) It has a direct quote base which is expounded by an IndCl (130-134), and IndS (135-138), a paragraph, a discourse (139). (2) It is introduced by a sequence of two formulae one of which is obligatory. Formula 1 is seen in examples (130-133 and 136-140). Formula 2 is seen in examples (134,135 and 141). It is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 13

## DIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE

(±Per1)	Quote ±Formula 1	Quote ±Formula 2	+ marker	+Base(direct quote)
	IndCl	quote phrase	<i>ne then</i> <i>se equals</i> <i>te relator</i> <i># relator</i>	IndCl IndS paragraph discourse

**Note:** The quote phrase which expounds Quote Formula 2 is a relator-axis phrase whose relator is *ke topic marker* and whose axis is a pronoun of the emphasis set or a personal noun phrase.

- Rules:**
- (1) Quote Formula 2 may permute to within the base following any clause level tagmeme except preceding clitics.
  - (2) A negative, time, location or relator<sub>time</sub> tagmeme plus a clitic pronoun actor may stand for the entire IndCl of the base.
  - (3) *ne* is the preferred marker following Quote Formula 2.

- (130) (Formula<sub>1</sub>) Midlalag en ke meritan se, (Base) "Engkey se  
*said now the woman (mk) what the*  
 nerulang nu ne bitiyara?"  
*find you of counsel*  
 (Formula<sub>1</sub>) *The woman said now, (Base) "What counsel did you get?"*
- (131) (Formula<sub>1</sub>) Iyan lalag ni Ukap ne, (Base) "Egkeayuayu ki ves  
*that words of Ukap (mk) poor we indeed*  
 iya ini Inà."  
*really here Mother*

(Formula<sub>1</sub>) *That which Ukap said was, (Base) "We are really poor here, Mother."*

- (132) (Formula<sub>1</sub>) Ne mid-insà en ini se ratù te (Base)  
*then asked now here the datu' (mk)*

"Endei be ke ibpeangey ku keniyu?"  
*where indeed the fetched I you*

(Formula<sub>1</sub>) *Then the datu' asked, (Base) "Where is the one I sent you to fetch?"*

- (133) (Formula<sub>1</sub>) Ne midlalag en ke tutugker, (Formula<sub>2</sub>) ke  
*then spoke now the tutugker (rel)*

se tutugker ne (Base) "Engkey se ebpekeiveleng te  
*the tutugker (mk) what the swallow the*

telikusuy te vanug?"  
*wing-bone of eagle*

(Formula<sub>1</sub>) *Then the tutugker said, (Formula<sub>2</sub>) said the tutugker, (Base) "Who can swallow the wing bone of an eagle?"*

- (134) (Base) "Keremà," (Formula<sub>2</sub>) ke se tutugker, (Base continued)  
*tomorrow (rel) the tutugker*

ne "iyan niyu helevek se egkuya."  
*(mk) that your work the race*

(Base) "Tomorrow," (Formula<sub>2</sub>) said the tutugker, (Base continued)  
*"that which you are assigned to do is to race."*

- (135) (Formula 2) Ke se bayuk kayi te kelesanen te (Base) "Kenà  
*said the chant here of rooster (mk) not*

a ivehey nikuna, Ukap, ke ebpesuhuan ke en dut datù.  
*I given by-you Ukap if ordered you now there datu'*

(Formula<sub>2</sub>) *Said the chant of the rooster, (Base) "Don't give me away, Ukap, if you are ordered by the datu' there."*

- (136) (Formula<sub>1</sub>) Midlalag en ke minge kenakan te (Base) "Siaken  
*said now the (pl) young-man (mk) I*

se edtuganur rut te kati nu su kenà nu patut  
*the keeper there the wild-cock your because not you fit*

an, su sikuna, ne mereatey ka.  
*there because you (lk) bad you*

(Formula<sub>1</sub>) *The young men said, (Base) "I will take care of your wild cock because you are not fit because you are worthless."*

