

SENTENCE STRUCTURE OF GUHU-SAMANE

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1.0 SENTENCE STRUCTURE

1.1 Introduction and Abbreviations

The Guhu-Samane (or Mid-Waria) language is spoken in the Waria valley of the Morobe District of Papua New Guinea. There are some 4,500 speakers, of whom about one fifth currently live outside of the language area. Guhu-Samane is a member of the Binandere Stock of languages and has a lexicostatistical relationship of 17% or 18% with the languages of the Binandere Family within that stock.¹

The following is a tagmemic description of the main elements of Guhu-Samane grammar.² The structure is described from the sentence level down to the morpheme level. The order of description is intended to be economical and to avoid much overlap. In this description the following abbreviations and symbols are used:

A	aspect	ClVIco	coordinate independent verb clause
acc	accusative suffix		
'ad	adversitive enclitic	ClVm	medial verb clause
AJ	adjective	cnt	continuative suffix
AJcon	adjective construction	'CO	co-occurrent enclitic
AJx	pre-nuclear adjective	COMcon	combination construction (of introductory base)
Aug	augment slot		
AV	adverb slot	CON	connective device
AVfn	future negative adverb	cond	condition suffix
AVnfn	non-future negative adverb	cop	concurrence of opinion
AVprob	probable adverb	ct	current tense suffix
AVproh	prohibitive adverb	D	description slot
AVr	repetitive adverb	'D	descriptive enclitic
ax	pre-nuclear attributive	'd	deictic enclitic
Bi	introductory base	del	delimitive suffix
Bm	medial base	dn	denotative
Bp	primary base	dim	diminutive suffix
Bpp	post-primary base	dl	dilatory suffix
Bpt	protatic base	ds	different-subject suffix
Ca	Consonant + vowel a	dsr	different-subject requisite suffix
Co	Consonant + vowel o	EX	exclamatory particle
CV	Consonant + Vowel	F	form
cir	current irrealis suffix	frag	fragmentary utterance
Cl _i	included clause phrase	fs	future subjunctive suffix
Cl _N	noun clause	ft	future tense suffix
Cl _{Nco}	coordinate noun clause	I	intonation
Cl _{Nex}	explanatory noun clause	'i	first degree intensity enclitic
Cl _{VI}	independent verb clause	'i2	second degree intensity enclitic

if	infinitive suffix	pn	past negative suffix
in	intensive suffix	Pr	pronoun
'inf	inferential enclitic	Prd	demonstrative pronoun
int	intimate suffix	Pri	interrogative pronoun
iQcon	internal quotation construction	prn	present negative suffix
'k	adjective enclitic of kind	pro	prohibitive suffix
L	locative phrase	Prp	personal pronoun.
'L	locative enclitic	Prq	quantitative pronoun
<u>M</u>	mood	prt	present tense suffix
Ma	manner slot	ps	past subjunctive suffix
mae	differential or interrogative particle	pt	past tense
<u>Me</u>	exclamatory mood	PURcon	purposive construction
<u>Mi</u>	indicative mood	Qcon	external quotation construction
<u>Mp</u>	potential mood	'r	reference enclitic
<u>M?</u>	interrogative mood	Re	reason slot
n	negative suffix	reg	regressive suffix
N	noun	Res	response
Na	adverbial noun	RES	response particle
Ncon	noun construction	S	subject
Ng	general noun	'S	subject enclitic
Nk	kinship noun	SAL	salutatory particle
Nl	locative noun	sim	summary imperative suffix
Nm	modal noun	'so	adjective of source enclitic
Np	participial noun	'sp	specification enclitic
NP	noun phrase	ss	same subject suffix
NPi	noun phrase indicator	SSN-C	non-conditional sentence type
Npr	proper noun	SSnCl	non-clause sentence type
Nr	response noun	ssr	same subject requisite suffix
Ns	salutatory noun	Te	temporal slot
Nt	temporal noun	TM	tense-mode verb terminal
O	object phrase	unp	unpredictable response
ob	obligative suffix	V	verb stem
'O	oblique enclitic	Vi	intransitive verb stem
Od	direct object	VOC	vocative phrase
Oi	indirect object	VP	verb phrase
op	operative suffix	VPI	independent verb phrase
P	predicate slot	Vt	transitive verb stem
pc	punctilior suffix	xa	post-nuclear attributive
pim	polite imperative suffix	xAJ	post-nuclear adjective
pir	past irrealis suffix	X	nucleus of noun phrase

/	or	±	optional
:	is filled by	∅	zero, absence of form
=	is composed of	~	alternating with
+	obligatory	4-1	intonation levels (high - low)

1.2 Sentence Types

A Guhu-Samane sentence is defined as an utterance terminating in a feature of mood. There are two types of sentences: full sentences and fragmentary sentences.

1.21 Full Sentences

A full (non-fragmentary) sentence is composed of an optional introductory base, an optional medial base if followed by an optional protatic base, another optional medial base, an obligatory primary base, an optional post-primary base, and an obligatory feature of mood.

Full Sentence = ± B_i ± (± B_m + B_{pt}) ± B_m + B_p ± B_{pp} + M

B_p M
 Ana baabe .(2-1)
I came
I have come.

B_{pt} B_p M
 Nii tuumaquko ana tuumakoi.(2-1)
you go.if I go.will M_i
If you go, I will go.

B_i B_m B_{pt} B_p B_{pp}
 Dzoobe, nii tuumaqi, biranataquko, oi isanatakoi ma mee
hello you going arrive.if that suffice.will and fruit

M
 eetakoi .(2-1)
make.will M_i
Hello. If you go and arrive there that will be fine, and it will bear fruit.

1.22 Fragmentary Sentences

A fragmentary sentence is composed of any fragment of a full sentence (usually less than a full clause) plus a feature of mood.

Fragmentary Sentence = + fragment + M

Ika	?(3-1)	Idze	!(4-1)
which(Pri)	<u>M</u> ?	oh(Ex)	<u>Me</u>
Which one?		Oh!	
Oke	.(2-1)		
that(Prd)'O	<u>Mi</u>		
As to that, ...			

2.0 MOOD

Guhu Samane sentences may have any one of four moods: exclamatory, indicative, interrogative, and potential. Contrastive features of the moods are various types of intonation, form and response.

$$\underline{M} = + I + F + \text{Res}$$

2.1 Exclamatory Mood

The exclamatory mood is signalled by an emphatic final high-low (4-1) intonation, represented in the orthography by the exclamation mark, and by the absence of segmental mood form. Response to the exclamatory mood is arrested attention.³

$$\underline{Me} = + I^{4-1} + F^{\emptyset} + \text{Res}^{\text{at}}$$

Noko tuume	!(4-1)	response: Meeke	!(4-1)
they went	<u>Me</u>	really	<u>Me</u>
They have gone!		Really!	

2.2 Indicative Mood

The indicative mood is signaled by a final mid-low (2-1) intonation represented in the orthography by the period and by the absence of segmental mood form. Response to the indicative mood is unpredictable.

$$\underline{Mi} = + I^{2-1} + F^{\emptyset} + \text{Res}^{\text{unp}}$$

Quu taate	.(2-1)
rain fell	<u>Mi</u>
It is raining.	

2.3 Interrogative Mood

The interrogative mood is signalled by the final interrogative particle *mae*, or by a non-appositional interrogative pronoun in the text; and by the elevated-low (3-1) intonation, represented in the orthography by the question mark. The intonation starts at the beginning of the segmental interrogative form and terminates at the end of the utterance. The expected response to the interrogative mood is an answer. The interrogative particle *mae* usually receives an affirmative or a negative answer, and the interrogative pronoun usually receives an informative answer.

$$M? = + I^{3-1} + F^{mae/Pri} + Res^{ans}$$

Nii tuume mae ?(3-1)	response: Oore ana tuume . (2-1)
<i>you went eh M?</i>	<i>yes I went Mi</i>
<i>Did you go?</i>	<i>Yes, I went.</i>

Nii ikata tuume ?(3-1)	response: Ana nagata tuume .(2-1)
<i>you where went M?</i>	<i>I house.to went Mi</i>
<i>Where did you go?</i>	<i>I went to the house.</i>

2.4 Potential Mood

The potential mood is signified by the final potential particle *kaqa* and by the low-low (1-1) intonation, also represented in the orthography by the period. The response to the potential mood is usually concurrence of opinion.

$$Mp = + I^{1-1} + F^{kaqa} + Res^{cop}$$

Noi tuume kaqa .(1-1)	response: Oi isanate .(2-1)
<i>he went probably Mp</i>	<i>that suffices Mi</i>
<i>He probably went.</i>	<i>That is good.</i>

3.0 PRIMARY BASE

The primary base is filled by a noun clause or an independent verb clause.

$$Bp = C1N/C1VI$$

C1N: Oi nagani [.]	C1VI: Abi tuume [.]
<i>that house Mi</i>	<i>man went Mi</i>
<i>That is a house.</i>	<i>The man went.</i>

3.1 Noun Clauses (and Noun Phrases)

The noun clause is composed of an optional subject and an obligatory description slot.⁴

$$ClN = \pm S + D$$

S	D	<u>M</u>	D	<u>M</u>
0-i	naga	.	Ee	mina-ni .
<i>that(Prd)'S house</i>	<u>Mi</u>		<i>tree(Ng) large(xAJ)'D</i>	<u>Mi</u>
<i>That is a house</i>			<i>It is a large tree.</i>	

But before we go on to discuss the subject and description slots we will consider the structure of the noun phrases which so often fill those slots.

Noun phrases (NP) have a remarkably wide distribution in numerous syntactic slots in Guhu-Samane grammar. Each of these phrases may be described as a modification of a "model" noun phrase according to the requirements of the particular slot.

The model noun phrase contains an optional pre-nuclear attributive (ax), an obligatory nucleus (X), an optional post-nuclear attributive (xa), an optional pronoun (Pr), and an optional noun phrase indicator (NPi).

$$NP = \pm ax + X \pm xa \pm Pr \pm NPi$$

X	ax	X	xa	Pr	Npi
Haa [baabe .]	Besaho	abi	mimi	noke-ke	[nanai moota .]
<i>dog came</i>	<u>Mi</u>		<i>ocean's man</i>	<i>great them'O</i>	<i>we saw</i>
<i>A dog [came.]</i>			<i>[We saw] the big men of the seacoast.</i>		<u>Mi</u>

The components of the model noun phrase include nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and enclitics.

(1) Nouns. A Guhu-Samane noun (N) is defined as a form which is optionally inflected by enclitics, and which occurs as the normal filler of the nucleus of a noun phrase. The kinds of nouns are:

adverbial nouns (Na) e.g.	eto	<i>don't</i>	(See 3.21(7))
general nouns (Ng)	oma	<i>rock</i>	
kinship nouns (Nk) e.g.	pai	<i>mother</i>	(This subclass takes -mane as a pluralizer)
locative nouns (Nl) e.g.	pesu	<i>under</i>	(See 3.22)
modal nouns (Nm) e.g.	adzano	<i>swiftly</i>	(See 3.21(6).)
participial nouns (Np) which consist of a verb stem plus the allomorph of the denotative suffix appropriate for most tenses as shown in Chart 2, column 3, p.22:			
e.g.	luu-ma	<i>going</i>	

proper nouns (Npr) e.g.	Matteo	<i>Matthew</i>	
salutatory nouns (Ns) e.g.	kanakana	<i>love</i>	(See 4.4)
temporal nouns (Nt) e.g.	abini	<i>recently</i>	(See 3.21(5))

These kinds of nouns are further illustrated in the appropriate sections of this paper.

