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PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR OF YELE,
PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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PREFACE

Yele (also referred to as Yela and Yeletnye) is spoken by about 3,300 people, the inhabitants of Rossel Island in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. It is non-Austronesian, sharing only 6 per cent of cognates with the nearest Austronesian language, Sudest. (See Henderson and Henderson 1974.) No close relatives of Yele have been identified.

This monograph describes the phonology and grammar of the language, highlighting the portmanteau orthography and portmanteau interaction of tense, mood and aspect in predications. The grammatical description is by prose statements, the analytical insights being drawn mainly from Tagmemics and Functional Grammar (Dik 1978).

A preliminary description of the Yele language was published in 1975 (Henderson 1975).

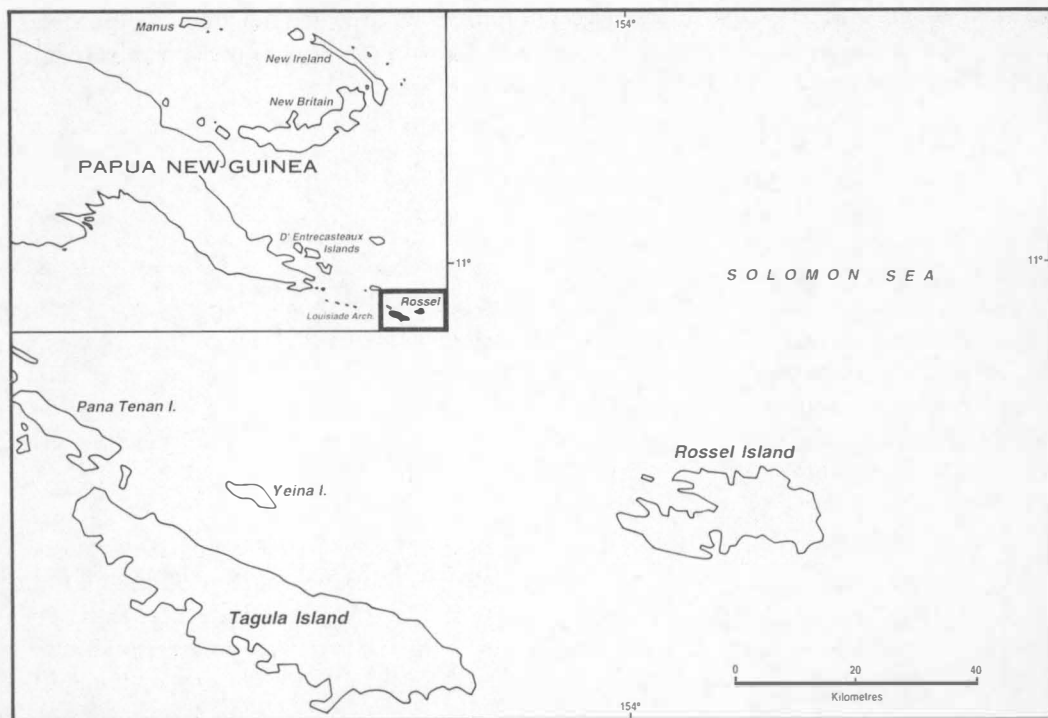
I wish to express my gratitude to the people of the Jinjo area of Rossel Island, particularly to Gregory Méré, John Lamonga and Isidore Yidika, for their patience in teaching my wife and me their language, and in explaining the significance of the features of Yele grammar. I also wish to thank fellow members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics whose guidance made this analysis possible, particularly Joy Lloyd, Anna Kila, Robert Litteral, Ger Reesink and Carl Whitehead. I am also grateful to Professor Talmy Givón for his suggestions, derived from his broad experience.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

[item] _A	Absolutive	NON	not
ADD	Addition	NREL	Nasal Release
ASS	associative	NR	near
C	continuous; consonant	O	Object
CF	contra-factual	OP	Object person
CI	continuous indicative	P	person
CLS	close to the speaker	PCT	punctiliar
[item] _{COM}	Comment	PF	polyfocal Subject (i.e. other than 1 or SG)
CONS	Consequence	PI	punctiliar indicative
CONTRA	Contraexpectation	PL	plural
CT	certainty	PN	pronoun
D	definite situation	PRES	present
DEP	dependent	PRX	proximal
DST	distal tense	PST	past tense
DU	dual	P->C	use of punctiliar root with continuous force
[item] _E	Ergative	REM	remote past tense
[item] _F	Factitive	S	sentence
FOL	'followed' root	[item] _S	Source
FUT	future	SB	Subject
[item] _G	Goal	SBC	Simultaneous Bilabial Closure
HAB	habitual	SG	singular
[item] _I	Instrument	SP	Subject person
IM	immediate	SPEC	specified
IMP	imperative	[item] _T	Time
IND	indicative	T	transitive
INDEF	indefinite	TMA	Tense, Mood and Aspect
IT	intransitive	[item] _{TOP}	Topic
IS	iser (e.g. PCT.IS = punctiliariser)	VOC	Vocative
[item] _L	Locative case/role	[item] _X	Experiencer
[item] _M	Manner	1	first person
MF	monofocal Subject (i.e. 1 or SG)	2	second person
MOT	motion	3	third person
NEG	negative		

Examples in phonetic script are enclosed in square brackets, with the stressed syllable underlined. All other examples are in the practical orthography which is becoming established amongst the Rossel people. Within the examples, the semantic functions (equivalent to roles or cases) of the participants in the predication are marked by subscript abbreviations, and the items so described are surrounded by square brackets. For example, [...]_A marks the Absolutive and [...]_E marks the Ergative. Where a morpheme is written

between <angle brackets>, this refers to a set of forms with the same function. For example, <*ngê*> represents the ergative marker used with transitive verbs. Singular subjects are marked with *ngê*, dual or plural subjects with *y:oo*.



MAP: ROSSET ISLAND, MILNE BAY PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

CHAPTER 1

PHONEMES AND PORTMANTEAU ORTHOGRAPHY

There are eleven contrastively different vowels in Yele. Vowel length and nasalisation are also contrastive. Consonants have four points of articulation: bilabial, dental, post-alveolar and velar. They are articulated as stops, nasal continuants, non-nasal continuants and semivowels. The stops can also be prenasalised or uttered with nasal release. All but two of the non-bilabial consonants can be uttered with simultaneous bilabial closure. Palatalisation and labialisation are also contrastive, and even occur simultaneously when attached to bilabial stops and nasals. This mouthful of contrasts adds up to 38 different vowel sounds and 56 different consonantal sounds to listen for.

The analytical model used is traditional phonemics (Pike 1947), adjusted to allow *secondary phonemes* analogous to suprasegmentals or Firth's *prosodies* (Palmer 1970). The IPA set of phonetic characters is used in this description, and in words of more than one syllable the stressed syllable is underlined. [j] and [w] represent semivowels. No strictly phonemic transcriptions are used, because of the difficulty in symbolising simultaneous bilabial closure in a meaningful way. Semi-phonemic transcriptions are given in italics, using the practical alphabet that has arisen as a result of this study and which is now in use amongst the Rossel Island people.

1.1 VOWELS

Vowel length and nasalisation are both contrastive, along with the eleven basic vowel quality phonemes shown in Table 1.1.1. The italic symbols show how these phonemes are represented in the practical orthography.

TABLE 1.1.1: BASIC VOWEL PHONEMES						
	Front		Central		Back	
High	[i]	<i>i</i>	[ɨ]	<i>î</i>	[u]	<i>u</i>
Mid close	[e]	<i>é</i>			[o]	<i>ó</i>
Mid open	[ɛ]	<i>e</i>	[ə]	<i>ê</i>	[ɔ]	<i>o</i>
Low close	[æ]	<i>á</i>				
Low open	[a]	<i>a</i>		[ɑ]	<i>â</i>	

The basic contrasts are illustrated in Tables 1.1.2 to 1.1.5.

TABLE 1.1.2: BASIC VOWEL CONTRASTS IN BILABIAL ENVIRONMENT					
[pi:]	shoot	[pɨ]	white ant	[pu:]	hole
[pe:]	basket			[po:]	ask
[pɛ:]	a piece	[pə:]	verandah	[pɔ:]	a current
[pæ:ri]	four				
[pa:]	walking		[pɑ:]	body	

TABLE 1.1.3: BASIC VOWEL CONTRASTS IN VELAR ENVIRONMENT

[ki]	give	[kɪ]	crab type	[ku:]	unripe
[ke:]	throw away			[ko:]	his arm
[kɛ:]	come up	[kə:]	hand	[kɔ:]	lime pot
[kæ:ri]	woman's name				
[ka:]	fan palm	[kɑ:]	picture		

The [æ] vowel does not occur in monosyllabic words, and carries a low functional load generally, but is frequent enough in polysyllabic words to justify maintaining the distinction between [a] and [æ]. See Table 1.1.4.

TABLE 1.1.4: BASIC VOWEL CONTRASTS IN DI-SYLLABIC WORDS

[ŋgiɽi]	man's name	[ŋgiŋə]	fear	[ŋkum ^w ɛ]	mosquito
[ŋgwɛbi]	sorcerer			[kop ^w ɛ]	clapping
[ŋgɛɽɛ]	dancing	[ŋgəŋgə]	leaking	[ŋgɔgɔ]	seal up
[ŋgæŋgə]	man's name				
[ŋga:ŋga:]	shark type	[ŋgam ^w ɛ]	clan name		

TABLE 1.1.5: BASIC VOWEL CONTRASTS IN DENTAL ENVIRONMENT

[ti]	string	[tɿrə]	sister	[tubu]	vine type
[tɛ]	scorpion			[tɔpugara]	crocodile
[tɛ]	fish	[tərə]	place	[tɔɔ]	lime pot
[ta]	came	[tə]	bird type		

Where the vowel is nasalised, the close–open contrast is not maintained. The presence of nasalisation makes the vowel sound a little more high than it would otherwise be. The high central vowel [ɨ] only occurs nasalised when it follows a nasal continuant.

TABLE 1.1.6: BASIC VOWEL CONTRASTS IN NASALISED ENVIRONMENT

[kĩ:]	banana	[mĩ]	father	[kũ:]	rootlets
[kɛ̃:]	cut bark off	[pɛ̃:]	talk	[kɔ̃:]	inside
[kã:]	taro	[kã:]	post		

TABLE 1.1.7: NASALISATION AND VOWEL QUALITY CONTRASTS IN POST-ALVEOLAR ENVIRONMENT

[tĩ:]	stopper			[tũ:]	try
[ti:]	thorn	[tɨ]	end	[tu:]	tree knot
[te:]	cooking-pot stones			[to:]	crack nuts
[tɛ̃:]	we are not	[tã:]	septum	[tɔ̃:]	immature fruit
[te:]	yam type	[tə:]	tongue	[tɔ:]	chase into net
[tæ:ri]	snail type				
[tã:]	slime	[tã:]	moon		
[ta:]	outrigger	[ta:]	it dried		

Nasalisation is also contrastive in long vowels following a nasal continuant, as illustrated in Table 1.1.8.

TABLE 1.1.8: CONTRASTIVE NASALISATION FOLLOWING A NASAL CONTINUANT

[ni:]	vine type			[nu:]	throat
[nĩ:]	whoever			[nũ:]	who?
[nɛ:]	canoe	[mɛ:]	seed type	[mɔ:]	husband
[nɛ̃:]	went	[mɛ̃:]	muscle	[mɔ̃:]	a cover
[ma:]	road		[mɑ:]	tomorrow	
[mã:]	Dad		[mã:]	low tide	

Nasalisation is symbolised in the practical orthography with a colon before the nasalised vowel, as in [pɔ̃] *p:ó* 'home'.

Short non-close vowels following nasal continuants are nasalised, unless followed by a non-nasal syllable in the same word. Such nasalisation is not written in the practical orthography, as it is non-phonemic.

TABLE 1.1.9: ORTHOGRAPHIC MARKING OF NASALISATION

[ŋẽmẽ]	<i>ngeme</i>	strolling	[mĩ]	<i>mî</i>	father	[ŋõmõ]	<i>ngomo</i>	house
[ŋɛɛ]	<i>ngete</i>	a spy	[mĩtfo]	<i>mîchó</i>	cousin	[ŋɔɔ]	<i>ngolo</i>	weeding

Contrastive vowel length is illustrated in Table 1.1.10.

TABLE 1.1.10: VOWEL LENGTH CONTRASTS

[pi]	person	[kɪ]	that	[pu]	tree type
[pi:]	shoot	[kɪ:]	crab type	[pu:]	hole
[tɛ]	fish	[pə]	long thing	[po]	tree type
[tɛ:]	needle	[pə:]	verandah	[po:]	ask
[tã]	parrot type			[tɔ]	vine type
[tã:]	betel nut			[tɔ:]	chase into a net
[tɑ]	came	[tɑ]	bird type		
[tɑ:]	bushknife	[tɑ:]	high up		

Vowel length is represented in the practical orthography by doubling the vowel symbol, as in [kɑ:] *kââ* picture.

The full set of contrastively different vowel sounds adds up to 38, made up as follows:

- 11 basic vowel-quality contrasts
 - 8 of these forming further contrastive vowel qualities when nasalised
 - 19 further vowel contrasts created by doubling all of the above in length
- = 38

I have analysed these as 11 basic vowel phonemes, a nasalisation phoneme and length.

There is a gap in the distribution of the close vowels, in that non-nasalised [ɛ] and [a] rarely occur preceding [i] in the next syllable of the same morpheme, and non-nasalised [ɔ] rarely occurs preceding [u] in the next syllable of the same morpheme. The close counterparts [e], [æ] and [o] occur in these environments instead. The high vowel [ɪ] does not affect the quality of the vowel in the syllable before it. Tables 1.1.11 and 1.1.12 illustrate the usual situation.

TABLE 1.1.11: THE CLOSE-OPEN CONTRAST IN DISYLLABIC WORDS

[kɛbɛ]	paddle	[pɔ̌rɔ]	rib
[kɛbi]	crayfish type	[pɔ̌ru]	rope
[kaːli]	bear fruit		
[kæːbi]	bird type		

TABLE 1.1.12: THE CLOSE-OPEN CONTRAST FOLLOWED BY NON-HIGH VOWELS

[kɛmɛ̃]	mango	[kʷɔ̌rɔ]	forehead
[kɛɲɛ̃]	fish type	[kʷɔ̌rɔ]	girl
[tʃæmə]	distinguish		
[tʃabə]	tree type		

Minor variations in vowel quality are conditioned by the adjacent consonants, but the only one of note is the manifestation of *u* by [ʊ] following [j] or a palatalised consonant.

<i>yi</i>	[ji]	leg	<i>pu</i>	[pu]	tree type
<i>yu</i>	[jʊ]	his leg	<i>pyu</i>	[pʷʊ]	doer of something

When interpreting sequences of vowels such as [kiɛ] ‘bite’, there are no sequences of low vowels such as *[ɛa] on which to base an interpretation as a sequence of two vowel phonemes. All vowel sequences involve a high or mid close vowel, suggesting that palatalisation, labialisation or a semivowel is involved. Palatalisation and labialisation both contrast with sequences of a higher vowel followed by a lower vowel, as shown in Table 1.1.13.

TABLE 1.1.13: PALATALISATION AND LABIALISATION CONTRASTED WITH HIGHER TO LOWER VOWEL SEQUENCES

[pʷɛ]	mother	[pʷaː]	broke it
[piɛ]	lean against	[puɑ]	started it

Sequences of a higher vowel followed by a lower vowel are interpreted as vowel-semivowel-vowel, to avoid a sequence of vowels. Thus two items of Table 1.1.13 are interpreted as follows:

[piɛ]	is interpreted as	<i>piye</i>	lean against
[puɑ]	is interpreted as	<i>puwâ</i>	started it

By analogy, sequences of [i] followed by a lower vowel are interpreted as having [ɣ] between the [i] and the lower vowel:

[kiɑ]	is interpreted as	<i>kîgha</i>	ripe
[kiɔ]	is interpreted as	<i>kîghê</i>	grandfather

This interpretation is supported by dialect variation. The eastern dialect word [kiɛ] *kîghe* ‘lizard type’ corresponds in the western dialect with [kiɛ] *kîke*. Further evidence for the interpretation was found by dictation testing. I asked the test subjects to dictate test words slowly so I could write them, breaking the words into syllables. Words such as [kiɛ] ‘bite’

were dictated as [ki – jɛ] rather than as [ki – ɛ] or [kiɛ]. Furthermore, people who had been taught to write [ɪ] as *î* and [ɣ] as *gh* wrote words such as [kɪ̃a] ‘ripe’ as *kîgha*, thus filling the gap in the distribution of [ɪ̃] and [ɣ], in that [ɣ] never follows [ɪ̃] in speech.

The remaining vowel sequences are [ɔi], [ɛi], [ɛi] and [ai]. These are interpreted as *oy*, *éy*, *ey* and *ay* respectively. For example, [ɣai] ‘fall’ is interpreted as *ghay*. Table 1.1.14 shows these sequences in contrast with plain vowels.

TABLE 1.1.14: VOWEL SEQUENCES IN CONTRAST WITH SINGLE VOWELS					
[je]	yé	put	[mb ^w o]	<i>mbwó</i>	brother
[jei]	yey	arguing	[mb ^w oĩ [p ^y u:]	<i>mbwóy tpyuu</i>	divining
[jɛ]	ye	to them	[mb ^w ɔ]	<i>mbwo</i>	betel nut
[ya]	<i>gha</i>	core			
[yai]	<i>ghay</i>	fall			

Stress is predictable, falling first on two-syllable words, and first and third on four-syllable words. In four-syllable words, the first syllable is stressed slightly more than the third syllable.

[pala]	tongs
[tɔbugara]	crocodile

Reduplicated words longer than two syllables are phonologically two words, because voiceless allophones are found at the beginning of the reduplication, as are found word-initially. (See Table 1.1.15.) Although the longer reduplicated words are phonologically separate words, they function grammatically as single words, so they are written as single words in the practical orthography.

TABLE 1.1.15: ALLOPHONES USED AT THE REDUPLICATION POINT IN REDUPLICATED WORDS OF TWO AND FOUR SYLLABLES			
[pibi]	<i>pipi</i>	pouring something	<-- voiced medial allophone
[pibipibi]	<i>pipipipi</i>	frayed	<-- voiceless allophone
[toɾo]	<i>dódó</i>	teasing, tricking	<-- voiced medial allophone
[tɪ̃ŋɪ̃tɪ̃ŋɪ̃]	<i>dîngîdîngî</i>	heavy	<-- voiceless allophone
[kugu]	<i>kuku</i>	washing something	<-- voiced medial allophone
[kuruɾuɾu]	<i>kudukudu</i>	tying something	<-- voiceless allophone
[pɪ̃bɪ̃]	<i>pîpî</i>	eating something	<-- voiced medial allophone
[pɪ̃lɪ̃pɪ̃lɪ̃]	<i>pîlîpîlî</i>	slippery	<-- voiceless allophone

In three-syllable words, the first syllable is stressed unless the second vowel is more open than the first or the word is vowel-initial.

[paɾara]	type of sea urchin
[tɪ̃tɪ̃ŋɪ̃]	very many
[keɾika:]	sister-in-law

Five-syllable words do not occur, as nearly all roots are only one or two syllables. The few six-syllable words are reduplications of three-syllable words, and are phonologically similar to two three-syllable words.

1.2 CONSONANTS

There are four points of articulation: bilabial, dental, post-alveolar and velar. The basic manners of articulation are stops, nasal continuants, non-nasal continuants and two semivowels, as illustrated in Table 1.2.1.

TABLE 1.2.1: BASIC CONSONANTAL PHONEMES								
	Bilabial		Dental		Post-alveolar		Velar	
Stops	[pɑ:]	body	[tɑ:]	high	[tʰɑ:]	get dry	[kɑ:]	call out
	<i>pââ</i>		<i>tââ</i>		<i>dââ</i>		<i>kââ</i>	
Nasal								
continuant	[mɑ:]	tomorrow	[ɱɑ:]	mother-in-law	[na:]	feast	[ŋɑ:]	listen
	<i>mââ</i>		<i>ñ:ââ</i>		<i>naa</i>		<i>ng:aa</i>	
Non-nasal								
continuant	[βyɑ:]	lap			[lɑ:]	a boil	[yɑ:]	slash
	<i>vyââ</i>				<i>lââ</i>		<i>ghââ</i>	
Semivowels	[wɑ:]	get light			[jɑ:]	leaf		
	<i>wââ</i>				<i>yââ</i>			

When the Yele practical orthography was being devised, some equivalents were straightforward, such as *p* for the bilabial stop and *k* for the velar stop. Others required some care. For example, *t* was chosen to represent the dental phoneme and *d* to represent the post-alveolar phoneme, because some Rossel people were already writing these sounds this way, and because the post-alveolar stop is partially voiced word medially adjacent to a short vowel and so it is similar to *d* in English. The digraph *th* was rejected by the Rossel people as a representation for one of these phonemes, because the nearby Sudest language has [ð] in its inventory, and the Rossels did not want there to be any confusion with that sound. The dental and post-alveolar nasals posed a problem, as the English alphabet does not provide any equivalent in the nasals to *t* and *d*, so the acute accent used to mark close vowels was borrowed and pressed into service to mark the dental nasal. The velar nasal is represented by *ng* to match English usage. The velar fricative is represented on Goodenough Island by *g*, but *gh* was chosen for the Yele orthography to avoid confusion with the symbols used for a prenasalised velar stop uttered with simultaneous bilabial closure (*mg*).

The non-dental stops are partially voiced word medially when adjacent to a short vowel. For the post-alveolar stop, this results in a manifestation as [ɾ] in that environment.

<i>pêpê</i>	[pəbə]	lying down
<i>paapî</i>	[paːbɪ]	pushing things aside
<i>paapaa</i>	[paːpaː]	pulling
<i>lete</i>	[lɛtɛ]	dolphin
<i>padada</i>	[paɾara]	sea urchin type
<i>daadî</i>	[tɑːtɪː]	long
<i>pêêdî</i>	[pəːɾɪ]	pull
<i>pweekaa</i>	[pʷɛːkaː]	lazy
<i>tââkê</i>	[tɑːgə]	turtle

There is a contrastive series of prenasalised stops, in which the speech power of the prenasalisation is much greater than that of the stop. Hence they are referred to as the

prenasalised series, rather than as a voiced series with accompanying prenasalisation. The contrasts are illustrated in Table 1.2.2.

TABLE 1.2.2: CONTRASTIVE PRENASALISATION							
Bilabial		Dental		Post-alveolar		Velar	
[pala]	mat	[ʈa:]	bushknife	[tɛ:]	yam type	[ka:]	fan palm
<i>pala</i>		<i>taa</i>		<i>dee</i>		<i>kaa</i>	
[mbala]	breadfruit	[ŋɖa:]	choke	[nde:]	drinking	[ŋga:]	sago pulp
<i>mbala</i>		<i>ntaa</i>		<i>ndee</i>		<i>nkaa</i>	

Since the orthographic symbols *t* and *d* were already in use to symbolise the dental / post-alveolar contrast, and to give weight to the significance of the prenasalisation, the prenasalised stops are represented in the practical orthography by nasal–stop pairs. Thus *nt* and *nd* represent the dental and post-alveolar stops respectively when they are prenasalised. *mb* was chosen for the bilabial stop rather than *mp*, because of pressure from the English orthography. For the velar stop, *ngg* was first introduced, as is used in a number of Papua New Guinea languages, but Rossel people failed to notice the second *g* when reading and used not to write it, so the representation of [ŋg] was changed to *nk*. This was well accepted, and has proven easy to teach.

The post-alveolar and velar stops can also be uttered with nasal release, which is characterised by nasal plosion. Table 1.2.3 shows these two basic stops alone, with prenasalisation and with nasal release.

TABLE 1.2.3 CONSONANTS WITH NASAL RELEASE				
	Post-alveolar		Velar	
Basic stop:	[ti:] <i>dii</i>	thorn	[k _ɛ bi] <i>képi</i>	crayfish type
Pre-nasalised:	[ndi] <i>ndi</i>	cicada	[ŋg ^w _ɛ bi] <i>nkwépi</i>	sorcerer
Nasal release:	[tnʏiɓətnʏiɓə] <i>dnyipêdnyipê</i>	sneezing	[kŋ _ɛ bi] <i>knépi</i>	tree type

Nasal release is represented by *n* following the stop symbol.

A syllabic nasal occurs as part of the nasal release of a velar stop, but it is interpreted as the manifestation of a velar stop with nasal release followed by a [ɨ] vowel, as this sequence is never manifested in speech. Rossel people find *knî* easier to read than **kn*.

<i>knî</i>	*[kŋɨ]	[kŋ]	some
<i>knîknî</i>	*[kŋɨkŋɨ]	[kŋkŋ]	smelly

Non-bilabial consonants can be uttered with another contrastive feature, simultaneous bilabial closure. Table 1.2.4 contrasts the basic consonants with their occurrence with simultaneous bilabial closure (SBC), and also with similar words containing only a bilabial consonant.

TABLE 1.2.4: CONSONANTS WITH SIMULTANEOUS BILABIAL CLOSURE

	Dental		Post-alveolar		Velar	
Basic stop:	[t̪a:]	bushknife	[t̪i]	end	[ka:]	fan palm
	<i>taa</i>		<i>dî</i>		<i>kaa</i>	
With SBC:	[t̪pa:]	turn over	[t̪pi]	sleep	[k̪pa:]	stealing
	<i>tpaa</i>		<i>dpî</i>		<i>kpaa</i>	
Bilabial only:	[pa:]	walking	[pi]	white ant	[pa:]	walking
	<i>paa</i>		<i>pî</i>		<i>paa</i>	
Nasals:	[ŋo]	breadfruit	[n̪n̪ũ]	skill	[ŋõ:]	immature
	<i>ńó</i>		<i>nonu</i>		<i>ng:oo</i>	
With SBC:	[ŋ̪m̪õ]	bird	[ŋ̪m̪õ]	we (PL)	[ŋ̪m̪õ]	breast
	<i>ńmo</i>		<i>nmo</i>		<i>ngmo</i>	
Bilabial:	[m̪õ]	alone	[m̪õ]	alone	[m̪õ]	alone
	<i>mo</i>		<i>mo</i>		<i>mo</i>	
Other continuants:			[la:]	trevally		
			<i>lââ</i>			
With SBC:			[l̪β̪ã:]	follow someone as leader		
			<i>lv:ââ</i>			
Bilabial:			[β̪ɔ:]	lap		
			<i>vyââ</i>			

Simultaneous bilabial closure is marked in the practical orthography with a bilabial symbol of the same type, as shown in Table 1.2.4. For example, stops have *p* added, nasals have *m* added and *l* has *v* added.

Stops with prenasalisation or nasal release can also be uttered with simultaneous bilabial closure, as illustrated in Table 1.2.5

TABLE 1.2.5: BILABIAL CLOSURE SIMULTANEOUS WITH PRENASALISATION OR NASAL RELEASE

	Dental		Post-alveolar		Velar	
Prenasalised:	[ŋ̪d̪õ:]	size	[nd̪õ:]	maybe	[ŋ̪ga:]	sago pulp
	<i>ntoo</i>		<i>ndoo</i>		<i>nkaa</i>	
- with SBC:	[ŋ̪m̪d̪b̪õ:]	coconut pulp	[ŋ̪m̪d̪b̪õ:]	message	[ŋ̪m̪g̪ba:]	constrict
	<i>mtoo</i>		<i>mdoo</i>		<i>mgaa</i>	
Nasal release:			[tn̪ʷã:]	a yoke	[k̪ŋ̪ĩ:]	your fault
			<i>dny:ââ</i>		<i>kn:ii</i>	
- with SBC:			[k̪pn̪ma:r̪i]	girl	[k̪pn̪m̪ĩ:]	coconut
			<i>dmââdî</i>		<i>km:ii</i>	

The Yele verbs use portmanteau morphemes to a great extent, expressing a number of parameters in a single morpheme rather than agglutinating separate morphemes for the different parameters. Consequently, a portmanteau orthography suggested itself, in which simultaneous bilabial closure is represented by changing the *n* that marks prenasalisation or nasal release to *m*. Thus prenasalised *nd* becomes *md* when uttered with simultaneous bilabial closure. Another change is made to a prenasalised velar stop when simultaneous bilabial closure is added – the stop symbol *k* changes to *g*. That is *nk* becomes *mg*. See the examples in Table 1.2.5.

Labialisation and palatalisation are both contrastive, as illustrated in Table 1.2.6. They even occur simultaneously with bilabial consonants, being manifested as palatisation with simultaneous lip rounding. Only bilabial and velar consonants occur labialised, but consonants of all positions can be palatalised. The dental stop does not occur palatalised as such, but as an affricate: [tʃ] fills the gap left by *[tʃ] and [ndʒ] fills that left by *[ndʒ].

TABLE 1.2.6: LABIALISATION AND PALATALISATION

Bilabial		Dental		Post-alveolar		Velar	
[pɑ:] <i>pââ</i>	body	[tɑ:] <i>tââ</i>	high	[tɑ:] <i>dââ</i>	bear fruit	[kɔɔ] <i>koko</i>	coming up
[pʏɑ:] <i>pyââ</i>	woman	[tʃɑ:] <i>chââ</i>	felled tree	[tʃɑ:] <i>dyââpe</i>	fault	[kʏɔɔ] <i>kyolo</i>	blow
[pwa:] <i>pwââ</i>	broke					[kʷɔɔ] <i>kwolo</i>	caused
[pʷɑ:] <i>pywââ</i>	pandanus						
		[fpa:] <i>tpaa</i>	turn over	[fprɔɔ] <i>dpodo</i>	work	[kprɔɔ] <i>kpopo</i>	trochus
		[fpyɑ:] <i>tpyaa</i>	clan name	[fpyɔɔ] <i>dpyoko</i>	restrain	[kpyɔɔpʷɔɔ] <i>kpyopwo</i>	purse
[mbe:] <i>mbee</i>	javelin	[nde:] <i>ntee</i>	like	[ndɪnɪ] <i>ndîni</i>	learning	[ŋgeli] <i>nkéli</i>	big
[mbʏe:m] <i>mbyéém</i>	parrot fish	[ndʒe:] <i>njéé</i>	clan name	[ndʒɪgɔɔ] <i>ndyîko</i>	condemn		
[mbʷe:] <i>mbwee</i>	old					[ŋgʷebi] <i>nkwépi</i>	sorcerer
[mbʏʷe:] <i>mbywee</i>	tree type						
		[ŋmɔɔ] <i>mtoo</i>	coconut pulp				
		[ŋmɔɔɔ] <i>mtyoo</i>	passage name				
				[fprnm] <i>dmââdî</i>	girl		
				[fprnmʏɑ:] <i>dmyââ</i>	sewed		
[ma:lɪ] <i>maali</i>	sea eagle			[nē:] <i>n:ee</i>	went	[ŋɔɔ] <i>ngolo</i>	weeding
[mʏã] <i>mya</i>	recognise			[nʏē:] <i>ny:ee</i>	hear		
[mʷɛbɔɔ] <i>mwápê</i>	sturgeonfish					[ŋʷɔɔ] <i>ngwolo</i>	eye
[mʏʷɛbɔɔ] <i>mywápê</i>	ebony						

Table 1.2.6 continued...

