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SIROI GRAMMAR

by

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## INTRODUCTION

0. This is a description of the grammar of Siroi, a Non-Austronesian language spoken by approximately 700 people living on the Rai Coast in five villages between the Guabe and Male Rivers, in the Saidor Sub-province of the Madang Province of Papua New Guinea. In a language survey completed by (the late) O.R. Claassen and K.A. McElhanon in 1970 the Siroi language was tentatively linked with the Kabenau Family, Rai Coast Stock to which its lexicostatistical relationship is 24-27%. It should be noted that the language name previously spelt Suroi has since been changed to spell **Siroi**.

The Grammar presented in this paper covers all levels in the grammatical hierarchy from Stem to Discourse. The description is based on the tagmemic theory as developed by Robert E. Longacre in *Grammar Discovery Procedures* and as expounded in his various writings since then, and in particular in *Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages*.

An attempt is made to state the contrast, variation and distribution for each construction, and a bidimensional array usually accompanies the description. I have chosen to set up a minimal number of types and have endeavoured to avoid using less formal grammatical features for separating criteria. I have tried, however, not to combine to the point of obscurity. It proved more difficult on paragraph and discourse levels to avoid looking at the less formal features. Chapter 5 presents both the surface and deep structures of Siroi Sentences. Comparatively few sentence types have been posited but the deep structure encodings are highlighted in this chapter.

The data for this analysis were collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during four and a half years of residence in the village of Kumisanger between 1964 and 1974. The materials

include at least 1,000 pages of transcribed text material. Language helpers were from the villages of Kumisanger and Bibi and in particular I wish to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Silim Gureng and Yan Ule who spent a great deal of time recording and transcribing texts.

Considerable use was made of a concordance of text in Siroi made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistics Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

The research and writing of an earlier form of Chapters 5 and 6 were carried out under a grant from the office of Education (of the United States Government), Department of Health, Education and Welfare Contract OEC-9-097756-4409(014). This contract was undertaken and directed in New Guinea by Dr. Robert E. Longacre. I wish to acknowledge the consultant help given by Alan Healey and Charles Peck at the time of this research.

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#### 0.1. ABBREVIATIONS

|         |                    |      |                       |
|---------|--------------------|------|-----------------------|
| acc     | accompaniment      | I    | Instrument            |
| agg     | aggregate suffix   | im   | imperative            |
| asm     | aspectual morpheme | inc  | inclusive suffix      |
| att     | attributive clitic | inst | instrument            |
| B       | Base               | int  | intention             |
| C       | Comment            | IO   | Indirect Object       |
| Cl      | Clause             | ip   | immediate past        |
| cm      | class marker       | IU   | Initiating Unit       |
| CU      | Continuing Unit    | L    | Location              |
| d       | dual               | Li   | Link                  |
| D.      | Discourse          | ls   | locativiser           |
| dep     | dependent          | M    | Manner                |
| distrib | distributive       | Merg | Merged                |
| ds      | different subject  | neg  | negative              |
| E       | Exclamation        | ns   | nominalisation clitic |
| ex      | exclusive suffix   | O    | Object                |
| fu      | future             | P.   | Paragraph             |

|      |                        |      |                         |
|------|------------------------|------|-------------------------|
| P    | Predicate              | rel  | relator                 |
| p    | plural                 | RU   | Resolving Unit          |
| pa   | past                   | S    | Subject                 |
| Ph   | Phrase                 | s    | singular                |
| po   | potential              | S.   | Sentence                |
| Pop  | Postposition           | Sp   | Specification           |
| Poss | Possessive             | spec | specific clitic         |
| pr   | present                | ss   | same subject            |
| PreQ | Pre-Quote              | ST   | Sentence Topic          |
| Q    | Quote                  | Sum  | Summary                 |
| qm   | question marker        | T    | Topic                   |
| quo  | quotation verb         | Ti   | Time                    |
| R    | Referent               | ts   | transitiviser           |
|      |                        | V    | Vocative of Address     |
| 1s   | first person singular  | ∅    | unmarked                |
| 1d   | first person dual      | / /  | phonemic representation |
| 1p   | first person plural    | /    | alternatives            |
| 2s   | second person singular | { }  | one allomorph as basic  |
| 2d   | second person dual     | ~    | allomorphic variation   |
| 2p   | second person plural   | ,    | non-final major pause   |
| 3s   | third person singular  | .    | final major pause       |
| 3d   | third person dual      | +    | obligatory              |
| 3p   | third person plural    | ±    | optional                |

## DEEP GRAMMAR FORMULAIC SYMBOLS

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| P, Q, R, N    | represent predications  |
| P             | negated predication   |
| P"            | predication which is an antonym or situational opposite of predication P  |
| Pβ            | β changes the positive-negative value of P                                |
| P'            | predication which is a synonym or situational equivalent of predication P |
| <u>P</u>      | predication denoting a non-punctiliar action                              |
| <u>P</u>      | predication denoting a punctiliar action                                  |
| <u>P</u>      | continuous action   |
| <u>P</u> ^ Q. | P denoting an action which occurs until terminated by an event in Q       |
| P ^ Q         | P and Q   |
| P v Q         | P or Q  |
| P > Q         | if P then Q   |
| P ≠ Q         | either P or Q but not both  |
| P = Q         | P equals Q  |

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| U                     | Universal set, such as the set of all people or all places  |
| U - a                 | the set U minus the particular member a   |
| a, b...n              | terms of the predicates (agent, patient, etc.)  |
| x, y                  | predicate terms with a spatial or temporal function   |
| a'                    | synonym or situational equivalent of term a   |
| a''                   | antonym or situational opposite of term a   |
| Pa                    | P with first term (agent) a   |
| Pab                   | P with first term (agent) a and a subsequent term b which may or may not function as patient      |
| Eab                   | equational predication, a is b  |
| a $\in$ U             | term a is an element of set U   |
| Pa $\wedge$ Qb        | P with first term (agent) a, and Q with first term (agent) b, distinct from a                     |
| Pa $\wedge$ Qa        | P with first term (agent) a, and Q with the same first term (agent) a                             |
| P(a) $\wedge$ P(b)... | P(n) identical predications with non-identical terms having the same function in each predication |
| $\forall$ x           | universal quantifier for every term x   |

## PREPOSED:

|     |  |
|-----|--|
| c   | circumstance   |
| g   | generic  |
| i   | intention  |
| o   | obligation   |
| s   | specific   |
| w   | reported speech  |
| ( ) | expression enclosed in parenthesis, which must be more than just a predicate term, is an unstated presupposition with respect to the remainder of the expression not so enclosed |

## 0.2. SOUND SYSTEM

The phonemes of Siroi are twenty-one consonants and five vowels. The consonants are the stops p, t, k, b, d, g, mb, nd and ng; the nasals are m, n and ŋ; the fricatives f, s, dʒ and ndʒ; the liquids l and r; the semi-vowels w, y and ny. The vowels are i, e, a, o and u.

The voiceless stops, unaspirated intervocalically, have aspirated and unaspirated variants occurring in free variation initially and finally. Except for k the voiceless stops have final unreleased variants. The phoneme g has a variant [ʔ] occurring medially and finally. The phoneme f has a variant [h] occurring in free variation with [f] intervocalically. The phoneme r has a variant [ʀ] occurring in free variation with [r] initially and intervocalically.

The voiced alveopalatal fricative is spelt as z and ŋg as ng.

Stress is grammatically predictable and is not written. Primary stress occurs on the stem, and if there is a multi-syllable stem, on its second syllable. Reduplicated stems take this stress on the repetition. There are a few exceptions to this rule which are as follows:

- (1) Compound words take primary stress on the initial root.
- (2) Pronouns and the irregular verb '*give*' take primary stress on the final syllable.
- (3) Exclamations take primary stress on the initial syllable.
- (4) Zero class verbs take primary stress on the first order suffix.

### 0.3. MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES

Various phonemic changes result from the combination of certain phonemes when morphemes are combined in sequence.

#### 0.3.1. Additions

(1) /w/ is added when a vowel-initial tense suffix follows a vowel. Second and third person present suffixes are exceptions.

|          |   |       |   |        |                   |
|----------|---|-------|---|--------|-------------------|
| kutu-Ø-  | + | -aig  | = | kutuwa | 'they emptied it' |
| empty-it |   | 3p.ip |   |        |                   |
| sa-Ø-    | + | -it   | = | sawit  | 'I said to him'   |
| say-him  |   | 1s.ip |   |        |                   |

(2) /u/ is added when:

a. a consonant-initial potential suffix or the dependent suffix -mba follows a consonant. Zero class syllabic-stemmed verbs and verbs taking dual or plural object suffixes are exceptions.

|         |   |       |   |          |               |
|---------|---|-------|---|----------|---------------|
| didik-  | + | -be   | = | didikube | 'let us pull' |
| pull-cm |   | lp.po |   |          |               |
| map-t-  | + | -mba  | = | maptumba | 'rest and..'  |
| rest-cm |   | dep   |   |          |               |

b. the irregular verb mb- '*ascend*' takes a past tense suffix.

|        |   |       |   |       |              |
|--------|---|-------|---|-------|--------------|
| mb-    | + | -na   | = | mbuna | 'he went up' |
| ascend |   | 3s.pa |   |       |              |

(3) /i/ is added when:

a. a consonant-initial immediate past suffix follows a single-consonant stem.

|         |   |       |   |       |                     |
|---------|---|-------|---|-------|---------------------|
| t-      | + | -kik  | = | tikik | 'we (dual) took it' |
| take.it |   | 1d.ip |   |       |                     |
| k-      | + | -gig  | = | kigig | 'we (plural) did'   |
| do      |   | lp.ip |   |       |                     |

b. a consonant-initial past suffix follows a consonant. Zero class syllabic-stemmed verbs and the irregular verb mb- '*ascend*' (see Section (2) b.) are exceptions.

buk-ng- + -naig = buknginaig 'they (plural) threw'  
 throw-cm 3p.pa  
 kat-n- + -geŋ = katnigen 'we (plural) hit you'  
 hit-you lp.pa

(4) /a/ is added when the nominalisation clitic -nu occurs on a verb and follows a consonant.

kat- + -nu = (wai) katanu 'those who clap (their hands)'  
 hit ns  
 ndale-k- + -nu = (tango) ndalekanu 'a bound (man)'  
 bind-cm ns

(5) /k/ is added when the attributive clitic -ok follows a vowel.

ambo + -ok = ambokok 'ancient'  
 before att  
 duŋe + -ok = duŋekok 'wild'  
 bush att

### 0.3.2. Contractions

(1) A vowel-initial root or derivational suffix following a vowel loses its initial vowel.

ngaro + isu = ngarosu 'body'  
 skin bone  
 tugu + -am = tugum 'near'  
 base ls

(2) A consonant-final root followed by a consonant loses its final consonant.

not + sin = nosin 'over there'  
 that over.there  
 not + nzin = nonzin 'down there'  
 that down.there

(3) Present tense suffixes -ate and -ade lose the initial vowel when preceded by a vowel.

bulu-Ø- + -ate = bulute 'he is lighting it'  
 light-it 3s.pr  
 sa-Ø- + -ade = sade 'they tell him'  
 say-him 3p.pr

(4) Prenasalised consonants become nasals when preceding the dependent suffix -mba.

kund- + -mba = kunmba 'grate and..'  
 grate dep  
 dubi-sing- + -mba = dubisiŋmba 'follow us and..'  
 follow-us dep

## CHAPTER 1

### STEM

1.0. Compound stems are a fairly common feature of the Siroi vocabulary. A few nouns are locativised and certain verbs adjectivised or nominalised by derivational suffixes.

#### 1.1. COMPOUND STEMS

The most common root combinations are between nouns, verbs, or nouns and verbs and belong either to the noun or verb class. The first-named root indicates the word class to which the combination belongs. The order of the words in the combination does not determine the class.

##### Noun + Noun:

pa + guwa = paguwa 'smoke'  
*fire spirit*

ngaro + isu = ngarosu 'body'  
*skin bone*

age + wak = agewak 'praying mantis'  
*dog grasshopper*

wai + sina = waisina 'palm'  
*hand inside*

sawe + tiŋ = sawetiŋ 'hail'  
*rain seed*

ndame + tiŋ = ndametiŋ 'coins'  
*stone seed*

##### Noun + Verb Root:

wam + dus = wamdus 'thoughts'  
*idea think*

make + tiŋ = maketiŋ 'teeth'  
*bite seed*

ŋin + fok = ŋinfok 'throat'  
*swallow passage*

Verb Root + Verb Root:

nda + gare = ndagare 'disinclined'  
negative happy

Verb Root + Noun:

am + tiŋ = amtiŋ 'still'  
eye stand

sina + so = sinaso 'forget'  
inside cover.up

Demonstrative + Demonstrative:

not + amben = nomben 'up there'  
that up.there

not + sin = nosin 'over there'  
that over.there

## 1.2. NOUN-DERIVED LOCATIVE STEMS

1.2.1. Some nouns take the Locativiser -k 'in, out of'. The resultant form functions as a locative noun.

wande-k 'in the house'  
house-ls

kilke-k 'in the ground'  
ground-ls

minge-k 'in the mouth'  
mouth-ls

ngamu-k 'in the midst'  
middle-ls

pale-k 'in the bag'  
bag-ls

kumu-k 'in the mound'  
mound-ls

1.2.2. Some nouns take the Locativiser -am. The resultant form functions as a positional. These positionals indicate the position in relation to the item represented by the Head tagmeme of a Location Phrase. The allomorph -m occurs with vowel-final stems.

tumail-am 'in front of'  
face-ls

ndin-am 'right side of'  
road-ls

sina-m 'inside of'  
inside-ls

fu-m 'on top of'  
roof-ls

tugu-m 'near'  
base-ls

## 1.3. DEMONSTRATIVE-DERIVED POSITIONAL STEMS

Some demonstratives take the Locativiser -am to function as positionals. Like noun-derived positionals they indicate the position in relation to the item represented by the Head tagmeme of a Location Phrase.

si-m 'before'  
over.there-ls

te-m 'beyond'  
here-ls

nzi-m 'below'  
below-ls

ambe-m 'above'  
up.there-ls



#### 1.4. VERB-DERIVED ADJECTIVES

Some adjectives are derived from verbs and consist of verb root plus verb class-marker. These are mostly derived from the K class verbs.

|         |         |          |           |
|---------|---------|----------|-----------|
| kare-ŋ  | 'dry'   | bulo-k   | 'light'   |
| ago-k   | 'sharp' | muku-k   | 'calm'    |
| gisle-k | 'weak'  | sangri-k | 'strong'  |
| kuma-k  | 'dead'  | guba-k   | 'hungry'  |
| bisu-k  | 'wet'   | katese-k | 'genuine' |
| base-k  | 'sour'  |          |           |

Reduplication is included in the chapter dealing with words, since each reduplicated form is considered a word rather than a compound, because (1) both reduplicated forms take the same stress as for the unreduplicated form and (2) the expected morphophonemic changes do not usually occur between the two parts of reduplicated forms.



## CHAPTER 2

### WORD

2.0. A Siroi word is defined as an isolatable unit which occurs in the grammatical hierarchy between stem level and phrase level. Words typically manifest phrase and clause level tagmemes.

Word classes are distinguished from each other by internal (affixation) and external (distribution) criteria. There is considerable flexibility in the movement of words between one class and another, particularly between verbs and nouns. They take the appropriate suffixes and fill slots according to the word class they are representing. A small representative list of roots which belong to both verb and noun classes is given here:

|        | As noun      | As verb          | As adjective |
|--------|--------------|------------------|--------------|
| abo    | 'life'       | 'awaken'         | 'new'        |
| ago    | 'point'      | 'sharpen'        |              |
| alo    | 'fruit'      | 'produce'        |              |
| dir    | 'prophecy'   | 'move along'     |              |
| gare   | 'happiness'  | 'be happy'       | 'happy'      |
| guba   | 'hunger'     | 'be hungry'      |              |
| dadu   | 'tail'       | 'become blunt'   |              |
| kai    | 'a cover'    | 'shelter from'   |              |
| kume   | 'death'      | 'die'            |              |
| lafu   | 'payment'    | 'answer, return' |              |
| mangur | 'gathering'  | 'gather'         |              |
| ndale  | 'bundle'     | 'make a bundle'  |              |
| soj    | 'parcel'     | 'wrap'           |              |
| tukul  | 'taboo, lid' | 'close, prevent' |              |

There is a major dichotomy between verbs and non-verbs. Verbs can be inflected for tense, number and person and fill the obligatory

Predicate tagmeme of Clauses. Non-verbs are never inflected with these tense, number and person suffixes and fill the non-predicate tagmemes of Clauses.

## 2.1. NON-VERBS

Non-verbs are divided into clitics, particles, minor word classes and major word classes determined by closed versus open classes, suffixation versus non-suffixation, and distribution.

### 2.1.1. Clitics

Clitics are bound forms which indicate phrase and clause level tagmemes. There are three clitics in Siroi: The Specific Clitic *-nge*, the Nominalisation Clitic *-nu* and the Attributive Clitic *-ok*.

#### 2.1.1.1. Specific Clitic

The Specific Clitic *-nge* usually occurs phrase-finally and marks Location, Time and Subject, and Object of a Motion Clause. It obligatorily marks the manifestation of the Location tagmeme, and the Time tagmeme when it is manifested by a Positional Phrase or *ngilai* 'later'.

ki mbol-nge 'around midday'  
sun at-spec

Tunde mbol-nge 'on Tuesday'  
Tuesday at-spec

Bongu-nge 'at Bongu'  
Bongu-spec

A rare use of the clitic *-nge* is with dependent forms of motion verbs. These dependent verbs with the specific clitic occur in the Time tagmeme of Clauses.

nu k-umba-nge 'on his way'  
he go-dep-spec

The specific clitic marks the manifestation of the Subject tagmeme when there is a need to specify one particular person/s or thing/s as the actor or agent in contradistinction to someone or something else, or when the focus is on who is doing the action, particularly when the actor is the causative agent. When a Serial Phrase manifests the Head tagmeme of a Modified Noun Phrase each word of the Phrase optionally takes the clitic except when the conjunction *le* 'and' is used. In this case the clitic occurs in the phrase-final position only.

Hita-nge ye tum-y-ate 'Hueter shows me'  
Hueter-spec me show-me-3s.pr

ande yu-nge t-am-ngat 'a (child) will be washed out to sea'  
one sea-spec take-int-3s.fu

umaŋ-nge wadig-nge my-ade 'birds and eels eat them'  
bird-spec eel-spec eat-3p.pr

The specific clitic also marks the Object tagmeme of the Motion Clause when it is encoding source but not when it is encoding goal.

Madang-nge puro-wat 'he came from Madang'  
Madang-spec come-3s.ip

Bibi-nge ndek-a tumbran te puro-naig  
Bibi-spec descend-dep village this arrive-3p.pa  
'they came down from Bibi to this village'

#### 2.1.1.2. Nominalisation Clitic

The Nominalisation Clitic *-nu* has several functions. It occurs on adjectives, nouns, Clauses and Merged Sentences, usually to indicate a syntactic relationship in which the construction suffixed with *-nu* has a function differing from that of the same form without *-nu*.

It optionally occurs on adjectives filling the Modifier tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase and the Comment tagmeme of the Equative Clause. It occurs on numerals to indicate ordinal numbers, on inanimate nouns filling the Head slot of the Possessive Compact Noun Phrase and on place names filling the Identification slot of the Location Compact Noun Phrase. When in certain contexts these adjectives and nouns substitute for the whole Phrase in which they previously occurred, the nominaliser is obligatory.

The nominalisation clitic also occurs on verb stems to nominalise Clauses manifesting the Modifier of the Modified Noun Phrase, Manner tagmeme of Clauses, Axis tagmeme of the Attributive *gak* Phrase and Resemblance *suk* Phrase, and Comment tagmeme of the Equative Clause. In this use its grammatical function is similar to that of the attributive clitic *-ok* (see section 2.1.1.3.).

On the discourse level the nominalisation clitic substitutes for person/tense suffixes on final verbs where it is used as a device for condensing discourse sections in which repetition of the same action is involved.

With adjectives:

tango saibo-nu 'an old man'  
man old-ns

With numerals:

ar-nu 'second'  
two-ns

With nouns:

mbo kupe-nu 'a pig's leg'  
pig leg-ns

ndal piti-nu 'the weight of a flying fox'  
flying.fox heaviness.ns

With Clauses:

tango ndale-k-anu 'a bound man'  
man bind-cm-ns

wan kopra kil-anu 'the boat which collects copra'  
boat copra take-ns

With Merged Sentences:

tango bale-mba ny-anu 'those who kill and eat men'  
man kill-dep eat-ns

### 2.1.1.3. Attributive Clitic

The Attributive Clitic *-ok* is semantically restricted, occurring only with certain words, Phrases and Clauses. Constructions marked with the attributive clitic manifest the Modifier tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, Manner tagmeme of Clauses and Comment tagmeme of the Equative Clause.

The allomorph *-kok* occurs following vowel-final stems.

With nouns:

duge-kok 'undomesticated'  
bush-att

ndin-ok 'forthright'  
road-att

fungul-ok 'pregnant'  
abdomen-att

With Modified Noun Phrases:

tumbran ta-kok 'of that village'  
village that-att

tumbran kise-kok 'of a different village'  
village different-att

With temporals:

kubele-kok 'modern'  
yesterday-att

ambo-kok 'ancient'  
before-att

With positionals:

samba mbol-ok 'of the sky'  
sky above-att

kule sinam-ok 'of the fresh water'  
water inside-att

kasom-ok 'foreign'  
apart.from-att

With verb stems:

tiŋ-ok 'upright'  
stand-att

mambil-ok 'watchful'  
watch-att

kagaŋ-ok 'bent'  
bend-att

With Clauses:

am tukul-ok 'blind'  
eye close-att

wamdus tukui-ok 'stubborn'  
thought close-att

### 2.1.2. Particles

Particles are closed classes of words which do not take suffixes. There are seven types of particles: Responses, Exclamations, Conjunctions, Postpositionals, Temporals, Adverbs and Intensifiers.

#### 2.1.2.1. Responses

Responses manifest the Exclamation tagmeme of the outer periphery of Sentences. One member kuga 'no' also fills the Reinforcement tagmeme of the Explanation Paragraph, and son 'true' also fills the Terminus at discourse level.

|      |        |       |       |                  |
|------|--------|-------|-------|------------------|
| au   | 'yes'  | (ye)  | giiai | '(I) don't know' |
| kuga | 'no'   | son   |       | 'true'           |
| yauk | 'wait' | anewo |       | 'I agree'        |

#### 2.1.2.2. Exclamations

Exclamations also manifest the Exclamation tagmeme of the outer periphery of Sentences where they occur in the pre- and post-nuclear positions. They are attention-getting devices and emotive expressions.

Filling pre-nuclear position:

|       |               |     |                      |
|-------|---------------|-----|----------------------|
| aite  | 'look!'       | ahe | (grief)              |
| oi    | 'hey!'        | yoi | (emphasis)           |
| ariya | 'alright'     | iyo | (ignorance)          |
| i     | (surprise)    | o   | (vocative, emphasis) |
| ose   | (sympathy)    | a   | (disgust)            |
| ese   | (expectation) | ata | (reinforcement)      |

Filling post-nuclear position:

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| o | (vocative)     |
| a | (bewilderment) |
| e | (question)     |

#### 2.1.2.3. Conjunctions

Conjunctions carry a heavy functional load. They primarily link Clauses together in Sentences but two members ko 'or' and le 'and' also

manifest the Link tagmeme of the Serial Phrase. In direct speech conjunctions which terminate a construction function semantically to indicate the mood of the speaker. The chart of conjunctions shows the eight conjunctions, their basic meanings, the construction in which they function as a link and the mood which they convey when terminating a construction in direct speech.

#### Conjunctions

| Conjunction             | Meaning            | Link in:                    | Mood                                 |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| sulumba (ss)<br>le (ds) | 'and'              | Sequence S.<br>Serial Ph    | Intention                            |
| tanu                    | 'therefore'        | Corollary S.                | X                                    |
| ta                      | 'if, when,<br>but' | S. Margin                   | Impatience (co-<br>occurs with e qm) |
| ko                      | 'or'               | Alternative S.<br>Serial Ph | Indecision                           |
| kande                   | 'if, and,<br>but'  | Response S.                 | Probability                          |
| ndeta                   | 'if'               | Conditional S.              | Doubt                                |
| tukunu                  | 'because'          | Reason S.                   | X                                    |

ye t-i                                  *'Should I take it or (not)?'*  
I take-ls.po or

sawe piy-am-ngat                  kande *'I am sure that it will rain'*  
rain rain-int-3s.fu and

ye isukus-i sulumba *'I intend to eat first'*  
I eat-ls.po and

sawe piy-wa                       ndeta *'It might rain'*  
rain rain-3s.po if

tale kila ta e *'You two know!'*  
you.d know but qm

For examples showing use as regular conjunctions, see Chapter 5.

#### 2.1.2.4. Postpositionals

Postpositionals manifest the Relator tagmeme of Axis-Relator Phrases. They indicate benefaction, accompaniment, possession, reference, resemblance, instrument and position.

In the Intentional Merged Sentence the positional *tuku* 'relating to' functions to reinforce the infinitive.



## Postpositionals

| Postpositional       | Meaning                      | Relator tagmeme in:  |
|----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| ɲak<br>kugatok (neg) | 'has, with'<br>'without'     | Attributive ɲak Ph   |
| mbi                  | 'with' (inst)                | Instrument mbi Ph    |
| ndonɔ                | 'with' (acc)                 | Participant ndonɔ Ph |
| tur<br>turmba        | 'along with'<br>'as well as' | Inclusion tur Ph     |
| suk                  | 'like'                       | Resemblance suk Ph   |
| tuku                 | 'relating to'                | Referential tuku Ph  |
| positional           | 'in relation to'             | Positional Ph        |

The positionals are listed in Section 2.1.3.3.

## 2.1.2.5. Temporals

Temporals are divided into Original and Borrowed Temporals.

(1) Original Temporals manifest the Time tagmeme of Clauses. They are subdivided into Specific and Non-Specific Temporals according to further distribution.

Specific Original Temporals manifest the Item tagmeme of the Apposition Time Phrase.

|         |                    |        |                |
|---------|--------------------|--------|----------------|
| indole  | 'tomorrow'         | kubele | 'yesterday'    |
| aspile  | 'two days hence'   | ailfu  | 'two days ago' |
| kimsi   | 'three days hence' | kite   | 'today'        |
| kimbina | 'four days hence'  |        |                |

Non-Specific Original Temporals manifest the Item and Apposition tagmemes of the Apposition Time Phrase.

|           |                    |
|-----------|--------------------|
| ambonga   | 'at first'         |
| ngumnenga | 'later'            |
| buk       | 'before'           |
| abo abo   | 'at the beginning' |
| ngilainge | 'later today'      |
| kile      | 'now'              |
| mara mara | 'always'           |

(2) Borrowed Temporals include European names for hours of the day, days of the week and months of the year. They most commonly manifest the Axis tagmeme of the Positional Phrase and may also manifest the Comment tagmeme of the Equative Clause. They are subdivided into Borrowed Temporals 1 and 2 according to further distribution.

Borrowed Temporals 1 include months of the year and fill tagmemes

as stated above.

agus           *'August'*  
 disemba       *'December'*

Borrowed Temporals 2 include hours of the day and days of the week. They also manifest the Time tagmeme of Clauses and the Item and Apposition tagmemes of the Apposition Time Phrase. The noun kusem *'holiday'* has also come to mean *'Sunday'* and fills slots accordingly.

fonde           *'Thursday'*  
 kusem           *'Sunday'*  
 nain kilok     *'9 o'clock'*  
 kuata tiri     *'a quarter to three'*

#### 2.1.2.6. Adverbs

Adverbs manifest the Manner tagmeme of Clauses. Many adverbs are reduplicated forms. Adverbs 1 optionally occur together or with Adverbs 2.

ake              *'purposeless, vain'*  
 maŋ             *'again'*  
 ake sinaŋ      *'for no reason'*  
 mata            *'also'*  
 taŋaŋ           *'thus'*

Adverbs 2 do not co-occur with themselves. Always reduplicated forms:

fare fare       *'carelessly'*  
 nduik nduik    *'singly'*  
 tiŋ tiŋ         *'aimlessly'*  
 yim yam        *'individually'*

Reduplicated for emphasis:

pitik pitik     *'quickly'*  
 nguail nguail   *'slowly'*  
 siŋ siŋ         *'quietly, carefully'*  
 lato lato       *'repeatedly'*

Never reduplicated:

sangri          *'strongly'*  
 nduiye         *'permanently'*  
 kumuŋ          *'sufficiently'*

Adverbs 3 are a subset of Adverbs 2 and include those adverbs which optionally fill the Comment slot of the Equative Clause. Some of these are reduplicated and some are unreduplicated forms.

luk luk         *'unequal'*  
 lis lis         *'different, disguised'*  
 kumu kumu      *'equal'*

kumuŋ 'able'  
 sugu 'unable'

### 2.1.2.7. Intensifiers

The two Intensifiers are *ndo* 'only' and *ŋayo* 'bad'. They intensify adjectives, adverbs and distance locatives and fill slots accordingly. Usually *ŋayo* functions as a magnifier and *ndo* as a diminutive. When intensified by *ndo* adjectives take the nominalisation clitic *-nu*.

maye-nu ndo 'very good'  
 good-ns only  
 kuen ŋayo 'extremely long'  
 long bad  
 pitik ndo 'very quickly'  
 quickly only  
 masken ŋayo 'very far distant'  
 far bad

### 2.1.3. Minor Word Classes

Minor word classes are closed classes of words which optionally take one order of suffixes. Pronouns, Demonstratives, Locatives, Numerals and Interrogatives are included in the minor word classes.

#### 2.1.3.1. Pronouns

Pronouns, unlike nouns, are a closed class and fill pronominal slots in Phrases. Pronouns are divided into Personal and Possessive Pronouns according to distribution.

(1) Personal Pronouns occur as Subject, Object, Topic and Comment tagmemes of Clauses, Unit tagmeme of the Serial Phrase, Participant 1 of the Accompaniment Phrase, Item of the Apposition Noun Phrase, and Axis of all Axis-Relator Phrases except the Instrument *mbi* Phrase. Personal pronouns are the only manifestations of the Inclusion tagmeme of the Pronominal Phrase and the Summary tagmeme of the Accompaniment Phrase. They optionally take the specific clitic *-nge* when manifesting Subject tagmeme.

#### Personal Pronouns

|   | Singular | Dual | Plural |
|---|----------|------|--------|
| 1 | ye       | sile | sine   |
| 2 | ne       | tale | tane   |
| 3 | nu       | nale | nane   |

(2) Possessive Pronouns manifest the Possessor tagmeme in the Pro-nominal Possessive Phrase and the Head of the Exclusive Pronominal Phrase. They also manifest the Subject tagmeme of Clauses and the Apposition tagmeme of the Apposition Noun Phrase. In this distribution they function as emphatic pronouns. They substitute for the possessed item in the Modified Noun Phrase to function as absolute constructions when semantically the focus is on the possessor rather than on the item possessed.

#### Possessive Pronouns

|   | Singular | Dual   | Plural  |
|---|----------|--------|---------|
| 1 | yige     | sikile | singine |
| 2 | nage     | takile | tangine |
| 3 | nuge     | nakile | nangine |

As emphatic pronoun:

yige ny-it 'I myself ate (it)'  
my eat-1s.ip

nage kanger-a 'You yourself look (at it)'  
your look-2s.po

Dinabon nuge Kuate yabaŋ-na 'Dinabong herself prayed to God'  
Dinabong her God pray-3s.pa

As possessor:

ye yige tol-mba 'I poured mine and..'  
I my pour-dep

nuge lu-k-a 'return his (to him)'  
his return-cm-2s.po

#### 2.1.3.2. Demonstratives

Demonstratives are used widely in the language. All demonstratives manifest the post-nuclear tagmeme of Clauses. They are divided into Deictic, Directional and Conclusive Demonstratives according to further distribution.

(1) Deictic Demonstratives *te* 'this' and *ta* 'that' manifest the Demonstrative tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, Direction tagmeme of the Location Phrase and Item tagmeme of the Apposition Location Phrase. They optionally take the specific clitic *-nge* when manifesting the Demonstrative tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, and obligatorily take it when manifesting the Direction tagmeme of the Location Phrase except when the Phrase is filling the Object tagmeme of the Motion Clause and encoding goal.

te-nge 'here'  
this-spec

tumbran ta-nge 'at that village'  
village that-spec

kulim ta 'that girl'  
girl that

(2) Directional Demonstratives manifest the Direction tagmeme of the Location Phrase where they obligatorily take the specific clitic -nge except when the Phrase is filling the Object tagmeme of the Motion Clause and encoding goal. The direction is in relation to the speaker.

ambe-nge 'up there'  
up.there-spec

nzi-nge 'down there'  
down.there-spec

si-nge 'over there'  
over.there-spec

(3) Conclusive Demonstratives terminate a construction only. The unique member not 'that' functions alone or compounds with other demonstratives except ta 'that' to form this class. The demonstrative not is used to close a Discourse where it co-occurs with ndo 'only'. When not is compounded with other demonstratives the focus is more on the position of the item in relation to the speaker, and when used alone the focus is more on some aspect of the particular item. When used in direct speech the item in question is always within view of the speaker.

not 'that'

noten 'this here'

nonzin 'that below'

nosin 'that over there'

nomben 'that above'

ta marnga tuku not 'that is the description of whitebait'  
that whitebait rel that

wande min-it nonzin 'the house is down there'  
house be-3s.pr down.there

### 2.1.3.3. Locatives

Locatives obligatorily take the specific clitic -nge when occurring phrase-finally in the Location Phrase except when the Phrase is manifesting the Object tagmeme of the Motion Clause and encoding goal. Locatives are divided into Positionals, Noun-derived Locatives and Distance Locatives according to distribution.

(1) Positionals manifest the Relator tagmeme of the Positional Phrase. Most positionals are derived from nouns and demonstratives by the addition of the locativiser -am (see Sections 1.2. and 1.3.). The position is in relation to the item represented by the Head tagmeme.

|         |              |          |                |
|---------|--------------|----------|----------------|
| sim     | 'before'     | tugum    | 'near'         |
| tem     | 'beyond'     | kasom    | 'distant'      |
| nzim    | 'below'      | pinem    | 'back of'      |
| ambem   | 'above'      | fum      | 'overhead'     |
| kunem   | 'underneath' | tumailam | 'in front of'  |
| kilim   | 'outside'    | mbol     | 'at, on, near' |
| ngumnem | 'behind'     | sinam    | 'inside'       |

(2) Noun-Derived Locatives (see Section 1.2.) function as Head tagmeme of the Location Phrase. They take the derivational suffix -k 'in, out of'.

|        |                 |        |                |
|--------|-----------------|--------|----------------|
| kilkek | 'in the ground' | palek  | 'in the bag'   |
| mingek | 'in the mouth'  | tabek  | 'in the land'  |
| wandek | 'in the house'  | ngamuk | 'in the midst' |

(3) Distance Locatives masken 'far away' and patuk 'close to' manifest the Location tagmeme of Clauses and the Object tagmeme of the Motion Clause.

#### 2.1.3.4. Numerals

Numerals manifest the Number tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase. They are divided into Definite and Indefinite Numerals according to suffixation.

(1) Definite Numerals include all numerals now used in the numbering system, which includes Siroi numerals from one to four and Arabic numerals from five onwards. It should be noted that the Siroi numbering system beyond four used before outside contact is almost obsolete.

The numeral 'one' takes the exclusive suffix -ndo and 'two' to 'four' take the inclusive suffix -mba for cardinal numbers. They take the nominaliser -nu for ordinal numbers and the aggregate suffix -neŋ 'each' for distributive numbers.

|            |         |            |                    |
|------------|---------|------------|--------------------|
| ndi-ndo    | 'one'   | ar-nu      | 'second'           |
| one-ex     |         | two-ns     |                    |
| ar-mba     | 'two'   | faif-nu    | 'fifth'            |
| two-inc    |         | five-ns    |                    |
| keŋ-mba    | 'three' | ar-neŋ     | 'both'             |
| three-inc  |         | two-agg    |                    |
| bailka-mba | 'four'  | bailka-neŋ | 'each of the four' |
| four-inc   |         | four-agg   |                    |
| faif       | 'five'  |            |                    |

(2) Indefinite Numerals: Some indefinite numerals are uninflectable roots. Others take the inclusive suffix -mba. The indefinite numerals inum 'one' and ŋak 'all' sometimes take the nominaliser -nu.

|           |        |      |   |
|-----------|--------|------|---|
| gudom-mba | 'many' | ande | ' |
| many-inc  |        |      |   |

|                             |        |                         |         |
|-----------------------------|--------|-------------------------|---------|
| sungo-mba<br><i>big-inc</i> | 'much' | inum                    | 'one'   |
| ɲak-mba<br><i>all-inc</i>   | 'all'  | mindek                  | 'every' |
| inum-nu<br><i>one-ns</i>    | 'half' | ɲak-nu<br><i>all-ns</i> | 'whole' |

#### 2.1.3.5. Interrogatives

Interrogatives manifest the tagmeme in the Clause or Phrase appropriate to the question. The interrogative *ndaŋ* 'what' takes the inclusive suffix *-mba* or the intention suffix *-am* to manifest tagmemes as listed in the chart of interrogatives. The inclusive suffix *-mba* also occurs on *gigan-* 'how many'.

When *ima* 'who' is manifesting the Subject tagmeme it optionally takes the specifier *-nge*. When *ani* 'where' is manifesting the Location tagmeme of Clauses or the Object tagmeme of the Motion Clause when encoding source, it obligatorily takes the specifier *-nge*.

#### Interrogatives

| Interrogative                           | Meaning       | Tagmeme which it manifests  |
|---|---------------|---|
| <i>ndaŋ</i>                             | 'what, which' | Demonstrative of Modified Noun Ph   |
| <i>ndaŋ-am/ndam</i><br><i>what-int</i>  | 'why'         | Axis of Referential Ph<br>Referent of Cl<br>Comment of Equative Cl<br>Reinforcement of Explanation P. |
| <i>ndaŋ-mba</i><br><i>what-inc</i>      | 'what, how'   | Object of Cl<br>Manner of Cl  |
| <i>gigan-mba</i><br><i>how.many-inc</i> | 'how many'    | Number of Modified Noun Ph  |
| <i>ima</i>                              | 'who'         | Subject, Object, Indirect Object,<br>Topic and Comment of Cl<br>Ph tagmemes as for proper noun        |
| <i>ame</i>                              | 'what, which' | Modifier of Modified Noun Ph<br>Comment of Cl   |
| <i>ani</i>                              | 'where'       | Location of Cl, Object of Motion Cl   |
| <i>ginu</i>                             | 'when'        | Time of Cl<br>Modifier of Modified Noun Ph  |

#### 2.1.4. Major Word Classes

Major Word Classes are open classes of words which optionally take one order of suffixes. Noun and Adjectives are included in the Major Word Classes.

2.1.4.1. *Nouns*

Nouns are the largest class of non-verb words. They fill nuclear slots in Non-Verb Phrases and frequently function as minimal fillers of non-predicate clause level tagmemes. They are optionally suffixed with the specific clitic *-nge* when manifesting the Subject tagmeme of a Clause or Unit tagmemes of the Serial Noun Phrase.

A major division of nouns can be made between Animate and Inanimate Nouns, or Possessible and Non-possessible Nouns. Because of the considerable overlap between these two features, for simplicity the major division has been made between Possessible and Non-possessible Nouns since the Animate and Inanimate division is more readily identified.

In Siroi there are three surface structures used to express possession: by the use of possessive pronouns, by the Referential *tuku* Axis-Relator Phrase, and by the nominalisation clitic *-nu*. Usually, the possessive pronouns are used when the possessed item is in focus or when the item is exclusively possessed (i.e. excluding some of the hearers), the Referential Phrase is used when the possessor is in focus or when the item is exclusively possessed, and the nominalisation clitic is used when the possessed item is part of the possessor.

(1) Possessible Nouns when possessed manifest the Head tagmemes of the Modified Noun Phrase and the Pronominal Possessive Phrase. They are subdivided into Kinship, Generic Human and Animal Names, and General Nouns according to distributional differences.

Kinship Nouns are almost always possessed to manifest the Head tagmeme of the Pronominal Possessive Phrase and less frequently the Head tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase. They optionally occur with *kat*, the pluraliser for kinship terms.

|                |                   |                      |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| <i>aba</i>     | <i>nuŋe</i>       | <i>'his brother'</i> |
| <i>brother</i> | <i>his</i>        |                      |
| <i>kulim</i>   | <i>kat nuŋe</i>   | <i>'his sisters'</i> |
| <i>sister</i>  | <i>plural his</i> |                      |
| <i>ye</i>      | <i>tuku ina</i>   | <i>'my mother'</i>   |
| <i>I</i>       | <i>rel mother</i> |                      |

Generic Human and Animal Names manifest Subject, Object, Topic and Comment tagmemes of Clauses and nuclear slots in all Non-Verb Phrases. Generic human terms manifest the Indirect Object tagmeme also. They optionally occur with *kame* the pluraliser for generic human and animal names.

|              |               |                |
|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>mbo</i>   | <i>kame</i>   | <i>'pigs'</i>  |
| <i>pig</i>   | <i>plural</i> |                |
| <i>age</i>   | <i>kame</i>   | <i>'dogs'</i>  |
| <i>dog</i>   | <i>plural</i> |                |
| <i>kulim</i> | <i>kame</i>   | <i>'girls'</i> |
| <i>girl</i>  | <i>plural</i> |                |



kigo kame 'children'  
child plural

General Nouns include all objects, vegetation, liquids, body parts and abstract nouns. They manifest Subject, Object, Topic and Comment tagmemes of Clauses except for Transitive Emotion and Ditransitive Clauses which require animate nouns. They fill nuclear slots in Non-Verb Phrases except in the Accompaniment and Participant Phrases which require animate nouns as Head. They are further sub-divided into Divisible and Indivisible Nouns.

Divisible General Nouns include body parts, vegetation parts, object parts, abstract nouns or anything that can be essentially possessed. They optionally take the nominalisation clitic -nu when manifesting the Head tagmeme of the Possessive Compact Noun Phrase.

|      |          |                        |         |
|------|----------|------------------------|---------|
| kupe | 'leg'    | gubra                  | 'anger' |
| bulu | 'light'  | wane                   | 'leaf'  |
| fu   | 'roof'   | mbu                    | 'stalk' |
| ki   | bulu-nu  | 'the light of the sun' |         |
| sun  | light-ns |                        |         |
| kupe | isu-nu   | 'the bone of a leg!'   |         |
| leg  | bone-ns  |                        |         |

Indivisible General Nouns include all items which are not essentially possessed.

|       |            |      |          |
|-------|------------|------|----------|
| wande | 'house'    | ail  | 'tree'   |
| dune  | 'bush'     | wan  | 'boat'   |
| waim  | 'saucepan' | piro | 'garden' |

(2) Non-possessible Nouns are those nouns which are not possessed and therefore do not function as the Head tagmeme of the Pronominal Possessive Phrase, or Head of the Modified Noun Phrase if the Possessor tagmeme occurs. They are divided into Personal Names, Place Names, Nature Nouns and Temporal Nouns.

Personal Names frequently manifest Subject, Object and Indirect Object of Clauses. They fill nuclear slots in all Non-Verb Phrases except the Instrument Phrase and do not usually manifest the Head tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase.

Place Names manifest the Location tagmeme of Clauses and the Object tagmeme of the Motion Clause, and fill nuclear slots in Location Phrases. When they manifest the Identification tagmeme of the Location Compact Noun Phrase they optionally take the nominalisation clitic -nu. A few general nouns also function as place names to fill these slots.

|         |               |       |         |
|---------|---------------|-------|---------|
| tumbran | 'village'     | yu    | 'sea'   |
| sukur   | 'watercourse' | dune  | 'bush'  |
| ire     | 'kunai grass' | piyal | 'shore' |

Nature Nouns fill slots as given for possessible general nouns as long as no possession is expressed.

|        |         |       |              |
|--------|---------|-------|--------------|
| bubre  | 'wind'  | bidu  | 'mist'       |
| ki     | 'sun'   | sawe  | 'rain'       |
| tambun | 'moon'  | mbai  | 'star'       |
| samba  | 'sky'   | kilke | 'earth'      |
| gau    | 'cloud' | mumni | 'earthquake' |

Temporal Nouns manifest the Head of the Modified Noun Phrase if the Possessor tagmeme does not occur. They are divided into Free and Bound Temporal Nouns.

Free Temporal Nouns manifest the Time tagmeme of Clauses and the Item and Apposition tagmemes of the Apposition Phrase.

|           |           |
|-----------|-----------|
| furiram   | 'evening' |
| furir     | 'night'   |
| maratukuk | 'morning' |

Obligatorily modified Temporal Nouns always manifest the Head tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase.

|        |       |             |                        |
|--------|-------|-------------|------------------------|
| mara   | ande  | 'one day'   |                        |
| day    | one   |             |                        |
| yar    | te    | 'this year' |                        |
| year   | this  |             |                        |
| tambun | sungo | te          | 'this important month' |
| moon   | big   | this        |                        |

#### 2.1.4.2. Adjectives

Adjectives manifest the Modifier tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, the Manner tagmeme of Clauses and the Comment tagmeme of the Equative Clause. Adjectives optionally take the nominaliser -nu. In a given context adjectives may function as referent to the Head tagmeme or as the only manifestation of the Modified Noun Phrase, in which case the nominaliser is obligatory. When occurring phrase-finally or as the only manifestation of the Modified Noun Phrase they optionally take the specifier -nge.

The majority of adjectives are derived from verbs or are forms which overlap with other word classes.

Adjectives which are also used as verbs or nouns or both:

|        |         |       |        |
|--------|---------|-------|--------|
| abo    | 'new'   | murke | 'cold' |
| sungo  | 'big'   | saibo | 'old'  |
| mbanzo | 'young' | gur   | 'red'  |
| den    | 'short' | maye  | 'good' |
| fag    | 'short' | ḡayo  | 'bad'  |
| kuen   | 'long'  |       |        |

Some adjectives are derived from verbs and consist of a verb root plus the verb class-marker (see Section 1.4.).

## 2.2. VERBS

Verbs are distinguished from non-verbs because they can be inflected for tense, number and person and fill the Predicate tagmeme of Clauses.

Verbs are described under two major divisions, Verb Endocentre and Verb Exocentre. These terms were introduced by Philip Staalsen (1972). The endocentre consists of the obligatory stem and the first order affixes which relate to other items of the Clause. The exocentre consists of dependent and independent suffixes which follow the verb endocentre and serve to relate the Clause to higher levels of the grammatical hierarchy.

### 2.2.1. Verb Endocentre

The first order suffix of the verb endocentre is either one of the mutually exclusive class-marker suffix or the object suffix. The first order suffix is obligatory except when a verb is filling the Head tagmeme of Complex, Negative and Auxiliary 2 Phrases. Verbs are divided into Ng, K, T, Zero and Object-Oriented classes determined by the class-marker which they take. They are further subdivided into Transitive, Intransitive, Semi-transitive and Motion classes depending on whether they manifest the Predicate of Transitive or Intransitive Clauses or both, or of Motion Clauses.

#### 2.2.1.1. Class-Marker Suffix

Verbs are divided into the Ng, K, T, Zero and Object-Oriented verbs. The Ng class is suffixed with the class-marker -ng which is in form the quotation verb stem. The K class is suffixed with the class-marker -k which is in form the verb stem 'do'. The T class is suffixed with the class-marker -t which is in form the verb stem 'take'. The Zero class takes no class-marker suffix. The Object-Oriented class obligatorily takes the object suffix which is mutually exclusive with the class-marker. An alternative analysis would be to treat these combinations as complex verb stems.

|                |                       |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| buk-ng-ate     | <i>'he throws it'</i> |
| throw-cm-3s.pr |                       |
| didi-k-ate     | <i>'he pulls it'</i>  |
| pull-cm-3s.pr  |                       |
| map-t-ate      | <i>'he rests'</i>     |
| rest-cm-3s.pr  |                       |

min-Ø-it       *'he is'*  
 be-cm-3s.pr  
 kanger-n-ate   *'he sees you'*  
 see-you-3s.pr

### 2.2.1.2. Object Suffixes

There are nine Object Suffixes. The object suffix follows the stem and is mutually exclusive with the class marker.