(2) Enclitics. In Guhu-Samane the enclitics are phonologically bound to the word to which they are suffixed but grammatically they may be closely related to a whole phrase or clause ending in that word. The enclitics are:

co-occurrent enclitic ('CO)	-ma	(See 3.23)
deictic enclitic ('d)	-ni	-qi (optionally)
descriptive enclitic ('D)	-ni	(See 3.12)
first degree intensity enclitic ('i)	-pa	
second degree intensity enclitic ('i2)	-mu	
kind enclitic ('k)	-noma	(See adjective construction in 3.11)
locative enclitic ('L)	-ta	(See 3.22)
negative enclitic ('n)	-dzara	(It may follow -ni ('D). See 3.12)
oblique enclitic ('O)	-ke	(See 3.2 especially 3.25, 7.6)
reference enclitic ('r)	-ho	(Includes possession. See 3.11)
subject enclitic ('S)	-i	(See 3.11)
source enclitic ('so)	-na	(See adjective construction in 3.11)
specification enclitic ('sp)	-qa	

Of these, the co-occurrent, descriptive, locative, oblique, and subject enclitics normally occur last in a noun phrase to indicate its slot within a clause. (The only items which may follow these enclitics are the negative enclitics which follow the descriptive enclitic and a loose attributive (see below) which follows the other four enclitics.) On the other hand, the kind, reference, and source enclitics occur at the end of a word or noun phrase to indicate its slot within a noun phrase. The deictic, first degree intensity, second degree intensity, and specification enclitics are not slot markers, but constitute an inner layer of enclitics on nouns, pronouns, and adjectives. They may occur in various combinations shown by the following formulas:

+ 'sp ± (+ 'd + 'i ± 'i2) ± 'sp
 + 'sp ± 'i/'i2
 + 'd + 'i ± (+ 'i2 ± 'sp)

No-qa-ke [teete .]

him(Prp)'sp'O struck Mi

He alone [was struck.]

Mai-qa-ni-pa-mu-ho [suruho qaite .]

father(NK)'sp'd'i'i2'r room lit Mi

[It was] very specifically father's [room that caught fire.]

Khameto mimi-qa-pa-i [tuume .] Nee-ni-pa-ke [ana moori .]

boys large(AJ)'sp'i'S went Mi bird(Ng)'d'i'O I saw Mi

The large boys [went.]

[I saw] the very bird.

Naga oo-ni-pa-mu-ta [noi oorai .]

house there(Prd)'d'i'i2'L

[He is] at that specific house.

(3) Pronouns. A pronoun is a form which is optionally inflected by enclitics and which occurs normally in the pronoun slot of a noun phrase. It also occurs in the nucleus slot in the absence of a noun or adjective. The kinds of pronouns are:

demonstrative pronouns (Prd)

interrogative pronouns (Pri)

personal pronouns (Prp)

quantitative pronouns (Prq)

X

O [qaata .]

that(Prd) continued Mi

That [continued there.]

X Pr

Hoo oo [qaata .]

pig(Ng) that(Prd) continued Mi

That particular pig [continued to be there.]

X

Era-ta [ana oorai .]

here(Prd)'L I am Mi

Here [I am.]

The interrogative pronouns (Pri) are ape or apene (plural) *who, what; ika which, where, why, what; and naane what*. The interrogative *ika* also occurs in clauses in apposition to a general, kinship, locative, or proper noun.

X
Ape [oorai ?]
who(Prp) is M?
Who [is there?]

X (apposition) Pr
Dzohane ika tuume no [oorai .]
John(Npr) who(Prp) went he is M
The John who went [is here.]

X
Naane [taate ?]
what(Prp) fell M?
What [fell?]

The personal pronoun also occurs in the pronoun slot. The personal pronouns (Prp) are:

		singular	dual	plural
first	person	ana ~ na	naka	(excl.) nana (incl.) napa
second	person	nii	nipe	nike
third	person	no	nopo	noko

The first person singular *ana* alternates with *na* when suffixed by the reference enclitic *-ho*, the intimate suffix (int) *-me*, or the delimitive suffix (del) *-qe* (alternating optionally with *-qeke*), or the reflexive suffix (refl) *-mae*. The other personal pronouns are likewise suffixed.

X
Nii [baabe .]
you(Prp) came M
You [came.]

X Pr
Hoo no [baabe .]
pig(Ng) he came M
The pig [came.]

ax X
Na-ho khata [taate .]
I(Prp)'r son(Nk) fell M
My son [fell.]

X xa
[No-i] khata no-me
he(Prp)'S son(Nk) he(Prp)-int
[moori .]
saw M
[He saw] his own son.

X
No-qe [baabe .]
he(Prp)-del came M
Only he [came.]

X
Noko-mae [tuume .]
they(Prp)-in went M
They themselves [went.]

The quantitative pronouns (Prq) occur as loose attributives of certain noun phrases such as the object phrase (3.21(2)). They are *gama all*, *susupu together*, and *keke only*.

Noko-i	gama	[tumme .]	Paimane-i	susupu	[oorai .]
they(Prp)'S	all(Prq)	went	Mi	women(Nk)'S	together(Prq) are
They all	[went.]			The women	[are] all [there.]

Hoo-i	keke	[baabe .]
pig(Ng)'S	only(Prq)	came
Only the pig	[came.]	

(4) An adjective is a form which is optionally inflected by enclitics and which normally occurs as the filler of one of the attributive slots of a noun phrase, or in the nucleus slot in the absence of a noun. The post-nuclear adjective (xAJ) occurs normally in the post-nuclear attributive slot and is optionally suffixed by the diminutive suffix (dm) *-bari*. The restricted pre-nuclear adjective (AJx) *qeseba dear* occurs only in the pre-nuclear attributive slot.

X	xa	
abi	mina	[baabe .]
man	big(xAJ)	came
The big man	[came.]	

ax	X	
Qeseba	khata	[oorai .]
dear(AJx)	son(Nk)	is
The dear son	[is here.]	

X	
Samane	[oota .]
many(xAJ)	are
[There are]	many.

X	xa
Muri	ba-bari [oori .]
oranges(Ng)	ripe-dim were
[There were]	ripening oranges.

3.11 Subject Slot

The subject slot of a noun clause is optional and occurs in initial position. It is filled by a noun phrase with obligatory subject phrase indicator.

The nucleus of the subject phrase is usually filled by a general noun, kinship noun (plural is formed by suffix *-mane*) or proper noun. However it may be filled by an adverbial, locative, participial, proper or temporal noun, or by a noun construction, or in the absence of one of these it is filled by an adjective, a pronoun, or an adjective construction. (A noun construction consists of nouns in apposition, or co-ordinated by the particle *ma and* or *mae or*, or an independent verb clause. An adjective construction consists of adjectives in apposition,

or co-ordinated by the particle *ma* or *mae*; or a noun or independent verb clause plus *-noma* the enclitic of kind, *-na* the enclitic of source, or by the reference enclitic *-ho*.)

The optional pre-nuclear attributive is filled by the restricted pre-nuclear adjective *qeseba* *dear* or one of the following succeeded by the reference enclitic *-ho*: a noun, noun construction, adjective, adjective construction, or pronoun.

The optional post-nuclear attributive is normally filled by an adjective. It may also be filled by an adjective construction.

The pronoun slot is optionally filled by a pronoun.

The phrase indicator is the subject enclitic *-i* which is obligatory.

Subject Phrase = \pm ax: qeseba/(N/Ncon/AJ/AJcon \pm 'r)
 + X: (Na/Ng/Nk/Nl/Nm/Np/Npr/Nt/Ncon/AJ/AJcon/Pr)
 \pm xa: (AJ/AJcon) \pm Pr: Pr + NP1: -i

X	NP1		ax	X	xa
Dzohane-i	[o-ni .]		Abi-ho	naga	mina
John(Np)'S	that(Prd)'D	<u>Mi</u>	man(Nk)'r	house(Ng)	big(xAJ)
[That is] John.			Pr NP1		
			o-i	[o-ni .]	
			that(Prd)'S	that(Prd)'D	<u>Mi</u>
			[That is]	the man's big	house.

ax	X	Pr NP1
No-ho	bebe	o-i [bamu .]
he(Prp)'r	wait(Na)	that(Prd)'S not <u>Mi</u>
[It will not be well]	to wait	for him.

ax	X	NP1
Qeseba	mai-mane-i	[tuume-ni .]
dear(AJx)	father(Nk)-pl'S	went'D <u>Mi</u>
The dear fathers	[went.]	

ax	X	NP1
Naga	pesu-i	[qanga .]
house(Ng)	underneath(NL)'S	bad(xAJ) <u>Mi</u>
The area under the house	[is bad.]	

X	NP1
Saubapo-i	[kharata oorai o-ni .]
midnight(Nt)'S	far-at is that(Prd)'D <u>Mi</u>
[It is a long time until]	midnight.

X Pr NP1
 Hoo ma haa nopo-i [mimi .]
pig(Ng) and dog(Ng) they.two(Prp)'S large(xAJ) M1
The pig and the dog [are large.]

X NP1 X Pr NP1
 Noko-i [taata-noma-ni .] Atapa tuume o-i [bage-noma .]
They.pl(Prp)'S fall'k'D M1 woman(Ng) went that(Prd)'S good(Ng)'k M1
They [are the kind who fall.] [It is well that] the woman went.

Pr NP1 Pr
 no-i [baaqi erata oora ama-ni .]
he'S coming here is absence(Ng)'D M1
He came but is not here.

3.12 Description Slot

The description slot of a noun clause occurs finally. It is filled by a noun phrase with the optional negative enclitic *-dzara* ('n). The nucleus is filled by any adverbial, general, kinship, locative, participial, proper, temporal, or negative noun, or noun construction, or in the absence of one of these it is filled by an adjective, adjective construction or by a pronoun.

The optional pre-nuclear attributive is filled by any noun, noun construction, adjective, or adjective construction, followed optionally by the reference enclitic *-ho*.

The optional post-nuclear attributive is filled by an adjective or adjective construction.

The optional pronoun slot is filled by a pronoun.

The noun phrase indicator is the optional descriptive enclitic *-ni*.

Description Phrase = ± ax: (N/Ncon ± 'r) + X: (N/Ncon) ± xa:
 (AJ/AJcon) ± Pr: Pr ± NP1: 'D ± 'n

ax X xa Pr NP1
 [0-i] naga-ho ttittira qanga o-ni [.]
that'S house(Ng)'r ridge.pole(Ng) bad(AJ) that(Prd)'D M1
[That] is a poor ridgepole for a house.

X NP1 'n
 [No-i] abi-ni-dzara [.]
he'S man(Ng)'D'n M1
[He] is not a man.