- (137) Hane (Formula<sub>1</sub>) midlalag en ma se suwat, (Base) "Belehad,"  
 (inj) said now indeed the comb nevermind  
 ke se suwat, "ke kenà ka ebpemineg, Bayi."  
 (rel) the comb if not you listen Sister  
 Note, (Formula<sub>1</sub>) the comb said now, (Base) "Nevermind,"  
 said the comb, "if you don't listen sister."
- (138) Hane (Formula<sub>1</sub>) midlalag ini se datù (Formula<sub>2</sub>) ke se  
 (inj) said here the datu' (rel) the  
 ratù ne (Base) "Kayi ke rà ebpemineg te kedì su siak  
 datu' (mk) here you only listen to me because I  
 ne timbang amey nu," ke se ratù.  
 (lk) same-as father your (rel) the datu'  
 Note, (Formula<sub>2</sub>) the datu' said, said the datu', (Base) "You  
 look to me, because I am the same as your father," said the datu'.
- (139) (Formula<sub>1</sub>) Iyan lalag dut te menge lukes dey dengan ne  
 that words of the (pl) elders our of-old (lk)  
 (Formula<sub>2</sub>) ke se menge lukes ne (Base) "...  
 (rel) the (pl) elders (mk)  
 (Formula<sub>1</sub>) That which our elders said of old, (Formula<sub>2</sub>) said  
 the elders (Base) "...
- (140) Ne (Formula<sub>1</sub>) migkahi en ke maya (# mk) (Base) "Apey  
 then said now the rice-bird even  
 ve maa ke egkaan a te egkeenen te umat ne ..."  
 indeed again if eat I the food of mortals then...  
 Then (Formula<sub>1</sub>) the maya said, (# mk) (Base) "Even if I eat  
 the food of humans..."
- (141) (Formula<sub>2</sub>) Ke se tutugker, (# mk) (Base) "Ivelenga nu  
 (rel) the tutugker swallow you  
 ini ne keliyawa su... "  
 this who keliyawa because  
 Then, (Formula<sub>2</sub>) the tutugker said, (# mk) (Base) "Swallow this,  
 keliyawa, because ..."

2.12. The Indirect Quote Sentence is an introduced sentence which contrasts with all other sentence types in the following ways: (1) It has an indirect quote base which is expounded by an IndCl, or an IndS; (2) It has two formulae one of which is obligatory. The Formula 2 of

the Direct Quote Sentence does not occur with the Indirect Quote Sentence. The Indirect Quote Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 14

## INDIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE

(±Peri)	Ind.Quote ±Formula <sub>1</sub>	+ Marker	+Base(indirect quote)	Ind.Quote ±Formula <sub>2</sub>
	IndCk <kahi> say	ke <i>relator</i> te <i>relator</i> ne <i>then</i>	IndCl IndS	kun <i>it is said</i>

Rules: (1) Either Formula 1 or IndQuote Formula is obligatory but both may occur.

(2) Ind.Quote Formula may permute to a position within the exponent of the base following any clause level tagmeme except preceding clitics.

(142) Pehaney (Formula<sub>1</sub>) ne mid-insaan din ne Kerangag (mk) ke  
*first then asked he of Kerangag (mk)*

(Base) engkey se egkeenen din.  
*what the food his*

*First (Formula<sub>1</sub>) he asked the Kerangag (Base) what his food would be.*

(143) ...su petakas e pà diyà te ki Anggam (Formula<sub>1</sub>) ed-insà  
*because go I yet there to (rel) uncle ask*

(mk) ke (Base) engkey se kandin ne bitiyara kayi te tanà.  
*(mk) what the his which counsel here the land*

*...because I will go yet to Uncle's house (Formula<sub>1</sub>) to ask (Base) what his counsel is regarding the land.*

(144) (Formula<sub>1</sub>) Ikahi nu rà te amey nu, Bayi, (mk) te  
*tell you yet the father your sister that*

(Base) kenà e pà edlaus.  
*not I yet proceed*

*(Formula<sub>1</sub>) You tell your father, Sister, (Base) that I will not yet proceed.*

