TIMBE GRAMMAR SKETCH

COHESION IN TIMBE TEXTS

M.Foster

1981

		Page number
Defin	itions	i
Abbre	eviations	i
1.0	Introduction	1
2.0	Demonstratives	2
	2.1 Demonstratives based on -i- this	3
	2.2 Demonstratives based on -a- 'that'	5
	2.3 Demonstratives used on any one participant line	9
3.0	Conjunctions - affixed	10
	3.1 Ama	11
	3.1.1 Noun Phrase + ama	11
	3.1.2 Clause + âmâ	12
	3.1.3 Medial aspect + ama	13
	3.1.4 Final verb + ama	14
	3.2 Kae 'also'	15
	3.2.1 Noun Phrase + kae	15
	3.2.2 Clause + kae	16
	3.3 <u>Gat</u> 'possessive'	16
	Conclusion	17
4.0	Stripped down verbs	17
	Conclusion	19
5.0	Joining clauses using medial verbs	20
	Conclusion	23
	Table 1 A summary of verb suffixes which indicate DR, and their associated	
	morphophonemics	24

				Page	number	
6.0	Join	ng clauses by participa	nt sharing		25	
	Conc	u sion			28	
7.0	Focu	Unit			29	
	Conc	usion			38	
8.0	Sent	nces			40	
	8.1	Head-Tail-Linkage, cont	inuant		40	
		8.1.1 Head-Tail-Linkag	e, medial verb		43	
		8.1.2 Head-Tail-Linkag	e, final verb		45	
	8.2	Head-Tail-Linkage + new	information		47	
	8.3	Head-Tail-Linkage, disc	ontinuant		51	
	8.4 Sentences functioning in constructs					
	8.5		5 5			
		8.5.1 Folk tales and r	narratives		55	
		8.5.2 Sentence length description of	in letters and habitual actions		59	
	8.6	Joining Sentences			59	
	8.7	Appendix			60	
		Graph 1	faciı	ng page	61	
		Graph 2	11	11	63	
		Graph 3	ir	11	64	
		Graph 4	11	T†	65	
		Graph 5	ti	11	67	
		Graph 6	t t	,II	68	
		Graph 7	**		70	
		Graph 8	!!	ţ1	71	

				Page Number
9.0	Paragr	aphs		72
10.0	Cohesi	on		74
	10.1	Cohesion within folk tales a historical accounts	and	74
		10.1.1 Participant identifi	cation	75
	10.2	Cohesion within letters		80
11.0		nguistic features and statis exts analysed	stics of	83
	11.1	Folk tales		83
		11.1.1 Verb tense		83
		11.1.2 Sentence length		86
		11.1.3 Clause statistics		87
		11.1.4 Noun Phrases		92
	11.2	Oral historical narrative		93
		11.2.1 Verb tense		93
		11.2.2 Sentence length		93
		11.2.3 Clause statistics a	nd Noun Phrases	94
	11.3	Spoken proceedural texts		95
		11.3.1 Verb tense		95
		11.3.2 Sentence length		96
		11.3.3 Clause statistics a	nd Noun Phrase	96
	11.4	Letters		9 7
		11.4.1 Verb tenses		97
		11.4.2 Sentence length		98
		11 b 3 Claure etatistics		98

				Page	number
	11.5	Written	history		102
		11.5.1	Verb tense		102
		11.5.2	Sentence length		102
		11.5.3	Clause statistics		103
	11.6	Written	folk tales		103
	Conclu	ısions			104
	Chart	1		facing page	105
	Key to	chart 1			105
2.0	Topica	alisation	ı		106

Definitions

Agent. This case is that of a Noun Phrase bearing the Agentive marker $-\underline{\mathbf{ne}}$.

Actor. This case is the Subject of either transitive or intransitive verb, and does not manifest the Agentive marker -ne.

Patient. This case is the object Noun Phrase of a transitive verb.

Abbreviations

DR Medial verb of different referent.

SR Medial verb of the same referent.

s.d.v. Stripped down verb.

FV Final verb.

o.f.u. Out of focus unit.

H.T.L. Head tail linkage.

A description of the cohesion and style of various Timbe texts.

1.0 Introduction

The Timbe language is spoken by about 11,900 people on the north side of Mount Sarawaget in the Huon Peninsula of Papua New Guinea.

This present study is limited to monologues, that is letters, recorded stories and written texts. The relationships between clauses has been partially described in my Timbe Grammar Essentials, 1972. We will confine ourselves in this present paper to discoveries made during the 1979 workshop. Seven texts were charted fully and the findings were then checked against twenty further texts, making 375 pages, some pages of 100 words or more.

The types of texts were: a) Spoken: these consisted of traditional stories, historical accounts, and proceedural texts, such as how to make gardens.

b) Written: these were personal histories, old stories and letters.

Conclusions were drawn regarding:

- (i) The function of demonstratives in cohesion.
- (ii) How cohesion is maintained by the SR (same referent ending) on verbs and how one noun phrase may refer to several verb phrases.
 - (iii) How background information is signalled in texts.
 - (iv) The role of Head-Tail Linkage.
 - (v) How sentence length contributes to style.
 - (vi) How paragraphs are organised.
 - (vii) The difference in style between the types of texts.
 - (viii) The function of the Agentive Marker at the discourse level.

2.0 Demonstratives

In the Timbe Grammar Essentials 1972, demonstratives were briefly described, along with adjectives. However, demonstratives and pronouns are known to contribute to the cohesion and style of a discourse so a fuller description of certain demonstratives is given here.

Timbe demonstratives are built round two morphemes: $-\underline{i}$ - 'this, here', and $-\underline{a}$ - 'that, there'. These forms are found unbound

eg.2.1 an example of i 'this'

...and they said: "Who is this man?"...'

In this example <u>i</u> 'this' is found only within speech in the texts examined.

eg.2.2 an example of a 'that'

'..and we bent our heads down because of that heavy rain and we kept on coming down.'

<u>a</u> 'that' is simply referring to the rain previously mentioned in the text. It is always found as having reference to previous props in a discourse. It is anaphoric in its reference.

Some Timbe demonstratives are found following clauses, in these instances they indicate the presence of a Relative clause.

eg. 2.3

The unit which functions here as a Youn Phrase, i.e. na kaim ninep

'he poured for me' is actually two clauses, both relative to the main sentence (here not shown). For this reason, we prefer to use the phrase: Single Actor String (SAS) for strings of clauses which can be made relative to the main sentence by a demonstrative. An SAS shows one Actor or group of Actors (or Agent/Agents) acting over several clauses. This can either be on the Event line, when it is that Actor or Actors who are grammatically signalled as in focus, or can be out of focus and we call it an Out of Focus unit (ofa).

- 2.1 Demonstratives based on -i- 'this'.
 - (i) <u>ire</u> 'this way, this one.'

eg. 2.4

...egon.. bathe kelene ire.. igim ..haru nep..
...in the house..finger flesh this one.. biting... she chewed..
While in the house the old woman bit this finger of the boy...

In the above example, <u>Ire</u> 'this one' operates anaphorically back to <u>bâtne</u> 'finger'. This demonstrative can refer anaphorically to units larger than a noun or noun phrase.

eg.2.5 ire 'this' at the end of a letter.

Den ire haupe dowak katmena ...ekbean.

Speech this answer quickly you putting DR... I will see.

'Answer this letter quickly and I will read it when it comes.'

Here <u>ire</u> 'this' refers to the speech written as a letter. In

proceedural texts, <u>ire</u> starts off the text and refers cataphorically
to what is subsequently spoken.

eg 2.6 ire 'this' before a description of how to make gardens.

Ire and den kid makberan, di gat den.

This however speech a I will say, work for speech.

The next thing I want to say is about our garden work.

Ire 'this' referring to the whole of the discourse.

(ii) ima 'this speech or story about to be related'
ima refers back in a letter to the context of what has been discussed.
eg.2.7

Ima in a letter referring anaphorically.

Mick gala bukuran ima nune alepnaet bo.
Mick friend good this my good+possessive no.

'Mick my friend, what I have written is not my own choice.'

Ima 'this' is composed of I 'this' and ma 'verb ending for same referent.' It relates two grammatical units in a stative relationship to one another. In the example above, it relates the text (the letter) previously written with the phrase nune alephaet bo 'not my own choice.' Ama see 2.2 (iii) functions similarly. eg. 2.8

Da ima den sia makbe.
But this speech a I must say.
'I now tell you this.'

Here Ima acts cataphorically referring to the whole of the following paragraph. (See chapter 10).

(iii) Hin 'like this'

In conversation, this demonstrative is followed by action on the part of the speaker, but in texts it usually refers cataphorically to a string of speech which follows. . 2.0 Hin introducing speech.

...bam katma hin dan "O Timbe tirik ...coming back pausing this I said "Oh Timbe bridge

baleap." dan.
is broken." I said.

'I hurried back and told them, "The Timbe bridge has fallen down."

There is an extension of this function to refer to the contents of a letter which follows:

eg. 2.10 Hin introducing a letter.

Gala na hin maktere nanga. Friend I this say DR you must hear.

'My friend, please take note of what I am about to write.'

(iv) <u>Ina</u> 'this patient or prop previously referred to.'

This demonstrative is never used for an agent, and refers to someone or something central to the theme of the text.

eg. 2.11 Ina reintroducing an actor.

luak samba ina nangam katma ...gam...
man old this one hearing pausing....coming...

'The old man heard the song and came up the hill.

eg. 2.12

...nengum nemap ina ...dam. ...stabbing us he habitually eats this onesaying.

"'Oh, this is the man who has stabbed and eaten so many of us,"they said!

- 2.2 Demonstratives based on -a- that.
- (i) Are 'that actor previously referred to.'

Are does not refer to a participant in a text on its first occurrence.

eg. 2.13 Are reintroducing a patient.

umilin are mondo... om pitimaen.
grass that dying DR...burning we habitually gather.

'When the grass is dead, we gather it and burn it.'