3.2 Independent Verb Clause

The independent verb clause is composed of an optional subject slot, an optional locative slot, an optional co-occurrent slot and an obligatory predicate slot.

$$\text{CLVI} = \pm \text{S} \pm \text{L} \pm \text{CO} + \text{P}$$

S	CO	L	P	P
Ana	abi-ma	erata	oorai [.]	Tuumaa [!]
<i>I</i>	<i>man-with</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>Go</i>
			<u>Mi</u>	<u>Me</u>
			<i>I am here with a man.</i>	<i>Go!</i>

3.21 Predicate Slot

The Guhu-Samane predicate⁵ is located in final position of a verb clause, although certain of its optional segments may occur earlier as features of clause level focus. The predicate is essentially an action oriented complex of phrases of which the final one is obligatory. These phrases are: adverb, manner, temporal, reason, included clause, object and verb.

$$\text{P} = \pm \text{AV} \pm \text{Ma} \pm \text{Te} \pm \text{Re} \pm \text{Cli} \pm \text{O} + \text{VP}$$

	AV	Te	Re	Ma	Cli	VP
[No]	bamu	poike	o-ho	quba	ao	isanate tummaqu [.]
	<i>he</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>now</i>	<i>that-'r</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>already</i> <i>adequating</i> <i>go.would</i> <u>Mi</u>
[He]	<i>must surely not already go now for that reason.</i>					

	AV	Te	Re	Ma	Cli	O	VP
[No]	eto	iihai	na-ho	quba	gisa-ke	ikabeteqi	no-ke teetaino [.]
	<i>he</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>tomorrow</i>	<i>me-'r</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>quick-'0</i>	<i>what.doing</i> <i>him-'0</i> <i>strike.pro</i> <u>Mi</u>
[He]	<i>must not strike him quickly for me in some manner tomorrow.</i>						

VP

Qaatare [.]
cease Mi
Stop.

(1) Independent Verb Phrase (VPI). The independent verb phrase is composed of an optional augment immediately before the verb, plus an obligatory verb stem, aspect suffixes, and tense-mode suffixes.

$$\text{VPI} = \pm \text{Aug} + \text{V} + \text{A} + \text{TM}$$

(a) Tense-Mode. The tense-mode slot terminates an independent verb. It is filled by any one of the third order verb suffixes:

- ta past tense (pt) indicates a time prior to last midnight.
 No-i tuu-ma-ta .
he'S go-dn-pt Mi
He went.
- ri ~ Ø current tense (ct) indicates a near past, a time from last midnight to the present. The form is zero when preceded by the denotative suffix (dn).
 Haa tuu-mo-ri . Hoo tuu-me-Ø .
dog go-op-ct Mi pig go-dn-ct Mi
The dog was going. The pig went.
- bi ~ -i present tense (prt). The form is -i when preceded by the continuative suffix (cnt).
 Nee tuu-Ø-su-bi . Abi tuu-mo-ra-i .
bird go-dn-pc-prt Mi man go-op-cnt-prt Mi
The bird is going. The man is going.
- koi future tense (ft).
 Nii tuu-ma-koi .
you go-dn-ft Mi
You will go.
- pu ~ -mu past subjunctive (ps). The form is -mu before the regressive suffix (reg) (7.5).
 No tuu-ma-pu . No tuu-mo-ra-mu-ti baa-Ø-ta .
he go-dn-ps Mi he go-op-cnt-ps-reg come-dn-pt Mi
He might have gone. Having gone for a while, he returned.
- qu future subjunctive (fs).
 Atapa tuu-ma-qu .
woman go-dn-fs Mi
The woman could go.
- rota past irrealis (pir) refers to a time prior to last midnight.
 Khata tuu-ma-rota .
child go-dn-pir Mi
The child would have gone (yesterday).
- rori current irrealis (cir) includes near past, present, and future.
 Khata tuu-ma-rori .
child go-dn-cir Mi
The child would have gone (today).

-o polite imperative (pim)

Nii tuu-mo-o .
you go-op-pim Mi
You may go.

-a summary imperative (sim).

Nii tuu-ma-a !
You go-dn-sim Me
Go!

-re infinitive (if) is also used as an imperative and hortative.

Nana tuu-ma-re .
we go-dn-if Mi
Let's go.

-ridzo obligative (ob).

Gope tuu-ma-ridzo .
rat go-dn-ob Mi
The rat must go.

-ino prohibitive (pro) may have the prohibitive adverb etoqa ~ eto co-occurring with it in the clause.

Pai eto tuu-ma-ino .
mother not(AVproh) go-dn-pro Mi
Mother must not go.

-ra past negative (pn) refers to any time in the past and may have the non-future negative adverb teqaha ~ te co-occurring with it in the clause.

Ana te tuu-ma-ra .
I not(AVnfn) go-dn-pn Mi
I did not go.

-idzara present negative (prn).

No tuu-mo-ra-idzara .
he go-op-cnt-prn Mi
He does not go.

(b) Aspect. The aspect slot is obligatory to all verb forms, both independent and medial. It is filled by an obligatory first order suffix plus an optional second order suffix. The first order denotative suffix (dn) may be followed by the second order punctiliar suffix (pc), and the first order operative suffix (op) may be followed by the second order continuative suffix (cnt).

$$A = (+ \text{dn} \pm \text{pc}) / (+\text{op} \pm \text{cnt})$$

Chart 1 shows which of these four aspect suffixes and combinations may co-occur with each of the third order tense/mode suffixes.

-dn-pt	-dn-pc-pt	-op-pt	
-dn-ct		-op-ct	
	-dn-pc-prt		-op-cnt-prt
-dn-ft			-op-cnt-ft
-dn-ps		-op-ps	-op-cnt-ps
-dn-fs			-op-cnt-fs
-dn-pir			-op-cnt-pir
-dn-cir			-op-cnt-cir
		-op-pim	
-dn-sim			
-dn-if			-op-cnt-if
-dn-ob	-dn-pc-ob		-op-cnt-ob
-dn-pro			-op-cnt-pro
-dn-pn			-op-cnt-pn
	-dn-pc-prn		-op-cnt-prn

-dn-ss	-dn-pc-ss	-op-ss	-op-cnt-ss
-dn-ds	-dn-pc-ds	-op-ds	-op-cnt-ds
-dn-ssr	-dn-pc-ssr	-op-ssr	
-dn-dsr	-dn-pc-dsr	-op-dsr	

CHART 1: OBSERVED COMBINATIONS OF ASPECT AND TENSE-MODE SUFFIXES

-C V ~ Ø denotative has a large number of allomorphs controlled by verb stem subclass and tense-mode as indicated in Chart 2. The denotative suffix occurring alone presents an event or action in a neutral way. In medial verbs the denotative suffix alone signifies a loose temporal or logical relationship with the succeeding verb.

[Naho oko] suu-ba-ta	[.]	[Noho oko] suu-be-Ø	[.]
<i>My foot slip(B)-dn-pt</i>	<i>Mi</i>	<i>His foot slip(B)-dn-ct</i>	<i>Mi</i>
<i>My foot slipped out (yesterday)</i>		<i>His foot slipped out (today)</i>	

[Oke] sari-dza-koi [.]
That find(DzØ)-dn-ft M1
That will be found

[Noi] tuu-me-Ø [.]
He go(Msu)-dn-ct M1
He went

[Noi] tuu-Ø-suhi-ta [.]
He go(Msu)-dn-pc-pt M1
He was going right then

[Eeke] dzoo-to-ta [.]
Wood chop(TØso)-dn-pt M1
The wood was chopped

[Eeke] dzoo-Ø-so-bi [.]
Wood chop(TØso)-dn-pc-ct M1
The wood is being chopped

Bm Bp
 [Noi] baa-Ø-qi birana-
He come(BQØhu)-dn-ss arrive
te-Ø [.]
(TØso)-dn-ct M1
He came and (at last) arrived

-hi ~ -Ø ~ -su(hi) ~ -so(hi) ~ hu(hi) punctiliar (pc) has its allomorphs controlled by verb stem subclass as indicated in Chart 2. The denotative and punctiliar suffixes occurring together signify an action or event at a particular point in time. In medial verbs these two suffixes together indicate a close temporal relationship (either simultaneity or immediate sequence) to the succeeding verb.

[Nuupu] okasa-ba-hi-ta [!]
gourd burst(B)-dn-pc-pt Me
[The gourd] burst at that moment.

Bm Bp
 [Noi hau] kui-Ø-hi-mi [ana] moo-Ø-ta [.]
He mud wipe(M)-dn-pc-ds I see(RQØhi)-dn-pt M1
[I] saw him wiping away [the mud].

Bm Bp
 [Ana] baa-Ø-hu-mi [noko] tuu-Ø-suhi-ri [.]
I come(BQØhu)dn-pc-ds they go(Msu)-pc-ct M1
[I] was coming at the very moment [they] were going.

Bm Bp
 [Noi ee] dzoo-Ø-so-qi taa-Ø-te [.]
He tree chop(TØso)-dn-pc-ss fall(TØsu)-dn-ct M1
[He] was chopping [the tree] and fell.

-Co ~ -Ø operative has allomorphs controlled by verb stem subclass as indicated in Chart 2. The operative suffix occurring alone signifies an event or action in process. In medial verbs the operative suffix alone shows a process in a generalized time relationship with the succeeding verb.

[Sisima] una-to-ta [.]

Ship dock(TØ)-op-pt M_i

[The ship] was docking.

Bm

Bp

[Ana noo] hii-ro-mi [nike] noo-ko-ta [.]

I word speak(BRØhi)-op-ds you hear(K)-op.pt M_i

[You] were listening as [I] was speaking.

[Noi penga] ruruho-ro-ri [.]

He brow wrinkle(BRhi)-op-ct M_i

[He] kept on frowning.

Bm

Bp

[Nokoi] habe-so-qi [uta] ai-ma-ta [mae ?]

They sit(S)-op-ss wind take(Mhi)-dn-pt eh M?

As they were sitting there did they rest?

[Noi oke ngaata] bii-ro-ta [.]

He it bush.in throw(DZRØhi)-op-pt M_i

[He] was throwing [it into the bush].

-ra continuative. The operative and continuative suffixes occurring together indicate the continuation of a process. In medial verbs these two suffixes together show a process having an ongoing temporal or logical relationship with the succeeding verb.

[Ana baura] ee-to-ra-koi [.]

I work do(TØsu)-op-ct-ft M_i

[I] will continue doing [my work].

Bm

Bp

[Noi patta] muu-no-ra-mi [saubapo] dzeu-ba-ta [.]

He food eat(Nhi)-op-ct-ds midnight glide(B)-dn-pt M_i

He continued eating food until midnight.

Bpt

Bp

[Nokoi] tuu-mo-ra-qu-to-ke birana-ta-koi [.]

They go(Msu)-op-ct-fs-reg-dil appear(TØsu)-dn-ft M_i

[As they] continue to go they will eventually arrive.

Bpt

Bp

[Oke] noo-ko-ra-rori-he [bamu .]

That hear(K)-op-ct-cir'ad none M_i

[It] should have had a complete hearing, but [it did not].

(c) Verb Stems. All verb stems end in a vowel. In the dialects of Guhu-Samane which are geographically peripheral the verb stems fall into 12 subclasses which control the allomorphs of the denotative and operative suffixes as set off by the horizontal lines. In these dialects the punctiliar suffix is *-pihi*. However, in the central dialect the punctiliar suffix has several allomorphs, and because of their vagaries the 12 subclasses are further subdivided to result in about 26 subclasses as shown in the final column of Chart 2. Furthermore, whereas in the peripheral dialects the denotative suffix is always *-Ca* preceding punctiliar *-pihi*, in the central dialect the denotative is *-Ca ~ Ø* preceding the punctiliar.

