12-1979

Nembi discourse structure

Ruth A. Tipton

[How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!](#)

Recommended Citation

NEMBI DISCOURSE STRUCTURE

by
Ruth A. Tipton

Bachelor of Arts, Malone College, 1966

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota

December

1979

Permission

Title _____ Nembi Discourse Structure _____

Department _Linguistics_ _____

Degree _____ Master of Arts _____

       In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a graduate degree from the University of North Dakota, I agree that the Library of this University shall make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for extensive copying for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor who supervised my thesis work or, in his absence, by the Chairman of the Department or the Dean of the Graduate School. It is understood that any copying or publication or other use of this thesis or part thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given me and to the University of North Dakota in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis.

Signature_____ Ruth Tipton _____

Date__ August 10, 1979 _____

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF CHARTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with the way paragraphs, sentences, and clauses are brought together in Nembi discourse to form a coherent unit. Insights into discourse structure and discourse analysis gained from Joseph Grimes, Robert E. Longacre, and Michael A. K. Halliday are applied in the study of Nembi narrative and procedural texts. The thesis is based on the analysis of fourteen texts: four procedural and ten narrative. Six of the narratives are ancestral legends, and four are based on recent events. The analysis has led to several conclusions about discourse in the Nembi language.

Discourse is organized into an introduction, a body, and a closure. The introduction, which consists of only one paragraph, establishes the setting, names the topic, and identifies the main participants. The body of the discourse is made up of one or more paragraphs that develop the topic. In the body there are two sequences of action going on simultaneously, one giving primary information, and the other giving secondary or background information. The closure consists of one paragraph which brings the discourse to a proper conclusion.

Two phenomena that work together to give cohesion to Nembi discourse are linkage and chaining. Linkage is an

anaphoric relationship in that it repeats information
that was given previously in the text. Chaining is a
type of cataphoric relationship in that it predicts
whether the next clause will have the same or a different
subject.

The four paragraph types are opening, closing,
sequential, and consequential. Sequential paragraphs
relate a series of events. A cause-effect relationship
may be implied, but none is asserted. Consequential
paragraphs assert a cause-effect relationship between
the primary information and the secondary information.

The two basic sentence types are verbal and nonverbal.
Sentences may be conjoined to other sentences.

Halliday's notion of systemic grammar is useful for
explaining the Nembi clause system. A chart is developed
illustrating the choices available to a speaker when he
produces a clause. He must choose to produce either an
independent or dependent clause. If he chooses to pro-
duce a dependent clause, he must choose between adjunct
and medial clauses. If he chooses a medial clause, he must
then choose between chronological, durative, resultative,
or purposive clauses.

I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Discourse is made up of paragraphs, sentences, and clauses, but these can be understood only when they are considered in terms of the parts they play within the larger units to which each belongs. Discourse is not formed by randomly joining sentences. Rather, there are grammatical and semantic restrictions which bring them together to form coherent units. Without discourse perspective, language analysis fails to account for many of the relationships between sentences and for the restrictions which discourse places upon its constituents. Discourse analysis seeks to explain how sentences are brought together to form logical wholes. The purpose of this paper is to discuss how paragraphs, sentences, and clauses are brought together in Nembi discourse.[1]

The Language

The Nembi people live in the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea in the Nembi Valley and on the Nembi Plateau. Classification of the languages of the area was first made in detail by S. A. Wurm (1960a, 1964a, 1965). Nembi belongs to the East New Guinea Highlands Stock, West Central Family, Mendi-Pole

---

[1]Data for this thesis was collected by the author during field work between 1970 and 1979 under the auspices of Christian Union Mission.

subfamily. Wurm identified five languages in the subfamily: Mendi, Sau, Augu, Kewapi, and Pole.[1] Karl Franklin (1968) identified Wurm's Pole as the South dialect of Kewa, and he divided Wurm's Kewapi into the East and West dialects of Kewa. Franklin also identified a link language between Mendi and West Kewa which he called Magi. It is Franklin's Magi which I call Nembi, but it seems to extend over a much larger area than Franklin first indicated. The language has also been called Angal Heneng South (B. Grimes 1974). This comes from angal enen and means literally 'true talk'. I have called the language Nembi because it is the name of the valley and plateau where the people live, and because it is the name which the government has given to the census divisions. There are an estimated 12,000 speakers of the language.

In spite of the early work done by A. Capell (1948) and Wurm (1960a), there has been very little linguistic material published for most of the languages of the West Central Family. However, numerous unpublished linguistic materials have been prepared by missionaries for most of

---

[1]Augu was later identified as a dialect of the Waola language (Rule 1965) and has also been called Angal Heneng West (B. Grimes 1974). It is spoken near the Nipa patrol post in the northern part of the Nembi Valley from the Wagi Valley west to the western half of the Lai Valley. Sau is spoken around Samberigi. Mendi is spoken in Mendi town and to the north and westward. All of these are located in the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. It is worth noting that Wurm (1960b) and Wurm and Laycock (1961) have suggested that all the languages in the Mendi-Pole subfamily may be one language.

the languages, including Nembi. The one exception is Kewa
for which Karl and/or Joice Franklin working under the
auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics of Papua
New Guinea have published numerous articles.

Review of Literature

A reasonable place to begin a discussion of discourse
is with a definition of it. However, it is impossible to
formulate a definition of discourse and discourse analysis
without a knowledge of what the experts in the field of
discourse are saying about it.

In this section I discuss the approach which five
different linguists have taken to discourse analysis. The
first is Zellig Harris, who was the first linguist to develop
a method for discourse analysis. He set up equivalence
classes and discovered patterned combinations of these
classes in the text. The second is Robert Longacre. He
uses tagmemics to develop his theory of discourse. The
third is Joseph Grimes. He has much to say about the seman-
tic and linear relationships in discourse and the way they
work together to make the discourse a coherent whole. The
fourth is Michael A. K. Halliday. He views language as
serving certain social functions which are reflected and
expressed in the grammatical structure. He also develops
a theory of systemic grammar, which is based on the choices
that a speaker has available to him in producing a complex
grammatical unit. The fifth is Tuen A. van Dijk. His work

typifies that which European linguists have been doing on
text grammars.

After I discuss the approaches taken by these five lin-
guists, I indicate my own understanding of discourse and
discourse analysis and enumerate the ways the work of Grimes,
Longacre, and Halliday have influenced my work on Nembi
discourse structure.

Zellig Harris

Zellig Harris was one of the first linguists to
develop a method for discourse analysis. According to
Harris, language occurs in connected discourse rather than
in stray words or sentences. Thus, one can learn about
grammatical relationships by studying the sentences of a
particular connected discourse. Discourse analysis yields
considerable information about the structure of the text
and about the role that each element plays in such a
structure. He further defines discourse analysis as
"a method of seeking in any connected discrete linear
material, whether language or language like, which contains
more than one elementary sentence, some global structure
characterizing the whole discourse (the linear material)
or large sections of it." (Harris 1952a, pp. 6-7)

The method that he uses to investigate discourse is
to set up equivalence classes and to discover patterned
combinations of these classes in the text. An equivalence
class is established when two elements occur in identical

or equivalent environments. That is, if two elements
within the discourse occur in identical environments,
they constitute an equivalence class. In turn, any elements
which occur with any of the members of an established equiv-
alence class constitute yet another equivalence class. For
example, if a text contains the sentences, 'John saw the
dog','Mary saw the dog', 'Mary heard the cat', and 'John
ate the banana', 'Mary' and 'John' constitute an equivalence
class because they occur in identical environments. 'Saw
the dog', 'heard the cat', and 'ate the banana' form a
second equivalence class because they occur in equivalent
environments, 'Mary' and 'John'.

Additional considerations which may also be accepted as
grounds for establishing an equivalence class include the
grammatical relationship of elements, an asserted equiva-
lence, and semantic assumptions (Harris 1963, pp. 8-10).

Entire texts may be analyzed by establishing equivalence
classes. However, linguistic transformations must be applied
so that sentences can be normalized and made parallel in form.
For example, by applying tranformations, 'the ball hit the
window and bounced off' may be normalized to 'the ball hit
the window', and 'the ball bounced off the window', pointing
out 'hit the window' and 'bounced off the window' is an
equivalence class not easily seen unless the transformational
process is applied. The complexity of many sentences makes
it difficult to analyze discourse into equivalence classes
unless the text has been normalized by transformations.

That is, if possible, sentences which contain the same words
must be normalized so that they have the same structure.
Although Harris considered transformations to be necessary
for discourse analysis, the method of discourse analysis
was independent of them. It is worth noting that his notion
of normalizing sentences foreshadowed and was directly re-
lated to his pioneer work in the development of the theory
of transformational grammar (Harris 1957).

Harris's work dealt with analytical procedures. It
led to a matrix of equivalent structures in a text and
demonstrated morphological recurrences within the text.
Although it failed to deal with grammatical and semantic
restrictions which bring sentences together as a coherent
unit, it did introduce the concept of discourse analysis.
A number of linguists have adopted Harris's term 'discourse
analysis', redefining it and using it in a much broader
sense than he did. Also, Harris's idea that there is a
"global structure characterizing the whole of discourse"
(Harris 1952a, p.6) became an important element in the
European theory of text grammar (Dijk 1972).

Robert E. Longacre

Another linguist who has contributed extensively to
discourse analysis is Robert E. Longacre. He uses tagmemics
to develop his theory of discourse structure, first formalized
in his work on Philippine languages (Longacre 1968). In the
grammatical hierarchy, extending from the level of morpheme,

with no internal grammatical constructions, to the level of discourse, which has maximal grammatical construction, Longacre describes the intermediate levels between morpheme and discourse as stem, word, phrase, clause, sentence, and paragraph. He points out that work on the lower levels of the hierarchy is lacking in perspective until the higher levels, especially paragraphs and discourse, have been analyzed. Without discourse perspective, one cannot tell when to use various options. For example, it may be impossible to determine under which circumstances optional time and location phrases are used until the discourse level has been analyzed. Therefore, discourse analysis is a necessity rather than an option or a luxury (Longacre 1976b).

Longacre's (1968) identification of discourse genre, later modified by Keith Forster (1977)[1] is especially useful. The major discourse genre or types are narrative, procedural, expository, and behavioral.

Regardless of the kind of discourse being produced, cohesion is necessary for it to be a discourse. Cohesion

---

[1]When Keith Forster (1977) wrote about narrative discourse in a Cuna language dialect that is spoken along the border between Colombia and Panama, he modified Longacre's (1968) original classification of discourse genre. He replaced Longacre's hortatory discourse with behavioral discourse and made hortatory a sub-category of behavioral discourse. Forster's (1977) scheme says narrative and behavioral discourse are agent oriented, whereas procedural and expository discourse are not. Narrative and procedural discourse employ chronological linkage whereas behavioral and expository discourse employ logical linkage. Linkage is defined as grammatical or lexical phenomena which point back to old information and relate it to new. Longacre (1977) endorses these modifications to his earlier classification of discourse genre.

has to do with the means of introducing new information
and keeping track of old information. Longacre (1968)
defines two cohesive phenomena which are especially worth
noting here. One is linkage, which occurs at the discourse
and paragraph levels. Linkage is grammatical or lexical
phenomena which point back to old information and relate
it to new. At the discourse level, linkage occurs between
paragraphs. Grammatical linkage between paragraphs involves
a number of devices. One uses what is known as tail-head
linkage, involving repeating all or part of the final
sentence in one paragraph in the first sentence of the
next paragraph. Another uses temporal sequence to relate
one paragraph to the next. A third uses particles and
conjunctions to make relationships explicit. A fourth
uses what is known as head-head linkage. That is, part or
all of the first sentence of one paragraph is repeated in
the first sentence of the second paragraph. A fifth device
similar to head-head linkage is to repeat the discourse
topic at the beginning of each paragraph. Finally, paragraphs
may be linked by beginning each one with a sentence that is
parallel in construction to the first sentence of the pre-
vious paragraph. At the paragraph level, linkage occurs
between sentences. Here linkage mechanisms are simpler and
usually consist of repeating, paraphrasing, or referring in
some manner at the onset of a succeeding sentence to all or
part of the preceding one (Longacre 1968).

The second phenomenon which Longacre helps to define and clarify is chaining which, occurs "at the clause level" in many New Guinea languages. One independent clause with a final verb occurs at the end of the sentence. Dependent clauses with medial verbs, which are frequently affixed to indicate whether the next clause will have the same or a different subject, are strung together in a series of clauses preceding and often dependent on the independent clause which has a final verb.[1] Longacre (1972) describes the phenomenon as a structure with an engine at the end and a bunch of cars hooked on preceding it. An example from the Nembi language may help to clarify what is meant by clause chaining. The following sentence has five clauses in it. Four of the clauses have medial verbs that are marked to indicate that the next clause will have the same subject, but they are not marked for person, number, or tense. The final clause is the last word in the sentence. Its only constituent is a verb fully marked for person, number, and tense. The medial verbs have the same tense, person, and number as the final verb.[2]

---

[1]The distinction between medial and final verbs has been widely discussed in literature about languages of Papua New Guinea. Pilhofer (1933) appears to have been the first to suggest the distinction. Capell (1969) identifies the medial-final verb distinction as one of three morphological features marking a group of 53 languages belonging to the East New Guinea Highlands (Micro) Phylum.

[2]The final verb suffixes are discussed and given in appendix B.

<u>Ya apa mend mu, taoll, epowar, ya apa onda no,</u>

<u>pirisao.</u> (Bird egg one get-same-subject, carry-
purposive-same-subject, come-same-subject, bird
egg that eat-same-subject, she-sat-singular-distant-
past.) 'Having taken the bird's egg and coming
carrying it, she sat eating that bird's egg.[1]

In many languages of Papua New Guinea chaining is a common
occurence which one must carefully consider in analyzing
sentences, paragraph and discourse levels of the grammatical
hierarchy (Longacre 1972).

Thus, Longacre's (1968, 1972) emphasis has been on
the hierarchiacal organization of discourse. He has
defined the various levels of discourse and has identified
discourse and paragraph genre. He has been especially
concerned with recognizing relationships which occur be-
tween hierarchical levels and with demonstrating restric-
tions which the higher levels of discourse place on the lower
ones.

---

[1]Language examples are underlined once. They are
followed by a literal word-for-word translation enclosed
in parenthesis. If more than one English word is required
to translate a Nembi word, the English words are hyphenated.
A free translation, given after the literal one, is enclosed
in single quotation marks. If an example has more than one
sentence, the sentences are numbered in both the literal and
the free translation as well as in the example. Insofar
as possible, a single English sentence in the free transla-
tion corresponds to a single Nembi sentence. However, be-
cause of the complexity of some Nembi sentences, it is
sometimes necessary, for the sake of clarity, to use more
than one English sentence to translate a Nembi sentence.

Joseph E. Grimes

A third linguist who has contributed significantly
to theories of discourse analysis is Joseph E. Grimes.
He refers to discourse as being undefined. He charac-
terizes it only in terms of Kenneth Pike's notion of
verbal behavioreme. He considers Pike's most fundamental
contribution to discourse studies to be his insistence
that chunks of human behavior can be taken as culturally
defined. These are recognizable to those who participate
in them as having a definite beginning and end. Thus, a
behavioreme is a segmentable chunk of behavior which has
a beginning, an ending, and an internal structure. This
is Pike's starting point for the analysis of both verbal
and non-verbal behavior. Grimes recognizes Pike's concept
of behavioreme as a good starting point in discourse
analysis and chooses not to give a more precise definition
of discourse (J. Grimes 1975a, pp. 4-8).

Grimes (1975a) describes his theory of discourse
structure as being related to theories of generative
semantics. However, where useful insights into language
have been developed from other points of view, he attempts
to incorporate the insights into his theory of discourse.
Thus, he recognizes tagmemics as an extremely useful tool
for gathering and processing language data, but considers
it to offer an inadequate view of what language is like.
He is less concerned about the hierarchical relationships

of discourse and more concerned about semantic and linear
relationships (J. Grimes 1975a, pp. 28-32).

Semantic relationships have to do with content
organization which is sometimes referred to as cognitive
structure. Mechanisms for keeping track of temporal
sequence, identifying participants, establishing setting,
and giving background information usually involve the
semantic organization of the discourse.

Linear relationships have to do with the process of
arranging elements of speech one after the other and is
distinct from the process of deciding what to say and
putting it into a hierarchy. Hierarchical relationships
are concerned with how clauses can be built into sentences,
sentences into paragraphs, and paragraphs into discourse,
and with the grammatical restrictions higher levels of the
hierarchy place on the lower levels. Linear relationships
penetrate both the hierarchical and semantic organization
of discourse and are concerned with the cohesive and the-
matic phases of language. Thematic relationships have to
do with the speaker's perspective or point of view. The
speaker chooses to give prominence to some information
making it of primary importance and bringing it to the
foreground, while he makes other information of secondary
importance and keeps it in the background. Grimes (1975a)
refers to the process of themetization as staging.
Cohesion has to do with introducing new information and
relating it to old. Cohesive relationships may be either

anaphoric or cataphoric. Anaphoric relationships point
back or refer to something that has already occured in
the text. Grimes identifies linkage between paragraphs
and sentences as an anaphoric relationship. Cataphoric
relationships point ahead and refer to something which
will be identified and discussed at a later point in
the text. Chaining in languages of Papua New Guinea is
a type of cataphoric relationship in that it predicts what
the next clause will contain. That is, it tells whether
the next clause will have the same subject or a different
one. These types of relationships work together to give
cohesion to the discourse (J. Grimes 1975a).

Thus, while Longacre's emphasis has been on the hierar-
chical organization of discourse, and on the relationships
which occur between the hierarchical levels, Grimes' emphasis
has been on linear relationships which penetrate the seman-
tic and hierarchical organization of discourse.

Michael A. K. Halliday

A fourth linguist who has made significant contributions
to discourse analysis is Michael A. K. Halliday (1967, 1968,
Kress 1976). Halliday uses a sociolinguistic approach to
language. Language is a social act and has developed in
response to the demands made by society and as a reflection
of these demands. Language serves certain functions in the
society. These functions may be broadly classified into
three very general types known as macro-functions. The

first macro-function is ideational and involves transmit-
ting information between members of the society. The
second macro-function is interpersonal and embodies
all the use of language to express social and personal
relations. The third macro-function is textual and involves
the organization of discourse and cohesion, and it makes
the difference between a message and a mere dictionary
entry. The syntax or grammar of a language is its inter-
functional hookup. It integrates the various functional
components into a unified structural form, and embodies all
the components at the same time. That is, no part of the
grammar, such as the clause, can be segmented into little
bits with each bit expressing a different function. Instead
the clause (or any part of the grammar) as a whole expresses
all the functions simultaneously. Grammatical structure is
the means by which the various components of meaning,
deriving from the interpersonal, ideational, and textual
functions of language are integrated together (Kress 1976).

In Halliday's scheme for English, the clause is the do-
main for transitivity, mood, and theme which are three main
areas of choice derived from the ideational, interpersonal,
and textual functions of language. Transitivity is derived
from the ideational component, and has to do with cognitive
content and processes and the linguistic representation of
extra-linguistic experience. Mood is derived from the
interpersonal function and has to do with the speaker's

option to inform, question, confirm, command or contradict.
Theme is derived from the textual function and has to do
with the cohesive structure of the language and the way
the speaker relates old information to new.

The notion of choice is central to Halliday's
systemic grammar. A system is a set of mutually exclusive
features. When a speaker enters a system, he must choose
one and only one of the features in that system. Each
system may have some other feature as an entry condition
for yet another system. One entry condition may entail
several systems simultaneously, or a system may have
multiple entry conditions one or all of which must be
present.

Thus, in English the clause is the entry condition for
the systems of transitivity, mood, and theme (Halliday 1967, p. 38).
Therefore, these three syntactic systems occur simultaneously.
Within each of the three systems there is a different set
of features or mutually exclusive choices which the speaker
must make. However, the choices in the three systems inter-
act and depend on each other in their impact on linguistic
form.

Transitivity has to do with cognitive content and
with the choices related to processes and participants.
Halliday (1968, p. 181) defines processes as either action or
ascription. Action involves both physical and mental pro-
cesses such as speaking, throwing, seeing, and washing.

Ascription assigns attributes as in 'she looked happy',
'it costs two dollars', and 'he is old.' He defines
participants as any function that can combine with that
of subject. The speaker chooses what roles such as actor
or goal he will assign to participants. Halliday (1967)
demonstrates the choices within the transitivity system
available to a speaker of English.