When are is to refer to an agent, it takes the agentive marker I-ne/ $\left\{-\frac{kne}{2}\right\}$.

eg. 2.14 Arekne reintroducing an actor as agent.

bain luak ambae arekne ama umilin oremtogomai.
orait men women those however grass cutting.....they come.
'and next all those people cut the grass..then come home.'

Arekne also signals thematic props which are non-agentive.

eg. 2.15 Arekne on an important non-agent.

pelak arekne gam gam ingon arimbo insect that one going down there it went DR and that insect went down the river and....'

This phenomenon is discussed in chapter 12.

eg. 2.16 Are 'that one'

papia kalen are togoep.
paper you put, final verb distant past that one has come.
'I got your letter.'

The relative clause <u>papia kalen</u> 'paper you <u>put</u> distant past.' utilises a final verb. This enables the tense of the relative clause to be in focus, i.e., the letter he received arrived some time before he wrote this one. When the tense is not in focus, or the action is continuing at the time of the narration, the DR ending is used. See eg. 2.17.

eg. 2.17

ata karam yembi arekne
road chopping they slept DR those + agent
those people were making the road.

In this case, the demonstrative are is in the Agentive case. The above is two clauses as a single construct, the following example is an illustration of a single focus unit construct.

eg. 2.18 Arekne with single focus unit construct.

kinma ge tembe lawin kia karambo gep. standing came black palm tree a he chopping DR it fell.

Arekne nandup hawim...
That one+Agent k. arrow shaping...

'and he chopped down a black palm, from which he shaped many kinds of arrows.'

The antecedent here is the black palm, and the agentive marker is in this case denoting the instrument. i.e. It was from the black palm he cut down that he shaped and made. Also this agentive marker shows that this black palm, and subsequently the arrows, have control over the discourse. (see chapter 12).

- (ii) Ain 'there'. In speech, and occasionally in letters, ain is locative in function. In example 2.19, it functions as an attribute of a locative phrase.
- eg. 2.19 ain in a letter, referring to the location of the reader.
 - ...togom Hong Kong ain ekben. ...coming Hong Kong there you will see.

'When you get to Hong Kong look out for one. '

Ain has the function of making locative constructs.

eg. 2.20

umen bandinan kendam bikne bikne agep k.bird heaped earth+locative working side side it was

ama ain benne ain hangoep.
given there therefore there he buried him.

'He buried him where the umen bird had dug up heaps of earth.'

The clause construct umen....agep ana... is a relative clause functioning as a locative noun phrase as indicated by the demonstrative ain. The past tense agep 'it was' shows that the bird had dug the earth into heaps previously to the event in the narrative. The next example shows ain affixed to a clause where the verb is

terminated by SR suffix.

eg. 2.21

Opman humo sia ikineak kendam ain tat mandiminep.
Man's house large a by himself working there he sat+habitual+
'He lived where he was making himself a house.'

continual.

In this example, the verb is not suffixed with tense and mode, since the man has not completed his house. Nor can it take the DR, since this would suggest some other person was making the house than the one who was staying there.

- (iii) Ama 'that'. The use of this word is in conjoining phrases in a stative relationship.
- eg. 2.22 Ama relating two noun phrases.

Na ama nanan balensia....
I that+verb aspect child small....

'and when I was a small child ... '

In 2.1 (ii) we saw how ima was composed of i 'this'+ma SR verb suffix. Ama is similarly composed of a 'that' +ma SR verb suffix. It can conjoin large units in a stative relationship.

Gâne puli K50.00 kalen ama in ba ingon you+agent money K50.00 you put that is here to leave down

Lae geweangat Lae I will go+possessive.

'The K50 you sent is for when I go from here to Lae.'

Ama is thus holding two clauses in a stative relationship. The units so conjoined can exceed one clause in length.

eg. 22.4 Ama 'that one is this'

nanan humo meyekmineandat ama sait sailak akma child large they got them they did this garden magic_only doing

agam tatbela. climbing they sit.

'...all the children they bore ran wild and took too much interest in magic.'

The first unit, nanan humo meyekwineandat, is one clause, but the second unit, sait sailak akma agam tatbela, is three clauses.

Larger units, semetimes whole discourses, can be referred to by ama, see eg. 2.25.

eg. 2.25

'That is what I have to say.'

Here and points anaphorically to the whole of the previous discourse.

(iv) Hain 'like that'.

Hain refers anaphorically to a string of speech or song.

eg. 2.26 Hain referring to a string of speech.

'They wished that their brother would come quickly.'

<u>Hain</u> also replaces large sections of a story or text which is merely repetition.

eg. 2.27 Hain replacing repetition.

Lauane hainak maktan hainak akma.

The second son like-only I have said like-only he did.

'The second son did the same as I have just said that the first son did.'

In the above example, hain is affixed to ak 'only', but this does not invalidate the example. -ak here shows that the second son did exactly as had been previously related.

2.3 Demonstratives used on any one participant line.

The first reference to a participant is usually by means of the demonstrative kia 'a, one from many'.

eg 2,28

...tu nanan kia hagam...
water child a collecting
'A child got some water.'

Notice that although the verb hagam has actor and object, the demonstrative is kia, not kiane, and the order is: object, subject, verb. This shows that the actor is not prominent, this phenomenon is discussed at length in chapter 12.

Kiane is only used for a new participant who is agent for any one of the few verbs which have a compulsory agent.

eg 2.29 Kiane 'agent of verb' wan 'to give'.

nanan kianeligim warep. child a+agentbroke gave it to him.

'The child broke some sugar cane and gave him some.'

So that we can say kia is not thematic, later references bring the participant into the theme, then he is referred to by ina, are, a, or arekne, depending on focus or function. This is further discussed in chapter, on cohesion.

Occasionally, participants are referred to by pronouns, this too is discussed in chapter 10.

3.0 Conjunctions - affixed.

Conjunctions which function on the sentence level are described in chapter 8. The conjunctions we will consider here are particles which appear affixed on noun phrases and on clauses. In both instances, they have a cohesive influence, extending beyond the affixed clause. There are four affixes which have this co-joining property:

ama 'however, bracket this off'.

aka 'in turn'

ika 'in turn'

kae this one too!.

There is a fifth affix, similar in function to these four: $\frac{1}{1}$ 'possession'.

We shall consider the more important of these.

3.1 <u>Âmâ</u>

3.1.1 Noun Phrase + ama.

We consider first the function of the particle on the noun phrase, then extrapolate its meaning onto those occasions when it is affixed to clauses.

Ama affixed to Noun Phrase.

Here ama contrasts one Noun Phrase with a previous Noun Phrase.

eg 3.1

Ye Kulun sop gain hinan ariwai? Nama You Kulun time when like that are you going? I+ama

dap meawakto ama alepne togowean.
road it appears when good I will come.

'When are you going to Kulun? I, on the other hand, have to wait for an opportunity to come to you.'

Here the particle contrasts the Noun Phrase Subject of the second sentence with the first, so its cohesive influence is anaphoric.

3.1.2 Clause + ama.

When affixed to a clause, ama subordinates the affixed clause to the following clause.

eg 3.2 Ama affixed to clause.

takne mem gembo ama hikom olomma...
rope holding she came DR given tying pulling...
They pulled him down with the rope she brought...

Here the first clause: take mem gembo 'she brought a rope' (actually it is two clauses, thus we prefer the term 'focus unit') is made subordinate to the following clauses with and, a good translation here being 'when' or 'given'. The different reference aspect of the verb gembo 'she came down DR' indicates that new actors take over in the following clauses. Also, the alternative form of the verb would have to be a final verb, that is, it would display tense, mode, and aspect.

In this instance, tense and mode are not specified, however, in the next example the tense aspect is explicit, and the change of reference marking is not necessary.

eg. 3.3 Âmâ affixed to clause with final verb.

Gâlu waiwerân dâep âmâ ari gâlu "K. vegetable I will get." he gaid given going k. vegetable waim.....

'He said "I will get some food.", and then, after that, he went and collected some gâlu....'

The first clause, "Gâlu waiwerân" dâep, 'He said"I will collect gâlu."', is made subordinate to the following clauses, (i.e. it is given) by the use of the suffix âmâ (for orthographic reasons we write it as a separate word). Since both the medial suffixes and tense mode and person suffixes are of the same order (see Timbe grammar essentials, 1972) on Timbe verbs, we cannot affix both medial and final aspects on the same verb.

In the following examples, we will look at medial then final verbs respectively.

3.1.3 Medial aspect + âmâ.

(i) Same reference.

eg. 3.4 <u>ârim</u> <u>âmâ</u> yân hâpu heonmâ <u>âmâ</u> going SR + given nothing bamboo cutting + given

horat katmaen.
marks we habitually put.

'We go and then divide up the land.'

âmâ 'given' breaks the clauses so that each action is separated from the following clause. If the âmâ was missing, then the free translation would reflect a more continuous aspect: 'going and cutting the bamboo, we divide up the land.'

However, with this <u>âmâ</u> present, we indicate the the following aspect depends upon what goes before, this is reflected in the free translation given above.

(ii) Different reference.

With different reference, the affixed string of clauses are of a different reference to what follows.

eg 3.5 "Âmbâe arinero." dâmbi âmâ âmbâe ...arimbi...
"Women go" they saying DR+ 'given' women...going DR
'When the men sing out that the women must leave,
then they go.'

Here <u>âmâ</u> 'given' shows that the second clause is dependant on the first, i.e., the women go after they have been told to go. The DR indicates the difference in referents between the clause before <u>âmâ</u> and the clause following <u>âmâ</u>.

3.1.4 Final verb + amâ.

When a final verb is affixed, the affixed string of clauses is subordinate to the following clauses. Examples of ama affixed onto verbs of different tenses follow.

(i) Past tense.

eg 3.6 past tense + âmâ

Waim talep \$ma ambennande yonak ekma.

picking he satFV then his wife hidden watching

'When he went and collected food, his wife watched.'

The 'given' information in the above example is 'he collected food'. There is no DR, since the fact that he collected food does not initiate the second event.

eg 3.7 gem gawerâm âmâ yain akbop dâm going come-say 'given' how be-subjunctive saying 'When you want to leave and enter how will you do it?' Âmâ limits the tense mode aspect of the verb to that clause. In the above example, if âmâ were absent, then the subjunctive would also operate on gawerâm, and a free translation would then be: 'How can you want to leave and enter.'

