Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages Volume 26

AMBULAS GRAMMAR

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AMBULAS GRAMMAR

Patricia R. Wilson

Summer Institute of Linguistics Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea The workpaper in this volume express the author's knowledge at the time of writing. It does not necessarily provide a complete treatment of her topic. However, it is felt that this paper should be made available at this time.

Don Hutchisson Editor

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O INTRODUCTION

Ambulas (orthography within the language is Abulas), alternatively known as Abelam, is a member of the Ndu language family, of the Middle Sepik Stock. There are approximately 33,000 speakers, who are located mainly in the Maprik District of the East Sepik Province, in the foothills of the Prince Alexander Mountains and extending south towards the Sepik Plains. There are three main dialects. The data upon which this paper is based was collected from several language helpers, mainly from the village of Yamikum, in the Maprik or northern dialect. The data was collected over a period from May, 1968 to May, 1977 and consists of 85 texts of varying lengths, corresponding to approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours of tape-recorded text.

Ambulas has 24 phonemes, seven vowels and seventeen consonants. The vowels consist of two unrounded front vowels, \underline{i} and \underline{e} ; three unrounded central vowels, \underline{e} , \underline{a} and \underline{aa} ; and two rounded back vowels, \underline{u} and \underline{o} . The consonants consist of four voiceless obstruents, \underline{p} , \underline{t} , \underline{s} , and \underline{k} ; four voiced prenasalized obstruents, \underline{b} , \underline{d} , \underline{j} , and \underline{g} ; four nasals, \underline{m} , \underline{n} , \underline{ny} , and \underline{ng} ; three continuants, \underline{v} , \underline{l} , and \underline{r} ; and two semi-vowels, \underline{w} and \underline{y} .

Extra data was taken from the <u>Concordance of Abulas</u>
<u>Texts</u>, prepared by N. and S. Draper, consisting of 14,932
words of text and made on the IBM computer at the University
of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, in 1970.

The presentation of this paper draws on the theoretical framework of the tagmemic model as expounded in <u>Grammar Discovery Procedures</u> (Longacre, 1964) and <u>Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages: Discussion (Longacre, 1972).</u>

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Phyllis Healey, for consultant help with the sentence paper, Abulas Sentences (1973), and Elizabeth Murane and Velma Foreman, for consultant help with the rest of this material, to the typist, Helen Nicholas, to my former partner, Helen Baker (née Wearne) and to Norman and Sheila Draper, for their earlier assistance in the language, and to Kwapalik, Leo, Kisnyora, Gwande, John Kundama, Andrew Sapai and Cletus Kwarukitnya of Yamikum village and Andrew Klasimbi of Nyelikum village for their significant contributions to the corpus of text material.

The predominant importance of verbs is one of the outstanding features of this language. Other words take

little or no affixation, but verbs take multiple affixation. Inner suffixes are of importance to the preceding clause while outer suffixes, as well as signifying the relationship with the following clause, also determine the clause types, some sentence types and even some paragraph types. The great number of categories of clauses is determined mainly by the great number of differing outer suffixes, particularly as far as the Dependency category is concerned. For this reason the importance of verbs rather than clauses is highlighted throughout this paper.

Five different paragraph types rely on verbs to provide linkage, by means of tail-head recapitulation and these are all very common paragraph types. Other paragraphs have no overt linkage.

Two discourse types are distinguished by this verbal linkage within and between paragraphs. As it is the Predicate tagmeme that is usually repeated, that is, the verb, this further points to the importance of verbs.

As the dependent verb contains actor-subject information, the Predicate is the only obligatory tagmeme of a Dependent Clause. For this reason the action of a narrative or a procedure can be carried forward for some time by the use of a string of dependent verbs with one Independent Clause. Tense of verbs, also an outer suffix, also helps to distinguish different paragraph and discourse types.

The verb is very flexible in that, by means of the accessory suffix, it can assume other non-Predicate expounding functions within a clause. By means of the same suffix it can also indicate events out of the main theme or time line.

Another significant feature of this language is the large amount of embedding that takes place, particularly on the paragraph, sentence and phrase levels, and the unusual amount of backlooping, particularly of sentence embedding within a clause and clause embedding within a phrase.

There are three specialized terms used in this paper. The term, "Accessory" is used to apply to one category of dependent verb. The term, "Supplement", is used to cover the normal grammatical categories of object, direct object and instrument. The term, "Ferent" is coined from the Greek root, pherein 'to bring' and is used to convey the meaning of one type of Merged Sentence.

1 GENERAL

In this section a list of abbreviations is given, followed by a brief explanation of the theory of grammar used, followed by an explanation of the morphophonemics of this language.

1.1 Abbreviations

```
signifies the end of a clause
/
             signifies the end of a sentence
             obligatory (when used in a bidimensional array)
             optional
             morpheme break
             joins literal English gloss when more than one
             word equates with one language component
             filled by
:
             first person
1st
             second person
2nd
3rd
             third person
             Accompaniment - slot of a clause
Ac
             Accessory Clause
Acc
             accessory verb
acc
             Affirmative Clause
Aff
             accessory future
afu
             adjective
a.j
             Alternative Sentence
Altern.S.
             Amplification Paragraph
Amplif.P.
             accessory past
apa
             Appositional Noun Phrase
Appos NP
             accessory present
apr
              Axis-Relator Phrase
ARP
              Actor-subject - slot of a clause
As
              submerged Actor-subject - slot of a clause
Ās
              aspectual verb
asp
             Abstract Stative Clause
A St
              benefactive verbal suffix
                                          -tiyaa
ben 1
              benefactive verbal suffix
                                          -kwe
ben 2
              Beginning Quote Clause
B Q
              Build-Up - Base of Narrative Paragraph
BU
              Complement - slot of clause
C
c.f.
              compare
C1.
              Clause
              Co-ordinate Individual Adjective Phrase
Co Ind Aj P
              completive verbal suffix
                                         -wuré
comp 1
              completive verbal suffix
                                         -buti
comp 2
              completive verbal suffix
                                         -takna
comp 3
              Conditional Clause
Con
              conditional verb
con
              Connective Noun Phrase
Conn NP
```

```
cont
              continuous verbal suffix
                                          -saaku
              contrafactual marker
contr
Contract, P.
              Contraction Paragraph
Co-ord NP
              Co-ordinate Noun Phrase
Co-ord P.
              Co-ordinate Paragraph
C Q
              Closing Quote Clause
(d)
Def NP
              Definitive Noun Phrase
Dem
              Demonstrative
                             - slot of phrase
dem
              demonstrative
des
              desiderative discontinuous morpheme
                                                      -<u>ké</u> ..-<u>k</u>
              used to express desiderative tense
Descrip.P.
             Descriptive Paragraph
des int
              desiderative intentive suffix
                                               -kwate
dest
              destinational clitic
D Q
              Direct Quote Clause
D. Quote S.
             Direct Quote Sentence
e.g.
              for example
              emphatic clitic
emp
                                -na
              entirative verbal \overline{su}ffix
enti
                                          -kéra
             Episode - Base of Narrative Discourse
Epis.
              Equative Clause
Equ
etc.
              etcetera
Exec.P.
              Execution Paragraph
Expos.D.
              Expository Discourse
Expos. P.
              Expository Paragraph
\mathbf{F}
              Focus - slot of clause
f
              fina1
(f)
              feminine
frus
              frustrative verbal suffix
                                           -pati
Gen
              General Clause
Gen.Int.S.
              General Intentive Sentence
G Q
              General Quote Clause
G-S Amplif.P.Generic-Specific Amplification Paragraph
G St
              General Stative Clause
Hort.P.
              Hortatory Paragraph
              hypothetical verbal suffix -katik
hyp
              Intensifier - slot of clause
Ι
IA
              Immediacy Aspectual Clause
IAMS
              Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence
IDA
              Intentive Different Actor Clause
ida
              intentive different actor verb
Ident.P.
              Identification Paragraph
i.e
              that is
Im A
              Imminency Aspectual Clause
              imminency verbal suffix
imm
              Imperative - slot of clause
Imp
imp
              imperative marker
imper
              imperative verb
int
              intentive verbal suffix
                                         -ké
```

Interrogative Paragraph Interrog.P. Introduction - Base of discourse Introd. ISA Intentive Same Actor Clause intentive same actor verb isa Impersonal Stative Clause I St Jussive Clause Jus jussive marker suffix jus L Location - slot of clause locative clitic 1oc -ba M Manner - slot of clause (m)masculine Meteorological Clause Met Mod Modifier - slot of phrase M.S. Merged Sentence Ν Negative - slot of clause N A Negative Aspectual Clause Narr.D. Narrative Discourse Narr.P. Narrative Paragraph N.B. note well Negative - clause Neg negative - word neg Neg.Asp.M.S. Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence negative intentive verbal suffix neg int Negative Paraphrase Paragraph Neg. Para. P. NPNoun Phrase 0 Object - slot of clause Ρ Predicate - slot of clause Ρ. Paragraph page p. past tense pa Partitive - slot of clause Par partitive marker par Passive Clause Pas perfective suffix per personal pronoun pers pro Ph Phrase (p1) plural Possessive - slot of phrase Pos possessive clitic pos possessive pronoun marker posp present tense pr pro pronoun Procedure - Base of Procedural Discourse Proc. Procedural Paragraph Proced.P. pro-pronoun pro pro pronoun actor-subject рs P St Personal Stative Clause Qual NP Qualified Noun Phrase Quantifier - slot of phrase Quant R Referent - slot of clause

```
relational verb suffixes
r1
                  same actor partially consecutive
                  same actor consecutive
r2
                  same actor simultaneous
\mathbf{r}_3
\mathbf{r}^4
                  same actor continuous simultaneous
r_5
                  different actor consecutive -ék
                  different actor partially consecutive
r6
                  different actor future
r7
                                          -0
             Relational Different Actor Clause
RDA
             relational different actor verb
rda
Redup, P.
             Reduplication Paragraph
             referential clitic
ref
             Reported Speech Paragraph
Rep.Sp.P.
             Restricted Clause
Res
             Rhetorical Question Paragraph
Rhet.Ques.P.
             Relational Same Actor Clause
RSA
              relational same actor verb
rsa
S
              Subject - slot of clause
S.
              Sentence
(s)
              singular
              Subjunctive Aspectual Clause
SA
              Series Merged Sentence
SMS
              Specifier Noun Phrase
Spec NP
              specific emphatic clitic
spem
              Supplement - slot of clause
Su
              supplement clitic -ét
su
              Time - slot of clause
\mathbf{T}
              tentative verbal suffix -knwu
tent
VMNP
              Verbal Modified Noun Phrase
              -o near distance same actor vocative suffix
vo 1
              -a near distance different actor vocative suffix
vo 2
vo 3
              -awa far distance vocative suffix
vo 4
                   vocative suffix on names
\mathbf{vpr}
              vivid present tense
    )^{n}
              the item in brackets may be repeated any number
              of times. A number following a bracketed item
              and raised means that that item may be repeated
              the indicated number of times
              this subscript indicates the final item
n
```

Definition of symbols relating to deep grammar

```
a, b,...,n
Terms of predicates, always written immediately to the right of the predication containing them.

x,y
Further predicate terms with a spatial or temporal function.

a', x', etc. Synonym or situational equivalent of term a, x,etc.

a", x", etc. Antonym or situational opposite of term a, x, etc.

Eab Equational predication, 'term a is b'.
```

P, Q, R(but Predicates. If terms have been assigned to some not U) or all of the variables to form an acceptable statement, the result is called a predication. With no terms specified, predicate symbols without temporal quantifiers refer to the entire With terms specified, they refer predication. to the predicator only. Ē Negation of predicate P. P' Predication involving a synonym or situational equivalent of a lexical item with the same function in P. P" Predication involving an antonym or situational opposite of a lexical item with the same function in P. $P \supset Q$ If P, then Q. P with first term (actor) a. Pa. P with first term (actor) a, and a subsequent Pab term b which may or may not function as goal. P with first term (actor) a, and Q with first Pa A Qb term (actor) b, distinct from a. If no terms are specified in a predicate, it is understood that the actors may be either the same or different. P with first term (actor) a, and Q with the same Pa∧ Qa first term (actor) a. $P(a) \land P(b) \land ... \land P(n)$ Conjunction of n identical predications with non-identical terms having the same function in each predication. $^{\mathrm{P}}\!\!_{oldsymbol{\mathcal{B}}}$ Operator changes the positive-negative value of P so that every predicate in the expression takes one of the two values. For example, $[P_{\beta} \supset Q_{\beta}]$ $\Lambda P \wedge Q$ means any one of the four possibilities: $[\overline{P} \supset \overline{Q}] \land P \land Q$, $[\overline{P} \supset Q] \land P \land \overline{Q}$, $[P \supset \overline{Q}] \land \overline{P} \land \overline{Q}$, or $[P \supset Q] \land \overline{P} \land \overline{Q}$. P ≢ Q Either P or Q, but not both (exclusive disjunction). Expression enclosed in parentheses, which must . be more than just a predicate term, is a presupposition with respect to the remainder of the expression not so enclosed. Expression so enclosed must be grouped as one $\underline{\mathbf{P}}$ P denoting an activity or state involved in chronological succession. P P denoting an event involved in chronological succession. Ρ P and Q each denoting a continuous activity or state which overlaps in time with another such

continuous activity or state, or with a punctiliar event. Thus, e.g. $\underline{P} \land Q$. indicates a continuous

activity or state P during which the punctiliar event Q takes place.

- \underline{P} \supset Q. As above, except that here a punctiliar event Q. is contingent on the continuous activity or state \underline{P} .
- P. P denoting a punctiliar event involved in chronological Overlap. Thus, P. either takes place at the same time as another punctiliar event Q. or during a continuous activity or state Q.

The following symbols occur with subscripts preposed to predicate symbols, distinct from the terms of the respective predicates, which occur postposed. These preposed subscripts relate P to an accompanying predicate in the same expression.

аР	P with a reporting function denoting awareness
	of a statement in the accompanying predicate.

- gP P involving a more generic predicator or term which contrasts with a corresponding and more specific predicator or term in predicate sP.
- sP P involving a more specific predicator or term which contrasts with a corresponding and more generic predicator or term in gP.
- tP P which denotes a mistaken idea in the accompanying predicate.
- wP P which denotes reported speech in the accompanying predicate, with no implications about whether or not the statement results in a corresponding action.

Elements of the Increment Calculus:

- d-P P qualified so as to express desire relative to the action it indicates.
- f-P P qualified so as to express ability or facility relative to the action it indicates.
- i-P P qualified so as to express intent relative to the action it indicates.
- o-P P qualified so as to express obligation in regard to the action indicated by P, or strong motivation for doing it.

1.2 Theory of Grammar

Sentence, paragraph and discourse level are presented according to the following format: prose description, distinctive features of the construction, a bidimensional array showing slots and fillers, and rules, external distribution and examples. Phrase and clause level are presented using a modified version of the above. Deep Structure relationship is also indicated for sentence and paragraph

level.

In determining different types of constructions consideration is given to different kinds of tagmemes and their relationships to one another, the number and potential expansion of obligatory tagmemes, number and potential expansion of optional tagmemes, tense restrictions, subject change, semantic considerations, linkage devices, transform potential and distribution within higher levels.

1.3 Morphophonemics

- 1. When the following suffix starts with a vowel the following rules apply:
 - a. when the stem ends in \underline{p} , \underline{k} , \underline{s} , \underline{t} stem final \underline{p} adds \underline{m} before the suffix stem final \underline{k} adds \underline{n} [7] before the suffix stem final \underline{s} adds \underline{n} before the suffix stem final \underline{t} becomes \underline{r} before the suffix

$$\frac{\text{raap}}{\text{get.up}} + \frac{\text{\'ek}}{\text{pa}} = \frac{\text{raapm\'ek}}{\text{raapm\'ek}} \text{'got up'}$$

$$\frac{\text{s\'erak}}{\text{cook}} + \frac{\text{\'ek}}{\text{pa}} = \frac{\text{s\'erakn\'ek}}{\text{cooked'}} \text{'cooked'}$$

$$\frac{\text{Mulas}}{\text{Mulas}}$$
 + $\frac{\text{\'et}}{\text{su}}$ = $\frac{\text{Mulasny\'et}}{\text{v}}$ 'to Mulas'

$$\frac{b\acute{e}t}{they(d)} + \frac{\acute{e}t}{su} = \frac{b\acute{e}r\acute{e}t}{they(d)}$$
 'to them'

- b. when the stem ends in a vowel
 - 1. on pronoun and noun stems mid central and back vowels + <u>é</u> become <u>a</u> except <u>ayé</u> combination

$$\frac{\text{kaabélé}}{\text{river}}$$
 + $\frac{\text{ét}}{\text{dest}}$ = $\frac{\text{kaabélat}}{\text{dest}}$ 'to the river'

$$\frac{abu}{garden}$$
 + $\frac{\acute{e}t}{dest}$ = $\frac{abat}{dest}$ 'to the garden'

(there is one exception to the above rule
$$\frac{du}{man} + \frac{\acute{e}t}{su} = \frac{dut}{duwat}$$
 'to the man'

$$gay\acute{e}$$
 + $\acute{e}t$ = $gay\acute{e}t$ 'to the village' village

2. in all other cases:
final vowel of stem + € loses €

 $\frac{\text{badi}}{\text{children}}$ + $\frac{\text{\'et}}{\text{su}}$ = $\frac{\text{badit}}{\text{to the children'}}$

 $\frac{a \text{kéré}}{\text{fall}}$ + $\frac{6 \text{k}}{\text{pa}}$ = $\frac{a \text{kérék}}{\text{tell'}}$ 'fell'

 $\frac{ya}{do}$ + $\frac{ek}{pa}$ = $\frac{yak}{did}$ '

 $\frac{\text{n\'ewaa}}{\text{mother}} + \frac{\acute{\text{et}}}{\text{su}} = \frac{\text{n\'ewaat}}{\text{vother}} \text{ 'to the mother'}$

 $\frac{\text{v\'eknwu}}{\text{hear}}$ + $\frac{\acute{e}k}{\text{pa}}$ = $\frac{\text{v\'eknwuk}}{\text{heard'}}$ 'heard'

 $\frac{\text{kwalbo}}{\text{tree}}$ + $\frac{\text{\'et}}{\text{dest}}$ = $\frac{\text{kwalbot}}{\text{tree}}$ 'to the $\frac{\text{kwalbo}}{\text{tree}}$ tree'

front vowels $+ \underline{e}$, \underline{o} , or \underline{u} add \underline{y} at the border

 $\frac{\text{kutbe}}{\text{talk.against}}$ + $\frac{\text{o}}{\text{pr}}$ = $\frac{\text{kutbeyo}}{\text{talk against'}}$

 \underline{gi} + \underline{u} = \underline{giyu} 'tie'

 $\frac{\text{wakwe}}{\text{speak}}$ + $\frac{\text{e}}{\text{r1}}$ = $\frac{\text{wakweye}}{\text{speak}}$ 'speak and . . '

 $\frac{\text{ti}}{\text{bite}}$ + $\frac{\text{e}}{\text{r1}}$ = $\frac{\text{tiye}}{\text{viste}}$ 'bite and . . '

mid central vowels, and high back vowel preceded by \underline{k} or \underline{knw} , + \underline{e} , \underline{a} , \underline{o} , or \underline{u} are lost

 $\frac{\text{guné}}{\text{you(p1)}}$ + $\frac{\text{awa}}{\text{vo }3}$ = $\frac{\text{gunawa}}{\text{vo }3}$ 'you over there'

 $\frac{g\acute{e}1\acute{e}}{pluck} + \underline{u} = \underline{g\acute{e}1u} 'pluck'$

<u>séku</u> cut

 $\frac{\text{saaba}}{\text{arrive}}$ + $\frac{\text{e}}{\text{r1}}$ = $\frac{\text{saabe}}{\text{arrive}}$ 'arrive and . . ' $+ \underline{o} = \underline{wo}$ 'say' wa $\frac{\text{v\'eknwu}}{\text{hear}}$ + $\frac{\text{u}}{\text{pr}}$ = $\frac{\text{v\'eknwu}}{\text{hear'}}$ $\frac{\text{s\'etknwu}}{\text{miss}} + \frac{\text{e}}{\text{r1}} = \frac{\text{s\'etknwe}}{\text{miss}}$ 'miss and . . ' miss low central vowel (\underline{aa}) + \underline{e} or \underline{o} becomes \underline{ae} , \underline{ao} $+ \underline{e}_{r1} = \underline{vae}$ 'come and . . ' come shout mid back vowel (o) and high back vowel (u) provided that they are not preceded by \underline{k} or $\underline{knw} + \underline{o}$, \underline{u} are lost + e adds w at border $\frac{\text{kuso}}{\text{decorate}}$ + $\frac{\text{o}}{\text{pr}}$ = $\frac{\text{kuso}}{\text{decorate}}$ 'decorate' $+ \underline{u} = \underline{tawu}$ 'plant' tawu plant $+ \underline{e} = \underline{reknowe}$ 'snort and . . ' rékno snort $+ \underline{e} = \underline{tuwe}$ 'bake and' tubake N.B. $+ \frac{\text{\'et}}{\text{su}} = \underline{\text{mapus\'ekekwat}} \text{'wasp}$ mapusékeku wasp.species species' $+ \underline{\acute{e}t} = \underline{gwat}$ 'to the water' water $+ \underline{e} = \underline{s\acute{e}kwe}$ 'cut and . . '

2. When the following suffix starts with \underline{k} and the stem ends in $\underline{k}\colon$

 $\underline{\mathbf{k}} + \underline{\mathbf{k}}$ becomes $\underline{\mathbf{kg}}$

 $\frac{\text{baak}}{\text{cook}}$ + $\frac{\text{k\'e}}{\text{int}}$ = $\frac{\text{baakg\'e}}{\text{int}}$ 'in order to cook in steam'

When the following suffix starts with \underline{s} and the stem ends in \underline{t} :

 $\underline{\mathbf{t}} + \underline{\mathbf{s}}$ becomes $\underline{\mathbf{t}}\underline{\mathbf{j}}$

yat + sada = yatjada 'throw down'
throw down

When the following suffix starts with \underline{wu} and the stem ends in \underline{wu} :

 $\underline{wu} + \underline{wu} = \underline{wu}$

sanévéknwu + wuru = sanévéknwuru 'let me think'
think

When the following suffix starts with \underline{na} and the stem ends in \underline{ne} :

 $\underline{ne} + \underline{na} = \underline{na}$

wuné + na = wuna 'my'

2 STEM

2.0 <u>Introduction</u>

Most words in Ambulas are roots, a root being a single morpheme which carries the basic meaning for the word and is the core or nucleus of the word. There are, however, some reduplicated, compound and derived stems. Compound verb stems are an open class where new forms can easily be added. Other stems seem to belong to restricted classes.

2.1 Reduplicated

Complete reduplication of roots to form stems occurs with nouns and adjectives.

2.1.1 Nouns

pepe 'flying fox species'

kiyakiya 'fever'

katkat 'sound of water boiling'

It is probable that the reduplication seen in the names of some birds and frogs are imitative sounds or onomatopoeic forms.

kwaskwas 'frog species'

sangsang 'bird species'

2.1.1.1 Partial reduplication is seen in some bird names.

jéjému 'bird species'

rawukwawu 'bird species'

2.1.2 Adjectives

jékjék 'tough'

nyeknyek 'soft'

2.2 Compound

Compound stems occur with nouns, temporals, quantifiers and verbs, being a combination of noun plus noun, temporal plus temporal, quantifier plus noun or verb plus verb.

'four'

When the vowel \underline{aa} is joined into a compound stem it usually becomes a_{\bullet}

2.2.1 Nouns

2.2.2 Temporals

$$\frac{\text{s\'er\'e}}{\text{tomorrow}}$$
 + $\frac{\text{maa}}{\text{day.after}}$ = $\frac{\text{s\'er\'ema}}{\text{tomorrow}}$ 'in the future'

2.2.3 Quantifiers

one		dog		
nak one	+	taaba hand	= <u>naktaba</u>	'five'

nak + waasa = nakwasa

repay

2.2.4 Verbs

 \overline{do}

taa carve	+	kény whittle	=	taakény		some- s small'
waaré go.up	+	<u>késék</u> jump	=	warékésék	'jump	up and down'
tu get.water	+	<u>sékérék</u> fi11	=	tusékérék	'fill wa	with ter'
<u>viyaa</u> hit	+	sépék come. apart	=	viyaasépék		k up a fight'
<u>wa</u> say	+	taalé go.first	=	wataa1é_	'send	first'

2.3 Derived

Only derived adjective stems have been observed. They are formed by adding the suffix $-\underline{mama}$ 'possessing much' to the noun root.

apa strength	+	-mama	= <u>apamama</u>	'very strong'
<u>yéwaa</u> money	+	-mama	= <u>yéwamama</u>	'very wealthy'
<u>baalé</u> pig	+	- <u>mama</u>	= <u>balémama</u>	'possessing many pigs'
tépét slope	+	- <u>mama</u>	= <u>tépétmama</u>	'very hilly'

The suffix $-\underline{\text{mama}}$ 'possessing much' can also be added to a compound noun stem.

<u>kadému</u> food	+	- <u>mama</u>	= <u>kadémumama</u>	'possessing much food'
gwalmu possessi	+ on	-mama	= gwalmumama	'very wealthy in possessions'

3 WORD

3.0 Introduction

A word in Ambulas is a construction in the grammatical hierarchy between stem level and phrase level. The word is composed of a single morpheme or of a stem (simple, compound or derived) and a limited number of affixes. The word is a "minimum free form", that is, the smallest unit which can be isolated as a meaningful utterance and which cannot be further broken down into free forms. It may form a sentence.

Clitics cannot be isolated in the same way as words but are more free in distribution than affixes. They are described below under 3.1

Some Ambulas words are not inflected, others take limited inflection and one class takes multiple inflection.

Words usually expound phrase level slots but may also expound clause, sentence and discourse level slots.

3.1 Clitics

All Ambulas clitics occur after the construction they modify and thus are post-clitics. They are bound forms, seven of which fill Relator slot in Axis-Relator phrases and two of which function at a higher level. This is a closed class of nine members. The abbreviation used is shown following the description.

Enclitics which fill Relator slot of Axis-Relator phrases:

- <u>na</u>	possessive (pos) -naku occurs with 1st and 2nd person pronouns, occasionally. -ku occurs with 3rd person pronouns. -na occurs elsewhere, including optionally instead of -naku with 1st and 2nd person pronouns.
- <u>n</u>	possessive pronoun (posp)
- <u>ké</u>	directional (with personal nouns and pronouns), referential (with any noun) (ref)
<u>-ét</u>	1. destinational (with locatives, locative nouns) (dest)

2. Supplement slot marker (su)
The Supplement slot covers the normal
grammatical categories of object,
direct object and instrument.

-ba

- 1. locative (with locatives, locative nouns) (loc)
- 2. specifier emphatic (with any noun or pronoun) (spem)

Enclitic which fills sentence periphery:

-<u>na</u> emphatic (emp)

Enclitic which is suffixed to the verb and manifests reason marker in the Cause base of Reason Sentence. This is a variant of the free word bege 'because'.

-ba 'because'

3.2 Reduplication

Reduplication is used to indicate intensity and distribution.

3.2.1 Intensity

Some adverbs, temporals, adjectives, nouns, pronouns and verbs reduplicate to indicate intensity. Some words change the vowel or consonant as they reduplicate, but there seems to be no overall fixed pattern for this. In the case of 'very slowly' given below there are alternative forms in use with no change in meaning. The use of reduplicated forms seems to depend to a great extent on individual speakers. Some make use of much more intensification than others. Not all words in the above mentioned classes take reduplication. However, this seems to be an open-ended practice with flexibility in the language to compose new reduplicated forms.

Reduplicated words expound the same slot as the word in isolation.

Adverbs

No change Change slowly 'very slowly' slowly slowly 'very slowly' slowly slowly slowly'

No change bari 'very quickly' quickly

Change

miték well 'very well'

Temporals

sérak
next.day
sérak 'continually'

<u>apu-ba</u> <u>apu-ba</u> 'always' time-spem

Adjectives

arigék sarigék 'very many' many

<u>sépulak</u> <u>kapulak</u> 'very much'

<u>apakélé tapakélé</u> 'very big' big

<u>sékna</u> <u>saakna</u> 'far away'

yéknwun yaaknwun 'very good' good

<u>sémény</u> <u>saamény</u> 'very long'

<u>gélé gaalé</u> 'very black' black

Pronouns

wuné wuné 'I' (with emphasis)

naané naané 'we' (with emphasis)

All uninflected personal pronouns may reduplicate like this.

No change Nouns Change

<u>kwaaré-ba</u> <u>kwaaré-ba</u> 'for year-spem years and years'

ge ge 'many other other.village villages'

A common expression is a triple utterance with a change

ge gayé home.
village village

Verbs

<u>pété</u> <u>pété</u> 'running fast'

<u>wakwe</u> <u>lakwe</u> 'instruct' speak

sanévéknwu wanévéknwu think 'ponder'

wakwatnyé lakwatnyé show 'show carefully'

N.B.When there is a change in reduplication, only one of the two forms is also found in isolation, usually the first word of the pair. However, in the case of 'very muddy' the single form is kwéjaa, the second word of the pair, and in the case of 'everywhere' the third word, gayé is the usual word for 'village'.

3.2.2 Distribution

Some numerals and the reflexive word reduplicate to express a distributive idea.

nak nak 'each, in one's'

vétik two 'each two, in two's'

kapmu kapmu 'one at a time'

3.3 Particles

Word classes are distinguished by their external distribution in phrase, clause, sentence and discourse level tagmemes and by their internal structure, that is, the number and set of affixes with which they can occur. Some word classes are further divided into sub-classes, mainly on the basis of external distribution and to a lesser extent on differences in structure.

Various particles are listed first. These words are not inflected. Words in the first eight sections do not take clitics. Words in the last eight sections take clitics as indicated. Any semantically suitable word may expound the Axis slot of the Definitive Axis-Relator Phrase.

3.3.1 Responses

Responses manifest Periphery 1 tagmeme of the Outer Periphery of a sentence. They may also stand in isolation as Fragmentary Sentences. They usually occur in response to a question.

ao 'yes, oh'
yéna 'no'
bakna 'no' (especially Kunimbis, Mambelep and Nyelikum)
aya 'no'

3.3.2 Exclamations

Exclamations also manifest the Periphery 1 tagmeme of the Outer Periphery of a sentence. They are expressions of surprise, grief or attention-getting. They also stand in isolation as Fragmentary Sentences, being verbal reaction to a statement or situation.

aki 'oh' (surprise)
akés 'oh' (surprise)
kayé, ke 'alas, oh (grief), hey'

yéwe 'alas, oh' (grief)

3.3.3 Connectives

There are three members of this closed class.

kapu 'or'

This connective expounds the Pivot of an Alternative Sentence and the Pivot of the Alternative Paragraph.

<u>bét</u> 'and' (between two singular animate nouns)

This connective expounds the Connective slot of a Connective Noun Phrase.

kayék 'plus'

This connective occurs only with numerals.

3.3.4 Negatives

Negatives consist of a closed class of two words. They seem to be interchangeable, but the first form is much more common. The first form is also a distinction of the Maprik dialect as opposed to the Wosera dialect. Negatives expound the Cessative slot of Cessative Verb Phrase, Axis slot of Negative Axis-Relator Phrase, Negative slot of Denial Clause and Comment slot of Equative Clause. They also function as responses and as such manifest the Periphery 1 tagmeme of the Outer Periphery of a sentence.

kaapuk 'not, no'

kapulek 'not, no'

3.3.5 Definers

Definers consist of a closed class of two members. They expound the Relator slot of a Definitive Axis-Relator Phrase.

male 'only'

wawo 'also'

3.3.6 Reflexive

This is a closed class of one member. It expounds the Reflexive slot of a Reflexive Pronoun Phrase.

kapmu 'self, alone'

3.3.7 Adverbs

Adverbs expound the Axis slots of Negative Axis-Relator Phrase and Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase and the Manner slot of a clause. Adverbs are divided into classes following the usual order of appearance if they co-occur within a clause. Only two adverbs can occur within a clause. If an Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase occurs it usually expounds the first Manner slot of the clause and then one adverb optionally co-occurs and expounds the second Manner slot. If adverbs and adverbial demonstratives co-occur, adverbs tend to occur first in a clause.

Class 1 adverbs also expound the Axis slot of a Definitive Axis-Relator Phrase.

bari 'quickly'

kwekére 'slowly'

miték 'well'

sépulak 'greatly'

akélak 'quietly'

némaanba 'loudly'

Class 2 adverb expounds slots noted in the first paragraph.

tépa 'again'

Class 3 adverb expounds slots noted in the first paragraph and also functions as an adjective expounding the Modifier slot of a Modified Noun Phrase.

bakna 'just, without'

3.3.8 Markers

Markers are a closed class of eleven members. They define various constructions higher than phrase level.

The conclusion marker manifests the Finis tagmeme of a discourse.

yaak, yaakwak 'that is all'

The reason marker is postposed to the verb expounding the Predicate of the final clause of the exponents of the Cause base of a Reason Sentence and of the Frustration base of a Contrary Expectation Sentence 2.

bege 'because'

The contrafactual marker is postposed to the verb expounding the Predicate of the final clause of the exponent of the Protasis Base of a Contrafactual Sentence.

mukatik contrafactual marker

The imperative marker expounds the Imperative slot of Imperative clauses.

mé imperative marker

The argumentative emphatic marker manifests the Periphery 3 tagmeme of the Outer Periphery of a sentence.

ba 'certainly'

The dubitative marker also manifests the Periphery 3 tagmeme of the Outer Periphery of a sentence. It expresses doubt of the outcome, but foreshadows the probable outcome. It co-occurs with future tense and interrogative mood.

sal 'probably'

The logical argument markers at this stage elude analysis. They occur within Narrative Paragraphs and Hortatory Paragraphs and although seeming to be equivalents of theme-developing words, they do not occur consistently in any one tagmeme. They are considered, at this stage, as being significant on the paragraph level.

<u>pasak</u>	'all right,	therefore,	consequently'
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kérék 'on the other hand, as for, then'

The partitive marker expounds the Partitive slot of Denial, Imperative and Interrogative Clauses. The Partitive tagmeme is optional in these clause types, but is also one of the characteristic features of them. It is given the name "Partitive" because it appears to be the same morpheme as the quantifier <u>las</u> 'some' and in some of its functions it seems to have the meaning of 'some'. In other functions it seems to have the meaning of 'any'. In other functions it is difficult to assign a meaning.

<u>las</u> partitive marker

The intensifying markers expound the Intensifier slot of General Stative, Abstract Stative and Impersonal Stative Clauses.

<u>kapére</u> 'very much'

<u>sépulak</u> 'greatly'

The Neo-Melanesian forms <u>na</u> 'and' and <u>orait</u> 'well, all right' are often used as paragraph introducers in spoken text. No language equivalent forms have been found. Encoding in the language seems to be by juxtaposition only.

3.3.9 Postpositions

Postpositions expound the Relator slots of three Axis-Relator Phrases. There are three members of this closed class. Postpositions may take the supplement clitic.

The following postposition expounds the Relator slots of the Accompaniment Axis-Relator Phrase and of the Summary Accompaniment Axis-Relator Phrase.

wale 'with'

The following postpositions expound the Relator slot of the Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase. There seems to be no difference in meaning. The first form is more widely used and is also a distinctive feature of the sub-type of Differential Noun Phrase.

pulak 'like'

maakna 'like'

seems more profitable to regard the words as individual morphemes.

The class 1 temporal <u>batnyé</u> 'first' also expounds the Inchoative slot of the Inchoative Verb Phrase.

Class 2 temporals also expound the Head slot of a Pluralizer Temporal Phrase.

séré 'tomorrow'

maa 'day after tomorrow'

Class 3 temporal has the same function as class 1 temporals and also acts as a response with the meaning, 'wait a little'. It also expounds the Axis slot of a sub-type of Negative Axis-Relator Phrase.

wekna 'a very little while before or later, yet, still'

3.3.12 Locatives

Locatives are a closed class of words which expound the Item slot of Appositional Locative Phrase, Axis slot of Axis-Relator Phrases, Axis slot of Negative Axis-Relator Phrase and also Location slot of a clause. Locatives also seem to form the basis of direction-mode 1 inner suffixes on the verb. They may take destinational, locative and emphatic clitics.

agwadé 'outside'

<u>anéwe</u> 'upstream'

awuré 'uphi11'

ada 'down'

awula 'inside'

adawuli 'downhill'

Interrogative locative is a closed class of one member, which expounds the Interrogative slot of an Interrogative 2 Clause and is then in portmanteau relationship with the Location tagmeme of the clause. It also expounds the Topic slot of an Equative Clause.

yaba 'where from, where to?'

3.3.10 Pluralizer

This is a closed class of one member. It expounds the Pluralizer slot of a Pluralizer Noun Phrase and of a Pluralizer Temporal Phrase. As well as pluralizing it also has the meaning of 'and associates'. It may take the supplement clitic.

<u>béré</u> pluralizer, 'and associates'

3.3.11 Temporals

Temporals are a closed class of words which expound the Head slots of Co-ordinate Temporal Phrase, Definite Temporal Phrase and Serial Temporal Phrase, the Item slot of the Appositional Temporal Phrase, the Axis slots of the Negative Axis-Relator Phrase, Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase and Specific Emphatic Axis-Relator Phrase, and the Time slot of a clause. They may take emphatic and specifier emphatic clitics.

Class 1 temporals

bulaa 'now, today'

taknaba 'a little while before'

tatéwe 'a little while later'

nalé 'yesterday'

taale 'first' (in a series)

batnyé 'first' (start to)

*déknyényba 'previous1y'

*kukba 'later'

* It is probable that these two words were originally composed of two morphemes:

 $\frac{\text{déknyény}}{\text{two.days.ago}}$ + $\frac{-ba}{\text{spem}}$ = $\frac{\text{déknyényba}}{\text{spem}}$ 'previously'

 $\underline{\underline{kuk}}$ + $\underline{\underline{-ba}}$ = $\underline{\underline{kukba}}$ 'later'

However, the breakdown is not currently recognized and it

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3.3.13 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are a closed class of three members. Class 1 interrogatives expound the Interrogative slot of Interrogative 2 Clause. They take supplement, destinational and referential clitics, thus expounding Axis slots of Supplement, Locative and Referential Axis-Relator Phrases. Class 1 interrogative yaga 'what?' also expounds the Axis slot of Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase. Class 1 interrogative samu 'what?' also expounds the Comment slot of Equative Clause.

samu 'what?'

yaga 'what?' (particularly in reference to speech)

Class 2 interrogative occurs rarely and has not been observed to take clitics. The Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase, yaga pulak 'how?' is the more common way of asking this question.

yage 'how'

3.3.14 Adjectives

Adjectives (apart from interrogative adjective) expound the Modifier slots of Modified Noun Phrase, Verbal Modified Noun Phrase, Head slots of Co-ordinate Adjective Phrases and Axis slots of Analogic, Specifier Emphatic and Negative Axis-Relator Phrases. Some adjectives as indicated below also expound the Axis slot of Supplement Axis-Relator Phrases. Adjectives take the specifier emphatic clitic and some, as indicated below, also take the supplement clitic. Adjectives also expound the Topic and Comment slots of Equative Clause and the Complement slot of General Stative and Personal Stative Clauses.

Adjectives are sub-divided on the basis of distribution into personal modifying, non-personal modifying, general modifying and interrogative. Each category is further sub-divided again on the basis of distribution.

Personal modifying adjectives modify personal nouns. They also expound the Complement slot of Personal Stative Clause.

maanép 'quiet'

naaré 'quiet'

gwalepa 'old'

nébikara 'young, newly-married'

kawi 'alone, without children, without spouse'

naram 'adolescent female'

Non-personal modifying adjectives modify inanimate and non-personal animate nouns. They also expound the Complement slots of General Stative and Meteorological Clause. There are two subclasses. Adjectives which may take the supplement clitic are indicated by an asterisk in the lists given.

Quality

*ak 'heavy, ripe'

*atku 'hard'

kwéjaa 'dirty, muddy'

rékaa 'dry'

jégwaa 'old'

tarik 'slippery'

*gubés 'wet'

adél 'true' (only with 'talk')

*anygwa 'crooked'

*nyégi 'bitter'

*1ésék 'sweet'

Colour

All colour adjectives may also function as general inanimate nouns. Colour adjectives take the colour connector suffix -kwa and when they do they expound the slots of Co-ordinate Individual Adjective Phrase.

*gwaavé 'red'

*waama 'white'

*raamu 'yellow'

<u>gé1é</u> 'b1ack'

kanybiya 'brown, grey'

General modifying adjectives modify animate and inanimate nouns. They also expound Complement slots of Personal Stative and General Stative Clauses.

Quality

yéknwun 'good'

kapére 'bad'

kapéredi 'very bad'

kulé 'new'

Size

apakélé 'big'

némaan 'big, important'

makwal 'little'

kwaapa 'tall'

sémény 'long'

wap 'short'

No examples have been found in text of more than one adjective being used in a Modified Noun Phrase. Occasionally two will appear in elicited material, when quality tends to come first, colour last and size in an intermediate position. For this reason adjectives are subdivided under these semantic categories. However, ordering is not rigid. The usual device, to present two adjectives, is to make use of an Appositional Noun Phrase.

gélé waasa apakélé waasa black dog big dog 'big, black dog'

Interrogative adjectives expound the Interrogative slot of an Interrogative Noun Phrase. They are subdivided on the basis of distribution.

Interrogative adjectives expound the Interrogative slot of an Interrogative Noun Phrase. They are subdivided on the basis of distribution. Class 3 and 4 interrogative adjectives are considered to be homophonous forms with Class 1 interrogatives.

Class 1 interrogative adjective co-occurs with locative and temporal nouns.

yani 'which?'

Class 2 co-occurs with general personal nouns.

kiya 'which?'

Class 3 co-occurs with locative and general inanimate nouns and with non-personal animate nouns.

samu 'which?'

Class 4 co-occurs with general personal and non-personal animate nouns and with general inanimate nouns.

yaga 'which?'

3.3.15 Numerals

Numerals are a closed class of five basic members. They follow the noun and expound the Numeral slot of a Modified Noun Phrase and Verbal Modified Noun Phrase, Head slot of a Quasi Noun Phrase, Summary slot of a Serial Noun Phrase and Axis slots of Negative, Locative, Specifier Emphatic, and Analogic Axis-Relator Phrases. They may take locative, specifier emphatic, emphatic and also supplement clitics but it is more common to place supplement clitics on the preceding noun in the Noun Phrase. In addition to the above, numerals may expound the Axis slot of Supplement Axis-Relator Phrase.

Numerals may also stand alone in substitution for an earlier Modified Noun Phrase, in which case they manifest the clause level tagmeme that the Noun Phrase would manifest, or as a Fragmentary Sentence in answer to a question concerning quantity.

The first three numerals, designated basic numerals, also expound Head slots of the Numeral Phrase.

nakurak 'one'

vétik 'two' (final consonant often omitted in casual speech)

kupuk 'three'

nakwasa 'four'

naktaba 'five'

Numerals from 6 - 20 are formed by a multiplication process using these numbers and hands and feet. These are listed here only and function as single word numbers do, but they are actually phrases. However, for the sake of simplicity and clarity, they are not presented as different types of Numeral Phrases. Numbers above five are little used these days. Younger people tend to use the Neo-Mela nesian or English numbers and older people do not usually bother to distinguish numbers over five, but favour, instead, the use of the quantifier arigek 'many' or the reduplicated form arigek sarigek 'very many'. There is a variation of opinion as to how to express the numbers 6 - 20, but the general pattern is the same.

N.B. alternative form for 'four'

wan vétik wan vétik

that two that two 'four'							
naktaba hand	séké fill			<u>kayék</u> plus	nakura one	<u>ak</u>	'six'
naktaba hand	séké fill			<u>kayék</u> plus	vétik two		'seven'
naktaba hand	séké fill			<u>kayék</u> plus	kupuk three		'eight'
naktaba hand véti two	fil1			<u>kayék</u> plus		vétik two	wan that
							птие
taaba hand	vétik two						'ten'
taaba		sékérék		n-ba			<u>ak</u>
hand	two	filled	100	ot-loc	plus	one	'eleven'

$\frac{\text{taaba}}{\text{hand}} \frac{\text{v\'etik}}{\text{two}}$	<u>sékérék</u> filled	maan-ba foot-lo	kayék c plus	vétik two	'twelve'
taaba vétik hand two	<u>sékérék</u> filled	maan-ba foot-lo	kayék c plus	kupuk three	'thirteen'
$\frac{\text{taaba}}{\text{hand}} \frac{\text{v\'etik}}{\text{two}}$	<u>sékérék</u> filled	maan-ba foot-lo	kayék plus	wan ve	<u>étik</u> vo
$\frac{\text{wan}}{\text{that}}$ $\frac{\text{v\'et}}{\text{two}}$	<u>ik</u>				'fourteen'
taaba vétik hand two	<u>sékérék</u> filled	nak m one f	<u>aan</u> <u>akwi</u> oot all	:	'fifteen'
taaba vétik	<u>sékéré</u> k		aan séké oot fill		
<u>kayék</u> <u>na</u> plus on	kurak e				'sixteen'
taaba <u>vétik</u>		nak m	<u>aan</u> <u>séké</u>	rék <u>nal</u>	<u>maan-ba</u>
<u>kayék</u> <u>vé</u> tw	<u>tik</u> o				'seventeen'
taaba vétik		<u>nak</u> m	<u>aan séké</u>	rék <u>na</u>	<u>maan-ba</u>
<u>kayék</u> <u>ku</u> th	<u>puk</u> ree				'eighteen'
taaba vétik	<u>sékérék</u>	nak ma	<u>an</u> <u>sékér</u>	ék <u>nak</u>	maan-ba
<u>kayék</u> <u>wa</u> th	n <u>vétik</u> at two	wan vé that tw	<u>tik</u> o		'nineteen'
maan vétik foot two	taaba v hand t	<u>étik</u> wo			'twenty'
du wétik-n man two-pos			<u>taaba</u> <u>vé</u> h a nd tw	tik o	'forty'

After the number twenty further numbers can be determined by multiplication of men. Units after twenty are not used. Tens after twenty can be worked out but have not been heard in use.

3.3.16 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are a closed class of 11 members, subdivided

into 8 sub-classes on the basis of distribution.

Classes 1,2,3,4 and 5 expound the Quantifier slots of Modified Noun Phrase and Verbal Modified Noun Phrase, and the Axis slots of Negative Axis-Relator and Analogic Axis-Relator Phrases. Classes 3,4,5 and 6 expound the Modifier slot of a Modified Pronoun Phrase. Classes 3,4 and 5 may take supplement clitics, thus expounding the Axis slot of Supplement Axis-Relator Phrase. However, as with numerals, it is more common for the preceding noun of the Noun Phrase to take these enclitics. Classes 1 - 6 may also function in the place of a Modified Noun Phrase, referring back to an earlier noun phrase and then expound the clause level slot that that noun phrase would expound. Classes 7 and 8 have distinctive functions as indicated below.

Class 1 quantifiers usually precede the noun.

arigék 'many'

wupmale 'many'

wupmalemu 'very many'

walkamu 'few'

Class 2 quantifier usually precedes the noun. It also expounds the Axis slot of the Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase and the Differential 2 slot of the Differential Noun Phrase.

nak 'another'

Class 3 quantifier usually precedes the noun. It may also both precede and follow the noun in the same phrase. It fills the Summary slot of the Serial Noun Phrase.

akwi 'all'

Class 4 quantifier usually follows the noun. It may also both precede and follow the noun in the same phrase.

<u>las</u> 'some'

Class 5 quantifier usually follows the noun. It also may both precede and follow the noun in the same phrase. It also expounds the Definitive slot of a Definitive Noun Phrase and Head slot of Quasi Noun Phrase.

nak 'one'

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Class 6 quantifier occurs only with dual pronouns.

vététi 'both'

Class 7 quantifier expounds the Differential 1 slot of a Differential Noun Phrase.

kés 'different'

Class 8 quantifier, interrogative quantifier, always follows the noun. It expounds the Interrogative slot of an Interrogative Noun Phrase.

yagap 'how many?'

3.4 Words with limited inflection

Nouns, pronouns and demonstratives take limited inflection.

3.4.1 Nouns

CHART A
Noun types

animate	personalgeneralkinshipname
inanimate	temporal locative general meteorological abstract
neutral	memory lapse definitive general

Nouns expound the Head slots of Modified Noun Phrase and Verbal Modified Noun Phrase and various slots in all other noun phrases. Certain nouns which do not expound the Head slot of a Modified Noun Phrase expound clause level slots and these are indicated below.

There are three major divisions within nouns, animate, inanimate and neutral, as indicated on Chart A. These are distinguished mainly on the basis of distribution and to a lesser extent on internal structure. Animate, inanimate and

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neutral nouns are further subdivided as indicated under each type.

3.4.1.1 Animate nouns

Animate nouns have natural gender, as reflected in the Actor-subject exponent of the clause. Only animate nouns expound Head slot of Connective and Kinship Noun Phrases and Specified Name slot of Name Noun Phrase. Animate nouns do not co-occur with meteorological verbs. Animate nouns further subdivide into personal and non-personal, and personal nouns further subdivide as indicated below. Animate nouns expound the Axis slot of all Axis-Relator Phrases except Locative.

Personal nouns

General personal nouns expound slots in Modified Noun Phrase, Qualified Noun Phrase, Interrogative Noun Phrase, Possessive Noun Phrase, Verbal Modified Noun Phrase, Specifier Noun Phrase, Connective Noun Phrase, Pluralizer Noun Phrase, Differential Noun Phrase, Serial Noun Phrase and Definitive Noun Phrase.

<u>du</u> 'man'

taakwa 'woman'

nyaan 'child'

Kinship personal nouns expound slots in Kinship Noun Phrase, Modified Noun Phrase, Verbal Modified Noun Phrase, Connective Noun Phrase and Pluralizer Noun Phrase. Kinship nouns can be pluralized and can be subdivided according to the suffix they take.

Class 1 take -je

wayékna 'younger sibling'

Class 2 take -ko, -gu

naakuma 'mother-in-law, father-in-law - of man'

Class 3 take -gu

némaadu 'older sibling'

nyange 'sister of man'

raawa 'man's sister's child'

nyadaknwu 'father-in-law of woman'

yaapa 'father'

néwaa 'mother'

gwaal 'grandchild'

maamu 'grandparent'

Name personal nouns expound the Apposition slot of the Apposition Noun Phrase, the Specified Name slot of the Name Noun Phrase, Head slots of Serial, Pluralizer and Connective Noun Phrases, Qualifier slot of Qualified Noun Phrase and it also expounds Subject, Supplement, Topic and Comment slots of clauses. Name personal nouns may also take vocative suffixes and then expound the Periphery 2 slot of the Outer Periphery of a sentence or stand alone as a Fragmentary Sentence.

<u>Kwapalik</u> 'Kwapalik'

Bakidu-wa 'Bakindu!'

Bakindu-vo 4

Yesta-wa 'Esther!'

Esther-vo 4

Non-personal nouns include all non-personal animate objects and expound slots of Modified Noun Phrase, Inter-rogative Noun Phrase, Possessive Noun Phrase, Verbal Modified Noun Phrase, Specifier Noun Phrase, Name Noun Phrase, Connective Noun Phrase, Definitive Noun Phrase, Serial Noun Phrase, Co-ordinate Noun Phrase and Differential Noun Phrase.

baalé 'pig'

waasa 'dog'

kwaajé 'flying fox'

sayéké 'cassowary'

3.4.1.2 Inanimate nouns

The gender of inanimate non-abstract nouns is expressed in the Actor-subject exponent of the clause or in the actor suffix of the verb. Most inanimate nouns are masculine. Feminine nouns are marked. Inanimate nouns coocur with positional verbs describing their natural state

according to their size and extent. Small objects usually take <u>ra</u> 'sit', buildings take <u>kwaa</u> 'lie' and other objects tend to take <u>té</u> 'stand'. Plants usually take <u>té</u> 'stand'. Exceptions are noted.

Inanimate nouns further subdivide into temporal, locative, general, meteorological and abstract nouns on the basis of their distribution in various phrases and clauses and their enclitic potential. Temporal, locative and abstract nouns further subdivide on the basis of distribution.

Temporal nouns expound the Head slots of Modified Noun Phrase, Qualified Noun Phrase, Interrogative Noun Phrase, Verbal Modified Noun Phrase and Serial Noun Phrase and Definite Time slot of Definite Temporal Phrase. Class 1 temporal nouns may also expound the Time slot of a clause, whereas Class 2 may not.

Class 1

nyaa 'day'

gaan 'night'

garabu 'late afternoon'

Class 2

baapmu 'month'

tulé 'season'

apu 'occasion'

Locative nouns expound the Head slots of Modified Noun Phrase, Interrogative Noun Phrase, Qualified Noun Phrase, Specifier Noun Phrase, Differential Noun Phrase and Verbal Modified Noun Phrase, and the Axis slot of Locative Axis-Relator Phrase.

Class 1

kaabélé (f) 'river' (with ra 'sit')

yaabu 'road' (with kwaa 'lie')

abu 'garden'

yaawi 'jungle'

ga 'house'

nébu 'mountain'

Class 2

Class 2 locative nouns are place name nouns. Place name nouns are also used to substitute for people from those places and then function in the same way as name personal nouns.

Mapérik 'Maprik'

Yébiyap 'Imbiap'

Class 3

This noun is also considered as a type of locative noun in that it takes the locative clitic. It is the only exponent of the Possessive Name slot of Name Noun Phrase.

yé 'name'

General inanimate nouns expound Head slots of Modified Noun Phrase, Qualified Noun Phrase, Interrogative Noun Phrase, Verbal Modified Noun Phrase, Serial Noun Phrase and Pluralizer Noun Phrase, and also slots of Possessive Noun Phrase, Specifier Noun Phrase, Differential Noun Phrase and Definitive Noun Phrase.

ka 'small yam'

waapi 'yam'

maawe 'flower'

mu 'thing'

kika 'sweet potato'

mayé 'taro'

kwaami 'meat'

sék 'fruit'

Meteorological nouns co-occur with meteorological verbs in Meteorological Clause. Meteorological nouns also expound Head slots in Modified Noun Phrase and Verbal Modified Noun Phrase.

maas 'rain'

buwi 'mist'

nyaa 'sun'

yé 'predawn darkness'

wimut 'wind'

baapmu (f) 'moon' (with kwaa 'lie')

Abstract nouns subdivide on the basis of distribution within the clause and the sentence. They rarely take modification in a Modified Noun Phrase. Many of them take the supplement enclitic and then expound the Complement slot accompanied by the Intensifier slot within the Stative Clause, as indicated by the asterisk.

Class 1 abstract nouns expound the Head slot of the Modified Noun Phrase expounding the Complement slot of the Impersonal Stative Clause.

kaagél 'pain'

<u>kaadé</u> 'hunger'

gutak 'thirst'

*yépmaa 'coldness'

*<u>yaa</u> 'heat'

Class 2 abstract noun expounds the Head slot of the Modified Noun Phrase expounding the Complement slot of the Impersonal Stative Clause and also expounding the Supplement slot of a General Clause when \underline{kwaa} 'lie' expounds the Predicate slot.

*widé 'sleepiness'

Class 3 abstract noun expounds the Head slot of the Modified Noun Phrase expounding the Complement slot of the Impersonal Stative Clause and also of the Abstract Stative Clause.

kiyakiya 'fever'

Class 4 abstract nouns expound the Head slot of the Modified Noun Phrase expounding the Complement slot of the Abstract Stative Clause.

*dusék 'excited behaviour' (of man)

*<u>takwasék</u> 'excited behaviour' (of woman)

*apa 'strength'

yékéyaak 'forgetfulness, ignorance'

yénaa 'deceit'

Class 5 abstract noun expounds the Head slot of the Modified Noun Phrase expounding the Complement slot of the Impersonal Stative Clause and also of the Abstract Stative Clause which may expound the Statement base of the General Intentive Sentence.

*wulkiyaa 'tiredness, laziness'

Class 6 abstract nouns expound the Head slot of the Modified Noun Phrase expounding the Complement slot of the Abstract Stative Clause which may expound the Statement base of the General Intentive Sentence.

*wup 'fear'

*nyékéri 'shame'

kélik 'unwillingness, dislike'

Class 7 abstract noun expounds the Head slot of the Modified Noun Phrase expounding the Complement slot of the Abstract Stative Clause which may expound the Statement base of the General Intentive Sentence and the Gratitude Formula base of the Gratitude Paragraph.

*mawulé 'willingness, wish, thought'

Class 8 abstract nouns expound the Head slot of the Modified Noun Phrase expounding the Object slot of the Direct Quote Clause 2.

gut 'anger'

vét 'calmness'

Class 9 abstract nouns expound the Head slot of the

Modified Noun Phrase expounding the Supplement slot of the General Clause.

sél 'theft'

yégan 'dream'

3.4.1.3 Neutral nouns

Neutral nouns may be animate or inanimate. They are divided into three types on the basis of distribution.

Memory lapse neutral noun expounds any slot that a noun expounds.

mun 'thingumajig, whatsisname'

Definitive neutral noun co-occurs with animate or inanimate nouns or replaces them. It expounds the Head slot of a Definitive Noun Phrase.

kwabu 'thing, person'

General neutral noun usually acts as a general personal noun, but may also act as an inanimate noun. It expounds any slot that a noun expounds.

ban 'one person, one thing'

3.4.2 Pronouns

Pronouns stand in place of nouns. In this paper this term is used to apply to personal pronouns, the interrogative pronoun and the pro-pronoun only.

3.4.2.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are a closed class of 11 members. Personal pronouns take enclitics, with morphophonemic modification, according to which phrase or clause level slot they expound. The uninflected set given below expound the Item slot of Appositional Noun Phrase, the Axis slot of all Axis-Relator phrases except Locative and Possessive Pronoun Axis-Relator Phrases, and the Head slots of Reflexive and Modified Pronoun Phrases and of Serial Noun Phrase. They also expound the Actor-subject slot, the Topic slot and the Comment slot of clauses.

CHART B
Personal Pronouns

	number				
person	singular	dual	plural		
1st	<u>wuné</u>	<u>ané</u>	naan é		
2nd(m)	<u>méné</u>	1././	guné		
(f)	nyéné	<u>béné</u>			
3rd(m)	<u>dé</u>	1. / 4	de		
(f)	<u>1é</u>	<u>bét</u>			

There is a distinction between masculine and feminine in 2nd and 3rd singular only. A corresponding set of bound personal pronouns, called actor suffixes, is listed under verb inner suffixes, Chart C.

The above set may take certain affixation when functioning within the Actor-subject slot of the clause. The perfective suffix -bu gives continuative or perfect aspect to the action. It is usually accompanied by completive suffixes -wuré (comp 1) or -buti (comp 2), on the verb.

<u>naané-bu</u>	kiyaa-buti-yu	
we-per	die-comp 2-pr	'we

'we are all dying'

'we two have finished talking'

'it is filled'

The suffix $-\underline{k}\underline{e}$ 'here' occurs usually with 1st person and the suffixes $-\underline{w}\underline{a}$, $-\underline{w}\underline{a}\underline{n}$ 'there' occur usually with 2nd and 3rd person. They obligatorily occur with verbs in the vivid present tense.

wuné-ké	yaa-kwa				
I-here	come-vpr	here	Ι	am	coming'

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guné-wa you(p1)-there sit-vpr 'there you are sitting' (greeting)

The vivid present tense is often used in casual conversation when the audience is in view of the speaker, thus lending some force to the theory that these pronoun suffixes may be derived from demonstratives.

The suffix $-\underline{k}$ is used to express desiderative tense and obligatorily occurs with a verb suffixed to express desiderative tense.

wakwe-ké wuné-k speak-des I-des 'I want to speak'

<u>yaa-ké</u> <u>dé-k</u> come-des he-des 'he wants to come'

Personal pronouns also take vocative suffixes. The suffixes:

-o near distance, same actor

-a near distance, different actor

-awa far distance

are added to the basic stem of 2nd person personal pronouns. These then expound the Periphery 2 base of the Outer Periphery of a sentence or stand in isolation as a Fragmentary Sentence.

mén-a
you-vo 2
 'you!'
gun-awa
you(p1)-vo 3 'you people!' (distant)

3.4.2.2 Interrogative pronoun

This class is manifested by one word only. It expounds the Axis slot of Possessive, Supplement, Referential, Accompaniment, Analogic and Definitive Axis-Relator Phrases. It also expounds the Interrogative slot of an Interrogative 2 Clause and the Comment slot of an Equative Clause. When it expounds the Comment slot it is in portmanteau relationship with the Actor-subject tagmeme of the clause. It does not take the perfective, vivid present accompaniment, desiderative or vocative suffixes.

kiyadé 'who?'

N.B. This may well be a fused form composed of an old pronoun kiya 'who?' plus dé 'he'. Only one example has been found of such a form and on only one occasion, with the supplement enclitic.

kiya-t who-su 'whom?'

The form <u>kiyadé</u> is now used whether male or female, although the Interrogative Noun Phrase

kiya taakwa which woman?'

seems to be preferred if the female sex of the person being asked about is known.

3.4.2.3 Pro-pronouns

This is a closed class of two words. The pro-pronoun substitutes for a 3rd person personal pronoun suffixed with -ké 'here' or -wa 'there'. The pro-pronoun is infrequently used. It expounds the Actor-subject slot of a General Clause when the Subject slot is expounded by a locative or general inanimate noun and the Predicate is expounded by a positional verb in the vivid present tense.

wa 'it there'

ké 'it here'

3.4.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are based on the forms, <u>kén</u> 'this' (forward referring) and <u>wan</u> 'that' (backward referring). It seems probable that the pronoun suffixes -<u>ké</u> and -<u>wa</u> and the pro-pronouns <u>ké</u> and <u>wa</u> reflect the same forms (see under 3.4.2.1, 3.4.2.3). A third proto-form, not now in use but reflected in adjectival, adverbial and expounded pronoun demonstratives, <u>an</u> 'this' (middle distance) (forward referring) is also posited.

Demonstratives fill a number of different functions. It does not seem profitable to consider the various forms as stems plus affixes, so each form, except that using a pronoun is treated as a single morpheme. It is possible that these various forms reflect a fusion of forms and change in the

language. There are classes of demonstratives based on differing form and function.

3.4.3.1 Pronoun demonstratives

Pronoun demonstratives expound the Topic and Equative Predicate slots of Equative Clause and the Focus slot of clauses.

kén 'this'
wan 'that'

Expanded pronoun demonstratives are a combination of pronoun demonstrative with personal pronoun. These substitute for a noun phrase which has appeared previously in context, and they also stand alone as Fragmentary Sentences in response to a command, when the hearer then questions which object or person is meant, or when pointing out something or someone. They also expound the Axis slot of Referential Axis-Relator Phrase and the Comment slot of Equative Clause.

 dé-kén
 'this one' (m)
 dé-wan
 'that one' (m)

 lé-kén
 'this one' (f)
 lé-wan
 'that one' (f)

 bét-kén
 'these two'
 bét-wan
 'those two'

 de-kén
 'these ones'
 de-wan
 'those ones'

The following set is a subtype of this class, referring to inanimate objects only.

<u>kénikénan, kénikinan</u> 'this one'

anikénan, anikinan 'this one a little further away'

wanikénan, wanikinan, waninan 'that one'

3.4.3.2 Adjectival demonstratives

Adjectival demonstratives expound the Demonstrative slots of a Modified Noun Phrase and a Verbal Modified Noun Phrase, and the Equative Predicate slot of Equative Clause. Class 1 adjectival demonstratives may also stand alone and function as an introducer or closure marker of a discourse, and occasionally a paragraph or as a temporal Class 1, when the meaning corresponds to 'now, then'.

Class 1

kéni 'this, now, (discourse or paragraph introducer)

<u>ani</u> 'this a little further away, now, (discourse or paragraph introducer)!

wani 'that, then, (discourse or paragraph closure marker)'

Class 2

kénina 'this'

aniké, aniki 'this, another'

waniké, waniki, wanina 'that'

Variations of form with the same meaning reflect individual preferences of different speakers.

3.4.3.3 Adverbial demonstratives

Adverbial demonstratives expound the Axis slot of Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase and the Manner slot of a clause, usually the second Manner slot.

kéga 'like this', (forward referring)

aga 'like this', (forward referring)

waga 'like that', (backward referring)

3.4.3.4 Locative demonstratives

Locative demonstratives expound the Item slot of Appositional Locative Phrase, the Location slot of a clause and the Comment slot of an Equative Clause.

kéba 'here'

waba 'there'

kénét 'to here'

wanét 'to there'

The etymology of the above set could well be

$$\frac{k\acute{e}n}{this} + \frac{-ba}{loc} = \frac{k\acute{e}ba}{there'}$$

$$\frac{wan}{that} + \frac{-ba}{loc} = \frac{waba}{there'}$$

$$\frac{k\acute{e}n}{this} + \frac{-\acute{e}t}{dest} = \frac{k\acute{e}n\acute{e}t}{there'}$$

$$\frac{wan}{that} + \frac{-\acute{e}t}{dest} = \frac{wan\acute{e}t}{there'}$$

$$\frac{wan}{that} + \frac{-\acute{e}t}{dest} = \frac{wan\acute{e}t}{there'}$$

However, in line with the statement at the beginning of this section, it seems more profitable to treat these as single morphemes.

3.5 Words with multiple inflection

Verbs in Ambulas are distinct from other words in that they expound the Head slot of Verbal Phrases and the Predicate slot of a clause and they have unique affixation, as described below.

3.5.1 Verb classes

Verbs are divided into nine classes on the basis of their distribution in various clause and sentence types. These classes are factive, meteorological, passive, quote, positional, motion, contrary intentive, perception and general.

3.5.1.1 Factive

This class has one member. It expounds the Head slot of Cessative Verb Phrase and the Predicate of Stative, Meteorological, Restricted and General Clauses.

3.5.1.2 Meteorological

This class expounds the Predicate of Meteorological Clause. These verbs co-occur with meteorological nouns.

viyaa 'fall heavily' (of rain)

kut 'blow' (of wind)

kulabi 'flash with lightning' (of sky)

vé 'shine' (sun, moon)

3.5.1.3 Passive

Passive verbs express a passive idea in the same grammatical form as verbs expressing the active voice. As far as is known at present only a few verbs belong to this class. They usually co-occur with past tense, and perfective suffix on the accompanying personal pronoun. Passive verbs expound the Predicate of Passive Clause.

sékérék 'be filled'

yalak 'be lost'

rép 'be broken crossways'

pusap 'be broken' (eggs)

pulaap 'be broken' (plate)

3.5.1.4 Quote

Quote verbs are divided into three sub-types. Sub-type 1 expounds the Predicate slot of Direct Quote Clause and of Closing Quote Clause.

naa 'talk, say, think, want, intend'

Sub-type 2 expound the Predicate slot of Beginning Quote, General Quote and Direct Quote Clauses, and wakwe 'speak' and waata 'ask' are also diagnostic of Quotation Formula base of Quotation Paragraph.

<u>wa</u> 'say'

waa 'shout'

bul 'talk'

wakwe 'speak'

waata 'ask'

Sub-type 3 expounds the Predicate slot of General Quote Clause.

waati 'rebuke, say crossly'

3.5.1.5 Positional

Positional verbs correspond in meaning to the English verb 'to be' but are more precise as to position. They expound the Predicate of a sub-type of General Stative and of Personal Stative and also of General Clauses. Inanimate non-abstract nouns co-occur with one of these verbs according to their size and extent. Animate nouns also co-occur semantically. This is a closed class with three members.

ra 'sit'

té 'stand'

kwaa 'lie'

3.5.1.6 Motion

Motion verbs have a limitation of not taking the mode 2 suffix nor the mode 1 suffix when followed by a relational same actor suffix and usually avoiding the relational same actor consecutive suffix. The entirative direction-mode suffix co-occurs with motion verbs only. Motion verbs expound slots of the Simultaneous Motion Verb Phrase and the Predicate slots of General and Imperative 3 Clause.

yaa 'come'

<u>yé</u> 'go'

wayé 'go upstream'

dawuli 'go downhill'

3.5.1.7 Contrary intentive

These verbs expound the Predicate of the General Clause which expounds the Statement base of General Intentive Sentence.

yaakét 'forbid food'

yapati 'be unable to'

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3.5.1.8 Perception

Perception verbs expound the Predicate of the General Clause which expounds the Goal Perception base of Perception Sentence and is also a distinguishing feature of Perception Formula base of Perception Paragraph.

vé 'see, perceive'

<u>véknwu</u> 'hear, feel, smell'

3.5.1.9 General

General verbs, the largest class of verbs, expound the Predicate slot of General Clause.

kéraa 'get'

kwayé 'give' (to 2nd or 3rd person)

<u>ka</u> 'eat'

raap 'get up'

akéré 'fall'

sékal 'search'

séku 'cut'

3.5.2 Affixation

Affix classes are based on order of occurrence from the verb stem. There is one order of prefix, five orders of inner suffixes and two orders of outer suffixes. Order is as follows:

prefix, verb stem, inner suffixes 1,2,3,4,5, outer suffixes 1,2

3.5.2.1 Prefix

Only one prefix has been identified. It is infrequently used and seems to act as a causative.

<u>ke-pulaap-mék</u> cause.to-be.broken-pa 'broke' (plate) 62 AMBULAS GRAMMAR

ke-naap-me

cause.to-collapse-r1 'knocked down and '

ke-puti-ye

cause.to-take.off.skin-r1 'took off his own skin and'

3.5.2.2 Suffixes

Inner suffixes add further meaning to the verb as far as its connection with other items of the clause is concerned. Outer suffixes tell something of the verb's relationship to the following clause. I am using the terms 'inner suffix' and 'outer suffix' to correspond somewhat to Staalsen's 'endocentre' and 'exocentre'. (Staalsen, 1972)

3.5.2.2.1 Inner suffixes

There are five orders of inner suffixes: direction-mode, mode 1, mode 2, benefactive and actor, with actor being the furthest order from the stem of the verb. Direction-mode suffixes are divided into three groups on the basis of structure and distribution. All members of a given order are mutually exclusive in occurrence. Apart from the exceptions noted with various suffixes there are no co-occurrence restrictions between the orders of inner suffixes. No example has been found of a prefix and non-actor suffix co-occurring in the same construction. Chart C is an inventory of inner suffixes.

Concerning Chart C note the following:

Forms of bound pronouns are affected by morphophonemic rules (see under 1.3).

Co-occurrence restrictions:

- 1. All suffixes are optional. Only three of the first four suffixes have been observed to co-occur. The norm is one or two. Use of the actor suffix is determined by outer suffixes.
- Group 3 direction-mode suffixes have not been observed to co-occur with mode or benefactive suffsuffixes.
- 3. Entirative direction-mode suffix -kéra seems to fluctuate with speakers between -kéra and -kéraa.
- 4. Mode 1 suffix -wuré comp 1 does not co-occur adjacent to Actor suffix -wuré 1st(s).

CHART C

Verb inner suffixes

75	Actor	-wuré 1st(s) -méné 2nd(m s) -dé 3rd (m s) -lé 3rd (f s) -té 1st (d) -bét 3rd (d) -bét 3rd (d) -ma 1st (pl) -guné 2nd(pl)	- <u>da</u> 3rd(p1)	
77	Benefactive	-tiyaa 1st -kwe 2nd,3rd		
7	Mode 2	-takna comp 3		
N	Mode 1	-wure comp 1 comp 2		
-	Direction-mode	-sada 'down' -sage 'towards' -sagiya 'away down' -sagwadé 'outside' -sati 'away' -sawe 'away-level' -sawula 'inside' -sawuré 'up'	- <u>to</u> 'all' - <u>sada</u> 'all' - <u>vélé</u> 'all' - <u>knwu</u> tentative	- $\frac{g\acute{e}t}{-pati}$ 'till dawn' - $\frac{pati}{saaku}$ frus - $\frac{saaku}{k\acute{e}ra(a)}$ enti
		-	2	3

Co-occurrence restrictions (continued from previous page)

- Use of mode and benefactive suffixes is determined by semantic compatibility with verb stem. 5.
- Use of direction-mode suffix is determined by verb stem. 9

7. Mode 2 suffix -takna comp 3 does not co-occur adjacent to relational same actor consecutive suffix - takne.

Mode and benefactive suffixes may occur with any semantically suitable verb stem. Direction-mode suffixes seem more limited. Actor suffixes occur with all verb stems. Examples are given below mainly with one verb stem <u>ya</u> 'do'.

Direction-mode suffixes

Group 1 direction-mode suffixes are apparently derived from locatives, some of which are not found as free forms, with the addition of a preceding \underline{s} . Following morphophonemic rules the \underline{s} becomes \underline{j} following the letter \underline{t} .

Group 2 direction-mode suffixes: the three suffixes meaning 'all' seem to differ in co-occurrence with verb stems rather than in meaning. The tentative suffix has the sense of doing something as a trial.

Group 3 direction-mode suffixes: the frustrative suffix -pati has the sense of doing something in vain or without success, or inability. The continuative suffix -saaku indicates that the action keeps on for some length of time.

<u>ya-pati</u> do-frus 'do in vain' vé-saaku
see-cont 'continually see'

yé-kéra
go-enti 'go entirely'

CHART D

Verbs taking direction-mode suffixes

Group 1						
ya 'do' kéraa 'get' *ku 'push' wuknaa 'pour' aku 'put' gurik 'tip' *yat 'throw' gi 'tie' kwayé 'give' sérak 'cook'						
Group 2						
- <u>to</u> 'all' - <u>sada</u> 'all'	<u>vélé</u> 'all'	-knwu tentative				
kiyaa 'die' viyaa 'hit, kill' kéraa 'get' gi 'tie'	gi 'tie' yaata 'carry on shoulder' ti 'carry from head' sawu 'carry on head' akéré 'fall' kut 'hold'	ka 'eat' ya 'do' waa 'sing' kéti 'dance' viyaa 'hit'				
Group 3						
-gét 'till -pati frus dawn'	- <u>saaku</u> cont	- <u>kéra</u> (a) enti				
kéti 'dance' sékal 'search' bul 'talk' ya 'do' waa 'sing' vé 'see' kwa 'plant' ra 'sit'	ra 'sit' té 'stand' kwaa 'lie' vé 'see'	yé 'go' yaa 'come' wayé 'go up' dayé 'go down'				

^{*}these forms have not been observed without a direction-mode suffix.

N.B. Theoretically direction-mode suffixes should be able to

co-occur with any semantically suitable verb stem. In actual practice their use seems fairly limited and so all occurrences observed have been listed.

Mode suffixes

It is difficult to isolate differences in meaning between the three completive suffixes. The action is more completely finished when mode 1 and mode 2 suffixes are used together. Mode 1 suffixes may co-occur with personal pronouns suffixed with the completive suffix(3.4.2.1) Mode 2 suffix sometimes seems to have the meaning of 'placed' and rarely co-occurs with motion verbs. Mode 1 suffixes co-occur with motion verbs and relational different actor suffixes. Mode 1 suffixes do not co-occur with motion verbs and relational same actor suffixes. It seems that Mode 2 suffix does not co-occur with outer affix independent suffix.