- (145) (Formula<sub>1</sub>) Ini mulà ke lalag ni Apù te atag  
*this anyway the words of Grandfather in relation*  
 dut te kebpengirehà nu (mk) ne (Base) kenà edlaus  
*there to camp-out your (mk) not proceed*  
 sikandin su egkelilingey rut te anak ne edretan.  
*he because distracted there by child who serious*  
 (Formula<sub>1</sub>) *This is what Grandfather said relative to your*  
*camping out (Base) that he would not proceed because he is*  
*distracted by his child who is seriously ill.*
- (146) (Base) Kenà (Formula<sub>2</sub>) kun (Base, cont.) ebehey.  
*not they-say give*  
 (Base) *He will not give, (Formula<sub>2</sub>) he said.*
- (147) (Base) Netueanan din en (Formula<sub>2</sub>) kun (Base, cont.)  
*knows he now they-say*  
 se lalag nu ne ebuyen nu kun ke kelesanen din.  
*the word your (lk) beg you please the rooster his*  
 (Base) *He knows, (Formula<sub>2</sub>) he said, (Base, cont.) what will*  
*you say, that you will beg his rooster, please.*
- (148) (Base) Piya (Formula<sub>2</sub>) kun (Base, cont.) mebpematey ke  
*even they-say die the*  
 amey nu ne egkekita ke pà.  
*father your (mk) see you yet*  
 (Base) *"Even," (Formula<sub>2</sub>) he says, (Base, cont.) "though your*  
*father will die, you will have seen him," he says.*
- (149) (Base) Elehà (Formula<sub>2</sub>) kun (Base, cont.) te timus din.  
*price they-say of salt his*  
*It is the price, they say, of his salt.*

2.13. The Indirect Reference Sentence is an introduced sentence which contrasts with all other sentence types in the following ways: (1) It is introduced by an Indirect Reference Formula which is expounded by the <kema ke> *perhaps* class of phrases; (2) Its base is expounded by an IndCl or an IndS. It is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 15

INDIRECT REFERENCE SENTENCE

(±Peri)	+ Indef. Formula	+ Base
	<kema ke > <i>perhaps</i>	IndCl IndS

Rules: (1) A negative, time, location or relator<sub>time</sub> tagmeme may stand for the entire IndCl of the Base.

(2) The <kema ke> *perhaps* class phrases include the following: *asi de be ke see that you don't* (150) *kalu ke probably* (151,152) *pegitung ka ke consider that* (153) *meambe ke why* (154) *kunaan ku ke I mistakenly thought that* (155).

(150) ASI DE BE KE ibehey a nikuna te iring nu, su  
*see only indeed that give I you to like you because*  
ini ne aney kew nekeuma kayi te wayig ne edsipaten  
*this (lk) before you arrived here the water then chose*  
ku sikuna.  
*I you*

*SEE THAT YOU DON'T give me away to those like you for this reason, before you arrived here at the water I chose you.*

(151) ...KALU KE kenà ebehey.  
*probably that not give*  
...PROBABLY they won't give.

(152) ...KALU KE ruen nekita rin ne ebpekeaid  
*perhaps that there-is saw he that apt-to-harm*  
...PERHAPS (rel) *there-is something he saw that seemed dangerous.*

(153) PEGITUNG ka, Kerangag, KE endei ki ebpekeulì su  
*consider you Kerangag that where we can-return because*  
netarin ki ini.  
*lost we here*  
*CONSIDER, Kerangag, where our path home might be because we are lost here.*

- (154) MEAMBE KE mibasal ka te ahung ni Belensahan?  
*why that ring you the gong of Belensahan*  
*WHY did you ring the gong of Woodpecker?*
- (155) KUNAAN NU RÀ BE, Anù, KE edlegleheran key nikuna.  
*thought you only indeed Anu' that selfish we you*  
*YOU MISTAKENLY THOUGHT, Anu', THAT you could be selfish with us.*

2.14. The Negative Conditional Sentence is one of three Cross Referenced Sentences. It contrasts with all other sentence types in the following ways: (1) Each base is expounded by a negative statement; (2) The beta values of both protasis and apodosis are reversed so that both statements are contrary to fact; (3) Marker plus protasis may permute to precede the apodosis (158). It is represented in the following bidimensional array.

CHART 16

## NEGATIVE CONDITIONAL SENTENCE

(±Peri)	+ Base(apodosis)	+ Marker	+ Base(protasis)
	IndCl	ke if	IndCl

- (156) WARÀ ned-uleula ini se kebpees-eseweey ke KENÀ nepegumpungan  
*not happen this the marriage if not agreed*  
 ke langun ne sikami ne menge lukes niyu.  
*the all of us of (pl) elders you*  
*This marriage would NOT have happened if it had NOT been*  
*agreed upon by all of us your elders.*
- (157) WARÀ ded mevinsuli ke valey ke WARÀ ka nekeruma.  
*not yet burned the house if not you accompany*  
*The house would NOT have burned if you had NOT come along.*
- (158) Enta ke WARÀ ka migkulayi ne KENÀ ki red perem  
*only if not you yelled then not we yet hopefully*  
 egketuntulan ...  
*found-out*  
*If only you hadn'T yelled we would NOT have been found out, ...*