(iii) Distant future.

eg 3.8 Dâ dâp bo meawakbeap âmâ bo togowean.
But road not appearing then not I will come.

'If there is no way to come then I will not come.'
In the above example, ama brackets off the effect of bo
'negative!. Normally, negative extends backward and forward
whenever there are medial verbs. The second thing to notice
is that the tense aspect of the subordinate clauses is
explicit. In eg 3.7, the desiring aspect of gaweram
'wanting to come' and in eg 3.8 the future aspect of
meawakbeap 'It will appear', both aspects are required in
their respective clauses, and no further.

3.2 Kae 'also'

3.2.1 Noun Phrase + Kae

We look to the noun phrase to see the meaning of $\underline{\text{kae}}$, then extrapolate to the subordinate clauses.

eg 3.9 "Gâ kae om nemenâ hain aktâp me?"
"You also cooking eating DR the same it is or what?"

dâmbi "Nâ kae hainâk." dâm munen yengim... saying DR "I also the same." saying SR lying to themSR 'What happens to you when you cook and eat your food, do you get a bitter taste like we do?" they asked. "Yes." he lied. "I get just the Same."

Thus kae includes that noun phrase in with others operating on adjacent clauses.

3.2.2 Clause + kae

Only one example has been found.

eg 3.18 Kâkâlepne erâre kae ditâp....

Long ones I shot DR while he shot at me are broke....

'I shot long arrows(inexchange for his) but they broke.'

Thus kae includes the affixed clause in with adjacent clauses.

3.3 Gât 'possession'

This suffix was considered in the Timbe grammar essentials 1972. We consider it here because of its subordinating and cohesive effect when affixed to clauses. First, however, we will consider its function on the noun phrase.

eg. 3.11 "Nen gât meme nenne... ekbât?" dâyei.
"We + possessive mother ours... have youseen?" they said.
'Have you seen our mother?" they asked.'

When affixed to clauses, the clause functions as an adverbial phrase within the predicate.

eg 3.12 <u>Ito hambowop</u> <u>gât ye arinet. Net</u>
bags must not get wet (subj) <u>Tor</u> you must go. We two
bâine...
last...

'You go now so that the bags will not get wet. We will come on later.'

Although gât has no cohesive property when affixed onto noun phrases, it has a cohesive and subordinating effect when affixed to clauses. In this example, it restricts the

subjunctive mode to the first clause, and does not allow the command mode to have an effect backwards either.

Conclusion: There is a principle operating with those affixed conjunctions which are found in noun phrases: that when they operate on the clause level, they have a similar function on that level, between two clauses, rather than between two noun phrases.

4.0 Stripped down verbs. (s.d.v.)

These have been described in the Timbe grammar essentials, 1972, as Positional type verb phrases. That is, they were considered part of a following verb to make up a Positional type verb phrase.

- eg 4.1 mem ba lugu aktere.
 holding leave s.d.v. filling for myself DR.
 'I held the bag and came to fill for myself.'

 In this example, the s.d.v. ba has a purpose aspect, i.e.
 'I came to fill.' This same purpose aspect is seen in the next two examples.
- eg. 4.2 sot... mem togo nengiyei.
 food... holding come s.d.v. they gave to us.
 'They came to bring us food.'
- eg 4.3 Yâkne togo tato...

 She <u>came s.d.v.</u> sat DR...

 'She came and sat close by...'

In 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3, the s.d.v. is associated with stative verbs, but several stripped down verbs can string out

in a row. They are now considered as separate verbs of intent conjoining several clauses of intent with one non s.d.v. which occurs later in the sentence.

eg 4.4 ge iki gokaweronaet ba
to descend s.d.v. kind rat to leave s.d.v.

duki kalakbotnaet ba aregen
inscet kind of to leave s.d.v. over there

manmandininep. she lived continuously.

'She hunted for insects, so moved about over there.'

The above example is with a stative verb, man- 'she lived',
but the two directions of the s.d.v.s, ge 'to descend', and
ba 'to leave', make it difficult to assign a positional aspect
to the whole unit. With a transitive verb, the positional
aspect is not as important as the intent of the clause
containing the s.d.v.

eg 4.5 ge mem nembenaet arim...

to descend s.d.v. holding SR for eating going...

'He descended to get something to eat...'

Another example where the transitive verb has an object illustrates the difficulty of considering the s.d.v. as part of the verb which follows.

eg 4.6 Hat ari egon uligi kom ...
Forest to go s.d.v. up there house making...

'He went into the forest to make a house...'

The locative and object interpose between the s.d.v. and the next verb, as shown in eg 4.6.

We now consider the s.d.v. as functioning as head of its own clause of reason aspect for the clause which follows. When several s.d.v. clauses conjoin, they all function similarly to one independent clause which gives the reason

for the numerous subordinate clauses.

eg 4.7 <u>âgâ</u> <u>mâron gawa</u> <u>kâlegen âgâ</u> <u>to climb s.d.v. cape barkcloth inside <u>to climb</u> s.d.v.</u>

talep...

'She climbed up to get inside the bark cape.'

The following example has four s.d.v. clauses, all subordinate to one independent clause.

eg 4.8 <u>Higendâ ba</u> <u>Den Dewarâyeon amâ</u> <u>Higendâ to leave s.d.v.</u> Den Diwarayeon that is

ba Mâkâ Tunân ba âgâ go leave s.d.v. Mâkâ Tunân to leave s.d.v. to climb s.d.v.

Gotowan agam.... Gotowan climbing SR...

'To climb up to Gotowân, we went by Higendâ, Den Diwarâyeon, and by Tupân.'

Conclusion.

Stripped down verbs in Timbe join the clause in which they function to the following independant clause; frequently there are several such clauses before the independant clause. It may be that s.d.v. in Timbe are verbs that have lost some of their verb aspect and take on a post positional aspect. For example, the verb ba 'to leave', when found without suffixes, becomes a suffix to the demonstratives. eg are-ba 'that-from', ain-ba 'there-from'.

It is suspected that each verb which can be found in this form loses a differing amount of 'verbness', and a continuoum results, with ba being most prepositional, and verbs like togo 'to come' being most verbal, since

the difference between togo nengiyei'they came to give us.' (eg 4.2), and togom nengiyei 'they coming SR gave us.' is very slight. This aspect of s.d.v. needs more investigation.

5.0 Joining clauses using medial verbs.

The most frequent way of conjoining clauses is by the use of medial verbs. The verb endingmost frequently encountered in any form of text is /-mâ/ 'medial verb SR'. Verbs thus suffixed are considered co-ordinate with the last verb in that focus unit. A focus unit is a string of clauses of medial SR verbs, terminated by either a medial verb DR, or by a final verb corresponding to the actor considered as the focus of that Focus unit. This definition has to be worded like this, since within any one focus unit, there may be subordinate strings of clauses of lower focus, see chapter 7

We will consider in this chapter only those focus units acting on the Theme line, i.e., the highest focus.

eg 5.1 Medial verbs SR, equal focus.

ekmâ biken hâtikom âgâm... seeing SR other side crossing SR climbing SR...

'She seeing him, she crossed the river and climbing...'
In this example, $\sqrt{m\hat{a}}$ or $\left\{-\underline{m}\right\}$ indicates that this clause and the following clause have the same actor, who is indicated

by the last verb in the focus unit, and sometimes by a noun phrase found somewhere in the string of clauses.

There are deviations from this rule, see chapter 7.

We now consider medial DR. All the suffixes and their associated morphophonemics are outlined in the Timbe grammar essentials, 1972, and are summarised in table 1, page 24of this paper.

eg 5.2 first person singular

wan kiâ gere nuguwop.

I going down DR he must not kill me. 'He might be lying and kill me. I had better not go down.' Each of the three clauses in eg 5.2 are joined using medial DR. The first clause: Henindo 'he lying DR', has the third person singular medial DR ending (see eg 5.4) -do, this cojoins this clause with the following. All else being equal, this form of cohesion signals that the two clauses so joined are of equal focus (see chapters 7 and 8 for exceptions) The next two clauses, wan kia gere 'what do I go down DR?' and nuguwop 'he must not kill me', are joined by virtue of the first person medial DR ending $\langle -\mathtt{re} \rangle$. Again we expect equal focus on the two clauses. Also, the last clause is subjunctive, and this mood acts anaphorically throughout the three clauses. In fact, with clauses and groups of clauses cojoined by medial verbs of either referent, the mode, tense and aspect of the final verb is anaphorically referred to the nearest affixed conjuction. see 2.0.

eg 5.3 second person singular

Sop siâ makmenâ nângâwe. time a you speak <u>DR</u> I must know. 'Tell me that time.'

Here (eg 5.3) again are two clauses of equal focus, and the command mode on the last clause reaches back to the first clause. The two clauses are conjoined by the second person singular DR morpheme /-menâ/.

eg 5.4 third person singular.

Ambâle arekye âgâm penâ ando meakmâ

Woman that + agent climbing SR joined him DR holding SR
âgâm kinbela haundo....

climbing SR they 2 standing DR it broke DR

'That woman went and joined him and they held eachother
and the day broke...'

The third person singular DR \(-\frac{do}\) has already been introduced (eg 5.2). It joins the two strings of clauses \(\text{Ambale....} \)

pen\(\text{a ando} \) and \(\text{meakma...kinbela.} \) in eg 5.4. The tense is carried backward from the final verb which is not shown in the example. Again these two strings are of equal focus.

Note the medial SR ending on \(\text{agam} \) and \(\text{meakma} \text{a} \) cojoining these clauses with what follows. (see eg 5.1) Note also the medial DR is anaphoric. All previous verbs of medial SR take their person and number from the medial DR (or the final verb) which ends the string. After a verb suffixed by a medial DR, a new Agent / Actor, etc. takes over, except in cases where there is a shift in focus (chapter 7).