#### Object Suffixes

|   | Singular | Dual  | Plural |
|---|----------|-------|--------|
| 1 | -y-      | -sik- | -sing- |
| 2 | -n-      | -tik- | -ting- |
| 3 | -Ø-      | -nik- | -ning- |

The dual and plural forms of the object suffix are mutually substitutable with the General Object Suffix -k which should not be confused with the homophonous class-marker -k. The class-marker -k and the general object suffix -k are mutually exclusive.

kanger-ning-et   *'I am seeing them'*  
 see-them-ls.pr  
 kanger-k-et       *'I am seeing them'*  
 see-them-ls.pr  
 kanger-k-et       *'I am seeing you (dual)'*  
 see-you.d-ls.pr

When a semi-transitive verb manifests the Predicate of an Intransitive Clause it retains its class-marker. When manifesting the Predicate of a Transitive Clause it takes the object suffix which replaces the class-marker.

bulu-ng-ate       *'it is shining'*  
 shine-cm-3s.pr  
 bulu-nik-it       *'he is lighting the two (lamps)'*  
 shine-them.d-3s.pr  
 sa-k-ate       *'he is saying'*  
 say-cm-3s.pr  
 sa-n-ate       *'he is saying to you'*  
 say-you-3s.pr

Some K and Ng semi-transitive verbs take the Causal Prefix te- for singular object and kile- for plural object. The causal prefix is in form the verb t- (singular) kil- (plural) 'take'.

te-minyo-n-ate   *'he is sitting you down'*  
 take.s-sit-you-3s.pr  
 kile-minyo-tik-it   *'he is sitting you (dual) down'*  
 take.p-sit-you.d-3s.pr

Zero class semi-transitive verbs take the Transitivity Suffix *-ne* to function as transitive verbs.

*isukus-ne-n-it* 'he is feeding you'  
*dine-ts-you-3s.pr*

*lig-ne-ning-it* 'he is filling them'  
*fill-ts-them-3s.pr*

Motion verbs do not take transitivity suffixes.

### 2.2.1.3. Suppletive Class

There is a small subclass of Suppletive Transitive Stems in which one stem occurs with singular objects and its counterpart occurs with plural objects.

| Singular Object | Plural Object |        |
|-----------------|---------------|--------|
| <i>t-</i>       | <i>kil-</i>   | 'take' |
| <i>pil-</i>     | <i>pati-</i>  | 'put'  |

A few verb stems take the infix *-g-* to indicate a plural object.

|              |                 |                |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>kura-</i> | <i>ku-g-ra-</i> | 'carry'        |
| <i>siri-</i> | <i>si-g-ri-</i> | 'put in a bag' |

### 2.2.1.4. Transitivity Divisions

Verbs are further subdivided into Transitive, Intransitive and Semi-transitive Verbs depending on whether they manifest the Predicate tagmeme in Transitive or Intransitive Clauses or both. Those verbs which always manifest the Predicate tagmeme of Transitive Clauses are called transitive verbs and those which always manifest the Predicate tagmeme of Intransitive Clauses are called intransitive verbs. Verbs which manifest the Predicate tagmeme in both Transitive and Intransitive Clauses are called semi-transitive verbs. The chart of verb sub-classes shows the subdivisions within the five major verb classes as determined by class-markers.

#### Verb Sub-Classes

| Class-Marker    | Transitive | Intransitive | Semi-Transitive | Motion |
|-----------------|------------|--------------|-----------------|--------|
| Ng              | x          | x            | x               | -      |
| K               | x          | x            | x               | -      |
| T               | -          | x            | -               | -      |
| Zero            | x          | x            | x               | x      |
| Object-Oriented | x          | -            | -               | -      |

### 2.2.2. Verb Exocentre

The Verb Exocentre consists of Dependent and Independent Suffixes which follow the verb endocentre. These suffixes occur on verbs depending on their function in the Sentence. When verbs are manifesting the Predicate of the final Clause in a Sentence Base they usually take independent suffixes. When verbs are manifesting the Predicate of a non-final Clause in a Sentence Base they take dependent suffixes. Those taking independent suffixes are called Independent Verbs and those taking dependent suffixes are called Dependent Verbs.

#### 2.2.2.1. Independent Verbs

Independent Verbs take independent verb suffixes indicating tense, aspect, mood, and person and number of the subject. A single suffix can be a portmanteau manifestation of mood, person and tense. Since it is not always possible to determine all basic forms of the individual morphemes, for simplicity of description undivided suffix combinations are illustrated by paradigmatic sets.

##### Past Suffixes

|     | Singular | Dual  | Plural |
|-----|----------|-------|--------|
| 1   | -en      | -keŋ  | -geŋ   |
| 2/3 | -na      | -naik | -naig  |

##### Immediate Past Suffixes

|     | Singular | Dual       | Plural     |
|-----|----------|------------|------------|
| 1   | -it      | -ik ~ -kik | -ig ~ -gig |
| 2/3 | -at      | -aik       | -aig       |

The -kik and -gig allomorphs occur with Zero class verbs.

##### Present Suffixes

|     | Singular   | Dual       | Plural     |
|-----|------------|------------|------------|
| 1   | -et        | -ek        | -eg        |
| 2/3 | -ate ~ -it | -ade ~ -ik | -ade ~ -ig |

The -it, -ik and -ig allomorphs occur with syllabic-stemmed Zero class verbs and also with the Object-Oriented class and with semi-transitive verbs when they are manifesting the Predicate of a Transitive Clause and take a dual or plural object suffix.

## Potential Suffixes

|   | Singular | Dual  | Plural |
|---|----------|-------|--------|
| 1 | -i       | -pe   | -be    |
| 2 | -a       | -ap   | -ap    |
| 3 | -wa      | -waik | -waig  |

The Future Tense is made up of the obligatory intention suffix *-am* plus *-ngit/-ngat* (singular), *-ngik/-ngaik* (dual) or *-ngig/-ngaig* (plural). The following future tense suffixes result:

## Future Suffixes

|     | Singular | Dual     | Plural   |
|-----|----------|----------|----------|
| 1   | -amngit  | -amngik  | -amngig  |
| 2/3 | -amngat  | -amngaik | -amngaig |

The Intention Suffix *-am* is mutually substitutable with *-nu*. The suffix *-nu* is more restricted, and unlike the intention suffix *-am*, it does not co-occur with the object suffix or class-marker. A few irregular verbs take the intention suffix allomorph *-mbim* (see Section 2.2.3.).

ye sa-nu-ngit           *'I will speak'*  
I say-int-ls.fu

ye sa-k-am-ngit       *'I will speak'*  
I say-cm-int-ls.fu

For Apprehensive Mood the first person potential suffixes combine with the immediate past suffixes. The verb retains its own class-marker or object suffix and takes the K class-marker before tense/person suffixes. The following forms result:

## Apprehensive Mood Suffixes

|     | Singular | Dual    | Plural  |
|-----|----------|---------|---------|
| 1   | -ikit    | -pekik  | -bekig  |
| 2/3 | -ikat    | -pekaik | -bekaig |

bari-ng-i-k-at       *'you might fall'*  
fall-cm-po-cm-2s.1p

For Imperative Mood the second person singular or dual form of the potential suffix is used.

manin-k-a           *'You be quiet!'*  
be.quiet-cm-s.im

manin-k-ap         *'You (dual/plural) be quiet!'*  
be.quiet-cm-d/p.im

#### 2.2.2.2. *Dependent Verbs*

Dependent Verbs take the Dependent Sequence Suffix {-a} which signals that another action is to follow. These dependent verbs are reliant for tense, person and number on the independent verb which follows them at the end of the Sentence Base.

The Dependent Sequence Allomorph -mba obligatorily occurs with all Zero and Object-Oriented class verbs and with semi-transitive verbs functioning as transitive verbs, except when replaced by the general object suffix -k. It optionally occurs on all other verbs.

nzumil-k-a      '(she) laughed and..'  
 laugh-cm-dep  
 bulu-ng-a      '(it) shone and..'  
 shine-cm-dep  
 bulu-ng-umba   '(it) shone and..'  
 shine-cm-dep  
 kanger-siq-mba '(you) see us and..'  
 see-us-dep

#### 2.2.2.3. *Infinitive*

The verb endocentre takes the intention suffix -am to form the Infinitive which fills the Predicate tagmeme of the infinitive Clause. When the mutually substitutable intention suffix -nu is used the first order suffix does not occur. Zero class verbs take the allomorph -anu.

sa-k-am      'to say'  
 say-cm-int  
 sa-nu      'to say'  
 say-int  
 min-am      'to remain'  
 be-int  
 min-anu      'to remain'  
 be-int

#### 2.2.3. *Irregular Verbs*

There are five Irregular Verbs in Siroi which are divided into Irregular Verbs 1, 2 and 3 according to the irregularities which they exhibit.

##### 2.2.3.1. *Irregular Verbs 1*

These are mb- 'ascend', il- 'come' and pil 'put' (singular) which feature both stem and suffix irregularities.

(1) Stem Irregularities: Stems in the second and third person of the immediate past and all persons in the future and potential tenses have an added vowel -a. To accommodate this change i in the stem il-



'come' changes to an initial y with the resultant stem being yaI-.

mba-gig            'You (plural) came up'  
ascend-2p.ip  
yal-kik            'You (dual) came'  
come-2d-ip

(2) Suffix Irregularities: The second person singular of the potential suffix is -e except when used with mb- 'ascend' when it becomes -mbe.

yal-e                'You (singular) come!'  
come-2s.po  
mba-mbe            'You (singular) come up!'  
ascend-2s.po

The second person dual and plural of the potential suffix is -pe.

mba-pe                'You (dual/plural) come up!'  
ascend-2d/p.po

The second and third person singular of the immediate past tense is -et.

pal-et                'You/he put it'  
put-2/3s.ip

The obligatory intention suffix which occurs as part of the future tense is -mbim (see Section 2.2.2.).

pal-mbim-ngat        'you/he will put it'  
put-int-2/3s.fu

#### 2.2.3.2. Irregular Verb 2

This is ka- 'go'.

(1) Stem irregularities: The stem for all persons in the present tense is kin-. In second and third persons in the past tense, second and third person singular in the immediate past tense and third person in the potential tense, a is lost with the resultant stem k-.

kin-et                'I am going'  
go-ls.pr  
k-ina                 'he went'  
go-3s.pa

(2) Suffix irregularities: The first person singular of the past tense is -n.

ka-n                  'I went'  
go-ls.pa

The first person singular of the immediate past tense is -t.

ka-t                  'I went'  
go-ls-ip

The second and third person singular of the immediate past tense is -et.

k-et                  'you/he went'  
go-2/3.ip

The first person forms of the potential tense are zero (singular), -p (dual) and -b (plural).

ka-∅        '*let me go*'  
 go-ls.po  
 ka-p        '*let us (dual) go*'  
 go-ld.po  
 ka-b        '*let us (plural) go*'  
 go-lp.po

The second person forms of the potential tense are -e (singular) and -pe (plural).

ka-ye       '*You go!*'  
 go-2s.po  
 ka-pe       '*You (plural) go!*'  
 go-2p.po

In contrast with all other verbs, the verb ka- '*go*' in the future tense can occur without the intention suffix. It optionally takes the intention suffix -mbim as for irregular verbs (see Section 2.2.3.1.).

ka-ngit     '*I will go*'  
 go-ls.fu  
 ka-mbim-ngit   '*I will go*'  
 go-int-ls.fu

### 2.2.3.3. Irregular Verb 3

This is '*give*' in which the object suffixes (see Section 2.2.1.2.) usually form the stem.

s-            '*give to me*'  
 tin-/tan-   '*give to you (singular)*'  
 t-            '*give to him*'  
 sik-         '*give to us (dual)*'  
 tik-         '*give to you (dual)*'  
 nik-         '*give to them (dual)*'  
 sing-        '*give to us (plural)*'  
 ting-        '*give to you (plural)*'  
 ning-        '*give to them (plural)*'

## 2.3. REDUPLICATION

Complete reduplication of words is a common feature of the language and any full word may be reduplicated. The grammatical function of reduplication is not the same for all word classes or even for words within the same class, but generally it indicates multiplication, variability and/or distribution of objects and actions. Onomatopoeia is sometimes seen in reduplicated words especially in noise-producing actions or in the names of animals.

The reduplicated forms usually manifest the same tagmeme as the un-reduplicated forms. When they are reduplicated, however, a few nouns become temporals to fill the Time slot of Clauses or become verb stems to fill the Predicate slot.

Only a brief description of reduplication with representative lists is given in this monograph. Further research would no doubt reveal many more significant categories.

### 2.3.1. Reduplicated Nouns

2.3.1.1. Reduplicated Nouns which signify a distributive plural and occur only in the reduplicated form:

foro foro 'lungs'  
 fulu fulu 'tender spots on sides of abdomen'  
 fir fir 'particles'  
 tup tup 'dust'

2.3.1.2. Reduplicated Nouns which become temporals:

abo abo 'in the beginning'  
 life life  
 mara mara 'always'  
 day day

2.3.1.3. Reduplicated Nouns which are onomatopoeia and occur only in this form:

ɲuk ɲuk 'owl'  
 sulik sulik 'sunbird'  
 far far 'fish type'

2.3.1.4. Reduplicated Nouns which become verb roots and signify imitation. The final form always takes the K class-marker.

Zon Zon-k-ate 'he is acting (like) John'  
 John John-cm-3s.pr  
 ragitap ragitap-k-ate 'he is acting (like) a turtle'  
 turtle turtle-cm-3s.pr  
 gua gua-k-ina 'she acted childishly'  
 young.child. young.child-cm-3s.pa  
 ki ki-k-ate 'it is shining (like) the sun'  
 sun sun-cm-3s.pr

### 2.3.2. Verb Roots and Verbs

2.3.2.1. Reduplicated Verb Roots which signify plurality of action and occur only in this form:

paru paru      *'blink/flicker'*  
 piris piris    *'rain lightly'*  
 bul bul        *'bubble up'*

2.3.2.2. Reduplicated Verb Roots which signify plurality or intensification of an action:

|      |                |           |                        |
|------|----------------|-----------|------------------------|
| bari | <i>'roll'</i>  | bari bari | <i>'roll and roll'</i> |
| buru | <i>'jerk'</i>  | buru buru | <i>'shake'</i>         |
| ful  | <i>'graze'</i> | ful ful   | <i>'scrape'</i>        |

2.3.2.3. Reduplicated Verb Roots which signify plurality and/or intensification and variableness of an action. Variableness is marked by dissimilation of a vowel and all vowels in the first form change to i. Those which occur only in reduplicated form are listed first.

|               |                              |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| liq len       | <i>'sparkle'</i>             |
| mbiq mben     | <i>'wriggle'</i>             |
| kare          | <i>'be hard'</i>             |
| kiri kare     | <i>'wither'</i>              |
| kuanyi        | <i>'wave/wag'</i>            |
| kuanyi kuanyi | <i>'rock back and forth'</i> |
| kutuq         | <i>'move'</i>                |
| kitiq kutuq   | <i>'wobble'</i>              |

2.3.2.4. Reduplicated Verbs which signify pretence. Both reduplicated forms retain their own class-marker and take the first person present tense suffixes. The final form always takes the Ng class-marker.

|              |                       |                                    |
|--------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| kiny-et      | kiny-et-ng-ate        | <i>'he is pretending to sleep'</i> |
| sleep-ls.pr  | sleep-ls.pr-cm-3s.pr  |                                    |
| malmbi-k-et  | malmbi-k-et-ng-ate    | <i>'he is pretending to cry'</i>   |
| cry-cm-ls.pr | cry-cm-ls.pr-cm-3s.pr |                                    |

2.3.2.5. Reduplicated Verb Roots which are onomatopoeia and only occur in this form. The final form always takes the Ng class-marker.

|       |                   |   |
|-------|-------------------|---|
| paum  | paum-ng-ate       | <i>'he is making the sound of an axe'</i> |
| paum  | paum-cm-3s.pr     |   |
| baum  | baum-ng-ate       | <i>'it is making the sound of a drum'</i> |
| baum  | baum-cm-3s.pr     |   |
| parka | parka-ng-ina      | <i>'he made a thumping sound'</i>         |
| parka | parka-cm-3s.pa    |   |
| baur  | baur-ng-am-ngat   | <i>'it will make a flapping sound'</i>    |
| baur  | baur-cm-int-3s.fu |   |

### 2.3.3. Reduplicated Adjectives

Reduplicated Adjectives signify plurality. The infix *-g-* replaces the central consonant in two-syllable words and is added in one-syllable words.

|       |        |        |                |
|-------|--------|--------|----------------|
| tango | maye   |        | 'a mature man' |
| man   | good   |        |                |
| tango | mage   | mage   | 'mature men'   |
| man   | good.p | good.p |                |
| tango | sungo  |        | 'a ruler'      |
| man   | big    |        |                |
| tango | sugo   | sugo   | 'rulers'       |
| man   | big.p  | big.p  |                |
| tango | kuen   |        | 'a tall man'   |
| man   | tall   |        |                |
| tango | kugen  | kugen  | 'tall men'     |
| man   | tall.p | tall.p |                |

Adjectives expressing colours also have reduplicated forms which alternate with unreduplicated forms with no apparent change of meaning.

|       |       |         |
|-------|-------|---------|
| dabuk | dabuk | 'black' |
| gur   | gur   | 'red'   |

### 2.3.4. Reduplicated Numerals

Reduplicated Numerals signify plurality and/or distribution.

|           |        |        |                                  |
|-----------|--------|--------|----------------------------------|
| ndui      | ndui   |        | 'few'                            |
| one       | one    |        |                                  |
| ar        | ar     |        | 'pairs'                          |
| two       | two    |        |                                  |
| (malanga) | kenmba | kenmba | (nak) 'each (has) three (doors)' |
| door      | three  | three  | has                              |

### 2.3.5. Reduplicated Positionals

Reduplicated Positionals used with motion verbs signify the continuation of an action.

|       |       |          |  |
|-------|-------|----------|--|
| ngamu | ngamu | kin-ig   | 'they travel along the middle (of the middle middle go-3p.pr river)' |
| mbol  | mbol  | kin-it   | 'it (the aircraft) travels overhead'                                 |
| above | above | go-3s.pr |  |

### 2.3.6. Reduplicated Adverbs

Reduplicated Adverbs usually signify emphasis. For those always reduplicated in form and those reduplicated for emphasis see Section 2.1.2.6.

## 2.3.7. Reduplicated Pronouns

## 2.3.7.1. Reduplicated Possessive Pronouns signify reciprocation.

nakile nakile 'they (dual) to each other'  
 their.d their.d

sikile sikile 'we (dual) to each other'  
 our.d our.d

nangine nangine 'they (plural) to one another'  
 their.p their.p

singine singine 'we (plural) to one another'  
 our.p our.p

## 2.3.7.2. Reduplicated Personal Pronouns which have been noted are:

ye ye 'selfish'  
 I I

nu nu 'mock him'  
 he he

## 2.3.8. Reduplicated Interrogatives

Reduplicated Interrogatives signify universality.

ima ima 'whoever'  
 who who

ndaŋ ndaŋ 'however'  
 what what

ame ame 'whatever'  
 what what

ginu ginu 'whenever'  
 when when

## CHAPTER 3

### PHRASE

3.0. A Siroi Phrase is defined as a construction in the grammatical hierarchy between word and clause level, which is potentially composed of two or more words consisting of nuclear and non-nuclear items. Usually, nuclear items are obligatory to the Phrase and diagnostic of the type, and non-nuclear items are optional. However, in some contexts where the nuclear item or items are clearly understood they are omitted and optional items then become the only manifestation of the Phrase.

There is a major dichotomy between Verb Phrases and Non-Verb Phrases. Non-Verb Phrases have a wider distribution within the Clause, filling all non-predicate slots. The relationship in Verb Phrases is usually between two verbs. In Non-Verb Phrases the relationship can be between two nouns, noun and pronoun, noun and adjective, positional and demonstrative and so on.

Phrase constructions generally manifest tagmemes at clause level although there is a great deal of recursion at this level, with clause level tagmemes manifested by Clauses.

#### 3.1. NON-VERB PHRASES

Non-Verb Phrases are separated because of different nuclear and peripheral tagmemes, different fillers and different distribution. Phrases are grouped as follows: Those which typically manifest tagmemes in Phrases; those with general distribution; those with specific distribution; those with postposition relators.

##### 3.1.1. Phrases which manifest Phrase Tagmemes

Phrases which manifest Phrase tagmemes are the Compact Noun Phrase,

Possessive Pronominal Phrase and Serial Phrase. Although these Phrases manifest clause level tagmemes they more typically manifest phrase level tagmemes.

### 3.1.1.1. Compact Noun Phrase

The Compact Noun Phrase involves a relationship between two nouns. It fills the Head tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, Specifier of the Pronominal Phrase, Units of the Serial Phrase, Participants of the Accompaniment Phrase and Axis of the Participant, Resemblance and Referential Axis-Relator Phrases.

There are three Compact Noun Phrases distinguished by the use of the nominaliser *-nu* and by the contrastive optional tagmemes.

#### General Compact Noun Phrase

| + Identifier                   | + Head |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| noun<br>(except place<br>name) | noun   |

(1) The General Compact Noun Phrase encodes the following semantic relationships:

General and specific:

*pino Dabi 'the woman Dabi'*  
*woman Dabi*

*mbeŋ fe 'the taipan snake'*  
*snake taipan*

Name and classification:

*Sa kule 'the river Sa'*  
*Sa river*

*Suriwat tabe 'the mountain Suriwat'*  
*Suriwat mountain*

Office and name:

*pastor Silim 'Pastor Silim'*  
*pastor Silim*

*konsil Kud 'Councilman Kud'*  
*council Kud*

Substance and form:

*ail waŋ 'canoe'*  
*tree boat*

*kilke waim 'clay pot'*  
*ground saucepan*

Function and item:

*kopra wande 'shed for copra'*  
*copra house*



(2) In the Location Compact Noun Phrase the nominaliser *-nu* optionally occurs on place names filling the Identifier slot and becomes obligatory when the Head tagmeme does not occur. The Head tagmeme is manifested by an animate noun or a Serial Phrase with animate nouns in the Units.

Location Compact Noun Phrase

| + Identifier                              | ± Head                         |
|---|--------------------------------|
| place name<br>Serial Ph<br><br><i>-nu</i> | noun<br>Serial Ph<br>(animate) |

Baŋu-nu tango 'a Bongu man'  
Bongu-ns man  
Ostreliya-nu 'an Australian (man)'  
Australia-ns

(3) In the Possessive Compact Noun Phrase the nominaliser *-nu* optionally occurs on divisible nouns filling the Head tagmeme and becomes obligatory when the Identifier tagmeme does not occur.

Possessive Compact Noun Phrase

| ± Identifier     | + Head  |
|------------------|---|
| indivisible noun | Divisible noun<br>Serial Ph<br><br><i>-nu</i> |

mbo kupe-nu 'the leg of a pig'  
pig leg-ns  
ail bot-nu 'the flower of a tree'  
tree flower-ns  
wai-nu kupe-nu 'his hands and feet'  
hand-ns foot-ns

3.1.1.2. Possessive Pronominal Phrase

The Possessive Pronominal Phrase fills the Head slot of the Modified Noun Phrase, Units of the Serial Phrase, Specifier of the Pronominal Phrase, Participant of the Accompaniment Phrase and Axis of the Participant, Resemblance and Referential Axis-Relator Phrases.

Possessive Pronominal Phrase

| +      +              |  |                       |
|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|
| ± Possessor           | + Head                                       | ± Possessor           |
| possessive<br>pronoun | Modified Noun<br>Ph<br>(possessible<br>noun) | possessive<br>pronoun |

Special Features:

- (a) The Modified Noun Phrase manifesting the Head tagmeme has a possessible noun as Head.
- (b) The Possessor tagmemes usually co-occur only when a kinship noun is filling the Head.
- (c) When Possessor tagmemes co-occur the slot fillers are identical.
- (d) When one Possessor tagmeme occurs, the post-head Possessor is normally used when second or third person possessive pronouns are filling the Possessor slot. When first person possessive pronouns are filling this slot the pre-head is obligatory.

nuge bara nuge 'his brother'  
his brother his

yige ndaret 'my cousin'  
my cousin

singine tumbran 'our village'  
our village

mbo nuge 'his pig'  
pig his

### 3.1.1.3. Serial Phrase

The Serial Phrase is composed of two or more Unit tagmemes manifested by items from the same semantic domain. Tagmemes are optionally conjoined by the conjunction *ko* 'or' and *le* 'and'.

There are three Serial Phrases distinguished by different fillers and distribution: The Serial Temporal Phrase which manifests the Time tagmeme of Clauses; the Serial Location Phrase which manifests the Location tagmeme of Clauses and the Object tagmeme of the Motion Clause; the Serial Noun Phrase which manifests the Head tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, Specifier tagmeme of the Pronominal Phrase and Axis of Attributive and Referential Phrases.

Unit tagmemes of the Serial Temporal Phrase are manifested by temporals and Temporal Phrases, and Unit tagmemes of the Serial Location Phrase by place names. The Serial Noun Phrase is represented by the bi-dimensional array:

## Serial Noun Phrase .....

| + Unit 1   | + ( $\pm$ Link                    | + Unit 2) <sup>6</sup> |
|--|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| pronoun<br>Compact Noun Ph<br>Poss Pronominal Ph<br>Modified Noun Ph<br>Serial Noun Ph<br>Apposition Noun Ph<br>Attributive <i>gak</i> Ph<br>Resemblance <i>suk</i> Ph<br>Referential <i>tuku</i> Ph | <i>le</i> 'and'<br><i>ko</i> 'or' | as for Unit 1          |

## Special Features:

- (a) The Link tagmeme does not usually occur when there are more than two Unit tagmemes.
- (b) There is a semantic restriction between fillers in that inanimate nouns are not conjoined with animate nouns.
- (c) Up to six Unit tagmemes have been found to occur in a Serial Phrase.

*ngarosu tumail 'bodies and faces'*  
*body face*

*Uyum le Sagaf-nge 'Uyum and Sagaf'*  
*Uyum and Sagaf-spec*

*wan tiq-nu kiya tiq-nu nguromu nzu*  
*wan seed-ns ginger seed-ns potato shoot*

*'wan seeds, ginger seeds and sweet potato shoots'*

## Serial Temporal Phrase:

*kite ko indole 'today or tomorrow'*  
*today or tomorrow*

*indole maratukuk ko furiram 'tomorrow morning or evening'*  
*tomorrow morning or evening*

## Serial Location Phrase:

*Bangu-nge Madan-nge Kumisanger-nge*  
*Bongu-spec Madang-spec Kumisanger-spec*

*'Bongu, Madang (and/or) Kumisanger'*

## 3.1.2. Phrases with General Distribution

Phrases with General Distribution include the Modified Noun Phrase and the Apposition Phrase.

## 3.1.2.1. Modified Noun Phrase

The Modified Noun Phrase has the widest distribution within the Clause and potentially manifests the largest number of tagmemes in any one Phrase. It fills the Subject, Object, Indirect Object, Topic and Comment slots of Clauses and nuclear slots of Phrases.

## Modified Noun Phrase

| + (± Possessor         | ± Head   | ± Modifier <sup>2</sup>   | ± Number | ± Demonstrative)         |
|------------------------|--|---|----------|--------------------------|
| Referential<br>tuku Ph | pronoun<br>Modified Noun Ph<br>Compact Noun Ph<br>Poss Pronominal Ph<br>Serial Noun Ph | adjective<br>Attributive ɲak Ph<br>Resemblance suk Ph<br>Nominalised Cl<br>Construction + -ok | numeral  | deictic<br>demonstrative |

## Special Features:

- (a) The Head tagmeme is optional only in a clear context in which case a peripheral tagmeme/s is permitted to be the only manifestation of the Phrase.
- (b) The Modifier tagmeme optionally occurs twice.
- (c) When the Head tagmeme is manifested by a non-possessible noun or a pronoun the Possessor tagmeme does not occur.
- (d) The Number tagmeme optionally precedes the Modifier tagmeme to emphasise number.
- (e) The Possessor tagmeme optionally follows the Head to emphasise the item being possessed.
- (f) The Modifier tagmeme precedes the Head to emphasise the Modifier.

kule ande maye-nu 'a good river'  
river one good-ns

kame sungo ande 'a great war'  
fight big one

yine ndaret fudiŋ-ndo 'my younger cousin'  
my cousin small-ex

saibo ta 'that old (woman)'  
old that

nu tuku wande urfu-nu armba ta 'those two old houses of his'  
he rel house old-ns two that

## 3.1.2.2. Apposition Phrase

The Apposition Phrase is composed of obligatory Item and Apposition 1 tagmemes and an optional and rarely occurring Apposition 2 tagmeme, all manifested by items having the same syntactic function and the same real-world referent.

There are three Apposition Phrases distinguished by different fillers and distribution: The Apposition Temporal Phrase expounds the Time tagmeme of Clauses; the Apposition Location Phrase expounds the Location tagmeme of Clauses and the Object tagmeme of the Motion Clause; the Apposition Noun Phrase expounds the Subject, Object, Indirect Object and Comment tagmemes of Clauses, the Participant tagmeme of the Accompaniment Phrase, Specifier of the Pronominal Phrase and Axis of the Participant, Inclusion and Referential Axis-Relator Phrases.

Item and Apposition tagmemes of the Apposition Temporal Phrase are manifested by temporals and Temporal Phrases. Item and Apposition of the Apposition Location Phrase are manifested by locatives, nouns and the Location Phrase. The Apposition Noun Phrase is represented by the bi-dimensional array:

## Apposition Noun Phrase

| + Item   | + Apposition 1  | ± Apposition 2         |
|--|---|------------------------|
| pronoun<br>Accompaniment Ph<br>Modified Noun Ph<br>Included Cl | pronoun<br>deictic demonstrative<br>Modified Noun Ph<br>Exclusive<br>Pronominal Ph<br>gudommba 'many' | as for<br>Apposition 1 |

## Item Apposition

tango Siya tango ta-nge  
man Siar man that-spec  
'a man, the Siar man'

## Item Apposition

Ostreliya-nu tango ngaronak sungo ta  
Australia-ns man whiteman great that  
'the Australian, the important white man'

## Item Apposition

tango ta tango afu pino afu ndon gudommba  
man that man some woman some with many  
'that man with other men and women, many (of them)'

## Item Apposition

tango pino min-ig ta nane nakmba  
man woman be-3p.pr that they all  
'the men and women who are there, all of them'

## Apposition Temporal Phrase:

indole mande 'tomorrow, Monday'  
tomorrow Monday

## Item Apposition 1 Apposition 2

nowemba fotin mbol-nge furir wan kilok  
November fourteen at-spec night one o'clock  
'on November 14th., at night, at one o'clock'

## Apposition Location Phrase:

te Madang-nge 'here, at Madang'  
this Madang-spec  
nzi-nge nane tugum-nge  
down.there-spec they close.to-spec  
'down there near them'

### 3.1.3. Phrases with Specific Distribution

Phrases with Specific Distribution include the Pronominal Phrase, Exclusive Pronominal Phrase, Accompaniment Phrase, Inclusion Phrase and Location Phrase.

#### 3.1.3.1. Pronominal Phrase

The Pronominal Phrase involves a relationship of inclusiveness between a noun and a pronoun and fills the Subject tagmeme of Clauses, Topic tagmeme of the Equative Clause and Participant 1 tagmeme of the Accompaniment Phrase. When manifesting the Subject tagmeme, the Pronominal Phrase is not marked with the specific clitic -nge as are other Phrases. The pronoun manifesting the Head tagmeme substitutes for the clitic.

#### Pronominal Phrase

| + Specifier  | + Head           |
|--|------------------|
| Compact Noun Ph<br>Poss Pronominal Ph<br>Modified Noun Ph<br>Apposition Noun Ph<br>Serial Noun Ph<br>(animate nouns) | personal pronoun |

Special Features:

- (a) When the Head tagmeme is manifested by first person pronouns the order of tagmemes is obligatorily reversed.
- (b) Semantically the person referred to in the Specifier tagmeme is a member of the person/s referred to in the Head tagmeme.
- (c) Phrases manifesting the Specifier tagmeme have an animate noun/s as Head.

Pita nane 'Peter and the others'  
Peter they

sine tango 'we men'  
we man

tango mo-nu pino mbanzo nane 'the young men and women'  
man young-ns woman young they

Rut nu 'Ruth'  
Ruth she

#### 3.1.3.2. Exclusive Pronominal Phrase

The Exclusive Pronominal Phrase fills the Subject slot of Clauses and the Apposition slot of the Apposition Noun Phrase. As in the Pronominal Phrase the specifier -nge does not usually occur with this Phrase.

## Exclusive Pronominal Phrase

| + Head             | + Exclusion               |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| possessive pronoun | ndo 'only'<br>mata 'also' |

Semantically when ndo 'only' is used the exclusion of others is in focus. When mata 'also' is used the state of aloneness is in focus.

nuge mata 'he alone'  
his also

yige mata 'I alone'  
my also

yige mata (min-et) 'I (am here) alone'  
my also be-1s.pr

nuge ndo 'only he'  
his only

nage ndo 'only you'  
your only

sikile ndo 'only us (dual)'  
our.d only

Tawel nuge ndo (piro kareŋ-k-a min-it)  
Tawel his only work do.hard-cm-dep be-3s.pr  
'only Tawel (is working hard)'

## 3.1.3.3. Accompaniment Phrase

The Accompaniment Phrase expounds the Subject and Object tagmemes of Clauses.

## Accompaniment Phrase

| + Summary               | + Participant 1   | + Participant 2        |
|-------------------------|---|------------------------|
| plural personal pronoun | personal pronoun<br>Apposition Noun Ph<br>Compact Noun Ph<br>Poss Pronominal Ph<br>Modified Noun Ph<br>Pronominal Ph<br>(animate nouns) | Participant ndon<br>Ph |

## Special Features:

- The Summary tagmeme optionally occurs only when a Pronominal Phrase is filling the Participant 1 tagmeme. Its slot filler is identical with the pronoun filling the Head of the Pronominal Phrase.
- The Summary tagmeme does not occur when a pronoun is manifesting the Participant 1 tagmeme.
- The Phrases manifesting Participant tagmemes have animate nouns or personal pronouns as Head.

Participant 1 Participant 2

sile Mawa ndoŋ  
we.d Mawa with

*'we two with Mawa'*

Participant 1 Participant 2

Malan nane ngaronak sugo kenmba ta ndoŋ  
Malang they whiteman big three that with

*'Malang with the three foreign leaders'*

Summary Participant 1 Participant 2

nale Ngawek nale Mbunam ndoŋ  
they.d Ngawek they.d Mbunam with

*'Ngawek with Mbunam'*

Participant 1 Participant 2

ye Laif nane ndoŋ  
I Laif they with

*'Laif and I with the others'*

#### 3.1.3.4. Inclusion Phrase

The Inclusion Phrase expounds the Subject and Object tagmemes of Clauses. This Phrase is similar to the Accompaniment Phrase, but unlike it, does not have an optional Summary tagmeme and the constructions that are the fillers of the two contrast.

##### Inclusion Phrase

|                             |                  |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| + Item                      | + Inclusion      |
| pronoun<br>Modified Noun Ph | Inclusion tur Ph |

kau armba kas gabat ndindo turmba  
betelnut two tobacco head one as.well.as

*'two betelnuts and also one head of tobacco'*

Tauta misis armba ta tango ande turmba  
Tauta white.woman two that man one as.well.as

*'the two white women from Tauta and a man also'*

tango te age ande turmba (ul-aig)  
man this dog one as.well.as (shoot-3p.ip)

*'(they shot) this man and also (shot) a dog'*

This Phrase transforms to a Sequence Sentence when a speaker wishes to highlight the real-world items represented by the Item and Inclusion tagmemes. In such a case the verb plus *sulumba* 'and' are inserted between the Item and the Inclusion.

tango te ul-aig sulumba age ande turmba ul-aig  
man this shoot-3p.ip and dog one as.well.as shoot-3p.ip

*'They shot this man and they also shot a dog.'*



### 3.1.3.5. Location Phrase

The Location Phrase expounds the Object tagmeme of the Motion Clause and the Location tagmeme of all other Clauses. The specifier *-nge* obligatorily occurs phrase-finally except when the Phrase is filling the Object tagmeme of the Motion Clause and encoding goal, in which case it does not occur. It does occur when the Object tagmeme is encoding source. The demonstrative filling the Direction slot in the Location Phrase indicates the direction in relation to the speaker.

#### Location Phrase

| + Head   | ± Direction                          |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| directional demonstrative<br>place name<br>noun-derived locative<br>Modified Noun Ph<br>Positional Ph<br>Instrument mbi Ph | deictic/directional<br>demonstrative |

#### Special Features:

(a) The Modified Noun Phrase expounding the Head tagmeme has a place name or noun-derived locative as Head.

(b) When a directional demonstrative is expounding the Head tagmeme the Direction tagmeme is manifested by the deictic demonstrative *ta* 'that'.

samba mbol ambe-nge 'in the sky'  
sky at up-spec

Mawa tugum ta-nge 'near Mawa'  
Mawa close.to there-spec

Madang si-nge 'at Madang'  
Madang there-spec

ambe ta (kin-it) '(he is going) up there'  
up there go-3s.pr

### 3.1.4. Axis-Relator Phrases

Axis-Relator Phrases are those Phrases which have an Axis related by postposition markers to the Clause or Phrase in which they occur. The seven Axis-Relator Phrases are listed with their fillers in the chart of Axis-Relator Phrases.

## Axis-Relator Phrases

| Phrase                      | Axis  | Relator  |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| Attributive <i>ŋak</i> Ph   | ±<br>pronoun<br>Serial Noun Ph<br>Modified Noun Ph<br>Nominalised Cl<br><i>ta</i> 'that'  | +<br><i>ŋak</i> 'has, with'<br><i>kugatok</i> 'without'    |
| Participant <i>ndonŋ</i> Ph | +<br>pronoun<br>Compact Noun Ph<br>Poss Pronominal Ph<br>Apposition Noun Ph<br>Modified Noun Ph   | +<br><i>ndonŋ</i> 'with'                                   |
| Inclusion <i>tur</i> Ph     | +<br>pronoun<br>Modified Noun Ph<br>Apposition Noun Ph  | +<br><i>tur</i> 'along with'<br><i>turmba</i> 'as well as' |
| Resemblance <i>suk</i> Ph   | +<br>pronoun<br>Apposition Noun Ph<br>Compact Noun Ph<br>Poss Pronominal Ph<br>Modified Noun Ph<br>Nominalised Cl                               | +<br><i>suk</i> 'like'                                     |
| Referential <i>tuku</i> Ph  | +<br>pronoun<br>Compact Noun Ph<br>Poss Pronominal Ph<br>Apposition Noun Ph<br>Modified Noun Ph<br>Serial Ph<br>Infinitive Cl<br>Independent Cl | +<br><i>tuku</i> 'relating to'                             |
| Instrument <i>mbi</i> Ph    | +<br>deictic/directional<br>demonstrative<br>Modified Noun Ph<br>Clause   | +<br><i>mbi</i> 'with'                                     |
| Positional Ph               | ±<br>borrowed temporal<br>pronoun<br>deictic demonstrative<br>Modified Noun Ph  | +<br>positional  |

### 3.1.4.1. *Attributive nak Phrase*

The Attributive *nak* Phrase expounds the Modifier tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, Comment tagmeme of the Equative Clause and Manner tagmeme of Clauses. The Axis tagmeme can be omitted in a context where the item manifesting the Axis is clearly understood.

Manifesting Modifier:

afu wane nak 'some with leaves'  
some leaf with

kau minge nak 'betelnut with stems'  
betelnut mouth with

Manifesting Comment:

kar piya nak 'the car has a charge'  
car payment with

Manifesting Manner:

nane Ø nak kum-naig 'they (still) had (teeth when) they  
they (teeth) with die-3p.pa died'

The negative counterpart of the Attributive Phrase has *kugatok* 'without' manifesting the Relator.

sawe kule kugatok min-eg 'we remain without rain'  
rain water without be-lp.pr

afu kuzuru kugatok 'some without shoots'  
some shoot without

### 3.1.4.2. *Participant ndoŋ Phrase*

The Participant *ndoŋ* Phrase expounds the Participant 2 tagmeme of the Accompaniment Phrase.

ngaronak sugo kenmba ta ndoŋ 'with the three foreign leaders'  
whiteman big.p three that with

bara nuŋe ndoŋ 'with his brother'  
brother his with

### 3.1.4.3. *Inclusion tur Phrase*

The Inclusion *tur* Phrase expounds the Inclusion tagmeme of the Inclusion Phrase. The Relator is in form the verb *tur* 'help'. When meaning 'along with' it remains unaffixed. When meaning 'as well as' it takes the dependent suffix *-mba*.

tango ande turmba 'one man also'  
man one as.well.as

kau turmba 'betelnut also'  
betelnut as.well.as

ndare tur 'the blood also'  
blood along.with

3.1.4.4. *Resemblance suk Phrase*

The Resemblance *suk* Phrase expounds the Modifier tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, Comment tagmeme of the Equative Clause and Manner tagmeme of Clauses.

Manifesting Modifier/Comment:

ragitap tiŋ-nu suk 'like a turtle's egg'  
 turtle seed-ns like  
 sip suk 'like a ship'  
 ship like

Manifesting Manner:

ail waŋ suk (ibeŋ-k-ina) '(it berthed) like a canoe'  
 tree canoe like berth-cm-3s.pa

Another function of the Resemblance *suk* Phrase is to indicate that something is exceptional. In this use the Relator is reduplicated and the negative *kuga* 'no' terminates the Phrase.

bubre suk suk kuga 'an exceptional wind'  
 wind like like no  
 tango suk suk kuga 'an exceptional crowd'  
 man like like no

3.1.4.5. *Referential tuku Phrase*

The Referential *tuku* Phrase expounds the Possessor tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, Referent and Comment tagmemes of Clauses and first Base of the Corollary Sentence when the Sentence is encoding frustrated modality. When the Phrase manifests the Referent tagmeme of Clauses it encodes benefaction 'on behalf of', reference 'about', purpose 'for' and circumstance 'in view of'. When encoding purpose the Axis is filled by an infinitive Clause.

Manifesting Possessor:

tisa tuku (age) 'the teacher's (dog)'  
 teacher rel dog

Manifesting Referent:

Uyum tuku (tol-mba) '(pouring) for Uyum..'  
 Uyum rel pour-dep  
 (tango) li-k-inaig tuku (puro-naig)  
 men walk-cm-3p.pa rel arrive-3p.pa  
 'since (the men) had been travelling (they arrived)'  
 nguromuŋ tuku (kubewam-ngit)  
 sweet.potato rel relate-int-ls.fu  
 '(I will talk) about sweet potatoes'

Manifesting Comment:

(nyugli ta) ny-am tuku '(the cucumber) is for eating'  
 cucumber that eat-int rel

For an example of the Phrase filling Base 1 of a Corollary Sentence see Section 5.4.3.4.

#### 3.1.4.6. Instrument mbi Phrase

The Instrument mbi Phrase expounds the Instrument tagmeme of Clauses and the Head tagmeme of the Location Phrase. When a Clause is manifesting the Axis tagmeme, the Phrase only expounds the Head tagmeme of the Location Phrase.

Manifesting Instrument:

mbanduwan mbi 'with a bow'  
bow inst

nune wamdus mbi (k-ina) '(he went) of his own accord/  
his thought inst go-3s.pa it was his own idea (to go)'

Manifesting Head of Location Phrase:

nakile kiny-inaik mbi (ta-nge) 'the place where they (dual)  
their.d sleep-3d.pa inst that-spec slept'

tumbran make mbi 'at the edge of the village'  
village edge inst

#### 3.1.4.7. Positional Phrase

The Positional Phrase expounds the Head tagmeme of the Location Phrase, Item and Apposition tagmemes of the Apposition Time Phrase, Time tagmeme of Clauses and the Consequence tagmeme of the Consequence Paragraph.

When manifesting the Time tagmemes of Clauses and Phrases the Axis slot is filled by a time construction and the Relator by mbol 'at, on'. When manifesting the Consequence tagmeme of the Consequence Paragraph the Axis tagmeme is manifested by a deictic demonstrative and the Relator by sinam 'inside' or mbol 'at, on'.

When the Positional Phrase alone is the manifestation of the Location Phrase the Relator is obligatorily suffixed by the specific clitic -nge. The only exception is when the Location Phrase is filling the Object tagmeme of the Motion Clause and encoding goal, in which case -nge does not occur.

Manifesting Head of Location Phrase:

kule sinam-nge 'under the water'  
water inside-spec

Manifesting Time of Clauses:

kusem mbol-nge 'on Sunday'  
holiday on-spec

Manifesting Consequence of Consequence Paragraph:

ta sinam-nge 'as a result of that'  
that inside-spec

### 3.2. VERB PHRASES

Verb Phrases contrast with Non-Verb Phrases because of differing fillers and distribution. The tagmemes of Verb Phrases are manifested by verbs consisting of the verb endocentre or the whole verb with the exocentre. Verb Phrases expound the obligatory Predicate tagmeme of Clauses.

It has been difficult to determine whether some verb sequences are filling slots at phrase or sentence level. I use the term "verb sequence" to mean one or more dependent verbs terminating with a dependent or independent verb. Some of these verb sequences are closely knit and are rarely separated by other clause level slots. I have chosen to describe these suspect verb sequences at sentence level, however, because each non-final verb in the sequence is inflected with the dependent suffix, whereas the first verb in a Verb Phrase is expounded by a stem only.

A Verb Phrase consists of two obligatory tagmemes. The initial tagmeme is manifested by a verb consisting of the verb endocentre and the final tagmeme by a verb consisting of the whole verb including the exocentre. One exception is when the Phrase embeds into another Verb Phrase, in which case the verb exocentre does not occur.

When a verb consisting of the verb endocentre includes the first order suffix it obligatorily terminates with -e except when occurring in the Continuative Auxiliary Phrase. In this usage -e seems to indicate that is is the first order suffix of the first verb that is diagnostic, not the first order suffix of the verb manifesting the phrase-final tagmeme. When a Zero class verb manifests the phrase-initial tagmeme it obligatorily terminates with -e to accommodate the Zero verb stress pattern (see Section 0.2.).

Verb Phrases include the Complex Verb Phrase, the Auxiliary Verb Phrase and the Negative Verb Phrase. Verb Phrases are separated according to their different fillers and by the manner in which the fillers relate to each other. In the Complex Verb Phrase the fillers are of equal status; in the Auxiliary Verb Phrase one filler supplements the other; in the Negative Verb Phrase one filler negates the other.

#### 3.2.1. Complex Verb Phrase

The Complex Verb Phrase expounds the Predicate tagmeme of Clauses and the Head tagmemes of the Auxiliary and Negative Verb Phrases. The verbs expounding the two obligatory tagmemes are semantically restricted and closely knit. The complete Phrase indicates the meaning of the action which can differ from that of the sum of the two verbs when used

in isolation. The Head 1 tagmeme is manifested by a verb stem and the Head 2 by a verb with its exocentre.

#### Complex Verb Phrase

| + Head 1                | + Head 2                                 |
|-------------------------|--|
| verb stem<br>(selected) | verb<br>Repetitive Verb Ph<br>(selected) |

The combinations found thus far would be by no means the total number used. The Head 1 fillers seem to be more restricted than the Head 2 fillers. A representative list of the verb combinations and the resultant meanings is given.

|               |                                    |                                     |
|---------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| pike<br>cut   | ngur-mba<br>break-dep              | '(he) slashed (the mountain) and..' |
| pike<br>cut   | pur-te<br>divide-3s.pr             | 'he shatters (it)'                  |
| pike<br>cut   | pur pur-te<br>divide divide-3s.pr  | 'he repeatedly shatters it'         |
| biye<br>hold  | kusre-n-ina<br>leave-you-3s.pa     | 'he let you go'                     |
| biye<br>hold  | ndiq-n-ate<br>fix.firmly-you-3s.pr | 'he clings to you'                  |
| biye<br>hold  | mbil mbil-mba<br>turn turn-dep     | '(he) steered (the aircraft) and..' |
| pur<br>divide | fe-te<br>clean-3s.pr               | 'it dawns'                          |
| pur<br>divide | ka-gig<br>go-3p.1p                 | 'they disappeared'                  |
| kat<br>hit    | pitai-mba<br>throw.out-dep         | 'shove and..'                       |
| kuer<br>slice | pur-te<br>divide-3s.pr             | 'he separates it'                   |
| kine<br>go    | il-mba<br>come-dep                 | '(he) went back and forth and..'    |
| bale<br>kill  | far-de<br>spread-3p.pr             | 'they massacre them'                |

#### 3.2.2. Auxiliary Verb Phrase

The Auxiliary Verb Phrase expounds the Predicate tagmeme of Clauses and the Head tagmeme of the Negative Verb Phrase. The Auxiliary Verb Phrase consists of an obligatory Head tagmeme and an obligatory Auxiliary tagmeme. The verb expounding the Head tagmeme consists of the verb endocentre which is a verb stem or a verb stem plus the first order suffix. The verb expounding the Auxiliary tagmeme consists of the verb endocentre. The verb used as Auxiliary loses its lexical meaning.