Peripheral dialect:	No	<i>tuu-Ø-suhi-bi</i>	.
Central dialect:	No	<i>tuu-ma-pihi-bi</i>	.
		<i>he go(VMsu)-dn-pc-prt M1</i>	
		<i>He is going.</i>	
Peripheral dialect:	No	<i>dzao-Ø-Ø-bi</i>	.
Central dialect:	No	<i>dzao-ma-pihi-bi</i>	.
		<i>he row(VMØ)-dn-pc-prt M1</i>	
		<i>He is rowing.</i>	
Peripheral dialect:	No	<i>torou-ma-hi-bi</i>	.
Central dialect:	No	<i>torou-ma-pihi-bi</i>	.
		<i>he run(VM)-dn-pc-prt M1</i>	
		<i>He is running.</i>	

Some typical verb stems are listed below in their subclasses:

B	<i>suu-</i>	<i>slip out,</i>	<i>okasa-</i>	<i>burst</i>
BØ	<i>gai-</i>	<i>go down</i>		
Bhi	<i>asaqo-</i>	<i>err (in speech)</i>		
DzØ	<i>qori-</i>	<i>arise,</i>	<i>sari-</i>	<i>find, encounter</i>
H	<i>ii-</i>	<i>chase, follow</i>		
K	<i>noo-</i>	<i>hear, hearken</i>		
M	<i>torou-</i>	<i>run,</i>	<i>kui-</i>	<i>wipe, scrape</i>
Mhi	<i>gii-</i>	<i>dip, fetch,</i>	<i>abaqo-</i>	<i>be ashamed</i>
MØ	<i>hiiqo-</i>	<i>bounce,</i>	<i>dzao-</i>	<i>row, paddle</i>
Msu	<i>tuu-</i>	<i>go</i>		
Nhi	<i>muu-</i>	<i>eat, drink, assimilate</i>		
S	<i>habe-</i>	<i>sit,</i>	<i>muu-</i>	<i>weed, uu-</i>
T	<i>beena-</i>	<i>summon, bobo-</i>	<i>come before,</i>	<i>bito-</i>
TØ	<i>una-</i>	<i>dock (a ship), ttapui-</i>	<i>console, comfort</i>	

Verb stem subclass	No. of stems	Allomorphs of the denotative suffix in the absence of the punctiliar suffix					Allomorphs of the operative suffix	Allomorphs of the denot. + punct. suffixes preceding present tense suffix -bi:	
		before most tenses	before current tense -ri ~ -ø	before past tense suffix -ta and after:				variants in the central dialect	additional variants for Kipu minority
				i, e	a	o, u			
B	24	-ba	-be	-ba	-ba	-ba	-bo	-ba-hi	-ba-ø
Bø	1	-ba	-be	-ba			-bo	-ø-hi	-ø-ø
Bhi	1	-ba	-be			-ba	-bo	-ø-hi	-ba-hi
Dzø	2	-dza	-dze	-dze			-dzo	-ø-hi	-ø-ø
H	1	-ha	-he	-ha			-ho	-ha-hi	-ha-ø
K	1	-ka	-ke			-ka	-ko	-ka-hi	-ka-ø
M	50	-ma	-me	-ma	-ma	-ma	-mo	{ -ø-hi -ma-hi	{ -ø-ø -ma-ø
Mhi	4	-ma	-me	-ma		-ma	-mo	{ -ø-hi -ma-hi	
Mø	5	-ma	-me		-ma	-ma	-mo	-ø-hi	-ø-ø
Msu	1	-ma	-me			-ma	-mo	{ -ø-suhi -ø-su -ma-hi	-ma-ø
Nhi	1	-na	-ne			-na	-no	-ø-hi	-na-hi
S	1	-sa	-se	-se			-so	{ -ø-hi	{ -ø-ø -sa-hi
Sk	2	-sa	-se			-se	-so	-sa-hi	-sa-ø
T	3	-ta	-te		-te	-to	-to	{ -ø-hi	{ -ø-ø -ta-hi
Tø	91	-ta	-te	-te	-te	-to	-to	-ø-hi	-ø-ø
Tø(su)	30	-ta	-te	-te	-te		-to	{ -ø-suhi -ø-su -ø-hi	-ø-ø
Tøsu	14	-ta	-te	-te	-te	-to	-to	{ -ø-suhi -ø-su	
Tøso	3	-ta	-te			-to	-to	{ -ø-sohi -ø-so	
BR	5	-ba	-re		-ro	-ro	-ro	{ -ø-hi	{ -ø-ø -ba-hi -ba-ø
BRhi	2	-ba	-re			-ro	-ro	-ø-hi	-ba-hi
BRø	10	-ba	-re		-ro	-ro	-ro	-ø-hi	-ø-ø
BRøhi	6	-ba	-re	-re		-ro	-ro	-ø-hi	
DzRø	14	-dza	-re	-re		-ro	-ro	-ø-hi	-ø-ø
DzRøhi	18	-dza	-re	-re		-ro	-ro	-ø-hi	
Bøøhu	1	-ba	-be		-ø		{ -bo -(q)o	{ -ø-huhi -ø-hu	
RQø	1	-ra	-ri		-ø		{ -ro -ø	{ -ø-hi -ø-ø	
RQøhi	3	-ra	-ri			-ø	{ -ro -(q)o -ø	-ø-hi	

CHART 2: ALLOMORPHS OF DENOTATIVE, OPERATIVE, AND PUNCTILIAR SUFFIXES

TØ(su)	sahate-	start (startle), naa- become (Stems ending in e change to o when followed by denotative plus punctiliar allomorphs -Ø-hi or -Ø-Ø.)
TØsu	tii-	roll, spread out, qangaqi- ruin
TØso	dzoo-	chop, moo- put, qoo- break
BR	soho-	begin, dza- plant, wear
BRhi	soo-	blossom, ruruho-wrinkle
BRØ	saa-	close, cover, hii- speak
BRØhi	too-	shoot, sii- close
DzRØ	totosi-	hang around the neck, abani- cook
DzRØhi	bii-	throw, cast, ahebu- set aside
BQØhu	baa-	come
RQØ	qaa-	stay
RQØhi	oo-	be, moo- look, see, mee- sleep

A few transitive verb stems in subclasses T(rumu- pluck), TØsu (hii- extinguish), TØ (qoha- split, hottou- pierce, uhu- tear, saapo- bend), M (suu- pluck, kui- slide, geqo- break), and MØ (sigu- uncover, hiu- remove) also occur in subclass B as intransitive verbs with the same or very similar meanings (e.g. hii- go out).

(d) Augment. The augment (Aug) slot immediately precedes that of the transitive verb. It is filled by a noun phrase in which the nucleus is filled by either an adverbial noun or a participial noun. The optional post-nuclear attributive is filled by an adjective. The pronoun slot position is not filled.

Augment phrase = ± ax: ((N/Ncon/AJ/AJcon) ± 'r) + X: (Na/NP) ± ax:
AJ ± NP1: 'O

The adverbial and the participial nouns usually occur in this slot modifying the action of the verb.

ax	X	xa	NP1	
[Ana]	no-ho	bebe	mina-ke	[ee-te-Ø .]
I	he(Prp)'r	wait(Na)	big(AJ)'O	did-dn-ct <u>Mi</u>
[I]	am waiting a long time for him.			

X	NP1	
[No ana]	tee-ta-ke	[upadzo-me-Ø .]
he me	strike-dn(Np)'O	think-dn-ct <u>Mi</u>
[He is planning]	to strike [me.]	

X	
[Ana]	tuu-ma-ama [naa-ta-koi .]
I	go-dn(Np)-without become-dn-ft <u>Mi</u>
[I will]	not go.

(2) Object Phrase. The Predicate may contain none, one, or two object phrases. These function as the direct object (Od) and/or the indirect object (Oi). The object phrase always precedes the verb and often it immediately precedes the verb phrase. If two object phrases occur they are usually together and the indirect object is usually the first of the two.

Object phrase = ± ax: ((N/Ncon/AJ/AJcon) ± 'r)
 + X: (Na/Ng/Nk/Nl/Nm/Np/Npr/Nt/Ncon/AJ/AJcon/
 Pr)
 ± xa: (AJ/AJcon) ± Pr:Pr ± NP1: 'O ± Prq:Prq

Thus apart from the optional oblique clitic *-ke* instead of the obligatory subject clitic *-i*, the object phrase has the same fillers in its slots as the subject phrase. Some examples of direct object follow.

X xa
 Khata no-me [no moori .]
 son(Nk) he(Prp)-int he(Prp) saw Mi
 [He saw] his own son.

ax X xa PrS NP1 Prq
 Qaa abi samane noko-ke gama [ana teete .]
 war(Ng) man(Ng) many(xAJ) them(Prp)'O all(Prq) I stuck Mi
 [I killed] all of the many warriors.

When the utterance verb *hii-* (VBRØhi) *speaks* occurs in connection with a direct quotation the demonstrative pronoun occurs optionally in the direct object slot (the external quote is remote. See 6.4).

No era-ke hii-re-ta Ana tuume .
 he(Prp) this(Prd)'O say(VBRØhi)-dn-pt I went Mi
 This is what he said, "I went."

Some examples of indirect object follow.

Ana hoo-ke abi-ke moite .
 I pig(Ng)'O man(Ng)'O gave Mi
 I gave the man a pig.

No-i Dzohane-ke oba perebire .
 he(Prp)'S John(Np)'O water poured Mi
 He poured John some water.

(3) Included Clause Phrase. The included clause phrase (Cl_i) is optional and occurs close to the verb phrase, usually immediately preceding the object phrase. The filler may be a medial verb clause (ClV_m) (see § 5), a purpose construction (PURcon) or an internal quotation construction (iQcon). The included clause phrase is normally syntactically inside the main clause and modifies the verb phrase of the main clause. (By 'main clause' is meant, not the Primary Base of the sentence, but any clause of a sentence that acts as the matrix clause within which the included clause is embedded.)

[Ana] ota isanate [tuu-ma-koi .]
I there sufficing(ClV_m) go-dn-ft Mi
I will surely go there.

The purposive construction consists of an independent verb clause terminating in the infinitive or future suffix plus the optional accusative suffix -iqi ~ iqa (in free alternation).

PURcon = + ClVI + if/ft ± acc

[No] erata qaa-ra-re-iqi [baa-ba-koi .]
he here remain-dn-if-acc come-dn-ft Mi
[He is coming] to remain here.

[No-i] ana tee-ta-re [baa-Ø-ta .]
he'S me strike-dn-if come-dn-pt Mi
[He came] to strike me.

The internal quotation construction is composed of the optional (but usually occurring) special uninflected form hee of the verb stem hii- *speak* plus the quotation plus the accusative suffix -iqi ~ -iqa.

iQcon = ± hee + quotation + acc

The verb phrase which follows contains one of the verb stems hii- *speak* (VBRØ), qupadzo- *think* (VMh1), or qee- *write* (VTØsu).

[No] hee, Dzoobe-iqi [hiire .]
he says hello-acc said Mi
He said hello.

[No] nii-ke Baa-ba-re-iqa [hii-ba-koi .]
he you'O come-dn-if-acc say-dn-ft Mi
He will tell you to come.

[Ana] hee, No tuu-ma-koi-qi [qupadzo-me-Ø .]
I say he come-dn-ft-acc think-dn-ct Mi
I think he will come.

[No-i] ana hee tuu-ma-ino-iqi [qee-te-ta .]
he'S I says come-dn-pro-acc write-dn-pt Mi
He wrote telling me not to go.