Conclusion

Cohesion between clauses in Timbe text depends on many factors, but the 'strongest' and most frequently used method is by the medial verb SR. In one string of clauses, all referring to the one Actor, there are 16 clauses, 13 of them medial SR, cohesion being maintained throughout these clauses by the fact that they are dependent on the final verb in the string for person, and the final verb in the sentence for mode and tense. Thus mode and tense in the final verb refers anaphorically to all previous classes of SR aspect.

Unless there is a marking to the contrary, medial verbs are strung together in chronological and logical order. There is also an implied cause-effect between clauses joined by medial verbs DR. In eg 5.3, where makmenâ 'you speak DR' produces the effect nângâwe 'I will (must) know'. In eg 5.4, penâ ando 'she joined him DR' causes meakmâ 'they held eachother.'.

Table 1

A summary of verb suffixes which indicate DR, and their associated morphophonemics.

	·——			
	THIRD	/- <u>to</u> / - <u>to</u> - <u>do</u> - <u>nbo</u>	/- <u>bela</u> /	/ <u>-bi</u> /
PERSON	SECOND	/ <u>-menâ</u> /	/- <u>bela/</u>	/ <u>-bi</u> /
	FIRST	/- <u>tere/ -tere</u> - <u>dere</u> - <u>re</u>	/-tetne/ -tetne -detne -etne	/-tenne/tenne -denne -enne
		SINGULAR	DUAĽ	PLURAL
			NUYBER	

6.0 Joining clauses by participant sharing.

This form of conjoining clauses is a semantic device reflected in the units discussed so far. However, it contributes significantly within its own right, even though it is often reflected in the medial verb. Simply, it is that Actors, agents, etc., keep on being actors until the end of that focus unit. The form of the medial verb here is $/-\underline{m\hat{a}}/$, i.e. SR.

eg6.1 Girun kiâ-ne koktom

k. tree a instrument stripping off leaves SR

gutmâ tigim katmâ ba

coming SR covering SR putting SR to leave s.d.v.

emetnân talep.
on her house she sat.

'She stripped leaves from a girun tree and covered over the hole, then she went to her house.'

Here we note the same actor, indicated by the final verb suffix -ep 'third person singular distant past' operates over all the clauses. We also notice that the same object i.e. 'leaves' operates over three of the verbs: koktom, tigim, and katmâ. Usually, a medial verb DR, followed simply by a medial verb, indicates that the previous object or prop in the previous focus unit becomes the agent! Actor in the following unit.

eg 6.2 ''Nen Kainantu' dâenne ''Kareân gambi
''We Kainantu' we saying DR''car + locative you climbing

arine" dâmbi kareân we must go" they saying DR car+locative

âgâenne olowâk ariyeon. we climbing DR with we all went.

"We are going to Kainantu" we said, so they asked us to get on board and we would to together. We got in the car and went with them."

In eg 6.2, the object of the verb /-dâ-/ 'to say' becomes the subject of the following clause. Dâenne 'We saying DR' means that we spoke to the car owners, who in turn spoke to us: dâmbi 'they saying DR' and we then climbed into the car. This kind of cohesion works best with only two participants acting in turns. Three or more participants have to be identified by some means. see chapter/O.

Before we leave this example, the speech...''Kareân gambi arine.'''" your limbing in the car, we must go."' illustrates what was discussed in chapter 5, namely that:

(i) the mode of the final verb arine 'we must go' extends backward to gambi 'you getting up DR' ('you must get up').

(ii) Also there is the implied cause-effect relationship, i.e. 'If you get up into the car then we can go.'.

Example 6.3 illustrates where the object of one clause becomes the subject of the next clause by the use of the medial DR.

eg 6.3 <u>kiâ mem mesokto ge emet</u>
a holding SR dropping<u>DR</u> descending s.d.v. house

<u>kaknân koep.</u>
top of it hit final verb.

'he held one but fumbled, and it fell on the house roof.'

In eg 6.3, the object of the verb <u>mem</u> 'to hold', namely <u>kia</u> 'a' (a mango fruit) is also the object of the verb <u>Mesokto</u> 'to fumble'. This object becomes the Actor for the next two verbs, <u>ge</u> 'to fall' and <u>koep</u> 'to hit'.

Eg 6,4 shows a shared object over two Actors.

eg 6.4 Gâng kisi are ninmenâ kigim membe you axe that give to me DR for nothing I must hold.

'Give me your axe to hold'
Here the axe is the same object in both cases. We know
that it does not become the subject of the final string
of clauses, since they are terminated by membe 'I must hold

so 'I' is the subject, thus axe must be the object. It has no syntactic manifestation in the final clause, but, nevertheless gives semantic cohesion. It is worth noticing that the two other cohesive effects of medial DR are in operation here, i.e. the command mode works back, and the implicit cause/effect influence works from the first clause to the last, see chapter 5.

In eg 6.1, the object 'leaves' is not referred to implicitly or explicitly in the verb <u>Sutmâ</u> 'coming', but is in the following verb. This is a common feature of Timbe reference sharing.

eg 6.5 <u>Takop gâtne</u> <u>âmbâ sigan kiâne</u> <u>ba</u> Takop one from woman young a+<u>agent</u> to leave

hâlâm lâwinne âlâwu arim lokom ... sugar cane sticks three going SR carrying SR 'A young woman from Takop left and found three sticks of sugar cane and then carried them off.'

The ergative agent marker /-ne/ in kiane a+agent in eg 6.5 indicates the agent case. However, neither ba 'to leave', nor arim 'to go' are transitive, and so they do not take the agent. The first verb capable of taking the agent is lokom 'to carry'. We see also that arim 'to go' cannot take the object halam 'sugar cane'. Thus both the agent and object belong to a verb which is not adjacent. This kind of joining by participant sharing is common in spoken texts.

Conclusion

Shared Participants, Props, Agents, Actors, etc. help to bind many clauses in Timbe. Each verb with SR ending indicates that the participants and any props are still to be considered as applicable for some clause yet to come. A verb with DR suffix or a Final verb terminates this sustained extent of those participants. The next chapter discusses where the verb with SR is followed by background information involving a different participant, but when that background information is completed, the narrative returns to the Event line to continue with the Participant of that verb with SR suffix which had been temporarily suspended.

7.0 Focus Unit

Most of the examples involving clauses which are not in constructs, discussed so far, have illustrated focus units on the Event line. That is, clauses of medial verb SR have been considered as co-ordinate clauses to the nearest following DR verb or final verb. Then the terminating verb, DR or final verb, has supplied, with its suffixes, the person, and in the case of the final verb, the mode and tense, for all the medial verbs for that focus unit. At the junction, that is the DR or final verb, a new focus unit of equal focus, also on the Event line, is assumed to take over. However, all strings of clauses are not on the Event line, and the next example illustrates the onset of an out of focus unit. (o.f.u.).

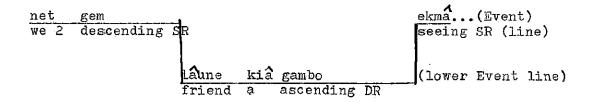
eg 7.1 net... gem... laune kia gambo - ekma...
we 2 descending SR my friend a she coming up DR seeing SR...
'As we came down we saw a friend of mine who was coming up.'

We will follow eg 7.1 through, one word at a time. The actor net 'We two' descends, the verb gem 'descending' is SR, so it is assumed that the next clause will have this same actor net 'we two'. The next words, laune kia 'a friend of mine', show a new participant. Following the discussion about medial verbs so far in this paper, this participant would have to be an object of a subsequent verb. This noun phrase, laune kia, is, however, followed by gambo 'she coming up DR'. This medial verb ending on

gambo, /-bo/ is third person singular, so cannot refer to
net 'We two'. Thus there are two exceptions to the rules for
medial verbs so far:

- (i) Medial SR usually denotes that the verbs are of equal focus and apply to the same actor/agent EXCEPT when a new actor is introduced following a medial verb SR by a Noun phrase associated with a string of clauses terminated by a medial verb DR. In this case, this focus unit is out of focus, and the focus unit which encloses this out of focus unit is considered as the focus unit which operates on the Event line.
- (ii) Medial DR terminates a focus unit and introduces a new focus unit of equal focus. EXCEPT when the medial DR terminates an o.f.u.. Then it normally signals the end of that o.f.u., and the re-commencement of the interrupted focus unit on the event line, which continues where it left off.

To return to example 7.1., to display the fact that the central clause: laune kia gembo is out of focus, the string of clauses can be considered as follows.



The above display shows that SR followed by o.f.u. has to be followed eventually by DR and a return to the Event line.

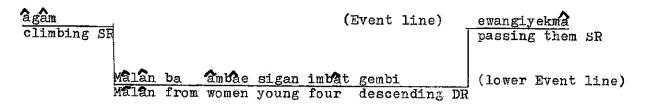
Example 7.2 is similar.

eg 7.2

agam Malan ba ambae sigan imbat gembi climbing SR Malan from women young four they descending DR ewangiyekma... agam... we passed them...climbing...

'as (we2) climbed up, (we 2) passed four young girls from Malan who were coming down...'

We determine the actors according to the rules in chapter 10, of the verb agam 'climbing SR'. Here this verb is first person plural. It is followed by a clause Malan ba...gembi, the terminating verb of this clause indicates a different actor than that operating on the verb agam, so again we propose an out of focus unit. Note also that after this o.f.u. we return to the Event line. This example can be charted like eg 7.1 was.



In examples 7.1 and 7.2, the verb which picks up the Event line after the o.f.u., i.e. ekma 'seeing SR' in eg 7.1, and ewangiyekma, 'passing them SR' in eg 7.2, do not provoke a response from the o.f.u. Thus the Noun Phrase in the o.f.u. is neutral to the Event line. Also, their actions, namely gem 'to descend', does

not demand a response on the part of the actors on the Event line.

There is not always an o.f.u. when a noun phrase interrupts a string of medial SR verbs.

eg 7.3 Agam agam Angake gathe ambae barathe Climbing SR climbing SR Angake from women daughter

kia Tilungen ewangiyekma agam....
some Tilung+there (we) met them SR climbing SR...
'As we climbed up from Angake, we passed some women and one daughter at Tilung and we went on climbing...'