Mood is a simultaneous system to transitivity. The
speaker must choose to inform, request, demand, confirm,
question, or contradict. That is, a speaker cannot choose
to do all of these at the same time. Rather he must choose
only one. However, at the same time the speaker chooses
from the system of mood, he must also choose from the
transitivity system.

The third simultaneous set of systems in the English
clause is theme. Halliday (1967, p. 199) refers to theme as the
grammar of discourse. It has to do with the way the speaker
relates old information to new. Old information refers to
that which has already been given or defined in the text.
It is anaphorically recoverable. That is, it can be
identified by looking back in the text at previously defined
information. On the other hand, new information cannot be
anaphorically recovered. It is given for the first time
and cannot be recovered by looking back in the text.
Intonation and stress patterns are of extreme importance
in the systems of theme.

These three sets of systems in English operate
simultaneously. Each has its own sets of choices
available to a speaker when he produces a grammatical
unit. Thus, the options available in the transitivity
systems are distinct from those within the theme systems,
but they interact, each affecting the other. This is
made explicit in Halliday (1968).

Grimes' (1975a, p. 272) thinking in regard to linear
relationships in discourse has been greatly influenced by
some of Halliday's writings. Although he changes Halliday's
terminology, Grimes incorporates into his theories on
staging and cohesion much of what Halliday (1967, 1968)
says about transitivity and theme in English.

Terry Winograd[1] (1972) reviews and reiterates
Halliday's theory of systemic grammar, and he clarifies

---

[1]Terry Winograd (1972) has worked on a research program
in artificial intelligence conducted at Massachusetts Insti-
tute of Technology. In a project designed to show how lan-
guage understanding can be simulated, Winograd developed a
computer system for understanding English. The system con-
tains a parser, a recognition grammar for English, programs
for semantic analysis and a general problem solving system.
The system which takes in typed English displays its re-
sponses on a screen. It enters into dialogue with a person,
responding to English sentences with actions and replies
and seeking clarification when it cannot understand some-
thing. The plan behind the system is broad enough to allow
it to add new grammatical constructions to ones already
understood, increase or change vocabulary, and amplify
information. It gives a realistic simulation of linguistic
behavior (Winograd 1972).
   It is worth noting that Grimes has applied Winograd's
work on the computer model to the concept of field of refer-
ence in discourse. Field of reference involves our total
mental world. It has to do with our imagination, dreams,
motivations, inspirations, and perceptions. Most of Grimes'
(1975a, p. 302) commands on field of reference are directly
related to Winograd's model.

the notations used for representing the network of a system.

In English there are three basic levels or ranks of units: the word, the group, and the clause. The word is the basic building block. The next unit above the word is the group, and it includes such units as noun group, verb group, adjective group, and preposition group. The highest rank is the clause. Rank shifting (embedding) occurs when a word group becomes part of another word group, or a clause becomes part of another clause or a word group. There is no need for a separate syntactic unit of sentence since a sentence is either a single clause or a series of conjoined clauses.

A set of mutually exclusive features is called a system. That is, in producing a grammatical unit, a speaker must select one of the features from a system. The feature he has selected may become an entry condition for yet another system. Thus, in English the clause is the entry condition for a system of major and secondary clauses. A major clause stands by itself as a complete unit. A secondary clause is one that shifts rank or embeds itself in another clause or a word group or is in some way dependent on another clause.

The major clause is the entry condition for a system with the features of declarative, imperative, and question. All major clauses (sentences) must be one of

those three. Thus, when a speaker chooses a major
clause, it becomes mandatory that he make another choice
among declarative, imperative, and question. The question
is the entry condition for another system whose features
are 'yes-no' or 'wh' questions. Therefore, when the speaker
opts to produce a question, he must choose one of the fea-
tures belonging to the next system--either a 'yes-no' or
'wh' question. Notations for representing a network
system are explained and illustrated in Winograd (1972).

Tuen A. van Dijk

Fifth, European linguists working on text grammars
have made significant contributions to discourse analysis.
Tuen A. van Dijk (1972) discusses the theoretical framework
for text grammars. He argues that many relevant and
systematic phenomena of language are properties of dis-
course and cannot be adequately described by sentence
grammars. A text grammar is needed to account for the
formal structure of texts. Text grammars adopt the approach
of generative-transformational grammar, but they include
text structure in the scope of the grammar.

Texts have both a surface and a deep structure. The
surface structure of a text consists of an ordered
sequence of sentences and their interrelations and is
distinct from the syntactic surface structure of indi-
vidual sentences. Sentences in a text are strung together

one after the other in a linear sequence. This is not done
haphazardly, but in a way that gives coherence and continuity
to the text. Sentences relate to each other, and these
relationships manifest themselves in the surface or
micro-structure of the text. Some of the intersentential
relationships include relativization, pronominalization,
coordination, focus, and tenses, modes and aspects of the
verb. Although these relationships are exhibited in the
textual surface structure, they are manifestations of
underlying relations between semantic representations
which operate in the textual deep structure (Dijk 1972,
Petofi and Rieser 1973).

Textual deep structure or macro-structure is the
abstract underlying logical form of a text. Texts are
produced and interpreted as one global coherent structure.
Underlying semantic representations dominate and place
constraints upon the entire text. These constraints
operate in a global framework giving coherence and meaning
to the entire structure. The coherent linear sequence of
sentences and the relationship between them can only be
accounted for in the textual deep structure.

A text grammar attempts to describe the macro-
structure or underlying logical form of the text and relate
it to the micro-structure or linear sequence of sentences
in a text (Dijk 1972, Petofi and Reiser 1973).

Although I have not incorporated the approach taken
by text grammars into my work on Nembi discourse structure,
even a brief survey of theories of discourse analysis is
not complete without at least mentioning the work European
linguists are doing in text grammar.

Approach of This Thesis

I have come to think of discourse as a segment of
speech which has a beginning, an end, and an internal
structure. It is made up of paragraphs, sentences,
clauses, phrases, words, and morphemes. These cannot
be strung together in a haphazard way, but rather obey
grammatical and semantic restrictions that bring them
together as coherent units.

Sentence grammars analyze the internal structure
of sentences, identify types of sentences, and pinpoint
relationships within the sentence, but they fail to deal
with relationships between sentences and paragraphs.
Discourse analysis goes a step further in that it
attempts to account for semantic and syntactic relation-
ships between sentences and paragraphs. It seeks to
understand what gives coherency and continuity to
discourse as a whole.

Longacre, Grimes, and Halliday have greatly influenced
my work on Nembi discourse structure. Longacre was helpful
for three things. First, his classification of discourse
genre was useful in sorting out types of discourse.

Second, his discussions on the phenomena of linkage (Longacre 1968) provided some valuable insights into textual coherence. Third, because Nembi is one of the Papua New Guinea clause chaining languages, Longacre's (1972) remarks on chaining were especially useful.

Many of the terms and underlying concepts that I use in explaining Nembi discourse structure belong to Grimes. His comments on semantic and linear relation- ships particularly influenced my thinking. My under- standing of events, participants, background information, setting, collateral, staging, reference, cohesion, and prominence in discourse is mainly derived from Grimes' (1975a) discussion of discourse phenomena.

Finally, in explaining the Nembi clause system, I develop a clause system network based on Halliday's (1967, 1968, Kress 1976) systemic grammar as it was clarified and modified by Winograd (1972).

II. DISCOURSE

Speakers of Nembi are capable of producing any of
the four kinds of discourse defined by Longacre (1968,
1977). However, the scope of this paper is limited to
Nembi procedural and narrative discourse. It is based
on the analysis of fourteen texts. Four of these are
procedural texts which tell how to do something, and
ten are narrative texts which tell a story. Four of the
narratives are quite short and are based on recent events
which the narrator took part in or observed. Six are
ancestral legends in which the narrator was neither
participant nor observer. He serves only as a reporter.
These are much longer and more complex than the other four
narrative texts.

Introduction of Discourse

All procedural and narrative discourses begin with
an introduction. In the introduction, temporal and
spatial setting are established, and the topic and main
participants are introduced.

Temporal Setting

Once a speaker has chosen to produce a procedural
discourse, he must choose whether or not to establish a

23

temporal setting. All the procedural texts analyzed are
told in customary tense which, expresses an action per-
formed customarily without reference to time. However,
within the text the sequence of events implies the
passing of time. Therefore, in procedural discourse, the
speaker does not establish a specific temporal setting,
but he may choose to imply a general time or none at all.
Three examples follow. The first is from a text about
planting a garden. The time is loosely implied when the
speaker says that there are no sweet potatoes.

> 1/ Omapo. 2/ Olle ne aolla re e kaonga po-
> allma. (1/ Garden. 2/ Sweet-potatoes negative
> are consequent-marker garden new we-plant.)
> '1/ I am talking about a garden. 2/ Since
> there are no sweet potatoes, we plant a new
> garden.'

In the second example, the text is about dressing up for
a traditional dance. The time is implied when the speaker
says that we get ready for a dance. He then makes the
temporal setting more explicit by using the temporal
noun 'Christmas'. It is a generic term referring to
any Christmas rather than to a specific one.

> Mel lu wamine korismelen ri esmba iri pima.
> (Dance hit prepare-for Christmas and head
> hair we-do.) 'Preparing for a dance and at
> Christmas too, we set our hair.'

The third example is from a text about how to build a house, and it makes no evident reference to time.

> And tiriyanen ere es pundiyu kaembe lallma.
>
> (House first consequent-marker grass cut
>
> cane we-hit.) 'As for a house, first we cut
>
> the grass and cut down the cane.'

If on the other hand, the speaker chooses to produce a narrative discourse, he must use one of the past tenses. If the action was completed not long before the telling, the speaker uses near past tense. If it took place a long time before the narration, he uses distant past tense.

In addition, in narrative discourse, a specific time must be either stated or implied. In the ancestral stories, the temporal setting is usually implied. The narrator often begins the legends by saying that he is going to tell them a story about their ancestors. In this way, he establishes the temporal setting by implication. He assumes the hearer knows that stories about their ancestors took place in the remote past.

> Inji mend llowam piyung, paongaollpaepe
>
> (Ancestral-story one to-say I-sit, you-hear.)
>
> 'I am sitting to tell you an ancestral story,
>
> all of you listen.'

Inji is a particular kind of legend. There are also other types of legends. Occasionally a speaker will begin a story that took place in the remote past by saying,

<u>Embes embes oro,</u> (Before before superlative,)

'Long long ago,'

In this case the audience knows that it is going to hear a story from the distant past, but it does not know which type of legend will be forth coming.

If the speaker is telling about an event which took place within his or his clan's memory, he establishes temporal setting by using a time word, by referring to a well-known event, or by telling what the approximate size or age of a clansman was when the story took place. In the recent past he usually uses an explicit time word such as yesterday or morning. One speaker began his story about a lost key by saying,

<u>Ambulla Emb anda pomau.</u> (Yesterday name-of-
village house we-went,) 'Yesterday we went to
Embi village.'

Temporal setting in both distant and recent past may also be established by referring to a well-known event which he assumes the hearer knows about. In the following example the event had taken place only a day or two before the telling, and the entire clan had been involved in it. Therefore, by referring to the event, the temporal setting was established explicitly.

<u>Angal ngo re Eyo Kurup aelem nopo ngo Emb
anda epaimi.</u> (Story this consequent-marker
Name-of-clan-from-Lake-Kutubu Lake-Kutubu
men down-there this Name-of-village house

they-came.) 'As for this story, the men from

Lake Kutubu came down there to the village of

Embi.'

Time words for the distant past cover a very broad spectrum

of time. To make temporal setting in the distant past more

specific, a speaker must refer to a well-known event or

mention the approximate age of a clansman. In the example,

the time word 'before' is made explicit by identifying the

age of the speaker's father at the time the events

occured.

Embes na aorao ael weni romb... (Before my

father man in-process when...) 'Before when

my father was a young man...'

For most of the narratives told in distant past

tense, establishing when the action took place in rela-

tion to the time of the narration is adequate. However,

if the time of day or season when the events in the story

began is especially significant to the rest of the story,

the speaker must further define the temporal setting so

that the audience knows what time of day or during which

season the sequence of events began. The example uses

distant past tense. The speaker begins by saying that he

is telling an ancestral story. At the end of the intro-

duction he indicates that the sequence of events began at

night.

1/ Inji mend llowam piyu. 2/ Ael epe oro mend a

isao. 3/ Or epe oro. 4/ Ael epe oro a isao nda

> nipuna timba upellisao. (1/ Ancestral-story
> one to-say I-sit. 2/ Man good superlative one
> stand was. 3/ Very good superlative. 4/ Man
> good superlative stand was in-reference he
> night he-slept.) '1/ I am sitting to tell you
> an ancestral story. 2/ There was a very good
> man. 3/ He was very good. 4/ That man who
> was very good slept at night.'

Spatial Setting

Spatial setting as well as temporal setting is
established in the introduction of the discourse. If
the speaker has chosen to produce a procedural discourse,
the spatial setting is not stated explicitly, although
one is implied. For example, that the preparation of
a new garden must take place at the garden site is so
obvious to both speaker and hearer that it is not stated.

In contrast, the location in narrative texts is
usually defined very explicitly. In narratives about
recent events the name of the village where the action
took place is actually given.

> Ambulla Emb anda pomau. (Yesterday Name-of-village
> house we-went.) 'Yesterday we went to Embi
> village.'

In the one exception the speaker was talking about an
important feast that had taken place the previous day,
and the hearer was well aware of the specific location.

In this instance although the temporal setting is established in the introduction, all reference to spatial setting is omitted.

> <u>Tunitimba ambulla rup an to puwara mel lu.</u>
> (Morning yesterday manner stone arrange do
> traditional-dance hit.) 'Yesterday morning
> we arranged the stones and danced.'

In the ancestral stories, the narrator usually identifies the location by comparing it to a place that is well-known to both speaker and hearer.

> <u>Tenael onge lap mend Tikip anda nonpil puru</u>
> <u>aispi.</u> (Woman-man old two other Name-of-
> village house just-like sat they-2-stood.)
> 'An old man and woman lived at a village just
> like Tikip.'

The one legend that does not establish spatial setting in this way emphasizes the temporal setting and leaves the spatial setting undefined.

Establishing the Topic

If the speaker has chosen to produce a procedural discourse, he usually introduces the topic in the initial sentence of the text. A consequent or coordinate marker conjoins the first part of the sentence which names the topic to the second part of the sentence which gives the first event in the sequence of actions that develop the topic. In the example, the text is about how to get ready for a feast. The topic is given in the first part

of the sentence. It is followed by a consequent marker
which shows there is a cause and effect relationship
between the first part of the sentence and that which
follows. That is, because of the festivities certain
actions are carried out.

> Ngo ya paombullen ere tiriyanenel and su luwar
> laman and pima. (This long-house dance consequent-
> marker first house ground hit straighten house
> do.) 'Because we dance at the long house, first
> we level the ground and build the house.'

There is one example of a procedural text where the
topic is introduced in a nonverbal sentence consisting
of only one word. The second sentence then limits the
topic and conforms to the pattern just described. That
is, the first part of the sentence limits the topic,
and the second part gives the first event in the sequence
of actions that develop the topic.

> 1/ Omapo. 2/ Olle ne aolla re e kaonga poallma.
> (1/ Garden. 2/ Sweet-potatoes negative are
> consequent-marker garden new we-plant.)
> '1/ I am talking about a garden. 2/ Since
> there are no sweet potatoes, we plant a new
> garden.'

In the above example, sentence final intonation is
placed on the one word sentence which begins the discourse.
It is followed by a lengthy pause which along with the
intonation separates it from the rest of the discourse.

Elsewhere in narrative discourse these three factors combine in the same way when the narrator wishes either to keep a participant in focus or to reintroduce him and bring him back to the center of attention.

If the speaker has chosen to produce a narrative discourse, he sometimes implies the topic rather than overtly stating it. Most of the narratives about recent activities begin with an introductory time word, followed by an event. In this way the speaker implies the topic. The time word indicates that the events which took place at that time are the topic of the story. The first event is not a topic event, but rather it begins the sequence of action.

> Ambulla Emb anda pomau. (Yesterday Name-of
> village house we-went.) 'Yesterday we went to
> Embi village.'

In most of the legends the speaker gives the topic when he says that he is going to tell an ancestral story. He then further limits the topic when he indicates who the main participants are. The hearer learns that the story will be about two brothers, a young girl, or an old man and woman. At this point, the speaker may choose to give names to the participants, or he may refer to them in a more general way and assign them names later in the text. In the following example, the speaker says he is going to tell an ancestral story, and then he indicates that it is a story about two sisters. They are not

assigned names until much later in the text.

> 1/ Inji mend llowam piyu. 2/ Emb anda nonpil
>
> lle aki yall ilap mend pirispi. (1/ Ancestral-
>
> story one to-say I-sit. 2/ Name-of-village house
>
> just-like connector sister plural-marker two
>
> one they-two-sat.) '1/ I am sitting to tell
>
> you an ancestral story. 2/ It was a place just
>
> like Embi village, and two sisters lived there.'

In the second example the speaker gives the names
to the participants at the outset. Thus, he limits the
topic to a story about these two men whose names he
mentions.

> 1/ Inji mend llowam piyu. 2/ Kowen anda nonpil
>
> lle Kendama nonpi por Perip Kuind aorao nonpi
>
> lap awespi. (1/ Ancestral-story one to-say I-sit.
>
> 2/ Name-of-village house just-like connector
>
> name-of-man just-like relator-word Name-of-
>
> village Name-of-boy father just-like two
>
> they-were.) '1/ I am sitting to tell you an
>
> ancestral story. 2/ It was a village just like
>
> Kowen, and there was a man just like Kendama and
>
> one just like Kuind's father from Perip and the
>
> two of them lived.'

Identifying the Participants

After the speaker limits the topic by telling
who the main participants are, he proceeds to identify

them more fully giving other pertinent information
about them. Participants are of extreme importance
in narrative discourse. However, if the story is told
in the first person, the devices used to identify and
inform about the participants are less involved than
when it is told in third person. The speaker is well
known to the audience, and his use of the first person
makes him one of the principal participants. A name
or generic reference is usually sufficient to identify
any other participants who are also known to the audience.
However, if at any point he introduces a participant
that the hearer does not know, he must describe him in
more detail. In the following example, the hearer
knows the speaker is a participant because the speaker
uses first person plural verb affixes. The speaker also
mentions a group of boys so the hearer knows that the
boys will be involved in the action.

> 1/ Ambulla Emb anda pomau. 2/ Naik yem allmi
> yaondo aondall. 3/ Ngo aondall awar, and nao
> awar poma.(1/Yesterday Name-of-village house
> we-plural-went. 2/ Boy group were long-house
> I-see. 3/ This to-see stand house we-plural
> stand we-plural-go.) '1/ Yesterday we went to
> Embi village. 2/ I saw a group of boys gathered
> at the long house. 3/ Having stood in order to
> see, we went to the house.'

If the narrative is told in third person, the speaker must introduce the participants more carefully than in a first person narrative, giving more detail about them. He accomplishes this either by describing the participant and giving information that is pertinent to the story, or by comparing him to someone the hearer is acquainted with or both. The speaker may be less explicit about a participant whom the hearer already knows. That is, since the hearer already knows the participant, the narrator does not need to specify such things as the name of the participant's village or clan, his marital status, his degree of wealth, or his age. A name or a vague reference is sufficient to identify a participant the hearer already knows. In the following example, the speaker introduces the participants by comparing them to someone the hearer is acquainted with. He then describes them more fully by saying they were not married. From that point on throughout the text, he refers to them either by reiterating the comparison or by simply using the name of the men to whom the participants were compared.

1/ Kendama nonpi por Perip Kuind aorao nonpi lap awespi. 2/ Or nipi onguma. 3/ Nipi telpun ten re ne kelle awespi. (1/ Name-of-person just-like relator-word Name-of-village Name-of-boy father just-like two they-stood. 2/ Very they-two alone. 3/ They-two both woman consequent-marker negative

buy they-two-were.) '1/ One was just like Kendama,
and one was just like Kuind's father from the
village of Perip. 2/ There were only the two of
them. 3/ Both of them were not married, and so
they lived.'

In the second example, when the speaker introduces the
participants, he identifies them as an old man and
woman who lived at a certain village. However, he never
assigns them a name. Rather, he always refers to them
as 'that old man' and 'that old woman'.

Tenael onge lap mend Tikip anda nonpil puru
aispi. (Woman-man old two other Name-of-
village house just-like sat they-two-stood.)
'An old man and woman lived at a village just
like Tikip.'