Table 1.2.6 continued...

TABLE 1.2.6: LABIALISATION AND PALATALISATION			
Bilabial	Dental	Post-alveolar	Velar
		[l̥ə:] <i>lêê</i>	pool
		[l̥y̥ə:b̥i] <i>lyêêpî</i>	exclaim

Labialisation and palatalisation also contrast with sequences of consonant and high vowel, as illustrated in Table 1.2.7.

TABLE 1.2.7: LABIALISATION AND PALATALISATION CONTRASTED WITH HIGH VOWELS				
Bilabial		Dental	Post-alveolar	Velar
[pʏɛ] mother <i>pye</i>		[tʃɛ] fungus <i>che</i>	[tʏɛ] rescue <i>dyé</i>	[kʏɛrɛkʏɛrɛ] slowly <i>kyedekyede</i>
[piɛ] lean against <i>piye</i>		[tiɛ] bird of paradise <i>tiye</i>	[tiɛ] return <i>diyé</i>	[kiɛ] bite <i>kiye</i>
[pʷɑ:] broke it <i>pwââ</i>				[kʷɔ] stand <i>kwo</i>
[puɑ] started it <i>puwâ</i>				[kʷɔ] leave <i>kuwo</i>

The sum total of all these contrastively different consonantal sounds is 56, counting the combinations of contrastive features which have been observed occurring together. Table 1.2.8 shows the frequencies of occurrence of each consonantal sound, expressed as a percentage of the 3,323 consonants found in a sample of 1,724 different Yele words.

TABLE 1.2.8: FREQUENCIES OF CONSONANTAL SOUNDS							
	Bilabial	Dental	(+SBC)	Post-alv.	(+SBC)	Velar	(+SBC)
Stops	[p]	[t]	[t̥p]	[t]	[t̥p]	[k]	[k̥p]
	8.61	4.15	1.32	9.66	0.72	6.08	2.68
+ [y]	[pʏ]	[tʃ]	[t̥pʏ]	[tʏ]	[t̥pʏ]	[kʏ]	[k̥pʏ]
	1.14	2.11	0.57	1.02	0.09	0.21	0.03
+ [w]	[pʷ]					[kʷ]	
	2.86					1.14	
+ [yʷ]	[pʏʷ]						
	0.63						
Prenasalised	[mb]	[nd̥]	[nd̥m̥d̥b̥]	[nd]	[nd̥]	[ŋg]	[ŋm̥g̥b̥]
	1.75	2.17	0.39	1.29	0.33	1.44	1.17
+ [y]	[mbʏ]	[nd̥ʃ]	[nd̥m̥]	[ndʏ]			
	0.24	0.54	0.27	0.09			
+ [w]	[mbʷ]					[ŋgʷ]	
	1.29					0.30	
+ [yʷ]	[mbʏʷ]						
	0.27						

Table 1.2.8 continued...

Table 1.2.8 continued...

TABLE 1.2.8: FREQUENCIES OF CONSONANTAL SOUNDS							
	Bilabial	Dental	(+SBC)	Post-alv.	(+SBC)	Velar	(+SBC)
NREL				[tn]	[ʔpn̩m]	[kŋ]	[kʔpŋm̩]
				0.03	0.18	0.69	0.69
+ [y]				[tnʏ]	[ʔpn̩mʏ]		
				0.60	0.24		
Nasals	[m]	[n]	[ŋm̩]	[n]	[n̩m̩]	[ŋ]	[ŋm̩]
	7.85	1.29	0.06	6.08	0.51	2.44	0.60
+ [y]	[mʏ]			[nʏ]			
	0.27			1.02			
+ [w]	[mʷ]					[ŋʷ]	
	1.14					0.15	
+ [yw]	[mʏʷ]						
	0.27						
Semi vowels	[w]			[j]			
	5.15			5.45			
Other				[l]	[l̥β]	[ɣ]	
				5.87	0.36	2.23	
+ [y]	[βʏ]			[lʏ]			
	1.87			0.36			

Combined with the 38 contrastively different vowel sounds outlined above, this gives a grand total of 94 contrastively different sounds in the language.

Traditional phonemic principles call for the interpretation of 'ambivalent' sequences of consonants, to decide whether they should be regarded as consonant clusters or complex consonants. Normally one would look for clusters of heterorganic consonants on which to base a cluster solution when interpreting prenasalised stops, stops with nasal release, palatalisation and labialisation, but there are no sequences of consonants that do not involve one or more of these features. Simultaneous bilabial closure involves two articulations, but they occur simultaneously, and act as a multiplier, covering the prenasalisation or nasal release of a stop as well as the stop itself. Clearly the 'unambivalent cluster' criterion must be relaxed, or the sum total of consonant phonemes could approach the possible maximum of 56!

The sequences [pʏ], [kʏ] and [mʏ] cited in Tables 1.2.6 and 1.2.7 above are heterorganic, even though they involve palatalisation. They provide the basis for recognising consonant – semivowel clusters. [y] and [w] can then be regarded as allophones of y and w respectively. Turning now to prenasalisation and nasal release, it is observed that they constitute a reverse sequence, stop–nasal and nasal–stop, so those clusters are allowed on that basis.

Following traditional phonemic principles, the consonants with simultaneous bilabial closure would be set apart as separate phonemes, adding

<i>tp</i>	<i>dp</i>	<i>kp</i>
<i>ŋm</i>	<i>nm</i>	<i>ngm</i> and <i>lv</i>

to the thirteen basic phonemes illustrated in Table 1.2.1, making a total of 20 basic consonantal phonemes.

In this analysis a consonant would have the formula $C^1(C^2)S$, where if C^1 and C^2 are both manifested, they are homorganic in the order nasal–stop or stop–nasal. The order stop–nasal only occurs with post-alveolar and velar consonants. With bilabial consonants, S can be manifested by y and w simultaneously.

Non-nasal continuants are a special case, with the formula $C(y)$, where y occurs only with l and v .

1.3 SECONDARY PHONEMES

The founder of prosodic analysis, J.R. Firth (1948:4), rejected the “tendency to use one magic phoneme principle within a monosystemic hypothesis” and applied the term ‘prosody’ to a feature extending over more than one segment, such as the voicelessness of the $[st]$ sequence in English. Grimes (1969:85-88) outlines the principle of regarding as a simultaneous prosody any features which pertain to a larger unit than a single segment. In the transformational mould, Goldsmith (1979) has proposed *autosegmental phonology*, in which phonological entities are effective in separate *tiers*. For example, tones would be in a separate tier from that covering the consonantal and vocalic segments of utterances. Other scholars have applied autosegmental phonology to further phenomena, such as complex segments, vowel harmony and nasalisation, as reported by Van der Hulst and Smith (1982). I have followed these departures from monosystemic analysis and set up a distinction between basic phonemes and secondary phonemes. My secondary phonemes are contrastive modifications which can be handled most economically in a second system, and which can extend over more than one segmental phoneme. They are analogous to the suprasegmentals of traditional Phonemics, to Firth’s and Grimes’ prosodies and to the tiers of autosegmental phonology. I use the term ‘secondary phoneme’ rather than ‘prosody’ as the latter term is the equivalent in Generative Phonology of the traditional term ‘suprasegmentals’ (Schane 1973:14). Granting a second system of phonemes opens the door for a simpler and more concise analysis, and leads naturally to an economical and effective arrangement of the material to be covered in the primer with which speakers of Yele can learn to read their own language (Henderson and Henderson 1978). The more basic phonemes are introduced first, and then the secondary phonemes quickly expand the readers’ capabilities.

Turning now to the secondary phonemes of the Yele language, the eleven basic vowel phonemes displayed in Table 1.1.1 are augmented by two secondary phonemes, length and nasalisation. Length is readily accepted as a suprasegmental phoneme along with pitch and stress in traditional Phonemics. Schane (1973:14f) lists these three as prosodies. Pike (1947:63) regards only these three as suprasegmentals under the premise that only “quantitative characteristics...may serve as suprasegmental phonemes”. He also refers in a bibliographical section to the work of many linguists, from those who regard various other features as suprasegmentals to those who deny any structurally relevant distinction between segmental and suprasegmental phonemes (Pike 1960/3:53). Thus length would be regarded by most linguists as a suprasegmental or as a prosody, so I automatically count it with the secondary phonemes in Yele. I also regard nasalisation as a secondary phoneme, as it can be applied to eight of the basic vowel phonemes, and it constitutes alone a causative morpheme:

$[ta\ y\grave{a}i]$	it fell down
$[ta\ y\grave{a}\tilde{i}]$	he made it fall

[ta p ^w i:]	it came out
[ta p ^w ĩ:]	he made it come out

The secondary phoneme of nasalisation removes the need for a series of eight nasalised vowels, and nasalisation is taught successfully in a single lesson in the Yele primer (Henderson and Henderson 1978:22-26).

If simultaneous bilabial closure can be regarded as a secondary phoneme of consonants analogous to length and nasalisation of vowels, then the seven simultaneous stops and continuants demonstrated in Table 1.2.4 can be represented as the corresponding non-bilabial consonants uttered with simultaneous bilabial closure. When prenasalised stops or those with nasal release are uttered with simultaneous bilabial closure, the bilabial closure affects both the stop and the nasal, as illustrated in Table 1.2.5.

CHAPTER 2

GRAMMAR

Unlike so many Papuan languages in Papua New Guinea, Yele does not have a switch reference system. Verbs move in a bewildering array of modes and tenses, doubled by an all-pervasive distinction in duration, and elaborated by the incorporation of deictics into the verb. Analysis proves difficult, because many of these distinctions are expressed in portmanteau morphemes, rather than by agglutination. Yele also shows the monofocal/polyfocal distinction found in some New Guinea Highland languages.

The order of terms in the clause is SOV. Within the predicate, a modified nominative–accusative system operates, but the items predicated in the clause follow ergative marking. The ergative marker used with singular Agents, *ngê*, is homophonous with the Instrument marker, as in a number of Huon Peninsula languages.

2.1 PREDICATION

Yele verbs move through a multidimensional array of:

- indicative, imperative and habitual moods, doubled by
- continuous and punctiliar aspect, and multiplied by
- six tenses:
 - future, immediate future, present,
 - immediate past, near past and remote past.

The verbs also agree with the person and number of the subject and object. The morphemes marking all these parameters are merged into portmanteau forms which defy simple analysis, and contribute to the reputation Yele has of being impossible to learn, whether by Papua New Guinean or by foreigner.

The morphemes appended to the verb root – prefixes and suffixes in many languages – are in Yele separated from the verb root on phonological grounds. Thus a predicate consists of a prenuclear component, verb root and postnuclear component, each written as a separate word. Many verb roots vary in form to express the mood, aspect and tense by using suppletive forms or reduplication. (Some irregular verbs have as many as five different roots. See §2.1.4 for the details.)

The verbal prenucleus also expresses the mood, aspect and tense, along with the person and number of the subject of the predication. (I am using the term ‘aspect’ in the ‘catch-all’ sense, so ‘aspect’ in this chapter includes more than duration. It also includes the items elaborated in §2.1.7, such as indefiniteness, commonality and repetition.) It is in the prenucleus that a number of deictics can be incorporated. (See §2.1.5 and §2.1.7).

With transitive verbs the postnucleus expresses the person and number of the object, but also reflects the mood, aspect and tense, and often monitors the person and number of the subject as well. (See §2.1.6).

With intransitive verbs, the postnucleus expresses the duration, mood and tense of the verb, and then the number of the subject. In imperatives, the postnucleus also monitors the person of the subject. (See Tables 2.1.6.1 and 2.1.6.2.)

The following examples illustrate the Ergative–Absolutive system operating in the clause. The Ergative referent is marked with <ngê>, while the Absolutive referent is unmarked.

- (1) a. [*Kaawa ngê*]_E *dê* *m:uu té.*
 Kaawa SG.E PI.IM.PST.3.SB see T.PI.PRX.3PL.O.MF
 Kaawa saw them. (transitive, implicit object)
- b. [*M:aa ngê*]_E [*Kaawa*]_A *dê* *m:uu.*
 Dad SG.E Kaawa PI.IM.PST.3.SB see
 Dad saw Kaawa. (transitive, explicit object)
- (2) [*Kaawa*]_A [*wunê*]_T *dê* *dpi.*
 Kaawa already PI.IM.PST.3.SB fall.asleep
 Kaawa has already fallen asleep. (intransitive)

The Ergative–Absolutive system is also illustrated by the way in which indefinite status (in Chafe's terms (1976:38-43)) is marked. The numeral *ngmê* 'one' is used to mark an indefinite item in Yele. When the subject of a transitive verb (the Ergative referent) is indefinite, *ngmê* is added to the noun phrase:

- (3) [*U dpodo pyu ngmê ngê*]_E *a núwo.*
 his work performer INDEF SG.E CLS took.REM
 One of his workers brought it.

When the Absolutive referent of the clause is indefinite, this is signalled by prefixing *ngmê*- or a form derived from it to the predicate prenucleus. Example (4) illustrates this phenomenon, for an indefinite object, the saw blade:

- (4) [*Saw nt:u*]_A *ngmê-nî* *núwo.*
 saw body INDEF-PI.REM.1SG.SB took.REM
 I took a (circular) saw blade.

If the (Absolutive) subject of an intransitive verb is indefinite, this also causes the predicate prenucleus to be marked with *ngmê* or a form derived from it:

- (5) [*Yélî pî*]_A [*k:oo*]_L *ngmê-doo* *dpodo.*
 Rossel person inside INDEF-CI.REM.3SG.SB working
 There was a Rossel man working on board.

The morpheme *ngmê* and the forms derived from it are dealt with in more detail in §2.1.7.1.

2.1.1 DURATION

Bickerton has drawn attention to the primacy of duration in the development of language:
 ...all the evidence suggests that punctual–nonpunctual was the first TMA distinction to be grammaticised, and accordingly, the form that marked the distinction would have been juxtaposed to the main verb. (1981:284)

In Yele, the duration of the event is the most important dichotomy affecting the predicate. It is an all-pervasive dichotomy, affecting the verb root that is selected in a particular

instance, and also the prenuclear and postnuclear components of the predicate used in that instance. The dichotomy is similar to Comrie's perfective-imperfective dichotomy:

...perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation. (1976:16)

It seems better in Yele, however, to retain the terms 'punctiliar' and 'continuous', to avoid any suggestion that Yele has a Perfect tense. Furthermore, Yele maintains the continuous-punctiliar distinction in the habitual mood as well as the indicative, but Comrie's scheme appears to regard habituais as necessarily imperfective (1976:25, Table 1).

Examples (6) and (7) illustrate the effects of duration on Yele predications.

- (6) a. [W:uu]_A *kê-dê* *pwaa* *ngmê*.
egg CT-PI.IM.PST.3.SB break T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
They broke the egg (today). (punctiliar transitive)
- b. [Yi ndê]_A *kî* *pwapî* *ngmê*.
their firewood CT breaking T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
They were getting their firewood (today). (continuous transitive)
- (7) a. [Wunê]_T *kê-dê* *kpêê* *dmi*.
already CT-PI.IM.PST.3.SB wash.FOL IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
They have already washed (today.) (punctiliar intransitive)
- b. [Dpodo-mbiy:e]_M *kî* *dpodo* *té*.
work-adverbialiser CT working IT.CI.PRX.PL.SB
They were working hard (today). (continuous intransitive)

Most Yele verbs have both continuous and punctiliar roots, such as the verb 'break' in example (6), where *pwapî* is the continuous root, and *pwaa* is a punctiliar root. Example (6a) describes a momentary action, while example (6b) describes an activity with focus on its duration. *Kpêê* in (7a) is a punctiliar root, describing the complete action of washing. Its continuous equivalent is *kuku*.

- (8) [Dye ghi daadî]_T *kî* *kuku* *té*.
time piece long CT washing IT.CI.PRX.PL.SB
They were swimming for a long time (today). (continuous intransitive)

Since most verbs have both punctiliar and continuous roots, the speaker can choose to represent each event in a continuous or punctiliar form, as illustrated by the next two examples.

- (9) a. *D:a* *pêêdî*,
PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB.CLS pull.PCT
- b. *nî* *vyee*,
CI.IM.PST.1SG.SB hitting
- c. [wó]_A *d:oo* *ngêêdî*.
life PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB.NEG. took.REM
I pulled (the big shark) in,
I was hitting it (with my bushknife),
but I didn't kill it (lit. didn't take its life).

Despite all the hitting with the bushknife (*nî vyee* in (9)), the shark resisted the fisherman's attempts to kill it. In contrast, quick death came with a single blow in *vyâ* 'hit' in example (10):

- (10) a. [*Kê kn:ââ ngê*]_I *vyâ*,
pole butt I hit.REM
- b. [*mbwámê*]_A *a chápwo*,
neck CLS cut.REM
- c. [*mbodo*]_A *a ngêêdî*.
head CLS took.REM
He hit (his nephew) with the butt of the pole,
cut his neck,
and took up his head.

The continuous root of a verb is also used as a nominal item, to name the event. When used this way, the object affected by the event can be made explicit, but the Agent of the action cannot be specified. Examples (11) and (12) below illustrate the verb 'hit', whose punctiliar root is *vy:a* and whose continuous root is *vyee*. In example (12), *vyee* is used as a nominal item. (Examples (11) and (12) can be seen in their wider context in text (a) in §2.4, where they are sentences 9 and 10a respectively.)

- (11) [*U kuwó dini ghi ngê*]_T *w-a-nyi vy:a*.
its after time piece Time D-FUT-2SG.SB hit
After that you ram it (the copra).
- (12) [*U vyee têdê*]_L [*km:iî*]_A *w-a-nyi ghodo*, ...
its hitting place coconut D-FUT-2SG.SB gather
You carry the copra to its ramming place...

In example (12), the object of *vyee* is expressed pronominally, so the third person singular possessive form is used. A noun as object is illustrated in example (13):

- (13) [*Mbwêwê pîpî têdê*]_L *n:aa lêpî*.
pig eating place CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB going
I'm going to the pig feast.

Although most Yele verbs have both punctiliar and continuous roots, a small set of continuous intransitive verb roots have no punctiliar counterparts. The root *dpodo* 'working' in example (7b) is one such root. Some others are:

kmaapî dining
mbê crying
ng:aa listening

When the speaker wishes to portray such a continuous event with a punctiliar aspect, referring to the event in its entirety, he can punctiliarise it with *mb:anê* 'do punctually'.

- (14) [*A ka*]_S *dê ng:aa mb:anê*.
1SG.DEP.PN to PI.IM.PST.3.SB listening PCT.IS
He obeyed me (lit. listened to me).

To portray the inception of a continuous event, the continuous verb root is used with the appropriate form of *pwapî* 'breaking'.

- (15) [Mbê]_A a puwâ.
crying CLS broke.REM
He started (lit. broke out) crying (before yesterday).

There is a small set of verbs of motion in which the punctiliar root is used to portray an event actually taking place at the moment of speech, or an event soon to take place. The fact that a punctiliar root is used in the domain of the continuous is marked by an anomalous set of predicate postnuclei:

- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| singular subject: | <i>knî</i> | (normally used with PI.PR.X.DU.SB) |
| dual subject: | <i>knopwo</i> | (normally used with PI.REM.DU.SB) |
| plural subject: | <i>dniye</i> | (normally used with PI.REM.PL.SB) |

The punctiliar roots most commonly used in a continuous way are *kee* 'come/go up/in' whose normal continuous equivalent is *koko* 'coming/going up/in', *lóó* 'cross over' (normal continuous equivalent *lóólóó*) and *pwiyé* 'come', for which I have never heard a continuous equivalent. The following examples illustrate the fact that *kee*, *lóó* and *pwiyé* are essentially punctiliar roots:

- (16) a. [Nkéli]_A [mw:aandiyé]_T da kee.
boat morning PI.IM.PST.3.SB.CLS come.in
The boat came in this morning.
- b. [Awêde]_T dê lóó *dmi*.
today PI.IM.PST.3.SB cross.over IT.PI.PR.X.PL.SB
They went over the ridge today.
- c. A pwiyé cho.
CLS come IT.PCT.IMP.2DU.SB
Come here (dual).

The following examples illustrate the use of these punctiliar roots with continuous force, marked by the anomalous predicate postnuclei.

- (17) a. [Daa kêmakêma]_T nî-nê pwiyé *knî*.
NEG delayed 'basic'.1SG.SB-CLS come IT.P->C.SG.SB
I'll be coming (to you) soon.
- b. [Nkéli]_A kî-yedê kee *knî*.
boat CT-3SG.SB.that.CLS come.in IT.P->C.SG.SB
The boat is coming in.
- c. [Kaawa mupwo-knî]_A kî-yedê pwiyé *dniye*.
Kaawa ASS.son-some CT-3SG.SB.that.CLS come IT.P->C.SG.SB
Kaawa and his family are coming.

2.1.2 MOOD

I am using the term 'mood' to refer to a fuzzy parameter along which Yele makes three structural distinctions, based on the type of speech act and the specificity of the action. These distinctions are marked in the verbal prenucleus and postnucleus, and even affect the verb root with some verbs. From the perspective of speech act, Yele makes only one major distinction, namely that between informational speech and commands. Questions use the same verb roots and exactly the same prenuclear and postnuclear components as do

statements. Imperatives differ markedly in form from statements and questions. (Yes–no questions differ from statements in intonation, and content questions contain a question word. Otherwise they are the same as statements.) Thus Yele distinguishes morphologically between informational speech and imperatival speech.

Within informational speech, Yele distinguishes between reference to specific events in the past, present or future, as opposed to habitual events that people perform. The reference to specific events is termed the indicative mood in this paper, while the reference to habitual events is the habitual mood. Table 2.1.2.1 shows these distinctions diagrammatically.

TABLE 2.1.2.1: PARAMETERS ALONG WHICH YELE MOODS ARE DISTINGUISHED			
Informational		Specific	Indicative mood
		Habitual	Habitual mood
Speech act			
Command			
		Imperatival mood	

The term ‘imperative’ is used for first person and third person forms as well as for second person forms, as imperatival forms with all three persons of subject share two features in common:

1. All imperatival forms with punctiliar events have a tense distinction between commands or suggestions to be carried out immediately and those to be deferred until a later time. (See §2.1.3 below.)
2. All immediate imperatival forms with punctiliar events have a zero prenucleus. (See Table 2.1.5.2 below.)

The morphological differences between the moods are difficult to characterise, because of the portmanteau representation of a number of parameters at once. The following examples illustrate the differences. The details are presented in §2.1.4 and §2.1.5 below.

Continuous intransitive:

- (18) a. [Dpodo-mbiy:e]_M a dpodo té.
work-adverbialiser PRES working IT.CI.PRX.PL.SB
They are working hard. (indicative)
- b. [Dpodo-mbiy:e]_M a dpodo nyédi.
work-adverbialiser C.HAB.PRX.3SB working C.HAB.PRX.PL.SB
They work hard. (habitual)
- c. [Dpodo-mbiy:e]_M dny:oo dpodo.
work-adverbialiser C.IMP.3PL.SB working
They must work hard. (imperative)

Continuous transitive:

- (19) a. [Yi ndê]_A a *pwapî ngmê.*
 their firewood PRES breaking T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
 They are getting their firewood. (indicative)
- b. [Yi ndê]_A a *pwapî ngópu.*
 their firewood C.HAB.PRX.3.SB breaking T.C.HAB.PRX.3SG.O.PF
 They get their firewood. (habitual)
- c. [Yi ndê]_A dny:oo *pwapî.*
 their firewood C.IMP.3PL.SB breaking
 They must keep getting their firewood. (imperative)

Punctiliar intransitive:

- (20) a. [Ngomo k:oo]_L dê *kee dmi.*
 house inside PI.IM.PST.3.SB go.in IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
 They went into the house (today). (indicative)
- b. [Nkéli]_A dpî *kee dmi.*
 boat PCT.HAB.3.SB go.in IT.PCT.HAB.PL.SB
 The boats go in. (habitual)
- c. [Ngomo k:oo]_L *kee dniye.*
 house inside go.in IT.PCT.IMP.3PL.SB
 They must go into the house. (imperative)

Punctiliar transitive:

- (21) a. [Nté]_A [y:i]_L dê *ma ngmê.*
 food there PI.IM.PST.3.SB eat T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
 They ate the food there (today). (indicative)
- b. [Nté]_A [y:i]_L dpî *ma ngmê.*
 food there PCT.HAB.3.SB eat T.PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF
 They eat the food there. (habitual)
- c. [Nté]_A *ma y:e.*
 food eat T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O,3PL.SB
 They must eat the food. (imperative)

Examples 20 and 21 show that, for punctiliar verbs, the postnucleus of the habitual is identical to that of the indicative in the 'proximal' tenses. (See §2.1.3.) This is true for all person and number categories of subject and object.

2.1.3 TENSE

In the indicative mood, six tenses are distinguished for continuous events, but only four for punctiliar events. Punctiliar verb roots cannot be manifested in the immediate future and present tenses.

This section outlines the ways in which the tenses are distinguished. Sections 2.1.4 to 2.1.6 give further details.

(1) Future tense

In the indicative mood, future prenuclear components are prefixed with *a-* 'future' and optionally with *w-* 'definite situation'. (See §2.1.7.5 also.)

- (22) a. *W-a-dnyi mbwolîmbwolî.*
 D-FUT-CI.DST.3PL.SB hiding
 They (plural) will be hiding (tomorrow). (continuous)
- b. *W-a mbwolî dmi.*
 D-FUT hide IT.PI.PR.X.PL.SB
 They (plural) will hide (tomorrow). (punctiliar)

The future tense with continuous events covers the period tomorrow and later, but with punctiliar events, it covers any time after the present moment. It is also used with a second person singular subject to express a general procedure that people follow.

- (23) *[Dyuu]A a-nyi-nê pyidu té.*
 heap FUT-PI.2SG.SB-CLS stand.up T.IND.PR.X.3PL.O.MF
 One gathers them (coconuts) into heaps. (text (b), clause 2c)
 (lit. You (singular) will stand up heaps.)

(2) Immediate future versus present tense

Immediate future and present forms with third person subjects usually can not be distinguished:

- (24) *A mbwolîmbwolî té.*
 CI.PRES/IM.FUT.3.SB hiding IT.CI.PR.X.PL.SB
 They are/will soon be hiding. (continuous)

Some people, however, mark continuous indicative present tense intransitive verbs with third person singular subjects by changing the postnucleus from the usual \emptyset to *nê* (25a). Similarly, equative statements are sometimes marked with *nê* (25b).

- (25) a. *[Daa yoo ngmidî]A [y:î]L a kwo*
 NEG group one there CI.PRES.3.SB standing
nê.
 IT.CI.PRES.3SG.SB
 There are many groups of people there.
 (A characteristic Yele understatement – lit. Not one group is standing there.)
- b. *[Gregory]TOP [ala nê]COM.*
 Gregory here PRES
 Gregory is here.

Punctiliar events do not occur with present or immediate future tense, as stated above.

With first and second person subjects, present and immediate future forms can be distinguished:

- (26) a. *N:aa mbwolîmbwolî.*
 CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB hiding
 I'll be hiding soon. (immediate future)

- b. *A-nî mbwolîmbwolî.*
 CI.PRES-1SG.SB hiding
 I'm hiding (at this moment). (present)

Present tense forms are rare. The immediate future is frequently used for events that are actually happening as well as for events that will happen soon.

(3) Immediate past and near past tenses

The prenuclear components of immediate past and near past predicates are in a reciprocal relationship with duration. The immediate past continuous prenuclei (27) are identical with the near past punctiliar prenuclei (28). The immediate past punctiliar prenuclei have a stop feature added to them (*dê* in (29)), and the near past continuous prenuclei used with third person subjects also contain a stop feature (*dnyi* in (30)):

- (27) *Nmî mbwolîmbwolî té.*
 CI.IM.PST.1PL.SB hiding IT.CI.PRX.PL.SB
 We were hiding (earlier today). (continuous immediate past)
- (28) *Nmî mbwolî dmi.*
 PI.NR.PST.1PL.SB hide IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
 We hid (yesterday). (punctiliar near past)
- (29) *Dê mbwolî dmi.*
 PI.IM.PST.3.SB hide IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
 They hid (earlier today). (punctiliar immediate past)
- (30) *Dnyi mbwolîmbwolî.*
 CI.NR.PST.3PL.SB hiding
 They were hiding (yesterday). (continuous near past)

Near past tense is used for events that happened yesterday. Immediate past is used for events that happened 'earlier today', but also for punctiliar events that took place earlier than today, even into the far past, if the present effects of the events are in focus (Comrie's 'perfect'). In example (31) below, the fire was into the domain of the remote past by the time the news travelled right around Rossel, but the news is conveyed in the immediate past to show that its effects remain.

- (31) a. [*Pi yintómu y:oo*]_E *ny:ee ngópu,*
 person all PL.E hear T.PI.REM.3SG.O.PF
- b. *apê, [N:ââ Teepwe yi p:o,]_L*
 they.said N:ââ Teepwe their home
- c. *apê, [Ndapî]_A [ndê ngê]_E dê ma.*
 they.said shell.money fire SG.E PI.IM.PST.SG.SB eat
 Everyone heard that at N:ââ and Teepwe's village fire had destroyed the shell money.

(4) Discourse function of immediate past tense

In a narrative set in the remote past, the immediate past is used for several punctiliar clauses at the climax of the narrative, if the emotive content of the story warrants it. (Many stories are told without any shift to the immediate past.) For example, in Gregory *Mépé's* narrative of his trip to Port Moresby and years of work there, he switches to the immediate past at the point where he is met at the wharf and taken to the place where he is to live and

work. In *Kadawa*'s story of a trip to *T:am* for a bride-price ceremony, she switches to the immediate past for the distribution of the shell wealth, then back to the remote past again. This switch seems to mark the focus of the story. It is signalled by using a continuous future prenucleus with a punctiliar verb root and postnucleus.