The second agam 'climbing SR' has SR, but is followed by a noun phrase angake...kia, but this noun phrase is not complimented by a verb with DR, but the verb ewangiyekma '(we met them SR)' is in the line of the Event line. How do we know this? We determine the actors, since this example is a new sentence, by the final verb of the previous sentence agayeot 'we two climbed' (not illustrated). Applying the rules of Tail-Head-linkage, chapter 8, these same two actors must operate on the repeated verb agam 'climbing SR', which starts the sentence. Having thus established the actors, we will only find an o.f.u. when we find a noun phrase plus a verb phrase with medial ending which corresponds with the person and number of the noun phrase.

In eg 7.3, the verb following the noun phrase is ewangiyekma

'passing them SR'. If this verb had the women from Angake as the subject, then who are passed? Since -yek- indicates a plural object, and the only other people or props so far mentioned are the two Actors of the verb agam, 'climbing SR', and they are dual, not plural. Also, we search in vain down the string of clauses (not illustrated here) for a verb ending with 3rd person plural DR to conclude the o.f.u. Thus we conclude that the noun phrase Angake...kia is the object of the verb ewangiyekma, and a free translation becomes:

'We climbed and passed some women and one daughter at Tilun and we continued climbing...'

It is possible for there to be several o.f.u.s conjoined by medial DR, thus giving an exception to definition (ii), page 30. Eg. 7.4 illustrates this. Since this is a long example, it will not be possible to chart on two focus levels like the first two examples, thus we bracket off the string of o.f.u.s instead.

eg 7.4

'As we came down, we were joined by a man called Ziwe, who asked us where we had come from. "Only from here." we replied. He shook our hands and came down with us."

The first task is to identify the Actors on the Event line. They are the same actors as in eg 7.3, i.e. we 2 (Meowa and I). In fact, this is part of the same Focus unit which makes up the sentence of 53 clauses, 14 of which belong to o.f.u.s.. Eg 7.3 is the start of this Focus unit comprising 53 clauses making one sentence, and eg 7.4 is a section illustrating 3 o.f.u.s within These two referents are the actors in gem the same sentence. 'coming down SR' and also in kinma 'standing SR', since no Noun phrase is between them. Kinma is followed by a Noun phrase starting: luck kid 'a man'. First one must determine whether this Noun phrase is the subject of an o.f.u., as in eg 7.2, or is it the object of the verb immediately after the Noun phrase and on the Event line, as in eg 7.3. Here, this Noun phrase: luak kia kotne Ziwe is followed by a locative Noun phrase: aen are Kabwum ba before the verb togombo 'he coming DR'. verb cannot refer to the two first person actors, since it is third person singular. So we have the Noun phrase starting luak kia 'a man...' as the subject of an o.f.u.. expect then that togombo 'he coming DR' would get us back on to the Event line, but we notice that the o.f.u. is made into a construct by the pronoun yakne 'he + agent', which has a verb daep 'he said FV' and introduces the speech "yet wanan ba togoat?" "Where have you come from?" This speech is terminated by dambo the

said DR'and since this is not made into a construct by either a demonstrative or a pronoun, we conclude that this is the end of the o.f.u., However, do we return to the Event line as defined in definition (ii) page 30? It is true that the verb daetne 'we two said' has the same agent as the Event line, however, notice that it is in response to the verb dambo 'he said DR' and also that the object of the clause ending dâmbo 'us two' becomes the subject of the next clause, and 'he', the subject of the first o.f.u., becomes the object for the clause following dâmbo, so we suspect that this clause: "Net ire wa" daetne is on the same focus level as the o.f.u. already established. This is further confirmed by the fact that if dambo got us back to the Event line, it would only be for the duration of one clause before the man Ziwe, previously on the lower Focus line, come onto the Event line for a short action, i.e. bat netne kondo 'he shook our hands'. I prefer the theory

that the three clauses: (i) Luak kia...dâmbo

- (ii) "Net..."...dâetņe
- (iii) arewa...kondo

are all on the same low focus line, and the last verb, kondo 'he hit DR' gets us back onto the focus line.

The medial verb which signals the start of the o.f.u. may not be explicitly present, often two subjects are introduced one after another. The first is on the Event line and is actor for the focus unit, the second is on a lower focus line and is the actor

for an o.f.u. The following illustrates this.

eg 7.5

Pauwe arekne sop kian lau lupne yak ai Pauwe that Agent time on a her friends they work

kalamangen ai paiyenaet akmandembi yak tu gardens+toward work planting+their they did DR she water

watminep.
followed FV 3rd person singular habitual
'Whilst her friends worked in their gardens, Pauwe used to
go to the river.'

After the agent, Pauwe arekne, has been introduced, there is a temporal phrase, sop kian, then the clause lau lupne... akmandembi, which terminates with a medial DR of plural actors, therefore, the verb akmandembi 'they did DR' refers to her friends, and not to Pauwe, so we bracket off an o.f.u. Again we find that the verbs involved, akmandembi and watminep, do not involve the actors of the other unit.

When a medial verb terminates an o.f.u. or a string of o.f.u.s, we can get the phenomenon where the medial verb DR actually introduces the same actors, but they are on a different focus line.

eg 7.6

...yekma yakne ai netguyei
...we seeing them SR they+Agent questioned us FV

"Yet wanan" dambi "Net egon" daetne
"You two where"they saying DR "We 2 up" we 2 saying DR

agam agam...
climbing climbing...

'We saw them and they asked us "Where are you two going?" "Up there" we replied, and we climbed on higher. The first task is to identify the actors on the Event line. These are the same two actors which have been on the Event line since the second sentence, i.e. Meowa and myself. The clause yekma 'we seeing them SR' has for its object an o.f.u.. verb <u>yekma is followed</u> by a clause ending with the medial verb DR dambi 'they saying DR'. Now we ask, does this DR aspect bring us back to the Event line? This o.f.u. yakne...dambi is followed by a clause "Net egon" daetne, which is in response to the first o.f.u., and we suggest a second o.f.u. confirmed by the medial DR daetne 'we two said', which brings us back onto the Event line, even though the Actors on the Event line are those in the second o.f.u., thus the DR aspect of the verb is not in focus unless we say that the same participants are considered different actors when they operate on different focus lines.

In these examples, 7.1 - 7.6, we pick up the Event line without any effect from the o.f.u.s. In most cases, we pick up the Event line with the same verb we left off with, that is, after the verb that has reference to the o.f.u. In eg. 7.1, the actors 'descend' gem, and then after 'seeing the friend' ekma, the text goes on with gem again (not included in the example). In eg 7.2, the actors 'climb' agam, there is the o.f.u. Malan ba...gembi, and after ewangiyekma 'we passed them', the

text returns to 'climbing' again. In eg 7.4, the tie up before and after the o.f.u. is with <u>gem</u> 'descending'. In 7.6, the actors were climbing before the onset of the two o.f.u.s, <u>again</u> 'climbing' not indicated in the example. They continue after the last o.f.u., with <u>again</u> again.

Conclusion

From what has been said in this chapter, the SR suffix can be seen to serve two functions:

- (i) To indicate normal sequential action of clauses.

 We illustrate that by SR sequential same actors.
- (ii) To indicate that the next clause or few clauses are relative to the main topic. We illustrate this by

sr

We can tell which function SR is manifesting at any one time by looking for the following conditions:

- (a) The following clauses are terminated by a DR which cannot fit the number and person of the Topic/Event line which was suspended at the SR, as in eg 7.6.
- (b) A Noun phrase is introduced which has one or two clauses following it of which it is the Subject, as in eg 7.5.
- (c) Verbs which form a semantic mismatch are present, asin eg 7.2, where the Event line is two people climbing, and the relative clause is many people descending.

If any of the above conditions are present, then the SR is manifesting function (ii) above.

Having come to this conclusion, it follows that DR also had two functions:

- (i) To indicate the normal change of one set of participants to another. We illustrate this by DR--> sequential (cause/effect) different actor.
- (ii) To indicate the return to the Event line. This can be illustrated like this:

topicalisation of what follows, same or different actors. $\pmb{\psi}$ DR

We can tell which function DR is manifesting at any one time by looking for the following conditions: if the clauses following the DR are associated with the Event line, which has been suspended by the introduction of an o.f.u., then the DR is manifesting function (ii) above. Notice, however, that function (ii) does not say that the first DR encountered in the o.f.u. automatically brings us back to the Event line. In example 7.6, the first DR, dambi 'they saying DR', introduced the second half of the o.f.u.. The second DR, daetne 'we two saying DR' brought us back to the Event line, even though there was no change of subject. Since this is unusual, we will illustrate it with another example.

eg 7.7

yekma dam "Wanan ba?" dambi "Yalumet seeing them saying "Where from?" they saying DR "Yalumet ba" daenne are wa agam... from" we saying DR there from climbing... 'We saw them and they asked "Where have you come from?"
"From Yalumet" we replied, and leaving there we climbed higher...'

Again, a verb of DR, i.e. <u>daenne</u> "We saying DR" does not introduce a different actor, but brings the discourse back onto the Event line.

8.0 Sentences.

The higher the unit in Timbe texts, the more statistical our approach to define its structure needs to be. Generally, a Timbe sentence ends with a final verb and a falling intonation, followed by a pause. This definition covers the spoken sentences, and spoken sentences generally have the phenomenon of Head-Tail-Linkage.

8.1 Head-Tail-Linkage. Continuant.

In spoken Timbe texts, the majority of the sentences commence with the repetition of the final clause or two of the previous sentence. This is called Head-Tail-Linkage and illustrates that the narrative continues uninterrupted on the Event line.

eg 8.1

mem Timbe tirik are letaep. Yakne letambo...
holding Timbe bridge that he tied F.V. He tying DR

ambenne baep. his wife went over.

'...and he mended the bridge. When he had mended it, his wife went over.'