(4) Reason Phrase. The reason phrase is a noun phrase which signifies reason or benefaction. The nucleus is filled by the general noun quba *thing, for*. The pre-nuclear attributive is filled by a noun or noun construction; an adjective or adjective construction; or a pronoun with an optional reference enclitic. The post-nuclear and pronoun slots do not occur. The oblique phrase indicator -ke is optional.

Reason Phrase = ± ax: (N/Ncon/AJ/AJcon/CPr ± 'r)
 + X: quba ± NP1: 'O

ax X
 No-ho quba [ana gaibe .]
he(Prp)'r thing(Ng) I descended Mi
[I went down] for him.

ax X NP1
 Abi samane quba-ke [no baabe .]
man(Ng) many(xAJ) thing(Ng)'O he came Mi
[He came] because of many people.

ax
 No baa-te-Ø-ho quba [mai tuume .]
he(Prp) die-dn-ct'r thing(Ng) father went Mi
Because he died [his father left.]

(5) Temporal Phrase. The temporal phrase is a noun phrase in which the nucleus is filled by a temporal noun, the prenuclear attributive slot is optional and the oblique noun phrase indicator -ke is obligatory.

Temporal Phrase = ± ax + X: Nt + NP1: 'O

The temporal nouns occur chiefly in this phrase.

X NP1
 Aruku-ke [no baateta .]
yesterday'O he died Mi
[He died] yesterday.

ax X NP1
 O-ho saunaba-ke [nee taateta .]
that'r morning'O bird fell Mi
[The plane landed] that morning.

(6) Manner Phrase. The manner phrase is a noun phrase in which the nucleus is filled by a modal noun; the pre-nuclear attributive slot is optional; the post-nuclear attributive does not occur; and the noun phrase indicator is obligatory and is filled by the oblique phrase enclitic -ke.

Manner Phrase = ± ax + X: Nm + NPi: 'O

The modal nouns occur only in this phrase.

X	NPi		ax		X	NPi
[Nana]	gisa-ke	[tuume .]	[Ana]	bare	ama-ke	[oorai .]
<i>we</i>	<i>speed(Nm)</i> 'O	<i>went</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>skirt(Ng)</i>	<i>absence</i> 'O	<i>am</i>
[<i>We went</i>]	<i>quickly.</i>	<i>Mi</i>	[<i>I have no clothes.</i>]			<i>Mi</i>

(7) Adverb Phrase. The adverb phrase consists of any one of five adverbs:

bamu	<i>not</i> , the future negative adverb which is associated with verb phrases in the future subjunctive;
teqaha ~ te	(in free variation) <i>not</i> , the non-future negative adverb which is associated optionally with verb phrases in the past negative or present negative;
porei	<i>probably</i> , the probable adverb;
etoqa ~ eto	(in free variation) <i>don't</i> , the prohibitive adverb which is associated optionally with verb phrases in the prohibitive;
	or
paha	<i>again</i> , the repetitive adverb.

Nii bamu moo-ra-qu .
you not(AVfn) see-dn-fs Mi
You will not look.

Ana teqaha isai-ta-ra
I not(AVnfn) read-dn-pn
I did not read.

No te moo-qo-ra-idzara .
he not(AVnfn) look-op-cnt-prn Mi
He doesn't look.

Porei abi tuume .
probably(AVprob) man went Mi
The man probably went.

Etoqa ni-ke taa-ta-ino !
don't(AVpro) you'O fall-dn-pro Me
Don't fall!

No-i paha pei-ta-qu mae?
he'S again(AVr) ascend-dn-fs eh M?
Will he go up again?

3.22 *Locative Slot*

The locative (L) slot is optional. It is filled by a noun phrase in which the nouns occurring in the noun slots are general or locative, and the locative clitic *-ta* is obligatory. The sense may occasionally be temporal.

Locative Phrase = \pm ax + X: (Ng/Nl/Ncon/Pr + NP1: 'L

X	NP1		ax	X	NP1
[No]	naga-ta	[oorai .]	Oho	hee-ta	[ana oorai]
	<i>he house</i> (Ng)'L	<i>is</i> <u>Mi</u>		<i>That'r top</i> (Nl)'L	<i>I am</i>
	[<i>He is</i>] <i>at the house.</i>			[<i>I am</i>] <i>on top of that.</i>	

[Nii]	saubapo-ta	o-ta	[tuume .]
	<i>you midnight</i> (Ng)'L	<i>that</i> (Prd)'L	<i>went</i> <u>Mi</u>
	[<i>You went</i>] <i>there at midnight.</i>		

3.23 *Co-occurrent Slot*

The co-occurrent (CO) slot is optional. It is filled by a noun phrase in which the noun phrase enclitic *-ma* is obligatory. The co-occurrent phrase normally occurs following the subject phrase but not necessarily contiguous to it, and indicates instrumentality or the being who accompanies the subject. Nouns occurring in the noun slots of the noun phrase are general, kinship, locative, and proper. The pre-nuclear and post-nuclear attributives are optional, as is the pronoun.

Co-occurrent Phrase = \pm ax + X: (Ng/Nk/Nl/Np/Ncon/AJ/AJcon)
 \pm xa \pm Pr + NP1: 'CO

X	NP1		X	NP1
[No hoo-ke]	koo-ma	[teete .]	[Abi-i]	haa-ma [tuume .]
	<i>he pig</i> 'O	<i>spear</i> (Ng)'CO	<i>struck</i> <u>Mi</u>	<i>man</i> (Ng)'S
	[<i>He killed the pig with a spear.</i>		[<i>The man went</i>] <i>with a dog.</i>	<i>dog</i> (Ng)'CO
				<i>went</i> <u>Mi</u>

Atapa-i	gisa-ke	abi-ma	gaibe .
<i>woman</i> (Ng)'S	<i>speed</i> (Nm)'O	<i>man</i> (Ng)'CO	<i>descend</i> <u>Mi</u>
<i>A woman descended quickly with a man.</i>			

3.24 *Subject Slot*

The subject slot of the verb clause is similar to that of the noun clause (3.1.1), but differs in two ways:

- (1) The subject may be preceded by other slots or phrases when these are in focus.
- (2) The subject marker enclitic *-i* ('S) is optional.

3.25 *Emphasis*

In the verb clause and within the predicate the order of the slots and phrases is somewhat loose.

In the verb clause the predicate is always final, and the preferred unemphatic order is

S CO L P .

Either co-occurrent or locative may precede the subject for emphasis.

Within the predicate the verb phrase is always final, the indirect and direct objects tend to be contiguous, the three phrases Ma Te Re are rather free in their mutual ordering, and the preferred unemphatic order is

AV Ma Te Re Cl_i O_i Od VP .

Any of the phrases except the verb phrase and the included clause phrase may move right out of the normal predicate position and up to the front of the clause preceding the subject for emphasis.

The oblique enclitic *-ke* occurs obligatorily on the Temporal Phrase and Manner Phrase and optionally on the Object Phrase, Reason Phrase, and the Augment Phrase within the Verb Phrase. In these latter three the occurrence of *-ke* seems to add focus to these phrases somewhat, but the emphasis is considerably less than that gained by moving items to the pre-subject position. The object phrase takes *-ke* about 60% of the time, and especially when it needs to be distinguished from the subject. A phrase in the pre-subject emphatic position rarely takes *-ke*, and it is rare for more than two phrases in a clause to take *-ke*.

4.0 INTRODUCTORY BASE

The optional introductory base (B_i) at the beginning of a sentence may be filled by a connective device (CON), an exclamatory particle (EX), a response particle (RES), a salutatory particle (SAL), a vocative phrase (VOC), or a combination construction (COMcon).

4.1 Connective Devices (CON)

There are five connective devices: the additional particle *paha also*, the connective particle *ma and, then*, the disjunctive particle *qate now*, the repetition of the final verb of the last sentence in the medial form (see § 5), or a pronoun relating to an antecedent structure.

Bi

Paha, [atapai baabe .]
also(CON) woman came Mi
Also, the woman came.

Ma [ana qooro baata .]
and(CON) I standing came Mi
Then I came walking.

Qate, nana tuumata .
Now(dis) we went Mi
On the other hand, we left.

Oo-ni-ta quu taate .
so(Prd)'D'L rain fell Mi
So the rain came.

Noi tuumata. Tuuma-mi nanai baata .
he went Mi go-ds(ClVm) we came Mi
He went. Having gone, we came.

4.2 Exclamatory Particles

There are two kinds of exclamations: attention particles (e.g. maa, oe *ahoy*) and emotive particles (e.g. idze, ae, opaisa *great day*).

Bi

Maa, [nii tuuma-qu mae ?]
ahoy(att) you go-fs eh M?
Say, [will you go?]

Ae, [nii taata-koi !]
oh(emo) you fall-will Me
Look out, [you will fall!]

4.3 Response Particles

There are several response particles such as *bamu no, none, oore ~ oo* (in free alternation) *yes, eo no, or*.

Oore, ana taate .
yes I fell Mi
Yes, I fell.

Bamu, nii bamu tuuma-qu .
no you not go-fs Mi
No, you will not go.

Eo, ana teqaha baa-ba-ra .
no I not go-dn-pn Mi
No, I did not go.

4.4 Salutatory Phrase

The salutatory phrase is composed of a noun phrase without the summary pronoun and phrase indicator and in which the nucleus is composed of a temporal, participial, or salutatory noun.

Salutatory Phrase = ± ax + X: (Ns/Np/Nt) ± xa

X

xa

Dzoobe mina; [nike baabe ?] Meera qidza, [meerare .]
greeting(Ns) big(AJ) you came M? sleep(Np) good(AJ) sleep Mi
Greetings, [so you have come?] Good night. [Go to sleep.]

Aipo, [tuumoo .]
Goodbye(Ns) go Mi
Goodbye, [you may go.]

4.5 Vocative Phrase

The vocative phrase is composed of a noun phrase without the demonstrative and noun phrase indicator and in which the nucleus is composed of a proper, a kinship, or a general noun.

Vocative Phrase = ± ax + X: (Ng/Npr/Nk) ± xa

Dzohane, [nii naga peitare .]	Noma name, [nii ikanomani?]
<i>John(Npr) you house ascend <u>M</u>i</i>	<i>brother(Nk) mine you what <u>M</u>?</i>
<i>John, [you enter the house.]</i>	<i>My brother, [how is it with you?]</i>
Haa, nii tuumaa !	
<i>dog(Ng) you go <u>M</u>e</i>	
<i>Dog, go away.</i>	

4.6 Combination Construction

The combination construction is composed of any two of the fillers of the introductory base described above.

Idze dzaira name, [nii oko geeme !]
great.day friend mine you foot cut Me
Great day, my friend, [you have cut your foot.]

5.0 MEDIAL BASE

The medial base (Bm) is optional in the Guhu-Samane sentence and is filled by one or more medial verb clauses.

A medial verb clause has the same structure as an independent verb clause except that its verb phrase is a medial verb phrase. A medial verb phrase consists of an optional augment, an obligatory verb stem, aspect suffixes, and a suffix indicating the subject of the following clause is the same as (ss) or different from (ds) that of the medial verb.

Medial Verb Phrase = ± Aug + V + A + ss/ds

5.1 Same-subject Medial Verb Clause

The same-subject suffix (ss) -qi ~ Ø (in free alternation) indicates the same subject in the following clause.

No tuu-ma-qi ota oori .
he go-dn-ss there was M₁
He went and was there.

No tuu-ma-Ø ana moota .
he go-dn-ss me saw M₁
He went and saw me.