Auxiliary Verb Phrases are divided into Auxiliary 1 and Auxiliary 2 Verb Phrases. In Auxiliary 1 Verb Phrases the Head slot is almost filled by a verb stem plus the first order suffix. In Auxiliary 2 Verb Phrases the Head slot is almost always filled by a verb stem only.

### 3.2.2.1. Auxiliary 1 Verb Phrases

The Chart of Auxiliary 1 Verb Phrases lists the Phrases with their fillers.

#### Auxiliary 1 Verb Phrases

|                           | + Head                                | + Auxiliary                      |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) Distributive Verb Ph  | any verb stem plus first order suffix | li- 'walk'                       |
| (2) Unsuccessful Verb Ph  | any verb stem plus first order suffix | pi-se- 'fail'                    |
| (3) Inabilitative Verb Ph | any verb stem plus first order suffix | fugu- 'unable'                   |
| (4) Completive Verb Ph    | any verb stem plus first order suffix | Complex Verb Ph: deŋ pur 'cease' |
| (5) Entire Verb Ph        | any verb stem plus first order suffix | sulu- 'finish'                   |
| (6) Causative Verb Ph     | any verb stem plus first order suffix | t- 'give'                        |

#### (1) Distributive Verb Phrase

ngu-ke li-k-inaig 'they planted them out'  
 plant-cm walk-cm-3p.pa  
 kanger-ke li-k-it 'I saw each one'  
 see-them walk-cm-ls.ip  
 mine li-k-inaig 'they were scattered'  
 be walk-cm-3p.pa  
 kukul-ninge li-k-a '(he) sent several at different times and..'  
 send-them walk-cm-dep  
 minyo-ke li-k-inaig 'they sat down in different places'  
 sit-cm walk-cm-3p.pa

(2) Unsuccessful Verb Phrase. The first order suffix of the verb filling the Head tagmeme is obligatorily repeated for emphasis.

yabu-ke-ke pi-se-ng-a '(she) failed to hide it and..'  
 hide-cm-cm fail-cm-dep  
 kanger-ke-ke pi-se-ng-ina 'he looked and looked for them without  
 see-them-them fail-cm-3s.pa success'  
 wi-ke-ke pi-se-ng-en 'I called and called without success'  
 call-cm-cm fail-cm-ls.pa



## (3) Inabilitative Verb Phrase

kanger-ne fugu-na 'he was unable to see you'  
 see-you unable-3s.pa

go-ninge fugu-mba '(he was) unable to remove it and..'  
 remove-them unable-dep

te-du-nge fugu-te 'he is unable to lift it'  
 take.s-lift-cm unable-3s.pr

ule fugu-te 'he is unable to cross (the river)'  
 ford unable-3s.pr

pitai-ne fugu-naig 'they were unable to throw you out'  
 throw-you unable-3p.pa

## (4) Completive Verb Phrase: the Auxiliary tagmeme is filled by the Complex Verb Phrase den pur 'chop, divide' meaning 'cease'.

pile den pur-mba 'having finished building (the house)'  
 put cease-dep

kuse den pur-mba 'having finished tying (the bundles)'  
 tie cease-dep

kutu-we den pur-na 'he finished pouring it out'  
 pour-it cease-3s.pa

bareṅ-ninge den pur-mba 'having finished sowing (the seed)'  
 fling-them cease-dep

## (5) The Entire Verb Phrase is very similar to the Completive Verb Phrase but in the Completive Verb Phrase the completion of an action is in focus and in the Entire Verb Phrase the completion of an object is in focus.

pike sulu-mba '(he) cut (them) all and..'  
 cut finish-dep

pan-ke sulu-na 'he wasted all (his money)'  
 throw.away-cm finish-3s.pa

nde-ke sulu-wam-ngat 'it will fall down entirely'  
 go.down-cm finish-int-3s.fu

simbri sambri-we sulu-wam-ngaig 'they will destroy all (the  
 break.up break.up-cm finish-int-3p.fu houses)'

kume sulu-naig 'they all died'  
 die finish-3p.pa

## (6) Causative Verb Phrase. The Auxiliary tagmeme is manifested by the irregular verb 'give' (see Section 2.2.3.).

(muskil) kile-tidi-nge sing-it  
 (back) take.p-stand-cm give.us-3s.pr  
 'he straightens (our backs) for us'

(nane wamdus) pur fewe ning-ina  
 (they thoughts) divide clear give.them-3s.pa  
 'he gave them understanding'

(kupe) te-tiwe tu-klk  
 (leg) take.s-stand give.him-ld.1p  
 'we fixed his (leg) completely'

(ngamungal) ulendiwe ning-am-ngat  
 (inner.being) join give.them-int-3s.fu  
 '(he) will cause them to be reconciled'

3.2.2.2. *Auxiliary 2 Verb Phrases*

Auxiliary 2 Verb Phrases include Intensive, Augmentative, Repetitive, Continuative and Enumerative Verb Phrases. The Head tagmeme is expounded by a verb stem except in the Continuative Verb Phrase when it is expounded by a verb stem plus the first order suffix. The chart of Auxiliary 2 Verb Phrases lists the five Phrases with their fillers and also shows which of the Auxiliary 1 Verb Phrases are permitted to embed within these.

## Auxiliary 2 Verb Phrases

|                             | + Head   | + Auxiliary                                 |
|-----------------------------|--|---|
| (1) Intensive<br>Verb Ph    | any verb stem<br>Compleitive Verb Ph<br>Repetitive Verb Ph | ɲayo- 'bad'<br>maye- 'good'                 |
| (2) Augmentative<br>Verb Ph | verb stem<br>(selected)                                    | ti- 'well'<br>tor- 'strong'<br>sungo- 'big' |
| (3) Repetitive<br>Verb Ph   | any verb stem  | Repeat of<br>Head                           |
| (4) Continuative<br>Verb Ph | verb stem<br>(selected)                                    | min- 'be'                                   |
| (5) Enumerative<br>Verb Ph  | any verb stem  | verb of<br>enumeration                      |

## (1) Intensive Verb Phrase

kulat maye-wa 'care for (him) well'  
care.for well-2s.po  
dubi maye-na 'he followed (him) well'  
follow well-3s.pa  
mine maye-naig 'they lived well'  
be well-3p.pa  
wakei ɲayo-geɲ 'we constructed poorly'  
construct poor-lp.pa  
(piro) sulu maye-mba 'finished (the work) well and..'  
work finish well-dep  
malmbi ɲayo-wam-ngaig 'they will cry excessively'  
cry poor-int-3p.fu

(2) Augmentative Verb Phrase: The verb stems filling the Head slot are semantically restricted to verbs expressing emotion or the verb ny- 'eat'.

gare tor-mba '(he is) very happy and..'  
happy strong-dep  
gubra tor-te 'he is very angry'  
angry strong-3s.pr  
rar tor-na 'it was very painful'  
pain strong-3s.pa

gare sungo-na 'he was extremely happy'  
 happy big-3s.pa  
 nye sungo-na 'he (prepared) a great feast'  
 eat big-3s.pa  
 kanger ti-wa 'watch well'  
 see stand-2s.po  
 biye ti-n-ate 'he seizes you'  
 hold stand-you-3s.pr

## (3) Repetitive Verb Phrase

pinder pinder-mba '(they) ran and ran and..'  
 run run-dep  
 kat kat-mba '(they) repeatedly hit it and..'  
 hit hit-dep  
 lu lu-k-ate 'he repeatedly returns'  
 return return-cm-3s.pr  
 nguspe nguspe-y-ina 'he repeatedly spat on me'  
 spit spit-me-3s.pa

(4) Continuative Verb Phrase: Verbs found manifesting the Head tagmeme are tair 'wait', minde 'wait', pasa 'talk', minyok 'sit' and kangaŋ 'listen'. The verbs 'sit' and 'listen' take the first order suffix.

tair min-en 'I was waiting'  
 wait be-ls.pa  
 minyo-k min-mba '(he) was sitting and..'  
 sit-cm be-dep  
 pasa min-geŋ 'we were talking'  
 talk be-lp.pa  
 kanga-ŋ min-naig 'they were listening'  
 listen-cm be-3p.pa

## (5) Enumerative Verb Phrase

fet ar-k-ina 'it tore in two'  
 tear two-cm-3s.pa  
 kuer keŋ-mba '(he) sliced it into three and..'  
 slice three-dep

## 3.2.3. Negative Verb Phrase

The Negative Verb Phrase fills the Predicate tagmeme of Clauses. The Phrase consists of an obligatory Head tagmeme and an obligatory Negative tagmeme manifested by the negative verb *nda*. The verb manifesting the final tagmeme contains the verb exocentre except when the negative verb *nda* is used emphatically in which case the verb exocentre does not occur. The non-final tagmeme is manifested by a verb stem.

## Negative Verb Phrase

| + Head  | + Negative     |
|---|----------------|
| any verb stem<br>Auxiliary Verb Ph<br>Complex Verb Ph | nda (negative) |

## Special Features:

- (a) The Negative tagmeme optionally precedes the Head and the verb manifesting the Head then contains the verb exocentre.
- (b) When the Negative tagmeme occurs phrase-finally the negative *nda* optionally occurs unaffixed to emphasize the negative.
- (c) Auxiliary and Complex Verb Phrases manifesting the Head in this construction end with a verb stem.

*nda* *katese-na*                    *'he did not understand'*  
*neg* *understand-3s.pa*

*nda* *pik-a*                    *'don't cut (me)'*  
*neg* *cut-2s.po*

*nye* *nda-k-ina*                *'she did not eat (the lizard)'*  
*eat* *neg-cm-3s.pa*

*piro* *maye* *nda-na*            *'he did not work well'*  
*work* *good* *neg-3s.pa*

*kine* *nda*    *'(I) am definitely not going'*  
*go*    *neg*

*tine*            *nda*    *'(I) will never give (him) to you'*  
*give.you* *neg*

## CHAPTER 4

### CLAUSE

4.0. A Siroi Clause is defined as a construction in the grammatical hierarchy between phrase and sentence level. It contains one Predicate or Predicate-like tagmeme and typically manifests tagmemes of Sentences. Embedding of Clause within Clause and backlooping of Clause within Phrase in Non-Verb Phrases is fairly common.

The Predicate is the only tagmeme which is consistently obligatory to any clause type except the Equative, and is therefore considered nuclear to the Clause and the tagmeme which usually determines clause types. Subject, Object, Indirect Object, Instrument and Specification tagmemes, although generally not obligatory to the Clause are considered diagnostic in that they show contrast between clause types and are therefore relevant in distinguishing them. Location, Time, Referent, Postposition and Manner tagmemes are optional and considered to be peripheral in that they are not diagnostic but are irrelevant in the distinguishing of clause types.

Although there are eleven tagmemes relating to the Clause, normally a maximum of only four or five are included in any one Clause and Clauses with two or three tagmemes are the most common.

Clauses are independent, dependent or infinitive according to verb suffixation. Verbs manifesting the Predicate tagmeme of independent Clauses take independent suffixes; verbs manifesting the Predicate of dependent Clauses take dependent suffixes; verbs manifesting the Predicate of infinitive Clauses take the intention suffix. These divisions are based on the verb exocentre and on distribution. There are no other structural differences between these Clauses.

## 4.1. CLAUSE TYPES

Because the Predicate is obligatory to any clause type apart from Equative it has been necessary to look at the exponents of this tagmeme in order to establish clause types. All exponents of the Predicate tagmeme optionally co-occur with peripheral tagmemes but not with diagnostic tagmemes. The optional presence or obligatory absence of these diagnostic tagmemes as determined by the exponent of the Predicate tagmeme is the basic criterion for establishing clause types, and is illustrated in the chart of clause types.

Clause Types

|                    | S | T | IO | O | I | Sp | C | P                                    |
|--------------------|---|---|----|---|---|----|---|--------------------------------------|
| Transitive Emotion | - | - | -  | ± | - | ±  | - | +<br>transitive verb<br>(of emotion) |
| Quotation          | ± | - | -  | + | - | -  | - | +<br>ng- (quotation<br>verb)         |
| Ditransitive       | ± | - | ±  | ± | ± | -  | - | +<br>transitive verb<br>(selected)   |
| Transitive         | ± | - | -  | ± | ± | -  | - | +<br>transitive verb                 |
| Motion             | ± | - | -  | ± | ± | -  | - | +<br>motion verb                     |
| Intransitive       | ± | - | -  | - | ± | -  | - | +<br>intransitive<br>verb            |
| Equative           | - | ± |    |   |   |    | + | ±<br>min- 'be'                       |

## 4.2. CLAUSE GROUPINGS

The tagmemes of the Transitive Emotion, Ditransitive, Transitive, Motion and Intransitive Clauses have a degree of similarity, and for simplicity of description are grouped together under the heading of General Clauses. The Quotation Clause is distinct in that the Object tagmeme is filled by any utterance which is meaningful to the context. The utterance can range from a single word to a Discourse. Although distinct, the Clause will be described following the Transitive Emotion Clause since the diagnostic tagmemes of the two Clauses are the most similar. The Equative Clause has distinct tagmemes and will be described separately.

#### 4.2.1. General Clauses

Tagmemes of General Clauses frequently have similar exponents although there are some minor differences. The chart of Clause Diagnostic Tagmeme Exponents lists the exponents of the diagnostic tagmemes occurring in the Transitive Emotion, Ditransitive, Transitive, Motion and Intransitive Clauses. Any limitations are noted under Special Features.

Clause Diagnostic Tagmeme Exponents

|                        | S | IO | O | I | Sp |
|------------------------|---|----|---|---|----|
| personal pronoun       | x | x  | x |   | x  |
| noun                   |   |    |   |   | x  |
| Compact Noun Ph        | x | x  | x |   |    |
| Poss Pronominal Ph     | x | x  | x |   |    |
| Serial Noun Ph         | x | x  | x |   |    |
| Modified Noun Ph       | x | x  | x |   |    |
| Pronominal Ph          | x |    | x |   |    |
| Accompaniment Ph       | x | x  | x |   |    |
| Inclusion Ph           | x | x  | x |   |    |
| Apposition Noun Ph     | x | x  | x |   |    |
| Apposition Location Ph |   |    | x |   |    |
| Included Cl            | x |    | x |   |    |
| Instrument mbi Ph      |   |    |   | x |    |
| Location Ph            |   |    | x |   |    |

#### Special Features:

- (a) The Subject tagmeme is optionally marked by the specifier *-nge* when there is a need to specify one particular person or set of persons, or thing or set of things as the actor or agent in contradistinction to someone or something else.
- (b) The Instrument tagmeme is obligatorily marked by the postpositional *mbi*. When it occurs in a Motion Clause, its Axis is confined to an abstract noun.
- (c) The Pronominal Phrase manifests the Object tagmeme of the Transitive Emotion Clause only.
- (d) The Object tagmeme of the Ditransitive Clause is manifested by the Serial Noun Phrase, Modified Noun Phrase and Apposition Noun Phrase only.

(e) The Object tagmeme of the Transitive Emotion Clause is manifested by all Noun Phrases except Accompaniment or Inclusion Phrases. The Object tagmeme of the Motion Clause is manifested by a Location Phrase, with the clitic *-nge* for source, without it for goal.

(f) For limitations on the distribution of tagmemes see the chart of Clause Types (Section 4.1.).

#### 4.2.1.1. Transitive Emotion Clause

The Transitive Emotion Clause is distinguished by the obligatory absence of a free Subject and the optional presence of Specification and Object tagmemes. Because the Subject tagmeme does not occur the agent is not readily apparent. Since, however, the third person singular subject suffix consistently occurs on the verb filling the Predicate it could be considered to represent the emotion in question.

##### Special Features:

- (a) Verbs manifesting the Predicate tagmeme are transitive verbs expressing emotion.
- (b) When a verb which does not normally express emotion manifests the Predicate the Specification tagmeme is obligatory.
- (c) Verbs manifesting the Predicate tagmeme obligatorily take the third person singular subject suffix.
- (d) Animate nouns or a Phrase with an animate noun as Head manifest the Object tagmeme.
- (e) The person who feels the emotion is shown by the object suffix in the transitive verb if it is a verb that shows object. The object suffix and the free object must agree.

O P  
 ye gare-y-ina 'I was pleased.'  
 me happy-me-3s.pa

O P  
 sine maro-sing-ina 'We were satisfied.'  
 us satisfy-us-3s.pa

O P  
 ye guba-y-ate 'I am hungry.'  
 me hungry-me-3s.pr

L Sp P  
 Bilbil-nge kule para-sik-ina 'At Bilbil we were thirsty.'  
 Bilbil-spec water dry-us-3s.pa

O Sp P  
 sine nu nzali-sing-it 'We like him.'  
 us him like-us-3s.pr

O Sp P  
 tango nu takelmake rar-te 'The man's chest is paining'  
 man him ribs pain-3s.pr





O P  
 "maye le te-nge pal-pe ye wakei-yam-ngit" ng-ina  
*good and here-spec put-2p.po I treat-int-ls.fu quo-3s.pa*  
 "'Good, put him here and I will treat him," he said.'

O P  
 "Udini tango pino afu tumbran-nge min-naig e" ng-a  
*Udini man woman some village-spec be-3p.pa qm quo-dep*  
 'Saying, "Were there any Udini people in the village?"...'

To express purpose:

O P  
 sine piro kareṅ-k-ube ng-a  
*we work do.hard-cm-lp.po quo-dep*  
 'so that we would work hard..'

O P  
 ne-nge kulat-k-a ng-a  
*you-spec care.for-cm-3s.po quo-dep*  
 'so that you will care for (the child)'

To express negative purpose:

O P  
 ne pate-ng-a bari-ng-i-k-at ng-a  
*you jump-cm-dep fall-cm-po-cm-2s.ip quo-dep*  
 'lest you jump and fall..'

O P  
 ye kusre-y-i-k-at ng-a  
*me leave-me-po-3s.ip quo-dep*  
 'lest he leave me behind..'

To express a wish:

O P  
 ail tango ng-a  
*tree man quo-dep*  
 '(I) wish the tree were a man..'

O P  
 ndame te nguromuṅ ng-a  
*stone this sweet.potato quo-dep*  
 '(I) wish the stones were sweet potatoes..'

#### 4.2.1.3. Ditransitive Clause

The Ditransitive Clause is distinguished by the optional presence of an Indirect Object tagmeme and the limited exponents of the Predicate tagmeme. The Clause also has optional Subject, Object and Instrument tagmemes. The verbs manifesting the Predicate tagmeme are the transitive verbs t- 'give', tum- 'teach, show', pagu- 'instruct' and the semi-transitive verb sa- 'say'. Semi-transitive verbs are those verb stems which may take either transitive or intransitive suffixes and function accordingly. When a semi-transitive verb fills the Predicate of a Ditransitive or Transitive Clause the role of the exponent of the Subject tagmeme is that of agent.

## Special Features:

- (a) Verbs manifesting the Predicate tagmeme obligatorily take the first order object suffix.
- (b) Animate nouns or Phrases with an animate noun as Head/s expound the Subject and Indirect Object tagmemes.

S IO O P  
 nu tango ta ait t-una  
 he man that time give.him-3s.pa  
 'He gave the man a time (to meet him).'

S I IO O P  
 nu nuge wamdus mbi kiŋo kame kuyar tum-ning-ina  
 he his thought inst child plural writing teach-them-3s.pa  
 'With his own ideas he taught the children to write.'

S IO O P  
 nu kiŋo kame nuge riron pasa sa-ning-it  
 she child plural her warning talk say-them-3s.pr  
 'She warns her children.'

S O P  
 Rut-nge kiny-am mbili tum-sik-ina  
 Ruth-spec sleep-int platform show-us-3s.pa  
 'Ruth showed us our beds.'

## 4.2.1.4. Transitive Clause

The Transitive Clause is distinguished by an optional Object tagmeme and by an obligatory Predicate manifested by a Verb Phrase with a transitive or semi-transitive verb as Head. The Clause also has optional Subject and Instrument tagmemes. The exponents of the Subject tagmeme are animate or inanimate and not restricted as when occurring in other Clauses which take an Object tagmeme.

L I P  
 sukur ta-nge pa mbi paso-k-inaig  
 watercourse that-spec fire inst roast-cm-3p.pa  
 'They roasted (some) with a fire at the water's edge.'

I O P  
 nuge gubra tanu mbi agaŋ ndende ŋakmba kil-na  
 his anger that inst things various all take.p-3s.pa  
 'Being angry he took everything (and ruined it).'

S O P  
 sine mbo sayok-eg  
 we pig hunt-lp.pr  
 'We hunt pigs.'

S O P  
 nu kiŋo nuge bus-te  
 she child her carry.on.back-3s.pr  
 'She is carrying her child on her back.'

S O P  
 nu pa dik-ng-ate  
 he fire make.a.fire-cm-3s.pr

*'He is making a fire.'*

P  
 bulu-te  
 light-3s.pr

*'He is lighting (the lamp).'*

#### 4.2.1.5. Motion Clause

The Motion Clause is distinguished by an obligatory Predicate manifested by a motion verb and an optional free object manifested by a Location or Apposition Noun Phrase. The Location and Apposition Phrases filling the Object take the specific clitic *-nge* when encoding the source ('from X'), but *-nge* is absent when goal ('to X') is encoded. The clitic *-nge* is obligatory to the peripheral Location tagmeme. The Clause also has optional Subject and Instrument tagmemes. The Instrument *mbi* Phrase manifesting the Instrument tagmeme in a Motion Clause is confined to an abstract noun variant showing a thought or emotion as a cause.

S O P  
 ye ambe si k-at  
 I up.there there go-1s.ip

*'I went up there.'*

S O P  
 sine Mandan tumbran mbol te il-geŋ  
 we Madang village at here come-lp.pa

*'We came here to Madang town.'*

O P  
 Bau-nge mb-una  
 Bau-spec ascend-3s.pa

*'He came up from Bau.'*

S I O P  
 nu nuŋe wamdus mbi Mandan k-et  
 he his thought inst Madang go-3s.ip

*'He went to Madang of his own accord.'*

#### 4.2.1.6. Intransitive Clause

The Intransitive Clause is distinguished by an obligatory Predicate tagmeme manifested by a Verb Phrase with an intransitive or semi-transitive verb as Head. When a semi-transitive verb expounds the Predicate tagmeme of an Intransitive Clause the role of the exponent of the Subject tagmeme is that of patient. The Clause also has optional Subject and Instrument tagmemes. The Instrument *mbi* Phrase manifesting the Instrument tagmeme of Clauses elsewhere has an ordinary inanimate

noun or abstract noun in the Axis slot, but its occurrence in an Intransitive Clause is usually confined to the abstract noun variant, but see the last unusual example.

S P  
ma furir-te 'It is night.'  
place night-3s.pr

S P  
nale mbul-naik 'They refused (to go).'  
they refuse-2p.pa

P  
pinder-k-ate 'He is running.'  
run-cm-3s.pr

S P  
Puwan nu kume nda-k-ina 'Puwan didn't die.'  
Puwan he die neg-cm-3s.pa

I P  
nuge wamdus mbi li-k-ate 'He goes his own way.'  
his thought inst walk-cm-3s.pr

I L P  
tag mbi nduku mbol-nge pate-ng-a  
axe inst neck on-spec jump-cm-dep

'With (the aid of) the axe he jumped up onto his neck and..'

#### 4.2.2. Equative Clause

The Equative Clause is distinguished by an obligatory Comment tagmeme and optional Topic and Predicate tagmemes. This is the only Clause type in which the Predicate is optional. When it does not occur the obligatory Comment tagmeme expounded by non-verb words and Phrases functions as a Predicate-like tagmeme. The Predicate is manifested by the verb *min-* 'be' and connotes a state at a particular time. The verb *min-* 'be' also manifests the Predicate tagmeme in the Intransitive Clause but has a different semantic connotation, existential rather than equative.

The Topic is a Subject-like tagmeme with similar fillers to Subject but a different deep structure.

## Equative Clause

| ± Topic   | + Comment   | ± Predicate |
|---|---|-------------|
| personal pronoun<br>deictic demonstrative<br>Compact Noun Ph<br>Serial Noun Ph<br>Modified Noun Ph<br>Instrument mbi Ph<br>Resemblance suk Ph<br>Pronominal Ph<br>Included Cl | personal pronoun<br>adjective<br>numeral<br>adverb 3<br>interrogative<br>Compact Noun Ph<br>Poss Pronominal Ph<br>Serial Noun Ph<br>Modified Noun Ph<br>Instrument mbi Ph<br>Resemblance suk Ph<br>Apposition Noun Ph<br>Attributive ḡak Ph<br>Referential tuku Ph<br>Nominalised Cl<br>Included Cl<br>Construction plus -ok<br>taḡaḡ 'like that'<br>teḡen 'like this'<br>kuga 'no'<br>ndam 'why' | min- 'be'   |

## Special Features:

- (a) The response word kuga 'no' manifests the Comment tagmeme or co-occurs with any filler of the Comment slot.
- (b) When the Predicate tagmeme occurs, kuga 'no' does not manifest the Comment tagmeme.

T C  
 aḡaḡ ta ḡayo-nu 'That thing (is) bad.'  
 thing that bad-ns

T C  
 taḡu pak-nu 'That (is) hot.'  
 that hot-ns

T C  
 ndametiḡ kuga 'There is no money.'  
 money no

T C  
 ne kuayar tango 'You (are) a thief.'  
 you steal man

T C  
 ne pino kugatok 'You (are) single.'  
 you woman without

T C  
 nuḡe mine ḡayo 'His way of life (is) bad.'  
 his being bad

C P  
 purfeḡ-nu min-it 'He is clean.'  
 clean-ns be-3s.pr

T C P  
 nu gubak ndo min-na 'He was always hungry.'  
 he hungry only be-3s.pa

T C P  
 nu gare t-am tuku min-it  
 he happiness take-int rel be-3s.pr  
 'He is (one) who is to receive joy.'

T C P  
 nu nyu ḡak tuku hat kai-k-anu ḡak min-na  
 he name with rel hat wear-cm-ns with be-3s.pa  
 'He was wearing a cap (indicating) authority.'

#### 4.3. CLAUSE PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES

Clause Peripheral tagmemes include Time, Location, Referent, Manner and Postposition tagmemes. Peripheral tagmemes optionally occur in any clause type except the Equative, Motion and Quotation Clauses. In the Equative Clause only Time and Postposition tagmemes have been found to occur. In the Motion Clause a Location tagmeme does not occur, and no peripheral tagmemes have been found to occur in the Quotation Clause. The chart lists the Clause Peripheral Tagmeme Exponents.

Clause Peripheral Tagmeme Exponents

|                     | Ti | L  | R | M | Pop |
|---------------------|----|----|---|---|-----|
| demonstrative       |    |    |   |   | x   |
| adverb              |    |    |   | x |     |
| temporal            | x  |    |   |   |     |
| distance locative   |    | x  |   |   |     |
| Apposition Ph       | t* | l* |   |   |     |
| Serial Ph           | t* | l* |   |   |     |
| Location Ph         |    | x  |   |   |     |
| Positional Ph       | x  | x  |   |   |     |
| Attributive ḡak Ph  |    |    |   | x |     |
| Resemblance suk Ph  |    |    |   | x |     |
| Referential tuku Ph |    |    | x |   |     |

\* t = time, l = locative

The Referential tuku Phrase manifesting the Referent tagmeme encodes benefaction 'on behalf of', circumstance 'in view of' and reference 'about'. When encoding benefaction the Axis tagmeme of the Phrase is manifested by an animate noun, when encoding circumstance by an independent Clause and when encoding reference it is either a verbal or non-verbal construction.

S R O P  
 nu Uyum tuku ande pil-na  
 he Uyum rel one put-3s.pa  
 'He put one (aside) for Uyum.'

S R P  
 tango li-k-inaig tuku puro-naig  
 man walk-cm-3p.pa rel arrive-3p.pa

'In view of the fact that they had been travelling, the men arrived.'

S R P  
sine marnga tuku kube-weg  
we whitebait rel relate-lp.pr

*'We are talking about whitebait.'*

S R P  
sine ngu-k-eg tuku pasa-t-am-ngig  
we plant-cm-lp.pr rel speak-cm-int-lp.fu

*'We will talk about planting (gardens).'*

Examples of Time, Location, Manner and Postposition tagmemes:

Time:

Ti  
kusem mbol-nge nu puro-te  
Sunday on-spec he come-3s.pr

*'He comes on Sunday.'*

Location:

L P  
Bau-nge iben-k-ina  
Bau-spec go.down-cm-3s.pa

*'He landed at Bau.'*

Manner:

S M P  
nu pitik kin-it  
he quickly go-3s.pr

*'He is going quickly.'*

Postposition:

S P Pop  
Mandaŋ min-it si  
Madang be-3s.pr over.there

*'Madang is over there.'*

#### 4.4. ORDER OF CLAUSE TAGMEMES

The preferred ordering of Clause tagmemes for each clause type is given in the chart of Order of Clause Tagmemes, although apart from Predicate and Postposition tagmemes this ordering is not rigid.

Order of Clause Tagmemes

|                       |    |   |   |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |     |
|-----------------------|----|---|---|----|---|----|---|---|---|---|---|-----|
| Transitive<br>Emotion | Ti | L | - | -  | O | Sp | - | R | M | - | P | Pop |
| Quotation             | -  | - | S | -  | O | -  | - | - | - | - | P | -   |
| Ditransitive          | Ti | L | S | IO | O | -  | I | R | M | - | P | Pop |
| Transitive            | Ti | L | S | -  | O | -  | I | R | M | - | P | Pop |
| Motion                | Ti | - | S | -  | O | -  | I | R | M | - | P | Pop |
| Intransitive          | Ti | L | S | -  | - | -  | I | R | M | - | P | Pop |
| Equative              | Ti | - | T | -  | - | -  | - | - | - | C | P | Pop |



## Special Features:

- (a) When the Time tagmeme is manifested by kile 'now' it moves around because of the various different functions of this temporal.
- (b) When the Object tagmeme is manifested by an animate noun and the Subject by an inanimate noun their order is often reversed. Where both tagmemes represent animates and the filler of the Subject is not marked by -nge, the Subject must precede the Object to prevent ambiguity.
- (c) The Indirect Object tagmeme does not precede the Subject tagmeme.
- (d) The Indirect Object tagmeme precedes the Object tagmeme when the Predicate is manifested by the verbs tum- 'teach', pagu- 'instruct', or sa- 'say', or when any verb manifesting the Predicate is suffixed by the potential form.
- (e) The Instrument tagmeme normally precedes the Object and Location tagmemes when occurring in the Motion and Intransitive Clauses.
- (f) When the Referent tagmeme exponent is encoding benefaction it usually precedes the Object tagmeme.
- (g) Sometimes manifestation of the Referent tagmeme is lengthy, in which case it shifts to first place in the Clause to prevent ambiguity.
- (h) When the adverb maŋ 'again' is manifesting the Manner tagmeme this tagmeme precedes other tagmemes more freely.
- (i) Within the limitations stated above, any tagmeme except Comment, Predicate and Postposition optionally shifts to the clause-initial position for the sake of emphasis.
- (j) The Time tagmeme optionally occurs twice but only when kile 'now' is manifesting one of the tagmemes.
- (k) The Manner tagmeme optionally occurs up to three times, but only when Adverbs 1 are manifesting two of the tagmemes (see Section 2.1.2.6.).

## 4.5. INCLUDED CLAUSES

The grammatical structure of the Included Clause is the same as for independent Clauses except that the Subject tagmeme is commonly absent. An included Clause is marked by the postposed demonstrative ta 'that' to fill phrase and clause level tagmemes.

O(O S P ) P  
 am ruga-nge ŋayo-ng-ina ta minya-ng-ina  
 eye mud-spec ruin-cm-3s.pa that wash-cm-3s.pa

*'She washed the eye which the mud had injured.'*

T(O P ) C  
 agan sa-k-it ta not  
 thing say-cm-1s.ip that that

*'That is the thing of which I spoke.'*

T(S O P ) C  
 ne tango t-ina ta nyu-nu ima  
 you man take-2s.pa that name-ns who

*'What is the name of the man whom you married?'*

O(O P ) P  
 kas si-nge fil-naig ta t-umba  
 tobacco there-spec roll-3p.pa that take-dep

*'Taking the tobacco which they had rolled..'*

#### 4.6. CLAUSE DISTRIBUTION

Clauses typically manifest Sentence Bases. The type and number of tagmemes occurring in any one Clause is influenced greatly by the position of the Clause within the Sentence. When a Clause is manifesting a sentence-initial Base which is functioning as a recapitulation link between Sentences in a Paragraph it always contains the minimum number of tagmemes, rarely more than two. Otherwise, when manifesting the first Base of a Sentence it tends to include the maximum number. This again is in contrast with Clauses manifesting subsequent Bases which have fewer tagmemes, especially the final Base of a Sentence which frequently has a Predicate tagmeme only.

## CHAPTER 5

### SENTENCE

5.0. A Siroi Sentence is defined as a construction in the grammatical hierarchy between clause and paragraph level consisting of at least one nuclear tagmeme. The nuclear tagmemes are manifested by Clauses.

A sentence boundary is marked by a final phonological break which consists of a falling intonation and a major pause.

Sentence types are usually distinguished by the type of linkage used between the Bases and the number of Bases occurring. In a previous analysis many more sentence types were established than are presented in this present analysis. In the previous analysis the types were distinguished by such criteria as lexical differences and restrictions, same or different subjects, tense restrictions and other such criteria. Using such criteria presented many problems; for example, what should be considered a feasible criterion for distinguishing types, how much recursion is probable, how much attention should one give to lexical items, and so on. By adopting the present analysis, sentence types are readily recognised as structurally distinct from each other and these problems no longer exist. The less formal criteria, however, are important in recognising the deep structure relationships encoded in each sentence type.

Each Sentence is represented by a bi-dimensional array showing the Sentence Bases and their exponents. Except in the description of Merged Sentences, a chart is also used to present the distinguishing features of the possible deep grammar categories which are encoded by any one surface structure. Recursion, which is very common at sentence level, is obvious in the bi-dimensional arrays.

## 5.1. SENTENCE PERIPHERAL ITEMS

These include those tagmemes which are not nuclear to or diagnostic of any particular sentence type, which occur in any Sentence. The peripheral tagmemes usually precede the sentence nucleus and include Exclamation, Vocative of Address and Sentence Topic tagmemes. The Exclamation tagmeme is manifested by exclamations and responses. When the Exclamation tagmeme is manifested by o (vocative), a (bewilderment) and e (question) it follows the nucleus. Vocative of Address is manifested by personal names, kinship terms, generic human terms or the Location Compact Noun Phrase. The Sentence Topic is manifested by a Noun Phrase or an Equative Clause.

Sentence Peripheral items optionally co-occur in the order of Exclamation, Vocative of Address and Sentence Topic.

Exclamation:

E V B  
o mata ne is-a  
oh friend you hear-2s.po  
'Oh friend, listen!'

B E  
pasa te kitek a  
talk this new (bewilderment)  
'Isn't this a new power!'

E B E  
ese ne sine tur-sing-a o  
(expectation) you us help-us-3s.po (vocative)  
'That's right, you help us.'

E  
ata nu te-du-ng-am kumuŋ kuga  
(reinforcement) he take.s-lift-cm-int enough no  
'See, he cannot lift it!'

Vocative of Address:

V B  
kiŋo kame tane ina mam dubi maye-wap  
child group you.p mother father follow well-2p.po  
'Children, follow your parents carefully.'

V B  
Baŋu mbal tango te nu ise nda-na  
Bongu people man this he hear neg-3s.pa  
'Bongu people, this man did not listen.'

Sentence Topic:

ST B  
mbeŋ fe nu make-n-uwa ta  
snake taipan it bite-you-3s.po that  
'The taipan snake, if it bites you..'



some of the deep grammar categories of the Temporal Merged Sentence. To highlight the description and particularly the embedding the six sub-types are set up at this point.

For descriptive purposes the sub-types are divided into two groups and presented in the charts of Multi-Base Merged Sentences and Two-Base Merged Sentences.

### 5.3.1.1. Multi-base Merged Sentences

Multi-base Merged Sentences include the Closely Knit and Loosely Knit Merged Sentences. The chart of Multi-Base Merged Sentences shows the contrasting exponents of the two Sentences. A Loosely Knit Merged Sentence does not embed into other Merged Sentences. In contrast, a Closely Knit Merged Sentence frequently embeds into other Merged Sentences.

#### Multi-Base Merged Sentences

|                      | + Base 1   | ± Base $2^{n=6}$   | + Base n                                |
|----------------------|--|--|---|
| Closely Knit Merg S. | Clause   | Clause<br>Motion Merg S.   | as for Base 2                           |
| Loosely Knit Merg S. | Clause<br>Closely Knit Merg S.<br>Aspectual Merg S.<br>Speech Quotation Merg S.<br>Non-Speech Quotation Merg S.<br>Summary Merg S.<br>Motion Merg S. | Clause<br>Closely Knit Merg S.<br>Aspectual Merg S.<br>Speech Quotation Merg S.<br>Non-Speech Quotation Merg S.<br>Summary Merg S.<br>Correlation S. | as for Base 2<br>plus<br>Motion Merg S. |
|                      | dependent  | dependent  | independent                             |

#### Special Features:

- (a) An independent construction fills the final Base except when a Closely Knit Merged Sentence embeds in another Merged Sentence in which case it is filled by a dependent construction.
- (b) In the Closely Knit Sentence up to four Bases occur, and in the Loosely Knit, up to eight Bases.
- (c) The Subject is the same for all actions and in the Closely Knit Sentence it is permitted only in the Clause manifesting Base 1. In the Loosely Knit it is optionally repeated, especially when the previous Base is expounded by an embedded Merged Sentence.
- (d) In the Closely Knit Sentence the negative occurs in Base 1 and negates the whole construction. In the Loosely Knit Sentence the Predicate of any Base is negated without involvement of other Bases.

(1) A Closely Knit Merged Sentence consists of a series of from two to four Bases filled by Clauses of minimal form, which apart from the Predicate tagmeme share the same clause level slots. These shared slots occur in the Clause filling Base 1. Another feature of the Closely Knit Sentence is the obligatory absence of any phonological break between the Clauses. Semantically, the Closely Knit Sentence represents a series of actions in which the focus is on the composite process rather than on the individual actions.

|            |                  |  |                       |  |
|------------|------------------|--|-----------------------|--|
| B1         |                  |  | Bn                    |  |
| mbanduwan  | ngur-mba         |  | buk-ng-ina            |  |
| <i>bow</i> | <i>break-dep</i> |  | <i>throw-cm-3s.pa</i> |  |

*'He broke and threw (away) the bow.'*

|             |            |                 |                      |  |
|-------------|------------|-----------------|----------------------|--|
| B1          |            |                 | Bn                   |  |
| teg         | arma       | bale-mba        | kuapi-k-at           |  |
| <i>fowl</i> | <i>two</i> | <i>kill-dep</i> | <i>cook-cm-3s.ip</i> |  |

*'He killed and cooked two fowls.'*

|          |             |            |                    |                      |
|----------|-------------|------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| B1       |             |            |                    | Bn                   |
| ye       | nyamgan     | nda        | so-t-a             | ny-am-ngit           |
| <i>I</i> | <i>food</i> | <i>neg</i> | <i>seek-cm-dep</i> | <i>eat-int-ls.fu</i> |

*'I will not seek and eat food.'*

(2) A Loosely Knit Merged Sentence consists of a series of from two to eight Bases expounded by Clauses or embedded Sentences, the Predicates of which can be separated by other clause level slots. There is an optional phonological break between the Bases. The Loosely Knit Sentence is a contracted form of the Sequence Sentence and can encode any of the deep structure relationships which can occur in the Sequence Sentence except where a change of subject is involved. Semantically, the Loosely Knit Sentence is a series of actions by one actor in which each action is a separate entity, although unlike the Sequence Sentence here the temporal span is not highlighted.

|           |            |                 |                 |              |                      |
|-----------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------------|
| B1        |            |                 |                 | Bn           |                      |
| ye        | tuku       | tol-mba         | wakei-mba       | biret        | kuer-k-a             |
| <i>me</i> | <i>rel</i> | <i>pour-dep</i> | <i>make-dep</i> | <i>bread</i> | <i>slice-cm-dep</i>  |
|           |            |                 |                 |              | <i>s-ina</i>         |
|           |            |                 |                 |              | <i>give.me-3s.pa</i> |

*'She poured and fixed (one) for me and cut bread and gave it to me.'*

|                 |                       |                  |             |                    |                   |
|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| B1              | B2                    |                  | B3          |                    | B4                |
| k-umba          | kule                  | pis-mba          | wai         | minya-ng-a         | mb-umba           |
| <i>go-dep</i>   | <i>water</i>          | <i>bathe-dep</i> | <i>hand</i> | <i>wash-cm-dep</i> | <i>ascend-dep</i> |
|                 |                       |                  |             |                    | <i>you</i>        |
| marasin         | tin-i                 |                  |             |                    |                   |
| <i>medicine</i> | <i>give.you-ls.po</i> |                  |             |                    |                   |

*'I will go and bathe in the river, wash (my) hands, come up and give you medicine.'*

|                   |            |                 |              |                        |
|-------------------|------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------------|
| B1                |            | B2              |              | Bn                     |
| sai-k-a           |            | kile            | kil-mba      | wande                  |
| <i>cut-cm-dep</i> | <i>now</i> | <i>take-dep</i> | <i>house</i> | <i>roof-them-1p.ip</i> |

*'We cut (the rafters) and now collected them and built the roofs of the houses.'*

B1            B2    B3  
 min-mba kile ta-nge pa sige-mba paso-k-a  
 be-dep now there-spec fire build.a.fire-dep roast-cm-dep

B4    Bn  
 ny-umba afu so-ng-a kil-mba puro tumbrə kin-ig  
 eat-dep some cover-cm-dep take-dep asm village go-3p.pr

*'Being (there) they build a fire there and roast and eat (some), and  
 some they bundle up and take to the village.'*

B1    Bn  
 nale bara nuŋe ta nyugli ta kanger-mba bara  
 they.d sister her that cucumber that see-dep sister

nuŋe fuɲi ta-nge aba nuŋe ta sa-na  
 her small that-spec older.sister her that say-3s.pa

*'The two sisters saw the cucumber and the younger sister said to her  
 older sister.'*

### 5.3.1.2. Two-Base Merged Sentences

Two-Base Merged Sentences include the Speech Quotation, Non-Speech Quotation, Motion, Summary and Aspectual Merged Sentences. The chart of Two-Base Merged Sentences shows the contrasting exponents of the five Sentences.

Two-Base Merged Sentences

|                                 | + Base 1   | + Base 2  |
|---------------------------------|--|---|
| Speech Quotation<br>Merg S.     | Clause<br>ng- (quotation)  | Clause<br>(verb of speech)<br>Aspectual Merg S.<br>Summary Merg S.  |
| Non-Speech Quotation<br>Merg S. | Clause<br>ng- (quotation)  | Clause<br>(any non-speech verb)<br>Closely Knit Merg S.<br>Aspectual Merg S.<br>Summary Merg S.<br>Motion Merg S. |
| Motion Merg S.                  | Clause   | Clause<br>(verb of motion)  |
| Summary Merg S.                 | Clause<br>taŋa- 'thus'   | Clause<br>Closely Knit Merg S.<br>Motion Merg S.<br>Aspectual Merg S.   |
| Aspectual Merg S.               | Clause<br>Speech Quotation<br>Merg S.<br>Closely Knit<br>Merg S.<br>Motion Merg S. | Clause<br>min- 'be'<br>deŋ pur 'cease'<br>repeat of Base 1<br>Predicate exponent                                  |
|                                 | dependent  | independent   |



## Special Features:

- (a) In the Speech Quotation Merged Sentence the negative occurs in Base 2 and negates the whole construction. In all other Sentences it occurs in Base 1 and negates the whole construction. To date the negative has not been found to occur in the Non-Speech Quotation Merged Sentence.
- (b) The subject is the same for all actions. In the Speech Quotation Merged Sentence it occurs in the Clause manifesting Base 2. In all other Two-Base Merged Sentences it is permitted only in the Clause manifesting Base 1.
- (c) When a Two-Base Merged Sentence embeds into another Merged Sentence, Base 2 is filled by a dependent construction.

(1) The Speech Quotation Merged Sentence consists of Base 1 filled by a dependent Quotation Clause and Base 2 filled by an independent Clause or Merged Sentence as listed in the chart. The Clause manifesting Base 2 permits one additional Clause tagmeme which is either Subject or Object. The Predicate of the Clause filling Base 2 is manifested by a verb of speech such as sa- 'say', idus- 'think', kusna- 'ask' or wi- 'call out'.

|     |      |         |              |      |         |                 |
|-----|------|---------|--------------|------|---------|-----------------|
| B1  |      |         |              |      |         | B2              |
| "ne | ginu | puro-na | e"           | ng-a | ye      | kusna-y-ina     |
|     | you  | when    | arrive-2s.pa | qm   | quo-dep | me ask-me-3s.pa |

*"When did you arrive?" he asked me.'*

|     |      |      |        |               |                   |                      |
|-----|------|------|--------|---------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| B1  |      |      |        |               |                   | B2                   |
| "ye | kile | ndin | ul-mba | li-k-am-ngit" | ng-a              | sa-k-inaig           |
|     | I    | now  | road   | shoot-dep     | walk-cm-int-ls.fu | quo-dep say-cm-3p.pa |

*"I will now go shooting along the road," (the messages) said.'*

|        |     |      |        |               |         |           |
|--------|-----|------|--------|---------------|---------|-----------|
| B1     |     |      |        |               |         |           |
| "tango | te  | ndoŋ | li-k-i | le            | tango   | te-nge    |
|        | man | this | with   | walk-cm-ls.po | and man | this-spec |

|      |                    |    |         |             |  |    |
|------|--------------------|----|---------|-------------|--|----|
|      |                    |    |         |             |  | B2 |
| kual | eyau-k-am-ngat     | e" | ng-a    | idus-na     |  |    |
|      | argue-cm-int-3s.fu | qm | quo-dep | think-3s.pa |  |    |

*"If I go with this man, will he argue?" he thought.'*

(2) The Non-Speech Quotation Merged Sentence consists of Base 1 filled by a dependent Quotation Clause and Base 2 filled by an independent Clause or Merged Sentence as listed in the chart. The Clause manifesting the Object of the Quotation Clause is in potential tense or apprehensive mood. The Predicate of the Clause filling Base 2 is manifested by any verb except a verb of speech.

|    |           |                |                     |         |            |    |
|----|-----------|----------------|---------------------|---------|------------|----|
| B1 |           |                |                     |         |            | B2 |
| ne | pate-ng-a | bari-ng-i-k-at |                     | ng-a    | biy-it     |    |
|    | you       | jump-cm-dep    | fall-cm-po-cm-2s.ip | quo-dep | hold-3s.pr |    |

*'So that you will not trip and fall, he is holding you.'*



B1                                    B2  
 nane taṅa-mba                    min-naig  
*they do.thus-dep be-3p.pa*  
 'Thus they were.'

B1                                    B2  
 taṅa-k-a                            sa-k-ina  
*say.thus-cm-dep say-cm-3s.pa*  
 'Thus he said.'

B1                                    B2  
 sine taṅa-mba                    ny-am        tuku    ta        ny-eg  
*we do.thus-dep eat-int rel that eat-lp.pr*  
 'Thus we eat the ones that are for eating.'

B1                                    B2  
 taṅa-mba                    piyal-mba                    mb-umba                    min-na  
*do.thus-dep go.on.shore-dep ascend-dep be-3s.pa*  
 'Thus he was coming up along the shore.'