Participants are not so important in procedural
discourse. The speaker uses first person plural for
procedural texts. When he says 'we', he is referring to
a group to which he belongs. Unless otherwise specified,
he means 'we, the members of my clan', or 'we, the people
who share this culture'. In all of the procedural texts
studied, the speaker has used 'we' in this sense. It
is conceivable that he might want to limit 'we' to a
smaller group such as 'we men' or 'we young boys'. He
would then identify the group being referred to at the
beginning of the text after which he would simply use
'we'.

Thus, the choices that are available to a speaker who has chosen to produce a procedural discourse vary significantly from the choices available to one producing a narrative discourse. For procedural discourse, temporal and spatial setting need not be well defined. The speaker uses customary tense which has no reference to time. However, in the text, the sequence of events implies the passing of time. Spatial setting is so obvious that it need not be stated. The topic is clearly identified in the procedural discourse, and a coordinate or consequent marker conjoins and relates it to the rest of the sentence in which it occurs. Finally, the speaker uses first person plural to produce a procedural text. His identification of participants is rarely more explicit than to say 'we', meaning 'myself and the group to which I belong'.

On the other hand, temporal and spatial setting are well defined in the narrative discourse. A specific time is stated or implied, and tense also helps to make the temporal setting explicit. When talking about recent occurences, the speaker usually names the village where the action took place. In the ancestral stories he compares the location to a place that is well-known to both speaker and hearer. In narratives the topic may either be implied or stated specifically. Finally, participants are extremely important in narrative discourse. The speaker clearly identifies the main participants, often

assigning them names and giving other information about
them that is pertinent to the rest of the story.

Examples of Introductions to Discourse

Three examples of introductions to discourse follow.
The first example is from a procedural text. The general
topic is established in the first part of the sentence,
and a consequent marker conjoins it to the rest of the
sentence which gives the first event in the sequence of
events that develop the topic.

And tiriyanen ere, es pundiyu kaembi lallma.
(House first consequent-marker, grass cut
cane we-hit.) 'As for a house, first we cut
the grass and cut the cane.'

The introductions to most procedural discourses are
quite short. I gave other examples of complete intro-
ductions to procedural discourse when I discussed
establishing the topic earlier in this chapter.

The second example is from a narrative text about
a recent event, and is rather short having only two
sentences. The temporal setting is implied since the
speaker refers to a recent event which he assumes the
hearer knows about. The topic is established, the
first participants introduced, explicit spatial setting
given, and the first event in the story stated in the
initial sentence. The second sentence introduces less
important participants and repeats the first event of
the story.

1/ Angal ngo re Eyo Kurup aelem nopo ngo Emb

anda epaimi. 2/ Puwar, nimin ten ongetu naik

ongetu ten naik por aru epaimi. (1/ Story this

consequent-marker Name-of-clan-from-Lake-Kutubu

Lake-Kutubu men down-there this Name-of-village

house they-came. 2/ Do, their women group-of

boy group-of women boy relator-word along-with

they-came.) '1/ As for this story, the men from

Lake Kutubu came down there to the village of

Embi. 2/ Doing this, their women and children

came with them.'

The third example is from an ancestral legend.
The narrative is longer than the other two texts, and the
introduction is more involved. In the first sentence,
the speaker says that he is going to tell an ancestral
story. Sentence two and three are nonverbal sentences
which introduce the two main participants. In this story
the two main participants are given fictional names.
The speaker does not compare them to anyone the hearer
is acquainted with, but he names the participants' clans.
Sentence four gives additional background information
about the main participants. The fifth and final sentence
in the introduction makes the spatial setting explicit
by comparing it to a nearby village.

1/ Inji mend llowam piyu. 2/ Tenon mbire

Osikisaek waene Yomo ten. 3/ Aelen mbire Ond Tima

Ponki Tellel. 4/ Ngo lap tomen llo espi yo, nipin

pispi. 5/ Ulaell anda nonpi puru espi.

(1/ Ancestral-story another to-say I-sit.

2/ Woman's name Name-of-person daughter Name-of-clan woman. 3/ Man's name Name-of-mountain Name-of-mountain Name-of-man Name-of-clan.

4/ This two courted say they-stood coordinate-marker, they-two they-two-went. 5/ Name-of-village house just-like sat they-stood.)

'1/ I am sitting to tell you an ancestral story. 2/ The woman's name was Osikisaek's daughter and she was from the Yomo clan. 3/ The man's name was Ponki from the mountains of Ond and Tima and his clan was Tellel. 4/ The two of them courted, and they married. 5/ They lived at a village just like Ulaell.'

Body of Discourse

The body of the discourse is made up of one or more paragraphs which develop the topic that was established in the introduction to the discourse by continuing the sequence of action begun in the introduction. That is, after establishing the topic, introducing the participants, and giving the pertinent information about them, the introductory paragraph concludes by giving the first of the sequence of actions that develop the topic. The end of the introductory paragraph is marked by falling intonation and a lengthy pause. The initial word in the next

paragraph is then spoken at a higher level of pitch than the speaker has been using. The speaker nearly always uses tail-head linkage by repeating the last clause of the introductory paragraph in the first clause of the next paragraph. Frequently, but not always, he relates the repeated clause to those which follow by using a coordinate or consequent marker. The following example shows the last sentence of an introductory paragraph and the first sentence in the second paragraph. The speaker employs tail-head linkage, and a coordinate marker relates the repeated clause to that which follows.

    1/Tenael onge lap mend Tikip anda nonpil puru aispi.

    2/Puru aispi yo men ul pambor mend kaollo pirispi.

    (1/ Man-woman old two other Name-of-village house just-like sat they-two-stood.

    2/Sat they-two-stood coordinate-marker pig number-marker one other take-care-of they-two-sat.)

    '1/ An old man and woman lived at a place just like Tikip.

    They lived and they took care of a pig.'

Procedural and narrative discourse involve a chronological sequence of events (Longacre 1968). That is, they are arranged and related to each other in a consequential order, and if there happens to be a logical relationship, it is of secondary importance (Forster 1977). The events

in the chronological sequence form the backbone of the narrative and procedural texts. Much of the information included in the discourse is outside the main sequence of events. This includes information about participants, temporal and spatial setting, explanations, evaluations, secondary events, rhetorical questions, negatives, predictions, and most quotations (Grimes 1971, 1975a). Thus, as the speaker develops a narrative or procedural discourse, he keeps the hearer's attention focused upon the main sequence of events, but he also gives a lot of extra information that adds interest, highlights, informs, and gives perspective.

Nembi may be viewed as having two sequences of action going on simultaneously. One gives primary information, is central to the discourse, and is kept in the foreground. The other gives secondary information, adds interest and detail, but is kept in the background. The primary information is distinguished by the frequent use of tail-head linkage and remote back reference. Secondary information uses minimal linkage. It may be either interspersed in among numerous repetitions of the primary information, or given in a chained sequence of medial verbs occuring between two primary events. Secondary information is rarely repeated more than once, whereas primary information is nearly always repeated at least once and frequently more than once. Secondary information often has a logical

relationship to the primary information in that it fre-
quently expresses either the cause or the result of the
primary information.

The following example is taken from one of the
ancestral stories. The main participants are going
from the land of the living to the place of the dead.
The going is the main event, and it is repeated numerous
times. Between the repetitions of the primary information
is some secondary information which identifies one of
the places they pass on their journey.

> 1/ Pispi yo pispi yo pispi. 2/ Ama sollu mend
> opaspi. 3/ Ngo ama ra llisao. 4/ Pil il arer pipi
> ama pe llisao. 5/ Pispi yo pispi yo pispi.
> (1/ They-two-went coordinate-marker they-two-
> went coordinate-marker they-two-went. 2/ Cleared-
> place long one they-two-arrived-at. 3/This cleared-
> place question-marker she-said. 4/ Name-of-tree
> fruit fight they-do cleared-place do he-said.
> 5/ They-went coordinate-marker they-two-went
> coordinate-marker they-two-went.) '1/ They went
> and went and went. 2/ They arrived at a long
> cleared place. 3/ "What is this cleared place?"
> she said. 4/"It is the place where they fight
> over the fruit of the pil tree," he said.
> 5/ They went and went and went.'

The second example is taken from a procedural text
about getting ready for an important feast. The primary

event is setting the post for a house. The secondary

information is given in a chain of medial verbs after

which the speaker repeats the primary event of setting

the posts. The causal relationship between primary and

secondary information is made explicit by the use of a

consequent marker.

No ngo ir aonda ngo awallma re, Eyo po taeke

irin llowar awallma. (Down-there this post

big this we-set consequent-marker, Name-of-

clan-from-Lake-Kutubu chop split burn-different-

subject say we-set.) 'We set the big post down

there. Saying that because the people from Lake

Kutubu will chop, split, and burn it, we set

the post.'

In the third example, the secondary information is given

in a series of medial clauses which occur between two

primary events. The first primary event given at the begin-

ning of the sentence repeats a previously stated action,

and it is related to the rest of the sentence by a

coordinate marker. The second primary event is given at

the end of the sentence. Between the two primary events,

the speaker gives a lot of background information. There

is an implied causal relationship between the first

primary event and those which follow.

Yen aengi kembo mend ipisae yo, ten nong ul

pamboror e ri ne polle, and ri ne pulle, ir

kapul ri ne wes tulle, olle ri ne mondulle,

ngup llowar, aenen toreyao ponaismi. (Rain
mother many one came coordinate-marker, woman
girl number-marker one garden too negative
plant, house too negative do, wood dry too
negative gather carry, sweet-potatoes too
negative carry, in-this-way say, inside door
they-plural-closed.) 'An extremely hard rain
came, and one young girl did not work in the
garden, build a house, gather and carry in
firewood, or carry sweet potatoes, and saying
this, they closed the door from the inside of
the house.'

In longer narratives, secondary information is
sometimes an entire paragraph, or a miniature discourse
embedded in the larger one. These give background
information and add interest, but they are outside
the main stream of events and could be omitted with-
out unduly detracting from the story. When secondary
information involves several sentences, the main event
is repeated both before and after the speaker digresses
to give the background information. For example, in a
story about a young man who marries a girl from the sky,
the man has just received an invitation to sleep at his
father-in-law's house that night. The speaker then
digresses to explain what the sky people do to cause
thunder and lightening. When he returns to the main
sequence of events, the speaker repeats the old man's

invitation to his son-in-law. The comments about the
activities causing the thunder and lightening are out-
side the main sequence of events, but they do give
background and help the hearer comprehend what the
sky people are like.

Procedural texts are much less involved, having
less secondary information than narratives. Usually
procedural texts give one main event after the other
with very little or no background information given between
the main events. When secondary information is included,
it is usually given in medial verbs. The following
example is from a procedural text. It illustrates
a sequence of primary events. The speaker uses
maximal linkage, repeating each main event in the first
clause of the next sentence.

> 1/ E kaonga powara, kaembi lallma. 2/ Kaembi
> luwar ere, kap sendo ekepo pima. (1/ Garden
> new planting, cane hit. 2/ Cane hit consequent-
> marker dry be fence do.) '1/ Planting a new
> garden, we cut down the cane. 2/ Since we cut
> down the cane, allowing it to dry, we build a
> fence.'

Closure of Discourse

The third main part of the discourse is the closure.
Every language has some way to bring discourse to a proper
conclusion. Often the conclusion of narrative and

procedural discourse involves both a closure and a finis. Closure gives a final commentary on the main participants. Finis occurs after the closure and says this is the end or the story is finished (Longacre 1968, 1972).

Nembi narrative and procedural discourse use both a closure and a finis. The closure is a short paragraph of one to three sentences which complete the narration. The speaker may choose to close the discourse with a return to the original setting or state, with a sequel to the main events in the text along with an optional summation of the main events, or with a moralization and a statement of what might have been.

Procedural discourses are usually closed with a sequel to the main events. The one exception, a text about dressing up for a ceremony, closes with a return to the original state. Two examples follow. The first gives a sequel to the main part of the text which is about planting a sweet potato garden.

> Olle powara re, olle kombe romb, olle awallma.
>
> (Sweet-potatoes plant consequent-marker, sweet-potatoes ready when, sweet-potatoes we-dig-out.)
>
> 'Since we have planted the sweet potatoes, when they are ready, we dig them out.'

The second example is the closure that involves a return to the original state. That is, the participants return home and remove and store the finery which they put on

before the ceremony. A chain of medial verbs is used to show the sequence of actions which bring them back to their original state.

> Anda epowara, esmba iri kombo, ya iri kopo, tonga, ngorup pimi. (House come, head hair comb, bird feather remove, fasten, in-this-manner we-do.) 'We do this: having come home, we comb our hair, remove the bird feathers, and put them away.'

Narratives use any of the three methods of closure. When a summation of the story is a part of the closure, the speaker may either enumerate the main events or simply say 'they did this'. In the first example there is a summation of the story and a return to the original setting.

> Ngo rup pa, aondall pir anda epaim. (This in-this-way complete, to-see go house they-came.) 'After they finished this, having gone to see, they came home.'

The second example gives a sequel to the main events. The first part of the closure summarizes the final events in the story by enumerating them, and then the speaker closes by giving a logical sequel to those events.

> Oren umull upellu yuwara, seker nda yel mondu, men mon isao yel meninj min pa, nipi tepall e po and pu, nipi tepall pirispi. (Wife's bosom sleep put, pearl-shell this-in-reference thing

carry, pig this was thing rope hold complete,
they-two spouses garden plant house do, they-
two spouses they-two-sat.) 'Having slept on
his wife's bosom, having carried these pearl
shells, and having fastened these pigs with
rope, the two spouses planted a garden and
built a house, and the two of them lived as
spouses.'

The third example moralizes and tells what might have
been if the story had ended differently.

1/ Ngup puwar ngo pisae re, nao tollo mo yandis
pismae yor, ngo ip maellem yel ngo isae yo,
yono te ne llapaepe, te ne llapaepe llismi yo,
naom te el ipa ngo ne kopall pisma. 2/ Nao ri
purull pisma. 3/ Yo no pull pisma. (1/ In-this-
way do this he-did consequent-marker, we skin
causative change we-did coordinate-marker, this
water get nominalizer this was coordinate-marker,
up-there cry negative say, cry negative say they-
said coordinate-marker, we cry eye water this
negative fall we-did. 2/ We too sat we-did.
3/ Up-there down-there go we-did.) '1/ Because he
did this, he went into the water, and this is what
we do when we are baptized and change our skins.
Up there they do not cry. They said do not cry.
Had we not cried and our tears not flowed, 2/we
too could always have lived. 3/ We could have

gone up there and come back down again.'

Most Nembi narrative and procedural discourses also have a finis which occurs at the very end of the discourse after the closure. Usually the speaker says ngo oro (this finish) 'this is the end'. Sometimes he will shorten it by saying simply ngo 'this'. At other times he will expand it by saying angal ngo oro (story this finish) 'this story is finished'. The finis is omitted only occasionally.

III. LINKAGE AND CHAINING

Linkage

In Nembi linkage occurs between paragraphs and also between sentences. That is, paragraphs are linked to preceding paragraphs, and sentences are linked to preceding sentences.

Longacre (1968) presents an extensive discussion of linkage between paragraphs and sentences suggesting several possible kinds of linkage. Between paragraphs Nembi employs three of these types. One is tail-head linkage, another is temporal sequence, and a third uses grammatical particles to make relationships explicit.

Nembi paragraphs most often use tail-head linkage. All or part of the final sentence in one paragraph is repeated in the first sentence of the next paragraph. Sometimes a word or phrase in the first sentence of the new paragraph summarizes the information given in the previous paragraph. In the following example the last sentence of one paragraph and the first sentence of the next paragraph are shown. The final verb of the last sentence in the first paragraph is repeated in the first sentence of the second paragraph.

50

1/ Es pamom puwar lisan, wall aenen upelluwar
lisana, wall aenen upellisao.

2/ Pellisao o, onda nipu omend pellu
omisae.

(1/ Look-for do do serialization, again inside
sleep prolongation, again inside he-slept.

2/ He-slept coordinate marker, that he
soon sleep he-died.)

'1/ Having searched for it, and having gone
inside to sleep, he again slept inside.

2/ He slept, and soon he was sound asleep.'

Sometimes Nembi paragraphs are linked by temporal
sequence. When there is a noticeable time lapse between
the action of one paragraph and that of the next para-
graph, the speaker may choose to relate the two para-
graphs by using a time word or phrase. In the following
example, the speaker links the two paragraphs by indica-
ting that there was a time lapse between the events in
the two paragraphs. Tail-head linkage is not used.

1/ Mond tall pisae. 2/ Seker ollell men ollell
ngo nda ngol tellembe aendipombai esao. 3/ Puru
esmi.

4/ Yaerel ilap re pepin esmi. 5/ Embekire
ten mo ngen anda mend mban kone isao mon Kendama
nonpim.

(1/ Carry carry did. 2/ Pearl-shell dowry pig
dowry this this-in-reference this lead-by-rope

fastened-up it-was.   3/ Sit they-were.

    4/ Week two consequent-marker go they-were.

5/ Now woman this your house other let-us-go

mind was this Name-of-person just-like.)

'1/ They went carrying and carrying it.

2/ They left a dowry of pigs and a dowry of

pearl shells.   3/ They lived there.

    4/ Two weeks went by.   4/ Now this one just

like Kendama thought, "Woman, let us two go to

your house."'

Occasionally the speaker will use both temporal and

tail-head linkage.   In the following example, the first

sentence of the new paragraph repeats one of the events

of the previous paragraph after which a temporal word is

used.   The repeated information and the temporal word

work together to link the two paragraphs.

    <u>1/ Toll ora minur pu tukmaisae.   2/ Tukmawar,</u>

<u>toll ilapor mender monda songo nipun kellismi.</u>

    <u>3/ Ngo tukma pewara, tuninaen ere e yaond</u>

<u>mend mullwama ne yawemena llowara, kore tani</u>

<u>ilap mondu yu, ir kapu wesu yu, so pu yu, ngup</u>

<u>pisae.</u>

(1/ Number-marker six hold do they-divided.

2/ Dividing, number-marker two one this boy

he they-gave.

    3/ This divide did, tomorrow consequent-

marker garden work-together-to-plant one take

food to-cook said, pitpit-shoots greens two

carry put, wood dry gather put, leaves cut

put, in-this-manner she-did.)

'1/ They divided them and each had six.

2/ Dividing them, they gave two to the boy.

3/ Having divided in this way, the next

day they agreed to join together to plant a

garden and cook food; and they carried and put

the shoots and greens; they gathered and put

the firewood; they cut and put the leaves;

and they did in this way.'

Another type of linkage involves the use of

grammatical particles to make relationships explicit.

In Nembi this usually occurs when the speaker uses

remote back reference to give cohesion to the dis-

course. That is, the first sentence of a new paragraph

may jump over several of the previous paragraphs and

refer back to an earlier point in the text. The

speaker uses remote linkage either to bring a partici-

pant back into focus, or to talk about an event or

other information mentioned earlier. Whenever he em-

ploys remote linkage, the speaker uses a grammatical

particle nda[1] meaning 'the thing in reference'. Occasionally

---

[1]The grammatical particle nda is also used to empha-
size that the speaker is referring to a particular person
or thing. It can mean, 'I am talking about that one and
no other'. Thus, although it is used to bring partici-
pants or other information back into focus, its presence in
the sentence does not necessarily mean that the speaker is
using remote linkage.

a new paragraph uses only remote linkage. More often,
however, this type of linkage is used in conjunction with
tail-head or temporal linkage. In the first example, the
speaker refers to a participant who has not been mentioned
for several paragraphs. The reference particle indicates
that he is using remote linkage. There is no repetition
of any part of the final sentence in the preceding paragraph.

1/ ...mm sumb yao or pallapon, llisao. 2/ Yao
pellapon.

3/ Ore ndam ore olle yalle ngo, llisao.
(1/ ...yes father-in-law we-two superlative
let-us-two-sleep, he-said. 2/ We-two let-
us-two-sleep.

3/ Wife reference-particle consequent-
marker sweet-potatoes cooked this, she-said.)
'1/..."yes, father-in-law, let us two sleep,"
he said. "Let us two sleep."

3/ That wife I was referring to said,
"Here are some cooked sweet potatoes."'

In the second example, the speaker employs both
remote and tail-head linkage. The reference particle
relates the information in the first clause to an
earlier point in the text. The second part of the
sentence uses tail-head linkage in that it repeats part
of the information given in the last sentence of the
previous paragraph.