5.2 Different-subject Medial Verb Clause

Ana noke tee-te-mi baata-koi . Ana noke tee-te-Ø baata-koi .
I him strike-dn-ds die-will M₁ I him strike-dn-ds die-will M₁
I will strike him and he will die. I will strike him and he will die.

6.0 POST-PRIMARY BASE(Bpp)

The post-primary base may be filled by a co-ordinate independent verb clause, a co-ordinate noun clause, an explanatory noun clause, or an external quotation construction.

6.1 Co-ordinate Independent Verb Clause(ClVI)

The co-ordinate independent verb clause is connected by the particle *ma and* or the differential particle *mae or*, and is in co-ordinate relationship with the verb clause of the primary base.

Bp Bpp:ClVI
 Noi harate-te-ta ma taa-te-ta .
he slip-dn-pt and tall-dn-pt M₁
He slipped and fell.

6.2 Co-ordinate Noun Clause(Clco)

The co-ordinate noun clause is an ordinary noun clause (3.1) preceded by one of the particles *ma and*, *mae or*, or *eo or*.

Bp Bpp:Clco
 O-i hoo-ni, mae haa-ni ?
that'S pig'D or dog'D M₁?
Is it a pig, or is it a dog?

6.3 Explanatory Noun Clause(ClNex)

The subject slot of the explanatory noun clause is obligatorily filled by the demonstrative pronoun *o that* and the subject phrase indicator enclitic *-i*, and the description slot is filled by an independent verb clause which constitutes an explanatory comment about the primary base.

S D
 [Abi baa-te-ta,] o-i ana-i no-ke tee-te-ta .
man die-dn-pt that'S I'S he'O strike-dn-pt Mi
 [The man died,] for I killed him.

S D
 [Atapa-i qidza,] o-i ana moo-Ø-ta .
woman'S good that'S I see-dn-pt Mi
 [The woman is good,] for I observed her.

6.4 External Quotation Construction(Qcon)

Bp Bpp:Qcon
 No ana era-ke hii-re-ta, Ana tuumakoi .
he me this'O say-dn-pt I go.will Mi
 He said to me, "I will go."

BP Bpp
 Ana era-iqi qupadzo-me-Ø, Bamu .
I this-acc think-dn-ct no Mi
 This is what I think: No!

7.0 PROTATIC BASE

The protatic base of the Guhu-Samane sentence expresses a logical or temporal relationship with the primary base, and may be filled by an adversative clause, a dilatory verb clause, an inferential clause, a prerequisite verb clause, a regressive verb clause, or a conditional verb clause.

7.1 Adversative Clause

The adversative clause is composed of a noun clause, or an independent verb clause, plus the adversative enclitic -he (ad).

Bpt Bp
 Oi naga-ni-he ttopa naa-to-ra-i .
that house'D'ad old become-op-ent-prt Mi
 That is a house, but it is becoming old.

Bpt Bp
 Eto tuu-ma-ino-he erata oo-ra-re .
don't go-dn-pro'ad here be-dn-if Mi
 Don't go, but stay here.

7.2 Dilatory Verb Clause

The dilatory verb clause denotes an action that is delayed until the action of the primary base is performed. The dilatory verb clause has the same structure as an independent verb clause except that its verb phrase consists of an optional augment, an obligatory verb stem, an aspect suffix, and the dilatory suffix -amake (dl).⁶

Dilatory verb phrase = ± Aug + V + A + dl

Bpt Bp
 No tuu-ma-amake erake ee-ta-re .
he go-dn-dl this do-dn-if M1
Before he goes, he must do this.

7.3 Inferential Clause

The inferential clause denotes a logical inference. It is composed of a noun clause, or an independent verb clause, plus the inferential enclitic -ta ('inf).

Bpt Bp
 Oi naga-ni-ta ana ota soo-ma-koi
that house'D'inf I there take.shelter-dn-ft M1
That is a house, so I will take shelter there.

Bpt Bp
 Noi tuu-ma-koi-ta napa gama tuu-ma-re .
he go-dn-ft'inf we all go-dn-if M1
He is going, so let us all go.

7.4 Prerequisite Verb Clause

The dilatory verb clause denotes an action that must take place before the action of the primary base can be performed. The prerequisite verb clause has the same structure as an independent verb clause except that its verb phrase is a prerequisite verb phrase. A prerequisite verb phrase consists of an optional augment, an obligatory verb stem, an aspect suffix, and the same-subject requisite suffix -qake (ssr) or the different-subject requisite suffix -make (dsr).⁷

Prerequisite Verb Phrase = ± Aug + V + A + ssr/dsr

Bpt	Bp	Bpt	Bp
Nii tuu-ma-qake oke moo-ra-koi .		Nii tuu-ma-make nana habe-sa-koi .	
<i>you go-dn-ssr that see-dn-ft M1</i>		<i>you go-dn-dsr we sit-dn-ft M1</i>	
<i>After you go you will see it.</i>		<i>We will sit down after you go.</i>	

7.5 Regressive Verb Clause

The regressive verb clause denotes a return from some action. It is composed of an independent verb clause, ending in a tense (pt/ct/ft) or a subjunctive mode (fs/ps), plus the regressive suffix -ti ~ to (reg). In this position the past subjunctive suffix -pu takes the form allomorph -mu.

Bpt Bp
 Hoo gai-bo-ri-ti pei-te-Ø .
pig descend-op-ct-reg ascend-dn-ct Mi
Having first descended, the pig went back up.

Bpt Bp
 No tuu-mo-ra-mu-ti baa-Ø-ta .
he go-op-cnt-ps-reg come-dn-pt Mi
Having gone a while, he returned.

7.6 Conditional Verb Clause

The conditional verb clause is composed of an independent verb clause, ending in the past or future subjunctive suffix (the latter may also be followed by the regressive suffix), plus the condition suffix -ko ~ -ke (in free alternation) (cond).

Bpt Bp
 No tuu-ma-qu-ko isana-ta-koi .
he go-dn-ps-cond be.adequate-dn-ft Mi
If he goes, it will be fine.

Bpt
 Ana too-ba-pu-ko no baa-ta-rori .
I shoot-dn-ps-cond he die-dn-pir Mi
If I had shot, he would have died.

Bpt
 No tuu-mo-ra-qu-ke baa-ba-koi .
he go-op-cnt-ps-cond come-dn-ft Mi
Provided he goes a while, he will return.

8.0 INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SENTENCES

The detailed interrelationship of sentences within paragraph and larger discourse structures of Guhu-Samane is not within the

purview of this paper. Moreover linguistic markers indicating these interrelationships are chiefly such as are concomitant with the semantic content. Introduction of paragraphs are effected by features of the introductory base (Sec.4). When an external quote terminates a paragraph it must be followed by the speech verb hii- in the next sentence.

9.0 TEXT⁸

Khabo₁ ma₂ Erabo-ho₃ Noo₄
 Npr CON Npr'r Ng

Nopo-i₁ temu₂ nese₃ qidza-ni₄ temu₅ nese₆ qanga₇. Khabo-i₁ nese₂
 Prp'S AJ Ng AJ'D AJ Ng AJ Npr'S Ng

qanga₃, qate₄ Erabo-i₅ nese₆ qidza-noma₇. O-ni-ta₁ nopo-i₂ kabira₃
 AJ CON Npr'S Ng AJ'k Prd'd 'inf prp'S Ng

ma₄ abi₅ dzobi-ke₆ ee-te-Ø₇ qaa-Ø-ta₈.
 CON Ng Na'O V:TØsu-dn-ss V:RQØ-dn-pt

O-ni-ta₁ nopo-i₂ bodza₃ tee-ta₄ oba₅ ii-ha-Ø₆ baa-o-ta₇.
 Prd'd'inf Prp'S Nl AJ'L Ng V:H-dn-ss V:BQØhu-op-pt

Baa-Ø-hu-qi₁ moo-Ø-mi₂ abi₃ khata₄ tee-i₅ oba₆ taa-te-Ø₇
 V:BQØhu-dn-pe-ss V:RQØhi-dn-ds Ng Nk AJ'S Ng V:TØ(su)-dn-ss

pei₈ oma₉ hee-ta₁₀ mee-Ø-qi₁₁ ete₁₂ agi-mo-ta₁₃. Agi-mo-mi₁ nopo₂
 Nl Ng Nl'L V:RQØhi-dn-ss Ng V:M-op-pt V:M-op-ds Prp

haa-Ø-qi₃ no-ho₄ qauna₅ noo-ka-ta₆. Noo-ka-Ø₁ baa-Ø-qi₂ abi₃
 V:BQØhu-dn-ss Prp'r Ng V:K-dn-pt V:K-dn-ss V:BQØhu-dn-ss Ng

khata₄ o-ke₅ sari-dze-qi₆ hee₇. Ae!₈ Naka-ho₉
 Nk Prd'O V:DZØ-dn-ss V:BRØ(uf:uninflected form) EX Prp'r

kamasu₁₀ tee-i₁₁ era-ni₁₂. Hii-re-qi₁ ai-ma-Ø₂ qusubai-ta-ke₃
 Ng AJ'S Prd'D V:BRØ-dn-ss V:Mhi-dn-ss Np(V:T-dn)'O

qupadzo-ma-ta₄. O-ni-he₁, no-i₂ oma-ta₄ ati-ma-qi₅ tatanga₆
 V:M -dn-pt Prd'd'ad Prp'S Ng'L V:M-dn-ss Ng

naa-te-Ø₇ oo-Ø-ta₈.
 V:TØ(su)-dn-ss V:RQØhi-dn-pt

O-ni-ta₁ nopo₂ hiu-ma₃ quba₄ bitta₅ ee-te-qi₆ tuu-ma-Ø₇
 Prd'd'inf Prp Np(V:M-dn) Ng Na V:TØsu-dn-ss V:Msu-dn-ss

kahoba₈ dzoo-to-qi₉ ai-ma-Ø₁₀ baa-Ø-qi₁₁ oma-ma₁₂ khata₁₃ o-ke₁₄
 Ng V:TØso-dn-ss V:M-dn-ss V:BQØhu-dn-ss Ng'CO Nk Prd'O

gama₁₅ kahoba₁₆ ee-te-ta₁₇. Ee-te-qi₁ Erabo₂ no-i₃ Khabo₄ o-ke₅
 Prq Ng V:TØsu-dn-pt V:TØsu-dn-ss Npr Prp'S Npr Prd'O

hee₆, Nii₇ nese₈ qanga₉ o-ni-ta₁₀ kahoba₁₁ bosa-ke₁₂ ai-ma-re₁₃.
 V:BRØ(uf) Prp Ng AJ Prd'd'inf Ng Na V:Mhi-dn-if