Mode 1

ya-wuré 'finish doing' do-comp 1

<u>ya-buti</u> 'finish doing' do-comp 2

Mode 2

<u>ya-takna</u> 'finish doing' do-comp 3

Mode 1 and Mode 2

<u>ya-buti-takna</u> 'finish completely doing' do-comp 2-comp 3

Benefactive suffixes

When the speaker will benefit, the 1st person suffix -tiyaa is used. When other people will benefit, the suffix -kwe is used. Context determines the exact meaning of the benefactive, whether singular, dual, or plural and whether 2nd or 3rd person. It seems clear that these suffixes are derived from the verb stems tiyaa 'give' (to 1st person) and kwayé 'give' (to 2nd or 3rd person).

<u>ya-tiyaa</u> 'do for us' do-ben 1

<u>ya-kwe</u> 'do for them'

Actor suffixes are obligatory when different actor outer suffix occurs, usage of which is determined by the following clause, and when conditional and accessory outer suffixes occur, if the actor of the clause is not explicitly stated as a free form. Actor suffixes are usually absent with dependent same actor verbs.

Actor suffixes with relational different actor partially consecutive suffix

'I did and' va-wuré-ka va-méné-ka 'you (m) did and' 'you(f) did and' ya-nyéné-ka 'he did and' ya-d**é-**ka 'she did and' ya-1é-ka 'we(d) did and' ya-té-ka 'you(d) did and'
'they(d) did and' ya-béné-ka ya-b**ét-**ka 'we(pl) did and' ya-na-ka 'you(p1) did and'
'they(p1) did and' ya-guné-ka ya-da-ka

Actor suffixes with relational different actor future suffix to demonstrate morphophonemic change in actor suffix

'I will do and' ya-wur-u 'you(m) will do and' ya-mén-u 'you(f) will do and' ya-nyén-u 'he will do and' ya-d-u 'she will do and' ya-1-u 'we(d) will do and ya-t-u ya-bén-u 'you(d) will do and' ya-bér-u 'they(d) will do and' ya-n-o we(p1) will do and 'you(pl) will do and' ya-gun-u 'they(p1) will do and' ya-d-o

3.5.2.2.2 Outer suffixes

There are two orders of outer suffixes. They both indicate tense-aspect. Any verb stem may take any semantically suitable outer suffix, apart from the restrictions noted in the following discussion. Verbs are divided into independent and dependent categories on the basis of different morphology of tense-aspect suffixation. Dependent verbs are subdivided again on the basis of different morphology. These different suffixes indicate a different function and these functions are reflected in the mood and dependency multiplication categories of clause types and in many of the different sentence types.

CHART E

Outer suffixes

Outer suilixes	
Tense-aspect	
1	2
Independent	
$\begin{array}{lll} -\underline{o}/ & -\underline{u} & \text{present (pr)} \\ -\underline{kwa} & \text{vivid present(vpr)} \\ -\underline{\acute{e}k} & \text{past} \\ -\underline{k\acute{e}} & \cdot & \cdot & -\underline{k} \text{ desiderative (des)} \end{array}$	
Dependent	
Aspectual	
- <u>katik</u> hypothetical (hyp) - <u>male</u> imminency (imm) - <u>kaapuk</u> /- <u>marék</u> /- <u>bak</u> negative (neg)	
Intentive same actor	
- <u>ké</u> intentive (int) - <u>méké</u> negative intentive (neg int) - <u>kwate</u> desiderative intentive(des int)	
Relational same actor	
-e partially consecutive (r1) -takne consecutive (r2) -te simultaneous (r3) -kére continuous simultaneous (r4)	
Relational different actor	Intentive diffe- rent actor
- $\frac{\acute{e}k}{-ka}$ consecutive (r5) - $\frac{ka}{-u}$ partially consecutive (r6) - $\frac{u}{-u}$ - $\frac{o}{-u}$ future (r7)	- <u>ké</u> intentive (int) - <u>kwate</u> desidera-
Conditional	tive intentive (des int)
-ran 'if'	
Accessory	Aspectual
-kwa accessory present (apr) -én accessory past (apa) -ran accessory future (afu)	- <u>katik</u> hypotheti- cal (hyp)

All members of a given order are mutually exclusive in occurrence. Intentive different actor suffixes follow relational different actor future suffix forms only. Chart E is an inventory of outer suffixes. Chart F displays the coccurrence of inner and outer affixes.

With reference to Chart E:

morphophonemic rules apply whenever the suffix starts with a vowel.

abbreviations are listed as well as the term in full.

Tense-aspect suffixes

Independent

Independent verbs expound the Predicate slot of Declarative, Jussive and Interrogative Independent Clauses.

- 1. Present tense. The alternative forms of the present tense suffix are determined by the final letter of the preceding morpheme.
 - $-\underline{o}$ occurs following $-\underline{e}, -\underline{a}, -\underline{aa},$ or $-\underline{o}$ occurs elsewhere

Morphophonemic rules apply (see 1.3)

<u>sékal</u> + <u>u</u> = <u>sékalu</u> 'search' search pr

2. Vivid present tense suffix -kwa obligatorily cooccurs with personal pronouns filling the Actor-subject slot
of the clause and affixed with -ké 'here' or -wa, -wan 'there'.
It occurs frequently in everyday speech and often in vivid
parts of Narrative Paragraph.

<u>lé-ké</u> <u>ya-kwa</u> 'here she is doing' she-here do-vpr

<u>dé-wa</u> <u>kéraa-kwa</u> 'there he is getting' he-there get-vpr

3. Past tense suffix -<u>ék</u> is used to express an action in the past. Again, morphophonemic rules apply. (see 1.3)

 $\frac{ya}{do}$ + $\frac{ek}{pa}$ = $\frac{yak}{did'}$

 $\frac{\text{k\'eraa}}{\text{get}} + \frac{\text{\'ek}}{\text{pa}} = \frac{\text{k\'eraak}}{\text{got'}}$

<u>véknwu</u> + <u>ék</u> = v<u>éknwuk</u> 'heard' hear pa

 $\frac{\text{raap}}{\text{get.up}} + \frac{\text{\'ek}}{\text{pa}} = \frac{\text{raapm\'ek}}{\text{m}} \text{ 'got up' (stem final p adds})$

 $\frac{s \cdot kal}{s \cdot earch} + \frac{\epsilon k}{pa} = \frac{s \cdot kal \cdot \epsilon k}{s \cdot earch}$ 'searched'

4. Desiderative tense is used to express a desire to do something or immediate prospect of doing something. It is often found suffixed to a quote verb in the opening sentence of a discourse of some length, with the 1st person personal pronoun, and in casual conversation with any personal pronoun. It also expounds the Predicate slot of Imperative 2 Clause. It consists of a discontinuous morpheme, the verbal suffix $-\underline{k}\underline{\acute{e}}$ co-occurring with a personal pronoun suffixed with $-\underline{k}$.

<u>kéraa-ké</u> <u>wuné-k</u> 'I want to get' get-des

The desiderative tense can be used to express the future. However, the more common way is by the use of the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence. There is an overlap between the desiderative tense, the future tense as expressed in the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence and the Imperative mood.

Dependent

Aspectual verbs expound the Predicate of Aspectual Clauses apart from the exceptions which will be noted. Hypothetical, imminency and negative verbs are aspectual verbs. The aspectual suffixes -katik, -male, -kaapuk and -marék when suffixed to verbs form a verbal construction that cannot usually stand alone but must be supported by the Restricted Clause and then form different sorts of Aspectual

Merged Sentences. Because it is difficult to give meaning apart from the merged sentence environment the following examples are also given in Merged Sentences.

1. Hypothetical verb expounds the Predicate slot of the Subjunctive Aspectual Clause.

<u>kéraa-katik</u> <u>1é</u> <u>ya-k</u> 'she would have received' she do-pa

The suffix -katik can also move out to second tense-aspect order following accessory future, as indicated on Chart E. This is not common and only one instance of this has been recorded in text. This time the word occurred in isolation, not as part of an Aspectual Merged Sentence.

<u>yé-lé-ran-katik</u> 'it might be that she will go' go-she-afu-hyp

2. Imminency verb expounds the Predicate slot of the Imminency Aspectual Clause.

<u>kéraa-male</u> <u>ya-ké</u> <u>lé-k</u> 'she is on the point of do-des she-des getting'

3. Negative verb expounds the Predicate slot of the Negative Aspectual Clause and the Predicate slot of the Negative Imperative 1 Clause.

<u>kéraa-kaapuk</u> get-not	$\frac{1\acute{e}}{\text{she}}$	<u>ya-k</u> do-pa	'she	did	not	get'
<u>kéraa-marék</u> get-not	<u>lé</u> she	<u>ya-k</u> do-pa	'she	did	not	get'

The two suffixes are completely interchangeable, with no difference in meaning or style.

For convenience, the suffix -bak is also given here. It does not fill the first base of an Aspectual Merged Sentence, but it substitutes for either of the above two negative suffixes in the negative verb expounding the Predicate of a Negative Imperative 1 Clause. It is more common in the Wosera dialect.

<u>kéraa-bak</u> 'do not get!' get-not

Intentive same actor verbs expound the Predicate slot of Intentive Same Actor Dependent Clause. The suffix -ké is also

used to express purpose. The suffix -méké is used to express negative purpose. The suffix -kwate is used to express purposeful desire. These are called same actor suffixes in that there is no provision within the verbal form to insert an actor suffix. An actor different from that of the independent verb can be indicated with -méké by using the personal pronoun. The suffixes -ké and -kwate can co-occur with a different suffix by moving out to the second tense-aspect order, as indicated in Chart E.

1. Intentive verb

<u>kéraa-ké</u> 'to get' get-int

2. Negative intentive verb

<u>kéraa-méké</u> 'lest he get' get-neg int

3. Desiderative intentive verb

<u>kéraa-kwate</u> 'wanting to get' get-des int

Relational same actor verb forms express a time relationship with the independent verb in the sentence and are dependent on it for the semantic component of tense. Vartious forms of time relationship are expressed by the different suffixes. To express this relationship examples are given with the independent verb 'went'. These suffixes do not co-occur with actor suffixes. They indicate that the same actor is to follow. Relational same actor verbs expound the Predicate slot of the Relational Same Actor Dependent Clause.

1. The partially consecutive suffix $-\underline{e}$ (r1) expresses a type of overlapping relationship, when the first action is more or less completed before the second.

<u>kéra-e</u> <u>yé-k</u> 'got and went' get-r1 go-pa

2. The consecutive suffix -takne (r2) expresses the completion of the action before the action of the independent verb.

<u>kéraa-takne</u> <u>yé-k</u> 'got and then went' get-r2

3. The simultaneous suffix $-\underline{te}$ (r3) expresses the idea that the action of this verb is going on at the same time as the action of the independent verb.

<u>kéraa-te</u> <u>yé-k</u> 'was getting and at the same get-r3 go-pa time went'

4. The continuous simultaneous suffix $-\underline{\text{kére}}$ (r4) expresses the idea that the first action is going on for some time at the same time as the action of the independent verb.

<u>kéraa-kére</u> <u>yé-k</u> 'was continually getting and get-r⁴ go-pa went'

Relational different actor verb forms also express a time relationship with the independent verb in the sentence and are dependent on it for the semantic component of tense. Various forms of time relationship are expressed by the different suffixes. To express this relationship examples are given with a following different actor-subject and the independent verb 'went'. As relational same actor verbs indicate that the same actor is to follow so relational different actor verbs indicate that a different actor is to follow or one distinct from the group first mentioned. The above statement applies 99% of the time, taking into account the usage of the Time Margin. The remaining 1% may be due to role prominence or some other feature (Olson,1977, p.17). Relational different actor verbs expound the Predicate of Relational Different Actor Dependent Clause.

1. The consecutive suffix $-\underline{\epsilon}k$ (r5) expresses the completion of the action before the action of the independent verb occurs.

kéraa-lé-k dé yé-k 'she got and then he went' get-she-r5 he go-pa

2. The partially consecutive suffix -ka (r6) expresses a type of overlapping relationship when the first action is more or less completed before the action of the independent verb, which is in present or past tense.

<u>kéraa-lé-ka</u> <u>dé</u> <u>yé-k</u> 'she was getting and he went' get-she-ró he go-pa

3. The future suffix $-\underline{u}/-\underline{o}(r7)$ expresses the idea that the action of this verb is going on at the same time as or preceding the action of the independent verb, which is in the desiderative tense, or is an Immediacy Aspectual Merged

Sentence expressing future tense or is in the Imperative mode. The suffix $-\underline{o}$ is used with 1st and 3rd plural actor suffixes and the suffix $-\underline{u}$ is used elsewhere.

The future suffix can be used also in Imperative 2 Clause when it then takes sentence final intonation and acts as an independent verb. It is possible that then the sense is implied that the other person will do something different.

4. If the action of the first verb has already taken place and the independent verb is in the future then the accessory past verb or occasionally the consecutive suffix (r5) may be used to express this.

<u>kéraa-lé-n</u> <u>dé</u> <u>yé-ké</u> <u>y-o</u> 'she got and he will go' get-she-apa he go-int do-pr

<u>kéraa-lé-k</u> <u>yé-ké</u> <u>dé</u> <u>y-o</u> 'she got and he will get-she-r5 go-int he do-pr go'

Conditional verb has the suffix -ran 'if' which expresses a straight condition. Some of the older people seem to favour the form -ral with no difference in meaning. Conditional verb expounds the Predicate slot of Conditional Dependent Clause. Although the independent verb will be in the future or present tense the condition can express a past, present or future event. Context is usually sufficient to determine which is meant. Temporals may also be used to clarify the tense.

<u>kéraa-lé-ran</u> 'if she gets' get-she-if

Accessory verbs are used to show that an event is out of the main time or theme line. The reference made by Grimes and Glock (1970) to background information seems applicable to these verbs. "This information is not part of the event sequence around which the narrative is built. It is either general information that is independent of time or else it refers to events that take place outside the event sequence, but that relate to it in some way. In either case it can be deleted without disturbing the rest of the narrative or it can be expressed at any number of

points without affecting anything else." Accessory verbs seem to have the function of providing such background information in Ambulas.

Accessory verbs expound the Predicate of Accessory Dependent Clauses, some of which function as clauses providing background information. They also expound the Predicate of Denial Clause. Accessory Clauses may a 1so be Included Clauses, in which case they fill phrase level slots. This is the most common use of accessory verbs.

The suffix -kwa expresses present tense, the suffix -én expresses past tense and the suffix -ran expresses future tense.

<u>kéraa-lé-kwa</u> 'she gets' get-she-apr

<u>kéraa-kwa</u> 'gets' get-apr

<u>kéraa-lé-n</u> 'she got' get-she-apa

<u>kéraa-lé-ran</u> 'she will get' get-she-afu

If the actor suffix is expressed in the clause as a free form then the actor suffix in the accessory verb is usually omitted.

Intentive different actor verbs have the same two suffixes as two of the intentive same actor suffixes but here they must be preceded by actor and r7 suffixes. The suffix -ké is used to express purpose and the suffix -kwate is used to express purposeful desire. Intentive different actor verbs expound the Predicate slot of Intentive Different Actor Dependent Clause.

- 1. <u>kéraa-l-u-ké</u> 'in order that she get' get-she-r7-int
- 2. <u>kéraa-l-u-kwate</u> 'wanting her to get' get-she-r7-des int

All of the above examples have been given using a minimum of verb stems, to enable the reader to concentrate on the individual suffixes. Following Chart F, which gives the order and co-occurrence of affixes, further examples are given of these and other verb stems and affixes.

CHART F
Co-occurrence of inner and outer affixes

Outer suffixes		Tense-aspect 1				Tense- aspect 2		
	Inde- pend- ent		Dependent					
Inner affixes		asp	isa	r s a	rda	con	acc	ida
prefix								
verb stem								
direction- mode								
mode 1		_	_			```		
mode 2		_	_					
benefactive								
actor	-		-	-	+	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>	+

Note:

- 1. Mode 1 and mode 2 suffixes have not been observed with aspectual or intentive same actor verbs. Otherwise, apart from actor suffix, which is marked on the chart, any inner suffix may occur with any outer suffix, except that a maximum of 6 slots can occur. The average is 2-3 in independent and same actor verbs and 3-4 in different actor verbs.
- 2. Actor suffixes are usually present with relational different actor forms and optionally present with conditional and accessory forms - depending on whether the Actor-subject slot on the clause level is filled, or whether the form is contained within a Meteorological Clause or not. If the answer is affirmative in either case the actor slot in the verb may be absent.
- 3. Actor suffixes are obligatorily absent with independent and dependent aspectual, intentive same actor and relational same actor suffixes.
- 4. Prefixes and inner suffixes have not been observed to

co-occur. Co-occurrence of other inner suffixes is indicated in Chart C and the accompanying co-occurrence restriction notes and co-occurrence of outer suffixes is indicated in Chart E.

- 5. Any class of verb stem can occur with any affix but is limited by semantic restrictions. It has been noted, however, that motion verbs rarely take relational same actor consecutive suffix.
- 6. In relationship to the verb stem all the affix slots are optional. The verb stem only can occur in Affirmative Imperative 1 Clauses or acting as a relational same actor verb in a Series Merged Sentence. The verb stem with 1 or 2 inner affixes only may also fill the same two functions.

Examples to show co-occurrence of affixes

1. Prefix, verb stem, tense-aspect 1

<u>ke-gwaap-me</u> 'break off and 'cause.to-break-r1

2. Verb stem, direction-mode, tense-aspect 1

<u>sékal-pati-yu</u> 'search without success' search-frus-pr

<u>kéti-gét-takne</u> 'danced till dawn and' dance-till.dawn-r2

<u>ku-sagwadé-k</u> 'pushed outside' push-outside-pa

3. Verb stem, mode 1, actor, tense-aspect 1

<u>sékérék-wuré-dé-ka</u> 'it is completely filled and' filled-comp 1-he-r6

<u>kavi-buti-dé-ka</u> 'he finished painting and' paint-comp 2-he-r6

4. Verb stem, mode 2, actor, tense-aspect 1

<u>péku-takna-té-ka</u> 'we two finished taking take.off.skin-comp 3-we(d)-r6 off the skins and '(coffee)

<u>kéraa-takna-lé-ka</u> 'she finished getting get-comp 3-she-ré and'

5. Verb stem, mode 1, mode 2, actor, tense-aspect 1

<u>ka-buti-takna-dé-ka</u> eat-comp 1-comp 3-he-r6 'he completely finished eating and'

viyaa-wuré-takna-mén-u

strike-comp 1-comp 3-you(m s)-r7

'you completely finished striking and'

6. Verb stem, direction-mode, mode 1, benefactive, actor, tense-aspect 1

kéraa-sagiya-wuré-tiyaa-bét-ka get-down-comp 1-ben 1-they(d)-r6

'they two finished getting (them) down for me and'

wuknaa-sada-buti-kwe-nyéné-ka pour-down-comp 2-ben 2-you(f s)-r6

'you finished pouring down (the water) for them and'

7. Verb stem, direction-mode, mode 1, actor, tense-aspect 1

<u>yaata-vélé-wuré-da-ka</u> carry-all-comp 1-they-r6 'they finished carrying (them) all and'

ya-knwu-buti-dé-k do-tent-comp 2-he-r5

'he finished doing tentatively and'

8. Verb stem, direction-mode, mode 2, benefactive, actor, tense-aspect 1

yat-jada-takna-kwe-da-ka

throw-down-comp 3-ben 2-they-r6

'they finished throwing it down for them and'

gurik-sada-takna-tiyaa-1-u
tip-down-comp 3-ben 1-she-r7

'she will finish tipping out (the water) for me and'

9. Verb stem, mode 1, mode 2, benefactive, actor, tense-aspect 1

<u>véli-buti-takna-kwe-lé-ka</u> spread.on.ground-comp 2-comp 3-ben-she-r6

'she completely finished spreading (the mat) on the ground for them and'

gi-wuré-takna-kwe-d-o

tie-comp 1-comp 3-ben 2-he-r7

- 'they will completely finish tying (the fence) for you and'
- 10. Verb stem, mode 2, benefactive, tense-aspect 1

véli-takna-kwe-takne

spread.on.ground-comp 3-ben 2-r2

- 'finished spreading (mat) on the ground for them and'
- <u>sérak-takna-tiyaa-takne</u> 'finished cooking for us cook-comp 3-ben 1-r2 and'
- 11. Verb stem, direction-mode, mode 2, benefactive, tense-aspect 1
 - <u>kéraa-sagwadé-takna-kwe-takne</u> 'put it outside for you get-outside-comp 3-ben 2-r2 and'
- 12. Verb stem, benefactive, actor, tense-aspect 1, tense-aspect 2

<u>kéraa-kwe-gun-u-ké</u>
get-ben 2-you(p1)-r7-int

'in order that you get
for them'

'in order that he strike for me'

<u>viyaa-tiyaa-d-u-ké</u> strike-ben 1-he-r7-int

13. Verb stem, direction-mode, actor, tense-aspect 1, tense-aspect 2

<u>ra-saaku-d-o-kwate</u> sit-cont-they-r7-des int 'wanting them to stay'

<u>ka-knwu-d-u-kwate</u> eat-tent-he-r7-des int 'wanting him to taste'

14. Verb stem, mode 1, mode 2, actor, tense-aspect 1, tense-aspect 2

<u>kwa-buti-takna-n-o-ké</u>
plant-comp 2-comp 3-we-r7-int planting completely'

<u>séku-buti-takna-wur-u-ké</u> cut-comp 2-comp 3-I-r7-int 'in order that I finish cutting completely'

3.5.3 Verb dependency

Verbs can be divided into independent and dependent categories on the basis of different structure and different distribution. Distribution has already been noted in 3.5.2., and structural differences are also noted specifically in Charts E and F.

Chart G shows verb classes and dependency multiplication categories.

CHART G

Verb classes and dependency multiplication categories

classes	dependency							
	independent	independent dependent						
		asp	isa	rsa	rda	con	acc	ida
factive								
meteorological								
passive								
quote								
positional								
motion								
contrary intentive								
perception								
general								

Apart from semantic restrictions, any verb class may be multiplied by any dependency category.

3.5.4 Functions of verb stem

The verb stem, without any affixation, may function as:

(a) noun: When used in this way, the word occurs in isolation and not as head of a phrase. Only a few verbs have been observed to function in this way. The verb stem functioning as a noun then expounds any clause level slot that a noun can expound.

kubi 'make soup, soup'

waariya 'fight' (verb or noun)

kéti 'dance' (verb or noun)

(b) adjective: When used in this way, the verb stem expounds the Predicate slot of an Included Clause which expounds the Modifier 1 slot of a Verbal Modified Noun Phrase.

viyaa 'strike, striking'

kiyaa 'die, dead'

The negative verb, which consists of verb stem and negative suffix, may also act as an adjective.

ya-marék 'not doing, without' do-not

(c) relational same subject partially consecutive verb: When used in this way, the verb stem expounds the Simultaneous slot of a Simultaneous Motion Verb Phrase and the Predicate slot of the Relational Same Actor Dependent Clause which expounds the non-final base of a Series Merged Sentence.

<u>yé</u> 'go'

kéraa 'get'

The verb stem, with optional inner suffix affixation, functions as an independent verb expounding the Predicate slot of Affirmative Imperative 1 Clause.

ra 'sit!'

raap 'get up!'

Meteorological and passive verbs cannot function as exponents of the Predicate slot of Affirmative Imperative 1 Clause.

4 PHRASE

4.0 Introduction

A phrase in Ambulas is defined as a construction in the grammatical hierarchy between word and clause level which is potentially composed of two or more words: a nuclear item (or items) which is obligatory to the phrase and various optional items which expand or modify the nuclear items.

Phrases generally expound clause level slots. However. there is much recursion or embedding of phrase within phrase and some backlooping, that is, embedding of sentences and clauses within phrases.

Phrase types have been classified primarily on the basis of word classes which manifest nuclear tagmemes, in conjunction with their distribution within another phrase or clause. Each phrase is classified according to its primary distribution although many phrases expound more than one phrase or clause level slot.

There are eight major phrase types, as shown in Chart H.

CHART H

	Phrase	types
_	slot	Slots

Phrase type	Nuclear slot	Slots expounded by Phrase
	exponent	
Noun (16)	noun	Subject, Supplement - Clause
	(quasi noun)	
Pronoun (2)	pronoun	Actor-subject - Clause
Adjective (2)	adjective	Modifier - Noun Phrase
Numeral (1)	numera1	Numera1 - Noun Phrase
Temporal (5)	temporal	Time - Clause
Locative (1)	1ocative	Location - Clause
Verb (3)	verb	Predicate - Clause
Axis-Relator	enclitics,	various - Phrase and Clause
(11)	postpositions	

4.1 Noun phrases

Noun phrases expound Subject, Supplement and Complement slots of verbal clauses and Topic and Comment slots of nonverbal clauses. They also, in certain instances, expound the Time slot of a clause. They also expound Axis slot of most Axis-Relator Phrases. The above information is not stated when describing individual noun phrases. Exceptions are

noted, as is also distribution when diagnostic of an individual type.

There is much embedding or recursion of noun phrase within noun phrase. Modified, Verbal Modified, Serial, Co-ordinate and Appositional Noun Phrases take much embedding whereas Kinship, Connective, Pluralizer and Differential Noun Phrases receive no embedding.

Noun phrases are of two major types - modifier-head relationship and head-head relationship. There are various contrastive types within each of these groups, distinguished on the basis of number and kind of tagmemes, exponents of slots and distribution in other constructions.

4.1.1 Modifier-head noun phrases

There are seven contrasting modifier-head type noun phrases and some of these have sub-variants.

4.1.1.1 Modified

The Modified Noun Phrase consists of an optional Demonstrative slot expounded by adjectival demonstratives, followed by an optional Possessive slot expounded by adjectival personal pronouns or a Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase, followed by an optional Quantifier slot expounded by quantifiers 1,2,3 and 4, followed by an optional Modifier slot, which may be repeated once, expounded by adverb 3, adjectives or Adjective Phrases, followed by an obligatory Head slot, expounded by all nouns except name personal nouns or place name nouns substituting for people from that place, also Qualified Noun Phrase, Specifier Noun Phrase, Coordinate Noun Phrase, Definitive Noun Phrase, Kinship Noun Phrase, Connective Noun Phrase and Serial Noun Phrase, followed by an optional Numeral slot expounded by a numeral or Numeral Phrase, followed by an optional second Quantifier slot expounded by quantifiers 1,2,3 and 4.

Many different Noun Phrases expound the Head slot. As Head is the only obligatory slot the term Modified Noun Phrase thus also covers these phrases. However, for greater clarity, these phrases are also mentioned specifically in Noun Phrase bidimensional arrays.

Modified Noun Phrase

+ Dem	+ Pos	+ Quant	$\pm (Mod)^{n=2}$	+ Head	+ Numeral	+ Quant
adjec- tiva1 dem	1	quant 1,2,3, 4	adjective Adjective Phrase adverb 3			quant 1,2,3,4

All slots are optional except the Head slot. No examples have been observed of all tagmemes occurring in the one phrase. If more than the Head tagmeme occurs, the norm is one other tagmeme only. If more than one optional tagmeme occurs, then Quantifier tagmeme usually occurs after the Head. Quantifier and Numeral do not co-occur. Quantifier tagmeme occasionally occurs before and after the noun. Modifier tagmeme has not been observed twice in text but has occurred in elicited material. If Modifier tagmeme occurs twice the order of the adjectives manifesting the tagmeme is not rigid (see 3.3.14). Demonstrative and Possessive tagmemes rarely co-occur.

Exponents of all non-nuclear slots of a Modified Noun Phrase are subject to semantic restriction depending on the exponent of the Head slot. There are also co-occurrence restrictions between adjectives and nouns (see under 3.3.14).

When the Head slot is expounded by a general personal noun the Modified Noun Phrase may expound the Periphery 2 Base of the Outer Periphery of a sentence. When the Head slot is expounded by an abstract noun the Modifier tagmeme is the only other tagmeme and the Modified Noun Phrase expounds

the Complement Slot of Stative Clauses. When the Head slot is expounded by a temporal noun the Modified Noun Phrase expounds Time slot of a clause.

Modified Noun Phrase embeds in Co-ordinate Noun Phrase, Serial Noun Phrase, Appositional Noun Phrase, Name Noun Phrase, Possessive Noun Phrase and Serial Temporal Phrase when temporal noun fills Head slot. Other occurrences are as noted under 4.1.

As it is not usual to have more than two modifying slots in this construction several examples are given below and the slot names in that construction are listed above the example. Where a phrase fills the slot this is also listed.

Examples:

1. Dem, Pos, Head

kénina bét-ku jébaa 'this work of theirs' this they(d)-pos work

2. Pos, Head

16-ku néwaa mother

'her mother'

3. Pos, Mod, Head

dé-ku tépétmama taalé he-pos very.hilly place 'his very hilly place'

4. Pos: Possessive ARP, Mod, Head

wani gayé-na makwal kudi that village-pos little talk

'that village's short talk'

5. Quant, Mod, Head

arigék <u>némaa</u> <u>yaawi</u> much big jungle 'much big jungle'

6. Dem, Head: Def NP

wani taakwa kwabu that woman person

'that one woman'

7. Mod, Head: Co-ord NP

apakélé wimut maas big wind rain

'strong wind and heavy rain'

8. Head, Numeral

gaan kupuk 'three nights'

9. Mod: Co-ordinate Individual Adjective Phrase, Head

<u>waama-kwa</u> <u>waama-kwa</u> <u>waasa</u> black-colour.connector white-colour.connector dog

10. Head, Numeral: Numeral Phrase

baapmu wetik two three months'
'two or three months'

11. Quant, Head, Quant

nak another thing one in thing in the indicate in the ind

12. Pos, Head: Kinship Noun Phrase

<u>lé-ku</u> <u>kayé</u> <u>yaapa</u> 'her brother and father' she-pos brother father

13. Mod, Head

yéknwun mawulé 'good thought' thought

14. Mod, Mod, Head

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{apak\'e1\'e} & \underline{waama} & \underline{waasa} & \\ \underline{big} & \underline{white} & \underline{dog} & \\ \end{array}$ 'big white dog'

15. Head: Definitive Noun Phrase, Numeral

<u>baalé</u> <u>kwabu</u> <u>vétik</u> 'two pigs' thing

4.1.1.2 Qualified

+ Qualifier	+ Head
name noun	general personal noun general neutral noun locative noun general inanimate noun temporal noun Modified NP with temporal noun as Head

There are three variants of this phrase. Variant A has the Head slot expounded by a general personal noun, general neutral noun, locative noun or general inanimate noun. This variant expounds the Head slot of a Modified Noun Phrase and also slots of Co-ordinate Name Noun and Appositional Noun Phrases. The first two examples given below are quite common in songs, but have not been heard in spoken text, where qualification of a place name is usually encoded in a Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase.

Examples:

- 1. <u>Métpém gu</u> Mitpim water
 - 'Mitpim river'
- 2. <u>Wulpam</u> <u>ame</u> Wulpam village.centre
 - 'Wulpam village centre'

- 3. <u>Nyalikém</u> <u>ban</u> Nyalikum person
 - 'Nyalikum person'
- 4. <u>Sépik</u> <u>taakwa</u> Sepik woman
 - 'Sepik woman'

- 5. Abulas kudi Ambulas talk
 - 'Ambulas language'

Variant B has the Qualifier slot expounded by a name personal noun and the Head slot expounded by a general personal noun. This seems to be quite a common practice when calling out to people, especially children.

Examples:

1. <u>Wulaga taakwa</u> 2. <u>Keno du</u> Wulanga woman 'Wulanga!' 'Keno!'

Variant B does not expound the Head slot of a Modified Noun Phrase. It expounds the Periphery 2 Base of the Outer Periphery of a sentence as well as clause level slots as mentioned in 4.1.

Variant C has the Qualifier slot expounded by the Neo-Melanesian name of the month or the English date of the year and the Head slot expounded by a temporal noun or a Modified Noun Phrase with temporal noun as Head. In this variant the slots are reversed. This variant expounds the Time slot of a clause.

Examples:

- 1. <u>baapmu Desemba</u> 2. <u>Kwaaré 1971</u>
 'December' '1971'
- 3. <u>aniké</u> <u>baapmu</u> <u>Julai</u> another month <u>July</u>

'next month, July'

4.1.1.3 Interrogative

+ Interrogative	+ Head
interrogative adjective 1	temporal noun, locative noun
interrogative adjective 2	general personal noun
interrogative adjective 3	locative noun, general
	inanimate nouns
	non-personal animate noun
interrogative adjective 4	general personal and non-
	personal animate nouns
	general inanimate nouns
interrogative quantifier	any noun except name
	personal noun
Possessive Axis-Relator	any noun except name
Phrase with interrogative	personal noun
pronoun in Axis tagmeme	_

There is a co-occurrence restriction with each exponent of the Interrogative slot, as indicated on the bidimensional Interrogative adjective yani 'which' occurs only with temporal and locative nouns. Interrogative adjective 'which' occurs only with general personal nouns. 'which' occurs only with Interrogative adjective samu locative, general inanimate and non-personal animate nouns. Interrogative adjective yaga 'which' occurs only with general personal, non-personal animate and general inanimate Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase with interrogative 'who' expounding the Axis slot co-occurs kiyadé pronoun with any noun except name personal noun. The Interrogative Noun Phrase embeds in tagmemes of Co-ordinate Noun Phrase and expounds the Interrogative Slot of the Interrogative 2 Interrogative quantifier co-occurs with any noun except name personal noun, and the order of the tagmemes is reversed.

Examples:

1. <u>yani</u> <u>nyaa</u> which day

'when?'

- 2. <u>yani</u> <u>gayé</u> which village
 - 'which village?'

3. <u>kiya</u> <u>taakwa</u> which woman

'which woman?'

4. <u>samu</u> <u>mu</u> which thing

'which thing?'

5. <u>yaga</u> <u>du</u> which man

'which man?'

6. <u>kiyadé-na</u> <u>ga</u> house

'whose house?'

7. <u>baalé</u> <u>yagap</u> pig how.many

'how many pigs?'

4.1.1.4 Verbal modified

The Verbal Modified Noun Phrase consists of an optional Demonstrative slot expounded by an adjectival demonstrative, followed by an obligatory Modifier slot expounded by an Included Clause, followed by an optional Modifier, slot expounded by an adjective, followed by an obligatory Head

slot expounded by any noun except a name personal noun, a Specifier Noun Phrase or a Co-ordinate Noun Phrase, followed by an optional Numeral slot expounded by a numeral, followed by an optional Quantifier slot expounded by quantifiers 1,2, 3 or 4.

Verbal Modified Noun Phrase

+ Dem	+ Modifier	+ Modifier ₂	+ Head	+ Numeral	<u>+</u> Quant
adjec- tival dem	Included C1.	adjective	any noun except name personal noun, Specifier NP Co-ord NP	numera1	quant 1,2,3,4

The Verbal Modified Noun Phrase is distinct from the Modified Noun Phrase by the obligatory presence of the Modifier, slot and the distinctive exponent of this slot the Included Clause - the limited size of the exponents of the non-nuclear slots (i.e. no phrases), the absence of the Possessive slot and the frequent permutation of the Modifier, slot to a position following the Head. The norm is Modifier and Head tagmeme only. Occasionally one other tagmeme may occur. On one occasion only have two non-nuclear tagmemes been observed. The Included Clause may be quite lengthy and have embedded within it a Series Merged Sentence or a Sequence Sentence. The distinguishing feature of this clause is the final accessory verb or verb stem. Modifier, slot usually follows the Head when the Demonstrative slot is filled or when the emphasis seems to be on the noun filling the Head slot. When the Included Clause filling the Modifier, slot ends with a verb stem, the Modifier, tagmeme does not permute from its pre-Head position.

The Verbal Modified Noun Phrase is a very common phrase type. It embeds in Co-ordinate Noun Phrase, Serial Noun Phrase and Appositional Noun Phrase, and expounds the same clause level tagmemes as other Noun Phrases.

Examples:

1. Modifier, Head

<u>waata-méné-n</u> <u>kudi</u> ask-you-apa talk 'the question you asked'

- 2. Demonstrative, Modifier, Head

 wani kwaa-bér-én ban
 that lie-they(d)-apa thing

 'that thing on which they lay'
- 3. Modifier, Modifier, Head, Num

 takna-dé-n apakélé vi vétik
 put-he-apa big spear two

 'the two big spears which he had'
- 4. Modifier, Head, Quantifier

 wa-da-kwa téwaang las
 say-they-apr white.man some

 'some white men who say (that)'

saw'

- 5. Modifier 1: Included Clause (P: IAMS), Head

 yaa sérak-gé ya-wuré-n tépménéng
 fire light-int do-I-apa dry.coconut.leaf

 'the dry coconut leaf that I was about to light the fire with'
- Demonstrative, Head, Modifier: Included Clause (P: Series M.S.)

 | wani | baalé | r-e | raap-me | yaag-e | yé-dé-n | run-rl | go-he-apa |
 | that pig that sat and got up and ran away!
- 7. Modifier: Included Clause (P: Sequence S.), Head, Quantifier

 Serakém-ba ya-da-ka vé-méné-n mu las some

 Serakum-loc do-they-ré see-you-apa thing some

 'some of the things that they did at Serakum and you

8. Modifier, Head

 $\frac{\text{k\'eti}}{\text{dance}}$ $\frac{\text{ame}}{\text{village.centre}}$ 'dancing ground'

9. Modifier, Head: Specifier NP

gayé-ba té-n taakwa nyaan village-loc stand-apa woman child

'the daughter who stayed in the village'

10. Modifier, Head: Co-ordinate NP

wanét yé-ran du taakwa there do-afu man woman

'the people who will go there'

11. Modifier, Head

méni kiyaa du 'blind man' eve die man

A sub-type of the Verbal Modified Noun Phrase is confined to one meteorological noun and has Modifier, and Head tagmemes only. Head slot is filled by nyaa 'sun' and Modifier, slot is filled by motion verb stem. The deep structural relationship is one of east-west direction.

Examples:

1. <u>yaala nyaa</u> 2. <u>daa nyaa</u> go.down sun
'east' 'west'

This sub-type has been observed to co-occur with locative nouns.

4.1.1.5 Specifier

+ Specifier	+ Head
general personal noun non-personal animate noun locative noun general inanimate noun memory lapse neutral noun Specifier NP	as for Specifier slot

The same exponents fill either slot. The deep structure relationship is one of further specification. Specifier Noun Phrase embeds in Modified Noun Phrase, Verbal Modified Noun Phrase and Serial Noun Phrase and also embeds within another Specifier Noun Phrase.

Examples:

- 1. <u>yénaa kudi</u> deceit talk
 - 'lying talk'

- 2. <u>waapi</u> <u>kus</u> yam magic
 - 'yam magic'

- 3. <u>bapa du</u> owner man
 - 'owner'

- 4. <u>baalé</u> <u>agéra</u>
 - 'pig's dish'

- 5. <u>abé</u> <u>wut</u> bandicoot bag
 - 'bandicoot net'
- 6. <u>taakwa</u> <u>nyaan</u> woman child
 - 'daughter'

- 7. <u>kwaalé kaabélé</u> neck river
 - 'source of river'
- 8. Specifier, Head: Specifier NP

ge baapa du other.village grass.covered.figure man

'grass-covered figure from another village'

9. Specifier: Specifier NP, Head

tépu <u>kétkiya</u> <u>waasa</u> scabies itch dog

'dog with scabies'

4.1.1.6 Definitive

The Definitive Noun Phrase is often heard in everyday conversation and seems to emphasize the exponent of the Definitive slot by further defining it. It embeds in Modified Noun Phrase.

Definitive

+ Definitive	+ Head
general personal noun non-personal animate noun general inanimate noun quantifier 4	definitive noun

Examples:

- 1. <u>du kwabu</u> 2. <u>baalé kwabu</u> pig thing 'man' 'pig'

4.1.1.7 Quasi

+ Modifier	+ Head
Locative AR P with place name noun expounding Axis	quantifier 4 numeral

This is a very uncommon phrase type. It is more common to express the same meaning by using a Qualified Noun Phrase. Although the Head slot is not expounded by a noun the subsequent phrase functions like a Noun Phrase, and so is referred to as a Quasi Noun Phrase. It has been observed only as an exponent of a slot within an Appositional Noun Phrase expounding a slot in a Serial Noun Phrase.

Examples:

- 1. Mabélayép-ba nak nak nambelep-loc one 2. Awupik-ba vétik nambelep-loc one 2. Awupik-ba vétik nambelep vétik
- 4.1.2 Head-head noun phrases

There are nine contrasting head-head type noun phrases and one of these has a sub-type.

4.1.2.1 Co-ordinate

+ Head 1	+ Head 2
Modified Noun Phrase	Modified Noun Phrase
Qualified Noun Phrase	Qualified Noun Phrase
Interrogative NP	Interrogative NP
Verbal Modified NP	Verbal Modified NP

The exponents in each slot are parallel in grammatical form and also in semantic domain. The Co-ordinate Noun Phrase expounds the Head slot of a Modified Noun Phrase and thus expounds any clause level slot that a Modified Noun Phrase expounds. It also expounds slots in Verbal Modified Noun Phrase, Appositional Noun Phrase and Possessive Noun Phrase.

Examples:

1. du taakwa 2. pérés kwa1pék man woman 'people' 'bow and arrow' 4. 3. wimut ka mavé maas small, yam wind rain 'small yams and taro, 'wind and rain' food' 5. baa1é 6. baapmu waasa yani nyaa yani pig dog which day which month 'pigs and dogs, animals' 'which day and which month' 7. <u>tékét</u> <u>kavi-na-kwa</u> <u>bayé</u> <u>kavi-na-kwa</u> paint-we-apr sago.rib paint-we-apr

'the row of carved heads that we paint and the sago rib (erected above the row of carved heads on the facade of a ceremonial house) that we paint'

4.1.2.2 Connective

+ Head 1	+ Connective	+ Head 2
animate noun	<u>bét</u> 'and'	animate noun

The Connective Noun Phrase is used to connect two animate nouns only and these nouns must both be singular and in the same semantic domain. (The singular form is not apparent in the noun but is reflected in the Actor-subject slot of the clause expounded by a dual personal pronoun). The Connective Noun Phrase expounds slots of Modified Noun Phrase, Serial Noun Phrase and Possessive Noun Phrase.

Examples:

1. <u>du bét taakwa</u> man and woman

'man and woman, husband and wife'

- 2. <u>Kuléjo</u> <u>bét</u> <u>Maabi</u> Kulinjo and Mambi
- 3. waarén bét satkwak scrub.hen and brush.turkey

'Kulinjo and Mambi' 'scrub hen and brush turkey'

4.1.2.3 Kinship

+ Head 1	+ Head 2
kinship noun	different kinship noun

Head 2 slot is expounded by a different kinship noun from Head 1 slot. Kinship Noun Phrase expounds slots of Modified Noun Phrase and Serial Noun Phrase.

1. <u>némaadu</u> <u>wayékna</u> older.sibling younger.sibling

'younger and older siblings'

- 2. <u>néwaa yaapa</u> mother father
- 3. <u>kayé</u> <u>yaapa</u> woman's.brother father

'mother and father, parents'

'her father and brother'

4.1.2.4 Serial

+ Head 1	+ Head 2	$+(\underline{+} \text{ Head}^{n=3}$	<u>+</u> Summary)
personal pronoun name personal noun Modified NP Verbal Modified NP Specifier NP Connective NP Kinship NP Appositional NP	as for Head 1	as for Head 1	<u>akwi</u> 'all' numeral Modified NP

Three tagmemes are obligatory, the first two Head tagmemes and one other, either another Head or a Summary Any exponents of Head 1 slot may fill other Head Any exponent from one Head slot may occur with any slots. exponent of another Head slot but there tends to be a grammatical and semantic parallelism between Head slots. Ifa phrase fills any slot it is usually short as the whole Serial Noun Phrase is usually a short construction. often used for lists of things and confined to single nouns only expounding each Head slot. Up to five Head tagmemes have been observed. The norm is three. The Summary slot is akwi 'all'. The Serial usually filled by the quantifier Noun Phrase embeds in Modified Noun Phrase and Appositional Noun Phrase. It does not expound Topic and Comment slots of a clause, but does expound other clause level tagmemes mentioned under 4.1.

Examples:

1. Head 1, Head 2, Summary

<u>kudiya</u> <u>laapu akwi</u> wild.sugar.cane banana all

'wild sugar cane, bananas, everything'

2. Head1, Head 2, Summary: Modified NP

naang kwaami yéknwun mu sago, meat, the good food'
sago meat good food'

3. Head 1: Modified NP, Head 2: Modified NP, Summary

 nyaamé kupuk kaara vétik naktaba five

'three females, two males, five altogether'

- 4. Head 1, Head 2, Head 3
 - nyégwés maasa kadému tobacco betelnut food

'tobacco, betelnut, food'

- 5. Head 1, Head 2, Head 3, Summary
 - <u>du</u> <u>taakwa</u> <u>baadi</u> <u>akwi</u> man woman child all

'men, women and children, everybody'

- 6. Head 1: Specifier NP, Head 2: Specifier NP, Head 3: Specifier NP, Summary
 - baalé kus waapi kus ka kus akwi magic small.yam magic all 'pig magic, yam magic, small yam magic, everything'
- 7. Head 1, Head 2, Head 3: Appositional NP, Head 4: Appositional NP, Head 5
 - Béwikun wuné Kunébés ban vétik Dipaté bét Boiken I Kunimbis person two Dipate and
 - <u>Kwaasawularé</u> <u>Mabélayép-ba</u> <u>nak</u> <u>Balimagé</u> <u>Vésgélé</u> <u>Kwaasawulare</u> <u>Mambelep-loc</u> <u>one</u> <u>Balimange</u> <u>Visengile</u>
 - 'Boiken, I, two men from Kunimbis Dipate and Kwaasawulare, one from Mambelep Balimange, Visengile'
- 8. Head 1, Head 2, Head 3, Head 4, Head 5
 - tépmaa kutjo laapu kudiya ka coconut greens banana wild.sugar.cane small.yam

'coconuts, greens, bananas, wild sugar cane and small yams'

9. Head 1, Head 2, Head 3

gaan ganba garabu night morning afternoon

'night, morning and afternoon'

4.1.2.5 Appositional

+ Item	+ Apposition
personal pronoun Modified Noun Phrase Co-ordinate Noun Phrase Serial Noun Phrase Verbal Modified NP Quasi Noun Phrase	name personal noun Modified Noun Phrase Co-ordinate Noun Phrase Qualified Noun Phrase Verbal Modified NP Serial Noun Phrase

Any exponent of the Apposition slot may occur with any exponent of the Item slot. The Apposition slot may be discontinuous. The Appositional Noun Phrase usually stands alone as an exponent of a clause level slot and also embeds within the Serial Noun Phrase. The deep structure relationship is the addition of extra, usually more specific, information.

Examples:

1. Item: Modified NP, Apposition

 $\frac{wu-na}{I-pos}$ $\frac{du}{man}$ $\frac{Ramukun}{Ramukun}$

'my friend, Ramukun'

2. Item, Apposition: Qualified NP

guné you(p1) Mapérik du man

'you, Maprik men'

- 3. Item: Modified NP, Apposition: Modified NP

 de-ku kudi wani gayé-na kudi
 they-pos talk that village-pos talk

 'their talk, that village's talk'
- 4. Item: Co-ordinate NP, Apposition: Modified NP

 sébi miyaa wani mi
 tree.species tree.species that tree

 'sébi and miyaa, those trees'
- 5. Item: Quasi NP, Apposition

 Mabélayép-ba nak Balimagé
 Mambelep-loc one Balimange

 'one from Mambelep, Balimange'
- 6. Item: Modified NP, Apposition: Verbal Modified NP

 wani nyéga Wayébage-ba ya-té-n nyéga paper

 that paper Wayembange-loc do-we(d)-apa paper

 'that letter, the letter that we wrote at Wayembange'
- 7. Modified NP, Apposition: Item: Co-ordinate NP vétik taakwa nyaan du nak nyaan nak nyaan child. two man child. one child. woman one 'two children, a son and a daughter'
- 8. Item, Apposition: Serial Noun Phrase

 ge ge gayé yaala nyaa other.village other.village village come.up sun

 daa nyaa akwi go.down sun all

 'all villages, east and west, everywhere'

4.1.2.6 Pluralizer

+ Head 1	+ Pluralizer ₁	<u>+</u> (+ Head 2	+ Pluralizer ₂)
name personal noun general personal noun general inanimate noun kinship noun	<u>béré</u>	general personal noun general inanimate noun	<u>béré</u>

This phrase is restricted to a few nouns only and is not used much, apart from the shortened form with two slots only when name personal noun fills the Head slot and this form is quite common. If second Head slot occurs it must be filled by an exponent in the same semantic category as the exponent of the first Head slot. If Head 1 slot is the only Head slot, the word <u>béré</u> has the meaning of 'and associates, and company'. If both Head slots are filled, <u>béré</u> acts as a pluralizer. If name personal noun or kinship noun fills Head 1 slot, Head 2 and Pluralizer 2 slots are not filled. When name personal noun or general personal noun fills the Head slot the Pluralizer Noun Phrase may fill the Periphery 2 Base of the Outer Periphery of a sentence as well as fill clause level tagmemes as mentioned in 4.1.

Examples:

- 1. <u>Warétarat</u> <u>béré</u> Waretarat pluralizer 'Waretarat and his associates'
- 2. <u>yaapa</u> <u>béré</u> 'father and father's brothers' father pluralizer
- 3. <u>du béré taakwa béré</u> man pluralizer woman pluralizer 'men and women'
- 4. <u>kopi</u> <u>béré</u> <u>rayés</u> <u>béré</u> pluralizer

'coffee crops and rice crops'

4.1.2.7 Diffe	rential
---------------	---------

+ Differential 1	+ Head 1	+ Differential 2	+ Head 2
<u>kés</u>	general personal noun non-personal animate noun locative noun general inanimate noun abstract noun	nak	same
'different'		'another'	noun

All the tagmemes are obligatory and cannot be repeated or reversed. The same noun must be used in both Head slots. Only quantifier 6, kés 'different' expounds Differential 1 slot and only quantifier 2, nak 'another' expounds Differential 2 slot. The deep structural relationship expresses a collection of different kinds. Differential Noun Phrase does not embed in other Noun Phrases.

Examples:

- 1. <u>kés</u> <u>mu</u> <u>nak</u> <u>mu</u> thing another thing 'different kinds of things'
- 2. <u>kés</u> <u>kudi</u> <u>nak</u> <u>kudi</u> different talk another talk
 'different kinds of talks'
- 3. <u>kés</u> <u>api</u> <u>nak</u> <u>api</u> <u>different</u> bird another bird

'different kinds of birds'

A sub-type of this phrase is formed by the addition of <u>pulak</u> 'like' to the exponent of Differential 1 slot and to Differential 2 slot, which now is optional, and the omission of Head 1 tagmeme. There seems to be no difference in meaning. Usage of one form or the other seems to depend on the preference of the speaker.

+ Differential 1	<u>+</u> Differential 2	+ Head
<u>kés</u> pulak	nak pulak	as above

Examples: (sub-type)

- 4. <u>kés</u> <u>pulak</u> <u>gwalmu</u> different like goods

 'different kinds of goods'
- 5. <u>kés</u> <u>pulak</u> <u>nak</u> <u>pulak</u> <u>baalé</u> different like another like pig
- 6. kés pulak nak pulak kudi different kind another kind talk 'different kinds of talks'

4.1.2.8 Name

+ General Referent	+ Possessive Name	+ Specified Name
Modified Noun Phrase Qualified Noun Phrase with general personal noun, kinship noun, non-personal animate noun, general neutral noun as Head	<u>yé</u> 'name'	name personal noun

The General Referent slot is filled by a Modified or a Qualified Noun Phrase with the Head slot filled by a general personal, kinship, non-personal animate or the general neutral noun. The Possessive Name slot is filled by a Modified Noun Phrase limited to the Possessive and Head slots and having the Head slot filled by yé 'name'. This phrase could be considered as Equative Clause but as it is very stereotyped it is better described as a phrase. The only examples of this phrase found thus far use the 3rd singular adjectival personal pronoun only as the exponent of the Possessive slot of the Modified Noun Phrase filling the Possessive Name slot. The Name Noun Phrase fills the Subject slot of a clause. It usually occurs at the beginning or end of Narrative Discourse.

Examples:

- 1. <u>Nyalikém</u> <u>ban</u> <u>dé-ku</u> <u>yé</u> <u>Béjuvélé</u> Nyelikum person he-pos name Binjuvele
 - 'Nyelikum person whose name was Binjuvele'
- 2. <u>taakwa</u> <u>nak</u> <u>1é-ku</u> <u>yé</u> <u>Matalékweny</u> woman one she-pos name Matalekweny

'a woman whose name was Matalekweny'

4.1.2.9 Possessive

+ Referent	+ Possession	+ Item
Modified NP Co-ordinate NP Connective NP Possessive NP with general personal or kinship noun as Head	3rd person adjectival personal pronoun	any noun except name noun

The phrase filling the Referent slot must have a general personal or a kinship noun filling the Head slot. A Possessive Noun Phrase may embed within another Possessive Noun Phrase. The Possessive Noun Phrase fills clause level slots as indicated in 4.1. The deep structural relationship is that of a string of two or three possessed items or multiple possession.

Examples:

- 1. <u>wu-na</u> <u>taakwa</u> <u>lé-ku</u> <u>wut</u> I-pos wife she-pos bag
 - 'my wife's bag'
- 2. <u>wu-na</u> <u>yaapa</u> <u>dé-ku</u> <u>nyange</u> I-pos father he-pos sister
 - 'my father's sister'

3. Referent: Possessive NP

wu-na yaapa dé-ku nyange lé-ku nyaan child 'my father's sister's child'

4. Referent: Connective Noun Phrase

Ramugiyany bét Siséng bét-ku ga house 'Ramungiyany and Siseng's house'

5. Referent: Co-ordinate Noun Phrase

'work for adult men and women'

yéknwun du yéknwun taakwa de-ku jébaa good woman they-pos work

4.2 Pronoun phrases

There are two contrastive types of Pronoun phrases. They expound the Actor-subject slot of a clause.

4.2.1 Modified

+ Head	+ Modifier
personal pronoun	quantifier 3,4,5

Semantic co-occurrence restrictions apply between personal pronoun and quantifier, e.g. quantifier 5 can be used with dual pronouns only. This phrase is often used following a Modified Noun Phrase which expounds the Subject slot of a clause.

Examples:

1.
$$\frac{\text{b\'et}}{\text{they}(d)}$$
 $\frac{\text{v\'et\'eti}}{\text{both}}$ 2. $\frac{\text{naan\'e}}{\text{we}}$ $\frac{\text{akwi}}{\text{all}}$ 'we all'

3. $\frac{16}{\text{she}}$ $\frac{\text{nak}}{\text{one}}$

4. $\frac{\text{de}}{\text{they}}$ $\frac{\text{las}}{\text{some}}$

'she'

'some'

4.2.2 Reflexive

+ Head	+ Reflexive
personal pronoun	<u>kapmu</u>

Reflexive Pronoun Phrase differs from Modified Pronoun Phrase in the different exponent of the second slot and the differing distribution, in that Reflexive Pronoun Phrase rarely follows a Modified Noun Phrase. It has the deep structure relationship of reflexivization or aloneness.

Examples:

 $\begin{array}{ccc}
2. & \underline{\text{de}} & \underline{\text{kapmu}} \\
\text{they} & \underline{\text{self}}
\end{array}$

'he alone'

'they themselves'

3. guné kapmu you(p1) self

'you yourselves, you alone'

4.3 Adjective phrases

Adjective Phrases expound the Modifier slots of the Modified Noun Phrase, the Axis slots of Negative Axis-Relator Phrase and Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase, and the Topic and Comment slots of Equative Clause. They occur rarely. Adjectives expound Adjective phrase slots. Two contrastive phrase types are distinguished on the basis of different structure of the exponents with differing meanings. Both phrases are co-ordinate.

4.3.1 Co-ordinate individual

+ Head 1	+ Head 2		
colour adjective	colour adjective		
+ colour connector	+ colour connector		

This phrase is used to cover two different colours on the same animal. It is used only with non-personal animate nouns.

Examples:

- 1. <u>gélé-kwa</u> <u>waama-kwa</u> <u>waama-kwa</u> white-colour.connector black and white, spotted (animal)'
- 2. gwaavé-kwa waama-kwa white-colour.connector

 'red and white, spotted (animal)'
- 4.3.2 Co-ordinate general

+ Head 1	+ Head 2
any adjective	any adjective

This phrase is used to cover different objects or groups. It may be used with any semantically permissible noun.

Examples:

- 1. gélé wayéba 2. némaan makwal black red big little

 'black and red' 'big and little'
- 4.4 Numeral phrase

+ Head 1	+ Head 2	
basic numeral	basic numeral	

The Numeral Phrase expounds the Numeral slot of a Modified Noun Phrase and the Axis slots of Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase and of Negative Axis-Relator Phrase. The slots may be expounded by any basic numeral. The deep structure relationship is that of alternatives.

Examples:

1.	vétik	nakurak	2.	vétik	kupuk
	two	one		two	three

'one or two'

'two or three, a few'

4.5 Temporal phrases

Temporal Phrases expound the Axis slots of Negative Axis-Relator Phrase and Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase, and the Time slot of a clause. There are five contrastive types.

4.5.1 Co-ordinate

+ Head 1	+ Head 2
temporals 1,2	temporals 1,2

The exponents of the two slots must be different. The deep structure relationship is that of adding further information about the time.

Examples:

- 1. <u>bulaa</u> <u>séré</u> today tomorrow
- 2. <u>nalé</u> <u>bulaa</u> today
- 'today and tomorrow'
- 'yesterday and today'

3. <u>déknyényba</u> <u>batnyé</u> previously first

'long ago at first'

4.5.2 Appositional

+ Item	+ Apposition	
temporals 1,2	name of day - Neo-Melanesian	`

The deep structure relationship is that of specifying a particular day.

Examples:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \textbf{1.} & \underline{\textbf{bulaa}} & \underline{\textbf{Praide}} \\ \hline \textbf{today} & \overline{\textbf{Friday}} \end{array}$$

2. <u>séré</u> <u>Sarere</u> Saturday

'today, Friday'

'tomorrow, Saturday'

3. <u>sagwadé</u> <u>Mande</u> four.days.hence Monday

'four days away, Monday'

4.5.3 Pluralizer

+ Head 1	+ Pluralizer 1	+ Head 2	+ Pluralizer 2
<u>séré</u> 'tomorrow'	<u>béré</u>	maa 'day after 'tomorrow'	<u>béré</u>

This is a seldom used phrase and has been heard only with the one example given below. The deep structure relationship is that of expressing continuing time span.

Example:

'the tomorrows and days after, for some time in the future'

4.5.4 Definite

+ Head	+ Definite Time
temporal 1,2	temporal noun

The deep structure relationship is that of specifying definite time.

1. <u>nalé</u> <u>garabu</u> 2. <u>séré</u> <u>ganbaba</u> yesterday afternoon tomorrow early.morning 'yesterday afternoon' 'tomorrow early in the

morning'

3. <u>bulaa gaan</u> today night

'tonight'

4.5.5 Serial

+ Head 1	+ Head 2	+ Head 3	<u>+</u> Summary
temporal	temporal	temporal 2	Modified NP with temporal noun as Head

This is a seldom used phrase. The deep structure relationship is that of indicating extent of time.

Examples:

- 1. <u>bulaa</u> <u>séré</u> <u>maa</u> day.after.tomorrow 'today, tomorrow and the next day'
- 2. déknyény nalé bulaa akwi nyaa two.days.ago yesterday today all day

 'two days ago, yesterday, today, every day'

4.6 Appositional locative phrase

+ Item	+ Apposition
locative locative demonstrative	Locative Axis-Relator Phrase

This is the only type of Locative Phrase. It expounds the Location slot of a clause. The deep structure relationship is one of more detail about the location.

- 1. awuré yévét apa-ba trunk-loc
 'up on the yevet tree trunk'
- 2. waba abu-ba there garden-loc 3. anéwe upstream Wemamu-ba Wemamu-loc 'there in the garden' 'upstream, at Wemamu'

4.7 <u>Verb phrases</u>

There are three verb phrases only in Ambulas. The majority of verbal combinations are actually Series Merged Sentences. These three verb phrases expound the Predicate slot of a General Clause.

4.7.1 Inchoative

+ Inchoative	+ Head
<u>batnyé</u> 'first'	any verb Cessative Verb Phrase

Only the temporal word $\underline{\text{batny\'e}}$ 'first' expounds the Inchoative slot. Any verb that is semantically permissible expounds the Head slot, thereby giving the meaning 'start to ...'.

Inchoative Verb Phrase, as well as expounding the Predicate slot of a General Clause, also expounds the Predicate slot of Impersonal Stative, Meteorological, Passive and General Quote Clauses.

Examples:

- 1. <u>batnyé raap-mék</u> 2. <u>batnyé véknw-u</u> first get.up-pa first hear-pr
 'started to get up' 'start to hear'
- 3. <u>batnyé</u> <u>yalak-nék</u> 4. <u>batnyé</u> <u>kaapuk</u> <u>yak</u> first not do-pa 'started to be lost' 'started to cease'

4.7.2 Cessative

+ Cessative	+ Head
<u>kaapuk</u> 'not'	<u>ya</u> 'do'

This verb phrase has very limited exponents. The meaning of the phrase is 'cease from, stop'. Cessative Verb Phrase embeds in Inchoative Verb Phrase.

Cessative Verb Phrase, as well as expounding the Predicate slot of a General Clause also expounds the Predicate slot of Impersonal Stative and Meteorological

Clauses.

Examples:

1. <u>kaapuk ya-k</u> 2. <u>kaapuk ya-ran</u> not do-afu
'ceased' 'will cease'

4.7.3 Simultaneous motion

+ Simultaneous	+ Head
motion verb stem relational same actor motion verb (r1)	motion verb

The two tagmemes seem to be closely connected in the speaker's mind, almost uniting into one action. Simultaneous Verb Phrases are frequently heard. Verb stem or relational same actor verb expounds the Simultaneous slot and any inflected form of the verb expounds the Head slot.

Examples:

- 1. <u>yé saaba-k</u> 2. <u>yé-kéra yaa-kér-o</u> go-enti come-enti-pr 'arrived' 'go and come entirely'
- 3. <u>yaag-e</u> <u>y-u</u> 4. <u>yeyé yey-o</u> go come-pr 'run away' 'go around'

4.8 Axis-Relator phrases

Clitics (3.1) co-occur with a wide variety of word classes and phrases to form Axis-Relator Phrases. These phrases expound a wide variety of phrase, clause, and sentence level slots. The eleven Axis-Relator Phrases are grouped below according to distribution pattern, according to the distribution of Relator exponents and Axis exponents in context. In each Axis-Relator Phrase except Summary Accompaniment Axis-Relator Phrase there are only two tagmemes. Many of these phrases function as words on a phonological level, but the morphemes are distinguishable and it is better to handle them on a phrase level.

4.8.1 Relator-determined

The Relator exponent of the Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase signals possession and the phrase fills the Possessive slot of a Modified Noun Phrase. The Relator exponents of the other phrase types in this section signify clause-level tagmemes.

4.8.1.1 Possessive

+ Axis	+ Relator
name personal noun personal pronoun interrogative pronoun place name noun Modified Noun Phrase Qualified Noun Phrase Verbal Modified Noun Phrase Specifier Noun Phrase Kinship Noun Phrase Possessive Noun Phrase	-naku \sim -ku \sim -na (possessive)

-<u>naku</u> occurs with 1st and 2nd person pronouns sometimes.

-ku occurs with 3rd person pronouns.

-<u>na</u> occurs elsewhere (also more often than -<u>naku</u> with 1st and 2nd person pronouns.)

The deep structure relationship of this phrase is possession primarily. It also encodes reference and, when place name noun fills the Axis slot and is used in its non-personal sense, it also encodes qualification. Usually animate nouns fill the nuclear slots of phrases expounding the Axis, but instances have been found of inanimate nouns filling these slots. Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase as well as filling the Possessive slot of a Modified Noun Phrase also fills the Axis slot of Possessive Pronoun Axis-Relator Phrase. When interrogative pronoun fills the Axis slot of Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase, the phrase fills the Interrogative slot of the Interrogative Noun Phrase.

Examples:

(N.B. The above two examples both have a name personal noun as the exponent of the Axis slot. Only the context determines whether possession or reference is meant. In the second case

it was obvious from the total context that the talk was about Tepamaiwu and not given by her.)

- 3. <u>gu-na</u> you(p1)-pos 4. <u>de-ku</u> they-pos 'your' 'their'
- 5. <u>du vétik-na</u> 6. <u>wani képmaa-na</u> that ground-pos 'two men's 'that ground's '
- 7. Raamu-na (kaabélé) 8. kiyadé-na who-pos
 'Ramu (river)' 'whose?'
- 9. <u>kopi-na</u> (<u>yéwaa</u>) 10. <u>du nyaan-na</u> coffee-pos money man child-pos '(money) for coffee' 'son's '

4.8.1.2 Locative

+ Axis	+ Relator
interrogative numeral locative noun Modified Noun Phrase Qualified Noun Phrase Interrogative Noun Phrase Verbal Modified Noun Phrase Specifier Noun Phrase Co-ordinate Noun Phrase Appositional Noun Phrase with locative noun expounding Head slot Included Clause	- <u>ba</u> (locative) - <u>ét</u> (destinational)

The locative clitic -ba gives to the phrase the deep structure relationship of location in or at a place, or movement from a place. The destinational clitic, -et gives to the phrase the deep structural relationship of movement to or in a place. Both clitics have the double function of also being Location slot marker on the clause level. Only locatives

and locative nouns, or phrases with nuclear slots filled by locative nouns, or Included Clause, fill the Axis slot of the Locative Axis-Relator Phrase. Locative Axis-Relator Phrase embeds in the Apposition slot of Appositional Locative Phrase, in the Modifier slot of a Quasi Noun Phrase, and also expounds the Location slot of clauses.

Examples:

1. Axis: place name noun

Goroka-t Goroka-dest

'to Goroka'

2. Axis: Included Clause

Gabriyel béré ra-n-ét
Gabriel pluralizer sit-apa-dest

'to where Gabriel and his family lived'

3. Axis: Specifier Noun Phrase

kwaalé kaabélé-ba neck river-loc

'at the source of the river'

4. Axis: Verbal Modified Noun Phrase

bét néwaa véti yé-n yaabu-ba they(d) mother two go-apa road-loc

'on the road where the two mothers went'

5. Axis: Modified Noun Phrase

dé-ku gayé-t he-pos village-dest

'to his village'

6. Axis: Co-ordinate Noun Phrase

'in the sébi and miyaa trees'

7. Axis: Modified Noun Phrase

<u>dé-ku</u> <u>yaapa-na</u> <u>yé-ba</u> he-pos father-pos name-loc

'in his father's name'

N.B. Morphophonemic rules (1.3) apply for changes in form of destinational clitic, that is - final vowel of stem + $\underline{6}$ loses $\underline{6}$

4.8.1.3 Supplement

+ Axis	+ Relator
non-personal modifying adjective interrogative name personal noun place name noun used as name personal noun personal pronoun interrogative pronoun any Noun Phrase post position pluralizer numeral quantifier	- <u>ét</u> (supplement)

The supplement clitic -ét, a homophonous form with the destinational clitic, also marks the Supplement slot of a clause. Supplement Axis-Relator Phrase expounds the Supplement slot and the Complement slot of General Stative, Abstract Stative and Impersonal Stative Clauses. The deep structure relationship is one of adding extra non-Subject information to the clause, as object, indirect object, instrument or emphasis. Supplement Axis-Relator Phrase embeds in Specifier Emphatic Axis-Relator Phrase.

Examples:

1. Axis: place name noun used as a name personal noun.

Japan-ét Japan-su 'the Japanese'

2. Axis: Connective Noun Phrase

Bawudu bét Ajéme-t
Baundu and Anjime-su 'Baundu and Anjime'

3. Axis: Kinship Noun Phrase

néwaa yaapa-t
mother father-su 'mother and father'

4. Axis: Specifier Noun Phrase

5. Axis: Serial Noun Phrase

naang kwaami yéknwun m-at sago meat good thing-su

'sago and meat, the good foods'

6. Axis: Appositional Noun Phrase

guné you(p1) Maprik du-t man-su 'to you Maprik men'

7. Axis: Pluralizer Noun Phrase

<u>du béré taakwa bér-at</u> man pluralizer woman pluralizer-su

'to the men and women'

8. Axis: personal pronoun

bén-at you(d)-su

'to you two'

N.B. For changes to shape of the supplement clitic see Morphophonemic rules (1.3).

 $-\underline{u} + -\underline{\acute{e}}$ changes to \underline{a} (except \underline{du} 'man' changes to \underline{dut}) final vowel of stem + $\underline{\acute{e}}$ loses $\underline{\acute{e}}$

4.8.1.4 Referential

+ Axis	+ Relator
interrogative numeral personal pronoun interrogative pronoun expanded pronoun demonstrative name personal noun any Noun Phrase Included Clause	- <u>ké</u> (referential)

The referential clitic -ké also marks the Referent slot of a clause. Referential Axis-Relator Phrase expounds the Referent slot in clauses, and it also embeds in Specifier Emphatic Axis-Relator Phrase. The deep structure relationship is referential, concerning somebody or something and also that of expressing indirect object or goal of the verb and benefactive, the verb being performed for someone else's benefit. Context determines which meaning is required.

Examples:

1. Axis: expanded pronoun demonstrative

wanikinan-ké 'about that one' that, one-ref

2. Axis: name personal noun

Bakénus-ké 'to Bakenus'
Bakenus-ref

3. Axis: Verbal Modified Noun Phrase

jébaa ya-kwa du-ké 'for the men who work' work do-apr man-ref

4. Axis: Included Clause

bakna té-guné-kwa-ké

just stand-you(p1)-apr-ref

'concerning your standing idly'

5. Axis: Appositional Noun Phrase with Item filled by Serial Noun Phrase and Comment filled by Verbal Modified Noun Phrase

nyaamé kupuk kaara vétik naktaba waga female three male two five like.that

 $\frac{\text{wakwe-té-n}}{\text{speak-we(d)-apa}}$ $\frac{\text{api-ké}}{\text{bird-ref}}$

'concerning the three females and two male birds, five altogether, that we spoke about'

6. Axis: personal pronoun

naané-ké we-ref 'for us'

4.8.1.5 Accompaniment

+ Axis	+ Relator		
personal pronoun interrogative pronoun name personal noun any Noun Phrase	wale 'with'		

The postposition wale 'with' is in double function as the exponent of the Relator slot of the Accompaniment Axis-Relator Phrase and the marker of the Accompaniment slot of a clause. The Accompaniment Axis-Relator Phrase fills the Accompaniment slot of a clause. The deep structural relationship is one of physical accompaniment of persons or things, or very occasionally of physical nearness. Nearness is usually expressed with a Verbal Modified Noun Phrase. The phrase may be repeated twice, substituting in meaning for a Serial Noun Phrase.

Examples:

1. Axis: personal pronoun

de wale with 'with them'

2. Axis: Appositional Noun Phrase

<u>wu-na</u> <u>du</u> <u>Ramukun</u> <u>wale</u> 'with my friend Ramukun' I-pos man Ramukun with

3. Axis: Modified Noun Phrase

<u>kaadé</u> <u>wale</u> 'with hunger, hungry'

4. Axis: Kinship Noun Phrase

némaadu older.sibling wayékna younger.sibling wale
'with (his) older and younger siblings'

5. Phrase repeated twice with Axis: Modified Noun Phrase

kudiyawaletépmaawalenaangwalewild.sugar.canewithcoconutwithsagowith

'(food made) with wild sugar cane, coconut and sago'

6. Axis: Modified Noun Phrase

 $\frac{\text{mi}}{\text{tree}}$ $\frac{\text{wale}}{\text{with}}$ 'near the tree'

4.8.2 Axis-determined

The exponent of the Axis slot or the Summary slot of the following group of phrases determines which phrase or clause level slot the phrase fills.

4.8.2.1	Summary	accompaniment
---------	---------	---------------

+ Summary	+ Axis	+ Relator
personal pronoun dual or plural only	name personal noun personal pronoun Modified Noun Phrase Connective NP	wale 'with'

The Summary Accompaniment Axis-Relator Phrase differs from other Axis-Relator Phrases by the obligatory additional Summary slot. The Summary Accompaniment Axis-Relator Phrase fills the same clause level slot as the personal pronoun filling the Summary slot fills. This is usually the Actor-subject slot but may also be any other clause level slot that a personal pronoun fills. The deep structural relationship is that of explaining who else apart from the single agent explained by the context was involved in the action.

Examples:

- 1. $\underbrace{\text{an\'e}}_{\text{we}(d)}$ $\underbrace{\text{taakwa}}_{\text{woman}}$ $\underbrace{\text{wale}}_{\text{with}}$ 'I and my wife'
- 2. $\frac{\text{an-at}}{\text{we}(d)-\text{su}}$ $\frac{\text{Kudama}}{\text{Kundama}}$ $\frac{\text{wale}}{\text{with}}$ 'Kundama and me'
- 3. $\frac{\text{b\'et}}{\text{they}(d)}$ $\frac{\text{Sani}}{\text{Sani}}$ $\frac{\text{wale}}{\text{with}}$ 'he and Sani'
- $\frac{\text{nan\'e}}{\text{we}(\text{pl})}$ $\frac{\text{Wulaga}}{\text{Wulanga}}$ $\frac{\text{b\'et}}{\text{and}}$ $\frac{\text{Mekweny}}{\text{Mekweny}}$ $\frac{\text{wale}}{\text{with}}$

'Wulanga, Mekweny and I'

4.8.2.2 Analogic

+ Axis	+ R	elator
adverb	pulak	'like'
temporal yaga 'what?'	maakna	'like'
adjective numeral	5	
quantifier 1-4 adverbial demonstrative		•
name personal noun personal pronoun		
interrogative pronoun any Noun Phrase except		
Interrogative Noun Phrase Serial Noun Phrase		
Differential Noun Phrase Name Noun Phrase		
Adjective Phrases		
Numeral Phrase Temporal Phrases		
Included Clause		

Axis slot is expounded by various words and phrases as listed above. The only interrogative that can expound the Axis is the interrogative 1 <u>yaga</u> 'what?'. The deep structure relationship is that of similarity or approximation.

When the Axis slot is filled by adjective, numeral, quantifier, Adjective Phrase or Numeral Phrase, the Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase fills slots within the Modified Noun or Verbal Modified Noun Phrases that these words in isolation or the words expounding the nuclear slots of the phrases, would fill. When the Axis slot is filled by adverbs, temporals, adverbial demonstratives, name personal nouns, Noun Phrases or Temporal Phrases, the Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase fills the clause level slots that these words in isolation or the words expounding the nuclear slots of the phrases would fill. When the Axis slot is filled by an Included Clause or personal pronoun, the Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase fills the Manner slot of a clause. When the Axis slot is filled by the interrogative yaga 'what?', the Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase fills the Interrogative slot of the Interrogative 2 Clause.