1/ Ngup llisao rombu, a yaor onguma puru allpa
ndang, na waene ngo mall epawe yor oro mondu yu
perapon llopaem puwaong, ngae llisao.

2/ Ngo nda men nda ya tengenowar pellispi
romine, onda tenom onda naik mondu yu pellisae.
(1/ In-this-way he-said when, true we-two only
sit we-stand but, my daughter this bring I-come
coordinate-marker superlative carry put let-us-
sit say do, this she-said.

2/ This reference-particle pig reference-
particle cooked put-aside they-two-slept while,
that woman that boy carry put she-slept.)
'1/ When he said this, she said, "True, but
there are only the two of us, and I am going to
carry and look after my daughter which I have
brought home with me."

2/ While they put aside that cooked pig that
I was talking about and they slept, that woman put
that boy in her string bag and slept.'

Between sentences linkage mechanisms are simpler
and usually consist of repeating, paraphrasing, or
referring in some manner at the onset of a succeeding
sentence to all or part of the preceding one (Longacre
1968). In Nembi, linkage between sentences occurs when
the last clause of one sentence is repeated in the first
clause of the next sentence. If the first sentence of
the pair has several actions which occur simultaneously

or in sequence, the word 'do' may be used in the first
clause of the new sentence to summarize all the actions
of the previous sentence. Sentence linkage is similar
to tail-head linkage between paragraphs. However, between
paragraphs, any part or all of the last sentence of the
preceding paragraph may be repeated in any part of the
first sentence of the next paragraph. In contrast,
linkage between sentences nearly always repeats the
final clause of the previous sentence in the first clause
of the succeeding sentence. Nearly all sentences within
a paragraph are linked to each other. The following
example is taken from a narrative about a recent event.
Although the sentences are extremely short, each one is
linked to the previous sentence by repeating the final
clause in the previous sentence.

> 1/ Ngo rup pawar, an to pu mbawar, pelluwara,
> men laim. 2/ Tunitimba luwara, iri iraim.
> 3/ Iri iruwara, kepaim. 4/ Kepuwara, tolloroll
> luman enjarim. 5/ Tolloroll luman enjawara, an
> iraim. 6/ An iruwara, an arim. 7/ An awara,
> wall an paombull ngo tukmawar, menen emi yawaim.
> (1/ In-this-way manner complete, stone arrange do
> remain, sleep, pig they-killed. 2/ Morning having-
> killed, hair they-burned. 3/ Hair having-burned,
> they-cut-it-up. 4/ Having-cut-it-up, wooden-rack
> hit they-hung. 5/ Wooden-rack hit having hung,

stone they-burned. 6/ Stone having-burned,

stone they-removed. 7/ Stone having-removed

again stone lay-aside this having-divided,

pig's intestine they-cooked.) '1/ Having

done these things, having arranged the stones,

and having slept, they killed the pig. 2/ Having

killed in the morning, they singed the hair.

3/ Having singed the hair, they cut up the pig.

4/ Having cut it up, they hung it on wooden

racks. 5/ Having hung it on wooden racks, they

heated the stones. 6/ Having heated the stones,

they removed them. 7/ Having removed the stones,

and again having placed them aside and having

divided them, they cooked the pig's intestines.'

Even when sentences become longer and more involved,

they usually link to each other by repeating the final

clause of each preceding sentence in the first clause of

the next sentence. Although the sentences in the following

example are lengthier than those in the previous example,

they follow the same linkage pattern.

1/ Toreyao ponasmi yo, ye aond mo ipisan aenen

puru aepe, ngo ae llo mare llowar lisan, toreyao

kombisao. 2/ Toreyao kombowar ere, aeng yol tepen

yawar, iter aenen in, aengem and yal por ip toreyao

po pirisao. 3/ Ip toreyao po puruwar, komb paisae.

(1/ Door they-closed coordinate-marker, rain big

there came inside sit stand, this yes say tired

saying serialization, door she-opened. 2/ Door

having-opened consequent-marker, foot stretched-
out outside put, buttock inside was, foot house
wall relator-word water road close she-sat.
3/ Water road close having-sat, open she-did.)
'1/ They closed the door, and a big rain came
and they stayed inside. Saying that she was
tired, she opened the door. 2/ Since she had
opened the door, she stretched her foot outside
and her buttock was inside, and putting her foot
toward the wall of the house, she closed the
water's road with her foot. 3/ Having closed
the water's road, she opened it again.'

Nearly all sentences within a paragraph are linked, but
occasionally the link will be omitted. This sometimes
happens in narratives when a dramatic climax occurs
involving an element of surprise or an unexpected event.
In the following example, taken from one of the ancestral
legends, the sentences are not linked. A young man grabs
a girl from the sky, and she changes first into a snake,
then a worm, and finally into some thorny bushes. The
events are unexpected, abrupt, and fast moving, and
there is no link between the sentences.

> 1/ Ngup iki wekiyall puru pirisao. 2/ Yaellell
> onda yel ndapol minaisaendi. 3/ Kowaek olisae.
> 4/ Weran olisae. 5/ Mopono ollombteke makteke
> mambone olisae. (1/ In-this-way hand stretched-
> out sit he-sat. 2/ Reached that thing grasped

he-held. 3/ Snake turned-into. 4/ Earthworm
turned-into. 5/ All-of-these a-thorny-bush
another-thorny-bush another-thorny-bush
she-turned-to.)'1/He sat with his hand stretched
out in this way. 2/Reaching out and grabbing
that thing, he held it. 3/ She turned into a
snake. 4/ She turned into an earthworm. 5/ She
turned into an ollombteke bush, a makteke bush,
and a mambone bush.'

In longer narratives near paragraph boundaries,
a short sentence is sometimes repeated numerous times.
The repeated information involves an action which took
place over an extended time or space and indicates a change
in temporal or spatial setting or both. When this occurs,
the first of the sentences containing the repeated
information is linked to the preceding text, but the
link is dropped in the rest of the sentences containing
the repeated information.

1/ Onda aengi ki nda embes pisae. 2/ Embes
powar lisan, okull lar pirisao. 3/ Pirisao.
4/ Okull lar pirisao. 5/ Pirisao. 6/ Okull
lar pirisao. 7/ Pirisao pisendi. (1/ That
mother diminuitive-marker in-reference quickly
she-went. 2/ Quickly go serialiazation, barrier
hit she-sat. 3/ She-sat. 4/ Barrier hit she-
sat. 5/ She-sat. 6/ Barrier hit she-sat.
7/ She-sat she-did.)'1/That little mother I am

talking about went quickly. 2/ Having gone

quickly, she sat hitting a barrier. 3/ She

sat. 4/ She sat hitting a barrier. 5/ She

sat. 6/ She sat hitting a barrier. 7/ She

did sit.'

Thus, linkage is one device used to relate old

information to new. It is an anaphoric relationship

in that it points back to and repeats information that

has already been given in the text.

Chaining

A second device which Nembi uses to give cohesion

to the discourse is clause chaining. Chaining always

looks ahead to the next clause, and it is a type of cata-

phoric relationship in that it predicts what the next

clause will contain (Grimes 1975a). Typically clause

chaining takes place in the framework of a sentence,

which ends in an independent clause preceded by depen-

dent clauses with medial verbs affixed to indicate

whether the next clause will have the same subject or a

different one. The medial verbs are distinct from final

verbs, which are affixed for person, number, tense, mood,

and aspect. The distinction between medial and final

verbs has been made explicit in McCarthy 1965, Lawrence

(1972), Huisman (1973), and Longacre (1972).[1]

---

[1]The medial verbs have also been called non-final,
non-terminal, secondary, and non-finite. The final verbs
have been called by the antonymous terms, terminal, primary,

In Nembi, clause chaining takes place either within
a sentence or more rarely within dependent adjunct clauses
which have final verbs. The dependent adjunct clauses are
time and manner clauses formed by adding the clitics
romb 'when', rup 'in this manner', or romine 'while' after
the final verb. These occur at the beginning of a sen-
tence and are subordinate to the independent clause in
the sentence. They are discussed more fully in chapter
VI. They are mentioned here because it is possible for
the final verb in time and manner clauses to have depen-
dent clauses with medial verbs chained to it. Frequently
there are no medial clauses preceding the final verb of
an adjunct clause, but sometimes there are one or two.
The example is a sentence with a time clause. There is one
medial verb chained to the final verb in the adjunct clause,
but the independent clause has no medial clauses chained to
it.

Monem lutull ipullumi romb, pa supum lutaellemi.

(Money to-buy-medial-same-subject they-come-final

when, two-kina-notes twenty they-buy-final.)

'When they come to buy with money, they buy

for forty kina.'

---

and finite. The dependent clauses have also been called
subordinate, and independent clauses, superordinate or
primary. However, Franklin (1971) in his analysis of
Kewa thought it more appropriate to view the medial-final
distinctions as properties of coordinate sentences, and
the clauses which expound the bases of the sentences as
interdependent. Longacre (1972) concurs that the medial-
final distinction may be different in kind than the
subordinate-coordinate distinction in Indo-European languages.

Medial verbs may be classified into four types
according to the aspect or intention which they carry.
The four types are referred to as chronological, durative,
resultative, and purposive. Durative and purposive verbs
always have the same subject as the verb they precede.
Resultative verbs always have a different subject, and
chronological verbs may have either the same or a
different subject as the verb which follows. The object
of transitive medial verbs may be either stated overtly
with the verb, or if several verbs share the same object,
it is stated with the first verb, and all the transitive
verbs which follow share that object until another is
overtly stated. In chapter VI I discuss and illustrate
clauses and clause chaining phenomena more fully.

IV. PARAGRAPHS

Each of the three main parts of Nembi discourse--the introduction, the body, and the closure--is made up of paragraphs. The four kinds of paragraphs in Nembi discourse are opening, closing, sequential and consequential.

Opening paragraphs are the introduction to the discourse. In all the texts studied, the introduction has only one paragraph. They are usually short, often having only one to three sentences. Shorter narratives told in near past tense and procedural texts have shorter opening paragraphs, whereas longer narratives told in distant past tense have longer opening paragraphs. The sentences in the paragraph are usually short and may either be nonverbal sentences, consist of only one independent clause, or have dependent and independent clauses.

Closing paragraphs are the closure of the discourse. As with introductions, in the texts studied, the closure has only one paragraph. They are also short, having one or two sentences. Introductions and closures are discussed and illustrated in chapter II.

In the body of a discourse the speaker must choose whether to produce consequential or sequential paragraphs. The relationships which he wishes to demonstrate between the topic or primary information and the secondary information are the basis on which he chooses between sequential and consequential paragraphs. As the name implies, sequential paragraphs relate a series of events. Sequence is shown, but a cause-effect relationship is not asserted. On the other hand, consequential paragraphs are those in which a cause-effect relationship is stated to exist between the topic of the paragraph and the secondary information.

At an abstract level, however, there is only one form of paragraph organization. That is, every paragraph has an introduction, a body, and a closure. In Nembi, paragraph organization parallels that of discourse. There is an introduction that identifies topic and setting, a body that develops, and a closure which brings it to a proper conclusion. Therefore, I use the same terms to refer to the beginning, the middle, and the ending of both paragraphs and discourse.

Paragraph Boundaries

Several phenomena mark paragraph boundaries. The introduction of the new paragraph establishes a change in setting. The temporal setting changes either by implication or by an explicit time word or clause in the

first sentence of the new paragraph,[1] and the spatial

setting frequently changes.

Paragraph closure involves the repetition, summation,

or completion of the main events or a return to the set-

ting established at the beginning of the paragraph. Sen-

tences at the end of the paragraph are often spoken more

rapidly than the rest of the text. When the main events

of one paragraph are repeated or summarized at the end of

that paragraph, they are again repeated or summarized in

the first sentence of the next paragraph if the speaker

uses tail-head linkage. However, after that they are

usually not mentioned again during the remainder of the

discourse. The one exception is if part or all of the

information again becomes pertinent at a later point in

the text, the speaker uses remote back linkage or reference

to bring it back into focus again.

The following example shows the final sentence of

one paragraph and the first sentence of the next paragraph.

In the final sentence of the first paragraph the speaker

summarizes the previous event by using the verb 'do'.

The paragraph ends with a final event completing the

sequence of action. The speaker uses tail-head linkage to

---

[1] In the data studied, the temporal setting always
changes in the first sentence of the new paragraph. However,
procedural and narrative discourse involves a sequence of
events that implies the passing of time, whereas expository
and behavioral discourse are not developed by a sequence of
events. Therefore, the temporal setting probably will not
change in paragraphs that develop expository and behavioral
discourse.

relate the two paragraphs. In the first sentence of the second paragraph, the speaker uses a time word to make the change in the temporal setting explicit. The spatial setting does not change. The events in the preceding paragraph are not referred to again during the rest of the narrative.

1/ Ngup puwar pe na pemberain llowar pe ungunal tonga isao.

2/ Tonga yuwara ambo isaondo pirisao.

(1/ In-this-manner do do eat allow to-say do place-for-pillow fasten he-put.

2/ Fasten put afternoon was he-sat.)

'1/ Having done this, and having eaten, she allowed him to wrap her up and put her at the place for his pillow.

2/ Having fastened and put her there, it was afternoon and he sat.'

Sometimes the main events in a paragraph are brought to a completion when an event is repeated numerous times. Such a series of repeated sentences is spoken extremely rapidly, involves an action that takes place over an extended period of time or space, and is usually followed by a time word such as 'much later' or 'the next day'.

In the following example, the final sentence of the first paragraph is repeated three times, indicating that the action was repeated again and again over a long period of time. The succeeding paragraph is begun with a time word,

making the change in temporal setting explicit. The spatial setting does not change.

1/ We powar pisaondo, e ne nda ngup mondu yallma esao. 2/ Ne nda ngup mondu yallma esao. 3/ Mondu yallma esao.

4/ Oropiyenen or mend ere olle we mu yall pisao lle, olle we pora onda ael eke mba pirisao. (1/ Seedlings plant did, garden food this-in-reference in-this-way carry cook he-did. 2/ Food this-in-reference in-this-way carry cooked he-did. 3/ Carry cooked he-did.

4/ Later superlative another consequent-marker sweet-potatoes seedlings get put he-did coordinate-marker, sweet-potatoes seedlings relator-word that man hide remain he-sat.)

'1/ She had planted that garden, and he was getting the food and cooking it. 2/ He was getting that food and cooking it. 3/ He was getting it and cooking it.

4/ Since it was much later, he got sweet potato seedlings and put them, and that man hid under them.'

Finally, the sequence of events in a paragraph is sometimes brought to a completion when the participants move from one location to another. The upcoming change in spatial setting is anticipated by using 'come' and 'go' in the last sentence of the paragraph. In the

following example the final sentence of the preceding
paragraph repeats the major events that took place in
the paragraph. It then completes the sequence of events
for that paragraph and anticipates the upcoming change in
setting by saying that they ate some pig and went down.
The first two sentences in the succeeding paragraph
are shown. In the first, the speaker uses remote linkage
and makes the change in spatial setting obvious by
bringing into focus a participant who has been in the
background. That is, earlier in the narrative the one
participant had left the other and climbed a mountain.
Therefore, because the speaker anticipates the change
in the last sentence of the previous paragraph, and
then brings the other participant back into focus,
it is obvious to the hearer that the spatial setting
has changed. The action no longer takes place on the
mountain, but has returned to the original spatial
setting. The participant who has been in the background
asks the other what he has been doing. The second
sentence gives the response which is a very general
summation of the events in the previous paragraph. Thus,
the second sentence also helps to relate the old
information to the new.

    1/ Tatepa pa minuwar lisan, men eyae nda i
yel nopon Puripo pun nowa mambu onda ten
komb tall pir no pisao.

    2/ Kuind aorao nonpi ndam na aeme eki

pai pe, la.   3/ Ngup, ngup, ngup, ngup.

(1/ Let-loose do hold serialization, pig

cut this-in-reference put thing down-there

Name-of-place level-place eat walking that

woman bring carry go down they-went.

2/ Name-of-person father just-like this-

in-reference my brother what do question-marker

he-said.   3/ In-this-way, in-this-way, in-this-

way, in-this-way.)

'1/ Having grabbed her and let go again,

down there at the level place at Puripo as

they were walking, they ate the pig meat that

I was talking about. Then, bringing that woman

with him, he went down.

2/ The one that I was talking about just

like Kuind's father said, "My brother, what

have you been doing?" 3/ I've done this, this,

this, and this.'

Sequential Paragraphs

A sequential paragraph establishes a topic event

and then relates a sequence of other events to it. A

cause-effect relationship may be implied, but none is

asserted. Most of the paragraphs in procedural and

narrative discourse are sequential paragraphs.

In procedural texts and in narratives about recent

events, sequential paragraphs rarely have more than two

dependent clauses per sentence, and tail-head linkage
between sentences is used heavily. The paragraph ends
with a sentence which indicates that the sequence of
events is completed. This involves a change in
temporal or spatial setting.

Two examples of sequential paragraphs from narra-
tives about recent events follow. In the first example,
the first clause of the first sentence establishes the
setting. The spatial setting is Upa, and the temporal
setting is 'when I went to Upa'. The paragraph ends
when the speaker who is the main participant returns
home, for which a new spatial setting is defined. In
every sentence of this paragraph, tail-head linkage
linkage is used. The first sentence of the paragraph
that follows is also shown. As frequently occurs,
the consequent marker ore is attached to the first clause
of the new paragraph. It indicates that the second clause
is a consequent of the first. However, the cause-effect
relationship is between the two clauses and is distinct
from that in consequential paragraphs.

1/ Upa powa romb, kiyapon kar epao. 2/ Kar
epowar, Yaerer yao. 3/ Kar yuwar, an piksa mao.
4/ An piksa mao romb, na anda epowa.

5/ Anda epowar ore, upelluwa.

(1/ Name-of-village I-went when, patrol-
officer's car he-came. 2/ Car come, Name-of-
place he-put. 3/ Car put, stone picture he-got.

4/ Stone picture he-got when, I house I-came.

    5/ House come consequent-marker, I-slept.)

    'When I went to Upa, the patrol officer's car came. The car having come, he parked it at Yaerer. Having parked the car, he took pictures of the stones. When he took pictures of the stone, I came to my house.

    Since I came to my house, I slept.'

The next example shows two consecutive sequential paragraphs. The first paragraph relates a sequence of action which begins with the slaughter of pigs and ends with cooking the pigs in a pit. The second paragraph begins after the pigs have finished cooking, thus implying the time lapse between paragraphs since it is obvious to both speaker and hearer that the pigs must remain in the pit for some time before they are done. The paragraphs are linked by using the verb 'cook in a pit' in both the final clause of paragraph one and the first clause of paragraph two. Sentence 8 refers back to sentences four and five. Thus, back reference is used to plug sentence eight into the rest of the paragraph. In sentence eleven, the number marker on the verb changes from plural to singular, and the singular noun is used instead of the plural pronoun. Thus, the subject changes from 'they' to 'he'. There is a referential rule that once plurality is established for a

third person referent, mention of them may revert to the
unmarked singular form.

1/ Ngo rup pawar, an to pu mbawar, pelluwara,
men laim. 2/ Tunitimba luwara, iri iraim.
3/ Iri iruwara, kepaim. 4/ Kepuwara, tolloroll
luman enjarim. 5/ Tolloroll luman enjawara, an
iraim. 6/ An iruwara, an arim. 7/ An awara, wall
an paombull ngo tukmawar, menen emi yawaim.
8/ Ngo wall yo tolloroll luyami men paiki ngo
tall epo puwar yawaim.

9/ Yawara, ya mbawar, puruwar, kopaim.
10/ Kopowara, eyarim. 11/ Uli perekeyo,
eyawara, nipun tenael yem willo tukmarop.

(1/ This in-this-manner having-completed,
stone arrange do remain, sleep, pig they-killed.
2/ Morning having-killed, hair they-burn. 3/ Hair
having-burned, they-cut-it-up. 4/ Having-cut-it-
up, wooden-rack hit they-hang. 5/ Wooden-rack
hit having-hung, stone they-burned. 6/ Stone
having-burned, stone they-removed. 7/ Stone
having-removed, again stone lay-aside this having-
divided, pig's intestines they-cook. 8/ This again
up-there wooden-racks hit pig quarter this carry
come do they-cooked.

9/ Having-cooked, cook remain, sit they-
remove. 10/ Having removed, they cut. 11/ Bone
turn, having cut, his people group call he-divided.)