- (159) WARÀ a nekepehimbenar ke WARÀ a nekekita.  
*not I believed of not I saw*  
*I would NOT have believed it if I had NOT seen it.*
- (160) KENÀ ebpekepengadì ke anak din ke KENÀ egkeevunawan.  
*not able-to-study the child his if not helped-by-others*  
*His child would NOT be able to study if he is NOT helped by others.*

2.15. The Merged Goal Sentence is included with the Cross Referenced sentences since the actions of the bases are interdependent. It contrasts to all other sentence types in the following ways: (1) It is a merged sentence in which a single noun phrase expounds the actor tagmeme of the clauses of both bases (161-167). The actor tagmemes need not be topic and the verbs of the two clauses need not focus on the same topic (168-169). (2) The action of Base 2 is the goal of the action of Base 1. It is represented in the following bidimensional array.

CHART 17

MERGED GOAL SENTENCE

(±Per1)	+ Base <sub>1</sub> (action)	+ Base <sub>2</sub> (goal)
	IndCl	IndCl

Shared actor tagmeme is topic of both clauses.

- (161) Eguru si Ayà ebasa.  
*learn (rel) Aunt read*  
*Aunt is learning to read.*
- (162) ebpekegaga sikandin ebevaley.  
*has-ability he build*  
*He is able to build.*
- (163) Mid-uney mibaa1.  
*did-alone made*  
*He independently made it.*

- (164) Ed-abpet sikandin egkukuhu  
 to he make-clearing  
*He goes there to make a clearing.*
- (165) Edsuvar a ebpenavit  
 take-turns I gathering  
*I will take my turn in gathering.*
- (166) Peralandalan ke en ed-ebpet kayi te senar.  
 meander you now go here to place  
*You meander now to go to your place.*
- (167) Engkey pà te medsuvar si Ukap mibpenirew te kandin.  
 what yet but took-turn (rel) Ukap investigated the his  
*What next but Ukap took his turn and investigated his.*

In the following examples the shared tagmeme is actor of both verbs but topic of neither. In (167) the a suffix of *Kua took* indicates that the goal *se kebilà* is topic of that verb. The i suffix of the second verb *ediri prepare* indicates that the referent *si Beletamey personal name* is topic of that verb. In (168) the i suffix of *geweri* indicates that the topic of the verb is the referent not made explicit in the sentence and translated by *it*. The i prefix of *itahù put-away* indicates that *ke menge belegkas the clothes* are the instrument and the topic of that verb. The pronoun *rin he* is actor of both verbs which focus on different topics.

- (168) Kua RIN se kebilà embe ediri si Beletamey.  
 took she the betel-basket reason prepare (rel) Beletamey  
*SHE took the betel-basket in order to prepare a chew for Beletamey.*
- (169) Geweri RIN itahù ke menge belegkas.  
 hold he put-away the (pl) clothes  
*HE takes hold of it to put away the clothes.*

2.16. The Reason Sentence contrasts to all other sentences in the following ways: (1) The bases are interdependent and the Base<sub>2</sub>(cross referenced) presents the reason, result or evidence relative to the preceding Base<sub>1</sub>; (2) The marker preceding the initial Base<sub>1</sub> cross references to the Base<sub>2</sub>(cross referenced). It is represented by the following bidimensional array.

## CHART 18

## REASON SENTENCE

(±Peri)	+Cross Reference +Marker	+ Base <sub>1</sub>	+ Base <sub>2</sub> (cross referenced)
	sabap <i>therefore,</i> <i>that's why</i> (172-173)	IndC1	RAS <sub>caus</sub>
	tembù <i>that's why</i> (170-171)		