Owing to the very wide distribution of the Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase, it is not mentioned as an exponent of clause level slots apart from the Manner slot in the clause section of this paper, but is a potential filler of most

clause level slots

Examples:

1. Axis: Modified Noun Phrase

<u>kurabu</u> <u>pulak</u> 'like a ceremonial house' ceremonial.house like

2. Axis: Included Clause

wakwe-dé-n pulak 'in the way that he spoke' speak-he-apa like

3. Axis: Verbal Modified Noun Phrase

mun té-kwa maakna whatsisname stand-apr like

'standing like whatsisname'

4. Axis: Interrogative

yaga pulak 'how?' what like

5. Axis: adverbial demonstrative

waga pulak 'just like that' like that'

6. Axis: quantifier

nak pulak 'different' another like

7. Axis: adjective

gwaavé pulak 'reddish'

8. Axis: numeral

taaba vétik pulak hand two like

'about ten'

4.8.2.3 Specifier emphatic

+ Axis	+ Relator
temporal adjective numeral quantifier Modified Noun Phrase Verbal Modified Noun Phrase Supplement Axis-Relator Phrase Referential Axis-Relator Phrase	- <u>ba</u> (specifier emphatic)

The exponent of the Relator slot -ba is a homophonous form with the locative clitic. This phrase is not very frequently used. Because of its wide coverage, it is likely that most phrase types could expound the Axis slot, but only the above have been observed. The Specifier Emphatic Axis-Relator Phrase expounds the phrase or clause level slot that the word or phrase expounding the Axis slot would expound on its own. The phrase usually stands alone but may also expound the Axis slot of a Definitive Axis-Relator Phrase. The deep structural relationship is that of specifying and at the same time emphasizing.

Examples:

1. Axis: Supplement Axis-Relator Phrase

<u>bér-ét-ba</u> they(d)-su-spem 'only those particular two'

2. Axis: temporal

taale-ba first-spem

'at first, a long time ago'

3. Axis: adjective

wap-ba short-spem 'very short'

4. Axis: Modified Noun Phrase

<u>sayéké-ba</u> 'definitely only a cassowary' cassowary-spem

5. Axis: Verbal Modified Noun Phrase

<u>ya-da-n</u> <u>kus-ba</u> 'the particular magic do-they-apa magic-spem that they worked'

6. Axis: Supplement Axis-Relator Phrase

matu kulaa-t-ba 'only with ordinary stone axes'
stone knife-su-spem

7. Axis: Referential Axis-Relator Phrase

<u>kadému-ké-ba</u> 'particularly about food' food-ref-spem

8. Axis: Modified Noun Phrase

nak du taakwa-na mu-ba other man woman-pos thing-spem

'other peoples' things particularly'

4.8.2.4 Definitive

+ Axis	+ Relator
any word, phrase (except Accompaniment Axis-Relator Phrase and Summary Accompaniment Axis-Relator Phrase) or clause	male 'only' wawo 'also'

Any word, phrase or clause that has the semantic potential of being limited or increased may expound the Axis slot. However, Accompaniment Axis-Relator Phrase and Summary Accompaniment Axis-Relator Phrase have not been observed as Axis slot exponents, probably for reasons of euphony; that is, wale 'with' followed by male 'only' is probably inharmonious. The Definitive Axis-Relator Phrase expounds the phrase, clause or sentence level slot that the Axis exponent would expound if it stood alone. The

deep structural relationship is one of definition, either by limiting or inclusion. As almost any exponent can fill the Axis slot, this is not specifically indicated under the earlier description of each exponent.

Examples:

1. Axis: adverb

miték male 'only well' well only

2. Axis: temporal

bulaa male 'only today'
today only

3. Axis: adjective

gwaavé male 'only red'

4. Axis: quantifier

walkamu male 'only a few' only

5. Axis: personal pronoun

wuné wawo 'I also'

6. Axis: adverbial demonstrative

7. Axis: Verbal Modified Noun Phrase

<u>véknwu-ré-n</u> <u>taabé</u> <u>male</u> 'only the part that hear-I-apa part only I have heard'

(see Morphophonemics 1.3. $-\underline{wu} + -\underline{wu}$ becomes \underline{wu})

8. Axis: Referential Axis-Relator Phrase

rayés-ké wawo 'about rice also' rice-ref also

9. Axis: Specifier Emphatic Axis-Relator Phrase

10. Axis: Locative Axis-Relator Phrase

rékaa mi-ba male 'only on the dry trees' tree-loc only

11. Axis: General Clause

waan kut-takna-da-ran male ear put-comp 3-they-if only

'only if they put ears (on woven masks)'

4.8.3 Context-determined

The following two types of phrases fill phrase, clause or sentence level slots as determined by the context.

4.8.3.1 Possessive pronoun

+ Axis	+ Relator
Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase	- <u>n</u> possessive pronoun marker

This phrase usually refers back in context to a Modified Noun Phrase, either implied or stated. It frequently stands alone as a Fragmentary Sentence in response to a query regarding ownership. It embeds in Negative Axis-Relator Phrase and also expounds the Comment slot of Equative Clause and Subject and Supplement slots of General Clause. The Possessive Pronoun Axis-Relator Phrase functions as a possessive pronoun.

Examples:

- 1. <u>gu-naku-n</u> 2. <u>bét-ku-n</u> they(d)-pos-posp 'yours' 'theirs'
- 3. Banipi-na-n
 Banipi-pos-posp

 4. wani taakwa-na-n
 woman-pos-posp

 'Banipi's '
 'that woman's '

4.8.3.2 Negative

+ Axis	+ Relator		
adverb	kaapuk 'not'		
temporal			
locative	kapulek 'not'		
adjective			
numeral	1		
quantifier 1-4			
name personal noun			
personal pronoun			
any Noun Phrase except			
Interrogative NP			
Pluralizer NP			
Name NP			
Adjective Phrases			
Numeral Phrase			
Temporal Phrases			
Possessive Pronoun ARP			

A wide range of words and phrases expounds the Axis slot. Negative Axis-Relator Phrase frequently occurs as a Fragment-ary Sentence in response to a question or emphatic statement. It also expounds the Comment slot of Equative Clause.

Examples:

1. Axis: adverb

2. Axis: temporal

kwekére kaapuk séré kapulek tomorrow not

'not slowly' 'not tomorrow'

3. Axis: locative 4. Axis: adjective demonstrative

waba kaapuk good not

<u>waba kaapuk</u> good not there not

'not there'

5. Axis: numeral 6. Axis: quantifier

<u>kupuk kaapuk</u> three not <u>arigék kaapuk</u> many not

'not three' 'not many'

7. Axis: personal pronoun 8. Axis: Modified NP

'not him'
'not one talk, nothing to say'

9. Axis: Kinship Noun 10. Axis: Possessive Pronoun Phrase ARP

néwaa yaapa kaapuk dé-ku taakwa-na-n mother father not he-pos woman-pos-posp

'not (my) parents' <u>kaapuk</u> not

'not his wife's '

'not good'

A sub-type of this phrase occurs when temporal 3, wekna 'yet', expounds the Axis slot, in which case the order of the tagmemes is reversed.

11. <u>kaapuk</u> <u>wekna</u> not yet

'not yet'

5 CLAUSE

5.0 Introduction

A clause in Ambulas is defined as a construction in the grammatical hierarchy between phrase level and sentence level, which consists of one and only one predicate or predicate—like tagmeme and various other tagmemes. The clause typi—cally, but not always, expounds sentence level slots. Words and phrases typically expound clause level slots.

The Predicate slot may be expounded by a verb phrase, a Merged Sentence or a Sequence Sentence, which contains more than one verb, but these are held together by certain features into one unit and thus function as only one Predicate. Embedding, in the form of back-looping, is extensive within the Predicate of most Independent Clauses. Clauses also embed within phrases which fill clause level slots.

The Equative Clause has an obligatory Comment tagmeme which, in the absence of the Equative Predicate tagmeme, is functionally equivalent to the Predicate tagmeme, although neither tagmeme is manifested by verbs. Instead, Comment tagmeme is typically manifested by pronouns and Noun Phrases.

Apart from Predicate tagmeme, which is obligatory in a clause construction, there are some tagmemes which are obligatory or optional to certain clause types and mood and dependency multiplication categories. Such diagnostic tagmemes (Actor-subject, Complement, Object, Partitive, Imperative, Interrogative, Jussive, Subject, Intensifier, Negative) are considered nuclear to the clause because they show contrast in clause types and categories, and so are distinguishing features. These tagmemes, where relevant, are shown in the bidimensional arrays in sections 5.1 and 5.2; that is, for all Independent Clauses. Dependent Clauses have the same diagnostic tagmemes as Declarative Indicative Independent Clause, except for the Actor-subject tagmemes and so no arrays are shown in section 5.3.

Various peripheral tagmemes also occur, and, except where noted otherwise, can expand any clause type or category. These are not mentioned in the bidimensional arrays, unless they have special relevance, but are given in examples and further explained under section 5.5. These are Time, Location, Manner, Supplement, Referent, Focus, Subject and Accompaniment tagmemes.

There are 13 major types of clauses as shown in Chart I. These contrast in exponents of the Predicate slot, in the

number and type of nuclear tagmemes, and in their distribution within sentences and paragraphs.

CHART I
Clause Types

Category		Name	Abbreviation
verbal	specific	Stative General Abstract Personal Impersonal Meteorological Restricted Passive Quote Beginning Closing General	G St A St P St I St Met Res Pas B Q C Q G Q
		Direct	D Q
	non-	General	Gen
non-verbal	specific	Equative	Equ

There are 9 mood multiplication categories of Independent Clauses as shown on the horizontal parameter of Chart J. These contrast in the exponent of the Predicate and in their distribution within the paragraph. There are 9 dependency multiplication categories of Dependent Clauses as shown on the horizontal parameter of Chart K. Independent Clauses differ from Dependent Clauses in the exponent of the Predicate slot, the fewer number of tagmemes and in their distribution in higher level tagmemes.

CHART J

Independent Clauses- Mood Category

Mood	Indicative		Imperative		Interro- gative				
	Declarative	Denial	1		2	3	Jussive	1	2
Types			Aff	Neg					
G St	✓	✓	-	_	-	-	_	~	/
A St	✓	✓	✓	✓	\	_	✓	/	~
P St	✓	~	✓	/	✓	_	/	/	✓
I St	✓	Ý	-	-	-	_	_	✓	/
Met	V	✓	-	-	_	_	~	✓	✓
Res	✓	_	-	_	-	-	_	-	_
Pa s	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	_	✓	✓
В Q	\checkmark	?	✓	-	✓	_	_	-	✓
C Q	-	_	-	-	-	_	_	_	_
G Q	✓	✓	✓	✓	~	ı	_	✓	✓
D Q	✓	?	?	✓ ·	✓	-	?	✓	√
Gen	· ·	✓	✓	✓	√	✓ 	✓	V	✓
Equ	✓	-	-	-	-	-	_	✓	✓

√ = found - = not found ? = not found in text but
has been elicited

5.1 Declarative Independent Clauses

Independent clauses differ from Dependent clauses as follows:

Independent clauses expound the final base of all Complex Sentences except Reason and Perception (in which the order of the bases is reversed). They also expound two or more

bases of all Compound Sentences. Dependent Clauses usually expound initial or medial bases of Merged and Complex Sentences.

- 2. With all Independent Clauses except Equative, Denial and Imperative 1,2 and 3 Clauses the Actor-subject slot is 99% obligatory. This is because independent verbs, which expound the Predicate of these clauses, do not contain an actor suffix or same actor relational suffix, as do the dependent verbs. Actor-subject is the name given to the slot expounded by the personal pronoun or Pronoun Phrases, as distinct from the Subject slot which is optional and is expounded by a Noun Phrase or name personal noun.
- 3. Independent Clauses may take one, two or three tagmemes after the Predicate. Dependent Clauses may not take any.
- 4. Independent Clauses usually contain more tagmemes (average 3 4 in Narrative and Procedural Paragraphs) than Dependent Clauses (average 1 2 in Narrative and Procedural Paragraphs) and also contain much more embedding than Dependent Clauses.
- Predicate slot of Independent Clauses apart from Denial and Imperative Clauses, is expounded by an independent verb indicating tense. As future tense is expressed by the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence this sentence commonly backloops into the Predicate of all clauses except Denial and Imperative, unless noted otherwise. If the exponent of the Predicate is restricted as to verb class the exponent of the Predicate of the Intentive Same Actor Clause expounding the first base of the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence is similarly restricted.
- 6. Independent Clauses occur in isolation as Simple Sentences and thus can expound paragraph level bases.
- 7. Equative Clauses occur only in the Declarative Independent form.

The different clause types, as shown in Chart I, will be presented first, in the Declarative Indicative Independent mood. Nuclear slots only are given in bidimensional arrays. The multiplication of clauses along mood and dependency parameters, as indicated in Charts J and K, will be presented under the next two sections. All verbs in this

section are in the independent form unless otherwise stated. Examples are given with the names of the slots also given in abbreviated form.

5.1.1 Stative

Stative Clauses are distinguished from other clause types in that:

- 1. Predicate slot is mainly expounded by ya 'do'.
- 2. There is an obligatory Complement slot which is expounded by a limited set of abstract nouns or adjectives only, or by a Supplement Axis-Relator Phrase with one of these nouns or adjectives expounding the Axis slot.
- 3. Three of these clauses have an optional Intensifier slot with the accompanying change of the exponent of the Complement slot to a Supplement Axis-Relator Phrase.
- 4. Peripheral slots are rarely found.
- 5. Clauses tend to be short and embedding is rare.

There are four types of Stative Clauses, distinguished from one another on the basis of different exponents of the Stative and Actor-subject slots.

5.1.1.1 General

+ Complement	+ Actor-subject	+ Intensifier	+ Predicate
non-personal modifying adjective general modifying size adjective Supplement ARP	<u>d€</u> 'he'	kapére 'greatly' sépulak 'greatly'	<u>ya</u> 'do' *IAMS

Co-occurrence restriction: When Intensifier tagmeme occurs Complement slot is filled by Supplement Axis-Relator Phrase. with adjective expounding the Axis slot.

*See under 5.1 point 5 for limitation of Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence.

In this construction the verb is often in the past tense but applying to the present situation. As with most clause types the Predicate slot of this clause may be expounded by the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence, to express future tense. The Actor-subject and Complement slots may permute.

The General Stative Clause is heard frequently in everyday conversation, usually as a Simple Sentence.

Examples:

2. (C:Supplement RAP, As, I,P)

3. (C,As,P)

4. (C, As, P)

5. (C:Supplement ARP, As, I, P)

A sub-type of this clause has positional verbs expounding the Predicate slot. When the Predicate is so expounded, the Intensifier slot does not occur. So far only one example of this clause has been found and it applies only to coffee and to yam crops at a certain stage of ripeness.

5.1.1.2 Abstract

+ Complement	+ Actor-	+ Intensi-	+ Predi-	+ Refe-
	subject	fier	cate	rent
Modified NP with Head filled by abstract nouns 3 - 7 Supplement ARP with Axis filled by abstract nouns 3 - 7	personal pronoun Pronoun Phrases	kapére greatly' sépulak 'greatly'	<u>ya</u> 'do' *IAMS	Referen- tial ARP

*See under 5.1 point 5

The above order of tagmemes is the most common order. Complement and Actor-subject tagmemes may permute and Referent tagmeme may permute to an initial position. Embedding has been observed in the Predicate and Referent slots but not elsewhere. When Intensifier tagmeme occurs Complement slot is filled by Supplement Axis-Relator Phrase, with abstract nouns 3-7 expounding the Axis slot. When the Abstract Stative Clause expounds the Statement base of General Intentive Sentence neither the Referent nor the Intensifier tagmemes of the clause are present.

Abstract Stative Clause with class 7 abstract nouns expounding the Complement slot expounds the Gratitude Formula base of the Gratitude Paragraph.

- 1. (C, As, P)
 - <u>kélik</u> <u>naané</u> <u>y-o</u> 'we do not want (that)' unwillingness we do-pr
- 2. (As, C, I, P)
 - <u>lé</u> <u>wup-mét</u> <u>kapére</u> <u>ya-k</u> 'she was very afraid' she fear-su greatly do-pa

3. (R. C. As. I. P)

4. (T, S, R:Definitive ARP, As: Modified Pronoun Phrase, C,P)

bulaa taakwa kwaami-ké wawo de las mawulé now woman meat-ref also they some thought

<u>y-o</u> do-pr

'now some women want meat also'

5. (C, As, P, R: Modified Noun Phrase)

wulkiyaa de y-o wani jébaa-ké tiredness they do-pr that work-ref

'they are tired of that work'

5.1.1.3 Personal

+ Complement	+ Actor-subject	+ Predicate
personal modifying adjective general modifying adjective	personal pro- noun Pronoun Phrases	<u>ya</u> 'do' *IAMS
Modified NP Verbal Modified NP Interrogative NP		positional verbs *IAMS

^{*}See under 5.1 point 5

Complement and Actor-subject slots may permute. Occasionally peripheral slots are found in this clause. Back-looping occurs in Predicate slot and other embedding occurs in peripheral slots only. The Personal Stative Clause does not have the Intensifier tagmeme of other Stative Clauses.

Variant 2, where Noun Phrases and positional verbs cooccur, is held to be a Personal Stative Clause rather than a General Clause in that the exponent of the Complement slot cannot take the Supplement slot marker and so cannot be considered an exponent of the Supplement slot.

Examples:

1. (C, As, P)

<u>apa</u> <u>méné</u> <u>y-o</u> 'you are strong' strong you do-pr

- 2. (As, S, C, P: Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence)

'the children will be well'

3. (C, As, P)

<u>kapéredi</u> <u>lé</u> <u>ya-k</u> 'she was very sick' very badly she do-pa

Variant 2 with positional verbs and noun in Complement slot

- 1. (S:Verbal Modified Noun Phrase, C:Modified NP, As, P)
 - yéwaa kaapuk ya-n du kawi du de té-k money not do-apa man single man they stand-pa

'the men without money did not have wives'

2. (C, As, P)

baadi de r-o they sit-pr 'they are children'

5.1.1.4 Impersonal

+ Complement	+ Actor-	+ Intensi-	+ Predi-	+ Supple-
	subject	fier	cate	ment
Modified NP with abst- ract noun 1,2,3,5 Supplement ARP with abstract noun	<u>dé</u> 'he'	kapére 'greatly' sépulak 'greatly'	<u>ya</u> 'do' *IAMS	Supple- ment ARP

Co-occurrence restriction: When Intensifier tagmeme occurs Complement slot is filled by Supplement Axis-Relator Phrase, with abstract noun classes 1,2,3 or 5 expounding the Axis slot.

* See under 5.1. point 5 for limitation of IAMS.

Complement and Actor-subject slots may permute. Supplement slot may also permute to an initial position. Peripheral slots are rarely found. Backlooping occurs in the Predicate slot. No other forms of embedding have been observed in the four slots diagnostic of this clause type.

Examples:

- 1. (C.As.P)
 - <u>kiyakiya</u> <u>dé</u> <u>y-o</u> 'he is sick' sickness he do-pr
- 2. (C, As, P, Su)
 - <u>kaagél</u> <u>dé</u> <u>y-o</u> <u>lé-rét</u> 'she feels pain' pain he do-pr she-su
- 3. (C, As, P, Su)
- 4. (C, As, I, P, Su)
 - wid-at dé kapére y-o wun-at sleepiness-su he greatly do-pr I-su
 - 'I am very sleepy'
- N.B. A frequent variation to example 2 is formed by the use of a relational different actor partially consecutive verb followed by the personal pronoun, accompanied by sentence final stress (second last syllable) and intonation (falling). This is heard frequently in everyday conversation, and is categorized as a Colloquial Sentence.

<u>kaagél</u> <u>ya-dé-ka</u> <u>lé</u> 'she feels pain' pain do-he-ré she

5.1.2 Meteorological

The Meteorological Clause differs from other clauses in that:

- 1. Subject slot is obligatory.
- 2. Subject slot is expounded by a Modified Noun Phrase with Head expounded by temporal and meteorological nouns only, and occasionally with a Modifier slot.
- 3. Actor-subject slot, which is obligatory in other clause types, is obligatory in the Declarative Independent form which is shown in the bidimensional array but may occasionally be omitted sentence medially and be absent within the exponent of the Predicate slot also in dependent clauses.
- 4. Actor-subject exponent is always in 3rd person singular.
- 5. The construction usually contains only three slots and allows very limited phrase expansion within these slots.
- 6. The construction in its relational dependent form expounds the Time Margin of a sentence.
- 7. The construction optionally takes a Complement tagmeme.
- 8. Meteorological and factive verbs and Phrases and Merged Sentences containing these expound the Predicate slot.

+ Subject	+ Complement	+ Actor-subject	+ Predicate
Modified NP with mete- orological or tempo- ral nouns	non-personal modifying adjective	3rd (s) perso- nal pronoun	meteorolo- gical verb factive verb Inchoative Verb Ph Cessative Verb Ph *IAMS

^{*} See under 5.1. point 5

The Modified Noun Phrase expounding the Subject slot contains inanimate or meteorological inanimate nouns only expounding the Head slot and has one other tagmeme only, if any. Only two examples have been observed of the Complement slot being filled. Subject, Actor-subject and Predicate slots are obligatory while Complement slot is optional. Subject and Actor-subject slots may permute. There is a co-occurrence restriction between exponents of the Subject and Predicate slots (see under 3.5.1.2)

1. (S, As, P)

gaan dé ya-k 'it was night' night he do-pa

2. (As, S, P)

<u>dé</u> <u>yé</u> <u>ték-nék</u> 'dawn broke'
he predawn.darkness cease-pa

3. (S, C, As, P)

4. (L: Locative ARP, As, S: Modified NP, P)

<u>naa-na</u> <u>sépé-ba</u> <u>dé</u> <u>wani</u> <u>maas</u> <u>viyaa-k</u> we-pos skin-loc he that rain fall-pa

'that rain beat down upon us'

5.1.3 Restricted

The Restricted Clause differs from other clauses in that

- 1. It has only two tagmemes, both obligatory.
- Predicate slot is expounded by the factive verb, ya 'do' only.
- 3. It has distinctive distribution in that it expounds the Event slot of Aspectual Merged Sentences and the Reinforcement base of a Past Intentive Merged Sentence.

+ Actor-subject	+ Predicate	
personal pronoun	ya 'do'	

The Restricted Clause does not take embedding. Tagmemes permute when the verb is in the desiderative tense.

- 1. <u>naané</u> <u>ya-k</u> 'we did' we do-pa
- 2. wuné y-o 'I do'

3. <u>ya-ké 1é-k</u> 'she wants to do' do-des she-des

5.1.4 Passive

The Passive Clause differs from other clauses in that:

- 1. Predicate slot is expounded by passive verbs only and in the past tense.
- 2. Personal pronoun expounding the Actor-subject slot frequently takes the perfective suffix, -bu.
- 3. The clause is short, normally containing only the two slots, with no embedding in the slots.
- 4. Because the meaning corresponds to the passive voice this clause is called a passive clause, but there is no such voice distinction in Ambulas.

+ Actor-subject	+ Predicate		
personal pronoun, usually with perfective suffix	passive verb in past tense Inchoative Verb Ph		

All examples thus far have been heard only in reference to objects and these are usually referred to in the 3rd singular, whether they be one or many. One peripheral slot may occur.

- 1. <u>dé-bu yalak-nék</u> 2. <u>dé-bu sékérék-nék</u> he-per be.lost-pa 'it is lost' 'it is filled'
- 3. <u>dé-bu</u> <u>rép-mék</u> he-per be.broken, across-pa 'it is broken across'
- 4. dé-bu pusap-mék 5. (S, As, P)
 he-per be.broken-pa
 'they are broken (eggs)'

 agérap dé pulaap-mék plate he be.broken-pa
 'the plate is broken'

5.1.5 Quote

Quote Clauses are distinguished from other clause types in that:

- 1. Predicate slot is expounded by quote verbs only.
- 2. Beginning Quote and Closing Quote Clauses allow a limited number of slots and are usually very short.
- 3. Quote Clauses introduce or close off direct speech.
- 4. Direct Quote Clause contains an Object slot, which makes it distinctive from all other clause types.

5.1.5.1 Beginning

Beginning Quote Clause consists of two obligatory slots and optional peripheral slots. Because the Manner slot is limited as to exponents, it is also shown in the bidimensional array. The construction is usually short and limited to two or three slots. Backlooping occurs in the Predicate. No other embedding has been observed. The Beginning Quote Clause expounds the Quote Formula base of the Direct Quote Sentence.

<u>+</u> Manner	+ Actor-subject	+ Predicate
	personal pronoun Pronoun Phrases	quote verbs class 2 * IAMS

^{*} See under 5.1. point 5

Only quote verbs class 2 expound the Predicate. This is usually in the past tense because this clause is usually found in Narrative Paragraphs. Manner and other peripheral slots occur before or after the Actor-subject slot. Of the adverbial demonstratives, only <u>aga</u> and <u>kéga</u> may occur in this clause.

 $3. \quad (M, As, P)$

 $\frac{\text{k\'ega}}{\text{like.this}}$ $\frac{\text{d\'e}}{\text{he}}$ $\frac{\text{waata-k}}{\text{ask-pa}}$ 'he asked like this'

4. (As, Su, As, P: Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence)

méné de-rét méné wakwe-ké y-o you she-su you speak-int do-pr

'you will tell her'

5. (As, S: Pluralizer NP, P)

de du béré taakwa béré wa-k they man pluralizer woman pluralizer say-pa

'the men and women said'

6. (As, S, Su, P)

 $\begin{array}{cccc} \underline{\text{d\'e}} & \underline{\text{War\'etarat}} & \underline{\text{wun-at}} & \underline{\text{wa-k}} \\ \text{he} & \overline{\text{Waretarat}} & \overline{\text{I-su}} & \overline{\text{say-pa}} \end{array}$

'Waretarat said to me'

5.1.5.2 Closing

There is no Declarative Indicative type of Closing Quote Clause. Indeed, there is no Independent type of this clause. The only occurrences are under a few dependent categories as listed below. The clause is restricted to Predicate only and the Predicate slot is filled by quote verb class 1 only. Its distribution varies according to its dependency type. As this clause is so limited all the different dependency types will be described here.

+ Predicate

naa 'talk, think, want, intend'

Examples:

Relational Same Actor Closing Quote Clause

1. <u>naa-te</u> 'was talking and' talk-r3

This variant expounds the Recapitulation base of the Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence.

It also functions as an alternative way (apart from the Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence) of closing a Direct Quote Sentence within a Series Merged Sentence and then acts as a sentence link in Narrative, Execution and Dialogue Paragraphs.

2. <u>na-e</u> 'thought and' think, intend-r1

This variant expounds the Intentive base of the Past Intentive Merged Sentence, the Intent base of the Past Intentive Sentence and the Mental Quote Formula base of the Mental Quote Sentence.

3. <u>naa-takne</u> 'talked, thought, and then' talk, think-r2

This variant also expounds the Mental Quote Formula base of a Mental Quote Sentence. It also functions as an alternative way of closing a Direct Quote Sentence within a Series Merged Sentence and then acts as a sentence link in Narrative, Execution and Dialogue Paragraphs.

Relational Different Actor Closing Quote Clause

1. <u>naa-dé-ka</u> 'he was talking and' talk-he-r6

This clause is an alternative way of closing a Direct Quote Sentence within a Sequence Sentence and then acts as a sentence link in Narrative, Execution and Dialogue Paragraphs.

Conditional Closing Quote Clause

1. <u>naa-méné-ran</u> 'if you talk' talk-you-if

This clause is an alternative way of closing a Direct Quote Sentence within a Conditional Sentence.

Accessory Closing Quote Clause

1. <u>naa-da-n</u> think-they-apa

'they thought'

This clause expounds the Mistaken Impression Quote Formula base of the Mistaken Impression Sentence.

There are no occurrences of Intentive Closing Quote Clause.

5.1.5.3 General

The General Quote Clause consists of an obligatory Actorsubject slot, an obligatory Predicate slot and optional peripheral slots. Peripheral slots may occur after the Predicate but usually occur before. The Predicate slot is expounded by class 2 and 3 quote verbs. Backlooping occurs in the Predicate. No other form of embedding has been observed.

General Quote Clause

+ Actor-subject	+ Manner	+ Predicate
personal pronoun Pronoun Phrases		quote verbs class 2,3 Inchoative Verb Ph IAMS*

^{*} See under 5.1. point 5.

Variant 2 of this clause expounds the Quote Formula base of the Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence, has an optional Manner slot filled by <u>waga</u> 'like that' and is usually short with few, if any, peripheral slots.

Variant 1 is an alternative way of closing a Direct Quote Sentence, apart from the Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence or a Closing Quote Clause (all exponents of the Closure base of Reported Speech Paragraph), and in this usage it is usually very short and may act in double function as a sentence link within Narrative, Execution or Dialogue Paragraphs. When used as an Independent Clause concluding speech, it must contain waga 'like that'. It also has a more general use in which case there may be several peripheral slots.

Variant 3 is also usually short but is different from the preceding variants in that the Manner tagmeme does not occur and it expounds the Quote Formula base of an Indirect Quote Sentence, and Reinforcement base of Past Intentive Merged Sentence.

Variant 1 Examples:

1. (T, M, As, Ac: Accompaniment ARP, Su: Appositional NP, P: IAMS)

kukba tépa wuné bét wale kudi apa kudi later again I they(d) with talk big talk

bul-ké wuné y-o talk-int I do-pr

'Later I will again have a big discussion with them'

2. (R: Referential ARP, P: IAMS with As (Actor-subject submerged), Su)

 $\begin{array}{c|ccccc} \underline{k\acute{e}ni} & \underline{mu-k\acute{e}} & \underline{waata-k\acute{e}} & \underline{wun\acute{e}} & \underline{m\acute{e}n-at} \\ \hline this & thing-ref & ask-int & I & you-su \end{array}$

'I will ask you about this thing'

3. (As, P)

Variant 2 Examples:

1. (As, M, P)

 $\begin{array}{cccc} \underline{\text{d}\acute{e}} & \underline{\text{waga}} & \underline{\text{wa-k}} & \text{'he said that'} \\ \text{he like.that say-pa} & \end{array}$

2. (As, P, S)

 $\frac{1\acute{e}}{\text{she}}$ $\frac{\text{wa-k}}{\text{say-pa}}$ $\frac{Y\acute{e}1\text{asiyu}}{Y_{\dot{1}}1\text{asiyu}}$ 'Yilasiyu said'

3. (M, As, Su, P)

waga dé lé-rét waati-k 'he rebuked her like that'

Variant 3 Examples:

1. (As,P)

wuné wakwe-k I speak-pa

'I spoke'

5.1.5.4 Direct

The Direct Quote Clause consists of three obligatory slots, Actor-subject, Object and Predicate and optional peripheral slots.

It is distinct from all other clause types by the Object slot, which, in Sub-type 1, is expounded by short direct speech. Only words, phrases or clauses have been found in this slot. This clause is further distinct from other Quote clauses by the exponents of the Predicate slot.

	+ Actor-subject	+ Object	+ Predicate
Sub-type 1	personal pronoun	short utterance	quote verb classes 1,2 IAMS
Sub-type 2		Modified NP with abstract noun 8 as head	quote verb 1

The Actor-subject slots may be repeated after the Object. Peripheral slots usually occur before the three obligatory slots and one slot may occur afterwards. Although quote verbs class 2 also expound the Predicate slot, the quote verb class 1, naa 'say' is by far the most common. Backlooping occurs in the Predicate. No other embedding has been observed in this clause.

The Direct Quote Clause is distinguished from the Direct Quote Sentence by the use of <u>naa</u> 'say' in the Predicate slot, the occurrence of the utterance before the quote verb, the variety of dependence allowed in the quote verb (in Direct Quote Sentences the verb is in the dependent conditional or independent form only) and the verb used in the Predicate of the following clause when used as a linking device in Narrative Paragraphs, in which case the Direct Quote Clause, when it occurs sentence final is usually followed by a clause with the Predicate expounded by <u>ya</u> 'do'. When quote verbs, class 2, expound the Predicate slot the Direct Quote Clause is distinguished from the Direct Quote Sentence by the other

factors mentioned above.

The Direct Quote Clause expounds bases of sentences in Narrative Paragraphs.

Examples:

Sub-type 1

1. (0. As. P. Su)

<u>i i i i 1é</u> wakwe-k dé-rét Eeee... she speak-pa he-su

' "Eeee...," she said to him.'

2. (As, L. O, P)

<u>lé</u> <u>awula-ba</u> <u>pak</u> <u>pak</u> <u>naa-k</u> she inside-loc pak pak say-pa

'she from the inside (of tree) said, "Pak pak." '(bird call)

3. (As, L, 0, P, S)

<u>dé</u> <u>wiyaku</u> <u>gaalé-ba</u> <u>wilang</u> <u>wilang</u> <u>waa-k</u> he tree.species branch-loc wilang wilang call-pa

kwaaru

lory

'the lory (bird) on the wiyaku branch called, "Wilang, wilang." ' (bird call)

4. (As, O, As, P)

de Nowa de naa-k 'they said, "Noah." 'they said, "Noah." '

5. The following example with a clause expounding the Object slot was found only with a dependent relational verb and thus as a Relational Different Actor Dependent Clause but it seems that this would also be acceptable as an independent clause.

(As. 0. P)

dé rayés mé pukaa naa-dé-ka he rice imp plant say-he-ré

'he was saying, "Plant rice" and ... '

Sub-type 2

1. (S, L:Locative ARP, As, O, P)

gu wani nyédé-ba dé vét naa-k water that place-loc he calmness do-pa

'water was quiet in that place'

2. (As. O. As. P)

de gut de naa-k 'they were angry' they anger they do-pa

5.1.6 General

The General Clause is distinguished from other clauses as follows:

- 1. Apart from those verbs which are peculiar to Stative, Meteorological, Passive and Quote Clauses, any verb, including the factive and positional verbs, may expound the Predicate slot.
- 2. The General Clause is capable of much greater expansion, including a greater number of tagmemes and greater expansion within tagmemes, than other clauses. This includes much embedding and backlooping from the Sentence level.

It will be noted that, in this analysis, no allowance has been made for the traditional distinction between Transitive, Intransitive, Di-transitive and Motion Clauses. There is a correlation between the optional occurrence of the Supplement slot, Referent slot and Location slot and a particular set of verbs in the Predicate slot. However, this restriction is considered to be semantic rather then structural since this distinction does not appear elsewhere.

The General Clause has two obligatory tagmemes and many optional peripheral tagmemes. Peripheral slots may occur between the Actor-subject and the Predicate slots, also preceding the Actor-subject slot and up to three may occur after the Predicate. Actor-subject slot may be repeated two

or three times.

+ Actor-subject	+ Predicate
personal pronoun *pro-pronoun Pronoun Phrases Summary Accompaniment ARP	perception verb contrary intentive verb factive verb positional verb motion verb general verb Verb phrases IAMS Ferent Merged Sentence Series Merged Sentence Past Intentive Sentence

^{*} pro-pronoun co-occurs with positional verbs in vivid present tense.

The General Clause is the most frequently used clause and is found in most Sentence types. Much embedding occurs.

Examples:

1. (As, P)

- 2. (As, A, As, Su, P)
 - <u>de Nyamikém de Jame-t viyaa-k</u> they Nyamikum they Jame-su strike-pa

'the Nyamikum people struck the Jame people'

3. (As, M, M, P)

naané tépa waga male y-o we again like that only do-pr

'we again do only like that'

- 4. (As, Su, P, Su)
 - <u>de</u> <u>baagé</u> <u>viyaa-k</u> <u>baadi-t</u> they stick strike-pa children-su
 - 'they struck the children with sticks'
- 5. (As, L, As, P)
 - <u>naané</u> <u>kurabu</u> <u>gwés-ba</u> <u>naané</u> <u>ra-k</u> we ceremonial.house door-loc we sit-pa
 - 'we sat in the doorway of the ceremonial house'
- 6. (As, M: Analogic ARP with Included Clause, P)
 - <u>naané</u> <u>wakwe-dé-n</u> <u>pulak</u> <u>ya-k</u> we <u>speak-he-apa</u> like do-pa
 - 'we did as he directed'
- 7. (T, As, P, Su, L)
 - <u>sérak</u> <u>sérak</u> <u>de</u> <u>kéti-yu</u> <u>méjaa</u> <u>Kumim-ba</u> next.day next.day they dance-pr dance.type Kumim-loc
 - 'every day they dance the méjaa dance at Kumim'
- 8. (As, Su, P:Series Merged Sentence, M, L:Modified NP)
 - de <u>las gwaamal-e kur-e yé-k tépa deku</u> they some return-ri hold-ri go-pa again their
 - gayé-t
 village-dest 'they take some back again to their
 village'
- 9. (S:Definitive ARP, As, Su, P)
 - naana <u>du male de waapi yaata-k</u> our man only they yam carry-pa
 - 'only our men carried yams'

10. (As, Ac:Accompaniment ARP, Su, P:IAMS)

guné de wale waapi viyaakéréng-ké y-o do-pr
'you with them will parade the yams'

- 11. (As, L, Su, P)

 16 matu-ba kwati takugéru-k
 she stone-loc knee bump-pa

 'she bumped her knee on a stone'
- 12. (As, S:Modified NP, R, P:Series Merged Sentence)

 dé Kakudi-na baalé yaap-ké kiya-e ra-k
 he Kakundi-pos pig breath-ref die-r1 sit-pa

 'Kakundi's pig was winded'
- 13. (S:Verbal Modified NP, M, As, P)

 wani baalé yaag-e yé-dé-n miték dé t-u
 that pig run-r1 do-he-apa well he stand-pr

 'that pig that ran away is well'
- 14. (As:Definitive ARP, As, R, Su, P)

 wuné male wuné bét-ké sébéra vé-k

 T only I was considerate towards them'
- 15. (As, S, Ac:Accompaniment ARP, P)

 dé Yébaalé ané wale yaa-k
 he Yimbale we(d) with come-pa

 'Yimbale came with us'

16. (F. S: Verbal Modified NP. As. P)

wan kapéredi tépu kétkiya waasa-t kwayé-wuré-kwa focus very.bad scabies itch dog-su give-I-apr

agérap dé r-o plate he sit-pr

'the plate that I give to that dog with very bad scabies, that plate is here'

17. (F, Su:Modified NP, As, P)

kén apa jébaa naané ya-k focus big work we do-pa

'this is big work that we do'

18. (As, P:Series Merged Sentence)

naané taalé nébul-e rayés pukaa-ké y-o we place clear-ri rice plant-int do-pr

'we will clear the area and plant rice'

19. (As. P:Ferent Merged Sentence)

1é gwalmu las kur-e yaa-tiyaa-ké y-o she cargo some hold-r1 come-ben 1-int do-pr

'it (plane) will bring some cargo for us'

20. (S:Co-ord NP, L, As, P)

<u>baalé</u> <u>waasa</u> <u>gu-ba</u> <u>de-wa</u> <u>kiyaa-sada-kwa</u> pig dog water-loc they-there die-all-vpr

'the pigs and dogs are all drowning in the water'

21. (S. As. L. M. P:Series Merged Sentence)

kat 16-wa ada aga gwaamal-e dawuli-kwa car she-there down like.this return-r1 go.down-apr

'the car is going down backwards like this'

22. (S:Modified NP, As, P)

mayé las ké ra-kwa taro some here sit-vpr

'here is some taro'

5.1.7 Equative

The Equative Clause differs from all other clause types in that there is no verb and hence no Predicate tagmeme and consequently, there are no independent and dependent subcategories. Topic 1 and Comment tagmemes are obligatory. Comment tagmeme functions as a Predicate-like tagmeme and is manifested by various items as shown in the array below. There is an optional second Topic tagmeme and an optional Time tagmeme. No other tagmemes have been observed in this clause type. The clause is usually short and has little embedding and that usually within phrases only. The clause can be made interrogative by the use of intonation (yes-no interrogative) or by the addition of an interrogative word but with no accompanying Partitive tagmeme, as in the Interrogative Clauses. Therefore the interrogative form is incorporated into the general form of the Equative Clause. deep structural relationship is that of equation and, occas-The Equative Clause usually stands alone ionally, possession. as a Simple Sentence. Because of its lack of verbal structure, it does not usually occur within Narrative or Procedural Paragraphs but occurs frequently in direct speech and within paragraphs filling the Comment tagmeme of Narrative and Procedural Discourse. It also expounds bases in paragraphs which are linked by juxtaposition.

Equative Clause

+ Time	+ Topic 1	+ Comment	+ Topic 2
tem- poral	interrogative locative adjective personal pronoun name personal noun pronoun demonstrative Adjective Phrases Noun Phrases except Differential NP Name NP	negative adjective personal pronoun interrogative pronoun expanded pronoun demonstrative locative demonstrative interrogative name personal noun Noun Phrases except Serial NP Pluralizer NP Differential NP Name NP Adjective Phrases Possessive Pronoun ARP Negative ARP	personal pronoun

Examples:

1. (Topic, Comment: Modified NP)

wan kiyadé-na kayékni that who-pos reflection

'whose reflection is that?'

2. (Topic:Modified NP, Comment)

wu-na kayékni dé-wan I-pos reflection he-that

'that is my reflection'

3. (Topic, Comment: Modified NP)

wuné mé-na taakwa nyaan I you-pos woman child 'I am your daughter'

4. (Topic, Comment)

<u>api</u> <u>kaapuk</u> bird no 'there are no birds'

5. (Topic:Co-ordinate NP, Comment:Definitive ARP)

tékét kavi-na-kwa bayé kavi-na-kwa wani facade paint-we-apr sago.rib paint-we-apr that

'the facade that we paint and the sago rib that we paint are that previously mentioned black and red only'

6. (Topic, Comment: Modified NP)

de arigék waapi 'they have many yams' they many yam

7. (T, Topic, Comment)

déknyényba vi kaapuk 'previously there were previously spear no no spears'

- 8. wuné gwalepa du wuné 'I, I am an old man'
- 9. (Topic: Modified NP, Comment: Modified NP)

<u>nak kaabélé gol kwaa-kwa kaabélé</u> another river gold lie-apr river

'another river is a river that has gold in it'

10. (Topic:Definitive ARP, Comment:Definitive ARP)

rayés wawo waga male 'rice also is just rice also like that'

11. (Topic, Comment: Negative ARP)

wan yéknwun kaapuk 'that is not good' that good not

A sub-type of the Equative Clause has an Equative Predicate slot expounded by a pronoun demonstrative or an adjectival demonstrative inserted between the Topic and Comment slots. As its occurrence is rare this is posited as a sub-

type rather than presenting it as an optional slot in the Equative Clause.

Examples:

 (Topic:Specifier NP, Equative Predicate, Comment:Modified NP)

kus mayéra wan kapéredi mu sorcery that very bad thing

'sorcery is a very bad thing'

2. (Topic: Modified NP, Equative Predicate, Comment)

wani ban wani dé
that person that he
'that's him'

5.2 Other Independent Clauses

Non-Declarative Independent Clauses following the Mood Parameter (see Chart J) will now be discussed. A sample selection only of clause types is given under each Mood category. Non-Declarative Independent Clauses have the same type parameter as Declarative Independent Clauses, with the exception that there is no equative contrast. They have the same contrast in the exponents of the Predicate slot and in the diagnostic tagmemes. Non-Declarative Independent Clauses distinguish between Denial, Imperative 1,2 and 3 and Jussive, and Interrogative 1 and 2 Clauses. These clauses contrast in the exponents of the Predicate, in diagnostic tagmemes and in distribution.

Other Independent Clauses differ from Declarative Indicative Independent Clauses as follows:

- 1. Imperative Independent Clauses are distinguished by the optional Imperative tagmeme, the optionality of the Actor-subject tagmeme, the different morphology of the exponent of the Predicate slot (verb stem, relational different actor future verb or independent verb in present tense only) and the optional Partitive tagmeme.
- 2. Interrogative Independent Clauses are distinguished by obligatory Intonation tagmeme or Interrogative tagmeme and the optional Partitive tagmeme.
- 3. Denial Independent Clause is distinguished by the obligatory Negative tagmeme, the optionality of the Actor-subject tagmeme, the morphology of the verb expounding the Predicate slot and the optional Partitive tagmeme.

- 4. Declarative Indicative Independent Clauses contain more peripheral slots than other Independent Clauses.
- 5. Declarative Indicative Independent Clauses have a much wider distribution, occurring in all Sentence types and all Paragraph types.
- 6. Declarative Indicative Independent Clauses express tense, whereas other Independent Clauses, apart from Denial Clause, express mood rather than tense.
- 7. Declarative Indicative Independent Clauses have dependent counterparts.

5.2.1 Denial

± Actor- subject	+ Partitive	+ Negative	+ Predicate
personal pronoun	<u>las</u> (par)	kaapuk 'not' kapulek 'not'	accessory verb Merged Sentence ending with accessory verb Sequence Sentence ending with accessory verb (present, past tense only)

This construction occurs in present and past tenses only. Fillers of the non-Predicate slots are limited and do not allow any embedding or expansion. The Predicate slot may have a lengthy exponent, with embedding of Series or Sequence Sentence. Peripheral slots may occur, usually preceding the nuclear slots given, but occasionally immediately preceding the Predicate.

The Denial Clause expounds the Negative base of Negative Paraphrase Paragraphs. It is also often heard in casual conversation in response to a question. Apart from these instances it is not used much and seems to follow a similar pattern to the use of the affirmative accessory verb in that it is used mainly to describe events outside the theme or chronology line.

All clauses which semantically can be made negative can be negativized by the use of the Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence or Negative Aspectual Clause when verb stem expounds Predicate (see 3.5.4). Clauses containing the factive verb ya 'do' can alternatively be negativized by the addition of the negative kaapuk 'not' preceding the Predicate and with no other change.

Examples:

- 1. <u>kaapuk naané ya-k</u> 'we did not do' not we do-pa
- 2. <u>kaapuk ya-n-o</u> 'let us not do' do-we-r7

(in the above case this can only be distinguished semantically from Cessative Verb Phrase)

The Denial Clause is a third way of negativizing, but its use is more restricted, as indicated above.

Examples:

- 1. Abstract Stative
 - wup kaapuk ya-da-kwa 'they are not afraid' fear not do-they-apr
- 2. Meteorological (S. N. P)

maas kaapuk viyaa-dé-n rain not fall.heavily-he-apa

'it did not rain heavily'

3. General Quote (Su, Par, N, P)

<u>lé-rét</u> <u>las kaapuk</u> <u>wakwe-lé-n</u> she-su par not speak-she-apa

'she did not speak to her at all'

4. General (As. Par. N. P)

naané las kaapuk kutdéng-na-n we par not know-we-apa

'we do not know' (past tense of 'know' seems to encode present knowledge)

5. (N, Par, P)

<u>kaapuk</u> <u>las</u> <u>vé-wuré-n</u> 'I have not seen (him)' not par see-I-apa

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6. (N. M. P:Simultaneous Motion Verb Phrase)

<u>kaapuk</u> <u>tépa</u> <u>yaag-e</u> <u>yé-da-n</u> 'they did not run not again run-r1 go-they-apa away again'

7. (Su. Par. N. P)

<u>jébaa</u> <u>las</u> <u>kaapuk</u> <u>ya-guné-kwa</u> 'you do not do work par not do-you(pl)-apr any work'

8. (Su. N. P:Sequence Sentence)

naan-at kaapuk yakwatnyé-da-ka nyéga nyaap ya-na-n we-su not teach-they-ré paper picture do-we-apa

'they did not teach us to read'

5.2.2 Imperative

The optional Imperative tagmeme is a distinctive feature of all Imperative Clauses. Imperative Clauses sub-divide into Imperative 1, Imperative 2, Imperative 3 and Jussive Clauses. Imperative 1 Clauses further sub-divide into Affirmative and Negative.

Imperative Clauses are one way of encoding a command or wish. A more usual way, with no apparent difference in meaning or politeness (although it has been noted that imperatives tend to be used more between peers or from an older or more important person to younger or less important people), is to use the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence, usually with the Actor-subject tagmeme occurring in the Immediacy base rather than the Event base. More subtle ways of expressing a command are by use of the Quotation Paragraph, the Simple Sentence containing a quote verb and a purpose margin, the Conditional Sentence and the Contrast Paragraph containing the antonyms, mawulé ya 'want' and kélik ya 'don't want', particularly when these occur in Hortatory Discourse.

5.2.2.1 Affirmative Imperative 1

Affirmative Imperative 1 Clause is distinctive in that the exponent of the Predicate slot is a verb stem only, used with Sentence final intonation, and in that the Actorsubject is restricted to 2nd person pronoun.

+ Actor-subject	<u>+</u> Partitive	<u>+</u> Imperative	+ Predicate
2nd person pronoun Pronoun Phrases	<u>las</u> (par)	<u>mé</u> (imp)	verb stem Series Merged Sentence ending with verb stem

The 2nd person pronoun only expounds the Actor-subject slot. The optional slots vary in order. Peripheral slots may be interspersed and one may follow the Predicate. Series Merged Sentence may embed in the Predicate. The construction is usually quite short. It usually stands alone as a Simple Sentence. It occurs in casual conversation and within Hortatory Discourse.

Examples:

1. Personal Stative (C, Imp, P)

<u>apa</u> <u>mé</u> <u>ya</u> 'be strong'

2. Beginning Quote (Su, Imp, P)

<u>dé-rét</u> <u>mé</u> <u>wa</u> 'say to him' he-su imp say

3. General Quote (M, Imp, P)

tépa <u>mé</u> <u>wakwe</u> 'speak again' again imp speak

4. General (As, Par, Imp, P, S)

guné las mé véknwu du 'you men, listen' you(pl) par imp hear man

5. (Su, M, Imp, P)

wu-na yéwaa tépa mé wuré-tiyaa I-pos ring again imp hold-ben 1

'hold my rings again for me'

6. (Imp, P:Series Merged Sentence)

mé jaar-e gu yaaku-takna imp take.out.of.bag water wash-comp 3

'take (the child) out of the bag and wash (him)'

7. (P:Series Merged Sentence)

<u>yaala tu-we</u> <u>ka</u> 'come and bake and eat' come bake-r1 eat

5.2.2.2 Negative Imperative 1

Negative Imperative 1 Clause differs from Affirmative Imperative 1 Clause in the obligatory absence of the Imperative tagmeme and in the use of the negative verb expounding the Predicate slot. Negative Imperative 1 Clause also tends to be shorter than Affirmative Imperative 1 Clause. No embedding has been observed in this clause. This construction usually stands alone as a Simple Sentence. It occurs in casual conversation and in Hortatory Discourse.

+ Actor-subject	+ Predicate	
2nd person pronoun	negative verb	

Peripheral slots usually precede Actor-subject. Actor-subject slot is rarely expounded.

Examples:

1. Abstract Stative (As, C, P)

guné wup ya-marék 'don't be afraid' you(pl) fear do-not

2. Direct Quote (0, P)

arigék jébaa ya-na-kwa naa-marék much work do-we-apr say-not

'don't say, "We have a lot of work." '

3. General (Su, P) 4. (L, P)

dé-rét viyaa-bak he-su strike-not waba véknwu-marék hear-not

5. (T, L, P)

<u>séré</u> <u>kénét</u> <u>yaala-kaapuk</u> tomorrow here tomorrow'

'don't strike him'

6. (P)

dawuli-marék go.down-not 'don't go down'

'don't listen there'

5.2.2.3 Imperative 2

Imperative 2 Clause differs from Imperative 1 Clause in that the Predicate is expounded by a relational different actor verb or a variant form, the Actor-subject is in 1st or 2nd person and the clause is made negative by the use of the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence containing a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence. These clauses also tend to be longer than Imperative 1 Clauses and to take frequent embedding. They encode a different, and perhaps more polite, way of expressing a command. They also occur frequently in casual conversation and in Hortatory Discourse.

+ Partitive	+ Actor-subject	+	Imperative	+ Predicate
las (par)	1st & 2nd person pronouns Pronoun Phrases	mé	(imp)	relational different actor future verb IAMS desiderative verb Series Merged Sentence Sequence Sentence ending with r7 verb, desiderat- ive verb or IAMS

The relational different actor future (r7) verb with sentence final intonation is the most striking feature of this construction. When the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence or the desiderative verb expounds the Predicate the clause is considered to be imperative only if one of the other nuclear slots is filled. Peripheral slots also occur preceding or interspersed among the optional nuclear slots. One peripheral slot may follow the Predicate.

Examples:

1. General Quote (Su, As, Par, P)

2. (Imp, P: Sequence Sentence ending with IAMS)

<u>kudi nak</u> <u>wakwe-ké</u> <u>wuné</u> talk another speak-int I

'you come and gather and let me speak to you'

3. General (M, Imp, P) 4. (P)

akélak mé ra-n-o yé-n-o go-we-r7

'let us sit quietly' 'let us go'

5. (Imp, P: Series Merged Sentence with final Series base expounded by IAMS)

mé yé gwaad-e béné bapa-ba vélé-ké y-o fell-int do-pr
'you two go off and fell the tree at its base'

6. (Su, Imp, P: Sequence Sentence ending with desiderative verb)

vi nak mé yé gi-kwe-mén-u dawuli r-e spear one imp go tie-ben 2-you-r7 go.down sit-ri

sayéké viyaa-tiyaa-d-u b**aak-ne** ka-ké strike-ben 1-he-r7 steam.cook-r1 cassowary

wuné-k I-des

'you go and make a spear for him and let him go down and sit and kill the cassowary and let me steam-cook and eat (it)'

7. (Par, P: Sequence Sentence)

<u>saapé-wur-u</u> <u>véknwu-mén-u</u> hear-you-r7

'let me tell and you listen'

(Su. Par. As. P) 8.

<u>las</u> <u>ané</u> <u>we(d)</u> <u>kut-kwe-t-u</u> hold-ben 2-we(d)-r7

'let us hold the children (only two children involved in story)'

5.2.2.4 Imperative 3

The Imperative 3 Clause differs from the other two types of Imperative Clauses in that there is an obligatory Supplement slot, the Predicate is expounded by motion verbs only in the accessory present form and there is no Partitive tagmeme. Series Merged Sentences ending with an accessory present verb may embed in the Predicate. This construction is limited to 2nd person pronouns, which expound both the Actor-subject slot and the Supplement slot. This construction seems to encode a more abrupt way of ordering someone to leave and is heard occasionally in casual conversation.

<u>+</u> Actor-subject	+ Imperative	+ Predicate	+ Supplement
2nd person pronoun	<u>mé</u> (imp)	motion verb in accessory present Series Merged Sentence ending with motion verb in accessory present	2nd person pronoun

The only peripheral slot observed is the Manner slot, preceding the nuclear slots.

Examples:

1. (As, Imp, P, Su)

nyéné mé yé-kwa nyén-at 'you clear out' you(f s) imp go-apr you(f s)-su

2. (Imp, P: Series Merged Sentence, Su)

mé giyaa yaag-e yé-kwa mén-at imp come.down run-r1 go-apr you-su

'you come down and run off'

3. (Imp, P, Su)

mé dayé-kwa mén-at imp go.downstream-apr you-su

'you be off downstream'

4. A sub-type has a variant form (perhaps an imperative variant of the accessory present verb) and no Supplement tagmeme.

(M, Imp, P)

<u>bari</u> <u>mé</u> <u>wayé-kwak</u> 'quickly go upstream' quickly imp go.upstream-imp

5.2.2.5 Jussive

Jussive Clause differs from other Imperative Clauses in that the Actor-subject tagmeme is obligatory, the Imperative tagmeme is obligatory, there is an optional Jussive tagmeme, and the Predicate slot is filled by a verb in the present tense or an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence or the verb stem plus yékwak. This clause is limited to 3rd person pronouns only as exponents of the Actor-subject slot.

The clause is usually short, with the only embedding that of the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence in the Predicate. The clause is infrequently used. It is heard in casual conversation and occasionally in Hortatory Discourse.

+ Partitive	+ Actor-subject	+ Imperative	<u>+</u> Jussive	+ Predicate
<u>las</u> (par)	3rd person pronoun	<u>mé</u> (imp)	- <u>ku</u> (jus)	verb in present tense IAMS verb stem + yékwak

The Jussive tagmeme may follow either the Actor-subject or Imperative slot with no apparent change in meaning. The only peripheral tagmeme observed is the Subject tagmeme which precedes the nuclear slots.

Examples:

1. (As, Imp, P)

<u>lé</u> <u>mé</u> <u>day-u</u> 'let her go downstream' she imp go.downstream-pr

2. (As, Jussive, Imp. P)

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \underline{\text{d\'e}-\text{ku}} & \underline{\text{m\'e}} & \underline{\text{r-o}} \\ \text{he-jus} & \underline{\text{imp}} & \underline{\text{sit-pr}} \end{array}$$

'let him sit'

3. (As, Imp, Jussive, P)

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{\text{d\'e}} & \underline{\text{m\'e-ku}} & \underline{\text{r-o}} \\ \text{he} & \underline{\text{imp-jus}} & \underline{\text{sit-pr}} \end{array}$$

'let him sit'

4. (As. Imp. P)

'let him sit'

5. (S, Par, As, Jussive, P: IAMS)

<u>y-o</u> do-pr

'let the white men (who) say (that) come'

An alternative analysis to example no. 5 would be to consider that <u>las</u> is a class 4 quantifier filling the Quantifier slot of a Modified Noun Phrase and from this example alone it would be difficult to make a decision either way.

However, following the pattern of other Imperative Clauses which have an optional Partitive slot, it seems better to determine by analogy that the Jussive Clause also has an optional Partitive slot.

5.2.3 Interrogative

Interrogative Clauses are either of the 'yes-no' variety, Interrogative 1 Clauses, or those indicated by interrogative words, Interrogative 2 Clauses. They differ from each other in one obligatory tagmeme and in their capacity to take embedding.

5.2.3.1 Interrogative 1

Interrogative 1 Clause is similar to Declarative Independent Clauses but is distinguished from them by the optional Partitive slot and the obligatory Intonation slot filled by level or rising intonation and would evoke a yes-no answer. It is usually a short clause and stands alone as Simple Sentence. Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence backloops into the Predicate. No other embedding has been observed. The construction is commonly heard in casual conversation. It also expounds bases in Rhetorical Question, Alternative and Interrogative Paragraphs.

+ Partitive	+ Actor-subject	+ Predicate	+ Intonation
<u>las</u> (par)	personal pronoun Reflexive Pronoun Ph	any verb in independent form	

Peripheral slots may occur and usually precede the nuclear slots. One peripheral slot may follow the Predicate.

Examples:

1. (Su, Par, As, P, Intonation)

'have you seen him?'

2. (Par, P, As, Intonation)

$$\frac{\text{las}}{\text{par}} \frac{\text{yé-ké}}{\text{go-int}} \frac{\text{guné-k}}{\text{you(pl)-des}}$$
 (+ level intonation)

'do you want to go?'

3. (Su, Par, As, P, Intonation)

<u>mén-at</u> <u>las</u> <u>de</u> <u>tu-kwe-k</u> (+ level intonation) you-su par they bake-ben 2-pa

'did they bake anything for you?'

4. (S, As, P, M, Intonation)

baadi dé r-o wekna (+ rising intonation)

'is he still a child?'

5. (T, L, As, P, Intonation)

'did you go to the garden yesterday?'

5.2.3.2 Interrogative 2

Interrogative 2 Clause differs from other clauses by the obligatory Interrogative tagmeme. Intonation is falling, as for Declarative Clauses, and this distinguishes it from Interrogative 1 Clause. It also differs from Declarative Clauses in that the Predicate takes a greater amount of embedding, including a Sequence Sentence. The Interrogative slot, expounded by interrogative, interrogative locative, interrogative pronoun, or Interrogative Noun Phrase, usually occurs clause initially or in the second slot position, and the interrogative element carries through to the end of the sentence.

In a given clause the Interrogative slot is co-occurrent with one of the optional slots (i.e. Subject, Supplement, Time etc.), both slots being expounded simultaneously by the same construction. These optional slots, when expounded by an interrogative, are said to be in portmanteau relationship with the Interrogative slot. For example, see the first example below where yaba 'where' expounds the Interrogative slot of the Interrogative Clause and also expounds the Location slot which is in portmanteau relationship with the Interrogative slot.

Interrogative 2 Clause occurs in casual conversation and would evoke an information answer to the question asked. It also expounds bases in Rhetorical Question and Interrogative Paragraphs.

+ Interrogative	<u>+</u> Partitive	+ Actor-subject	+ Predicate
interrogative 1 interrogative locative interrogative pronoun Interrogative NP *Analogic ARP	las (par)	personal pronoun	any verb in independent form IAMS Series Merged Sentence or Sequence Sentence ending with verb in independent form

*Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase only when interrogative fills the Axis slot.

Few peripheral slots occur, usually near the beginning of the clause.

Examples:

1. (Interrogative, As, P)

yaba 16 r-o where does she live?'

2. (Interrogative, Par, P: IAMS)

samu las ya-ké guné y-o what par do-int you(p1) do-pr

'what will you do?'

3. (As, Interrogative: Analogic ARP, P: Series Merged Sentence)

<u>naané yaga pulak y-e las naané vé-ké y-o</u> we what like do-r1 par we see-int do-pr

'how shall we do and see?'

(In this example the Partitive slot is submerged in the Series Merged Sentence)

4. (Focus, Interrogative, As, P)

wan focus what you(d) y-o do-pr

'what is it that you two are doing?'

5. (Interrogative: Analogic ARP, P: Sequence Sentence with As)

yaga pulak ya-guné-ka naané waga kiya-o what like do-you(p1)-r6 we like that die-pr

'what are you doing that we are thus dying?'

6. (Interrogative: Interrogative NP, P: Series Merged Sentence)

<u>samu</u> <u>pawu</u> <u>kur-e</u> <u>naané</u> <u>kiya-o</u> what trouble hold-r1 we die-pr

'what trouble are we holding that we die?'

In three of the above examples the Actor-subject is submerged within the Merged Sentence or Sequence Sentence expounding the Predicate. As long as the Actor-subject is still expounded in the verb, it is counted as an obligatory slot in the bidimensional array.

5.3 Dependent Clauses

Dependent Clauses have the same type parameter as Independent Clauses with the exception that there is no equative contrast. They have the same contrast in the exponents of the Predicate slot and in the diagnostic tagmemes. However, Actor-subject slot is optional in Dependent Clauses. Dependent Clauses distinguish between Subjunctive Aspectual, Imminent Aspectual, Negative Aspectual, Intentive Same Actor, Relational Same Actor, Relational Different Actor, Conditional, Accessory and Intentive Different Actor Clauses across the horizontal parameter. These clauses contrast in the exponents of the Predicate and in sentence level distribution. Most examples are given of the General Clause type only. Categories of Dependent Clauses are shown on Chart K.

CHART K

Dependent Clauses - Dependency Category

Category	SA	Im A	N A	ISA	RSA	RDA	Con	Acc	IDA
Types									
G St	✓	_	/	✓	✓	✓	✓	/	V
A St	✓	_	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ <u> </u>
P St	✓	_	✓	✓	✓ ·	_	V	/	V
I St	✓	_	✓ ·	✓	_	✓	V	V	/
Met	>	/	✓	_	✓	✓ 	✓	/	·
Res	-		-	-	✓	✓ ·	✓	/	/
Pas	\checkmark	-	~	√	✓	✓ 	/	/	/
ВQ	✓	_	✓ ·	_	_	_	✓	_	_
C Q	_	_	-	_	✓	✓	✓	/	_
G Q	✓	-	~	✓	✓	✓	✓	/	/
D Q	✓	_	V	✓	✓	/	✓	/	_
Gen	✓	✓	/	✓	✓	/	~	V	✓
Equ	_	_	-	-	_	_	-	_	_

 $\sqrt{}$ = found

- = not found

5.3.1 Aspectual

Aspectual Dependent Clauses expound the first Base of Aspectual Merged Sentences. They differ from one another in the morphology of the verb expounding the Predicate. They rarely take embedding. Because these clauses have little meaning in themselves, examples of Aspectual Dependent Clauses are given below with the verb of the Restricted Clause, which follows this clause type.

5.3.1.1 Subjunctive

The Predicate of the Subjunctive Aspectual Dependent Clause is expounded by the hypothetical verb. The only

nuclear slot is the Predicate. The Subjunctive Aspectual Dependent Clause expounds the Hypothetical base of the Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence.

Examples:

1. (As, Su, L, P)

'I would have put the things in the house'

2. (Su, P)

'would have swept the place'

3. (P)

'would have kept on coming'

4. (C, P)

'would have been well'

5. (T, S, L, P)

'yesterday the bus would have gone to Goroka'

5.3.1.2 Imminency

Predicate of Imminency Aspectual Dependent Clause is expounded by imminency verb. The only nuclear slot is the Predicate. The Imminency Aspectual Dependent Clause expounds the Imminency base of the Imminency Aspectual Merged Sentence.

Examples:

- 1. <u>yé-male</u> / <u>ya-ké</u> . . . 'on the point of going . . .' go-imm do-int
- 2. $\frac{\text{kiyaa-male}}{\text{die-imm}} / \frac{\text{ya-k\'e}}{\text{do-int}}$. . 'on the point of dying . . .'
- 3. <u>akéré-male</u> / <u>ya-ké</u> . . . 'on the point of falling . . .' fall-imm do-int
- 4. (L, P)

<u>taaba-ba</u> <u>ya-male</u> / <u>ya-katik</u> . . . hand-loc do-imm do-hyp

'was on the point of doing (sewing) on my hand

5.3.1.3 Negative

Predicate of Negative Aspectual Dependent Clause is expounded by a negative verb (with -kaapuk and -marék only). The only nuclear slot is the Predicate. The Negative Aspectual Dependent Clause expounds the Negative base of the Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence.

Examples:

1. (P)

<u>kut-kaapuk</u> / . . . <u>ya-k</u> 'did not hold' hold-not do-pa

2. (L, P)

<u>kaabél-at</u> <u>yé-marék</u> / . . . <u>ya-k</u> river-dest go-not do-pa

'did not go to the river'

3. (Su, P)

<u>lé-rét</u> <u>vé-marék</u> / . . . <u>y-o</u> 'do not see her' she-su see-not do-pr

5.3.2 Intentive Same Actor

Predicate slot of Intentive Same Actor Dependent Clause is expounded by intentive same actor verb or Verb Phrase ending with intentive same actor verb. Intentive Same Actor Dependent Clause 1 has the Predicate slot expounded by the intentive verb. This clause expounds the Immediacy base of

the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence. Intentive Same Actor Dependent Clause 2 has the Predicate slot expounded by negative intentive or desiderative intentive verb. This clause does not expound the Immediacy base of the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence. Both clauses with intentive or negative intentive verb expound Purpose Margin of a sentence, Intent base of General Intentive Sentence, and Content base of Past Intentive Sentence. Clause 1 also expounds Indirect Quote base of Indirect Quote Sentence and clause 2 with desiderative intentive verb expounds the Intent base of Present Intentive Sentence.

Examples:

Sub-type 1

1. (Su, P)

ga kaa-ké . . . 'to thatch the house . . .'

2. (P)

 $\frac{\text{v\'e}-\text{k\'e}}{\text{see-int}}$. . . 'to see . . .'

3. (M, P)

 $\underline{\text{waga}}$ $\underline{\text{ya-k\'e}}$. . . 'to do like that . . . ' like that . . . '

Sub-type 2

4. (As, P)

1é yaa-méké . . . 'lest she come . . .'
she come-neg int

5. (L: Locative ARP, P)

<u>dé-ku</u> <u>tépétmama</u> <u>taalé-ba</u> <u>ra-méké</u> he-pos very.hilly place-loc sit-neg int

'(does not want) to stay in his mountainous place . . . '

6. (As, L, Su : Modified N P, P)

de sétuwa-ba gwalmu las kéraa-kwate they store-loc goods some buy-des int

'they want to buy goods at the store'

5.3.3 Relational Same Actor

Predicate slot of Relational Same Actor Dependent Clause is expounded by a relational same actor verb or Verb Phrase ending with a relational same actor verb or a verb stem functioning as a relational same actor verb (see 3.5.4). Relational Same Actor Dependent Clause expounds Event bases of most Aspectual Merged Sentences, all bases of Protracted Merged Sentence, both bases of Amplification Merged Sentence, Summary base of Parallel Merged Sentence, bases of Ferent Merged Sentence, non-final bases of Series Merged Sentence, and Statement base of General Intentive Sentence.

Examples:

1. (Su, P)

yaawi tu-takne . . . bush burn-r2

'burned the bush and then . . . '

2. (L, P)

<u>yaabu-ba</u> <u>y-e</u> . . . 'go on the road and . . . 'road-loc go-r1

3. (As, P)

de kéra-e they get and . . . 'they get and . . . '

4. (As, L: Locative ARP, P)

naané arigék bek-ba waada-te . . .
we much bag-loc put.in-r3

'we are putting (the rice) in many bags and

5。 (Su, P)

'keep on clearing the bush for gardens and . . . $^{\circ}$

6. (P)

wulaa . . . 'enter and . . . 'enter

5.3.4 Relational Different Actor

Predicate slot of Relational Different Actor Dependent Clause is expounded by a relational different actor verb or a Verb Phrase ending with a relational different actor verb. Relational Different Actor Clause expounds the Time Margin of a sentence, all bases of Protracted Merged Sentence and the non-final bases of the Sequence Sentence, the Goal base of the Perception Sentence and the Apodosis base of the Contrafactual Sentence, sub-type 2. It also expounds the final base of all sentences that embed in the non-final bases of the Sequence Sentence.

Examples:

1. (P)

ra-wuré-ka . . . 'I sit and . . .'
sit-I-r6

- 2. (L: Appositional Locative P, S: Modified NP, P)
 - ... <u>sépayékul-ba awula gwaavé las kwaa-dé-ka</u> ... armpit-loc inside red some lie-he-ré
 - '. . . some red marks were in his armpit and . . . '
- 3. (As, Su, P)

de baalé yaakwa-d-o . . . they pig look.after-they-r7

'they will look after the pigs and . . .'

4. (T: Co-ordinate NP, P)

nyaa kupuk gaan kupuk kwaa-d-u . . . day three night three lie-he-r7

'it will lie for three days and three nights and '

5. (P)

wakwe-wuré-k . . . 'I spoke and then . . . 'speak-I-r5

6. (C, P)

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{\texttt{k\'e}1}\underline{\texttt{ik}} & \underline{\texttt{ya-1-u}} & \bullet & \bullet \\ \underline{\texttt{unwillingness}} & \underline{\texttt{do-she-r7}} & & & \\ \end{array}$

'she will be unwilling and . . .'

5.3.5 Conditional

Predicate slot of Conditional Dependent Clause is expounded by a conditional verb, or verb phrase ending with a conditional verb. Actor-subject tagmeme is optional in this clause as the actor is usually expressed by the actor suffix on the verb.

Conditional Dependent Clause expounds the Protasis base of the Conditional Sentence.

Examples:

1. (C, P)

wulkiyaa ya-méné-ran . . . laziness do-you-if

'if you are lazy . . .'

2. (R: Referential ARP, P)

wani mu-ké véknwu-guné-ran heed-you(p1)-if

'if you pay attention to that thing . . .'

3. (M, P)

waga wa-méné-ran say-you-if

'if you say like that . . . '

4. (L: Locative ARP, P)

<u>wani</u> <u>agérap-ba</u> <u>wuknaa-tiyaa-nyéné-ran</u> that shell-loc pour-ben 1-you(f s)-if

'if you pour out (soup) for me in that coconut shell . . .'

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 $5. \quad (As, M, P)$

naané waga ya-ran . . . we like that do-if

'if we do like that . . .'

5.3.6 Accessory

Predicate slot of Accessory Dependent Clause is expounded by an accessory verb or Merged Sentence or Sequence Sentence ending with an accessory verb. Actor-subject tagmeme is optional with this clause as the actor is usually expressed by the actor suffix on the verb. Accessory Clause expounds the Participial Margin of a sentence, the Statement and Parallel bases of a Parallel Merged Sentence, the Cause base and Frustration base when followed by reason marker of a Reason and Contrary Expectation Sentence, and also functions as an included clause and fills non-Predicate clause level slots and Modifier slot of a Verbal Modified Noun Phrase.

Examples:

1. (Focus, R. C. P)

<u>kén</u> <u>kopi-ké</u> <u>mawulé</u> <u>ya-méné-kwa</u> . . . focus coffee-ref wish do-you-apr

'it is coffee that you want . . .'

2. (T: Modified NP, L, Su, P)

kéni wik ani-ba jébaa ya-lé-ran . . . this week there far-loc work do-she-afu

'this week she will work in distant parts . . . '

3. (As, Su, P)

<u>de baadén vélé-da-n</u> . . . they tree.species fell-they-apa

'they felled baaden trees . . . '

4. (P)

<u>wakwe-dé-n</u> . . . 'he spoke . . . 'speak-he-apa

5. (C, P)

mawulé ya-kwa . . . do-apr

'wish doing (people) . . ., (those who) want

6. (As: Definitive ARP, P)

naané wawo té-na-kwa . . . we also stand-we-apr

'we also standing . . . '

5.3.7 Intentive Different Actor

Predicate slot of Intentive Different Actor Dependent Clause is expounded by an intentive different actor verb. Actor-subject tagmeme is optional with this clause as the actor is expressed by the actor suffix on the verb.

Intentive Different Actor Clause expounds the Purpose Margin of a sentence, the Intent base of the General Intentive Sentence Sub-type 2, the Content base of the Past Intentive Sentence, and the Indirect Quote base of the Indirect Quote Sentence.

Examples:

1. (As, P)

<u>dé</u> <u>yaa-d-u-ké</u> . . . 'in order that he come . . .' he come-he-r7-int

2. (Su, P)

maama-t
enemy-su
viyaa-d-o-ké
strike-they-r7-int

'in order that they strike the enemy

3. (S: Modified NP, Su, P)

wani du jébaa ya-d-o-ké . . . that man work do-they-r7-int

'in order that those men work . . . '

4. (Su: Modified NP, P)

bét-ku mu kéraa-d-o-kwate they(d)-pos thing get-they-r7-des int

'want that they get their things . . .'

5. (P)

<u>véknwu-nyén-u-ké</u> . . . 'in order that you hear . . .' hear-you(f s)-r7-int

6. (M, P)

bari yaa-bén-u-ké . . 'that you come quickly . . . 'quickly come-you(d)-r7-int

5.4 Included Clause

The term, Included Clause, is used to cover a clause which functions like a word, that is, fills Phrase level slots. The Accessory Clause, which fills the Modifier slot of a Verbal Modified Noun Phrase, is thus an Included Clause. The term is also used to cover an Accessory Clause which acts like a noun and fills Axis slot of Referential, Locative and Analogic Axis-Relator Phrases. Predicate of the Included Clause is expounded by an accessory verb, or a Ferent or Series Merged Sentence or a Sequence Sentence ending with an accessory verb.