'1/ Having done these things, having arranged the stones, and having slept, they killed the pig. 2/ Having killed the pig in the morning, they singed the hair. Having singed the hair, they cut the pig up. 4/ Having cut it up, they hung it on the wooden racks. Having hung it on the wooden racks, they heated the stones. 6/ Having heated the stones, they removed them. 7/ Having removed the stones, and again having put them aside and having divided them, they cooked the pig's intestines. 8/ Again they carried over the quarters of pork which they had hung there on the rack, and they cooked the pig.

9/ Having sat and having let the pigs cook, they removed them from th pit. 10/ Having removed them from the pit, they cut them. 11/ Having cut them and turned the bones, he called his family and divided them.'

In the ancestral stories, the participants and the setting are less well-known than they are in procedural texts and in narratives about recent events. Unusual and unexpected things happen. Lizards talk; banana trees jump back when one tries to cut off their leaves; people travel between the earth and the sky and between the land of the living and the place of the dead; and and participants change into snakes and thorny bushes.

All this requires that the speaker give a lot more
background and secondary information so that the hearer
can understand what is happening. Therefore, sequential
paragraphs in ancestral stories have longer more involved
sentences. However, the overall organization of sequential
paragraphs remains the same in the longer more complex
narrative. Secondary and background information is
frequently given in embedded clauses (see chapter VI)
and in dependent medial clauses. Most sentences are linked
unless an unexpected event occurs, or they occur in quoted
speech and reported conversation. However, information
contained in quoted speech is usually outside the main
sequence of events (Grimes 1971, 1975a).

The following example shows a sequential paragraph
from an ancestral story. It has eight sentences some of
which are quite lengthy and involved. Although it
contains a lot of secondary information, it does not
assert a cause-effect relationship. The first sentence
has two independent clauses conjoined by a coordinate marker.
The first clause establishes the spatial setting for the
paragraph, and the second clause names the topic event.
Tail-head linkage is used to relate sentence one to
sentence two. Sentence two, which is quite lengthy,
begins with an independent clause with the letter -$\underline{1}$
suffixed to the verb, relating it to the rest of the
sentence. Following the first clause are two embedded

clauses occurring in succession and describing a body
of water that was there. Sentence three links to sentence
two by talking about the place that is 'in reference'.
It has one embedded clause that describes a bridge over
the water and is outside the main sequence of events.
Sentence four uses tail-head linkage to relate to sentence
three. The second half of sentence four quotes one of
the participants. The events in sentence five are
totally unexpected, and there is no link between sentences
four and five. The speaker addresses his audience with
the first two words of sentence five, thus adding to the
surprise effect. The first clause in sentence five is
a time clause. The rest of the sentence has four
dependent medial clauses chained to the independent
clause at the end of the sentence. Sentences five and
six are related by tail-head linkage. Although the
main sequence of events in the paragraph ends with
sentence six, the speaker adds some additional secondary
information in the last two sentences. There is no link
between sentence six and seven, but sentence seven quotes
one of the participants. Sentence eight is a nonverbal
sentence and is the narrators added comment explaining
the content of the quotation in sentence seven. The
paragraph ends here.

The first sentence of the next paragraph is also
shown. It jumps over sentence seven and eight and
repeats the last part of sentence six, thus linking the

new paragraph to the last event in the main sequence of events in the previous paragraph. The change in temporal setting for the new paragraph is stated overtly.

1/ Ya kol yoen isao o, onda tenael lan pep pispi. 2/ Pispil, ipon aengi kembo nopo ip Pe nda re nonpi yel ipon aengi kembo mend ngol ndal tokull nenalla ip mend ngol isaoya. 3/ Ngo nda kiler aendae ir to ki amull amull pi ngupi mend isae. 4/ Ir to ngo ndal amull amull pi ngo ndal e, mopo ael nge amboll mban ngol yum lla. 5/ Na aeme, onda aeng aoll piris romine, ngol nda yel mbun tomba pallar lisan ael nda paemin sokolwe posaendi. 6/ Ne pongelle aen umb ten ndam iri mina tullumbi misae. 7/ Ael mopo, ael mopo, ngen taemaelle tollo re ngol ngol, nono pupombal yel aond, llisae. 8/ Na tamallom tolloll.

9/ Tullumbi muwar lisan, oropiyenen oro pispi.

(1/ Sky above-the-clouds up-there was-there coordinate-marker that woman two go they-went. 2/ They-went-and, water's mother very-big down-there water Name-of-water in-reference consequent just-like thing water's mother very-big another this this-in-reference kind-of-plant kind-of-plant water another this was-there. 3/ This this-in-reference this-place saw wood bridge diminuitive-marker dirty dirty be in-this-way another it-was.

4/ Wooden bridge this this-in-reference dirty dirty
do this this-in-reference stand, over-there man
you before let-us-go this you-put she-said. 5/ My
brothers, that foot stand sat while, this this-
in-reference thing break step-on break serialization
man this-in-reference for-no-reason fell-into-water
he-fell. 6/ Not fall stand attractive woman this
this-in-reference hair hold pulled took. 7/ Man
over-there, man over-there, your rotting skin
consequent-marker this this down-there stinking
thing look, she-said. 8/ Our rotting skin.

9/ Pulled took serialization, later superla-
tive they-two-went.)

'1/ They were up there in the sky above the
clouds, and that man and woman, the two of them
went. 2/ They went and there was one really big
water just like the water Pe, and this water was
very blue. 3/At this place I am talking about
they saw there was a wooden bridge that was very
very dirty. 4/ This wooden bridge that I am talk-
ing about was very very dirty, and she said, "Man,
let us go over there, and you must put your foot
here." 5/ My brothers, while he stood on that,
that thing I am talking about broke, and for no
reason he fell into the water. 6/ He had not
fallen all the way in, and that woman grabbed his
hair and pulled him out. 7/ She said, "Man over

there, man over there, since it is your rotting
skin, look here and here, at the stinking thing
down there." 8/ It was our rotting flesh.

9/ Having pulled him up, much later they
went.'

Consequential Paragraphs

Consequential paragraphs are those which assert a
cause-effect relationship between the topic or primary
information and the secondary. Although they do occur
in procedural and narrative discourse, not every
narrative or procedural discourse has consequential
paragraphs. They occur only when the speaker decides
that it is important to assert a cause-effect relation-
ship between the primary and secondary information.

The most obvious difference between the body of
a sequential and a consequential paragraph is in the
overall organization. Consequential paragraphs nearly
always have rather long sentences in which some embedded
clauses occur and numerous lengthy chains are used fre-
quently. There is a lot more repetition in consequential
paragraphs than in sequential paragraphs. The introduction
of the paragraph links the paragraph to the previous one,
and defines the topic. Once the topic event is estab-
lished, it is repeated several times. Interspersed
between repetitions of the topic is secondary information
which is either the cause or the result of the topic.

In the first example, the topic event is setting up tally sticks. It is the result for which the secondary information, counting how many pigs each man gives, is the cause. That is, the counting of the pigs must take place before the sticks can be set up. The main topic is established in the independent clause of the first sentence, and the first dependent clause of that sentence links back to the previous paragraph. The time change is implied in the second dependent clause of the first sentence by showing that the action in the previous paragraph has been completed. After the topic is established, it is repeated twice more before the initial secondary information is given. After the topic is repeated again, additional secondary information is given. The paragraph ends with a summary, and that topic is not mentioned again in the text.

1/ And pu mbawara, ngo and auya pa mbawar, ir tulli sollupu awallma. 2/ Ir tulli ngo awallma re, ir tulli ngo awallma re, mena aelem ekirup kaollo aeremi aondollwam, ir tulli ngo awallma. 3/ Ngo ir tulli ngo awara re, ael mendum i su men kaollowaem, mendum parana, mendum kerpo, mendum supu, mendum ngo ya. 4/ Ngo re ngo men ngo kaollowae rup, aondollwamin ir tulli awallma.

(1/ House do remain, this house dig-ground complete remain, wood stick long we-set-up.

2/ Wood stick this we-set-up consequent-marker,

wood stick this we-set-up consequent-marker,
pig men how-many give have to-see, wood stick
this we-set-up. 3/ This wood stick this we-set-
up consequent-marker, man another number-marker
five pig give, another six, another
seven, another twenty, another this alone.
4/ This consequent-marker this pig this give
in-this-manner, in-order-to-see wood stick
we-set-up.)

'1/Having built the house, leveled the
ground, and left them in that state, we
customarily set up long wooden sticks.
2/ We set them up. We set them up; in order
to see how many pigs the men have to give, we
set up the sticks. 3/ As we set up the sticks,
one man gives five pigs, another six, another
seven, another twenty, and another only one.
4/ Giving these pigs in this way, we set up the
sticks in order to see how many.'

The second example comes from an ancestral story.
The secondary information is the cause, and the primary
information the effect. This paragraph is different
from most consequential paragraphs in that the sentences
are rather short. The change in spatial setting is given
in the first clause of the first sentence, which is an
independent clause joined to the rest of the sentence

by a coordinate marker. The second part of the first
sentence repeats the topic event four times. There is
no link between sentence one and two. In sentence two
and three the speaker begins explaining the cause of
the primary information in a quotation that begins
in sentence two and ends in sentence three. Sentences
four and five continue with the secondary information
by quoting a second participant. Sentence six summarizes
the previous four sentences and links itself to sentences
two through five. Sentence seven is linked to sentence
six by using the verb do. It makes explicit the cause-
effect relationship between the primary information and
the secondary information. There are two clauses in
sentence seven, a dependent and an independent one.
The independent clause repeats part of the first clause
in the paragraph. Although there is no link between
sentence seven and eight, the relationship between them
is clear because they contain the same information that
was given in the first sentence of the paragraph. In
the final sentence, the topic event is repeated four
times.

1/ Eyo anda noen pisao o, man we nda yel okol
peraim, okol peraim, okol peraim, okol peraim
pisao. 2/ Aki mendem eyo kowes we aendaepe,
llisao. 3/ Nge epolle yo. 4/ Aki mendem eyo
man aendaepe, llisao. 5/ Nge epolle yo. 6/ Ngup
lla lla puwar, tillako paispi. 7/ Ngup puwar,

<u>nipu noen pisao. 8/ Man we nda okol paim, okol</u>
<u>paim, okol paim, okol paim, pisao.</u>

(1/ Lake-Kutubu house down she-went coordinate-
marker, kind-of-tree seedlings this-in-reference
thing let-loose sat, let-loose sat, let-loose sat,
let-loose sat, she-went. 2/ Sister another inter-
jection kind-of-tree seedling you-look-at, she-
said. 3/ You will-come coordinate-marker.
4/ Sister another interjection kind-of-tree
you-look-at, she-said. 5/ You will-come coordinate-
marker. 6/ In-this-manner say say do, separate
they-went. 7/ In-this-manner, she down she-went.
8/ Kind-of-tree seedling this-in-reference let-
loose went, let-loose went, let-loose went, let-
loose went, she-went.)

'1/ She went down to Lake Kutubu, and she
went planting and planting and planting the
seedling of the man tree. 2/ Another sister
had said, "You watch for seedlings of the kowes
tree. 3/"You will come." 4/ The other sister
had said, "You watch for the man tree." 5/"You
will come." 6/ Having spoken in this way, they
separated and went. 7/ Having done in this
manner, she went down. 8/ She went planting,
and planting, and planting, and planting the
seedling of the man tree.'

The following example has much longer sentences than the previous one. It differs from many consequential paragraphs in that it uses medial rather than final verbs to repeat the topic event. The frequent use of consequent markers helps to make the cause-effect relationship explicit. The first clause of sentence one gives the topic event, the carrying home of some pearl shells, and it is followed by a consequent marker. The rest of the sentence has twelve verbs which give the cause of the topic event. The first two verbs are in a sentence conjoined to the rest of the sentence by the relator word por_or_. The speaker then launches into a quotation, the first part of the quote having four medial verbs chained to a final verb. This chain repeats and summarizes the events in the previous paragraph. Thus, they not only help show the cause of the topic event, they also link this para-graph to the preceding one. They are conjoined to the rest of the sentence by a relator word por_. The next string of verbs, two medial followed by a final one, repeat the topic event. The eleventh verb is the verb 'to say', signaling that the quotation has ended. The final verb, 'to do', is in distant past tense, showing that all of these actions occured in the past. Usually the subject of a clause occurs at the beginning of the clause. However, here the subject follows the final verb.

The second sentence quotes one of the participants,
but it has only two verbs besides the verb 'to say'. It
also gives the cause of the topic event, and it contains
background information. There is no link between sentence
one and two or two and three. Sentence three reiterates
a shortened form of the topic event, and it is extremely
short containing only one independent clause with a final
verb and a goal. The first clause of sentence four is a link
to sentence three, and it is followed by a second conse-
quent marker. The second part of the sentence gives
additional secondary information. Sentence five contains
an embedded clause which is also the link between sentences
four and five. The embedded clause is the direct object
of the final verb. In sentence six, the first three
medial clauses repeat the topic event, and they relate
to the final verb of the sentence. The second clause
in sentence six is a time clause, and it has three medial
verbs chained to the final verb. They relate to information
given in the previous paragraph and also add new information.
The time clause is followed by a consequent marker. The
rest of the events in the paragraph tell the result or
effect of the topic event. That is, they carried home
the pearl shells, and so they divided them. The last
part of sentence six has two verbs: a medial one and a
final one. Sentence seven tells exactly how the pearl
shells were divided, and completes the action begun in

in sentence six. The speaker uses tail-head linkage to
relate sentence eight to sentence seven. He concludes
the paragraph by telling what they did with the leftover
pearl shells. The repeated information in the last two
sentences of the paragraph is an indication that the
paragraph is about to end.

1/ Onda mandall powar ere, anda poll apap
poror, aki aoll pora ael mendem na seker mondu
njull aengel pu arepa por, mondu yu aep llo,
pisae aki ki ndam. 2/ Mo ten iki mo paongarop
ndam paeng ngae, llisae. 3/ Anda pismi. 4/ Anda
powar ere, seker nda supu laplap or ilap mend
mondu kellisae. 5/ Ngo kaollar pisao aeler ne
aende. 6/ Mondu yu awar, onda songo aond
yuwar, iri ae ar pipisao romb ore, aki papu
nda yel kiriluwar tukmaisae. 7/ Toll su minur,
toll su minur, toll su minur, toll su minur,
toll ora minur, pu tukmaisae. 8/ Tukmawar,
toll ilapor mender monda songo nipun kellismi.

(1/ That carry go consequent-marker house
to-go prepare relator-word, sister plural-marker
relator-word man another our pearl-shells carry
give-us continue do was relator-word, carry put
we-are say, she-did sister diminuitive-marker
this-in-reference. 2/ This woman son causative-
marker pregnant this-in-reference did this, she-
said. 3/ House they-went. 4/ House go consequent,

pearl-shells this-in-reference twenty two superla-
tive two other carry she-gave. 5/ This give
he-went man negative see. 6/ Carry put were, that
boy big was, hair stood was he-went when consequent-
marker, sister many this-in-reference thing gather
they-divided. 7/ Number-marker five hold,
number-marker five hold, number-marker five hold
number-marker five hold, number-marker six hold,
do they-divided. 8/ Dividing, number-marker two
other this boy he they-gave.)

'1/ Since they went carrying that thing, they
were ready to go home and that little sister said
to all the sisters, "A man did keep on carrying and
giving us pearl shells and we are carrying and
putting them." She said this, and she did.
2/ She said, "I think this man impregnated this
woman." 3/ They went home. 4/ Since they went
home, they carried and gave the forty pearl shells.
5/ They did not know who gave the pearl shells
and went. 6/ Having carried and put those things,
therefore when the boy was grown and had a lot of
hair, all those sisters that I was talking about
gathered and divided the pearl shells. 7/ One
had five, another had five, another had five, and
another had five, and they divided them and each
had six. 8/ Dividing them they gave two to the
boy.'

V. SENTENCES

Basic Sentence Types

Nembi has two basic sentence types: verbal and
nonverbal. Sentence final intonation, a rapid decline
in pitch, is superimposed on the final word of all
sentences.

Verbal Sentences

Verbal sentences have an obligatory independent
clause which optionally has one or more dependent clauses
before it. One type of verbal sentence is the quotative
sentence so called because it is the type that contains
direct and indirect quotations. Karl Franklin (1971, p. 120),
in his analysis of the Kewa language, which is another
member of the Mendi subfamily and the West Central
family of languages, defines quotative sentences as,
"consisting of two tagmemes: the identification and the
quote. The identification is typically discontinous,
i.e. it appears on both sides of the quote. The quote
is, in turn, unlimited in its range of syntagmemic
exponents. The functional pattern of a quotational
sentence is similar to that of a ditransitive clause."
Virtually the same situation holds for Nembi. Infor-
mation given in the first part of the sentence, which

Franklin (1971) calls the "identification tagmeme",
may indicate who is talking, to whom he is talking,
and when and where the quote was made, after which
the verb occurs in either medial or final form. The
speaker then gives the quotation which varies in length
from only one or two words to several sentences. When
the quote is finished, the verb is repeated, this time
using a final form of the verb. The quotative sentence
is not complete until the verb has been repeated following
the quote even though the quote itself may contain several
sentences. It is as though the speaker places the quoted
information within a set of parentheses by repeating the
verb both before and after the quote. Although a verb of
saying is used more frequently than the others, the verb
of a quotative sentence is not limited to verbs of
saying or telling. The set of verbs which may occur
include <u>llowar</u> 'to say', <u>llanjuwar</u> 'to tell you or me',
<u>llaokaollowar</u> 'to tell him', <u>kone yuwar</u> 'to think',
<u>nawar</u> 'to think', <u>aondowar</u> 'to see', <u>paongowar</u> 'to
hear', <u>kone kimb puwar</u> 'to remember', and <u>angal muwar</u>
'to ask'.

Two examples of quotative sentences follow. The
first is taken from a narrative told in first person
and in the near past tense. In the first part of the
sentence, the speaker indicates who he was talking to
and then uses a dependent medial form of the verb 'to

say'. The quote is quite short having only one independent
clause and no dependent clauses. The sentence concludes by
using an independent final form of the same verb that was
used in the first part of the sentence.

    Penerop por llowar, mone ngom mop, llau.

    (Name-of-person relator-word say, money this

    come-and-get, I said.) 'I said to Penerop, "Come

    and get this money," I said.'

In the second example, the identification part of the
sentence is much longer and more involved than the one
in the first example. There are two medial verbs chained
to the final verb and two locational phrases, one going
with the medial verb 'to put', and the other with the
quotative verb. Usually locational phrases precede the
verb they modify, but here they have been permuted and
both occur after the verb. A final verb form comes
both before and after the quote. However, sentence
final intonation is not used until the quote is
complete and the quotative verb is repeated.

    Aong mellel rae ollop yeperaep onda yelara

    kuru yuwara, mopol, te llall isao, eli tonga

    por, Ond Tima Ponki yango, ar kesu Ponki yango,

    ar Angara Ponki yango, llo te llall isao.

    (A-type-of-plant mourning-skirt connector

    a-type-of-plant mourning-beads that things

    remove put, over-there, cry say was, husband

    grave relator-word, Name-of-mountain Name-of-

mountain Name-of-man husband, mountain Name-of-

mountain Name-of-man husband, mountain Name-of-

mountain Name-of-man husband, say cry say she-

was.) 'Having taken off her mourning skirt,

her mourning beads, and all these things, and

having put them over there, she was crying at

her husband's grave site, "Ponki my husband

from Ond Tima; Ponki my husband from the

mountain of Kesu; Ponki my husband from the

mountain of Angara," she was crying.'

The predominate pattern for the identification

part of a quotative sentence is discontinous. However,

in the ancestral stories, the first part of the identi-

fication is often deleted. At the beginning of the

sentence the speaker launches into the quote, after

which he gives the information that usually precedes

it. The deletion of the initial identification has

only been observed in these ancestral stories, and

it is similar to the omission of a link between

sentences in that both occur when a dramatic climax

is reached involving an unexpected event. In the fol-

lowing example, the quote begins with the first word

of the sentence. The verb 'to say' comes immediately

after the quote and is chained to the final verb.

Between the verb of saying and the final verb, the

participant being quoted is identified.

> <u>Yam aelen iki eki pulluwam pae, llowar onda</u>
>
> <u>tenom uwae llelle pipisao.</u> (Desire man's
>
> hand what do question-marker, say that
>
> woman shout talk she-went.) '"Are you a man
>
> of lust, and what are you doing?" saying this,
>
> that woman went shouting.'