(5) The Aspectual Merged Sentence consists of Base 1 filled by a Clause or Merged Sentence as listed in the chart, and Base 2 filled by a minimal Clause manifested by min- 'be', denpur- 'cease', or a repetition of the Base 1 Predicate filler. The Aspectual Merged Sentence is equivalent in meaning to the phrase level Completive, Continuative and Repetitive constructions, but different in form, having the dependent suffix -mba on the first verb. When the Aspectual Sentence is encoding continuative aspect, Predicate fillers of the first Base are distinct from the verb stems filling the Action tagmeme of the Continuative Auxiliary Verb Phrase. When encoding completive and repetitive aspects the same verbs can occur both in the Merged Sentence and the Verb Phrase. The Aspectual Merged Sentence is more commonly used to express continuative aspect, the Repetitive Verb Phrase to express repetitive aspect and both Phrase and Sentence constructions seem to be used equally to express completive aspect. The action of the first Base is highlighted when the Sentence is used.

#### Encoding Completive Aspect:

B1                                    B2  
 make-mba    den pur-mba  
*bite-dep cease-dep*  
 'Having finished making the impression (for the dentures)..'

B1                                    B2  
 wai    kat-mba    den pur-geṅ  
*hand hit-dep cease-ls.pa*  
 'We ceased clapping.'

B1                                    B2  
 nu    ndoṅ    nzi-nge                    pasa    pasa-k-a                    den pur-mba  
*he with there-spec talk talk-cm-dep cease-dep*  
 'Having finished talking with him there..'

## Repetitive Aspect:

B1                                 B2  
 nu pinder-mba pinder-mba  
 he run-dep run-dep

*'He ran and ran and..'*

B1   B2  
 ndaŋel                 deŋ-mba     deŋ-mba  
 rubber.tree chop-dep chop-dep

*'He chopped and chopped the rubber tree and..'*

B1   B2  
 nu ta-nge                 min-mba     min-mba  
 he there-spec be-dep be-dep

*'He remained and remained there and..'*

B1   B2  
 fet fet-k-a                 fet     fet-k-inaig  
 break break-cm-dep break break-cm-3p.pa

*'They smashed into pieces.'*

## Continuative Aspect:

B1   B2  
 bulu ŋak     mb-umba     min-na  
 light with ascend-dep be-3s.pa

*'He was coming up with the light.'*

B1   B2  
 ina nuŋe     biy-mba     ndiŋ-mba     min-na  
 mother his hold-dep grasp-dep be-3s.pa

*'He was holding his mother tightly.'*

B1   B2  
 nane kiny-mba     min-ig  
 they sleep-dep be-3p.pa

*'They are sleeping.'*

## 5.3.2. Intentional Merged Sentence

The Intentional Merged Sentence is a two-based construction consisting of an infinitive Clause followed by an independent Clause, usually of minimal form. The only other clause level slot found occurring in Base 2 is a Location slot when the Sentence is encoding purpose. The deep structure relationships encoded in this Sentence are of the increment type as described by Longacre 1972:81-6. The deep structure relationships encoded in the Intentional Merged Sentence are featured in the chart.

## Intentional Merged Sentence

|                     | + Base 1                                  | + Base 2                                   |
|---------------------|---|--|
|                     | Infinitive Cl<br>(any verb) ± <i>tuku</i> | Independent Cl                             |
| Immediacy           | "   | <i>bafu-</i> 'about to'                    |
| Desire              | "   | <i>sa-</i> 'say'<br><i>ng-</i> (quotation) |
| Purpose             | "   | verb of motion                             |
| Refusal             | "   | <i>mbul-</i> 'refuse'                      |
| Enumeration         | "   | verb of enumeration                        |
| Ability, Obligation | "   | <i>kumuŋ</i> 'enough'<br>(no suffixation)  |
| Inability           | "   | <i>sugu</i> 'unable'<br>(no suffixation)   |

## Special Features:

- (a) When the quotation verb fills Base 2 it is always a dependent form. In such a usage the Sentence is always embedded in a non-final Base of the Loosely Knit Sentence.
- (b) Base 2 is filled by an independent Clause except when the Sentence is embedded within another Merged Sentence, in which case Base 2 is filled by a dependent Clause.
- (c) When encoding purpose and the intention suffix *-nu* is used, ellipsis of the Predicate tagmeme of the infinitive Clause occasionally occurs and the intention suffix occurs on the filler of the Object slot.
- (d) The negative occurs in Base 2 and negates the whole construction. It is not possible to negate the Sentence when it is encoding inability.
- (e) The relator *tuku* optionally follows the filler of Base 1 to function as a reinforcement of the infinitive.

## Encoding Immediacy:

B1    B2  
*ta-nge            kiny-am            bafu-mba*  
*there-spec    sleep-int    about.to-dep*  
*'(They were) about to sleep there and..'*

B1    B2  
*nane ny-am            bafu-naig*  
*they eat-int    about.to-3p.pa*  
*'They were about to eat.'*

## Desire:

B1    B2  
*agan    sungo    ta            ka-mbim    sa-k-ina*  
*thing   big    that    go-int    say-cm-3p.pa*  
*'That big thing was wanting to go.'*

B1 B2  
 sile pasindiya wande mbol-nge kiny-am ng-a  
 we passenger house at-spec sleep-int quote-dep  
 'We (were) wanting to sleep at the guest house and..'

## Purpose:

B1 B2  
 ye pa-nu il-et  
 I firewood-int come-ls.pr  
 'I have come for firewood.'

B1 B2  
 kite ye pastor tuku fonde kus-am k-at  
 today I pastor rel fence tie-int go-ls.ip  
 'Today I went to fix the pastor's fence.'

## Refusal:

B1 B2  
 nale ny-am mbul-naik  
 they eat-int refuse-3d.pa  
 'They refused to eat.'

B1 B2  
 nu kanger-am mbul-na  
 he see-int refuse-3s.pa  
 'He refused to look (at it).'

## Enumeration:

B1 B2  
 koi-k-am ar keŋ-mba  
 paddle-int two three-dep  
 'He paddled two or three times and..'

B1 B2  
 nu kanger-am ndui-na  
 he see-int do.finally-3s.pa  
 'He looked for the last time.'

## Ability, Obligation:

B1 B2  
 yu-nge nu t-am kumuŋ  
 sea-spec him take-int enough  
 'It is possible for him to drown.'

B1 B2  
 nu tango sungo ta nyamgaŋ pagu-wam kumuŋ  
 he man big that food cook-int enough  
 'He should cook for the important man.'

## Inability:

B1 B2  
 sine tango ngarusu yu te mbol-nge min-am sugu  
 we man body sea this on-spec be-int unable  
 'We men are unable to survive in this (rough) sea.'

#### 5.4. NON-MERGED SENTENCES

There are nine different Non-Merged Sentence types distinguished by different linkage and the number of possible Bases. The chart of Non-Merged Sentences presents the nine contrasting types.

##### Non-Merged Sentences

|             | Contiguous                    | General Linkage                 | Restricted Linkage          |
|-------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Stated      | Simple Sentence<br>(one base) | Sequence Sentence<br>le/sulumba | Alternation Sentence<br>ko  |
| Explanatory | Correlation Sentence          | Corollary Sentence<br>ta/tanu   | Reason Sentence<br>tukunu   |
| Reactive    | Quotation Sentence            | Response Sentence<br>kande      | Condition Sentence<br>ndeta |

General linkage and the Correlation Sentence encode many deep grammar relationships. Restricted linkage usually encodes only one or two.

##### 5.4.1. Simple Sentence

The Simple Sentence consists of a single Base manifested by a Clause bounded by two final phonological breaks. Sentence peripheral items optionally co-occur with the nucleus as they do with any sentence nucleus.

B  
ne te-nge min-a  
you here-spec be-2s.po  
'You stay here.'

B  
nane-nge ndo ny-inaig  
they-spec only eat-3p.pa  
'Only the others ate.'

E V B  
o wau ye-nge ny-it  
oh grandchild I-spec eat-1s.ip  
'Oh grandchild, I ate it myself.'

B  
sine piro karen sungo-k-igen  
we work hard big-cm-lp.pa  
'We worked really hard.'

B  
tanu mbol-nge nu piti ande te-sili nda-k-ina  
that on-spec he heaviness one take-find neg-cm-3s.pa  
'As a result he had no trouble.'

## 5.4.2. Sequence Sentence

The Sequence Sentence is the most dominant of the sentence types in that it is used more frequently and encodes more deep grammar relationships than other Sentences. It also has a wide variety of other Sentences embedded in its Bases. It consists of up to nine Bases, each Base being conjoined to the next by the connective *sulumba* 'and' when the same subject follows, and *le* 'and' when a different subject follows.

## Sequence Sentence

|                   | + Base 1  | + Link   | + Base 2  | ± (+ <i>le/sulumba</i><br>+ Base) <sup>1-7</sup> |
|-------------------|---|--|---|--|
|                   | Clause<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Response S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Conditional S.<br>Reason S.<br>Quotation S. | <i>le</i> (ds) ' <i>and</i> '<br><i>sulumba</i> (ss)<br>' <i>and</i> ' | Clause<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Response S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Conditional S.<br>Reason S.<br>Quotation S. | as for Base 2                                    |
| Overlap           | $\underline{P}$<br>$\underline{P}$  | $\wedge$<br>$\wedge$   | $Q$<br>$\underline{Q}$  |  |
| Succession        | $\underline{P}$<br>$\underline{P}ab$<br>$(w\underline{P}ab \wedge \underline{Q}b)$  | $\wedge$<br>$\wedge$<br>$\wedge$                                       | $Q$<br>$\underline{Q}b$<br>$\underline{Q}b$   | $\wedge$ $\underline{N}$                         |
| Efficient Cause   | $P \wedge P$  | $\supset$  | $Q$   |  |
| Contrafactuality  | $wP\beta$   | $\wedge$   | $(P\beta \supset Q\beta)$   | $\wedge$ $(P \supset Q)$                         |
| Conditionality    | $P_{\forall x}$   | $\supset$  | $Q$   |  |
| Summary           | $P$   | $\wedge$   | $gN$  |  |
| Coupling          | $Pa$  | $\wedge$   | $Qa$  |  |
| UNUSUAL ENCODINGS |   |  |   |  |
| Contrast          | $P(a)$<br>$P(U-a)$  | $\wedge$<br>$\wedge$   | $\bar{P}(b)$<br>$\bar{P}a \wedge (a \in U)$   |  |
| Parallel Coupling | $Pab$   | $\wedge$   | $Pac$   |  |
| Circumstance      | $cP \wedge cP$  | $\supset$  | $Q$   |  |



## Special Features:

- (a) There is usually tense agreement between the Bases.  
 (b) When a subsequent Base involves the same actor, *sulumba* 'and' is used. When a subsequent Base involves a different actor, *le* 'and' is used.  
 (c) Any Base can be negated.  
 (d) A total of nine Bases has been found.

5.4.2.1. *Overlap*

When a Sequence Sentence encodes temporal overlap only two Bases are involved. Base 1 is filled by a Clause or continuative Aspectual Merged Sentence with an independent form of the verb *min-* 'be' occurring in the final Clause. The first Base is frequently a recapitulation which is usually followed by a subject change in the following Base. Three kinds of overlap are involved here: Continuous-punctiliar, where the second event occurs sometime during the first; coterminous, where both events have the same duration; and continuous-terminous, where the second event terminates the first.

Continuous-Punctiliar Overlap - P \_\_\_ ^ Q.

|            |              |                |                      |                 |            |             |                     |  |
|------------|--------------|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------|-------------|---------------------|--|
| B1         |              |                |                      |                 | L1         | B2          |                     |  |
| <i>le</i>  | <i>agaŋ</i>  | <i>ndende</i>  | <i>kusna-niŋ-mba</i> | <i>min-na</i>   | <i>le</i>  | <i>teg</i>  | <i>puro-na</i>      |  |
| <i>and</i> | <i>thing</i> | <i>various</i> | <i>ask-them-dep</i>  | <i>be-3s.pa</i> | <i>and</i> | <i>fowl</i> | <i>arrive-3s.pa</i> |  |

*'While she was questioning the (animals) the fowl arrived.'*

|                  |                    |                 |                |            |                 |             |  |
|------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------|-----------------|-------------|--|
| B1               |                    |                 |                | L1         | B2              |             |  |
| <i>Banis-nge</i> | <i>piro-k-a</i>    | <i>min-na</i>   | <i>sulumba</i> | <i>nu</i>  | <i>guaze</i>    | <i>ande</i> |  |
| <i>Banz-spec</i> | <i>work-cm-dep</i> | <i>be-3s.pa</i> | <i>and</i>     | <i>him</i> | <i>sickness</i> | <i>one</i>  |  |

*puro-na*  
*arrive-3s.pa*

*'While he was working at Banz he became ill.'*

|                    |                 |            |              |             |              |             |                      |
|--------------------|-----------------|------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|----------------------|
| B1                 |                 |            | L1           | B2          |              |             |                      |
| <i>taŋa-k-a</i>    | <i>min-na</i>   | <i>le</i>  | <i>tango</i> | <i>ande</i> | <i>samba</i> | <i>mbol</i> | <i>ambe-nge</i>      |
| <i>thus-cm-dep</i> | <i>be-3s.pa</i> | <i>and</i> | <i>man</i>   | <i>one</i>  | <i>sky</i>   | <i>on</i>   | <i>up.there-spec</i> |

|                         |                |                  |
|-------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| <i>nde-k-ina</i>        | <i>sulumba</i> | <i>sa-na</i>     |
| <i>descend-cm-3s.pa</i> | <i>and</i>     | <i>say-3s.pa</i> |

*'While he was speaking thus a man came down from the sky and said to him...'*

|              |               |               |                   |               |                     |                 |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| B1           |               |               |                   |               |                     |                 |
| <i>waŋ</i>   | <i>ngunuk</i> | <i>sinam</i>  | <i>ta-nge</i>     | <i>kuakel</i> | <i>kai-k-a</i>      | <i>min-na</i>   |
| <i>canoe</i> | <i>hull</i>   | <i>inside</i> | <i>there-spec</i> | <i>bark</i>   | <i>cover-cm-dep</i> | <i>be-3s.pa</i> |

|            |              |             |              |              |                |
|------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| L1         | B2           |             |              |              |                |
| <i>le</i>  | <i>furir</i> | <i>sawe</i> | <i>bubre</i> | <i>sungo</i> | <i>mayok</i>   |
| <i>and</i> | <i>night</i> | <i>rain</i> | <i>wind</i>  | <i>big</i>   | <i>outside</i> |

*go-3s.pa*

*'While he was inside the canoe under the bark, in the night a great storm came.'*

B1 L1 B2  
 ye nyamgaŋ so-t-a ny-umba min-i le ne matuk  
 I food seek-cm-dep eat-dep be-ls.po and you breathless  
 k-umba kande ye sungo-mba kupe ndaŋ s-a  
 go-dep if me big-dep leg kick give.me-2s.po  
 'While I am seeking for food and eating, if you become short of  
 breath, kick me hard.'

Coterminous Overlap - P      ^      Q

B1 L1 B2  
 ny-umba min-gig le pastor-nge kau arma kas  
 eat-dep be-lp.ip and pastor-spec betelnut two tobacco  
 gabat ndindo turmba kil-mba puro-wat  
 head one as.well.as take-dep come-3s.ip  
 'While we were eating the pastor brought two betelnuts and one  
 head of tobacco.'

B1 L1 B2  
 pik-mba min-gig le pino arma ta muli so-t-aiik  
 cut-dep be-lp.ip and woman two that vine seek-cm-3d.ip  
 'While we were cutting (bamboo) the two women searched for vine.'

Continuous-Terminous Overlap - P      ^ Q

B1 L1 B2  
 kulat-k-a min-eg le mafe-te  
 watch.over-cm-dep be-lp.pr and dawn-3s.pr  
 'We watch over (him) until dawn.'

B1 L1 B2  
 kiŋo tanu kulat-k-a min-naik le sungo-k-ina  
 boy that watch.over-cm-dep be-3d.pa and big-cm-3s.pa  
 'They cared for the boy until he matured.'

B1 L1 B2  
 pasa-t-a min-it le furir-at  
 talk-cm-dep be-ls.ip and dark-3s.ip  
 'I talked until dark.'

B1 L1 B2  
 minyo-k min-en le mafe-na  
 sit-cm be-ls.pa and dawn-3s.pa  
 'I sat until morning.'

#### 5.4.2.2. Succession

A relationship of succession is the most common use of the Sequence Sentence. The first Base of a Sequence Sentence is frequently a recapitulation. Frequently the temporal kile 'now' occurs at the beginning of the construction filling any one of the Bases. This indicates the onset of the next action in the series.

When the Sequence Sentence encodes succession with reciprocity two Bases with a change of subject are involved. Usually the object of Base 1 becomes the subject of Base 2 but occasionally it is vice versa.

With such an encoding Base 2 is frequently the final Base of the Sentence and is commonly manifested by a minimal Clause.

When the Sequence Sentence encodes succession with execution two Bases with tense agreement and usually a subject change are involved. The lexical content of the Bases is closely related and often identical. Base 1 is filled by a Quotation Sentence the Quote of which is a command. The Predicates of the Quote and Base 2 are usually identical.

Succession - P ^ Q ^ N

B1                    Li    B2  
mb-una              le    Mayak    kusna-wen  
ascend-3s.pa    and    Mayak    ask-ls.pa

*'He came up and I asked Mayak.'*

B1                    Li                    B2  
Baŋu-nge            ti-ng-en            sulumba    Mandan    puro-wen  
Bongu-spec    stand-cm-ls.pa    and            Madang    arrive-ls.pa

*'I left Bongu and came to Madang.'*

B1                    Li                    B2  
pepa    yai-y-umba            kanger-na    sulumba    "ta-nge  
paper    take.from-me-dep    look-3s.pa    and            there-spec  
minyo-k-a"    ng-ina  
sit-cm-2s.po    quo-3s.pa

*'He took the paper from me, looked at it and said, "Sit there."*

B1  
nu    te-mayok-am            ait    mbol-nge    pagu-mba    nye    sungo-na  
her    take-outside-int    time    at-spec    cook-dep    eat    big-3s.pa

Li                    B2                    Li    Bn  
sulumba    nane    wi-k-ina            puro    mangur-k-inaig    le    pino    tanu  
and            them    call-3s.pa    asm    gather-cm-3p.pa    and    woman    that

t-umba    te-mayok-na  
take-dep    take-outside-3s.pa

*'When the time came to make her known he made a great feast and called them and they gathered, and he showed (them) the woman.'*

B1                    Li                    B2  
bebi    kilinik    puro-naig            sulumba    nu    kanger-mba    t-umba  
baby    clinic    arrive-3p.pa    and            him    see-dep            take-dep

Malilon    k-inaig  
Modilon    go-3p.pa

*'The Infant Welfare nurses came and saw him and took him to Modilon (hospital).'*

B1                    Li                    B2  
ailsu    kil-mba    puro    pati-k-ate            sulumba    muli-nu    kin-it  
pole    take-dep    asm    put-cm-3s.pr    and            vine-int    go-3s.pr

*'He brings poles and places them there and goes to get vine.'*

B1                    Li    B2                    Li  
kum-na    le    rare-mba    pik-mba    son    ar-naik    sulumba  
die-3s.pa    and    singe-dep    cut-dep    bundle    two-3d.pa    and

Bn  
paso-k-a            mambo                    nunge    sa-na  
roast-cm-dep    younger.brother    his    say-3s.pa

*'It died, and they singed off (the hair,) cut it up and made two bundles and having cooked it he said to his younger brother,..'*

B1                                    L1    B2  
 nu puro-wat                    le kile sine pagu-wig  
 he arrive-3s.1p and now we cook-1p.1p

*'He arrived and then we cooked.'*

B1                                    L1    B2  
 ndaso                    mata wan po-ng-ina                    le kile wan  
 cassowary also canoe climb-cm-3s.pa and now canoe  
 mbiti-naig le yu k-ina  
 push-3p.pa and sea go-3s.pa

*'The cassowary also climbed into the boat and then they pushed the boat and it went out to sea.'*

B1                                    L1    B2  
 puro-de                    le kile wande pati-k-eg  
 come-3p.pr and now house put-cm-1p.pr

*'They (bamboos) mature and then we build houses (with them).'*

Succession with Reciprocity - Pab ^ Qb

B1                                    L1    B2  
 pike ngur-mba t-umba buk-ng-ina                    le Raikos k-ina  
 cut break-dep take-dep throw-cm-3s.pa and Rai.Coast go-3s.pa

*'He chopped it off and threw it and it went as far as the Rai Coast.'*

B1                                    L1    B2  
 wan mbiti-naik le buk yu mbol k-ina  
 canoe push-3d.pa and already sea on go-3s.pa

*'They pushed the canoe and it went right out to sea.'*

B1                                    L1    B2  
 mbo bale-te le kum-it  
 pig kill-3s.pr and die-3s.pr

*'He kills the pig and it dies.'*

B1                                    L1    B2  
 ail ta pik-it le ngur-k-ate  
 tree that cut-3s.pr and break-cm-3s.pr

*'He chops the tree and it breaks off.'*

B1                                    L1    B2  
 tumbran-nge pil-ig le min-it  
 village-spec put-3p.pr and be-3s.pr

*'They put it in the village and there it remains.'*

B1                                    L1    B2  
 kusna-na le sa-k-ina  
 ask-3s.pa and say-cm-3s.pa

*'He asked him and he said,...'*

B1                                    L1    B2  
 ne ye sa-n-it le ne is-at  
 you I say-you-1s.1p and you hear-2s.1p

*'I told you and you heard.'*

B1                                    L1    B2  
 samba mbol ambe-nge buk-ng-ina le nde-k-ina  
 sky on up.there-spec throw-cm-3s.pa and descend-cm-3s.pa

*'She threw it from up above the sky and it fell down.'*

Succession with Execution - (wꞑab ^ Qb) ^ Qb

B1  
kile sile sa-sik-lna, "il-mba balus po-ng-ap"  
now us say-us-3s.pa come-dep aircraft climb-cm-2d.po

L1 B2  
ng-ina le sile balus po-ng-iken  
quo-3s.pa and we aircraft climb-cm-ld.pa

'Then he said to us, "Come and board the aircraft," and we boarded the aircraft.'

B1 L1 B2  
"ta-nge minyo-k-a" ng-ina le minyo-k-en  
there-spec sit-cm-2s.po quo-3s.pa and sit-cm-ls.pa

'"Sit there," he said, and I sat down.'

B1 L1 B2  
"sil-a" ng-inaik le ye ambonga masta rot mbol  
go-2s.po quo-3s.pa and I first master road at

te mb-en  
here ascend-ls.pa

'"You go on," they said, and I preceded them up here to the road builder's place.'

B1 L1 B2  
"lain-ap" ng-ina le lain-geŋ  
line-2p.po quo-3s.pa and line-lp.pa

'"Line up!" he said, and we lined up.'

B1  
"o ne ka-ye ka baratira mbo nguikok tanaŋ dunge-nge  
oh you go-2s.po asm brother pig wild as bush-spec

min-ig tanu kile kile-mayok-k-a" ng-ina  
be-3p.pr that now take-outside-them-3s.po quo-3s.pa

L1 B2  
le tanu dubi-mba puro sine kile-mayok-k-ina  
and that follow-dep asm us take-outside-us-3s.pa

'"You go and get your people who are (hiding) in the bush like wild pigs and bring them out," he said, and obediently be brought us out.'

B1 L1 B2  
"minge a-ng-a" ng-inaig le minge a-ng-en  
mouth open-cm-2s.po quo-3p.pa and mouth open-cm-ls.pa

'"Open your mouth," they said, and I opened my mouth.'

B1 L1 B2  
"kile po-ng-a" ng-inaik le ndaso mata waŋ  
now climb-cm-2s.po quo-3d.pa and cassowary also canoe

po-ng-ina  
climb-cm-3s.pa

'"Climb in now," they said, and the cassowary also climbed into the canoe.'

## 5.4.2.3. Causation

Two Bases are joined together as one phonological unit, with a subject change between the Bases when the Sequence Sentence encodes causation. Base 1 is never a recapitulation when there is a cause relationship. The causative agent of Base 1 is brought into focus by the use of the specifier -nge. The specifier -nge frequently distinguishes an efficient cause encoding from a succession with reciprocity encoding. In causation the focus is on the causative agent while in reciprocity it is on the actions. There is tense agreement between the Bases, or the Predicate of Base 1 uses past tense and Base 2 present tense. Neither Base has future tense.

Causation - P  $\wedge$  P  $\supset$  Q

|           |                |     |     |        |          |        |
|-----------|----------------|-----|-----|--------|----------|--------|
| B1        |                |     | L1  | B2     |          |        |
| bidu-nge  | tido-ng-ate    |     | le  | am     | nzukok   | min-ig |
| mist-spec | stand-cm-3s.pr | and | eye | closed | be-3p.pr |        |

*'Because the mist covers them they are unable to see.'*

|       |      |           |             |     |          |            |
|-------|------|-----------|-------------|-----|----------|------------|
| B1    |      |           |             | L1  | B2       |            |
| tango | ande | balus-nge | ul-at       | le  | t-umba   | puro-wig   |
| man   | one  | aircraft  | shoot-3s.ip | and | take-dep | come-lp.ip |

ng-igen  
quo-lp.pa

*'"An aircraft shot a man so we have brought him (for help)" we said.'*

|           |      |                  |     |               |          |         |
|-----------|------|------------------|-----|---------------|----------|---------|
| B1        |      |                  |     | L1            | B2       |         |
| nane-nge  | sile | ngail-k-inaig    |     | le            | ambe-nge | min-ken |
| they-spec | us   | prevent-cm-3p.pa | and | up.there-spec | be-ld.pa |         |

*'They prevented us (from leaving), therefore we remained up there.'*

|          |      |                |     |    |           |          |
|----------|------|----------------|-----|----|-----------|----------|
| B1       |      |                |     | L1 | B2        |          |
| kame-nge | sine | kogoron-k-ina  |     | le | sine      | dune-nge |
| war-spec | us   | chase-cm-3s.pa | and | we | bush-spec | be-lp.pa |

*'Because the fighting menaced us we remained in the bush.'*

|          |         |               |     |    |              |         |
|----------|---------|---------------|-----|----|--------------|---------|
| B1       |         |               |     | L1 | B2           |         |
| Anut-nge | wamdus  | s-ina         |     | le | ye           | ti-ng-a |
| God-spec | thought | give.me-3s.pa | and | I  | stand-cm-dep |         |

mb-umba ka-n  
ascend-dep go-ls.pa

*'Because God gave me the idea I went up there.'*

|               |             |     |    |      |       |            |
|---------------|-------------|-----|----|------|-------|------------|
| B1            |             |     |    | L1   | B2    |            |
| balus-nge     | ul-na       |     |    | le   | nu    | kurukuru   |
| aircraft-spec | shoot-3s.pa | and | he | fear | great | take-3s.pa |

*'Because the aircraft shot him he developed great fear (of aircraft).'*

|          |          |      |          |      |                |     |       |
|----------|----------|------|----------|------|----------------|-----|-------|
| B1       |          |      |          |      |                | L1  | B2    |
| nu-nge   | waim     | mbol | ambe     | pike | pur-na         | le  | fet   |
| she-spec | clay.pot | on   | up.there | cut  | separate-3s.pa | and | break |

fet-k-a fet fet-k-inaig  
break-cm-dep break break-cm-3p.pa

*'Because she smashed the clay pots up there they shattered.'*

B1  
 botol ta-nge ninfok-nu kuer-k-ina L1 B2  
 bottle that-spec throat-ns cut-cm-3s.pa and pig that die-3s.pa  
*'Because the (broken) bottle cut its throat the pig died.'*

B1  
 ye mbal ar ta-nge yeye-y-aik L1 B2  
 me people two that-spec trick-me-3d.ip and I sea eat-dep  
 matuk ka-t  
 breathless go-ls.ip  
*'Because those two fooled me I swallowed sea water and was distressed.'*

B1  
 sikar sungo ta-nge burok tukul-k-ina L1 B2  
 rock big that-spec hole close-cm-3s.pa and hunger  
 ngakmba kum-naig  
 all die-3p.pa  
*'Because the big rock's opening closed they all died of hunger.'*

#### 5.4.2.4. Contrafactualty

When the Sequence Sentence is encoding contrafactualty two Bases with different actors are involved. Base 1 is filled by a Quotation Clause. The wish expressed in Base 1 is followed by the reason for the wish in Base 2. Both Bases use potential tense.

Contrafactualty -  $wP\beta \wedge (P\beta \supset Q\beta) \wedge (P \supset Q)$

B1  
 ndame te nguromuq ng-a L1 B2  
 stone this sweet.potato quo-dep and I eat-ls.po  
*'I wish these stones were sweet potatoes so that I might eat them.'*  
 (i.e. *'If the stones were sweet potatoes, I could eat them.'*)

B1  
 ail tango ng-a L1 B2  
 tree man quo-dep and me help-me-3s.po  
*'I wish the tree were a man so that it could help me.'*

B1  
 mbai ambe pino ng-a L1 B2  
 star up.there woman quo-dep and one descend-cm-3s.po ng-ina  
 quo-3s.pa  
*'"I wish the stars up there were women so that one might come down," he said.'*

#### 5.4.2.5. Conditionality with Universal Quantifier

When the Sequence Sentence encodes conditionality it is based on a summary relationship. Base 2 is filled by a Summary Merged Sentence or a Clause whose Predicate is expounded by *taṅa-* 'thus'. The Sentence occurs discourse-finally and functions as a closing comment referring back to the whole content of the Discourse.

Conditionality -  $P_{\Psi x} \supset Q$

B1  
sine tango kum-ig L1 B2  
we man die-3p.pr and we thus-lp.pr  
*'Whenever men die, that is what we do.'*

B1  
tanu sine mbo sayok-eg L1 B2  
that we pig hunt-lp.pr and thus-dep pig kill-lp.pr  
*'Thus whenever we hunt pigs that is how we kill them.'*

B1  
tanu kupe fulil-k-ade L1 B2  
that leg swell-cm-3p.pr and thus-dep we treat-cm-lp.pr  
*'Thus whenever legs swell up that is how we treat them.'*

#### 5.4.2.6. Summary

When a Sequence Sentence encodes summary the lexical content of Base 1 is parallel or contrastive. In Base 1 different actors can be involved without the usual grammatical features to indicate this. Base 2 is filled by a Clause, usually of minimal form, manifested by taŋa- 'thus' or by a Summary Merged Sentence. In this usage the Sequence Sentence seems to contract into a Sentence what would normally be expressed at paragraph level.

Summary -  $P \wedge gN$

B1  
wande kor-am tuku kem wande nguel-ning-am tuku kem  
house wall-int rel bamboo house roof-them-int rel bamboo

L1 B2  
kulafor tuku kem ngu-k-eg le taŋa-mba  
roof.supports rel bamboo plant-cm-lp.pr and thus-dep  
*'We plant bamboo for walling houses, bamboo for making roof-strips, bamboo for roof supports, that is what we do.'*

B1  
tui mbi nin-mba sukur ta-nge pa mbi paso-k-a  
spear inst pierce-dep river there-spec fire inst roast-cm-dep  
ny-umba afu kule wai tukul-ning-ig sulumba kil-mba  
eat-dep some river arm close-them-3p.pr and take-dep

puro tumbraŋ-nge paso-k-a ny-umba afu sukur ta-nge  
asm village-spec roast-cm-dep eat-dep some river there-spec

L1 B2  
paso-k-a ny-ade sulumba taŋa-de  
roast-cm-dep eat-3p.pr and thus-3p.pr

*'They spear them with spears and there by the river they roast and eat them, some they catch by blocking off small tributaries and they take them to the village and roast and eat them and some they roast and eat by the river, that is what they do.'*



## 5.4.2.7. Coupling

When a Sequence Sentence encodes coupling it is a transformation of the Inclusion Phrase (see Section 3.1.3.4.). Two Bases are involved. The postpositional turmba 'as well as' occurs in Base 2.

Coupling - Pa  $\wedge$  Qa

|            |      |           |     |         |       |            |        |  |
|------------|------|-----------|-----|---------|-------|------------|--------|--|
| B1         |      |           |     | L1      |       | B2         |        |  |
| gafman     | tuku | pil-eg    |     | sulumba | misin | tuku       | turmba |  |
| government | rel  | put-lp.pr | and | mission | rel   | as.well.as |        |  |

pil-eg  
put-lp.pr

'We give to the government and also to the mission.'

|      |       |                |       |      |             |         |     |    |
|------|-------|----------------|-------|------|-------------|---------|-----|----|
| B1   |       |                |       |      |             | L1      |     | B2 |
| nane | tui   | parsi-ng-a     | tango | te   | ul-aig      | sulumba | age |    |
| they | spear | let.fly-cm-dep | man   | this | shoot-3p.ip | and     | dog |    |

ande turmba ul-aig  
one as.well.as shoot-3p.ip

'They let fly (with) spears and shot this man and also shot a dog.'

|      |      |          |              |         |                |  |  |
|------|------|----------|--------------|---------|----------------|--|--|
| B1   |      |          |              |         |                |  |  |
| ail  | ta   | ngaro-nu | ful-k-a      | ny-umba | ηule-k-eg      |  |  |
| tree | that | skin-ns  | strip-cm-dep | eat-dep | vomit-cm-lp.pr |  |  |

|         |       |      |       |            |                |  |
|---------|-------|------|-------|------------|----------------|--|
| L1      |       | B2   |       |            |                |  |
| sulumba | mbeη  | tuku | ndare | tur        | ηule-k-eg      |  |
| and     | snake | rel  | blood | along.with | vomit-cm-lp.pr |  |

'We strip the bark from the tree and eat it and vomit, and also vomit out the snake's venom.'

|        |        |      |       |              |          |         |      |    |
|--------|--------|------|-------|--------------|----------|---------|------|----|
| B1     |        |      |       |              |          | L1      |      | B2 |
| ina    | mam    | tuku | minge | kunem-nge    | min-be   | sulumba | Anut |    |
| mother | father | rel  | mouth | beneath-spec | be-lp.po | and     | God  |    |

tuku minge turmba kunem-nge min-am-ngig  
rel mouth as.well.as beneath-spec be-int-lp.fu

'Let us obey our parents and we will also obey God.'

The Sequence Sentence encodes other deep grammar relationships which are labelled unusual encodings and only briefly summarised because such relationships are more frequently expressed by other Sentences or by constructions at levels lower than the Sentence.

## 5.4.2.8. Contrast

Contrast - P(a)  $\wedge$   $\bar{P}$ (b)

|        |     |          |             |     |    |          |       |           |
|--------|-----|----------|-------------|-----|----|----------|-------|-----------|
| B1     |     |          |             | L1  |    | B2       |       |           |
| dair   | ne  | sar      | kupes-de    | le  | ye | sar      | kupes | nda-de    |
| friend | you | feathers | dance-3p.pr | and | I  | feathers | dance | neg-3p.pr |

'Friend, your feathers are waving but my feathers aren't.'

Contrast Involving Exception -  $P(U-a) \wedge \bar{P}(a) \wedge (a \in U)$

B1

kiŋo kame afu nane ŋakmba ina mam so-t-a  
*child group some they all mother father seek-cm-dep*

L1 B2

k-inaig le nu ina mam nuŋe tugum kine nda-k-ina  
*go-3p.pa and he mother father his close go neg-cm-3s.pa*

*'All of the children except him went to find their parents but he didn't go to his parents.'*

B1

wande burok ŋakmba tukul-ninge sulu-na sulumba burok  
*house hold all close-them complete-3s.pa and hole*

L1 B2

ndindo ndo kusre-na  
*one only leave-3s.pa*

*'She blocked all of the holes into the house except one.'*

#### 5.4.2.9. Parallel Coupling

Parallel Coupling -  $Pab \wedge Pac$

B1

kule mbol ta-nge ngue-nu ruga-nge ŋayo-ng-inaig ta  
*river at there-spec hair-ns mud-spec ruin-cm-3p.pa that*

L1 B2

minya-ng-ina sulumba am ruga-nge ŋayo-ng-inaig ta  
*wash-cm-3s.pa and eye mud-spec ruin-cm-3p.pa that*

minya-ng-ina sulumba..  
*wash-cm-3s.pa and*

*'There at the river she washed his hair which the mud had spoiled and washed his eyes which the mud had spoiled and..'*

#### 5.4.2.10. Circumstance

Circumstance -  $cP \wedge cP \supset Q$

B1

o agaŋ ta ŋayo-nu le buk-ng-a  
*oh thing that bad-ns and throw-cm-2s.po*

L1 B2

*'Oh, that's poisonous, throw it away!'*

B1

ye tuku teg bale-na le ye ne tuku age ta  
*I rel fowl kill-3s.pa and I you rel dog that*

L1 B2

ye gubra-y-ina  
*me anger-me-3s.pa*

*'It killed my fowl and I was angry with that dog of yours.'*

#### 5.4.2.11. Aspectual Morphemes

There are four Aspectual Morphemes which function on the sentence level. They are discussed here since they mainly occur between or within the Bases of the Sequence Sentence and the Temporal Merged Sentence, although they do sometimes occur within other sentence types.

The four aspectual morphemes are in form similar to the verb stems ka- 'go', min- 'be', puro- 'arrive' and ndek- 'descend'. They frequently occur in narrative text and ndek in particular occurs in text including direct speech. When these aspectual morphemes are omitted the text still makes good sense, but when they are included they give the flavour of real life situations and the language is lifeless without them. The speaker must be familiar with the details of any text in order to control their use completely.

They occur between Sentence Bases alone or following the conjunction. One exception is ndek which occurs only within the Clause, following Time and Subject tagmemes, if present. When occurring alone between Bases they substitute for the Link *le* or *sulumba* in the Sequence Sentence. The *ka* and *ma* in particular are used to encode succession with a span - event relationship. Both morphemes are optionally repeated up to ten times and *ma* is obligatorily repeated once. The repetition is frequently accompanied by rising intonation to give emphasis to the span.

(1) Aspectual Morphemes *ka* and *ma* occur between Sentence Bases. When they occur between the Bases the punctiliar action in Base 2 is usually in focus. When they occur following the conjunction both actions are equally in focus. When they occur without the conjunction *ka* is obligatorily preceded by *kumba* which is the dependent form of the verb 'go'. One exception is when the verb 'go' fills the Predicate of the preceding Clause in which case its repetition is optional. Usually *ka* signals a distance span between the actions and *ma* a time span, but occasionally this usage is reversed.

Sequence Sentence with *ka* and *ma* between the Bases:

Encoding Succession -  $P \wedge Q$

|              |                 |               |            |             |                  |  |  |
|--------------|-----------------|---------------|------------|-------------|------------------|--|--|
| B1           |                 |               |            |             | B2               |  |  |
| ambonga      | ka-gig          | k-umba        | ka         | dido        | pik-ig           |  |  |
| <i>first</i> | <i>go-lp.ip</i> | <i>go-dep</i> | <i>asm</i> | <i>cane</i> | <i>cut-lp.ip</i> |  |  |

*'First we went and cut the cane.'*

|                    |                      |               |            |                 |                   |    |  |  |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------------|------------|-----------------|-------------------|----|--|--|
| B1                 |                      |               |            |                 |                   | B2 |  |  |
| koi-k-a            | ndekkan              | k-umba        | ka         | Bau-nge         | Singa-nge         |    |  |  |
| <i>row-cm-dep</i>  | <i>go.down-ls.pa</i> | <i>go-dep</i> | <i>asm</i> | <i>Bau-spec</i> | <i>Singa-spec</i> |    |  |  |
| ibenka-n           |                      |               |            |                 |                   |    |  |  |
| <i>berth-ls.pa</i> |                      |               |            |                 |                   |    |  |  |

*'I paddled (the canoe) and travelled down to Bau and berthed at Singa.'*

|                 |               |            |            |            |            |            |                |               |                   |
|-----------------|---------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| B1              |               |            |            |            |            |            | B2             |               |                   |
| k-inaig         | k-umba        | ka         | ka         | ka         | ka         | ka         | Suriwat        | fu-nu         | dubi-mba          |
| <i>go-3p.pa</i> | <i>go-dep</i> | <i>asm</i> | <i>asm</i> | <i>asm</i> | <i>asm</i> | <i>asm</i> | <i>Suriwat</i> | <i>top-ns</i> | <i>follow-dep</i> |

|            |            |            |                 |            |           |                 |                 |  |
|------------|------------|------------|-----------------|------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|--|
|            |            |            | B3              |            |           |                 |                 |  |
| ma         | ma         | ma         | o               | samba      | mbol      | ambe            | k-inaig         |  |
| <i>asm</i> | <i>asm</i> | <i>asm</i> | <i>emphasis</i> | <i>sky</i> | <i>on</i> | <i>up.there</i> | <i>go-3p.pa</i> |  |

*'They travelled on and followed the top of the Suriwat mountain until they went up above the sky.'*

B1  
min-geŋ k-umba ka ka B2  
be-lp.pa go-dep asm asm Thursday mbol-nge sine furir  
on-spec we night

pasa ny-igen  
communion eat-lp.pa

'We continued (school) until Thursday evening when we took communion.'

B1 B2  
ye te-nge ti-ng-a ka-n ka Baŋu-nge kiny-en  
I here-spec stand-cm-dep go-ls.pa asm Bongu-spec sleep-ls.pa

'I left here and travelled to Bongu and slept.'

B1 B2  
k-inaik ka ka aba nuŋe sungo ta-nge nyugli  
go-3d.pa asm asm brother his big that-spec cucumber

ny-ina  
eat-3s.pa

'They travelled along and then the older brother ate the cucumber.'

B1 B2  
kupe pan-k-a ka ka manin-k-ina sulumba..  
leg throw-cm-dep asm asm quieten-cm-3s.pa and

'He kicked his legs around and then quietened and..'

B1 B2  
ny-ina k-umba ka ka kilba rar tor-na  
eat-3s.pa go-dep asm asm ear pain strong-3s.pa

'He continued eating and then his ear pained.'

B1 B2 L1 B3  
ny-igen ma ma ma nye sulu-na le ndek  
eat-lp.pa asm asm asm eat finish-3s.pa and asm

Uyum nginngan-k-ina  
Uyum silly-cm-3s.pa

'We continued until the drink was finished and then Uyum was drunk.'

B1 B2  
taŋa-mba taŋa-mba ma ma ma t-umba puro tabek  
thus-dep thus-dep asm asm asm take-dep asm out.of.water

k-ina  
go-3s.pa

'They did thus for a time and then he took (him) and went out of the water.'

B1 B2  
ny-inaik ma ma ma bara nuŋe sungo ta maro-na  
eat-3d.pa asm asm asm brother his big that satisfy-3s.pa

'They ate for a time and then the older brother was satisfied.'

Encoding Continuous-Punctiliar Overlap - P      ^ Q.

B1  
taŋa-mba Suriwat fu-nu pike ngur-mba pike ngur-mba ma ma  
thus-dep Suriwat top-ns cut break-dep cut break-dep asm asm

B2 L1 B3  
ma Suriwat fu-nu kuga-wam bafu-na le sa-k-ina  
asm Suriwat top-ns finish-int about.to-3s.pa and say-cm-3s.pa

'Thus he slashed and slashed at the top of Suriwat mountain until its top was almost gone and it spoke.'



function of this morpheme is rather evasive but it seems to signal the next important action in a chain of related events. When *ka* and *ma* are used the time or distance span between the actions is more focal. When *puro* is used, although it does signal some space or time span between actions the focus is rather on the action following and not on the activity between the actions. The second action is usually a culmination of the first.

In the climax of a Narrative Discourse it is often used repeatedly where one action quickly leads to the next.

Sequence Sentence with *puro* alone between the Bases:

Encoding Succession -  $\underline{P} \wedge Q$

|         |                |            |      |          |      |
|---------|----------------|------------|------|----------|------|
| B1      |                |            |      | B2       |      |
| sile    | ndin-mba       | il-keŋ     | puro | balus    | tuku |
| we      | go.on.road-dep | come-ld.pa | asm  | aircraft | rel  |
| tumbraŋ | puro-keŋ       |            |      |          |      |
| village | arrive-ld.pa   |            |      |          |      |

'We came along the road until we arrived at the airstrip..'

|            |      |          |       |               |
|------------|------|----------|-------|---------------|
| B1         |      | B2       |       |               |
| il-it      | puro | Bau-nge  | waŋ   | te-ibeŋ-mba.. |
| come-ls.ip | asm  | Bau-spec | canoe | take-down-dep |

'I came and at Bau I took the canoe out of the water..'

|      |               |      |                 |
|------|---------------|------|-----------------|
| B1   |               | B2   |                 |
| nane | wi-k-ina      | puro | mangur-k-inaig  |
| them | call-cm-3s.pa | asm  | gather-cm-3p.pa |

'He called them and they gathered.'

Encoding Overlap -  $\underline{P} \wedge Q$ .

|              |                |            |      |             |       |
|--------------|----------------|------------|------|-------------|-------|
| B1           |                |            | B2   |             |       |
| sile         | ndin-mba       | il-keŋ     | puro | Bilbil-nge  | kule  |
| we           | go.on.road-dep | come-ld.pa | asm  | Bilbil-spec | water |
| para-sik-ina |                |            |      |             |       |
| dry-us-3s.pa |                |            |      |             |       |

'We came along the road and at Bilbil we were thirsty.'

Sequence Sentence with *puro* following the conjunction:

Encoding Succession -  $\underline{P} \wedge Q, \underline{P} \wedge Q$

|               |     |      |              |          |      |
|---------------|-----|------|--------------|----------|------|
| B1            | L1  | B2   |              |          |      |
| didi-k-igeŋ   | le  | puro | tabek        | k-ina    | le.. |
| pull-cm-lp.pa | and | asm  | out.of.water | go-3s.pa | and  |

'We pulled it and it came out of the water and..'

|           |           |                |     |      |       |          |      |
|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----|------|-------|----------|------|
| B1        |           |                | L1  | B2   |       | L1       |      |
| mbanduwaŋ | ngur-mba  | buk-ng-ina     | le  | puro | ire   | k-ina    | le.. |
| spear     | break-dep | throw-cm-3s.pa | and | asm  | grass | go-3s.pa | and  |

'He broke the spear and threw it away and it went into the kunai grass and..'



Encoding Succession -  $\underline{P} \wedge Q, \underline{P} \wedge Q, \underline{P} \wedge Q$

B1 B2  
 ye kas fil-mba ny-umba kile ndek kuku t-umba..  
*I cigarette roll-dep eat-dep now asm line take-dep*  
*'I rolled a cigarette and smoked it and then took the fishing line..'*

B1 L1 B2  
 pike fel-mba k-inig le afu-nge ndek kumu  
*cut make.mound-dep go-3p.pr and some-spec asm mound*  
 sau-ning-ig  
*smooth-them-3p.pr*

*'They go along making the mounds and others smooth them over.'*

B1 L1 B2  
 pa guwa deŋ pur-k-ina le mam nuŋe ndek kanger-na  
*fire smoke cease-cm-3s.pa and father his asm see-3s.pa*  
*'When the smoke died down his father looked.'*

B1 L1 B2  
 waŋ mbain ululu-na le ndaso ndek yu buto  
*canoe platform enter-3s.pa and cassowary asm sea depth*  
 k-ina  
*go-3s.pa*

*'The canoe platform sank and the cassowary went down into the sea.'*

Response Sentence with ndek in both bases:

Encoding Frustrated Succession -  $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q\beta$

B1 L1 B2  
 ndaso ndeka teg maŋ lilau yabaŋ-na kande teg  
*cassowary asm fowl again feather request-3s.pa but fowl*  
 ndek lilau ngail-k-ina  
*asm feather refuse-3s.pa*

*'The cassowary again asked for a feather but the fowl refused.'*

#### 5.4.3. Corollary Sentence

The Link between the Bases of the Corollary Sentence is the demonstrative *ta* 'that' or the demonstrative *ta* plus the nominaliser *-nu*. When the Sentence encodes circumstance *tanu* is used, and when it encodes frustrated modality *ta* is used. No other restrictions have been noted. The Sentence usually has only two Bases and, unlike the Sequence Sentence, it only encodes one deep structure at a time.

The semantic relationships encoded in this Sentence are typically those which in many non-Papuan languages would be encoded as margins.