As the distribution of an Accessory Clause (see 5.3.6) is wider than that of an Included Clause and as the Included Clause fills phrase level slots, the Included Clause is treated in a separate category from the other clauses. The clause usually has few peripheral tagmemes. As actor is usually expressed in the actor suffix on the accessory verb, the Actorsubject tagmeme is optional.

A sub-type of this clause has the Predicate filled by the verb stem only. This sub-type fills the Modifier 1 slot of a Verbal Modified Noun Phrase.

Examples:

1. (Modifier in Verbal Modified NP, P)

'(the question) (that) you asked'

2. (Modifier in Verbal Modified NP, L, P)

- '(the people) (who) will go there'
- (Modifier in Verbal Modified NP, P: Series Merged Sentence)

- '(the pig) (that) sat and got up and ran away'
- 4. (Modifier in Verbal Modified NP , P : Sequence Sentence)

- '(the things) (that) they did at Serakum and you saw'
- 5. (Modifier in Verbal Modified NP, S, P) (Sub-type 1)

6. (Axis slot of Analogic ARP, P)

7. (Axis slot of Referential ARP, M, P)

'(about) you standing idly'

5.5 Tagmemes

5.5.1 Nuclear

Nuclear tagmemes diagnostic of each clause type have already been presented in the bidimensional arrays under sections 5.1.1.1 - 5.2.3.2. Predicate tagmeme is obligatory to all clause types except Equative Clause. Actor-subject tagmeme is obligatory to all independent clause types except Denial, Equative and Imperative 1, 2 and 3 Clauses. When

Nuclear tagmemes, apart from Actor-subject, tend to immediately precede the Predicate, and peripheral tagmemes to be more removed. However, clause initial and clause final positions are emphasis positions and the speaker, to emphasize a point, may move tagmemes to these positions. Perhaps for this reason Actor-subject tends to occur early in the clause.

5.5.2 Peripheral

Except where otherwise noted, peripheral tagmemes may appear in all clause types. Independent Clauses tend to be longer than Dependent Clauses and thus have more peripheral tagmemes. Order of peripheral tagmemes tends to be very fluid. The most common order is listed in Chart L, with exponents of these slots shown in Chart M.

It is to be noted that the Definitive Axis-Relator Phrase can fill any clause level slot (see 4.8.2.4) and so is not listed specifically under any one slot.

CHART L

Order of Peripheral Tagmemes of Clause

```
<u>+ Time + Focus + Location + Subject + Referent</u>

<u>+ Accompaniment + Supplement + Manner + Nucleus</u>
```

These tagmemes do not all occur in any one clause. The average is three to four tagmemes in Independent Clauses and one to two tagmemes in Dependent Clauses. If Time and Location tagmemes co-occur, one tagmeme will move to the clause final position, if the clause is independent. Similarly, Referent and Accompaniment tagmemes do not usually co-occur next to one another. Referent tagmeme frequently occurs in the clause final position of an Independent Clause if the clause has more than two tagmemes. Manner tagmeme often occurs immediately preceding the Predicate.

Location, Referent and Manner tagmemes can be repeated once. Supplement tagmeme can also be repeated, but, in this case only one occurrence, if any, is likely to be marked with the optional supplement clitic -et and the exponents will probably have two different functions, e.g. expressing the normal grammatical categories of direct object and indirect object.

The term, Supplement, is used to cover the slot in a clause that is used to add to the Predicate and covers the normal grammatical categories of object, indirect object and instrument. The slot is marked by the clitic -et, added obligatorily to personal pronouns and to animate nouns if the patient or goal could not otherwise be clearly distinguished from the agent, which, in the Subject slot, is unmarked. The clitic is optionally added to inanimate nouns to encode instrument. The clitic is also used infrequently to encode emphasis. On all other occasions the slot is not marked by the clitic. On these other occasions its function can be distinguished semantically from that of the Subject slot. The supplement clitic -et is considered to be homophonous with the destination clitic -et, which expounds one aspect of the Location slot.

Focus slot is an infrequently used clause level slot in text material but is commonly heard in everyday conversation. Its function is to bring into focus the clause level slot immediately following it. It is expounded by demonstrative pronouns ken 'this' (infrequently) and wan 'that' (frequently). It is most commonly used when some kind of emphasis is being given in casual conversation in response to a question or a situational crisis demanding adult intervention. For examples of this slot see 5.1.6 and 5.2.3.2.

Examples of clause level slots and fillers can be best seen under General Clause 5.1.6. Further examples are given below.

1. (two Location slots. L, P: IAMS with $\overline{A}s$, L: Locative ARP)

<u>Wiruwi-ba</u> <u>akéré-ké</u> <u>de</u> <u>y-o</u> <u>Simon</u> <u>té-dé-kwa-ba</u> Wirui-loc fall-int they do-pr Simon stand-he-apr-loc

'they will land at Wirui, where Simon is'

 (two Referent slots. As, R: Referential ARP, Su, P: IAMS, R)

méné Wayébage-ba ra-kwa du-ké nyéga wakwe-ké you Wayembange-loc sit-apr man-ref paper speak-int

y-o api-ké do-pr bird-ref

'you must write a letter for the men who live at Wayem-bange about the birds'

(Examples continued from page 187)

3. (two Supplement slots. Su, As, Su, P: IAMS)

nak guné yéwaa gi-ké y-o one you(p1) money tie-int do-pr

'you must tie one (pig) for money'

4. (two Supplement slots. As, Su: Supplement ARP, Su, Par, P: IAMS)

wuné béné Bawudu bét Ajéme-t kudi las par you(d) Baundu and Anjime-su talk par

wakwe-ké speak-int I

'let me speak to you, Baundu and Anjime'

5. (T, M, As, Ac : Accompaniment ARP, Su : Appositional NP, P : IAMS)

kukba tépa wuné bét wale kudi apa kudi later again I they(d) with talk big talk

bul-ké wuné y-o talk-int I do-pr

'Later I will again have much to say to them'

- 6. (three Actor-subject slots. As, L: Locative ARP, As, Su: Modified NP, As, P)
 - de naana gayé-ba de trabel nak de ya-k they our village-loc they trouble one they do-pa
 - 'they, they certainly had trouble at our place'
- 7. (three Actor-subject slots. As, T, As, P, As: Summary Accompaniment ARP)

wuné kukba wuné wuné yé-k ané taakwa wale later I go-pa we(d)

'I, I went later, I and my wife'

CHART M
Clause Peripheral Tagmemes

Tagmemes	Special Features	Exponents
Time		temporal, temporal noun 1, Noun Phrases with temporal noun as Head, Temporal Phrases
Focus		kén 'this', wan 'that'
Location	$\begin{array}{cc} -\underline{\acute{e}t} & \text{dest} \\ -\underline{\acute{b}a} & \text{loc} \\ \left(\text{optional} \right) \end{array}$	locative, locative demonstrative, Appositional Locative Phrase, Locative Axis-Relator Phrase
Subject		name personal noun, place name when used as animate noun, Noun Phrases except those with abstract noun as Head or Interrogative NP, Possessive Pronoun ARP, quantifier or numeral when replacing or standing for a Noun Phrase
Referent	- <u>ké</u> ref	Referential Axis-Relator Phrase
Accompa- niment	wale 'with'	Accompaniment Axis-Relator Phrase
Supple- · ment	- <u>ét</u> su (optional)	name personal noun, place name noun, Noun Phrases, except those with abstract nouns 1 - 8 as Head, Supplement Axis-Relator Phrase, Possessive Pronoun ARP
Manner	pulak 'like' maakna 'like'	adverb, adverbial demonstrative, Analogic Axis-Relator Phrase

Location slot is usually marked by the locative or destinational clitic, but is unmarked when locative or locative demonstrative fill this slot. Supplement slot may be unmarked by the clitic (see under Supplement above). Manner slot is unmarked by the postposition if adverb or adverbial demonstrative fill the slot.

6 SENTENCE

6.0 Introduction

A sentence in Ambulas is defined as a construction in the grammatical hierarchy between clause level and paragraph level. The construction consists of at least two clauses except in the case of Simple, Fragmentary or Colloquial Sentences, which may consist of only one clause.

Ambulas sentences, excluding Simple, Fragmentary and Colloquial Sentences, can be divided into three classes - Merged, Complex and Compound Sentences. Merged Sentences are closely-knit and are held together by the same subject. They often occur within Complex and Compound Sentences. Complex Sentences contain one independent verb and the subjects are the same or different. Compound Sentences contain more than one independent verb, also with same or different subjects.

Sentence boundaries in Ambulas are usually determined by the occurrence of the independent verb and sentence-final intonation. Pause breaks have also helped in determination. Clause level slots may occur after the independent verb for emphasis or as an afterthought and these are marked phonologically by a secondary high-low or level intonation and grammatically by clitics. Similarly, to mark emphasis or afterthought, or Time, Purpose or Participial Margins, clauses may appear after the independent verb and these are always linked phonologically and grammatically with the independent Embedded sentences may also function in the same way. Recapitulation, a repetition of part or all of the preceding clause containing the independent verb with the form of the verb changed to a relational form, which device occurs in Narrative and Procedural Paragraphs, always occurs in initial position in a sentence, and this then is also a helpful factor in determining sentence boundaries. Two of the Complex Sentences - General Intentive and Reason - have permuting bases, so that the independent verb may or may not appear sentence final. The structure of the Perception Sentence, also a Complex Sentence, demands that the independent verb appear medially and the event perceived appears finally. These three Complex Sentences are all binary structures, so that the conclusion of the sentence in these instances is grammatically determined. Compound Sentences contain more than one independent verb, but again the sentence-final intonation and the grammatical structure determine the sentence boundaries.

The length of sentences varies considerably according

to the type of discourse in which they are found. Short sentences of a single clause occur frequently in everyday conversation. Sentences containing 8 - 14 clauses occur frequently in Narrative Paragraphs.

Sentences are contrasted by many features, the most significant of which are the use of different verb forms, tense restrictions, special markers or suffixes and restriction of exponents of certain bases.

Independent verbs usually appear in sentence-final positions, taking into account the restrictions noted above. Dependent verbs usually appear in sentence-medial positions and are usually not able to stand alone (see Chart E, 3.5.2. Hypothetical verbs are a distinguishing feature of Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence, and of Contrafactual and Contrary Expectation Sentences. Negative verbs are a distinguishing feature of Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence. Imminency verbs are a distinguishing feature of Imminency Aspectual Merged Sentence. Intentive verbs are a distinguishing feature of Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence, all Intentive Sentences and the Purpose Margin. Relational verbs are distinguishing features in Protracted, Amplification, Ferent and Series Merged Sentences and also in Perception and Sequence Sentences and the Time Margin. Conditional verbs distinguish Conditional Sentence. Accessory verbs are a distinguishing feature in Participial Margin, Parallel Merged Sentence, and Reason and Mistaken Impression Sentences.

As the verb is a very prominent feature of this language and dependent clauses are merely a multiplication of verbal categories, it is often more helpful to describe exponents of bases relative to the category of verb rather than to the category of clause. When clause types are significant they are specifically named.

Embedding occurs at all levels. However, generally Merged Sentences contain little embedding except in the case of the Series Merged Sentence. Merged Sentences are frequently embedded in phrases, clauses and other sentences. Sequence Sentence also embeds in phrases, clauses and other Most Complex Sentences embed in other Complex sentences. and Compound Sentences, and most Compound Sentences can embed in other Compound Sentences or the Conditional Sentence, with no noticeable order of hierarchy, except that the Conditional Sentence, Direct Quote, Reason and Alternative Sentences seem to have a higher valence, or greater capacity to take embedding. To determine what is embedded. I have examined the end of the construction first and then worked backwards, except in the case of Aspectual Merged

Sentences, which are significant on a lower level, and taking into account the fact that Merged Sentences and Past Intentive Sentence embed in Complex and Compound Sentences, rather than vice versa. In the examples given, embedding occurs frequently and this is noted as it occurs.

Sentences are presented in the form of a prose statement, followed by a bidimensional array showing slots and fillers, also special features and deep structure, followed by reading rules, discussion and examples.

6.1 Sentence Periphery

There are five optional outer periphery tagmemes, three preceding the nucleus and two following, and two inner periphery tagmemes, one preceding and one following the nucleus, which are also optional. It is unusual to have more than two peripheral tagmemes in any one sentence.

Outer Periphery		Inner Periphery	
<u>+</u> 1	<u>+</u> 2	<u>+</u> 3	<u>+</u> Margin
exclamations responses	vocatives	dubitative argumenta- tive emphatic	Time Purpose Participial

	Inner Periphery	Outer Periphe	ery
+ Nucleus	<u>+</u> Margin	<u>+</u> 4	<u>+</u> 5
	Time Purpose Participial	emphatic	afterthought

6.1.1 Outer Periphery

There are three pre-nuclear outer peripheral tagmemes to the sentence. The first of these is manifested by exclamations and responses and the second by vocatives. The dubitative marker <u>sal</u> 'probably' and argumentative emphatic marker <u>ba</u> 'certainly' manifest the third tagmeme. Also, there are two post-nuclear outer peripheral tagmemes, emphatic and afterthought. All outer peripheral tagmemes are optional. No more than two peripheral tagmemes occur together. If outer periphery tagmeme 3 is manifested by

dubitative marker then outer periphery tagmeme 4 does not co-occur.

The exclamations consist of yes-no types of responses and expressions of surprise or grief. The vocatives are formed by the addition of suffixes to personal pronouns and nouns. The dubitative marker expresses doubt of the outcome. It may permute to a position following the first tagmeme of the nucleus. It is always expressed as a question. The argumentative marker frequently contradicts or forcefully enlarges a previous assertion. The post-nuclear outer peripheral 4 tagmeme is manifested by emphatic clitic, -na. It is usually suffixed to the final word of the nucleus and is used particularly when grief or anger is involved. Afterthought, manifesting outer peripheral tagmeme 5 is expressed by a word, phrase or clause.

Examples:

1. Periphery 1 (exclamation): Yuwe oh

Nucleus: 16 kiyaasaaku-16-k/ de kur-e ra-te she die-she-r5 they hold-r1 sit-r3

'Oh, she has died and they touch her and sit and wail.'

2. Periphery 1 (response): Aya

Nucleus: naané yé-marék/ ya-ké/ naané y-o// we go-not do-int we do-pr

'No, we will not go.'

3. Periphery 1 (exclamation): Aki

Periphery 2 (vocative): mén-awa vou-vo 3

Nucleus: ména ga débu gél-e akéré-k//
your house it.per collapse-r1 fall-pa

'Oh, you over there, your house has collapsed and fallen over!'

4. Periphery 1 (exclamation): <u>Kayé</u> oh

Nucleus: <u>bari</u> <u>mé</u> <u>kur-e</u> / <u>yaala-kwa</u> <u>ménat</u> quickly imp hold-r1 come-apr you

Periphery 4 (emphatic): -na //

'Hey, certainly bring it quickly!'

5. Periphery 1 (response): Ao yes

Nucleus: wunébu kéra-e kur-e yé-k // I.per get-r1 hold-r1 go-pa

"Yes, I took it.'

6. Periphery 2 (vocative): Mén-o vou-vo 1

Periphery 3 (dubitative): <u>sal</u> probably

Nucleus: séré Goroka-t yé-ké / méné y-o // tomorrow Goroka-to go-int you do-pr

'You, probably you will go to Goroka tomorrow, won't you?'

7. Periphery 2 (vocative): Nyéno you-vo 1

Nucleus: <u>auba</u> <u>kut-marék</u> pot hold-not

Periphery 4 (emphatic): -na //
emphatic

'You, definitely do not touch the pot!'

8. Periphery 3 (dubitative follows the first tagmeme of the nucleus)

Nucleus: Déku nyaan sal bulaa yaa-ké / his son probably today come-int

dé y-o/ kapu kaapuk //
he do-pr or not

' Will his son come today or not? He probably will, won't he?'

9. Nucleus: Balus yé akér-e / kéra-e / kut-lé-ka / plane go fall-ri get-ri hold-she-ré

naané yaa-k /
we come-pa

Periphery 5 (afterthought): apakélé big balus // plane

'The plane landed and carried us and we came, the big plane.'

10. Nucleus: Dé wunat kéra-e / kut-dé-ka / naané we

giyaa-k/ come.down-pa

Periphery 5 (afterthought): anat us.two Kundama wale //

'He drove me, me and Kundama, and we all came down.'

11. Periphery 3 (argumentative emphatic): <u>Ba</u>
argumentative emphatic

Nucleus: adél true

Periphery 4 (emphatic): -na //

'Indeed, it certainly is true!'

12. Nucleus: Wan tiyaa-nyéné-ka / ka-wuré-kwa agérap that give.me-you-ré eat-I-apr dish

Periphery 4(emphatic):-na emp

Periphery 5 (afterthought): saaki // always

'That is certainly the dish that you give me and I eat from, all the time!'

6.1.2 Inner Periphery

There are two inner peripheral tagmemes to the sentence. The Margin base, expounded by Time, Purpose or Participial Margins, usually occurs immediately preceding or immediately following the nucleus. One example only has been observed of two Time Margins in one sentence. These margins are used to express a time, final cause or background relationship with the nucleus.

6.1.2.1 Time Margin

Time Margin is expounded by a clause, Ferent Merged Sentence or Series Merged Sentence, ending with a relational verb. The Time Margin may occur following or preceding the nucleus or within the nucleus preceding the verb. The Time Margin is distinctive in that it breaks the sequence of same subject chaining within a Series Merged Sentence by signalling change of subject only at the conclusion of the Time Margin and not preceding it. The Time Margin is relative to the following clause when it occurs within a sentence and is relative to the preceding clause when it follows an independent verb. A sentence ending with a Time Margin provides one of the occasions when a sentence concludes with a dependent verb.

Sentence with Time Margin

+ Nucleus	+ Time Margin
	Dependent C1. Ferent Merged S Series Merged S
	ending with relational verb
	Subject is often a temporal noun
Pa Qa	
Pa A Qb	
Pa∧_ Q b	

Rules:

- (1) Reading: There can be two Time Margins within a sentence but the norm is one.
- (2) Agreement: When the Time Margin precedes the nucleus in a Ferent or Series Merged Sentence, the clause preceding

it is marked for same subject to agree with clause following the Time Margin, thus skipping the different subject Time Margin.

- (3) Permutation: The Time Margin can permute into the preceding clause to a position immediately before the Predicate. It can also permute to a position preceding the Nucleus.
- (4) Limitation: In meaning, the Time Margin applies to the clause or Merged Sentence immediately following it or containing it, or preceding it when this has an independent verb.

Discussion:

The Time Margin is used to express time relationship with the Nucleus, either of one event overlapping with the other or occurring in chronological succession. It can be distinguished at the end of a sentence by its structure. It cannot be distinguished in surface structure, when it appears within a sentence, from an exponent of an action base in a Sequence Sentence. It is distinguished from a Purpose Margin and a Participial Margin by the use of relational verbs. It occurs frequently, most often in Narrative and Procedural Paragraphs.

Examples:

1. Nucleus: Awuréba bul-e / kwol-e / come.together-r1

naané yaa-k /
we come-pa

Margin: gaan ya-dé-ka //
night do-he-r6

'We talked up there and together we came when it was night.'

2. Nucleus: Méné bari nyéga nak lérét wakwe-ké / you quickly paper one her speak-int

<u>y-o</u> / do-pr

Margin: Wukarampaba yé ra-1-u // at.Ukarumpa go sit-she-r7

'You must quickly speak to her in a letter when she goes and stays at Ukarumpa.'

3. Nucleus: Wuné yaaré-te tu-k / dry-r3 burn-pa

Margin: maas waga viya-e / ra-dé-ka // rain thus fall-r1 sit-he-r6

- 'I was drying (pitpit leaves) and burned while the rain kept falling.'
- 4. Nucleus: <u>Kaany</u> <u>sék-we</u> / <u>naané</u> <u>kéti-yu</u> / bamboo cut-r1 we dance-pr

Margin: <u>kaang nakurak ta-we</u> //
drum one cover.with.lizard.skin-rl

'We cut bamboo and we dance after we have covered a drum with lizard skin.'

5. Here the Time Margin precedes the Nucleus.

T-e / stand-r1

Margin: yé ték-gé / ya-dé-ka / dawn cease-int do-he-ré

Nucleus: <u>dé</u> <u>dé</u> <u>taale</u> <u>yaa-k</u> <u>gayét</u> //
he he first come-pa to.village

'He stood and when it was nearly dawn he himself came first to the village.'

6. Here the Time Margin occurs within the Nucleus. The whole construction expounds the second Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

$$\frac{\text{Ya-te}}{\text{do-r3}}$$

Nucleus containing Margin (in brackets):

<u>guné</u> (<u>sabura</u> <u>yéwaa</u> <u>gi-d-u</u>) you <u>exchange.partner</u> ring tie-he-r7

yéwaa jaar-e / méné yéwaa gi-ké/ y-o// ring take.from.bag you(s) ring tie-int do-pr

- 'You do and when you see your exchange partner tie rings you will take rings from your bag and tie rings.'
- 7. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Time Margin which precedes the Nucleus. The construction expounds the final Series base of another Series Merged Sentence.

Wan y-e / puka-e / kérél-takne/ nyaa yaar-e / focus do-r1 plant-r1 gather-r2 sun dry-r1

<u>yaar-e</u> / dry-r1

Margin: rékaa y-e / kutwuré-d-u / dry do-r1 finish-he-r7

Nucleus: wayaba géring-ké / méné y-o //
on.wire shake-int you do-pr

'You will do that and plant (rice) and gather and keep drying it in the sun and when the rice has finished drying you will shake it on the wire.'

8. The following example contains two Time Margins. The construction expounds the final Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

<u>Kéti-ye</u> / dance

Margin: yé ték-dé-ka / dawn cease-he-r6

Nucleus: naané gwiya k-o / we feast eat-pr

Margin: <u>kadému</u> <u>séraksala-da-ka</u> // cook.in-they-r6

'We dance and when it is dawn we eat food when they cook it.'

6.1.2.2 Purpose Margin

Purpose Margin is expounded by a clause, Ferent Merged Sentence or Series Merged Sentence, ending with an intentive verb. The Purpose Margin may occur following or preceding the nucleus or within the nucleus following the subject. A sentence ending with a Purpose Margin provides one of the occasions when a sentence concludes with a

dependent verb.

The Purpose Margin is distinguished from the Time Margin by the use of different verb forms and by its deep structure. The sentence with a Purpose Margin is distinguished from the Past Intentive Sentence, which has the same verb forms in its initial base, by the fact that the latter has an obligatory exponent <u>nae</u> 'intend' in the second base and also has a third optional base. It is distinct from other Intentive Sentences by the fact that they use different intentive verbs in their first base and have restricted exponents of the second base.

Sentence with Purpose Margin

+ Nucleus	+ Purpose Margin
	Dependent Clause Ferent Merged S. Series Merged S.
	ending with intentive verb (int or neg int only)
	- <u>ké</u> int - <u>méké</u> neg int
$egin{aligned} \mathcal{G}_{\mathrm{q}} &\subset \mathbf{q} & \wedge \mathbf{q} \ & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & $	
$ar{Q}_{ m p} \subset ar{Q} \ ho$	

Rules:

- (1) Permutation: The Purpose Margin can permute into the preceding clause to a position following the subject. It can also permute to a position preceding the Nucleus.
- (2) Limitation: In meaning the Purpose Margin applies to the clause or Merged Sentence immediately following it or containing it, or preceding it when this has an independent verb.

Discussion:

The Purpose Margin is used to express Final Cause. It occurs more frequently with short sentences. It is frequent in answer to the question, 'why?', but otherwise is infrequently used in Narrative and Procedural Paragraphs.

Examples:

1. Nucleus: Baadit méné nak kur-e / yé-ké / y-o / child you one hold-r1 go-int do-pr

Margin: ména_waagu_vour-ké // plant-int

- 'You must take one child in order to hold your inheritance.'
- 2. In the following example both Time and Purpose Margins occur.

Time Margin: Gaan ya-dé-ka / night do-he-r6

Nucleus: wuné lérét wuné waati-k / rebuke-pa

Purpose Margin: 16 yaa-méké // she come-neg int

- 'When it was night, I rebuked her so that she would not come.'
- 3. Here the Purpose Margin occurs within the Nucleus. The construction expounds the final Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

naané gaalé vél-e / séwaa tékwiya-e / we branch chop-r1 pitpit break.off-r1

sabiyany
sabiyany.wood peel-r1

Nucleus containing Margin (in brackets):

<u>naané (waapi sékus képmaaba yé-méké</u>)

we yam shoot on.ground go-neg int

jaabé y-o // frame do-pr

- 'We chop branches and break off pitpit and peel sabiyany wood and make a frame so that the yam shoots will not go on the ground.'
- 4. In the following examples the Purpose Margin precedes the Nucleus.

Margin: Yéknwun mu ya-mén-u-ké / good thing do-you-r7-int

Nucleus: arigék kudi wunébu bul-ék // much talk I.have talk-pa

'So that you will do a good thing, I have talked a lot.'

- 5. Margin: Wuna kadémuba saat kut-méké / my food.on flies hold-neg int
 - Nucleus: wuné bari bari k-o // quickly quickly
 - 'So that the flies will not get on my food, I eat very quickly.'
- 6. Margin: Dé kur-e/ yé-méké / go-neg int
 - Nucleus: $1\acute{e}$ ra-te / $g\acute{e}ra-o$ // she sit-r3 / cry-pr

'In order that he will not take it, she sits and cries.'

7. Here the construction expounds the final Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

<u>Ka</u> <u>mayé</u> <u>va-e</u> / <u>kur-e</u> / <u>ya-e</u> / <u>tu-takne</u> / yam taro dig-r1 hold-r1 come-r1 bake-r2

Margin: wani du k-e / apa y-e / that man eat-r1 strong do-r1

maamat viyaa-d-o-ké /
enemy strike-they-r7-int

.Nucleus: de deké kwayé-k // they to.them give-pa

- 'So that those men would eat and be strong and fight, their enemies others dug yams and taro and brought and baked them and gave them to the men.'
- 8. Here an Outer Periphery 2 and a Purpose Margin occur.

Periphery 2 (vocative): Mén-o you-vo 1

Margin: samu ya-ké / what do-int

Nucleus: waba yé-méné-k / de viyaa-k //
there go-you-r5 they strike-pa

'You, in order to do what (i.e. why), did you go there

and they hit you?'

6.1.2.3 Participial Margin

Participial Margin is expounded by an Accessory Clause. The Participial Margin usually occurs preceding or follow-ing the nucleus. When the Margin follows the nucleus, the sentence concludes with a dependent verb.

The Participial Margin is distinguished from other Margins by the use of the Accessory Clause, with the Predicate being filled by an accessory verb and by its deep structure. It is distinguished from sentences containing Accessory Clause, e.g. Reason Sentence, Parallel Merged Sentence, by the different tagmemes within these sentences.

Sentence with Participial Margin

+ Nucleus	+ Participial Margin	
	Accessory Clause	
	accessory verb in Predicate	

Rules:

- (1) Permutation: The Participial Margin can permute to a position preceding the nucleus.
- (2) Limitation: The Participial Margin applies to one element within the nucleus or to the whole nucleus.

Discussion:

The Participial Margin is used to express background information, or information which is out of the main theme or time line(see the note under accessory verbs, 3.5.2.2). It is infrequently used and has been found mainly in Narrative Discourse.

Examples:

1. Nucleus: Ya-e / wula-e / dé sépé naaba-k / come-r1 enter-r1 he skin take.down-pa

Margin: kaanyba waak-ne / jépgutip-me / bamboo.in put.in-r1 cover.with.leaf-r1

akutakna-dé-n //place-he-apa

'He came and entered and took down the skin, having previously put (it) inside the bamboo, covered it with

a leaf and placed it.'

In the above example the Predicate of the Accessory Clause is expounded by a Sequence Sentence.

2. Here also the Participial Margin is expounded by an Accessory Clause with Predicate expounded by a Sequence Sentence.

Margin: Naané yaapa béré gwalgu bul-da-ka/
we father pluralizer ancestor talk-they-r6

véknwu-na-n // hear-we-apa

Nucleus: $\frac{de}{they}$ $\frac{tent{é}pa}{again}$ $\frac{misin}{mission}$ $\frac{ya-e}{come-r1}$ $\frac{de}{they}$ $\frac{w-o}{say-pr}$

kén Nowa//

'We having heard what our fathers and ancestors told, the missionaries came and they say, "This is Noah."!

3. Here the Nucleus is expounded by an Interrogative 1 Clause embedded in the Supplement, and the Margin is expounded by a short Accessory Clause.

Nucleus: (<u>Téwaang</u> <u>yéknwun</u> <u>mu</u> <u>male</u> <u>kwayé-da-kwa</u>) white.man good thing only give-they-apr

baadi las guné vé-k / child par you(pl) see-pa

Margin: yalagi ya-da-kwa // healthy do-they-apr

'Have you seen the children to whom the white men give good things, how healthy they are?'

4. Margin: Némaan botelba waak-na-kwa / big bottle.in put.in-we-apr

Nucleus: naané arigék moni nyégél-u // we much money receive-pr

'We, putting it (gold) in big bottles, receive much money.'

6.2 Sentence types

The following chart gives a summary of the 27 contrastive sentence types. The titles of the columns refer to inner components of the sentence. The titles of the rows of the Merged Sentences refer to the distribution of these sentences. The titles of the rows of the Sentences refer to semantic groupings. The sentences of each row will be described from left to right.

CHART N

Sentence Types

Merged Sentences

			
	Restricted	Semi-restricted	Free
Aspectual	Subjunctive	Immediacy Imminency	Negative
Dependent	Past Intentive	Protracted	Amplification Parallel
Dependent or Independent	Quote Recapitula- tion	Ferent	Series
	Sentences		
Complex Intentive	General Intentive	Past Intentive Indirect Quote	Present Intentive
Condition	Contrafactual	Conditional	
Process	Reason	Perception	Sequence
Compound Quote	Mistaken Impression	Mental Quote	Direct Quote
Paraphrase		Parallel	Amplification
Antithetic		Contrary Expectation	Alternative

6.3 Extra-systemic

The following three sentence types are extra-systemic and are described first. For ease of description the Fragmentary Sentence and the Colloquial Sentence are not mentioned as exponents in bidimensional arrays for other sentences. As they can occur wherever Simple Sentence occurs, the term "Simple Sentence" is to be understood as also covering Fragmentary and Colloquial Sentences. Where these sentences occur in examples they are also stated specifically.

6.3.1 Simple

The Simple Sentence consists of a single independent clause only. It is distinguished from a clause as a sentence type by the optional occurrence of various sentence peripheral tagmemes. The Simple Sentence expounds initial bases in Narrative and Procedural Paragraphs, and bases in most other paragraph types. It also expounds Aperture, Stage, Comment, Finis and Closure bases of discourses.

Examples:

1. Periphery 1: <u>Ao</u> ves

Base: yaa-ké wuné-k // come-des I-des

'Yes, I want to come.'

2. Periphery 1: Kaapuk

Base: wan menakun //

'No, that is yours.'

3. Periphery 1: Yuwe

Base: <u>dérét</u> <u>de</u> <u>viyaa-k</u> him they strike-pa

Periphery 4: -na

'Oh, they have indeed killed him!'

4. Periphery 2: Méno you.vo 1

Base: wuné ménat wuné waat-o // ask-pr

'You, I ask you!'

5. Periphery 2: <u>Bénawa</u> you.two.vo 3

Base: mé yaala //

'Hey you two, come!'

6. Time Margin: Gaan ya-dé-ka / night do-he-r6

Base: de yé-k deku gayét //
they go-pa their village.to

'When it was night they went to their village.'

7. Base: Nyénat wuné wakwe-yo / speak-pr

Purpose Margin: véknwu-nyén-u-ké // hear-you-r7-int

'I speak to you so that you will hear.

6.3.2 Fragmentary

The Fragmentary Sentence consists of an utterance less than a clause. It is frequently heard in casual conversation and within direct speech in Narrative and Report Paragraphs. It occurs often in answer to a question or a command. It also expounds the Finis base of a discourse. The term is also used to cover idioms.

Examples:

1. (Question: Wan kiyadé 'Who is there?') that who

(Answer): wuné 'I'

2. (Question: $\frac{\text{yaa-k\'e}}{\text{come-des}}$ $\frac{1\'{e}-k}{\text{she-des}}$ //

'Does she want to come?')

(Answer): $\frac{\text{Kaapuk}}{\text{no}}$ //

No。

3. (Command: Mé yaala // 'Come!')

(Response): Wekna

'Wait!'

4. (Idiom): Yage vé-ké //

'How can I tell? I don't know.'

6.3.3 Colloquial

The Colloquial Sentence is a phonological sentence, in that it has sentence final intonation and is followed by silence, but it does not contain an independent verb nor an independent clause. It is heard frequently in casual conversation and in direct speech with the Narrative Paragraph, but does not seem to be permitted as a written form. Verbs expounding the Predicate of the dependent clause or clauses are usually relational verbs, usually same actor simultaneous or different actor partially consecutive verb followed by a personal pronoun. Desiderative intentive verb has also been observed functioning in this way.

Examples:

- 1. Gwalmu kéraa-kwate de // goods get-des int they
 - 'They are wanting to buy things.'
- 2. Nyaa vé-ké ya-dé-ka 16 // sun shine-int do-he-ré she

'The sun is about to shine and she (bird sings).

3. Dé waga ya-te dé //
he thus do-r3 he

'So that is what he does.'

4. Guné du las mé té-te kéraa-te guné//
you(pl) man par imp stand-r3 give.birth-r3 you

'You men, you give birth to children!'

6.4 Merged

Merged Sentences are closely-knit constructions, held together by the same subject. Apart from the Series Merged Sentence they are usually short with very few clause level tagmemes. Dependent Merged Sentences are always embedded in other sentences and the remaining Merged Sentences are frequently embedded.

6.4.1 Aspectual

Any verb can be made subjunctive, future, imminent, or negative by the use of a Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence, an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence, an Imminency Aspectual Merged Sentence or a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence respectively. These Merged Sentences are therefore considered significant in relation to the verb only and therefore significant on a lower level than the sentence level. Because of this, after this section of the paper, Aspectual Merged Sentences are not mentioned in arrays of other Merged Sentences or Sentences. However, they are noted within the examples.

These Aspectual Merged Sentences are held to consist of two clauses because of the appearance of the actorsubject between the two verbs, and therefore they cannot be considered as verb phrases.

6.4.1.1 Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence

The Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence consists of an obligatory Hypothetical base, expounded by a Subjunctive Aspectual Clause, Imminency Aspectual Merged Sentence or Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence ending with a hypothetical verb, followed by an obligatory Event base, expounded by a Restricted Independent Clause.

The Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence is distinguished from other Aspectual Merged Sentences by the occurrence of the hypothetical verb in the first base, the limited tense of the verb in the second base, the ability to contain other Aspectual Merged Sentences and its limited distribution.

Subjunctive

+ Hypothetical	+ Event
Subjunctive Aspectual Clause Imminency Aspectual M.S. Negative Aspectual M.S.	Restricted Independent Clause
	with same subject
ending in hypothetical verb (with -katik)	in past tense only, cannot be negated

Rules:

- (1) Reading: Both bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.
- (2) Agreement: This is a same subject sequence.
- (3) Limitation: The only verb that can occur in the second base is the factive verb, in the past tense.

Discussion:

The Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence is used to express a hypothesis. It cannot stand as an independent sentence. It expounds or is contained within the Apodosis base of a Contrafactual Sentence and the Anticipation base of a Contrary Expectation Sentence. Both of these sentence types are infrequently used.

Examples:

1. Here the Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Anticipation base of a Contrary Expectation Sentence.

- 'I would have swept the place, but I did not want to.'
- 2. Here also the Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Anticipation base of a Contrary Expectation Sentence.

Waapi kur-e / hold-r1

Hypothetical: <u>yé-katik</u> // go-hyp

Event: <u>de</u> <u>ya-k</u> // they do-pa

gaan ya-dé-ka / bakna de ra-k //
night do-he-r6 just they sit-pa

'They would have taken the yams, but it was dark and they just stayed there.'

3. Here a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Hypothetical base of the Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence, which in turn expounds the Apodosis base of a Contrafactual Sentence.

Waata-kaapuk/ ya-wur-u // mukatik contr

Hypothetical: yaa-katik // come-not do-hyp

Event: wuné ya-k //

'If I had not asked, I would not have come.'

4. Here the Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Motion base of a Ferent Merged Sentence, which in turn expounds the Apodosis base of a Contrafactual Sentence.

Ra-bér-u / mukatik apuba apuba kur-e / sit-they(d)-r7 contr time time hold-r1

Hypothetical: <u>yaasaaku-katik</u> // come.cont-hyp

Event: $\frac{de}{they}$ $\frac{ya-k}{do-pa}$ //

'If the two had stayed, they would have kept on bring-ing (masks) continually.'

5. Here the Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the final Series base of a Series Merged Sentence,

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which itself expounds the Subsequent Action base of a Sequence Sentence. The construction expounds the Apodosis Base of a Contrafactual Sentence.

Bari gwaamal-e yaa-d-u // mukatik marasin quickly turn-r1 come-he-r7 contr medicine

<u>kwayé-n-o</u> / <u>k-e</u> / give-we-r7 eat-r1

Hypothetical: yéknwun good ya-katik / good do-hyp

Event: dé ya-k //

'If he had returned quickly, we would have given medicine, and he would have taken it and been well.'

6. Here the Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Apodosis base of a Contrafactual Sentence.

 $\frac{\text{L\'e}}{\text{she}} \frac{\text{ra-l-u}}{\text{sit-she-r7}} / \frac{\text{mukatik}}{\text{contr}}$

Hypothetical: <u>kwayé</u> <u>kwa</u> <u>tépé-katik</u> / flood rise shut-hyp

Event: $\frac{1\acute{e}}{\text{she}} \frac{\text{ya-k}}{\text{do-pa}} //$

'If she had stayed, the flood would have risen and cut her off.'

7. Here the Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Apodosis base of a Contrafactual Sentence.

Bulaa yaa-n-o / mukatik today come-we-r7 contr

Hypothetical: gwaamal-e yé-katik / turn-r1 go-hyp

Event: <u>naané</u> <u>ya-k</u> // we do-pa

'If we had come today, we would have turned and gone back.'

6.4.1.2 Immediacy

The Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence consists of an obligatory Immediacy base expounded by an Intentive Same Actor Clause 1, or an Imminency Aspectual Merged Sentence or a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence ending with an intentive verb, followed by an obligatory Event base expounded by a Restricted Clause.

The Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence differs from other Aspectual Merged Sentences by the use of the intentive verb in the first base, the ability to contain Imminency Aspectual and Negative Aspectual Merged Sentences within itself, a very wide distribution and the deep structure of the whole construction.

Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence

+ Immediacy	+ Event
Intentive Same Actor Clause 1 Imminency Aspectual M.S. Negative Aspectual M.S.	Restricted Clause
ending with intentive verb (with -ké/-gé)	with same subject Sub-type 1 present Sub-type 2 past Sub-type 3 dependent verb cannot be negated

Sub-type 1 with present tense only = Future Tense
Sub-type 2 with past tense only = Future in the Past
Sub-type 3 with dependent verb = 'be about to'

Rules:

- (1) Reading: Both bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.
- (2) Permutation: Subject of Event base may precede Immediacy base.
- (3) Agreement: The Event base must have the same subject as the Immediacy base.
- (4) Limitation: Sub-type 1 takes the present tense of <u>ya</u>
 Sub-type 2 takes the past tense of <u>ya</u>
 Sub-type 3 takes the relational, conditional
 or accessory form of ya.

In Sub-type 1 the clause may be further reduced by the omission of the verb <u>ya</u> with the actor-subject only remaining in the sentence-final position or alternatively, actor-

subject is omitted when the construction expounds the Predicate of a Declarative Independent Clause. In the former case sentence-final intonation marks this as the end of the sentence.

Discussion:

The Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence is used to express an event that is or was about to occur. Sub-type 1 is used to express the Future Tense and occurs very frequently in conversation and in Hortatory and Procedural Paragraphs within Hortatory Discourse. Sub-types 2 and 3 occur infrequently. Examples of these have been found in Narrative Paragraphs.

The Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence may embed in the Predicate of a Declarative Independent Clause or it may expound a base of other sentences. When it stands alone it functions as a Simple Sentence. Thus, whenever a Simple Sentence expounds a Paragraph base it is to be understood that this term is also used to cover an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence.

Examples:

1. Sub-type 1

Immediacy: Balus yé-ké / plane go-int

Event: $\frac{16}{\text{she}} \frac{\text{y-o}}{\text{do-pr}} //$

'The plane will go.'

2. Sub-type 1 In the following example an underlying structure of obligation seems to be implied.

Immediacy: Waga ya-ké / thus do-int

Event: méné y-o // you do-pr

'Like that you must do.'

3. Sub-type 1 Here the actor-subject precedes the Immediacy base and the construction expounds the Predicate of a Declarative Independent Clause.

Naané we Immediacy: <u>yaawi nak ya-ké</u> / bush one do-int

Event: y-o //

'We will clear some bush.'

4. Sub-type 1 Here the Event base has been reduced to actor-subject only.

Immediacy: Maamat viyaa-ké / strike-int

Event: de //

'They will fight their enemies.'

5. Sub-type 1 Here the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Predicate of the Independent Clause which expounds the Subsequent Action base of a Sequence Sentence.

Wakwe-n-o / las kur-e / yaa-d-o // lé speak-we-r7 some hold-r1 come-they-r7 she

Immediacy: <u>kéraa-ké</u> / buy-int

Event: <u>y-o</u> // do-pr

'We will speak, and they will bring some, and she will buy them.'

6. Sub-type 2

Immediacy: Ga kaa-ké / house thatch-int

Event: $\frac{de}{he}$ $\frac{ya-k}{do-pa}$ //

'He was going to thatch the house.'

7. Sub-type 3 Here the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Prior Action base of a Sequence Sentence. Immediacy: Ge ge gayéba yé-ké / village village village.in go-int

Event: <u>ya-bét-ka</u> // do-they(d)-r6

wuné male wuné bétké sébéra vé-k // only I they(d).on sympathy

'They two were about to go in every village, and only I was considerate towards them.'

8. Sub-type 3 Here the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the first Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

Immediacy: $\underline{\underline{Mi}}$ $\underline{\underline{vele-ke}}$ / $\underline{fell-int}$

Event: <u>ya-te</u> //

dé naanat waati-k //
he us scold-pa

'He was about to chop down the tree and scolded us.'

6.4.1.3 Imminency Aspectual Merged Sentence

The Imminency Aspectual Merged Sentence consists of an obligatory Imminency base expounded by an Imminency Aspectual Clause, followed by an obligatory Event base expounded by a Restricted Clause.

The Imminency Aspectual Merged Sentence differs from other Aspectual Merged Sentences by the use of the imminency verb in the first base and the deep structure of the whole construction.

Imminency

+ Imminency	+ Event
Imminency Aspectual Clause	Restricted Clause
with imminency verb (with -male) cannot be negated	with independent or hypothetical, intentive, relational, accessory or conditional verb. with same subject cannot be negated

Rules:

- (1) Reading: Both bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.
- (2) Agreement: Event base must have the same actorsubject as the Imminency base.

Discussion:

The Imminency Aspectual Merged Sentence is used to express an event that is or was on the point of occurring. It is heard infrequently, and thus far, only in casual conversation. Imminency Aspectual Merged Sentence embeds in Subjunctive Aspectual and Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentences.

Examples:

1. Imminency: <u>yé-male</u> / go-imm

Event: $\underline{\text{ya-k\'e}}_{\text{do-des}}$ $\underline{\text{wun\'e-k}}_{\text{I-des}}$ //

'I am on the point of going.'

2. Imminency: akéré-male /

Event: <u>ya-ké</u> <u>dé-k</u> // he-des

'He is on the point of falling.'

3. Here the Imminency Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Immediacy base of an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence of which the Event base has been reduced to actor-subject only.

Imminency: <u>Kiyaa-male</u> / die-imm

Event: ya-ké //

wuné //

'I am on the point of dying.'

4. In the following example the Imminency Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Hypothetical base of the

Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence.

Imminency: <u>Taaba-ba</u> <u>ya-male</u> / hand-loc do-imm

Event: ya-katik /

wuné ya-k //

'I was almost on the point of doing (sewing) on my hand.'

6.4.1.4 Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence

The Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence consists of an obligatory Negative base expounded by a Negative Aspectual Clause, followed by an obligatory Event base expounded by a Restricted Clause.

The Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence differs from other Aspectual Merged Sentences by the use of the negative verb in the first base and the fact that it embeds within Subjunctive and Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentences.

Negative

+ Negative	+ Event
Negative Aspectual Clause	Restricted Clause
with negative verb (-kaapuk/ -marék)	with same subject cannot be negated

Rules:

(1) Reading: Both bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.

(2) Agreement: The Event base must have the same subject as the Negative base.

Discussion:

The Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence is one way of expressing negation. It is used with independent and dependent verbs. It is found in all sentence types which can be negated.

Examples:

1. Negative: <u>Kwayé-marék</u> / give-not

Event: de ya-k //

'They did not give.'

2. Negative: Gwalmu kéraa-marék / food buy-not

Event: de y-o // he do-pr

'He does not buy food.'

3. Here the Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Immediacy base of an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence.

Negative: Tépa bul-kaapuk / again talk-not

Event: ya-ké //

naané y-o //
we do-pr

'We will not talk again.'

4. Here one Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence occurs within the Protasis base and another Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Hypothetical base of a Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence which in turn expounds the Apodosis base of a Contrafactual Sentence.

Negative: Waata-kaapuk / ask-not

Event: <u>ya-wur-u</u> // do-I-r7

mukatik contr

Negative: yaa-kaapuk / come-not

Event: <u>ya-katik</u> //

'If I had not asked, I would not have come.'

5. Here the Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Protasis base of a Conditional Sentence.

Negative: Waan kuttakna-marék / ear make-not

Event: <u>ya-da-ran</u> // do-they-if

wan kélik lé y-o // focus unwillingness she do-pr

'If they do not make ears (on masks), then she does not want them.'

6. Here the Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence occurs within the Cause base of a Reason Sentence.

Bakna ra-ké / guné y-o //
just sit-int you do-pr

Negative: jébaa las ya-kaapuk / work par do-not

Event: <u>ya-guné-kwa</u> // do-you-apr

bege //

'You will be without possessions, because you do not work.'

6.4.2 Dependent

Dependent Merged Sentences are always embedded in other Sentences.

6.4.2.1 Past Intentive

The Past Intentive Merged Sentence consists of an obligatory Intentive base expounded by the Relational Same Actor Closing Quote Clause, <u>nae</u> 'intend, want', followed by an obligatory Reinforcement base expounded by a Restricted Clause or General Quote Clause.

The Past Intentive Merged Sentence differs from other Dependent Merged Sentences by distinctive exponents in both bases. It differs from the Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence, to which it is structurally similar, by the limited set of exponents of its bases and by its distribution.

Past Intentive Merged Sentence

+ Intentive	+ Reinforcement
na-e 'want, intend'	Restricted Clause General Quote Clause with verb in independent or relational form with same subject
	independent clause has verb in past tense cannot be negated

Rules:

- (1) Reading: Both bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.
- (2) Agreement: The Reinforcement base must have the same subject as the Intentive base.
- (3) Limitation: The clause in the Reinforcement base is restricted to subject and verb only. The independent clause has the verb in the past tense only. The independent clause may be further reduced by the omission of the verb, with the subject only remaining in the sentence final position. Sentence-final intonation marks this as the end of the sentence.

Discussion:

The Past Intentive Merged Sentence is used to form part of the construction which expresses a wish in the past, which is usually not likely to be achieved. This Merged Sentence is used only within a Past Intentive Sentence, as one of the exponents of the Intent base.

Examples:

All examples show the Past Intentive Merged Sentence embedded in a Past Intentive Sentence.

1. <u>Kabébapéba</u> <u>r-e</u> / <u>Wamatawenét</u> <u>wayé-ké</u> / at.Kambembape sit-r1 to.Wamatoin go.up-int

Intentive: na-e / want-r1

Reinforcement: 16 ya-k // she do-pa

'She wanted to stay at Kambembape and go up to Wamatoin.'

2. Gorokat yé-wur-u-ké / go-I-r7-int

Intentive: na-e / want-r1

Reinforcement: wa-da-ka // say-they-r6

wuné kélik ya-k //
I unwillingness do-pa

'They wanted me to go to Goroka, but I did not want to.'

3. Pita aniké wik gayét yé-ké / Peter next week village.to go-int

Intentive: <u>na-e</u> / intend-r1

Reinforcement: ya-dé-k // do-he-r5

16 déku néwaa waati-lé-ka / dé kaapuk ya-k // she his mother scold-she-ré he not do-pa

'Peter intended to go to the village next week, but his mother scolded him and he did not.'

4. Kapére waara pél-wur-u-ké / pull.out-I-r7-int

Intentive: na-e / want-r1

Reinforcement: wa-16-ka // say-she-r6

<u>kélik</u> <u>ya-takne</u> / <u>wuné</u> <u>widé</u> <u>kwaa-k</u> // unwillingness do-r2 / I sleep lie-pa

'She wanted me to pull out the weeds, but I did not want to and 1 slept.'

5. Sétuwat dawuli-ké / store.to go.down-int

Intentive: <u>na-e</u> / want-r1

Reinforcement: <u>ya-wuré-ka</u> //

maas viyaa-dé-ka / wuné gaba ra-k // rain strike-he-r6 I house.in sit-pa

'I intended to go down to the store, but it rained and I stayed in the house.'

6. In the following example the Restricted Independent Clause has been reduced to subject only. This forms the end of the utterance.

Wunat kapére mu ya-ké / me bad thing do-int

Intentive: <u>na-e</u> / want-r1

Reinforcement: guné //

'You wanted to harm me.'

6.4.2.2 Protracted

The Protracted Merged Sentence consists of an obligatory Statement base expounded by a Dependent Clause or Amplification Merged Sentence ending with relational verb forms r1, r3, or r6, followed by an obligatory Protraction base which may be repeated any number of times, expounded by the same form of the same predicate and occasionally one other clause level slot, or another Amplification Merged Sentence.

The Protracted Merged Sentence is distinct from all other Merged Sentences in that the same form of the same verb is repeated in the Protraction base or bases and although the relational suffix used may indicate change of subject, semantically only the same subject follows within this construction.

Protracted Merged Sentence

+ Statement	+ (Protraction) ⁿ
Dependent C1. Amplification M.S.	Dependent C1. Amplification M.S.
with relational verbs r1, r3, r6	with same relational verbs in same form with same subject
	clause usually reduced to verb only. Whether relational verbs are marked for same or diff- erent subject the semantic component is same subject

Rules:

- (1) Reading: The minimum number of bases is two. Any number may occur. The highest number recorded is seven. The norm is three to five.
- (2) Agreement: The same form of the same verb is used throughout the construction. The Protraction bases have the same subject as the Statement base.
- (3) Limitation: Only one example of an Amplification Merged Sentence in this construction has been found.

Discussion:

The Protracted Merged Sentence is frequently used to indicate the passing of time. It seems to depend on the normal loquacity of the individual speaker as to how many Protraction bases are used, but even the most taciturn will make use of one or two Protraction bases. This Merged Sentence is usually found in Narrative Paragraphs and often expounds the first base of Series Merged or Sequence Sentences.

Examples:

In the first four examples the Protracted Merged Sentence expounds the first Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

1. Statement:
$$\frac{Y-e}{go-r1}$$

Protraction 1:
$$\frac{y-e}{go-r1}$$

Protraction 2:
$$\frac{y-e}{go-r1}$$

'We kept on going and going and reached Nungwaia.'

2. Statement: $\frac{B\acute{e}t}{they(d)}$ $\frac{waari-ye}{fight-r1}$ /

Protraction: waari-ye // fight-r1

bét waarén bét satkwak ya-k // they(d) waarén and satkwak do-pa

'They two kept on fighting and became waarén and satkwak birds.'

3. Statement: $\frac{R-e}{sit-r1}$

Protraction 1: $\frac{r-e}{sit-r1}$

Protraction 2: <u>r-e</u> / sit-r1

Protraction 3: $\underline{r-e}$ / $\underline{sit-r1}$

Protraction 4: <u>r-e</u> // sit-r1

dé tépa viyaaknwu-k //
he again hit.tent-pa

'He stayed for a long time and again tentatively hit it.'

4. Statement: Batnyé raap-me / First get.up-r1

Protraction: batnyé raap-me // get.up-r1

wupmale du taakwa naané meba ya-k // many man woman we member do-pa

'We kept getting up first (i.e. starting to work on it) and many of our men and women became members.'

5. In the following example an Amplified Merged Sentence expounds the Statement base and is repeated in the Protraction base. This Protracted Merged Sentence expounds the Amplification base of another Amplified

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Merged Sentence, which in turn is embedded in a Series Merged Sentence, which is embedded in a Sequence Sentence.

Matu kulatba jebaa y-e / ka-te / stone knife.with work do-r1 eat-r3

de té-te / ya-e / ya-e / they stand-r3 come-r1 come-r1

Statement: $\underline{\text{yaa-k\'ere}}$ / $\underline{\text{ya-e}}$ // $\underline{\text{come-r1}}$

Protraction: <u>yaa-kére</u> / <u>ya-e</u> // come-r1

de naana néwaa yaapat (kéraa-da-n) matu they our mother father.to get-they-apa stone

<u>kulaatba</u> <u>male</u> <u>y-e</u> / <u>ka-te</u> / <u>kwayé-da-ka</u> // knife.with only do-r1 eat-r3 give-they-r6

 $\frac{\text{de}}{\text{they}} \quad \frac{\text{ka-k}}{\text{eat-pa}} //$

'They stayed working with stone knives and eating and they kept on coming continuously, and they ate and worked with the stone knives which they received from our parents and they exchanged them and others ate.'

6. Here a different relational verb form is used. The Protracted Merged Sentence expounds the first Series base of a Series Sentence.

Statement: Baapmu vétik kupuk wani jébaa ya-te / moon two three that work do-r3

Protraction: <u>ya-te</u> // do-r3

naané kéra-o //
we get-pr

'We keep on doing that work for two or three months and we get it (gold).'

7. In the following two examples the Protracted Merged Sentence expounds the Prior Action base of a Sequence Sentence.

Statement: Ra-wuré-ka / sit-I-r6

Protraction 1: <u>ra-wuré-ka</u> / sit-I-r6

Protraction 2: ra-wuré-ka //

bét yaa-k //

'I kept waiting and waiting, and then they two came.'

8. Statement: <u>Vélé-da-ka</u> / chop-they-r6

Protraction: vélé-da-ka // chop-they-r6

gaan ya-dé-ka / yékéra-e / gayéba kwaa-da-ka / night do-he-ré go.away-ri village.at lie-they-ré

giya-e / dé tépa kéra-e / nyaa-k // come.down-r1 he again get-r1 stick-pa

'They kept on chopping (the tree), and night came, and they went away and slept in the village, and he came down from the tree and stuck it together again.'

6.4.2.3 Amplification

The Amplification Merged Sentence consists of an obligatory Introductory base expounded by a Dependent Clause or Protracted Merged Sentence, followed by an obligatory Amplification base expounded by a Dependent Clause or Series Merged Sentence. Both bases conclude with a relational verb.

The Amplification Merged Sentence is distinguished from other dependent Merged Sentences by the limited number of bases, the lack of restricted exponents of either base and the amplified nature of the exponent of the second base.

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Amplification Merged Sentence

+ Introductory	+ Amplification
Dependent Clause Protracted Merged S.	Dependent Clause Series Merged S.
with relational verb	with relational verb with same subject
cannot be negated	exponent of this base is similar in structure and meaning but adds extra information cannot be negated
Pa \wedge Pax	
P(a) \wedge P(a')	

Rules:

(1) Reading: Both bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.

(2) Agreement: The Amplification base must have the same subject as the Introductory base.

Discussion:

The Amplification Merged Sentence is used to add further information to the immediately preceding point. It usually occurs within a Series Merged Sentence. It is infrequently used, mainly in Narrative Paragraphs.

Examples:

 In this and the following two examples the Amplification Merged Sentence expounds the first Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

'They kept on dancing and danced until dawn and then they slept.'

2. Here the Amplification base contains a synonym of the noun modifier in the location slot of the clause expounding the Introductory base.

Introductory: Némaa yaawiba miték y-e / big bush.in well do-r1

Amplification: apakélé yaawiba y-e // great bush.in do-r1

naané arigék rayés puka-e / gél-e / naané we much rice plant-r1 pick-r1 we

arigék bekba waada-te / naané kwayé-ké / y-o //
many bag.in put.in-r3 we give-int do-pr

'We work in the big bush, in the great bush, and will plant much rice, pick it, put it in many bags and sell it.'

3. Here the Amplification base contains a synonym of the noun modifier in the supplement slot and an expanded form of the predicate of the clause in the Introductory base.

Introductory: Kadému yaawi vétik nak ya-te / food bush two one do-r3

Amplification: arigék yaawi ya-kére / yé-te // much bush do-r4 go-r3

arigék kadému yanan-te / naané kén manit waga y-o // much food plant-r3 we now money thus do-pr

'We make one or two food gardens, keep on making many gardens, plant much food and now like that we earn money.'

4. Here a Protracted Merged Sentence expounds the Introductory base and a clause consisting of verb only with an additional suffix added expounds the Amplification base. The construction expounds the Acquisition base of a Ferent Merged Sentence.

Introductory: (Sékul-kwa) duwat kéra-e / kéra-e // school-apr men take-r1 / take-r1

Amplification: <u>kéraa-buti-ye</u> // take-comp 2-r1

<u>kur-e</u> / <u>naané</u> <u>gwaamal-e</u> <u>yé-k</u> // hold-r1 we turn-r1 go-pa AMBULAS GRAMMAR 231

'We kept on taking (word-lists) from the school men and finished taking them and we took the lists back.'

5. Here the verb in the Amplification base contains a different suffix from the verb in the Introductory base, indicating partial completion of the action. The construction is repeated and forms a Protracted Merged Sentence, contained within another Amplification Merged Sentence. The example is given in full under 6.4.2.2, Example 5.

Introductory: <u>ya-e</u> / <u>ya-e</u> // come-r1 come-r1

Amplification: Protracted Merged Sentence with two Amplification Merged Sentences.

Introductory: <u>yaa-kére</u> /

Amplification: <u>ya-e</u> // come-r1

Introductory: yaa-kére /

Amplification: <u>ya-e</u> // come-r1

' . . . they kept on coming and coming continuously.'

6.4.2.4 Parallel

The Parallel Merged Sentence consists of an obligatory Statement base expounded by a clause or Series Merged Sentence ending with an accessory verb, followed by an obligatory Parallel base which may be repeated up to six times, in which clause or Series Merged Sentence the subjects are the same, the verb is in the accessory form and there is one other structural or semantic feature in common, followed by an infrequent optional Summary base which is expounded by a General Clause containing a repetition of the verb stem of the preceding bases or the verb <u>ya</u> 'do' in relational or independent form.

The Parallel Merged Sentence differs from other dependent Merged Sentences by the distinctive use of the accessory verb and the optional Summary base with restricted exponents.

Parallel Merged Sentence

Taractar Horge		T
+ Statement	+ (Parallel) ⁶	+ Summary
Dependent C1. Series M.S.	Dependent C1. Series M.S.	General Clause with same verb stem or <u>ya</u> 'do'
with accessory verb	with accessory verb	with relational or independent verb
	with same subject	with same subject
accessory verb	accessory verb	clause with independent verb may contain other summary features e.g. <u>akwi</u> 'all' <u>waga</u> 'thus' cannot be negated
Pab / Pac	^ · · · · · ·	gPa
Pa 🔨 Q a	• • • • •	gNa
Pa / P'18	a ∧ P' ₂ a	gNa

Rules:

- (1) The Parallel base may be repeated up to six times but the usual is no repetition of this base and the entire construction may then consist of three bases only. The Summary base is usually present. It has been found absent in only one example.
- (2) Agreement: The entire construction has the same subject, which, in all but the last base, is contained overtly within the accessory verb. Apart from the parallelism of the accessory verb there is also a structural or semantic (e.g. different aspects of the same event) parallelism between the Statement and Parallel bases.
- (3) Limitation: Only accessory verbs may be used in the first and second bases. If a relational verb is used in the Summary base the clause is usually restricted to the verb only. Only a same subject simultaneous relational verb (i.e. r3 or r4) is used.

Discussion:

The Parallel Merged Sentence provides a way of introducing similar pieces of information without interrupting the chronology of a Series Merged Sentence. It is usually found embedded within a Series Merged Sentence in Narrative or

Procedural Discourse.

Examples:

Here two Parallel Merged Sentences expound the second and third Series bases of a Series Merged Sentence.

$$\frac{\text{Mi}}{\text{tree}}$$
 $\frac{\text{v\'e1\'e-te}}{\text{fe11-r3}}$ /

Statement: <u>ka</u> <u>kwa-da-n</u> /

yam plant-they-apa

Parallel: mayé saaba-da-n / taro plant-they-apa

<u>ya-te</u> // Summary:

de baadén vélé-da-n / baadén fell-they-apa Statement:

yaaman vélé-da-n / yaaman fell-they-apa Parallel:

<u>vélé-te</u> // fell-r3 Summary:

 $\underline{\text{vi}}$ taa-k // de they spear fashion-pa

'They felled trees and they planted yams and taro and they felled baaden and yaaman trees and they fashioned spears.'

2. Here the semantic connection between the two bases is the preparation for a special feast. The construction expounds the first Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

Waapi kw-e / vaa-wuré-n // Statement: yam plant-r1 dig-I-apa

baalé yaakwa-wuré-n / look.after-I-apa Parallel:

ya-te // Summary:

'I planted yams and dug them and looked after pigs and when I was angry with them (people), I made a special feast.'

3. The following example, with no Summary base, is also in connection with this special feast. The construction also expounds the first Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

Statement: Baalé kut-da-n / hold-they-apa

Parallel: waapi vaa-da-n // yam dig-they-apa

<u>kéti-te</u> / <u>de</u> <u>baagu</u> <u>ya-k</u> // dance-r3 they feast do-pa

'They caught pigs and dug yams and dancing held a special feast.'

4. This example shows semantically connected aspects of garden preparation in the Statement and Parallel bases. The construction expounds the final Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

Kwa-te / kur-e / yé-te //
sharpen-r3 hold-r1 go-r3

Statement: <u>de yaawi ya-da-n</u> / they bush do-they-apa

Parallel 1: mi vélé-da-n / fell-they-apa

Parallel 2: séwaa viyaa-da-n / pitpit strike-they-apa

Parallel 3: <u>raatmu</u> <u>gi-da-n</u> / fence tie-they-apa

Summary: waga de ya-k // thus they do-pa

'They sharpened (their knives) and took them and cleared bush, felled trees, cut pitpit and tied fences, like that they did.'

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5. This example shows Series Merged Sentences in the Statement and Parallel bases. The construction expounds the first Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

Statement: Kopi yaawi miték nébul-e / coffee bush well clean-r1

<u>kutwuré-na-ran</u> // finish.work-we-afu

Parallel: <u>saal</u> <u>sénaa-te</u> / <u>waara</u> <u>viyaa-te</u> / shoots prune-r3 grass strike-r3

nébul-e / kutwuré-na-ran //
clean-r1 finish.work-we-afu

Summary: <u>ya-te</u> //

kopi miték arigék kopi gélé-ké / naané y-o // coffee well much coffee pick-int we do-pr

'We shall finish clearing well the coffee garden, pruning the shoots, cutting the grass and finish clearing, (like that) we shall do and we shall pick plenty of coffee.'

6. The following example demonstrates seven Parallel bases. The construction expounds the first Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

Statement: Naané Nyamikémét kéraa-lé-n / we Nyamikum kéraa-lé-n / get-she-apa

Parallel 1: Kénbagwat kéraa-lé-n / Kenbangwa get-she-apa

Parallel 2: <u>Kunébésnyét</u> <u>kéraa-lé-n</u> / <u>get-she-apa</u>

Parallel 3: Mabélepmét kéraa-lé-n / get-she-apa

Parallel 4: Gwéyalékémét kéraa-lé-n / Gwiyalekum get-she-apa

Parallel 5: Awupiknét kéraa-lé-n / Aupik get-she-apa

Parallel 6: Wawurat kéraa-lé-n / get-she-apa

Parallel 7: Gekatikémét kéraa-lé-n / Gekatikum get-she-apa

Summary: <u>akwi</u> <u>16</u> <u>kéraa-kére</u> / <u>yé-k</u> // go-pa

'She collected (magic things) from us Nyamikum people, from Kenbangwa people, Kunimbis people, from Mambelep people, from Gwiyalekum people, from Aupik people, from Wora people, from Gekatikum people, all the things she kept on collecting.'

6.4.3 Dependent or Independent

The following three Merged Sentences may be embedded in other sentences, but can also stand alone as independent sentences.

6.4.3.1 Quote Recapitulation

The Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence consists of an obligatory Recapitulation base expounded only by Relational Same Actor Closing Quote Clause, <u>naate</u> 'talk', followed by an obligatory Quote Formula base whose exponent contains a verb of saying or thinking.

This Merged Sentence is similar in structure to the following two Merged Sentences but is distinguished from them by the limitation to two bases and the distinctive exponents of both bases.

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Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence

+ Recapitulation	+ Quote Formula
naa-te 'talk'	General Quote Clause with General Clause independent, relational or conditional verb same subject
cannot be negated	wa 'say' (usual) wakwe 'speak' waata 'ask' waati 'scold' véknwu 'think' bul 'talk' sanévéknwu 'think' clause usually contains few slots often contains waga 'thus' cannot be negated

Rules:

- (1) Reading: Both bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.
- (2) Agreement: The Quote Formula base must have the same subject as the Recapitulation base.
- (3) Limitation: Only certain verbs in certain forms, as indicated on the array can be used. General Clause only expounds Quote Formula when Predicate is expounded by véknwu 'think' or sanévéknwu 'think'.

Discussion:

The Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence is usually present following a Direct Quote Sentence. When exponent of the General Clause expounding the Quote Formula base is véknwu 'think' or sanévéknwu 'think' the preceding direct speech is in the form of a question. When an Independent or Conditional Clause expounds the Quote Formula base the Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence expounds the Closure base of a Reported Speech Paragraph. When a dependent clause expounds the Quote Formula base the Quote Recapituation Merged Sentence expounds the first base of the following sentence and is in double function as a sentence link on the paragraph level and an exponent of a sentence level base. The Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence is frequently used, particularly in Narrative Discourse.

Examples:

1. Recapitulation: Naa-te / talk-r3

Quote Formula: de waga wa-k // they thus say-pa

'Talking they said like that.'

2. Recapitulation: Naa-te / talk-r3

Quote Formula: wuné derét waati-k //

'Talking I scolded them.'

3. Recapitulation: Naa-te / talk-r3

Quote Formula: naané bul-u // we talk-pr

'Talking we talk.'

4. Recapitulation: Naa-te / talk-r3

Quote Formula: wakwe-n-o // speak-we-r7

'Talking let us speak.'

5. Here the construction expounds the Prior Action base of a Sequence Sentence.

Recapitulation: Naa-te / talk-r3

Quote Formula: wa-dé-ka // say-he-r6

bét wa-k / kaapuk // they(d) say-pa no

'Talking he said and they two said, "No".'

6. Here also the Construction expounds the Prior Action base of a Sequence Sentence.

Recapitulation: $\frac{\text{Naa-te}}{\text{talk-r3}}$

Quote Formula: waata-dé-ka // ask-he-r6

ask-ne-ro

16 wa-k kubu waapi // she say-pa head yam

'Talking he asked, and she said, "The top of a yam."!

7. Here the construction expounds the first Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

Recapitulation: Naa-te talk-r3

Quote Formula: wa-takne //

 $\frac{1\acute{e}}{\text{she}} \quad \frac{y\acute{e}-k}{\text{go-pa}} \quad //$

'Talking she said, and she went.'

8. Here the construction expounds the Protasis base of a Conditional Sentence.

Recapitulation: Naa-te talk-r3

Quote Formula: waga wa-méné-ran // thus say-you-if

méné tépa nyéga waga wakwe-mén-u / you again paper thus speak-you-r7

wuné véknwu-ké / y-o // hear-int do-pr

'If you say that, you must speak in another letter and I will hear.'

9. Here the construction follows a Direct Quote Sentence containing a question.

Recapitulation: Naa-te / talk-r3

Quote Formula: naané waga sanévéknwu //

'We talk and think like that.'

6.4.3.2 Ferent

A Ferent Merged Sentence consists of an optional Acquisition base expounded by a Dependent Clause or Parallel Merged Sentence containing a relational form of the verb keraa 'get' or occasionally another verb of acquiring, followed by an obligatory Transport base expounded by a clause containing the verb kure 'hold', followed by an obligatory Movement base expounded by a General Clause ending with one of a limited set of motion verbs.

In outward form this construction resembles a Series Merged Sentence but it is distinguished from it by the limited set of exponents, the set order of the string and the limitation to three bases.

Ferent Merged Sentence

<u>+</u> Acquisition	+ Transport	+ Movement
Dependent C1. Parallel M.S. Amplification M.S. with verb of acquiring in r1, r2 form	Dependent C1. with <u>kur-e</u> 'hold' same subject	General C1. with motion verb same subject
kéraa 'get' 1épaa 'get from ground' vaa 'dig' gélé 'pick' nyégél 'receive' cannot be negated	only this verb in this form can fill the Predicate of this clause cannot be negated	yé 'go' yaa 'come' yaala 'come towards' can be negated and this then negates sentence

Rules:

- (1) Reading: The Ferent Merged Sentence can consist of the Transport and Movement bases only, but more commonly the Acquisition base also occurs.
- (2) Agreement: This construction has the same subject in each base.
- (3) Limitation: This is a tightly knit construction with

clauses often reduced to the Predicate only. If an object is present, it occurs in the first base of the string only. If three bases are present, <u>kure</u> alone expounds the Transport base.

Discussion:

The Ferent Merged Sentence seems to work as a unit and corresponds to the English 'bring' or 'take'. The entire construction may fill the linkage recapitulation slot at the beginning of each sentence within a Narrative Paragraph. whereas the normal procedure is for the last verb only of the preceding sentence to be repeated. The entire construction is made negative either by using the Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence in the Movement base only or by putting the negative at the beginning of the string in a Denial Clause. The construction is made imperative by putting the imperative marker before the first base only. The construction is frequently held together more tightly by placing the pronoun subject before the first base only, when the Ferent Merged Sentence then expounds the Predicate slot of a clause. I have coined the term, Ferent, from the Greek root pherein 'to bring'.

The Ferent Merged Sentence may occur as an independent sentence and then it functions in the same way as a Series Merged Sentence. For this reason it is not listed as a separate exponent of Paragraph bases. It is to be understood that wherever Series Merged Sentence occurs Ferent Merged Sentence may also occur.

The Ferent Merged Sentence is more frequently found embedded within the Predicate of an Independent Clause or within a Series Merged Sentence or any Complex or Compound Sentence.

Examples:

1. Here the Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the Prior Action base of a Sequence Sentence, which has a Reason Sentence expounding the Subsequent Action base.

Transport: <u>Kur-e</u> / hold-r1

Movement: <u>yaa-mén-u</u> // come-you-r7

wuné yéwaa kwayé-ké / wuné y-o // I ring give-int I do-pr

wuna nyaan bege //
my child because

'You bring her and I shall give shell rings because you are my child.'

2. Here the Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the first base of a Series Merged Sentence, which is itself embedded in a Sequence Sentence.

Viyaa-da-ka / kill-they-r6

Acquisition: de they get-r1

Transport: <u>kur-e</u> / hold-r1

Movement: $\frac{ye-te}{go-r3}$ //

de rém-ék // bury-pa

'They killed them and others took them and buried them.'

3. The following examples are all contained within Series Merged Sentences (3 - 7). This example expounds the Predicate of the General Independent Clause.

Yaawi tu-takne / naané we

Acquisition: waapi kera-e / get-r1

Transport: <u>kur-e</u> / hold-r1

Movement: $\frac{y-e}{go-r1}$

<u>kw-o</u> <u>maabutap</u> // plant-pr mambutap.yams

'We burn the bush and take yams and plant them, maabutap yams.'

4. This example is contained within the Predicate of a General Independent Clause.

Gisagwadé-takne / naané tie-r2 we

Transport: <u>bulémakawu</u> <u>las kur-e</u> / some hold-r1

Movement: <u>ya-e</u> // come-r1

waba takna-ké y-o abuba // there put-int do-pr garden.in

'We will tie them and then bring the cattle and put them there in the yard.'

5. Here a different verb of acquiring expounds the Acquisition base.

Acquisition: Gél-e pick-r1

Transport: <u>kur-e</u> / hold-r1

Movement: <u>ya-e</u> // come-r1

masinba pékw-e / yakutny-e / taapuba machine.in take.off.skin-r1 wash-r1 palm.on

tawutakna-ké / méné y-o //
push.under.water-int you do-pr

'You must bring (the coffee), take off the skins in the machine, wash it and immerse it in water on the palm sheath.'

6. Here also a different verb of acquiring expounds the Acquisition base.

Kwayé-takne /
give-r2

Acquisition: wani nyégél-e / then receive-r1

Transport: <u>kur-e</u> /

Movement: gayét yaal-e // village.to come.towards-r1

waada-ké / méné y-o // fill.bag-int you do-pr

'You must give (money) and then you must bring (the bag) to the village and fill it (with rice).'

7. Here a Parallel Merged Sentence expounds the Acquisition base.

Naané y-e / go-r1

Acquisition: Banyéknét kéraa-lé-n / kus magic.things

<u>jaabi</u> <u>kus</u> <u>kéraa-lé-n</u> / <u>baalé</u> yam magic get-she-apa pig

<u>kus</u> <u>kéra-e</u> / get-r1

Transport: <u>kur-e</u> / hold-r1

Movement: $\underline{y-e}_{go-r1}$ //

16 guba wuréto-k // she water.in throw-pa

'We went and she collected from the Banyek people, she collected magic things, yam magic, jaabi yam magic, pig magic and took these things and threw them into the water.'

8. Here an Amplification Merged Sentence, itself containing a Protracted Merged Sentence, expounds the Acquisition base and a General Clause with Predicate filled by a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Movement base.

Acquisition: (Sékul-kwa) duwat kéra-e / school-apr men get-r1

kéra-e // kéraa-buti-ye // get-comp 2-r1

kur-e / Transport:

naané gwaamal-e yé-k //
we turn-r1 go-pa Movement:

'We kept on getting (word-lists) from the school men and finished getting them and took them back.'

9. Here a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds Immediacy base of the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounding the Movement base. This then makes the whole construction negative.

<u>Wuna</u> <u>kébi</u> <u>kéra-e</u> / my basket get-r1 Acquisition:

Transport: <u>kur-e</u> / hold-r1

yé-kaapuk / ya-ké / méné y-o //
go-not do-int you do-pr Movement:

'You must not take my basket.'

10. Here the Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the Predicate of a Denial Clause.

Naané kaapuk not

<u>wani</u> wani mu kur-e / that thing hold-r1 Transport:

Movement: yaa-na-n // come-we-apa

'We did not bring that thing.'