- (170) (mk) Tembù ma Base<sub>1</sub> mibpengadì key diyà te Nasulì  
*that's-why indeed studied we there at Nasuli*  
 (Base<sub>2</sub>) su apay meupiya ne untul ke kedalag dey.  
*because so-that good (lk) very the speech our*  
 (mk) *That's why (Base<sub>1</sub>) we studied there at Nasuli, (Base<sub>2</sub>) so that our speech would become very good.*
- (171) "(mk) Tembù ma," (Base<sub>1</sub>) ke se kelesanen, "Kayi a  
*that's-why indeed said the rooster here I*  
 medsahad te takep nu (Base<sub>2</sub>) su mid-uluhan ku sikuna  
*entered the trap your because dropped I you*  
 te daat te nanam su merakel ke idsan nu ne nekuwa  
*the bad of name because many the like you who got*  
 ran en mula ke ed-ingewean dan."  
*they now anyway the desires their*  
 "(mk) *That's why (Base<sub>1</sub>) indeed," said the rooster, "I entered your trap (Base<sub>2</sub>) because I really felt sorry for you because many of the others got what they wanted."*
- (172) (mk) Sabap (Base<sub>1</sub>) nevilanggù ka (Base<sub>2</sub>) su ke  
*therefore jailed you because the*  
 uleula nu ne meraat.  
*custom your which had*  
 (mk) *That's why (Base<sub>1</sub>) you were jailed (Base<sub>2</sub>) because of your bad actions.*
- (173) (mk) Sabap (Base<sub>1</sub>) kurang ke sakit (Base<sub>2</sub>) su  
*that's-why lessened the sickness because*  
 nesuhat te kendulì.  
*hit by ceremony*

(mk) *That's why (Base<sub>1</sub>) the sickness lessened, (Base<sub>2</sub>) it was taken care of by the ceremony.*

(174) (mk) Tuus te (Base<sub>1</sub>) egkeayuayu nevenar si Ukap,  
*sign that poor really (rel) Ukap*

(Base<sub>2</sub>) su iyan din midtehuan kayi te lutù din ne  
*because that he put-in here the lunch his the*

*malung din.*

*wrap his*

(mk) *It is evident that (Base<sub>1</sub>) Ukap is really poor (Base<sub>2</sub>) because that which he put in his lunch was his wrap.*

N O T E S

1. Ilianen Manobo is one of the several Manobo languages of Mindanao, Philippines. It is spoken in northern Cotabato province by about 5000 speakers. This paper was based on data collected during the previous eight years of intermittent residence among the Ilianen Manobo people. Use was made of a concordance of approximately 36,000 words of text in Ilianen Manobo made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation. Dr. Robert E. Longacre's consultant help was invaluable in arriving at a satisfactory analysis of Ilianen sentences.

There are twenty one phonemes in Ilianen Manobo. The consonants are p, t, k, ʔ, b, d, g, ɸ, r, h, l, m, n, ng, s, w, y. The vowels are a, e, u, and ə. Shewa is written as e. y and w are written intervocalically next to i or u respectively; this is done in response to pressure from the National Language. ɸ is written as v. For a fuller description of the Phonological features of Ilianen Manobo, see Brichoux, Robert & Felicia, (1963).

2. The ke class relators are *si personal name marker, ke the, ini this, arà that, eyan that near speaker, eyè that near hearer, duen here, dutun there, ayan there, far.*

3. The Equivalent Sentence has a parallel on the clause level in the Equivalent Clause whose comment tagmeme is expounded by the same RACl<sub>nom</sub> or by RAP<sub>nom</sub> both with *iyán that* as relator. In the Equivalent Clause the second half of the equation is expounded by a substantive phrase.

Example: *iyán din kemuney se raha te Elimugkat.*  
*that it owner (mk) your-lady of Elimugkat*  
*His owner is the young lady of Elimugkat.*

4. Another possible antithetical marker, *luwal te apart from* does not pattern as the other antithetical markers since it cannot be followed by a base consisting of a single negative. Analysis is not complete as to how this marker fits into the sentence system.

Example: Wara ded maa      imped-uleula rey kenian te selareng  
                   *not yet indeed harm                    we there the deer*

LUWAL TE    si      Megasa se neketawang kenami.  
*apart from (rel) Megasa' the helped      us*

*We did not do anything to harm the deer meat EXCEPT THAT  
 Megasa' was allowed to help us.*

5. Two of the sentence types in this paper are referred to by a different name by Hazel Wrigglesworth in a paper on Ilianen Manobo Discourse Structure. The Interdependent Conditional Sentence and the Merged Goal Sentence are called by her the Elliptical Conditional and the Merged Purpose Sentences.

ILIANEN MANOBO SENTENCE STRUCTURE

REFERENCES

BRICHOUX, Robert and Felicia

- 1963 'Pattern Congruity in Ilianen Manobo Phonology'. *Papers on Philippine Languages* 11. Manila; ILT and SIL. 110-19.

WRIGGLESWORTH, Hazel, J.

- 1971 'Discourse and Paragraph Structure of Ilianen Manobo'. In: Robert E. Longacre, ed. *Philippine Discourse and Paragraph Studies in Memory of Betty McLachlin*. PL, C22:85-194.