## Corollary Sentence

|                          | (+ Base 1   | + Link) <sup>1-2</sup>   | + Base 2   |
|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|--|
|                          | Referential<br>tuku Ph<br>Clause<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Quotation S. | ta 'that'<br>tanu 'that' | Clause<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Alternative S.<br>Reason S.<br>Quotation S. |
| Circumstance             | cP $\wedge$ cP  | $\supset$                | Q  |
| Conditionality           | P <sub><math>\forall</math>x</sub>  | $\supset$                | Q  |
| Hypotheticality          | P   | $\supset$                | Q  |
| Frustrated<br>Modality   | (iPa $\supset$ Pa) $\wedge$   | iPa $\wedge$ R           |  |
| Frustrated<br>Succession | (P $\supset$ Q) $\wedge$ P $\wedge$<br>(P $\supset$ Q) $\wedge$ P $\wedge$                | R<br>Q $\beta$           |  |

## Special Features:

- (a) When Base 1 is repeated the first two Bases are in a relationship of sequence.
- (b) The Link tanu is used when the Sentence is encoding circumstance.
- (c) The Link ta is used when the Sentence is encoding frustrated modality.
- (d) Tense, negation and subject restrictions are determined by the deep structure relationships which the Sentence is encoding. These are dealt with under the appropriate headings.

## 5.4.3.1. Circumstance

The Link tanu is used and has the meaning 'so/therefore' when the Corollary Sentence is encoding circumstance. Either Base is optionally negated. There are no tense restrictions except that the future tense cannot occur in Base 1.

Circumstance - cP  $\wedge$  cP  $\supset$  Q

B1

ndinsuku     $\eta$ akmba    Anut    nu    wamdus    piro    karen-k-a  
ways        all        God    he    thought    work    hard-cm-dep

L1        B2

te-sili-k-ina        tanu    kile    sile    tanu    mbol-nge    mayok    ka-kik  
take-find-cm-3s.pa    that    now    we    that    on-spec    outside    go-ld.ip

'God thought hard to find ways (of helping) and now therefore as a result we benefit.'









5.4.3.5. When a Corollary Sentence encodes Frustrated Succession Base 1 is filled by an Intentional Merged Sentence or a Clause containing a Referential *tuku* Phrase. Both Bases use past tense and are positive. A subject change is always involved.

Frustrated Succession - (P > Q) ^ P ^ R

B1  
ka ye maketiŋ wakei-yam *tuku* ngaronak kusna-ng-en Li  
asm I teeth make-int rel whiteman ask-cm-1s.pa ta  
that

B2  
ngaronak Wiwak ndek k-ina le ye nzi-nge maŋ  
whiteman Wewak asm go-3s.pa and I down.there-spec again  
ake lu-k-a mb-en  
nothing return-cm-dep ascend-1s.pa

'I asked for the white man who makes dentures, but he had gone to Wewak and so I returned back up again without accomplishing anything.'

B1  
nane ndeka po-ng-a k-umba ka ambe-nge biye  
they asm climb-cm-dep go-dep asm up.there-spec hold

Li B2  
ti-mba bale-wam bafu-naig tanu ŋerŋer-k-a kupe mbi  
stand-dep kill-int about.to-3p.pa that growl-cm-dep leg inst  
ta-nge sili-mba pan-ke li-k-ina le ibeŋ-kine  
there-spec push-dep throw-cm walk-cm-3s.pa and go.down

li-k-inaig  
walk-cm-3p.pa

'They climbed (the tree) and caught him and were about to kill him, but the man growled and forced them away by swinging his legs and they fell back.'

B1 Li B2  
mafe-na le nane li-k-am *tuku* sa-k-inaig ta nale  
dawn-3s.pa and they walk-cm-int rel say-cm-3p.pa that they  
mbul-naik  
refuse-3d.pa

'In the morning they spoke of going but the two refused (to go with them).'

B1 Li  
Baŋu-nge te mbi mb-ambim *tuku* Buyam kusna-wen Li  
Bongu-spec here inst ascend-int rel Buyam ask-1s.pa ta  
that

B2  
"ye Male mbal *tuku* kopra kil-am-ngit" ng-a sa-k-ina  
I Male people rel copra take-int-1s.fu quo-dep say-cm-3s.pa

'At Bongu I asked Buyam (the skipper) about coming up here but he said, "I am going to collect the Male people's copra."'

B1 L1 B2  
 ye kumiŋ far-mba kiny-am bafu-wen tanu ɲusɲus  
 I blanket spread-dep sleep-int about.to-ls.pa that bed.bug  
 kisor suk-mba puro-mba kumiŋ ɲakmba kumu-ŋ-ina le  
 beetle like-dep arrive-dep blanket all fill-cm-3s.pa and  
 ye kiny-am wam pile pas-k-a minyo-k min-en  
 I sleep-int thought put remove-cm-dep sit-cm be-ls.pa  
 le ka mafe-na  
 and asm dawn-3s.pa

'I spread my blanket for sleep, but bed-bugs like beetles came and covered every blanket so I gave up the idea of sleeping and sat up until dawn.'

Where the Corollary Sentence shows an opposite ( $Q\beta$ ) rather than a blocking circumstance (R), tense agreement most commonly occurs between the Bases, although Base 2 can use future tense with past, immediate past or present tense in Base 1. The expectation is either positive or negative. When the expectation is positive the Clause in Base 2 is negated. When it is negative the Clause in Base 2 is positive. The Link *ta/tanu* has the meaning 'although'.

Frustrated Succession - ( $P \supset Q$ )  $\wedge P \wedge Q\beta$   
 (Positive expectation)

B1 L1 B2  
 te-nge kusem wande armba min-ik tanu sine ka  
 here-spec Sunday house two be-3d.pr that we asm  
 kusem kanger nda-weg  
 Sunday see neg-lp.pr

'Although there are two churches here we don't attend church.'

B1  
 ina nuɲe mam nuɲe duɲe sinam si-nge malmbitamtam  
 mother his father his bush inside there-spec wail

L1 B2  
 pinder-k-a puro-naik ta Puwan nu kume nda-k-ina  
 run-cm-dep arrive-3d.pa that Puwan he die neg-cm-3s.pa

'Although his father and mother ran from the bush wailing, Puwan didn't die.'

B1 L1 B2  
 Balim ne pasa sulu-te tanu sine ne tuku pasa  
 Balim you talk finish-2s.pr that we you rel talk  
 is-mba son nda-ŋ-eg  
 hear-dep true neg-cm-lp.pr

'Balim, although you are talking a lot, we don't believe you.'

B1 L1 B2  
 dokta kanger-naig tanu nane wakei-yam kumuŋ kuga  
 doctor see-3p.pa that they treat-int enough not

'Although the doctors examined him they could not treat him.'

B1  
 Mosbi-nge nu tuku we njinfok sinam ta-nge  
 Moresby-spec he rel sore throat inside there-spec

L1 B2  
 wakei-naig tanu kumuṅ kuga  
 treat-3p.pa that enough not

'At Port Moresby, although they treated the sore inside his throat they could not cure it.'

B1  
 malmbi wikaṛau ti-ng-a ndame tag kil-mba sikar ta  
 cry shout stand-dep stone axe take-dep rock that

L1 B2  
 sai-k-inaig tanu sikar sai-k-am kumuṅ kuga  
 chip-cm-3p.pa that rock chip-cm-int enough not

'Although they cried and shouted and chipped at the rock with stone axes, they were unable to chip it away.'

B1 L1 B2  
 ny-ade ta kuga nda-te  
 eat-3p.pr that finish neg-3s.pr

'Although they eat (many) they are not depleted.'

B1 L1 B2  
 ngumnenga pino wi-k-ina tanu kigo nuge wo  
 later woman call-cm-3s.pa that boy her answer

nda-k-ina  
 neg-cm-3s.pa

'Later on, although the woman called, her son did not answer.'

(Negative expectation)

B1 L1 B2  
 ye guaze ṅak ta ina tuku minge dubi-mba ka-ngit  
 I sickness with that mother rel mouth follow-dep go-ls.fu

'Although I am sick I will do as my mother says and go.'

B1 L1 B2  
 ye guaze ṅak ta ye sangri ti-ng-a ka-ngit  
 I sickness with that I strongly stand-cm-dep go-ls.fu

'Although I am sick I will make an effort and go.'

B1 L1 B2  
 nu kiko-na ta nu sangri ti-ng-a wi-k-ina  
 he shy-3s.pa that he strongly stand-cm-dep call-cm-3s.pa

'Although he was shy he made an effort and called out.'

#### 5.4.4. Response Sentence

The Response Sentence is subdivided into Factual and Contrafactual Response Sentences determined by the use of the conjunction *kande*. In the Factual Sentence the conjunction *kande* occurs between the Bases and in the Contrafactual Sentence it occurs following each Base.



#### 5.4.4.1. Factual Response Sentence

The Factual Response Sentence usually consists of two Bases although up to four can occur. The Link between the Bases is the conjunction *kande* which has the meaning 'and', 'but' or 'if', usually determined by the deep grammar encoding. This Sentence is closely associated with speech and its Bases are frequently filled by Quotation Clauses. Usually the action of the final Base is a response to the action/s of the previous Base/s.

##### Factual Response Sentence

|                              | + (+ Base 1  | + Link) <sup>1-3</sup>         | + Base 2  |
|------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|---|
|                              | Clause<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Quotation S.<br><i>kuga 'no'</i><br><i>son 'true'</i> | <i>kande 'but/<br/>and/if'</i> | Clause<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Alternative S.<br>Reason S.<br>Quotation S.<br><i>kuga 'no'</i><br><i>son 'true'</i> |
| Repartee                     | Question<br>Command  | $\wedge$<br>$\wedge$           | Answer<br>Response  |
| Coupling with<br>Reciprocity | Pab  | $\wedge$                       | Qb  |
| Frustration                  | $(Pab \supset Qb) \wedge Fab \wedge Q\beta b$  |                                |   |
| Hypotheticality              | P  | $\supset$                      | Q   |

##### Special Features:

- (a) A subject change is almost always involved.
- (b) When Base 1 is repeated the first two or more Bases are in a relationship of sequence.
- (c) Only when the Sentence is encoding hypotheticality can more than two Bases occur.
- (d) When the Sentence is encoding repartee *kande* means 'but' or 'and', when encoding coupling with reciprocity 'and', when encoding frustration 'but', and when encoding hypotheticality it means 'if'.
- (e) Tense and negation restrictions are dealt with under the deep structure headings where applicable.

(1) Repartee: When the Factual Response Sentence encodes repartee Base 1 is filled by a Quotation Clause, or a Clause or Merged Sentence whose Predicate is manifested by a verb of speech, or one which calls forth a speech response in Base 2. When the repartee involves a question and answer, the quote of the Quotation Clause filling Base 1

is marked for interrogative mood by the question marker *e* or by rising intonation on the final syllable. Base 2 is filled by a Quotation Clause or a Clause whose Predicate is filled by a verb of speech. Both Bases have past tense and are positive. A verb of speech in Base 2 does not occur with the object suffix, while in Base 1 the verb of speech obligatorily occurs with the object suffix. The Link *kande* has the meaning 'but' or 'and' determined by the type of answer which is given or implied in response to the question. When the response is a negative statement or a paraphrase of an implied negation *kande* is translated 'but'.

Question and Answer, or Command and Response, when both Bases are filled by Quotation Sentences:

B1  
 "o ne k-umba ye tuku kiŋo s-a o"  
*oh you go-dep I rel boy give.me-2s.po vocative*

Li B2  
 ng-ina kande "ye kiŋo te tine nda o" ng-ina  
 quo-3s.pa but I boy this give.you neg vocative quo-3s.pa  
 "You go (but) give me my boy." he said, but she said, "I will never give you this boy."

B1 Li B2  
 "noten e" ng-inaig kande "not kuga" ng-ina  
*this.here qm quo-3p.pa but that not quo-3s.pa*  
 "Is this it?" they asked but he said, "That is not it."

B1 Li B2  
 "te-nge?" ng-ina kande "ta nzamu naje tuku"  
*here-spec quo-3s.pa but that aunt your rel*  
 "Here?" she asked, but "No, that is your aunt's".

B1 Li B2  
 "Alfiret te-nge min-it?" ng-ina kande "nu te-nge  
*Alfred here-spec be-3s.pr quo-3s.pa and he here-spec*  
 min-it" ng-ina  
*be-3s.pr quo-3s.pa*  
 "Is Alfred here?" he asked, and he said, "He is here".

B1 Li B2  
 "ani-nge" ng-ina kande "nu rum sungo mbol si  
*where-spec quo-3s.pa and he room big at there*  
 k-et" ng-ina  
*go-3s.ip quo-3s.pa*  
 "Where (is he)?" he asked, and he said, "He went to that big room over there".

B1 Li B2  
 "ina a pino?" ng-ina kande "kiŋo ya  
*mother vocative woman quo-3s.pa and son vocative*  
 ŋayo aŋaŋ kuga te pino" ng-ina  
*bad thing not this woman quo-3s.pa*  
 "Mother, is it a woman?" he asked, and she said, "Son, this isn't an evil thing, it is a woman".



B1 L1 B2  
 yawan mbol mambil-na kande son  
 tree.type on look-3s.pa and true  
 'She looked up in the yawan tree and yes (they were there).'

B1  
 kigo kame ta kil-mba ngiram sinam-nge pati-k-ina  
 child group that take-dep drum inside-spec put-cm-3s.pa  
 L1 B2  
 kande kumu-ng-ina  
 and enough-cm-3s.pa  
 'He took the children and put them inside the drum, and it was  
 large enough.'

B1 L1 B2  
 teg tuku lilau kanger-na kande lilau  
 fowl rel tail.feathers see-3s.pa and tail.feathers  
 kupes maye-na  
 dance well-3s.pa  
 'He looked at the fowl's tail feathers, and they waved well.'

B1 L1 B2  
 yawan ta kanger-na kande nzu nak min-na  
 tree.type that see-3s.pa and shoots with be-3s.pa  
 'She looked at the yawan tree and it had shoots.'

(3) Frustration: When the Factual Response Sentence encodes frustrated coupling or frustrated succession, two Bases are involved. Both are in past tense. Base 1 contains the purposeful action and Base 2 the unexpected result. The object or location of Base 1 becomes the subject of Base 2. Deletion of the filler of Base 2 is common, in which case the response kuga 'no' is substituted. The rules stated under Coupling with Reciprocity (Section 5.4.4.1. (2)) dealing with the Predicates of the fillers of the Bases also apply here. In this encoding kande has the meaning 'but'.

Frustrated coupling -  $(Pab \supset Qb) \wedge Pab \wedge Q\beta b$

B1 L1 B2  
 maib nune ta sangri ti-ng-ina kande kuga  
 younger.brother his that strong stand-cm-3s.pa but no  
 'His younger brother protested strongly but in vain.'

B1 L1 B2  
 kuku tilai-ng-it kande kualegan kuga  
 line fish-cm-1s.ip but fish no  
 'I fished but there were no fish.'

B1 L1 B2  
 mambil-na kande kuga  
 look-3s.pa but no  
 'She looked (for it) but no (it wasn't there).'

B1            L1            B2  
 mambil-na kande kupes nda-na  
 look-3s.pa but dance neg-3s.pa  
 'He looked (at it) but it was not waving.'

B1            L1            B2  
 kanger-na kande nale o buk mbol ambe k-inaik  
 see-3s.pa but they emphasis already on up.there go-3d.pa  
 'He looked, but they had already gone up.'

#### Frustrated succession

B1            L1            B2  
 waŋ mbain mbol-nge minyo-k-ina kande waŋ mbain  
 canoe platform on-spec sit-cm-3s.pa but canoe platform  
 ululu-na  
 sink-3s.pa  
 'He sat on the canoe platform but the platform submerged.'

(4) Hypotheticality: When the Factual Response Sentence encodes hypotheticality it expounds the Quote of a Quotation Sentence. Base 2 is filled by a Clause expressing command or exhortation which has potential tense. Base 1 has potential or past tense. Deletion of the first Base is common when the Sentence is filling a Paragraph slot. When deletion occurs the response word kuga 'no' is the only manifestation of the first Base. In this encoding kande means 'if'.

#### Hypotheticality - $P \supset Q$

B1            L1            B2  
 fudiŋ fudiŋ-wa kande ne nda yal-e  
 small small-3s.po if you neg come-2s.po  
 'If (the smoke) is only a small amount, don't come.'

B1            L1            B2  
 ne kuayar-at kande sa-k-a  
 you steal-2s.ip if say-cm-2s.po  
 'If you stole it, say so!'

B1            L1            B2  
 nu pitik nda nde-k-uwa kande kusre-mba ka-pe  
 he quickly neg descend-cm-3s.po if leave-dep go-2p.po  
 'If he doesn't come down quickly, go and leave him.'

B1            L1            B2  
 "nde-k-a" ng-upe kande nde-k-a  
 descend-cm-2s.po quo-ld.po if descend-cm-2s.po  
 'If we say "Come down", then come down.'

B1            L1            B2  
 soŋ inum tanu ug-at kande s-a  
 bundle one that cook-3s.ip if give.me-2s.po  
 'If one of those bundles (of food) is cooked, give it to me.'

|         |  |                |               |               |          |                |                |          |           |            |
|---------|--|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------|----------------|----------------|----------|-----------|------------|
| B1a     | paguwa   | puro-wa        | L1            | kande         | Blb      | ye             | paguwa         | sili-k-i |           | kande      |
|         | smoke  | come-3s.po     | if            | I             | smoke    | enter-cm-1s.po |                |          | if        |            |
| mam     | nu   | puro           | ne            | t-am          | bafu-wa  |                | L1             | B2       |           |            |
|         | father   | he             | asm           | you           | take-int | about.to-3s.po | if             | you      | me        | ye         |
| biy-mba | ndiq-y-a   |                |               |               |          |                |                |          |           |            |
|         | hold-dep   | grasp-me-2s.po |               |               |          |                |                |          |           |            |
|         | 'If the smoke descends and I go into it and your father tries to take you, hold on to me tightly.' |                |               |               |          |                |                |          |           |            |
| B1a     | agan   | nzi            |               | ta            | puro-mba | sile           | kamus-sik-uwa  | sulumba  |           |            |
|         | thing  | down.there     |               | that          | come-dep | us             | sense-us-3s.po | and      |           |            |
| sile    | tugum  | te             |               | puro-wa       | L1       | kande          | Blb            | sile     | nu        | nyangan    |
|         | us   | near           | here          | come-3s.po    | if       | we             | he             | food     |           | kil-wa     |
|         |  |                |               |               |          |                |                |          |           | take-3s.po |
| tanu    | sile   | sik-uwa        |               | L1            | kande    | Blb            | sile           | nye      | nda-k-upe |            |
|         | that   | us             | give.us-3s.po | if            | we       | eat            | neg-cm-ld.po   |          |           |            |
|         | 'If that thing down there senses our presence and comes and offers us food, let us not eat it.'    |                |               |               |          |                |                |          |           |            |
| B1      | L1   | B2             |               |               |          |                |                |          |           |            |
|         | kuga   | kande          | sa-k-a        |               |          |                |                |          |           |            |
|         | no   | if             | say-cm-2s.po  |               |          |                |                |          |           |            |
|         | 'If not, then say so!'   |                |               |               |          |                |                |          |           |            |
| B1      | L1   | B2             |               |               |          |                |                |          |           |            |
|         | kuga   | kande          | man           | lu-k-a        |          | mb-upe         |                |          |           |            |
|         | no   | if             | again         | return-cm-dep |          | ascend-ld.po   |                |          |           |            |
|         | 'If not, let us return.'   |                |               |               |          |                |                |          |           |            |

#### 5.4.4.2. *Contrafactual Response Sentence*

The Contrafactual Response Sentence consists of two Bases each filled by a Clause or a Merged Sentence. Each Base is followed by a Link manifested by the conjunction *kande*. When the first Base is positive the factual implication is negative and when the first Base is negative the factual implication is positive.

#### *Contrafactual Response Sentence*

|                  |  |                   |           |                    |
|------------------|--|-------------------|-----------|--------------------|
|                  | + Base 1   | + Link            | + Base 2  | + Link             |
|                  | Clause   | <i>kande 'if'</i> | Clause    | <i>kande 'but'</i> |
|                  | Merged S.  |                   | Merged S. |                    |
| Contrafactuality | $P\beta \wedge (P\beta \supset Q\beta) \wedge (P \supset Q)$ |                   |           |                    |

#### Special Features:

- (a) Tense agreement occurs between the Bases and can be past, immediate past or present.



## Correlation Sentence

|                    | + Base 1  |   | + Base 2   |   | ± Base n <sup>n=1-3</sup> |
|--------------------|---|---|--|---|---------------------------|
|                    | Clause<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Response S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Conditional S.<br>Reason S.<br>Quotation S. |   | Clause<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Reason S.<br>Quotation S. |   | As for Base 2             |
| Contrast           | P(a)  | ^ | P"(b)  |   |                           |
| Coupling           | Pa  | ^ | Pb...  | ^ | Pn                        |
| Paraphrase:        | .   |   |  |   |                           |
| Negated<br>Antonym | P"a   | ^ | Pa   |   |                           |
| Amplification      | Pa  | ^ | Pab  |   |                           |
| Comparison         | Pa  | = | Pb   |   |                           |
| Warning            | (Pβa > Qa)  | ^ | o-Pa   |   |                           |
| Unusual Encodings  |   |   |  |   |                           |
| Circumstance       | cP ^ cP   | > | Q  |   |                           |
| Efficient Cause    | P ^ P   | > | Q  |   |                           |
| Assessment         | Pa  | ^ | Ebc  | ^ | (b = Pa)                  |

## Special Features:

- (a) When the Sentence encodes a negated antonym paraphrase the order of the Bases is optionally reversed.
- (b) Base 3 optionally occurs from one to three times.
- (c) Where relevant, tense, negation and subject restrictions are dealt with under the various encodings.

## 5.4.5.1. Contrast

When a Correlation Sentence encodes a relationship of contrast the Bases are usually expounded by Equative Clauses. The two Predicate-like tagmemes involve one pair of antonyms. There is contrast in the terms and an implicit or explicit repetition of at least one lexical item between the Bases.



Contrast -  $P(a) \wedge P''(b)$

|      |       |      |          |       |        |      |       |       |
|------|-------|------|----------|-------|--------|------|-------|-------|
| B1   |       |      |          |       |        | B2   |       |       |
| ande | kauk  | kauk | gabat-nu | dabuk | dabuk, | ande | dabuk | dabuk |
| one  | white |      | head-ns  | black |        | one  | black |       |

|             |       |      |         |        |      |
|-------------|-------|------|---------|--------|------|
| ngarosnu-nu | kuyar | gak  | dadu-nu | kulon  | gak  |
| body-ns     | marks | with | tail-ns | yellow | with |

*'One is white with a black head and the other is black with markings on its body and a yellow tail.'*

|      |      |       |      |          |      |          |
|------|------|-------|------|----------|------|----------|
| B1   |      |       |      |          | B2   |          |
| nane | tuku | maṅau | afu  | mage-nu, | afu  | ṅaigo-nu |
| they | rel  | way   | some | good-ns  | some | bad-ns   |

*'Some of their ways (are) good and others bad.'*

|          |      |       |      |      |       |       |
|----------|------|-------|------|------|-------|-------|
| B1       |      |       |      | B2   |       |       |
| gabat-nu | afu  | kauk  | kauk | afu  | dabuk | dabuk |
| head-ns  | some | white |      | some | black |       |

*'Some have white heads and others have black heads.'*

|      |      |       |         |      |      |       |       |      |
|------|------|-------|---------|------|------|-------|-------|------|
| B1   |      |       |         | B2   |      |       |       |      |
| mara | ande | ma    | pak-nu, | mara | ande | murke | sungo | gak  |
| day  | one  | place | hot-ns  | day  | one  | cold  | big   | have |

*'One day it is hot and another day it is very cold.'*

|      |      |        |       |      |              |        |           |
|------|------|--------|-------|------|--------------|--------|-----------|
| B1   |      |        |       |      | B2           |        |           |
| sine | tuku | kilke  | fudiq | ndo, | Ostreliya-nu | kilke  | sungokanu |
| we   | rel  | ground | small | only | Australia-ns | ground | big       |

*'Our land is very small (but) Australia is large.'*

#### 5.4.5.2. Coupling

When a Correlation Sentence encodes coupling the Bases are uniformly positive or negative. There is tense agreement and the Predicates of the Bases are identical.

Parallel Coupling -  $P_a \wedge P_b \dots \wedge P_n$

|    |       |      |           |        |       |          |           |
|----|-------|------|-----------|--------|-------|----------|-----------|
| B1 |       |      |           |        | B2    |          |           |
| nu | tango | isu  | ngur-am   | kumuṅ  | kiṅo  | t-umba   | ngisi-wam |
| it | man   | bone | break-int | enough | child | take-dep | lose-int  |

kumuṅ  
enough

*'It (the sea) is able to break a man's bones, it is able to wash a child away.'*

|      |     |          |      |         |          |      |        |
|------|-----|----------|------|---------|----------|------|--------|
| B1   |     |          | B2   |         | B3       |      |        |
| afu  | Lai | kin-ig,  | afu  | Mosbi   | kin-ig,  | afu  | Mandan |
| some | Lae | go-3p.pr | some | Moresby | go-3p.pr | some | Madang |

|          |      |        |          |
|----------|------|--------|----------|
| Bn       |      |        |          |
| kin-ig,  | afu  | Rabaul | kin-ig   |
| go-3p.pr | some | Rabaul | go-3p.pr |

*'Some go to Lae, others to Port Moresby, Madang or Rabaul.'*

|    |                      |    |                        |    |            |
|----|----------------------|----|------------------------|----|------------|
| B1 | yu mbol-nge min-ig,  | B2 | kule mbol-nge min-ig,  | Bn | tabek-nge  |
|    | sea on-spec be-3p.pr |    | river on-spec be-3p.pr |    | shore-spec |

min-ig  
be-3p.pr

'They are in the sea, in rivers and on land.'

|    |             |       |      |    |             |          |      |      |
|----|-------------|-------|------|----|-------------|----------|------|------|
| B1 | sinam-nge   | kule  | gak, | B2 | sinam-nge   | alo-nu   | mata | gak  |
|    | inside-spec | water | with |    | inside-spec | fruit-ns | also | with |

'Inside there is water and also flesh.'

|    |    |      |      |         |    |      |      |         |
|----|----|------|------|---------|----|------|------|---------|
| B1 | nu | tuku | mine | maye-nu | nu | tuku | pasa | maye-nu |
|    | he | rel  | be   | good-ns | he | rel  | talk | good-ns |

'His behaviour and speech are good.'

|    |     |        |           |        |    |     |         |           |        |
|----|-----|--------|-----------|--------|----|-----|---------|-----------|--------|
| B1 | ne  | Karkar | kanger-am | kumuŋ, | B2 | ne  | Bagabag | kanger-am | kumuŋ  |
|    | you | Karkar | see-int   | enough |    | you | Bagabag | see-int   | enough |

'You are able to see Karkar and also Bagabag.'

#### 5.4.5.3. Negated Antonym Paraphrase

When the Correlation Sentence encodes negated antonym paraphrase there is tense agreement between the Bases. The second Base is a paraphrase of the first Base and is usually added for emphasis, and the same subject almost always occurs. The Bases contain a negated antonym or a synonym in a tautology type of relationship. Permutation of Bases can occur.

##### Negated Antonym Paraphrase - P<sup>n</sup>a ^ Pa

|    |      |       |      |      |              |    |             |          |
|----|------|-------|------|------|--------------|----|-------------|----------|
| B1 | pasa | gubra | mbi  | te   | nda-k-ap     | B2 | ngamungal   | mukuk    |
|    | talk | anger | inst | take | neg-cm-2p.po |    | inner.being | peaceful |

  

|  |      |             |                    |
|--|------|-------------|--------------------|
|  | mbi  | so-t-a      | te-sili-k-ap       |
|  | inst | seek-cm-dep | take-find-cm-2p.po |

'Don't argue about it, seek and find (the cause) peaceably.'

|    |    |           |        |       |    |    |        |      |          |
|----|----|-----------|--------|-------|----|----|--------|------|----------|
| B1 | nu | isukus-am | kumuŋ  | kuga, | B2 | nu | gubak  | ndo  | min-na   |
|    | he | eat-int   | enough | no    |    | he | hungry | only | be-3s.pa |

'He was unable to eat, he just remained hungry.'

|    |         |       |       |      |      |              |        |      |
|----|---------|-------|-------|------|------|--------------|--------|------|
| B1 | tumbraŋ | tango | pino  | ande | mine | nda-k-inaig, | gakmba | puro |
|    | village | man   | woman | one  | be   | neg-cm-3p.pa | all    | asm  |

|  |               |         |      |               |
|--|---------------|---------|------|---------------|
|  | Ndanmben-nge  | konsil  | tuku | piro-k-inaig  |
|  | Ndanmben-spec | council | rel  | work-cm-3p.pa |

'There was not a man or woman in the village, they were all doing

'Council work at Ndanmben.'

|    |      |         |      |       |    |          |         |               |
|----|------|---------|------|-------|----|----------|---------|---------------|
| B1 | yine | wamdus  | mbi  | kuga, | B2 | Anut-nge | wamdus  | s-ina         |
|    | my   | thought | inst | no    |    | God-spec | thought | give.me-3s.pa |

'It wasn't my idea, God gave me the idea.'



5.4.5.5. *Comparison*

When a Correlation Sentence encodes a relationship of comparison Base 2 contains some form of the word *tana-* 'thus'. Both Bases have present tense or Base 1 has present tense and Base 2 future tense. A subject change occurs between the Bases. The Predicates of each Base are the same or are synonyms.

Comparison - Pa = Pb

B1

Ehap nu piro kareᅇ-k-a ka piya ᅇayo-nu t-ina,  
Ahab he work hard-cm-dep asm payment bad-ns take-3s.pa

B2

taᅇaᅇ sile piya ᅇayo-nu t-upe-kik  
thus we.d payment bad-ns take-ld.po-ld.ip

'As Ahab worked hard and (yet) was punished so we might receive punishment.'

B1

Ehap piti te-sili-k-ina taᅇa-mba sile piti  
Ahab heaviness take-find-cm-3s.pa thus-dep we.d heaviness

B2

te-sili-k-am-kik  
take-find-cm-int-ld.fu

'As Ahab was troubled, so we will be troubled.'

B1

Eliya tuku profet-nge ᅇakmba ᅇinfok kuger-k-a  
Elijah rel prophet-spec all throat cut.them-cm-dep

B2

sulu-naig taᅇaᅇ ngumnenga ensel-nge sile ᅇakmba  
finish-3p.pa thus later angel-spec us.d all

pitai-k-uwaig  
cast.out-cm-3p.po

'As Elijah's prophets cut the throats of them all, so later on will (Goa's) angels cast all of us out.'

B1

waᅇ asis sine sina-nu kanger-eg taᅇaᅇ Balob wande  
boat cabin we inside-ns see-lp.pr thus Balob house

B2

pati-k-inaig tanu taᅇaᅇ ndo  
put-cm-3p.pa that thus only

'As the inside of a ship's cabin is in appearance, the Balob buildings which they built were just like that.'

5.4.5.6. *Warning*

Two juxtaposed Clauses usually of minimal form fill the Bases of the Correlation Sentence when warning is encoded. Base 1 has potential tense which is a command, and Base 2 has apprehensive tense. The same subject occurs in both.

Warning - (Pβa > Qa) ∧ o-Pa

|                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| B1                  | B2                  |
| kurau-k-a           | bari-ng-i-k-at      |
| be.careful-cm-2s.po | fall-cm-po-cm-2d.ip |

*'Watch out or you might fall.'*

|                     |                  |
|---------------------|------------------|
| B1                  | B2               |
| biye di-ng-a        | ngisi-wi-k-at    |
| hold grasp.cm-2s.po | lose-po-cm-2s.ip |

*'Hold it tightly, you might lose it.'*

The Correlation Sentence encodes other deep grammar relationships which are labelled Unusual Encodings and are only briefly summarised since they are more frequently expressed by other sentence types or constructions.

Circumstance - cP ∧ cP > Q

|               |                                    |
|---------------|------------------------------------|
| B1            | B2                                 |
| sing-ina      | sine dunge-nge guba nda t-igen     |
| give.us-3s.pa | we bush-spec hunger neg take-lp.pa |

*'(In view of the fact that) he gave us (food) we were not hungry in the bush.'*

Efficient Cause - P ∧ P > Q

|   |  |
|---|--|
| B1  |  |
| ngumnenga kiŋo kame ti-ng-a pino kil-am ndin      |  |
| later child group stand-cm-dep woman take-int way |  |

|                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| B2                         |  |
| kuga, ndin tukul-k-am-ngat |  |
| no way close-cm-int-3s.fu  |  |

*'The way will be closed, so later on the young people will be unable to marry.'*

Assessment - Pa ∧ Ebc ∧ (b = Pa)

|  |  |
|--|--|
| B1   |  |
| nane nangine nangine mungu bale far-mba taŋa-naig    |  |
| they their their mutually kill spread-dep thus-3p.pa |  |

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| B2                    |  |
| maŋau ta maye-nu kuga |  |
| way that good-ns no   |  |

*'They used to kill each other, that was not good.'*

#### 5.4.6. Alternative Sentence

The Alternative Sentence consists of from two to four Bases usually filled by Clauses and terminating with an optional Summary slot filled by the Equative Clause *ye gilai* 'I don't know'. Although four Bases is the greatest expansion noted thus far there seems to be no reason why further Bases could not occur. The Clauses filling the Bases are uniformly indicative or interrogative. The interrogative mood is marked by the question marker *e* postposed to the first or all Bases.

When the alternatives are questions, this implies that one of the alternatives could/did occur or neither can/did occur. When the alternatives are statements it implies that one of the two alternatives will/did occur. When the speaker wishes to be non-committal the Summary tagmeme is used.

#### Alternative Sentence

|             | + Base 1                   | ± Link  | + Base 2         | ± (+ Link | + Base 3) <sup>1-2</sup> | ± Summary |
|-------------|----------------------------|---------|------------------|-----------|--------------------------|-----------|
|             | Clause Merged S. Simple S. | ko 'or' | Clause Merged S. | ko 'or'   | Clause Merged S.         | Clause    |
| Alternation | Pa                         | v       | Pa               |           |                          |           |
|             | Pa                         | v       | P"a              |           |                          |           |
|             | Pax                        | v       | Pax"             |           |                          |           |
|             | P(a)                       | v       | P(b)             | v         | P(n)                     |           |

#### Special Features:

- There is tense agreement between the Bases.
- The ko is optional only when the Sentence is encoding the alternation relationships - Pa v Pa or Pa v P"a.
- Base 3 occurs only when the terms of the Predicate contrast.
- The Bases are uniformly statements or questions.
- Base 3 can be repeated once.

Pa v Pa

|    |        |               |    |    |      |    |            |
|----|--------|---------------|----|----|------|----|------------|
| B1 |        |               |    | L1 | B2   |    | Sum        |
| nu | pas    | bur-k-ina     | e  | ko | kuga | e  | ye gilai   |
| he | letter | read-cm-3s.pa | qm | or | no   | qm | I not.know |

'Did he read the letter or not? I don't know.'

|      |            |    |    |      |    |
|------|------------|----|----|------|----|
| B1   |            |    | L1 | B2   |    |
| te   | t-i        | e  | ko | kuga | e  |
| this | take-ls.po | qm | or | no   | qm |

'Will I take it or not?'

Pa v P"a

|    |              |    |    |          |    |            |
|----|--------------|----|----|----------|----|------------|
| B1 |              |    | L1 | B2       |    | Sum        |
| nu | min-am-ngat  | e  | ko | ka-ngat  | e  | ye gilai   |
| he | be-int-3s.fu | qm | or | go-3s.fu | qm | I not.know |

'Will he stay or go? I don't know.'

|    |                 |  |    |                |
|----|-----------------|--|----|----------------|
| B1 |                 |  | L1 | B2             |
| nu | kiny-am-ngat    |  | ko | isukus-am-ngat |
| he | sleep-int-3s.fu |  | or | eat-int-3s.fu  |

'He will either sleep or eat.'

|       |    |    |         |          |
|-------|----|----|---------|----------|
| B1    |    | L1 | B2      |          |
| pino  | e  | ko | ake     | agag e   |
| woman | qm | or | nothing | thing qm |

'Is it a woman or is it something else?'



## Conditional Sentence

|                 | + Base 1  | + Link                               | + Base 2                           |
|-----------------|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
|                 | Clause<br>Infinitive Cl<br>Merged S.<br>Sequence S. | ndeta 'if'<br>ndeta-nu 'if'<br>if-ns | Clause<br>Merged S.<br>Sequence S. |
| Hypotheticality | P<br>P <sub>ψx</sub>                                | ▷<br>▷                               | Q<br>Q                             |

## Special Features:

- (a) When the same subject occurs between the Bases the filler of Base 1 is a dependent Clause, an infinitive Clause or a dependent Sentence.  
 (b) When different subjects occur between the Bases the Predicate of Base 1 uses potential tense.  
 (c) The Predicate of Base 2 has potential, present or future tense.

P > Q

B1 L1 B2  
 ne ye tuku sapor piya-wa ndeta ye ne ndametin  
 you I rel axe buy-2s.po if I you money  
 tin-i  
 give.you-1s.po

'If you will buy an axe for me I will give you the money.'

B1 L1 B2  
 nale puro-waik ndeta sile minyo-k-upe  
 they arrive-3p.po if we sit-cm-1d.po

'If they should come we will sit down.'

B1 L1 B2  
 tale pasa piro afu min-wa ndeta ye sa-y-ap  
 you talk work some be-3s.po if me say-me-2d.po

'If you should have some language work for me, tell me.'

B1  
 umaq ande ne ul-a le fungul-nu sungo-k-uwa  
 fish one you spear-2s.po and abdomen swell-cm-3s.po

L1 B2  
 ndeta nu ta yubili  
 if it that yubili

'If you should spear a fish and its abdomen swells, that is a yubili.'

B1 L1 B2  
 nu puro-wa ndeta nu kanger-am-ngat  
 he arrive-3s.po if him see-int-3s.fu

'If he should come he will see him.'

B1 L1 B2  
 sawe piy-wa ndeta ye min-am-ngit  
 rain rain-3s.po if I be-int-1s.fu

'If it should rain I will stay.'



B1                                  L1                                  B2  
 tango wande kanger-am ndeta-nu kile wande po-ng-a  
 man house see-int if-ns now house climb-cm-dep  
 kanger-ap  
 see-2p.po

*'If you want to look at the buildings, go up now and look.'*

B1            L1            B2  
 taṅa-mba ndeta kiṅo kame sukul mbol-nge nda pati-k-uwaig  
 thus-dep if child group school on-spec neg put-cm-3p.po

*'If that (is how they feel) they should not put the children in school.'*

B1                                  L1            B2  
 nu puro-mba ndeta nu kanger-wa  
 he arrive-dep if he see-3s.po

*'If he comes he should see it.'*

B1                                  L1            B2  
 ye Baṅu k-umba ndeta takile pas tu-ki  
 I Bongu go-dep if your letters give.him-1s.po

*'If I should go to Bongu I will give him your letters.'*

Hypotheticality with Universal Quantifier of a Term -  $P_{\forall x} \supset Q$

B1    L1            B2  
 ngumnenga ne tanu tuku kanger-mba ndeta-nu ne nda  
 later you that rel see-dep if-ns you neg  
 t-umba piy-mba ny-a  
 take-dep cook-dep eat-2s.po

*'Later if ever you should see that, don't take, cook or eat it.'*

B1    L1            B2  
 tango tane gilai ndeta-nu kame mbeṅ armba min-ig  
 man you not.know if-ns fight snake two be-3s.pr

*'If ever there should be some of you men who don't know, there are two dangerous snakes.'*

B1    L1            B2  
 ne tanu kanger-mba ndeta nu ne nda t-a  
 you that see-dep if it you neg take-2s.po

*'If ever you see that don't catch it.'*

#### 5.4.8. Reason Sentence

The Reason Sentence consists of two Bases linked by the conjunction *tukunu* 'because' which in form consists of the relator *tuku* and the nominaliser *-nu*. As in the Conditional Sentence Base 1 can be filled by a dependent Clause or Sentence when the Bases have the same subject. The Reason Sentence is infrequently used. Its deep structures are more frequently encoded in the Corollary Sentence.

## Reason Sentence

|                 | + Base 1   | + Link              | + Base 2   |
|-----------------|--|---------------------|--|
|                 | Clause<br>Merged S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Quotation S. | tukunu<br>'because' | Clause<br>Merged S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Quotation S. |
| Efficient Cause | P ∧ P  | ▷                   | Q  |
| Circumstance    | cP ∧ cP  | ▷                   | Q  |

## Special Features:

- (a) A dependent Clause or Sentence optionally occurs in Base 1 when the subjects of the Bases are the same.
- (b) Potential and future tenses have not been found to occur in Base 1. The use of apprehensive mood really implies a present mental state. There are no other tense restrictions.
- (c) Either Base is optionally negated.

Efficient cause - P ∧ P ▷ Q

B1                      L1              B2  
ne    kuayar-at    tukunu    ne    tango    te    ndon    pasa  
you   steal-2s.ip   because   you   man    this   with   talk  
sungo-mba   sa-k-ate  
big-dep    say-cm-2s.pr

'Because you stole it you are arguing a great deal with this man.'

B1                                      L1  
yine    mungul    t-it                      tukunu    ye    minge    tukule    nda  
my    banana    take-1s.ip    because   I    mouth    close    neg

'Because I took (only) my own bananas I will not keep quiet (about the accusation.)'

B1    L1              B2  
nu    kilke    te    kusre-mba    kum-i-k-at                                      tukunu    nu    kurukuru  
he    ground    this    leave-dep    die-po-cm-3s.ip    because    he    fear

sungo    t-umba    nu    kino    nuge    riron    pasa    sa-te  
big    take-dep    he    child    his    warning    talk    say-3s.pr

'Because he might die he fears greatly and warns his child.'

Circumstance - cP ∧ cP ▷ Q

B1                                      L1              B2  
yu    sungokanu    tukunu    ye    kine    nda  
sea    big    because   I    go    neg

'In view of the fact that the sea is rough I will not go.'

B1    L1              B2  
kite    ma    maye-k-at                                      tukunu    ye    pasa-t-a    min-et  
today    place    good-cm-3s.ip    because   I    talk-cm-dep    be-1s.pr

'In view of the fact that the weather is good today, I am still talking.'

B1 L1 B2  
kame kitek tukunu sine kurukuru nda-k-igen  
fight new because we fear neg-cm-lp.pa

*'In view of the fact that the war was new (to us) we were not afraid.'*

#### 5.4.9. Quotation Sentence

The Quotation Sentence consists of an obligatory Quote manifested by a Quotation Clause or Speech Quotation Merged Sentence, and an optional Pre-Quote formula. The Predicate of the Pre-Quote formula is manifested by a verb indicating speech, such as *idus-* 'think', *sa-* 'say', *kusna-* 'ask', *wi-* 'call out'. The Quotation Sentence is used to indicate speech or thought.

##### Quotation Sentence

|        | ± Pre-Quote       | + Quote                                  |
|--------|-------------------|--|
|        | Clause<br>Merg S. | Quotation Cl<br>Speech Quotation Merg S. |
| Speech | wP      ^         | Q  |

##### Special Features:

- (a) An optional final major pause follows the Pre-Quote formula.  
 (b) When the Sentence expresses thought, the Speech Quotation Merged Sentence fills the Quote.  
 (c) In a clear context, everything in the Quotation Sentence may be deleted except the actual speech manifesting the Object of the Quotation Clause as Quote tagmeme.  
 (d) Tense and subject agreement between speech verbs of the two tagmemes is obligatory.

##### With Pre-Quote formula:

PreQ Q  
kiyap nu sa-k-ina "Udini tango pino afu tumbraŋ-nge  
kiap he say-cm-3s.pa Udini man woman some village-spec  
min-naig e" ng-a kusna-ng-ina  
be-3p.pa qm quo-dep ask-cm-3s.pa  
*'The officer asked, "Were there any Udini people in the village?"'*

PreQ Q  
sa-k-ina "ne ginu puro-na e" ng-a kusna-y-ina  
say-cm-3s.pa you when arrive-2s.pa qm quo-dep ask-me-3s.pa  
*'"When did you arrive?" he asked me.'*

PreQ Q  
Wapu sa-k-ina "ye sinka sa-k-et ye yine piro  
Wapu say-cm-3s.pa I truly say-cm-ls.pr I my garden  
mbol-nge t-it" ng-ina  
on-spec take-ls.ip quo-3s.pa

*'Wapu said, "I am speaking the truth, I took it from my own garden".'*

Without Pre-Quote formula:

"ye kile ndin ul-mba li-k-am-ngit" ng-a sa-k-inaig  
 I now road shoot-dep walk-cm-int-ls.fu quo-dep say-cm-3p.pa

*"I will now go shooting along the road," (the messages) said.'*

"tane kubele ka ani-nge piro-k-aig e" ng-a  
 you yesterday asm where-spec work-cm-2p.ip qm quo-dep

kusna-sing-ina  
 ask-us-3s.pa

*"Where did you work yesterday?" he asked us.'*

"tango te ndon li-k-i le tango te-nge  
 man this with walk-cm-ls.po and man this-spec

kualeyau-k-am-ngat e" ng-a idus-na  
 argue-cm-int-3s.fu qm quo-dep think-3s.pa

*"If I go with this man will he argue?" he thought.'*

"kino ta ani-nge min-it o" ng-a  
 child that where-spec be-3s.pr vocative quo-dep

idus-mba min-na  
 think-dep be-3s.pa

*"Where is the child?" he was thinking.'*

"tane piro-k-inaig ta piro maye-naig e" ng-ina  
 you work-cm-2p.pa that work well-2p.pa qm quo-3s.pa

*"When you worked, did you work well?" he said.'*

"sine gilai" ng-igen  
 we not.know quo-lp.pa

*"We don't know," we said.'*

"ye ake sinan kalabus ka ka-mbim ye mbul-it"  
 I nothing uselessly jail asm go-int I refuse-ls.ip

ng-ina  
 quo-3s.pa

*"I refuse to go to jail for nothing," he said.'*

"aye aye" ng-igen  
 aye aye quo-lp.pa

*"Aye.., aye..," we wailed.'*

"maye le te-nge pal-pe ye wakei-yam-ngit" ng-ina  
 good and here-spec put-2p.po I treat-int-ls.fu quo-3s.pa

*"Good, put him here and I will treat him," he said.'*

With deletions:

PreQ   Q  
 sine sa-k-igen                   "maratukuk balus          armba nale ka-klk  
 we say-cm-lp.pa             morning aircraft two       they go-3d.ip  
 ka Mandang-nge bom pan-k-a          lu-k-a               yal-klk  
 asm Madang-spec bomb throw-cm-dep return-cm-dep come-3d.ip  
 sulumba ndin ul-mba mb-umba ka-kik"  
 and road shoot-dep ascend-dep go-3d.ip

'We said, "This morning two aircraft went and dropped bombs on  
 Madang and returned and went up along the road shooting".'

"nane sine buk sa-sing-inaig le sine sa-k-eg  
 they us before say-us-3p.pa and we say-cm-lp.pr

tae"

(impatience)

'"They told us before and we are saying it now!"'



## CHAPTER 6

### PARAGRAPH

6.0. A Siroi Paragraph is defined as a construction in the grammatical hierarchy between sentence and discourse level consisting of at least two Sentences.

In first attempting paragraph analysis, twenty eight types were posited with the possibility of four more being established. Most of these paragraph types consisted of two Sentences. Such coupling of Sentences to form a closely knit relationship is common in the language and needs to be understood if the language is to be used with any degree of fluency. However, as I have previously stated in the introduction to Sentences in Chapter 5, to posit such a large number of types one must look also at lower level grammatical features. I have found it difficult at levels higher than the Sentence to use only distinct grammatical features in distinguishing types. At these higher levels one is forced into the realm of semantics and for this reason I do not feel that tagmemic analysis of surface constructions is the ideal approach for levels higher than the Sentence. Due to lack of time, however, I am forced to continue with a surface structure analysis but consider that a more thorough semantic analysis of Paragraph and Discourse is needed.

#### 6.1. PARAGRAPH TYPES

There are seven Paragraph types in Siroi. These are the Sequence, Counterpart, Expansion, Explanation, Consequence, Description and Dialogue Paragraphs. Paragraphs are established according to the type of linkage and the number and type of tagmemes.

##### 6.1.1. Sequence Paragraph

The Sequence Paragraph consists of two obligatory Buildups, but up

to ten have been found to occur and three or four are common. This Paragraph predominates in Narrative and Procedural Discourses and most of the deep structure relationships are temporal overlap or succession.

Sentences in the Paragraph are usually linked by recapitulation. Such recapitulation occurs in the first Base of a Sequence, Corollary or Merged Sentence and contains a recapitulation of the final Clause of the previous Sentence. Occasionally, however, something less than a Clause such as a locative term will be recapitulated to link the Sentences together. Recapitulation linkage is sometimes manifested by a pro-form based upon taqaq 'do thus'.