6.4.3.3 Series

The Series Merged Sentence consists of a string of same subject clauses or Merged Sentences. The first and final Series bases are obligatory. The medial Series base is optional and may be repeated up to seven times. The exponent of each non-final base ends with a relational verb. Any Dependent or Independent Merged Sentence, except a Past

Intentive Merged Sentence, (i.e. Merged Sentences listed under 6.4.2.2 - 6.4.3.3) may expound a non-final Series base. Only a clause, Ferent Merged Sentence or Series Merged Sentence may expound the final Series base.

The same subject sequence is used when the same subject is used or when the subject of the following base exponent includes the subject of the preceding base (but see 3.5.2.2).

The Series Merged Sentence is distinguished from other Merged Sentences by the chronological connection between one base and the next, the greater number of bases and the openended class of exponents. It is distinguished from the Sequence Sentence by its different set of relational suffixes, the absence of the bound pronoun subject and its distribution.

Series Merged Sentence

+ Series 1	± (Series) ⁷	+ Series _n
Dependent C1. any dependent or independent Merged Sentence (except Past Intentive) Past Intentive S. Indirect Quote S. ending with any same subject relational verb	Dependent C1. any dependent or independent Merged Sentence (except Past Intentive and Quote Recapitulation) Past Intentive S. Indirect Quote S. ending with any same subject relational verb same subject	clause Ferent M.S. Series M.S. IAMS ending with any verb except same subject relational verb same subject
<u>Pa</u> ∧ <u>Qa</u> • <u>Pa</u> ∧ <u>Q</u> a • Pa ∧ Qa •		

Any of the three shown features in the Deep Structure may occur between any member of the series, showing both overlap and succession. One string may contain the three different features.

Rules:

(1) Reading: The minimum number of bases is two. The maximum observed thus far is nine. The norm is three to five.

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(2) Agreement: Each verb in the string must be in the same subject relational form.

(3) Limitation: Clauses are frequently reduced to verbs only. The Series Merged Sentence usually contains no more than two Merged Sentences embedded within it and a string of clauses.

Discussion:

The Series Merged Sentence is the most common sentence type. It occurs as an independent sentence but is usually embedded in a Predicate of an Independent or Included Clause or in a Sequence or other Complex Sentence or in a Compound Sentence. It also occurs in most paragraph types, most frequently in paragraphs linked by verbs, and is found in all types of discourse.

The entire construction is made negative by the use of the Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence in the final Series base, or by putting the negative word at the beginning of the string and so using a Denial Clause.

The Series Merged Sentence expresses a series of actions by the same subject in chronological sequence.

The first tagmeme of a Series Merged Sentence within Narrative or Procedural Paragraphs is frequently in double function, functioning as a recapitulatory link on the paragraph level and also as the first Series base on the sentence level.

Examples:

1. Here the Series Merged Sentence expounds the Predicate of Affirmative Imperative Clause.

Mé imp

Series 1: <u>jaar-e</u> / take.out.of.bag-r1

Series_n: gu yaakutakna //
water wash

'Take (the child) out of the bag and wash (him).'

2. Here a Series Merged Sentence, containing an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence, expounds the Predicate of the clause expounding the final Series base of another Series Merged Sentence.

Series 1: $\frac{Y-e}{do-r1}$

Series 2: <u>tu-takne</u> / burn-r2

Series_n: naané

Series 1: taalé nébul-e / place clear-r1

Series_n: <u>rayés</u> <u>pukaa-ké</u> / <u>y-o</u> // rice plant-int do-pr

'We will do (this) and we will burn the area and then clear the area and plant rice.'

3. Here a Simultaneous Motion Verb Phrase expounds the Predicate of the clause which expounds the first Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

Series 1: Nyelikém ban déku yé Béjuvélé Nyelikum one his name Binjuvele

dawuli yaala-te / come-r3

Seriesn: dé Gujéba waapi jawulék-nék //
he at.Gunje yams loosen.tendrils-pa

'A Nyelikum person whose name was Binjuvele was going down towards here and he loosened the tendrils of yams at Gunje.'

4. Series 1: $\frac{Kw-e}{plant-r1}$

Series_n: naané tépa jawulék-nu //
we again loosen.tendrils-pr

'We plant and again loosen the tendrils (of yams).'

5. Series 1: Yaawi naaknw-e / garden mark.out-r1

Series 2: <u>ya-takne</u> / do-r2

Series_n: naané raatmu gi-yu //
we fence tie-pr

'We mark out the garden and finish and then tie the fence.'

- 6. Here a Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the second base and an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence with an Afterthought Peripheral tagmeme expounds the final base.
 - Series 1: Baal kérék-ne / baal.vine cut-r1
 - Series 2: $\frac{\text{kur-e}}{\text{hold-r1}} / \frac{\text{ya-e}}{\text{come-r1}} /$
 - Series 3: <u>nyédéba</u> <u>puka-e</u> / in.middle split-r1
 - Series 4: <u>takwi</u> <u>vétik</u> <u>waapan-e</u> / put.together-r1
 - Series_n: viyaa-ké / méné y-o / nil kéra-e // hit-int you do-pr nail get-r1

'You will cut the <u>baal</u> vine and bring (it) and split it in the middle and put the two parts together and hit it but (first) get the nails.'

- 7. Here a Simultaneous Motion Verb Phrase expounds the Predicate of the clause which expounds the fourth base of the nine-based Series Merged Sentence.
 - Series 1: Yaabu-ba y-e / road-on go-pr
 - Series 2: masket nak kéra-e / gun one get-r1
 - Series 3: <u>yaat-e</u> / carry-r1
 - Series 4: wulaa y-e / enter go-r1
 - Series 5: <u>ani</u> <u>kwaamiké</u> <u>sékal-e</u> / there for animal seek-r1
 - Series 6: <u>ya-e</u> / come-r1

Series 1: $\frac{\text{tu-we}}{\text{roast-r1}}$

Series 8: <u>ka-takne</u> / eat-r2

Series_n: naané yé-ké / y-o //
we go-int do-pr

'We shall go on the road and get a gun and enter carrying it and seek for game and come and roast (it) and eat and then we shall go.'

8. Here a Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the first Series base of a Series Merged Sentence which itself expounds the Subsequent Action base of a Sequence Sentence.

Viyaa-da-ka / kill-they-r6

Series 1: de <u>kéra-e</u> / <u>kur-e</u> / <u>yé-te</u> // they get-r1 hold-r1 go-r3

Series_n: <u>de</u> <u>rém-ék</u> //

'They killed them and others took them and buried them.'

9. Here a Protracted Merged Sentence expounds the first Series base.

Series 1: <u>Y-e</u> / <u>y-e</u> / <u>y-e</u> // go-r1 go-r1

Series 2: naané Yepil saab-e / Hayfield reach-r1

Series 3: Yepil talakna-takne / Hayfield leave-r2

Series $\frac{\text{naané}}{\text{we}} \frac{\text{yé-k}}{\text{go-pa}}$ //

'We kept going and going and reached Hayfield and left Hayfield and went (further).'

10. Here Parallel Merged Sentences expound the second and third bases.

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Series 1: $\frac{\text{Mi}}{\text{tree}}$ $\frac{\text{v\'e1\'e-te}}{\text{fe11-r3}}$ /

Series 2: <u>ka kwa-da-n</u> / <u>mayé saaba-da-n</u> / yam plant-they-apa taro plant-they-apa

 $\frac{\text{ya-te}}{\text{do-r3}}$ //

Series 3: de baadén vélé-da-n / they tree.species fell-they-apa

<u>yaaman</u> <u>vélé-da-n</u> / <u>vélé-te</u> // tree.species fell-they-apa fell-r3

Series_n: $\frac{\text{de}}{\text{they}}$ $\frac{\text{vi}}{\text{spear}}$ $\frac{\text{taa-k}}{\text{fashion-pa}}$

'They felled trees and planted yams and taro and felled baaden and yaaman trees, and they fashioned spears.'

11. Here the Series Merged Sentence expounds the Predicate slot of a Denial Clause.

Kaapuk

not

Series 1: <u>kadému</u> <u>bari</u> <u>ka-takne</u> food quickly eat-r2

Series_n: <u>yaa-da-n</u> // come-they-apa

'They did not eat their food quickly nor did they come.'

6.5 Complex

Complex Sentences are distinguished from Merged Sentences by the fact that the subjects of each base may be either the same or different. They are distinguished from Compound Sentences in that they may contain only one independent verb, whereas the latter may contain more than one independent verb. Complex Sentences may stand as independent sentences but may also frequently be embedded, except where stated otherwise.

6.5.1 Complex Intentive Sentences

These are distinguished from other Complex Sentences by the use of intentive, negative or desiderative verbs in the first base.

6.5.1.1 General

The General Intentive Sentence consists of an obligatory Intent base expounded by a Dependent Clause or Ferent Merged Sentence, Series Merged Sentence or Sequence Sentence ending with a negative intentive, or intentive same actor or different actor verb, followed by an obligatory Statement base expounded by a Stative Abstract Clause with the Complement slot expounded by abstract nouns 5,6 or 7, or a General Clause with the Predicate expounded by contrary intentive verb. Co-occurrence restrictions are indicated below.

The General Intentive Sentence is distinguished from other Intentive Sentences by the limited set of exponents in the Statement base and their co-occurrence with certain exponents of the Intent base.

General Intentive Sentence

+ Intent	+ Statement
Dependent C1. Ferent Merged S. Series Merged S. Sequence S. ending with negative intentive verb -méké	Abstract Stative C1. with Complement filled by abstract nouns 5,6 General Clause with Predicate filled by contrary intentive verb
Dependent C1. Ferent Merged S. or Series M.S. ending with intentive verb -ké or intentive different actor verb -u-ké / -o-ké	Abstract Stative Clause with Complement filled by abstract noun 7
Pa \wedge Pa \longrightarrow pq	
d−Pa ∧ Q a desire	
d-Pa 🔨 Pa 🗩 pQb	desire

Rules:

- (1) Reading: Both bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.
- (2) Permutation: The bases may permute. The order here occurs most frequently.
- (3) Limitation: Co-occurrence restrictions: Abstract

Stative Clause with Complement filled by abstract nouns 5 or 6 occurs only with Dependent Clause or Ferent Merged Sentence or Series Merged Sentence ending with negative intentive verb. General Clause with Predicate filled by contrary intentive verb occurs with Dependent Clause, or Ferent Merged Sentence or Series Merged Sentence ending either with negative intentive (usually) or intentive (rarely) verb. Abstract Stative Clause with Complement filled by abstract noun 7 occurs with Dependent Clause or Ferent Merged Sentence or Series Merged Sentence ending with the intentive same or different actor verb. Actor-subjects may be the same or different. The clause filling the Statement base is usually short with no peripheral slots.

Discussion:

The General Intentive Sentence is used to express a fear, doubt, or negative or positive desire, with a limited set of abstract nouns and contrary intentive verbs. It may stand alone as an independent sentence or be embedded in Series Merged Sentence, other Complex Sentences and Compound Sentences. It occurs in Contrast and Hortatory Paragraphs.

Examples:

1. Intent: Déku tépétmama taaléba ra-méké / his mountainous place.in sit-neg int

Statement: 16 kélik y-o // she unwillingness do-pr

'She does not want to stay in his mountainous place.'

2. Intent: Wani taakwa waati-méké / that woman scold-neg int

Statement: 16 wup ya-k // she fear do-pa

'She was afraid that that woman would scold her.'

3. Here the different subject in the Intent base is indicated by the free pronoun.

Intent: Béné you(d) Awustéreliyaba jébaa ya-méké / work do-neg int

Statement: <u>kélik</u> <u>naané</u> <u>y-o</u> // unwillingness we do-pr

'We do not want you two to work in Australia.'

4. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Intent base. The construction expounds the Subsequent Action base of a Sequence Sentence.

Naana képmaaba képmaa kwayé-n-o / ground ground give-we-r7

Intent: y-e / yéwaa nyégél-e / kur-e / hold-r1

méné gayét yé-méké //
you village.to go-neg int

Statement: naané kélik y-o //
we unwillingness do-pr

'In our region we give ground, but we do not want you to work and receive money and take it to your village.'

5. Here the Statement base precedes the Intent base.

Statement: Kélik unwillingness bét y-o / do-pr

Intent: waara taapi-méké // grass sweep-neg int

'They two do not want to sweep up the grass.'

6. Here the construction expounds the Protasis base of a Conditional Sentence. Abstract Stative Clause with abstract noun expounding Complement slot expounds the Statement base.

Intent: Abé wut yaaté-méké / bandicoot net make-neg int

Statement: wulkiyaa ya-méné-ran // tiredness do-you-if

waasa kéra-e / yaakw-e / waasat kur-e / y-e // dog get-r1 look.after-r1 dog hold-r1 go-r1

<u>yaawiba</u> <u>kwaami</u> <u>nyégél-ké</u> / <u>méné</u> <u>y-o</u> // bush.in meat receive-int you do-pr

'If you are (too) lazy to make bandicoot nets you must get dogs and look after them and take them and catch

game in the bush.'

7. Here the construction expounds the first Series base of a Series Merged Sentence. General Clause expounds the Statement base.

Intent: Dé ga kaa-méké / he house thatch-neg int

Statement: yapati-ye //
not.able-r1

 $\frac{d\acute{e}}{he} \frac{ra-te}{sit-r3} / \frac{v-u}{see-pr} /$

'He is not able to thatch a house and (just) sits and watches.'

8. Here a Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the Intent base. General Clause expounds the Statement base.

Intent: Kayénantut gwalmu kur-e / yé-méké / Kainantu.to food hold-r1 go-neg int

Statement: 16 yapati-k // she not.able-pa

'She was not able to take the food to Kainantu.'

9. Here a General Clause follows the Dependent Clause with intentive verb. The General Intentive Sentence here expounds the Subsequent Action base of a Sequence Sentence.

<u>Kwayé</u> <u>kwa-lé-k</u> / flood rise-she-r5

Intent: $\underline{ye-ke}$ / go-int

Statement: de <u>yapati-k</u> // they not.able-pa

'The flood rose and so they were not able to go.'

(N.B. It could be that the combination <u>yapati</u> following intentive verb gives the meaning 'unable to' and <u>yapati</u> following negative intentive verb gives the meaning 'unwilling to'. If this is the case, examples 7 and 8 should be translated 'not willing to'.)

10. Here Stative Abstract Clause with Complement expounded by abstract noun 7 follows an Intentive Same Actor Dependent Clause.

Intent: nyéné wale ra-ké / you(f s) with sit-int

Statement: 16 mawulé y-o do-pr

'She wants to stay with you.'

11. Here Stative Abstract Clause with Complement filled by abstract noun 7 follows an Intentive Different Actor Dependent Clause.

Intent: Dé yaa-d-u-ké /
he come-he-r7-int

Statement: wuné mawulé ya-k //

'I wanted him to come.'

6.5.1.2 Past

The Past Intentive Sentence consists of an obligatory Content base expounded by a Dependent Clause, Ferent Merged Sentence or Series Merged Sentence with intentive or negative intentive verb, followed by an obligatory Intent base expounded by nae 'intend, want' or a Past Intentive Merged Sentence, followed by an optional Result base expounded by an Independent Clause, Ferent Merged Sentence, Series Merged Sentence or Sequence Sentence, ending with an independent verb.

The Past Intentive Sentence is distinguished from other Complex Intentive Sentences by the limited exponent of the second base, by the limitation of the independent verb to past tense only and by its greater number of bases.

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Past Intentive Sentence

+ Content	+ Intent	+ Result
Dependent C1. Ferent M.S. Series M.S.	na-e 'intend, r1 want' Past Intentive M.S.	Independent C1. Ferent M.S. Series M.S. Sequence S.
with int or neg int verb	with independent or relational verb	with independent verb in past tense
- <u>ké</u> int - <u>méké</u> neg int negative verbs cannot be used	cannot be negated	past tense only
Pa \land Pa	⊃ pQ	
i−Pa ∧ Q		

Rules:

- (1) Variants: Past Intentive Merged Sentence expounds Intent base only when the Result base contains a different subject from the Intent base.
- (2) Reading: Three bases usually occur, but the construction can be limited to two bases.
- (3) Permutation: Result base may permute to initial base position, but this is infrequent.
- (4) Limitation: The Content and Intent bases cannot be overtly negative. If the Result base is present the independent verb must be in the past tense. If the Result base is not present the independent verb form is used as the final verb of the Reinforcement base of the Past Intentive Merged Sentence.

Discussion:

The Past Intentive Sentence is used to express a wish or intention which did not or was unlikely to eventuate. It is not a common sentence type. The few examples were in conversation and in Narrative Paragraphs. It may stand as an embedded sentence within the Predicate of a clause, Series Merged Sentence, Sequence Sentence or Reason Sentence, but more often occurs as an independent sentence.

Examples:

1. Content: Maamat viyaa-ké / enemy kill-int

Intent: <u>na-e</u> / want-r1

Result: naané yé-k // go-pa

'We went to kill our enemies.'

2. Here a Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the Content base. The construction expounds the Predicate of the clause which expounds the final Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

<u>Kéraa-takne</u> / <u>dé</u> pay-r2 he

Content: lérét déku gayét kur-e / yé-ké // her his village.to hold-r1 go-int

Intent: <u>na-e</u> / <u>ya-k</u> // want-r1 do-pa

'He paid (rings) and wanted to take her to his village.'

3. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Content base.

Content: Kabébapéba r-e / Wamatawenét wayé-ké // Kambembape.at sit-r1 Wamatoin.to go.up-int

Intent: $\underline{\text{na-e}}$ / $\underline{\text{16}}$ $\underline{\text{ya-k}}$ // $\underline{\text{want-r1}}$ she $\underline{\text{do-pa}}$

'She wanted to stay at Kambembape and then go up to Wamatoin.'

4. Here a Sequence Sentence expounds the Result base.

Content: Sétuwat dawuli-ké / store.to go.down-int

Intent: <u>na-e</u> / <u>ya-wuré-ka</u> // intend-r1 do-I-r6

Result: maas viyaa-dé-ka / wuné widé kwaa-k // rain strike-he-ré I sleep lie-pa

'I intended to go down to the store but it rained and so I slept.'

5. Here also a Sequence Sentence expounds the Result base.

Content: Pita aniké wik gayét yé-ké / Peter other week village.to go-int

Intent: <u>na-e</u> / <u>ya-dé-k</u> // intend-r1 do-he-r5

Result: 16 déku néwaa waati-16-ka / she his mother scold-she-r6

dé kaapuk ya-k //
he not do-pa

'Peter intended to go to the village another week, but his mother spoke against this and he did not go.'

6. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Predicate of the clause which expounds the Result base.

Content: Lé rayés ka-méké / eat-neg int

Intent: <u>na-e</u> / want-r1

Result: 16 gwaad-e / yaag-e / yé-k // she go.out-r1 run-r1 go-pa

'She went outside and ran away to avoid eating rice.'

7. Here a clause with a different actor intentive verb expounds the Content base and a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Result base.

Content: Kapére waara pél-wur-u-ké / pull.out-I-r7-int

Intent: <u>na-e</u> / <u>wa-1é-ka</u> // want-r1 say-she-r6

'She wanted me to pull out weeds, but I was unwilling and slept.'

8. Here the Result base has permuted to initial base position. The construction expounds the final Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

Lotu ya-takne / ya-e / church do-r2 / come-r1

Result: 16 Kénbagwat yé-k / she Kinbangwa.to go-pa

Content: <u>du</u> <u>ra-ké</u> / sit-int

Intent: <u>na-e</u> // want-r1

'She attended church and then came and then went to Kinbangwa to be with him.'

9. Here the Past Intentive Sentence expounds the Subsequent Action base of a Sequence Sentence.

<u>Pérés</u> <u>kwalpékba</u> <u>yaané-takne</u> / <u>dé</u> <u>wan</u> <u>vétkwa</u> arrow bow stand-r2 he then aim

ya-dé-ka // do-he-r6

Content: dé wan gaababan wawo déwan dérét he then spirit also that.one him

viyaa-ké / kill-int

Intent: <u>na-e</u> / intend-r1

Result: <u>yaa-k</u> // come-pa

'He drew his bow and arrow and aimed, and then that spirit came to kill him.'

10. Here a Past Intentive Merged Sentence with reduced Reinforcement base expounds the Intent base.

Content: Wunat kapére mu ya-ké / me bad thing do-int

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Intent: $\frac{\text{na-e}}{\text{want-r1}} / \frac{\text{guné}}{\text{you(p1)}} /$

'You wanted to harm me.'

11. Here a Past Intentive Sentence expounds the Effect base of a Reason Sentence.

Content: Pita bari bari yé-ké / Peter quickly quickly go-int

Intent: <u>na-e</u> / intend-r1

Result: <u>kwekére</u> <u>kwekére</u> <u>dé</u> <u>yé-k</u> / slowly he go-pa

déku maan kapéredi ya-n bege //
his leg badly do-apa because

'Peter intended to go very quickly, but he went very slowly because his leg was painful.'

6.5.1.3 Indirect Quote

The Indirect Quote Sentence consists of an obligatory Indirect Quote base expounded by a clause, Ferent Merged Sentence or Series Merged Sentence, followed by an obligatory Quote Formula base expounded by a General Quote Clause, variant 3.

The Indirect Quote Sentence is distinguished from other Intentive Sentences by the exponent of the second base. It is distinguished from the Direct Quote Sentence by the different order of the bases, the different verb form expounding the Indirect Quote base and its ability to embed in any position in other Complex and Compound Sentences.

Indirect Quote Sentence

+ Indirect Quote	+ Quote Formula	
Dependent C1. Ferent M.S. Series M.S.	General Quote Clause, variant 3	
with intentive verb form		
- <u>ké</u> int	<pre>wa 'say' bul 'talk' wakwe 'speak' Sub-type 1 with same subject = intention Sub-type 2 with different subject = command</pre>	
cannot be negated	cannot be negated	
i-Pa ∧ Qa		
wPa 🔨 Qb		

Rules:

- (1) Reading: The two bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.
- (2) Agreement: Sub-type 1 takes same subject agreement. Sub-type 2 has a different subject in the second base.
- (3) Limitation: The clause in the Quote Formula base is restricted to subject and verb only.

Discussion:

The Indirect Quote Sentence, Sub-type 1, is used to express an intention. The Indirect Quote Sentence, Sub-type 2, is used to express an indirect command. The Indirect Quote Sentence may embed in Predicate of a clause, Series Merged Sentence, Conditional Sentence and Sequence Sentence. Examples have been found in conversation and Comment slot of Narrative Discourse.

Examples:

Sub-type 1

1. Indirect Quote: Séré Sapayé (Abétapu ra-kwa-t) tomorrow Sapai Ambitapu sit-apr-to

dawuli-ké / go.down-int

 $\frac{d\acute{e}}{he} \frac{wa-k}{say-pa} //$ Quote Formula:

'Sapai intends to go down to Ambitapu's place tomorrow.'

Here the construction expounds the Prior Action base of 2. a Sequence Sentence, which is embedded in an Alternative Sentence.

<u>Kukba</u> <u>yé-ké</u> / go-int Indirect Quote:

Quote Formula: $\frac{\text{wa-d-u}}{\text{say-he-r7}}$

<u>kélik</u> <u>ya-l-u</u> / <u>wa-d-u</u> / <u>kwayé-ké</u> / unwillingness do-she-r7 say-he-r7 give-int

y-o // kapu yage vé-ké //
do-pr or what see-int

'Later he will plan to go and she will be unwilling and he will say and will they give rings or what?'

Here an accessory verb expounds the Predicate of the 3. clause expounding the Quote Formula base. The construction expounds the modifying slot of a noun phrase.

Wan that

Indirect Quote: ya-ké / do-int

bul-guné-kwa // talk-you(pl)-apr Quote Formula:

wuné las wa-wur-u // some say-I-r7 kudi

'Let me talk about the things that you are planning to do.'

4. Here the construction expounds the Protasis base of a Conditional Sentence.

 $\frac{\text{B\'et}}{\text{they}(d)}$ $\frac{\text{wale}}{\text{with}}$ $\frac{\text{yaa-k\'e}}{\text{come-int}}$ Indirect Quote:

Quote Formula: wa-dé-ran //

kéba ra-ké / naané y-o //
here sit-int we do-pr

'If he says that he will come with them, we will stay here.'

5. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Indirect Quote base. The construction expounds the Prior Action base of a Sequence Sentence.

De raap-me / kénét yaa-ké / they get.up-r1 here come-int Indirect Quote:

Quote Formula: bul-da-ka // talk-they-r6

<u>véknwu-takne</u> / <u>wuné</u> <u>raap-me</u> / <u>yé-k</u> // hear-r2 I get.up-r1 go-pa

'They intended to get up and come here, and I heard their talking and went away.'

Sub-type 2

Indirect Quote: Dé yaa-d-u-ké / he come-he-r7-int 6.

Quote Formula: wuné wakwe-k // speak-pa

'I sent word for him to come.'

7. The construction expounds the first Series base of a Series Merged Sentence.

Wani du jébaa ya-d-o-ké / those men work do-they-r7-int Indirect Quote:

wakwe-takne // Quote Formula: speak-r2

 $\frac{\text{dé}}{\text{he}} \frac{\text{r-o}}{\text{sit-pr}} //$

'He ordered that those men should do the work, and he (just) sits.'

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8. Here the construction expounds the Prior Action base of a Sequence Sentence.

Indirect Quote: Déku nyaan kur-e / yé-d-u-ké //
his son hold-r1 go-he-r7-int

Quote Formula: wa-dé-ka // say-he-r6

 $\frac{\text{de}}{\text{they}}$ $\frac{\text{kur-e}}{\text{hold-r1}}$ $\frac{\text{ye-k}}{\text{go-pa}}$ //

'He ordered his son to take (the things), but they took (them).'

6.5.1.4 Present

The Present Intentive Sentence consists of an obligatory Intent base expounded by a Dependent Clause, Ferent Merged Sentence, Series Merged Sentence or Sequence Sentence ending with a verb containing the desiderative intentive suffix, followed by an obligatory Result base expounded by a General Independent Clause, Ferent Merged Sentence, Series Merged Sentence or a General Intentive Sentence, with the final verb in the present tense.

The Present Intentive Sentence differs from other Intentive Sentences by the use of the desiderative suffix in the first base. It differs from the Past Intentive Sentence by the different number of bases, the use of the present tense only in the final base and the fact that the deep structure allows for the possibility of the wish being fulfilled.

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Present Intentive Sentence

+ Intent	+ Result	
Dependent Clause Ferent Merged Sentence Series Merged Sentence Sequence Sentence	General Independent Clause Ferent Merged Sentence Series Merged Sentence General Intentive Sentence	
with desiderative intentive suffix	with independent verb in present tense	
-kwate des int		
cannot be negated		
Pa \land [Pa \supset pQ]		
$(P \supset Q) \land (R \supset \overline{Q}) \land P \land R$		

Rules:

- (1) Reading: Both bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.
- (2) Limitation: The verb in the Result base is limited to present tense only. -kwate is a same subject suffix. If a different subject follows, the different subject relational form of ya 'do' is used following -kwate.

Discussion:

The Present Intentive Sentence is used to express a wish or purpose in the present which may or may not be fulfilled. It is also used to encode conflicting premises. The Present Intentive Sentence has been heard frequently in conversation and in description of observed current events. However it has not been found in any recorded text material. The Present Intentive Sentence has not been observed embedded.

Examples:

'We want to go to the village, so we prepare food.'

 Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Intent base and another Series Merged Sentence expounds the Predicate of the clause expounding the Result base. Intent: Wani du Gorokat yé-kwate / ya-dé-ka // that man Goroka.to go-des int do-he-ré

Result: de kadému sérak-ne / k-o // they food cook-r1 / eat-pr

'That man wants to go to Goroka, so they cook food and eat it.'

3. Here a Series Merged Sentence with a Time Margin expounded by an Indirect Quote Sentence expounds the Predicate of the clause expounding the Result base.

Intent: De sétuwaba gwalmu las kéraa-kwate / they store.at things some buy-des int

Result: de yé-ké / wa-na-ka // naanat they go-int say-we-r6 us

waati-takne / té-te / v-u //
scold-r2 stand-r3 see-pr

'They want to buy things at the store, so when we plan to go they scold us and then stand and watch.'

4. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Predicate of the clause expounding the Result base.

Intent: Bétku mu kéraa-d-o-kwate / their(d) thing buy-they-r7-des int

Result: bet they(d) te-te / v-u // stand-r3 see-pr

'They two want them to buy their things (for them), so they two stand and watch.'

5. Here a Sequence Sentence expounds the Intent base.

Intent: Wasera ban baalé kur-e / yaa-d-u // Wosera one pig hold-r1 come-he-r7

kéraa-kwate / buy-des int

Result: dé yéwaa kawusakér-o // prepare-pr

'The Wosera man will bring a pig, and he wanting to buy gets ready his shell rings.'

6. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Intent base and a General Intentive Sentence expounds the Result base.

kéraa-kwate / get-des int

yé-méké // go-neg int

'We two want to go to the village and get some rings, but we do not want to go in the car.'

7. Intent: Rayés pukaa-kwate / rice plant-des int

Result: de yaawi tu //

'Wanting to plant rice, they burn the bush.'

6.5.2 Condition

Condition Sentences are Complex Sentences which contain a condition which may or may not be fulfilled. The second base expresses an event which is contingent upon the fulfillment of the event in the first base.

6.5.2.1 Contrafactual

The Contrafactual Sentence consists of an obligatory Protasis base expounded by a Dependent Clause or any Independent Merged Sentence, ending with a different subject future relational verb with postposed contrafactual marker, followed by an obligatory Apodosis base expounded by a clause, Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence, Ferent Merged Sentence, Series Merged Sentence, Contrary Intentive Sentence, Indirect Quote Sentence, Sequence Sentence or Direct Quote Sentence, ending with a Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence or a different subject future relational verb.

The Contrafactual Sentence is distinguished from all other sentence types by its use of the contrafactual marker, the change of subject indicated in the verb preceding the contrafactual marker irrespective of whether the subject of

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the following base is the same or different, and the use either of the Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence or the different subject future relational verb instead of an independent verb sentence final in the second base.

Contrafactual Sentence

+ Protasis	+ Apodosis	
Dependent Clause any Independent Merged Sentence Sequence Sentence	clause (Sub-type 2) Subjunctive Aspectual M.S. (Sub-type 1) Ferent Merged Sentence Series Merged Sentence General Intentive Sentence Indirect Quote Sentence Sequence Sentence	
ending with r7 relational verb and contrafactual marker	ending with Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence (1) or r7 relational verb (2)	
<u>mukatik</u> contrafactual marker	Sub-type 1 with Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence Sub-type 2 with r7 verb	
$P_{\beta} \wedge [P_{\beta} \supset Q_{\beta}] \wedge [P \supset Q]$		

Rules:

(1) Reading: Both bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.

(2) Limitation: Sub-type 1 contains the Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence, which means then that the final verb is in the past tense. Sub-type 2 is in the uncertain future, expressed by a different subject relational verb.

Discussion:

The Contrafactual Sentence is used to show that if a condition which did not take place had actually occurred, a certain event would have followed. It is also used in a future sense to show that if a condition which is most unlikely to take place should occur, a certain event might follow. This is an infrequently used sentence type, but it is heard in conversation and has been found in Comment base of Narrative Discourse. It embeds in Direct Quote Sentence. It occurs in Contrast Paragraphs.

Examples:

In all the examples of Sub-type 1 a Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence is contained within the Apodosis base.

1. Here a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Protasis base. This example and the following six examples illustrate Sub-type 1.

Protasis: De widé kwaa-marék / ya-d-o // they sleep lie-not do-they-r7

mukatik contr

Apodosis: 16rét viyaa-katik / de ya-k // her strike-hyp they do-pa

'If they had not been asleep, they would have hit her.'

2. Here also a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds Protasis base.

Protasis: Waata-kaapuk / ya-wur-u // mukatik contr

Apodosis: yaa-kaapuk / ya-katik / wuné ya-k // come-not do-hyp I do-pa

'If I had not asked, I would not have come.'

3. Here a Simultaneous Motion Verb Phrase expounds the Predicate of the clause which expounds the Apodosis base.

Protasis: Bulaa yaa-n-o / mukatik today come-we-r7 contr

Apodosis: tépa gwaamal-e yé-katik / naané ya-k // again turn-r1 go-hyp we do-pa

'If we had come today, we would have turned and gone back again.'

4. Here also a Simultaneous Motion Verb Phrase expounds the Predicate of the clause which expounds the Apodosis base.

Protasis: Lé ra-l-u / mukatik she sit-she-r7 contr

Apodosis: <u>kwayé</u> <u>kwa</u> <u>tépé-katik</u> / <u>lé</u> <u>ya-k</u> // flood rise close-hyp she do-pa

'If she had stayed, the flood would have risen and cut her off.'

5. Here a clause with Predicate expounded by Simultaneous Motion Verb Phrase expounds the Protasis base and a Sequence Sentence with an embedded Series Merged Sentence expounds the Apodosis base.

Protasis: Bari gwaamal-e yaa-d-u / mukatik quickly turn-r1 come-he-r7 contr

Apodosis: marasin kwayé-n-o / k-e / medicine give-we-r7 / eat-r1

yéknwun ya-katik / dé ya-k // good do-hyp he do-pa

'If he had returned quickly, we would have given medicine and he would have taken it and been well.'

6. Here a Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence expounds the Protasis base.

Protasis: Naa-te talk-r3 wa-wur-u // mukatik contr

Apodosis: <u>ra-katik</u> / <u>lé</u> <u>ya-k</u> // sit-hyp she do-pa

'If I had said (that), she would have stayed.

7. Here a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Protasis base. The construction expounds the Quote Formula base of a Direct Quote Sentence.

Protasis: Lé yé-kaapuk / ya-1-u // mukatik she go-not do-she-r7 contr

Apodosis: wa-katik / wuné ya-k // say-hyp I do-pa

bari mé yé-nyén-u // quickly imp go-you(f s)-r7

'If she had not gone, I would have said, "Go quickly."!

Sub-type 2

8. Protasis: Kwaaré té-wur-u / mukatik contr

Apodosis: (ya-da-n) <u>mu</u> <u>las</u> <u>vé-wur-u</u> // do-they-apa thing some see-I-r7

'If I were to stop a long time, I would see some things that they have done.'

9. Protasis: Wakwe-mén-u / mukatik speak-you-r7 contr

Apodosis: <u>kwayé-d-o</u> // give-they-r7

'If you were to speak, they would give.'

10. Here a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Apodosis base.

Protasis: Maas viyaa / mukatik rain strike contr

Apodosis: balus yé-marék / ya-1-u // go-not do-she-r7

'If it were to rain, the plane would not go.'

11. Here a Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the Apodosis base.

Protasis: Ra-bér-u / mukatik sit-they(d)-r7 contr

Apodosis: apuba apuba kur-e yaa-d-o // time time hold-r1 come-they-r7

'If the two were to stay, they would bring (masks for sale) all the time.'

12. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Apodosis base.

Protasis: Kwawuba dawuli-wur-u / mukatik contr

Apodosis: gu k-e / kiyaa-wur-u // water drink-r1 die-I-r7

'If I were to go into the lake, I would drown.'

6.5.2.2 Conditional

The Conditional Sentence consists of an obligatory Protasis base expounded by a Dependent Clause, any Independent Merged Sentence, a General Intentive Sentence, an Indirect Quote Sentence, Sequence Sentence or a Reported Speech Paragraph ending with a conditional verb, followed by an obligatory Apodosis base expounded by an Independent Clause with the verb in the present or desiderative tense or imperative mood, Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence, Ferent Merged Sentence, Series Merged Sentence or Sequence Sentence, ending with the future tense expressed by an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence or a verb in the present or desiderative tense, or in the imperative mood.

The Conditional Sentence is distinguished from the Contrafactual Sentence by its use of a conditional verb in the first base, the absence of any other overt conditional marker and its different limitation of tense in the second base.

Conditional Sentence

+ Protasis	+ Apodosis
Dependent Clause any Independent M.S. General Intentive S. Indirect Quote S. Sequence Sentence Reported Speech Paragraph with conditional verb	Independent Clause with verb in present or desiderative tense or imp mood Immediacy Aspectual M.S. Ferent Merged Sentence Series Merged Sentence Sequence Sentence ending with IAMS or verb in present or desiderative tense or imp mood
- <u>ran</u> / - <u>ral</u> 'if'	
P ⊃ Q	•
$ar{\mathtt{P}} \supset \mathtt{Q}$	
$_{ m P} \supset \bar{\overline{ m Q}}$	

Rules:

(1) Reading: Both bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.

(2) Limitation: Future time, expressed by the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence is the most common in the Apodosis, but desiderative and present may also be found, or the

verb may be in the imperative mood.

Discussion:

The Conditional Sentence is used to show that if a particular condition is, or was met, a certain event is, or was likely to take place.

The Conditional Sentence frequently stands as an independent sentence. It may contain large items within it such as a Reported Speech Paragraph. It may embed within Reason, Alternative and Direct Quote Sentences. It is a fairly common sentence type and is found frequently in Hortatory Discourse. It occurs in Procedural, Hortatory, Contraction, Amplification, Contrast, Rhetorical Question and Reason Paragraphs.

Examples:

In examples 1 - 10, the Apodosis base contains an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence.

1. Protasis: Wani muké véknwu-guné-ran / that thing heed-you(pl)-if

Apodosis: wan kiyaa-ké / guné y-o //
then die-int you(pl) do-pr

'If you pay attention to that thing, you will die.'

2. Protasis: Sut viyaa-kwe-lé-ran / hit-for.you-she-if

Apodosis: yéknwun baadi male kéraa-ké / guné y-o // good child only bear-int you do-pr

'If she gives you all an injection, you will give birth to only healthy children.'

3. Here a General Intentive Sentence expounds the Protasis base and a Series Merged Sentence containing an embedded Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the Apodosis base.

Protasis: Abé wut yaaté-méké / wulkiyaa bandicoot net make-neg int lazy

ya-méné-ran // do-you-if

Apodosis: waasa kéra-e / yaakw-e / waasat dog get-ri look.after-ri dog

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kur-e / y-e // yaawiba kwaami hold-r1 go-r1 bush.in meat nyégél-ké / méné y-o // 275

nyégél-ké / méné y-o // receive-int you do-pr

'If you are (too) lazy to make bandicoot nets, you must get dogs and look after them and take them and catch game in the bush.'

4. Here a Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the Apodosis base.

Protasis: $\underline{\text{Waan}}_{\text{ear}}$ $\underline{\text{kuttakna-da-ran}}_{\text{make-they-if}}$ $\underline{\text{male}}_{\text{only}}$

Apodosis: <u>kur-e</u> / <u>yaa-ké</u> / <u>de</u> <u>y-o</u> // hold-r1 come-int they do-pr

'Only if they make ears (on the woven masks) will they bring them.'

5. Here a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Protasis base, and the Conditional Sentence expounds the Quote Formula base of a Direct Quote Sentence.

Protasis: Wakwe-marék / ya-méné-ran // speak-not do-you-if

Apodosis: méné wa-ké / y-o //
you say-int do-pr

'If you did not speak previously, you will say, "I did not speak."'

6. Here an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence with embedded Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Apodosis base.

Protasis: Séknaba té-guné-ran / stand-you(pl)-if

Apodosis: yé-kaapuk / ya-ké / guné y-o //
go-not do-int you(pl) do-pr

'If you stand apart (from her), you will not go (with her).

7. Here the Reported Speech Paragraph expounds the Protasis base and a Sequence Sentence expounds the Apodosis base. For economy of description only the Closure base of the Reported Speech Paragraph, expounded by a Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence, is shown here.

Protasis: <u>Naa-te</u> / talk-r3

waga wa-méné-ran // say-you-if

Apodosis: méné tépa nyéga waga wakwe-mén-u / speak-you-r7

 $\frac{\text{wun\'e}}{\text{I}}$ $\frac{\text{v\'eknwu-k\'e}}{\text{hear-int}}$ / $\frac{\text{y-o}}{\text{do-pr}}$ //

'. If you say that, you will speak in another letter and I will hear.'

8. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Protasis base.

Protasis: Rayés yaawi y-e / tu-we / pukaa-takne / rice bush do-r1 burn-r1 plant-r2

miték waara ya-méné-ran // well grass do-you-if

Apodosis: apakélé yéwaa nyégél-ké / méné y-o // big money receive-int you do-pr

'If you clear the rice garden and burn and plant (rice) and then keep it clear of grass, you will receive much money.'

9. Here a Sequence Sentence containing a Series Merged Sentence containing an Included Clause expounds the Protasis base.

Protasis: <u>Bul-d-u</u> / <u>véknw-e</u> / (<u>bul-da-ran</u>) talk-he-r7 hear-r1 talk-they-apa

pulak ya-na-ran // like do-we-if

Apodosis: wani yéknwun ya-ké / naané y-o // then good do-int we do-pr

'If he will talk and we hearing do as they say, then

we will do well.'

10. Here a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Protasis base.

ya-marék / ya-méné-ran //
do-not do-you-if Protasis: member

walkamu yéwaa male nyégél-ké / little money only receive-int Apodosis:

méné y-o //
you do-pr

'If you are not a member, you will receive a little money only.'

11. Here the Conditional Sentence expounds the Effect base of a Reason Sentence.

agérapba wuknaa-tiyaa-nyéné-ran / pour-for.me-you(f s)-if Protasis: Wani

ka-ké eat-des wuné-k // wani Apodosis:

kén yéknwun agérapba tu-nyéné-n bege / because

'If you pour out (soup) for me in that coconut shell, then I shall want to eat it, since now you have served in that good coconut shell.

12. Here the final verb is in the imperative mood.

Waga ya-nyéné-ran / thus do-you(f s)-if Protasis:

wuna yéwaa tépa mé wuré-tiyaa //
my ring again imp hold-for.me Apodosis:

'If you will do that, then hold my rings again for me.'

13. Here the final verb is in the present tense.

kuttakna-marék / <u>ya-da-ran</u> // do-they-if Protasis: Waan make-not ear

 $\frac{\text{wan}}{\text{focus}}$ $\frac{\text{k\'elik}}{\text{unwillingness}}$ $\frac{1\'{e}}{\text{she}}$ $\frac{\text{y-o}}{\text{do-pr}}$ Apodosis:

'If they do not put ears (on the masks), then she does not want them.'

6.5.3 Process

Process Sentences are Complex Sentences which do not depend on the intentive verb to expound one of the bases and which do not express any condition.

6.5.3.1 Reason

The Reason Sentence consists of an obligatory Effect base expounded by an Independent Clause, Ferent Merged Sentence, Series Merged Sentence, Past Intentive Sentence, Conditional Sentence or Sequence Sentence ending with an independent verb, followed by an obligatory Cause base, expounded by a Dependent Clause, Ferent Merged Sentence, Series Merged Sentence or Sequence Sentence with an accessory verb and a postposed reason marker.

The Reason Sentence is distinguished from other sentences by the obligatory use of the reason marker accompanied by an accessory verb in the second base and the occurrence of the independent verb in the first base of the construction, with a causal relation between the two bases.

Reason Sentence

+ Effect	+ Cause
Independent Clause Ferent Merged Sentence Series Merged Sentence Past Intentive Sentence Conditional Sentence Sequence Sentence	Dependent Clause Ferent Merged Sentence Series Merged Sentence Sequence Sentence
with independent verb	with accessory verb and postposed reason marker
	bege 'because'
	- <u>ba</u> 'because'
$P \wedge [P \supset Q]$	sometimes with implied prohibition

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Rules:

(1) Reading: Both bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.

- (2) Permutation: The Cause base may permute with the Effect base.
- (3) Limitation: The final verb in the Cause base can only be in the medial form. The reason marker <u>bege</u> always immediately follows the accessory verb. In Equative Clauses the reason marker follows the final tagmeme. The suffix -ba is affixed to the accessory verb.

Discussion:

The Reason Sentence is used to express Efficient Cause, sometimes with implied prohibition. It is a common sentence type and is heard frequently in conversation in full and truncated forms. It stands as an independent sentence. It occurs in Procedural, Rhetorical Question, Reason and Interrogative Paragraphs, and in Comment base of Narrative Discourse.

N.B. Effect and Cause bases may occasionally occur as separate phonological sentences, but grammatically they are considered to be one sentence.

Examples:

1. Here an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence with embedded Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Effect base.

Cause: <u>kéni</u> <u>wik</u> <u>aniba</u> <u>jébaa</u> <u>ya-lé-ran</u> <u>bege</u> // this week far.away work do-she-afu because

'The plane will not come tomorrow, because this week it will work in distant areas.'

2. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Predicate of the Imperative 2 Clause which expounds the Effect base.

Cause: widé kwaa-bét-kwa-ba // sleep lie-they(d)-apr-because

'You go and dance, because the two (children) are asleep.'

3. Here a Sequence Sentence expounds the Effect base.

Effect: Kur-e / yaa-mén-u // wuné yéwaa hold-r1 come-you-r7 I ring

kwayé-ké / wuné y-o // give-int I do-pr

Cause: wuna nyaan bege //
my child because

'You bring (her) and I shall give rings, because you are my child.'

4. In the following example also a Sequence Sentence expounds the Effect base.

Effect: Ya-wuré-mén-u / vé-te / wani tépa do-comp 1-you-r7 see-r3 / that again

rayésna kudi wakwe-ké / naané y-o // rice's talk speak-int / we do-pr

Cause: <u>kén kopiké</u> <u>mawulé ya-méné-kwa bege</u> // now coffee.for heart do-you-apa because

'You will finish doing and we will see and speak about rice another time, because now you want (to talk about) coffee.'

5. Here Ferent Merged Sentences expound both bases, which are permuted. The construction expounds the Quote base of a Direct Quote Sentence.

 $\frac{\text{Kur-e}}{\text{hold-r1}} / \frac{\text{kwayé-da-ka}}{\text{give-they-r6}} / \frac{\text{dé}}{\text{he}} \frac{\text{wa-k}}{\text{say-pa}} / /$

Cause: yéwaa kur-e / yaa-guné-n // bege because

Effect: néwaa wawo baadi wawo mé kur-e / mother too child too imp hold-r1

yé-gun-u go-you(p1)-r7 bulaa gayét // village.to AMBULAS GRAMMAR 281

'They held and gave (them), and he said, "Because you have brought the rings, now take the mother and the children to your village.'

6. Here an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Effect base and a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Cause base.

Effect: Bakna ra-ké / guné y-o //
just sit-int you(p1) do-pr

Cause: jébaa las ya-kaapuk / ya-guné-kwa / bege // work some do-not do-you-apr because

'You will just sit (i.e. have no possessions), because you do not work.'

7. Here a Conditional Sentence expounds the Effect base.

Effect: Wani agérapha wuknaa-tiyaa-nyéné-ran / that shell.in pour-for.me-you(f s)-if

wani ka-ké wuné-k // then eat-des I-des

Cause: <u>kén</u> <u>yéknwun</u> <u>agérapba</u> <u>tu-nyéné-n</u> now good shell.in serve-you(f s)-apa

bege //

'If you pour out (soup) for me in that coconut shell, then I shall want to eat it, since now you have served it in that good coconut shell.'

8. Here a Sequence Sentence expounds the Effect base.

Effect: Wuna taaléba ya-wuré-k / place.in do-I-r5

wani guné kélik ya-k / then you unwillingness do-pa

Cause: <u>kén</u> <u>waga</u> <u>ya-guné-n</u> <u>bege</u> // now thus do-you-apa because

'I cleared in my area and then you were unwilling, because you wanted it your way.'

9. Here a Series Merged Sentence with embedded Protracted Merged Sentence and Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the permuted Effect base.

Cause: Apa du ya-guné-kwa-ba /
big man do-you(p1)-apr-because

Effect: t-e / t-e // yaga pulak ya-ké / stand-r1 stand-r1 what like do-int

guné y-o // you do-pr

'Since you are adult, if you just remain (idle), then how will you manage?'

6.5.3.2 Perception

The Perception Sentence consists of an obligatory Perception base expounded by a General Independent Clause, Series Merged or Sequence Sentence ending with a perception verb in the independent form followed by an obligatory Goal base expounded by a Dependent Clause, Ferent Merged Sentence, Series Merged Sentence or Sequence Sentence ending with a different subject relational verb.

The Perception Sentence is distinguished from most other Complex Sentences by the occurrence of the independent verb in the first base. It differs from the Reason Sentence and other Complex Sentences by the limitation of the verbal exponents of the final clause in the Perception base and by having a different subject relational verb end the sentence.

Perception Sentence

+ Perception	+ Goal
General Independent Clause Series Merged Sentence Sequence Sentence	Dependent Clause Ferent Merged Sentence Series Merged Sentence Sequence Sentence
with perception verb in independent form	with a different subject relational verb
vé 'see, perceive' véknwu 'hear, feel'	only r6 or r7 forms
aPa / Qb	•

Rules:

- (1) Reading: The two bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated. The same meaning can be expressed by reversing the bases but then the structure becomes a Sequence Sentence.
- (2) Agreement: Goal base must have a different subject from the Perception base.
- (3) Limitation: The final verb in the Goal base must be in different subject simultaneous or future consecutive form only.

Discussion:

The Perception Sentence is used to express the physical or mental perception of seeing or hearing. It is a common sentence type. It usually stands independently and occurs in Narrative, Procedural and Descriptive Paragraphs.

Examples:

1. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Goal base.

Perception: Du nak de véknwu-k / man one he hear-pa

Goal: balus raap-me / yé-lé-ka // plane get.up-r1 go-she-r6

'One man heard the plane take off.'

2. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Perception base.

Perception: $\frac{\text{T\'e-te}}{\text{stand-r3}} / \frac{\text{de}}{\text{they}} / \frac{\text{v\'e-k}}{\text{see-pa}} /$

Goal: dé kukba yé saaba-dé-ka //
he later go arrive-he-r6

'They were standing and saw him arrive afterwards.'

3. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Goal base and a Sequence Sentence with embedded Series Merged Sentence expounds the Perception base.

Perception: Naa-mén-u / de nak ge say-you-r7 they another village

taale (yé-ran) du y-e / de wani first go-afu men go-r1 they that gayé saaba-d-o // méné raap-me / village reach-they-r7 you get.up-r1

<u>kukba</u> <u>y-e</u> / <u>vé-ké</u> / <u>méné</u> <u>y-o</u> // later go-r1 see-int you do-pr

Goal: <u>kaabélé</u> <u>nak</u> <u>kwayé</u> <u>kw-e</u> / <u>ra-l-u</u> // river one flood rise-r1 sit-she-r7

'You say (that), and the men from another village, who will go first, will go to that place, and then you will get up and go, and then you will see a river in flood.'

4. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Perception base and a Sequence Sentence expounds the Goal base.

Perception: Wewakba t-e / gwaamal-e ya-e / at.Wewak stand-r1 turn-r1 come-r1

de véknwu-k //

Goal: <u>du nak kiyaa-dé-ka</u> / <u>géraa-da-ka</u> // man one die-he-r6 cry-they-r6

'They stayed at Wewak and then returned, and heard that one man had died and heard the people wailing.'

5. Here a Sequence Sentence with embedded Quote Recapitulation and Series Merged Sentences expounds the Perception base and a Sequence Sentence expounds the Goal base.

Perception: Naa-te / wa-dé-ka // kétkiya talk-r3 say-he-r6 itch

gét-kwe-te / 16 vé-k // scratch-for.him-r3 she see-pa

Goal: <u>kevérék-dé-ka</u> / <u>sépayékulba</u> <u>awula gwaavé</u> lift.up-he-ré in.armpit inside red

las kwaa-dé-ka //

'He said (that) and she was scratching the itch for him, and she saw him lift up his arm, and she saw some red marks in his armpit.'

6. Here also a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Perception base.

Perception: De ada kaabéléba ra-te / below river.at sit-r3

 $\frac{\text{de}}{\text{they}} \quad \frac{\text{v-u}}{\text{see-pr}} //$

Goal: <u>kwayé</u> <u>kwa-lé-ka</u> // flood rise-she-r6

'They are sitting below at the river, and they see the flood rising.'

7. Here Series Merged Sentences expound both bases. An Included Clause is contained within the Perception base.

Perception: Gapériyel béré ra-n-ét dawuli-te / Gabriel others sit-apa-to go.down-r3

 $\begin{array}{c|c} \underline{\text{wun\'e}} & \underline{\text{kaapuk}} & \underline{\text{v\'eknwu-wur\'e-n}} & // \\ \hline{\text{I}} & \text{not} & \underline{\text{hear-I-apa}} & \end{array}$

Goal: <u>du las kaabéléba té-te</u> / <u>bul-da-ka</u> // men some at.river stand-r3 talk-they-r6

'As I was going down to Gabriel and his family's place, I did not hear any men standing by the river and talking.'

8. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Perception base, and a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Goal base.

Perception: Ya-e / naané vé-k // see-pa

Goal: wani taakwa 16ku gaba ra-kaapuk / that woman her house.in sit-not

ya-16-ka do-she-r6

'We came and saw that that woman was not in the house.'

9. Here a Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the Goal base.

Perception: Naané wani gayét yé-te / we that to.village go-r3

naané vé-k //
we see-pa

Goal: <u>du nak wos kur-e</u> / <u>yaa-dé-ka</u> // man one horse hold-r1 come-he-r6

'We were going to that village and saw a man bringing a horse.'

6.5.3.3 Sequence

The Sequence Sentence consists of an obligatory Prior Action base expounded by a Dependent Clause, Protracted Merged Sentence, Amplification Merged Sentence, Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence, Ferent Merged Sentence, Series Merged Sentence or an Indirect Quote Sentence ending with a different actor relational verb; followed by one or two optional Succeeding Action bases expounded by a Dependent Clause, Protracted Merged Sentence, Amplification Merged Sentence, Ferent Merged Sentence or Series Merged Sentence ending with a different actor relational verb; followed by an obligatory Subsequent Action base expounded by a clause, Ferent Merged Sentence, Series Merged Sentence or Past Intentive Sentence ending with an Independent Clause or accessory verb or relational verb in a Perception Sentence.

The Sequence Sentence differs from other Process Sentences by its greater number of bases and the use of the different actor relational verb. It further differs from the Series Merged Sentence by its ability to contain the latter within itself.

Sequence Sentence

+ Prior Action	<u>+</u> (Succeeding Action) ⁿ⁼²	+ Subsequent Action
Dependent C1. Protracted M.S. Amplification M.S. Quote Recapitulation M.S. Ferent M.S. Series M.S. Indirect Quote S.	Dependent C1. Protracted M.S. Amplification M.S. Ferent M.S. Series M.S.	clause Ferent M.S. Series M.S. Past Intentive S.
ending with different actor relational verb r5, r6, r7	ending with different actor relational verb r5, r6, r7	ending with In- dependent Clause or accessory verb, or rela- tional verb in Perception S.
Pa / Qb /	^ Rc ^ Sa	
Pa / Qb /	∧ Ra	
Pa / Qb /	↑ Ra ∧ Sc	

Rules:

- (1) Reading: The minimum number of bases is two, while the maximum number is four. The norm is two. As the Sequence Sentence frequently contains Series Merged Sentences in one or more of its bases, it can be quite long.
- (2) Agreement: Different actor relational verbs occur at the end of each non-final base.
- (3) Limitation: If an accessory verb occurs in the Subsequent Action base, the string is usually limited to two bases only and the exponents of the bases are often reduced to verbs only. If the construction occurs in fastmoving narrative, the exponents of the bases may be reduced to clauses or verbs only. Otherwise there is no restriction on the length of the exponents of the bases. The actors must differ from base to base.

Discussion:

The Sequence Sentence is used to describe a series of actions performed by different actors in chronological sequence. It is a frequently used sentence type. It usually stands alone as an independent sentence but also embeds in phrase and clause level slots and in other Complex and

Compound Sentences. It occurs in Narrative, Procedural, Hortatory, Descriptive, Execution, Amplification, Generic-Specific Amplification, Contrast, Reason and Expository Paragraphs and in all discourse types.

The whole construction can be made negative by the use of the negative word at the beginning of the string and this then expounds the Predicate of a Denial Clause.

The first tagmeme of a Sequence Sentence within Narrative and Procedural Paragraphs is frequently in double function, functioning as a recapitulatory link on the paragraph level and also as the Prior Action base on the sentence level.

Examples:

1. Here the Sequence Sentence is embedded in the modifying slot of a Noun Phrase in an Equative Clause.

<u>Wan</u> that

Prior Action: tiyaa-nyéné-ka / give.to.me-you(f s)-r6

Subsequent Action: <u>ka-wuré-kwa</u> //
eat-I-apr

agérap-na // shell-emphatic

'That is certainly the coconut shell that you (usually) give me and I eat from.'

2. Here a Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence expounds the Prior Action base and a Series Merged Sentence containing an embedded Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the Subsequent Action base.

Prior Action: $\frac{\text{Naa-te}}{\text{talk-r}3}$ / $\frac{\text{wa-dé-ka}}{\text{say-he-r}6}$ //

Subsequent Action: de tépa gwaamal-e / kur-e / they again turn-r1 hold-r1

yaa-k nalé // yesterday

'He said (that) and again turned and brought (it) yesterday.'

3. Here a Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the Succeeding Action base and a clause with embedded Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Subsequent Action base.

Prior Action: Wakwe-n-o / speak-we-r7

Succeeding Action: <u>las kur-e</u> / <u>yaa-d-o</u> // some hold-r1 come-they-r7

Subsequent Action: 16 kéraa-ké / y-o // she buy-int do-pr

'We will speak, and they will bring some, and she will buy.

4. Here a Series Merged Sentence with an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence with embedded Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence in its final Series base expounds the Subsequent Action base.

Prior Action: Wakwe-wuré-k speak-I-r5

 $\frac{\text{ya-ke}}{\text{do-int}}$ / $\frac{\text{de}}{\text{they}}$ $\frac{\text{y-o}}{\text{do-pr}}$ //

'I spoke, but they will not send (it).'

5. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Prior Action base and a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Succeeding Action base.

Prior Action: Raatmu gi-buti-takne / yaawi fence tie-comp 2-r2 bush

tutakna-wuré-ka burn.up-I-r6

Succeeding Action: mitékne yaan-marék / ya-dé-ka // well burn-not do-he-ré

Subsequent Action: wuné wan taapi-k // I then sweep-pa

'I finished tying the fence, and then I burned up the bush, but it did not burn well, and then I cleared (the area).'

6. Here an Amplification Merged Sentence expounds the Succeeding Action base and an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Subsequent Action base.

Prior Action: <u>Tawu-takna-mén-u</u> / immerse-put-you-r7

Succeeding Action: <u>kwaa-d-u</u> / <u>nyaa kupuk gaan</u> lie-he-r7 day three night

kupuk three lie-he-r7

Subsequent Action: wani yakutnyé-ké / méné y-o // then wash-int you do-pr

'You must push (the coffee beans) under the water, and they will lie there; they will lie there for three days and three nights, and then you must wash (them).'

7. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the first Succeeding Action base and a Series Merged Sentence with an embedded Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Subsequent Action base.

Prior Action: Ya-gun-u / do-you(p1)-r7

Succeeding Action 1: baalé waasaké véknwu-te / pig about.dog think-r3

de baalé yaakwa-d-o //
they pig look.after-they-r7

Succeeding Action 2: <u>nyaan</u> <u>kéraa-d-o</u> / child bear-they-r7

Subsequent Action: guné you(pl) baalé kut-te / guné you

baagu ya-ké / y-o guna feast do-int do-pr your

baadiké //
for.child

'You will do that and they will think about pigs and dogs and look after pigs, and the pigs will produce off-spring, and you will catch a pig and hold a feast for your children.'

8. Here a Protracted Merged Sentence expounds the Prior Action base. An Included Clause expounds the modifying slot of a Noun Phrase in the clause which expounds the Succeeding Action base.

Prior Action: Gwaabi-dé-ka / gwaabi-dé-ka // make.red-he-r6 make.red-he-r6

Succeeding Action: $(\underline{waba} \quad \underline{te-n})$ \underline{mi} \underline{yaa} there $\underline{stand-apa}$ \underline{tree} fire

tépmaa akwi gwaavé male coconut all red only

gwaavé ya-dé-ka / red do-he-r6

Subsequent Action: dé dé nyaabi gaalat to.branch

yé-k go-pa

'He kept on making things red, and the tree that stood there, the fire, the coconuts, everything turned red, and he himself went on to a nyaabi tree branch.'

9. Here a Sequence Sentence expounds the Quote Formula base of a Direct Quote Sentence.

Prior Action: <u>Dawuli-dé-ka</u> / go.down-he-r6

Subsequent Action: 16 néwaa taakwa ra-te / she mother woman sit-r3

 $\frac{16}{\text{she}}$ $\frac{\text{wa-k}}{\text{say-pa}}$ //

Mé raap-me / dawuli // got.up-r1 go.down

'He went down, and the (girl's) mother sitting said (to her), "You get up and go down."

10. Here the Sequence Sentence expounds the Protasis base of a Conditional Sentence.

Prior Action: <u>Wakwe-n-o</u> / speak-we-r7

Subsequent Action: wulkiya ya-méné-ran / lazy do-you-if

bakna té-ké / méné y-o //
just stand-int you do-pr

'We will speak; and if you are lazy, you will remain without these things.'

11. Here an Indirect Quote Sentence expounds the Prior Action base and an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Subsequent Action base. The Sequence Sentence expounds the Alternative slot of an Alternative Sentence.

Prior Action: <u>Kukba</u> <u>yé-ké</u> / <u>wa-d-u</u> // say-he-r7

Succeeding Action 1: <u>kélik</u> <u>ya-l-u</u> / unwillingness do-she-r7

Succeeding Action 2: wa-d-u / say-he-r7

Subsequent Action: <u>kwayé-ké</u> / <u>de</u> <u>y-o</u> // give-int they do-pr

kapu yage vé-ké //
or how see-int

'Later he will plan to go, and she will be unwilling, and when he says, will they give (rings) or what?'

12. Here a Series Merged Sentence with embedded Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the Subsequent Action base, and the construction expounds the Intent base of a General Intentive Sentence.

Prior Action: Naana képmaaba képmaa kwayé-n-o / ground.in ground give-we-r7

Subsequent Action: y-e / yéwaa nyégél-e / kur-e / hold-r1

méné gayét yé-méké //
you to.village go-neg int

naané kélik y-o //
we unwillingness do-pr

'We do not want to give ground in our region and you to work and receive money and then take it to your village.'

13. Here a Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the Prior Action base and an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Subsequent Action base. The construction expounds the Effect base of a Reason Sentence.

Prior Action: <u>Kur-e</u> / <u>yaa-mén-u</u> // hold-r1 come-you-r7

Subsequent Action: wuné yéwaa kwayé-ké / wuné y-o // I ring give-int I do-pr

wuna nyaan bege //
my child because

'You bring (her) and I shall give rings because you are my child.'

14. Here a Sequence Sentence with an embedded Series Merged Sentence expounds the Apodosis base of a Contrafactual Sentence.

Bari gwaamal-e yaa-d-u / mukatik quickly turn-r1 come-he-r7 contr

Prior Action: marasin kwaye-n-o / give-we-r7

Subsequent Action: <u>k-e</u> / <u>yéknwun</u> <u>ya-katik</u> / good do-hyp

dé ya-k //
he do-pa

'If he had returned quickly, we would have given medicine, and he would have taken it and been well.'

15. Here the construction expounds the Goal base of a Perception Sentence.

Naa-te / wa-dé-ka // kétkiya gét-kwe-te / talk-r3 say-he-r6 itch scratch-for.him-r3

 $\frac{1.6}{\text{she}}$ $\frac{\text{vé-k}}{\text{see-pa}}$ //

Prior Action: <u>kevérék-dé-ka</u> / lift.up-he-ré

Subsequent Action: sépayékulba awula gwaavé armpit.in inside red

las kwaa-dé-ka //

'He said (that), and she was scratching the itch for him, and she saw him lift up his arm, and she saw some red marks in his armpit.'

6.6 Compound

Compound Sentences are distinguished from other sentences by the fact that they may contain more than one independent verb. Most Compound Sentences stand as independent sentences.

6.6.1 Quote Sentences

Compound Quote Sentences are distinguished from other Compound Sentences by having an obligatory Quote Formula base expounded by a quote verb.

6.6.1.1 Mistaken Impression

The Mistaken Impression Sentence consists of an obligatory Mistaken Impression Quote base expounded by an Independent Clause, Ferent Merged Sentence, Series Merged Sentence or Sequence Sentence ending with an independent verb, followed by an obligatory Mistaken Impression Quote Formula base, expounded by the past or present accessory form of <a href="mailto:nailto

The Mistaken Impression Sentence is distinguished from other Compound Sentences by the limited exponent of the second base and its three obligatory bases. It is distinguished from the Mental Quote Sentence, to which it is most similar, by the last two bases having a different subject, by the accessory verb form in the second base and by the deep structure. The exponent of the Outcome base of the Mistaken Impression Sentence expresses the opposite of the exponent of the Mistaken Impression Quote base.

(Note: The term 'Mistaken Impression' is abbreviated to M.I. throughout the following description of this sentence type.)

Mistaken Impression Sentence

+ M.I. Quote	+ M.I. Quote Formula	+ Outcome					
Independent C1. Ferent M.S. Series M.S. Sequence S.	naa 'think'	Independent C1. Ferent M.S. Series M.S.					
with independent verb	in past or present accessory form	with independent verb different subject					
	cannot be negated	exponent express -es opposite of exponent of first base					
tP \wedge Q \wedge Q $_{eta}$							

Rules:

- (1) Reading: The three bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.
- (2) Agreement: The Outcome base contains a different subject from the M.I. Quote Formula base.
- (3) Limitation: The Quote Formula base cannot be negated. The first or third bases may be negated, but not both.

Discussion:

The Mistaken Impression Sentence is used to express what a person mistakenly thinks or thought. The mistaken impression is corrected by the Outcome base, which is the opposite of the Mistaken Impression Quote base.

This is not a common sentence type. The few examples obtained were found in the course of conversation. No examples of embedding have been found.

Examples:

- 1. M.I. Quote: Ménébu <u>ka-k</u> / you.completely eat-pa
 - M.I. Quote Formula: <u>naa-wuré-n</u> / think-I-apa
 - Outcome: <u>kaapuk</u> <u>ka-buti-méné-n</u> // eat-comp 2-you-apa

'I thought, "You have finished eating," but you have not finished eating.'

2. Here an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Mistaken Impression Quote base.

M.I. Quote: Wani du bari bari yé-ké / that man quickly quickly go-int

 $\frac{\text{de}}{\text{they}}$ $\frac{\text{y-o}}{\text{do-pr}}$

M.I. Quote Formula: <u>naa-da-n</u> / think-they-apa

Outcome: <u>bulaa</u> <u>kwekére</u> <u>kwekére</u> <u>de</u> <u>y-u</u> // slowly they go-pr

'They thought, "Those men will go very quickly," but they are going very slowly.'

3. M.I. Quote: <u>Jébaa</u> <u>kaapuk</u> <u>ya-dé-kwa</u> / not do-he-apa

M.I. Quote Formula: <u>naa-da-kwa</u> / think-they-apa

Outcome: <u>bulaa</u> <u>jébaa</u> <u>dé</u> <u>y-o</u> // now work he do-pr

'They think, "He is not working," but now he is working.

4. Here a Sequence Sentence expounds the M.I. Quote base.

M.I.Quote: Yaawit yaag-e / yé-lé-k // go-she-r5

<u>baalé</u> <u>ti-dé-k</u> / <u>lébu</u> <u>bite-he-r5</u> she.completely

<u>kiyaa-k</u> // die-pa

M.I. Quote Formula: <u>naa-wuré-n</u> / think-I-apa

Outcome: bulaa Pita wale miték lé r-o // now Peter with well she sit-pr

'I thought, "She has run away to the bush and a pig has

killed her," but now she is living safely with Peter.'

- 5. Here Ferent Merged Sentences expound the first base and the Predicate of the Denial Clause which expounds the Outcome base.
 - M.I. Quote: Gwalmu kéra-e / kur-e / de yé-k // food get-r1 hold-r1 they go-pa
 - M.I. Quote Formula: <u>naa-1é-n</u> / think-she-apa

Outcome: $\frac{de}{they}$ $\frac{gwalmu}{food}$ $\frac{kaapuk}{not}$ $\frac{kera-e}{get-r1}$ / $\frac{kur-e}{hold-r1}$

yé-da-n // go-they-apa

'She thought, "They have taken away their food," but they have not taken it away.'

6. Here Series Merged Sentences expound the first and third bases.

M.I. Quote: Bétbu raap-me / dawuli-k // get.up-r1 go.down-pa

M.I. Quote Formula: <u>naa-dé-n</u> / think-he-apa

Outcome: <u>bulaa</u> <u>jébaa</u> <u>ya-te</u> / <u>bét</u> <u>r-o</u> they(d) <u>sit-pr</u>

bétku gaba // their(d) in.house

'He thought, "They have gone down," but now they are working in their house.'

6.6.1.2 Mental Quote

The Mental Quote Sentence consists of an obligatory Mental Quote base expounded by any utterance, followed by an obligatory Mental Quote Formula base expounded by <u>naa</u> 'think' in a same subject consecutive relational form, followed by an obligatory Outcome base expounded by an Independent Clause or Ferent Merged Sentence ending with an independent verb.

The Mental Quote Sentence is distinguished from other

Compound Sentences by the limited exponent of the second base and its three obligatory bases. It is distinguished from the Mistaken Impression Sentence by a different form of the verb expounding the second base, by the last two bases having the same subject and by the deep structure. The outcome of a Mental Quote Sentence is free, whereas the outcome of a Mistaken Impression Sentence is the opposite of what is contained in the first base.

Mental Quote Sentence

+ Mental Quote	+ Mental Q uote Formula	+ Outcome				
any utterance	naa 'think'	Independent Clause Ferent M.S.				
with independent verb	in same subject consecutive relational form	with independent verb with same subject as preceding base				
	na-e think-r1 naa-takne think-r2 cannot be negated	not in future tense				
	camiot be negated					
$P \wedge [P \supset Q]$						

Rules:

- (1) Reading: The three bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.
- (2) Agreement: The independent verb in the Mental Quote base is in the completed past if the same subject relational verb form is used in the Mental Quote Formula base. The independent verb in the future tense is used in the Mental Quote base when the same subject partially consecutive (r1) form is used. There is same subject agreement between the second and third bases.

Discussion:

The Mental Quote Sentence is used to convey what a person thinks or thought and his resultant action; that is, it expresses a form of Efficient Cause. It is not a common sentence type and the few examples obtained were taken from casual conversation. It has been found embedded within a

Direct Quote Sentence, but usually stands alone.

Examples:

1. Here a Fragmentary Sentence expounds the Mental Quote base.

Mental Quote: Yéknwun kadému good food

Mental Quote Formula: na-e /

Outcome: $\frac{16}{\text{she}} \frac{\text{ka-k}}{\text{eat-pa}} //$

'Thinking, "Good food," she ate.'

2. Here an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence with embedded Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Mental Quote base and a clause with Predicate expounded by a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Outcome base.

Mental Quote: Waasa waariya-kaapuk / ya-ké / dog fight-not do-int

 $\frac{\text{de}}{\text{they}}$ $\frac{\text{y-o}}{\text{do-pr}}$

Mental Quote Formula: <u>na-e</u> / think-r1

Outcome: wuné té-te / vé-k // stand-r3 see-pa

'Thinking, "The dogs will not fight," I was standing looking.'

3. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Mental Quote base. The construction expounds the Quote Formula base of a Direct Quote Sentence.

Mental Quote: Yaawit yaag-e / y-e / kiyaa-ké / to.bush run-ri go-ri die-int

 $\frac{16}{\text{she}}$ $\frac{\text{y-o}}{\text{do-pr}}$

Mental Quote Formula: <u>na-e</u> / think-r1

Outcome: wuné wa-k / say-pa

wuné wale ra-ké / nyéné you(f s) do-pr

'Thinking, "She will run away to the bush and die," I said, "You will stay with me."!

4. Here an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Mental Quote base.

Mental Quote: Waati-ké / dé y-o // scold-int he do-pr

Mental Quote Formula: na-e /

Outcome: $\frac{de}{they}$ $\frac{yaag-e}{run-r1}$ $\frac{y-u}{go-pr}$

'Thinking, "He will scold us," they ran away.

5. Mental Quote: Jébaa wunébu ya-buti-k / work I.completely do-comp 2-pa

Mental Quote Formula: <u>naa-takne</u> / think-r2

Outcome: wuné gayét gwaamal-e yaa-k //
I to.village turn-r1 come-pa

'I thought, "I have finished my work," and I came back to the village.'

6. Here a Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the Outcome base.

Mental Quote: Wani du viyaa-ké / de y-o // that man fight-int they do-pr

Mental Quote Formula: <u>na-e</u> / think-r1

Outcome: <u>de baadi deku mu kur-e</u> / they children their thing hold-r1

de pété pété yé-k //
they running running go-pa

'Thinking, "Those men will fight," the children took

their belongings away quickly.'

6.6.1.3 Direct Quote

The Direct Quote Sentence consists of an obligatory Quote Formula base expounded by a Beginning Quote Clause, Series Merged Sentence, Conditional Sentence, Contrafactual Sentence, Sequence Sentence, Mental Quote Sentence or Contrary Expectation Sentence which concludes with a quote verb class 2 in an independent form, followed by an obligatory base expounded by any utterance.

The Direct Quote Sentence is distinguished from other Quote Sentences by having two bases only, having the Quote Formula base preceding the Quote base, by different verb exponents in the Quote Formula base and by a much greater capacity to take embedding. It is distinguished from the Indirect Quote Sentence by the occurrence of an independent verb instead of an intentive verb in the first base and by its different distribution.

Direct Quote Sentence

+ Quote Formula	+ Quote
Beginning Quote Clause Series Merged Sentence Conditional Sentence Contrafactual Sentence Sequence Sentence Mental Quote Sentence Contrary Expectation Sentence ending with a quote verb class 2 in indep- endent form	any utterance
quote verb class 2	
wP / Q	

Rules:

- (1) General: The exponent of the Quote base may be as brief as an exclamation or partial sentence but is usually an independent clause or longer. It may consist of a paragraph or discourse.
- (2) Reading: The two bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.

Discussion:

The Direct Quote Sentence is used to report direct speech

and is very frequently used, particularly in Narrative Discourse. It has not been observed embedded within other sentences. It expounds bases in Narrative, Procedural, Hortatory, Execution, Reported Speech, Dialogue, Contraction, Amplification and Contrast Paragraphs and also Point base of Hortatory Discourse.

Examples:

1. Here an exclamation only expounds the Quote Base.

Quote Formula: Dé wa-k / he say-pa

Quote: <u>aya</u> //

'He said, "No."'

2. Here an Imperative 1 Clause with embedded Ferent Merged Sentence expounds the Quote base. A Sequence Sentence expounds the Quote Formula base.

Quote Formula: Yé ték-dé-ka / bét wa-k / cease-he-r6 they(d) say-pa

Quote: me kur-e / yaa baadi //

'Dawn came and the two said, "Bring the children."

3. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Quote base, and a Sequence Sentence expounds the Quote Formula base.

Quote Formula: $\frac{Y\acute{e}-d\acute{e}-ka}{go-he-r\acute{e}}$ / $\frac{b\acute{e}t}{they}$ (d) $\frac{waata-k}{ask-pa}$ /

Quote: ména kadému las ka-takne / méné t-u // your food some eat-r2 / you stand-pr

'He went and the two asked, "You, have you eaten food and now are you standing?"!

4. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Quote Formula base and a Sequence Sentence expounds the Quote base.

Quote Formula: $\frac{\text{Ya-te}}{\text{do-r3}}$ / $\frac{\text{d\'e}}{\text{he}}$ $\frac{\text{wakwe-yo}}{\text{speak-pr}}$ //

Quote: baapmu vétik vé-d-u / wani yaa-ké / month two do-he-r7 then come-int

méné y-o //
you do-pr

'He does (that) and says, "Two months will go, and then you must come."

5. Here a Sequence Sentence expounds the Quote Formula base.

Quote Formula: Yé-lé-ka / Wulaga taakwa ya-e / Wulanga girl come-r1

lé anat wakwe-k // she us(d) speak-pa

Quote: <u>Tépamayéwu</u> <u>Kénbagwat</u> <u>1é</u> <u>y-u</u> // Tepamaiwu Kinbangwa.to she go-pr

'She went (there), and Wulanga came and told the two of us, "Tepamaiwu is going to Kinbangwa."'

6. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Quote Formula base and a Simple Sentence expounds the Quote base.

Quote Formula: $\frac{\text{V\'e-te}}{\text{see-r3}}$ / $\frac{\text{d\'e}}{\text{he}}$ $\frac{\text{wa-k}}{\text{say-pa}}$ //

Quote: <u>a</u> <u>wan</u> <u>méné</u> <u>kaapuk</u> <u>yé-méné-n</u> // ah then you not go-you-apa

'Seeing (him), he said, "Oh, so you did not go."!

7. Here a Conditional Sentence expounds the \mathbf{Q} uote Formula base.

Quote Formula: Wakwe-marék / ya-méné-ran // speak-not do-you-if

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{\text{m\'en\'e}} & \underline{\text{wa-k\'e}} & / & \underline{\text{y-o}} & //\\ \underline{\text{you}} & \underline{\text{say-int}} & \underline{\text{do-pr}} \end{array}$

Quote: <u>kaapuk</u> <u>wakwe-wuré-n</u> // speak-I-apa

'If you did not speak previously, you will say, "I did not speak."'

8. Here a Contrafactual Sentence expounds the Quote Formula base.

Quote Formula: $\frac{\text{Yaa-1-u}}{\text{come-she-r7}} / \frac{\text{mukatik}}{\text{contr}} / \frac{\text{wa-katik}}{\text{say-hyp}}$

wuné ya-k //

Quote: bari me yé-nyén-u // quickly imp go-you(f s)-r7

'If she had come, I would have said, "Go quickly,"

9. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Quote Formula base, and a Narrative Paragraph expounds the Quote base.

Quote Formula: Ya-te / méné wa-ké / y-o // you say-int do-pr

Quote: wunébu wakwe-k // Wakwe-wuré-k / speak-I-r5

<u>kusati</u> / <u>yaa-marék</u> / <u>ya-ké</u> / <u>de</u> <u>y-o</u> // send come-not do-int they do-pr

Api yaa-marék / ya-ké / de y-o // bird come-not do-int they do-pr

'Doing (that), you will say, "I did speak. I spoke and they will not send them. The birds will not come."'

6.6.2 Paraphrase

Paraphrase Compound Sentences are distinguished from other Compound Sentences by the deletion of the actor-subject in the non-initial bases and by the exponents of the non-initial bases providing similar or extra information rather than new information. They are same-subject strings, but cannot be considered as Merged Sentences as they contain two or more independent verbs.

6.6.2.1 Parallel

The Parallel Sentence consists of an obligatory Introductory base expounded by an Independent Clause or Series Merged Sentence ending with an independent verb, followed by one obligatory and one optional Parallel base expounded by a structurally or semantically similar clause with independent verb and with the loss of the actor-subject.

The Parallel Sentence is distinguished from the Amplification Sentence by having three bases and by the repetition of parallel material from base to base.

Parallel Sentence

+ Introductory	+ Parallel 1	+ Parallel 2			
Independent C1. Series M.S.	structurally or semantically similar clause	structurally or semantically similar clause			
ending with independent verb	with independent verb loss subject	with independent verb loss subject			
not negated	not negated	not negated			
Pab ∧ Pac ∧ Pad					
Pa \wedge P'	a				

Rules:

- (1) Reading: There are three bases, two obligatory and one optional.
- (2) Agreement: This is a same-subject string, but the actor-subject is obligatorily absent in the second and third bases.
- (3) Limitation: The same tense is kept constant throughout.

Discussion:

The Parallel Sentence is used to convey further similar information. As with the Parallel Merged Sentence the parallel features may be semantic, that is, different aspects of the same event, and not necessarily structural. The Parallel Sentence is not a common sentence type. It is used infrequently in Narrative, Hortatory and Negative Paraphrase Paragraphs, and is confined to the narration of parallel events. The few examples found have not been embedded, although theoretically it is possible that embedding could occur in the final base of some Complex and Compound Sentences.

Examples:

1. Introductory: <u>Baadi</u> <u>de</u> <u>Katolik</u> <u>Misinét</u> <u>y-u</u> / children they Catholic to.Mission go-pr

Parallel 1: Gapman sékulét y-u / Government to.school go-pr

Parallel 2: Yewoji sékulét y-u // A.O.G. to.school go-pr

'The children go to the Catholic Mission, to the Government school and to the A.O.G. school.'

2. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Introductory base.

Introductory: Ya-e / naané Bagélekona kudi kéraa-k / come-r1 we Banglego's talk get-pa

Parallel 1: Yabékona kudi kéraa-k / Yambigo's talk get-pa

Parallel 2: <u>Kwatmakémna</u> <u>kudi</u> <u>kéraa-k</u> // Kwatmakum's talk <u>get-pa</u>

'We came and obtained word lists from Banglego, Yambigo and Kwatmakum.'

3. Here the parallel elements are semantically linked in the central thought of preparation for house-building. A Series Merged Sentence expounds the Introductory base.

Introductory: $\frac{Kwa-e}{1ie-r1}$ / $\frac{naan\acute{e}}{we}$ $\frac{mi}{tree}$ $\frac{v\acute{e}1\acute{e}-k}{chop-pa}$ //

Parallel: séku taa-k // sago.leaf cut-pa

'After sleeping, we felled trees and cut sago leaves.'

4. Here the parallel elements are semantically linked in a description of elements of the former traditional way of life. A Series Merged Sentence expounds the Introductory base.

Introductory: Déknyényba bakna waapi male kwa-te / formerly just yam only plant-r3

<u>vaa-te</u> / <u>de</u> <u>baagu</u> <u>ya-k</u> // dig-r3 they feast do-pa

Parallel: <u>kurabu</u> <u>kaa-k</u> // ceremonial.house thatch-pa

'Formerly just planting and harvesting yams, they held a special feast and built a ceremonial house.'

6.6.2.2 Amplification

The Amplification Sentence consists of an obligatory Introductory base expounded by an Independent Clause or Series Merged Sentence ending with an independent verb, followed by an obligatory Amplification base expounded by an Independent Clause or Series Merged Sentence of similar construction as in the Introductory base and ending with the same independent verb with extra information added.

The Amplification Sentence is distinguished from the Parallel Sentence by its limitation to two bases and by the fact that the second base exponent gives further information about the exponent of the first base, either by substitution of a generic term by a specific synonym or by the addition of further material.

Amplification Sentence

+ Introductory	+ Amplification		
Independent Clause Series Merged Sentence	Independent Clause Series Merged Sentence		
ending with independent verb	ending with independent verb with extra information added subject omitted		
cannot be negated	cannot be negated same verb in same tense		
gPa ∧ sPa	`\		
Pa ∧ Pax (≢	Pab)		

Rules:

- (1) Reading: Both bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.
- (2) Agreement: This is a same-subject string but the subject is obligatorily absent in the second base.
- (3) Limitation: The verb or verbs in the Amplification base are the same as in the Introductory base.

Discussion:

The Amplification Sentence is used to add more specific or extra information to a preceding statement. It is not a common sentence type. The few examples obtained have been found in Narrative and Procedural Paragraphs. It has not been found embedded although theoretically it could embed in the final bases of some Complex and Compound Sentences.

Examples:

1. Introductory: De (taale yé-n) du taknaba they first go-apa men just.now

 $\begin{array}{cccc} \underline{\text{debu}} & \underline{\text{ani}} & \underline{\text{gay\'e}} & \underline{\text{saaba-k}} \\ \text{they.completely} & \underline{\text{that}} & \underline{\text{village}} & \underline{\text{reach-pa}} \end{array}$

Amplification: pati ples saaba-k // ples pati ples patition <a href="p

'The men who went first have just now reached that place, the party place.'

2. Here a Series Merged Sentence with embedded Time Margin expounds the Amplification base.

Introductory: <u>Kwa-e</u> / <u>yé</u> <u>ték-dé-ka</u> / darkness cease-he-r6

naané yaa-k // we come-pa

Amplification: <u>tépa</u> <u>gwaamal-e</u> <u>yaa-k</u> // again turn-r1 come-pa

'We slept and when it was dawn we came, came back again.'

3. Here Series Merged Sentences expound both bases.

Introductory: Vé-te / mani ya-te / naané waba there

yé-te / kéraa-te / ka-ké / eat-int

y-o kadému // do-pr food

Amplification: téwaanga sétuwaba kéraa-te / European's in.store buy-r3

<u>ka-ké</u> / <u>y-o</u> <u>kwaami</u> <u>rayés</u> // eat-int do-pr meat rice

'We see (that) and we earn money and we go there and will buy food and eat it, will buy meat and rice in the European's store and eat that.'

4. Here a Series Merged Sentence with embedded Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Introductory base and an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds the Amplification base.

'You will go and do that work there, vernacular language work.'

6.6.3 Antithetic

Antithetic Sentences are Compound Sentences which do not contain a Quote Formula base containing a verb of saying and which do not encode Paraphrase, but instead encode Antithesis.

6.6.3.1 Contrary Expectation

The Contrary Expectation Sentence consists of an obligatory Anticipation base expounded by a Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence, or a Ferent Merged Sentence or Series Merged Sentence ending with a Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence, followed by an obligatory Frustration base expounded by either a clause, Ferent Merged Sentence, Series Merged Sentence or a Sequence Sentence ending with an independent or different subject relational verb, or a clause with a reason marker and an accessory verb, followed by an optional Result base expounded by a clause with an independent verb which may be reduced to actor-subject only.

The Contrary Expectation Sentence is distinguished from other sentences by the use of the Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence in the first base and the implied or stated anticipation reversal in the third base. It is further distinguished from the Alternative Sentence by the optional nature of one of the three bases and by different exponents of the second and third bases.

Contrary Expectation Sentence

+ Anticipation	+ Frustration	+ Result			
Subjunctive Aspectual M.S. Ferent M.S. Series M.S. ending with Subjunctive Aspectual M.S.	Sub-type 1 clause Ferent M.S. Series M.S. Sequence Sentence with different actor-subject relational or independent verb in past tense Sub-type 2 clause with reason marker and access- ory verb	with independent verb in past tense same subject as Anticipation base			
Subjunctive Aspectual M.S. cannot be negated	Sub-type 1 independent or relational verb Sub-type 2 reason marker and accessory verb	clause may be re- duced to actor- subject only exponent = opposite of Anticipation base			
	Pa)	~			
(i-Pa	Pa)	Rb \bigwedge Pa _{eta}			

Rules:

- (1) Co-occurrence: Sub-type 1. If the Result base occurs, the last verb of the Frustration base must be in a different subject relational form. If Result base does not occur the last verb of the Frustration base is in the independent form in the past tense.
- (2) Reading: Sub-type 1. The three bases may occur but the norm is two. Sub-type 2. Only first two bases occur.
- (3) Agreement: Sub-type 1. When only Anticipation and Frus-tration bases occur, the verbs are in the past tense. The subjects of the Anticipation and Result bases are the same. The subject of the Frustration base may be different.
- (4) Limitation: Sub-type 1. See under Co-occurrence above. Sub-type 2. The accessory verb is used only in conjunction with the reason marker. The resultant clause gives a reason for the reversal of the anticipation, not a

reason for the anticipation. In sub-type 2 the Result base does not occur.

(5) Deletions: The clause in the Result base may be reduced to the actor-subject only.

Note: Although Sub-type 2 Contrary Expectation Sentence has only one independent verb it is treated as a Compound Sentence because it can best be described as a sub-type of the two-independent verb structure, sub-type 1 Contrary Expectation Sentence, which is compound in form.

Discussion:

The Contrary Expectation Sentence is used to express Expectancy Reversal. The final base implies or states the negative of the first base. It is used infrequently. The few examples found have been in conversation or narrative material. The only example of embedding has been in Direct Quote Sentence.

Examples:

In all the examples a Subjunctive Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds or is embedded in the exponent of the Anticipation base.

1. Sub-type 1

Anticipation: Taalé taapi-katik / wuné ya-k // place sweep-hyp I do-pa

Frustration: bakna kélik wuné ya-k // just unwillingness I do-pa

'I would have swept the place, but I did not want to.'

2. Sub-type 1

Anticipation: Widé kwaa-katik / méné ya-k // sleep lie-hyp you do-pa

Frustration: baadi de waga kur-ék // children they thus play-pa

'You would have slept, but the children played like that.'

3. Sub-type 1

Anticipation: Nalé bas Gorokat yé-katik / yesterday bus to.Goroka go-hyp

 $\frac{16}{\text{she}}$ $\frac{\text{ya-k}}{\text{do-pa}}$ //

Frustration: maas viyaa-dé-k / rain strike-he-r5

Result: 16 kaapuk ya-k //

'Yesterday the bus would have gone to Goroka, but it rained, and it did not go.'

4. Sub-type 1

Here the Contrary Expectation Sentence expounds the Quote Formula base of a Direct Quote Sentence.

Anticipation: Kwayé-katik / wuné ya-k // give-hyp I do-pa

Frustration: Pita dé wa-k / Peter he say-pa

<u>kwayé-marék</u> / <u>ya-ké</u> / <u>méné</u> <u>y-o</u> // give-not do-int you do-pr

'I would have given (it), but Peter said, "You must not give (it)."'

5. Sub-type 1

Here a Sequence Sentence expounds the Frustration base.

Anticipation: Ayurat yé-katik / wuné ya-k // to.Aiyura go-hyp I do-pa

Frustration: yépmaa ya-dé-k / wuné kélik unwillingness

<u>ya-k</u> // do-pa

'I would have gone to Aiyura, but it was cold, and I did not want to.'

6. Sub-type 1

In this Colloquial Sentence, the Result base is expounded by a reduced clause consisting of the subject only.

Anticipation: Mi vélé-katik / de ya-k // tree chop-hyp they do-pa

Frustration: <u>kulaa</u> <u>kaapuk</u> <u>ya-dé-k</u> / knife not do-he-r5

Result: de //

'They would have chopped down the tree, but there was no bush-knife, and they (did not),'

7. Sub-type 1

In this Colloquial Sentence, the Frustration base is expounded by a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence and the Result base is expounded by a reduced clause consisting of the subject only.

Anticipation: Mawe séku-katik / wuné ya-k // flower cut-hyp I do-pa

Frustration: <u>las</u> <u>yéknwun</u> <u>ya-kaapuk</u> / <u>ya-dé-k</u> // some good do-not do-he-r5

Result: wune //

'I would have cut the flowers, but some were not good, and I (did not).'

8. Sub-type 2

Anticipation: Sétuwat yé-katik / wuné ya-k // to.store go-hyp \overline{I} do-pa

Frustration: wup ya-wuré-n bege // fear do-I-apa because

'I would have gone to the store, but I was afraid.'

9. Sub-type 2

Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Anticipation base.

Anticipation: Gwaamal-e ya-e / wuné gwalmu gaba turn-r1 come-r1 I things in.house

takna-katik / wuné ya-k // put-hyp // I do-pa

Frustration: gwés tépétakna-méné-n bege //
door lock-you-apa because

'I would have come back and put the things in the house, but you had locked the door.'

6.6.3.2 Alternative

The Alternative Sentence consists of an obligatory initial Alternative base expounded by an Independent Clause, Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence, Ferent Merged Sentence, Series Merged Sentence, Conditional Sentence or Sequence Sentence ending with an independent verb, followed by an obligatory Pivot base expounded by the alternative conjunction kapu 'or', followed by an obligatory second Alternative base expounded by Fragmentary Sentence, an Independent Clause or an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence. The entire construction has been found in the interrogative form only.

The Alternative Sentence is distinguished from all other Compound Sentences by its Pivot base. It is further distinguished from the Contrary Expectation Sentence by three obligatory bases with limited exponents in the final base.

Alternative Sentence

+ Alternative 1	+ Pivot	+ Alternative 2
Independent Clause IAMS Ferent Merged Sentence Series Merged Sentence Conditional Sentence Sequence Sentence with independent verb	kapu 'or'	kaapuk 'not' yaga pulak 'what' yage véké 'how can we tell?' IAMS Independent Clause with question intonation or interrogative word
cannot be negated		
Pa ‡ Qa	Р	a ≢ P"a
Pa ≢ P"b	P	a ‡ Pa

Rules:

(1) Co-occurrence: If the independent verb in the first

base is in the past tense it is followed by <u>kaapuk</u> or <u>yaga pulak</u>. If the verb in the first base is in the present or future tense (i.e. using an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence) there is a choice of any exponent in the second Alternative base.

- (2) Reading: The three bases are obligatory and cannot be repeated.
- (3) Limitation: This construction occurs in the interrogative form only.
- (4) Deletion: The limited exponents of the second Alternative base <u>kaapuk</u> 'not' and <u>yaga pulak</u> 'what' are considered a Fragmentary Sentence.

Discussion:

The Alternative Sentence is used to present two alternatives for choice. It is always presented as a question. It is frequently heard in conversation when courses of action are being discussed. It appears as an independent sentence and has not been observed to embed in other sentences. It expounds bases in Co-ordinate, Amplification, Alternative, Rhetorical Question and Interrogative Paragraphs, and occurs in Hortatory and Epistolary Discourse.

Examples:

In examples 1 - 4 an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence expounds or is embedded in the Alternative 2 base.

1. Alternative 1: Képmaaké guné waati-yu / about.ground you(pl) put.prohibition-pr

Pivot: kapu

Alternative 2: <u>las tiyaa-ké</u> / <u>guné</u> // some give.to.me-int you(pl)

'Do you put a prohibition on the land, or will you give some to me?'

2. Here an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence also expounds the Alternative 1 base. (Also in the next two examples)

Alternative 1: $\frac{\text{Taapuba}}{\text{on.palm.sheath}} = \frac{\text{gi-k\'e}}{\text{tie-int}} / \frac{\text{wun\'e}}{\text{I}} = \frac{\text{y-o}}{\text{do-pr}}$

Pivot: <u>kapu</u> or

Alternative 2: bekba waada-ké / wuné y-o // in.bag put.in-int I do-pr

'Shall I tie (the rice) in a palm sheath, or shall I put it in a bag?'

3. Alternative 1: Séré maas viyaa-ké / dé y-o // tomorrow rain strike-int he do-pr

Pivot: <u>kapu</u> or

Alternative 2: nyaa té-ké / dé y-o // sun stand-int he do-pr

'Will it rain tomorrow, or will the sun shine?'

4. Here a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence embeds in the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence which expounds the Alternative 2 base.

Alternative 1: Yaa-ké / méné y-o // come-int you do-pr

Pivot: <u>kapu</u> or

Alternative 2: <u>yaa-marék</u> / <u>ya-ké</u> / <u>méné</u> <u>y-o</u> // come-not do-int you do-pr

'Will you come, or won't you?'

5. Here a Series Merged Sentence expounds the Alternative 1 base.

Alternative 1: Waga ya-te / las guné véknw-u //
thus do-r3 par vou(pl) hear-pr

Pivot: <u>kapu</u> or

Alternative 2: <u>kaapuk</u> // not

'Doing that, do you hear or not?'

6. Here a Sequence Sentence expounds the Alternative 1 base and a Fragmentary Sentence expounds the Alternative 2 base.

Alternative 1: Kukba yé-ké / wa-d-u //
later go-int say-he-r7

kélik ya-l-u / wa-d-u /
unwillingness do-she-r7 say-he-r7

kwayé-ké / de y-o //
give-int they do-pr

Pivot: kapu

Alternative 2: yage vé-ké //
how see-int

'Later will he plan to go, and will she be unwilling, and will he speak, and will they give (rings), or how can we tell?'

- 7. Here a Series Merged Sentence with an Included Clause embedded within a Noun Phrase expounds the Alternative 1 base.
 - Alternative 1: Wayébageba ra-te / bul-e / méné at.Wayembange sit-r3 / talk-r1 you

 (ya-méné-n) nyéga ani Awustéreliya do-you-apa paper that Australia

 dut méné waata-k // man you ask-pa

Pivot: <u>kapu</u>

Alternative 2: <u>kaapuk</u> //

'When you were staying at Wayembange and talked, did you ask that Australian in the letter which you wrote, or didn't you?'

- 8. Here a Conditional Sentence expounds the first Alternative base and a Fragmentary Sentence expounds the second Alternative base.
 - Alternative 1: Gwalmu las waba kéraa-té-ran / food some there buy-we(d)-if

 $\frac{\text{kur-e}}{\text{hold-r1}} / \frac{\text{ané}}{\text{we(d)}} \frac{\text{yaa-ké}}{\text{come-int}} / \frac{\text{y-o}}{\text{do-pr}} / /$

Pivot: kapu

Alternative 2: yaga pulak // what like

'If we buy food there, shall we bring it, or what?'

9. Alternative 1: Nyéné r-o / you(f s) sit-pr

Pivot: kapu

Alternative 2: nyéné-bu yé-k // you(f s)-have go-pa

'Are you there, or have you gone?'

7 PARAGRAPH

7.0 <u>Introduction</u>

A paragraph in Ambulas is defined as a construction in the grammatical hierarchy between sentence level and discourse level. A paragraph has two or more bases, each expounded usually by a Sentence.

Paragraphs manifest discourse and paragraph level tag-memes.

Paragraphs are distinguished from one another principally by their system of linkage and the number of tagmemes, but also by their internal structure and by their distribution within the different types of discourse.

Where possible, deep structure formulae for paragraphs are given. These differ somewhat from the sentence deep structure formulae in that now the overall relationships within the paragraph rather than the inter-clausal relationships within the sentence are described. The application of the formulae to some of the more difficult examples is not always clearcut.

It should be noted that, for the purposes of simplicity and clarity, the term "Simple Sentence" is used from now on in bidimensional arrays and descriptions to cover Fragmentary and Colloquial Sentences (see 6.4.2, 6.4.3), and also Aspectual Merged Sentences (see 6.5) except when the aspect is in focus, as well as the Simple Sentence itself. examples are given containing one of these sentences, the specific name will also be given. Also, the term "Series Merged Sentence" is used from now on to cover as well Ferent Merged Sentence, as the latter is really a specific type of Series Merged Sentence with the same distribution. a prominent feature of the language is the verb, and most clausal categories, particularly dependent clauses, are merely a multiplication of verbal categories, it is felt to be more economical of time and space to describe exponents of bases usually relative to the category of verb rather than the category of clause, wherever relevant.

Chart O gives a display of the different paragraph types.

CHART O
PARAGRAPH TYPES

	Linkage by verbs	Linkage by juxtaposition				
multi- based	Narrative Procedural	Hortatory Co-ordinate Descriptive				
binary	Execution Reported Speech Dialogue	Repetition Reduplication Contraction Amplification G-S Amplification Opposition Negative Paraphrase Contrast Alternative Formulaic Quotation Perception Gratitude Implication Rhetorical Question Reason Explanation Interrogative Identification Expository				

Twenty-three paragraph types have been distinguished. For ease of description these have been grouped along two parameters, as shown on Chart O. The horizontal parameter distinguishes between paragraphs linked by verbs and those linked by juxtaposition, while the vertical parameter distinguishes between those which have two nuclear bases and those which usually manifest more than two nuclear bases. Binary paragraphs which are linked by juxtaposition further subdivide into those linked by repetition, opposition, formula, implication and explanation.

7.1 Multi-based Paragraphs Linked by Verbs

Verbal linkage in these two paragraph types is in the form of repetition of the preceding Independent Clause of the first sentence as a Relational Dependent Clause expounding the first base of the following sentence. It is usually

the Predicate only that is repeated but one or two other clause level tagmemes may also be repeated. In such cases the first base of the second sentence is in a portmanteau relationship as a Series 1 base of a Series Merged Sentence or a Prior Action base of a Sequence Sentence and a Recapitulation tagmeme, linking one sentence with the next, within the paragraph.

If the preceding independent verb is in the negative or is clumsy, in length or in form, or occurs at the end of an embedded paragraph which is then summarized to fit into the paragraph, the factive verb is used to act as a link at the beginning of the second sentence. If the above factors do not apply and the factive verb is used in the second sentence, this is usually a clear indication that a new paragraph is beginning. Ordinarily the linkage is with the use of the same verb stem.

7.1.1 Narrative

The Narrative Paragraph consists of an obligatory Setting-Build-Up 1 base expounded by a Simple Sentence, various other sentence types or paragraph types, followed by an optional Build-Up base, which may be repeated up to 20 times, followed by an obligatory final Build-Up base. A Simple Sentence does not expound non-initial Build-Ups, but most other sentence and paragraph types do expound these, as shown on the bidimensional array. Series Merged Sentence, Sequence Sentence or Execution Paragraph are the most frequent exponents of bases within a Narrative Paragraph.

The Narrative Paragraph is distinguished from the Procedural Paragraph by the predominant use of the past tense and the predominant use of 3rd or 1st person actor-subject.

Narrative Paragraph

Setting-Build-Up 1	<u>+</u> (Build-Up) ⁿ⁼²⁰	+ Build-Up _n		
Simple S. Series M.S. Perception S. Sequence S. Direct Quote Sentence Alternative S. Paraphrase Sentences Co-ordinate P. Execution P. Reported Speech P. Amplification P. Contrast P.	Sentences as for base 1, but not Simple S. Speech Paragraphs Contraction P. Amplification P. G-S Amplif.P. Neg.Para.P. Contrast P. Perception P.	Sentences as for base 2 Co-ordinate P. Speech Paragraphs Contraction P. Amplification P. Neg.Para.P.		

tail-head linkage between Build-Ups

tense usually past throughout actor-subject 3rd or 1st throughout

> \mathbf{N} Succession

Rules:

- (1) Reading: At least two tagmemes must occur and usually many more occur. The greatest number of tagmemes observed is 22, but in this case each exponent was fairly short and there was little embedding. The average number of tagmemes is 4 - 9. Setting is usually not given. If given, it usually occurs only in the first Episode base of a Narrative Discourse. When Setting occurs, it is in portmanteau relationship with Build-Up 1.
- (2) Limitation: Simple Sentence may occur only in the first Tense is usually past throughout. It may switch momentarily to vivid present to heighten the effect but does not seem to mark any particular discourse peak. Occasionally the tense may change to present and future to bring autobiographical events to present time. However, such tense change would probably indicate the start of a new paragraph. Such change usually occurs towards end of the Narrative Discourse. Person is usually 3rd throughout for legends, and 1st and 3rd throughout for personal narrative.

Discussion:

Use of the vivid present tense seems to be a feature of Narrative Discourse and casual conversation. It has not

been observed in other discourse types. In Narrative Discourse the speaker may switch momentarily from past to vivid present tense, apparently using this as an attention-getting device or to highlight a certain event. This switch may occur up to three times in any one Narrative Paragraph. It occurs more frequently within the non-final bases of the Narrative Paragraph. Vivid present tense is little used and seems to depend partly on the dramatic forcefulness of the speaker as to whether it is used at all.

The deep structural relationship is one of chronological sequence of events which have happened, or occasionally, which are happening or will happen. Non-chronological events are handled by the use of the Accessory Clause within the Narrative Paragraph, or as a separate base of the Narrative Discourse.

The Narrative Paragraph is a very commonly used paragraph type. Apart from text material, it occurs very commonly in everyday conversation, when a report of some event is given. The Narrative Paragraph expounds Episode and other bases of Narrative Discourse. It also occurs in Expository, Hortatory and Epistolary Discourse and embeds in Hortatory, Co-ordinate, Amplification, Contrast, Quotation, Gratitude and Expository Paragraphs.

Examples:

1. Setting-Build-Up 1: Simple Sentence with Time Margin.

Taakwa nak 1éku du kiyae yatnyétaknadéka 1é woman one her man die.and he.left.and she

bakna 1é rak kaawi taakwa.
just she sat single woman

BU 2: Sequence Sentence.

Raléka de du nak yaadéka bét rate she.sat.and he man one he.came.and they sitting

kwaak.

BU 3: Series Merged Sentence.

<u>Kwae</u> <u>16</u> <u>nyaan</u> <u>ték</u>. slept.and she child conceived

BU 4: Series Merged Sentence

Te du nyaan nak kéraak. conceived.and she man child one bore

BUn: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Kérae</u> <u>1é</u> <u>déku</u> <u>yé</u> <u>wak</u> <u>Jekadu</u>. Bore and she his name said Jekandu

'A woman, after her husband died and left her, lived all alone. She lived, and a man came, and they two lived together. They lived together, and she conceived a child. She conceived and gave birth to a son. She gave birth and called his name Jekandu.'

2. Setting-Build-Up 1: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

Déku taakwa vétik male bét jébaa yak did

Contrast: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Dé</u> <u>diku</u> <u>walé</u> <u>waasé</u> <u>dé</u> <u>wulaa</u> <u>bawuba</u> he yaws bad sore he enter.and ashes.in

rak.

BU 2: Past Intentive Sentence with Time Margin

Radéka bét bét kétiké nae yék he.sat.and they they to.dance intending went

baagu yadaka. feast do.they

BU 3 : Sequence Sentence

Yébétka dé dé sépé putiye kaanyba they.went.and he he skin take.off.and bamboo.in

waaktakne dé dé kukba yék.
put.and he he later went

BUn: Series Merged Sentence

Ye went and he dance ground in them saw

'Only his two wives worked. He, he had yaws and bad sores and sat among the ashes. He sat, and the two went intending to dance when they had the <u>baagu</u> feast. They went and he, he took off his skin, put it in a bamboo and then went later. He went and saw the two of them on the dancing ground.'

3. Setting-Build-Up 1: Sequence Sentence

Ranaka maas viyaadéka naanéwa raapme we.sat.and rain fall.he.and we get.up.and

giyae naanéwa tépétba nak yaalakwa.
come.down.and we slope.on one are.coming.up

BU 2 : Sequence Sentence

<u>Tépétba</u> <u>nak</u> <u>yaalanaka</u> <u>layérik</u> <u>yadéka</u> slope.on one come.up.we.and slippery he.do.and

<u>kat</u> <u>léwa</u> <u>ada</u> <u>aga</u> <u>gwaamale</u> <u>dawulikwa</u>.
car she down like.this return.and is.going.down

BUn: Sequence Sentence

<u>Dawuliléka</u> <u>naanéwa</u> <u>yékwa</u>. go.down.she.and we are.going

'We sat, and during that time the rain was falling, and we arose and came down and are coming up one slope. We are coming up one slope and it is slippery, and the car is going down backwards. It is going down and we are going.'

This paragraph is quite unusual in that the three Build-Up bases all have as the independent verb the vivid present tense in place of the expected past tense. Occasionally a Narrative Paragraph will have one occurrence of the vivid present tense. However this only occasionally corresponds with a peak or climax in a discourse. This is the only example found with every base containing this feature.

4. For further examples see under Narrative Discourse example 'Our History' (8.1).

7.1.2 Procedural

The Precedural Paragraph consists of an optional Setting base, expounded by an embedded Procedural Paragraph, followed by an obligatory Step 1 base, expounded by a Simple Sentence or various other sentences or paragraphs, followed by another optional Step base, which may be repeated up to 16 times, expounded by various sentences or paragraphs, followed by an obligatory final Step_n base expounded by various sentences or an Amplification Paragraph, followed by an optional Summary base, expounded by a Simple Sentence, Series Merged Sentence or Conditional Sentence.

The Procedural Paragraph is distinguished from the Narrative Paragraph by the use of present (in Procedural Discourse) or future (using the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence, in Hortatory Discourse) tense throughout, the use of 1st person or 2nd person throughout, the two nonnuclear tagmemes, Setting and Summary, and by the smaller number and type of exponents within the bases. Paragraphs embedding within the Procedural Paragraph tend to be short. Also, sentences in Procedural Paragraphs tend to be shorter and contain fewer clause level tagmemes.

Procedural Paragraph

+ Setting	+ Step 1	<u>+</u> (Step) ⁿ⁼¹⁶	+ Step _n	+ Summary
Procedural P.	Series M.S. Sequence Sentence	Series M.S. Sequence S. Direct Quote Sentence Perception S. G-S Amplif.P. Contrast P.	s.	Simple S. Series M.S. Conditional S.

tail-head linkage between bases

1st person present tense, or 2nd person future tense throughout $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) \left(1\right)$

P	\wedge	Q	Λ	•	•	•	•	•	•	\mathbf{N}	Succession

Rules:

1. Reading: Only two Step tagmemes are obligatory. Up to 18 Step tagmemes have been observed and a Summary tagmeme. Only one example of a Setting tagmeme has been observed. In some other cases it has been noted that a Setting tagmeme and Step 1 tagmeme are in portmanteau relation—ship, particularly in the first Procedural Paragraph of a discourse. However, in most cases no setting is given. The normal number of tagmemes is 2 - 4.

2. Limitation: Linkage between the Step bases is by repetition of the last clause or part of the clause from the previous sentence as a Relational Dependent Clause in the following sentence. The Summary base usually contains the word waga 'like that' and does not have verbal linkage. Tense is usually present (in Procedural Discourse) or future (in Hortatory Discourse), accompanied by 1st person or 2nd person respectively. Any combination may be used in Expository Discourse.

Discussion:

The Procedural Paragraph is used to express an ordered series of steps in a procedure. Events are given in chronological order.

The Procedural Paragraph embeds within Hortatory, Descriptive, Co-ordinate, Amplification, Generic-Specific Amplification, Contrast, Rhetorical Question, Interrogative, Expository and other Procedural Paragraphs and occurs in Procedural, Hortatory, Expository and Epistolary Discourse and in non-Episode bases of Narrative Discourse.

Examples:

(For examples of separate Setting tagmeme and Setting tagmeme in portmanteau relationship with Step 1 and further Procedural Paragraph examples, see also under examples of Procedural Discourse 'Ceremonial Yams'.)

1. (found in Hortatory Discourse and so in 2nd person with future)

Step 1: Series Merged Sentence

Baal <u>kérékne kure</u> <u>yae nyédéba</u> vine.species cut.and hold.and come.and in.middle

 viyaaké, méné, yo nil kérae. strike.you.will nail get

Step_n: Sequence Sentence

<u>Viyaataknaménu</u> you.will.strike.and <u>téké. dé. yo.</u> it.will.stand

Summary: Simple Sentence

Naané waga naané yo.
we like.that we do

'You will cut the <u>baal</u> vine and bring it and split it down the middle and put the two parts together and get nails and hammer it. You will hammer, and it will stand. That's the way we do it.'

2. (also found in Hortatory Discourse)

Step 1: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Conditional Sentence

<u>Kulé</u> <u>bekgé</u> <u>mawulé</u> <u>yaménéran</u> <u>yéwaa naktaba</u> new <u>bag.for</u> wish <u>if.you.do</u> money five

kwayéké. méné. yo. you.will.give

Contrast: Conditional Sentence

Jégwa bekgé mawulé yaménéran vétik bag.for wish if.you.do two

<u>kwayéké.</u> <u>méné.</u> <u>yo</u>. you.will.give

Stepn: Series Merged Sentence

Kwayétakne wani nyégéle kure yaale give.and.then then receive.and hold.and come.and

waadaké. méné. yo. you.will.fill

'If you want a new bag, you will give five coins. If you want an old bag, you will give two coins. You will give and then receive it and bring it and fill it (with rice).'

3. Step 1 : Direct Quote Sentence

Yate de wakweyo baapmu vetik yedu do.and he speaks month two will.go.and

wani yaaké. méné. yo. Yaaménu wani moni then you. will. come come.you.and that money

kwayéké. wuné. yo. I. will give

Step 2: Sequence Sentence

<u>Wadéka</u> <u>yae</u> <u>ténaka</u> <u>baapmu</u> <u>vétik</u> he.say.and come.and we.stand.and month two

wurétakne naané ye tiyaadékwa nyéga go.and.then we go.and he.gives.us paper

<u>kure</u> <u>yu</u>. hold.and go

Step_n: Sequence Sentence

<u>Kure</u> <u>yénaka</u> <u>véte</u> <u>dé</u> <u>moni</u> <u>tiyao</u>. hold.and we.go.and see.and he money gives.us

'He does, and during that time he says, "You come in two months. You come and I'll give that money." He says, and we come and stay, and after two months we go and take the paper he gives us. We take it, and he sees it and gives us money.'

7.2 Multi-based Paragraphs Linked by Juxtaposition

There is no tail-head verbal linkage in these paragraphs. The linkage is by juxtaposition, strengthened by distribution in other paragraphs and in specific types of discourse; e.g. Hortatory Paragraphs occur mainly within Hortatory Discourse, and Descriptive Paragraphs in Descriptive Discourse, and Coordinate Paragraphs tend to show an equivalence between bases and to occur in Comment bases of Narrative and Procedural Discourse. Hortatory Paragraphs have quite distinctive tagmemes, whereas Co-ordinate and Descriptive Paragraphs have the ability to keep adding more equivalent bases.

7.2.1 Hortatory

The Hortatory Paragraph consists of an optional Setting

base, an obligatory Exhortation 1 base characterized by the exponent containing an Imperative Clause, Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence or an alternative way of expressing a command or wish, as mentioned in 5.2.2, and optional Exhortation 2, Motivation, Reinforcement, Warning and Comment bases. One other tagmeme, apart from Exhortation 1 base, must occur for the construction to be considered a Hortatory Paragraph. Because of the great number of optional tagmemes, the borders of the Hortatory Paragraph are largely determined by the more easily definable paragraphs occurring preceding and following the Hortatory Paragraph. It rarely happens that a string of Hortatory Paragraphs follow one another, and when this occurs the borders of the paragraph can be determined by the general patterning. Setting, Exhortation 1, and Motivation bases take a wide range of embedded paragraphs, as is shown in the bidimensional array.

The Hortatory Paragraph is distinguished from other paragraphs by the greater number of differing tagmemes, the characteristic features expounding the Exhortation 1 base, and its distribution, being limited almost entirely to Hortatory Discourse.

Hortatory Paragraph

+ Setting	+ Exhorta- tion 1	+ Exhorta-	- Motiva-	+ Rein- forcement	+ Warning	+ Comment
Simple S. Simple S. Series M.S. IAMS Sequence S. Condition Narrative S. Sequence Contrast P. Parallel Expository P. Procedura P. Reported Speech P. Reported Speech P. Contrast Neg.Para. P. Contrast Neg.Para.	Simple S. IAMS Conditional S. Sequence S. Parallel S. Procedural P. Quotation P. Reported Speech P. Contraction P. Contrast P. Neg.Para.P. Neg.Para.P.	Series M.S. Sequence S. IAMS Procedural P.	Simple S. Series M.S. Sequence S. Conditional S. Procedural P. Quotation P. Gen.Int.S. Contrast P. Reason P. G-S Amplif. P. Interrog.P. Expository P.	Direct Quote S. Contrast P. Rhet. Ques.P.	IAMS Sequence S. Condition- al S.	Simple S. Series M.S. Sequence S. IAMS Procedural P. Contrast P. G-S Amplif. P.
	use of Immediacy Aspectual Merged independent sentence or embedded Independent Clause, or an alternationmand form in most of the bases actor-subject is usually the same	nmediacy Aspectual Merged S dent sentence or embedded w dent Clause, or an alternat form in most of the bases. bject is usually the same i	ar no	Sentence as an within the tive wish or • in non-setting	or Comment	bases
	$(P_{eta} \supset Q)$ $P_{eta} \supset Q$	→ + + + - · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	& &			

Rules:

- Reading: Exhortation and one other non-Exhortation tagmeme must occur. No more than four tagmemes can co-occur in any construction. Reinforcement and Warning do not co-occur.
- 2. Permutation: The most common order of tagmemes is given in the array. However, apart from Setting, tagmemes permute fairly freely.

Discussion:

The Hortatory Paragraph has not been observed to embed within other paragraphs. The Hortatory Paragraph expounds bases of Hortatory and Epistolary Discourse.

The Hortatory Paragraph is used to express an exhortation in the form of a command, request or wish.

Examples:

1. Exhortation: Simple Sentence (Series Merged Sentence embedded in Predicate)

Wani taakwa mé kure yaa. that woman imp hold.and come

Comment: Simple Sentence

Wan anéké to us (d) lé mawulé yo. thought does

Motivation: Procedural Paragraph

Step 1: Reason Sentence

Kure yaaménu wuné yéwaa hold.and you.come.and I ring

kwayéké. wuné. yo wuna nyaan bege. I. will give my child because

Step 2: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Procedural Paragraph

Step 1: Sequence Sentence (with embedded IAMS)

Yéwaa kwayétaknawuru miték rate ring I.will.give.and well sit.and

16 nyaan kéraaké. yo. she child will bear

Step_n: Sequence Sentence (with embedded IAMS)

Kéraalu de baadi yéknwun she.will.bear.and they child good

male yaké. yo.
only must.do

Contrast: Procedural Paragraph

Step 1: Conditional Sentence

Yéwaa kwayémarék yawuréran nyaan ring not.give if.I.do child

kéraamarék bakna raké. 16. yo. not. bear just she. will. sit

Step_n: Sequence Sentence (with embedded IAMS)

Yalu kawi du kawi she will do and without man without

taakwa téké. béné. yo. woman you(d).will.stand

Stepn: Series Merged Sentence (with embedded IAMS)

Yate béné jébaa yaké. yo. do. and you(d) work must.do

'Bring that woman! It is us that she likes. You bring her, and I will give shell rings, because you are my child. I will give rings, and she must sit well and give birth to children. She must do that, and the children must be always well. If I do not give rings, whe will not bear children and will just sit without children. She will do that, and you will be a childless couple. You will do that (give rings and have children), and you must work.'

2. Exhortation 1: Procedural Paragraph

Step 1: Conditional Sentence

Yaawi yabénéran yate raatmu gite do.and fence tie.and

béné you(d) ka kwaké. yo. must.plant

Step,: Series Merged Sentence (with embedded IAMS)

 $\frac{\text{Ka}}{\text{small.yam}}$ $\frac{\text{kwate}}{\text{plant.and}}$ $\frac{\text{mayé}}{\text{taro}}$ $\frac{\text{saabaké. béné. yo.}}{\text{you(d).will.plant}}$

Exhortation 2: Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence

<u>Kudiya</u> <u>laapu</u> <u>akwi</u> <u>yananké. béné. yo</u>. pitpit banana all you(d).will.plant

(N.B. Because of the different verb for 'plant' and the different types of food mentioned, this cannot be considered as an Amplification Paragraph.)

Motivation: Series Merged Sentence (with embedded IAMS)

Saakna maaku yanante béné kérae kaké yo. greens bean plant.and you(d) get.and must.eat

Warning: Conditional Sentence

Wulkiyaayebaknatébénérankaadékélazinessdo.andjustif.you.standfrom.hunger

kiyaaké. béné. yo. you will die

'If you will clear the bush and make fences, you must plant small yams. You will plant small yams and also taro. You will plant pitpit and bananas and everything. You must plant greens and beans and then get them and eat. If you are lazy and stand without working, you will die of hunger.'

3. Setting: Sequence Sentence

<u>Kén</u> <u>wunat</u> <u>kapéredi</u> <u>waasa</u> <u>kapéredi</u> <u>waasa</u> to.me very.bad dog very.bad

naadaka yeyé yeyawuréka béné male béné they.say.and go I.come.and you(d) only you

gwalmu tiyaabénéka wuné ko. food you.give.me.and I eat

Exhortation: Sequence Sentence

de wunat kélésati kélésalakwa dut wakwemarék. they me chase.in chase.out man.to not.speak

Comment: Simple Sentence

Bénatba wuné wakweyo.
to.you(d).only I wakweyo.

'It is to me that they say, "Very bad dog, very bad dog," and I go and come, and you two only give me food and I eat. You will stay, and another sort of thing will come; do not speak to the men who chase me all around. I am telling you two only.'

4. Motivation: Simple Sentence

Wuné yaak. I finished

Reinforcement: Rhetorical Question Paragraph

Grounds: Reason Sentence

Déknyényba miték téte wuné jébaa yak previously well stand.and I work did

kén gwalepa yawurén bege. focus old I.did because

Question: Simple Sentence (Interrogative 2 Independent Clause with IAMS embedded in Series Merged Sentence embedded in Predicate)

Apa yaga pulak ye wuné jébaa yaké. yo. strong what like do.and I work will.do

Exhortation: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Sequence Sentence

Baadi ragunéka wuné wuné child you(pl).sit.and I I

jae <u>kwayék</u>. gather.food.and gave

Contrast: Sequence Sentence (with embedded IAMS)

Kén guné jébaa ye focus you(p1) work do.and

'I am finished. Previously I was well and worked, (but not now) because I am an old man. How can I be strong and work? When you were children, I gathered food for you. Now you, you work and give me food, and I will stay.'

5. Setting: Simple Sentence

Wuné Sarere wuné yak nyéga nyénéké.
I Saturday I did paper for.you

Motivation: Quotation Paragraph

Quote Formula: Simple Sentence

Bulaa nyénat wuné waato.
now you I waato.

Quote: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence (with IAMS embedded in Predicate)

Béné yani baapmu yaaké. béné. yo. you(d) which month you. will. come

Amplification: Alternative Sentence

Baapmu Mas yaaké. béné. yo kapu yaga month March you.will.come or what

pulak béné yo. do

Exhortation: Reported Speech Paragraph

Speech: Direct Quote Sentence

<u>Ukarampat</u> <u>yaabénéran</u> <u>béné</u> <u>wunat</u> to.Ukarumpa if.you.come you(d) to.me

wakweké. yo anébu yaak. must.speak we(d).have come

Closure: Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence (with embedded IAMS)

Naate nyéné naanat wakweké yo. talk.and you(f s) to.us must speak

'I wrote the letter for you on Saturday. Now I ask you. Which month will you two come? Will you come in March, or what are you doing? If you have come to Ukarumpa, you must tell me, "We have come." That is what you must tell us.'

For other examples of Hortatory Paragraph see under Hortatory Discourse and Epistolary Discourse examples.

7.2.2 Co-ordinate

The Co-ordinate Paragraph consists of an obligatory Co-ordinate 1 base, optional intermediate Co-ordinate bases and an obligatory Co-ordinate_n base. Simple Sentence and Series Merged Sentence are the most frequent exponents of all bases. Other exponents observed are noted in the bidimensional array. This is not a common paragraph type. Theoretically, it is likely that most sentence and paragraph types could expound these bases. The construction is usually fairly short, so that even when paragraphs expound the bases, they are usually quite short, and in these cases there may be only two bases. There is a certain parallelism about the exponents of each base.

The Co-ordinate Paragraph is distinguished from other paragraphs by the open-endedness of the construction — it seems possible that the speaker can follow his inclination as to the number of bases he uses — the lack of verbal linkage, the equivalence of the exponents of each base and in its limited distribution, mainly within non-progression bases of most discourse types.

Co-ordinate Paragraph

+ Co-ordinate 1	\pm (Co-ordinate) ⁿ⁼³	+ Co-ordinate _n
Simple Sentence Series M.S. Procedural P. Reported Speech P. Amplification P. Contrast P.	Simple Sentence Series M.S. Narrative P. Contraction P. Procedural P. Amplification P. Alternative S.	Simple Sentence Series M.S. Alternative S. Procedural P. Reported Sp.P. Contrast P.
exponents of each base usually quite short		
Pa ∧ Qb Coupling		

Rules:

- 1. Reading: Up to five bases have been observed to occur. Average is three.
- 2. Limitation: There is usually an equivalence of length and type between the exponents of each base.

Discussion:

The Co-ordinate Paragraph is used to provide extra information, usually of a background type. Quite often, there is little semantic relationship between the items linked together in this type of paragraph. The Co-ordinate Paragraph embeds in Expository, Rhetorical Question, Narrative, Amplification, Generic-Specific Amplification, Interrogative and Procedural Paragraphs.

The Co-ordinate Paragraph expounds the Comment bases of Procedural Discourse and also bases of Narrative, Hortatory, Expository and Epistolary Discourse.

Examples:

1. Co-ordinate 1: Simple Sentence

<u>Léku</u> <u>yé</u> <u>Matalékweny</u>.

her name <u>Matalekweny</u>.

Co-ordinate 2: Contraction Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

<u>Matalékweny</u> <u>léku</u> <u>taakwa</u> <u>nyaan</u> <u>Matkupiwu</u>. Matalekweny her woman child Matkupiwu Contraction: Simple Sentence

Léku taakwa nyaan Matkupiwu. her woman child Matkupiwu

Co-ordinate 3: Simple Sentence

Matkupiwu kikéraan de Jégwakém. Matkupiwu offspring they Jengwakum

Co-ordinaten: Simple Sentence

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{\text{Matalékweny}} & \underline{\text{kikéraan}} & \underline{\text{de}} & \underline{\text{Jéwalkém}} \\ \underline{\text{Matalekweny}} & \text{offspring} & \text{they} & \underline{\text{Jewalkum}} \end{array}.$

'Her name was Matalekweny. Matalekweny's daughter's name was Matkupiwu. Her daughter's name was Matkupiwu. Matkupiwu's offspring are the people of Jengwakum. Matalekweny's offspring are the people of Jewalkum.'

2. Co-ordinate 1: Simple Sentence

taalék. went.first

Co-ordinate 2: Simple Sentence

Naané kago boi naané nyédéba yék. we cargo man we in.middle went

Co-ordinaten: Series Merged Sentence

Awusétéreliya Enjepi de kukba naanéké Australia army they behind about us

nae tétépék.
think.and closed.off

'Many of the Australian soldiers went first. We, the cargo carriers, went in the middle. The Australian soldiers thought about us and closed off the rear.'

3. Co-ordinate 1: Simple Sentence with Participial Margin

Wani jébaa yadan arigék baalé de gik. that work they.did many pig they tied

Co-ordinate 2: Simple Sentence

Arigék kadému de séraknék. much food they cooked

 $\label{eq:co-ordinate} \text{Co-ordinate}_n \text{: Simple Sentence with Time Margin}$

Nyégwés maasa de kwayék du taakwa tobacco betelnut they gave man woman

<u>yaate</u> <u>de</u> <u>wale</u> <u>jébaa</u> <u>yadaka</u>. come.and they with work they.do

'Having done that work, they tied many pigs. They cooked much food. They gave tobacco and betelnut when the people came and worked with them.'

4. Co-ordinate 1: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

Nyéné you(f s) yaga pulak nyéné ro. you sit

Amplification: Alternative Sentence

Miték kapu yaga pulak nyéné ro well or what like you sit

Awusétéreliyaba. in.Australia

Co-ordinate 2: Simple Sentence

Nyéna gayéba nyéné ro. your place.at you sit

Co-ordinate 3: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Alternative Sentence

<u>Du</u> <u>nyéné</u> <u>ro</u> <u>kapu</u> <u>kaapuk</u>. man you sit or not

Amplification: Alternative Sentence

Bakna nyéné ro kapu yaga pulak nyéné yo just you sit or what like you do

Co-ordinate 4: Alternative Sentence

Yaaké nyénék kapu kaapuk.
you.want.to.come or not

Co-ordinaten: Alternative Sentence

Wunat kélik nyéné yo kapu nyéné sanévéknwuk me dislike you do or you thought

wunéké. about.me

'How are you? Are you well, or how are you in Australia? Are you at your home? Are you married, or not? Are you single, or how are you? Will you come, or not? Are you upset with me, or are you thinking about me?'

5. For an example of Co-ordinate Paragraph with two bases see under Narrative Discourse Example 'Our History', paragraph 15.

7.2.3 Descriptive

The Descriptive Paragraph consists of an optional Basis, an obligatory Statement 1, optional intermediate Statement bases and a final obligatory Statement base. Simple Sentence is the most common exponent of all bases. Other sentence and paragraph exponents of bases are also shown on the bidimensional array. Exponents are usually short in length. Linkage between bases is by juxtaposition and similarity of topic.

The Descriptive Paragraph is distinguished from other paragraphs by the shortness of the exponents of its bases, the limitation mainly to present tense and its limited distribution. Thus far it has been observed only in Descriptive Discourse, which is the least common of all discourse types.

Descriptive Paragraph

+ Basis	+ Statement 1	\pm (Statement) ⁿ⁼⁵	+ Statement _n
Simple S. Series M.S.	Simple S. Series M.S. Perception S. Procedural P. Contrast P.	Simple S. Series M.S. Sequence S. Perception S. Procedural P. Neg.Para.P. Contrast P.	Simple S. Series M.S. Sequence S. Perception S. Contrast P.
usually Equative Clauses with no tense, or present tense throughout. Occasionally tense is past.			
Pa ∧ Qb coupling			

Rules:

- 1. Reading: Statement 1 and Statement bases are obligatory. The largest number of Statement bases observed has been seven and in this case Basis base was also present. Average number of bases is four.
- 2. Limitation: Usually the Descriptive Paragraph uses the present tense only. However, when a past occasion or outing is described, past tense may be used.

Discussion:

The Descriptive Paragraph is used to describe a place. Bases of the Descriptive Paragraph are held together by uniformity of topic. The Descriptive Paragraph has not been observed to embed within other paragraphs. It expounds the Item base of Descriptive Discourse.

Examples:

1. Basis: Simple Sentence

Goroka apakélé gayé.
Goroka big village

Statement 1: Simple Sentence

<u>Arigék du taakwa gélé sépé waama sépé</u> many man woman black skin white skin

waga de yeyé yeyo.
like.that they go.around

Statement 2: Simple Sentence

Arigék sétuwa dé tu. many store he stand

Statement 3: Perception Sentence

Sétuwaba wulae naané vék kés pulak in.store enter.and we saw different like

gwalmu kwaadéka. goods he.lay

Statement 4: Perception Sentence

Balus akérékwa taaléba ye naané vék plane falling place.in went.and we saw

<u>apakélé</u> <u>balus</u> <u>makwal</u> <u>balus</u> <u>waga</u> <u>radaka</u>. big plane little plane like.that they.sat

Statement 5: Sequence Sentence

Apakélé kat makwal kat waga de yeyé big car little car like that they go

yeyadaka naané vék. they.come.and we saw

Statement 6: Simple Sentence

Statement,: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Ukarumpa</u> <u>kulaknyénytakne</u> <u>sémény</u> <u>saamény</u> <u>yaabuba</u> <u>Ukarumpa</u> <u>left.and.then</u> <u>long</u> <u>long</u> road.on

ye naané Goroka saabak. went.and we Goroka reached

'Goroka is a big town. Many people, black people and white people go around there. There are many stores. We entered the stores and saw many goods there. We went to the airstrip and saw big planes and little planes there. Big cars and little cars went about there and we saw them. Goroka is in a good place, on level ground. We left Ukarumpa and went a long, long way and reached Goroka.'

2. Statement 1: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

<u>Kéni ga kaakére yédan las</u> this house thatch.and they.went some

Mapérikba kwaakwa pulak ga de kaak.
Maprikat lying like house de thatched

Contrast: Simple Sentence

Las nak pulak de kaak. some another like they thatched

Statement 2: Negative Paraphrase Paragraph

Affirmation: Simple Sentence

<u>Kéba rakwa waama sépé du taakwana ga</u> here living white skin man woman's house

akwi haus kapa male.
all house iron only

Negation: Simple Sentence

<u>Las kaapuk naana gayéba kaadakwa</u> par not our village.in <u>kaadakwa</u> they.thatch

pulak yaapat kaadakwa.
like sago.leaf.with they.thatch

Statement 3: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

Mapérikba wan sétuwa arigékat. Maprik that store many

Contrast: Simple Sentence

<u>Kén</u> <u>Ukarumpaba</u> <u>nakurak</u> <u>dé</u> <u>kwao</u> focus <u>at.Ukarumpa</u> one he lies

Statement 4: Simple Sentence

Kébapasnaktaalatkwayésatidakwahereletteranotherplace.tothey.send

ga nakurak dé kwao Mapérikba kwaakwa pulak. house one he lies at. Maprik lying like

'Some of the roofs of the houses here are built like the roofs of the houses at Maprik. Others are different. The roofs of the houses of the white people and other people who live here are only of iron. They are not made from sago leaves as the roofs in our village are. There are many stores at Maprik. But at Ukarumpa, there is one. Here, there is one house for sending letters to another place (post office) just as in Maprik.'

For further examples of Descriptive Paragraph see under Descriptive Discourse "Ukarumpa".

7.3 Binary-based Paragraphs Linked by Verbs

The three paragraphs in this section are referred to as Report Paragraphs in that the verbal linkage is in the form of reporting relationship with the first base. Quote verbs are used to express this linkage. Execution Paragraph is linked by report and then results in some action. Reported Speech Paragraph is linked by report with no resultant action. Dialogue Paragraph is linked by report between one speech and the next. These three paragraphs frequently embed within the Narrative Paragraph and follow the same system of verbal linkage as the Narrative Paragraph.

7.3.1 Execution

The Execution Paragraph consists of an obligatory Plan base expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence, or occasionally, by direct speech without the usual Quote Formula, and an obligatory Execution base, expounded by a Series Merged Sentence or a Sequence Sentence. In one case only, an Amplification Paragraph has been observed to expound the second base.

The Execution Paragraph is distinguished from the Narrative Paragraph, to which it is most similar, by the exponent of the first base containing a command and the second base exponent carrying out that command with no more progression of event than that. It is distinguished from the Reported Speech Paragraph in that the second base recounts an action resulting from the command in the first base, whereas the second base of the Reported Speech Paragraph repeats that something was said.

Apart from the Amplification Paragraph no other embedding has been observed within the Execution Paragraph.

Execution Paragraph

+ Plan	+ Execution	
Direct Quote Sentence any utterance	Series Merged Sentence Sequence Sentence Amplification Paragraph	
contains direct speech	first base contains a quote verb independent verb in past tense	
wPab ∧ wPab ⊃ Rb	Efficient Cause	
wPa ∧ wPa ⊃ Ra) Different dause	

Rules:

- 1. Linkage between bases is by the use of a quote verb in a Dependent Clause at the beginning of the second base.
- 2. Independent verb in the second base is in the past tense. Independent quote verb in Plan base is in the imperative form or one of the alternatives used to express a command (see 5.2.2). Quote Formula base in the Direct Quote Sentence, expounding Plan base, is in the past tense.
- 3. Subject of the second base is usually different, but may be the same.
- 4. Root of the independent verb in the second base is the same or in the same semantic area as that expressed in the command in the first base.
- 5. Bases do not permute.
- 6. The deep structure relationship is that of efficient cause.

Discussion:

The Execution Paragraph is used infrequently. It occurs within Narrative Discourse, usually within a Narrative Paragraph and is not much used, as it tends to slow down the action. The Narrative Paragraph covers the same ground while at the same time reporting further events. When used, the Execution Paragraph appears to highlight the importance of the speaker who gave the command, as well as slowing down the action. Apart from Narrative Paragraphs, it also embeds in Dialogue Paragraphs.

Examples:

1. Plan: Direct Quote Sentence

Yaale come.out.and maané putéba kaang handdrum

<u>kurévéle</u> <u>ténaka</u> <u>dé wak bari mé</u> all.hold.and we.stand.and he said quickly imp

viyaakéréng. strike.parade

Execution: Sequence Sentence

Naadéka naané kaang viyaak. he.say.and we handdrum struck

'We came out, and all held hand drums in the men's house and stood, and he said, "Quickly strike (the drums) and parade." He said, and we struck the drums.'

2. Plan: Direct Quote Sentence

Naate waléka dé wak mé yé wakwatnyé. talk.and she.say.and he said imp go show

Wuné las véwuru.
I par I.see

Execution: Sequence Sentence

Naate wadéka ye 1é kwaadén taalé talk.and he.say.and go.and she he.lay place

wakwatnyék.

'Talking she said, and he said, "Go and show (me). Let me see." Talking he said, and she went and showed him the place where he had lain.'

3. Plan: Direct Quote Sentence

<u>Véte dé wak a wan méné kaapuk yéménén.</u> see.and he said ah focus you not you.went

<u>Wan</u> <u>yévét</u> <u>apaba</u> <u>kwaate</u> <u>méné</u> <u>vu</u>. focus tree.species on.trunk lie.and you see

Mé giyaa yaage yékwa ménat. imp come.down run.and go you

Execution: Sequence Sentence

Naate dé viyaaké yadéka dé kenabe talk.and he to.strike he.do.and he jump.down

giyaa yaage yék bét néwaa vétik yén come.down run.and went they mother two went

yaabuba. on.road

'He saw him and said, "Ah, so you did not go. It is on the <u>yévét</u> tree that you lie and look. Come down and clear off!" Talking, he was about to strike him, and he (the other) jumped down and ran away on the road that his two mothers had gone on.'

4. Plan: Direct Quote Sentence

Naate waléka lé wak akélak téte talk.and she say.and she said quietly stand.and

ané véké. yo. Gaan yadu yaba we(d) will.see night he.will.do.and where

raké. dé. yo. Radéran nyédéba radu will. he. sit he.will.sit place.in he.will.sit.and

ané gwalmu las kwayéké. yo. we(d) food some will give

Execution: Series Merged Sentence

 $\frac{\text{Naatakne}}{\text{talked.and}} \quad \frac{\text{b\'et}}{\text{they(d)}} \quad \frac{\text{t\'ek.}}{\text{stood}}$

'Talking she said, and the other said, "Let us stand quietly and see. When it is night, where will he stay? He will stay at the place where he will stay, and we will give him some food." She said (that) and they two stood.'

5. Plan: direct speech (Hortatory Paragraph)

Yéwaa nyénat kéraawurén bege nyéné shell.ring you(f s) I.bought because you

kélik yo. Waga yanyénéran wuna yéwaa dislike do like.that if.you.do my ring

tépa mé wurétiyaa.
again imp give.back

Execution: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Sequence Sentence

Naate wadéka yae wakweléka talk.and he.say.and come.and she.speak.and

de yéwaa kure yék. they ring hold.and went

Amplification: Sequence Sentence

Wunéké tiyaadan ban wakwewuréka 1é to.me they.gave.me one I.speak.and she

<u>Kumajo</u> <u>kure</u> <u>yék</u>. Kumanjo hold.and went

'Although I bought you with shell rings, you do not want to do (this). If you are going to act like that, give me back my shell rings!" Talking he said, and she came and spoke (to them), and they took (back) the rings. I spoke about the one they gave to me, and Kumanjo took it (back).'

7.3.2 Reported Speech

The Reported Speech Paragraph consists of an obligatory Speech base expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence, or occasionally, by direct speech without the usual Quote Formula, and an obligatory Closure base, expounded by a Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence or a General Quote Clause ending with an independent verb. A sub-type of this paragraph has the Closure base expounded by a Closing Quote Clause, a General Quote Clause or a Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence, ending with a relational or a conditional verb.

The Reported Speech Paragraph is distinguished from other paragraph types by the use of the Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence in the second base, following direct speech, usually a Direct Quote Sentence in the first base. It is distinguished from the Execution Paragraph by its second base acting as a speech closure only and not resulting in any action.

Reported Speech Paragraph

+ Speech	+ Closure	
Direct Quote S. any utterance	General Quote Clause (with <u>waga</u>) Q uote Recapitulation M.S. ending with independent verb	
	Closing Quote Clause General Quote Clause Quote Recapitulation M.S. ending with relational or conditional verb	
direct speech	quote verb	
$wP \wedge Q \wedge wP$	∧ Q'	

Rules:

- 1. When the final verb of the exponent of the Closure base is in the dependent or conditional form, the whole construction is embedded within another paragraph or sentence. When the final verb is in the independent form, this is not necessarily the case.
- 2. Bases do not permute.

Discussion:

The Reported Speech Paragraph is used frequently to indicate the end of direct speech. As direct speech is a very common feature of all Narrative Discourse, frequent use is also made of the Reported Speech Paragraph. It takes the place of the closing quotation punctuation marks in English orthography. When the final verb in the Closure base is in the conditional form, the whole construction embeds within a Conditional Sentence. The Reported Speech Paragraph may stand alone, when the final verb is in the independent form, but it is usually found embedded within a Narrative Paragraph. It also embeds within Hortatory, Co-ordinate, Dialogue, Amplification and Generic-Specific Amplification Paragraphs, and when ending with a relational or conditional verb, is in double function with exponents of Execution and Dialogue Paragraphs.

It occurs in Narrative Discourse.

When the exponent of the Closure base ends with a relational verb, it is in double function as the exponent of the Closure base of the Reported Speech Paragraph and the exponent of the first base of the following sentence, which is

quite frequently expounding another Build-Up base of a Narrative Paragraph. In both cases it is also acting as a link between sentences within the paragraph. It seems better to note in passing that there is this overlap between Reported Speech Paragraphs and Build-Up bases of Narrative Paragraphs, and to consider such cases as primarily signifying another Build-Up in a Narrative Paragraph.

When the exponent of the Quote Formula base of the Direct Quote Sentence, which expounds the Speech base of the Reported Speech Paragraph is in the conditional form then the final verb of the Closure base will also be in the conditional form and the whole construction then embeds in the Protasis base of a Conditional Sentence.

A note on the closing devices after direct speech seems relevant at this point.

After direct speech within a discourse, the end of the speech can be indicated as follows:

- 1. start a new paragraph, by the introduction of a new speaker or absence of the usual linking devices within a paragraph. In this case, no speech closure is used.
- 2. close off the speech by the use of the Reported Speech Paragraph with the final verb in the Closure base being in the independent form. In this case the action is slowed down, which may serve the function of emphasis or give the speaker an opportunity to collect his thoughts before the next series of events.
- 3. close off the speech by the use of the Reported Speech Paragraph with the final verb in the Closure base being in the conditional or relational form and then continue on with the action, usually with Conditional, Sequence or Series Merged Sentences (see also Quote Clauses 5.1.5.2, 5.1.5.3).

Examples:

1. Speech: Direct Quote Sentence

Yate 16 wak wunat kwaabu giye yaate do.and she said me pole tie.and carry.and

yéké. méné. yo. Képmaaba yémarék yaké. wuné. yo. you. will. go on.ground not.go I. will. do

Closure: Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence

Naate 16 wak Yélasiyu. talk.and she said Yilasiyu

'She did and said, "You will (have to) tie me to a pole and carry me away. I will not walk." Yilasiyu, talking, said (that).'

2. Speech: Direct Quote Sentence

<u>Kwae</u> <u>rate</u> <u>de</u> <u>wak</u> <u>naanébu</u> <u>yae</u> lie.and sit.and they said we.have come.and

<u>saabak</u> <u>Yagawaru</u>. arrived <u>Yangoru</u>

Closure: Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence

Naate <u>de</u> <u>baagwiba</u> <u>wakwek</u>. talk.and they vine.on spoke

'They slept, and staying, said, "We have reached Yangoru." Talking, they spoke (that) on the telephone.'

3. Speech: Direct Quote Sentence

<u>Véknwute</u> <u>wuné</u> <u>waké. yo</u> <u>ao</u> <u>Pet</u> <u>bét</u> <u>Yelen</u> hear.and I must.say oh Pat and Helen

béré Wayébageba rakwa Doyét bét Ayérin pluralizer Wayembange sitting Doyt and Irene

béré wan naané wale raké. de. yo. pluralizer focus we with they.will.sit

Closure: Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence

 $\frac{\text{Naate}}{\text{talk.and}}$ $\frac{\text{wun\'e}}{\text{I}}$ $\frac{\text{waga}}{\text{like.that}}$ $\frac{\text{wak\'e. yo.}}{\text{must.say}}$

'I will have to hear and say, "Oh, Pat and Helen and their friends and the folk at Wayembange, Doyt and Irene and the others, it is with us that they will stay." That is what I will have to say.'

For other examples with the final verb in the independent form see 7.2.1.5 and 8.1, Narrative Discourse "Our History" paragraph 2.1 and 15.1, 15.2, and 8.3 Expository Discourse "Cane Masks" paragraph 4.2. The last mentioned cases give

examples of utterances, rather than a Direct Quote Sentence in the Speech base.

- 4. Examples with exponent of Closure base ending with a relational verb.
 - a. Speech: Direct Quote Sentence

<u>Véte</u> <u>dé</u> <u>wak</u> <u>ke</u>. <u>Wan</u> <u>kiyadéna</u> <u>kayéni</u>. see.and he said hey that whose reflection

Wuna kayékni déwan.
my reflection that.one

Closure: Closing Quote Clause

Naate say.and

(dé sékalék.)
he searched

'As he saw, he said, "Hey! Whose reflection is that? That's my reflection." He said, and (he searched).'

(In accordance with the note above under 'discussion', this is analysed as two Build-Ups within a Narrative Paragraph)

b. Here the Closure of the Reported Speech Paragraph is in double function with the first base of a Sequence Sentence which expounds the Execution base of an Execution Paragraph.

Speech: Direct Quote Sentence

Yae dé wak las mé kubibénu.
come.and he said par imp you(d).make.soup

<u>Kubibénu</u> <u>katakne</u> <u>naané</u> you(d).make.soup.and eat.and.then we

kwaaké. yo widé. will . sleep

Closure: Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence

Naate wadéka talk.and he.say.and

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(wulae bét kubik gaba.)
enter.and they(d) made.soup in.house

'He came and said, "You two make soup! You make soup and we must eat and then sleep." Talking, he said, and (they entered the house and made soup there).'

5. Examples of exponent of Closure base ending with a conditional verb.

In the following two examples the Reported Speech Paragraph expounds the Protasis base of a Conditional Sentence.

a. Speech: Direct Quote Sentence

<u>Waatawuru</u> <u>aga</u> <u>waménéran</u> <u>kaapuk</u>. I.will.ask.and like.this if.you.say no

Nyéga kaapuk kwayéwurén.
paper not I.gave

Closure: Closing Quote Clause

Naaménéran if.you.say

(méné. waké. yo nyéga kaapuk kwayéwurén.)
you must.say paper not I.gave

'I will ask, and if you say this, "No. I did not send the letter." If you say that, (you must say (to me), "I did not send the letter.").'

b. Speech: Direct Quote Sentence (with embedded Reported Speech Paragraph)

Aga waménéran aya wakwe kérék
like.this if.you.say no speak on.the.contrary

 $\frac{\text{wun\'e}}{\text{I}}$ $\frac{\text{wakwek}}{\text{spoke}}$. $\frac{\text{Wakwewur\'ek}}{\text{I.spoke.and}}$ $\frac{\text{api}}{\text{bird}}$ $\frac{\text{kaapuk}}{\text{no}}$.

 $\frac{\text{Naate}}{\text{talk.and}}$ $\frac{\text{de}}{\text{they}}$ $\frac{\text{wak.}}{\text{said}}$

Closure: Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence

Naate waga waménéran talk.and like.that if.you.say

(<u>Méné tépa nyéga waga wakweménu</u> you again paper like.that you.will.speak.and

wuné véknwuké yo.)
I must hear

'If you say like this, "No, on the contrary, I did speak. I spoke and 'There are no birds.' They said that." If you say that, (you must write and tell me and I will hear).'

7.3.3 Dialogue

The Dialogue Paragraph consists of an obligatory Initiatory Unit, expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence, an optional Continuing Unit, which may be repeated twice, expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence, and an obligatory Resolving Unit, expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence or an Execution Paragraph. The whole construction may be repeated up to four times.

Because of the optional second base there is some doubt whether this paragraph type should be considered with binary-based paragraphs or with multi-based paragraphs. However, because it is frequently manifested with two bases only and because the basic feature is speech and linkage with quote verbs, it seems best to consider it in this section with Execution and Reported Speech Paragraphs.

The Dialogue Paragraph is distinguished from most other paragraph types by its use of direct speech. It is distinguished from Execution and Reported Speech Paragraphs by the use of repartee between speakers, the back and forth of conversation.

Dialogue Paragraph

+ Initiatory Unit	(<u>+</u> Continuing Unit) ⁿ⁼²	+ Resolving n=4	
Direct Quote S.	Direct Quote S. any utterance	Direct Quote S. Execution P. Reported Sp.P. any utterance	
(question)	$\left({\text{question}}\right)$	(answer)	
(proposal)	(proposal)	(response)	
(remark)	(remark)	(evaluation)	
direct speech in each base may be linked by quote verb			
reporting repartee			

Rules:

- 1. Reading: Two tagmemes must occur. The Continuing Unit may be repeated twice. The whole construction may be repeated. Four repetitions have been the maximum observed.
- 2. Limitation: Each unit must contain direct speech, usually within a Direct Quote Sentence.
- 3. Lexically, the Initiatory Unit is a question, proposal or a remark; Continuing Unit is a counter-question, counter-proposal or counter-remark and continues the dialogue, and Resolving Unit is an answer, response or evaluation. Each lexical variant of Initiatory Unit and Continuing Unit is matched by a corresponding lexical variant of Resolving Unit.

Initiatory Unit	Continuing Unit	Resolving Unit
question	question	answer
proposa1	proposal	response
remark	remark	evaluation

Resolving Unit variant usually matches the variant of the immediately preceding variant. When Continuing Unit occurs following Initiatory Unit any variant may occur. It need not match the variant of Initiatory Unit.

- 4. Sub-types. There are four sub-types of Dialogue Paragraph.
 - . Simple Dialogue contains Initiatory Unit and Resolving Unit.

2. Complex Dialogue contains the above plus Continuing Unit.

- 3. Compound Dialogue contains at least one repetition of the whole construction.
- 4. Dramatic Dialogue partly or completely dispenses with the Quote Formula base of the Direct Quote Sentence and gives the actual words of the speech only. Tone of voice in oral text and context determines change of speaker. This is done infrequently and seems to heighten the dramatic effect.
- 5. Linkage between bases is usually by means of a quote verb or Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence. At times, particularly in long Compound Dialogue Paragraphs, this linkage may be dropped.

Discussion:

The Dialogue Paragraph is used to cover speech between two individuals or groups. Simple and Complex Dialogue Paragraphs are quite common, as direct speech is a common way of reporting events in this language. The Dialogue Paragraph frequently embeds within a Narrative Paragraph. The Dialogue Paragraph occurs in Narrative Discourse.