Ai-ma-Ø₁ tuu-ma-Ø₂ oo-Ø-make₃ ana₄ hee₅, Tete₆ o-i₇
 V:Mhi-dn-ss V:Msu-dn-ss V:RQØhi-dn-dsr Prp V:BRØ(uf) Ng Prd'S

o-ni₈, tapa-i₉ o-ni₁₀ o-iqi₁₁ hii-ba-koi₁₂. O-i₁ nii-ho₂ nese₃.
 Prd'D Ng 'S Prd'D Prd-acc V:BRØ-dn-ft Prd'S Prp'r Ng
 qanga-ni-ta₄ ana₅ sinasina₆ hii-ba-qu₇ o-qa-ta₈ nii₉ tuu-ma-koi₁₀.
 AJ'd'inf Prp Ng V:BRØ-dn-fs Prd'sp'L Prp V:Msu-dn-ft
 Qate₁, ana-i₂ nese₃ qidza-ni-ta₄ nii₅ sinasina₆ hii-re-qa₇ kamasu₈
 CON Prp'S Ng AJ'd'inf Prp Ng V:BRØ-dn-ssr Ng
 naka-ho₉ tuu-ma-ino-ho₁₀ quba-ke₁₁ na-mae₁₂ ipi-ke₁₃ ai-ma-qa₁₄
 Prp'r V:Msu-dn-pro'r Ng'O Prp-refl Ng'O V:Mhi-dn-ssr
 moo-qa-qa₁₅ naka₁₆ tuu-ma-koi₁₇. Qate₁ nii₂ ipi-ta₃ kahoba₄ ipi-ke₅
 V:RQØhi-op-ssr Prp V:Msu-dn-ft CON Prp Ng'L Ng Ng'O
 ai-ma-qu-ko₆ kamasu₇ tuu-Ø-su-ma₈ nii₉ bamu₁₀ moo-ra-qu₁₁.
 V:Mhi-dn-fs-cond Ng V:Msu-dn-pc-dsr Prp AVfn V:RQØhi-dn-fs
 O-iqi₁ hii-re-ta-he₂, Khabo₃ hee₄, Ana₅ isana-te-Ø₆
 Prd-acc V:BRØ-dn-pt'ad Npr V:BRØ(uf) Prp V:TØ(su)-dn-ss
 ipi-ta₇ baa-o-qa₈ moo-ra-ridzo-ni₉. Hii-Ø-Ø-mi₁ Erabo₂ hee₃
 Ng'L V:BRØhu-op-ssr V:RQØhi-dn-ob'D V:BRØ-dn-pc-ds Npr V:BRØ(uf)
 Bamu₄, nii₅ bosa₆ tuu-ma-re₇. Hii-Ø-Ø-mi₁ no₂ hee₃, Bamu₄, ana₅
 Nr Prp Ng V:Msu-dn-if V:BRØ-dn-pc-ds Prp V:BRØ(uf) Nr Prp
 isana-te-Ø₆ ipi-ta₇ ai-ma-Ø₈ baa-o-ma₉ kamasu₁₀
 V:TØ(su)-dn-ss Ng-L V:Mhi-dn-ss V:BQØhu-op-dsr Ng
 tuu-Ø-su-ma₁₁ moo-ra-koi₁₂. Hii-re-mi₁ Erabo₂ hee₃,
 V:Msu-dn-pc-dsr V:RQØhi-dn-ft V:BRØ-dn-ds Npr V:BRØ(uf)
 Isana-te-Ø₄ nii₅ ipi-ta₆ ai-ma-Ø₇ naka₈ tuu-ma-re₉. O-ni-he₁,
 V:TØ(su)-dn-ss Prp Ng-L V:Mhi-dn-ss Prp V:Msu-dn-if Prd'd'ad
 kamasu₂ tuu-ma-qu-ko₃ ana₄ nii₅ tee-ta-ridzo-ni₆. Hii-re-Ø₁ nopo₂
 Ng V:Msu-dn-fs-cond Prp Prp V:TØsu-dn-ob'D V:BRØ-dn-ss Prp
 ai-ma-Ø₃ tuu-ma-ta₄.
 V:Mhi-dn-ss V:Msu-dn-pt
 Tuu-mo-qi₁ Erabo₂ hee₃, Kamasu₄ naka-ho-i₅ oo-ra-i₆
 V:Msu-op-ss Npr V:BRØ Ng Prp'r'S V:RQØhi-dn-prt
 mae₇? Hii-Ø-Ø-mi₁ no-i₂ hee₃ Oo-ra-i₄ oo-ra-i₅! O-iqi₁
 int. particle V-dn-pc-ds Prp'S V(uf) V-dn-prt V-dn-prt Prd-acc
 hii-re-ta-he₂ abi₃ o-i₄ ao₅ seni₆ popodza₇ tee-ta₈ mugibi-re-qi₉
 V-dn-pt'ad Ng Prd'S Na Ng Ng AJ'L V:DzRØ-dn-ss
 seeka₁₀ goha-ta₁₁ pei-te-ta₁₂. O-ni-he₁ Khabo₂ nese₃ qanga-ni-ta₄
 Ng Ng'L V:TØ-dn-pt Prd'd'ad Npr Ng AJ'd'inf

te₅ moo-ra-ra₆. 0-i₁ oma₂ bame-noma-ni-ta₃ nopo-i₄ hee₅, Kamasu₆
AVnfn V-dn-pn Prd'S Ng Ng'k'd'inf Prp'S V(uf) Ng

naka-ho₇ oo-ra-i₈ hii-re-Ø₉ oma₁₀ keke₁₁ ai-ma-Ø₁₂ haba₁₃ khara-ta₁₄
Prp'r V-dn-prt V-dn-ss Ng Prq V-dn-ss Ng AJ'L

tuu-ma-ta₁₅.
V-dn-pt

0-ke₁ keke₂ hii-re-Ø₃ tuu-ma-Ø₄ qaa-ra-mu-ti₅ sobadza-ta₆
Prp'O Prq V-dn-ss V-dn-ss V-dn-ps-reg Ng'L

birana-te-ta₇. Birana-te-qi₁ Erabo₂ hee₃, Moo-to-Ø₄ naka₅
V-dn-pt V-dn-ss Npr V(uf) V:T-dn-ssr Prp

qidzana-ta-re₆. Hii-re-qi₁ nopo₂ moo-to-Ø₃ Erabo₄ moo-Ø-hi-mi₅ Ae!₆
V:TØ(su)-dn-if V-dn-ss Prp V-dn-ss Npr V-dn-pc-ds EX

kamasu₇ bamu₈! No-i₁ hee₂, Khabo₃, kamasu₄ naka-ho₅ kaqa₆? 0-i₁
Ng Nr Prp'S V(uf) Npr Ng Prp'r potential Prd'S

te₂ era-ta₃ oo-ra-idzara₄, ao-ke₅ tuu-me-Ø₆. Hii-re-mi₁ no-i₂
AVnfn Prd'L V-dn-prn Na'O V-dn-ct V-dn-ds Prp'S

hee₃, 0-i₄ o₅ qoo₆ oo-ra-i₇. 0-ni-he₁ Erabo₂ moo-Ø-mi₃ oma-i₄ keke₅
V(uf) Prd'S Prd Nl V-dn-prt Prd'd'ad Npr V-dn-ds Ng'S Prq

oo-Ø-ta₆. 0-ho₁ dzauba-ke₂ Erabo-i₃ Khabo-ke₄ buribaro-ke₅ tee-te-ta₆.
V-dn-pt Prd'r Ng'O Npr'S Npr'O Na'O V-dn-pt

Tee-te-qi₁ hee₂, Qori-dze-Ø₃ naka₄ qiri₅ tuu-ma-re₆.
V-dn-ss V(uf) V:DzØ-dn-ssr Prp Na V-dn-if

Hii-re-qi₁ nopo-me₂ baa-Ø-ta₃ o-ta₄ burisi₅ ee-te-Ø₆ tuu-ma-qi₇
V-dn-ss Prp-int V-dn-pt Prd-L Na V-dn-ss V-dn-ss

ee₈ ma₉ eka₁₀ ma₁₁ oma₁₂ ma₁₃ quba₁₄ minara-ke₁₅ ura₁₆ noo-ka₁₇ ura₁₈
Ng CON Ng CON Ng CON Ng AJ'O Ng Np:V-dn Ng

noo-ka-ke₁₉ ee-te-Ø₂₀ tuu-ma-ta₂₁. Tuu-ma-Ø₁ qaa-ra-mu-ti₂ seni₃
Np:V-dn'O V-dn-ss V-dn-pt V-dn-ss V:RQØ-dn-ps-reg Ng

popodza₄ o-ke₅ ura₆ moo-Ø-mi₇ o-ta₈ pei-te-ta₉. 0-ni-ta₁ nopo₂ paha₃
Ng Prd'O Ng V-dn-ds Prd'L V-dn-pt Prd'd'inf Prp AVr

gesa₄ susuni₅ hii-re-ta₆. Hii-re-qi₁ Khabo₂ sasa₃ qai-te-Ø₄. Hee₁,
Nk Na V-dn-pt V-dn-ss Npr Ng V:T-dn-ct V(uf)

Ana₂ kata-ta₃ oo-ra-koi₄. 0-ni-ta₁ nii₂ nese₃ qidza-ni-ta₄ bage-ke₅
Prp Nl'L V-dn-ft Prd'd'inf Prp Ng AJ'r'inf Na'O

ee-te-Ø₆ ee₇ moo-Ø-qa₈ pei₉ kamasu₁₀ upubi-re-Ø₁₁ taa-Ø-su-ma₁₂
V-dn-ss Ng V-dn-ssr Nl Ng V:DzRØ-dn-dsr V:TØ(su)-dn-pc-dsr

nii₁₃ hee₁₄, o-i₁₅ o₁₆ taa-Ø-su-bi-ta₁₇ qee-ma-Ø₁₈ tee-ta-re₁₉.
 Prp V(uf) Prd'S Prd V-dn-pc-prt'inf V-dn-ssr V-dn-if
 Hii-re-Ø₁ ana₂ qee-ma-Ø₃ tee-ta-ridzo-ni₄. Hii-re-qi₁ Khabo₂ beedzae₃
 V-dn-dsr Prp V-dn-ssr V-dn-ob'D V-dn-ss Npr Ng
 ee-te-ta₄.
 V-dn-pt
 Ee-te-mi₁ Erabo₂ ee₃ pei-te-qi₄ abi₅ khata₆ o-ke₇ upubi-re-mi₈
 V-dn-ds Npr Ng V-dn-ss Ng Nk Prd'O V-dn-ds
 taa-ta-koi-qi₉ hii-re-qi₁₀ pei-Ø-hi-mi₁₁ no-i₁₂ seeka₁₃ mee₁₄
 V-dn-ft-acc V-dn-ss V-dn-pc-ds Prp'S Ng Ng
 rumu-to-qi₁₅ o-ma₁₆ Erabo-ke₁₇ tee-te-mi₁₈ qagau-ba-Ø₁₉ taa-te-mi₂₀
 V:T-dn-ss Prd'CO Npr'O V-dn-ds V:B-dn-ss V-dn-ds
 abi₂₁ khata₂₂ o-i₂₃ Khabo-ke₂₄ ikobe-te-qi₂₅ kira₂₆ hii-re-ta₂₇, Oe₂₈,
 Ng Nk Prd'S Npr'O V:Bhi-dn-ss Ng V-dn-pt aten
 kamasu₂₉ naka-ho₃₀ taa-te-Ø-ta₃₁ tee-ta-re₃₂! Hii-re-mi₁ Khabo₂
 Ng Prp'r V-dn-ct-'inf V-dn-if V-dn-ds Npr
 qee-ma-qi₃ temu₄ no-me₅ Erabo-ke₆ tee-te-mi₇ baa-te-ta₈.
 V-dn-ss AJ Prp-int Npr'O V-dn-ds V:TØsu-dn-pt
 Qate₁, abi₂ khata₃ o-i₄ qura-te-qi₅ Khabo₆ ikobe-te-qi₇ hee₈,
 CON Ng Nk Prd'S V-dn-ss Npr V-dn-ss V(uf)
 Ae₉, nii₁₀ tee-te-mi₁₁ baa-ta-amake₁₂ oo-ra-i₁₃. Hii-re-qi₁ hee₂,
 emo Prp V-dn-ds V-dn-dl V-dn-prt V-dn-ss V(uf)
 Paha₃ taanga₄ ana₅ moi-te-Ø₆ ana₇ no₈ tee-ta-re₉. Hii-re-mi₁ Khabo₂
 AVr Ng Prp V-dn-ds Prp Prp V-dn-if V-dn-ds Npr
 nese₃ qanga-ni-ta₄ hee₅, Oo₆, poi₇ na-ho₈ temu-i₉ o₁₀ hii-ro-ra-i₁₁
 Ng AJ'r'inf V(uf) emo AVprob Prp'r AJ'S Prp V-op-ent-prt
 hii-re-Ø₁₂ taanga₁₃ no₁₄ moi-te-mi₁₅ abi₁₆ khata₁₇ o-i₁₈ qori-Ø-Ø₁₉
 V-dn-ss Ng Prp V-dn-ds Ng Nk Prd'S V-dn-ss
 paha₂₀ no-ho₂₁ taanga-ma₂₂ no₂₃ tee-te-mi₂₄ baa-te-ta₂₅. Baa-te-mi₁
 AVr Prp'r Ng'CO Prp V-dn-ds V-dn-pt V-dn-ds
 noma₂ gotta-i₃ o₄ torou-ma-Ø₅ nagapa₆ no-me-ta₇ tuu-ma-ta₈.
 Nk Ng'S Prd V:M-dn-ss Ng Prp-int-L V-dn-pt