When the next Buildup introduces an unexpected turn of events the Sentences are linked together by the Axis-Relator Positional Phrase ta ngamuknge 'in the middle of that', the total meaning being 'in the midst of that situation'. The surface structure in this case encodes continuous-punctiliar - P ^ Q.

Buildups are often manifested by Quotation Sentences or Dialogue Paragraphs which fit into Bases in the paragraph structure. The speech comment can be a proposal which is carried out in the following Buildup by the same or a different actor. This Buildup in which the proposal is carried out and the Terminus of the Paragraph are frequently manifested by Bases of a single Sentence. An alternative analysis would be to set up an Execution Paragraph but because the link between the speech and execution is typically recapitulation or the sequence conjunction, it is included under the Sequence Paragraph.

The conjunctions which link Bases of the Sequence and Corollary Sentences also link Sentences within a Sequence Paragraph. The difference between a Sequence or Corollary Sentence and a Sequence Paragraph is phonological. In the Paragraph a major final pause precedes the conjunction. It is possible therefore to set up Paragraph and Sentence constructions which are identical except for the phonological break, or to ignore the phonological break and deal with these constructions at paragraph level, simply treating them as an alternative but less typical link between the Sentences in the Sequence Paragraph. When the final phonological break occurs preceding the conjunction it has the effect of isolating and adding more emphasis to the following action/s than would be the case if used between Bases of the Sentence.

The sequence conjunction is commonly used rather than recapitulation when actions follow one another but not necessarily as a logical process. It is also used rather than recapitulation when actions follow one another in quick succession. It seems that time is not usually so focal when conjunctions are used as the link. In a concordance of text, of each of the conjunctions listed only 15% or less functioned on the



paragraph level. Recapitulation is typically the link on paragraph level and conjunctions on sentence level. Another interesting observation is that in written style, speakers of the language will not write a conjunction sentence-initially.

#### Sequence Paragraph

| ± Setting   | + Buildup 1   | ± Buildup $2^{n-8}$ | + Buildup n         | ± Terminus  |
|---|---|---------------------|---------------------|---|
| Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Corollary S. | Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Response S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Quotation S.<br>Expansion P.<br>Counterpart P.<br>Dialogue P. | as for<br>Buildup 1 | as for<br>Buildup 1 | Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Corollary S. |

#### Special Features:

- The Setting and Buildup 1 as well as Buildup n and Terminus are often depressed to Bases in a single Sentence.
- Sequence Sentences predominate in the Bases.
- When the Paragraph encodes overlap the recapitulating Clause contains the recapitulating verb followed by an independent form of the verb *min-* 'be'.
- Buildup 2 can be repeated up to eight times.

Examples showing linkage by recapitulation:

#### 1. Buildup 1: Simple Sentence

ambonga nane kilke pikig  
*first they ground they.dig*  
 'First they dig the ground.'

#### Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence

kilke pikig sulumba nzumu minge pilmba kile ndek  
*ground they.dig and trench mouth put now asm*  
 maraŋ walde  
*yam they.distribute*  
 'They dig the ground and make a trench and distribute the yams in it.'

#### Buildup 3: Sequence Sentence

walde sulumba nane ndeka diŋde  
*they.distribute and they asm they.cover*  
 'They distribute them and cover them over.'

#### Buildup 4: Sequence Sentence

tango pino nane diŋde le tango afunge ndeka pikig  
*man woman they they.cover and man some asm they.dig*  
 'Some men and women cover them and other men dig the ground.'

## Buildup 5: Merged Sentence

pike felmba kinig  
dig make.mounds they.go

*'They go along digging and making mounds.'*

## Buildup 6: Sequence Sentence

pike felmba kinig le afunge ndek kumu sauningig  
dig make.mounds they.go and some asm mound they.smooth.them

*'They go along digging and making mounds and others smooth them.'*

## Buildup n: Sequence Sentence

kumu sauningmba kumba ka kugate le maṅ inum pikig  
mound smooth.them go asm it.finishes and again one they.dig

*'When the process of smoothing the mounds is finished they dig another (plot).'*

## 2. Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

kile waṅ mbitinaig le yu kina  
now canoe they.pushed and sea it.went

*'Then they pushed the canoe and it went into the sea.'*

## Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence

yu kina le kile ponga pulka ilmba fando si  
sea it.went and now climb row come open.sea there

kinaig  
they.went

*'It went into the sea and they climbed in and rowed out on the open ocean.'*

## Buildup 3: Sequence Sentence

kinaig ka fando ngamu si kinaig  
they.went asm open.sea middle there they.went

*'They travelled to the middle of the open ocean.'*

## Buildup 4: Sequence Sentence

fando ngamu si kinaig le kile bubre karag  
open.sea middle there they.went and now wind easterly

ndekina  
it.came.down

*'They travelled to the middle of the open ocean and the east wind arose.'*

## Buildup 5: Sequence Sentence

karag ndekina sulumba teg tuku lllau  
easterly it.came.down and fowl rel tail.feathers

bubrenge tina  
wind it.took

*'The east wind arose and disturbed the fowl's tail feathers.'*

Buildup 6: Sequence Sentence

bubrenge tina le lilau kupesna  
 wind it.took and tail.feathers it.danced  
 'The wind disturbed them and the tail feathers waved.'

Buildup n: Sequence Sentence

lilau kupesna le ndaso ndeka teg tuku  
 tail.feathers it.danced and cassowary asm fowl rel  
 lilau kangerna  
 tail.feathers he.saw.it  
 'The tail feathers waved and the cassowary noticed them.'

The next example shows the use of *taŋaŋ* 'do thus' as a recapitulation:

3. Buildup 1: Corollary Sentence

tangonge wangil ulig ta nuge tui fat tanu  
 men wallaby they.shoot that his spear short that  
 sirte  
 it.inserts.it  
 'Whenever men shoot a wallaby, it takes the arrow itself and pushes  
 it in.'

Buildup 2: Simple Sentence

le sinam kinit  
 and inside it.goes  
 'And it goes into (its body).'

Buildup n: Merged Sentence

taŋamba nu nuge miron nuge ngaro balete  
 do.thus it its self its body it.kills  
 'Thus it kills itself.'

This example shows overlap with the verb *min-* 'be' featuring in the first Base of the Sentences:

4. Buildup 1: Merged Sentence

piyal nzinge marnga mambilmba mŋeg  
 beach down.there whitebait watch we.are  
 'We wait down on the beach watching for the whitebait.'

Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence

tiŋ mineg le marnga fambonu ambonga purote  
 stand we.are and whitebait scraps first it.comes  
 'While we are standing there, a few whitebait appear.'

Buildup n: Sequence Sentence

kangermba tair mineg le marnga sungokanu purote  
 see wait we.are and whitebait big it.comes  
 'While we are looking and waiting, a large (shoal of) whitebait  
 appears.'

This example shows linkage through the sequence conjunction *le/sulumba* 'and'.

5. Buildup 1: Merged Sentence

*le ain ɲak witimba pinderka ngamu singe tinga ain*  
*and spear with cry.out run midst there stand spear*

*ɲak kumba ka singe ndekate*  
*with .go asm there it.falls*

*'With the spear in it it cries out and runs, and (finally) stops  
 in the midst of the dogs and falls.'*

Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence

*le agenge kumba ɲakmba mbo mbol kinig sulumba mbo*  
*and dogs go all pig on they.go and pig*

*makeɲ tade*  
*bite they.take*

*'All of the dogs jump on the pig and bite it.'*

Buildup 3: Merged Sentence

*le tango ta pinderka puomba mbo kupe mbi biyit*  
*and man that run come pig leg inst he.grasps*

*'The man comes running and catches the pig by its legs.'*

Buildup 4: Sequence Sentence

*sulumba kupe inum tumba ndeka mbo ngarosu mbl tote*  
*and leg one take asm pig body inst he.stands*

*sulumba mbo tekinyete*  
*and pig he.lays.it.down*

*'He takes one leg and pushes the pig's body down and lays it down  
 flat.'*

Buildup n: Sequence Sentence

*sulumba biye ɲak minit le agenge mbo balede*  
*and hold having he is and dogs pig they.kill.it*

*le kumit*  
*and it.dies*

*'While he holds it the dogs kill it.'*

Examples showing linkage through the conjunction *ta/tanu* 'that'. The deep structure encodes frustrated succession:

6. Buildup 1: Merged Sentence

*ngumnenga balus maɲ pinderka puowe likinaig*  
*later aircraft again run come distrib.they did*

*'Later on more aircraft came flying over.'*

Buildup n: Corollary Sentence

*ta sine kangermba ta sine kurukuru ndakigen*  
*that we see that we fear we.did.not*

*'But when we saw them we weren't afraid.'*

## 7. Buildup 1: Simple Sentence

ta    tuku tango afu    nane sakade  
that rel men    some they they.say

*'Some men talk about it now.'*

## Buildup 2: Simple Sentence

sulumba sine wam pagusingig  
and    us    idea they.teach.us

*'They instruct us.'*

## Buildup n: Simple Sentence

ta    kingo kame kitek sine nane tuku pasa nda dubiweg  
that child group new we    they rel talk neg we.follow.it

*'But we young people don't obey their words.'*

An example showing linkage by the Positional Phrase ta ngamuknge 'in the middle of that'.

## 8. Buildup 1: Merged Sentence

mara ande wa                    nane kame idus ndamba pagumba  
day    one grandparents they war think not.do cook

nye sungokinaig  
eat they.did.greatly

*'One day my grandparents, quite ignorant that there was a war, made a great feast.'*

## Buildup n: Sequence Sentence

ta    ngamuknge kame puomba ye tuku wa                    arng  
that middle war come I rel grandparents both

bale farnaig                    le kumnaik  
kill they.killed them and they.died

*'In the midst of that situation the aircraft came and both my grandparents were killed.'*

Examples showing speech within Buildups:

## 9. Buildup 1: Simple Sentence

tango ande mambo                    nuge ndon nale pironu kinaik  
man    one younger.brother his with they to.work they.went

*'A man and his younger brother set off for work.'*

## Buildup 2: Quotation Sentence

kumba ka pirokam ma    mbolnge mambo                    nuge  
went asm to.work place at    younger.brother his

sana                    "ne    tenge mina    ye kumba ka ail  
he.said.to.him you here you.stay I go asm wood

pikmba puomba sile kap"                    ngina  
chop come we.d let.us.d.go he.said

*'Arriving at the work place he said to his younger brother, "You stay here. I will go and chop wood and when I return we will go".*

Buildup n: Sequence Sentence

taŋaka sana sulumba aba nuge kumba  
 say.thus he.said.to.him and elder.brother his go  
 ail pikmba minna  
 wood chop he.was

*'Having spoken thus the elder brother went off and was chopping wood.'*

10. Buildup 1: Corollary Sentence

mafena le nane likam tuku sakinaig ta nale  
 it.dawned and they.p to.walk rel they.said but they.d  
 mbulnaik  
 they.d.refused

*'Next morning they intended to leave but those two refused.'*

Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence

sulumba nale tumbrange minnaik le nane  
 and they.d village they.d.stayed and they.p  
 ŋakmba like sulunaig le nale tinga kinaik  
 all walk they.p.did.completely and they.d rise they.d.went  
 kumba ka kule fando sungo ande tugum puronalk  
 go asm water deep big one near they.d.arrived

*'The two remained in the village and when all the others had left they went to a large deep waterhole.'*

Buildup 3: Quotation Sentence

sulumba kiŋo ta ndeka kulim nuge sana "ne ye  
 and boy that asm sister his he.said.to.her you me  
 kangeryumba mina. ye kem ponga ka kem mbol  
 watch.me you.stay I bamboo climb asm bamboo on  
 ambenge kem ŋak poska kule mbol singe ndeka  
 up.there bamboo with bend.over water on there descend  
 ye kule nyumba ma ma kumi sulumba kem  
 I water drink asm asm I.will.die and bamboo

kusrewi le kem lifonu tinguwa ndeta ne  
 I.will.release and bamboo stem it.will.stand if you

luka tumbrang kaye" ngina  
 return village you.go he.said

*'The boy said to his sister, "You remain here watching me. I will climb the bamboo and it will bend down into the water and I will swallow the water until I die and let go. When the bamboo stands upright again, you return to the village".'*

Buildup 4: Sequence Sentence

taŋaka sakina sulumba nu kem ponga kina ka mbol  
 say.thus he.said and he bamboo climb he.went asm on  
 ambenge kem ŋak poska ka kule kina  
 up.there bamboo with bend asm water he.went

*'Saying thus he climbed the bamboo and it bent over and he went into the water.'*

## Buildup 5: Merged Sentence

ka kule sinam tange nu kule nyumba ma ma tange kumna  
asm water inside there he water drink asm asm there he.died  
'Under the water he swallowed water until he died.'

## Buildup 6: Sequence Sentence

kumna sulumba kem kusrena le lifonu tinga  
he.died and bamboo he.released.it and stem stand  
mbol kina  
up it.went  
'He died and let go of the bamboo and it stood upright again.'

## Buildup n: Merged Sentence

le kulim nuge malmbitamtam luka tumbran kina  
and sister his wail return village she.went  
'And his sister returned to the village, wailing.'

## 6.1.2. Expansion Paragraph

The Expansion Paragraph consists of an obligatory Text and one obligatory Expansion, but up to four can occur. The Text introduces the main topic. The Expansion adds more information relating to the lexical items of the Text and in so doing reinforces, extends, identifies or clarifies the Text. Expansions never show any recapitulation linkage relating to the Text. Internal cohesion of the Paragraph is maintained by the elaboration of lexical items of the Text. This surface structure encodes amplification, generic-specific, and negated antonym paraphrase, efficient cause and identification. This Paragraph frequently embeds within other paragraph types.

## Expansion Paragraph

| + Text  | + Expansion 1   | ± Expansion <sup>n=1-3</sup> | ± Summary                |
|---|---|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Equative Cl<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P. | Equative Cl<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Quotation S.<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P.<br>Counterpart P.<br>Explanation P. | as for<br>Expansion 1        | Equative Cl<br>Simple S. |

## Special Features

- (a) Occasionally the Expansion Paragraph is depressed to a single Sentence in which the Text and Expansion are expounded by its Bases.
- (b) Sentences in this Paragraph are characteristically brief, i.e. tagmemes are often expounded by a Simple Sentence or an Equative Clause.

(c) Linkage is by elaboration of lexical items of the Text in the Expansions.

(d) There can be up to three Expansions after the first.

Examples which encode amplification paraphrase:

1. Text: Simple Sentence

ye wam kube pasa ande sanungit  
I story tell talk one I.will.say  
'I will tell a story.'

Expansion: Equative Clause

wam kube pasa tanu alo nak  
story tell talk that meaning with  
'That story has meaning.'

2. Text: Merged Sentence

ambonga tango monu pino mbanzo nane mungu  
before men young women young they each.other  
patuka nakmba li ndakinaig  
approach all walk they.did.not  
'Before, the young men and women did not mix together.'

Expansion: Counterpart Paragraph

tango monu zugu sinamnge ndo minna  
man young men's.house inside only he.stayed  
'A young man always stayed in the men's house.'

pino mbanzonu ina nanginge ndon minnaig  
women young mother their with they.stayed  
'Young women stayed with their mothers.'

3. Text: Equative Clause

gabat mbolnge am bailkamba  
head on eyes four  
'On its head it has four eyes.'

Expansion: Sequence Paragraph

armba nu kinyit tanu armba mambilmba minik  
two it it.sleeps that two look they.d.stay  
'When it sleeps, two remain watching.'

tango purode le kangerka tanu patenga kuaka kule kinlt  
man they.come and see.them that jump flee river it.goes  
'When it sees men coming it jumps up and runs back to the river.'

4. Text: Simple Sentence

kite ye pastor tuku fonde kusam kat  
today I pastor rel fence to.tie I.went  
'Today I went to tie up the pastor's fence.'



Expansion: Equative Clause

sine tango sikispela gabat tango kenmba pino armba  
we men six head men three women two

'There were six of us, three headmen and two women.'

5. Text: Sequence Sentence

le nane minig ma ma luka puro tunbranngge nane  
and they they.are asm asm return asm at.village they  
ne tuku manau kangermba puro tumbranngge sakade  
you rel ways see asm at.village they.say

'They remain here for a time and then return and in the village they talk about your ways which they have seen.'

Expansion: Simple Sentence

sungomba sakade  
greatly they.say

'They talk (about it) a great deal.'

An example encoding generic-specific paraphrase:

6. Text: Equative Clause

gubra tugu yimik yamok  
anger bases different different

'The punishments were of different kinds.'

Expansion: Sequence Sentence

kule mbi pa mbi pilna le purona  
water inst fire inst he.put and it.came

'He sent (punishment) by water and by fire.'

Examples which encode identification:

7. Text: Simple Sentence

kile nane waim nindig tanu pino nyunu Onpain  
now they pots mould that woman her.name Onpain

'Now they make clay pots (because of) the woman called Onpain.'

Expansion: Equative Clause

nunge waim ninde likina tuku  
she pots mould she.walked rel

'She was the one who (first) made clay pots.'

8. Text: Simple Sentence

piyalnge agaq ande sungokanu minit  
at.coast thing one big it.is

'At the coast there is a big thing.'

Expansion 1: Equative Clause

nyunu yu  
its.name sea

'Its name is "sea".'

Summary: Equative Clause

agan ta sungokanu  
thing that big

'This thing is big.'

Example which encodes amplification and also identification:

9. Text: Simple Sentence

sine tuku dune mbolnge mben armba mink  
we rel forest in snakes two they.d.are

'In our forest there are two (kinds of) snakes.'

Expansion 1: Equative Clause

tanu kame mben  
that fight snake

'They are poisonous snakes.'

Expansion 2: Correlation Sentence

ande nyunu fe ande nyunu nzlge  
one its.name taipan one its.name death.adder

'One's name is "taipan" and the other "death-adder".'

This example encodes efficient cause:

10. Text: Sequence Sentence

pike ngurmba tumba buknglra le Raikos kina  
cut break take he.threw and Rai Coast it.went

'He cut (the kunai grass) and threw it and it went (as far as) the Rai Coast.'

Expansion: Equative Clause

Ratamai minit nomben  
Ratamai it.is up.there

'And so Ratamai (the kunai-topped mountain) is up there.'

This example encodes negated antonym paraphrase:

11. Text: Sequence Sentence

le mara ande Siyapan ande nyunu Kubu nale Bilbil  
and day one Japanese one his.name Kubu they.d Bilbil  
tango ta nyunu Kasan nu ndoꝝ Kumisanger puronaik le  
man that his.name Kasan him with Kumisanger they.came and

sine nu tuku am gurgurnu ta kangeram tuku mambligen  
we he rel eye red that to.see rel we.looked

ta sine nu tuku am gurgur kanger ndagen  
that we he rel eyes red see we.did.not

'One day a Japanese named Kubu came with a man from Bilbil named Kasan to Kumisanger village, and when we looked at him to see his red eyes (of which we had heard) they weren't red.'

Expansion: Equative Clause

nu tuku am tanu sine tuku am mnlꝝ tenen  
he rel eyes that us rel eyes they.are like.these

'His eyes were just the same as ours.'

### 6.1.3. Counterpart Paragraph

The Counterpart Paragraph consists of two obligatory Counterparts but up to four have been found to occur. The Counterparts are all of equal rank, so that the lexical interest profile of the Paragraph is rather flat, with no special peaks. The Summary gives a reason or makes a summary that is equally relevant to all the Counterparts together. The Counterpart Paragraph is divided into two sub-types determined by the type of linkage. In Counterpart Paragraph 1 linkage is by repeated Predicates. In Counterpart Paragraph 2 linkage is usually by recapitulation.

#### 6.1.3.1. Counterpart Paragraph 1

The Counterpart Paragraph 1 encodes parallel coupling, succession, comparison and contrast.

##### Counterpart Paragraph 1

| + Counterpart 1  | + Counterpart 2         | ± Counterpart 3 <sup>1-2</sup> | ± Summary                             |
|--|-------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Equative C1<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Response S.<br>Expansion P. | as for<br>Counterpart 1 | as for<br>Counterpart 1        | Equative C1<br>Simple S.<br>Reason S. |

Special Features:

- (a) Occasionally an Introduction occurs as the first Base of the Sentence manifesting Counterpart 1.
- (b) Linkage is by repetition of Predicates.
- (c) There can be two further Counterparts beyond the first.

These examples encode parallel coupling:

#### 1. Counterpart 1: Corollary Sentence

kurauf nu yu mboŋge kualegaŋ kilit tanu  
crocodile it sea on fish it.catches that

ragitap mata nu balemba nyate  
turtle also it kill it.eats

'When a crocodile catches fish in the sea it also kills and eats turtles.'

#### Counterpart 2: Merged Sentence

kualegaŋ afu mata baleniŋmba nyate  
fish some also kill.them it.eats

'It also kills and eats other fish.'

## 2. Counterpart 1: Sequence Sentence

mara afu nu kiŋa mayete sulumba nu puromba  
 day some it dream it.does well and it come

age mata tabekka tate  
 dog also go.ashore it.takes

*'Some days, when it dreams well about it, it also comes ashore and takes a dog.'*

## Counterpart 2: Merged Sentence

mbo mata nu puromba tabekka tate  
 pig also it come go.ashore it.takes

*'It also comes ashore and takes a pig.'*

## Counterpart 3: Correlation Sentence

kiŋo ande mayekuwa ta mata taŋaŋ nu nu puromba tate  
 child one become.good that also thus it it come it.takes

*'In the same way when a good (opportunity) arises it comes and takes a child.'*

## 3. Introduction (Sentence Topic) and Counterpart 1: Simple Sentence

nale minik tuku ma tanu fe nu mara afu  
 they they.stay rel place that taipan it day some

nu kule sinamnge minit  
 it water inside it.stays

*'Now as to the places where they live, the taipan sometimes lives in the water.'*

## Counterpart 2: Simple Sentence

mara afu nu ailmeŋ sinamnge minit  
 day some it rotten.tree inside it.stays

*'Sometimes it lives inside a rotten tree.'*

## Counterpart 3: Simple Sentence

mara afu nu burok sinamnge minit  
 day some it hole inside it.stays

*'Sometimes it lives in a hole (in the ground).'*

This example encodes succession:

## 4. Counterpart 1: Response Sentence

maŋ sirna kande ngamunge pike purna  
 again it.entered and middle cut she.separated

*'It went in further and she cut part of it off.'*

## Counterpart 2: Response Sentence

maŋ sirna kande ngamunge pike purna  
 again it.entered and middle cut she.separated

*'It went in further and she cut part of it off.'*

## Counterpart 3: Response Sentence

maŋ sirna kande ngamunge pike purna  
 again it.entered and middle cut she.separated

*'It went in further and she cut part of it off.'*

## Counterpart 4: Response Sentence

maŋ sirna kande ngamunge pike purna  
*again it.entered and middle cut she.separated*  
*'It went in further and she cut part of it off.'*

In this example Counterpart 3 is in contrast with Counterparts 1 and 2 which are parallel:

## 5. Counterpart 1: Simple Sentence

kuiim nuŋe mata nye ndakina  
*sister his also eat she.did.not*  
*'His sister didn't eat it either.'*

## Counterpart 2: Simple Sentence

wa nuŋe mata nye ndakina  
*grandmother his also eat she.did.not*  
*'His grandmother didn't eat it either.'*

## Counterpart 3: Simple Sentence

nanenge ndo nyinaig  
*they only they.ate*  
*'Only the others ate it.'*

These examples encode comparison:

## 6. Counterpart 1: Corollary Sentence

ndaso nyumba ta sar umaŋ nyanu suk  
*cassowary eat that wing bird eat like*  
*'When you eat cassowary it is like eating winged bird.'*

## Counterpart 2: Corollary Sentence

sar umaŋ nyumba ta ndaso nyanu suk  
*wing bird eat that cassowary eat like*  
*'When you eat winged bird it is like eating cassowary.'*

## 7. Counterpart 1: Corollary Sentence

Rut kangermba ta Fil kangeranu suk  
*Ruth see that Phil see like*  
*'When you see Ruth it is like seeing Phil.'*

## Counterpart 2: Corollary Sentence

Fil kangermba ta Rut kangeranu suk  
*Phil see that Ruth see like*  
*'When you see Phil it is like seeing Ruth.'*

## 8. Counterpart 1: Equative Clause

ma furir nu sati ndoŋ minam tuku kumuŋ kuga  
 place dark it torch with to.stay rel enough not

*'Darkness is unable to remain with a torch.'*

## Counterpart 2: Equative Clause

sati nu ma furir ndoŋ minam tuku kumuŋ kuga  
 torch it place dark with to.stay rel enough not

*'A torch is not able to remain with darkness.'*

## Summary: Equative Clause

nale ndin kise  
 they road different

*'They are incompatible.'*

## 9. Counterpart 1: Corollary Sentence

Anut tuku dubite ta Zisas tuku dubite  
 God rel you.follow that Jesus rel you.follow

*'When you follow God you follow Jesus.'*

## Counterpart 2: Corollary Sentence

Zisas tuku dubite ta Anut tuku dubite  
 Jesus rel you.follow that God rel you.follow

*'When you follow Jesus you follow God.'*

## Summary: Equative Clause

nale ndin ndindo  
 they road one

*'They (represent) one way.'*

These examples encode contrast with a positive and a contrasting negated Predicate:

## 10. Counterpart 1: Corollary Sentence

ma furir ne kinit tanu ne agaŋ ndende  
 place dark you you.go that you thing various  
 ŋakmba kanger ndate  
 all see you.do.not

*'Whenever you walk in the dark you do not see anything.'*

## Counterpart 2: Corollary Sentence

sati tumba kinit tanu ne agaŋ ndende ŋakmba kangerkate  
 torch take you.go that you thing various all you.see.them

*'When you walk with a torch you see everything.'*

## 11. Counterpart 1: Simple Sentence

ait tanu mbolnge Isrel tango pino sungomba kume  
 time that at Israel man woman many die

ndakinaig  
 they.did.not

*'At that time not many of the Israel people died.'*

## Counterpart 2: Simple Sentence

Anut nu ait pilna tanu mbolnge tango pino sungomba  
 God he time he.put that at man woman many

kumamkik  
 we.will.die

'At the time which God has appointed many of us will die.'

## 12. Counterpart 1: Sequence Sentence

ye gubayate le nguromu nyet  
 I I.am.hungry and sweet.potato I.eat

'When I feel hungry I eat sweet potato.'

## Counterpart 2: Corollary Sentence

guba ndayuwa ta ye nye nda  
 hunger I.do.not that I eat neg

'If I don't feel hungry I don't eat it.'

## Summary: Reason Sentence

guba mayeyate tukunu nyet  
 hunger I.do.very because I.eat

'I eat it (only) because I am very hungry.'

## 13. Counterpart 1: Sequence Sentence

pino kame tango kame nane nangine kino kame kulat  
 woman group man group they their child group care.for

mageningig le yunge nda kilit  
 they.do.well.to.them and sea neg it.takes.them

'The men and women care for their children well and the sea does not wash them away.'

## Counterpart 2: Corollary Sentence

nda kulat mageningig ta yunge nane  
 neg care.for they.do.well.to.them that sea them

kiiikat  
 it.might.take.them

'If they don't care for them well the sea might wash them away.'

## 6.1.3.2. Counterpart Paragraph 2

In the Counterpart Paragraph 2 linkage is usually by recapitulation, in which the final Clause of the previous Sentence is repeated in the first Base of a Response or Corollary Sentence. This contrasts with the Sequence Paragraph where the recapitulation occurs in the first Base of a Sequence or Merged Sentence, or very occasionally a Corollary Sentence. Deletion of the recapitulation in the Counterpart Paragraph 2 sometimes occurs, in which case the response word kuga 'no' is substituted. The Counterpart Paragraph 2 encodes alternation.

## Counterpart Paragraph 2

| + Counterpart 1  | + Counterpart 2             | ± Counterpart 3 <sup>1-2</sup> | ± Summary                |
|--|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Merged S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Condition S. | Corollary S.<br>Response S. | as for<br>Counterpart 2        | Equative Cl<br>Simple S. |

## Special Features:

- (a) An optional Introduction occurs as the first Base of the Sentence manifesting Counterpart 1.
- (b) The same Subject occurs throughout the Paragraph.
- (c) When encoding alternation with only two possible alternatives Counterpart 1 is manifested by a Conditional Sentence and Counterpart 2 by a Response Sentence.
- (d) When encoding alternation with more than two alternatives Counterparts 2 and 3 are usually manifested by Corollary Sentences.
- (e) Linkage is by recapitulation.
- (f) There can be up to two Counterparts after the second.

These examples simultaneously encode alternation and contrast with only two possible alternatives:

## 1. Counterpart 1: Conditional Sentence

ne ye tuku sapor piyamngat ndeta ye ne ndametiŋ  
 you I rel axe you.will.buy if I you money  
 tini le kumba ka piyawa  
 I.will.give.you and go asm you.buy.it

'If you will buy an axe for me I will give you the money and you can go and buy it.'

## Counterpart 2: Response Sentence

kuga kande saka le ye ndametiŋ nda tini  
 no if you.say and I money neg I.will.give.you

'If not, then say so and I won't give you the money.'

## 2. Counterpart 1: Conditional Sentence

nale purowaik ndeta sile minyokupe  
 they they.will.come if we we.will.sit

'If they come we will sit down.'

## Counterpart 2: Response Sentence

kuga kande maŋ luka mbupe  
 no if again return we.will.go.up

'If not, then we will return (home).'

## Summary: Equative Clause

sile ake sinaŋ minam kumuŋ kuga  
 we nothing aimlessly to.stay enough not

'We cannot remain here doing nothing.'



## 3. Counterpart 1: Conditional Sentence

tale pasa piro afu minwa ndeta ye sayap  
 you talk work some it.will.be if me you.tell.me  
 'If you have language work for me, tell me.'

## Counterpart 2: Response Sentence

kuga kande Yan sawap le turtikuwa  
 no if Yan say.to.him and he.will.help.you  
 'If not, then tell Yan and he will help you.'

## Summary: Simple Sentence

tale ake sinan mine ndakap  
 you nothing aimlessly stay do.not  
 'Don't waste time.'

These examples encode alternation with more than two possible alternatives:

## 4. Counterpart 1: Merged Sentence

ye maratukuk tinga abonga ye piro mbol kinet  
 I morning stand awake I garden on I.go  
 'I arise in the morning and go to the garden.'

## Counterpart 2: Corollary Sentence

piro mbol nda ka ta ye kuku tilainget  
 garden on neg go that I line I.throw.out  
 'If I don't go to the garden I go fishing.'

## Counterpart 3: Corollary Sentence

ye kuku tilai ndanget ta tumbanngge ye ake  
 I line throw.out I.do.not that at.village I nothing  
 kinymba minet  
 sleep I.stay  
 'If I don't go fishing, I stay in the village and sleep.'

## 5. Counterpart 1: Corollary Sentence

piro ta sungo kangeret ta ye maṅ ki mbilkate  
 work that big I.see.it that I again sun it.turns  
 le maṅ ka piroket  
 and again asm I.work  
 'If I see that there is a lot of work I work again in the afternoon.'

## Counterpart 2: Corollary Sentence

piro sungo kuga kangermba ta ye yine nyam piro  
 work big no see that I my to.eat garden  
 mbol kinet  
 on I.go  
 'If I see that there is not much work I go to my food garden.'

## Counterpart 3: Corollary Sentence

pastor nu piro gudomma ḡak ta ye ka nu turmba  
 pastor he work many with that I asm him help

piroket  
 I.work

*'If the pastor has a lot of work, I go and help him.'*

## 6.1.4. Explanation Paragraph

The Explanation Paragraph consists of an obligatory Statement and Explanation and an optional Reinforcement and Summary. Although semantically similar to the Expansion Paragraph it is in formal contrast with it because of the two optional tagmemes which do not occur in the Expansion Paragraph. The Statement can be a warning, a contradiction or a questionable statement. The Reinforcement frequently occurs and especially when there is room to doubt or to question the Statement. Frequently much of the lexical content of the Statement is repeated in the Summary and contains the point which the speaker wishes to stress. When warning is encoded, however, it is the content of the Explanation that is repeated in the Summary. This surface structure encodes efficient cause, final cause, warning, and negated antonym paraphrase with some amplification. The exponent of Reinforcement is ndam/ndaḡam 'why' for the first two of these deep structures, and kuga 'no' for the last two.

## Explanation Paragraph

| + Statement  | (± Reinforcement                  | + Explanation) <sup>1-2</sup>  | ± Summary  |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| Equative Cl<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Conditional S.<br>Quotation S.<br>Expansion P. | ndam/ndaḡam<br>'why'<br>kuga 'no' | Equative Cl<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Reason S.<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P.<br>Consequence P. | Equative Cl<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Quotation S.<br>Expansion P. |

## Special Features:

- (a) Reinforcement and Explanation are depressed to the level of one phonological sentence. There is also one example of Statement and Reinforcement depressed to one phonological sentence.
- (b) There is an example of Reinforcement and Explanation repeated once with the interrogative ndaḡam 'why' filling the Reinforcement.
- (c) When encoding final cause the Explanation tagmeme is filled by a Referential tuku Phrase, the Head of which is filled by an infinitive Clause.

(d) To date the Reinforcement tagmeme has not been found to occur when the Statement is a warning.

(e) When encoding amplification paraphrase or frustration the response word kuga 'no' fills the Reinforcement.

Encoding efficient cause:

1. Statement: Corollary Sentence

tango nu mbo gak ta balete sulumba pagumba nane  
 man he pig with that he.kills.it and cook them  
 nza serningit le kilmba nyade sulumba garegareka  
 dish he.gives.them and take.them they.eat and be.pleased  
 kinig  
 they.go

'A man who has a pig kills it and cooks and serves it to them and they eat it and go away pleased.'

Reinforcement: Interrogative word

ndaŋam  
 why

'Why?'

Explanation: Correlation Sentence

sine tango ta furir kulatka mingeŋ murke sine  
 we man that night watch.over we.stayed cold we  
 kinye ndakigeŋ ta tuku paguwaig  
 sleep we.did.not that rel they.cooked

'We watched over the man all night and were cold and did not sleep, for that reason they made a feast.'

Summary: Merged Sentence

mbo nyumba garegarekade  
 pig eat they.are.pleased

'They eat the pig and are pleased.'

2. Statement: Simple Sentence

Puwan nu balus tuku kurukuru sungokanu tina  
 Puwan he aircraft rel fear big he.received.it

'Puwan developed a great fear of aircraft.'

Reinforcement: Interrogative word

ndaŋam  
 why

'Why?'

Explanation: Simple Sentence

nu minge tala sungo gak minna  
 he mouth distrust big with he.was

'He refused to believe (the warning).'

Summary: Sequence Sentence

balusnge ulna le nu kurukuru sungokanu tina  
*aircraft it.shot.him and he fear big he.received.it*  
*'The aircraft shot him and he developed great fear.'*

3. Statement: Equative Clause

Malang sile Ampo kambim toko ndin gilai  
*Malang we.d Ampo to.go rel road not.know*  
*'Malang and I didn't know the way to Ampo.'*

Explanation: Simple Sentence

sile kiteknu kakeŋ  
*we. new we.went*  
*'We were new (to Lae).'*

Summary: Equative Clause

ndin ŋakmba sile gilai  
*road all we.d not.know*  
*'We didn't know any of the roads.'*

4. Statement: Sequence Sentence

ngarŋak makau kusrekinaig le Siyapanŋe puro makau  
*whitemen cattle they.left.them and Japanese asm cattle*  
 ta kilmba banis sinamŋe patikam toko piro karen  
*that take.them fence inside to.put.them rel work hard*  
 sungo sine singinaig  
*big us they.gave.us*  
*'The white men had left their cattle and the Japanese made us work very hard to catch them and fence them in.'*

Reinforcement: Interrogative word

ndam  
*why*  
*'Why?'*

Explanation: Simple Sentence

makau ka dune sinamŋe nguik kinaig sulumba tango  
*cattle asm forest inside wild they.went and man*  
 toko pasa isam kumun kuga  
*rel talk to.hear enough not*  
*'The cattle had become wild in the bush and wouldn't obey men.'*

Summary: Simple Sentence

sine piro karen sungo kigen  
*we work hard big we.did*  
*'We laboured really hard.'*

5. Statement: Corollary Sentence

ta sine kangermba ta sine kurukuru ndakigen  
*but we see.it that we fear we.did.not*  
*'But when we saw it we weren't afraid.'*

Reinforcement: Interrogative word

ndam  
why  
'Why?'

Explanation: Reason Sentence

kame kitek tukunu sine kurukuru ndakigen  
fight new because we fear we.did.not  
'Because the war was new (to us) we were not afraid.'

Summary: Corollary Sentence

balus mbolnge tui pulunaig ta sine ta nda  
aircraft on guns they.exploded that us that neg  
kangerkade nga idusmba maimaimka likigen  
they.see.us quote think act.foolishly we.walked  
'When the aircraft fired guns we thought, "They can't see us," and  
we went about carelessly.'

6. Statement: Expansion Paragraph

ait ta mbolnge tango pino ande tumbranngge mine ndakina  
time that at man woman one at.village be he.did.not  
'At that time there was not a person in the village.'  
sine nakmba dunge sinamnge mingen  
we all bush inside we.stayed  
'All of us remained in the bush.'

Reinforcement: Interrogative word

ndam  
why  
'Why?'

Explanation: Sequence Sentence

alonu Puwan mbolnge kangergen sulumba kurukuru sungokanu  
its.fruit Puwan on we.saw.it and fear great  
mayok kina  
outside it.went  
'We saw the meaning (of the warning) in Puwan and great fear  
prevailed.'

Summary: Simple Sentence

pagumba nyam tuku sinamanzer sungo tigen  
cook to.eat rel distress big we.received.it  
'(In the bush) we were distressed because of lack of food.'

Encoding final cause:

7. Statement: Sequence Sentence

gubra tanu mbolnge maq nindo nuqe plina le  
anger that on again son his he.put.him and  
ndekina  
he.descended  
'Because of that anger he sent down his son.'

Reinforcement: Interrogative word

ndaŋam

why

'Why?'

Explanation: Equative Clause

kilke te wakeiyam tuku  
earth this to.do.good.to rel

'To benefit this earth.'

Reinforcement: Interrogative word

ndaŋam

why

'Why?'

Explanation: Equative Clause

wande wakeiyam tuku  
house to.do.good.to rel

'To benefit us people.'

8. Statement and Reinforcement: Equative Clause

ndin te ndam

road this why

'Why this road?'

Explanation: Counterpart Paragraph

paten nane bisnis pinderkam tuku  
quickly your business to.run rel

'So that your business ventures will flourish.'

nane adu piyawanngat nane kofi o agan ndende  
your copra you.will.sell your coffee or things various

fonfon ta paten piyamba ne ndametin nak minam tuku  
small that quickly sell you money with to.be rel

'So that you will sell your copra, your coffee and your other smaller products quickly and have money.'

Encoding warning:

9. Statement: Conditional Sentence

ne tanu kangermba ndeta nu ne nda ta  
you that see.it if it you neg take.it.

'If you see that, don't catch it.'

Explanation: Corollary Sentence

ta ne tumba puro piyamba nyumba tanu kile ndo mane  
that you take.it asm cook eat that now only tongue

tugu pare pilmba ne pasa fugumba ne kumamngat  
base stiff put.it you talk be.unable you you.will.die

'If you catch that and cook and eat it, immediately your tongue will become stiff and you will be unable to speak and you will die.'

Summary: Equative Clause

agan tanu nayanu  
thing that bad

*'That thing is dangerous.'*

10. Statement: Conditional Sentence

ne fe kangermba ndeta kuakaye  
you taipan see.it if you.flee

*'If you should see a taipan, run away.'*

Explanation: Sequence Sentence

fe ne makenuwa le ne kile ndo kumamngat  
taipan you it.will.bite.you and you now only you.will.die

*'When a taipan bites you, you will die immediately.'*

Summary: Corollary Sentence

fe tango makete ta tango kumit tuku  
taipan man it.bites.him that man he.dies rel

*'A man dies when a taipan bites him.'*

Encoding negated antonym paraphrase. There is always amplification present also. The Statement is like an introduction, stating the theme negatively, and the Explanation is the semantically nuclear part, developing the theme.

11. Statement: Corollary Sentence

kiye nu purowam nga tanu mbo tanga nda purote  
bush.rat it to.come quote that pig thus neg it.comes

*'When a bush-rat comes it does not come as a pig does.'*

Reinforcement: Response word

kuga  
no

*'No.'*

Explanation: Sequence Sentence

agan fudin ndo purote le tui mbi ulig  
thing small only it.comes and arrow inst they.shoot.it

*'A very small thing comes and they shoot it with an arrow.'*

12. Statement: Corollary Sentence

ndaso nu isukusam bafumba ta nu mbo isukusig  
cassowary it to.eat be.about.to that it pig they.eat

tanamba nda isukusit  
do.thus neg it.eats

*'When a cassowary wants to eat, it does not eat as a pig does.'*

Explanation: Sequence Paragraph

ndaso nu dalma tinu tumba nyumba nu puro  
*cassowary it dalma.tree its.seed take eat it asm*

deŋga tate sulumba ŋinkam bafumba nu  
*peck it.takes.it and to.swallow be.about.to it*

pinempinem kinit ka ŋinkate sulumba maŋ luka  
*backwards it.goes asm it.swallows and again return*

ilit puro ande deŋga tate  
*it.comes asm one peck it.takes.it*

*'When a cassowary takes and eats a dalma tree seed, it pecks and takes it, and when it is about to swallow it, it moves backwards and swallows it, and then returns and takes another.'*

tate sulumba pilit le minge kinit sulumba  
*it.takes.it and it.puts.it and mouth it.goes and*

ŋinkam bada nu pinempinem kinit ka ŋinke  
*to.swallow difficult it backwards it.goes asm swallow*

sulumba maŋ puro ande deŋgate ndaso nu tamba  
*finish again asm one it.pecks cassowary it do.thus*

isukusit  
*it.eats*

*'It takes it and puts it in its mouth, and because it is difficult to swallow it moves backwards, and when it has swallowed it all it pecks another, the cassowary eats thus.'*

13. Statement: Correlation Sentence

wangil nu mbo age kutude taŋamba nu nda  
*wallaby it pig dog they.give.birth do.thus it neg*

kutute  
*it.gives.birth*

*'The wallaby does not give birth in the way that pigs and dogs do.'*

Reinforcement: Response word

kuga  
 no  
 'No.'

Explanation: Expansion Paragraph

nu nuge fungul mboŋge nzaim ŋak nzaim sinam  
*it its abdomen on pouch with pouch inside*

amo keŋmba  
*nipple three*

*'It has a pouch on its abdomen and inside are three nipples.'*

nzaim sinam tange fatnu purode  
*pouch inside there its.young they.arrive*

*'Its young arrive there inside the pouch.'*

fatnu foŋfoŋ ndo nzaim sinam minig  
*its.young small very pouch inside they.stay*

*'Its young are very tiny when they inside the pouch.'*



nzaim sinam tange amo nyumba tange ngue purode  
*pouch inside there milk drink there hair they.come*  
 'There they drink milk and their hair grows.'

tañamba nzaim sinam tange ma ma sugokade  
*do.thus pouch inside there asm asm they.grow*  
 'They remain thus inside the pouch until they mature.'

sugokade sulumba ina nanginge kusrede  
*they grow and mother their they.leave.her*  
 'When they mature, they leave their mother.'

kusremba nanginge nanginge ndo likade  
*leave.her themselves themselves only they.walk*  
 'They leave her and go about by themselves.'

These examples encode frustrated attribution:

14. Statement: Corollary Sentence

kangermba ta sakikat "mbuñ ande minit e"  
*see.it that you.might.say reef one it.is qm*  
 ngikat  
*you.might.say*

'When you see it you might (possibly) say, "Perhaps it is a reef".'

Reinforcement: Response word

kuga  
 no  
 'No.'

Explanation: Equative Clause

ta ragitap  
*that turtle*  
 'That is a turtle.'

15. Statement: Quotation Sentence

singine mañau mbareg tanu tuku kalabus kanu nga iduseg  
*our ways we. that rel jail go quote we.think*  
 'We think that it is because of our bad ways that we go to jail.'

Reinforcement: Response word

kuga  
 no  
 'No.'

Explanation: Merged Sentence

sine ngamungal biye mbilmba mañau gayonu ta kusremba  
*we inner.being hold turn.it way bad that leave.it*  
 sine mine mayewam tuku sine kilmba piro kareñnu  
*we be to.do.well rel us take.us work hard*  
 singig  
*they.give.us*

'It is so that we will repent and leave our bad ways and be good  
 that they take us and make us work hard.'

## 6.1.5. Consequence Paragraph

The Consequence Paragraph consists of two tagmemes, an obligatory Circumstance and an obligatory Consequence. Linkage is through Phrases which occur Sentence initially in the Consequence. The Phrases are the Referential *tuku* and the Positional Axis-Relator Phrases. This surface structure encodes efficient cause and circumstance.

## Consequence Paragraph

| + Circumstance   | + Consequence   |
|--|---|
| Equative Cl<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Expansion P. | Equative Cl<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Expansion P. |

Special Features:

- (a) Consequence is frequently expounded by an Expansion Paragraph.
- (b) Linkage is by Phrases which occur initially in the Consequence and include:

ta mbol-nge  
that on-spec 'as a result of that thing'

ta sinam-nge  
that inside-spec 'as a result of that situation'

ta tuku  
that rel 'on account of that (for that reason)'

Encoding efficient cause:

## 1. Circumstance: Corollary Sentence

tango ta kanger ndamba ka patute tanu  
man that see not asm approach.it that

makete le kumit  
it.bites.him and he.dies

'When a man does not see it and approaches it, it bites him and he dies.'

Consequence: Simple Sentence

tanu tuku sine riron mayeweg  
that rel we be.on.guard we.do.well

'So we watch out very carefully (for snakes).'

## 2. Circumstance: Corollary Sentence

mbeŋ fe nu tango makewam nga tanu nu  
snake taipan it man to.bite.him quote that it

ngunem ngunem patenga tango makete  
behind behind jump man it.bites.him

'When a taipan snake bites a man it jumps backwards and bites him.'

Consequence: Expansion Paragraph

ta    tuku   tango   nane   mbeŋ   fe           ngunem   ngunem   limba  
that   rel    man    they   snake   taipan   behind   behind   leave.it  
nda   kinig  
neg   they.go

*'So men do not go behind a taipan snake.'*

kangermba   tumail   tumail   limba   kuaka   kinig  
see.it      face      face      leave.it   flee   they.go

*'Seeing it they get in front of it and run away.'*

Encoding circumstance:

3. Circumstance: Equative Clause

balus       te       pateŋ      pinderkam   tuku   o   kumam   tuku  
aircraft   this    quickly   to.run      rel   oh   to.die   rel  
ndin   ande  
road   one

*'These aircraft which are for travelling so quickly are a way of death.'*

Consequence: Corollary Sentence

ta    tuku   agaŋ   mayenu   purode    ta    sinamnge   mata  
that   rel   thing   good    they.come   that   inside   also  
piti           ŋak  
heaviness   with

*'So although good things are coming they also have their drawbacks.'*

4. Circumstance: Simple Sentence

maŋau   ambokok   kitek   ta    tuku   ye   wam    kubewamngit  
ways    old       new    that   rel   I    story   I.will.relate

*'I will talk about the old ways and the new.'*

Consequence: Simple Sentence

ta    sinamnge   kile   piro   ŋakmba   purote  
that   inside   now   work   all    it.comes

*'From these we have all kinds of work.'*

5. Circumstance: Sequence Sentence

kumanu           kilmba      kunmba   kuapikade   sulumba   kuapi  
dry.coconuts   take.them   grate    they.cook   and       cooked.food  
kikoŋ   ŋayo   nane   nyade  
tasty   very   they   they.eat

*'They gather dry coconuts and grate them and cook with it, and eat the tasty food.'*

Consequence: Equative Clause

tanu   mboŋge   nane   tuku   ngarosu   mayenu   ndo  
that   on       they   rel   bodies   good   very

*'As a result their bodies are very strong.'*

## 6. Circumstance: Sequence Sentence

taŋamba kiŋo nuŋe wam paguna le kiŋo nu  
*do.thus son his matter he.instructed.him and son he*  
 mam nuŋe tuku ismba nu tanu kumu kumumba pino tina  
*father his rel hear he that equal equal.it woman he.took*  
*'He instructed his son thus and the son listened and chose a wife*  
*just as his father said.'*

Consequence: Simple Sentence

tanu mbolŋge nu piti ande tesili ndakina  
*that on he heaviness one find he.did.not*  
*'So no trouble came to him.'*

## 7. Circumstance: Sequence Sentence

patikinaig le nane ndek tumbraŋ kulatka tumbraŋ  
*they.put.them and they asm village rule village*  
 wakeiwam tuku o sumbi wande agaŋ ndende ŋakmba  
*to.benefit rel oh toilet house things various all*  
 wakeikinaig sulumba nane kiyap tuku minge ismba nane tango  
*they.fixed and they kiap rel mouth hear they man*  
 pino kulatkinaig  
*woman they.ruled.them*  
*'They appointed them to have authority over the villages and help*  
*them, and they fixed the toilet houses and all sorts of other things*  
*and ruled the people according to the officer's instructions.'*

Consequence: Simple Sentence

ta sinamŋge nane tango pino kulat mayenaig  
*that inside they man woman rule they.did.well*  
*'Thus they ruled the people well.'*

## 6.1.6. Description Paragraph

The Description Paragraph consists of at least two obligatory Lineament tagmemes, and up to seven have been found to occur. Semantically, the Lineaments describe a particular person, animal, or place, or the habits of a particular person or animal. One Sentence is bound to another within the Paragraph by the use of a referent. The referent is usually contained in the Subject of the Sentences but in the description of a place the referent is contained in the Location. The Sentences are often brief and Lineaments are frequently expounded by Equative Clauses. When describing a person or animal, Possessive Phrases feature prominently in the Clause. When describing a place the actor is a hypothetical person and the verbs *min-* 'be' and *kanger-* 'see' fill the Predicates of the Sentences. When describing the habits of a person or animal, Lineaments are usually filled by Corollary Sentences with the first Base expressing time.