Examples:

1. Simple Dialogue Paragraph

Initiatory Unit (proposal): Direct Quote Sentence

Yae yae nak pute 16 wak mé come and come and one cross and she said imp

kure yaa jaare gu hold.and come take.out.of.bag.and water

yakutaknawuru. I.will.wash

Resolving Unit (response): Direct Quote Sentence

Naaléka <u>lé wak aya mé yéno.</u> she.say.and she said no imp let.us.go

'She kept coming and crossed one (stream) and said, "Bring (the child), and let me take (him) out of the bag and wash (him)." She said, and the other said, "No, let us go."'

2. Complex Dialogue Paragraph

Initiatory Unit (remark): Direct Quote Sentence

<u>Véte</u> <u>1é</u> <u>nak</u> <u>taakwa</u> <u>wak</u> <u>aki</u>. <u>Mé</u> <u>véna</u> see and she one woman said oh imp see

nyéné. <u>Du</u> <u>wani</u> <u>ban</u>. you husband that one

Continuing Unit remark: Direct Quote Sentence

taakwa. Wuné wawo wuné vék. woman I also I saw

Resolving Unit (evaluation): Execution Paragraph

Plan: Direct Quote Sentence

Naate waléka <u>lé wak akélak</u> talk.and she.say.and she said quietly

téte ané véké yo. Gaan yadu stand.and we(d) will.see night he.will.do.and

yaba raké. dé. yo. Radéran nyédéba where will.he.sit he.will.sit in.place

radu he.will.sit.and and gwalmu las some

kwayéké, yo. will . give

Execution: Series Merged Sentence

 $\frac{\text{Naatakne}}{\text{talk.and.then}}$ $\frac{\text{b\'et}}{\text{they(d)}}$ $\frac{\text{t\'ek.}}{\text{stood}}$

'One woman seeing said, "Oh! You look! That one is (our) husband." Talking, she said, and the other woman said, "Oh, my woman! I saw him also." Talking, she said, and the other woman said, "Let us stand quietly and see. When it is night, where will he stay? He will stay at the place where he will stay, and we will give him some food." She said (that), and they two stood.

3. Complex Dialogue Paragraph

Initiatory Unit (remark): Direct Quote Sentence

Yaléka dé Jekadu re du yadéka she.do.and he Jekandu sat.and man he.do.and

16 wakwek ména yaapa déknyényba dé kiyaak. she spoke your father previously he died

<u>Kiyaadék</u> <u>kapmu</u> <u>re</u> <u>wuné</u> <u>ménat</u> <u>kéraak</u>. he.died.and alone sat.and I you bore

Continuing Unit (question): Direct Quote Sentence

Naate waléka dé waatak samu ye talk.and she.say.and he asked what do.and

dé kiyaak.

Resolving Unit (answer): Direct Quote Sentence

Naate wadéka 1é wak maama talk, and he, say, and she said enemy

viyaadak dé kiyaak. they.struck.and he died

'She did (that), and Jekandu later became a man, and she spoke, "Your father previously died. He died, and then I was alone and gave birth to you." Talking, she said, and he asked, "Why did he die?" Talking, he said, and she said, "Enemies struck him, and he died."'

4. Compound Dialogue Paragraph

Exchange 1: Simple Dialogue Paragraph

Initiatory Unit (question): Direct Quote Sentence

Apakélé ye dé néwaat waatak ana our(d)

némaadu wayékna yaba older.sibling younger.sibling where

 $\frac{\text{y\'edak}}{\text{they.went.and}}$ $\frac{\text{an\'e}}{\text{we}(d)}$ $\frac{\text{kapmu}}{\text{alone}}$ $\frac{\text{ro.}}{\text{sit}}$

Resolving Unit (answer): Direct Quote Sentence

Naate wadéka 1é néwaa wak apakélé talk.and he.say.and she mother said big

baalé nak naana yaawiba téte akwi du pig one our bush.in stand.and all man

taakwat tiye kadék wup ye woman bite.and he.eat.and fear do.and

de yaage yék. Ani nak geba they run, and went there another village.in

de yaage yé ro nyédé kusba tékwa they run.and go sit middle sea.in standing

gayéba. place.in

Exchange 2: Complex Dialogue Paragraph

Initiatory Unit (question): Direct Quote Sentence

Waga waléka dé wak wani baalé like.that she.say.and he said that pig

viyaaké yadan? to.strike did.they

Continuing Unit (question): Direct Quote Sentence

Wadéka 1é wak yaga pulak de he.say.and she said what like they

viyaaké yo apakélé baaléba.
will.strike big pig.because

Resolving Unit (answer): Execution Paragraph

Plan: Direct Quote Sentence

 $\frac{\text{Naate}}{\text{talk.and}}$ $\frac{\text{waléka}}{\text{she.say.and}}$ $\frac{\text{dé}}{\text{he}}$ $\frac{\text{wak}}{\text{said}}$ $\frac{\text{mé}}{\text{imp}}$ $\frac{\text{yé}}{\text{go}}$

wakwatnyé. Wuné las véwuru. show I par let.me.see

Execution: Sequence Sentence

Naate wadéka ye 1é kwaadén talk.and he.say.and go.and she he.lay

taalé wakwatnyék showed

'He became big and asked his mother, "Where did our family go that we live alone?" Talking, he said, and his mother said, "A big pig lived in our bush and ate all the people, and they were afraid and ran away. They ran away and live there in another village, in a village on an island." She said that, and he said, "They did not try to strike that pig?" He said (that), and she said, "How will they strike it since it is (such) a big pig?" Talking, she said, and he said, "Go and show (me the place). Let me see." Talking, he said, and she went and showed (him) the place where it had lain.'

5. Compound Dialogue Paragraph (without usual verbal linkage)

Exchange 1: Simple Dialogue Paragraph

Initiatory Unit (remark): Direct Quote Sentence

Tuwe kure yaala kwayéléka bake.and hold.and come.up she.give.and

rate dé wak kaapuk. Wuné saaki sit.and he said no I all.the.time

yaawuréka tutiyaanyénékwa agérap déwa I.come.and you.baking.for.me dish there.he

rakwa.

Resolving Unit (response): Direct Quote Sentence

<u>Lé</u> <u>wak</u> <u>kaapuk</u>. <u>Wan</u> <u>kapéredi</u> <u>tépu</u> she said no focus very.bad scabies

kétkiya waasat kwayéwurékwa agérap dé ro. itch dog. to I. giving dish he sit

<u>Kapéredi</u> <u>agérap</u>. <u>Yéwi</u> <u>agérap</u>. very bad dish husk dish Exchange 2: Simple Dialogue Paragraph

Initiatory Unit (remark): Direct Quote Sentence

Dé wak aya. Wan tiyaanyénéka
he said no that you.give.to.me.and

<u>kawurékwa</u> <u>agérapna</u> <u>saaki. Wani</u> <u>I.eating</u> dish.definitely always that

agérapha nyéné tutiyao.
dish.in you bake.for.me

Resolving Unit (response): Direct Quote Sentence

<u>Lé</u> <u>wak</u> <u>kaapuk</u>. <u>Wan</u> <u>kapéredi</u> <u>waasaké</u> she said no focus very.bad dog.for

wuné
I tukweyo.
bake.for.him

Exchange 3: Simple Dialogue Paragraph

Initiatory Unit (remark): Direct Quote Sentence

Dé wak kaapuk. Wani agérapba he said no that dish.in

wuknaatiyaanyénéran wani kaké wunék kén if.you.pour.for.me then I.want.to.eat focus

yéknwun agérapba tunyénén bege. Wuna good dish.in you.baked because my

saaki tiyaanyénékwa agérap kwabu always you.giving.to.me dish thing

déwa rakwa. there.he sits

Resolving Unit (response): Direct Quote Sentence

<u>Dé</u> <u>waga</u> <u>wadéka</u> <u>lé</u> <u>wak</u> <u>aya</u> <u>wan</u> he like.that he.say.and she said no that

<u>kapéredi</u> <u>waasana</u> <u>tépu</u> <u>kétkiya</u> very.bad dog.definitely scabies itch

waasat dog.to kwayéwurékwa agérap. dish

Exchange 4: Simple Dialogue Paragraph

Initiatory Unit (remark): Direct Quote Sentence

<u>Dé</u> <u>wak</u> <u>kaapukna</u>. <u>Wan</u> <u>wunat</u> he said no.definitely that to.me

tiyaanyénéka kawurékwa agérap.
you.give.to.me.and I.eating dish

Resolving Unit (response): Direct Quote Sentence

<u>Lé</u> <u>wak</u> <u>kaapuk.</u> <u>Bulaa</u> <u>male</u> <u>kéni</u> <u>agérapba</u> she said no now only this dish.from

kaké . méné . yo. you. will. eat

'She baked and brought it to (him), and he was sitting and said, "No. The dish that you always bake in and give to me whenever I come is over there." She said, "No. It is the dish that I give to the dog which has bad scabies that is over there. It is a very bad dish. Just the husk of a coconut." He said, "No. That is definitely the dish that you always give to me and I eat from. You bake for me in that dish." She said, "No. It is for the very bad dog that I bake and give." He said, "No. If you pour (the food) for me into that dish, then I will eat, because it is in a good dish that you have baked. My dish thing that you always give to me and I eat from is over there." He said that, and she said, "No, that is the dish that I give to the extremely bad dog, the dog with scabies. " He said, "Definitely not. is the dish that you give to me and I eat from." She said, "No. Right now, you will eat from this dish." '

6. Complex Dramatic Dialogue Paragraph

Initiatory Unit (question): Direct Quote Sentence

<u>Véléka</u> <u>dé</u> <u>wak</u> <u>nyéné</u> <u>kiyadéna</u> <u>taakwa</u> she.see.and he said you whose woman

nyaan.child

Continuing Unit (answer functioning as a counter remark): direct speech

Wuné ména taakwa nyaan. Wuné ména taakwa nyaan. I your woman child I your woman child

Resolving Unit (evaluation): direct speech

Ao. Mé yaala. oh imp come.up

'She saw, and he said, "Whose daughter are you?" "I am your daughter." "Oh. Come (here)."'

7.4 Binary-based Paragraphs Linked by Juxtaposition

The following paragraphs contain no verbal linkage between sentences, but are linked by juxtaposition. Each paragraph has some characteristic internal feature or distribution feature which makes possible the identification of each paragraph type. These paragraphs have two obligatory bases and a few have infrequently-used optional bases as well.

7.4.1 Binary-based Paragraphs Linked by Juxtaposition - Repetition

The four paragraphs in this section are referred to as Repetition Paragraphs, with the linkage by some form of repetition being the common factor. Reduplication Paragraph has complete repetition, Contraction Paragraph has partial repetition with some deletion, Amplification Paragraph has partial repetition with some extra information added and Generic-Specific Amplification has partial repetition with one feature expanded specifically in the second base. The repetition relationship is expressed by juxtaposition.

7.4.1.1 Reduplication

The Reduplication Paragraph consists of an obligatory Statement base, expounded by a Simple Sentence, an obligatory Reduplication 1 base and an optional Reduplication 2 base. Both bases are expounded by the same sentence as in the first base.

The Reduplication Paragraph is distinguished from all other paragraph types by the complete repetition of the first base in the second and occasionally a third base.

Reduplication Paragraph

+ Statement	+ Reduplication 1	+ Reduplication 2	
Simple S.	same exponent as in first base		
complete	repetition of first	base exponent	
Pab ^	Pab		

Rules:

1. Reading: The norm is two bases only.

Discussion:

The Reduplication Paragraph is used infrequently to repeat an idea or action, to give emphasis or distributivity to the original statement. It embeds within the Quote base of a Direct Quote Sentence which itself expounds a base of a Narrative Paragraph, and also embeds within an Amplification Paragraph. It may also stand alone within Procedural (Comment) and Hortatory Discourse.

It will be noted that this paragraph is short, owing to the limited nature of the exponents of each base.

Examples:

1. within a Complex Dramatic Dialogue Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

Wuné ména taakwa nyaan.

I your woman child

Reduplication: Simple Sentence

Wuné ména taakwa nyaan. I your woman child

'I am your daughter. I am your daughter.'

2. expounding Terminus base of an Amplification Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence (Fragmentary Sentence)

Dé déku saburaké. he his exchange partner for Reduplication 1: Simple Sentence (Fragmentary Sentence)

Dé déku saburaké.
he his exchange.partner.for

Reduplication 2: Simple Sentence (Fragmentary Sentence)

Dé déku saburaké. he his exchange.partner.for

'Each one (worked) for his exchange partner.'

3. within Quote base of a Direct Quote Sentence

Statement: Simple Sentence (Fragmentary Sentence)

Yéknwun mu. good thing

Reduplication: Simple Sentence (Fragmentary Sentence)

Yéknwun mu. good thing

'(It is) a very good thing.'

4. Statement: Simple Sentence

Kén waga jébaa naané yo do focus like that work we do

Reduplication: Simple Sentence

<u>Kén</u> <u>waga</u> <u>jébaa</u> <u>naané</u> <u>yo</u>. focus like.that work we

'It is just like that that we work.'

7.4.1.2 Contraction

The Contraction Paragraph consists of an obligatory Statement base expounded by a Simple Sentence, a Conditional Sentence, a Direct Quote Sentence, Reason Paragraph or Identification Paragraph, followed by an obligatory Contraction base expounded by the same sentences.

The Contraction Paragraph is distinguished from the Reduplication Paragraph, to which it is similar, by the deletion of some items in the second base. Apart from the deletion, the second base is a repetition of the first base.

Contraction Paragraph

+ Statement	+ Contraction
Simple Sentence Conditional Sentence Direct Quote Sentence Reason Paragraph Identification Paragraph	Simple Sentence Conditional Sentence Direct Quote Sentence
	certain items deleted
Pax ∧ Pa	•

Rules:

- 1. Limitation: The exponent of the Contraction base is a repetition of the Statement base, with certain, usually non-nuclear, items deleted. The sentence type is usually the same in both bases.
- 2. Permutation: Bases do not permute.

Discussion:

The Contraction Paragraph is used as a way of reinforcing a point. It seems to be stylistically more acceptable than the Reduplication Paragraph. It gives emphasis and also seems to serve as a means for the speaker to collect his thoughts, without the embarrassement of silence, while he prepares to go on with the account. It occurs in Narrative (non-Episode bases only), Procedural and Hortatory Discourse. It embeds in Narrative, Hortatory, Gratitude, Reason and Coordinate Paragraphs.

Examples:

1. Statement: Direct Quote Sentence

Nak bélé keviye kaléka another arm break.off.and she.eat.and

géraaléka waataléka lé wak késak. she.cry.and she.ask.and she said grasshopper.species

Contraction: Direct Quote Sentence

<u>Lé</u> <u>wak</u> <u>késak</u>.
she said grasshopper.species

'She broke off another arm and ate, and she (the child) cried, and the other (mother) asked (what was the matter),

and she (the girl) said, "A grasshopper." She said, "A grasshopper."

2. Statement: Conditional Sentence

Naané waga yaran pasak bakna du naané we like that if do then just man we

<u>kaapuk</u> <u>yano</u>.
not let.us.do

Contraction: Conditional Sentence

Waga yaran mé kaapuk yano.
like.that if.do imp not let.us.do

'If we do like that, then let us, worthless men, not do (that other thing). If (we) do like that, let us not do (that other thing).'

3. Statement: Simple Sentence

Wani muké wani wuné bulbutik that thing about closure I finished talking

waapiké maabutap naléka.
about.yam yam.species yam.species

Contraction: Simple Sentence

Wani vuné bulbutik.
closure I finished.talking

'I have finished talking about that matter, about yams, maabutap and naale yams. I have finished talking.'

4. Statement: Simple Sentence

<u>Matalékweny</u> <u>1éku</u> <u>taakwa</u> <u>nyaan</u> <u>Matkupiwu</u>. <u>Matalekweny</u> her woman child <u>Matkupiwu</u>

Contraction: Simple Sentence

<u>Léku taakwa nyaan Matkupiwu</u>. her woman child Matkupiwu

'Matalekweny's daughter was Matkupiwu. Her daughter was Matkupiwu.'

5. Statement: Simple Sentence

kudi véké. talk to.see

Contraction: Simple Sentence

Wuné mawulé wuné yo.

I wish I do

'I want some more (letters) to come, so that I may see the talk. I want (that).'

6. Statement: Reason Paragraph

Result: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Conditional Sentence

Wani
thatbaalé
pigkiyaadéran
if.he.dieskén
focusPaakweka

bét Sani tépa nak kwayéké bét yo and Sani again one they(d).will.give

baalé wuna baduké.
pig my cousin.to

Contrast: Conditional Sentence

<u>Kwayémarék</u> <u>yabéréran</u> <u>pasak</u> <u>déké</u> give.not if.they.do then to.him

mani kwayéké bét yo. they.will.give

Reason: Series Merged Sentence

Wani baalé kure yae waba that pig hold.and come.and there

<u>lakétakne</u> <u>arigék</u> <u>kadému</u> <u>dé</u> <u>yaate</u> place.and.then much food he come.and

<u>kwayu</u> <u>dé</u> <u>Paakwekaké</u> <u>alipimte</u>. gives he <u>to.Pakweka</u> help Contraction: Simple Sentence (Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence)

Yadékwaké pasak bét Sani wale baalé concerning he do then they(d) Sani with pig

nak tépa kwayéké bét yo. one again they. will. give

'If that pig dies, it is Pakweka and Sani who must give another, a pig, to my cousin. If they don't give one, then they must give him money. He brought that pig and placed it there and has been carrying and giving much food (to it) as he helps Pakweka. Concerning his doing that, then the two of them, including Sani, must give another pig.'

(In this case, there is a linkage between the Statement and Contrast base by means of an Included Clause expounding the Referent slot of the clause. Such linkage is not usual.)

7.4.1.3 Amplification

The Amplification Paragraph consists of an obligatory Text base expounded by a variety of sentence and paragraph types as shown on the bidimensional array, followed by an obligatory Amplification 1 base, expounded by a variety of sentence and paragraph types as shown on the bidimensional array, followed by an optional Amplification 2 base expounded by a Simple Sentence or a Quotation Paragraph, followed by an optional Terminus base, expounded by a Simple Sentence, Sequence Sentence, Reduplication Paragraph or Amplification Paragraph.

The Amplification Paragraph is distinguished from other similar paragraphs by the fact that the Amplification base, or bases, is a partial repetition of the Text base, with extra non-nuclear material added.

Amplification Paragraph

+ Text	+ Amplifi- cation 1	+ Amplifi- cation 2	+ Terminus
Simple S. Series M.S. Sequence S. Direct Quote Sentence Altern.S. Narrative P. Neg.Para.P. Contrast P. Rhet.Ques.P. Ident.P. Expos.P. G-S.Amplif.P.	Simple S. Series M.S. Conditional S. Sequence S. Direct Quote S. Alternative S. Procedural P. Narrative P. Co-ordinate P. Neg.Para.P. Reported Sp.P. Contrast P. Quotation P. Expos.P.	Simple S. Quotation P.	Simple S. Sequence S. Reduplication P. Amplif.P.
same actor, same verb in each base			
Pa Pax (‡ Pab)			

Rules:

- 1. Reading: Two bases must occur. This is the normal pattern. Only one other base can occur.
- 2. Permutation: Bases do not permute.
- 3. Limitation: The same subject and the same verb occur in each base.

Discussion:

The Amplification Paragraph is used as a way of providing extra information without interrupting the flow of events and without overloading the information load of any one sentence. It is a commonly used paragraph type and occurs in all types of discourse. It also embeds in Narrative, Hortatory, Procedural, Co-ordinate, Execution, Quotation and Expository Paragraphs and can also embed within itself.

Examples:

1. Text: Series Merged Sentence

$\underline{\text{Yae}}$	<u>de</u>	<u>Kabébapéba</u>	watkwe	<u>kak</u> .
come.and	$_{ m they}$	at.Kambembape	exchange	ate

Amplification: Series Merged Sentence

Sépusépuké de sérakne kak concerning. Sepusepu they cook and ate

'They came and exchanged gifts and ate at Kambembape.' With reference to Sepusepu, they cooked and ate.'

2. Text: Simple Sentence (Fragmentary Sentence)

Yage véké.
to.see

Amplification: Alternative Sentence

<u>Kukba</u> yéké wadu kélik later to.go he.will.speak.and unwillingness

<u>yalu</u> <u>wadu</u> <u>kwayéké. de .yo</u> she.will.do.and he.will.say.and they.will.give

kapu yage véké.
or how to see

'How can I tell? Later will he tell (her) to go, and will she not want (that), and will he speak, and will they give (back rings), or how can I tell?'

3. Text: Sequence Sentence

Nak du taakwana mu sél ye other man woman's thing theft do.and

<u>sérakne</u> <u>kabénu</u> <u>wan</u> <u>vou(d).will.eat.and</u> focus

<u>waatiké</u> .de. will.rebuke.they

Amplification: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Conditional Sentence

Bapa du taakwana muba kérae own man woman's thing.spem take.and

<u>kabénéran</u> <u>wani</u> <u>waatimarék</u> <u>yaké, de .yo</u>. if.you.eat then not.rebuke they.will.do

Contrast: Conditional Sentence

Nak du taakwana muba kérae other man woman's thing.spem take.and

<u>kabénéran</u> <u>waatiké</u>. <u>de</u>. if.you.eat will.rebuke.they

Terminus: Sequence Sentence

Wakwewuréka wani méné véknwuk.

I.speak.and closure you heard

'When you steal and cook and eat other people's food, they will certainly rebuke you. If you take and eat your own people's food, then they will not rebuke you. If you take and eat other people's food, they will rebuke you. I have spoken, and you have heard (so that's the end of that advice).'

4. Text: Simple Sentence

<u>Tépamayéwu</u> <u>male</u> <u>1é</u> <u>du</u> <u>nyaan</u> <u>1é</u> <u>kéraak</u>.

Tepamaiwu only she man child she bore

Amplification 1: Simple Sentence

Made 27 Jun 16 kéraak.
Monday 27 June she bore

Amplification 2: Simple Sentence

Gayéba 16 kéraak. bore

'Only Tepamaiwu gave birth to a son. On Monday, June 27 she gave birth. She gave birth in the village.'

5. Text: Rhetorical Question Paragraph

Grounds: Quotation Paragraph

Quotation Formula: Simple Sentence

 $\frac{\text{B\'enat}}{\text{you}(d).\text{to}}$ $\frac{\text{wun\'e}}{\text{I}}$ $\frac{\text{wakweyo}}{\text{speak}}$.

Quotation: Simple Sentence

Rediyo kapéredi 1é yak. radio very.bad she did

Question: Alternative Sentence

Rediyoké yéwaa nyéné kwayék kapu kaapuk. for.radio money you(f s) gave or not

Amplification 1: Quotation Paragraph

Quotation: Expository Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

Yéwaa bakna nyéné kwayék deké.
money just you gave to.them

Exposition: Simple Sentence

Rediyo kapéredi 1é yak. radio very.bad she did

Quotation Formula: Simple Sentence

Nyénat wuné wakweyo.

J speak

Amplification 2: Quotation Paragraph

Quotation: Expository Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

<u>dola</u> <u>50</u> <u>sen</u> <u>bakna</u> <u>nyéné</u> <u>kwayék</u>
 <u>dollar</u> <u>50</u> <u>cent</u> <u>just</u> <u>you</u> <u>gave</u>

deké.

Exposition: Simple Sentence

Rediyo kapére 1é yak. radio bad she did

Quotation Formula: Simple Sentence

Nyénat wuné wakweyo.

'I speak to you two. The radio is not working. Did you give money for the radio, or not? (implication is you should not have given money for the radio). You gave money for no good reason to them. The radio is not working. I tell you. You gave two dollars fifty cents to them for no good reason. The radio is no good. I tell you (that).'

7.4.1.4 Generic-Specific Amplification

The Generic-Specific Amplification Paragraph consists of an obligatory Generic base, expounded by a Simple Sentence, Series Merged Sentence, Sequence Sentence, Procedural Paragraph or Negative Paraphrase Paragraph, followed by an obligatory Specific base, expounded by a variety of sentences and paragraphs, as shown in the bidimensional array, followed by an optional Summary base, expounded by a Simple Sentence.

The Generic-Specific Amplification Paragraph is distinguished from the Amplification Paragraph by the fact that it amplifies one word or idea from the first base, giving more detail and does not have the same carry-through of the same subject and same verb. It is a repetition of a small part only of the first base.

Generic-Specific Amplification

+ Generic	+ Specific	+ Summary
Simple Sentence Series M.S. Sequence S. Neg.Para.P. Procedural P.	Simple Sentence Series M.S. Procedural P. Co-ordinate P. Contrast P. Reported Speech P.	Simple Sentence
amplification of one item from Generic base in Specific base		
gP ∧ sP		

Rules:

- 1. Reading: Two bases must occur. Summary rarely occurs.
- 2. Bases do not permute.
- 3. Limitation: Specific base exponent amplifies some item in Generic base.

Discussion:

The Generic-Specific Amplification Paragraph is used to

give more specific information about some item mentioned in the first base. The exponent of the Specific base is often much longer than the exponent of the Generic base. It is fairly common. It occurs in Narrative, Hortatory, Expository and Epistolary Discourse and has been observed embedded in Procedural, Narrative, Hortatory, Amplification and Expository Paragraphs.

Examples:

1. Generic: Simple Sentence

Wuna kudi yaakwak.
my talk finished

Specific: Simple Sentence

 $\frac{\text{Wan}}{\text{that}}$ $\frac{\text{wan}}{\text{that}}$ $\frac{\text{male}}{\text{only}}$

'My talk is finished. That's all.'

2. Generic: Series Merged Sentence

 $\frac{\text{Ye}}{\text{go.and}}$ $\frac{\text{naané}}{\text{we}}$ $\frac{\text{kén}}{\text{focus}}$ $\frac{\text{gaan}}{\text{night}}$ $\frac{\text{yaa}}{\text{come}}$ $\frac{\text{saabak.}}{\text{arrived}}$

Specific: Series Merged Sentence (Ferent Merged Sentence)

 $\frac{\text{An\'e}}{\text{we}(d)}$ $\frac{\text{kure}}{\text{hold.and}}$ $\frac{\text{yaak}}{\text{came}}$.

'We (three) went and it was at night that we reached here. The two of us brought (her back).'

3. Generic: Simple Sentence (Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence)

Akwi jébaaké bulaa akwi bulké. de. yo. all they.will.talk

Specific: Procedural Paragraph

Step 1: Simple Sentence (Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence)

<u>Kawunsil</u> <u>taale</u> <u>bulké</u>. <u>dé</u>. <u>yo</u>. councillor first he.will.talk

Step 2: Sequence Sentence

Bulwurédu wot komiti he.will.finish.talking.and work committee

bulké. dé . yo. he. will. talk

Step 3: Sequence Sentence

Dé bulwurédu kukba direkta he will.finish.talking.and later director

bulké • dé • yo • he . will • talk

Stepn: Conditional Sentence

Buldu véknwe buldaran he.will.talk.and hear.and they.will.talk

pulak yanaran wani yéknwun yaké naané yo.
like if.we.do then good we will do

'They will talk now about all work. The councillor will talk first. He will finish talking and then the work committee man will talk. He will finish talking and then the director (of Cooperative Society) will talk. He will talk and if we do as they say then we will do well.'

4. Generic: Sequence Sentence

<u>Kure</u> <u>dawuliye</u> <u>waapi</u> <u>de</u> <u>Jaame</u> <u>yaate</u> hold.and go.down.and yam they Jame carry.and

baalé waapi de Jaame yaate pig yam they Jame carry.and

giyaadaka Nyamikém yaate they.come.down.and Nyamikum carry.and

<u>dawulidaka</u> <u>de</u> <u>awutéba</u> <u>ye</u> they.go.down.and they in.fighting.ground go.and

<u>kak</u>. ate Specific: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Series Merged Sentence

Nyamikem yan de Jaame yaate yék.
Nyamikum did they Jame carry.and went

Contrast: Series Merged Sentence

Jaame yan de Nyamikém yaate yaak.

Jame did they Nyamikum carry.and came

Summary: Simple Sentence

<u>Waga</u> <u>de</u> <u>yak</u>. like.that they did

'They took down, and when the Jame men carried yams, when they carried pigs and yams, the Nyamikum men carried (them) down, and they went and ate on the fighting ground. Nyamikum men having done, the Jame men carried and went. Jame having done, the Nyamikum men carried and came. That is what they did.' (here the situation of carrying is made more specific)

5. Generic: Sequence Sentence

Wuné déknyényba béné Sila wale muny
T previously you(d) Sheila with thingamajig

yabénénén wunat sékulimte wunat nyéga you(d).did me instruct.and me paper

<u>yakwatnyéte</u> <u>anéwe</u> <u>nyégaba</u> <u>kavitakne</u> teach, and up on, paper wrote, and, then

wakwatnyéte walén kudi bulaa véknwurék showand sheasaid talk now I.heard.and

<u>ating</u> <u>wakwelén</u> <u>maakna</u> <u>adél</u> <u>dé</u> <u>yo</u>. I.think she.spoke like true he does

Specific: Co-ordinate Paragraph

Co-ordinate 1: Conditional Sentence

Sétérong yaménéran ye pati ples strong if.you.do go.and party place saabaké . méné . yo. you . will . reach

Co-ordinate 2: Procedural Paragraph

Step 1: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Yaabuba</u> <u>ye</u> <u>masket</u> <u>nak</u> <u>kérae</u> road.on go.and gun one get.and

<u>yaate</u> <u>wulaa</u> <u>ye</u> <u>ani</u> <u>kwaamiké</u> carry.and enter go.and that animal.for

<u>sékale</u> <u>yae</u> <u>tuwe</u> <u>katakne</u> search.and come.and bake.and eat.and

naané . yéké . yo. we . will . go

Step 2: Perception Sentence

Naaménu de nak ge you.will.say.and they another village

taale yéran du ye de wani first will.go man go.and they that

gayé saabado méné village they.will.arrive.and you

raapme kukba ye véké méné yo you.will.see

kaabélé nak kwayé kwe river one flood rise.and she.will.sit

 $Step_n$: Sequence Sentence

<u>Kwayé</u> <u>kwe</u> <u>ralu</u> she.will.sit.and

<u>vétakne</u> <u>méné</u> <u>gwaamale</u> see.and.then you return.and

yaaké <u>méné</u> <u>yo</u> gayét. you. will. come village.to

'The thingamajig that you and Sheila previously did and you instructed me and taught me to read and write and then showed me and she said some words, I have now heard

those words, and I think the words that she spoke are now coming true. "If you are strong, you will go and reach a wonderful place." (her words). 'We will go along the road, take a gun and carry it into (the bush) and search for those animals and come and bake and eat them, and then then we will go.' You will say (that) and the men from another village who will go first, they will go to that place and you will get up and go and later you will see a river in flood. The flood will rise and stand, and you will see and then come back to the place.'

7.4.2 Binary-based Paragraphs Linked by Juxtaposition - Opposition

There are three paragraphs in this section, with the linkage by opposition being the common factor. Negative Paraphrase Paragraph has negative versus positive, Contrast Paragraph has contrast expressed between the bases by antonym or negation and Alternative Paragraph has one option versus another option. The opposition between bases is expressed by juxtaposition in most cases. Occasionally the connective kapu is found as a link in the Alternative Paragraph.

7.4.2.1 Negative Paraphrase

The Negative Paraphrase Paragraph consists of an obligatory Affirmation base, expounded by a Simple Sentence, a Series Merged Sentence or a Parallel Sentence, followed by an obligatory Negation base, expounded by a Simple Sentence.

The Negative Paraphrase Paragraph is distinguished from other paragraphs by its distinctive second base, which consists of a Denial Independent Clause or a Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence embedded in an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence and by its deep structure, with one base expressing the same idea by the use of the negative.

Negative	Paraphrase	Paragraph
----------	------------	-----------

+ Affirmation	+ Negation
Simple Sentence Series Merged Sentence Parallel Sentence	Simple Sentence
	embedded Negative Aspectual M.S. in IAMS Denial Independent Clause same subject
Pa ∧ P"a	

Rules:

- 1. Limitation: The Simple Sentence expounding the Negation base must consist of a Denial Independent Clause or be in the form of an Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence with an embedded Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence and contain the same subject, if stated, as in the Affirmation base.
- 2. Permutation: The above is the usual order but bases may occasionally permute.

Discussion:

The Negative Paraphrase Paragraph is usually very short. It will be noted that it does not take embedding. However, the Denial Independent Clause may have a sentence embedded in the Predicate and this may give some length to the second base or the Simple Sentence may be in the future with embedded Merged Sentences. This paragraph is used to express paraphrase by repeating the first statement by the use of negation. This serves to highlight the first statement. It occurs within Narrative, Hortatory, Descriptive, Amplification and Generic-Specific Amplification Paragraphs, and occurs in Narrative (non-Episode bases), Epistolary and Hortatory Discourse (Conclusion base only).

Examples:

1. Affirmation: Simple Sentence

Wani baalé yaage yédén miték dé tu. that pig run.and he.went well he stand

Negation: Simple Sentence

Kaapuk kiyaadén.
not he.died

'That pig that ran away is well. It did not die.'

2. Affirmation: Parallel Sentence

Déknyényba bakna waapi male kwate vaate previously just yam only plant.and dig.and

de baagu yak kurabu kaak. they feast did ceremonial.house built

Negation: Simple Sentence

Kéni jébaa kaapuk yadan. this work not they.did

'Previously they only planted yams and harvested them and had a <u>baagu</u> feast and built ceremonial houses. They did not do this (coffee) work.'

3. Affirmation: Series Merged Sentence

Yatakne de deku gayéba rasaakuk.
did.and.then they their village.in kept.staying

Negation: Simple Sentence

Kaapuk tépa yaage yédan.
not again run.and they.went

'They did, and then they stayed in their village. They did not run away again.'

4. Affirmation: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Vétakne</u> <u>1é</u> <u>akélak</u> <u>male</u> <u>saanék</u>. see and then she quietly only thought

Negation: Simple Sentence

Lérét las kaapuk wakwelén. her.to par not she.spoke

'She saw, and then she only thought quietly. She did not speak to her (other woman).'

5. Negation: Simple Sentence

Nak gaan nak kaapuk widé kwaadakwa. another night one not sleepiness they.lie

Affirmation: Simple Sentence

Akwi gaan akwi de kétiyu all night all they dance

'At nights they do not sleep. They dance all through every night.'

6. Affirmation: Simple Sentence (Fragmentary Sentence - conclusion marker)

Yaak. that.is.a11

Negation: Simple Sentence (IAMS with embedded Negative Aspectual Merged Sentence)

Tépa wakwemarék yaké wuné yo again not speak I will do

'That is all. I will not speak again.'

7.4.2.2 Contrast

The Contrast Paragraph consists of an obligatory State-ment base, expounded by a variety of sentences and Narrative Paragraph, followed by an obligatory Contrast base, expounded by a variety of sentences and paragraphs, as shown in the bidimensional array.

The Contrast Paragraph is distinguished from other paraphrase paragraphs by the Contrast base containing some feature which is in lexical contrast to the corresponding element in the Statement base. This may be in the form of an antonym or, occasionally, a negative statement, but this will not be in the form of a Denial Clause, which is a feature of the Negative Paraphrase Paragraph.

Contrast Paragraph

Simple Sentence Series Merged S. Sequence Sentence Conditional Sentence
Contrafactual S. Varrative Paragraph Procedural Paragraph Contrast Paragraph Identification P.
e opposite feature
Contrast
(

Rules:

1. Limitation: The Contrast base contains some opposite feature or features from an element or elements in the Statement base. The construction in the Contrast base tends to be parallel to the construction in the Statement base.

Discussion:

The Contrast Paragraph is used to express a contrast between one construction and the next. Because of the parallelism of the two bases, the force of the contrast is quite strong. This is the way to express antithesis. The Contrast Paragraph is usually short. It is used very frequently and is to be found in Narrative, Hortatory, Expository and Epistolary Discourse. It also embeds in another Contrast Paragraph and in Narrative, Procedural, Hortatory, Co-ordinate, Descriptive, Amplification, Generic-Specific Amplification, Reason and Expository Paragraphs.

Examples:

1. Statement: Conditional Sentence

$_{ m Apa}$	<u>yaménéran</u>	<u>arigék</u>	<u>gé1e</u>	<u>arigék</u>	bek
strong	if.you.do	many	pick.and	many	bag

waade spakélé yéwaa nyégélké méné yo.
fill.and big money you will receive

Contrast: Conditional Sentence

Wulkiyaayaménéranbekvétiknakurakmalelazinessif.you.dobagtwooneonly

ye tépa walkamu yéwaa nyégélké méné yo.
do.and again little money you.will.receive

'If you act strongly, you will pick much (coffee) and fill many bags and receive a lot of money. If you are lazy, you will do one or two bags only and will receive a little money.'

2. Statement: Series Merged Sentence

Naané las naané ye kutdéngék. we some we do.and know

Contrast: Simple Sentence

Las du yékéyaak de yo wani mu. some man ignorance they do that thing

'Some of us do (this) and know. Other men do not know (about) that matter.'

3. Statement: Simple Sentence

<u>Déknyényba</u> <u>walkamu</u> <u>yéwaat</u> <u>de kéraak</u>.

previously <u>little</u> money.with they bought

Contrast: Simple Sentence

Bulaa kén apa yéwaat de kérao.
now focus big money.with they buy

'Previously they bought (them) with a little money. Now it is with much money that they buy (them).'

4. Statement: Conditional Sentence

Contrast: Conditional Sentence

<u>Waan</u> <u>kuttaknamarék</u> <u>yadaran</u> <u>wan</u> <u>Pet kélik</u> ear not.put.on if.they.do focus Pat dislike

 $\frac{16}{\text{she}}$ $\frac{\text{yo}}{\text{does}}$

'Only if they put ears on (masks), should they bring them. If they do not put on ears, Pat does not want them.'

5. Statement: Simple Sentence

Mawulé yakwa taakwa de kérao.
wish doing woman they buy

Contrast: Simple Sentence

<u>Kélik</u> <u>yakwa taakwa de bakna tu wani</u> dislike doing woman they just stand that

muké. thing.about

'The women who want (necklaces) buy them. Concerning that, the women who do not want them stand without them.'

6. Statement: Sequence Sentence

<u>Kus mayéraké buldo</u> <u>waba véknwumarék</u>. sorcery.about they.will.talk.and there listen.not

Contrast: Sequence Sentence

Baalé waapiké buldo wani mé bul. talk. and then imp talk

'When they talk about sorcery, do not listen. When they talk about pigs and yams, then join in and talk!'

7. Statement: Sequence Sentence

Jébaayagunuvétetaakwamawuléworkyou.do.andsee.andwomanwish

yado wani yéwaa they.will.do.and that shell.ring

jaare <u>kéraaké wuné yo</u>take.out.of.bag.and I. will buy

Contrast: Procedural Paragraph

Step 1: Sequence Sentence

Wulkiyaa yagunu taakwa kelik laziness you.will.do.and woman dislike

yaké . de . yo. they will . do

Stepn: Sequence Sentence

Yado bakna téké guné yo. they will do and just you will stand

'You all work, and the women will see and like (you), and I will take those shell rings out and buy (the women) for you. If you are lazy, the women will not like (you). They will not like, and you will stand without wives.'

7.4.2.3 Alternative

The Alternative Paragraph consists of an obligatory Option 1 base, expounded by an Alternative Sentence, followed by an optional Pivot base, expounded by kapu 'or', followed by an obligatory Option 2 base, expounded by a Simple Sentence consisting of an Interrogative 1 Clause.

The Alternative Paragraph is distinguished from all other paragraphs by the optional pivot link between bases and by the fact that both obligatory bases are in the form of a question.

Alternative Paragraph

+ Option 1	+ Pivot	+ Option 2
Alternative S.	kapu 'or'	Simple S. (Interrogative 1 Clause)
question on both obligatory bases		
Pa ‡ Q	a	

Rules:

1. Limitation: This construction is found only in the form of a question.

Discussion:

This is an infrequently used paragraph type. It is occasionally heard in casual conversation. It is used to express three overt alternatives although sometimes the third alternative is only a slight change from the first. The Alternative Sentence can only express two alternatives. As noted above, the alternatives can be expressed only in the form of questions. The construction is quite short. It has been observed embedded in Quotation Paragraph.

Examples:

1. Option 1: Alternative Sentence

Nyéné you(f s) yaaké nyénék kapu kaapuk. to.come you.want or not

Option 2: Simple Sentence

Raké nyénék nyéna gayéba? to.sit you.want your place.in

'Do you want to come or not? (Or) do you want to stay in your place?'

2. Option 1: Alternative Sentence

Wani du de ro kapu debu yék. that man they sit or they.have gone

Pivot: connective

Kapu or

Option 2: Simple Sentence (Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence)

tatéwe in.a.little.while yéké de yo? they.will.go

'Are those men here, or have they gone? Or will they go in a little while?'

3. Option 1: Alternative Sentence

De yéké. de yo kapu kaapuk. they they will.go or not

Option 2: Simple Sentence (Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence)

De kéba raké. de. yo? they here they.will.stay

'Will they go or not? (Or) will they stay here?'

7.4.3 Binary-based Paragraphs Linked by Juxtaposition - Formulaic

The three paragraphs in this section are referred to as Formulaic Paragraphs in that the connection between one base and the next is determined by a particular verb or clause. The Quotation Paragraph has certain quote verbs in the Quotation Formula base, the Perception Paragraph has perception verbs in the Perception Formula base and the Gratitude Paragraph has an Abstract Stative Clause with the inanimate noun mawulé 'thought' in the Gratitude Formula base. These exponents of the Formula bases to some extent determine the paragraph type. Surface linkage is by juxtaposition.

7.4.3.1 Quotation

The Quotation Paragraph consists of an optional Quotation Formula base, expounded by a Simple Sentence or an Amplification Paragraph, followed by an obligatory Quotation base, expounded by any utterance, usually quite short, and an optional Quotation Formula base, expounded by a Simple Sentence or an Amplification Paragraph. At least one Quotation Formula base must occur.

The Quotation Paragraph is distinguished from the Direct Quote Sentence, to which the first two bases are quite similar, by the long pause after the first base, indicative of a sentence break, the limitation of the quote verbs in the first base to waata 'ask' and wakwe 'speak', the restriction of the tense of the verb to present tense with a first person actor-subject only and the limitation of distribution to Epistolary and Hortatory Discourse. The optionality of the Quotation Formula base and its change of position plus repetition distinguish the Quotation Paragraph from both the Direct Quote Sentence and the Reported Speech Paragraph. The restriction to quote verbs in the first base distinguish it from non-speech paragraphs. It is distinguished from Execution and Reported Speech Paragraphs by the lack of linkage in between bases. The linkage is by juxtaposition with the use of the quote verb in the Quotation Formula base distinguishing it from other binary based paragraphs linked by juxtaposition.

Quotation Paragraph

+ Quotation Formula	+ Quotation	+ Quotation Formula
	+	
Simple Sentence Amplification P.	any utterance	Simple Sentence Amplification P.
must contain waata 'ask' or wakwe 'speak' in present tense		must contain waata 'ask' or wakwe 'speak' in present tense
wP \ Q		

Rules:

- 1. Reading: At least two bases must occur. Occasionally the three bases are present.
- 2. Limitation: Only the quote verbs <u>waata</u> 'ask and <u>wakwe</u> 'speak' are found in the Quotation Formula bases, and only in present tense with 1st person actor-subject.

Discussion:

The Quotation Paragraph is used to highlight the importance of the request or pronouncement. Its use is limited to Epistolary and Hortatory Discourse. It has been found embedded within Hortatory, Amplification and Rhetorical Question Paragraphs.

Examples:

1. Quotation Formula: Simple Sentence

Bénat wuné waato nyégaba.

you(d) I ask on.paper

Quotation: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Alternative Sentence

Awustéreliyat yéké béné kapu béné roto. Australia will. you. go or you sit

Amplification: Simple Sentence

Wékarampaba béné ro. at. Ukarumpa you sit

Quotation Formula: Simple Sentence

Wuné Nabasél wuné waato bénat.

Nambasil I waato you

'I ask you in a letter. Will you go to Australia, or are you staying? Are you staying at Ukarumpa? I, Nambasil, I ask you.'

2. Quotation Formula: Simple Sentence

Nyénat wuné waato.

You(f s) I waato.

Quotation: Co-ordinate Paragraph

Co-ordinate 1: Simple Sentence

Nyéné miték nyéné ro. you sit

Co-ordinate 2: Simple Sentence

Awusi wawo miték 1é ro. Elsie also well she sit

'I ask you. Are you well? Elsie, also, is she well?'

3. Quotation Formula: Simple Sentence

Quotation: Alternative Sentence

Képmaaké guné waatiyu kapu las about.ground you(pl) forbid or par

tiyaaké. guné. will.you.give.to.me

'I ask in order to hear your words. Do you say that ground cannot be given away, or will you give ground to me?'

4. Quotation Formula: Simple Sentence

Nyénat wuné waato.

You(f s)

I waato.

Quotation: Sequence Sentence

Gorét wakwenyénu Ana miték re to.God you.will.speak.and Anna well sit.and

1é nyaan kéraaké yo. she child will. bear

'I ask you. You speak to God, and Anna will be well and give birth to a child.'

5. Quotation: Narrative Paragraph

Build-Up 1: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

<u>Yelenliti</u> <u>nyaan</u> <u>lé</u> <u>kéraak</u>. Helenlidi child she bore

Amplification: Simple Sentence

<u>Du</u> <u>nyaan</u> <u>1é</u> <u>kéraak</u>.
man child she bore

Build-Upn: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

<u>Kéraatakne</u> <u>lé yék</u>.

Amplification 1: Simple Sentence

Sékulké to.go.to.school lé went

Amplification 2: Simple Sentence

Akenét 1é yék. to. Hagen she went

Quotation Formula: Simple Sentence

Nyénat wuné wakweyo.

T speak

'Helenlidi gave birth to a child. She gave birth to a son. She gave birth and then went. She went in order to go to school. She went to Hagen. I am telling you.'

7.4.3.2 Perception

The Perception Paragraph consists of an obligatory Perception Formula base expounded by a Series Merged Sentence and an obligatory Perceived Event base expounded by Simple Sentence or Series Merged Sentence.

The Perception Paragraph is distinguished by the use of a perception verb in the first base, the tendency to use this verb as a sentence link within a Narrative Paragraph, thereby ignoring the verb in the second base, and the infrequency of its use. Only three examples have been observed. It is distinguished from the Perception Sentence by the exponents of both bases being sentences, each with an independent verb. The Perception Sentence, rather than the Perception Paragraph, is the more common way of expressing physical or mental awareness of some matter.

Perception Paragraph

+ Perception Formula	+ Perceived Event
Series Merged Sentence	Simple Sentence Series Merged Sentence
ends with a perception verb	
aP	

Rules:

- 1. Bases do not permute.
- 2. Limitation: Exponent of Perception Formula base must end with a perception verb. Very few examples have been observed of this paragraph type. With more data it is likely that a Sequence Sentence could expound either base and that a Simple Sentence could also expound the Perception Formula base.

Discussion:

The Perception Paragraph is used to express awareness of an event or situation. When used within a Narrative Paragraph it slows down the action (whereas a Perception Sentence, to which it is most similar, keeps up the speed of the action) and perhaps serves to highlight the exponent of the Perceived Event base. The Perception Paragraph, thus far, has been found only as an embedded paragraph within a Narrative Paragraph.

Examples:

1. Perception Formula: Series Merged Sentence

Yae naané gayé saabe wuné véknwuk.
come.and we village reach.and I heard

Perceived Event: Simple Sentence

De naana banisba de trabel nak de yak. they our area.in they trouble one they did

'I came and arrived at our village and I heard. They, they certainly had a problem in our area.'

2. Perception Formula: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Waye</u> <u>Sarékém</u> <u>saabe</u> <u>naané</u> <u>vék</u>. go.upstream.and <u>Serakum</u> reach.and we saw

Perceived Event: Simple Sentence

De waapi kaapuk wekna yaatadan. they yam not yet they.carried

'We went upstream and arrived at Serakum and saw. They had not yet carried (in) the yams.'

3. Perception Formula: Series Merged Sentence

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{\text{Rate}} & \underline{\text{de}} & \underline{\text{v\'ek}} \\ \underline{\text{sit.and}} & \underline{\text{they}} & \underline{\text{saw}} \end{array}$

Perceived Event: Series Merged Sentence

Yae de kwaara putisatitakne come.and they skirt take.off.and.then

dawuliye de gu yaakuk. go.down.and they water washed

'He was sitting and saw. They came and took off their skirts and went down to the water and washed.'

7.4.3.3 Gratitude

The Gratitude Paragraph consists of an obligatory State-ment base, expounded by a Simple Sentence, Narrative Paragraph or Contraction Paragraph, followed by a Gratitude Formula base, expounded by a Simple Sentence.

The Gratitude Paragraph is distinguished from other paragraphs by the Gratitude Formula in the second base and the very limited distribution.

Gratitude Paragraph

+ Statement	+ Gratitude Formula
Simple Sentence Narrative P. Contraction P.	Simple Sentence (Abstract Stative Clause with mawulé 'thought' or Neo- Melanesian)
	expression of thanks
expression of thanks following receipt of letter	

Rules:

1. Limitation: The exponent of the Gratitude Formula base is restricted to an Abstract Stative Clause with mawulé 'thought' or a Neo-Melanesian expression.

Discussion:

This paragraph type is very limited in use, having been found only in Epistolary Discourse, in connection with receipt of a letter. It is used to express thanks, an infrequently expressed sentiment in the language, for which reason Neo-Melanesian is sometimes substituted. It embeds only in the Identification Paragraph.

Examples:

1. Statement: Simple Sentence

Nyéga wunébu kéraak wunéké paper I.have received to.me

<u>kwayésatiyaanyénén</u> <u>nyéga</u>. you.sent.and.it.came paper

Gratitude Formula: Simple Sentence

Mawulat wuné kapére yo nyéga kéraawurénké. thought I greatly do paper I.received.about

'I have received your letter, the letter that you wrote to me. I am very pleased at receiving it.' 2. Statement: Narrative Paragraph

Build-Up 1: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

Nyéna nyéga wunébu kéraak. your paper I.have received

Amplification: Simple Sentence

Vétik wuné kéraak. received

Build-Up_n: Simple Sentence

<u>Kéraawurén</u> <u>bulaa</u> <u>nyéna</u> <u>nyéga wuné</u> <u>I.having.received</u> now your paper <u>I</u>

kato. repay

Gratitude Formula: Simple Sentence

Mawulat wuné kapére yo nyéna nyéga thought I greatly do your paper

kéraawurénké. I.received.about

'I have received your letter. I received two. Having received (them), now I write back. I am very pleased at receiving your letters.

3. Statement: Contraction Paragraph

Statement: Identification Paragraph

Comment: Simple Sentence

Nyéna nyéga wunébu kéraak. your paper I.have received

Identification: Simple Sentence

 $\frac{\text{Ny\'ena}}{\text{you}}$ $\frac{\text{Pet}}{\text{Pat}}$, $\frac{\text{wun\'e}}{\text{I}}$ $\frac{\text{Nabas\'e1}}{\text{Nambas\'e1}}$ $\frac{\text{wun\'e}}{\text{I}}$ $\frac{\text{k\'eraak}}{\text{received}}$

nyéna nyéga. your letter

Contraction: Simple Sentence

Wunébu kéraak nyéga I.have received paper

Gratitude Formula: Simple Sentence (Fragmentary Sentence)

Tagéyu Pet thank, you Pat

'I have received your letter. You, Pat, I, Nambasil, I received your letter. I have received it, the letter. Thank you Pat.

7.4.4 Binary-based Paragraph Linked by Juxtaposition - Implication

The two paragraphs in this section are referred to as Implication Paragraphs in that the relationship between the bases is one of implication. The Rhetorical Question Paragraph contains an unanswered question following on from the Grounds base, and the Reason Paragraph contains a Reason base following on after a Result base.

7.4.4.1 Rhetorical Question

The Rhetorical Question Paragraph consists of an obligatory Grounds base, expounded by a Conditional Sentence, a Reason Sentence, a Procedural Paragraph, a Co-ordinate Paragraph or a Quotation Paragraph, followed by an obligatory Question base, expounded by a Simple Sentence, an Alternative Sentence or a Procedural Paragraph.

The Rhetorical Question Paragraph is distinguished from other paragraphs by the unanswered question in the second base and by the fact that the deep structure bears little relationship to the surface structure.

Rhetorical Question Paragraph

+ Grounds	+ Question
Conditional S. Reason S. Procedural P. Co-ordinate P. Quotation P.	Simple S. (Interrogative Clause) Alternative S. Procedural P. contains a question
	contains a question
$P \wedge \left[P \supset \overline{f}-Q\right]$ inability	
$ \begin{array}{c c} P \land \boxed{P \supset o-\overline{Qa}} \land (Qa) \\ \hline \overline{P} \land \overline{P'} \land (o-P) \end{array} $ rebuke	

Rules:

1. Limitation: The Question base must contain a question.

Discussion:

The Rhetorical Question Paragraph is used as a rhetorical device to express inability or rebuke in the form of an unanswered question. The answer to the question is usually implicit in the context. This paragraph type is infrequently used. It occurs in Hortatory Discourse and in Hortatory, Amplification and Reason Paragraphs.

Examples:

1. Grounds: Reason Sentence

Déknyényba miték téte wuné jébaa yak previously well stand.and I work did

kén gwalepa yawurén bege. focus old I.did because

Question: Simple Sentence (Interrogative 2 Independent Clause with Series Merged Sentence embedded in Predicate)

Apa yaga pulak ye wuné jébaa yaké yo. strong what like do.and I work will.do

'Previously I was well and worked, (but not now) because I am an old man. How can I be strong and work?' (implied inability)

2. Grounds: Quotation Paragraph

Quotation Formula: Simple Sentence

 $\frac{\text{B\'enat}}{\text{you}(d).\text{to}}$ $\frac{\text{wun\'e}}{\text{I}}$ $\frac{\text{wakweyo}}{\text{speak}}$.

Quotation: Simple Sentence

Rediyo kapéredi 1é yak radio very bad she did

Question: Alternative Sentence

Rediyoké yéwaa nyéné kwayék kapu kaapuk for.radio money you(f s) gave or not

'I speak to you two. The radio is not working. Did you give money for the radio or not?' (from the context it is obvious that the speaker knows that money was given - implied rebuke)

3. Grounds: Procedural Paragraph

Step 1: Conditional Sentence

<u>Kadématba</u> <u>kwayégunéran</u> <u>kate</u> <u>de</u> food.spem if.you(p1).give eat.and they

baadi kiyakiya yo. children sickness do

Step_n: Sequence Sentence

Yadaka guné haus siknét male they.do.and you(p1) hospital.to only

sérak sérak kure yé kure yao.
next.day next.day hold.and go hold.and come

Question: Alternative Sentence

Waga yate las guné véknwu kapu kaapuk? thus do.and par you hear or not

'If you give (local) food only, the children eat it and get sick. They get sick, and you continually take them backwards and forwards to the hospital. You do that,

and are you listening or not? (from the context it is obvious that a rebuke is implied because the speaker's advice has not been heeded)!

4. For another example see under the following section, 7.4.4.2, example 4, where a Rhetorical Question Paragraph is embedded in a Reason Paragraph.

7.4.4.2 Reason

The Reason Paragraph consists of an obligatory Result base, expounded by a Conditional Sentence, Contrast Paragraph or Rhetorical Question Paragraph, followed by an optional Reinforcement base, expounded by kaapuk 'not, followed by an obligatory Reason base, expounded by a Series Merged Sentence, Sequence Sentence, Reason Sentence or a Contrast Paragraph.

The Reason Paragraph is distinguished from other paragraphs by the exponent of the Reason base containing a Reason Sentence or having the deep structure of efficient cause.

Reason Paragraph

+ Result	<u>+</u> Reinforcement	+ Reason
Conditional S. Contrast P. Rhetorical Ques. Paragraph	<u>kaapuk</u> 'not'	Series Merged S. Sequence S. Reason S. Contrast P.
	'b	(contains Reason S., or meaning of efficient cause)
Р ^ [Р	⊃ Q Effici	ent Cause

Rules:

- Reading: Result and Reason bases are obligatory. The Reinforcement base has been observed once only and then it followed a negative construction. Basically this is a binary paragraph.
- 2. Limitation: The Reason base contains a Reason Sentence or a construction that has the deep structure feature of efficient cause.

Discussion:

The Reason Paragraph is used to express a result and the reason that caused or will cause it. It is not a very frequently used paragraph type. It occurs in Comment base of Narrative Discourse and has been observed embedded in Hortatory, Interrogative and Contraction Paragraphs.

Examples:

1. Result: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Conditional Sentence

Wani baalé kiyaadéran kén Paakweka bét that pig if.he.dies focus Pakweka and

wuna baduké.
my cousin.to

Contrast: Conditional Sentence

<u>Kwayémarék</u> <u>yabéréran</u> <u>pasak</u> <u>déké</u> <u>mani</u> give.not if.they.do then to.him money

kwayéké bét yo. they.will.give

Reason: Series Merged Sentence

Wani baalé kure yae waba that pig hold.and come.and there

<u>lakétakne</u> <u>arigék</u> <u>kadému</u> <u>dé</u> <u>yaate</u> place.and.then much food he carry.and

<u>kwayu</u> <u>dé</u> <u>Paakwekaké</u> <u>alipimte</u>. give he <u>Pakweka.to</u> help.and

'If that pig dies, it is Pakweka and Sani who must give another pig to my cousin. If they don't give one, then they must give him money. He brought that pig and placed it there and has been carrying and giving much food (to it) as he helps Pakweka.'

2. Result: Conditional Sentence

Séknaba tégunéran yékaapuk distant.spem if.you(pl).stand not.go

yaké guné yo. you.will.do

Reinforcement: Fragmentary Sentence

Kaapuk.

Reason: Truncated Reason Sentence

 $\frac{\text{L\'e}}{\text{she}}$ $\frac{\text{kutbel\'eran}}{\text{she.will.say.no}}$ $\frac{\text{bege.}}{\text{because}}$

'If you stand far off, you will not go. No. Because she will say no.'

3. Result: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Series Merged Sentence

Naané las kaapuk yatakne naané tu.
we some not do.and.then we stand

Contrast: Series Merged Sentence

De <u>las</u> <u>de</u> <u>yéte</u> <u>de</u> <u>wani</u> <u>méjaaba</u> they some they go.and they that dance.spem

<u>kétiyu</u>. dance

Reason: Sequence Sentence

Naané waatidak kaapuk naané yak. they.rebuked.and.then not we did

'Some of us did not want (to go), and we are staying. Some men go and dance that mejaa dance. Some people rebuked us, and we did not want (to go).'

4. Result: Rhetorical Question Paragraph

Grounds: Conditional Sentence

Bakna ranaran bulaa wani du just if.we.sit now that man

yaado <u>apa yéwaaba male akwi</u> they.will.come.and big money.spem only all

muké wado bulaa kén thing.about they.will.say.and now focus

yapatiké naané. we

Question: Procedural Paragraph

Step 1: Simple Sentence (with Time Margin and Series Merged Sentence embedded in Predicate of Interrogative 2 Independent Clause)

Yaba naané véknwute buldaka where we hear.and they.talk.and

<u>véknwute</u> <u>naané</u> <u>miték</u> <u>yo kopi</u> hear.and we well do coffee

béré rayés béré.
pluralizer rice pluralizer

Step_n: Series Merged Sentence

Ye naané bulaa yéknwun yaké yo now good will.do

Reason: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence (Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence)

Ge ge gayé ani yéknwun village village home.village then good

yaké de yo. they will do

Contrast: Reason Sentence

Naané bulaa kaapuk taaleba buldaka they.talk.and

wani kudi nyégélkwa yatjawula yanakwa that talk receiving throw.away we.do

bege. because

'If we sit idly and don't work, when those men come, others will commit themselves to work for much money, and then we will not have any. Where are our ears when they talk, and where do we effectively tend our coffee and rice crops? Where do we now prosper? (implication - nowhere). Do we do this and now do well? (implication - No.) Then all the villages will prosper. (But) not us now, because we reject that advice they first gave to us.'

7.4.5 Binary-based Paragraphs Linked by Juxtaposition - Explanation

There are three paragraphs in this section, with the relationship between the bases being that of explanation. Interrogative Paragraph has an Answer base following the Question base, Identification Paragraph explains the character in the first base by means of identification, and the Expository Paragraph explains the theme of the first base in the following Exposition base.

7.4.5.1 Interrogative

The Interrogative Paragraph consists of an obligatory Question base, expounded by a Simple Sentence, consisting of an Interrogative Clause, a Series Merged Sentence, a Reason Sentence, a Narrative Paragraph or a Co-ordinate Paragraph, followed by an obligatory Answer base, expounded by a Simple Sentence, a Reason Sentence, a Procedural Paragraph or a Reason Paragraph, followed by an optional Terminus base, expounded by a Simple Sentence.

The Interrogative Paragraph is distinguished from other paragraphs by the distinctiveness of its bases, question followed by answer.

Interrogative Paragraph

+ Question	+ Answer	+ Terminus
Simple Sentence (Interrogative Clause) Series Merged S. Reason Sentence Alternative S. Narrative P. Co-ordinate P.	Simple Sentence Reason Sentence Procedural P. Reason P.	Simple Sentence
contains question		
question followed h	ov answer. (question	often implies

question followed by answer. (question often implies reproach.) given by same speaker.

Rules:

- 1. Reading: Question and Answer bases are obligatory. Terminus base is optional and seldom occurs.
- 2. Limitation: The exponent of the first base must contain a question.

Discussion:

The Interrogative Paragraph has been found mainly as a rhetorical device, to drive home a point within Hortatory Discourse. It is used to reinforce a point, by slowing down the introduction of new points, without slowing down the speed of the oratory. It usually stands alone but may also embed in Hortatory and Expository Paragraphs. As well as occurring in Hortatory Discourse, it also occurs in Epistolary Discourse and in non-Episodic bases of Narrative Discourse.

Examples:

1. Question: Narrative Paragraph

Build-Up 1: Alternative Sentence

Wunat 1é waatiyu kapu yaga pulak 1é yo.
me she rebuke or what like she does

Build-Up : Series Merged Sentence

Yate 16 nyéga nak wunéké yamarék yo. do. and she paper one for me does not do

Answer: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

Wunat 16 waatiyu rebukes

Contrast: Simple Sentence

Nyéné male nyéné wunéké nyéga yo.

you for.me paper do

'Is she annoyed with me, or how is she? Being that, she does not write to me. She is annoyed with me. You only you write to me.'

2. Question: Series Merged Sentence

Bakna téte yaate samu kaké guné yo.
just stand.and come.and what you(p1).will.eat

Answer: Reason Sentence

Guna néwaa béré gaba awula waga your mother pluralizer in.house inside thus

radu he.will.sit.and rate sérakdo they.will.cook.and

kaké guné yo néwaa yaapa wale las yé you.will.eat mother father with par go

<u>yaate</u> <u>jébaa</u> <u>las</u> <u>yakaapuk</u> <u>yagunékwa</u> <u>bege</u>. come.and work some not.do you.do because

Terminus: Simple Sentence (Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence)

Wan bulaa waga tébutiké guné yo.
focus now thus you.will.finish.standing

'You will stand without working and come, and what will you eat? When there is (food) in the house, your mothers will sit and cook it, and you will eat, (and only then) because you do not go backwards and forwards and work with your parents. It is now like that that you will finish up.'

3. Question: Reason Sentence

<u>Apa</u> <u>du</u> <u>yagunékwaba</u> <u>te</u> <u>te</u> big man you(p1).do.because stand.and stand.and

yaga pulak yaké guné yo. what like you.will.do

Answer: Simple Sentence (Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence)

<u>Wan</u> <u>taakwa</u> <u>yamarék</u> <u>tébutiké guné yo</u>. focus woman not.do you.will.finish.standing

'Since you are adults you will stand and stand (without) working), and what will become of you? You'll finish by being without wives.'

4. Question: Procedural Paragraph

Step 1: Simple Sentence (Interrogative 2 Clause)

Taakwa yage de yae kaadé wale woman how they come.and hunger with

raké. yo gunéké. will.sit.for.you(p1)

Step,: Series Merged Sentence

Rate samu kaké de yo. sit.and what they.will.eat

Answer: Procedural Paragraph

Step 1: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Wan kaadé wale rapatiye</u> <u>taakwa</u> focus hunger with sit.in.vain.and woman

raapme yaage yéké 16 yo jébaa yakwa get.up.and run.and she.will.go work doing

duké.
man.to

 $Step_n$: Sequence Sentence

Yalu méné bakna téké méné you she.will.do.and you just you.will.stand

'How will women come and stay with you in hunger? They will stay, and what will they eat? A woman will certainly not stay hungry, but she will get up and run away to a man who works. She will do that, and you will stand without (a wife).'

5. For another example see under the following section 7.4.5.3, example 4 - where an Interrogative Paragraph is embedded in an Expository Paragraph.

7.4.5.2 Identification

The Identification Paragraph consists of an obligatory Comment base expounded by a Simple Sentence or a Gratitude Paragraph, followed by an obligatory Identification base, expounded by a Simple Sentence.

The Identification Paragraph is distinguished from other paragraphs by the fact that the second base gives further information about the character in the first base in the form of identification by name.

Identification Paragraph

+ Comment	+ Identification
Simple Sentence Gratitude P.	Simple Sentence
	name given
Pb \wedge Eab'	
Pa \wedge Pa'	

Rules:

1. Limitation: Identification base contains a name.

Discussion:

This is a little-used paragraph type. In legends it seems unnecessary to the speakers to give names to the characters. On most occasions, when names are given, they expound a slot within Name Noun Phrase. Only a few instances have been found of the Identification Paragraph. The Identification Paragraph is one way of identifying characters by name. It has only been found embedded within Contraction, Amplification and Contrast Paragraphs.

Examples:

1. Comment: Simple Sentence

Identification: Simple Sentence

Bétku yé Bowimu bét Yaawiba their name Bowimu and Yawimba

'Only two men who lived at Kunbe died. Their names were Bowimu and Yawimba.'

2. Comment: Simple Sentence

Vétik apakélé.

Identification: Simple Sentence

<u>Bétku yé nak kaara Ganigani nak kaara</u> their name one male Ganigani one male

Katekate Katekate

'Two were big. The name of one male (spear) was Ganigani and the name of the other male (spear) was Katekate.'

3. Comment: Gratitude Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

Nyéna nyéga wunébu kéraak. your paper I.have received

Gratitude Formula: Simple Sentence (Fragmentary Sentence)

Tagéyu Pet thank you Pat

Identification: Simple Sentence

Wuné Nabasél wunébu kéraak nyéna nyéga.

I have received your paper

'I have received your letter. Thank you, Pat. I, Nambasil, have received your letter.'

7.4.5.3 Expository

The Expository Paragraph consists of an obligatory Text base, expounded by a variety of sentences and paragraphs, followed by an obligatory Exposition base, expounded by a variety of sentences and paragraphs, as shown in the following bidimensional array.

The Expository Paragraph is distinguished from other paragraphs by the fact that the second base exponent is an elaboration of the theme, rather than a specific item, in the first base. This is the significant difference between it and the Generic-Specific Amplification Paragraph to which, in some respects, it is similar. The Expository Paragraph also has a more limited distribution, in that it is found mainly within Expository and Hortatory Discourse.

Expository Paragraph

+ Text	+ Exposition
Simple S. Series Merged S. Sequence S. Narrative P. Co-ordinate P. Contrast P.	Simple S. Sequence S. Narrative P. Procedural P. Amplification P. G-S Amplification P. Contrast P. Interrogative P.
P ^ P'	

Rules:

1. Limitation: The Exposition base must contain an elaboration of the theme in the Text base.

Discussion:

The Exposition Paragraph is used to express elaboration of a theme. Not many examples have been found, possibly because there was difficulty in obtaining expository discourses. The Expository Paragraph tends to have the second base of greater length than the first base. It usually stands alone filling a Discourse base in Expository, Procedural (Comment base only), Hortatory and Narrative Discourse (non-Episodic base only). The only embedding observed has been in Amplification and Hortatory Paragraphs.

Examples:

1. Text: Simple Sentence

Aniki taabé las kaapuk kutdéngwurén. that part par not I.know

Exposition: Simple Sentence (Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence)

Véknwurén taabé male wakweké wuné yo.
I.heard part only I.will speak

'I don't know one part. I'll speak only the part I have heard.'

2. Text: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

Taakwa yadakwa las de yéwaa woman they.doing some they shell.ring

<u>kwayu, naktaba, taakwa kéraadakwa.</u> give five woman they.buy

Contrast: Simple Sentence

<u>Las</u> <u>de</u> <u>bakna</u> <u>yo</u> some they <u>just</u> do

Exposition: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Series Merged Sentence

Yéwaa kéraadakwa biyaa maakna bé1é shell.ring they.buying stomach head arm

daawa kwayéte de yo taakwa. 1eg give.and they do woman

Contrast: Procedural Paragraph

Step 1: Series Merged Sentence (Ferent Merged Sentence)

Yéwaaké <u>kélik</u> <u>yakwa ban dé baadi</u> ring.for dislike doing one he child $\frac{\text{kure}}{\text{hold.and}}$ go

Stepn: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Kure</u> <u>ye*</u> <u>dé</u> <u>taakwana</u> <u>waagu</u> <u>tawu</u>. hold.and go.and he woman's hole fills

'Taking a wife, some men give shell rings, five, for buying a woman. Others take a wife without doing this. The rings they use for buying the stomach, head, arms and legs, and they give these and take a wife. The man who does not want to deal with shell rings, he takes a child (of the marriage). He takes him, and (so) he (the child) takes the woman's place.'

(N.B. * This is one example where a relational same actor verb is used when a relational different actor verb would be expected according to the meaning. See note 3.5.2.2)

3. Text: Series Merged Sentence

Apakélé mani kwayéte de nyégélu wani big money give.and they receive that

 $\begin{array}{ll} \underline{\text{kwaajé}} & \underline{\text{n\'ebi}} \bullet \\ \text{flying.fox} & \text{tooth} \end{array}$

Exposition: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

<u>Déknyényba</u> <u>walkamu</u> <u>yéwaat</u> <u>de</u> <u>kéraak</u>.

previously little money.with they bought

Contrast: Simple Sentence

Bulaa kén apa yéwaat de kérao now focus big money with they buy

'They give a lot of money and receive those flying fox teeth (necklaces). Previously they bought them for little money. Now it is with big money that they buy them.'

4. Text: Precedural Paragraph

Step 1: Conditional Sentence

Waga yaran pasak kén Pet yaalu thus if.do then focus Pat she.will.come.and

guné you(pl) waga bulkwa du yéké guné yo thus talking man you.will.go

 $\frac{1\acute{e}}{\text{she}}$ wale. with

Step,: Amplification Sentence

Ye guné ani wani jébaa yaké yo go.and you there that work will.do

tok ples jébaa yaké.yo. vernacular work will.do

Exposition: Interrogative Paragraph

Question: Simple Sentence (Interrogative 2 Clause)

Yaba guné yae kéba rate léku where you(p1) come.and here sit.and her

<u>kudi</u> <u>véknwute</u> <u>rate</u> <u>ye</u> <u>1é</u> <u>wale</u> talk hear.and sit.and go.and she with

yeyé yeyaké gunék. go to.come you.want

Answer: Reason Paragraph

Result: Condition Sentence

Séknaba tégunéran yékaapuk distant.spembif.you(pl).stand not.go

yaké guné yo. yo. you will do

Reinforcement: Simple Sentence (Fragmentary Sentence)

Kaapuk.

Reason: Truncated Reason Sentence

<u>Lé kutbeléran</u> <u>bege.</u> she she.will.say.no because

'If (you) want to do that, then when Pat comes, you, the men who talk like that, you will go with her.

You will go, and you will do that work there, vernacular language work. Where do you come and sit here, and hear her words, and sit and go around with her? (Why don't you come near?) If you stand far off, you will not go. No. Because she will say no.'

5. Text: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence (Series Merged Sentence in Predicate)

Naané las naané ye kutdéngék kow some we do.and know

Contrast: Simple Sentence

Las du yékéyaak de yo wani mu.
some man ignorance they do that thing

Exposition: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Sequence Sentence

<u>Kutdéngkwa</u> <u>du male yadaka naané yo</u> knowing man only they.do.and we do

wani mu. that thing

Contrast: Simple Sentence

Las yékéyaak naané yo. some ignorance we do

'Some of us do (this) and know. Other men do not know (about that matter. Only the men who know do it, and we do that thing. Some of us do not know.'

6. Text: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Conditional Sentence

Apa yaménéran arigék géle arigék strong if.you.do much pick.and many

bek waade apakélé yéwaa nyégélké méné yo. bag fill.and big money you.will.receive

Contrast: Conditional Sentence

<u>Wulkiyaa yaménéran bek vétik nakurak male</u> laziness if.you.do bag two one only

ye tépa walkamu yéwaa nyégélké méné yo.
do.and again little money you.will.receive

Exposition: Generic-Specific Amplification Paragraph

Generic: Simple Sentence

Naanékén waga naané yo. among.us thus we do

Specific: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

Apa yakwa ban arigék yéwaa dé strong doing person much money he

nyégélu. receives

Contrast: Simple Sentence

<u>Wulkiyaa yakwa ban dé walkamu nyégélu.</u>
laziness doing person he little receives

'If you do strongly, you will pick much (coffee) and fill many bags and receive a lot of money. If you are lazy, you will do one or two bags only and will receive a little money. That is the way we do it amongst us. The hard-working person receives much money. The lazy person receives little.'

Contrast: Conditional Sentence

Wulkiyaa yaménéran bek vétik nakurak male laziness if.you.do bag two one only

ye tépa walkamu yéwaa nyégélké méné yo.
do.and again little money you.will.receive

Exposition: Generic-Specific Amplification Paragraph

Generic: Simple Sentence

Naanékén waga naané yo da among us thus we do

Specific: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

Apa yakwa ban arigék yéwaa dé strong doing person much money he

nyégélu. receives

Contrast: Simple Sentence

<u>Wulkiyaa yakwa ban dé walkamu nyégélu.</u>
laziness doing person he little receives

'If you do strongly, you will pick much (coffee) and fill many bags and receive a lot of money. If you are lazy, you will do one or two bags only and will receive a little money. That is the way we do it amongst us. The hardworking person receives much money. The lazy person receives little.'

8 DISCOURSE

8.0 Introduction

A discourse in Ambulas is defined as a unit in the grammatical hierarchy above the paragraph. Paragraphs typically manifest discourse level tagmemes, but sentence or word may also manifest certain discourse level tagmemes.

Six contrastive discourse genres have been distinguished:
Narrative, Procedural, Expository, Descriptive, Hortatory and
Epistolary. Chart P compares these six genres and shows
their contrastive features. The horizontal parameter distinguishes between non-projected or accomplished or non-focal
times and projected time. The vertical parameter distinguishes between succession in time and lack of succession. Two
discourse genres have non-projected time and non-succession
in time, and these are separated from one another on the basis
of argument and lack of argument. One discourse genre, Epistolary, is a conglomerate of these features, in that both
non-projected and projected time are used. Also, it is usually
oriented by topic, rather than by the development of theme.
As it contains elements of each of the other discourse genres,
it seems worthwhile to consider this as a distinct genre.