- (32) [Teetee mbwémi knî y:oo]E —
 uncle ASS.brother some PL.E
 [kê]A a-dî chápwo ngmê.
 shell.money FUT-CI.FUT.3SG.SB cut T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
 My uncles cut the (rope of) shell money.

Longacre (1972:135f) reports a similar tense shift marking the climaxes of legends in Fore and Waffa, Highland languages of Papua New Guinea.

(5) Remote past tense

The one tense remaining to be described here is the remote past – events that took place before yesterday.

- (33) a. *Dnye mbwolîmbwolî.*
 CI.REM.3PL.SB hiding
 They were hiding (before yesterday). (continuous remote past)
- b. *Mbwolî dniye.*
 hide IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
 They hid (before yesterday). (punctiliar remote past)

(6) System of tense relationships

The third person examples above that involve *mbwolîmbwolî* 'hiding' are repeated without glosses in Table 2.1.3.1 to facilitate comparison.

TABLE 2.1.3.1: INTRANSITIVE PREDICATES ILLUSTRATING THE INTERACTION OF DURATION AND TENSE		
Tense	Continuous	Punctiliar
future	<i>a-dnyi mbwolîmbwolî ∅</i>	<i>a-∅ mbwolî dmi</i>
immediate future	<i>a mbwolîmbwolî té</i>	non-existent
present	<i>a mbwolîmbwolî té</i>	non-existent
immediate past	<i>∅ mbwolîmbwolî té</i>	<i>dê mbwolî dmi</i>
near past	<i>dnyi mbwolîmbwolî ∅</i>	<i>∅ mbwolî dmi</i>
remote past	<i>dnye mbwolîmbwolî ∅</i>	<i>∅ mbwolî dniye</i>

Note that with continuous aspect, postnuclear *té* is used only with the three tenses closest to the speech act: present, immediate future and immediate past. Similarly, with punctiliar aspect, postnuclear *dmi* is used with the three tenses closest to the speech act: future, immediate past and near past. This pattern is also evident with transitive predicate postnuclei, so for each duration the three tenses closest to the speech act are termed 'proximal'. Remote past differs clearly from the proximal tenses, not only in peripheral components of the predicate, but also in verb root selection, as shown in sections 2.1.4 to 2.1.6 below. The

remaining two tenses used with continuous aspect (future and near past) are termed 'distal'. Their peripheral predicate components are identical except that the future is marked with *a-* 'future' to distinguish it from near past. Table 2.1.3.2 represents this division of tenses diagrammatically.

TABLE 2.1.3.2: YELE TENSES					
CONTINUOUS ASPECT					
<--Remote	Distal	<----- P r o x i m a l ----->			Distal
remote	near	immediate	present	immediate	future
past	past	past		future	
remote	near	immediate	-----future----->		
past	past	past			
<--Remote-	<----- P r o x i m a l ----->				
PUNCTILIAR ASPECT					

(7) Transitive verb tense marking

Turning now to the equivalent transitive verb 'hide something', the punctiliar root is *ngmo*, while *ngm:ââ* is used with continuous aspect. The transitive forms use the same prenuclei as the intransitive predicates do, but the postnuclei are different. While intransitive postnuclei divide first by duration then by mood and tense and finally by the number of the subject (see Table 2.1.6.1), transitive postnuclei divide first on the person of the object, then on duration, mood and tense and finally on the number of the object and the person and number of the subject. (See Table 2.1.6.2.) The postnuclei are discussed in detail in §2.1.6. Table 2.1.3.3 gives the transitive equivalents of the forms in Table 2.1.3.1, for instances with third person plural subject and third person singular object (such as 'They will be hiding it').

TABLE 2.1.3.3: TRANSITIVE PREDICATES ILLUSTRATING THE INTERACTION OF DURATION AND TENSE		
Tense	Continuous	Punctiliar
future	<i>a-dnyi ngm:ââ Ø</i>	<i>a-Ø ngmo ngmê</i>
immediate future	<i>a ngm:ââ ngmê</i>	non-existent
present	<i>a ngm:ââ ngmê</i>	non-existent
immediate past	<i>Ø ngm:ââ ngmê</i>	<i>dê ngmo ngmê</i>
near past	<i>dnyi ngm:ââ Ø</i>	<i>Ø ngmo ngmê</i>
remote past	<i>dnye ngm:ââ Ø</i>	<i>Ø ngmo ngópu</i>

(8) Tenses in imperative mood

In the imperative mood, punctiliar verbs display two tenses, an imperative to be obeyed immediately and a deferred imperative, which is not to be obeyed until a later time. Continuous imperatives, however, show no distinctions in tense. Imperatives with second or third person subjects have a prenucleus of *dpî* if the action is not to be performed immediately, compared with zero prenucleus when the action is to be performed straight away.

- (34) a. *Kwidi.*
wash.PCT.IMP.2SG.SB
Wash yourself. (immediate intransitive imperative)
- b. *Dpî kwidi.*
deferral.2,3.SB wash(PCT.IMP.2SG.SB)
Wash yourself (later on). (deferred intransitive imperative)
- (35) a. *Ma ngi.*
eat T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O,2SG.SB
Eat it. (immediate transitive imperative)
- b. *Dpî ma ngi.*
deferral.2,3.SB eat T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O,2SG.SB
Eat it (later on). (deferred transitive imperative)

First person imperatives are deferred with *paa* instead of the *dpî* used with second and third person imperatives.

- (36) a. *Lee knî.*
go.PCT.FOL IT.PCT.IMP.1DU.SB
Let's go. (immediate intransitive invitation)
- b. *Paa lee knî.*
deferral.1.SB go.PCT.FOL IT.PCT.IMP.1DU.SB
Let's go (later on). (deferred intransitive invitation)

(9) Tenses in habitual mood

In the habitual mood, continuous verbs show a contrast between events that habitually take place at present (designated as proximal tense) and events which used to take place in the past but which do not take place at present (designated as distal tense). There are no future habituais in Yele. Punctiliar events have no distinctions of tense in the habitual mood. (See examples (20b) and (21b).)

The predicate prenuclei used with continuous habitual events taking place at present (proximal tense – see (37b)) are identical to the prenuclei used with immediate future indicative events (a proximal tense – see (37a)), while the distal habitual prenuclei (38b) are derived largely from the distal indicative prenuclei (38a) with the addition of the suffix *-mo* 'distal habitual'. The details are presented in §2.1.5.

- (37) a. *N:aa lêpî.*
CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB going
I'm going (soon or now). (immediate future indicative)

- b. *N:aa* *lêpî yédi.*
C.HAB.PRX.1SG.SB going IT.C.HAB.PRX.SG.SB
I go (habitually). (proximal habitual)
- (38) a. *Nî* *lêpî.*
CI.DST.1SG.SB going
I was going (yesterday). (distal indicative)
- b. *Nî-mo* *lêpî.*
1SG.SB-C.HAB.DST. going
I used to go. (distal habitual)

(10) Summary of tenses

Table 2.1.3.4 displays diagrammatically the tense contrasts maintained in each mood. A **0** indicates that that tense–mood combination does not occur, while a **1** indicates that it does. The horizontal lines show the distinctions that are made in Yele.

TABLE 2.1.3.4: TENSE DISTINCTIONS MAINTAINED IN EACH MOOD						
	Indicative		M O O D Habitual		Imperative	
	C	PCT	C	PCT	C	PCT
future	1	1	0	0	1	1
immediate future	1	0	1	1	0	0
present	1					
immediate past	1	1				
near past	1	1	1			
remote past	1	1				

2.1.4 THE PREDICATE NUCLEUS

The predicate nucleus consists of the verb root and sometimes an incorporated noun.

(1) Noun incorporation

Noun incorporation is a flexible and ongoing process in Yele, and is used to refer to an action affecting a generic noun in the role of Patient or Goal. The noun incorporated must be non-specific, and the resulting predicate is intransitive and continuous. As Mithun (1984:849) has pointed out, the noun cannot co-occur with deictics or numerals. Noun incorporation in Yele matches her type 1.1 classification, composition by juxtaposition:

...a V and its direct object are simply juxtaposed to form an especially tight bond. The V and N remain separate words phonologically; but as in all compounding, the N loses its syntactic status as an argument of the sentence, and the VN unit functions as an intransitive predicate.

Example (39a) is typical of noun incorporation, while (39b) shows how the noun cannot be incorporated if specified in some way, in this instance by a possessive pronoun.

- (39) a. *Nî-mo* *mbwaa vy:êmî.*
CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB-MOT water filling
I'm going water-fetching.

- b. [*Yi mbwaa*]_A *cha* *a* *vy:êmi*.
 their water C.IMP.2SG.SB.CLS CLS filling
 Fetch their water.

Many verbs with incorporated nouns represent "activities recognized sufficiently often to be considered name-worthy in their own right" (Mithun 1984:848). Some examples are:

- (40) a. *tpile ghêêghêê*
 thing washing
 plate-washing
 b. *kpîdî ghêêghêê*
 clothing washing
 clothes-washing
 c. *kmii chap*
 coconut splitting
 coconut-splitting
 d. *káámi dódó*
 nut.sp. cracking
káámi-nut-cracking
 e. *te yâmuyâmu*
 fish following
 fish-spearing

Others seem to be coined afresh by speakers as needed:

- (41) *Nmee-n:aa* *yî.pââ* *paapaa*.
 CI.REM.1PL.SB-MOT tree.log pulling
 We were pulling logs.
 (42) [*Bishop*]_A [*a ka*]_G *kî-yedê* *pweepwee.pee dyede*.
 bishop my to CT-mentioned.3.SB.CLS paper sending
 The bishop keeps sending me letters.

Both examples (41) and (42) incidentally also illustrate the incorporation of compound nouns.

While noun incorporation usually involves transitive verb roots, there is a small set of intransitive verb roots which incorporate a Goal, along with the Goal marker, <*ka*>. Example (43) shows the root *vyuwo* 'look' with its goal not incorporated, and (44) shows two goals typically incorporated with this verb.

- (43) [*Lukwe ka*]_G *nmye* *vyuwo té?*
 what G CI.IM.FUT.2PL.SB looking IT.CI.PRX.PL.SB
 What are you (plural) looking for?
 (44) a. *A* *tp:ee ka vyuwo nyédi*.
 C.HAB.PRX.3.SB child G looking IT.HAB.PRX.PL.SB
 They look after children /do child-care.
 b. *Wumî* *kê.ndapî* *ka vyuwo yédi*.
 C.HAB.PRX.3.SB.MOT shell.money G looking IT.HAB.PRX.SG.SB
 He (the bridegroom) goes looking for shell money.

Example (45) below shows a verb with incorporated Goal, which does not occur in un-incorporated form. It names the traditional activity of cooking food in a ground oven, which has been replaced to quite some extent by cooking in store-bought pots. Perhaps in the past it could be un-incorporated.

- (45) *K-a nté ka chaa té.*
 CT-CI.PRES.3.SB food G cooking IT.CI.PR.X.PL.SB
 They are food-baking.

(2) Uniform verbs

As mentioned at the beginning of §2.1, many verbs express the mood, aspect and tense by using suppletive forms, but there is a small set of verbs, referred to as 'uniform verbs', which use the same root for all combinations of mood, aspect and tense. An example is *mbêpê* 'run away / running'.

- (46) a. [*Nkéli*]_A *k-a mbêpê.*
 boat CT-CI.PRES.3.SB running
 The boat is going along.
- b. [*P:o*]_L *mê mbêpê wo.*
 home again run.away IT.PI.REM.SG.SB
 She ran back home (to her parents).

(3) Effect of duration on verb root selection

Apart from the few 'uniform verbs' mentioned above, the continuous–punctiliar dichotomy causes changes to the verb root used in any predication. Except for two existential verbs, continuous verbs use the same root for all combinations of mood, tense and participants in the predication. Punctiliar verbs, however, fall into several classes, where the mood, tense and the participants in the predication are intersecting parameters that affect the selection of the verb root. The following sections detail the effects these factors have.

(4) Regular verb root selection

The continuous roots of regular verbs are formed by reduplicating the punctiliar roots. Compare examples (47) to (50).

Intransitive punctiliar:

- (47) a. *Dê mbwolî dmi.*
 PI.IM.PST.3.SB hide IT.PI.PR.X.PL.SB
 They hid (today).
- b. *Mbwolî dniye.*
 hide IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
 They hid (before yesterday).

Intransitive continuous:

- (48) a. *Kî mbwolîmbwolî té.*
 CT hiding IT.CI.PR.X.PL.SB
 They were hiding (today).
- b. *Dnye mbwolîmbwolî.*
 CI.REM.3.SB hiding
 They were hiding (before yesterday).

Transitive punctiliar:

- (49) a. *Dê* *dnyinë* *t:oo*.
 Pl.IM.PST.3.SB carry.PCT T.IND.PRX.3PL.O.PF
 They carried them (today).
- b. *Dnyinë* *tumo*.
 carry.PCT T.PI.REM.3PL.O.PF
 They carried them (before yesterday).

Transitive continuous:

- (50) a. *Dnyinëdnyinë* *t:oo*.
 carrying T.IND.PRX.3PL.O.PF
 They were carrying them (today).
- b. *Dnye* *dnyinëdnyinë* *dé*.
 CI.REM.3PL.SB carrying T.CI.NON.PRX.3PL.O
 They were carrying them (before yesterday).

Some other examples of regular verbs forming the continuous root by reduplication of the punctiliar root are given in Table 2.1.4.1.

TABLE 2.1.4.1: CONTINUOUS ROOT FORMATION IN REGULAR VERBS			
Punctiliar root		Continuous root	
<i>kwada</i>	vomit	<i>kwadakwada</i>	vomiting
<i>póó</i>	ask about	<i>póópóó</i>	asking about
<i>yéé</i>	marry	<i>yééyéé</i>	marrying
<i>chedê</i>	finish something	<i>chedêchedê</i>	finishing something
<i>d:uu</i>	try something	<i>d:uud:uu</i>	trying something
<i>kmongo</i>	wrap something up	<i>kmongokmongo</i>	wrapping it up
<i>kpaka</i>	hit with a stick	<i>kpakakpaka</i>	hitting with a stick

(5) Near-regular verbs

A number of verbs are regular except that the continuous root is not simply a reduplication of the punctiliar root. See Table 2.1.4.2.

TABLE 2.1.4.2: IRREGULAR CONTINUOUS ROOT FORMATION IN VERBS WITH ONLY ONE PUNCTILIAR ROOT			
Punctiliar root		Continuous root	
<i>kee</i>	go up / in	<i>koko</i>	going up / in
<i>kéé</i>	throw it away	<i>kéké</i>	throwing it away
<i>pyódu</i>	make it become ____	<i>pyépi</i>	making it become ____
<i>têêdî</i>	bring it by boat	<i>teetee</i>	bringing it by boat

(6) 'Paranoid' verbs

A class of punctiliar verbs can be termed 'paranoid', because they are sensitive to what follows them in the predicate. One root is used if the postnucleus is zero ((51a), (52a) and (53a)), but a different verb root (termed the 'followed root') is used where the postnucleus is non-zero ((51b), (52b) and (53b)).

- (51) a. *Dê* *lê*.
PI.IM.PST.3.SB go.PCT
He went (today).
- b. *Dê* *lee* *dmi*.
PI.IM.PST.3.SB go.FOL IT.PI.PR.X.PL.SB
They went (today).
- (52) a. *Dê* *kudu*.
PI.IM.PST.3.SB wash.IT.PCT
He washed (today).
- b. *Dê* *kpêê* *dmi*.
PI.IM.PST.3.SB wash.IT.FOL IT.PI.PR.X.PL.SB
They washed (today).
- (53) a. [*A kpîdî*]_A *dî* *ghodo*.
my clothing PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB wash.T.PCT
I washed my garment (today).
- b. [*A kpîdî*]_A *dî* *ghêê* *té*.
my clothing PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB wash.T.FOL T.IND.PR.X.PL.O.MF
I washed my clothes (today).

(7) 'Weak' versus 'Strong' verbs

Another dichotomy affecting punctiliar verb root selection is between 'weak' and 'strong' verbs. The dichotomy is only relevant in the remote past tense. With remote past intransitive verbs with singular subject, strong verbs change to the strong root with zero postnucleus (54c), but weak verbs use the normal punctiliar root or the 'followed root' as appropriate (see 'Paranoid' verbs above) with a postnucleus of *wo* (55c):

Strong intransitive verb:

- (54) a. *Dê* *pw:onu*.
PI.IM.PST.3.SB die.PCT
He died (today).
- b. *Dê* *pw:oo* *dmi*.
PI.IM.PST.3.SB die.FOL IT.PI.PR.X.PL.SB
They died (today).
- c. *Pwene*.
died.REM
He died (before yesterday).
- d. *Pw:oo* *dniye*.
die.FOL IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
They died (before yesterday).

Weak intransitive verb:

- (55) a. *Dê* *kudu*.
PI.IM.PST.3.SB wash.IT.PCT
He washed (today).

- b. *Dê* *kpêê* *dmi.*
 Pl.IM.PST.3.SB wash.IT.FOL IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
 They washed (today).
- c. *Kpêê* *wo.*
 wash.IT.FOL Pl.REM.SG.SB
 He washed (before yesterday).
- d. *Kpêê* *dniye.*
 wash.IT.FOL IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
 They washed (before yesterday).

With transitive verbs in the remote past tense where the object is third person singular and the subject is monofocal (i.e. first person or singular), strong verbs use the strong root with zero postnucleus (56c), but weak verbs use the normal punctiliar root or the 'followed' root as appropriate (see 'Paranoid' verbs above) with a postnucleus of *ngê* (57c).

Strong transitive verb:

- (56) a. *Dê* *vy:a.*
 Pl.IM.PST.3.SB hit.PCT
 He killed it (today).
- b. *Dê* *vya* *té.*
 Pl.IM.PST.3.SB hit.FOL T.IND.PRX.3PL.O.MF
 He killed them (today).
- c. *Vyâ.*
 hit.REM
 He killed it (before yesterday).

Weak transitive verb:

- (57) a. *Dê* *kââ.*
 Pl.IM.PST.3.SB stand.up.T.PCT
 He stood it up (today).
- b. *Dê* *kaa* *té.*
 Pl.IM.PST.3.SB stand.up.FOL T.IND.PRX.3PL.O.MF
 He stood them up (today).
- c. *Kaa* *ngê.*
 stand.up.FOL Pl.REM.3SG.O.MF
 He stood it up (before yesterday).

(8) Interaction between duration and transitivity

While transitive verbs are generally distinct from intransitive verbs, and both can be either continuous or punctiliar, there is a small set of verbs in which there is an interaction between transitivity and duration. The verb 'write/carve' is a suitable example of the verbs in this set. The transitive verb *d:êê* 'write something' is completely regular, using the root *d:êê* for all punctiliar predications (58a), and the reduplicated form *d:êêd:êê* for all continuous predications (58b). The intransitive verb 'writing', however, is also *d:êê*, but in this case the root is continuous (58c). As is to be expected, the intransitive form shows focus on the event, with no way of specifying the object being carved or written. There is no punctiliar intransitive verb 'write'.

- (58) a. *D:êê tumo.*
 write T.PI.REM.3PL.O.PF
 They wrote them (before yesterday). (punctiliar transitive)
- b. *Dnye d:êêd:êê dé.*
 CI.REM.3PL.SB writing T.CI.3PL.O
 They were writing them (before yesterday). (continuous transitive)
- c. *Dnye d:êê.*
 CI.REM.3PL.SB writing
 They were writing (before yesterday). (continuous intransitive)

(9) Existential verb root selection

As mentioned above, there are two existential verbs which have suppletive roots. They have the meanings 'be sitting' and 'be standing'. The third existential verb, 'be hanging', has only one root, *t:a*. Existential predications in Yele must use one of these three verbs, which must agree with the class of the participant acting as subject of the predication (i.e. the entity whose existence is asserted). The classes are predominantly semantic: trees and mountains stand, people and shell coins sit while boats and roads hang. Of course the newcomer to Rossel Island finds some seeming anomalies, such as

- (59) [*Ngwolo dê*]_A *daa* *kwo* *mo.*
 your.eyes dual CI.PRES.3.SB.NEG standing IT.CI.PR.X.DU.SB
 You must be blind! (lit. You haven't got any eyes.)
- (60) [*Tuu*]_A *a* *kwo.*
smell PRES standing
 It has a smell.

Table 2.1.4.3 shows the factors which condition the root in each meaning set that will be selected.

TABLE 2.1.4.3: EXISTENTIAL VERB ROOT SELECTION						
			sit	stand	hang	
mood and tense:	IND.PR.X	No. of SB.:	SG,DU	<i>tóó</i>	<i>kwo</i>	<i>t:a</i>
			PL	<i>pyede</i>	<i>wee</i>	<i>t:a</i>
		other		<i>ya</i>	<i>kwo</i>	<i>t:a</i>

(10) Punctiliar imperatives

Mood affects the selection of the verb root for some punctiliar verbs, in which the second person singular imperative consists of just a suppletive root, with zero postnucleus. (Compare (61a) and (61b), and (62a), (62b) and (62c).)

- (61) a. Lili
go.away.2SG.IMP
Be off with you.
- b. Lee cho.
go.FOL PCT.IMP.2DU.SB.
Be off with you (dual).
- (62) a. Kédi.
stand.up.2SG.IMP
Stand it up.
- b. Kaa dé.
stand.up.FOL PCT.IMP.3DU.O,2SG.SB
Stand them (dual) up.
- c. Kaa yó.
stand.up.FOL T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O,2PL.SB
(you, plural) Stand it up.

(11) Summary of verb root variations

Table 2.1.4.4 brings together a sample of verbs to illustrate the kinds of changes that take place between one root and another. An equals sign (=) indicates that the root is identical with the root in the column to its left.

TABLE 2.1.4.4: ROOTS USED WITH A SAMPLE OF VERBS

Gloss	Continuous root	Punctiliar root	'Followed' root	Remote past root	Punctiliar imperative
fall	<i>ghayghay</i>	<i>ghay</i>	=	=	—
attach to	<i>kelekele</i>	<i>kalî</i>	<i>kaa</i>	<i>kele</i>	—
go	<i>lêpî</i>	<i>lê</i>	<i>lee</i>	<i>loo</i>	<i>lili</i>
wash	<i>kuku</i>	<i>kudu</i>	<i>kpêê</i>	=	<i>kwidi</i>
die	<i>pwopwo</i>	<i>pw:onu</i>	<i>pw:oo</i>	<i>pwene</i>	<i>pw:eni</i>
go down	<i>ghîpîghîpî</i>	<i>ghîî</i>	<i>ghêpê</i>	<i>gho</i>	<i>ghidi</i>
become —	<i>pyodopyodo</i>	<i>pyódu</i>	<i>pyaa</i>	<i>pyodo</i>	<i>pyédi</i>
carry it	<i>dnyinêdnyinê</i>	<i>dnyinê</i>	=	=	=
see it	<i>mumu</i>	<i>m:uu</i>	=	<i>módu</i>	<i>mwini</i>
wash it	<i>ghêêghêê</i>	<i>ghodo</i>	<i>ghêê</i>	=	=
eat it	<i>pîpî</i>	<i>ma</i>	=	<i>ndîî</i>	<i>ma</i>
stand up	<i>kapî</i>	<i>kââ</i>	<i>kaa</i>	=	<i>kédi</i>
make be —	<i>pyépi</i>	<i>pyódu</i>	=	=	=
hit it	<i>vye</i>	<i>vy:a</i>	<i>vya</i>	<i>vyâ</i>	<i>vya</i>
put it	<i>t:emî</i>	<i>t:oo</i>	<i>t:ee</i>	<i>t:ângo</i>	<i>téni</i>
blow it	<i>wupî</i>	<i>wuu</i>	<i>wêê</i>	<i>wuwo</i>	<i>widi</i>

(12) Roots for 'give'

The verb 'give' is a special case, as the verb root used depends on the person of the recipient (Goal). Perhaps it should be regarded as two different verbs, 'give to a third person' and 'give to a first or second person'. Table 2.1.4.5 outlines the different roots meaning 'give' that are used.

TABLE 2.1.4.5: VERB ROOTS MEANING 'GIVE'

Goal	Duration	
	Punctiliar	Continuous
3rd person	<i>y:oo</i> 'he gave it to him (yesterday)'	<i>yémî</i> 'he was giving it to him (today)'
	<i>y:ee dê</i> 'he gave them (DU) to him (yesterday)'	<i>yémî dê</i> 'he was giving them (DU) to him (today)'
	<i>y:ângo</i> 'he gave it to him (REM)'	<i>doo yémî</i> 'he was giving it to him (REM)'
	<i>y:ee doo</i> 'he gave them (DU) to him (REM)'	<i>doo yémî dê</i> 'he was giving them (DU) to him (REM)'
1 or 2	<i>kê</i> 'he gave it to you or me (yesterday)'	<i>kuwo</i> 'he was giving it to you or me (today)'
	<i>kê dê</i> 'he gave them (DU) to you or me (yesterday)'	<i>kuwo dê</i> 'he was giving them (DU) to you or me (today)'
	<i>kpo</i> 'he gave it to you or me (REM)'	<i>doo kuwo</i> 'he was giving it to you or me (REM)'
	<i>kê doo</i> 'he gave them (DU) to you or me (REM)'	<i>doo kuwo dê</i> 'he was giving them (DU) to you or me (REM)'

2.1.5 THE PREDICATE PRENUCLEUS

The main factors affecting the predicate prenuclaus are:

- duration — continuous or punctiliar (see §2.1.1 above)
- mood — indicative, habitual or imperative (see §2.1.2)
- tense — six tenses in the indicative mood and two in each of habitual and imperative moods (see §2.1.3)
- person — first, second or third person subject
- number — singular, dual or plural subject

The interactions of these parameters are marked by portmanteau morphemes related to the pronouns, as presented in Tables 2.1.5.2 and 2.1.5.3 below, with following discussion. That discussion defers consideration of a number of other factors which affect the prenuclaus, such as negation, contrafactual status, motion, included deictics and reference to one of several objects. All these factors are such that they are only expressed in certain situations and so to simplify the description of the predicate prenuclaus, the forms where these factors are not expressed will be used in this section. (These factors are described in detail in §2.1.7.)

The Yele free pronouns are presented in Table 2.1.5.1, for comparison with the prenuclai in Tables 2.1.5.2 and 2.1.5.3.

TABLE 2.1.5.1: FREE PRONOUNS

Person	Number		
	singular	dual	plural
1	<i>nê</i>	<i>nyo</i>	<i>nmo</i>
2	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dp:u</i>	<i>nmyo</i>
3	<----- \emptyset ----->		

Note that there are no third person pronouns. The plural pronouns share *nm* (a postalveolar nasal continuant with simultaneous bilabial closure).

(1) The punctiliar predicate prenucleus

Table 2.1.5.2 presents the prenuclear forms used with punctiliar events. The forms used in the indicative mood with the near past and remote past tenses are regarded as basic. These differ from the free pronouns only in that the vowels are *i* following a palatalised consonant and *î* elsewhere, and that the second person dual form is not nasalised. From these, the future tense is formed by prefixing *a-* 'future'. The immediate past indicative is formed from the basic forms by adding a stop feature. The second person singular form *chi* is the orthographic representation of /tyi/, which is manifested as an alveopalatal grooved affricate [tʃ]. Punctiliar habitual prenuclei can be regarded as being formed from the indicative immediate past forms with simultaneous bilabial closure added.

TABLE 2.1.5.2: PRENUCLEAR COMPONENTS USED WITH PUNCTILIAR EVENTS					
Mood	Tense	Subject person	Number of subject		
			singular	dual	plural
Indicative	future (proximal)	1	<i>a-nî</i>	<i>a-nyi</i>	<i>a-nmî</i>
		2	<i>a-nyi</i>	<i>a-dpî</i>	<i>a-nmyi</i>
		3	<----- <i>a-Ø</i> ----->		
	immediate future and present	all	non-existent		
	immediate past (proximal)	1	<i>dî</i>	<i>dnye</i>	<i>dpî</i>
		2	<i>chi</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>dmye</i>
		3	<----- <i>dê</i> ----->		
	near past (proximal)	1	<i>nî</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>nmî</i>
		2	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>nmyi</i>
		3	<----- <i>Ø</i> ----->		
remote past	1	<i>nî</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>nmî</i>	
	2	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>nmyi</i>	
	3	<----- <i>Ø</i> ----->			
Habitual	no distinctions	1	<i>dpî</i>	<i>dmye</i>	<i>dpî</i>
		2	<i>dpyi</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>dmye</i>
		3	<----- <i>dpî</i> ----->		
Imperative	immediate	all	Ø throughout		
	deferred	1	--- <----- <i>paa</i> ----->		
		2,3	<----- <i>dpî</i> ----->		

(2) The continuous predicate prenucleus

Table 2.1.5.3 presents the prenuclear forms used with continuous events. The 'basic' punctiliar forms (near past indicatives) are used with immediate past continuous events. Near past indicative continuous forms are similar to these basic forms, except in the third person. Future continuous forms can be derived from the near past continuous forms by the addition of *a-* 'future', just as with punctiliar forms. Present tense continuous forms can also be derived from the 'basic' forms by the addition of *a-* 'present continuous', except that the first person dual and second person plural forms have *e* rather than *i*. Immediate future forms are further removed from the basic forms. Proximal habitual prenuclei are the same as immediate

future indicative forms. Distal habitual forms can be derived from the near past indicative forms by the addition of *-mo* 'distal habitual', except that the first person dual form is derived from the 'basic' counterpart rather than from the near past form, and the third person singular distal habitual is copied from the third person dual form. Continuous imperative prenuclei and remote past indicative prenuclei show less relationship to the 'basic' forms.