Other types of verbal sentences involving dependent and independent clauses are not discussed here, but the clauses which make up verbal sentences are discussed in chapter VI.

Nonverbal Sentences

Nonverbal sentences either have a single predicate which is an adjective, preceded by its argument, either a noun or pronoun, or they consist of two or more nominals in an equative construction or of a single nominal. Nonverbal sentences rarely occur in formal discourse except in the introduction or closure. The most common nonverbal sentence is used in the finis of most discourses and is simply <u>ngo oro</u> (this end) 'this is the end'. In the introduction of discourse, nonverbal sentences sometimes assign a name to a participant or a place. In the following example, the predicate is an adjective of comparison preceded by a noun.

> <u>Tek anda nonpi.</u> (Name-of-village house
>
> just-like.) 'It was a place just like the
>
> village of Tek.'

When this type of construction occurs in a verbal sentence, it may be viewed as an embedded nonverbal sentence as in the following example.

> <u>Tenael onge lap Tikip anda nonpil puru aispi.</u>
> (Woman-man old two Name-of-village house just-like sit they-stood.) 'The old man and woman, the two of them lived at a place that was just like the village of Tikip.'

One or both parts of an equative construction may be an embedded sentence. In the following example, the first nominal is a possessive noun phrase, and the second is an embedded equative construction.

> <u>Tenon mbire Osikisaek waene Yomo ten.</u> (Woman's name Name-of-person daughter Name-of-clan woman.) 'The woman's name was Osikisaek's daughter of the Yomo clan.'

The embedded construction is:

> <u>Osikisaek waene Yomo ten</u> (Name-of-person daughter Name-of-clan woman) 'Osikisaek's daughter is from the Yomo clan.'

Locative phrases may be incorporated in a noun phrase which is one of the nominals in an equative sentence. The following example comes from the body of an ancestral narrative. It occurred when the narrator waited until he was in the middle of the story to name the main participants. The locative phrase which occurs with the first noun phrase helps to clarify which participant the name belongs to.

<u>Aki mende non Eyo Eyotekin aengi.</u> (Sister other
down-there-at Lake-Kutubu Name-of-person mother.)
'The other sister down there at Lake Kutubu was
Eyotekin's mother.'

Questions requesting identification of a person or
object occur in nonverbal sentences. When they occur in
formal discourse, they are usually a type of rhetorical
question expressing surprise by one of the participants,
but in informal dialogue they are ordinary questions. The
first part names the person or thing to be identified,
and the second asks the question by using a question
word. Some examples follow.

<u>Ngor eki</u> (This what?) 'What is this?'

<u>Ngen mbir aip?</u> (Your name who?) 'What is your
name?'

<u>Nge ekip?</u> (You what?) 'What are you?'

<u>Ama, nger epullu?</u> (Exclamation-of-surprise,
you why?) 'Oh, why you?'

These are distinct from questions such as <u>aipim pao</u> who
did) 'who did it?', <u>eki pai</u> (what you-did) 'what did you
do?', and <u>epull pai</u> (why you-did) 'why did you do it?'
where the same question words are used to request
information.

Nonverbal sentences sometimes consist of a single
nominal. In one example, it is the first sentence in
the text, and it identifies the topic.

<u>Omapo.</u> (Garden.) 'I am talking about a garden.'

In another example, a sentence consisting of a single nominal occurs in the body of the discourse. The preceding sentence says the participant had turned into a snake. The nonverbal sentence repeats the word snake and seems to be used for emphasis.

1/ Kowaek olisae. 2/ Kowaek. (1/ Snake he-turned-into. 2/ Snake.) '1/ He turned into a snake. 2/ He was a snake.'

In the nonverbal sentences discussed so far, the verb is obligatorily absent. A second type of nonverbal sentence involves a stative construction from which the copula has been optionally deleted. This type of sentence is used frequently in less formal situations and more rarely in procedural and narrative texts. Nembi does not have one verb corresponding to the English verb 'to be'. There are, however, a number of verbs which in certain contexts take a similar meaning and function: omowar 'to die', puruwar 'to sit', puwar 'to do', yuwar 'to put', awar 'to stand', and sowar 'to bear fruit'.[1] When these verbs are used as a copula, the primary meaning of these verbs becomes insignificant. Two examples follow. First the verb 'to sit' and then the verb 'to die' function as the copula.

---

[1]A discussion as to which verb a speaker must choose to function as the copula is outside the scope of this paper. However, the choice is based on animate and inanimate, the ability or inability to stand erect, mobility or immobility, and the emotional and physical state of being.

<u>Na aorao ngo por piya.</u> (My father this relator-

word he-sits.) 'My father is here.'

<u>Nipu kom omelliya.</u> (He angry he-will-die.)

'He will be angry.'

When sentences of this sort do occur in formal

discourse, it is either in the introduction to help

describe and identify participants or more rarely

in the body of the discourse to help keep track of the

participants. The first example comes from an intro-

duction to an ancestral story. Two sentences are

shown. The first refers to a participant and makes

a comment about him followed by the copula. The

second sentence repeats part of the information given

in the first, but the verb has been deleted.

   <u>1/ Ael epe oro mend a isao. 2/ Or epe oro.</u>

   (1/ Man good superlative other stand he-stood.

   2/ Very good superlative.) '1/ A man was very good.

   2/ He was very good.'

The second example consists of only two words. The

copula has been deleted, but the speaker could have

chosen to include.

   <u>Nipi onguma.</u> (They-two alone.) 'They two were

   alone.'

The third example comes from the body of an ancestral

story, and the verb has been deleted.

   <u>Kupkakupin aengi nda.</u> (Name-of-person mother

   this-in-reference.) 'This was Kupkakupin's mother.'

Conjoined Sentences

Any sentence type may be conjoined to any other sen-
tence type by one of several clitics indicating that
either a consequential, contrastive, or coordinate
relationship exists between the sentences they conjoin.
Re indicates a consequential, ong a contrastive, and
o a coordinate relationship.[1]

When re conjoins sentences, the preceding sentence
may be either a cause or an effect of the succeeding one.
That is, they are logically related, but the syntax does
not tell how. In the following example, the first sentence
has only an independent clause. In the second sentence,
three medial clauses are chained to the final verb which
is the same as the final verb in the first sentence. The
action of the dependent clauses is a consequence of that
in the independent clauses.

Ngo ir aonda ngo awallma re, Eyo po taeke irin
llowar awallma. (This wood big this we-set-up
consequent-marker, Name-of-tribe chop split
burn-different-subject say we-set-up.) 'We

---

[1]Re, o, and ong are the basic forms. However, morpho-
phonemic restrictions change re to ore following words
ending in consonants preceded by back vowels, and ere
following consonants preceded by front and central vowels.
O and ong become yo and yong when they follow words ending
in high front vowels.
The clitics ol, ri, and por are occasionally used to
conjoin sentences. However, they conjoin words or phrases
more often and are not included in the discussion here.

set up this log; thus, saying that the Eyo

tribe will chop, burn, and split it, we

customarily set it up.'

The second example shows a nonverbal sentence conjoined

to a verbal one. The thing identified in the nonverbal

sentence is the cause of the command given in the verbal

sentence. This relationship is made explicit by using

re to conjoin the two sentences.

Ngen taemaelle tollo re ngol ngol, nono

pupombal yel aond. (Your rotting-stinking

skin consequent-marker this this, down-there

stinking thing look.) 'Since it is your rot-

ting skin, look here and here at the stinking

thing down there.'

The third example shows re conjoining two verbal

sentences whose independent clauses have different final

verbs.

Olle ngo llisao re, apapull yalle nda yel por

pel ma kombo por ngo yel ama ya kaololl ipisao.

(Sweet-potatoes this she-said consequent-marker,

kind-of-bird cooked this-in-reference thing

relator-word kind-of-tree kind-of-tree new-

leaves relator-word this thing plural-marker

cooked to-give she-came.) 'Since she said here

are your sweet potatoes, she cooked and came

to give that bird meat, the new leaves of the

pel tree, and all these things.'

Conjoined sentences showing a contrastive relationship occasionally occur in narrative and procedural discourse, but they occur more frequently in other types of discourse. The following example is taken from the introduction to an ancestral story. In the second part of the sentence, the direct object is an embedded sentence.

Men ondopur kaollo espi yong, ul pambor oror mend aerenem yopo Wangapeyemem kaolla nda nonpi mend kaollo espi. (Pig many take-care-of they-were contrast-marker, number-marker superlative other father over-there Name-of-person gave this-in-reference just-like other take-care-of they-were.) 'They were taking care of many pigs, but they took care of one really big one that was just like the one over there that Wangapeyem gave to your father.'

O sometimes conjoins information which is repeated several times, as in the following example. There are three independent clauses conjoined by o.

Pispi yo, pispi yo, ama sollu ngupi mend isao. (They-two-went coordinate-marker, they-two-went coordinate-marker, cleared-place long in-this-way other it-was.) 'They went and they went, and there was another long cleared place like that.'

In the next example o conjoins a sentence with two dependent clauses and an independent clause to one with only an independent clause.

<u>Pongolla mba esao o, yono aepen pisao.</u>

(Tied remain it-stood coordinate-marker,

up-there over-there-on-this-side he-went.)

'They were tied together, and he went up

and over there.'

VI. CLAUSES

Halliday's (1967, 1968, Kress 1976) notion of systemic grammar is useful for explaining the Nembi clause system. The primary emphasis is on the choices which the speaker has available to him in producing a complex grammatical unit and on how different choices made by a speaker interact and depend on each other in their impact on linguistic form. The series of choices available to a speaker of Nembi when he produces a clause is illustrated in chart 1. The clause system involves independent clauses that take final verb forms and dependent clauses that take medial verb forms. There are four kinds of medial clauses: chronological, durative, purposive, and resultative.

Independent Clauses

All independent clauses have final verb forms. They are optionally preceded by dependent clauses. The final verb always has person, number, and tense affixation and is the only obligatory constituent of the independent clause. The speaker may choose to state subjects, objects, time, and location overtly, or he may omit them. Objects may be omitted if they were identified at an earlier point in the text and have not changed. When the subject is stated overtly, it is for emphasis or specific identification.

CHART 1. SYSTEMS IN THE NEMBI CLAUSE
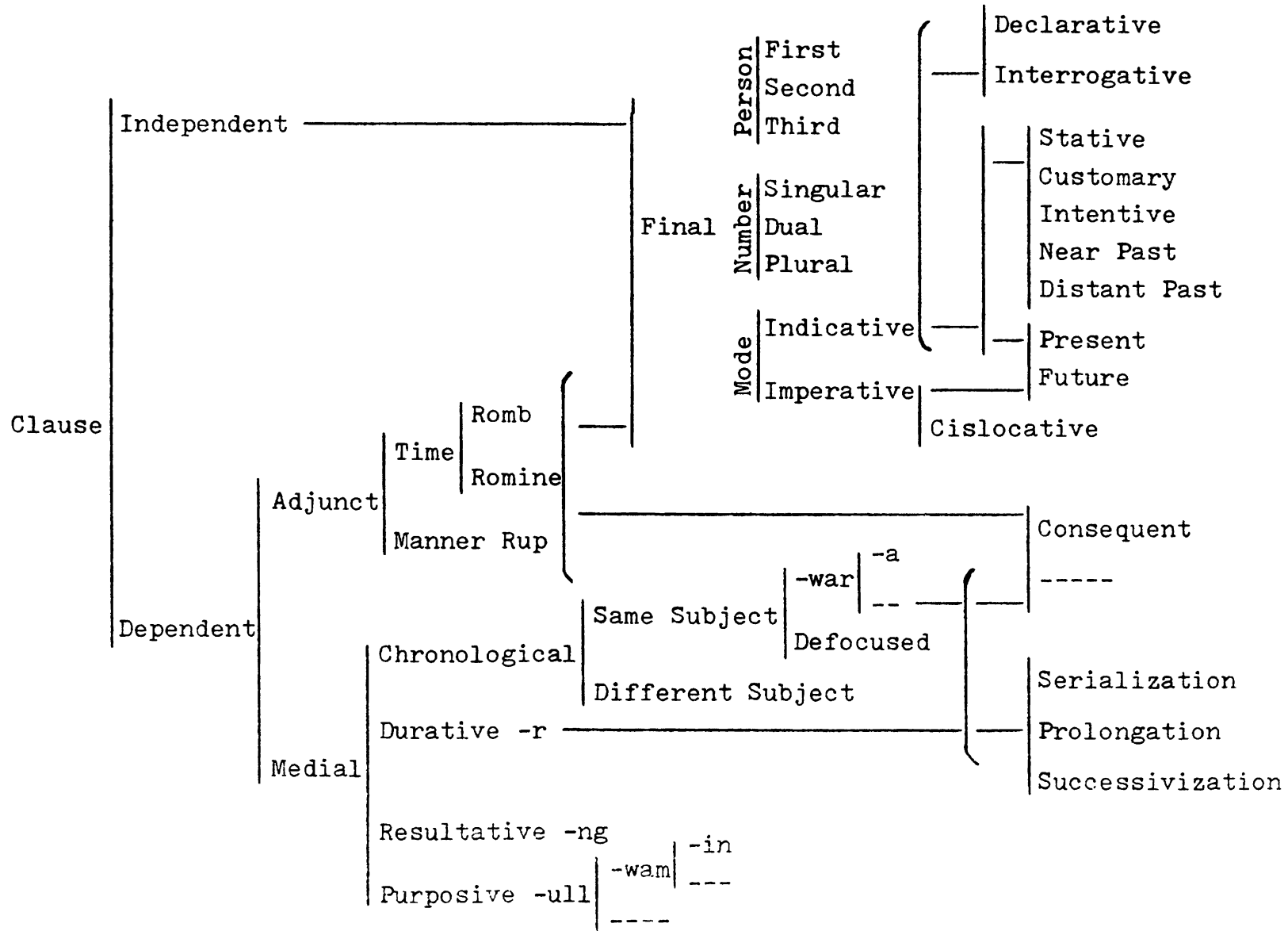
An embedded clause may occur as subject, object, or location in an independent clause.

An independent clause is the only obligatory clause in a verbal sentence. However, it is usually preceded by at least one dependent medial clause. In longer narratives it is not uncommon for an independent clause to be preceded by ten dependent medial clauses, and as many as sixteen have preceded it. In discourse when an independent clause does occur by itself as the only clause in the sentence, it is either in the introduction, or, when in the body of the discourse, serves to repeat or clarify something.

The first example of an independent clause as the only clause in the sentence is taken from an introduction to the discourse, and it is used to establish both temporal and spatial setting, and to give the first event in the story.

> Ambulla Emb anda pomau. (Yesterday, name-of-
> village house we-went.) 'Yesterday we went to
> Embi.'

The second example also comes from the introduction to a discourse and gives the first event in the story. The subject of the independent clause is an embedded clause.

> Ael epe oro a isao nda nipuna timba upellisao.
> (Man good very stand he-stood this-in-reference,
> he night he-slept.) 'That man who was very good
> slept at night.'

The next example illustrates an independent clause occurring as a sentence in a series of repeated information. These two sentences occur at the end of a paragraph summarizing the events that have just occured.

1/ Ngup ngup ama ngup ama pisae. 2/ Ngup ama pisae. (1/ In-this-way in-this-way continually in-this-way continually he-did. 2/ In-this-way continually he-did.) '1/ He continually did this again and again. 2/ He did this continually.'

The first sentence in the following example has both an independent and a dependent medial clause. The next three sentences, consisting of one word, the final verb, repeat the independent clause of the preceding sentence. As in the previous example, the repetition indicates that the action continued over an extended period of time.

1/ Onda songo yollomi pisao. 2/ Pisao. 3/ Pisao. 4. Pisao. (1/ That boy pulling it-went. 2/ It-went. 3/ It-went. 4/ It-went.) '1/ It went pulling that boy. 2/ It went. 3/ It went. 4. It went.'

The following example shows the speaker using an independent clause as a sentence to clarify some information. The preceding sentence is also shown. The first sentence tells what one participant was doing, and the second clause explains why.

1/ <u>Iki nda nono ndal kowaek yel pe pipull</u>

<u>esae. 2/ Kowaek olisae.</u> (1/ Son this-in-

reference down-there this-in-reference snake

thing go to-go he-was. 2/ Snake he-turned-

into.) 'That son was down there walking

like a snake. He turned into a snake.'

Dependent Adjunct Clauses

A dependent clause may be either an adjunct clause or

a medial clause. The dependent adjunct clauses are time

and manner clauses formed by adding the clitics <u>romb</u>

'when', <u>rup</u> 'in this manner', or <u>romine</u> 'while' to

the end of clauses otherwise having the form of independent

clauses. These clauses occur at the beginning of a sentence

and are subordinate to the independent clause in the sen-

tence. Dependent medial clauses often occur between

adjunct clause and the independent clause which follows.

It is rare for more than one adjunct clause to occur

per sentence, but it is possible. The following example

shows a rare occurence where a single sentence has three

adjunct clauses. All three are time clauses. <u>Romb</u> is

added to the first two clauses, and <u>romine</u> to the third.

All three are subordinate to the independent clause which

comes at the end of the sentence. Three dependent medial

clauses occur between the third adjunct clause and the

independent clause.

Ya angal kepi kopa minisao romb, nare pol piya
nda nonpi romb, amboll powar pirisao romine, ir
pel menden te por urul pel urul nda yel na aeme
yalla pel mama yae mend koru tal papapu esaiya.
(Bird talk light fall it-covered when, sun light
it-was this-in-reference just-like when, before
go he-sat while, tree kind-of-tree other trunk
relator-word orange-ground kind-of-tree orange-
ground this-in-reference thing my brothers
plural-marker hardwood-tree branch-with-new-
leaves thing other dig carry climb-up it-was.)
'When the birds sang and it became light, when it
was just like the time that the sun becomes light,
and while he sat where he had gone earlier, all
my brothers, at the trunk of the pel tree some-
thing was digging out the orange ground, carrying
it and climbing up the branches of the pel tree.'

Within discourse, adjunct clauses are often used to
link either a sentence or paragraph to a previous one.
Adjunct clauses may or may not have the same subject as
the subject of the independent clause they precede. As
in the following example, they frequently link two sentences
whose independent clauses have different subjects.

1/ Or peraoll pir, Upa powa. 2/ Upa powa romb,
kiyapon kar epao. (Pray sit go, Name-of-village
I-went. 2/ Name-of-village I-went when, patrol-
officer's car he-came.) '1/ Having gone to

worship, I went to Upa. 2/ When I went to

Upa, the patrol officer's car came.'

In the second example, the adjunct clause and the independent

clause have different subjects. In the adjunct clause, the

subject is understood from the context and made explicit by

final verb suffixes. In the independent clause, the new

subject is stated overtly.

> Ond Tima Ponki nonpi nda omu aendisao romb,
>
> Ond Tima Ponki nda ipisae. (Name-of-mountain
>
> Name-of-mountain Name-of-man just-like this-
>
> in-reference turn-head she-saw when, Name-of-
>
> mountain Name-of-mountain Name-of-man this-
>
> in-reference he-came.) 'When she turned her head
>
> and saw this thing just like Ponki from the
>
> mountains of Ond and Tima, Ponki from Ond and
>
> Tima had come.'

The next example is a time clause using the clitic

romine after the final verb.

> Timbanen aendis romine, ten nda imu no kop mar
>
> pir pisae. (At-night see while, woman this-in-
>
> reference heart eat remove carry go he-went.)
>
> 'While it was night, he removed, ate, and went
>
> carrying the heart of that woman.'

Manner clauses indicate thet the action in the

independent clause was performed in the same manner as

the action in the adjunct clause. Thus, where both actions

are a part of the same sequence of events, the action in the

adjunct clause is always completed before that in the
independent clause begins, thus involving either tail-
head or remote linkage. The verb in the adjunct clause
in the following example has near past tense indicating
that the action has been completed recently. The verb in
the independent clause uses intentive tense indicating
the participant's intention to immediately carry out the
intended action in the same manner that the completed
action was performed. The two clauses have different
subjects.

> Nena iki pao nda rup pono. (My son he-went
>
> this-in-reference in-this-manner I-will-go.)
>
> I will go in the same way that my son went.

In the second example, both verbs use distant past
tense, and they have the same subject. However, the verb
in the adjunct clause refers back to an earlier event
that preceded the action in the independent clause, and
the second action was performed in the same manner as
the first.