The first sentence in eg 8.1 finishes with letaep. The tied This is a final verb, and has falling intonation and a pause after it. The next sentence begins with a clause which summarises the last few clauses of the previous sentence, Yakne letambo 'he tying it DR', the verb leta 'to tie' is now manifested as medial DR introducing the next clause, ambenne baep this wife went over'. Note that the bridge is involved in both clauses, though not explicitly. Also, the repeated clause, the first in the second sentence, yakne letambo 'he tied DR', has a causal effect for the following clause. There is no break in the time sequence at the full stop. Continuation of the Event line is achieved by Head-Tail linkage (H.T.L.), i.e. after the narrator pauses at the full stop, he picks up the last clause or two and commences with the next sentence. Here is a similar example: e.g.8.2

Gungun gatne ambae alawu are akto Makere agayei.
Gungun those from women three those and Makere climbed up FV

Agambi aen ti wan kaim...
They climbing DR then tea etc. pouring...

'and those women from Gungun and Makere arrived. When they arrived he poured tea and...'

The H.T.L. is achieved by the repeat of the verb aga- 'to climb'.

As the final verb <u>agayet</u> 'They climbed', it terminates the first sentence. As the medial <u>agambi</u> 'they climbing DR', it commences the second sentence. This is a very frequently used technique in Timbe spoken texts. In one text of 38 sentences, 23 of the sentences displayed H.T.L. and continued smoothly along the time line.

Occasionally, the verb in the repeated clause which commenced the next sentence was not an exact repeat of the final verb in the previous sentence, but a synonym.

eg. 8.3

ito alawu are hikombi ariyeon. Gem...
bags three those they carrying DR we went FV. Going down SR
tand when they pickedup the bags we left. Going down...

The speaker, rather than repeat the general verb arl 'to go', selects the specific verb gem 'to go down'.

There are not many examples of the use of synonyms in H.T.L..

In the few cases observed, the second verb, i.e. the one which
begins the new sentence, tends to be more specific in meaning,
as if it is a correction or refinement of the final verb of the
previous sentence, as seen in eg 8.3 and 8.4.
eg 8.4

hikakma emelak Bonda meyeat. Bonda gayeat carrying alreadyBonda they got to. Bonda they climbing to FV

ama ga... when climbing...

...and carrying (her child) they made it to Bonda. When they had climbed to Bonda they climbed to...'

All examples of H.T.L. which indicate a non interruption of the narrative time line follow the patterns of these examples here.

The head section, which is a repetition of the tail of the previous section, takes two forms: either it is where a repeated verb is manifest as a medial verb. egs 8.1, 8.2, 8.3, or is manifest as a

final verb, eg 8.4

8.1.1 Head-Tail-Linkage, medial verb.

The H.T.L. system in Timbe uses the repetition of the final verb of the previous sentence in the form it would have appeared had there been no sentence break. Thus, if the verb which is chosen to mark the end of a sentence also marks the end of a focus unit, that is a string of clauses on the Event line, then in its repeated form in the head of the new sentence, it is in the form of medial DR., egs 8.1 and 8.2 show this. So also does the next example.

gem gem pigep. Pikto going down going down it filled FV. It filling DR

katma giron...
pausing SR kind tree...

t...and (the blood) flowed until it filled (the hole).
and (she) got some (leaves) from the giron tree and....

The verb <u>pigep</u> 'it filled (the hole) FV' terminates the action of the woman's blood which acted on the Event line. With the start of the new sentence, the woman reappears in the story, so the repeat of the verb is medial DR, i.e. <u>Pikto</u> 'It filling DR'

If, however, the sentence is terminated in the centre of a focus unit, then the repeated verb is medial SR. eg 8.3 illustrates this to some extent, but as it is a synonym which is used, we shall look at a clearer example.

eg 8.6

Kali bayeat. Bam... ba...
Kali they left FV. Leaving SR... leaving s.d.v....

'and they left (for their home) in Kali. Leaving they
went...'

The verb <u>bayeat</u> 'they left FV' when repeated is as the medial SR <u>Bam</u>, and we continue with the same actors on the Event line. The next example shows where two verbs are repeated, since their actions are simultaneous.

Eg 8.7

haip dagam tatma lokom gep.
bamboo tying SR sitting SR carrying SR he went down.

Lokom gem gem...

Carrying SR he went down SR he went down SR...

'He tied up the bamboo, then carried it down the hill.

He carried it down and down and...'

Here, Lokom gep 'He carried it down FV.' is repeated as lokom gem, medial SR, and we continue with the same actor on the Event line.

8.1.2 Head-Tail-Linkage, final verb + ama

We now consider the cases reflected in eg 8.4, where the repeated form of the linking verb is also in the final verb status plus the conjunction and. In eg 8.4, the first sentence finished on the Event line with the two actors arriving at Bonda. However, in the repeat section, the repeated clause is subordinate to what comes next in the new sentence. Since this is a frequent aspect in H.T.L. it suggests a reason why sentence breaks occur where they do, i.e. to allow the idea of given-ness to a clause which comes first naturally on the Event line. Consider eg 8.8.

eg 8.8

"You, however eyes yours these putting SR sit command"

daep. "Ire... katma... tatbei." daep
she said FV "These putting SR you sit." she said FV

ama... damun yengum kilep.
Then guarding then she said to them: "Put these shells on your eyes."

When she said that, she watched over them.'

There is again the repeat of the final verb daep 'she said'.

The repeat is conjoined by the conjunction ama, indicating given information. So the first time the clause "Yeama..."

daep. appears, it is new information. How can the speaker make it given information and give the meaning "... and then when that was said and completed ... "? He does so be terminating the sentence at daep 'she said' and repeating the final clause. This clause is connected with what follows by ama given that. In egs 8.4 and 8.8, which show H.T.L. using the final then..... verb, we continue after the repeated section with the same actor. Since the final verb suffixes and the medial verb suffixes occupy the same position within the verb, it is not possible to indicate within the FV + ama structure whether the subsequent actor is the same as in the subordinate clause. Eg 8.9 shows a change in Actors after the linking portion of the new sentence. eg 8.9

... Hambaram... arine" daenne ambae Hambaram we will go we saying DR women Ambae alawu ito meyei. akma being bags they took FV. Women three being âmâ.. arewa they took FV then/when from there down there

sopaleon. we jumped/left.

'We decided to go to Hambaram and waited until three women took our bags, and then we left.'

'The women took the bags' concludes the previous sentence.

The verb <u>meyei</u> 'they took FV' is repeated and becomes given information, i.e. 'After the women had picked up the bags we left'.

8.2 **Head-Tail-Linkage** + new information

This method of linking sentences occasionally allows for the input of new information into the previous sentence by including in the repeated string of clauses the new information. This can be seen in the following examples.

eg 8.10

Ito âmbâe âlawu ...Imom dam ariyeon. aen Imom saying there we went FV. Bags women garama meyei being bags they held for+however, then, etc., Imom baine ... climbing descending Imom while going ... and we set off for Imom. Before we left, three women took our bags, and then we set off. on the Imom road ... !

The first thing to notice in eg 8.10 is that the H.T.L. is maintained by synonyms, as was the case in egs 8.3, 8.4, ariyeon 'we went FV' is repeated as bam 'leaving SR'. The relative clause before bam gives us information as to what happened before we left the village for Imom, that three women volunteered to take our bags. Another example where the H.T.L. supplies us with new information is as follows:

eg 8.11

...dawan angim arewa agayeon. "Heman on the road sharing from there we climbed FV "Heman

âgane" dâm âgam let's go" saying climbing...

^{&#}x27;...and we shared out the bags, and we climbed up. Before we had set out, we had decided to go to Heman, and so we climbed...'

The final verb ?gayeon 'we climbed FV' is repeated as medial SR 'agam', but before this repetition is the clause "Heman agane" dam 'we said "Let's go to Heman". This decision was taken before we left the previous place, whilst we were sharing out the bags.

Thus when H.T.L. is present between two adjacent sentences in Timbe oral texts, we expect a continuation of the Event line, or a brief addition of new information, relevant to the time before the final verb of the first of the two sentences. Then the narrator picks up the Event line again with a repeat of that final verb or a synonym of it.

In egs 8.10 and 8.11, the narrators have supplied the new information in clauses which occur after the repeat of the verb. In eg 8.10, a simple single clause is added.

eg 8.12

fourth (son) in his turn went. Wanting to go SR

ama... yo golak mem arim...
then... animal alive holding SR going SR

...and the fourth son went too. Just before going, he picked up a live animal then left...!

The final verb in 8.12, ariep 'he went FV', is repeated twice; the first time (the first word of the new sentence) is in a form not normally met in texts, i.e. the immediate future desiderative mode: Ariweram 'I must go + saying' = 'wanting to go'.

Thus by using this tense/mode of the verb, we are brought back, not prior to the action of the final verb on the previous sentence, but to the time of its commencement. The new information is then related: yo golak mem 'he took an alive animal', then there is the normal repeat of the verb, in this case arim 'going SR'.

A second exa_mple of this use of the immediate future desiderative mode, is the addition of two o.f.u.s, representing actions simultaneously with the final verb of the first sentence (we met the first sentence in eg.8.9).

eg 8.13

ingon sopaleon. Sopanberam kinma down there we jumped/went. Wanting to leave SR standing SR

Kapenda are kalap wan om yem Carpenter that firewood etc. burning SR sleeping SR

are gat dam emet puline dam bain mani that+for saying SR house money saying SR orait money

tawat wan wando ge amba samba knife etc. he gave him DR descending s.d.v. woman old

hainak mani wan wanndo arewa likewise money etc. he gave her DR from there

geyeon. Gem...

we descended FV. Descending SR

'and we left (Gomandat). While leaving the village, we were standing about to go when Mick gave the Carpenter some money and a knife for our accommodation. We went down through the village a little way, when Mick gave an old woman some money (for the food she had given us) then we left (Gomandat). Going down...