## Description Paragraph

| ± Introduction   | + Lineament 1  | + Lineament 2  | ± Lineament 3 <sup>n=1-5</sup> | ± Summary                             |
|--|--|--|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Equative Cl<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Corollary S. | Equative Cl<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P. | Equative Cl<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Correlation S.<br>Quotation S.<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P.<br>Counterpart P. | as for<br>Lineament 2          | Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S. |

## Special Features:

- (a) The same topic occurs throughout the Paragraph.
- (b) No recapitulation linkage occurs between tagmemes.
- (c) There can be up to five more Lineaments after the second.
- (d) Introduction and Summary do not commonly occur.

## 1. Lineament 1: Equative Clause

ndaso        nu    ngarosu    sungokanu  
cassowary   it    body        large

*'The cassowary's body is large.'*

## Lineament 2: Equative Clause

nguenu        dabukdabuk  
its.hairs    black

*'Its hairs are black.'*

## Lineament 3: Correlation Sentence

gabatu        afu    dabukdabuk    afu    kaukauk  
their.heads   some    black            some    white

*'Some have black heads and some have white.'*

## Lineament 4: Equative Clause

ndaso        kupenu        kuen    ηayo  
cassowary   its.legs    long    very

*'The cassowary's legs are very long.'*

## 2. Lineament 1: Equative Clause

ndaso        tuku    ngarosu    sungokanu  
cassowary   rel    body        large

*'The cassowary's body is large.'*

## Lineament 2: Expansion Paragraph

ndaso        tuku    kamenu        nu    kupe    singir    mbol    minit  
cassowary   rel    its.weapon    it    foot    claw    on    it.is

*'The cassowary's weapon is its claws.'*

kupe    singir    ta        agok    ηayo  
foot    claws    that    sharp    very

*'The claws are very sharp.'*

## 3. Lineament 1: Correlation Sentence

kurauf kuen nayo nu wai kupe nak  
*crocodile long very it arm leg with*  
*'The crocodile is very long and has four legs.'*

## Lineament 2: Equative Clause

dadunu ago nak  
*its.tail point with*  
*'Its tail is pointed.'*

## Lineament 3: Expansion Paragraph

gabab mboinge am mbailkamba  
*head on eyes four*  
*'On its head are four eyes.'*

armba nu kinyit tanu armba mambilmba minik  
*two it it.sleeps that two look they.stay*  
*'When it sleeps, two remain watching.'*

## 4. Lineament 1: Merged Sentence

Kumisanger tumbran yu patumba minit  
*Kumisanger village sea approach it.is*  
*'Kumisanger village is close to the sea.'*

## Lineament 2: Expansion Paragraph

kule ande mayenu ndo tumbran make mblnge minit  
*river one good very village edge inst it.is*  
*'There is a lovely stream at the edge of the village.'*

kule ta tido nayo  
*river that cold very*  
*'The water is very cold.'*

## Lineament 3: Simple Sentence

tumbran ngamuknge apasin mata gudommba minig  
*village centre orange also many they.are*  
*'In the centre of the village are many orange trees.'*

## Lineament 4: Correlation Sentence

ne piyal gurduknga mambilmba ne Karkar kangeram kumun  
*you beach go.down look you Karkar to.see.it enough*  
 ne Bagabag kangeram kumun  
*you Bagabag to.see.it enough*  
*'When you go down the beach and look, you can see both Karkar and Bagabag Islands.'*

## Lineament 5: Corollary Sentence

tumbrange ne tinga tandeka ta bin afu mata  
*village you stand look.up that mountain some also*  
 mayok kuwaig le kangeram kumun  
*outside they.will.go and to.see enough*  
*'When you stand in the village and look up, you can see mountains appear.'*

## Lineament 6: Merged Sentence

ne tumbraꝯ kusremba yu minit  
 you village leave.it sea it.is  
 'You leave the village and there is the sea.'

## Lineament 7: Expansion Paragraph

piyalmba ne ndek kumba kule ande mata sungokanu minit  
 go.on.beach you asm go river one also large it.is  
 'You go along the beach and there is a large river.'

kule ta nyunu Sa  
 river that its.name Sa  
 'The name of the river is Sa.'

## 5. Lineament 1: Sequence Paragraph

tango kangerkumba nu kuakinit  
 man see.them it it.flees  
 'When (a wallaby) sees men it flees.'

kuakambim saka dadunu ta mbi kilke katte  
 to.flee say its.tail that inst ground it.hits  
 'As it is about to flee it strikes the ground with its tail.'

le fduka kinit  
 and make.noise it.goes  
 'It makes a sound as it goes.'

## Lineament 2: Sequence Paragraph

tangonge wangil ulig ta nuge ndeka tui fat  
 men wallaby they.shoot that itself asm spear short

tanu sirte  
 that it.inserts  
 'When men shoot a wallaby it pushes the arrow into itself.'

le sinam kinit  
 and inside it.goes  
 'It goes right in.'

taꝯamba nu nuge mironꝯ nuge ngaro balete  
 do.thus it its self its skin it.kills.it  
 'Thus it kills itself.'

## Lineament 3: Sequence Paragraph

agenge wangil makede ta nu tenenmba witite  
 dogs wallaby they.bite.it that it do.this it.cries.out

"sik sik sik" ngate  
 sik sik sik it.says  
 'When dogs bite a wallaby it cries out like this, "Sik sik sik," it cries.'

taꝯamba kumit  
 do.thus it.dies  
 'Thus it dies.'

## 6. Lineament 1: Corollary Sentence

mbeꝯ armba tanu nale gubanikit ta wak  
*snake two that they they,are.hungry that grasshoppers*  
 sota nyumba masgi bale farmba nyumba furirte ta  
*seek eat lizard kill spread them eat it.is.night that*  
 nale kine puomba mbaingisilu anga mbolnge ndekade le  
*they go come fireflies grass on they.fall and*  
 tanu nale puro ndonga nyumba taꝯamba nale likik  
*that they asm lick eat do.thus they they,walk*

*'When those two snakes are hungry they search for grasshoppers and kill and eat lizards, and at night they wander around and when fireflies fall on the grass they catch them with their tongues and eat them - those are their eating habits.'*

## Lineament 2: Counterpart Paragraph

nale minik tuku ma tanu fe nu mara afu nu  
*they they.stay rel place that taipan it day some it*  
 kule sinamnge minit  
*water inside it.stays*

*'As for the places where they live, the taipan sometimes lives in the water.'*

marā afu nu ailmeꝯ sinamnge minit  
*day some it rotten.tree inside it.stays*

*'Sometimes it lives inside a rotten tree.'*

marā afu nu burok sinamnge minit  
*day some it hole inside it.stays*

*'Sometimes it lives in a hole (in the ground).'*

## 6.1.7. Dialogue Paragraph

The Dialogue Paragraph consists of the following tagmemes: an obligatory Initiating Unit, an obligatory Continuing and/or Resolving Unit and an optional Setting and Terminus. The Dialogue Paragraph frequently embeds within Buildups in the Sequence Paragraph, but does occur unembedded when an exchange of speech is quoted as an Episode in a Narrative Discourse.

Lexically, the Initiating Unit is a proposal, question or a remark, the Continuing Unit is a counter-proposal, -question or -remark, and the Resolving Unit is a response, answer or evaluation. The Setting gives such information as the time, place or circumstance in which the speech exchange took place and the Terminus often gives the outcome of the speech exchange. When the Paragraph embeds in other Paragraph types the Setting and Terminus do not usually occur.

In a lengthy speech it is quite common for the quotation verb *ng-* to occur several times, in which case the actual speech is interrupted by the verb.



The Sentences of the Dialogue Paragraph are semantically held together by the repartee between the individuals. When the Pre-Quote occurs it functions as a formal link and is optionally preceded by recapitulation of the previous Quote. Alternatively the recapitulation link is manifested by a pro-form based upon *taŋa-* 'say thus' or *sa-* 'say'. Very often the Pre-Quote is preceded by the sequence conjunction only.

There is frequently a major final pause between the Pre-Quote Formula and the Quote. In such a case the phonological sentence is out-of-phase with the grammatical Sentence and the Pre-Quote Formula and the Quote are considered to be one grammatical unit.

#### Dialogue Paragraph

| ± Setting  | + Initiating Unit  | + (± Continuing Unit <sup>n</sup> )            | ± Resolving Unit)                              | ± Terminus                            |
|--|--|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| Merg S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Sequence P. | Quotation C1<br>Speech<br>Quotation<br>Merg S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Response S. | Quotation C1<br>Speech<br>Quotation<br>Merg S. | Quotation C1<br>Speech<br>Quotation<br>Merg S. | Merg S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Response S. |

#### Special Features:

- (a) The Initiating Unit and the Resolving Unit are sometimes depressed to Bases of a single Sentence, in which case the Initiating Unit is filled by a Response Sentence.
- (b) Often the Setting and Initiating Unit or the Resolving Unit and Terminus are depressed to Bases of a single Sentence.
- (c) The Continuing Unit and Resolving Unit can be depressed to Bases of a single Sentence.
- (d) As a tagmeme, the Continuing Unit can be repeated an indefinite number of times.

#### Simple Resolved Dialogue Paragraph

##### 1. Initiating Unit: Quotation Sentence (proposal)

"wa furirat le tale kambim kumuŋ kuga.  
grandchildren darkness.came and you to.go enough not

ye tuku tumbranŋe ka sine kinyube" nga sakina  
I rel village asm we let.us.sleep quote she.said

"Grandchildren, it is already evening and too late for you to leave.  
Let us go and sleep at my village," she said.'

##### Resolving Unit: Quotation Sentence (response)

le nale aba nune sakinaik. "au" nginaik  
and they brother his they.said yes they.said

'The brothers said, "Yes".'

## Compound Dialogue Paragraph

## 2. Setting: Sequence Sentence

aba nuge purowam patukina le ndare nayo  
 elder.brother his to.arrive he.approached and blood bad

ta maŋ kuaka purkina  
 that again flee he.went.off

'When the elder brother was about to arrive the evil being ran off again.'

## Exchange 1: Simple Resolved Dialogue Paragraph

Initiating Unit: Quotation Sentence (question)

le aba nuge puomba "wangil soŋ aninge e"  
 and elder.brother his arrive wallaby bundle where qm

ngina  
 he.said

'His elder brother arriving, said, "Where are the bundles of wallaby meat?"'

Resolving Unit: Quotation Sentence (answer)

le mambo nuge sakina "wangil soŋ nage  
 and younger.brother his he.said wallaby bundle yourself  
 sakat le tinit le nye suluwat tae" ngina  
 you.said and I.gave.you and eat you.finished of.course he.said

'His younger brother said, "You yourself asked me for the bundles of wallaby meat and I gave them to you and you ate them all," he said.'

## Exchange 2: Simple Unresolved Dialogue Paragraph

Initiating Unit: Quotation Sentence (remark)

"ye ginu purowam tuku? ye ail pikmba minit. ye  
 I when to.come rel I wood cut I.was me

yabriyate. nage mata nye suluwat"  
 you.are.deceiving.me yourself also eat you.finished

nga sakina  
 quote he.said

'"When could I have come? I was cutting wood. You are lying to me. You yourself ate it all," he said.'

Terminus: Response Sentence

maib nuge sangri tingina kande kuga  
 younger.brother his strongly he.stood but no

'His younger brother objected strongly but in vain.'

Complex Unresolved Dialogue Paragraph. Throughout this Paragraph the Pre-Quote is absent from the Quotation Sentence and the Quote is often expounded by a Paragraph.

## 3. Initiating Unit: Quotation Sentence (proposal)

ina ye mbo te nyamngit  
 mother I pig this I.will.eat.it

'"Mother, I am going to eat this pig meat".'

Continuing Unit 1: Quotation Sentence (counter-command)

nda nya. mam nane tuku  
neg you.eat father your rel  
*"Don't eat it. That's your father's".'*

Continuing Unit 2: Quotation Sentence (counter-proposal)

kuga. ye nyamngit  
no I I.will.eat.it  
*"No, I'm going to eat it".'*

Continuing Unit 3: Quotation Sentence (counter-command)

sinka sanet nda nya  
truly I.say.to.you neg you.eat.it  
*'I'm telling you, don't eat it!'"'*

Continuing Unit 4: Quotation Sentence (counter-proposal)

a! ye nyamngit  
ah I I.will.eat.it  
*"Ah! I'm going to eat it!'"'*

Continuing Unit 5: Quotation Sentence (counter-command)

mam nane tuku nget. nda nya  
father your rel I.say neg you.eat.it  
*"I said, it's your father's. Don't eat it!'"'*

Continuing Unit 6: Quotation Sentence (counter-proposal)

a! ye nyamngit  
ah I I.will.eat.it  
*"No, I'm going to eat it".'*

Continuing Unit 7: Quotation Sentence (counter-command)

sinka sanet nda nya  
truly I.say.to.you neg you.eat.it  
*"I'm telling you, don't eat it!'"'*

Continuing Unit 8: Quotation Sentence (counter-question)

ye maran te nyi?  
I yam this will.I.eat.it  
*"Can I eat this yam?"'*

Continuing Unit 9: Quotation Sentence (counter-command)

ta mata nda nya. mam nane tuku  
that also neg you.eat.it father your rel  
*"Don't eat that either. It's your father's".'*

Continuing Unit 10: Quotation Sentence (counter-proposal)

a! ye gubayate. ye nyamngit  
ah I I.am.hungry I I.will.eat.it  
*"Ah! I'm hungry. I'm going to eat it".'*

Continuing Unit 11: Quotation Sentence (counter-command)

ne nya ta katnamngat. nda nya nga  
 you you.eat.it that he.will.hit.you neg you.eat.it quote  
 sanet ta  
 I.say.to.you (impatience)

*"If you eat it he'll beat you. I'm saying to you, don't eat it!"*

Continuing Unit 12: Quotation Sentence (counter-question)

mungul te nyi?  
 banana this will.I.eat

*"Can I eat this banana?"*

Continuing Unit 13: Quotation Sentence (counter-command)

ta nakmba nda nya. mam nane tuku nget  
 that all neg you.eat.it father your rel I.say

*"Don't eat any of it. I said it's your father's".*

Continuing Unit 14: Quotation Sentence (counter-question)

ye gubayate. ye amegan nyi  
 I I.am.hungry I what will.I.eat.it

*"I'm hungry. What can I eat?"*

Continuing Unit 15: Quotation Sentence (counter-command)

ne ka kise pagumba nya  
 you asm another cook you.eat.it

*"You cook your own food".*

Continuing Unit 16: Quotation Sentence (counter-question/proposal)

nyamgan aninge minig tuku ye ka kise pagumba  
 food where they.are rel I asm another cook

nyi? ye te ta nyamngit  
 will.I.eat.it I this that I.will.eat.it

*"Where is there any food that I can cook for myself? I'm going to eat this!"*

Continuing Unit: Quotation Sentence (counter-command)

ta ne sigka nda nya! mam nane tuku nakmba.  
 that you truly neg you.eat.it father your rel all

nya ta katnamngat pasa wam sak pile  
 you.eat.it that he.will.hit.you talk idea cross put

sungote. ne maninka kilmba kuakaye  
 you.do.greatly you be.silent take you.flee

*"Don't you eat that! All of it is your father's. If you eat it he will beat you. You are talking too much. Be quiet and take yourself off".*

Examples of a Dialogue Paragraph embedded in Buildups of a Sequence Paragraph:

4. Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence

kambim saka minnaik le ndaso purona  
 to.go say they.d.were and cassowary it.arrived

*'They were about to leave and a cassowary arrived.'*

## Buildup 3: Compound Unresolved Dialogue Paragraph

Initiating Unit: Sequence Sentence (question)

ndaso purona sulumba ndeka kawom le teg  
 cassowary it.came and asm kawom.bird and fowl

kusnanikina. "dair tale ani kangaik e" ngina  
 it.asked.them friends you where you.will.go qm it.said

'A cassowary arrived and asked the kawom bird and the fowl, "Friends, where are you going?"'

Resolving Unit: Quotation Sentence (answer)

le tegnge ndek sakina. "sile Kuyu kangik" ngina  
 and fowl asm it.said we Kuyu we.will.go it.said

'The fowl answered, "We are going to Kuyu".'

Initiating Unit: Quotation Sentence (proposal)

le ndaso nu ndek sakina. "dair ye nak" ngina  
 and cassowary it asm it.said friends me with it.said

'The cassowary said, "Friends, take me too".'

Buildup 4: Sequence Paragraph (including resolution of Dialogue Paragraph)

"ye nak" ngina le "kile ponga" nginaik le ndaso  
 me with it.said and now climb they.said and cassowary

mata waŋ pongina  
 also canoe it.climbed

'It said, "Take me too," and they said, "Come on board," and the cassowary also boarded the canoe.'

ndaso mata waŋ pongina le kile waŋ mbitinaig  
 cassowary also canoe it.climbed and now canoe they.pushed

le yu kina  
 and sea it.went

'The cassowary also boarded the canoe, and they pushed the canoe out on the sea.'

## 5. Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

puro situwa mbol nziŋ minyak mlnen le Mayak kar  
 asm store at below sit I.was and Mayak truck

fulbul kilmba mbuna  
 sand take he.came.up

'While I was sitting down there at the store, Mayak came up with a truck load of sand.'

Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence (= Initiating Unit (question) and Continuing Unit (counter-proposal))

mbuna le Mayak kusnawen kande kar piya  
 he.came.up and Mayak I.asked.him but truck payment

nak sakina  
 with he.said

'He came up and I asked Mayak (about a ride) but he said that there was a charge for (riding in) the truck.'

## Buildup 3: Compound Unresolved Dialogue Paragraph

Initiating Unit: Quotation Sentence (question)

"ndametiḡ giganmba" ngen  
*money how.much I.said*

*"How much?" I asked.'*

Resolving Unit: Quotation Sentence (answer)

"ndametiḡ bailkamba" ngina  
*money four he.said*

*"Four shillings," he said.'*

Initiating Unit Sequence Sentence (proposal)

"o bas tuku ndametiḡ faif siliḡ nane tuku kar  
*oh bus rel money five shilling their rel truck*  
 te fo siliḡ ndo ye piyamba mbumba kangit" ngen  
*this four shilling only I pay go.up I.will.go I.said*

sulumba piyamba luka Mandanḡ mben  
*and pay return Madang I.went.up*

*"Oh, the bus fare is five shillings but their truck here is only four shillings, I'll pay and go (with you)" I said, and I paid and returned (with him) to Madang.'*

Buildup 5: Quotation Sentence

le Mayaknge sakina. "Yagaum maketiḡ wakelkade piya  
*and Mayak he.said Yagaum teeth they.make payment*

kugatok le indole Yagaum kaye" ngina  
*without and tomorrow Yagaum you.go he.said*

*'(On the way,) Mayak said, "At Yagaum Hospital they make dentures without charge, so go there tomorrow".'*

## CHAPTER 7

### DISCOURSE

7.0. The analysis of Discourse presented in this chapter is based on a study of approximately 64 texts and 22 letters. Some were studied in more detail than others. Because of limited time it has not been possible to study Discourse in any real depth and what follows is more or less a sketch of what has been noted to date. From the texts examined the author has been impressed with the masterly way in which many of the Siroi people relate stories. No doubt the skill has developed in the absence of recorded material.

Five contrastive Discourse genre were discovered: Narrative, Procedural, Descriptive, Hortatory and Epistolary. Because of a gap in the corpus of data the study of Hortatory Discourse is more sketchy than that of the others.

Each Discourse is presented by means of a bidimensional array. The features which distinguish the different types are noted and lexical items indicating the beginning of a new tagmeme are described. Linkage within the Paragraphs is not dealt with since it has been discussed in Chapter 6.

The Sequence Paragraph predominates in Narrative and Procedural Discourses, and Expansion and Explanation Paragraphs predominate in the Descriptive Discourse. No specific Paragraphs seem to predominate in Hortatory or Epistolary Discourse, but the Explanation Paragraph is fairly common in Hortatory Discourse.

#### 7.1. NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

Narrative Discourse is characterised by past tense and chronological order. Episodes relate events in succession or one Episode may overlap the other. Indicative mood predominates and dialogue is very common throughout the Discourse.

Narrative Discourses divide into two sub-types, Personal and Legend. Personal Discourse is in first or third person and Legend Discourse is in third person.

Although Title, Closure and Finis tagmemes occur in both types of Narrative Discourse, Title and Closure tagmemes occur far more frequently in Legend Discourse. In a Personal Narrative Discourse the opening remark frequently commences the first Episode. In Legend Discourse the Sentence manifesting the Title contains the verb *kube-*'relate'. By contrast, in the Personal Discourse the Sentence manifesting the Title contains the verb *sa-*'say'. Of the nine Legend Discourses studied only one Title contained the verb 'say'. No Title in the Personal Discourse has been found to contain the verb 'relate'.

In Legend Discourse the Title is usually a variation of:

ye yawan mbara tuku kubewamngit  
I yawan spirit rel I.will.relate

*'I will tell the story about the yawan tree spirit.'*

ye nyugli mbara kubewamngit  
I cucumber spirit I.will.relate

*'I will tell the story about the cucumber spirit.'*

ye wam kube ande kubewamngit  
I story relate one I.will relate

*'I will tell a story.'*

wam kube ta tejenmba  
story relate that this

*'This is the story.'*

In Personal Discourse the Title is generally a variation of:

sile balus pongiken tuku ta sanungit  
we aircraft we.boarded rel that I.will.say

*'I will tell about our plane trip.'*

yine aba tuku wam kube ande ye sakamngit  
my brother rel story relate one I I.will.say

*'I will tell a story about my brother.'*

misineri Baŋu puronaig tuku pasa  
missionary Bongu they.came rel talk

*'(This is) the talk about the missionaries who came to Bongu.'*

The Closure tagmeme is a variation of:

ye fudiqmba saket  
I little I.say

*'I have spoken a little.'*

ta yawan mbara tuku wam kube  
that yawan spirit rel story relate

*'That is the story of the yawan tree spirit.'*



ake wam kube ndo  
*nothing story relate only*  
 '(That) is just fiction.'

The Finis tagmeme is as for all Discourse types and is either son 'true' or not ndo 'that is all'.

New tagmemes are indicated in the same way in both sub-types of the Narrative Discourse. When the Discourse is time-oriented the majority of Paragraphs are indicated by a change in time, and words, Phrases or Sentence Bases which indicate time introduce the new Paragraph. Selected examples include 'long ago', 'one day', 'later', 'in the morning', 'next day', 'time passed', 'on December sixteen' and so on. The final comments of an Episode sometimes give the cue that a new Episode is about to begin and actions which continue over a time span such as 'sleep', 'leave', 'remain' or 'put' frequently conclude paragraphs which precede the time construction. When the Discourse is place-oriented the majority of Paragraphs are indicated by a change in locale or movement from place to place and Paragraphs are introduced by locatives and Locative Phrases or by the motion verb plus the aspectual morpheme indicating a distance in space. Selected examples are 'at the village', 'in Madang', 'arriving in the sky', 'they travelled and came to..'. Verbs of motion frequently conclude the Paragraph which precedes the locative construction and the new locale is sometimes the goal of the motion verb. In these examples a slash marks the boundary between the Paragraphs:

..Lila ndekigen / Lila purogen  
*Lila we.went.down Lila we.arrived*

'..we went down to Lila. / Arriving at Lila..'

..ye nzinge man ake luka mben /  
*I down.there again nothing return I.came.up*

puro situwa mbol nzinge  
*asm store at down.there*

'..I returned there without accomplishing anything. / I came to the store..'

When the Discourse is person-oriented the majority of Paragraphs are indicated by a participant change or a focal shift from one participant to another. Paragraphs are introduced by such constructions as 'there was a turtle', 'he was there and an old woman came'. The initiating Sentence frequently contains a Sentence Topic. The final comments of an Episode preceding a new Paragraph with a new participant often sets the stage for the scene. The final Sentences are usually brief and the verb 'be' occurs frequently. The Sentences often constitute an embedded Expansion Paragraph. The time word kile 'and now' often occurs in the

Sentence initiating the new Episode. In this example also, the slash marks the boundary between Paragraphs:

teg nda isukusnenaik sulumba nale ndeka yawan  
 fowl neg they.fed.it and they asm yawan.tree  
 ponginaik mbo sambenda tumba ka yawan mbol  
 they.climbed pig put.in.bag take asm yawan.tree on  
 tange minnaik mbo sinanu kuke tugu mbolnge  
 there they.stayed pig its.intestines ash base at  
 kusrenaik / agaq ta kile saibo ta tag kuramba  
 they.left.it thing that now old that axe carry.on.shoulder  
 kile ilna  
 now she.came

*'Forgetting to feed the fowl they climbed into the yawan tree.  
 They put the pig meat in the basket and went and were in the yawan  
 tree. They left the pig's intestines in the ashes. / That thing,  
 the old woman, now came shouldering an axe..'*

As would be expected, a combination of time, locale and actor change can indicate the beginning of new tagmemes within a Discourse but a Discourse is usually oriented to one of these in particular. A combination of locale and actor change or time and actor change can signal the beginning of a new tagmeme.

The constructions which signal new Paragraphs almost always occur in the focal position sentence-initially. When similar constructions are used but are not intended to indicate a new tagmeme, the construction in question does not occur in the focal position, or sometimes the sequence conjunction *le/sulumba* precedes it to signal that it is not indicating the beginning of a new tagmeme. When such a construction permutes to non-focal positions in the Paragraph any number can occur in the one Episode. Such an Episode gives a brief outline of events usually over quite a distance or period of time, and fills in details which are necessary for the continuity of the narrative. The sequence conjunction can also be used to distinguish between a new Episode in the same Discourse or the first Episode of an embedded Discourse. For example, the Time Phrase *'one day'* frequently indicates a new embedded Discourse. When it is preceded by the sequence conjunction *le/sulumba* it can indicate a new Episode in the same Discourse.

#### 7.1.1. Personal Narrative Discourse

The Personal Narrative Discourse includes autobiographical and biographical narratives. The narrator is either a participant in the Episodes or an observer.

## Personal Narrative Discourse

| ± Title                             | ± Stage   | + Episode n=1-13   | ± Epilogue  | ± Closure | ± Finis   |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|---|-----------|-----------|
| Formulaic<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S. | Sentence<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P.<br>Narrative D. | Sentence<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P.<br>Explanation P.<br>Dialogue P.<br>Narrative D. | Sentence<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P.<br>Explanation P. | Formulaic | Formulaic |

The Episode is the only obligatory tagmeme and has been found to occur up to 13 times. Episodes relate events in succession or one Episode may overlap the other. Because of lack of definite grammatical features, a Climax or main Episode is not posited in either the Personal or Legend Narrative Discourses. Semantically, however, such an Episode is characterised by rising tempo and suspense. The time span in such an Episode is relatively brief, whereas in other Episodes it can cover many years. It always involves more than one participant and usually contains dialogue.

The Stage gives the setting introducing participants, locale, time and the circumstance in which the event took place. When an embedded Discourse follows, its Stage can be grammatically part of its first Episode or part of the Preceding Episode.

The Epilogue is a final comment or summary.

If the narrator is a participant first person is used and if an observer third person is used. Past tense and indicative mood predominate.

Dialogue Paragraphs occur frequently.

Example: An Episode from World War 2, by Silim Gureñ

Stage: Narrative Discourse (Time-oriented)

Episode 1: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Corollary Sentence

ambonga kame aboabo Madangge puro bom pankinaig ta  
*first fight newly at.Madang asm bomb they.threw that*  
 ye damar sayokmba duçe kan  
*I possum hunt bush I.went*

Buildup 2: Explanation Paragraph

Statement: Corollary Sentence

bom fudukinaig ta ye ismba ye idusen "sawe  
*bomb they.sounded that I hear I I.thought rain*  
 piyam tuku ma fudu kinit" nga idusen  
*to.rain rel place noise it.goes quote I.thought*

Reinforcement: Interrogative word

ndam  
*why*

## Explanation: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Equative Clause

bom fudu tanu ye gilai  
*bomb noise that I not.know*

Expansion 1: Equative Clause

yenge ndo kuga  
*I only not*

Expansion 2: Merged Sentence

tango nakmba tanjamba idusnaig  
*man all do.thus they.thought*

*'At first, when the war began and they dropped bombs on Madang, I had gone to the bush to hunt possums. When the bombs sounded I heard them and thought to myself, "It is going to rain and it is thundering." Why? I didn't know the sound of bombs. I wasn't the only one. All of the others thought the same.'*

## Episode 2: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Merged Sentence

ngumnenga Madangge kopra wande sungo ta ugmba pa  
*later at.Madang copra house big that burn fire*

guwa sungokanu mayok kina  
*smoke large outside it.went*

Buildup 2: Quotation Sentence

le nane kangermba sakinaig. "o kame sungo ande purote"  
*and they see.it they.said oh fight big one it.comes*

nginaig "Madangge bom pankaig le puluka kopra wande  
*they.said at.Madang bomb they.threw and burst copra house*

sungo ta ugmba pa sungo tinga minit si" nginaig  
*big that burn fire big stand it.is there they.said*

Buildup 3: Merged Sentence

sine kangermba kurukurukigen  
*we see.it we.feared*

*'Later, in Madang, the big copra shed burned down and much smoke arose. The people saw it and said, "Oh, there is a great battle coming. They have dropped bombs on Madang and they have exploded and the big copra shed is alight and there is a huge fire." Seeing it we were afraid.'*

## Episode 3: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Merged Sentence

ngumnenga balus man pinderka purowe likinaig  
*later aircraft again run come distrib.they.did*

## Buildup 2: Explanation Paragraph

Statement: Corollary Sentence

ta sine kangermba ta sine kurukuru ndakigen  
 but we see.it that we fear we.did.not

Reinforcement: Interrogative word

ndam  
 why

Explanation: Reason Sentence

kame kitek tukunu sine kurukuru ndakigen  
 fight new because we fear we.did.not

Summary: Corollary Sentence

balus mbolnge tui pulunaig ta "sine ta nda  
 aircraft on gun they.exploded that us that neg  
 kangerkade" nga idusmba sine maimaimka likigen  
 they.see.us quote think we do.rashly we.walked

'Later on, aircraft came flying over but when we saw them we weren't afraid. Why? Because the war was new to us. When the aircraft fired their guns we thought to ourselves, "They can't see us," and we walked about carelessly.'

## Episode 1 (of main Discourse): Narrative Discourse (Time-oriented)

Episode 1: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

ngumnenga mingen ma ma kumba ait ande Siyapan puro  
 later we.were asm asm go time one Japanese asm  
 sine tuku kilke mbol puronaig  
 we rel ground on they.arrived

Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence

puro Madangge wangge Siyapan kutuna le pasa  
 asm at.Madang boat Japanese it.discharged and talk  
 pinderka puomba sine tuku tumbran purona le  
 run come we rel village it.arrived and  
 isgen  
 we.heard.it

Buildup 3: Quotation Sentence

nane afunge sakinaig "Siyapan ngarosunu gurgur  
 they some they.said Japanese their.bodies red  
 amnu mata gurgur" nginaig  
 their.eyes also red they.said

Buildup 4: Merged Sentence

le sine kangerkam tuku idusmba mingen  
 and we to.see.them rel think we.were

'Time passed, and one day the Japanese arrived in our area. A boat brought them to Madang and the news spread quickly to our village. Some said, "The Japanese have red skins and also red eyes." We were keen to see them.'

## Episode 2: Sequence Paragraph

## Buildup 1: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Sequence Sentence

le mara ande Siyapan ande nyunu Kubu nale Bilbil  
*and day one Japanese one his.name Kubu they Bilbil*

tango ta nyunu Kasan nu ndoꝓ Kumisanger puronaik  
*man that his.name Kasan he with Kumisanger they.came*

le sine nu tuku am gurgurnu ta kangeram tuku  
*and we he rel eyes its.redness that to.see.it rel*

mambilgeꝓ ta sine nu tuku am gurgur kanger ndageꝓ  
*we.looked but we he rel eyes red see.it we.did.not*

Expansion: Equative Clause

nu tuku am tanu sine tuku am minig tenen  
*he rel eyes that we rel eyes they.are like.this*

## Buildup 2: Merged Sentence

kangermba 'a yabrikenaig" nga idusgeꝓ  
*see.it ah they.lied quote we.thought*

*'Then one day, a Japanese named Kubu came with the Bilbil man named Kasan to Kumisanger village, and we peered at him to see his red eyes, but his eyes weren't red. They were just the same as our eyes. Seeing that we thought to ourselves, "Ah, they lied".'*

## Episode 3: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Merged Sentence

Siyapan ndoꝓ Baunge piroka minggeꝓ  
*Japanese with at.Bau work we.were*

Expansion: Explanation Paragraph

Statement: Sequence Sentence

ngarogak makau kusrekenaig le Siyapannge puro makau  
*whiteman cattle they.left.them and Japanese asm cattle*

ta kilmba banis sinamnge patikam tuku piro karen  
*that take fence inside to.put.them rel work hard*

sungo sine singinaig  
*big us they.gave.us*

Reinforcement: Interrogative word

ndam  
*why*

Explanation: Sequence Sentence

makau ka duꝓe sinamnge nguik kinaig sulumba  
*cattle asm bush inside wild they.went and*

tango tuku pasa isam kumuꝓ kuga  
*man rel talk to.hear enough not*

Summary: Simple Sentence

sine piro karen sungo kigen  
*we work hard big we.did*

*'We were working with the Japanese at Bau plantation. The whitemen had left their cattle and the Japanese made us work really hard to collect them and fence them in. Why? The cattle had become wild in the bush and they wouldn't obey men. We worked really hard.'*

Episode 4: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

ait ta mbolnge piroka mingen ma ma kumba ka ait  
*time that at work we.were asm asm go asm time*  
 ande balus puronaig sulumba ire nyunu Yutuku  
*one aircraft they.came and kunai.grass its.name Yutuku*  
 makau maratukuk ire nyumba minnaig le balusnge  
*cattle morning kunai.grass eat they.were and aircraft*  
 puomba ire mbol tange makau sungomba ninde  
*come kunai.grass on there cattle many shoot*  
 likinaig le kume likinaig  
*distrib.they.did and die they.did*

Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence

le tumbraḡ tango Marakum Kul Kumisanger sine kumba ka  
*and village men Marakum Kul Kumisanger we go asm*  
 makau ta pike lika kilmba ka mbain ke lika  
*cattle that cut distrib take.them asm platform do distrib*  
 karenginaig le kuapika nye lika mingen  
*they.hardened and boil eat distrib we.were*

*'At that time we continued working. One day, in the morning, while the cattle were grazing on the patch of kunai grass known as Yutuku, the aircraft came and shot many of the cattle and they died. We village men from Marakum, Kul and Kumisanger went and cut up the cattle, brought them and made platforms and smoked them and we were cooking and eating them.'*

Episode 2 (of main Discourse): Narrative Discourse (Time-oriented)

Stage: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Merged Sentence

mara ande balus pinderka puomba waje kuyarkanu tanu  
*day one aircraft run come leaf writing that*  
 puro pankinaig  
 asm they.threw.out

Buildup 2: Corollary Sentence

waje ta kangerka burkigen tanu sakinaig "tane ndin  
*leaf that see.them we.read that they.said you road*  
 kusremba kuaka dune kape. ye kile ndin ulmba  
*leave flee bush you.go I now road shoot*  
 likamngit" nga sakinaig  
*I.will.go.about quote they.said*

## Buildup 3: Corollary Sentence

taŋakina ta sine minge talakə tumbranŋe mingeŋ  
 thus.it.said but we mouth disbelieve at.village we.stayed

'One day, an aircraft came over and dropped papers which contained a message. When we read the papers they said, "Leave the road and flee to the bush. I will go along the road shooting." Although they said that we did not believe it and remained in the village.'

## Episode 1: Sequence Paragraph

## Buildup 1: Merged Sentence

mara ande balus armba pinderka kumba ka Mandanŋe  
 day one aircraft two run go asm at. Madang  
 bom pankə luka maŋ ilnaik  
 bomb throw return again they.came

## Buildup 2: Corollary Sentence

ilmba puomba sine tuku tumbran puronaik ta tango  
 come arrive we rel village they.arrived that man  
 pino kuaka pinder pindernaig le kangerka tui parsingam  
 woman flee run they.ran and see.them gun to.shoot  
 nduinaik  
 they.did.once

## Buildup 3: Merged Sentence

ta ta sinanŋe tui tiŋ sungomba mayok kinaig  
 but that inside gun bullet many outside they.went

## Buildup 4: Expansion Paragraph

## Text: Merged Sentence

sulumba age ande ulmba tango ande ulna  
 and dog one shoot man one it.shot

## Expansion: Equative Clause

tango ta nyunu Puwan  
 man that his.name Puwan

## Buildup 5: Sequence Sentence

nu tui tiŋŋe tina le ibeŋ tange ndekina  
 him gun bullet it.took.him and down there he.fell

## Buildup 6: Simple Sentence

ina nuŋe mam nuŋe kuakinaig  
 mother his father his they.fled

'One day, two aircraft went over Madang and dropped bombs and came back over us. When they came over our village the men and women fled in all directions and they saw them and shot just one burst. But in that were lots of bullets. One hit a dog and another hit a man. The man's name was Puwan. The bullet hit him and he fell. His parents fled to the bush.'



## Episode 2: Sequence Paragraph

## Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

ngumnenga balus kinaik le Puwan nu tinga kuakambim  
*later aircraft they.went and Puwan he rise to.flee*  
 fuguna  
*he.was.unable*

## Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence

nu tange kinye nak witimba minna le nane afunge puro  
*he there lie with cry.out he.was and they some asm*  
 kangermba 'o Puwan balusnge ulnaig o o Puwan  
*see.him oh Puwan aircraft they.shot (vocative) oh Puwan*  
 balusnge ulnaig o  
*aircraft they.shot (vocative)*

## Buildup 3: Explanation Paragraph

## Statement: Corollary Sentence

le ina nuge mam nuge dunge sinam singe  
*and mother his father his bush inside there*  
 malmbitamtam pinderka puronaik ta Puwan nu kume ndakina  
*wail run they.same but Puwan he die he.did.not*

## Explanation: Sequence Sentence

tui tingge manunsu mbol tenge ulna le marngi te  
*gun bullet hip on here it.pierced and groin here*  
 getmba tui tiq bitek purona  
*go.through gun bullet open it.came*

## Buildup 4: Sequence Sentence

le kuramba tumba puro tumbraŋge pilmba ngiramnginaig le  
*and carry take asm at.village put they.drummed and*  
 sine ngiram ismba nakmba pinderka tumbraŋ purogeŋ  
*we drum hear all run village we.arrived*

*'Later when the aircraft had gone Puwan was unable to rise and run away. He was lying there crying out and some of the people came, and seeing him they wailed, "Oh, the aircraft have shot Puwan. Oh, the aircraft have shot Puwan." Although his mother and father ran from the bush wailing, Puwan didn't die. The bullet had gone in at his hip and came out in the groin. They carried him to the village and beat the drum and we heard it and all ran to the village.*

## Episode 3: Sequence Paragraph

## Buildup 1: Quotation Paragraph

## Setting: Response Sentence

ka mambilgeŋ kande Puwan tengamumba pasata minnaig  
*asm we.looked but Puwan surround.him talk they.were*

## Initiating Unit: Quotation Sentence (remark)

"aye aye" ngigen  
 (grief) (grief) we.said

Resolving Unit: Quotation Sentence (response)

"kuga Puwan balusnge puro tui parsinga ulat o"  
no Puwan aircraft asm gun release it.shot (vocative)

nginaig  
they.said

Initiating Unit: Quotation Sentence (proposal)

"sine ndangka sakube e. nane sine buk sasinginaig  
we what we.should.say qm they us before they.told.us

le sine sakeg tae. 'ndin kusremba kuakape sine  
and we we.say (impatience) road leave you.flee we

ndin ulmba likamngig' nga sasingina. singine minge  
road shoot we.will.go quote he.said to.us our mouth

tala tambik tanu kile sine kangermba son  
disbelieve with.that that now we see.it true

ngube nga sakigen  
let.us.say quote we.said

Buildup 2: Merged Sentence

sulumba mbain kusmba Puwan sukunga tumba Lila  
and platform tie Puwan lay.down take Lila

ndekigen  
we.went.down

'We looked for Puwan but a crowd was around him, talking. "We are sorry, that shouldn't have happened," we said. "No (it is our fault) the aircraft came and shot Puwan" they said. We said, "What can we say? They told us once and now we say it again, 'Leave the road and flee,' they told us, 'We are going to shoot along the road.' This is our fault because we didn't believe them. Now that we see the truth of it, let us believe it." And we made a stretcher and carried Puwan down to Lila.

Episode 4: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

Lila purogen sulumba Siyapan saningigen  
Lila we.arrived and Japanese we.told.them

Buildup 2: Quotation Sentence

le nane sakinaig "tumba Malaun kape" nginaig  
and they they.said take Malaun go they.said

Buildup 3: Merged Sentence

le sukunga tumba Malaun ndekigen  
and lay.down take Malaun we.went.down

'We arrived at Lila and we told the Japanese about it. They said, "Take him to Malaun," and we carried him on the stretcher down to Malaun.'

## Episode 5: Quotation Paragraph

## Buildup 1: Resolved Compound Dialogue Paragraph

Initiating Unit: Sequence Sentence (question)

Malaun purogeŋ le Siyapan sine kusnasinginaig  
*Malaun we.arrived and Japanese us they.asked.us*

Resolving Unit: Quotation Sentence (answer)

"tango ande balusnge ulat le tumba purowig" ngigeŋ  
*man one aircraft it.shot and take we.came we.said*

Initiating Unit: Quotation Sentence (command)

le nane sine sasinginaig "tumba dokta sota kape"  
*and they us they.said.to.us take doctor seek you.go*  
 nginaig  
*they.said*

Resolving Unit: Merged Sentence (execution)

le tumba dokta sota kageŋ  
*and take doctor seek we.went*

'We arrived at Malaun and the Japanese questioned us. We answered,  
 "An aircraft shot a man and we have brought him here." They said,  
 "Take him and find the doctor." And so we took him and looked for  
 the doctor.'

## Episode 6: Sequence Paragraph

## Buildup 1: Simple Resolved Dialogue Paragraph

Initiating Unit: Quotation Sentence (question)

dokta sine kusnasingina "tango ta ndaŋat le tane  
*doctor us he.asked.us man that do.what and you*  
 tumba purowe e"  
*take you.came qm*

Resolving Unit: Quotation Sentence (answer)

sine sakigeŋ "balusnge ulat le tumba ne sota  
*we we.said aircraft it.shot and take you seek*  
 puroweg" ngigeŋ  
*we.come we.said*

## Buildup 2: Merged Sentence

nu piriri ŋayomba pinderka puro kumiŋ ta!ka Puwan  
*he be.startled greatly run asm cloth open Puwan*  
 kangerna  
*he.looked.at.him*

## Buildup 3: Simple Resolved Dialogue Paragraph

Initiating Unit: Quotation Sentence (question)

kusnasingina "nu ndaŋat le balusnge ulat e ngina  
*he.aska.us he did.what and aircraft it.shot qm he.said*

Resolving Unit: Quotation Sentence (answer)

sine saklgeŋ. "maratukuk balus armba nale kakik  
 we we.said morning aircraft two they they.went  
 ka Mandanŋe bom panka luka yalkik sulumba ndln  
 asm at.Madang bomb throw return they.came and road  
 ulmba mbumba kaklk. le sine kangerka kuakagig le  
 shoot come.up they.went and us see.us we.fled and  
 nale tui parsinga tango te ulaig sulumba age  
 they gun release man this they.shot and dog  
 ande turmba ulaig" ngigeŋ  
 one also they.shot we.said

Buildup 4: Sequence Sentence

le nu kina kumba ka sut tumba puomba sut  
 and he he.went go asm syringe take come injection  
 wakeimba Puwan sut tuna  
 make Puwan injection he.gave.him

Buildup 5: Sequence Sentence

sulumba banis tumba tui mbi ulna burok ta  
 and bandage take gun inst it.shot hole that  
 sirna le inumŋe purona  
 he.inserted and one it.came

Buildup 6: Corollary Sentence

didikina ta ndare sinamŋe kusnaig tuku gon ŋak  
 he.pulled that blood inside they.bound rel clot with  
 ŋakmba banis tange kilemayokkina  
 all bandage that it.brought.out

Buildup 7: Quotation Sentence

le nu sine sasingina. "tango te kume nda" ngina  
 and he us he.said.to.us man this die neg he.said  
 "yine dokta Mindiringe minit tane tumba ka Mindiri  
 my doctor at.Mindiri he.is you go asm Mindiri  
 kape le nunge wakeiwa le mayekamngat" ngina  
 you.go and he he.will.treat and he.will.recover he.said

Terminus: Sequence Sentence

le furirna le sine kinyigeŋ  
 and night.came and we we.slept

*'The doctor asked us, "What did this man do that you are bringing him here?" We said, "An aircraft shot him and so we are bringing him to you." He was startled and ran and removed the cloth and looked at Puwan's wound. He asked, "What was he doing that the aircraft shot at him?" We answered, "This morning two aircraft went and dropped bombs on Madang and then they returned and came and shot along our road. We saw them and fled and they discharged bullets, and one hit this man and one hit a dog also." He went and got a syringe, prepared an injection and gave it to Puwan. Then he took*

*a bandage and inserted it into the wound which the bullet had made and it came out the other side. When he pulled it, the blood which had hardened inside and all the clots came out with it. He said to us, "This man will not die. My doctor is at Mindiri. You take him to Mindiri and he will treat him and he will recover." Night came and we slept there.'*

Episode 7: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

mafena le maratukuk tinga Puwan sukunga man tumba  
*it.dawned and morning rise Puwan lay.down again take*  
 luka Kumisanger mbugen  
*return Kumisanger we.came.up*

Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence

ki mbol sine balus kurukuruka mingen furirna le  
*sun on we aircraft fear we.were night.came and*  
 furir man Puwan sukunga tumba ka Ngawarnge  
*night again Puwan lay.down take asm at.Ngawar.river*  
 mingen  
*we.stayed*

Buildup 3: Sequence Sentence

mafewam tuku tinga kagen kumba ka Ganlau purogen  
*to.dawn rel arise we.went go asm Ganglau we.arrived*  
 le ma purfena le ka Mindiri purogen  
*and place it.lightened and asm Mindiri we.arrived*

Buildup 4: Sequence Sentence

ka ambenge dokta tugum purogen le dokta nu sakina  
*asm up.there doctor close we.came and doctor he he.said*  
 "maye le tenge palpe ye wakeiyamngit" ngina  
*good and here you.put.him I I.will.assist he.said*

Buildup 5: Merged Sentence

le Rako nale Ngan ambenge kusreka sine jakmba  
*and Rako they Ngan up.there leave.them we all*  
 luka ndekigen  
*return we.came.down*

*'On the morning of the next day we got up and put Puwan on the stretcher and returned to Kumisanger. While the sun was up we were afraid and remained in the village, and at night we took Puwan on the stretcher and went and stopped at the Ngawar river. When dawn was close we left and came to Ganglau and continued travelling and arrived at Mindiri after daylight. We found the doctor and he said, "Good, put him here and I will treat him." We left Rako and Ngan up there (with Puwan) and the rest of us returned (to the village).'*

## Episode 8: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Merged Sentence

le nale ambenge Puwan kulatka minnaik  
*and they up.there Puwan care.for they.stayed*

Expansion: Sequence Sentence

dokta nu kulatka minna kumba ka we kupna  
*doctor he care.for he.was go asm wound it.healed*

le nane luka tumbran puronaig  
*and they return village they.arrived*

*'They remained up there caring for Puwan. The doctor cared for him until the wound healed and then they returned to the village.'*

## Epilogue (of Episode 2 embedded Discourse): Explanation Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

ngumnenga Puwan nu balus tuku kurukuru sungokanu  
*later Puwan he aircraft rel fear great*

tina  
*he.received*

Reinforcement: Interrogative word

ndam  
*why*

Explanation: Simple Sentence

nu minge tala sungo gak minna  
*he mouth disbelieve great with he.was*

Summary: Sequence Sentence

balusnge ulna le nu kurukuru sungokanu tina  
*aircraft it.shot and he fear great he.received*

*'Later on Puwan was greatly afraid of aircraft. Why? He didn't believe the warning and the aircraft shot at him and he developed great fear.'*

## Epilogue (of main Discourse): Explanation Paragraph

Statement: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

ait tanu mbolnge tango pino ande tumbranng mine  
*time that on man woman one at.village be*

ndakina  
*he.did.not*

Expansion: Simple Sentence

sine gakmba dunge sinamnge mingen  
*we all bush inside we.stayed*

Reinforcement: Interrogative word

ndam  
*why*

Explanation: Sequence Sentence

alonu Puwan mbolnge kangergen sulumba kurukuru  
*its.fruit Puwan on we.saw.it and fear*  
 sungokanu mayok kina  
*great outside it.went*

summary: Simple Sentence

pagumba nyam tuku sina sungo tigen  
*cook to.eat rel misery great we.took*

*'At that time there was not a man or woman in the village. All of us remained in the bush. Why? We saw the meaning (of the warning) in Puwan and great fear developed. (In the bush) we were distressed because of lack of food.'*

Closure: Merged Sentence

tanu ye fudinmba saket  
*that I small I.am.saying*

*'Thus I am speaking a little about it.'*

Finis: Response word

son  
*true*

*'True.'*

### 7.1.2. Legend Narrative Discourse

The Legend Narrative Discourse includes stories of origins, myths and dramas. Legends are clan property which are passed from generation to generation. The narrator is neither a participant nor an observer.