> Wall tumisao rup, wall pisae. (Again climb-up
>
> in-this-manner again she-went.) 'She again went
>
> in the same way that she had climbed up again.'

In narrative discourse the information will occasion-
ally be explanatory information outside the main sequence
of events. When this occurs, the speaker either mentions
something the hearers are familiar with such as one of
their customs or a habit of one of their clansmen, or

he points out something that can be observed, comparing the information in the manner clause to that in the independent clause, thus producing a type of metaphor. The manner clause in the following example points out a mountain that the audience can see and compares it to the stance of one of the participants.

> Yon an esmba ki yopo esmbal rael yelliya rup,
> mend aond kopa awar lisan, aond kopa pirisaendi.
> (Up-there stone mountain diminuitive-marker up-
> there mountain relator-word put in-this-manner,
> other look gaze-down stand serialization, look
> gaze-down she-sat.) 'Just as that little stone
> mountain up there is on that mountain up there,
> she stood looking down, and she sat looking down.'

Dependent Medial Clauses

Some dependent clauses are medial clauses. The verb is the only obligatory constituent of a medial clause. As with independent clauses, the subject, object, or location words need not be stated overtly, but the speaker may use them. When the speaker has chosen to produce a medial clause, he must then decide whether to produce a chronological, durative, resultative, or purposive clause.

Chronological Clauses

The chronological clause is chosen when the speaker wants to show simultaneity or sequence of action. Once the speaker has chosen a chronological clause, he must

decide whether it is to have the same subject or a differ-
ent one from the next clause. If he has chosen to produce
a same subject clause, he may choose either a defocused
verb, or he may add the -war suffix to the verb. If he
chooses a -war form, he has to decide whether to leave it
unmarked or add the suffix -a. Because -war and -wara
are so similar, they are discussed as one.[1]

The -war clauses contain information which may be
either old or new in Halliday's (1967) sense. That is,
they may repeat information that has already been given in
the preceding text and can be anaphorically recovered, or
they may contain new information which has not been
mentioned earlier in the text. Thus, they are frequently
used in both chaining or cataphoric relationships by
predicting what the next subject will be and in linkage
or anaphoric relationships by repeating or summarizing
old information. -War clauses frequently link two
independent clauses that have the same subject.

The following example illustrates two -war clauses
and one -wara clause. The first two -war clauses link
by summarizing the previous events, but the -wara clause

---

[1]The distinction between -war and -wara is not clear.
There is evidence that they may be chosen on the basis of
whether the events in the chained sequence have an ante-
cedent or simultaneous relationship: -war may be ante-
cedent, and -wara simultaneous. Data from Kewa (Franklin
1971) and Mendi support this possibility.

gives new information. All clauses in the chain share
the same subject.

> Ngo rup pawar, an to pu mbawar, pelluwara, men
> laim. (This manner complete-chronological-same-
> subject, stone arrange-chronological-defocused
> do-chronological-defocused remain-chronological-
> same-subject, sleep-chronological-same-subject,
> pig they-kill.) 'Having completed this and let-
> ting the stones remain in that state, and
> having slept, they killed the pigs.'

The next example shows two consecutive sentences both
containing chronological -war clauses. The first is
preceded by two chronological defocused clauses. These
three clauses summarize old information and link the
rest of the sentence to the preceding text. In the
second sentence, the chronological -war clause again
summarizes and repeats old information, linking that
sentence to the preceding text. The independent clauses
in the two sentences have different subjects. The final
verb in sentence one is marked for third person dual,
and the final verb in sentence is marked for third person
singular. The free pronoun in sentence two helps to make
the change in subject explicit. In the preceding part of
the text, the narrator has been talking about two sisters,
but beginning with the second sentence in this example,
he talks about only one of the sisters. Thus, the subject
of sentence two was a part of the subject in sentence one.

Since the subject change involved only a change in number, and not in person, the -war clause could still be used to link the two independent clauses. Had the subject change involved a change in person, or a different third person referent, the speaker would not have used the -war clause to link the two sentences.

> 1/ Ngup lla lla puwar, tillako paispi. 2/ Ngup puwar, nipu noen pisao. (In-this-manner say- chronological-defocused say chronological-defocused do-chronological-same-subject, separate-chrono- logical-defocused they-two-went. 2/ In-this-manner do-chronological-same-subject, she down she-went.) 'Having spoken in this way, they separated and went. 2/ Having done in this manner, she went down.'

The following example shows three consecutive sentences taken from a procedural text. The first sentence has a -war clause followed by an independent clause. The second sentence has a chronological defocused clause followed by a -war clause and then an independent clause. The third sentence has a -war clause followed by two chronological defocused clauses and another -war clause. The second and third sentences have consequent markers between the last -war clause and the independent clause. The subject in all sentences is the same, and the first clause in each sentence links.

1/ <u>Yopor te aowara, and su lallma. 2/ And su</u>
<u>lu yuwar ore, and ipai awallma. 3/ And ipai</u>
<u>awar, and ipai a pa mbawar ore, komoku yallma.</u>
(1/ Kind-of-plant roots dig-out-chronological-
same-subject, house ground we-hit. 2/ House
ground hit-chronological-defocused put-
chronological-same-subject consequent-marker,
house post we-set. 3/ House post set-chrono-
logical-same-subject, house post set-chrono-
logical-defocused complete-defocused remain-
chronological-same-subject consequent-marker,
cane we-fasten.) '1/ Having dug out the pitpit
roots, we level the ground for the house.
2/ Having leveled and put the ground for the
house, we consequently set the house posts.
3/ Having set the house posts and having set
them in the ground and completed it, and
left it remaining that way, we consequently
fasten the cane.'

The speaker who chooses to produce a chronological
medial clause with the same subject as the following verb
has a second option available to him. He may choose to
add no ending to the verb stem. Clauses containing such
unmarked verbs are called chronological defocused clauses,
and are chosen to portray secondary information which is
stated only once. They are used in both consequential and
sequential paragraphs. Defocused clauses often occur in

lengthy chains of medial clauses, but one may occur by
itself immediately preceding the final clause, as in
the following example.

> Naoma men seker mone ngo rup mondu kaollam.
>
> (We pig pearl-shells money this in-this-way
>
> carry-defocused we-give.) 'Carrying them,
>
> we give these pigs, pearl shells, and money
>
> in this way.'

The second example shows a defocused clause in a chain
of two dependent clauses which precede the final inde-
pendent clause. Although the defocused clause has a
transitive verb, its object is not stated since it
is clearly understood from the context.

> Espu awar, Apkas llaokallau... (Look-for-
>
> defocused stand-chronological-same-subject,
>
> boy's-name I-told...) 'As I was looking for
>
> it, I told Apkas...'

The next example shows a chain of six chronological
defocused clauses followed by an independent clause.
The object of the first two defocused clauses is the
same. The third and fourth clauses share another object,
and the fifth and sixth clauses take a third object. The
final clause summarizes the previous actions by using
the word do. That is, the final independent clause in a
very general way tells what the participant did, and the
medial clauses tell specifically.

Kore tani ilap mondu yu, ir kapu wesu yu, so
pu yu, ngup pisao. (Pitpit-shoots greens two
carry-defocused put-defocused, wood dried
gather-defocused put-defocused, leaves cut-
defocused put-defocused, in-this-way he-did.)
'Carrying and putting both pitpit shoots and
greens, gathering and putting firewood, cutting
and putting leaves, he did in this manner.'
The next example shows a sentence with two defocused
clauses, each with its own object. The subject is
stated at the beginning of the sentence and again in
the independent clause at the end of the sentence.

Nipi tepall e po, and pu, nipi tepall pirispi.
(They-two spouses garden plant-defocused, house
do-defocused, they-two spouses they-two-sat.)
'The two spouses having planted a garden and built
a house, the two spouses lived.'
It is common to have a sentence with both chronological
defocused and -war clauses occurring in the same chain of
medial clauses. The first example has three -war clauses,
and two defocused clauses.

Ngo rup pawar, an to pu mbawar, pelluwara,
men laim. (This manner complete-chronological,
stone arrange-defocused do-defocused remain-
chronological, sleep-chronological, pig they-
killed.) 'Having completed this and letting the
stones remain in that state and having slept, they

killed the pigs.'

The second example has a chain of seven chronological clauses. Six are defocused, but one, the second in the chain, adds the -war suffix to the verb.

Anda toreyao po nawar ne mondu tu na no puru

espi. (House door close-defocused put-chrono-

logical-war food carry-defocused carry-defocused

put-inside-defocused eat-defocused sit-defocused

they-two-were.) 'Having closed the door, carried

the food, and put it inside, they were sitting

and eating.'

The speaker may choose to produce a chronological clause whose verb is affixed to show that the next clause has a different subject. Chronological different subject clauses are usually found in chains of two or more dependent clauses, and they usually come somewhere before the last dependent verb in the chain. However, they may immediately precede the final verb. They are formed by adding the suffix -n to the verb stem. Chronological different subject clauses occur infrequently. Most medial clauses are marked to indicate that the next clause will have the same subject. When different subject clauses do occur, one of the subjects must be stated overtly. Objects may be omitted if they are understood.

The first example illustrates a chain of clauses in which one of the clauses is marked to indicate that the next clause will have a different subject. The chain,

consisting of four medial clauses and an independent one,
occurs in the second part of a conjoined sentence. The
different subject marker is found on the third medial
verb. Thus, the last medial verb and the final verb
share the same subject that occurs in the first part of
the conjoined sentence and is, therefore, understood from
context. The first three verbs in the chain share another
subject which is stated overtly preceding the first chained
clause.

> Ngo ir aonda ngo awallma re, Eyo po taeke irin
> llowar awallma. (This wood big this we-set-up
> consequent-marker, Name-of-tribe-from-Lake-
> Kutubu chop-defocused split-defocused burn-
> different-subject say we-set-up.) 'We set up
> this log, saying that the Eyo clan will chop,
> burn, and split it, we customarily set it up.'

In the next example, the subject changes after the second
clause. That is the first two clauses share the same
subject, the first being marked for same subject and
the second for different subject. The rest of the
clauses all share another subject which is stated overtly
immediately after the clause marked for different subject.

> Ne pongelle aen, umb ten ndam iri mina tullumbi
> misae. (Negative fall-defocused-same-subject
> stand-different-subject, attractive woman this-in
> reference hair hold-defocused-same-subject
> pulled-defocused-same-subject she-took.)

'He had not fallen all the way, and the woman

grabbed his hair and pulled him up.'

The next example illustrates a sentence with a clause marked

for different subject immediately preceding the final verb.

The subject of the first two clauses is stated overtly,

but it changes before the third and final clause which

has an imperative verb.

> E nem pull pon, ip. (Yes I do-purposive go-
>
> different subject, you-come.) 'Yes, I am going
>
> in order to do it, now you come.'

Durative Clauses

A durative clause represents an event as extending

over a period of time or space. The durative clause is

formed by adding a suffix -r to the verb stem, and it

always indicate that the following verb has the same

subject.[1] These clauses often occur in discourse at points

where the setting changes taking the participants from one

time or location to another. They are often followed by a

verb of going which has a goal occuring between the chain

of medial verbs and the final verb. The durative verb is

not necessarily the last medial verb in the chain, but

frequently it is. The first example shows a chain of

two dependent clauses both of which have a durative verb

---

[1]In the data there is one sentence which may have a
durative clause marked to indicate that the next clause
will have a different subject. However, the evidence is
insufficient to warrant a change in the current analysis.

form. The independent clause has a goal which is stated overtly following the second durative clause and immediately preceding the final verb.

> Mel lar pir, anda ipullemi. (Dance dance-durative go-durative, house they-came.) 'They were dancing as they came to their houses.'

The second example shows a chain of two medial durative clauses followed by the consequent marker re. The independent clause with its final verb comes after re, and there is also a goal before the final verb.

> Wall mar pir re, Kuind aoraon anda aenen paombaum. (Again carry-durative go-durative consequent-marker, Name-of-boy father's house inside we-entered.) 'Since we had carried it and gone again, we entered Kuind's father's house.'

The following example shows a durative verb occurring immediately preceding the final verb. The speaker is emphasizing that the action continued for a long time both by using a durative clause and by repeating the independent clause.

> 1/ Embes powar lisan, okull lar pirisao.
> 2/ Pirisao. (1/ Quickly go-chronological serialization barrier hit-durative she-sat. 2/ She-sat.) '1/ Having gone quickly, she sat hitting the barrier. 2/ She sat.'

The next example is a conjoined sentence with five clauses:
three dependent medial and two independent final clauses.
The two durative clauses occur in a string of three medial
clauses in the second part of the conjoined sentence. The
first two medial clauses, a chronological defocused clause
and a durative clause, have transitive verbs sharing the
same four objects. The sentence is somewhat unusual in
that it has four noun phrases naming the objects of the
transitive verbs. The third medial clause and the
independent final clause have verbs of going, and the
goal of the independent final clause is also stated.

> Ngup isae yo, men we tu lapo, ep tongo, sok kapu,
> taengel ake mondu tar pir, Eyo anda pipisao.
> (In-this-manner it-was coordinate-marker,
> pig female male two, salt wrapped, tobacco
> dried, shell-necklace white carry-defocused
> carry-durative go-durative, Name-of-clan house
> she-went.) 'It was like that, and she went to the
> village of the clan of Eyo carrying a male and a
> female pig, salt, dried tobacco, and white shell
> necklaces.'

Resultative Clauses

A third kind of medial clause is identified as
resultative. The clause is formed by adding the suffix
-ng to the verb. The choice to use a resultative clause
is rather restricted. It always precedes an independent
clause whose final verb is a command, and the subject always

changes. The action in the resultative clause enables
the command to be given. That is, because the statement
in the first clause is true, the command can be given,
as in the following examples.

> Ki nda kopeyaeng, ngem wall me. (Key this-
> in-reference break-resultative, you again
> get-present-command-singular.) 'Because my
> key is broken, you must get another one.'
> Ngupi yemer tenael naollang, aendaepe. (In-
> this-manner group women-men eat-resultative,
> see-future-command-singular.) 'These kinds of
> things eat people, and so you be careful.'
> Aeren mbelli mong eyong, pu. (Father brothers
> over-there stand resultative, go-present-command-
> singular.) 'Your father and brothers are over
> there, and so you go.'

Resultative clauses occur only rarely in narrative and
procedural discourse.

Purposive Clauses

When producing a medial clause, the speaker may choose
a purposive clause so called because they give the purpose
or reason for carrying out the act named by the verb they
precede. English 'in order to' parallels the Nembi pur-
posive clause reasonably well 'in order to buy bread, I
went to the store.' The first clause gives the reason
or purpose for carrying out the act which is named by the
verb in the second clause. Nembi purposive clauses

indicate that the next clause will have the same subject, and they are subordinate to the medial or final verb they precede. A purposive clause, formed by adding the suffix -ull to the verb stem, is usually part of a longer chain of clauses.

In the first example, the purposive clause is attached to the final verb. There are three clauses in the sentence: a chronological, a purposive, and an independent clause.

Ya iri ngo esmba awara, mel lull pullemi.

(Bird feather this head set-chronological-same-subject, dance dance-purposive they-will-do.) 'Setting those bird feathers on their heads, in order to dance, they will do this.'

In the next example, the purposive clause occurs in a chain of four medial clauses, and is subordinate to the chronological -war clause that it precedes.

Ngo por Eyom waombull taoll epowar, pellin, llowar pimim. (This relator-word Name-of-clan oily-sap carry-purposive come-chronological-same-subject, sleep-chronological-different-subject, say-chronological-same-subject they-do.) 'They do this, and they say that at this place the people from the Eyo clan, in order to carry oily sap, will come and sleep.'

In the next example, the purposive clause occurs in a chain of three medial clauses. The first two are chronological defocused clauses, and the third is the

purposive. All have the same subject which is stated
overtly in the independent clause immediately preceding
the final verb.

> <u>Lu yollo tall nipu pipisao.</u> (Hit-defocused
>
> pull-defocused carry-purposive he he-went.)
>
> 'Having hit and pulled her, he went in order
>
> to carry her.'

Once the speaker has chosen to produce a purposive
clause, he has another choice to make: whether or
not to add a second suffix -<u>wam</u>. If he chooses to add
the -<u>wam</u> suffix, he must then decide between adding -<u>in</u>
or not adding it. The suffixes -<u>wam</u> and -<u>in</u> are so
rarely added to the purposive clauses that I have
been unable to formulate a principle for their use.
Two examples follow. The first has both -<u>wam</u> and -<u>in</u>,
but the second has only -<u>wam</u>.

> <u>Ngo re ngo men ngo kaollowae rup, aondollwamin</u>
>
> <u>ir tulli awallma.</u> (This consequent-marker this
>
> pig this give in-this-manner, see-purposive
>
> wood sticks we-set-up.) 'Giving these pigs
>
> in this manner, we set up the sticks in order
>
> to see how many.'
>
> <u>...and pullwam, and ipai awallma.</u> (...house
>
> do-purposive, house posts we-set-up.) 'In
>
> order to build the house, we customarily set up
>
> the house posts.'

Other Clausal Phenomena

Consequential Constructions

Chronological clauses marked for the same subject, durative clauses, and time and manner clauses may be followed by the consequent marker re. When this occurs it indicates that there is a consequential re-lationship between it and the clause which follows it.[1] The first example shows re added to a dependent medial chronological clause followed by an independent clause.

Ir ponawar re, yopor te awallma. (Wood sharpen-chronological consequent-marker, plant roots we-dig-out.) 'We sharpen the sticks since we dig out the roots.'

The next example shows re added to a durative clause followed by a chronological clause and an independent clause. The actions which follow the consequent marker are the result, and those preceding it are the cause.

Ngup awara, men ngo nall pir re, mongo mena ya and pu mbawar, men kang oyallma. (This set-up, pig this in-order-to-eat go-durative consequent-marker, over-there pig long-ceremonial house build remain, pig small we-buy.) 'Having set up the posts, since we go in order to eat pig, after having built the long ceremonial house over there, we buy small pigs.'

---

[1] It is the same relationship that is exhibited when re is used to conjoin sentences.

The next example shows <u>re</u> following a time clause. This
is very similar to the English use of 'therefore, when...'.

<u>Mondu yu awar, onda songo aond yuwar, iri ae ar</u>

<u>pipisao romb ore, aki papu nda yel kiriluwar</u>

<u>tukmaisae.</u> (Carry put stand, that boy big
put, hair stood was he-went when consequent-
marker, sister many this-in-reference thing
gather they-divided.) 'They had carried and put
those things, and therefore, when the boy was
grown and had a lot of hair, all those sisters
gathered and divided the pearl shells.'

Modified Time Relationships

If a speaker chooses to produce either a chronological
same-subject clause ending in the -<u>war</u> suffix or a
durative clause, he must choose whether or not to modify
the time relationship between clauses. The three time
relationships are successivization, serialization, and
prolongation.[1]

Successivization refers to unmarked and unspecified
time relationships that occur between clauses. Chronological
clauses show simultaneity or sequence of action, and durative

---

[1]The terms serialization and prolongation are
borrowed from Franklin (1971, p. 110) who reports a similar
situation for Kewa. However, in Kewa, the modification of
time relationships occurs between clauses marker for
different subjects. In Nembi it occurs between clauses
marked for the same subject.

clauses show that the action extended over a period of time or space, but they do not specify time relationships between clauses. That is, an event may end before the next begins, or it may continue on through a number of other events. Two events may begin and end simultaneously, or one may begin before the other, but end at the same time. Although the events occur in succession, the time relationships between them are not made explicit by the syntax.

Sometimes the speaker will choose to specify the time relationship between chronological and durative clauses, by showing either serialization or prolongation. Serialization means that a second event begins just as the first ends, and it is indicated by inserting lisan immediately following the event that has just ended. In the first example there are two chronological -war clauses. The second is followed by lisan after which a defocused and an independent clause occur.

> Opna pewar, olle we nda yel muwar lisan, po
> posao. (Came-up do-chronological-same-subject,
> sweet-potatoes vines this-in-reference thing
> take-chronological-same-subject serialization,
> plant-defocused she-planted.) 'Having come up
> and having taken those sweet potato vines, she
> planted them.'

In the second example, there are two -war clauses and an independent final clause. Lisan occurs after the

first -war clause indicating that the action of the
first clause was completed just before that in the
second clause began.

> Na pewar lisan puruwara, ek ul mar mend pirisae.
>
> (Eat defocused do-chronological serialization,
> moon number-marker four other she-sat.) 'Having
> eaten, and sitting she sat for four months.'