Eg 8.13 begins with the end of the previous sentence, ingon sopaleon 'We left (the village) and went', or, literally, 'We jumped down out of the village. ' - since Gomandat is on a cliff edge. The next sentence starts Sopanberam 'While wanting to jump down', and thus we are awakened to new information to be added to the information of the previous sentence, i.e. something happened before we actually left the village. The Event line is a group of actors reflected in the final verb ending of Sopaleon, i.e. -eon 'we, distant past'. That is, that this group also operates on the verb sopanberam 'wanting to leave SR'. They take the next verb also, kinma 'standing SR', then comes a noun phrase, Kapenda...are 'that Carpenter', followed by another noun phrase kalap 'firewood'. Do we have two objects for the Actors or the Event line, or an o.f.u.? The demonstrative are 'that' plus the purpose particle gat shows that Kapenda...yem is a relative clause in a string of clauses ending at wando the gave to him DR'. It has already been established in this historical narrative that Mick is the dispenser of the money, so he is assumed here as giving money to the Carpenter for accommodation. long o.f.u. is terminated with wando 'he gave to him DR' and gets back to the Event line for one verb, ge 'to descend s.d.v.'. there is an o.f.u., describing how Mick gave money to an old woman. then back to the Event line by the use of wando 'he gave her DR'. The sentence is terminated by geyeon 'we descended FV', which is the linkage with sopaleon as a synonym. This is one of the few instances where the repeated verb is also a final verb on the end of its own sentence, and here it is a synonym.

The middle sentence then ends with <u>geyeon</u> 'we descended FV' and comes back to the Event line and the next sentence, the last in this example, picks up the H.T.L. system, by repeating this verb in the medial SR mode.

This lengthy discussion of this example shows how the Event line is continued, two o.f.u.s give background information, and the sentences covering the period of leaving Gomandat are kept short. The significance of this is seen in section 8.5.

8.3 Head-Tail-Linkage, discontinuant.

In the examples given so far, the repeat of the final verb has reflected the same action on the Event line, that is the same actors at the same time in the same place. However, the verb is repeated to indicate that the same action was done at a later time, and sometimes even in a different place. This is shown in the following examples.

eg 8.14

... and there we slept, it was Thursday. It was just the same on Friday. On Saturday we slept (... and got up... and saw the Market) and after seeing it we sat until Sunday. We sat on Monday. On Tuesday we were sitting when...

The verb <u>yeyeon</u> 'we slept FV' marks the end of sentence 1. It is repeated as <u>yeyeon</u> at the end of sentence 2, however, this is not the same event, but takes place on the following day. This illustrates that H.T.L. can repeat the word as a linking system, but the events are not the same event in time. Also, <u>taleon</u> at the end of sentence 3 and at the end of sentence 4 link the sentences by using the same word but different events. The linking system between sentences 2 and 3, and between 4 and 5 uses the medial SR as the linkage repeat, but in both instances, it is a subsequent event. We detect the fact that it is at a different time by the presence of the Temporal phrases <u>imbathan</u> 'Thursday', etc... See section 8.5 as to why these sentences are short. For the complete absence of H.T.L., see chapter

8.4 Sentences functioning in constructs.

The use of sentence constructs in stories and spoken narratives is not low in frequency, most stories have one or two, but they are always of the same kind, they can almost be predicted as to when they are due.

eg 8.15

...bain ge tembe lawin kia yan
...enough! to go down palm tree another nothing

karam pando yep. Arekneak
chopping he threw DR it slept. With that Instrument

And yan mem kamak hawim...
however/given nothing holding kind arrow shaping
t...and (when he heard that), why! He quickly chopped
down a black palm. Out of that he cut the following
arrows: kakmak...

The demonstrative Arekneak is made from Arekne 'that+Agent' and refers anaphorically back to the previous sentence into the subject of the last clause and the object of the previous clause. A similar example is found in a different story at a similar place, eg 8.16.

eg 8.16

indem kinma ge tembe lawin kia crying standing to go down black palm tree another

karambo gep. Arekne nandup hawim...
he chopping DR it fell. With that kind arrow shaping
'Whilst crying, he chopped down a black palm. Out of
that he shaped some nandup arrows.'

The demonstrative Arekne shows that the previous sentence is instrumental in the production of arrows in this sentence.

A further example shows Arekne as agent of the word bain completive, which sometimes replaces verbs.

eg 8.17

harokne yengum katyegep. Arekne bain all stabbing he put them. That being finished (DR)

"Ambenge ka kom katmenaka gewe."
"Your wife in turn hitting you put her DR I in turn will

come down." daep.

*...and he killed all his relatives. When he finished that, (the boy up the tree) said: "Now kill your wife and I will come down."

Here Arekne points anaphorically into the last sentence, to the important event where the wild man obeys the boy and kills all his own relatives. The demonstrative is in the Agentive case, since it has a controlling factor on the discourse, it shows that the climax of the story is approaching. The same text uses a similar technique for conjoining the next two sentences, using the demonstrative A !that!.

eg 8.18

...harok kiom memenaka gewe."
...all destroying you hold DR I shall come down."

daep. A hainak kiom mep. he said. That like that destroying he held.

*...and destroy everything that is yours and I will come down." he said. So the old man did just that.

Aregat, i.e. are 'that' + gat 'for' is found in letters and written description. It is also frequent in conversations but infrequent in stories and accounts (see chapter 11). It conjoins cause and effect, not only between the lower levels,

but also between sentences and paragraphs. In the next example, it joins the previous three sentences with the following three. eg 8.19

Da bikne ama boak. Aregat hamenan papia humo
But some is not. Therefore later paper large
'Therefore they sent the rest as a great quantity
(and I was not able to do it).'
(This letter explained a person's inability to do the work set).

Conclusion

The use of demonstratives sentence initially is a feature of Timbe discourse which is not yet fully understood. Further work is needed here.

- 8.5 Sentence length.
- 8.5.1 Folk tales and narratives.

Sentence length as a feature of different styles is discussed in chapter 11. Here we consider why sentence breaks are made where they are. In old stories and accounts of journeys, 60% of the sentences end with a movement verb, 10% with eating and sleeping verbs. It is usual to end a sentence before changing location. If the speaker adds an after-thought, a new sentence has to be started with H.T.L. to get going again.

eg 8.20

kileine ambale are moep, luak arekne kondo.
while they stood woman that died, man that one hit her.

Mondo ambale are luakne taukom goleakma...

She died DR woman that man+Agent tying he carried her...

1...and while they stood that woman died. She had been
hit by that man. Then that man tied her and carried her off.

After-thought has its own intonation pattern. After the usual end of sentence intonation gradual fall, there is no pause usual for the end of a sentence, instead there is a rapidly pronounced after-thought with quickly falling intonation. We have added the intonation on this example to illustrate this, and we consider the after-thought as part of the previous sentence. Even people considered good orators have an occasional after-thought. Some speakers gave us texts and we considered the style poor, but could not say why. We now find that these stories have many more after-thoughts than better texts, 30% of the sentences were finished with an after-thought, whereas with good speakers, it is less than 3%.

Another reason for breaking the flow of medials etc. is to put in a mode, such as habitual, command or subjunctive, on the verb. In folk tales, the primary characters are introduced in the habitual mode. This requires a sentence break.

eg 8.21

Luak ambenda nananda kia tat mandemai.

Man with wife with child a sit habitually now.

There is a man and his wife and child.

See section 11.1.1 for a full discussion of this. All other sentences in folk tales are in the distant past tense. An exception is the following, where a new actor is introduced within a focus unit construct, however, the sentence break is within the construct at the habitual verb.

amba samba kia ...kat katangen kato yemap.
woman old a inside she put DR it habitually sits.

Kato yemap-an a
She putting DR it habitually sits+locative that

gam âgâyei. climbing they went up.

They climbed into (the house) of an old woman who always (eats men...) and puts (their bones) in a pot.

When speech is introduced in a proceedural text, historical narrative or folk tale, it is usually by the use of the final verb of one of the verbs 'to say', however, since the intonation pattern is not sentence final in these instances, we have not called this the end of a sentence, but after the speech has been quoted, the speaker often concludes his sentence with 'he said', with sentence final intonation. Given then that the above factors influence sentence length, what influences a speaker to choose

which of the possible breaks he could use and to ignore the others. The graphs shown in the appendix illustrate the waves of sentence lengths of various texts. The areas of short sentences are:

- (i) When not much is happening (see 8.7) for example, area G on graph 1.
- (ii) When the speaker, rather than repeat a complete episode which is identical to the previous two or three, instead says: 'the rest is the same.' area E on graph 2.
- (iii) When the narrative is changing from one location to another and back again, or between two sets of participants, or covers several days quickly, then the sentence lengths are short. Examples of these are:

area G Graph 1 changing days.

area B Graph 5 " the beneficiaries.

area A Graph 7 " locations.

(iv) Frustrated activity. This is seen in one folk tale, Graph 4 sections B and D. In B, the father of the family fails to catch any game for his family, and in section D he fails to shoot the villain. Each arrow flies off without causing an effect.

Thus areas of short sentences are the troughs on the graphs in 8.7, and the peaks of long sentences are the paragraphs which contain information, usually the longest sentence representing the climax for that paragraph.

8.5.2 Sentence length in letters and description of habitual actions.

Sentences in letters are short, usually one, two or three clauses long. In proceedural accounts, eg how to make gardens, sentences are usually 5 to 6 clauses long, breaking off to add Habitual mode. The paragraph structure in accounts is more difficult to see in habitual accounts, and since there is no 'wave' structure to letters, paragraphs are defined differently. (See chapter 10).

8.6 Joining sentences

We are now in a position to summari30 the joining of sentences. The usual mode in stories and historic accounts is the H.T.L. noted in sections 8.1, 8.2, and 8.3. If that is not present, then there is either a demonstrative functioning as a conjunction at the sentence level (see section 8.4 and egs 2.17, 2.18), or other forms of cohesion as described in chapter 11.