Narrative Discourse is in accomplished time (past tense), except when the narrative moves momentarily up to present and anticipated events. Time is not focal in Expository or Descriptive Discourse. In Procedural and Hortatory Discourse, projected time (present, future) is focal. In Epistolary Discourse, projected time is in focus most, but not all, of the In Narrative and Procedural Discourse, there is a chronological order of events or procedures. Agent orientation is important in Narrative Discourse which has specific dramatis personae, and narration is in the 1st or 3rd person. Focus is on the patient or goal in Procedural Discourse, and usually an unspecified 1st plural or 3rd plural actor-subject Expository, Descriptive, Hortatory and Epistolary Discourse do not have the feature of succession in time. Hortatory Discourse the discourse is addressed usually to a 2nd person subject, but exhortations can also be addressed to 1st and 3rd person subjects. Expository Discourse is oriented to the subject matter, rather than the person, and Descriptive Discourse is oriented to the topic. Epistolary Discourse makes use of specific dramatis personae as well as the general 1st and 3rd plural forms and the 2nd person forms.

CHART P
Discourse Types

	- Projected Time	+ Projected Time
+ Succession	NARRATIVE Specific dramatis personae - 1st, 3rd (s), (d), (p1) Past tense chronological linkage (events) agent oriented	PROCEDURAL No specific dramatis personae - 1st plural, 3rd plural Present tense chronological linkage (Process) patient or goal oriented
- Succession	+ Argument EXPOSITORY no specific dramatis personae time not focal logical linkage subject matter oriented	HORTATORY 2nd person (s), (d), (p1) mainly future tense or imperative mood logical linkage addressee oriented
	- Argument DESCRIPTIVE no specific dramatis personae time not focal topical linkage topic oriented	

Conglomerate

EPISTOLARY
specific dramatis personae
any tense
logical linkage
topic oriented

Certain tagmemes are common to all discourse genres. These are non-nuclear and optional. Aperture tagmeme is usually discourse initial and formulaic, consisting generally of a Simple Sentence or Sequence Sentence, announcing that the speaker is about to start, sometimes including his topic, but not necessarily so. The adjectival demonstrative <u>kéni</u> may also occur within the Aperture tagmeme, acting as a

discourse introducer. Examples are:

1. Simple Sentence (IAMS)

<u>Kudi</u> <u>las</u> <u>wakweké</u> <u>wuné</u>. 'I am about to speak.' talk par I.will.speak

2. Simple Sentence

Gunat vou I waato. 'I ask you.'

3. Simple Sentence

Kéni wuné wakweyo. 'I am about to speak.' introducer I speak

4. Sequence Sentence

Méné Ukarumpaké waataménéka wuné wakweyo.

you about. Ukarumpa you. ask. and I speak

'You ask about Ukarumpa and I speak.'

Finis tagmeme is usually the second last tagmeme of the discourse, when manifested. It is formulaic and usually consists of the conclusion marker <u>yaakwak</u> 'that is all' or <u>yaak</u> 'that is all'. Occasionally this is expanded into a paragraph, e.g. Negative Paraphrase Paragraph.

e.g. Yaakwak. Tépa bulmarék yaké wuné yo. that.is.all again not.speak will.I.do

'That is all. I will not speak again.'

Closure tagmeme is usually the last tagmeme of the discourse and is also formulaic. It usually contains the adjectival demonstrative <u>wani</u>, which in this position signifies closure of the discourse, and a quote verb, often with Mode 1 suffixes <u>-wuré</u> comp 1, or <u>-buti</u> comp 2, and is contained within a Simple Sentence. Occasionally this is expanded into a Sequence Sentence or a paragraph.

e.g. <u>Wani</u> <u>wuné</u> <u>wakwebutik</u>.
closure I finished.speaking

'I have finished speaking.'

The above three tagmemes are all rather formal items, possibly used more than usual because of the fact that most

text material was first recorded on a tape recorder and later transcribed.

It sometimes happens that the speaker thinks of extra information after the Finis and Closure tagmemes, in which case "Post" tagmemes may be added, usually followed by a second Closure tagmeme and sometimes second and third Finis tagmemes may be added.

Other non-nuclear tagmemes are diagnostic of specific discourse genres and are described in the relevant sections.

Examples of each discourse genre are given at the end of each of the following sections.

8.1 Narrative

A Narrative Discourse consists of an optional Stage tagmeme, manifested by various sentences and paragraphs, followed by an obligatory Episode tagmeme, which may be repeated up to 26 times and is usually manifested by a Narrative Paragraph, and optional Comment and Flashback tagmemes which are usually interspersed between the Episode tagmemes and are manifested by various sentences and paragraphs, as shown on the bidimensional array. Optional Aperture, Finis and Closure tagmemes are also shown on the array.

The Narrative Discourse is distinguished from other Discourse genres by the features shown on Chart P.

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- Aper- ture	+ Stage +	+ (Episode) ⁿ⁼²⁷	(Comment) ⁿ⁼⁵	+ (Flashzback)n=2	$\frac{\pm (\text{Flash}_2)}{\text{back}} = \frac{\pm (\text{Finis})^{n=3}}{1}$	± (Closure) ⁿ⁼²
Simple S. Series M.S. Serquence S, Amplif. P.	Simple S. Series M.S. Se- quence S Narr.P. Exec.P. Amplif. P. G-S Amplif. P. Reg. Pera. Pera.	M.S. e S. Quote S. P. P. lif.P.	Simple S. Series M.S. Reason S. Sequence S. Indirect Quote Sentence Direct Quote S. Contrafactual Sentence Narr.P. Proced.P. Co-ord P. Coltract.P. Amplif.P. Gontract.P. Therrog.P. Therrog.P. Expos.P. Expos.P. Expos.P. Bxpos.P. Expos.P. Bxpos.P.	Parallel S. Narr.P. Contrast P. Narr. Dis- course troduced by dék- inyényba 'previ- ously'	Yaak. Yaak. Simple S. Amplif.P. contain- ing con- clusion marker	Simple S. Series M.S.
past juxta	past tense, 1s juxtaposition	ast tense, 1st or 3rd person, 1 juxtaposition or recapitulation	ion			quote verb closure marker

The following paragraphs do not manifest Episode tagmeme:

Hortatory, Procedural, Descriptive, Reduplication, Contraction, Negative Paraphrase, Alternative, and Formulaic, Implication and Explanation Paragraphs.

Rules:

- 1. Reading: At least two tagmemes must occur. Episode may be repeated up to 27 times, but this is unusual. Most Narrative Discourses average 5 10 Episodes. Comment may be repeated up to 5 times and three of these may occur as Post-Comment tagmemes. Flashback may be repeated twice. Finis may be repeated three times and Closure twice. When more than one occurrence of the optional tagmemes occurs, such tagmemes are usually interspersed between other different tagmemes.
- Finis and Closure tagmemes are rarely re-Limitation: 2. Tense is usually past tense, except when the speaker brings events up to the present or future. Actor-subject pronouns are 1st or 3rd person. tagmemes are linked by recapitulation using the factive verb in a Relational Clause (but see 7.1), or juxtaposition, often with a temporal or introduction of another Non-Episode tagmemes are linked by juxtaposisubject. Comment tagmemes can be identified by the fact that they do not advance the chronology at all, and Flashback tagmemes, by the fact that they go backwards in time, usually with the use of deknyenyba ly'. Paragraphs which do not occur as exponents of Episode bases are also listed in the array.
- 3. Permutation: The usual order is Aperture, Stage, Episodes, Finis and Closure, with Comment and Flashback tagmemes inserted between and following Episodes, as relevant for the speaker's purpose.

Discussion:

The Narrative Discourse is used to relate a series of events, either legends or personal narratives. It is the most common form of discourse genre. It can also embed in bases of other Narrative Discourses, and in Expository and Hortatory Discourses. Because Direct Quote Sentences and Report Paragraphs frequently expound bases of Narrative Discourses, it occasionally happens that Procedural, Expository and Hortatory Discourse are deeply embedded within the Narrative Discourse.

Six examples of Narrative Discourse are summarized in the following table. Following this table one example of a Narrative Discourse is given in full and the initial part of

Narrative Discourse

Examples:

another discourse. In the full examples, paragraphs are numbered in the left column and sentences in the right column.

Tagmemes	Discourse 1	1 Discourse 2	Discourse 3	Discourse 4	2 Discourse 3 Discourse 4 Discourse 5 Discourse	Discourse 6
Aperture		Amplif.P.		Narr.P.	Simple S.	
Stage	Simple S.		Simple S.	Series M.S.	G-S Amplif.	Narr.P.
Epis.1	Narr.P.	Narr.P.	Narr.P.	l	Narr.P.	G-S Amplif.
Epis.2	Narr.P.	Narr.P.	Narr.P.	*Series MS	Narr.P.	Co-ord P.
Epis.3	Narr.P.	Narr.P.	Dialogue P.	Narr.P.	Sequence S.	Narr.P.
Epis.4	*Narr, P.	Narr.P.	D.Quote S.	Narr.P.	Narr.P.	Narr.P.
Epis.5	Narr.P.	Narr.P.	Narr.P.	Narr.P.	Narr.P.	G-S Amplif.
Epis.6	Narr.P.	Narr.P.		Narr.P.	*Narr.P.	
Epis. 7		Narr.P.		Narr.P.		
Epis.8		Narr.P.				
Epis.9		Narr.P.				
Epis.10-		Narr.P.				
14		-				
Epis.15		Series M.S.				
Epis.16-		Narr.P.				
27						
Comment1	*ContrastP.	G-S Amplif.	Amplif.P.	*Expos.P.	Proced.P.	Contrast P.
Comment2		*Amplif.P.		Expos.D.		
Comment3		Contract.P.				
Flash-					*Narr.P.	
back						
Flash-					Contrast P.	
back						-
Finis		_~				
Closure1		*Simple S.		*Series MS	Simple S.	Simple S.
Closure2		*Simple S.				

In Discourse 2 Closure 1 follows the Comment 1 tagmeme. This is fol-In Disa Contrast Paragraph, precedes tagmeme is in a different order from that shown on lowed by Comment 2 tagmeme, Comment 3, Closure 2 with Finis last of all. course 4 Comment 1 manifested by an Expository Paragraph precedes Episode Comment manifested by signifies that a In Discourse 1, the array. Episode 4. The mark *

At the end of the discourse, Closure 1 precedes Finis. In Discourse 5 Flashback 1 tagmeme, manifested by a Narrative Paragraph, precedes Episode 6.

Example 1. 'Our History'

This Narrative Discourse is a more than usually complicated Discourse and consists of 11 Episodes, 2 Comments, 2 Flashbacks - one of which is expounded by an embedded Narrative Discourse - a Finis and a Closure.

Déknyényba naané bakna naané rak previously we just we sat

2 BU 2: Parallel Sentence

Rate naané waapi male kwate sit.and we yam only plant.and

<u>vaate</u> <u>naané</u> <u>baagu</u> <u>yak</u> <u>mayéra</u> dig.and we feast did spirits

<u>pukaate</u> <u>vék</u>. work.and saw

3 BU_n: Sequence Sentence

<u>Yanaka</u> <u>dé</u> <u>Sémagun</u> <u>Pita</u> <u>Sémagun</u> we.did.and he <u>Semangun</u> Peter <u>Semangun</u>

dé rayés mé pukaa naadéka naané he rice imp plant he.said.and we

rayés pukaak. rice planted

'Previously we sat with no purpose. We sat and planted yams and dug them and held a <u>baagu</u> feast and saw spirit work. We did, and Semangan, Peter Semangan, said, "Plant rice!" and we planted rice.'

2 Episode 2: Narrative Paragraph 4 BU 1: Series Merged Sentence

Wuné dé Pita Sémagunna kudi véknwute

I Peter Semangun's talk hear.and

2.1 BU_n: Co-ordinate Paragraph

2.2 "Co-ordinate 1: Reported Speech Paragraph
5 Speech: Direct Quote Sentence

Yate wund wak du bere

Yate wuné wak du béré do.and I said man pluralizer

taakwa béré véknwugunu woman pluralizer you.hear.and

naané rayés pukaaké vo. Yate we rice must plant do.and

<u>naané</u> <u>pinat</u> <u>pukaaké</u> . <u>yo</u> . we peanut must . plant

Géléte naané kwayéno pick.and we will.give.and

de mani tiyaaké . yo they money will.give.to.us

didiman. agricultural.officer

6 Closure: Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence

 $rac{ ext{Naate}}{ ext{talk.and}}$ $rac{ ext{kibung}}{ ext{meeting}}$ $rac{ ext{yate}}{ ext{do.and}}$ $rac{ ext{wun\'e}}{ ext{I}}$

<u>du</u> <u>béré</u> <u>taakwa</u> man pluralizer woman

<u>bérat</u> <u>wak.</u> pluralizer.to said

7 Co-ordinate 2: Series Merged Sentence (direct speech)

Yaate guné wuna kudi come.and you my talk

véknwuké vo. will hear

'I was following Peter Semangun's words and

I came and held a meeting. As I held the meeting I said, "Men and women, you hear and plant rice. Do that, and plant peanuts. We will pick them and give them, and they, the agricultural officers, will give us money." Talking, I held the meeting and said to the men and women, "You come and hear my talk."

3 8 Episode 3: Direct Quote Sentence

De nébikara wulkiyaa yadaka wuné they young.man laziness they.do.and I

wak Guné wulkiyaa yamarék. said you laziness do.not

'The young men were lazy and I said, "Don't be lazy."

4 Comment: Contrast Paragraph
4.1 Statement: Narrative Paragraph
9 BU 1: Simple Sentence

Némaan du némaa taakwa male de big woman only they

wuna kudi véknwuk. my talk heard

10 BUn: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Véknwute</u> <u>de</u> <u>jébaa</u> <u>yak</u>. hear.and thev work did

'Only the mature men' and women paid attention to my words. They paid attention and worked.'

4.2 Contrast: Contrast Paragraph
4.3 Statement: Narrative Paragraph
BU 1: Series Merged Sentence

De nébikara wulkiyaa yate they young.man laziness do.and

de las de téwaangét they some they white.men.to

yék. went 12 BU_n: Series Merged Sentence

Yéte de ani téwaangba go.and they there white.man.at

ték. stood

4.4 Contrast: Narrative Paragraph

13 BU 1: Simple Sentence

Las de gayéba rate some they at.village sat.and

yak. did

14 BU_n: Sequence Sentence

Yapatite de las wulkiyaa do.in vain they some laziness

<u>yate</u> <u>téwaangétba</u> do.and to.white.man.only

yédaka némaan taaman male they.go.and big big only

du taakwa waga de rate man woman thus they sit.and

jébaa yak. work did

'The young men were lazy, and some of them went to the white men. They went and stood there with the white men. Others of them stayed in the village and worked. They worked unsuccessfully, and some of them were lazy and went to where the white man was, and only the really important men and women stayed like that and did (this) work.'

5 Episode 4: Narrative Paragraph 15 BU 1: Sequence Sentence

WunékibungyawurékavéknwuterayésImeetingI.did.andhear.andrice

<u>pukaadan</u> <u>pinat</u> <u>pukaadan</u> they.planted peanut they.planted

6

yatakne de kopi yaawi did.and.then they coffee bush

yakére yék. keep.doing went

16 BU 2: Sequence Sentence

Kopi yaawi yakére coffee bush do.continually

yédaka naané mak tawukére yék. they.did.and we mark standing went

17 BUn: Sequence Sentence

Mak tawukére yénaka de kopi mark standing we.went.and they coffee

tawukére yék waagu vaate. standing went hole dig.and

'I held the meeting, and they heeded and planted rice and peanuts and then worked continually on clearing the bush for coffee. They kept on clearing the bush for coffee, and we put markers in the ground. We put the markers, and they were digging holes and planting coffee seedlings.'

Comment 2: Contrast Paragraph

18 Statement: Simple Sentence (Fragmentary Sentence)

Némaan du némaa taakwa male big woman only

19 Contrast: Series Merged Sentence

De <u>nébikara</u> <u>téwaangba</u> <u>male de</u> they young.man white.man.at only they

yaage yé téte de téwaang running go stand.and they white.man

jébaa male de ani téte yak.
work only they there stand.and did

'Only the mature men and women. The young men where the white men were, they just ran away and stood and worked there, white man's work only.'

7 Flashback 1: Narrative Discourse (Stage, Episode, Flashback)

7.1 Stage: Negative Paraphrase Paragraph
20 Affirmation: Parallel Sentence

Déknyényba bakna waapi male previously just yam only

<u>kwate</u> <u>vaate</u> <u>de</u> <u>baagu</u> <u>yak</u> plant.and <u>dig</u>.and they feast did

<u>kurabu</u> <u>kaak</u>.
ceremonial.house built

21 Negation: Simple Sentence

Kéni jébaa kaapuk yadan. this work not they.did

'Previously they only planted yams and harvested them and had a <u>baagu</u> feast and built ceremonial houses. They did not do this (coffee) work.'

7.2 Episode 1: Narrative Paragraph
22 BU 1: Sequence Sentence

De waga tete yadaka de they thus stand.and they did.and they

Japan yaak.
Japan came

23 BU 2: Sequence Sentence

Japan yae radaka de Japan came.and they.sat.and they

Awustéreliya yae de Japanét Australia came.and they Japan

viyaak.

24 BU 3: Sequence Sentence

JapanétviyaadakadeJapanJapanthey.struck.andtheyJapan

<u>raapme</u> <u>yaage</u> <u>yédaka</u> get.up.and running they.went.and raapme yaage yédaka naané get.up.and running they.went.and we

wani jébaa kusade kérae yak that work put.down.and got.and did

kopi rayés.

'They were standing like that and worked, and the Japanese came. The Japanese came and stayed, and the Australians came and fought against the Japanese. They fought against the Japanese, and the Japanese ran away, and we put down that work and did coffee and rice work.'

7.3 Flashback: Narrative Paragraph 25 BU 1: Simple Sentence

> <u>Déknyényba</u> <u>bakna</u> <u>de</u> <u>ték</u>. previously just they stood

26 BU_n: Series Merged Sentence

Téte waaru waariya male de yak. stand.and argue fight only they did

'Previously they stood without doing this. They stood and fought continually.'

8 Episode 5: Narrative Paragraph 27 BU 1: Sequence Sentence

> Kéni naané kéni jébaaba yanaka now we this work we.do.and

> de <u>misin</u> <u>yae</u> <u>de sékul</u> they mission come.and they school

baadit kure yéte de they

wadaka dewa sékulkwa.
they.say.and they are.going.to.school

28 BU_n: Sequence Sentence

Sékuldaka naané tépa naané they.go.to.school we again we

kibung yate néwepa yékérae meeting do.and parents go.entirely.and

<u>kudi</u> <u>véknwute</u> <u>de</u> <u>baadit</u> <u>wadaka</u> talk hear.and they child.to they.say.and

de sékulét yék. they to.school went

'Now we are doing this work, and the missionaries came and they were taking the school age children, and they spoke, and the children are going to school. They are going to school, and we again were having another meeting, and the parents all went, and when they heard the talk, they spoke to their children, and the children went to school.'

Episode 6: Narrative Paragraph
BU 1: Sequence Sentence

Yakére yénaka yénaka do.continually.and we.go.and

yadaka de baadi yékéraate they.do.and they child go.entirely.and

<u>sékuldaka</u> <u>kén</u> <u>tépa</u> <u>de</u> go.to.school.and focus again they

30 BU_n: Sequence Sentence

Yadaka kéni naané kudi véknwu. thev.do.and now we talk hear

'We kept on doing and doing (work), and the Catholic missionaries stayed and worked, and the children all went to school, and now it is S.I.L. who teach us. They do, and now we heed what we are told.'

10 31 Episode 7: Direct Quote Sentence

Yate naané wo ao kén yéknwun jébaa do.and we say oh focus good work

naané yo.

'We do and say, "Oh, it is good work that we do." '

11 32 Flashback 2: Parallel Sentence

Déknyényba kapéredi jébaa yate de previously very.bad work do.and they

rate waaru waariyak yaawi baagu kurék sat.and argue fought bush feast held

<u>kurabu</u> <u>kaak</u>.
ceremonial.house built

'Previously they were doing very bad work and fought, held bush baagu feasts and built ceremonial houses.'

12 Episode 8: Reported Speech Paragraph 33 Speech: Direct Quote Sentence

KéninaanépasakS.I.L.radakanowwethereforeS.I.L.they.sit.and

naané wo ating kéni de yae we say I.think now they come.and

naanat muny yate kudi wakwe us thingamajig do.and talk speak

<u>lakwete</u> <u>Bayebel</u> <u>buk</u> <u>wokimu</u>. speak.and Bible book make

34 Closure: Quote Recapitulation Sentence

Naate kéni de nak nak véknwu. talk.and now thev one one think

'Now that S.I.L. are here, we now say, "Have they come now to what do you call it, teach us and make a Bible?" Talking, now a few of us think like that.'

13 35 Episode 9: Direct Quote Sentence

Kéni naané nak nak S.I.L.na kudi véknwute now we one S.I.L.'s talk hear.and

Bayébel wokimdaka naané wo déknyényba they.do.and we say previously

kén naana du taakwa de yao focus our man woman they come

kapu kén de nak ge or focus they other village

de yao. they come

38 Closure: Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence

Naate naané waga sanévéknwu. talk.and we thus think

15.2 Co-ordinate 2: Reported Speech Paragraph
39 Speech: Sequence Sentence (direct speech)

Yate de naana kudiba male do.and they our talk.only

<u>buldaka</u> <u>naané</u> <u>naana</u> <u>tokples</u> they.talk.and we our language

wakweyo. Wakwenaka de de speak we.speak.and they they

nyéga kaviyu. paper write

40 Closure: Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence

Kén waga naané sanévéknwu. focus thus we think

'We do, and we say, "Is it that S.I.L. come as our people, or do they come as outsiders?" That is the way we think. "They do and they talk our very words, and we speak our language. We speak, and they write it down." It is like that that we think.'

16 41 Finis: Conclusion marker

Yaakwak. finished

17 42 Closure: Simple Sentence

Wani kudi wani wuné bulwurék.
that talk closure I finished.talking

'I have finished that talk.'

Example 2. 'Rice and Coffee'

Only the first few tagmemes of this long discourse are reproduced here to demonstrate Aperture and Stage.

Aperture: Simple Sentence

Kopi rayés yanakwa kudi bulké wunék coffee rice we.do.and talk I.want.to.talk

yanaka mani tiyaadakwa kudi. we.do.and money they.give.us talk

'I want to give a talk about the coffee and rice that we cultivate, about the money that they give us.'

Stage: Generic-Specific Amplification Paragraph Generic: Simple Sentence

Déknyényba bakna naané rak previously just we sat

Specific: Simple Sentence (Equative Clause)

Mani kaapuk. money not

'Previously we lived without. We did not have any money.'

Episode 1: Narrative Paragraph
BU 1: Series Merged Sentence

Kéndidimanyaetaalefocusagricultural.officercame.andfirst

dé kasan tiyaak. he peanut gave.to.us

BU 2: Sequence Sentence

.

'It was the agricultural officer who came and first gave us peanuts . . . '

8.2 Procedural

The Procedural Discourse consists of an optional Aperture tagmeme, manifested by a Simple Sentence or a Sequence Sentence, followed by an obligatory Procedure tagmeme, which may be repeated up to seven times, manifested by a Procedural Paragraph, usually, and occasionally a Sequence Sentence, followed by or interspersed with an optional Comment tagmeme, manifested by a Simple Sentence or various paragraphs, followed by an optional Summary tagmeme, expounded by a Simple Sentence, followed by optional Finis and Closure tagmemes, manifested as shown on the array.

Procedural Discourse is distinguished from Narrative Discourse by the use of present tense throughout with 1st and 3rd plural actor-subject pronouns only and with no specific dramatis personae.

Procedural Discourse

+ Aper- ture	+ (Proce- dure)n=7	$\frac{+ (Com-ment)^{n=3}}$	+ Summary	+ Finis	+ Clo- sure
Simple S. Sequence S.	Sequence S. Procedur- al P.	Simple S. Co-ord P. Redup.P. Amplif.P. Expos.P.	Simple S.	Simple S.	Simple S. Contra- ct.P. Amplif. P.

1st plural, 3rd plural and present tense in Procedure bases linkage by recapitulation or juxtaposition

Rules:

- 1. Reading: Procedure may be repeated up to seven times. At least two tagmemes must occur. Comment may be repeated three times.
- 2. Limitation: Tense is present, with 1st and 3rd plural actor-subject pronouns in Procedure bases. Linkage between Procedure bases is by the use of the factive verb in a Relational Clause (but see 7.1) or juxtaposition. Linkage between other bases is by juxtaposition.
- 3. Permutation: The Comment base can be inserted whenever

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the speaker feels that a comment is warranted, after any of the Procedure bases.

Discussion:

Procedural Discourse is used to describe a series of procedures in chronological order. It is not a common discourse genre, probably because most procedural descriptions seem to use the surface structure of Hortatory Discourse. No examples have been observed of its ability to take embedding. It has been observed to embed in Expository Discourse.

Six examples of Procedural Discourse are summarized in the following table. Following this table one example is given in full, and part of another.

Examples:

Tag- memes	Dis- course1	Dis- course2	Dis- course3	Dis- course4	Dis- course5	Dis- course6
Aper- ture		Sequence S.	Sequence S.			Simple S.
Proc.	Proced. P.	Proced. P.	Proced. P.	Proced. P.	Proced. P.	Proced. P.
Proc.	Proced. P.	*Proced. P.		*Proced. P.	Proced.	Proced. P.
Proc.	Proced. P.	Proced. P.		Proced. P.	Proced. P.	
Proc.		Proced. P.			Proced. P.	
Proc.		*Sequen- ce S.			*Proced. P.	
Proc.			, p		*Proced. P.	
Proc.					*Proced. P.	
Comme- nt 1		*Expos. P.	Co-ord P.	*Co-ord P.	*Simple S.	
Comme- nt 2		*Expos. P.			*Expos. P.	
Comme- nt 3					*Amplif. P.	
Summ- ary			Simple S.	*****		
Finis	Yaakwak		Yaakwak		Yaakwak	Simple S.
Clos- ure	Amplif. P.		Amplif.		Simple S.	

The mark * signifies that a tagmeme is in a different order from that shown on the array. In Procedural Discourse this different ordering applies only to the Comment tagmeme. In Discourse 2 Comment 1 precedes Procedure 2, and Comment 2 precedes Procedure 5. In Discourse 4, Comment 1 precedes Procedure 2. In Discourse 5, Comment 1 precedes Procedure 5, Comment 2 precedes Procedure 6, and Comment 3 precedes Procedure 7. In each case the Comment is a comment on the preceding Procedure tagmeme.

Example 1. 'Ceremonial Yams'

This Procedural Discourse consists of Procedure 1, $\operatorname{Procedure}_n$ and $\operatorname{Closure}_n$.

Procedure 1: Procedural Paragraph

Step 1: Sequence Sentence (Setting is in portmanteau relationship with Step 1)

Naané maabutap vae gaba we mambutap.yam dig.and house.in

<u>taknanaka</u> <u>radéka</u> <u>naané</u> <u>tu.</u> we.put.and it.stays.and we stand

2 Step 2: Series Merged Sentence with Time Margin

Te sékus yadéka gwés saakwe stand.and shoot it.do.and door open.and

wulae vétakne ye naané enter.and see.and.then go.and we

yaawi naaknwu. bush mark.out

3 Step 3: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Yaawi</u> <u>naaknwe</u> <u>yatakne</u> <u>naané</u> bush mark.out.and do.and.then we

raatmu giyu. fence tie

4 Step 4: Series Merged Sentence

Raatmu giye naané yaawi tu. fence tie.and we bush burn

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5 Step 5: Series Merged Sentence

Yaawi tutakne naané waapi kérae bush burn.and.then we yam get.and

<u>kure</u> <u>ye</u> <u>kwo</u> <u>maabutap</u>. hold.and go.and plant mambutap.yam

6 Step 6: Sequence Sentence

<u>Kwataknanaka</u> <u>yéknwun</u> <u>yadéka</u> <u>naané</u> we.plant.and good it.does.and we

baajép kuru. growing.point snap.off

7 Step 7: Sequence Sentence

Baajép kuttaknanaka we.snap.off.and

bae kapéredi ye shoot.again.and very.much do.and

tédéka naané gaalé baagé it.stands.and we branch stick

 $\frac{\text{v\'e1e}}{\text{fell.and}}$ $\frac{\text{s\'ewaa}}{\text{pitpit}}$ $\frac{\text{t\'ekwiyae}}{\text{break.off.and}}$

<u>sabiyany</u> <u>laabiye</u> <u>naané</u> <u>jaabé</u> <u>yo</u>. sambiyany.bark peel.and we frame do

8 Step 8: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Jaabé ye</u> <u>naané</u> <u>jawuléknu</u>. frame do.and we uncoil.tendrils

9 Step 9: Sequence Sentence

Jawulékne <u>kure</u> uncoil.tendrils.and hold.and

<u>yéwurénaka</u> <u>sékérékwurédéka</u> we.finish.going.and it.is.completely.filled and

naané mi véle sabiyany tree fell.and tree.species.bark

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laabiye
peel.and we tawu.
stand.in.ground

10 Step 10: Sequence Sentence

Tawutaknanaka tédéka we.stand.in.ground.and it.stands.and

naané
we jawulékmeyo.
put.on.other.pitpit

11 Step 11: Sequence Sentence

Jawulékmetaknanaka waarékére we.put.on.other.pitpit.and keep.going.up. and

dé giyu.
it fastens

12 Step 12: Series Merged Sentence

Giye dé gélé tu. fastens.and it black stands

13 Step 13: Sequence Sentence

Gélé tédéka naaré yadéka black it.stands.and ripe it.does.and

naané vao. we dig

14 Step 14: Series Merged Sentence

 $\frac{\text{Vae}}{\text{dig.and}}$ $\frac{\text{naan\'e}}{\text{we}}$ $\frac{\text{kure}}{\text{hold.and}}$ $\frac{\text{ye}}{\text{go.and}}$ $\frac{\text{kuso.}}{\text{decorate}}$

15 Step 15: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Kusotakne</u> <u>naané</u> <u>béré</u> <u>kétiyu</u> decorate.and.then we singsing dance

maabutapké.
for.mambutap.yam

16 Step 16: Series Merged Sentence

Béré kétitakne naané baalé singsing dance.and.then we pig

<u>kure</u> <u>naané</u> <u>kwayu</u> <u>saburaké</u>.

hold.and we give exchange.partner.to

17 Step 17: Sequence Sentence

<u>Kwayénaka</u> <u>de</u> <u>de</u> <u>tépa</u> <u>kaate</u> we.give.and they they again repay.and

<u>kure</u> <u>yaadaka</u> <u>naané</u> <u>tépa</u> <u>kwo</u>. hold.and they.come.and we again plant

18 Step_n: Series Merged Sentence

Kwe naané tépa jawuléknu.
plant.and we again uncoil.tendrils

19 Summary: Series Merged Sentence

Waga male naané téte yo thus only we stand and do

'We dig up <u>maabutap</u> yams (ceremonial yams) and put them in storehouses, and they stay there, and we stand. We stand, and when shoots appear, we open up the door, enter, see and then go and mark out the bush. We mark out the bush and clear it, and then we make fences. make fences, and we burn the bush. We burn the bush, and then we take and plant the maabutap yams. We plant them, and when it is time, we snap off the growing point. We snap off the growing point, and it shoots again, with many shoots, and we cut down branches for sticks and break off pitpit and peel sabiyany bark and make trellises. We make trellises, and we uncoil the tendrils. We uncoil the tendrils, and when we have taken sufficient trellises, we cut down trees, peel off the bark and stand the poles in the ground. We stand them there, and we put on other pitpit. We put on other pitpit, and the vine goes up and is fastened firmly. It is fastened and it becomes black. When it becomes black and is ready to harvest, we dig up the yams. We dig them up, and we take them and decorate them. We decorate them, and then we dance the bere singsing for the maabutap yams. We dance the singsing, and then we catch pigs and give them to our exchange partners. We give, and they, they again repay and bring yams to us, and we again plant. That is the way we do it.'

2 Proceduren: Procedural Paragraph 2.1 Setting: Procedural Paragraph 20 Step 1: Simple Sentence <u>Kukba naané wudégé1</u>

kwo.

yam.species plant 21 Stepn: Series Merged Sentence Wudégé1 naa1é yam.species yam.species <u>kwatakne</u> <u>naané</u> <u>tépa</u> waga plant.and.then we maleyo. only do Step 1: Sequence Sentence 22 yédéka Jawuléknaka we.uncoil.tendrils.and it.goes.and baajép naané <u>kure</u> growing.point snap.off.and tawu. stand.in.ground 23 Step 2: Series Merged Sentence naané tépa Tawurétakne stand.in.ground.and.then we vao. dig 24 Step 3: Series Merged Sentence waga malekuso. dig.and again $ext{thus}$ onlvdecorate 2.2 Step_n: Amplification Paragraph 25 Text: Series Merged Sentence naané tépa kétiyu decorate.and we wanyény. singsing.type

26 Amplification: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Kaany</u> <u>sékwe</u> <u>naané</u> <u>kétiyu</u> bamboo cut.and we dance

<u>kaang</u> <u>nakurak</u> <u>tawe</u>. handdrum one <u>put.on.lizard.skin</u>

'Later we plant <u>wudégél</u> yams. We plant <u>wudégél</u> and <u>naalé</u> yams, and then we do again the same way. We uncoil the tendrils, and then we snap off the growing point, and we stand (poles) in the ground. We stand them in the ground, and then we again dig up the yams. We dig them up and again, like that, decorate them. We decorate them, and we dance the <u>wanyény</u> singsing. We cut bamboo, and we dance, after putting lizard skin on a hand drum.

3 Closure: Contraction Paragraph 27 Statement: Simple Sentence

Wani
thatmuké
thing.aboutwani
closurewuné

<u>bulbutik</u> <u>waapiké</u> <u>maabutap</u> finished.talking yam.about yam.species

<u>naléka</u>. yam.species

28 Contraction: Simple Sentence

Wani wuné bulbutik.
closure I finished.talking

'I have finished talking about that matter, about yams, maabutap and naalé yams. I have finished talking.'

Example 2. 'Our Religion'

(A section of this only is given to illustrate the Comment tagmeme. In this discourse the Comment tagmeme is interspersed between Procedure 6 and Procedure 7.)

Procedure 6: Procedural Paragraph Step 1: Series Merged Sentence

De kusowe waknény du waknény they decorate.and headdress man headdress

<u>ye</u> <u>ye</u> <u>naané kétiyu</u>. do.and do.and we dance

Step 2: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Kétiye</u> <u>kétigéttakne</u> <u>de</u> dance.and dance.till.dawn.and.then they

ge ge yékérao. village village go.away

Step_n: Amplification Paragraph Text: Sequence Sentence

Ge ge yékéraadaka naané village village they.go.away.and we

 $\frac{\text{naan\'e}}{\text{we}}$ $\frac{\text{wid\'e}}{\text{sleepiness}}$ $\frac{\text{kwao}}{\text{lie}}$.

Amplification: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Waknény</u> <u>sékwe</u> <u>kélétakne</u> headdress cut.and get.rid.of.and.then

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{\text{naan\'e}} & \underline{\text{wid\'e}} & \underline{\text{kwao}}. \\ \hline \text{we} & \text{sleepiness} & \overline{\text{lie}} \end{array}$

'They decorate, and the headdress men put on their headdresses, and we dance. We dance and dance until dawn, and then the other village folk go away. The other village folk go away, and we, we sleep. We break up the headdresses and get rid of them, and then we sleep.'

Comment: Expository Paragraph

Text: Series Merged Sentence

Waknény ye naané yaakéru. headdress do.and we forbid.food

Exposition: Contrast Paragraph Statement: Simple Sentence

Gwalmu akwi mu naané kaapuk food all thing we not

<u>kanakwa</u>. we.eat

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Contrast: Simple Sentence

<u>Tépma kutjo laapu kudiya ka</u> coconut greens banana pitpit small.yam

mayétba male naané ko.
just.taro only we eat

'We have the headdress time, and we forbid certain foods. We don't eat food. We only eat coconut, greens, bananas, pitpit, small yams and taro.'

Procedure 7: Procedural Paragraph
Step 1: Series Merged Sentence with Time Margin

Yaakére yaakére yaakére yaakére yaakére

yaakére yaakére naané kadému naaré forbid.and we food ripe

yadéka naané mayé sélbao.
it.does.and we taro end.taboo

Step 2: Series Merged Sentence

Mayé sélbae naané sépulak kapulak kotaro end. taboo we badly badly eat

Step 3: Series Merged Sentence

.

'We keep on forbidding food for a long time, and then when the food is ready for harvesting, we end the taboo with taro. We end the taboo with taro, and we eat a lot of everything. '

8.3 Expository

The Expository Discourse consists of an optional Aperture tagmeme, manifested by a Simple Sentence, a Sequence Sentence or an Expository Paragraph, followed by an optional Introduction tagmeme, manifested by Procedural, Amplification or Contrast Paragraph, followed by an obligatory Point tagmeme, which may be repeated up to seven times, manifested by various paragraph or discourse types, followed by an optional Summary tagmeme, manifested by a Procedural Paragraph, followed by optional Finis tagmeme, manifested by a Simple Sentence,

followed by an optional Closure tagmeme, manifested by a Simple Sentence or a Series Merged Sentence.

The Expository Discourse is distinguished by the lack of specific dramatis personae, the fact that time is not focal, that linkage is logical not chronological, and that the material is subject-matter oriented. There is a development of a theme or themes throughout the discourse.

Expository Discourse

+ Aper- ture	+ Intro- duction	+(Point) ⁿ⁼⁷	+ Summary	+ Finis	+ Closure
s.	Proced.P. Amplif.P. Contrast P.	Proced.P.	Proced.P.	Simple S.	Simple S. Series M.S.

present or past tense.

1st, 3rd person.

linkage by juxtaposition.

Rules:

- 1. Reading: Point tagmeme may be repeated up to seven times. At least two tagmemes must occur.
- 2. Limitation: Use of 1st or 3rd person with past or present tense.

Discussion:

Expository Discourse is used to explain a certain subject, with elaboration and development of a theme. It is not a very common discourse genre. It has been observed to embed in the Comment base of Narrative Discourse.

Six examples are summarized in the table that follows and after this one example is given in full.

Examples:

Tagmemes	Discourse 1	Discourse 2	Discourse 3	Discourse 4	Discourse 5	Discourse 6
Aperture		Simple S.	Expos.P.			Simple S.
Introd.				Amplif.P.	Proced.P.	
Point 1	Proced.P.	Proced.D.	Amplif.P.	Proced.P.	Expos.P.	Expos.P.
Point 2	Proced.P.	Expos.P.	G-S Amplif. Proced.P.	Proced.P.	Expos.P	
Point 3	G-S Amplif.	. Amplif.P.		Proced.P.	Proced.P.	
Point 4				Expos.P.	Narr.P.	
Point 5		P		Narr.D.	Expos.P.	
Point 6				Proced.P.	Proced.P.	
Point 7					Proced.P.	
Summary						Proced.P.
Finis				Yaakwak	<u>Yaakwak</u>	
Closure				Series M.S.	Simple S.	

It will be noted that a Procedural Discourse is embedded in iscourse 2 and a Narrative Discourse is embedded in Discourse $4\,\circ$ Discourse

Example: 'Cane Masks'

This Expository Discourse consists of an Aperture, an Introduction, six Points, a Closure and a Finis.

1 1 Aperture: Simple Sentence (Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence)

 $\frac{\text{Wun\'e}}{\text{I}}$ $\frac{\text{k\'eni}}{\text{this}}$ $\frac{\text{muk\'e}}{\text{thing.about}}$ $\frac{\text{las}}{\text{par}}$ $\frac{\text{wakwek\'e}}{\text{will.speak}}$

wuné
I mayaktakgé.
about.cane.mask

'I will speak about this matter, about cane masks.'

2 Introduction: Contrast Paragraph 2.1 Statement: Narrative Paragraph

2 Setting - BU 1: Ferent Merged Sentence with Time Margin

Malba Yanévéko déknyényba apuba Yenigo previously time

<u>apuba</u> <u>de</u> <u>kure</u> <u>yaak</u> <u>Pet</u> <u>bét</u> time they held.and came Pat and

Yelen kéba rabétka. Helen here they(d).sat

3 BU_n: Sequence Sentence

<u>Kure</u>, <u>yaadaka</u> <u>las</u> held.and they.came.and some

kéraabétka de las gwaamale they(d).buy.and they some return.and

kure <u>yék tépa deku gayét</u>. held.and went again their village.to

2.2 Contrast: Contrast Paragraph
4 Statement: Sequence Sentence

Bulaa vététi <u>Ukarumpat</u> now together to.Ukarumpa

yébérék they(d).went.and vaate come.and <u>vépatiye</u> <u>de</u> <u>kaapuk</u> <u>yaak</u>. see.in.vain.and they not came

5 Contrast: Contrafactual Sentence

Rabéru mukatik apuba apuba they(d).sit.and contr time time

<u>kure</u> <u>yaasaakukatik</u> <u>de</u> <u>yak</u>. held.and kept.on.coming.hyp they did

'Previously people from Malmba and Yenigo brought (masks) all the time while Pat and Helen were here. They brought them, and they two bought some, and the people took some back again to their village. Then the two of them went off together to Ukarumpa, and the people coming looked for them in vain, and then they did not come any more. If the two of them had stayed here, they would have kept on coming all the time.'

Point 1: Co-ordinate Paragraph
Co-ordinate 1: Colloquial Sentence

Pet yae wani muké rate Pat come.and that thing.about sit.and

<u>vépatite</u> <u>1é.</u> see.in.vain.and she

7 Co-ordinate 2: Colloquial Sentence

Las tépa kure yaado some again hold.and they.will.come.and

kéraamarék yate 1é. not.buy do.and she

'Pat has come and is sitting and looking in vain for those things. When they bring them again, she is not buying them.'

4 Point 2: Generic-Specific Amplification Paragraph
4.1 Generic: Procedural Paragraph

8 Step 1: Simple Sentence (Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence)

Kén wani tépa wakweké naané. focus then again we.will.speak

9 Step_n: Simple Sentence (Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence)

Wakweno <u>las kure</u> we.will.speak.and some hold.and

yaado 16 kéraaké .yo. they.will.come.and she must buy

4.2 Specific: Reported Speech Paragraph
10 Speech: Series Merged Sentence

Pet yae 16 ro. sits

11 Closure: Quote Recapitulation Merged Sentence

Naate wakweno. talk.and let.us.speak

'It is about this that we will again speak. We will speak, and they will bring some (masks), and she will buy them. "Pat has come and is here." We will speak that.'

5 Point 3: Procedural Paragraph 12 Step 1: Sequence Sentence

> <u>Du</u> <u>nak</u> <u>yaadu</u> <u>wakweké. wuné.</u> man one he.will.come.and I.will.speak

13 Step_n: Sequence Sentence

<u>Wakwewuru</u> <u>ye</u> <u>gayéba</u> I.will.speak.and go.and in.village

<u>wakwedu</u> <u>las kure</u> he.will.speak.and some hold.and

yaaké de yo. they will come

'When a man comes, I will speak to him. I will speak, and he will go and speak in his village, and they will bring some.'

Point 4: Contrast Paragraph
14 Statement: Simple Sentence

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Makwalké <u>1é</u> mawulé <u>yo</u>. for.small she wish does

15 Contrast: Simple Sentence

Apakélé kélik unwillingness he does

'She wants small ones. She does not want big ones.'

7 Point 5: Contrast Paragraph 16 Statement: Conditional Sentence

 $\begin{array}{cccc} \underline{\text{Waan}} & \underline{\text{kuttaknadaran}} & \underline{\text{male}} & \underline{\text{kure}} \\ \underline{\text{ear}} & \text{if.they.put.on} & \underline{\text{only}} & \underline{\text{hold.and}} \end{array}$

yaaké. de. yo. they.will.come

17 Contrast: Conditional Sentence

<u>Waan</u> <u>kuttaknamarék</u> <u>yadaran</u> <u>wan</u> ear not.put.on if.they.do focus

 $\frac{\text{Pet}}{\text{Pat}}$ $\frac{\text{k\'elik}}{\text{unwillingness}}$ $\frac{\text{l\'e}}{\text{she}}$ $\frac{\text{yo.}}{\text{does}}$

'Only if they put ears on the masks, should they bring them. If they don't put on ears, then Pat does not want them.'

8 Point 6: Contrast Paragraph
18 Statement: Conditional Sentence

Wandolatudolabataknadaranonedollartwodollar.onlyif.they.put

wani kéraaké. 16. yo. she.will.buy

19 Contrast: Sequence Sentence

 $\frac{3}{3}$ $\frac{\text{dola}}{\text{dollar}}$ $\frac{4}{4}$ $\frac{\text{dolaba}}{\text{dollar}}$ $\frac{\text{taknadaka}}{\text{they.put.and}}$ $\frac{\text{wani}}{\text{then}}$

 $\frac{\underline{\text{k\'elik}}}{\text{unwillingness}}$ $\frac{\underline{1\'e}}{\text{she}}$ $\frac{\underline{\text{yo}}}{\text{does}}$

'Only if they ask one or two dollars, will she buy them. When they ask three or four dollars, she does not want

them.'

9 20 Closure: Simple Sentence

Wani closure I wakwek male.

10 21 Finis: Simple Sentence (Fragmentary Sentence)

Yaak. finished

'I have come to an end of my speaking. That's all.'

8.4 Descriptive

The Descriptive Discourse consists of an optional Aperture tagmeme, manifested by a Simple Sentence or a Sequence Sentence, followed by an obligatory Item tagmeme, which may be repeated up to three times, manifested by a Descriptive Paragraph, followed by an optional Finis tagmeme, manifested by a Simple Sentence, followed by a Closure tagmeme, manifested by a Simple Sentence.

Descriptive Discourse is distinguished by its little use, its brevity, the lack of specific dramatis personae, the use of present tense or of Equative Clauses with no tense, and the fact that it is topic oriented. Descriptive Paragraphs expound only Item bases of Descriptive Discourse.

Descriptive Discourse

+ Aperture	+ $(Item)^{n=3}$	+ Finis	+ Closure
Simple S. Sequence S.	Descriptive Paragraph	Simple S.	Simple S.
linkage b	esent tense or y juxtaposition n actor-subjec	n	in Item bases

Rules:

- 1. Reading: Item may be repeated up to three times. At least two tagmemes must occur.
- 2. Limitation: Present tense or no tense in Item tagmemes, usually. Linkage by juxtaposition. One topic holds the discourse together.

Discussion:

The Descriptive Discourse is very little used. Only six examples of it have been found. These are all very short. Linkage between bases is by juxtaposition only. Division has been made between the bases on the basis of slight change of emphasis. Descriptive Discourse has not been observed to embed in other discourse genres, nor to take embedding.

The following table gives a summary of six Descriptive Discourses. This is followed by a detailed example of one of these discourses.

Examples: Descriptive Discourses

Tag- memes	Dis- course1	Dis- course2	Dis- course3	Dis- course4	Dis- course5	Dis- course6
Aper- ture	Simple S.	Sequence S.	Simple S.		Simple S.	Simple S.
Item 1	Descrip. P.	Descrip. P.	Descrip. P.	Descrip. P.	Descrip. P.	Descrip. P.
Item 2	i	Descrip. P.				Descrip. P.
Item 3		Descrip. P.				
Finis						Simple S.
Closure				Simple S.		

Example: 'Ukarumpa'

This Descriptive Discourse consists of an Aperture and three Items.

1 1 Aperture: Sequence Sentence

Méné Ukarumpaké waataménéka wuné wakweyo.

you about.Ukarumpa you.ask.and I speak

'You ask about Ukarumpa, and I speak.'

2 Item 1: Descriptive Paragraph

2.1 Statement 1: Procedural Paragraph

2 Step 1: Simple Sentence

Kéni taaléba yépmaat dé sépulak this place.in cold it very.much

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yo. does

3 Step_n: Sequence Sentence

Yadéka <u>baapmu</u> <u>wut</u> <u>kusadate</u> it.does.and <u>clothing</u> put.on.and

male de teko. only they walk

2.2 Statement 2: Procedural Paragraph
4 Step 1: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Gaan</u> <u>kusadate</u> <u>kwaadakwa</u> night put.on.and they.sleeping

kéni gayéba waama sépé arigék this village.in white skin many

 $\frac{de}{they}$ $\frac{ro}{sit}$

5 Step_n: Series Merged Sentence

Rate de jébaa yo. sit.and they work do

6 Statement 3: Simple Sentence

Gélé sépé arigék kaapuk.
black skin many not

2.3 Statement 4: Contrast Paragraph
7 Statement: Simple Sentence

Maprik pulak kaapuk.
Maprik like not

8 Contrast: Simple Sentence

Kén bakna walkamu taalé. this just little place

'It is very cold in this place. It is cold, and they all wear clothing and walk around. At night they put on clothing and sleep, and there are many white people in this place. They work here. There are not many black people. It is not like Maprik. This is just a little place.'

3 3.1 3.2		2: Descriptive tatement 1: Pro Step 1: Ampl Text: Si	cedural Par	Paragraph		
		<u>Naar</u> we		nyédéba spot.in	naané we	ro. sit
	10	Amplific	ation: Simp	ole Sentend	e	
		<u>Naar</u> we	nébuba on.mount		ro.	
	11	Step _n : Seque	ence Sentenc	ee		
		Ranaka we.sit.a	yépmaat and cold	<u>dé sépu</u> it very	<u>ılak</u> .much	<u>yo</u> . does
3.3	s 12	tatement 2: Neg Negation: Si			ıgraph	
		<u>Maas</u> <u>ka</u> rain no	apuk arige	k viyaakv falls	<u>va</u> .	
	13	Affirmation	Simple Ser	ntence		
		$rac{ ext{Nyaa}}{ ext{sun}}$ or	a <u>le</u> <u>dé</u> <u>vu</u> a aly he shi	ines		
	14 S	tatement 3: Sin	ple Sentend	е		
		Naané Pet we Pat	$\frac{\text{b\'et}}{\text{and}}$ $\frac{\text{Yelen}}{\text{Helen}}$	$\frac{\text{wale}}{\text{with}}$ $\frac{\text{nage}}{\text{we}}$	ané <u>ro</u> .	
	live ther	in another parte, and it is ve	ery cold. I	Not much ra	ain fall	s.
4		3: Descriptive tatement 1: Sin		ee		
		$\frac{Su}{Sue}$ $\frac{16}{she}$ $\frac{ka}{a}$	one sits			
	16 s	tatement 2: Sin	ple Sentend	ce		
		Gabriel béi Gabriel plu		apmu <u>de</u> Lone they	<u>adaba</u> down	ro.

17 Statement 3: Simple Sentence

Arigék du béré taakwa béré many man pluralizer woman pluralizer

de kéba ro. they here sit

'Sue lives alone. Gabriel and his family, they live alone down the hill. Many men and women live here.'

8.5 Hortatory

The Hortatory Discourse consists of an optional Aperture tagmeme, manifested by Simple Sentence, Sequence Sentence or Amplification Paragraph, followed by an optional Introduction, manifested by various sentences or paragraphs, followed by an obligatory Point, which may be repeated up to eleven times and is manifested by various sentences or paragraphs, followed by an optional Conclusion, manifested by Simple Sentence or various paragraphs, followed by an optional Finis tagmeme, manifested by the conclusion marker or a Negative Paraphrase Paragraph, followed by an optional Closure 1, manifested by a Simple Sentence or a Contrast Paragraph, followed by an optional Post-point, which may be repeated twice, manifested by a Simple Sentence, a Procedural Paragraph, a Contrast Paragraph or Expository Paragraph followed by an optional Closure 2, manifested by a Simple Sentence, Series Merged Sentence or a Procedural Paragraph.

The Hortatory Discourse is distinguished by the use of the 2nd person with future tense (that is, using the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence), or the imperative mood or one of the other ways of expressing an exhortation, e.g. Simple Sentence with a purpose margin, Quotation Paragraph or Contrast Paragraph (see also 5.2.2).

Hortatory Discourse

+ Aperture + Intro-duction	1	+ (Point)n=11	Clusion	+ Finis + Clos- ure 1	+ Clos- ure 1	+ (Post-point)n=2	+ Closure 2
Simple S. Sequence S. Amplif.P.	Simple S. Sequence S. Proced.P. Contrast P. Hort.P.	Simple S. Series M.S. Sequence S. Conditional Sentence D.Quote S. Altern.S. Narr.P. Proced.P. Hort.P. Co-ord P. Redup.P. Contract.P. G-S Amplif.P. G-S Amplif.P. G-S Amplif.P. Therrog.P. Rhet.Ques.P. Interrog.P. Expos.P.	Simple S. Co-ordi- nate P. Hortat- ory P. Interro- gative P. Neg. Para.P.	Simple S. Neg. Para. P.	Simple S. Contra- st P.	Simple S. Procedural P. Contrast P. Expos.P.	Simple S. Series M.S. Procedural P.
futul 2nd J	future tense, 2nd person sub 1inkage by jux	future tense, imperative mood or other exhortation feature 2nd person subject mainly 1inkage by juxtaposition	od or other	r exhort	ation fe	ature	

The following paragraphs do not manifest Point tagmeme: Descriptive Paragraph, Report Paragraphs, Perception Paragraph, Gratitude Paragraph, Alternative Paragraph, Reason Paragraph, Identification Paragraph, Negative Paraphrase Paragraph. 458 AMBULAS GRAMMAR

Rules:

1. Reading: Point may be repeated up to eleven times.
Post-point may be repeated twice. At least two tagmemes must occur.

- 2. Limitation: Exhortation is expressed by future tense (that is, using the Immediacy Aspectual Merged Sentence) or imperative mood, or some other exhortation feature (see note on this above). Actor-subject is usually 2nd person plural, but singular and dual forms are also found and occasionally person may switch to 1st or 3rd. Linkage is by juxtaposition. Paragraphs which do not occur as manifestations of the Point tagmeme are also listed.
- 3. Permutation: Conclusion and Finis may permute. Finis, Closure 1, Post-point and Closure 2 permute fairly freely, but Closure 2 always follows Closure 1, with some other tagmeme interspersed.

Discussion:

The Hortatory Discourse is a very common form of discourse. It is used to express exhortation to a certain course of action or behaviour, either by command, request, or more subtle form of demand. Narrative Discourse can embed within it. It has not been observed embedded in other discourse genres.

Six examples of Hortatory Discourse are summarized in the following table. Following this, another example is given in full.

Examples: Hortatory Discourse

Tagmemes	Discourse 1	Discourse 2	Discourse 3	Discourse 4	Discourse 5	Discourse 6
Aperture	Simple S.				Simple S.	Amplif.P.
Introd.			Sequence S.			
Point 1	Hort.P.	Sequence S.	G-S Amplif. P.	Hort.P.	G-S Amplif. Narr.P. P.	Narr.P.
Point 2	Hort.P.	Hort.P.	G-S Amplif. P.	Hort.P.	Narr.D.	Rhet. Ques. P.
Point 3	Contract.P.	Hort.P.	Proced. P.	Amplif.P.	Altern.S.	Proced.P.
Point 4	Hort.P.	Hort.P.	Hort.P.	Series M.S.	Contrast P.	Conditional P.
Point 5	Hort.P.	Hort.P.	Hort.P.	Amplif.P.	Hort.P.	D.Quote S.
Point 6		Quotation P.	Proced.P.	Contrast P.	Contrast P.	Hort.P.
Point 7		Proced.P.	Hort.P.	Contrast P.	G-S Amplif. P.	G-S Amplif. P.
Point 8		Hort.P.	Co-ord P.	Co-ord P.		Amplif.P.
Point 9						Redup.P.
Point 10						Narr.P.
Point 11						Amplif.P.
Conclus- ion			Hort.P.			
Finis			*Neg.Para. P.	* <u>Yaakwak</u>	Yaak	*Yaak
Closure 1	Contrast P.	Simple S.	*Simple S.	*Simple S.	Simple S.	*Simple S.
Post- point 1				*Contrast P.		*Proced.P.
Post- point 2				*Proced.P.		
Closure 2			Simple S.	Proced.P.		Simple S.

The mark * indicates that these tagmemes occur in a different order from that shown on the table. In Discourse 3, Finis follows Closure 1. In Discourse 4, Closure 1 follows Point 8, and is then followed by Post-point 1, Post-point 2 and Finis. In Discourse 6, Closure 1 follows Point 11 and is then followed by Post-point 1, Finis and Closure 2.

Example: 'Advice Given to Young Men'

This Hortatory Discourse consists of an Introduction, six Points, Closure, Conclusion, two Post-points, a secondary Closure and Finis.

Wani du akwi mé yaakére that man all imp come and

jawugunu wuné gunat kudi gather.you.and I to.you(p1) kudi talk

nak wakweké wuné jébaaké one will.speak I about.work

<u>véknwumarék</u> <u>bakna</u> <u>tégunékwaké</u>. not.hear just about.your.standing

2 Step_n: Sequence Sentence

Wakwewuru véknwe jébaa las I.will.spèak.and hear.and work par

yagunu, you(pl).do

'All those men, you come and gather, and let me speak to you about your not heeding about work and standing doing nothing. I will speak, and you listen and work!'

Point 1: Interrogative Paragraph
Question: Series Merged Sentence

Bakna téte yaate samu just stand.and come.and what

kaké guné yo. will.you(pl).eat 4 Answer: Reason Sentence

Guna néwaa béré gaba awula your mother pluralizer in.house inside

waga radu rate sérakdo thus it.sits.and sit.and they.cook.and

<u>kaké. guné. yo</u> <u>néwaa yaapa wale las</u> you.will.eat mother father with par

yé yaate jébaa las yakaapuk go come.and work par not.do

yagunékwa bege. you.do because

5 Terminus: Simple Sentence (IAMS)

<u>Wan</u> <u>bulaa</u> <u>waga</u> <u>tébutiké</u> <u>guné</u> <u>yo</u>. focus now thus <u>you.will.finish.standing</u>

'You will just stand without working and come, and what will you eat? (Only) when there is food in the house, will your mothers sit and cook, and you will eat, because you do not go and work with your parents. So you will finish by standing with nothing.'

Point 2: Hortatory Paragraph
3.1 Motivation: Interrogative Paragraph
6 Question: Reason Sentence

Apa du yagunékwaba te big man because.you.do stand.and

te yaga pulak yaké guné yo. stand.and what like will.you.do

7 Answer: Simple Sentence (IAMS)

Wan taakwa yamarék focus woman not.do

<u>tébutiké</u> . <u>guné</u> . <u>yo</u> . you. will. finish. standing

8 Exhortation: Sequence Sentence

Jébaa yagunu véte male de work you.do.and see.and only they

taakwa mawulé yaké yo.
woman wish will.do

'Because you are adult men, you will stand and stand, and how will you manage? It is that you will finish up by not having wives. You work, and only when the women see that, will they want you.'

4 Point 3: Interrogative Paragraph 4.1 Question: Procedural Paragraph

9 Step 1: Simple Sentence (IAMS in Predicate)

Taakwa yage de yae kaadé woman how they come.and hunger

wale raké yo gunéké. with will.sit for.you

10 Step_n: Series Merged Sentence

Rate samu kaké de yo. sit.and what will.they.eat

4.2 Answer: Procedural Paragraph
11 Step 1: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Wan</u> <u>kaadé</u> <u>wale</u> <u>rapatiye</u> focus hunger with sit.in.vain.and

taakwa raapme yaage woman get.up.and run.and

yéké lé yo jébaa yakwa duké. she.will.go work doing man.to

12 Step_n: Sequence Sentence

 $\frac{\text{Yalu}}{\text{she.will.do.and}}$ $\frac{\text{méné}}{\text{you}}$ $\frac{\text{bakna}}{\text{just}}$

téké. méné. yo. you.will.stand

'How will women come and stay hungry for you? They will stay, and what will they eat? It is that a woman will not stay hungry, but she will get up and run away to a man who does work. She will do that, and you, you will just stand without a wife.'

Point 4: Procedural Paragraph

13 Step 1: Series Merged Sentence with Time Margin

and IAMS in Predicate of last clause

Mitékne jébaa yate guné nyaan well work do.and you(pl) child

taakwa kure baadi kéraado woman hold.and child they.will.bear.and

guné gayé tawuké yo. village will help

14 Step 2: Sequence Sentence with IAMS in Predicate of last clause

Yagunu baalé waasaké you.will.do.and pig dog.about

<u>véknwute</u> <u>de</u> <u>baalé</u> <u>yaakwado</u> think.and they pig care.for.and

nyaan kéraado guné baalé child they.will.bear.and you pig

<u>kutte</u> <u>guné</u> <u>baagu</u> <u>yaké</u> <u>yo</u> <u>guna</u> catch.and you feast must.make your

baadiké. child.for

15 Step_n: Sequence Sentence with IAMS in Predicate of last clause

Yagunu de mayéra you.will.do.and they spirit.figures

véké yo.

'You must work well and take women of child-bearing age as your wives, and they will give birth to children, and so you will help the village. You must do that, and they must think about pigs and dogs and look after the pigs, and when they give birth to children, you must hold a bagu feast for your children. You must do that, and they must see the spirit figures.'

7

6 Point 5: Procedural Paragraph 6.1 Step 1: Contrast Paragraph

16 Statement: Series Merged Sentence with embedded IAMS

Baalé yaakwe nak guné pig care.for.and one you

gayéba giye tukweké. yo in.village tie.and must.bake.for.them

<u>saburaké</u>. for.exchange.partner

17 Contrast: Simple Sentence with embedded IAMS

Nak guné yéwaa giké. yo. another you ring must.tie

Step_n: Series Merged Sentence with Time Margin and embedded IAMS

Yate guné sabura yéwaa do.and you(p1) exchange.partner ring

gidu véte méné yéwaa he.will.tie.and see.and you ring

jaare méné yéwaa giké. yo. take.out.and you ring will.tie

'You must look after pigs and tie up one in your village and bake it for your exchange partners.

Another you must tie up for shell rings. You must do that, and when your exchange partner ties up a pig for shell rings, you must take out your shell rings and tie up a pig for shell rings.'

Point 6: Hortatory Paragraph

19 Exhortation: Sequence Sentence with embedded
IAMS

Gayéba <u>kutdu</u> <u>méné gayéba</u> in.village he.catch.and you in.village

<u>kutké</u>. <u>yo</u>. must.catch

20 Motivation: Series Merged Sentence

Ména naawi wale waaru waatbete your peer with argue be.angry.and

waga de yo thus they do

'If he catches a pig in the village, you must catch one in the village. When you quarrel with your peer, that is what they do.'

8 21 Closure 1: Simple Sentence

Gayéna kudi wani wuné wakweyo.
village's talk closure I speak

'So I speak village talk.'

9 Conclusion: Hortatory Paragraph 22 Exhortation: Conditional Sentence

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{\text{Mit\'ek}} & \underline{\text{v\'eknwugun\'eran}} & \underline{\text{gun\'e}} & \underline{\text{you}}(\text{p1}) & \underline{\text{yak\'e}} & \underline{\text{yo}} \\ \text{if.you.hear} & \underline{\text{you}}(\text{p1}) & \underline{\text{will.do}} \end{array}.$

- 9.1 Motivation: Generic-Specific Amplification Paragraph
 - 23 Generic: Series Merged Sentence with Time Margin

WunédéknyénybayaapabéréIpreviouslyfatherpluralizer

wakwedaka véknwe waga wuné they.spoke.and hear.and thus I

yak. did

9.2 Specific: Narrative Paragraph
24 BU 1: Series Merged Sentence

Waapi kwe vaawurén baalé yam plant.and I.dug pig

yaakwawurén yate wuné de I.cared.for do.and I they

wale waatbete wuné baagu feast

<u>yak</u>. did

25 BUn: Series Merged Sentence

Yate wuné ge other.village

ge gayét other.village village.to

kwetiyaak. gave.around

'If you hear well, you must do that. When my fathers previously spoke, I paid attention and acted like that. I planted and harvested yams, and I cared for pigs, and when I was angry with people, I held a baagu feast. I acted that way, and gave to everybody.'

Post-point 1: Contrast Paragraph Statement: Sequence Sentence

Yébaalé kutdo yébaalé wild.pig they.will.catch.and wild.pig

kutké guné yo. you.will.catch

27 Contrast: Sequence Sentence

Gayé gido gayé village they.will.tie.and village

giké guné yo. you.will.tie

'When they catch a wild pig, you will catch a wild pig. When they tie a village pig, you will tie a village pig.'

Post-point 2: Contrast Paragraph Statement: Simple Sentence

Gayé baalé wan taakwana mu.
village pig that woman's thing

29 Contrast: Simple Sentence

Méné ménakun waapi bét yébaalé you yours yam and wild.pig

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'Village pigs are the concern of women. Yours (your concerns) are yams and wild pigs.'

12 30 Closure 2: Series Merged Sentence

WunékiyaakératewaniwunéwakweyoIto.diesit.andclosureIspeak

male gwalepa kudi.
only old talk

'I am about to die, and so I speak, the talk of an old man.'

Finis: Negative Paraphrase Paragraph
31 Affirmation: Simple Sentence (Fragmentary Sentence)

Yaak. finished

32 Negation: Simple Sentence (IAMS)

Tépa wakwemarék yaké. wuné. yo. again not. speak will. I. do

'That is all. I will not speak again.'

8.6 Epistolary

The Epistolary Discourse consists of an optional Salutation tagmeme, manifested by a vocative expression or Neo-Melanesian expression, followed by an obligatory Message, which may be repeated nine times and is manifested by various sentences and paragraphs, followed by or interspersed with an obligatory Appeal, which may be repeated up to five times, manifested by various sentences and paragraphs, followed by an optional Closure, manifested by a Generic-Specific Amplification Paragraph, followed by an optional Finis, manifested by a Simple Sentence, followed by an optional Blessing, which is formulaic and manifested by a Simple Sentence, Sequence Sentence or Neo-Melanesian expression, followed by an optional Farewell, manifested by a Simple Sentence or Neo-Melanesian expression, followed by an optional Signature, manifested by a name or a Simple Sentence with a name.

The Epistolary Discourse is distinguished by the greater freedom of ordering of tagmemes, the greater freedom of topic, and the distinctive Salutation, Blessing, Farewell,

Signature, Message and Appeal tagmemes.

1		
	± Signa- ture	Simple S. with name
	+ Fare- well	Simple S. Neo- Mela- nesian
	+ Blessing	Simple S. Sequence S. Neo-Mela- nesian
	+ Finis	Simple S.
	± Clos- ure	G-S Amplif. S. P.
	+ $(Appeal)^{n=5}$ + $(10s-$ + Finis + Blessing + Fare + Signaure	Simple S. Alternative S. Hortatory P. P. Co-ordinate on G-S Amplif.P. Quotation P. Interrogative P.
Epistolary Discourse	± Salu- tation + (Message) ⁿ⁼⁹	oca- Simple S. tive Sequence S. eo- Narrative P. Mela- Procedural P. nesi- Co-ordinate P. an Amplification P. G-S Amplif.P. Contrast P. Neg.Para.P. Reg.Para.P. Guotation P. Gratitude P.
Epistol	- Salu- tation	voca- tive Neo- Mela- nesi- an

Rules:

- $\mathfrak{t}_{\mathsf{o}}$ Usually many more than two occur. Appeal may be repeated up times. Message may be repeated up to nine Two tagmemes must occur. five times. Reading:
- There are no special features, except the freedom to use any Gratitude Paragraph is found only in Epistolary Linkage is by juxtaposition. tense. person, any Limitation: Discourse. 2
 - Permutation: Message and Appeal tagmemes tend to intermingle. tagmemes permute freely. 3

Discussion:

Neo-Melanesian equivalents for salutation and farewell. People who have had education tend to follow the English order of letter-writing and to use the no outside education tend to write as they would speak, with Salutation and People who have had some Epistolary Discourse is in a fluid stage.

Signature tagmemes occurring within the body of the letter and sometimes not at all. Owing to the difficulty involved in the mechanics of writing, sentences and paragraphs tend to be short, with some repetition of theme.

Epistolary Discourse is used in letter writing. It has not been observed embedded in other discourse, nor does it take other discourse embedded in itself.

Examples of Salutation, Blessing and Farewell tagmemes are given below. This is followed by a table showing a summary of six discourse examples, followed by one example written out in full.

Examples:

Salutation

vocative Ao Pet Oh, Pat'

Nyéné you(f s) Pet 'You, Pat'

Nyéna you.vocative Pet 'You! Pat'

Neo-Melanesian $\frac{\text{Dir}}{\text{dear}}$ $\frac{\text{Pet}}{\text{Pat}}$ 'Dear Pat'

Blessing

Formulaic

Simple Sentence

Got well véké.dé.yo nyénéké.concerning.you(f s)

'May God watch over you well.'

Sequence Sentence

Got védu miték raké. nyéné. yo. dod he.will.see.and well you.will.sit

'May God watch and so you will stay well.'

Farewell

Simple Sentence

Mé ranyénu. 'You stay!'
imp you.stay

Simple Sentence (with embedded Series Merged Sentence)

Mé kure yaa nyéna taaba kuttu.
imp hold.and come your hand we(d).will.hold

'Let us two shake hands.'

Neo-Melanesian

Gutnait.
good.night

'Good night'

In the table opposite, the asterisk (*) indicates that tagmemes are in different order from that shown on the table. In Discourse 1, Appeal 1 precedes Message 2. In Discourse 2, Appeal 1 precedes Message 3. In Discourse 4, Appeals 1, 2 and 3 precede Message 2, Signature occurs twice, once embedded in Message 1 and then again preceding Farewell. In Discourse 5, the Salutation is embedded in Appeal 1, the order of nuclear tagmemes is Message 1, Appeals 1, 2 and 3, Messages 2 and 3, Appeals 4 and 5, followed by Signature and then Farewell. Signature tagmeme also occurs as the first tagmeme in the discourse. In Discourse 6, Salutation is embedded in Message 1 and Signature is also embedded in Message 1.

Examples: Epistolary Discourse

Tagmemes	Discourse 1	Discourse 2	2 Discourse 3 Discourse 4 Discourse	Discourse 4	70	Discourse 6
Salutation	vocative	vocative	vocative	vocative	*vocative	*vocative
essage 1	14	Simple S.	Narr.P.			*Gratitude P.
Message 2		Co-ord P.	Simple S.	*Simple S.	*Quotation P.	Amplif.P.
Message 3	Contrast P.	*Simple S.	Narr.P.		Quotation P	Quotation P.
Message 4			G-S Amplif. P.			Quotation P.
Message 5			Simple S.			Quotation P.
Message 6						
Message 7			Simple S.			
Message 8			Simple S.			
Message 9			Contrast P.			
Appeal 1	*Hort.P.	*Hort.P.		*Quotation P	*Quotation P	Co-ord P.
Appeal 2				Quotation P.Quotation		P. Hort. P.
				Interrog.P.	1	
Appeal 4					G-S Amplif. P.	
Appeal 5					Simple S.	
Closure						
Finis	Simple S.	Simple S.	Simple S.			
Blessing	Sequence S.	Sequence S.	Simple S.			
Farewell				*Simple S.	*Simple S. (2)	Simple S.
Signature name	пате		пате	*Simple S.	*Simple S.	*пате

a Closure tagmeme and this example was Only one example has been observed of not used in the above table.

Example: 'A Letter from a Friend'

This Epistolary Discourse consists of a Salutation, three Messages, three Appeals, Finis, Blessing and Signature.

Salutation: Vocative

 $\frac{\text{Ao}}{\text{Oh}} \quad \frac{\text{Pet}}{\text{Pat}}$

Message 1: Narrative Paragraph1.1 BU 1: Amplification Paragraph

1 Text: Simple Sentence

Nyéna nyéga wunébu kéraak. your paper I.have received

2 Amplification: Simple Sentence

Disemba 23 de wuné kéraak December 23 day I received

nyéna nyéga. your paper

3 BUn: Series Merged Sentence

<u>Kérae</u> <u>vétakne</u> <u>bulaa</u> <u>26</u> <u>de</u> received.and seen.and now 26 day

wuné kaato repay

'Oh Pat, I have received your letter. On December 23, I received your letter. I received it, and now on the 26th, I am replying to it.'

Message 2: Negative Paraphrase Paragraph
4 Affirmation: Simple Sentence

Bulaa wuna kém naané Kabébapé now my family we Kambembape

du taakwa akwi Nyamikém du taakwa man woman all Nyamikum man woman

miték male naané ro. well sit

5 Negation: Simple Sentence

Las kaapuk kiyakiya yanakwa. par not sickness we.do

'Now my family, all of us Kambembape people and the Nyamikum people, we are all well. Nobody is sick.'

Appeal 1: Quotation Paragraph
Quotation Formula: Simple Sentence

Nyénat wuné waato.

I ask

3.1 Quotation: Co-ordinate Paragraph7 Co-ordinate 1: Simple Sentence

Nyéné miték nyéné ro you well you sit

8 Co-ordinate 2: Simple Sentence

Awusi wawo miték 1é ro. Elsie also well she sits

'I ask you. You, are you well? Elsie also, is she well?'

4 Appeal 2: Hortatory Paragraph 9 Setting: Series Merged Sentence

Naané akwi Sade lotu yate we all' Sunday church do.and

Gorét naané wakweyo nyénéké.
to.God we speak about.you

10 Exhortation: Sequence Sentence

nyéna néwaa Awusi wale.
your mother Elsie with

'We each Sunday have a church service and speak to God about you. God will watch and so you and your mother, Elsie, will stay well.'

5 Appeal 3: Hortatory Paragraph
5.1 Motivation: Quotation Paragraph

11 Quote Formula: Simple Sentence

Nyénat wuné waato.

5.2 Quotation: Quotation Paragraph
12 Quotation Formula: Simple Sentence

Nyéna kémét mé waata your family imp ask

13 Quotation: Alternative Sentence

<u>Du</u> <u>taakwa</u> <u>las</u> <u>wunéké</u> <u>nyéga</u> man woman par for.me paper

<u>kaviké. dek</u> <u>kapu kaapuk</u> they.like.to.write or not

14 Exhortation: Conditional Sentence

Mawulé yadaran deku yé wish if they do their name

wakwenyénu you.will.speak.and wuné deké nyéga paper

<u>kaviké</u>. <u>yo</u>. must.write

'I ask you. You ask your family. Would somebody like to write to me or not? If they would like to, you tell me their names, and I must write to them.'

6 15 Message 3: Sequence Sentence

WunanyégakwayényénékaKwapalikkuremypaperyou.gave.andKwapalikheld.and

<u>yaatiyaadék</u> <u>mawulat</u> <u>wuné</u> <u>kapére</u> came.for.me.and thought I very.much

yo nyénéké. do for.you

'You gave my letter to him, and Kwapalik brought it to me, and now I am pleased with you.'

7 16 Finis: Simple Sentence

<u>Wuna</u> <u>kudi</u> <u>yaakwak</u>. my talk finished

8 17 Blessing: Simple Sentence (IAMS)

Got well véké. dé. yo nyénéké. over.you

'My talk is finished. God will watch well over you.'

Signature: name

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