TABLE 2.1.5.3: PRENUCLEAR COMPONENTS USED WITH CONTINUOUS EVENTS

Mood	Tense	Subject person	Number of subject		
			singular	dual	plural
Indicative	future (distal)	1	<i>a-nî</i>	<i>a-ny:oo</i>	<i>a-nmî</i>
		2	<i>a-nyi</i>	<i>a-dpî</i>	<i>a-nmyi</i>
		3	<i>a-dî</i>	<i>a-dpî</i>	<i>a-dnyi</i>
	immediate future (proximal)	1	<i>n:aa</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>nmo</i>
		2	<i>nye</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>nmye</i>
		3	<----- <i>a</i> ----->		
	present (proximal)	1	<i>a-nî</i>	<i>a-nye</i>	<i>a-nmî</i>
		2	<i>a-nyi</i>	<i>a-dpî</i>	<i>a-nmye</i>
		3	<----- <i>a-∅</i> ----->		
	immediate past (proximal)	1	<i>nî</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>nmî</i>
		2	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>nmyi</i>
		3	<----- <i>∅</i> ----->		
	near past (distal)	1	<i>nî</i>	<i>ny:oo</i>	<i>nmî</i>
		2	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>nmyi</i>
		3	<i>dî</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>dnyi</i>
	remote past	1	<i>noo</i>	<i>nyipu</i>	<i>nmee</i>
		2	<i>nyoo</i>	<i>dpîmo</i>	<i>nmyee</i>
		3	<i>doo</i>	<i>dpîmo</i>	<i>dnye</i>
Habitual	proximal	1	<i>n:aa</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>nmo</i>
		2	<i>nye</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>nmye</i>
		3	<----- <i>a</i> ----->		
	distal (discontinued)	1	<i>nî-mo</i>	<i>nyi-mo</i>	<i>nmî-mo</i>
		2	<i>nyi-mo</i>	<i>dpî-mo</i>	<i>nmyi-mo</i>
		3	<----- <i>dpî-mo</i> ----->		
Imperative		1	--	<----- <i>∅</i> ----->	
		2	<i>chi</i>	<i>choo</i>	<i>dmyinê</i>
		3	<i>choo</i>	<----- <i>dny:oo</i> ----->	

2.1.6 THE PREDICATE POSTNUCLEUS

In predicate postnuclei, transitivity is the primary dichotomy. Table 2.1.6.1 shows the postnuclei used with intransitive events. Note that intransitive postnuclei reflect first the duration of the event, then its mood and tense and finally the number of the subject. The person of the subject is monitored only in the postnucleus in imperatives.

TABLE 2.1.6.1: INTRANSITIVE PREDICATE POSTNUCLEI

TABLE 2.1.6.1: INTRANSITIVE PREDICATE POSTNUCLEI						
			Number of Subject			
			singular	dual	plural	
PCT	Mood and tense	IND.REM	<i>we/∅</i>	<i>knopwo</i>	<i>dniye</i>	
		IND.PRX and HAB	<i>∅</i>	<i>knî</i>	<i>dmi</i>	
		3.SB.IMP	<i>we</i>	<– <i>dniye</i> –>		
		2.SB.IMP	<i>∅</i>	<i>cho</i>	<i>dmyeno</i>	
		1.SB.IMP	—	<i>knî</i>	<i>kmêle</i>	
		1.SB.IMP				
Duration	Mood and tense	IND.PRX	<i>∅</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>té</i>	
		HAB.PRX	<i>yédi</i>	<i>nódó</i>	<i>nyédi</i>	
		other	<-----∅----->			
C	Mood and tense					

The punctiliar indicative remote past postnuclei are *wo* for weak verbs and *∅* for strong verbs, as illustrated in examples (54c) and (55c) in §2.1.4. Note that the duration dichotomy is neutralised with first person imperatives, as illustrated in examples (63) and (64).

- (63) *Lee kmêle.*
 go.FOL IT.1PL.SB.IMP
 Let's go. (punctiliar)

- (64) *Kuku kmêle.*
 washing IT.1PL.SB.IMP
 Let's be washing. (continuous)

Transitive predicate postnuclei are displayed in Table 2.1.6.2. Note that they reflect first the person of the object, then the duration, mood and tense of the event. After that the person and number of the subject are monitored, as well as the number of the object.

TABLE 2.1.6.2: TRANSITIVE PREDICATE POSTNUCLEI

TABLE 2.1.6.2: TRANSITIVE PREDICATE POSTNUCLEI									
SP = Subject Person OP = Object Person		Number of Object							
				singular	dual	plural			
				<i>n-édi</i>	<i>ny-édi</i>	<i>nm-édi</i>			
1,2	TMA	PCT.IMP	2	OP	1				
					2	<i>ny-édi</i>	<i>dp-édi</i>	<i>nmy-édi</i>	
			1,3	OP	1	<i>nê-ne</i>	<i>nyi-ne</i>	<i>nmî-ne</i>	
					2	<i>nyi-ne</i>	<i>dpî-ne</i>	<i>nmyi-ne</i>	
			PIREM or C.HAB.PR.X	OP	1	<i>noo</i>	<i>nyópu</i>	<i>nmoo</i>	
					2	<i>nyoo</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>nmyoo</i>	
		other	OP	1	<i>nê</i>	<i>nyo</i>	<i>nmo</i>		
				2	<i>ngi</i>	<i>dp:o</i>	<i>nmyo</i>		
		3	TMA	C.(IND. or HAB).NON.PR.X & C.IMP> 2 or 3 SB.			∅	<i>dê</i>	<i>dé</i>
				IND.PR.X & PCT.HAB	SP	MF (i.e. 1/SG)	∅	<i>dê</i>	<i>té</i>
						PF (i.e. other)	<i>ngmê</i>	<i>d:oo</i>	<i>t:oo</i>
				PIREM or C.HAB.PR.X	SP	MF (i.e. 1/SG)	<i>ngê/∅</i>	<i>doo</i>	<i>too</i>
PF (i.e. other)	<i>ngópu</i>					<i>dumo</i>	<i>tumo</i>		
PCT.IMP or 1.SB.IMP	DU, PL			SB	1		<i>déme</i>	<i>téme</i>	
					2SG		<i>dé</i>	<i>té</i>	
					2DU,2PL		<i>dóó</i>	<i>tóó</i>	
					3		<i>déne</i>	<i>téne</i>	
					Number of Subject				
					SG	SP	1	singular	dual
2	<i>ngi</i>			<i>nyoo</i>			<i>yó</i>		
3	<i>ngê</i>	<— y:e --->							

With first and second person objects, the similarity with the free pronouns (Table 2.1.5.1) can easily be seen. With the third person objects, dual and plural are nearly always marked with forms containing *d* and *t* respectively.

(1) Monofocal versus polyfocal subject

Many of the forms show a consistent pattern where for any number of object, one form is used if the subject is first person or singular, and a different form is used with other subjects. The forms used with a third person object and indicative proximal events or with punctiliar habituals provide an example of this phenomenon. If the subject is first person or singular, the postnucleus is \emptyset for a singular object, *dê* for a dual object or *té* for a plural object. For subjects other than first person or singular, however, the corresponding forms are *ngmê*, *d:oo* and *t:oo* respectively. Deibler (1964:23) and Young (1964:47-49 and 1971:22-23) have termed these monofocal and polyfocal forms in describing Gahuku and Bena-bena respectively, Papuan languages of the New Guinea Highlands. Table 2.1.6.3 highlights this phenomenon, showing how a third person plural object is affected by the person and number of the subject in 'X ate them (yesterday)'.

TABLE 2.1.6.3: MONOFOCAL AND POLYFOCAL MARKING OF THIRD PERSON PLURAL OBJECTS OF <i>ma</i> 'EAT'						
Subject person	Number of Subject					
	singular	dual		plural		focus
1	<i>nî ma té</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>ma té</i>	<i>nmî</i>	<i>ma té</i>	MF
2	<i>nyi ma té</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>ma t:oo</i>	<i>nmyi</i>	<i>ma t:oo</i>	PF
3	\emptyset <i>ma té</i>	\emptyset	<i>ma t:oo</i>	\emptyset	<i>ma t:oo</i>	PF

Note that the monofocal subjects require the 3PL Object marker *té*, but the polyfocal subjects require *t:oo*.

Table 2.1.6.4 presents the interaction of tense, mood and aspect with subject forms and with the number of a third person object.

TABLE 2.1.6.4: MONOFOCAL AND POLYFOCAL MARKING OF THIRD PERSON OBJECTS OF TRANSITIVE VERBS					
Subject person	Number of Subject		Number of Object		
	singular	dual, plural	3SG	3DU	3PL
1	monofocal: PCT.HAB and IND.PRX PI.REM and C.HAB.PRX		\emptyset <i>ngê/∅</i>	<i>dê</i> <i>doo</i>	<i>té</i> <i>too</i>
	polyfocal: PCT.HAB and IND.PRX PI.REM and C.HAB.PRX		<i>ngmê</i> <i>ngópu</i>	<i>d:oo</i> <i>dumo</i>	<i>t:oo</i> <i>tumo</i>
2,3					

The postnucleus *ngê/∅* used with monofocal subjects is analogous to the *wo/∅* postnuclei of remote past indicative intransitive verbs with a singular subject. Weak transitive verbs with a third person singular object and a monofocal subject have a postnucleus of *ngê*, whereas strong transitive verbs change to the remote past verb root with zero postnucleus. (See examples (56) and (57) in §2.1.4.)

Haiman (1979:898) has subjected Young's analysis to resegmentation to highlight firstly the occurrence of a glottal stop in dual modal suffixes and secondly the identical marking of first person plural and second person singular. He points out that these two features are typical of a number of languages of the Eastern New Guinea Highlands Stock. It is interesting to note the identity of second and third person dual prenuclei in Yele in continuous non-proximal tenses (Table 2.1.5.3) and with punctiliar habitual forms (Table 2.1.5.2). This identity does not extend to the first person dual forms, however. Another point to note is that where languages of the Eastern New Guinea Highlands Stock have the same modal suffix for second person singular and first person plural, Yele has the same prenuclear component for second person singular and first person dual in continuous habituals, immediate past and immediate future indicatives (Table 2.1.5.3) and in punctiliar indicatives other than those in the immediate past tense (Table 2.1.5.2).

(2) Natural topic hierarchy

The effect of the natural topic hierarchy (see Dixon 1976:7f, 112-200) can be seen in Table 2.1.6.2, in that first and second person objects are important enough for the free pronouns to have a strong influence on the predicate postnuclei used with these objects. With third person objects, however, the person and number of the subject are increasingly important, until the point is reached in the last three lines of Table 2.1.6.2, where for third person singular objects of punctiliar imperatives, the person and number of the subject are almost completely distinguished.

2.1.7 SECONDARY FACTORS

That brings to a close the discussion of the basic structures in the predicate. There are a number of other factors which affect the predicate, all of which have been left unmanifested in §§ 2.1.4, 2.1.5 and 2.1.6, to keep the complexity of the presentation within manageable proportions. The following sections will deal with these factors in turn. Some forms of the morphemes that manifest these factors can be seen easily enough as affixes, but others are merged into the prenucleus, with confusing results. The factors are as follows, their basic forms being listed along with them.

– indefiniteness	—	<i>ngmê-</i>	(§2.1.7.1)
– commonality	—	<i>mye</i>	(§2.1.7.2)
– repetition	—	<i>mê</i>	(§2.1.7.3)
– motion	—	<i>n:aa</i>	(§2.1.7.4)
– deictic incorporation	—	various	(§2.1.7.5)
– negation	—	<i>daa</i>	(§2.1.7.6)
– contrafactual status	—	<i>wo...pî</i>	(§2.1.7.7)

2.1.7.1 INDEFINITENESS

Where the Absolute referent of a predication is indefinite, in Chafe's terms (1976:38-43), this is signalled by prefixing <*ngmê-*> to the predicate prenucleus. The saw blade in example (65) illustrates an object which is indefinite:

- (65) [Saw *nt:u*]_A *ngmê-nî* *ńuwo*.
 saw body INDEF-PI.REM.1SG.SB took.REM
 I took a (circular) saw blade.

If the subject of an intransitive verb is indefinite, this also causes the predicate prenucleus to be marked with <*ngmê*>.

- (66) [N:uu]_A *ngmê* loo?
 who INDEF went
 Who went?
- (67) [Yélfí pí]_A [k:oo]_L *ngmê-doo* dpodo.
 Rossel person inside INDEF-CI.REM.3.SB working
 There was a Rossel man working on board.

The basic form of the morpheme is *ngmê*-, which is used where the prenucleus is zero (66), or where the prenucleus begins with a consonant ((65) and (67)).

Where the predicate prenucleus (as described so far) begins with *a*-, the *a* vowel is absorbed by the indefinite morpheme, changing it to *ngma*- in the process (68).

- (68) [Lukwe]_A *ngma-nyi* mdono?
 what INDEF.FUT-FUT.2SG.SB doing
 What will you be doing?

There is an interesting example of a question identical to (67) except that the indefinite morpheme is not used. Both questions occur in close proximity, in a narrative about Gregory Mépé's work experience in Port Moresby. He left Rossel, and worked on a coastal ship for a year, and then left the ship at Samarai. Gregory continues:

- (69) a. [Father *ngê*]_E [y:i]_L *kî-mî* m:uu noo,
 Father SG.E there CT-MOT see T.PI.REM.1SG.O
 Father saw me there
- b. *a-ka-pê*,
 me-to-3.said.REM
 and said to me,
- c. [Lukwe]_A *a-nyi* mdono?
 what PRES-CI.PRES.2SG.SB doing
 "What are you doing?"
- (70) a. *Kwo-no*,
 to.him-I.said
 I said to him,
- b. [Al:ií]_L *n:aa* tóó.
 here CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB sitting
 "I'm just here".
- c. *Kwo-no*,
 to.him-I.said
 I said to him,
- d. [U ya]_A [a nga]_X a kwo,
 its desire my X.1SG PRES standing
- e. [Rabaul]_L *n:aa* lêpí.
 Rabaul CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB go
 "I want to go to Rabaul".

- (71) a. *A-ka-pê,*
me-to-said.REM
He said to me,
- b. [*Lukwe*]_A *ngma-nyi* *mdono?*
what INDEF.FUT-CI.FUT.2SG.SB doing
“What will you be doing there?”

In (69c), the priest assumes that Gregory is employed at Samarai, and asks what his employment is, which Gregory translates without using *ngmê*-. In (71b), his conception of Gregory's intended action in Rabaul is less definite, so Gregory reports his question using *ngmê*-.

The verbal prefix <*ngmê*> can be regarded as the incorporation of the indefinite morpheme *ngmê* used in noun phrases.

- (72) [*Mââ-we ngmê, u pi*]_{TOP} [*Chima*]_{COM}
male-important INDEF his name Chima
Once there was a man called Chima.
- (73) *a pyipe ngmê k:ii*
my friend INDEF with
with a friend of mine
- (74) [*Ngmê knî y:oo*]_E *dê m:uu ngmê.*
INDEF some PL.E PI.IM.PST.3.SB see T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
Some of them saw it (the leopard shark).

Is it purely coincidence that the predicate postnucleus used with a third person singular object with polyfocal subject (such as in example (74)) is *ngmê*? It is hardly a coincidence that the numeral ‘one’ used in counting is also *ngmê*.

<i>ngmê</i>	—	1
<i>miyó</i>	—	2
<i>pyile</i>	—	3
<i>páádi</i>	—	4 and so on.

(The numeral ‘one’ used in quantifying a noun phrase is a related form, *ngmidi*.)

- (75) [*Daa yoo ngmidi*]_A [*y:i*]_L *a kwo nê.*
NEG group one there CI.PRES.3.SB standing IT.CI.PRES.3SG.SB
There are many groups of people there.

Example (75) also illustrates the preference Rossel people have for understatements. Literally it means ‘Not one group of people is standing there.’

2.1.7.2 COMMONALITY

Where a predication parallels a previous predication in some way, the morpheme *mye* ‘also’ is merged with the predicate prenucleus. In example (76), the Agent and the event are the same in both clauses, but the Patient differs.

- (76) a. [*A mailbag*]_A [*k:umu*]_M *noo tpyé.*
my mailbag in.the.hand CI.REM.1SG.SB holding

- b. [Saw nt:u]_A [k:umu]_M mye-noo tpyé.
 saw body in.the.hand also-CI.REM.1SG.SB holding
 I was holding my mailbag in (one) hand, and the saw blade in the other.

This morpheme can also be used with the force of English 'still', as in example (77).

- (77) a. [U chinê]_A ghay wo, [nt:ee]_L
 his nephew fall IT.PI.REM.3.SB lagoon
 b. [kpiɪ]_A dî-mî módu...
 clam.type NEG-other saw
 c. mê têmê wo,
 again dive IT.PI.REM.SG.SB
 d. mye-dî-mî módu...
 also-NEG-other saw
 His nephew dived into the lagoon, but didn't see the clam...
 he dived again, but still didn't see it...

Examples (76) and (77) illustrate uses of *mye-* where it is prefixed to the predicate prenucleus without change. In a number of combinations of TMA and Subject Person, however, *mye-* is merged into the prenucleus to produce a new portmanteau morpheme, as illustrated in Table 2.1.7.2.1.

TABLE 2.1.7.2.1: PORTMANTEAU MANIFESTATIONS OF <i>mye</i> 'ALSO'		
TMA and Subject person	basic form	+ <i>mye</i> 'also'
PI.IM.PST.3.SB	dê lê Ø	mya lê Ø
PCT.HAB.3.SB	dpî lê Ø	myoo lê Ø
CI.IM.PST.1SG.SB	nî lêpî Ø	my:aa lêpî Ø
C.HAB.PRX.1SG.SB	n:aa lêpî yédi	myinî lêpî yédi

2.1.7.3 REPETITION

This section deals with the morpheme *mê-*, which can be glossed 'again'. The basic meaning is that the predication marked with *mê* results in a previous state of affairs being reestablished, either in reality or conceptually. Thus in (77c) in the previous section, the nephew dived again into the lagoon looking for the clam. (Note that *mê-* 'again' is used, even though the diving is first narrated as 'he fell into the lagoon' in clause (a) and later as 'he dived again' in clause (c).)

The morpheme *mê-* is also used to indicate a return to a previous state, even though the event is not a repetition of a previous event.

- (78) Mê-dî kéé.
 again-PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB throw.away
 I threw it back again.

The author had caught only one leopard shark in his life, and threw it back only once, but it was returning to its previous location in the sea, so he used *mê-* in the predicate.

The morpheme *mê-* also has an extended meaning akin to 'after all' or 'contrary to intention', as illustrated in example (79).

- (79) [Mépé ngê]_E [w:ââ mbwámê]_A mê-dîpê *châpwo.*
 Mépé SG.E dog neck again-PI.REM.3.SB.NEG.CLS cut
 Mépé didn't kill the dog after all.

2.1.7.4 MOTION

Events involving motion are marked in the predicate prenucleus with <*n:aa*> 'go and...'

- (80) *A-nmî-n:aa* *l:êênkîlê.*
 FUT-CI.FUT.1PL.SB-MOT playing
 We'll go and play (football) (tomorrow).

The morpheme takes a number of forms, depending on the combination of tense and mood, and the person and number of the subject. These forms are displayed in Tables A-5 and A-6 in the appendix.

The simplest strategy used to indicate that motion is involved in the event is simply to suffix *-n:aa* to the predicate prenucleus. This strategy is used with the following categories of events:

- A: punctiliar habitual or indicative immediate past with non third person Subject (compare (81a) and (81b))
 - B: punctiliar deferred imperative with first person Subject (82)
 - C: continuous indicative and habitual in non-proximal tense (83)
 - D: continuous imperatives with non first person Subject (84)
- (81) a. [Nkéli kamî]_A *kî-dnye* *m:uu.*
 boat new CT-PI.IM.PST.1DU.SB see
 We (dual) saw the new boat (today).
- b. [Nkéli kamî]_A *kî-dnye-n:aa* *m:uu.*
 boat new CT-PI.IM.PST.1DU.SB-MOT see
 We (dual) went and saw the new boat (today).
- (82) [Nkéli kamî]_A *paa-n:aa* *m:uu ngmê.*
 boat new deferral-MOT see T.1DU.SB.IMP.3SG.O
 Let's (you and I) go and see the new boat.
- (83) *Nmee-n:aa* *yi.pââ* *paapaa.*
 CI.REM.1PL.SB-MOT tree.body pulling
 We were going and hauling logs.
- (84) [*P:aa*]_A [*u* *kwo*]_G *chi-n:aa* *kêmakêma.*
 town 3SG.DEP.PN to.him C.IMP.2SG.SB-MOT showing
 Go and show him the town.

Another strategy for marking motion is to take the unmarked predicate prenucleus and change its vowel to *:uu*. This strategy is used with:

- E: punctiliar habitual or indicative immediate past with third person Subject (a 'flip-flop' relationship for Subject person with category A above) (compare (85b) with (81b))

- F: punctiliar deferred imperative with non-first person Subject
(a person 'flip-flop' with category B above) (compare (86b) with (87))
- G: punctiliar indicative non-immediate past with non-third person Subject
(a tense flip-flop with A above and a person and tense flip-flop with E above)
(compare (87) with (81b) and with (85b))
- H: continuous indicative immediate past with non-third person Subject
(a person and duration flip-flop with E above) (compare (88) with (85b))

- (85) a. [Nkéli kamî]_A dê *m:uu ngmê.*
boat new PI.IM.PST.3.SB see T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
They saw the new boat (today). (motion not involved)
- b. [Nkéli kamî]_A d:uu *m:uu ngmê.*
boat new PI.IM.PST.3.SB.MOT see T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
They went to see the new boat (today). (motion involved)
- (86) a. [Nkéli kamî]_A dpî *m:uu nyoo.*
boat new deferred see T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O,2DU.SB
Have a look at the new boat (later on).
- b. [Nkéli kamî]_A dp:uu *m:uu*
boat new deferred.PCT.IMP.2SB.MOT see
nyoo.
T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O,2DU.SB
Go and see the new boat (later on).
- (87) [Nkéli kamî]_A ny:uu *módu.*
boat new PI.REM.1DU.SB.MOT saw
We (dual) went and saw the new boat (before yesterday).
- (88) [Maa p:uu]_L kî-ny:uu *pîpî.*
road on CT-CL.IM.PST.1DU.SB.MOT eating
We (dual) were eating it as we went along (today).

The third strategy for signalling motion is used where the unmarked predicate prenucleus person marking is zero. Here <-mî> is used to indicate motion in the following TMA categories:

- I: The basic form, -mî, is used with the third person forms of punctiliar indicative non immediate past and continuous indicative immediate past events. (Compare (89a) and (89b) with (85b).)
- J: The form -nyi is used with punctiliar imperatives intended for immediate execution. (Compare (90) with (86b).)
- (89) a. [Nkéli kamî]_A mî *m:uu ngmê.*
boat new MOT see T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
They went and saw the new boat (yesterday).
- b. [Nkéli kamî]_A w-a-mî *m:uu ngmê.*
boat new D-FUT-MOT see T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
They'll go and see the new boat.

- (90) [Nkéli kamí]A *nyi m:uu nyoo.*
boat new MOT see T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O,2DU.SB
Go and see the new boat (straight away).

The fourth and final strategy for marking motion is used with:

K: continuous indicative immediate future and continuous proximal habitual forms. In this case, for events with non-third person subjects, the forms used with unmarked continuous distal habituals are used to indicate motion. With third person forms, the prenucleus is *wumî*.

- (91) *Nî-mo* *dpî.*
CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB-MOT sleeping
I'm going (away) to sleep.
- (92) *Wumî* *dpî mo.*
CI.IM.FUT.3.SB.MOT sleeping IT.CI.PRX.DU.SB
They (dual) are going (away) to sleep.
- (93) [Ntê]A *nî-mo* *pîpî ngê.*
food C.HAB.1SG-MOT eating T.C.HAB.PRX.3SG.O.MF
I go and eat (my) food (habitually).

2.1.7.5 DEICTIC INCORPORATION

Yele has six deictics occurring in the noun phrase, as presented in Table 2.1.7.5.1.

TABLE 2.1.7.5.1: YELE DEICTICS		
Deictic	Reference	discourse usage
<i>kî</i>	in sight	anaphoric cataphoric anaphoric anaphoric cataphoric
<i>wu</i>	out of sight	
<i>ala</i>	close to the speaker	
<i>ye</i>	close to the hearer	
<i>yi</i>	previously discussed	
<i>mu</i>	other	

Example (94) illustrates their use.

- (94) a. [*Kî tpémi*]A [*Yéli p:uu*]L *kî-nî módu.*
that boy.SPEC Rossel at CT-PI.REM.1SG.SB saw
I saw that boy (currently in sight) at Rossel.
- b. *Wu n:uu?*
that who
Who's that (outside, not in sight)?
- c. *Ala lukwe?*
this what
What is this (close to me)?
- d. *Ye lukwe, angêne té?*
that what where fish
What's with you then, where are all the fish?

- e. *yí dini ghi ngê*
that time piece at
at that (aforementioned) time
- f. *mu dini ghi ngê*
other time piece at
at some other time

The following short text illustrates the discourse usage of four of the six Yele deictics listed in Table 2.1.7.5.1. It is the response to the question 'Why did people stop my son collecting fireflies?' (To Rossel people, fireflies embody spirits of the dead.)

- (95) a. *Njimi, [na a ka]_G yed:oo [ala kópu u díy:o]_{Reason}, —*
Jim me me G then this(close) word its reason
Well then Jim, it seems to me because of this:
- ndoo.apê [pi yoo]_A [ala-nté]_M —*
maybe person PL this-like
- nuw:o mbê wo,* ORIENTER of (c)
thinking PCT.IZ it.PI.REM.SG.SB
maybe people thought like this,
- b. *a-pê,* ORIENTER of (c)
INDEF.G-3.said (implied speech introducer)
- c. *[U ngwo]_X a-ngmê chipwi,* prohibition REASON
him X FUT-INDEF retaliate
It will pay him back with something
- d. *ó [dyââpee]_A [p:uu]_L a-ngmê kaalí,* REASON for prohibition
or fault on FUT-INDEF attach (ALTERNATE to (c))
or some fault (e.g. sickness or injury) will befall him
- e. *ndoo.apê,*
maybe
maybe
- f. *daa apê,* CONTRAST to (e)
not maybe (correction of doubt in (e))
no, not maybe,
- g. *[yoo]_A [ala-nté]_M nuw:o mbê dniye,* ORIENTER of (h)
people this-like thinking PCT.IS it.PI.REM.PL.SB
people did think like this,
- h. *Mu kópu u l:êê.díy:o [nyí]_{TOP} [u mo dyámê pí]_{COM},* REASON
other word its reason you its different island person for
Because you are from a different country, prohibition
- i. *[ím:ee]_{TOP} [u mo dyámê tp:ee]_{COM},* REASON for prohibition
your.child its different island child (ADDITION to (h))
and your son is from a different country,
- j. *yí kópu u l:êê.díy:o [u kwo]_G —*
mentioned word its reason him G

kwódu ngópu.

forbid T.PI.REM.3SG.O.PF

that's the reason they forbade him.

RESULT of (h) and (i)

- (96) a. *Ndoo.apê wu kópu u díy:o.* RESULT of (95c), (d),
 maybe that(out.of.sight) word its reason (h) and (i)
 Maybe that is the reason,
- b. *daa apê,* CONTRAST to (a)
 not maybe (correction of doubt in (a))
 no, not maybe
- c. *d:o wu kópu u díy:o.* RESULT of (95c), (d), (h) and (i)
 I.said that word its reason (AMPLIFICATION of (a))
 I think that is the reason.

As listed in Table 2.1.7.5.1, *ala* and *mu* have cataphoric reference when used in discourse, and *wu* and *yi* have anaphoric reference. Discussion with the speaker of this text, Raymond, confirmed that *ala* used in clause (95a) referred to the following REASONS in clauses (c) and (d), and that its use in clause (g) referred to the following REASONS in clauses (h) and (i). He also said that *mu* in clause (h) referred to the following REASONS in clauses (h) and (i). *Mu* seems to be used here rather than *ala*, because it introduces another following REASON, as *mu* is used as a deictic to refer to an 'other' entity. When asked about *yi* in clause (j), he said it referred to all the previous REASONS. Concerning *wu* in (96a) and (96c), he said it referred to the earlier pair of REASONS in (95c) and (95d). There is a parallel here between the real-world usage of *wu* to refer to an entity which is out of sight. The earlier pair of preceding REASONS is 'out of sight' compared with the later pair of preceding REASONS.

Five of these deictics have parallels in the predicate prenucleus with similar meanings. For example, the basic form of the certainty prefix is *kî-*, and its typical use is to indicate that the speaker was an eyewitness to an event. While *kî-* and its variants are used with non-future indicative events, future indicatives (that is events that have not been 'seen' yet) can be marked with *w-* 'definiteness' in the same position in the predicate prenucleus.

(1) Incorporating the deictic *kî*

The incorporation of the other deictics is described in detail below, but first let us examine *kî-* and *w-*. The basic form *kî-* merges into the predicate prenucleus. In the present tense of continuous events, it takes the form *k-*, and is used only with third person subjects.

- (97) *K-a dpî.*
 CT-CL.PRES.3.SB sleeping
 He is asleep.

In the past tenses, the following morphophonemic changes take place:

- kî + dê --> kêdê*
kî + nmî --> kunu
kî + dpî --> kudu
kî + nmo --> kuno
kî remains unchanged elsewhere.

- (98) *Kudu* *lee dmi.*
 CT.PI.IM.PST.1PL.SB go.FOL IT.PI.PR.X.PL.SB
 We went (today).

Certainty is usually not marked with a second person subject form but when it is, it indicates a dogmatic assertion:

- (99) *Kî-chi* *kn:aadi.*
 CT-PI.IM.PST.2SG.SB miss
 You really blew it that time! (lit. You missed badly.)

Although <*kî*> is frequently used in conversation, it is generally only used at the first opportunity in a monologue, quoted speech excepted, of course. Text (a) in §2.4 is a good example.

(2) Incorporating the deictic *wu*

The future counterpart of certainty ('in sight') is definiteness (*w-*), from *wu* 'out of sight'. The morpheme *w-* is obligatory with negative future punctiliar indicative forms with a third person subject (100).

- (100) [*Ngêm Kaawa*]_A *daa-w-a* *nî knî.*
 Ngêm Kaawa NEG-D-FUT go.PCT IT.PI.PR.X.DU.SB.
 Ngêm and Kaawa won't be going.

The definite morpheme *w-* is nearly always used with future questions (101), but is not used with a negative future statement with a first or second person subject. (Compare (100) and (102).)

- (101) [*Naa têdê*]_L *w-a-nyi* *nî?*
 feast place D-FUT-IND.FUT.2SG.SB go.PCT
 Are you going to the feast?
- (102) *Kêle, daa-nî* *nî.*
 no NEG-IND.FUT.1SG.SB go.PCT
 No, I'm not going.

In other future indicative forms (i.e. positive questions and statements), its use is optional. In fact, the meaning of *w-* is rather difficult to determine in future positive statements. In some texts it correlates fairly closely with duration, punctiliar events using *w-*, continuous events not using it. Compare (103a) with (103b).

- (103) a. [*Carpenter*]_L *w-a-nyi* *kaalî,*
 carpenters D-FUT-PI.FUT.2SG.SB attach.to.PCT
 Will you join the carpenters,
- b. *ó [garage]_L a-nyi-n:aa* *dpodo?*
 or garage FUT-CI.FUT.2SG.SB-MOT working
 or go and work in the garage?