#### Legend Narrative Discourse

| ± Title   | ± Stage                 | + Episode <sup>n=1-11</sup>  | ± Application            | ± Closure | ± Finis   |
|---|-------------------------|--|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Formulaic<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Expansion P. | Sentence<br>Sequence P. | Sentence<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P.<br>Explanation P.<br>Dialogue P.<br>Narrative D. | Sentence<br>Expansion P. | Formulaic | Formulaic |

The Episode is the only obligatory tagmeme and is the same as for the Personal Narrative Discourse. In the Legend Discourse a Narrative Discourse most commonly expounds an Episode.

The Application frequently occurs and relates the narrative to present day culture and behaviour. Tense in the Application is present (habitual) or potential and person is first or third person. Examples of the lexical content include such statements as *'that is why clay pots are made in those villages today', 'that is why we say, "Don't sleep on the beach".'*

The Stage is as for the Personal Narrative Discourse but occurs far more frequently in a drama. In one Legend Narrative Discourse relating a drama, each Episode introduces a new participant with whom the main participant has an encounter. There is no interplay between these new participants and they are removed from the stage at the conclusion of each Episode. Such Episodes are frequently manifested by embedded Narrative Discourses and dialogue predominates. Further study could indicate a Dramatic Discourse as a further sub-type of the Narrative Discourse.

Example: A story about Children Sleeping on the Beach, by Yan Ule.  
(Legend Narrative Discourse, place oriented)

Title: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

ye wam kube ande sanungit  
I story tell one I.will.say

Expansion: Equative Clause

wam kube ta tejenmba  
story tell that this

'I will tell a story. The story is this.'

Stage: Sequence Sentence

furiram tambun ki purowanu sukna le kiŋo kame  
to.be.dark moon sun come it.resembled and child group  
ŋakmba saka isnaig sulumba usrewam piyal kinaig  
all say they.heard and to.play beach they.went

'In the evening, the moon was shining like the sun and the children conferred together and then went off to the beach to play.'

Episode 1: Sequence Sentence

piyalŋe usrenaig ma ma kiŋo ande katnaig le  
on.beach they.played asm asm boy one they.hit.him and

malmbika ndumor pilna sulumba kina ka zazon  
cry sulk he.put and he.went asm zazon.g.tree

silika kinyina  
go.inside he.slept

'They played for some time on the beach and then they hit one of the boys and he cried and sulked and climbed into the branches of the zazon tree and slept.'

Episode 2: Sequence Sentence

kiŋo kame afu nane usrenaig ma ma ginyumningina  
child group some they they.played asm asm they.became.drowsy

le mayok piyal tange kinyinaig  
and outside beach there they.slept

'The other children played for a time and then they became sleepy and slept in the open on the beach.'



## Episode 3: Sequence Sentence

furir ngamu tanowam purona sulumba kiŋo kame ŋakmba  
*night middle spirit it.came and child group all*  
 bale farmba ndem paska nye suglukina sulumba isu  
*kill scatter flesh remove eat it.finished.them and bone*  
 ndo mangurka kusrekina  
*only gather it.left.them*

*'In the middle of the night, a spirit arrived and massacred the children and ate all their flesh and heaped up the bones and left them.'*

## Episode 4: Sequence Paragraph

## Buildup 1: Merged Sentence

kiŋo katnaig le malmbikina ta nu zazon  
*boy they.hit.him and he.cried that he zazon.g.tree*  
 silika kuirkanu sukmba kinyina  
*go.inside hide like he.slept*

## Buildup 2: Correlation Sentence

nu furir tinga tanowam ta kangermba nu kurukuru kinye  
*he night get.up spirit that see.it he fear sleep*  
 ndakina abo minna le mafemba minna le kiŋo ta  
*he.did.not awake he.was and dawn it.was and boy that*  
 kurukuruka pinderka tumbran kina  
*fear run village he.went*

*'The boy whom they had hit and made cry was sleeping in the branches of the zazon tree hidden from sight. In the night he got up and seeing the spirit he was afraid and did not sleep again; he remained awake until dawn and in terror he ran to the village.'*

## Episode 5: Sequence Paragraph

## Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

tumbranŋe kiŋo kame ta tuku ina mam saningina  
*at.village child group that rel mother father he.said.to.them*  
 le ina mam malmbi wikaraumba ndekinaig  
*and mother father cry call.out they.went.down*

## Buildup 2: Sequence Paragraph

## Setting: Merged Sentence

tanowam ta kine fugumba tali mbolŋe minyok minna  
*spirit that go unable tali.tree on sit it.was*

## Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

le tali tugunu tugum tange pa sigenaig le pa  
*and tali.tree its.base near there fire they.lit and fire*  
 guwange tina le ndeka pa mbol kina  
*smoke it.took.it and down fire on it.went*

## Buildup 3: Merged Sentence

pange ugmba usarkina  
*fire burn it.incinerated*

## Buildup 4: Sequence Sentence

le ina mam kame kigo kame nanginge tuku isu  
 and mother father group child group their rel bone  
 nguke likinaig  
 bury distrib.they.did

*'In the village, he told the parents about the children and the parents went down (to the beach) crying and calling out. Being unable to move, the spirit was sitting up in the tali tree. They lit a fire at the base of the tree and the smoke overcame it and it fell down on to the fire and was incinerated. Then the parents took the bones of their children and held a burial service.'*

## Application: Quotation Sentence

wam kube ta tuku sine sasinginaig "tane piyalnge  
 story relate that rel us they.told.us you on.beach  
 kinye ndakap" nginaig  
 sleep you.do.not they.said

*'(When we were children) they said to us concerning that story, "Do not sleep on the beach".'*

## Closure: Equative Clause

ake wam kube ndo  
 nothing story relate only  
*'That is not a true story.'*

## Finis: Equative Clause

not ndo  
 that only  
*'That is all.'*

## 7.2. PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

The Procedural Discourse is characterised by present (habitual) tense and chronological order. Several features distinguish the Procedural Discourse from the Narrative Discourse:

(1) The identification of participants in the Narrative Discourse is important and personal nouns are frequently used, whereas in the Procedural Discourse, participants are not identified. First and third persons are the most common. When in third person, 'man' is usually designated the actor. When in first person, the plural personal pronoun is used. Furthermore, there is little change of participants throughout the Procedural Discourse, whereas in the Narrative Discourse participants can change frequently.

(2) Dialogue predominates in the Narrative Discourse and the Dialogue Paragraph is used frequently as a filler of Episodes. Dialogue is not common in the Procedural Discourse and the Dialogue Paragraph is

not used as a filler of Procedures.

(3) Sequence Paragraphs predominate in the Procedural Discourse and as fillers of Procedures are generally longer than when used as fillers of Episodes in the Narrative Discourse.

(4) The Procedural Discourse is usually time oriented, but time words do not include borrowed temporals 2 (hours of the day and days of the week) as they frequently do in Narrative Discourse. New tagmemes in the Discourse are indicated by:

- (a) Time words and Phrases such as '*at first*', '*later*', '*one day*'.
- (b) The Corollary or Sequence Sentence encoding conditionality with universal quantifier. Examples are: '*when the canoe is dry*', '*when men die*', '*when it is a big sore*'.
- (c) An intentional Merged Sentence which frequently introduces the first Procedure in the Discourse. Examples are: '*when men decide to carve a canoe*', '*when men decide to hunt pigs*' and so on. The Alternative Procedure tagmeme is frequently introduced by *ande* '*one*' and has the meaning of '*another*', or sometimes by a Corollary Sentence encoding hypotheticality or conditionality with universal quantifier.

#### Procedural Discourse

| ± Title   | ± Introduction                          | + Procedure <sup>n=1-5</sup>                              | ± Alternative <sup>n=1-6</sup> Procedure | ± Summary | ± Closure  | ± Finis   |
|-----------|---|---|--|-----------|--|-----------|
| Formulaic | Sentence<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P. | Sentence<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P.<br>Explanation P. | Sentence<br>Sequence P.<br>Procedural D. | Sentence  | Formulaic<br>Merged S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S. | Formulaic |

The Procedural tagmeme is the only obligatory tagmeme and up to five of them were found in one text. Semantically a progression occurs from one Procedure to the next commencing with the preparation, building up to a target and concluding on a less important Procedure. The Procedure which expresses the target tends to be longer, but no grammatical features to distinguish between it and other Procedures have been noted.

The Alternative Procedure is optional and six of them were found in one embedded Procedural Discourse. This was in a Discourse giving six alternative Procedures in the treatment of a certain illness.

The Introduction is a comment which introduces the Procedure and the Summary is a closing comment about the Procedure. The Summary is often introduced by the same word *ngumnenga* '*later*' and expresses what will happen later as a result of the procedure being performed.

The Title, Closure and Finis are formulaic. The Title occurred in eighteen of the twenty-two texts studied. It is almost always manifested by a Simple Sentence with a Clause including a Referential Phrase

such as *'I will speak about how..'*. Closure occurred fifteen times and is manifested by a Simple, Merged or Sequence Sentence which features some form of the verb *tana-* *'do.thus'* and has the meaning *'that is how we..'*, a reiteration of the title. *Finis* is as for other Discourses and frequently occurs.

Example: How a Canoe is Carved, by Silim Gureŋ

Title: Simple Sentence

ye waŋ tuku pasatamngit  
I canoe rel I.will.speak

*'I will talk about canoes.'*

Procedure 1: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

tango nane waŋ pikam nga idusde sulumba ambonga  
men they canoe to.cut quote they.think and first

ail sota duŋe sinam kinig  
tree seek bush inside they.go

Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence

duŋe sinamge ail sota kine purode kumba ka waŋ  
bush inside tree seek go they.come go asm canoe

tuku ail kangerde sulumba madimba purode  
rel tree they.see.it and mark they.come

*'When men decide to make a canoe, first of all they go to the bush to find a suitable tree. In the bush they go back and forth searching until they find a tree which is suitable for making a canoe, and they mark it and come back (to the village.)'*

Procedure 2: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

ngumnenga luka kinit sulumba ail ta pikit le  
later return he.goes and tree that he.chops and

ngurkate  
it.cracks

Buildup 2: Merged Sentence

pike purmba kusremba luka purote  
chop separate leave.it return he.comes

*'Later (the owner) returns and chops the tree and it cracks. He chops it down and leaves it (in the bush) and returns (to the village).'*

Procedure 3: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Merged Sentence

ngumnenga tango armba kiimba maŋ luka kinit  
later men two take.them again return he.goes

## Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence

kumba ka waj paskam tuku kangerte sulumba waj  
 go asm canoe to.remove rel he.sees.it and canoe  
 sangilnu tuku ta kangermba sinanu minam tuku ta  
 its.back rel that see.it its.inside to.be rel that  
 kangermba sapor tumba ndek ambonga ail tanu pante  
 see.it axe take asm first tree that he.chips.at.it

## Buildup 3: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Merged Sentence

panmba deŋ purmba kile tag tumba puromba saikate  
 chip cease now stone.axe take come he.carves

Expansion 1: Corollary Sentence

tag mbi saikate tanu nu ake farefare  
 stone.axe inst he.carves that he nothing at.random  
 sai ndakate  
 carve he.does.not

Expansion 2: Simple Sentence

nu kanger tite sulumba  
 he look he.does.intently and

Expansion 3: Sequence Sentence

tango afunge nu talabekaig nga nu kanger  
 men some him they.might.despise quote he look  
 mayete sulumba nu saikate  
 he.does.well and he he.carves

## Buildup 4: Merged Sentence

ndumornu ŋakmba kiletidinga saika deŋ purmba kile  
 its.enas all straighten.them carve cease now  
 waj paskam tuku tag ta tumba puromba  
 canoe to.remove rel stone.axe that take come  
 kile paskate  
 now he.removes

## Buildup 5: Sequence Sentence

paska deŋ purmba sinanu minyanga deŋ purmba tango  
 remove cease its.inside wash cease men  
 afu saningit le duŋe sinamnge kuramba tumba  
 some he.says.to.them and bush inside carry take  
 tumbran purode  
 village they.come

## Buildup 6: Sequence Sentence

tumbranŋe pilig le minit  
 at.village they.put.it and it.stays

'Later on, he takes two men with him and returns (to the bush). He looks at the tree and decides how he will carve the canoe and sees what part of the tree will be for the outside and inside of the canoe, then he takes the axe and first of all chips away at the tree. He

*completes the chipping process, then he takes the stone axe and carves. When he carves with the axe he does not do so carelessly. He first inspects it very carefully. Lest other men should despise his work he inspects it well before he carves. He makes both the ends straight and completing this, now he takes a different axe for hollowing out the inside of the canoe. When this is finished he washes the inside and then lets the other men know and they carry it from the bush to the village. They place it in the village and there it remains.*

Procedure 4: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

waŋ paraka bulkate le nu kile kusam  
canoe dry it.becomes.light and he now to.tie  
tuku wam duste  
rel idea he.thinks

Buildup 2: Simple Sentence

sulumba ambonga ailsunu kinit  
and first for.poles he.goes

Buildup 3: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Sequence Sentence

ailsu kilmba puro patikate sulumba mulinu kinit  
poles take.them asm he.puts.them and for.vine he.goes

Expansion: Equative Clause

muli nyunu warmer  
vine its.name warmer

Buildup 4: Sequence Sentence

warmer sota kilmba puro patika kile kiyain  
warmer seek take.them asm put.them now outrigger.poles  
kilmba puro patika saman pikmba patot  
take.them asm put.them outrigger cut outrigger.sticks  
kilmba patika ait ande nu kusam tuku madite  
take.them put.them time one he to.tie rel he.chooses  
sulumba tango armba nu turmba waŋ kusig  
and men two him help.him canoe they.tie

Buildup 5: Sequence Sentence

kuse deŋ purde sulumba tumba ka yu mbolnge pilig  
tie they.cease and take asm sea on they.put.it

Buildup 6: Corollary Sentence

sulumba taŋamba pongade tanu mayenu ndo  
and do.thus they.board that good very

*'When the canoe dries and becomes light he thinks about lashing (the parts together). First he goes to get poles. After collecting the poles he goes for vine. The name of the vine is warmer. He finds*

*the vine and now he puts the outrigger poles in place, cuts an outrigger, takes the out-rigger sticks and places them, and when he has chosen a time to lash the canoe, two men help him lash it. When they have finished lashing it they launch it. Then the men board it and find that is very good.*

Procedure 5: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

le miro tango nu ngumnenga waŋ tanu mbi nu kualegan  
and owner man he later canoe that inst he fish  
sota kine purote sulumba ka kualegan afu kilit  
seek go he.comes and asm fish some he.gets

Buildup 2: Merged Sentence

sulumba puomba nu nane tuku pagute  
and come he they rel he.cooks

Buildup 3: Sequence Sentence

pagumba ningit le nane nyade sulumba gareningit  
cook he.gives.them and they they.eat and it.pleases.them

*'The owner later on goes fishing in the boat and catches some. He comes and cooks them for the men (who helped him). He gives the fish to them and they eat them and are pleased.'*

Summary: Corollary Sentence

ngumnenga nu waŋ ta ŋayongate le waŋ ande  
later he canoe that it.deteriorates and canoe one  
kise pikam bafute tanu nane pagumba ningit  
different to.cut he.is.about.to that they cook he.gives.them  
tanu nyade tanu idusmba nane maŋ ka nu turmba  
that they.eat that think they again asm him help.him  
kise maŋ pikig  
different again they.cut

*'Later on when the canoe is old and he is about to cut another, they think about (the fish) which he cooked and gave them and they help him again to cut another one.'*

Closure: Merged Sentence

tango waŋ pikam bafumba taŋamba sine keg  
man canoe to.cut be.about.to do.thus we we.do  
*'When a man is about to cut a canoe, that is what we do.'*

Finis: Equative Clause

not ndo  
that only  
*'That is all.'*

### 7.3. DESCRIPTIVE DISCOURSE

Descriptive Discourse is characterised by thematic orientation and predominance of present tense. Equative Clauses are common. Any person can occur but third is the most common. In order to convey to the listener a mental image of the scene, object or sensation, the listener is often designated as the hypothetical actor. The Siroi people are confident about giving a description of something that is familiar to them, but very reluctant when it is purely hearsay. In such a description, such statements as *'they tell about it and we listen'* or *'is that true? We don't know, we haven't seen it'* occur frequently throughout the Discourse.

Of all the Discourse genre, the Descriptive Discourse has tagmemes that are the most well defined or recognised the most readily. The only equivocal aspect is that sometimes it is difficult to determine if a series of Sentences constitutes various Points in a Discourse, Features in a Description Paragraph, or a mini Descriptive Discourse embedded within a Point. I have chosen to analyse such a series of Sentences as filling Lineament tagmemes within a Description Paragraph.

Usually, new tagmemes in a Descriptive Discourse are indicated by a new topic. The surface grammar manifestation of a new aspect of the topic is one of the following in initial position in the Sentence or Paragraph manifesting the new tagmeme: Sentence Topic (manifested by a Noun Phrase), Possessive Phrase, Equative Clause, Corollary Sentence, Simple Sentence, or Time Phrase. When the physical appearance of the topic is focal, Noun and Possessive Phrases usually initiate the construction filling the new tagmeme. If a Corollary Sentence is used, the listener is often the hypothetical actor as, *'when you see a turtle'*. When the habits of the topic are focal, a Corollary Sentence or Equative Clause or Time Phrase initiates the construction, such as *'when they are hungry..'*, *'when he decides to sleep..'*, *'in the dry season..'* and so on. When another participant related to the topic is introduced, the construction usually begins with a Noun Phrase identifying the new participant, such as *'men, seeing (men) it flees'*. Sometimes new tagmemes are introduced by a Simple Sentence such as *'that food surpasses all food'*, *'Ukarumpa is not an uninteresting place'*, *'just a few village men hoard their money'*.



## Descriptive Discourse

| ± Title                | ± Address             | ± Introduction                          | + Pointn=1-7  | ± Closure | ± Finis   | ± Signature |
|------------------------|-----------------------|---|---|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| Formulaic<br>Simple S. | vocative<br>Simple S. | Sentence<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P. | Sentence<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P.<br>Counterpart P.<br>Explanation P.<br>Description P. | Formulaic | Formulaic | name        |

The Point tagmeme is the only obligatory tagmeme and up to seven have been found to occur. When the topic of the text is the description of a particular place, Point tagmemes are usually filled by Sequence Paragraphs which give spatial cohesion by moving the speaker to the new locale. When the Expansion Paragraph is filling the Point tagmeme in the Descriptive Discourse the Expansion tagmemes of the Paragraph are often manifested by a Sequence Paragraph. This is in contrast to other Discourse types in which it is more usual for an Expansion Paragraph to embed within Buildups of the Sequence Paragraph.

The Title is formulaic as for other Discourse genre, such as *'I will talk about the crocodile'*, *'about school'*.

The Address is not commonly used but was used in the two Discourses in which the topic was unknown to the listener. In such a case it is possibly used to gain the listener's attention more specifically.

The Introduction introduces the topic and always includes the name of the topic when it is unknown to the listener. It usually sets forth what aspect of the topic is to be discussed, such as *'every year for four months the sea is rough every day'*, *'if a man's teeth are to last he must look after them carefully'*.

The Summary is fairly common and often reviews briefly the main Points of the Discourse. In one text the Closure tagmeme preceded the Summary. The demonstrative *tanu* *'that'* often introduces the Summary and has the meaning of *'thus'*.

The Closure is formulaic and as for other Discourse types reiterates the topic and includes such statements as *'that is the way of bush rats'*. Finis is as for all Discourses. The Signature is not common. In one text describing his work as a secretary, one narrator finished off the text with "I am Palom Beni, the Bongu Circuit Secretary".

Note the recycling (ABAB) in this first example.

Example 1: A Description of the Sky, by Silim Gurea

Title: Equative Clause

samba kangereg   tuku   pasa  
sky   we.see.it   rel   talk

*'The talk about seeing the sky.'*

## Point 1: Description Paragraph

## Lineament 1: Equative Clause

samba nu dabuk dabuk  
sky it black

## Lineament 2: Simple Sentence

ki mbol nu gau kaukaukge songate  
sun on it cloud white it.covers.it

## Lineament 3: Sequence Sentence

furirte le dabuknu ta mayokka bulu gudomma  
night.comes and its.darkness that appear light many  
mayok kinig  
out they.go

*'The sky is black. In the day time white clouds cover it. At night its blackness appears and many lights appear.'*

## Point 2: Description Paragraph

## Lineament 1: Expansion Paragraph

## Text: Simple Sentence

samba nu ma ndindo ndo mine ndakate  
sky it place one only be it.does.not

## Expansion: Simple Sentence

nu kilke tugu nakmba kumungate  
it ground base all it.is.enough

## Lineament 2: Sequence Sentence

furir dabuknu mayok kinit sulumba bulu gudomma  
night its.blackness outside it.goes and light many  
mayok kinig  
outside they.go

*'The sky doesn't cover just one country. It covers every country. At night its blackness appears and many lights appear.'*

## Point 3: Expansion Paragraph

## Text: Equative Clause

samba nu agaṅ fudiṅdo kuga  
sky it thing small not

## Expansion 1: Equative Clause

nu agaṅ sungokanu  
it thing large

## Expansion 2: Simple Sentence

kilke tugu nakmba kumunganu minit  
ground base all enough it.is

*'The sky is not a small thing. It is a large thing. It covers every country.'*

Finis: Response word

son  
true  
'True.'

Example 2: The Wallaby, by Njamngu

Title: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

ye wangil tuku sanungit  
I wallaby rel I.will.say

Expansion: Equative Clause

ta tenmba  
that like.this

'I will talk about the wallaby. It is like this.'

Point 1: Description Paragraph

Introduction: Equative Clause

wangil nu ngarosu tumail fudin yamok  
wallaby it body face small different

Lineament 1: Simple Sentence

kilbanu armba tange gabatnu lide  
its.ears two that its.head they.leave.it

Lineament 2: Equative Clause

wangil nu wai fag fag  
wallaby it arm short short

Lineament 3: Equative Clause

kupe kuen nayo  
leg long very

Lineament 4: Equative Clause

kupe nyigriḡnu keḡmba  
leg its.digits three

Lineament 5: Equative Clause

wai nyigriḡnu mata keḡmba  
arm its.digits also three

'The wallaby's face and body are a little different (from others).  
Its ears stand out from its head. The wallaby's arms are short; its  
legs are very long; it has three toes and also three fingers.'

Point 2: Explanation Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

wangil nu furir nda likate  
wallaby it night neg it.walks

Reinforcement: Response word

kuga  
no

Explanation: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

nu mafen likate  
it daylight it.walks

Expansion: Counterpart Paragraph

Counterpart 1: Sequence Sentence

mafen likate kumba kinit ka ail kumbau  
daylight it.walks go it.goes asm tree buttress  
sinamnge minyak minit  
inside sit it.stays

Counterpart 2: Sequence Sentence

ait afu kinit ka ire sinamnge minyak  
time some it.goes asm kunai.grass inside sit  
minit  
it.stays

'The wallaby doesn't go about at night. No. It goes about in daylight. It goes about in daylight and sits between the buttress roots of trees. Sometimes it goes and sits in the kunai grass.'

Point 3: Explanation Paragraph

Statement: Merged Sentence

wangil nu mbo age kutude tanamba nu nda  
wallaby it pig dog they.give.birth do.thus it neg  
kutute  
it.gives.birth

Reinforcement: Response word

kuga  
no

Explanation: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Correlation Sentence

nu nuge fungul mbolnge nzaim ngak nzaim sinam  
it its abdomen on pouch with pouch inside  
amo keqmba  
nipple three

Expansion: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

nzaim sinam tange fatnu purode  
pouch inside there its.young they.arrive

Expansion: Simple Sentence

fatnu fonfon ndo nzaim sinam minig  
its.young small very pouch inside they.stay

Buildup 2: Merged Sentence

nzaim sinam tange amo nyumba tange ngue purode  
pouch inside there milk drink there hair they.come

## Buildup 3: Merged Sentence

taḡamba nzaim sinam tange ma ma sugokade  
do.thus pouch inside there asm asm they.grow

## Buildup 4: Sequence Sentence

sugokade sulumba ina nangine kusrede  
they.grow and mother their they.leave.her

## Buildup 5: Merged Sentence

kusremba nangine nangine ndo likade  
leave.her themselves themselves only they.walk

'The wallaby does not give birth as pigs and dogs do. No. It has a pouch on its abdomen and in the pouch are three nipples. Its young arrive there inside the pouch. The young are very tiny when they are in the pouch. There they drink milk and their fur grows. They remain thus inside the pouch until they mature. When they mature they leave their mother. Then they go about by themselves.'

## Point 4: Description Paragraph

## Lineament 1: Equative Clause

wangil tuku nyamḡan ta wan tiḡnu kiya  
wallaby rel food that wan.tree its.seeds ginger.shrub  
tiḡnu nguromuḡ nzu aḡan afu turmba  
its.seeds sweet.potato shoots thing some as.well.as

## Lineament 2: Explanation Paragraph

## Statement: Sequence Sentence

nu isukusam bafuwa sulumba tanu pitik  
it to.eat it.will.be.about.to and that quickly  
nyamḡan ta nye nda  
food that eat neg

## Explanation: Sequence Paragraph

## Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

nu aga inum nyam bafuwa sulumba  
it thing one to.eat it.will.be.about.to and  
tanu paknu nguwa sulumba fufute  
that hot quote and it.blows.on.it

## Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence

fufute le kupit le minge mbolḡe pilit  
it.blows.on.it and it.cools and mouth at it.puts.it

## Buildup 3: Sequence Sentence

pilit sulumba maḡ ngllikate  
it.puts.it and again it.dribbles.it.out

## Buildup 4: Sequence Sentence

ngilikate sulumba maḡ fufute  
it.dribbles.it.out and again it.blows.on.it

## Buildup 5: Sequence Sentence

taṅamba ndeka ngumnenga nyate  
do.thus asm later it.eats.it

*'The wallaby's foods are wan tree seeds, ginger seeds, sweet potato shoots and other things. When it wants to eat it does not eat its food immediately. When it is about to eat something it blows on it as if it is hot. When it cools it puts it into its mouth. It puts it in and then dribbles it out again and blows on it again. After that it finally eats it.'*

## Point 5: Description Paragraph

## Lineament 1: Sequence Paragraph

## Buildup 1: Merged Sentence

tango kangerkumba nu kuakinit  
men see.them it it.flees

## Buildup 2: Merged Sentence

kuakambim saka dadunu ta mbi kilke katte  
to.flee say its.tail that inst ground it.strikes

## Buildup 3: Merged Sentence

le fuduka kinit  
and make.noise it.goes

## Lineament 2: Sequence Paragraph

## Buildup 1: Corollary Sentence

tangonge wangil ulig ta nuge ndeka tui  
men wallaby they.shoot that itself asm spear  
fat tanu sirte  
short that it.inserts.it

## Buildup 2: Simple Sentence

le sinam kinit  
and inside it.goes

## Buildup 3: Merged Sentence

taṅamba nu nuge muroṅ nuge ngaro balete  
do.thus it its self its skin it.kills.it

## Lineament 3: Sequence Paragraph

## Buildup 1: Corollary Sentence

agenge wangil makede ta nu tenmba witite  
dogs wallaby they.bite.it that it like.this it.cries.out  
"sik sik sik" ngate  
sik sik sik it.says

## Buildup 2: Merged Sentence

taṅamba kumit  
do.thus it.dies

*'When it sees men it flees. As it is about to flee it strikes the ground with its tail. It makes a noise as it goes. When men shoot*

*a wallaby it pushes the arrow into itself. It goes right inside. Thus it kills itself. When dogs bite a wallaby it cries out like this, "Sik sik sik," it cries. Crying out like that it dies.*

Summary: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Equative Clause

wangil damar kiye nane tuku kutude  
 wallaby possum bush.rat they rel they.give.birth  
 ndinsuku kisémba  
 way different

Expansion: Equative Clause

nane mbo age tajaḡ kuga  
 they pig dog thus not

*'Wallabies, possums and bush rats have a different way of giving birth. It is not as pigs and dogs do.'*

Finis: Response word

son  
 true  
 'True.'

#### 7.4. HORTATORY DISCOURSE

Hortatory Discourse is characterised by the predominant use of potential and apprehensive tense, first person dual (used in sermons) and second person singular or plural. The Hortatory Discourse is used to communicate sermons, instructions and warnings.

The marker of a new tagmeme depends a great deal on the content of the Discourse. In a Discourse giving advice to a wayward friend the Paragraphs are introduced by time words such as '*before*', '*now*', '*every day*'. When the Hortatory Discourse is used to instruct or warn, new tagmemes are often introduced by a Noun Phrase indicating a new topic or a different aspect of the same topic. Sometimes vocatives indicate the beginning of a new tagmeme. Consequence and Explanation Paragraphs are used frequently in Hortatory Discourse.

#### Hortatory Discourse

| ± Invocation                             | ± Introduction                             | + Point <sup>n=1-7</sup>  | ± Appeal   | + Finis   |
|--|--|---|--|-----------|
| Formulaic<br>Simple S.<br>Explanation P. | Sentence<br>Expansion P.<br>Descriptive D. | Sentence<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P.<br>Counterpart P.<br>Explanation P.<br>Consequence P.<br>Description P.<br>Descriptive D.<br>Hortatory D. | Sequence S.<br>Corollary S.<br>Consequence P.<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P. | Formulaic |

The two obligatory tagmemes are Point and Finis. The Point tagmemes contain the main content of the Discourse including many commands of do's and dont's. Up to seven Points have been found to occur in the limited number of texts studied. Frequently Points of a sermon are manifested by embedded Discourses.

This is the only Discourse genre in which the Finis is obligatory. It has the effect of reinforcing what has been said. It is formulaic and as for all Discourse is manifested by son 'true' or not ndo 'that is all'.

The Appeal usually occurs and in sermons is frequently repeated at the end of each Point. Sometimes it is absorbed into the preceding Point. It sometimes includes a vocative or an exclamation or both. It is usually an appeal or warning to heed the instructions or advice given. Frequently such a Sentence as 'let us think about that' is included. The time word ngumnenga 'later' also features in the filler of the Appeal and is followed by an exhortation on the behaviour anticipated from the listener as a result of the advice or warning given.

The Invocation also commonly occurs and includes a vocative. It is manifested by a Simple Sentence such as 'friend, listen to me'.

The Introduction is manifested by a Sentence or Expansion Paragraph and introduces the main theme. The Introduction and Point 1 are sometimes squeezed into the same Paragraph.

Rhetorical questions are used frequently in this Discourse type.

Example 1: Warning to a Son about a Poisonous Crab, by Silim Gureg

Invocation: Simple Sentence

kiŋo ne isa  
son you you.listen  
'Son, listen to me.'

Introduction: Descriptive Discourse

Introduction: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

agaŋ ande mata mbuŋ mboŋge minit  
thing one also reef on it.is

Expansion 1: Equative Clause

ta yu sinamnge kuga  
that sea in not

Expansion 2: Simple Sentence

mbuŋ mboŋge tabeknge minit  
reef on on.shore it.is

'There is also a thing which lives on the reef. It doesn't live in the sea, it stays out of the water on the reef.'



## Point 1 (of Introduction): Expansion Paragraph

Text: Equative Clause

agaŋ kalbau suk  
*thing kalbau.crab like*

Expansion 1: Correlation Sentence

kalbau tanu nyunu afu kule mbolnge minig ta  
*kalbau.crab that its.name some river on they.are that*  
 nyunu karag  
*its.name karag*

Expansion 2: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

taŋaŋ mbuŋ mbolnge minig  
*same reef on they.are*

Expansion: Description Paragraph

Lineament 1: Equative Clause

ta wainu ngue ŋak  
*that its.arms hairs with*

Lineament 2: Equative Clause

amnu gurgur  
*its.eyes red*

*'It is like a kalbau crab. The name of the kalbau crabs which are in the river is karag. The same kind is on the reef. Its legs have hairs and its eyes are red.'*

## Point 1 (of main Discourse): Explanation Paragraph

Statement: Conditional Sentence

ne tanu kangermba ndeta nu ne nda ta  
*you that see.it if it you neg you.take*

Explanation: Corollary Sentence

ta ne tumba puro piymba nyumba tanu kile ndo  
*that you take.it asm cook.it eat.it that now only*  
 mane tugu pare pilmba ne pasa fugumba ne  
*tongue base stiffness put.it you talk be.unable you*  
 kumamngat  
*you.will.die*

Summary: Equative Clause

agaŋ tanu nayonu  
*thing that bad*

*'If you see that crab, don't catch it. If you catch it and cook and eat it, immediately your tongue will become stiff and you will be unable to speak and you will die. It is a dangerous thing.'*

## Point 2: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

tango pino ɲakmba nane agaŋ tanu kurukurukade  
 men women all they thing that they.fear

Expansion 1: Corollary Sentence

kalbau kilmba tanu kanger tidinga kalbaunu  
 kalbau.crab take.them that look do.carefully kalbau.crab  
 kilmba puro pasoka nyade  
 take.them asm cook they.eat

Expansion 2: Corollary Sentence

agaŋ tanu tango ande tumba purote tanu tango andenge  
 thing that man one take he.comes that man one  
 kangermba tanu "o agaŋ ta ɲayonu le buknga"  
 see.him that oh thing that bad and you.throw.it  
 ngate le bukngate le kuaka kinit  
 he.says and he.throw.it and flee it.goes

'Everyone is afraid of it. When they catch kalbau crabs they inspect them carefully before taking them and cooking and eating them. When a man catches and brings one of those things and another man sees it he says, "That's a dangerous thing, throw it away!" and he throws it away and it runs off.'

## Appeal: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Conditional Sentence

ne ngumnenga agaŋ wainu ngue ɲak kangermba  
 you later thing its.arms hairs with see.it  
 ndetanu agaŋ ta nyunu gar  
 if thing that its.name gar

Expansion: Equative Clause

tango nane gar nyumba kumig tuku  
 men they gar eat they.die rel

Expansion: Counterpart Paragraph

Counterpart 1: Condition Sentence

tanu ngumnenga ne tanu tuku kangermba ndetanu  
 that later you that rel see.it if  
 nda tumba piymba nya  
 neg take.it cook you.eat.it

Counterpart 2: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Corollary Sentence

ne ta piymba nyumba tanu ne kumamngat  
 you that cook eat.it that you you.will.die

Expansion: Merged Sentence

ne tanu rironka ne mayenu ndo minamngat  
 you that watch.out you good only you.will.be

*'Later on if you see a thing with hairs on its legs, that is a gar crab. Men die from eating gar. Thus later on if you see one, don't take and cook and eat it. If you cook and eat it you will die. If you watch out for it you will be alright.'*

Finis: Equative Clause

not ndo  
that only  
'The end.'

Example 2: Advice to a Wayward Friend, by Silim Gureq

Invocation: Explanation Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

mata ne isa  
friend you you.listen

Explanation: Simple Sentence

ye wam pagu pasa ande ne sanamngit  
I matter instruct talk one you I.will.say.to.you

*'Friend, listen to me. I want to give you some advice.'*

Point 1: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

buk ne tumbrangge minna  
before you at.village you.were

Expansion 1: Equative Clause

ne tango mayenu ndo  
you man good very

Expansion 2: Simple Sentence

ne tumbrangge piro qakmba ne kina  
you at.village work all you you.did

*'Before, you lived in the village and you were a good man. You took part in all the work in the village.'*

Point 2: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Merged Sentence

tanu kile ne kumba ka tesin mbolnge minit  
but now you go asm station at you.are

Buildup 2: Sequence Sentence

tesin mbolnge ne piroka ndametiŋ tate sulumba  
station at you work money you.receive and  
mara mindek ne kule nyam piririte  
day every you water to.drink you.tremble

Buildup 3: Sequence Sentence

sulumba ne ndametiŋ kule mbolnge kusrete sulumba  
and you money water on you.leave.it and

ne tuku wamdus mayenu buk tumbranḡe minmba ne  
 you rel thought good before at.village be you  
 tumbranḡe piro mayenu kina ta kile ne nda iduste  
 at.village work good you.did that now you neg you.think

## Buildup 4: Sequence Sentence

sulumba ne wakeimba kile kule nyam tuku kule  
 and you make now water to,drink rel water  
 tuku ndo idusmba ne lulukate sulumba ne  
 rel only think you you.keep returning and you  
 kule nyumba ne nage pino kiḡo kame nda idusingit  
 water drink you your wife child group neg you.think.of.them

*'Now you have gone to live in the town. You work in the town and receive money and you continually crave for liquor. You lose your money on liquor and now you have forgotten the good attitudes you had and the good work you did in the village. You think only of drinking liquor and keep returning for more, and don't give a thought to your wife and children.'*

## Point 2: Sequence Paragraph

## Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

mara mindek tumbranḡ tango tesin mbol kinig ta ne  
 day every village men station to they.go that you  
 kangerkate sulumba tumbranḡ kise purowaig nga ne  
 you.see.them and village different they.came quote you  
 ngumneniḡmba kule nyam tuku pinderkate  
 turn.away.from.them water to,drink rel you.run

## Buildup 2: Expansion Paragraph

## Text: Sequence Sentence

le nane minig ma ma luka puro tumbranḡe nane  
 and they they.are asm asm return asm at.village they  
 ne tuku maḡau kangermba puro tumbranḡe sakade  
 you rel ways see.it asm at.village they.say

## Expansion: Simple Sentence

sungomba sakade  
 many they.say

*'Often when men from the village go to the town, you see them but ignore them as if they were (strangers) from another village, and hurry off to drink liquor. After staying in the town they return to the village and talk about what you are doing. They say a great deal about it.'*

## Point 3: Expansion Paragraph

## Text: Simple Sentence

tango taḡaḡ tane ḡakmba tesin mbolḡe minig  
 man thus you all station at you.are

## Expansion 1: Simple Sentence

ta tumbraṅ tuku maṅau dubi ndade  
*that village rel way follow they.do.not*

## Expansion 2: Simple Sentence

tane tesin mbolnge maṅau kitek dubide  
*you station at way new you.follow.it*

*'All of you men who stay in the town are like that. You don't follow the ways of the village, you follow a new way, in the town.'*

## Appeal: Sequence Paragraph

## Buildup 1: Consequence Paragraph

## Circumstance: Correlation Sentence

ose mata agaṅ ta mbol pinderka ne ngarosu  
*sorry friend thing that on run you body*

ṅayosiliwikat kanu turmba ngisikikat  
*you.might.spoil soul also it.might.be.lost*

## Consequence: Expansion Paragraph

## Text: Simple Sentence

ta tuku idusa  
*that rel you.think*

## Expansion: Equative Clause

ne tango  
*you man*

## Buildup 2: Consequence Paragraph

## Circumstance: Sequence Sentence

wamdusa sulumba ndaṅmba wamdus pilit ta  
*you.think and how thought you.put.it that*

wamdus biye mbilmba nage buk tumbra nge piro  
*thought hold turn your before at.village work*

ndaṅmba kina tanu idus tiwa  
*what you.did that think you.do.well*

## Consequence: Simple Sentence

ta tuku ye pasa te ne wam pagunet  
*that rel I talk this you matter I.instruct.you*

*'I'm sorry for you, friend. You might damage your body and also your soul might be lost. Think about it. You are a man. Think about it, and repent of whatever thoughts you now have and consider well what your way of life was in the village before. So that you will do that I am giving you advice about your ways.'*

## Finis: Response word

son  
*true*

*'True.'*

### 7.5. EPISTOLARY DISCOURSE

Epistolary Discourse is characterised by unlimited tense and person. Although outside influence is obvious in the format of the letters, several features are characteristic of the people's own style.

The beginning of new tagmemes is indicated by vocatives and personal pronouns, by the response word '*yes*' which has the effect of reinforcing what the writer is about to say, and by dates.

When the Message contains something of relative importance, certain devices are used to gain the reader's attention more specifically. The new tagmeme begins with a Sequence Sentence such as '*I will tell you something and you listen*', or else the Message is terminated with the response word *son* '*true*'. When the Message is a request, the new tagmeme often begins with a Simple Sentence such as '*I want you to know this*'. In this way the writer is able to make a need known without directly requesting. When information is needed, the new tagmeme usually begins with '*I have something to ask you*'.

#### Epistolary Discourse

| + Salutation | ± Greeting | ± Preface  | + Messages <sup>n=2-10</sup>  | ± Finis <sup>n=1-2</sup>              | ± Signature | ± Postscript |
|--------------|------------|--|---|---------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| Formulaic    | Formulaic  | Intentional<br>Merg S.<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S.<br>Expansion P. | any Sentence<br>Sequence P.<br>Expansion P.<br>Explanation P.<br>Consequence P. | Formulaic<br>Simple S.<br>Sequence S. | name        | Sequence S.  |

The two obligatory tagmemes are Salutation and Message. Greeting, Preface, Closure, Signature and Postscript are optional tagmemes. In the twenty two letters examined, the Signature was absent in only two and in these the writer was reporting a personal grief. The Preface occurred in twenty of the letters.

When the letter is in response to a letter received, the lexical content of the Preface refers to the letter, the date and time it arrived, the name of the person by whom it was delivered and the fact that it is being answered. When it is a '*thankyou*' letter, the words of thanks are contained in the Preface. Sometimes the Preface will also contain the reason for the delay in answering the letter.

When the letter is initiated by the writer and is not a response to a letter received, the Preface is almost always manifested by an Intentional Merged Sentence such as '*I am coming to speak with you*' or '*to seek you*' or '*to see you*' and so on.

The Finis contains such formulaic Sentences as '*that is all*', '*I have no more talk*', '*now I am going to sleep*'. When the letter is initiated

by the writer and is not a response, the Finis usually contains a command to answer the letter. Up to two Finises can occur.

Up to two Postscripts have been noted and usually the vocative is used to introduce these.

When the writer has a message for someone other than the recipient of the letter, the Salutation is sometimes repeated in the nucleus of the letter to include the other person with an expression such as '*I say hello to you and to your mother*' followed by a message to be relayed to the mother.

Frequently when news items are given in the Messages the Message terminates with the Simple Sentence '*I am telling you so that you will know*'.

Example: A letter from Muke

Salutation

kaiye Magaret  
hello Margaret  
'Margaret, hello.'

Greeting

furir maye Magaret  
night good Margaret  
'Margaret, good evening.'

Preface: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

ye kile ne ndon pasa pasakam purowet  
I now you with talk to.talk I.am.coming

Expansion: Sequence Sentence

au son tumbran̄g tuku wam kubewi le isa  
yes true village rel matter I.will.relate and you.listen  
'I am now coming to talk with you. Yes truly, I will tell you the village news and you listen.'

Message 1: Simple Sentence

sine kile tumbran̄ge sawe mara mara piyit  
we now at.village rain day day it.rains  
'Now in our village it is raining every day.'

Message 2: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

son Dec 4 mbolnge Zizaing age kilmba dune kina  
true December.4 on Zizaing dogs take.them bush she.went  
le mbonge Zizaing fet fetna pine mbolnge fetkam  
and pig Zizaing wound it.wounded buttock on to.wound  
arna  
it.did.twice

## Buildup 2: Correlation Sentence

fel mbolnge fetkam nduina dagol pasi mbolnge  
 thigh on to.wound it.did.once knee joint on  
 silina  
 it.inserted

## Buildup 3: Sequence Sentence

tašana le Dec 5 mbolnge Raikos tumba Malilon  
 it.did.thus and December.5 on Raikos take Modilon  
 kina le doktange samapnalɔ  
 it.went and doctors they.sutured.her

## Buildup n: Simple Sentence

Dec 12 mbolnge turet paskinaig  
 December.12 on thread they.removed

## Terminus: Simple Sentence

kile nu Malilonnge minit son  
 now she at.Modilon she.is true

'Truly, on December 4 Zizaing took dogs to the bush and a wild pig attacked her. It wounded her twice on the buttock and once on the thigh and pierced her knee. On December 5 the Raikos (boat) took her to Modilon hospital and the doctors sutured the wounds. On December 12 they removed the sutures. She is still there, truly.'

## Message 3: Expansion Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

Dec 20 mbolnge Dabi kulim tepilna  
 December.20 on Dabi girl she.gave.birth

Expansion: Equative Clause

kulim ta mayenu ndo  
 girl that good very

'On December 20 Dabi gave birth to a girl. She is a lovely girl.'

## Message 4: Simple Sentence

tango Ipelo kumna  
 man Ipelo he.died

'The man Ipelo died.'

## Message 5: Sequence Paragraph

Buildup 1: Sequence Sentence

au Dec 3 mbolnge sine kindagaten skul tukulnalk  
 yes December.3 on we kindergarten school they.closed  
 le sine medenɔ wande mbol tange sine pagukigen le pa  
 and we church house at there we we.cooked and fire  
 tingina sulumba medenɔ wande ta ugna sulumba Silim  
 it.went.up and church house that it.burned and Silim  
 tuku wande abonu arba ta mata ugna  
 rel house new two that also it.burned



## Buildup 2: Simple Sentence

kile Silim piyo nuge kigo nuge ndon Kite tuku wande  
 now Silim wife his boy his with Kite rel house  
 mbolnge kinymba minig son  
 at sleep they.are true

*'Yes, on December 3 they closed the kindergarten, and as we were preparing the feast in the church house the fire got out of control and burnt the church and Silim's new double house as well. Now Silim and his wife and son are staying in Kite's house, truly.'*

## Finis 1: Equative Clause

ye pasa kuga not ndo  
 I talk no that only

*'I have no more news.'*

## Finis 2: Simple Sentence

ne ye tuku pas lafuwa  
 you I rel letter you.answer

*'You answer my letter.'*

## Signature

ye Muke Mapoy  
 I Muke Mapoy

*'I am Muke Mapoy.'*

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