Translation:

Story₄ of Erabo₃ and₂ Khabo₁

(As to) these two₁, (the) one₂ (was) good₄ eyed₃, (the) other₅ bad₇ eyed₆. Khabo₁ (was the) bad₃ eyed₂ (one), whereas₄ Erabo₅ (was

the) good₇ eyed₆ (one). So₁ they₂ used to₉ do₈ hunting₇ for₆ animals₃ and₄ man₅.

So₁ one₄ time₃ they₂ were coming along₇ following₆ the river₅. As₁ (they) came₁ (they) saw₂ a₅ male₃ child₄ (who) having bathed₇ (in the) river₆, was asleep₁₁, basking₁₃ (in the) sun₁₂ up₈ on₁₀ (a) rock₉. As (he) was sunning₁ they₂ came₃ (and) smelled₆ his₄ scent₅. Smelling₁ (it they) came₂ (and) found₆ the₅ male₃ child₄ (and) said₇, "Hey₈, here is₁₂ our₉ victim₁₀!" Having spoken₁, (they) moved₂ (near), thinking₈ (to) take₆ (and) hoist₇ the₅ male₃ child₄. However₁ he₂ (was) already₃ become₇ stuck₅ fast₆ to (the) rock₄. So₁, being₆ unable₅ to₄ free₃ (him), they₂ went₇ (and) cut₉ (a) pole₈, took₁₀ (it and) came₁₁ (and) tied₁₇ the₁₄ child₁₃ (under the) pole₁₆ with the stone₁₂ (and) all₁₅.

Then₁ Erabo₂ he₃ said₆ (to) Khabo₄ (the) other one₅, "You₇ (are) bad₉ eyed₈, so₁₀ take (the) pole₁₁ (and go) first₁₂. When₃ (you) take₁ (it and) go₂, I₄ (will) say₅, 'That's₈ the₇ way₆,' (or) 'There's₁₁ (a) cliff₉,' that's what₁₁ (I) will say₁₂. For₁ your₂ eyes₃ are bad and so₄ you₉ will go₁₀ only where₈ (my) advice₆ says₇. For₁ I₂ (have) good₄ eyes₃ and so₄ (as I) utter₇ (my) advice₆ I myself₁₃ will take₁₄ (the) rear₁₂ (and) watch₁₅ so that₁₁ our₉ victim₈ won't go₁₀ (away), (thus) we₁₆ will go₁₇. Whereas₁ if₆ you₂ take₆ (the) pole₄ (in the) rear₅ you₉ won't₁₀ see₁₁ when₈ (the) victim₇ goes₈."

That's what₁ (he) said but₂ Khabo₃ said₄, "By all means₆ I₅ will be coming₈ behind₇ (and) would see₉." As (he) spoke₁ Erabo₂ said₃, "No₄, you₅ go₇ first₆." As (he) spoke₁ (thus t)he₂ (other) said₃, "No₄, by all means₆ I₅ will₁₂ come₉ carrying₈ behind₇ (and) when₁₁ (the) victim₁₀ goes₁₁ (I) will see₁₂." When (he) said₁ (this) Erabo₂ said₃, "Alright₄, you₅ carry₇ behind₆ (and) we₈ will go₉. However₁, if₃ (the) victim₂ goes₃ I must strike₆ you₅." Having said₁ (that) they₂ went₄ carrying₃ (the) victim.

As (they) were going₁, Erabo₂ said₃, "Our₅ victim₄ is₆ (there), eh₇?" As (he) said₁ (this t)he₂ (other) said₃, "(He) is₄, (He) is₅!" That's what₁ (he) said but₂ the₅ male₃ child₄ (had) already₆ swung₁₀ onto a₉ clinging₈ vine₇ (and) ascended₁₃ (to a) breadfruit₁₁ (tree) branch₁₂. However₁ Khabo('s)₂ eyes₃ were bad and so₄ (he) didn't₅ see₆. For₁ (the) stone₂ (was) heavy and so₃ they₄ thought₅, "Our₇ victim₆ is₈ (still there)." Thinking₉ (thus they) went₁₅ carrying₁₂ only₁₁ (the) stone₁₁ (for a) long₁₄ distance₁₅.

Thinking thus₁ only₂ (they) continued₅ going₄ until₅ (they) arrived₆ at (a) clearing₇. As (they) arrived₁ Erabo₂ said₃, "Put₄ (it down), we₅ shall rest₆." Having said₁ (this) they₂ put₃ (it down and) Erabo₄ then saw₅ Wow!₆ (the) victim₇ had gone₈! He₁ said₂, "Khabo₃, where's₆ our₅ victim₄? It₁ is not₂,₄ here₃, (it is) already₅

gone₆!" Having said₁ (that, Khabo) he₂ said₃, "It₄ is₇ (right) down₆ there₅!" However₁ Erabo₂ saw₃ (that there) was₆ only₅ (the) stone₄. (Being) angry₂ therefore₁, Erabo₃ struck₆ Khabo₄ roundly₅. As (he) struck₁ (him he) said₂, "Arise₃, we₄ must go₆ seek₅ (him)."

Having said₁ (that they) did₆ (a) turn-about₅ (and) went₇, whence₄ they themselves₂ had come₃, a-smelling₁₇ (the) scent₁₆, a-smelling₁₉ (the) scent₁₈ (on) trees₈ and₉ vines₁₀ and₁₁ stones₁₂ and₁₃ every₁₅ thing₁₄, (that's what they) did₂₀ (as they) went₂₁. Continuing₁ (to) go₂ (they) smelled₇ (the) scent₆ (of) the₅ clinging₄ vine₃ (and) saw₈ (he) had ascended₁₀ there₉. And so₁ they₂ again₃ voiced₆ debate₅ with one another₄. As (they) voiced₁ (debate) Khabo₂ got hot₄ (under the) skin₃. (He) said₁, "I₂ will stay₄ down₃. And as₁ you₂ (are) good₄ eyed₃, therefore₄ (you will) do₆ well₅ (in) seeing₈ (the) victim₁₀ up₉ (in the) tree₇ (and will) 'fix'₁₁ (him and) when (he) falls₁₂ you₁₃ say₁₄, 'It₁₅ is falling₁₇ there₁₆ so₁₇ (you) move₁₈ to strike₁₉ (him).'" Speaking₁ (thus) Khabo₂ did₄ force₃ (the issue).

Having done₁ (so) Erabo₂ was ascending₄ (the) tree₃ thinking₁₀ (he) would₉ 'fix'₈ the₇ male₅ child₆ (and he) would fall₉, (but as he) ascended₁₁ (t)he₁₂ (lad) plucked₁₅ (a) breadfruit₁₃ fruit₁₄ (and) struck₁₈ Erabo₁₇ with it₁₆ (so that he) lost hold₁₉ (and) fell₂₀ (and) the₂₃ male₂₁ child₂₂, deceiving₂₅ Khabo₂₄, uttered₂₇ (a) call₂₅, "Oho₂₈, our₃₀ victim₂₉ fell so₃₁ strike₃₂ (him)!" When (he) said₁ (that) Khabo₂ moved₃, striking₇ (and) killing₈ Erabo₆ his₅ other₄ (companion).

Well₁, the₄ male₂ child₃ descended₅ (and) deceived₇ Khabo₆ (again) saying₈, "Hey₉, you₁₀ struck₁₁ (him but he) is₁₃ not yet dead₁₂!" Speaking₁ (thus he) said₂, "Give₆ me₅ (the) club₄ (and) I₇ will strike₉ him₈ again₃. (He) said₁ (this and), Khabo('s)₂ eyes₃ (being) bad₄, (he) thought₅, "Oh,₆ probably₇ (it is) my₈ other₉ (companion) saying₁₁ that₁₀." Thinking₁₂ (thusly he) gave₁₅ him₁₄ (the) club₁₃ (and) the₁₈ male₁₆ child₁₇ arose₁₉ (and) struck₂₄ him₂₃ with₂₂ his₂₁ club₂₂ (so that he) died₂₅. When (he) died₁, the₄ little₂ 'bone₃ brother'₂ went₈ running₅ to his₇ village₆.

N O T E S

1. Hooley and McElhanon (1970:1075-6).
2. The author gathered the data for this paper under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics while living in the village of Kipu (near Garaina) from 1957 to 1965, with some modification based on more recent observations.
3. The orthography used in the examples is the one in use in Guhu-Samane literature: a, b, dz, e, g, h, i, k, kh, m, n, ng, o, p, q (glottal stop), r, s, t, tt (dental stop), u. A description of the phonemes is to be found in Richert (1972).
4. In the examples, those affixes which are relevant to the point being illustrated are separated off with hyphens. Parts of an utterance which do not constitute part of the construction being illustrated are enclosed in brackets [].
5. In this paper the term 'predicate' is used in a sense intermediate between the traditional usage signifying all of a clause except the subject and the tagmemicists' usage referring to only the verb phrase.
6. An alternative analysis which has been rejected would regard the dilatory verb phrase as ending in a participial noun (+ V + dn) (see 3.1(1)) plus the noun suffix *-ama* without plus the oblique enclitic *-ke*. In such an analysis the dilatory verb clause could perhaps be regarded as filling a temporal slot within the clause of the primary base.

7. An alternative analysis which has been rejected would regard the prerequisite verb phrase as a medial verb clause (see Section 5) (with -qi (ss) and -mi (ds) having allomorphs -qa and -ma) plus the oblique enclitic -ke. Again, in such an analysis the prerequisite verb clause could perhaps be regarded as filling a temporal slot within the clause of the primary base.

8. This text was spoken by Mr. Mumure Ttopoqogo, 29 years, resident of Kipu village near Garaina, Morobe District, Papua New Guinea, on 11th February, 1974. Mr. Ttopoqogo is a graduate of the Christian Leader's Training College at Banz, and has contributed to the publication "New Guinea Writing". He is also current registrar of the Kipu Literacy Academy and instructs several classes.

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