Text (b) (a procedural text about copra making) in §2.4 illustrates the difficulty of determining the function of *w-*. As stated in §2.1.3 (just above example (23)), a second person singular subject form in future tense is used for procedures that people in general follow. The predicate prenucleus in this case is (*w-*)*a-nyi*. An adaptation of the free translation of that text follows, in which *w-a-nyi* is represented as *w-you* and *a-nyi* as *Ø-you*.

The duration of each verb is marked as PCT for punctiliar or C for continuous. (The vernacular text with glosses is given in full in §2.4.)

	Adapted free translation of text (b)	Duration	Usage of w-
1	Now I'm going to talk about making copra.		inapplicable
2 a	When Ø-you begin	PCT	Ø
b	Ø-you gather the coconuts	C	Ø
c	and Ø-you heap them up.	PCT	Ø
3 a	After that w-you husk (them)	C	w
b	w-you pluck the fibres off	C	w
c	w-you break them open	PCT	w
d	w-you gather them to the shed.	PCT	w
4 a	w-You put the coconuts face down,	PCT	w
b	w-you light the fire under them	PCT	w
c	Ø-you first gather the firewood.	PCT	Ø

Sentences 5 to 8 explain what happens to the copra, so the generic human Agent is not involved, and w- is not applicable. The human Agent is involved again in 9a:

9 a	After that w-you ram it.	PCT	w
10 a	w-You take it to the ramming place,	PCT	w
b	w-you sew up the bags,	PCT	w
c	w-you put it (in the shed) well,	PCT	w
c	moisture mustn't get into it.		inapplicable
11 a	w-You take it to the wharf . . .	PCT	w

Clauses 11b to 13a describe how the copra stays on the wharf until a boat comes, and then it is shipped to market. Again w- is inapplicable, as the generic human is not the Agent of these predications.

Sentence 14 begins an evaluative paragraph in which the generic human is again involved:

14 a	If Ø-you dry it well	PCT	Ø
b	a good price comes back		inapplicable
c	into your account.		inapplicable
15 a	If Ø-you dry it badly,	PCT	Ø
b	you'll get a letter back,		inapplicable
c,d	saying that your copra was bad,		inapplicable
e	they'll give a low price for it.		inapplicable
16 a	If Ø-you dry it well,	PCT	Ø
b	a good price comes back		inapplicable
c	wherever you have your account.		inapplicable
17 a	If w-you dry it badly	PCT	w
b	you are to blame.		inapplicable
18 a	w-You'd better look after it properly.	C	w
19	Conclusion		inapplicable

At first sight the use of *w-a-nyi* or *a-nyi* in this text seems quite random, one form being used for several clauses, and then the other form for several clauses. But then a subtle difference emerges. Sentence 2 refers to any time in general when one would be making copra, and begins the sequence of operations involved, all without the w-. The switch to

using *w-* comes with sentence 3, which begins with *U kuwó dini ghi ngê* ‘after that’. The situation is a little more definite now – the processing has begun and should not be interrupted until it is completed. And so the clauses through to 5b all use *w-a-nyi*, but 5c uses *a-nyi*, apparently because it refers to some generic prior time at which the firewood should have been gathered. The definite situation marked with *w-* is resumed in 9a with further steps in the copra-making process, until the end of the process is reached in 11a, and the copra is in the shed on the wharf waiting for shipping to market.

Sentence 14 begins an evaluative paragraph which presents the consequences of processing copra well or badly, and this more general situation is indicated by the absence of *w-*. So far so good. But why is *w-* used in sentence 17? Sentence 17 is essentially the same condition and consequence as are found in 15, which does not have *w-*. It seems that here the *w-* is used as a prominence marker, to highlight the responsibility a man has to process his copra properly. And the *w-* is continued in sentence 18 to enforce the conclusion.

(3) Incorporating the deictic *ala*

The deictic *ala* ‘this’ (close to the speaker) has a parallel in a ‘close’, which occurs in the predicate prenucleus to mark motion towards the speaker or proximity to the speaker. Although the basic form is *a*, the morpheme takes a number of different forms, as presented in the matrices A-7 and A-8 in the appendix. In some cases, a ‘close’ is added unchanged to the ‘unmarked’ predicate prenucleus (104). (The added *a* is written as a separate word in the practical orthography to avoid confusion with a long vowel within a morpheme. Where a ‘close’ is added, there is a pitch glide from the unmarked prenucleus down to the *a*, but this does not occur with normal long vowels.)

- (104) a. [Mââ]_T *w-a* *kee* *dmi*.
 tomorrow D-FUT move.up IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
 They’ll go up tomorrow.
- b. [Mââ]_T *w-a* *a* *kee* *dmi*.
 tomorrow D-FUT CLS move.up IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
 They’ll come up tomorrow.
- (105) *Doo* *a* *koko*.
 CI.REM.3.SB CLS moving.up
 He was coming up. (remote past)

Where the unmarked predicate prenucleus is a short monosyllable, its vowel is lowered or replaced by *a* when a ‘close’ follows.

- (106) a. *Kî-dnye* *koko*.
 CT-CI.REM.3PL.SB moving.up
 They were going up. (remote past)
- b. *Kî-dnya* *a* *koko*.
 CT-CI.REM.3PL.SB.CLS CLS moving.up
 They were coming up. (remote past)

On the paths at Rossel, the two sentences in (107) can be heard, where the vowel *i* is lowered to *a*, as a mother encourages her young child not to dawdle along. Example (107a) is used if the child is ahead of his mother on the path, while (107b) is used if he is following her.

- (107) a. *Chi* *mbêpê*.
C.IMP.2SG.SB running
Keep running along (ahead of me).
- b. *Cha* *a* *mbêpê*.
C.IMP.2SG.SB.CLS CLS running
Keep running along (to keep up with me).

When this vowel lowering takes place, *î* is lowered to *o*. (Compare (108a) and (108c)).¹

- (108) a. [*Dîyo*]_T *dpî* *kwidi*.
later deferred wash(IT.2SG.IMP)
Have your wash later on.
- b. [*Mbwaa paa*]_L *dp:uu* *kwidi*.
water at deferred.MOT wash(IT.2SG.IMP)
Go and have your wash in the creek.
- c. [*Mbwaa paa*]_L *dpo* *kwidi*.
water at deferred.CLS wash(IT.2SG.IMP)
Have your wash at the creek on your way back (here).

Note that in (108c) the *a* has been absorbed into the prenucleus *dpo*. The environments in which this absorption takes place can be discerned by comparing Table A-3 in the appendix with Table A-7, and A-4 with A-8.

Where the certainty marker *kî* occurs with a zero unmarked predicate prenucleus, adding *a* 'close' also changes the certainty marker to *ka*.

- (109) a. *Kî loo*.
CT went.REM
He went. (remote past) (Can be a euphemism for death.)
- b. *Ka a loo*.
CT.CLS CLS went.REM
He came. (remote past)

An interesting case arises with punctiliar immediate past forms with first person singular or third person singular Subject, where the only difference between them is the nasalisation of the first person form.

- (110) a. *Da* *pêêdî*.
PI.IM.PST.3SG.SB.CLS pull.PCT
He pulled it in (today).
- b. *D:a* *pêêdî*.
PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB.CLS pull.PCT
I pulled it in (today).

The following derivation of these two forms suggests itself:

¹ Or perhaps it is lowered to *â*. In the absence of vowel length, *o* and *â* are very hard to distinguish.

- a: $\emptyset + \text{stop} + a -$ the 'basic' 3.SB + stop + a 'close'
 --> *dê* + a - the unmarked PI.IM.PST.3.SB + a 'close'
 --> *da*
- b: $nî + \text{stop} + a -$ the 'basic' 1SG + stop + a (The *î* vowel here is nasalised, but the *:* is not written because a rule in the practical orthography suppresses it in short vowels following nasal continuants. See §1.1.)
 --> $*d:\hat{i} + a -$ Nasalisation is not realised in the surface form because *î* is nasalised only following a nasal continuant.
 --> *d:a* - the unmarked PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB fused with a 'close'

A second strategy is followed in Yele for marking motion towards the reference point, and that is to add <-*nê*> 'close' to the 'basic' form rather than adding *a*. (<-*nê*> is manifested by -*dê* following *dpî*, by -*nê* elsewhere.) This strategy is used with the following categories of tense, mood, aspect and Subject identity:

A: continuous immediate future and continuous proximal habitual forms with non-third person subject (111). (With third person forms the prenucleus is *wunê* (112).) (This is analogous to K in §2.1.7.4 above.)

B: continuous immediate past indicative and punctiliar indicative forms in which the last syllable of the unmarked prenucleus contains a palatalised nasal, either a nasal continuant (113) or nasal release (114).

- (111) a. [*Daa kêmakêma*]_T *nî-nê* *diyédiyé.*
 NEG delayed basic.1SG.SB-CLS returning
 I'm coming back soon.
- b. [*Awêde*]_T *dpî-dê* *diyédiyé mo?*
 today basic.2DU.SB-CLS returning IT.CI.PRX.DU.SB
 Are you (dual) coming back today?
- (112) [*Awêde*]_T *wunê* *diyédiyé té.*
 today CI.IM.FUT.3.SB.CLS returning IT.CI.PRX.PL.SB
 They are coming back today.
- (113) a. [*Mââ*]_T *w-a-nyi-nê* *diyé knî.*
 tomorrow D-FUT-PI.FUT.1DU.SB-CLS return IT.PI.PRX.DU.SB
 We (dual) will come back tomorrow.
- b. [*Antê*]_T *nmyi-nê* *ńuw:o tumo?*
 when PI.REM.2PL.SB-CLS take.PCT T.PI.REM.PL.O.PF
 When did you (plural) bring them?
- (114) a. [*Mw:aandiyê*]_T *kî-dnyi-nê* *diyé knî.*
 morning CT-PI.IM.PST.1DU.SB-CLS return IT.PI.PRX.DU.SB
 We (dual) came back this morning.
- b. [*Awêde*]_T *dmyi-nê* *ńuw:o t:oo?*
 today PI.IM.PST.2PL.SB.CLS-CLS take.PCT T.IND.PRX.PL.O.PF
 Did you (plural) bring them today?

Where the unmarked prenucleus is zero (see Tables 2.1.5.2 and 2.1.5.3) and the event is marked for repetition (*mê-*) and for proximity to the speaker (*a/nê*), the form the prenucleus takes is *mêda*. The *d* seems to be interposed to prevent the *mê-* and the *a* coalescing to **ma*.

- (115) a. *Mê-d-a* *diyé wo.*
again-separator-CLS return IT.PI.REM.SG.SB
He returned (here).
b. *W-a-mê-d-a* *diyé dmi.*
D-FUT-again-separator-CLS return IT.PI.PR.X.PL.SB
They will come back (tomorrow or later).

A number of verbs are obligatorily marked 'close', even when motion does not seem to be involved.

- (116) [*Km:ii u danêmbum*]_A *nî-nê* *nj:ii.*
coconut its story basic.1SG.SB-CLS tell
I'm about to tell the story of copra making.
(117) [*Lam*]_A *nî-nê* *vyuwóvyuwó.*
lamp basic.1SG.SB-CLS lighting
I'm about to light the lamp now.

Contrast (117) with blowing out the lamp:

- (118) [*Lam*]_A *n:aa* *ntap.*
lamp CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB extinguishing
I'm about to blow out the lamp now.

(4) Incorporating the deictic *mu*

Another deictic which is incorporated in the predicate prenucleus is *mu* 'other'. The verbal equivalent is *mu-* or *mî-*, and it means 'in the other place'.

- (119) a. *Mu-mê-d-a* *diyé, [a p:o]_L.*
other-again-PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB-CLS return my home
I came back home again. (See §2.4, text (a), sentence 5.)
b. *Mî-mê-noo-n:aa* *a tp:ênê.*
other-again-CI.REM.1SG.SB-MOT CLS digging
I went back to the other place and was digging.

(5) Incorporating the deictic *yi*

The remaining deictic which is incorporated into the predicate prenucleus is *yi* 'previously discussed'. When incorporated into the predicate, it accentuates reference to a previously introduced discourse participant, sometimes approximating the force of the English cleft sentence 'He's the one that...'

- (120) a. [*Gregory*]_{TOP} [*ala nê*]_{COM...}
Gregory here PRES
b. [*wharf mbêmê*]_L *a-yi* *kwo.*
wharf on PRES-mentioned standing
Gregory is here...he's right here on the wharf.

For some combinations of TMA with Subject Person, *yi*-merges with the verbal prenucleus, producing a new portmanteau morpheme. Some of these are illustrated in Table 2.1.7.5.2.

TABLE 2.1.7.5.2: PORTMANTEAU MANIFESTATIONS OF <i>yi</i> 'MENTIONED'		
TMA and SP	basic form	+ <i>yi</i> 'mentioned'
PI.near.PST.1SG.SB	<i>nî lê Ø</i>	<i>y:aa lê Ø</i>
PI.near.PST.2PL.SB	<i>nmyi lee dmi</i>	<i>vy:ee lee dmi</i>
PI.IM.PST.1PL.SB	<i>dpî lee dmi</i>	<i>yudu lee dmi</i>
PI.REM.3PL.SB	<i>Ø lee dniye</i>	<i>y:oo lee dniye</i>

2.1.7.6 NEGATION

The basic form used in negation is *daa* 'not'.

- (121) [*Daa a nuu u kópu*]_A *yi d:uu ngê*.
 not my throat its matter mentioned do T.PI.REM.3SG.O.MF
 It was something I really dislike that he did.
- (122) *Daa n:ee*.
 not go.REM
 He didn't go (before yesterday).

For many combinations of TMA with subject person, *daa* merges with the verbal prenucleus, producing a new portmanteau morpheme. Some of these are illustrated in Table 2.1.7.6.1.

TABLE 2.1.7.6.1: PORTMANTEAU MANIFESTATIONS OF <i>daa</i> 'NOT'		
TMA and SP	positive form	negative form
PI.REM.1SG.SB	<i>nî ndîî Ø</i>	<i>dpî ndîî Ø</i>
PI.REM.2SG.SB	<i>nyi ndîî Ø</i>	<i>dipi ndîî Ø</i>
PCT.HAB.3SG.SB	<i>dpî ma Ø</i>	<i>d:uudpî ma Ø</i>
PCT.HAB.1SG.SB	<i>dpî ma Ø</i>	<i>d:uuw:ee ma Ø</i>
CI.REM.1SG.SB	<i>noo pîpî Ø</i>	<i>dênoo pîpî Ø</i>
CI.REM.3SG.SB	<i>doo pîpî Ø</i>	<i>dêpwo pîpî Ø</i>

A tense change takes place when immediate past punctiliar events are negated. Instead of the usual punctiliar root, the corresponding remote past root is used, and the postnucleus uses forms normally used with the remote past tense. (See Tables 2.1.6.1 and 2.1.6.2).

Zero postnucleus:

- (123) a. *Dî* *ma*.
 PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB eat
 I ate it (today). (immediate past positive)
- b. *D:oo* *ndîî*.
 PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB.NEG eat.REM
 I didn't eat it (today). (immediate past negative)

- c. *Nî* *ndî.*
PI.REM.1SG.SB eat.REM
I ate it (before yesterday). (remote past positive)
- d. *Dîpî* *ndî.*
PI.REM.1SG.SB.NEG eat.REM
I didn't eat it (before yesterday). (remote past negative)

Non-zero postnucleus:

- (124) a. *Dî* *ma* *té.*
PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB eat.FOL T.IND.PRX.3PL.O.MF
I ate them (today). (immediate past positive)
- b. *D:oo* *ma* *too.*
PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB.NEG eat.FOL T.PI.REM.3PL.O.MF
I didn't eat them (today). (immediate past negative)
- c. *Nî* *ma* *too.*
PI.REM.1SG.SB eat.FOL T.PI.REM.3PL.O.MF
I ate them (before yesterday). (remote past positive)
- d. *Dîpî* *ma* *too.*
PI.REM.1SG.SB.NEG eat.FOL T.PI.REM.3PL.O.MF
I didn't eat them (before yesterday). (remote past negative)

When imperatives are negated, the postnuclei take the form of those used with indicative mood proximal tense verbs in the positive. (See Tables 2.1.6.1. and 2.1.6.2).

- (125) a. *Vya* *ngî.*
hit.FOL T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O.2SG.SB
Hit it/him.
- b. *Nangê* *vy:a.*
PCT.IMP.NEG.2SG.SB hit
Don't hit it/him.
- c. *Vya* *tóó.*
hit.FOL T.PCT.IMP.3PL.O.2PL.SB
Hit them. (second person plural subject)
- d. *Kîdmyengê* *vya* *t:oo.*
PCT.IMP.NEG.2PL.SB hit.FOL T.IND.PRX.3PL.O.PF
Don't hit them. (second person plural subject)

Punctiliar verbs which have a strong imperative root (see examples (61) and (62) and Table 2.1.4.4) do not use the strong root for negative imperatives.

- (126) a. [*K:iî*]_L *kédi.*
there stand.up (2SG.IMP)
Stand it there. (strong positive imperative)
- b. [*K:iî*]_L *nangê* *kââ.*
there PCT.IMP.NEG.2SG.SB stand.up
Don't stand it there. (strong negative imperative)

It would seem that once an imperative is negated and its prenucleus specified, the rest of the verb is treated as a 'basic' or 'simple' indicative proximal verb. Thus negative imperative status is expressed only once in the verb phrase.

2.1.7.7 CONTRAFACTUAL STATUS

Contrafactual condition and consequence clause pairs have their contrafactual status marked in their verbal prenuclei. The protasis is marked with *wo-* or a related form, while the apodosis is marked with *pî-* or a form derived from it. The verb root and postnucleus are selected as for indicative mood.

- (127) a. [Pî]_A *wo-da-ngmê* *loo*,
 person CF-CLS-INDEF come/go.REM
 If someone had come, (protasis)
- b. *pê-dê* *kââdî nyópu*,
 CF-CLS join T.PI.REM.1DU.O
 he could have reconciled us (dual), (apodosis)
- c. [M:aa ka]_G [mbii *têdê*]_L *p:aa* *n:ee*.
 Dad to sickness place CF.PCT.REM.1SG.SB go.REM
 I could have gone to Dad on his sick bed. (apodosis)

As with other morphemes, the contrafactual markers often merge with other components of the verbal prenucleus to form new portmanteau morphemes. Some examples follow in Table 2.1.7.7.1.

TABLE 2.1.7.7.1: PORTMANTEAU MANIFESTATIONS OF CONTRAFACTUAL MORPHEMES			
TMA and SP	indicative	protasis	apodosis
PCT.near.PST.3PL.SB	<i>Ø lee dmi</i>	<i>wo lee dmi</i>	<i>pî lee dmi</i>
PCT.near.PST.1SG.SB	<i>nî lê Ø</i>	<i>w:aa lê Ø</i>	<i>p:aa lê Ø</i>
PCT.IM.PST.1PL.SB	<i>dpî lee dmi</i>	<i>wudu lee dmi</i>	<i>pudu lee dmi</i>
C.near.PST.1PL.SB	<i>nmî lêpî té</i>	<i>wunu lêpî té</i>	<i>punu lêpî té</i>
C.IM.PST.2PL.SB	<i>nmyi lêpî té</i>	<i>w:ee lêpî té</i>	<i>p:ee lêpî té</i>

2.1.8 ORDER OF ITEMS WITHIN THE CLAUSE

This section deals with the order of items in clauses manifesting verbal predications. §2.1.9 deals with non-verbal predications.

(1) Presence of explicit subjects and objects

Since the prenuclear and postnuclear components of the Yele verb mark the subject and object of the predication so fully, these referents are frequently not specified by nouns or noun phrases. Typically, they are made explicit where they enter a discourse, or where the referents change, and elsewhere are carried just by the markers in the verb. For example, text (a) in §2.4 introduces the author in the verbal prenucleus of clause 1, and thereafter his identity is carried by the verbal markers. He introduces his brother Nkal by name in clause 6a, and the quote formulae in their conversation keep track of the speakers. Nkal refers to fish with a noun in 6c. Third person objects are introduced with nouns in clause 10b 'I didn't see anyone' and 11b 'I chewed some betel nut'. The author refers to his father with a kin

term in 12c, and quotes his father's use of his own name in 13b. His father also mentions fish with a noun, in 15b.

Where there is more than one third person referent on stage at a time in a discourse, the subjects and objects are made explicit more often, to ensure that the hearer can keep track of the referents of the clauses. (As is often the case, folk stories show less explicit reference to the participants, because everyone knows who does what in the story, and it is not necessary to be as explicit. Everyone knows, that is, except the linguist from another culture!). Text (d) in §2.4 provides an example of a text with more than one third person referent on stage at a time. It is by the same author as the fishing story referred to above. The topic of the text is a savage dog, which is introduced and named in clause 1a, then referred to with third person singular verb parts in clause 1b. The author disclaims responsibility in sentence 2, introducing himself with a pronoun, and using the word 'dog' in sentence 3. He names the culprit, his brother Nkal, with a noun, and uses the word 'dog' again in sentence 4. Nkal's name is repeated in sentence 5, but this time the other third person referent is understood to be the dog, without specific reference. The dog is mentioned again specifically in the next sentence, number 6. It remains the topic of the rest of that paragraph, sentences 7 to 9, being referred to only pronominally. Sentence 10 begins a narrative episode, in which Méré and his son Yidika are introduced by name. In this episode each sentence uses a noun to refer to one of these actors, as the initiative moves from one third person referent to another in quick succession. The result of the incident comes in sentence 17, but the dog is not mentioned specifically – it is just the third person singular referent of the verb. The text ends with a specific reference to a safe road for people to follow.

(2) Order of items in the clause

Apart from the subject and object of the clause, other items can be included at will when their semantic content is to be made explicit, up to a limit of five items in any one clause, including the predicate. The histogram in Table 2.1.8.1 shows the proportion of transitive and intransitive clauses having each number of items. The histogram is based on a sample of 667 clauses all from texts or conversation.

TABLE 2.1.8.1: NUMBER OF ITEMS PER CLAUSE, BY CLAUSE TYPE												
%		Transitive					Intransitive					
90 - 99												
80 - 89												
70 - 79												
60 - 69												
50 - 59												
40 - 49		.					. .					
30 - 39		x					x x					
20 - 29		x x .					x x					
10 - 19		x x x					x x .					
0 - 9		x x x x .					x x x .					
items/clause		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
clauses/type		347					320					

The histogram shows the predominance of clauses with only one or two items, including the predicate.

The predominant order of items in verbal clauses is as follows:

±absolute Time ±Subject ±(Source/Goal/Instrument/Accompaniment) ±Object
 ±(Location/Manner) ±(Source/Goal/Factitive/Experiencer/Accompaniment)
 ±relative Time ±Numeral component of Object +Predicate

Examples (128) and (129) illustrate this order in longer clauses.

- (128) [U moo ngê]_E [dy:ââmandî]_A [mwiye]_T dpî y:oo.
 her husband E shell.coin big first PCT.HAB.3.SB give
 Her husband pays the definitive-bridewealth-coin first.

- (129) [Sister ngê]_E [tepe]_A [pyolo]_M [u kwo]_G dê y:oo.
 Sister E injection three.times his to PI.IM.PST.3.SB give
 Sister gave him three injections.

When a third person object is specified by a numeral, the numeral is located just before the predicate:

- (130) [Cup]_A [u kwo]_G [pyile]_A dî y:oo.
 cup him to three PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB give
 I gave him three cups.

Note that the numeral forces singular agreement. See also example (151) in §2.2.1.

Any of the items in the clause may be permuted to the position after the Predicate as an afterthought. This is more common in speech than in written material.

- (131) [Wo ngmê ngê]_T [Njim]_A —
 day one Time Jim
 kî-nî núwo, [yâpwo têtê]._L
 CT-PI.REM.1SG.SB took.REM burn place
 One day I took Jim to the garden.
- (132) [Pwepe mbêmê]_L a-nm:uu yé dê, —
 support on FUT-basic.1PL.SB.MOT put T.IND.PRX.3DU.O.MF
 [nee pââ dê]._A
 canoe hull dual
 We'll put the two canoe hulls on the supports.

Occasionally two such items are included as afterthoughts.

- (133) [Nee pââ dê yi chedê]_L [póódó miyó]_A —
 canoe hull dual their beside rope two
 a-mî-nê chápwo ngmê, —
 FUT-basic.3.SB.MOT-CLS cut T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
 [mw:aandiye]._T [nee pââ chókó dê y:oo]._E
 morning canoe hull owner dual E
 The owners of the canoe hulls will go up there in the morning and cut two ropes.

2.1.9 NON-VERBAL PREDICATION

Non-verbal predication involves a Topic and a nominal or adjectival Comment about that Topic, linked together in an Equative clause. A Locative and a negative can also be present.

- (134) [Tp̄ile ngmê u p̄i]TOP [d:êê.]COM
 thing one its name writing
 One thing is called 'writing'.
- (135) [A dan:êmbum]TOP [wu]L [u d̄i.]COM
 my story there its end
 That is the end of my story.
- (136) [K:ii]TOP [daa]NEG [ghêdê.]COM
 banana not scarce
 There are plenty of bananas.

Non-verbal predication in past or future can not be distinguished from that in the present, since there is no verb to carry tense marking. Example (137) is the first sentence of a folk story, and so its reference can be seen to be in the remote past, but this is not marked formally in any way. Note the similarity to example (134) above.

- (137) [Pi ngmê u p̄i]TOP [Chima.]COM
 person one his name Chima
 There was once a man called Chima.

The Comment can be manifested by a question word.

- (138) [Kî]TOP [lukwe?]COM
 this what
 What is this?
- (139) [Káámbwa u nee p̄ââ]TOP [angêntoo?]COM
 Káámbwa his canoe hull how.big
 How big is Káámbwa's canoe hull?

The Topic can be omitted in context.

- (140) Kudu m:a. [Têdê.]COM
 CT.PI.IM.PST.1PL.SB eat small
 We ate it. It was small.

The Comment agrees with the Topic in number, being marked with *dê* or *dé* for dual and plural respectively.

- (141) [Tp:oo d̄ê]TOP [ndii d̄ê.]COM
 his.son dual big dual
 His two sons are big.
- (142) [Km:ii bag]TOP [dono d̄é.]COM
 copra bag bad PL
 The bags of copra were bad.

The negative <daa> has different surface forms, depending on its environment, as displayed in Table 2.1.9.1.

TABLE 2.1.9.1: FORMS OF THE NEGATIVE USED IN EQUATIVE CLAUSES

person	environment	n u m b e r		
		singular	dual	plural
1	before <i>u</i>	<i>d:oo</i>	<i>d:ee</i>	<i>dp:oo</i>
	elsewhere	<i>d:aa</i>	<i>d:ee</i>	<i>dp:oo</i>
2	all	<i>d:ii</i>	<i>dpoo</i>	<i>dp:ee</i>
3	before <i>u</i>	<i>doo</i>	<i>doo</i>	<i>doo</i>
	elsewhere	<i>daa</i>	<i>daa</i>	<i>daa</i>

- (143) [*K:iî*]_{TOP} [*daa*]_{NEG} [*ghêdê*]_{COM}
 banana not scarce
 There are plenty of bananas.
- (144) [*Yéli p:uu*]_L [*doo*]_{NEG} [*u p:aa*]_{COM}
 Rossel on not its place
 There aren't any at Rossel.
- (145) [*Ndoo apê*]_M [*d:aa*]_{TOP-NEG} [*k:âm:o*]_{COM}
 maybe maybe not.1SG good.fisherman
 Maybe I'm not a good fisherman.

2.2 TERMS PREDICATED

Discussion now turns to the terms within the clause that are related to the predicate. This section deals with the system of cases marked in the clause, and with the structure of phrases.

2.2.1 CASE RELATIONSHIPS

(1) Ergative and Absolutive

The Ergative–Absolutive system operating within the clause has been introduced in §2.1 (see examples 1 to 5). The modified Nominative–Accusative system operating within the verb has been described in §2.1.5 and §2.1.6. This agreement is illustrated again briefly in examples (146) and (150).

With transitive verb roots the verbal prenucleus agrees in person and number with the Ergative item, the subject of the clause. (See the tables in §2.1.5.) The postnucleus agrees primarily with the Absolutive item, the object of the clause, but it also monitors the subject to some degree. (See the tables in §2.1.6.) Examples (146a) to (146e) illustrate this agreement.

- (146) a. [*Kaawa k:iî*]_E [*nkéli*]_A *ɖnye-n:aa* *m:uu*.
 Kaawa with boat PI.IM.PST.1DU.SB-MOT see
 Kaawa and I went and saw the boat. (1 dual Subject, singular Object)
- b. [*Kaawa ngê*]_E *dê* *m:uu*.
 Kaawa SG.E PI.IM.PST.3.SB see
 Kaawa saw it. (singular Subject, singular Object)

- c. [Kaawa mupwo-knî y:oo]_E dê m:uu ngmê.
 Kaawa ASS.son-PL PL.E PI.IM.PST.3.SB see T.PI.PR.X.3SG.O.PF
 Kaawa and family saw it. (plural Subject, singular Object)
- d. [Kaawa ngê]_E dê m:uu té.
 Kaawa SG.E PI.IM.PST.3.SB see T.PI.PR.X.3PL.O.MF
 Kaawa saw them. (singular Subject, plural Object)
- e. [Kaawa mupwo-knî y:oo]_E dê m:uu t:oo.
 Kaawa ASS.son-PL PL.E PI.IM.PST.3.SB see T.PI.PR.X.3PL.O.PF
 Kaawa and family saw them. (plural Subject, plural Object)

Note in examples (146b) and (146d) that the singular Subject of a transitive verb is marked with *ngê*. The non-singular form of the Ergative marker is *y:oo*, as in examples (146c) and (146e). In example (146a) the Ergative marking is overridden by the accompaniment morpheme, *k:ii*.

It is not required that the entity carrying the Ergative marker <*ngê*> be animate:

- (147) [Nkéli ngê]_E da têêdî.
 boat SG.E PI.IM.PST.3.SB.CLS carry.by.boat
 The boat brought it.
- (148) [Ló mbii ngê]_E dê núw:o?
 what sickness SG.E PI.IM.PST.3.SB take
 What sickness did he die of? (lit. What sickness took him?)
- (149) [Têpê ngê]_E yinê dpî mbwili.
 soil SG.E focus PCT.HAB.3.SB make.pregnant
 It's the soil that makes (the banana tree) bear fruit.