If the speaker wishes to show prolongation, he uses
lisana. Prolongation indicates that the first event is
prolonged and continues even after the second event has
begun. In the example lisana follows the -war which is
preceded by two defocused clauses.

> Onda eke mba puruwar lisana, pell isao.
>
> (That hide-defocused remain-defocused sat-chrono-
> logical prolongation, sleep-defocused he-was.)
> 'That man having hidden and having remained there
> sitting, he was sleeping.'

Clause Embedding

Clauses may be embedded in the subject, object,
or locational phrases of another clause. In simpler
narratives and procedural discourse there is less clause
embedding, but in longer more involved narratives there
is more. Embedded clauses which parallel the English
relative clause may be used for tail-head or remote
linkage, but more often they identify a prop[1] that has

---

[1]Grimes (1971, 1975a) defines props as being distinct
from participants. Participants are usually animate and

has not been mentioned before. They may be embedded in either independent or dependent clauses, and they may have either final or medial verb forms. They are usually followed by either a noun, the reference particle, or a definite (one, two, three) or indefinite (some, other) numeral. There seem to be no restrictions as to which verbs may occur in embedded clauses.

In the first example the embedded clause occurs in the subject of an adjunct clause. The clause is followed by the generic noun yel 'thing' to which the subject marker -m is suffixed.

> Aki papu ngo isao yelem iki mandau wae llisao romb... (Sister many this were thing son bore shouted he-said...) 'When the many sisters that were there shouted that she had born a son...'

The second example has only one independent clause, but its subject is an embedded clause followed by the reference particle nda.

> Ael epe oro a isao nda nipuna timba upellisao. (Man good very stand he-stood in-reference he night he-slept.) 'That man who was very good slept at night.'

The third example illustrates a clause embedded as the

---

props inanimate, but that distinction does not always hold. Participants are part of a participant orientation scheme, and props stand outside that scheme.

direct object in the independent clause. The embedded

clause is followed by the generic noun yel 'thing'.

> ...wak sollu mend isae yel, misao. (...wooden-
>
> dish long other it-was thing, he-took.) 'He took
>
> a long wooden dish.'

Embedded clauses sometimes show location. In the example,

the embedded clause is followed by the relator word por.

> Te tall powar, omap anga mendel ur wepa mend
>
> isao por, i ellall pirisao. (Intestines carry-
>
> purposive go-chronological, garden edge other
>
> reed pond other it-was relator-word, fecal-
>
> remains remove-purposive she-sat.) 'Having
>
> gone in order to carry the intestines, she was
>
> sitting at a reed pond that was at the edge of
>
> the garden, in order to remove the fecal remains.'

In the next example, there is no noun, reference particle

or numeral following the embedded clause which is the

object of the verb.

> Aki mende, men mend isao, lisao. (Sister other,
>
> pig another it-was, she-killed.) 'The other sister
>
> killed a pig that was there.'

A sentence may have more than one embedded clause. The

following sentence has three. Each is followed by

either a noun or indefinite numeral, and they are

conjoined by the relator word por.

> Seker tonga pai mend por, men paiki ya pai men
>
> emi por, aond ngo ya pai mend por, ir kapu por

<u>ngo ndal yall pir ngo nda ael tepeyaisae.</u> (Pearl-
shells fastened-defocused he-did some relator-
word, pig side cook-defocused he-did pig grease
relator-word, big this cook defocused he-did some
relator-word, wood dried relator-word this this-
in-reference put-purposive go-durative this this-
in-reference man he-left.) 'Having gone in order
to put some pearl shells that he had fastened, some
pig meat and grease that he had cooked, a lot of
these things that he had cooked, and some fire-
wood, that man left these things.'

The following example shows an embedded clause, the subject
of the sentence, that has a medial verb followed by the
generic noun 'thing'.

<u>Opor piri yel, onda songo yollomi pisao.</u>
(Over-there sit-defocused thing, that boy
pull-defocused he-went.) 'A thing that was
sitting over there went pulling that boy.'

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PHONOLOGICAL CHARTS

CHART 2.   VOWELS

	Front Unrounded	Central Unrounded	Back Rounded
High			
close	i		u
Mid			
close	e		o
Low			
close	ae		ao
open		a	
Glides	ei		ui
			oe
		ai au	

CHART 3. CONSONANTS

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar
Obstruents				
stops (simple)	p	t		k
stops (complex)	mb	nd		ng
Affricates			nj	
Sibilants				
grooved fricative			s	
Nasals	m	n		
Lateral		l		
flapped		ll		
Vibrant				
flapped		r		
Semi-consonants	w		y	

APPENDIX B

FINAL VERB AFFIXATION FOR PERSON

NUMBER TENSE AND MODE

Tenses Defined

Final verbs are inflected for person, number, tense, and mode. The number suffixes are readily identified. Singular is unmarked, dual is -p, and plural is -m. However, since it is difficult to distinguish the person markings from the tense affixes, and all three obligatorily co-occur, they are given together in the charts which follow.

Indicative mode is unmarked, but imperative has affixes for both number and tense. Imperative forms have no dual.

Indicative declarative sentences are unmarked. Interrogatives add pe after the last word of the sentence. Indicative mode takes one of seven tense forms. They are defined briefly, and then the endings are given in charts which follow.

1. *Customary* tense expresses an action which is performed regularly without reference to time. 2. *Stative* is used only rarely. It means that something is in the state of happening. That is, a person may be in the state of going, the state of sitting, the state of

sleeping, and so forth. 3. Stative contrasts with present tense which means that the action is taking place at the time of the telling. That is, present tense means that something is in the process of happening, and it corresponds closely to present progressive tense in English. 4. The speaker uses intentive when he is about to do something. It expresses his intention to carry out the act immediately. 5. Future tense means that the events will occur at an unspecified time in the future. 6. Near past means that the action was completed not long before the telling. 7. Distant past endings are used to indicate an action was completed a long time before the telling. Customary, present, and past tense endings are also inflected for degree of perception. Greater perception means that both speaker and hearer have participated in or witnessed the event, whereas lesser perception means that either speaker, hearer, or both neither participated in nor witnessed the event.

Verbs in Nembi are divided into two classes according to the endings they take. Most verbs take class one endings, but a much smaller group requires class two endings. However, when class one verbs are preceded by the causative marker mo, they take class two endings.

Nembi has two phonemic tones: high and low.
In the verb charts, second and third person forms
which appear to be identical are distinguished by
tone. Second person endings have low tone, and
third person endings have high. Tone, however,
carries a low functional load in the language and is
not written. In discourse, the context makes second
and third person referents clear, and tone is not
marked.

The morphophonemic analysis is at a preliminary
stage. Phonologically conditioned allomorphs are the
result of vowel harmony between the verb stem and
its suffixes. When the vowel in the verb stem is
/ao/ or /o/, it changes as follows: 1. When the
first vowel in the ending is /u/, the /u/ becomes
/o/. 2. When the first vowel in the suffix is /e/
or /ae/, the /ao/ or /o/ becomes /ae/. Thus, aondo
'see' and -ullwa 'first person singular, future'
becomes aondollwa while aondo 'see' and -aepe
'singular command future' become aendaepe. In all
other occurences, when the stem ends in a vowel, the
final vowel is dropped when the stem is added.

The following abbreviations are used in the verb charts.

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
Cis	Cislocative
Com	Command
Cust	Customary tense
D	Dual
DP	Distant past tense
Fut	Future tense
GP	Greater perception
Inc	Inclusive
Int	Intentive tense
LP	Lesser perception
NP	Near past tense
P	Plural
Pres	Present tense
S	Singular
Stat	Stative tense

CHART 4. CLASS I VERB ENDINGS

	Cust GP	Cust LP	Stat	Pres GP	Pres LP	Int
1S	-allo	-eyo	-eyu	-all	-ewo	-un
2S	-aelle	-elle	-el	-ael	-elo	-en
3S	-alla	-eya	-e	-all	-eyo	-en
1D	-allpa	-epa	-ep	-allop	-epo	-upun
2D	-aellepe	-epe	-ep	-aellep	-epo	-ullepin
3D	-aellepe	-epe	-ep	-aellep	-epo	-en
1P	-allma	-ema	-em	-allom	-emo	-umun
2P	-aelleme	-eme	-em	-aellem	-emo	-ullemin
3P	-aelleme	-eme	-em	-aellem	-emo	-en

	Fut	NP GP	NP LP	DP GP	DP LP
1S	-ullwa	-au	-uwa	-isu	-iswa
2S	-ulle	-ai	-ai	-isi	-isi
3S	-elliya	-ao	-ai	-is	-isao,-isae
1D	-ullpa	-ap	-upa	-isup	-ispa
2D	-ullepi	-aip	-api	-isip	-ispi
3D	-ullepi	-aip	-api	-isip	-ispi
1P	-ullma	-am	-uma	-isum	-isma
2P	-ullemi	-aim	-ami	-isim	-ismi
3P	-ullemi	-aim	-ami	-isim	-ismi

	Pres Com	Fut Com	Inc Com	Cis Com
S	-a	-aepe	-apon	-op
P	-allop	-allpaepe	-emin	-ollopop

CHART 5.   CLASS II VERB ENDINGS

	Cust GP	Cust LP	Stat	Pres GP	Pres LP	Int
1S	-allo	-aiyo	-ayu	-all	-aiwo	-aun
2S	-alle	-alle	-al	-arel	-ailo	-aren
3S	-alla	-aiya	-ai	-all	-aiyo	-ain
1D	-allpa	-aipa	-aip	-allop	-aipo	-apon
2D	-allepe	-ape	-aip	-allep	-aipo	-allepin
3D	-allepe	-ape	-aip	-allep	-aipo	-ain
1P	-allma	-aima	-aim	-allom	-aimo	-amon
2P	-alleme	-ame	-aim	-allem	-aimo	-allemin
3P	-alleme	-ame	-aim	-allem	-aimo	-ain

	Fut	NP GP	NP LP	DP GP	DP LP
1S	-allwa	-aru	-aruwa	-asu	-aswa
2S	-alle	-ari	-ari	-asi	-asi
3S	-alliya	-arip	-aripae	-as	-asao,-asae
1D	-allpa	-arup	-arupa	-asup	-aspa
2D	-allepi	-arip	-aripi	-asip	-aspi
3D	-allepi	-arip	-aripi	-asip	-aspi
1P	-allma	-arum	-aruma	-asum	-asma
2P	-allemi	-arim	-arimi	-asim	-asmi
3P	-allemi	-arim	-arimi	-asim	-asmi

	Pres Com	Fut Com	Inc Com	Cis Com
S	-a	-ape	-apon	-ap
P	-allop	-allpaepe	-amin	-allopop

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALLEN, JANICE. 1972. Relationships between sentence
    and discourse in Halia. (Pacific linguistics
    series, A34.) Canberra: Australian National
    University.

CALLOW, KATHLEEN. 1974. Discourse considerations
    in translating the word of God. Grand Rapids:
    Zondervan Publishing House.

CAPELL, A. 1948. Distribution of languages in the
    Central Highlands, New Guinea. Oceania 19.
    104-29, 234-53, 349-77.

_____. 1969. A survey of New Guinea languages.
    Sydney: Sydney University Press.

CLEMENTS, PAUL. 1976. The effects of staging on
    recall from prose. Thesis, Cornell University.

CROWELL, THOMAS H. 1972. Cohesion in Bororo discourse.
    Linguistics 104. 15-27.

DAVIS, DONALD R. 1973. Wantoat paragraph structure.
    Linguistics 110. 5-16.

DIJK, T. A. VAN. 1972. Some aspects of text grammars:
    a study in theoretical linguistics and poetics.
    The Hague: Mouton.

DUBOIS, CARL D. 1973. Connectives in Saragani Manobo
    narratives. Linguistics 110. 17-18.

DUFF, MARTHA. 1974. Contrastive features of written
    and oral texts in Amuesha (Arawakan). Lenguaje
    y Ciencias 14. 168-80.

FORSTER, KEITH. 1977. The narrative folklore discourse
    in Border Cuna. Discourse grammar studies in
    indigenous languages of Colombia, Panama, and
    Ecuador, Part II, ed. Robert E. Longacre, 1-23.
    Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and
    University of Texas at Arlington.

FRANKLIN, JOICE. 1965. Kewa II higher level phonology.
    Anthropological Linguistics 7. 84-88.

FRANKLIN, KARL J. 1963. Kewa ethnolinguistic concepts of body parts. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 19. 54-63.

_____. 1964. Kewa verb morphology. Verb studies in five New Guinea languages, ed. B. F. Elson, 100-30. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics of University of Oklahoma.

_____. 1965. Kewa clause markers. Oceania 35. 272-85.

_____. 1967a. Kewa sentence structure. (Pacific linguistics series, A13.) Canberra: Australian National University.

_____. 1967b. Names and aliases in Kewa. Journal of the Polynesian Society 76. 76-81.

_____. 1968. The dialects of Kewa. (Pacific linguistics series, B10.) Canberra: Australian National University.

_____. 1971. A grammar of Kewa, New Guinea. (Pacific linguistics series, C16.) Canberra: Australian National University.

FRANKLIN, KARL J., and JOICE FRANKLIN. 1962a. The Kewa counting systems. Journal of the Polynesian Society 71. 188-91.

_____. 1962b. Phonological asymmetry. Anthropological Linguistics 4. 29-37.

GORDON, KENT H., and KENNETH LEE PIKE. 1973. Paired semantic components, paired sentence reversals, and the analysis of Dhangar (Kudur) discourse. International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics 2:1 14-46.

GRIMES, BARBARA, (ed.) 1974. Ethnologue. Huntington Beach, California: Wycliffe Bible Translators, Inc.

GRIMES, JOSEPH E. 1971. Kinds of information in discourse. Kivung 4. 64-72.

_____. 1972. Outlines and overlays. Language 48. 513-24.

_____. 1975a. The thread of discourse. (Janua linguarum minor, 207.) The Hague: Mouton.

_____, (ed.) 1975b. Network grammars. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics of University of Oklahoma.

GUDSCHINSKY, SARAH C. 1959. Discourse analysis of a Mazatec text. International Journal of American Linguistics 25. 139-149.

HALE, AUSTIN, (ed.) 1973. Clause, sentence, and discourse patterns in selected languages of Nepal, 4 vols. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics of University of Oklahoma.

HALLIDAY, MICHAEL A. K. 1964. Syntax and the consumer. Monograph series on language and linguistics, Georgetown University 17. 11-24.

_____. 1966 Society and the noun: an inaugural lecture delivered at University College, London, 24. London: H. K. Lewis.

_____. 1967, 1968. Notes on transitivity and theme in English, parts 1, 2, 3. Journal of Linguistics 3. 37-81, 199-244. 4. 179-215.

_____. 1973. Explorations in the functions of language. London: Edward Arnold.

_____. 1975. Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language. London: Edward Arnold.

_____. 1978. Language as a social semiotic: the social interpretation of language and meaning. Baltimore: University Park Press.

HARRIS, ZELLIG. 1952a. Discourse analysis. Language 28. 1-30.

_____. 1952b. Discourse analysis, a sample text. Language 28. 474-524.

_____. 1957. Co-occurrence and transformations in linguistic structure. Language 33. 283-340.

_____. 1963. Discourse analysis reprints. The Hague: Mouton.

HOHULIN, R. M. 1971. Cohesive organization in Keley I Kallahan (Pacific linguistics series, A32.) Canberra: Australian National University.

HUISMAN, RONALD. 1973. Angaatha verb morphology. Linguistics 110. 43-54.

KRESS, G. R., (ed.) 1976. Halliday: system and function in language: selected papers. London: Oxford University Press.

LANDESMAN, CHARLES. 1972. Discourse and its pre-suppositions. New Haven: Yale University Press.

LAWRENCE, MARSHALL. 1972. Oksapmin sentence structure. (Pacific linguistics series, A34.) Canberra: Australian National University.

LITTERAL, SHIRLEY. 1972. Orientation to space and participants in Anggor. (Pacific linguistics series, A31.) Canberra: Australian National University.

LONGACRE, ROBERT E. 1968. Philippine languages: discourse, paragraph, and sentence structure. Santa Ana: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

_____. 1970. Paragraph and sentence structure in New Guinea Highland languages. Kivung 3. 150-163.

_____. 1971a. Narrative versus other discourse genre. From soundstream to discourse: papers from the Mid-America Linguistics Conference, November 12, 13, 1971, University of Missouri, Columbia.

_____, (ed.) 1971b. Philippine discourse and paragraph studies in memory of Betty McLachlin. (Pacific linguistics series, C22.) Canberra: Australian National University.

_____. 1972. Hierarchy and universality of discourse constituents in New Guinea languages: discussion, texts, 2 vols. Washington D. C.: Georgetown University Press.

_____. 1976a. An anatomy of speech notions. Lisse: The Peter De Ridder Press.

_____, (ed.) 1976b, 1977. Discourse grammar: studies in indigenous languages of Colombia, Panama, and Ecuador, parts I, II, III. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington.

MCCARTHY, JOY. 1965. Clause chaining in Kanite.
Anthropological Linguistics 7. 59-70.

MURANE, ELIZABETH. 1974. Daga grammar from morpheme to
discourse. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics
of University of Oklahoma.

PARROT, MURIEL, and VIOLA WATERHOUSE. 1975. Well-formed
narrative in highland Oaxaca Chontal. International
Journal of American Linguistics 41. 148-54.

PETOFI, JANOS S., and HANNES RIESER, (eds.) 1973.
Studies in text grammar. Boston: D. Reidel
Publishing Company.

_____. 1977. Some arguments against counter-
revolution: on Marcelo Dascal's and Avishai
Margalit's a new revolution in linguistics: text
grammar versus sentence grammars. Linguistics
188. 11-22.

PIKE, KENNETH L. 1964. A linguistic contribution to
composition: a hypothesis. From conference on
college composition and communication, n.p.

PIKE, KENNETH L., and IVAN LOWE. 1969. Pronominal
reference in English conversation and discourse--
a group theoretical treatment. (Folia linguistica
acta societatis linguisticae Europaeae tomus III
1/2. 68-106.) The Hague: Mouton.

PIKE, KENNETH L., and EVELYN G. PIKE. 1972. Seven
substitution exercises for studying the structure
of discourse. Linguistics 94. 43-52.

_____. 1977. Grammatical analysis. Huntington Beach,
California: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

PIKE, KENNETH L., and BURKHARD SCHOETTELNDREYER. 1972.
Paired sentence reversals in the discovery of
underlying and surface structure in Sherpa
discourse. Indian Linguistics 33. 72-83.

PILHOFER, G. 1933. Grammatik der kate-sprache in New
Guinea. Zeitschrift fur Eingeborenen-Sprachen:
Beiheft 14.

REID, AILEEN A., RUTH BISHOP, ELLA M. BUTTON, and
ROBERT E. LONGACRE. 1968. Totonac: from clause to
discourse. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics
of University of Oklahoma.

RULE, JOAN A. 1965. A comparison of certain phonemes of the languages of the Mendi and Nembi valleys, Southern Highlands, Papua. Anthropological Linguistics 7. 98-104.

THOMAS, DAVID. 1975. Notes and queries on language analysis. Huntington Beach, California: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

VOEGELIN, C. F., and F. M. VOEGELIN. 1965. Languages of the world: Indo Pacific fascicle five. Anthropological Linguistics 7. 1-114.

WINOGRAD, TERRY. 1972. Understanding natural language. New York: Academic Press.

WISE, MARY RUTH. 1971. Identification of participants in discourse: A study of aspects of form and meaning in Nomatsiguenga. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics of University of Oklahoma.

WURM, S. A. 1960a. The linguistic situation in the highlands of Papua and New Guinea. Australian Territories 1. 14-23.

_____. 1960b. The changing linguistic picture of New Guinea. Oceania 31. 121-36.

_____. 1964a. Australian New Guinea Highlands languages and the distribution of their typological features. American Anthropologist 66. 77-97.

_____. 1964b. Phonological diversification in Australian New Guinea Highlands languages. (Linguistic circle of Canberra publications series, B2.) Canberra: Linguistic Circle of Canberra.

_____. 1964c. Recent developments in linguistic studies on the Australian New Guinea mainland. (Linguistic circle of Canberra publications series, A4.) Canberra: Linguistic Circle of Canberra.

_____. 1965. Recent comparative and typological studies in Papuan languages in Australian New Guinea. Lingua 15. 373-99.

WURM, S. A., and D. C. LAYCOCK. 1961. The question of language and dialect in New Guinea. Oceania 32. 128-43.