With intransitive verb roots the verbal prenucleus agrees in person and number with the subject of the clause. The postnucleus also agrees with the subject, but only in number. Examples (150a) and (150b) illustrate this agreement briefly. (See §2.1.5 and §2.1.6 for the details in full.)

- (150) a. [Njáâdî]_L nî dpî w.o.
 Jarú PI.REM.1SG.SB fall.asleep IT.PI.REM.SG.SB
 I spent the night at Jarú. (first person singular Subject)
- b. [Ló y:i]_L nmyi dpî dniye?
 what place PI.REM.2PL.SB sleep IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
 Where did you (plural) spend the night? (second person plural Subject)

When a non-singular third person Absolutive item is specified by a numeral or other quantitative word, it takes singular agreement in the verb.

- (151) a. [Ng:êênî páádî]_A w-a kaa ngmê.
 lever four D-FUT stand T.IND.PR.X.3SG.O.PF
 They will stand four levers there. (transitive)
- b. [Pi yintómu]_A w-a lê, [y:i]_L
 person all D-FUT go there
 Everyone will go.

(2) Source/Goal

The Source or Goal of a predication is marked with <ka>.

- (152) [M:aa ka]_G *yéni*.
Dad G give.2SG.IMP
Give it to Dad.
- (153) [Peter ka]_S *nî* *pwila* *ngê*.
Peter Source PI.REM.1SG.SB pay.for T.PI.REM.3SG.O.MF
I bought it from Peter.
- (154) [Mboo ka]_G [*u nkwo*]_T *n:aa* *danêmbum*.
Mboo G its turn CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB talking
It's my turn now to address Mboo.

Source/Goal has a locative use, when someone uses a person's name as the destination to which he is going or the place he has come from.

- (155) a. [Kpâputa ka]_S *d:a* *ndê*,
Kpâputa Source PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB.CLS come.from
- b. [Mgâmîwe ka]_G *n:aa* *lêpî*.
Mgâmîwe G CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB going
I've just come from Kpâputa, and I'm going to see Mgâmîwe.

There is a set of intransitive verbs which take as Goal objects that are affected by the action of the verb. These objects at first seem to be the objects of transitive verbs, but the use of *ka* to mark them and the verb morphology show that Yele regards them as the Goals of intransitive verbs instead.

- (156) [Tp:oo ka]_G *n:aa* *vyuwo yédi*.
his.son G C.HAB.PR.X.1SG.SB looking IT.C.HAB.PR.X.SG.SB
I look after his son.
- (157) [Lukwe ka]_G *nmye* *vyuwo té?*
what G CI.IM.FUT.2PL.SB looking IT.CI.PR.X.PL.SB
What are you (plural) looking for?

These verbs were mentioned at the start of §2.1.4 under noun incorporation, because when one of these verbs incorporates its Goal, the Goal marker *ka* is also incorporated. See examples (43) to (45).

A non-singular third person Source or Goal is marked with *ye*.

- (158) [Mboo u pye mî ye]_G *chi* *vyuwo*.
Mboo his mother father G C.IMP.2SG.SB looking
Be looking after Mboo's mother and father.

When the Source or Goal is expressed pronominally, the following forms are used:

TABLE 2.2.1.1: PRONOMINAL FORMS OF SOURCE/GOAL			
	Singular	Dual	Plural
First person	<i>a ka</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>nmo</i>
Second person	<i>nga</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>nmye</i>
Third person	<i>u kwo</i>	<----- <i>ye</i> ----->	

- (159) [Sister *ngê*]_E [*tepe*]_A [*pyolo*]_M [*u kwo*]_G *dê* *y:oo.*
 Sister SG.E injection three.times him to PI.IM.PST.3.SB give
 Sister gave him an injection three times.
- (160) [*Ye*]_S *namê* *ng:aa.*
 to.them C.IMP.2SG.SB.NEG listening
 Don't listen to them.
- (161) [*Mb:aamb:aa ngê*]_M [*ye*]_G *chi* *vyuwo.*
 good M to.them C.IMP.2SG.SB looking
 Be looking after them well.
- (162) [*Pweepwee pee*]_A [*nga*]_G *modo kee.*
 paper piece to.you again.CLS come.up
 You will receive a note.

(3) Cases marked with *ngê*

The Ergative marker *ngê* is also used to mark six other cases: Instrument, Experiencer, Factitive, Time, Manner and Realm. Alternatively, it may be better to regard these as all being the same case, because they are all marked with *ngê*. In this paper, however, the five cases are distinguished, to make the semantic roles clearer in the discussion.

(a) Instrument

The Instrument with which an event is performed is marked with *ngê*.

- (163) [*Kê kn:ââ ngê*]_I *vyâ*, [*u chinê*]_A
 pole butt Instrument kill.REM his nephew
 He killed his nephew with the butt of the pole.
- (164) [*Pêla ngê*]_I *n:aa nté ch:eech:ee.*
 tongs Instrument CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB food cooking
 I'm cooking with the tongs.
- (165) [*Vyeeka ngê*]_E [*rubber ngê*]_I *dê* *vy:a.*
 Vyeeka SG.E spear.gun Instrument PI.IM.PST.3.SB kill
 Vyeeka killed it with his spear gun.

Where the Instrument is expressed by a third person singular pronominal form, the variant *ngwo* is used instead of *ngê*, showing vowel approximation with the preceding dependent pronoun *u*.

- (166) ... [*ngmâm*]_A [*u ngwo*]_I *a-nyi* *pwila.*
 your.wife it by FUT-PI.FUT.2SG.SB buy
 ...and you'll buy your wife with it. (clause 6e of text (c) in §2.4.)

Instruments can be expressed with intransitive verbs.

- (167) [*Yumu ngê*]_I [*kn:aa*]_M *nmî* *pw:oo dniye.*
 laughter by nearly PI.REM.1PL.SB die IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
 We nearly died from laughter.

- (168) [*Nkéli ngê*]_I [*até*]_T *nmo* *lee*
 boat by straightaway PI.REM.1PL.SB.CLS come/go
dniye.
 IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
 Then we came by boat.

(b) Experiencer

The Experiencer of an event is also marked with *ngê*.

- (169) [*Njimi ngê*]_X [*mbwaa*]_A *a* *t:a.*
 Jim X water CI.PRES hanging
 Jim is thirsty.

The Experiencer can be manifested pronominally, using the forms in Table 2.2.1.2.

TABLE 2.2.1.2: PRONOMINAL FORMS OF EXPERIENCER			
person	number		
	singular	dual	plural
1	<i>a nga</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>nmo</i>
2	<i>nga</i>	<i>dp:o</i>	<i>nmye</i>
3	<i>u ngwo</i>	<----- <i>y:e</i> ----->	

- (170) [*Kmaapî u yi*]_A [*y:e*]_X *daa* *kwo.*
 eating its desire 3PL.X CI.PRES.3.SB.NEG standing
 They don't want to eat (because of grief).
- (171) [*Ngm:êêmgên*]_A [*a nga*]_X *dê* *kaalî.*
 diarrhoea me to PI.IM.PST.3.SB attach
 I have got diarrhoea.

(c) Factitive case

The state something has attained or will attain is marked with *ngê*. No occurrence of *y:oo* marking plural states has been observed.

- (172) [*K:i*]_A [*mbwili ngê*]_F *dpî* *pyódu.*
 banana pregnant F PCT.HAB.3.SB become
 The banana tree gets pregnant (and bears fruit).
- (173) [*Mgaalim ngê*]_E [*u yâpwo.têdê*]_A [*ndî ngê*]_F —
 Mgaalim SG.E his burn.place big F
pyódu too.
 become T.PI.REM.3PL.O.MF
 Mgaalim made his gardens big.
- (174) [*Wo*]_A [*daadî ngê*]_F *pî ya.*
 day long F CF sitting
 The day would have been long.
- (175) [*U chinê mbodo*]_A [*km:i ngê*]_F *pyodo.*
 his nephew head coconut F became.REM
 His nephew's head became a coconut.

(d) Time

When a noun phrase expresses the time of an event, it is marked with *ngê*.

- (176) *yi dini ghi ngê*
that time piece Time
at that time
- (177) [*Wo ngmê ngê*]_T *dpî* *d:uu ngi*.
day one Time deferral(2,3.SB) try T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O.2SG.SB
Try it one day.
- (178) [*Wédi*]_A [*m:ii naa ngê*]_T *dpî* *ch:ee*
sago second.day feast Time PCT.HAB.3.SB cook
ngmê.
T.PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF
Two days before the feast they cook the sago.

As with the Instrument, the third person dependent pronoun *u* can be used in context to represent a time phrase, and then the form *ngwo* is used with it.

- (179) a. *W-a-nyi vyîlvîyîlî*,
D-FUT-2SG.SB heating.up
- b. [*u ngwo*]_T *w-a-nyi pîpî*.
its Time D-FUT-2SG.SB eating
You heat it up, then you eat it.

The morpheme *ngwo* is also used to mark time referred to by two deictics, *ala* 'here' and *yi* 'previously mentioned'.

- (180) [*Mye-nté*]_M [*ala ngwo*]_T [*Ngêm*]_A *ka ndiye*.
also-like here Time Ngêm CT.CI.PRES.3.SB learning
Ngêm is also learning now.
- (181) [*Yi ngwo*]_T *dp:uu mbê dmi*.
mentioned Time PCT.HAB.3.SB.MOT cry IT.PCT.HAB.PL.SB
At that time they go and cry (for the person who had died).

Expressions which are inherently temporal are not marked with *ngê*.

- (182) [*M:ii tuwo mw:aandiye*]_T [*nee pââ dê*]_A —
second.day before morning canoe body dual
kî-nmo pêêdî doo.
CT-PI.REM.1PL.SB.CLS pull T.PI.REM.3DU.O.MF
The day before yesterday, in the morning, we pulled the two canoe hulls.
- (183) [*D:ââ pyile*]_T [*p:ââ y:i*]_L *a-dî-n:aa ya*.
month three down there FUT-CI.FUT.3SG.SB-MOT sitting
He'll be down there (i.e. away from Rossel) for three months.
- (184) [*Dîyo*]_T [*u lama*]_L *w-a yââ*.
later his knowledge D-FUT sit.down
Later on he will know. (lit. Later on it will sit in his knowledge.)

- (185) [Anté]_T w-a lê?
 when D-FUT go
 When will he go?

(e) Manner

When the Manner in which an event is performed is to be expressed with an adjective, the adjective is marked with *ngê*.

- (186) [Numo ka]_G [k:omo ngê]_M —
 each.other to false M
 a yéy nyédi.
 C.HAB.3.SB accuse IT.C.HAB.PRX.PL.SB
 They accuse each other falsely.
- (187) [Mb:aamb:aa ngê]_M [ye]_G chi vwuwo.
 good M to.them C.IMP.2SG.SB looking.after
 Look after them well.

Other items indicating the manner in which an action is performed are not marked with *ngê*.

- (188) [Ntênê]_M [ye]_G chi vwuwo.
 properly to.them C.IMP.2SG.SB looking.after
 Look after them properly.
- (189) [Yéli tpémi]_A [lîmî k:iî]_M —
 Rossel people lightning like
 dpî dpî dmi.
 PCT.HAB.3.SB sleep IT.PCT.HAB.PL.SB
 Rossel people go to sleep quickly.
- (190) [Nee pââ dê]_A [yi chóó]_M mbêpê mo.
 canoe hull DU their self running IT.CI.PRX.DU.SB
 The canoe hulls were running by themselves.
- (191) [Kyedekyede]_M nmee ghêpêghêpê dê.
 slowly CI.REM.1PL.SB lowering T.CI.NON.PRX.3DU.O
 We were lowering them slowly.
- (192) [Dîyo]_T [u lama]_L [yi-nté]_M a-myaa ya.
 later his knowledge that-like FUT-CI.FUT.3.SB.also sit
 Later he will know it like that also. (lit. Later it will be sitting in his knowledge also.)
- (193) [Pyolo]_M nmî dpî dniye, [kêlî ghê.]_L
 three.times PI.REM.1PL.SB sleep IT.PI.REM.PL.SB between place
 We slept three times (on the way) between (Samarai and Port Moresby).

(f) Realm

The Realm or area of endeavour of an activity is also marked with *ngê*.

- (194) [Njimi cha]_A n:aa ngêêpî —
 Jim and.wife C.HAB.PRX.1SG.SB helping
 doo, —
 T.C.HAB.PRX.3DU.O.MF
 [Yélî dnye u kpââ ngê]_R, [u d:êêd:êê ngê]_R
 Rossel language its reading R its writing R
 I help Jim and his wife with Rossel reading and writing.
- (195) [Chedêchedê]_M nyi chedê ngê, —
 finishing PL.REM.1DU.SB finish T.PI.REM.3SG.O.MF
 [tpênê ngê]_R
 digging R
 We completely finished it, the digging.
- (196) [U kuwó]_T [pyââ yoo]_A mê módó,
 its after woman PL again saw.REM
 mê doo [u ntââ ngê]_F pyodo, [kmaapî ngê]_R
 but not its size F became eating R
 After that she saw the women (eating eel),
 but she was not able to eat it.
 (lit. After that she saw the women,
 but she became not enough, the eating.)

There are no further cases marked with *ngê*.

(4) Reason

Reason can be expressed at clause level with *u (l:êê) dîy:o* 'on account of'. A dependent pronoun is obligatory, but the morpheme *l:êê* is optional. Its use seems to be a matter of idiosyncratic style.

- (197) [Kpaakpaa têdê]_L a yéy nyédi, —
 mortuary.feast place C.HAB.PRX.3.SB accuse IT.C.HAB.PRX.PL.SB
 [yi pi-ni u l:êê dîy:o]_{Reason}
 that person-SPEC him state on.account.of
 At the mortuary feast they make accusations, on account of that person.

(5) Accompaniment

The viewpoint is different from English in that Yele uses the accompaniment slot to specify more explicitly the subject of a clause, and the verb agrees in number and person with the combined party, from the speaker's point of view.

- (198) [Chêdamgaa Mtyapw:e yi k:iî]_A —
 Chêdamgaa Mtyapw:e them with
 nmo lêpî nyédi.
 C.HAB.PRX.1PL.SB going IT.C.HAB.PRX.PL.SB
 I go with Chêdamgaa and Mtyapw:e.

- (199) [Nee pââ dê]_A [a k:i:]_E —
 canoe hull dual me with
 dp:o pêêdi dê.
 PI.IM.PST.1PL.SB.CLS pull T.IND.PRX.3DU.O.MF
 I joined in pulling the two canoe hulls.

(6) Location

Location in general is expressed without any marker. For verbs which do not imply motion, it is the location where the event takes place.

- (200) [Pi yilî]_A [y:i:]_L a tóó.
 person many there CI.PRES sitting
 There are many people there.

It is interesting that knowledge is expressed in Yele with the noun *lama* as a Location.

- (201) [Ndêndê ngê]_M [u lama]_L dê-noo ya.
 true M his knowledge NEG-CI.REM.1SG.SB sitting
 He really didn't know me. (lit. I really wasn't sitting in his knowledge.)
- (202) [Post Office]_A [a lama]_L daa kwo.
 Post Office my knowledge CI.PRES.3.SB.NEG standing
 I don't know where the Post Office is. (lit. The Post Office isn't standing in my knowledge.)

With verbs that imply motion away from the current location, the Location expresses the destination, while with verb stems implying motion towards the current location, it expresses the point of departure.

- (203) [Njinjópu]_L dnye lee knî.
 Njinjópu PI.IM.PST.1DU.SB go IT.PI.PRX.DU.SB
 We (dual) went to Njinjópu.
- (204) a. [Alotau]_L da ndê,
 Alotau PI.IM.PST.3.SB.CLS come.from
- b. [p:o]_L a lêpî.
 home CI.PRES going
 He has come from Alotau,
 and is going home.

Yele has a number of postpositions which are used to express the Location more explicitly:

- (205) [Yi péé k:oo]_L dpî ché ngmê.
 their basket inside PCT.HAB.3.SB put T.PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF
 They (habitually) put it in their baskets.
- (206) [Pwepe mbême]_L a-nm:uu yé dê.
 support on FUT-basic.1PL.SB.MOT put T.IND.PRX.3DU.O.MF
 We'll go and put them (dual) on the supports.

The postpositions are discussed more fully in §2.2.3.

2.2.2 NOUN PHRASES

The Head of a noun phrase consists of one or more nouns. The Head can be preceded by a Possessor or a Specifier, and followed by a Modifier or a Quantifier.

- (207) *nee*
canoe
the canoe (Head: single noun)
- (208) *nee pââ*
canoe body
the canoe hull (Head: compound noun)
- (209) [*Njimi Ghaapwe Kaawa nê*]_A — (multiple nouns)
Jim Ghaapwe Kaawa I
[yâpwo têdê]_L kudu lee dmi.
burn place CT.PI.IM.PST.1PL.SB go IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
Jim, Ghaapwe, Kaawa and I went to the garden.

Where a number of people are referred to in one phrase, as in example (209), the most important person is placed first, and the speaker places himself last.

As can be expected, there are pairs of words which have a required order of occurrence.

- (210) a. *u tîdê mbwó yoo*
his sister brother PL
his brothers and sisters
- b. *Niye M:aa*
Mum Dad
Mum and Dad

A number of nouns can form the Head of the phrase, with distributive reference, where each item is associated with a different person.

- (211) [*Nmî p:aa pee p:aa pee*]_L *nmî lee dniye.*
our village part village part PI.REM.1PL.SB go IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
We went to our own parts of the village.

A small set of nouns concerning human status or relationships are pluralised with *-ma*. When more than one of these nouns are used in the same phrase, *-ma* is affixed only to the last of them.

- (212) a. *lémi ch:am*
important.man important.woman
important man and woman
- b. *Mw:ââkó a lémi ch:am-ma,*
greetings my important.man important.woman-PL
Ladies and Gentlemen,
- (213) *yoo yi kpâm ghee ghee-ma*
people their wife ASS.child ASS.child-PL
everyone's wives and children

(1) Possession

Possession is expressed using the appropriate dependent pronoun from the set displayed in Table 2.2.2.1. (They are termed 'dependent pronouns' rather than 'possessive pronouns', because they have other uses, such as for anaphoric reference in postpositional phrases.)

TABLE 2.2.2.1: DEPENDENT PRONOUNS			
person	singular	number dual	plural
1	<i>a</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>nmî</i>
2	<i>N-</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>nmye</i>
3	<i>u</i>	<----- <i>yi</i> ----->	

- (214) a. a *nee* *pââ*
 my canoe body
 my canoe hull (first person singular possessor)
- b. [*Dpî* *tp:ee*]TOP [*angênê?*]COM
 your.DU child where
 Where is your son? (second person dual possessor)

The second person singular dependent pronominal form is a morphophonemic process, in which the initial consonant of the following noun or postposition is changed to the nasal continuant at the same point of articulation.

- (215) a. N + *kpâm* --> *ngmâm*
 your wife
 your wife
- b. N + *nee* --> *nee*
 your canoe
 your canoe
- c. N + *k:ii* --> *ng:ii*
 you with
 with you accompanying

In the case of nouns beginning with *l*, second person possession makes no change to the noun.

- (216) N + *lama* --> *lama*
 your knowledge
 your knowledge

Words beginning with *w* are treated as if they began with a velar consonant.

- (217) N + *w:ââ* --> *ngw:ââ*
 your dog
 your dog

For third person possessors, the identity of the possessor can be made explicit if it is not provided adequately by the context.

- (218) Káámbwa u nee pââ
 Káámbwa his canoe body
 Káámbwa's canoe hull (third person singular possession)

(2) Specifier

The Head noun of the phrase can be specified by a deictic, a question word or a comparative expression. When this happens, many nouns take on a 'specified' form, others remain unchanged, as in example (219).

- (219) a. kópu
 word
 word
 b. yi kópu
 that word
 that word

Some of the nouns which show this specification do so by having *-ni* suffixed to them, as in example (220), while others change to a 'specified' form, as in examples (221) and (222).

- (220) a. pi
 person
 b. yi pi-ni
 that person-SPEC
 that person
 c. ló pi-ni?
 which person-SPEC
 which person?
 d. M:aa ntee pi-ni
 Dad like person-SPEC
 a person like my father

When *-ni* is suffixed, some nouns change their form somewhat.

- (221) a. nté --> ló nti-ni?
 food which food-SPEC
 which food?
 b. te --> ló té-ni?
 fish which fish-SPEC
 which fish?
 c. p:êê --> yi p:ee-ni
 talk that talk-SPEC
 that message

Many nouns change their basic form when specified, without showing much resemblance to *-ni*.

- (222) a. l:êê.ghi --> ló-nté l:emi.ghi?
 custom what-like custom.SPEC
 what kind of customs?

- b. *maa* --> *yi máádi*
 road that road.SPEC
 that road
- c. *pyââ* --> *yi pyópu*
 woman that woman.SPEC
 that woman
- d. *w:ââ* --> *kî w:âm*
 dog that dog.SPEC
 that dog

(3) Modifier

The adjective modifying a noun follows the noun.

- (223) *nec pââ ndîî*
 canoe body big
 the big canoe hull

With kin terms, a type of modification involves association with a relative, referred to by an associated kin term.

- (224) *a kpâm ghee*
 my wife ASS.child
 my wife and child
- (225) *Téminkaa ghee-knî*
 Téminkaa ASS.child-some
 Téminkaa and her children
- (226) *Mgéédi cha*
 Mgéédi ASS.wife
 Mgéédi and his wife

Where the Head can be inferred from the context, the accompanying kin term can stand alone.

- (227) [*Cha*]_A [*noko*]_M *dpî-mo* *yéy.*
 ASS.wife together C.HAB.DST.3DU.SB-DST.HAB arguing
 The man and his wife were arguing.

(4) Quantifier

The Head of a noun phrase can be quantified either by a number marker or by a numeric expression. The Quantifier follows the noun. Two number markers are used, *dê* for dual items and *yoo* for plural animate items.

- (228) [*U kpâm dê* *y:oo*]_E [*u ngomo*]_A *kpêmî ngópu.*
 his wife DU PL.E his house open T.PI.REM.3SG.O.PF
 His two wives opened his house.
- (229) [*Pyââ yoo*]_A *mbêpê wo.*
 woman PL run IT.PI.REM.SG.SB
 The women ran away.

Note in example (229) that the quantifier *yoo* on the Absolutive item, the women, forces singular agreement in the verb.

The numeric expressions that can quantify a noun include numerals and quantitative adjectives such as *yilf* 'many' and *yintómu* 'all'.

- (230) [Wo limi]T [ngomo k:oo]L —
 day five house inside
a ya yédi.
 C.HAB.PRX.3.SB sitting IT.C.HAB.PRX.SG.SB
 It stays in the house for five days.
- (231) *kópu mu ngmidi*
 word only one
 only one word/matter
- (232) a. [Njimi mupwo-knî yi kpîdî]A kpêê dniye,
 Jim ASS.dependent-some their clothing wash IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
 Jim's family's clothes got wet,
 b. [yi tpile yilf]A kpêê wo.
 their thing many wash IT.PI.REM.SG.SB
 their many things got wet.

Note again that the quantified Absolutive item in (232b) forces singular agreement in the verb.

2.2.3 POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Postpositional phrases are used to specify a locational concept in detail. Some such phrases have extended meanings to express temporal setting or relative time. (See examples (238) and (239) below.) Some postpositions require a dependent pronoun between the noun and the postposition (233), while others do not (234).

- (233) [D:ââ u pwo]L —
 Moon him above
até yi pil:a ngê.
 straightaway PI.REM.3.SB.mentioned shine T.PI.REM.3SG.O.MF
 Then he (Sun) shone on Moon.
- (234) [Pwepe mbêmê]L a-nm:uu yé dê.
 support on FUT-PI.FUT.1PL.SB.MOT put T.IND.PRX.3DU.O.MF
 We will go and put them on the supports.

When the noun can be inferred from the context, some relators allow it to be represented by only a dependent pronoun.

- (235) [Ndyuw:e]A [u maknopwo]L w-a-nyi kpê.
 fire it under D-FUT-2SG.SB light
 You light a fire under it (the copra). (text (b), clause 4b)

When the item related to the rest of the clause by the postposition is to be expressed pronominally, a dependent pronoun from the set displayed in Table 2.2.2.1 is used.

- (236) *Kwo-pê, [A pwo]_L [u nkwo]_T ngî pil:a.*
 to.him-said me on its turn please shine.IMP
 He said to him, "Now you shine on me".

See also *nyi kada* in example (239b).

A sample of Yele postpositions follows:

<i>vy:o</i>	amongst, in the midst of
<i>mênê</i>	inside, into, enclosed/surrounded by
<i>yedê</i>	in/on
<i>chedê</i>	beside (of inanimate things)
<i>nkîgh:ê</i>	beside, near
<i>paa</i>	to, at
<i>mbêmê</i>	on, on top of
<i>maknopwo</i>	underneath
<i>p:uu</i>	at, concerning, on the subject of, about
<i>kada/kuwó</i>	in front of/behind
<i>k:oo</i>	into, inside

The last relator, *k:oo*, is interesting in that it cannot take any dependent pronoun between a singular noun and the postposition, and for anaphoric reference when the noun is left implicit, the postposition is used alone.

- (237) [*Teetee mbwémi-knî yi k:iî*]_A —
 uncle ASS.brother-some them with
 [*k:oo*]_L *nmî wo dniye.*
 into PI.REM.1PL.SB get.in IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
 With my uncle and his brothers we got into it (the boat).

As mentioned above, some locative postpositions take on a temporal force in certain situations.

- (238) a. [*Nko vy:o*]_L *n:aa lêpî.*
 bush amongst CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB going
 I'm going up into the bush (rain forest). (locational use of *vy:o*)
- b. [*Mgîdî vy:o*]_T *n:aa lêpî.*
 darkness amongst CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB going
 I'm going at night. (temporal use of *vy:o*)
- (239) a. [*A kada*]_L *kê-dê ghê knî.*
 1SG.DEP.PN before CT-PI.IM.PST.3.SB stand IT.PI.PRX.DU.SB
 They (dual) are ahead of me (on the track). (locational use of *kada*)
- b. [*Dpênê*]_A *ngmê-dê vya ngmê, —*
 eel INDEF-PI.IM.PST.3.SB hit.FOL T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
 [*nyi kada*]_T,
 us before (temporal use of *kada*)
- c. [*nipi*]_M [*m:uu*]_A *dpî vy:a.*
 together more PI.IM.PST.1PL.SB hit
 They killed an eel before we (dual) arrived,
 and together we killed another one.

2.2.4 WORD CLASS DERIVATION

Yele has several mechanisms for deriving a word of one class from a word of another class.

Adverbs can be derived from verbs or adjectives by the addition of *-mbiy:e*.

<i>dpodo</i>	-->	<i>dpodo-mbiy:e</i>
work		work-adverbialiser
		strongly

<i>d:umu</i>	-->	<i>d:ud:u-mbiy:e</i>
full		full-adverbialiser
		fully

(*D:ud:u* is a partial reduplication of *d:umu* 'full'.)

A class of words meaning 'for the *n*th time' is derived from the ordinal numerals by the addition of *-mbó*.

<i>pyolo</i>	-->	<i>pyolo-mbó</i>
three.times		for the third time

<i>podo</i>	-->	<i>podo-mbó</i>
four.times		for the fourth time

Adjectives can be nominalised by suffixing with *-ni* 'specifier' to form a word meaning 'the...one'.

<i>ndĩ</i>	-->	<i>ndĩ-ni</i>
big		big-SPEC
		the big one

<i>têdê</i>	-->	<i>têdê-ni</i>
small		small-SPEC
		the small one

Although the doer of an action is usually expressed by the addition of a separate word, *pyu*, some words form contractions to indicate the person associated with an item.

<i>dpodo</i>	-->	<i>dpodo pyu</i>
work		work performer
		worker

<i>l:êê</i>	-->	<i>l:êê pyu</i>
fight		fight performer
		fighter

<i>tpii</i>	-->	<i>tpii-pi</i>
steer		steer-performer
		steersman

<i>kpaa</i>	-->	<i>kpáá-pi</i>
steal		steal-performer
		thief

<i>nté</i>	-->	<i>nti-pi</i>
food		food-performer
		man with big gardens, so plenty food
<i>ndapî</i>	-->	<i>ndáá-pi</i>
money		money-performer
		rich man

2.3 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PREDICATIONS

Predications can be linked by co-ordination or by subordination, depending on the semantic relationship between them. The semantic relations are taken from Beekman et. al. (1981).

2.3.1 CO-ORDINATION

Time-sequenced discourses such as narrative and procedural are rich in co-ordinated sentences, where the semantic relationship is ADDITION. The clauses are juxtaposed, with no overt linkage.

- (240) a. [*Dpêné*]_A *ngmê-dê* *vya* *ngmê*, —
eel INDEF-PI.IM.PST.3.SB hit.FOL T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF

[*nyi kada*]_T,
us before

- b. [*nipi*]_M [*m:uu*]_A *dpî* *vy:a*, —
together more PI.IM.PST.1PL.SB hit

[*dpêné pââ ndii*]_A
eel body big

ADDITION to (a)

They had killed an eel before we (dual) arrived,
and together we killed another one,
a very big one.

- (241) a. [*Nyââ, pyââ knî*]_A *dnye* *yumu*,
yes woman some/PL CI.REM.3PL.SB laughing

- b. [*Hughie*]_A *do* *yumu*,
Hugh CI.REM.3SG.SB laughing

ADDITION to (a)

- c. *nmee* *yumu*.
CI.REM.1PL.SB laughing
Yes, the women were laughing,
Hugh was laughing
and we were laughing.

ADDITION to (b)

- (242) a. [*Dmââdî u pye mî y:oo*]_E —
girl her mother father PL.E

[*kê d:umu*]_A *dpo* *ngî ngmê*,
money string PCT.HAB.3.SB.CLS take T.PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF

- b. [yi péé k:oo]_L dpî ché ngmê, ADDITION to (a)
 their basket in PCT.HAB.3.SB put T.PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF
- c. dpî núw:o ngmê, ADDITION to (b)
 PCT.HAB.3.SB take T.PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF
- d. yi tp:ee u pywuu. EQUIVALENT of *kê d:umu* in (a)
 their child her price
 The girls's mother and father take the string of *kê* money
 and put it in their basket
 and take it away.
 It is the (bride) price of their child.

Further examples of co-ordinate sentences may be found in sentences 10 and 11 of text (a) and in sentences 4 and 5 of text (b) in §2.4.

2.3.2 SUBORDINATION

The categories of subordination distinguished in Yele are Time, Logical relationships and Relative Clauses.

2.3.2.1 TIME CLAUSES

By far the most frequent form of TIME clause contains *dini ghi n:i ngê* 'at the time when'.

- (243) a. [*Dini ghi n:i ngê*]_T [pî]_A —
 time piece which Time person
ngmê-dpî *pw:onu*, TIME of (b)
 INDEF-PCT.HAB.3.SB die
- b. [*u kpaakpaa*]_A *a-nyi* *dóó*.
 his mortuary.feast FUT-2SG.SB do
 When someone dies
 you have a mortuary feast for him.
- (244) a. [*Dini ghi n:i ngê*]_T [*dpodo*]_A [*machedê ngê*]_F —
 time piece which Time work finished F
dpî *pyódu*, TIME of (b)
 PCT.HAB.3.SB become
- b. [*tpile*]_A [*u ntââ ngê*]_F *dpî* *pyódu*.
 thing its size F PCT.HAB.3.SB become
 When the work is finished
 there are enough things (for the feast).

The first two sentences of text (b) in §2.4 provide examples of subordination, of a SPECIFIC clause and of a TIME clause respectively.

An intended future action is expressed with *daa kêmakêma* 'soon', as in example (245).

- (245) a. [*Daa kêmakêma*]_T [*p:ââ y:ɪ*]_L *nî* *lêpî*, TIME of (b)
 not hardly down there CI.IM.PST.1SG.SB going
- b. *d:ê*,
 I.said.IM.PST
- c. [*M:aa*]_A *k-a* *kââ*. CONTENT of (b)
 Dad CT-PRES calling
 I was about to go down
 when I heard (lit. said) my father call out.

The meaning 'before' is expressed with *ghêlî*.

- (246) a. [*Ghêlî*]_M *daa pwene*, TIME of (b)
 prematurely not die.REM
- b. [*u kee yoo*]_A [*u ngwô*]_T *m:uu too*.
 his grandchild PL its time see T.PI.REM.3PL.O.MF
 Before he died (lit. not prematurely having died),
 he saw his grandchildren.

2.3.2.2 LOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Each of the logical relationships distinguished in Yele will be discussed in turn, using the terminology of Beekman et. al. (1981: 95-107). All relationships can be expressed by the juxtaposition of clauses without any marking of the semantic relationship involved. In fact, it is rare to have the semantic relationship signalled in the surface structure.

The texts in §2.4 have been chosen to illustrate as many of these relationships as possible, so frequently reference will be made to examples in the texts, rather than including the examples in this section.

(1) CONTRAST

"The relation of CONTRAST occurs between two communication units when there are at least two points of difference between them and one point of similarity. One of the points of difference involves an opposition" (Beekman et. al.: p.100). A simple example of contrast where the clauses are juxtaposed without indicating the semantic relationship is:

- (247) a. [*Daa*]_{NEG} [*a w:ââ*]_{COM}
 not my dog
- b. [*Nkal u w:ââ*]_{COM} CONTRAST to (a)
 Nkal his dog
 It's not my dog.
 It's Nkal's dog.

The two points of difference are: (a) not my, and (b) 0 *Nkal*'s. The point of similarity is *w:ââ* 'dog'. These two clauses are sentences 3 and 4 of text (d) in §2.4.

A similar example of CONTRAST is between the two clauses of sentence 5 in text (c) in §2.4, where the Topic is constant in both clauses, and the two differences are in the Time and Comment positions.

A possible example of the CONTRAST relationship, where the contrast is with an implied expectation, is:

- (248) a. [A p:aa pee]_L dī lē,
my village part PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB go
b. [pī]_A d:oo módu.
person PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB.NEG see.REM
I went home,
but I didn't see anyone.

This sentence, however, may only illustrate the ADDITION relationship, with the second clause simply giving the next event in the narrative.

The CONTRAST relationship can be made explicit with the conjunction *ngmênê* 'but' as in the following examples.

- (249) a. [Kpémi k:ii ntee té-ni,]_{COM}
shark appearance like fish-SPEC
b. *ngmênê* [daa]_{NEG} [nté,]_{COM}
but not food
It's a kind of fish that looks like a shark,
but you can't eat it.
- (250) a. [Yi danêmbum]_{TOP} [ala-nté,]_{COM}
that story this-like
b. *ngmênê* [kópu mu ngmidi,]_{COM} CONTRAST with (a)
but thing only one
c. [Chima u chinê tpuu u pī]_A —
Chima his nephew youngest his name
[a lama]_L kī-da kuwo. SPECIFIC of (b)
my knowledge CT-PI.IM.PST.3.SB.CLS leave
Well that's how the story goes,
but there's just one thing,
I've forgotten Chima's youngest nephew's name.

(2) REASON-RESULT

The REASON clause usually precedes the RESULT clause, often without being marked in the surface structure. For example:

- (251) a. [Dnyinté]_M a w:ee ngópu,
badly CLS understand T.PI.REM.3SG.O.PF
b. [pyââ yoo]_A mbêpê wo. RESULT of (a)
woman PL run IT.PI.REM.SG.SB
They didn't understand,
so the women ran away.

Similar examples are at text (a), sentences 1-5 and text (d), sentences 10-12, where the final sentence is the result of the preceding sentences listed in each case.

The relationship can be made explicit with *u l:êê dîy:o* 'on account of' in the REASON clause as in text (c), sentence 2, but this seems an unusual construction.

Where events in the past are the REASON for a current and continuing RESULT, the RESULT clause is marked with *awêde* 'today'. The following example is from text (d), sentences 16 and 17.

- (252) a. [Mépé ngê]_E [w:ââ mbwámê]_A —
 Mépé SG.E dog neck
mê-dêpê *châpwo.* REASON for (b)
 again-PI.REM.3SG.SB.NEG cut
- b. [*Awêde*]_T *k-a* *kwo,* [*Doongê*]_L.
 today CT-CI.PRES.3.SB stands Doongê
 Mépé didn't cut its throat,
 so it is still there at Doongê.

(3) MEANS-RESULT

The MEANS-RESULT relationship is similar to the REASON-RESULT relationship, but MEANS implies that someone intends the RESULT to take place. Example (253) is from text (d), sentences 15 and 16.

- (253) a. [W:ââ]_A *mî* *mbêpê wo,* —
 dog PI.REM.3.SB.MOT run IT.PI.REM.SG.SB
 [*chii mênê.*]_L MEANS of (b)
 bush in
- b. [Mépé ngê]_E [w:ââ mbwámê]_A —
 Mépé SG.E dog neck
mê-dêpê *châpwo.*
 again-PI.REM.3.SB.NEG cut
 The dog ran into the bush,
 so Mépé wasn't able to cut its throat.

Another example shows the use of *awêde* 'today' to mark a continuing state arising from an origin story.

- (254) a. [*Km:iî*]_A [*ntémwintémwî*]_L *dy:ââ ngê,* MEANS of (b)
 coconut everywhere sent T.PI.REM.3SG.O.MF
- b. [*awêde*]_T [*km:iî*]_{TOP} [*ala dyámê mbêmê wopewope*]_L —
 today coconut this island on everywhere
 [*daa*]_{NEG} [*ghêdê.*]_{COM} RESULT of (a)
 not scarce
 He sent coconuts to every place,
 so now there are plenty of coconuts all over the island.

(4) MEANS-PURPOSE

MEANS-PURPOSE is similar to MEANS-RESULT, but the event with the PURPOSE relationship is intended, not necessarily realised. In Yele the PURPOSE clause is expressed as an imperative.

- (255) a. [Kêmkê]A [mbwa k:oo]L a wee
 hen cage inside CI.PRES.3.SB standing.PL

té,
 IT.CI.PRX.PL.SB

- b. *mu kópu díy:o* [mbwêmé ngê]E [tp:oo]A —
 later word on.account.of pig SG.E child

daa-paa ma téne. PURPOSE of (a)
not-deferred.CF.PCT.IMP eat T.PCT.IMP.3PL.O.3.SB

Hens are kept in a cage
 so that the pig will not eat the chickens.

Since a negative habitual carries the force of a negative imperative, PURPOSE can also be expressed with a negative habitual, as in (256b). (This example is taken from text (b), sentences 10 c and d.)

- (256) a. [Mb:aamb:aa ngê]M w-a-nyi yé,
 good M D-FUT-2SG.SB put

- b. [nkuwo]A [u mênê]L d:uu-dpî kee. PURPOSE of (a)
 cold its inside NEG-PCT.HAB.3.SB go.in
 You put it well,
 so that moisture will not get inside it.

(5) CONDITION-CONSEQUENCE

This relationship is frequently not marked. For example:

- (257) a. [Mb:aamb:aa ngê]M a-nyi vyoko, CONDITION of (b)
 good M FUT-2SG.SB dry

- b. [u pywuu]A [mb:aamb:aa ngê]M dpî d:ii. CONSEQUENCE
 its price good M PCT.HAB.3.SB throw of (a)
 If you dry it well,
 you'll get a good price for it.

Another example is at text (b), sentence 6.

The CONDITION clause can optionally be marked with <kno-momé> 'if', which replaces the predicate postnucleus.

- (258) a. [Kî nti-nî]A w-a-nyi ma kno-momé, CONDITION of (b)
 this food-SPEC D-FUT-2SG.SB eat SG.O-if

- b. w-a-nyi pw:onu. CONSEQUENCE of (a)
 D-FUT-2SG.SB die
 If you eat this food
 you will die.

<kno-momé> varies with person and number, as illustrated in Table 2.3.2.2.1.

TABLE 2.3.2.2.1: SOME FORMS OF <kno-momê> 'IF'

person and number	common form	form of <kno-momê>
third singular	Ø/ngmê	kno-momê
first plural	nmo	nmo-momê
third plural	té	to-momê

Contrary-to-fact conditionals use the contrafactual morphemes described in §2.1.7.7. See example (127).

(6) CONCESSION-CONTRAEXPECTATION

This relationship can be unmarked, the clauses being simply juxtaposed. See Sentence 10 in the text (a) in §2.4. The relationship can be made explicit by marking the CONCESSION clause with *k:omo tpile* 'no matter' and the CONTRAEXPECTATION clause with *ngmêné* 'but'.

- (259) a. *K:omo tpile [mgîdî]TOP [ndî]COM,* CONCESSION to (b)
false thing dark big
- b. *ngmêné dî-nî nkîngê.* CONTRAEXPECTATION to (a)
but not-CI.PRES.1SG.SB be.afraid
No matter if it is pitch dark,
I am not afraid.

(7) GROUNDS-CONCLUSION

This relationship does not need to be overtly marked.

- (260) a. *[Tpiî]TOP [pââ ndî.]COM* GROUNDS of (b)
rain body big
- b. *[T:ââ ngê]E w-a t:âmo ngi.* CONCLUSION of (1)
flood SG.E D-FUT steal T.2SG.O
It's been raining heavily.
You'll be carried away by the flood.

Other examples may be found at text (a), sentence 17, text (b), sentences 17 and 18, and text (c), sentences 5 to 10.

When the GROUNDS follows the conclusion, the GROUNDS clause is marked with *mu kópu u dîy:o* 'because'. For example:

- (261) a. *[Nkwépi]A ngma kwo, —*
sorcerer INDEF.CI.PRES.3.SB standing
[ala p:aa pee,]L CONCLUSION to (b)
this village part
- b. *mu kópu u dîy:o [tpyêmf]A —*
that word its account.of firefly
dê gh:êêdê. GROUNDS of (a)
PI.IM.PST.3.SB stand
There's a sorcerer in this part of the village,
because the firefly flew upwards.

2.3.2.3 RELATIVE CLAUSES

When a clause fills the Locative slot of another clause, the relative clause is marked with *kwéli* 'wherever'.

- (262) a. [*Kwéli*]_L *dpî* *kn:aadi ngmê*, LOCATION of (b)
 wherever PCT.HAB.3.SB miss T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
- b. [*y:i*]_L *n:aa* *ngêêpî doo*.
 there C.HAB.1SG.SB helping T.C.HAB.PRX.3DU.O.MF
 Wherever they make mistakes
 I help them.

Other examples are in sentences 14 and 16 of text (b) in §2.4.

When the subject or object of a clause is manifested by a relative clause, the relative clause is marked by *n:ii* 'who/whom/which'.

- (263) a. [*Wunê*]_T [*n:ii*]_A *vya* *tumo* IDENTIFICATION of (b)
 long.ago whom hit.FOL T.PI.REM.3PL.O.PF
- b. [*t:a ngê*]_F *pyaa dniye*.
 parrot F become IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
 The people that they killed long ago
 have become parrots.
- (264) a. [Slipway]_A [*pi-ni n:ii ngê*]_E *a y:enê* IDENTIFICATION of (b)
 slipway man-SPEC who SG.E PRES watching
- b. [*yi pi-ni u pî*]_{TOP} [Mr Frost]_{COM}.
 that man-SPEC his name Mr Frost
 The man who is in charge of the slipway,
 his name is Mr Frost.

When the time of an event is manifested by an embedded clause, the phrase *dini ghi n:ii ngê* 'at the time when' is used in the embedded clause.

- (265) a. [*Dini ghi n:ii ngê*]_T [*dpodo*]_A —
 time piece which at work
 [*machedê ngê*]_F *dpî* *pyódu*, TIME of (b)
 finished F PCT.HAB.3.SB become
- b. [*tpile*]_A [*u ntââ ngê*]_F *dpî* *pyódu*.
 thing its size F PCT.HAB.3.SB become
 When the work is finished,
 there are enough things (for the feast).

2.3.2.4 NOMINALISATION

A further degree of subordination of one predication to another is shown in the nominalisation of a verb, in which the continuous root is used as a noun. An object affected by the nominalised predication can be expressed, but the Agent of the action cannot be expressed.

- (266) [Pi pípí]_A [wunê]_T kî yé ngópu.
 person eating long.ago CT stop T.PI.REM.3SG.O.PF
 They stopped eating people a long time ago.

Examples (12) and (13) in §2.1.1 further illustrate this nominal use of continuous verb roots.

2.3.3 QUOTATIONS

All quotations are direct. There is no indirect speech. Every utterance by the one person is introduced by a quote formula which specifies when the words were spoken, and the person and number of the speaker and of the hearer. Typically, each succeeding clause in the quotation is introduced by a contracted quote formula that gives the person and number of the speaker and of the person spoken to, and the tense.

- (267) a. [Hughie ngê]_E ye-pê,
 Hugh SG.E to.them-3.said.REM
- b. N:aa pyaa yâmuyâmu. CONTENT of (a)
 CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB crocodile hunting
- c. [Pyââ knî y:oo]_E a-pê, ADDITION to (a)
 woman some PL.E INDEF.G-3.said.REM
- d. [Hughie]_A a pyââ yâmuyâmu. CONTENT of (c)
 Hugh PRES woman hunting
- e. Kêle, [dnyité]_M a w:ee ngópu, REASON for (f)
 no not.properly CLS understand T.PI.REM.3SG.O.PF
- f. [pyââ yoo]_A mbêpê wo. ADDITION to (c)
 woman PL run IT.PI.REM.SG.SB
- g. [Hughie ngê]_E ye-pê, ADDITION to (f)
 Hugh SG.E to.them-3.said.REM
- h. Nuku mbêpê. CONTENT of (g)
 PCT.IMP.2SG.SB run
- i. Ye-pê, ADDITION to (g)
 to.them-3.said.REM
- j. N:aa tópukada yâmuyâmu. CONTENT of (i)
 CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB crocodile hunting
 Hugh said to them,
 "I'm hunting crocodiles".
 The women thought,
 "Hughie is looking for women".
 But the women didn't understand properly,
 so they ran away.
 Hugh said to them,
 "Don't run away.
 I'm after crocodiles." (He used the word for crocodile in the other dialect.)

This example also illustrates implied speech in the women's restatement of Hughie's purpose in being there. (There is another example of implied speech in sentence 12 of text (a) in §2.4.)

Example (268) illustrates the quote formula used with third person singular participants.

- (268) a. [John]_A [captain ka]_G mî póó wo,
John captain to MOT ask IT.PI.REM.SG.SB
- b. kwo, ADDITION to (a)
to.him
- c. [Gregory]_{TOP} [angênê?]_{COM} CONTENT of (b)
Gregory where
- d. Kwo, ADDITION to (b)
to.him
- e. [Pî]_A [al:ii]_L ngma kwo, —
person here INDEF.CI.PRES.3.SB standing
[Gregory,]_A CONTENT of (d)
Gregory and AMPLIFICATION of (c)
- f. kwo, ADDITION to (d)
to.him
- g. [Samarai]_L da ndê. CONTENT of (f)
Samarai PI.IM.PST.3.SB.CLS come.from and COMMENT
on Gregory in (e)
- h. Kwo, ADDITION to (f)
to.him
- i. [U pyinê]_A d:a ngmêê. CONTENT of (h)
his presence PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB.CLS look.for and
AMPLIFICATION of (c)
- John asked the captain,
"Where is Gregory?"
He (John) said,
"There's someone here called Gregory,
who has come from Samarai.
I'm looking for him".

Another example of dialogue is at text (a), sentences 6 and 7 in §2.4. In sentence 8 of that text the two following clauses in the quotation are not preceded by the contracted quote formula, *a-ka-dê* 'he said to me'. It is obvious that the quotation continues, because of the second person verb parts. This text was originally written, not spoken, and there is a tendency in written material not to use the quote formulae as frequently as in spoken discourse.

Quoted speech is common in narrative, but rare in procedural, hortatory or explanatory discourse types. Text (d) in §2.4 is explanatory, and contains quoted speech in an embedded narrative episode (sentences 10 to 16).

Table 2.3.3.1 illustrates some of the quote formulae used before each quoted clause in speech.

TABLE 2.3.3.1: A SAMPLE OF YELE QUOTE FORMULAE			
Hearer	Speaker	TMA	Formula
1SG	3SG	PI.IM.PST	<i>a-ka-dê</i>
3SG	1SG	PI.IM.PST	<i>kwo-d:o</i>
3PL	3SG	PI.IM.PST	<i>ye-dê</i>
1SG	3SG	PI.REM	<i>a-ka-pê</i>
3SG	1SG	PI.IM.PST	<i>kwo-no</i>
3PL	3SG	PI.IM.PST	<i>ye-pê</i>
1SG	3SG	C.HAB	<i>a-kópu</i>
3SG	1SG	C.HAB	<i>kwo-nîmo</i>
3PL	3SG	C.HAB	<i>yi-pu</i>
1SG	3SG	IMP	<i>a-kipi</i>
3SG	1SG	IMP	–
3PL	3SG	IMP	<i>yi-pi</i>

Where speech about a person is reported to that person, the third person verb forms used remain intact, but any non-verbal referent to the person to whom the speech is *reported* is adjusted to match the *reporting* communication situation. For example, if Mgéédi says to his son

- (269) [Kaawa]_A a pwiyé we
 Kaawa CLS come IT.PCT.IMP.3SG.SB
 Ask Kaawa to come here (lit. Let Kaawa come here)

his son will go to Kaawa and say to him

- (270) a. [M:aa ngê]_E apu,
 Dad SG.E is.saying
 b. [Nyi]_A a pwiyé we.
you.SG CLS come IT.PCT.IMP.3SG.SB
 Dad is asking you to come (lit. Dad is saying, “Let you come”).

Similarly, a command to bring something would be reported as

- (271) [Nyi ngê]_E dpo níuw:o ngê.
you.SG SG.E deferral.CLS bring T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O.3SG.SB
 You are to bring it. (lit. Let you bring it later.)

This lack of agreement can even extend to the use of a first person subject pronoun with a third person verb.

- (272) a. [M:aa ngê]_E apu,
 Dad SG.E is.saying
 b. [Nê ngê]_E dpí dy:ââ ngê.
 I SG.E deferral send T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O.3SG.SB
 Dad told me to send him. (lit. Dad is saying, “Let I send him (on his way”).)

2.3.4 MODALITIES

This section deals with those items traditionally called ‘modalities’, such as desire, possibility and permission. Yele uses two items here, *u yi* ‘its desire’ and *u ntââ* ‘enough/its size’.

- (273) a. [U yi]A [nga]X a kwo (desire)
its desire 2SG.X PRES standing
- b. [Bishop]A w-a-nyi ngmâno,
bishop D-FUT-PI.FUT.2SG.SB accompany
- c. [p:uu]L a-nyi-n:aa dpodo?
for FUT-CL.FUT.2SG.SB-MOT working
Do you want
to accompany the bishop
and work for him there?

When *yi* ‘desire’ is followed by the first person singular experiencer marker *a nga*, vowel harmony forces *yi* to become *ya*.

- (274) a. [U ya]A [a nga]X a kwo, (desire)
its desire 1SG.X PRES standing
- b. [Rabaul]L n:aa lêpî.
Rabaul CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB going
I want to go to Rabaul.

A request to do something is handled with an appropriate imperative in the second clause.

- (275) a. [U yi]A [nye]X a kwo, (desire)
its desire 1DU.X PRES standing
- b. [mââ]T dpî lili, [Mbywoo]L,
tomorrow deferral.2,3.SB go.away.2SG.IMP Mbywoo
- c. [y:i]L dp:umo kee.
there deferred.PCT.IMP.2SG.SB.MOT.CLS go.up
We (dual) want you
to go to Mbywoo tomorrow
and go up there.

An invitation with some coercive force uses the normal first person imperative, but precedes it with a desiderative clause.

- (276) a. [U ya]A [a nga]X a kwo, (desire)
its desire 1SG.X PRES standing
- b. mî lee kmêle.
other go.PCT IT.PCT.IMP.1PL.SB
I want us to go to the other place now.

Possibility is expressed with *u ntââ* ‘enough/its size’.

- (277) a. [Saw nt:u]A [Mr Frost ka]G núw:e,
saw body Mr Frost G take.2SG.IMP

- b. *u ntââ w-a népwi.* (possibility)
enough D-FUT sharpen
Take the saw blade to Mr Frost,
he will be able to sharpen it.

A request for permission is also expressed with *u ntââ*.

- (278) a. *U ntââ a-nî lê?* (permission)
enough FUT-PI.FUT.1SG.SB go
b. *Nyââ, u ntââ.*
yes enough
May I go?
Yes, you may.

The only way to express necessity is by saying it is not possible not to do the action.

- (279) a. *Chi dpodo.*
C.IMP.2SG.SB working
b. *Doo u ntââ daa-nyi lîme.*
not enough not-CI.FUT.2SG.SB resting
Keep working.
You mustn't rest.

2.4 TEXTS

The texts have been laid out in clauses. The terms in UPPER CASE are the semantic relationships of the clauses to others, and are the same terms as are used by Beekman et. al. (1981). Each text is preceded by a chart of the Juncture, Cohesive and Prominence features of the text, on which the paragraph division is based. In these charts, the word 'sentence' is represented by 'S'.

(a) A narrative about going fishing

Unit	Juncture	Cohesion	Prominence
Discourse	<i>awêde</i> sets time in S1 <i>kîdî lê</i> sets cast in S1 <i>A danêmbum wu u dî.</i> closure in S18	<i>te</i> in S1, S6, S7, S15, S16 and S17 first person throughout	
Episode 1 S1-5	<i>Awêde</i> sets time S1 <i>kîdî lê</i> sets cast S1 <i>te yâmuyâmu</i> sets theme S1	<i>lê</i> going in S1 <i>nee tp:oo</i> in S1 "sandwich" <i>nee têdê</i> in S4 <i>diyé</i> returning S5	<i>Daanté</i> wow! S2 <i>Yópu ndîr</i> S3 big wind

continued...

continued...

Episode 2 S6-9	<i>Nkal</i> enter new actor new location	same participants and location throughout dialogue throughout	
Episode 3 S10-11	location moves away from <i>Nkal</i>	narrative without any dialogue	
Episode 4 S12-17	new time in S12 <i>M:aa</i> enter new actor	dialogue throughout between father and author	
Closure S18	<i>A danêmbum wu u dî.</i> closure S18		

THE TEXT – A narrative about going fishing

(Episode 1)

1. [Awêde]_T *kî-dî* *lê, [te yâmuyâmu têdê]_L*, —
today CT-PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB go fish hunting place
[a *nee tp:oo ngê*]_I.
my canoe small I
2. *Daa-nté.* CIRCUMSTANCE of 1
not-like
3. [Yópu]_{TOP} [pââ *ndîî.*]_{COM} CIRCUMSTANCE of 1
wind body big
- 4 a. [Nee]_{TOP} [têdê._{COM} CIRCUMSTANCE of 1
canoe small
- b. [daa]_{NEG} [yópu *u ntââ.*]_{COM} CIRCUMSTANCE of 1
not wind its size
5. *Mu-mê-d:a* *diyé, [a p:o.]_L* ADDITION to 1
other-again-PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB.CLS return my home and RESULT of 1-4

(Episode 2)

- 6 a. [Nkal *ngê*]_E *a-ka-dê,* ADDITION to 1
Nkal SG.E me-to-3.said.IM.PST
- b. *A!* [Ye]_{TOP} [lukwe?]_{COM} CONTENT of a
exclamation that (near hearer) what (emotive opening)
- c. *A-dê,* ADDITION to a
indef.G-3.said.IM.PST
- d. [Angênê]_L [te?]_{TOP} CONTENT of c
where fish (question arising from 1a)
- 7 a. *Kwo-d:o,* ADDITION to 6c
to.him-I said.IM.PST
- b. *Daa* *tóó.* CONTENT of a
CI.PRES.3.SB.NEG sitting (answer to 6d)

- 8 a. *A-ka-dê,* ADDITION to 7
me-to-3.said.IM.PST
- b. *Up:o. Mwa-dê ya.* CONTENT of a
okay other.CI.FUT.3.SB sit (response to 7b)
- c. [*Tpiĩ*]_{TOP} [*pââ ndĩĩ.*]_{COM} CONTENT of a
rain body big (remark, GROUNDS of d)
- d. [*T:ââ ngê*]_E *w-a t:âmo ngi.* CONTENT of a
flood SG.E D-FUT steal T.PI.FUT.2SG.O (CONCLUSION to c)
- 9 a. *Kwo-d:o,* ADDITION to 8a
to.him-I said.IM.PST
- b. *Ii! N:aa lêpî, [a p:aa pee]_L.* CONTENT of a
okay CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB going my village part and CONCLUSION to 8d
- (Episode 3)
- 10 a. [*A p:aa pee*]_L *dĩ lê,* ADDITION to 9
my village part PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB go
- b. [*pi*]_A *d:oo módu.* ADDITION to a
person PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB.NEG see.REM (possibly CONTRA to a)
- 11 a. [*Ngomo k:oo*]_L *dĩ kee,* ADDITION to 10b
house inside PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB go.in
- b. [*mbwo*]_A *dĩ kpo.* ADDITION to a
betel.nut PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB chew
- (Episode 4)
- 12 a. [*Daa kêmakêma*]_T [*p:ââ y:i*]_L *nî lêpî,* TIME of b
not hardly down there CI.IM.PST.1SG.SB going
- b. *d:ê,* ADDITION to 11b
I said.IM.PST
- c. [*M:aa*]_A *k-a kââ.* CONTENT of b
Dad CT-PRES calling
- 13 a. *A-ka-dê,* ADDITION to 12
me-to-3.said.IM.PST
- b. *Mw:aamywey!* CONTENT of a
Mw:aamywu.VOC (address)
- 14 a. *Kwo-d:o,* ADDITION to 13
to.him-I said.IM.PST
- b. *Ó!* CONTENT of a
exclamation (response to call)
- 15 a. *A-ka-dê,* ADDITION to 14
me-to-3.said.IM.PST
- b. [*Angênê*]_L [*te?*]_{TOP} CONTENT of a
where fish (question arising from 1a)

- 16 a. *Kwo-d:o*, ADDITION to 15
to.him-I said.IM.PST
- b. *Daa* tóó. CONTENT of a
CI.PRES.3.SB.NEG sitting (answer to 15)
- 17 a. [*Ndoo apê*]_M [*d:aa*]_{TOP-NEG} [*k:âmo.*]_{COM} CONTENT of 16a
maybe maybe I'm.not good.fisherman and CONCLUSION to 16b
- (Closure)
- 18 [*A danêmbum*]_{TOP} [*wu*]_L [*u dî.*]_{COM} ADDITION to 17
my story this its end (conclusion of whole discourse)

FREE TRANSLATION – A narrative about going fishing

(The numbers match the vernacular sentences.)

1. I went fishing today, in my small canoe. 2. Wow! 3. The wind was very strong, 4. and my canoe is only small, not big enough for a wind like that! 5. So I headed back home.

6. Nkal said to me, "Hey, what's with you? Where are all the fish?" 7. I said, "I didn't catch any". 8. He said, "Never mind. It's been raining heavily. You'll get carried away by the flood". 9. I said, "Okay. I'll go straight home now".

10. I went home, to my part of the village, but I didn't see anyone. 11. I went up inside my house and chewed some betel nut.

12. I was about to go down (the hill again) when I heard my father calling. 13. "Mw:aamywu!" he called. 14. I answered, "Oh!" 15. He said, "Where are all the fish?" 16. I answered, "I didn't catch any. 17. Maybe I'm not much of a fisherman."

18. That's the end of my story.

(b) A procedural discourse – how to make copra

Unit	Juncture	Cohesion	Prominence
Discourse	topic sentence: <i>Km:ii u danêmbum nîné nj:ii – ngmanyi km:ii chap</i> closure: <i>Wu u dî, awêde. S19</i>	<i>km:ii</i> referred to throughout 2nd or 3rd person habituals throughout	
Introduction	topic sentence S1		
Step 1 S2-13 embedded descriptive/ explanatory paragraph S6-8	time setting break from time sequence to description of good drying	time-linked events: S2-5, 10-13	

continued...

continued...

Explanatory paragraph	slightly higher pitch to start	consequences of drying copra well or badly	contrast and repetition
S14-18		2nd person throughout	<i>Nyi kn:ââ</i> is emotive (S17).
Conclusion S19	<i>Wu u dî</i> That's the end.		

THE TEXT – A procedural discourse – how to make copra

(Introduction – topic sentence)

- 1 a. [*Ala ngwo*]_T [*km:ii u danêmbum*]_A *nî-nê* *nj:ii*,
this time copra its story CI.basic.1SG.SB-CLS telling
- b. [*dini ghi ngê*]_T *ngma-nyi* *km:ii chap*. SPECIFIC of a
time piece at INDEF.FUT-FUT.2SG.SB coconut split

(Step 1)

- 2 a. [*Km:ii chap kn:ââ*]_A [*dini ghi ngê*]_T *a-nyi chaa*, TIME of b
coconut splitting base time piece at FUT-2SG.SB split
- b. [*km:ii*]_A *a-nyi-nê wuwó*,
coconuts FUT-2SG.SB-CLS gather
- c. [*dyuu*]_A *a-nyi-nê pyidu té*. ADDITION to b
heap FUT-2SG.SB-CLS raise T.PI.PR.X.3PL.O.MF
- 3 a. [*U kuwó dini ghi ngê*]_T *w-a-nyi nmi*, ADDITION to 2
its after time piece at D-FUT-2SG.SB husk
- b. *w-a-nyi ngâlâ*, ADDITION to a
D-FUT-2SG.SB weed
- c. *w-a-nyi pwââ*, ADDITION to b
D-FUT-2SG.SB break
- d. *w-a-nyi ghodo*, [*km:ii ngomo k:oo*]_L. ADDITION to c
D-FUT-2SG.SB gather copra house inside
- 4 a. [*Km:ii*]_A *w-a-nyi dono*, ADDITION to 3
coconuts D-FUT-2SG.SB put.face.down
- b. [*ndyuw:e*]_A [*u maknopwo*]_L *w-a-nyi kpê*, ADDITION to a
fire its under D-FUT-2SG.SB light
- c. [*ndê*]_A [*mwiye*]_T *a-nyi ghodo*. ADDITION (flashback) to b
firewood first FUT-2SG.SB gather
- 5 a. *A vyokovyoko yédi*, ADDITION to 4
C.HAB.PR.X.3.SB drying IT.C.HAB.PR.X.SG.SB
- b. [*wo limi*]_T [*ngomo k:oo*]_L *a ya yédi*, ADDITION to b
day five house inside C.HAB.PR.X.3.SB sit IT.C.HAB.PR.X.SG.SB
- c. [*ndyuw:e*]_A [*u maknopwo*]_L *a kwo yédi*. ADDITION to b
fire its under C.HAB.PR.X.3.SB standing IT.C.HAB.PR.X.3.SB

(Embedded explanatory or descriptive paragraph)

- 6 a. [Mb:aamb:aa ngê]_M dpî vyoko, CONDITION of b
good M PCT.HAB.3.SB dry
- b. [níi]_A [yi mênê]_L daa ya yédi. CONSEQUENCE of a
juice their inside C.HAB.3SG.SB.NEG stay IT.C.HAB.PRX.SG.SB
- 7 a. [Nj:ee]_A [u mênê]_L dpî pwii, AMPLIFICATION of 6b
moisture its inside PCT.HAB.3.SB come.out
- b. [mb:aamb:aa ngê]_M [kíní]_A —
good M oil
- ye-dê-n:aa kuwo. CONSEQUENCE of 6a
mentioned-PCT.HAB.3.SB-MOT leave
- 8 Ka, [yi km:ii-ni u vyokovyoko]_{TOP} [mb:aamb:aa.]_{COM} SUMMARY of
okay that copra-SPEC its drying good 6 and 7
- 9 [U kuwó dini ghi ngê]_T w-a-nyi vy:a. ADDITION to 5c
its after time piece at D-FUT-2SG.SB hit
- 10 a. [U vyee tédê]_L [km:ii]_A w-a-nyi ghodo. ADDITION (flashback)
its hitting place copra D-FUT-2SG.SB gather to 9
- b. [bag komo]_A w-a-nyi dmya té, ADDITION (sequence)
bag mouth D-FUT-2SG.SB sew T.PI.PRX.3PL.O.MF to 9
- c. [mb:aamb:aa ngê]_M w-a-nyi yé, ADDITION to b
good M D-FUT-2SG.SB put
- d. [nkuwo]_A [u mênê]_L d:uu-dpî kee. PURPOSE of c
cold its inside NEG-PCT.HAB.3.SB go.in
- 11 a. W-a-ny:uu tédêí, [wop mbêmê]_L —
D-FUT-2SG.SB.MOT take wharf on
- [ngomo tp:oo k:oo]_L ADDITION to 10c
house small inside
- b. [y:i]_L wumî ya yédi, ADDITION to a
there C.HAB.PRX.3.SB.MOT sit IT.C.HAB.SG.SB
- c. [nkéli]_A [y:i]_L wumî t:âât:âât ngê. ADDITION to b
boat there C.HAB.PRX.3.SB.MOT waiting T.C.HAB.3SG.O.MF
- 12 a. [Nkéli]_A dpî kee, ADDITION to 10
boat PCT.HAB.3.SB come.up
- b. [nkéli k:oo dpodo pyu knî y:oo]_E —
boat in work -performer some PLE
- [nkéli k:oo]_L dpî ché ngmê. ADDITION to a
boat in PCT.HAB.3.SB put PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF
- 13 a. Dpî lê, [Samarai]_L ADDITION to 12
PCT.HAB.3SG.SB go, Samarai

- b. *yed:oo* [Copra Marketing Board.]_L ADDITION to a
thence C.M.B.

(Evaluative paragraph)

- 14 a. [*Mb:aamb:aa ngê*]_M *a-nyi* *vyoko*, CONDITION of b
good M FUT-2SG.SB dry
- b. [*u pywuu*]_A [*mb:aamb:aa ngê*]_M *dpo* *d:ii*, CONSEQUENCE
its price good M PCT.HAB.3.SB.CLS throw of a
- c. [*kwéli*]_L *a-nyi* *dpodo*, —
wherever FUT-2SG.SB work
- [B.P. *ó* Steamships.]_L LOCATION of b
Burns Philp or Steamships Trading Company
- 15 a. [*Dnyiñé*]_M *a-nyi* *vyoko*, CONDITION of b
badly FUT-2SG.SB dry
- b. [*pweepwee pee*]_A [*nga*]_G *modo* *kee*, CONSEQUENCE of a and
paper piece to.you again.CLS come.up CONTRAST with 14
- c. *ngodo*, COMMENT on *pweepwee pee*
3.HAB.say.to.you.SG
- d. [*Km:ii bag*]_{TOP} [*dono dé*]_{COM} CONTENT of c
copra bag bad PL
- e. [*u pywuu têdê*]_A [*nga*]_G —
its price small to.you
- yê-dê* *kê ngmê*. ADDITION to b
mentioned-PCT.HAB.3.SB give T.PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF
- 16 a. [*Mb:aamb:aa ngê*]_M *a-nyi* *vyoko*, CONDITION of b
good M FUT-2SG.SB dry
- b. [*u pywuu*]_A [*mb:aamb:aa ngê*]_M —
its price good M
- dpî* *d:ii*, CONSEQUENCE of a and
PCT.HAB.3.SB throw EQUIVALENT of 14
- c. [*kwéli*]_L *a-nyi* *dpodo*. LOCATION of b
wherever FUT-2SG.SB work
- 17 a. [*Dnyiñé*]_M *w-a-nyi* *vyoko*, GROUNDS of b
badly D-FUT-2SG.SB dry
- b. [*nyi*]_{TOP} [*kn:ââ*]_{COM} CONCLUSION to a and
you.SG to.blame SUMMARY of 14-16
- 18 [*Mb:aamb:aa ngê*]_M [*u kwo*]_G *w-a-nyi* *vyuwo*. CONCLUSION to 17
good M its for.it D-FUT-2SG.SB care.for

(Conclusion)

- 19 *Nyââ*, [*wu*]_L [*u dî*]_{COM} [*awêde*]_T
yes this its end today

FREE TRANSLATION – A procedural discourse – how to make copra

1. Now I'm going to talk about making copra.
2. To begin with, you gather the coconuts and put them in heaps. 3. After that you husk them, you pluck the fibres off them, you break them open and take them to the copra house.
4. You put them face down and light the fire underneath, after first gathering the firewood.
5. It dries for five days in the copra house, with the fire going underneath all the time. 6. If it dries well, the water won't stay in it, 7. the moisture comes out, leaving the oil inside properly. 8. So that copra is dried properly. 9. After that you ram it. 10. You gather the copra to the ramming place. You sew up the bags and put the copra well, so that it doesn't get moist again. 11. You take it to the wharf and leave it in the shed there, waiting for the boat. 12. When the boat comes the crew load it aboard. 13. It goes to Samarai, and from there to the Copra Marketing Board.
14. If you dry it well, you'll get a good price for it, wherever you have your account, Burns Philp or Steamships Trading Company. 15. If you don't dry it properly, you'll get a note to say the bags of copra were bad, and you'll get a small price for it, wherever you have your account. 16. If you dry it well, it will fetch a good price, wherever you work. 17. If you don't dry it properly, you've only got yourself to blame, 18. so you should look after it well.
19. Well, that's all for today.

(c) A speech at a wedding

Unit	Juncture	Cohesion	Prominence
Discourse	pre-ample – <i>n:aa danêmbum</i> S1 sets topic – <i>Mboo awêde</i> <i>kêdê yéé</i> S2 introduces Mboo, the person addressed, S2 closure: <i>a danêmbum wu u dî</i> S12	advice to Mboo S5-11	
Introduction S1-4	sets the scene – address to the groom at a wedding names the groom – Mboo, and refers to him in the 3rd person		<i>daa lukwe dîy:o</i>
Body S5-11	change to 2nd person address to groom	individual points of advice in imperatives	
Conclusion S12	conclusion formula		

THE TEXT – A speech at a wedding

(Introduction)

- 1 a. [*Mboo ka*]_G [*u nkwo*]_T *n:aa* *danêmbum*,
Mboo to its turn CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB talking

- b. [danêmbum pee tp:oo]_A n:aa y:emî. EQUIVALENT of a
speech piece small CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB giving
- 2 a. Daa lukwe dîy:o, CONTRAST to b
not what purpose
- b. [Mboo]_A [awêde]_T kê-dê yéé, —
Mboo today CT-PI.IM.PST.3.SB marry
- [yééyéé u l:êê dîy:o.]_{Reason} REASON for 1
marriage its reason account.of
- 3 a. [Ala dyáme mbêmê]_L [lémi ch:am]_A —
this island on big.man big.woman
- a tóó mo,
CI.PRES.3.SB sit IT.CI.PRX.DU.SB
- b. [kê.ndap]_A a dpodo mo. EQUIVALENT of a
two.kinds.of.money CI.PRES.3.SB work IT.CI.PRX.DU.SB (metaphor)
- 4 a. [Yi danêmbum]_A [u kwo]_G yi-nî y:emî. AMPLIFICATION
their story his to mentioned-1SG.SB give of 1
- (Exhortation)
- 5 a. [Ma, m:ii.tuwo,]_T [nyi]_{TOP} [pi mgêm,]_{COM} CONTRAST to b
yesterday day.before you person single
- b. [awêde]_T [nyi]_{TOP} [yéé.]_{COM} GROUNDS of 6
today you married.man
- 6 a. [Mgéédi ka]_G kidi-ngê pwepe, CONCLUSION to 5
Mgéédi to IMP.NEG.2SG.SB-PCT answer.back
- b. [nt:eemwe]_A [nga]_G choo tpapê, IDENTIFICATION
whatever to.you C.IMP.3SG.SB saying of nt:eemwe in c
- c. [nt:eemwe]_{TOP} [ndê p:êê.kópu,]_{COM} GROUNDS of a
everything true talk/word
- d. [kê.ndap]_A yinê dê dóó.ghîdî kwolo, GROUNDS of a
money he.it.is PI.IM.PST.3.SB call cause
- e. [ngmâm]_A [u ngwo]_I a-nyi pwila. COMMENT on kê.ndap in d
your.wife its with FUT-2SG.SB pay.for
- 7 a. [Mb:aamb:aa ngê]_M chi vyuwo, Mgâmîwe cha, —
good M C.IMP.2SG.SB look.after Mgâmîwe ASS.wife
- Mgéédi, Wââdî cha, Mw:aamywu cha, ADDITION to 6a
Mgéédi Wââdî ASS.wife Mw:aamywu ASS.wife
- b. [mb:aamb:aa ngê]_M [ye]_S chi ng:aa, ADDITION to a
good M to.them C.IMP.2SG.SB listen
- c. [ngmâm u pywuu]_A [yi piy:a]_L a tóó. GROUNDS of b
your.wife her price their basket.in CI.PRES.3.SB sits

- 8 a. [Y:oo]_E [nga]_X a pywupwi ngmê, GROUNDS of b
 PL.E on.you CI.PRES.3.SB paying.for T.CI.PRX.3SG.O.PF
 b. [dono]_A kidi-ngmê d:uu, ADDITION to 7b
 bad PCT.IMP.2SG.SB.NEG-INDEF do/try
 c. [yi nêñê vyi kamî yilî]_A a kwo, —
 tree flower bunch new many CI.PRES.3.SB stand
 [dyámê mbêmê]_L, CIRCUMSTANCE of d
 island on (metaphor about pretty girls)
 d. kidi-ngmê vy:oo. SPECIFIC of b
 PCT.IMP.2SG.SB.NEG-INDEF bring.down
- 9 a. [Awêde]_T chi yéé, GROUNDS of 10
 today PI.IM.PST.2SG.SB marry
 b. [Ntuwó]_A [nga]_G dp:o kê, ngmâm. AMPLIFICATION
 Ntuwó to.you PI.IM.PST.1PL.SB.CLS give your.wife of a
- 10 a. [Kwodo mb:aa mê yilî]_A a m:ii, CIRCUMSTANCE of b
 girl good again many CI.PRES.3.SB go.about
 b. [kêê]_A [yi p:uu]_L kidi-ngê yé. CONCLUSION to 9
 hand their on PCT.IMP.2SG.SB.NEG-PCT put
- 11 a. [Myipé knî yi vy:o]_L [awêde]_T —
 your.friend some their amongst today
 cha a yém. AMPLIFICATION of 9a
 C.IMP.2SG.SB CLS setting.off
 b. [awêde]_T [yéé vy:o]_L —
 today married.man amongst
 chi ghê. AMPLIFICATION of 9a
 PI.IM.PST.2SG.SB stand

(Conclusion)

- 12 [Wu kópu dyuu, a danêmbum]_{TOP} [wu]_L [u dí.]_{COM}
 that word heap my speech there its end

FREE TRANSLATION - A speech at a wedding

1. I'm going to address Mboo, and make just a short speech, 2. and this is why, because Mboo has married today. 3. The important couple (metaphor for both kinds of shell money) are on this island, both kinds of shell money are at work. 4. It's about them that I'm going to talk to him.

5. Up until now you've been single, but now you're a married man. 6. Don't answer back to (your father) Mgéédi, because whatever he says to you is true talk. He it was who brought all this money together that you are paying for your bride with. 7. Look after your relatives well, Mgâmîwe and his wife, (your father) Mgéédi, Wââdî and his wife and Myw:aamywu and his wife, and do what they say, because they're paying the price for your bride. 8. Yes, they'll buy her for you, so don't do anything bad, such as bringing down any of the girls (referred to as bunches of flowers). 9. Well, you've married today, and we've given Ntuwó

to you as your wife, 10. so don't touch the girls – there are plenty of them around. 11. You've left your friends today and joined the married men.

12. Well, that's the end of my speech.

(d) An expository discourse about a savage dog

Unit	Juncture	Cohesion	Prominence
Discourse	topic introduced location setting, Doongê S1 Author and Nkal introduced, S2 and 4 closure	<i>ka kwo Doongê</i> S1 <i>ka kwo Doongê</i> S17	
Expository paragraph S1-9	topic introduced and named in S1 location setting S1 Author and Nkal introduced S2 and 4	same topic (dog) throughout mostly statives	emotive description of the dog
Narrative episode S10-16	change to past tense time setting S10 enter Yidika and Méré	mostly indicatives	
Expository paragraph S17-18	time setting change to statives	statives	emphatic about the bite
Conclusion S19	closure formula		

THE TEXT – An expository discourse about a savage dog

(Expository paragraph 1)

- 1 a. [Kiye w:ââ u pɪ]TOP [Peetuuki,]COM
biting dog its name Peetuuki
- b. *k-a kwo, [Doongê]L* LOCATION of a
CT-CI.PRES.3.SB standing Doongê]
2. [Nê]TOP [kuu.]COM ADDITION to 1a
I not.responsible
3. [Daa]NEG [a w:ââ.]COM AMPLIFICATION of 2
not my dog
4. [Nkal u w:ââ.]COM CONTRAST to 3
Nkal his dog
5. [Nkal ngê]E yinê kaa ngê. AMPLIFICATION of 4
Nkal E he.it.is PI.REM.3.SB raise
6. [W:ââ]TOP [dono.]COM ADDITION to 2
dog bad

7. [Pi yilɪ]TOP [u te.]COM ADDITION to 6
 person many its fish
8. [U nuu u pɪ]A daa tóó. ADDITION to 7
 its throat its person CI.PRES.3.SB.NEG sits
9. [Pɪ]A [u lama]L daa tóó. ADDITION to 8
 person its knowledge CI.PRES.3.SB.NEG sits

(Narrative episode)

10. [M:ii.tuwo]T [Yidika, Mépé tp:oo]A —
 day.before.yesterday Yidika, Mépé his.son
 mɪ kiye ngê.
 PI.REM.3.SB.MOT bite T.PI.REM.3SG.O.MF
11. [Daa-nté.]COM COMMENT on *kiye* in 10
 not-like
12. [Mépé]A [dono ngê]F pyodo. RESULT of 10 and 11
 Mépé bad F became
- 13 a. Apé, ADDITION to 12
 he.said
- b. [W:ââ mbwámê]A nî-nê chapwo. CONTENT of a
 dog neck CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB-CLS cut (retaliation threat)
- 14 a. [Nkal ngê]E kwo, ADDITION to 13
 Nkal SG.E said.to.him
- b. Up:o CONTENT of a
 okay (acquiescence)
15. [W:ââ]A mɪ mbêpê wo, [chii mênê.]L
 dog PI.REM.3.SB.MOT run IT.PI.REM.SG.SB bush in ADD to 14
16. [Mépé ngê]E [w:ââ mbwámê]A —
 Mépé E dog neck
 mê-dêpê chapwo. RESULT of 15
 again-PI.REM.3.SB.NEG cut

(Expository paragraph)

17. [Awêde]T k-a kwo, [Doongê.]L RESULT of
 today CT-CI.PRES.3.SB stands Doongê 15 and 16
18. [Pi maa]A daa t:a. RESULT of 17
 person road NEG hanging

(Conclusion)

19. [A danêmbum u dî.]COM
 my story its end

FREE TRANSLATION – An expository discourse about a savage dog

1. The savage dog is called ‘Peetuuki’, and he lives at Doongê. 2. It’s nothing to do with me. 3. It’s not my dog. 4. It’s Nkal’s dog. 5. He raised it. 6. It’s a bad dog. 7. It bites everyone. 8-9. It doesn’t like anyone.

10. Recently it bit Mèpé’s son, Yidika. 11. It really bit him hard. 12. Mèpé became very angry, 13. and said, “I’m going to kill that dog”. 14. Nkal said, “Okay”. 15. The dog ran away into the bush, 16. so Mèpé couldn’t kill it.

17. So now it’s still there at Doongê, 18. so there’s not a safe road through there.

19. That’s the end of my story.

2.5 APPENDIX

TABLE A-1: FREE PRONOUNS

Person	Number		
	singular	dual	plural
1	<i>nê</i>	<i>nyo</i>	<i>nmo</i>
2	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dp:u</i>	<i>nmyo</i>
3	<----- \emptyset ----->		

TABLE A-2: DEPENDENT PRONOUNS

Person	Number		
	singular	dual	plural
1	<i>a</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>nmî</i>
2	<i>N-</i>	<i>dp:u</i>	<i>nmyi</i>
3	<i>u</i>	<----- <i>yi</i> ----->	

TABLE A-3: PRENUCLEAR COMPONENTS USED WITH PUNCTILIAR EVENTS					
Mood	Tense	Subject person	Number of subject		
			singular	dual	plural
Indicative 					

TABLE A-4: PRENUCLEAR COMPONENTS USED WITH CONTINUOUS EVENTS

Mood	Tense	Subject person	Number of subject		
			singular	dual	plural
BASIC	future (distal)	1	<i>a-nî</i>	<i>a-ny:oo</i>	<i>a-nmî</i>
		2	<i>a-nyi</i>	<i>a-dpî</i>	<i>a-nmyi</i>
		3	<i>a-dî</i>	<i>a-dpî</i>	<i>a-dnyi</i>
	immediate future (proximal)	1	<i>n:aa</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>nmo</i>
		2	<i>nye</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>nmye</i>
		3	<----- a ----->		
	present (proximal)	1	<i>a-nî</i>	<i>a-nye</i>	<i>a-nmî</i>
		2	<i>a-nyi</i>	<i>a-dpî</i>	<i>a-nmye</i>
		3	<----- a-Ø ----->		
	immediate past (proximal)	1	<i>nî</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>nmî</i>
		2	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>nmyi</i>
		3	<----- Ø ----->		
	near past (distal)	1	<i>nî</i>	<i>ny:oo</i>	<i>nmî</i>
		2	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>nmyi</i>
		3	<i>dî</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>dnyi</i>
	remote past	1	<i>noo</i>	<i>nyipu</i>	<i>nmee</i>
		2	<i>nyoo</i>	<i>dpîmo</i>	<i>nmyee</i>
		3	<i>doo</i>	<i>dpîmo</i>	<i>dnye</i>
Habitual	proximal	1	<i>n:aa</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>nmo</i>
		2	<i>nye</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>nmye</i>
		3	<----- a ----->		
	distal (discontinued)	1	<i>nî-mo</i>	<i>nyi-mo</i>	<i>nmî-mo</i>
		2	<i>nyi-mo</i>	<i>dpî-mo</i>	<i>nmyi-mo</i>
		3	<----- dpî-mo ----->		
Imperative		1	—	<----- Ø ----->	
		2	<i>chi</i>	<i>choo</i>	<i>dmyinê</i>
		3	<i>choo</i>	<--- dny:oo ----->	

TABLE A-5: PRENUCLEAR COMPONENTS USED WITH PUNCTILIAR EVENTS WHEN MARKED WITH <n:aa> ‘MOTION’						
Mood	Tense	Subject person	Number of subject			
			singular	dual	plural	
BASIC	future (proximal)	1	<i>a-n:uu</i>	<i>a-ny:uu</i>	<i>a-nm:uu</i>	
		2	<i>a-ny:uu</i>	<i>a-dp:uu</i>	<i>a-nmy:uu</i>	
		3	<----- <i>a-mî</i> ----->			
	immediate future and present	all	non-existent			
		immediate past (proximal)	1	<i>dî-n:aa</i>	<i>dnye-n:aa</i>	<i>dpî-n:aa</i>
			2	<i>chi-n:aa</i>	<i>dpî-n:aa</i>	<i>dmye-n:aa</i>
	3		<----- <i>d:uu</i> ----->			
	near past (proximal)	1	<i>n:uu</i>	<i>ny:uu</i>	<i>nm:uu</i>	
		2	<i>ny:uu</i>	<i>dp:uu</i>	<i>nmy:uu</i>	
		3	<----- <i>mî</i> ----->			
remote past	1	<i>n:uu</i>	<i>ny:uu</i>	<i>nm:uu</i>		
	2	<i>ny:uu</i>	<i>dp:uu</i>	<i>nmy:uu</i>		
	3	<----- <i>mî</i> ----->				
Habitual	no distinctions	1	<i>dpî-n:aa</i>	<i>dmye-n:aa</i>	<i>dpî-n:aa</i>	
		2	<i>dpyi-n:aa</i>	<i>dpî-n:aa</i>	<i>dmye-n:aa</i>	
		3	<----- <i>dp:uu</i> ----->			
Imperative	immediate	all	<i>nyi</i> throughout			
	deferred	1	—	<--- <i>paa-n:aa</i> -->		
		2, 3	<----- <i>dp:uu</i> ----->			

TABLE A-6: PRENUCLEAR COMPONENTS USED WITH CONTINUOUS EVENTS WHEN MARKED WITH <n:aa> 'MOTION'

Mood	Tense	Subject person	Number of subject		
			singular	dual	plural
BASIC	future (distal)	1	<i>a-nî-n:aa</i>	<i>a-ny:oo-n:aa</i>	<i>a-nmî-n:aa</i>
		2	<i>a-nyi-n:aa</i>	<i>a-dpî-n:aa</i>	<i>a-nmyi-n:aa</i>
		3	<i>a-dî-n:aa</i>	<i>a-dpî-n:aa</i>	<i>a-dnyi-n:aa</i>
	immediate future (proximal)	1	<i>nî-mo</i>	<i>nyi-mo</i>	<i>nmî-mo</i>
		2	<i>nyi-mo</i>	<i>dpî-mo</i>	<i>nmyi-mo</i>
		3	<----- wumê ----->		
	present (proximal)	1 & 2	not used		
		3	<----- mî-nê ----->		
	immediate past (proximal)	1	<i>n:uu</i>	<i>ny:uu</i>	<i>nm:uu</i>
		2	<i>ny:uu</i>	<i>dp:uu</i>	<i>nmy:uu</i>
		3	<----- mî ----->		
	near past (distal)	1	<i>nî-n:aa</i>	<i>ny:oo-n:aa</i>	<i>nmî-n:aa</i>
		2	<i>nyi-n:aa</i>	<i>dpî-n:aa</i>	<i>nmyi-n:aa</i>
		3	<i>dî-n:aa</i>	<i>dpî-n:aa</i>	<i>dnyi-n:aa</i>
	remote past	1	<i>noo-n:aa</i>	<i>nyîpu-n:aa</i>	<i>nmee-n:aa</i>
		2	<i>nyoo-n:aa</i>	<i>dpîmo-n:aa</i>	<i>nmyee-n:aa</i>
		3	<i>doo-n:aa</i>	<i>dpîmo-n:aa</i>	<i>dnye-n:aa</i>
Habitual	proximal	1	<i>nî-mo</i>	<i>nyi-mo</i>	<i>nmî-mo</i>
		2	<i>nyi-mo</i>	<i>dpî-mo</i>	<i>nmyi-mo</i>
		3	<----- wumê ----->		
	distal (discontinued)	1	<i>nî-mo-n:aa</i>	<i>nyi-mo-n:aa</i>	<i>nmî-mo-n:aa</i>
		2	<i>nyi-mo-n:aa</i>	<i>dpî-mo-n:aa</i>	<i>nmyi-mo-n:aa</i>
		3	<----- dpî-mo-n:aa dnyi-mo-n:aa ----->		
Imperative		1	—	<----- nyi ----->	
		2	<i>chi-n:aa</i>	<i>choo-n:aa</i>	<i>dmyinê-n:aa</i>
		3	<i>choo-n:aa</i>	<--- dny:oo-n:aa ---->	

TABLE A-7: PRENUCLEAR COMPONENTS USED WITH PUNCTILIAR EVENTS WHEN MARKED WITH <a> 'CLOSE'						
Mood	Tense	Subject person	Number of subject			
			singular	dual	plural	
Indicative	future (proximal)	1	<i>a-nê</i>	<i>a-nyi-nê</i>	<i>a-nmo</i>	
		2	<i>a-nyi-nê</i>	<i>a-dpo</i>	<i>a-nmyi-nê</i>	
		3	<----- <i>a-Ø a</i> ----->			
	immediate future and present	all	non-existent			
		immediate past (proximal)	1	<i>d:a</i>	<i>dnyi-nê</i>	<i>dp:o</i>
			2	<i>cha</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>dmyi-nê</i>
	3		<----- <i>da</i> ----->			
	near past (proximal)	1	<i>nê</i>	<i>nyi-nê</i>	<i>nmo</i>	
		2	<i>nyi-nê</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>nmyi-nê</i>	
		3	<----- <i>Ø a</i> ----->			
	remote past	1	<i>nê</i>	<i>nyi-nê</i>	<i>nmo</i>	
		2	<i>nyi-nê</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>nmyi-nê</i>	
		3	<----- <i>Ø a</i> ----->			
	Habitual	no distinctions	1	<i>dp:o</i>	<i>dmyino</i>	<i>dpîno</i>
			2	<i>dpye</i>	<i>dpyo</i>	<i>dmyino</i>
3			<----- <i>dpo</i> ----->			
Imperative	immediate	all	<i>a</i> throughout			
	deferred	1	—	<----- <i>pîdê</i> ----->		
		2, 3	<----- <i>dpo</i> ----->			

TABLE A-8: PRENUCLEAR COMPONENTS USED WITH CONTINUOUS EVENTS WHEN MARKED WITH <a> 'CLOSE'

Mood	Tense	Subject person	Number of subject		
			singular	dual	plural
Indicative	future (distal)	1	<i>a-na a</i>	<i>a-ny:oo a</i>	<i>a-nmo a</i>
		2	<i>a-nya a</i>	<i>a-dp:o a</i>	<i>a-nmya a</i>
		3	<i>a-da a</i>	<i>a-dp:o a</i>	<i>a-dnya a</i>
	immediate future (proximal)	1	<i>nî-nê</i>	<i>nyi-nê</i>	<i>nmî-nê</i>
		2	<i>nyi-nê</i>	<i>dpî-dê</i>	<i>nmyi-nê</i>
		3	<----- <i>wunê</i> ----->		
	present	all	not distinguished from immediate future		
	immediate past (proximal)	1	<i>nê</i>	<i>nyi-nê</i>	<i>nmo</i>
		2	<i>nyi-nê</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>nmyi-nê</i>
		3	<----- <i>Ø a</i> ----->		
	near past (distal)	1	<i>na a</i>	<i>ny:oo a</i>	<i>nmo</i>
		2	<i>nya a</i>	<i>dpo a</i>	<i>nmya a</i>
		3	<i>da a</i>	<i>dpo a</i>	<i>dnya a</i>
Habitual	remote past	1	<i>noo a</i>	<i>nyipu a</i>	<i>nmee a</i>
		2	<i>nyoo a</i>	<i>dpîmo a</i>	<i>nmyee a</i>
		3	<i>doo a</i>	<i>dpîmo a</i>	<i>dnya a</i>
	proximal	1	<i>nî-nê</i>	<i>nyi-nê</i>	<i>nmî-nê</i>
		2	<i>nyi-nê</i>	<i>dpî-dê</i>	<i>nmyi-nê</i>
		3	<----- <i>wunê</i> ----->		
	distal (discontinued)	1	<i>nî-mo a</i>	<i>nyi-mo a</i>	<i>nmî-mo a</i>
		2	<i>nyi-mo a</i>	<i>dpî-mo a</i>	<i>nmyi-mo a</i>
		3	<----- <i>dpî-mo a</i> ----->		
	Imperative	1	—	<----- <i>pîdê</i> ----->	
		2	<i>cha a</i>	<i>choo a</i>	<i>dmyina a</i>
		3	<i>choo a</i>	<----- <i>dny:oo a</i> ----->	

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