However, one form of joining sentences has not yet been discussed, and that is the use of sentence level conjunctions. There are many of these used in conversational speech, but in folk tales, they are almost non existant, except when children or poor speakers give a story. Then the conjunction akto it is DR', which can be freely translated 'and', is used to start a

sentence instead of H.T.L. (Akto is also used to join paragraphs, see chapter 9).

when we come to letters, however, conjunctions are noticed quite frequently. 50% of the sentences in letters start with either akto 'and' or da 'but'. Ima 'this' or den ima 'this talk' frequently occurs in letters, at what could be called the paragraph level, see chapter 9. There is a very low incidence of H.T.L. in letters, see chart 1, facing page 105

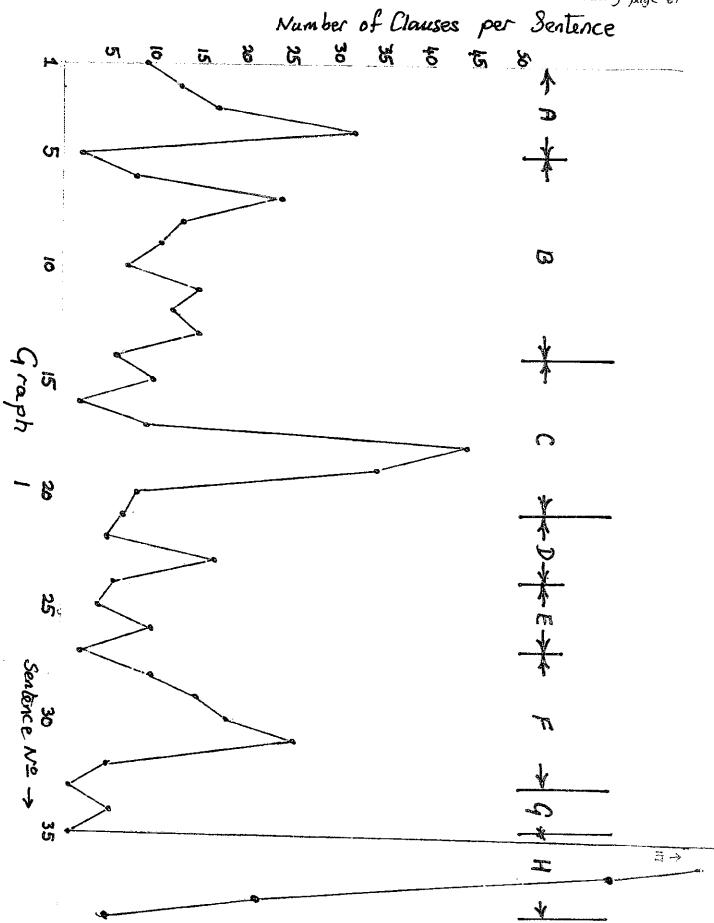
8.7 Appendix

This section consists of graphs, for various types of discourse, of sentence length, measured in clauses, plotted against the position of the sentence in the discourse.

(i) Texts with long sentences and clear paragraph division, graphs 1 - 4.

Graph 1 a narrative text.

This graph represents the analysis of a text about a long walk which took over a week to complete. Each move or event is a 'wave' of sentences, i.e. a paragraph. Each wave usually starts with a short sentence or two, then continues with a few longer sentences and finishes with a short sentence or two. Let us look at each 'wave' in turn.



Section A. 'We', the actors, are introduced in sentence 1, the bags are packed, and we set off in sentence 2. In sentence 3 we travel until we pick up new carriers. Sentence 4 gives further action until we are stopped by a broken bridge. There is a pause here while the bridge is repaired.

Section B. This section traces the movement until the end of the first day. It starts with short sentences, except the last sentence, where the participants are separated into two groups.

(It may be more convenient to make sentences 10-12 a separate 'wave').

Section C. This is the next move, and the next day until we sleep. The long sentence is where the actors are, for a while, split into two groups, both acting simultaneously.

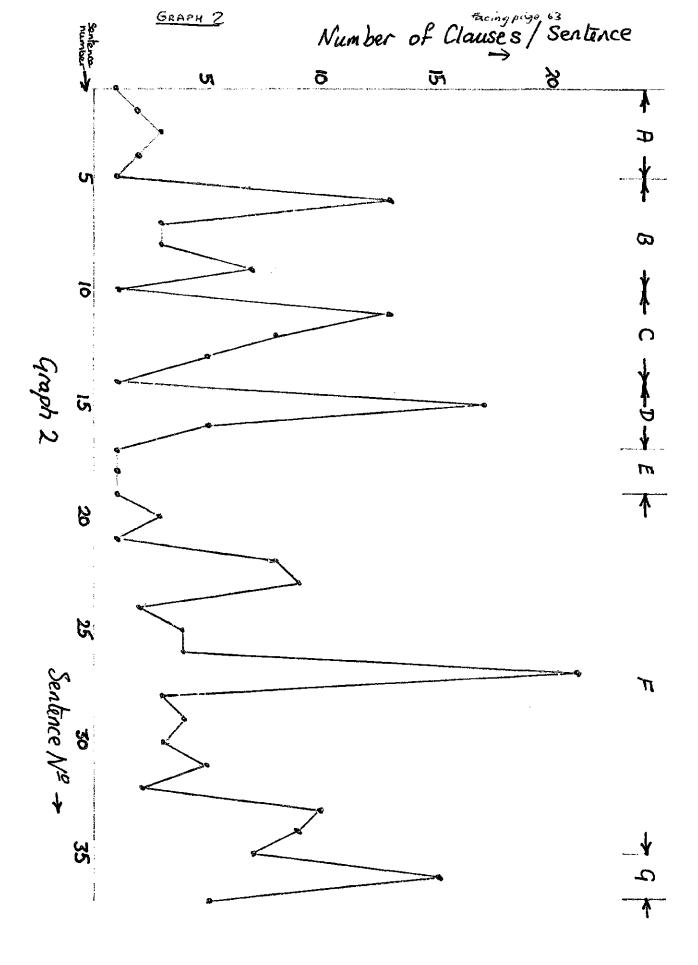
Section D. This describes the party moving down to the river, where one group sits.

Section E. This describes the action of the other group, who go to another village for a survey.

Section F. The two groups join and move off again and arrive and sleep.

Section G. This has been referred to already, see section (i) on page 58, and eg 8.7. This is where the speaker squeezes several days together and says: 'The next day the same'. The only activity at sentence 32 was the occurrence of a market where we were staying.

Section H. This is the journey home. This has a long sentence, of 117 clauses and covering two days. Why is this not broken into two at the place where we rest and sleep? I suspect that this part of the journey was arduous and the narrator wanted to get it over, both when he was walking and when he was talking.



Graph 2 a folk tale.

Unlike Graph 1, the waves here are not days, or changes of location, but different actors.

Section A sets the scene.

Sections B, C, and D describe the first three sons who set out.

Section E represents the fourth son, and all that is said about him is: 'He did the same'. This phenomenon of short sentences for summary of action has already been noticed.

See Graph 1, section G, and section (ii) on page 58.

Section F has one main action where the fifth son tries to do as the others, but this action is preceded and terminated by speech. As has already been noted, speech verbs tend to be sentence final, making these sentences shorter than normal.

Section G all the sons act together at the end.

Graph 3 a folk tale.

Section A sets the scene.

Section B, and old man comes to visit four brothers.

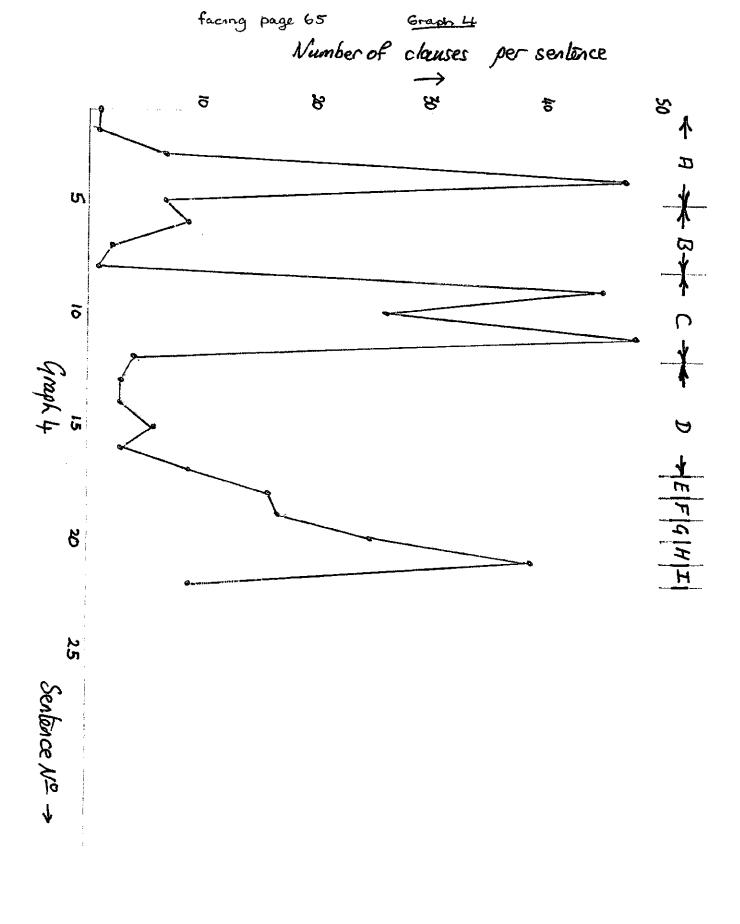
Section C, the first brother and the old man go off, and the old man kills the first brother.

Section D, the old man returns to the brothers.

Sections E and F are not so easy to see as the separate actions of the old man and the second and third sons.

Section G is about the fourth son who kills the old man.

The speaker of this story was not considered a good story teller, and he had several after-thoughts which could have affected sentence length. In Graphs 2 and 3, the highest peak represents the most exciting part of the story, i.e. the fight and the death of the villain.



Graph 4 a folk tale.

This folk tale was narrated by a man who is recognised as a good orator.

Section A has a peak when the family mistake part of a wild man for food and eat it.

Section B consists of short sentences reflecting the frustration of the subject.

Section C is one paragraph, but is divided because one sentence is followed by <u>Arekne</u> (see section 8.4).

Section D, the short sentences are a reflection of the frustration of the hero in trying to kill the villain. The narrator terminated his sentences at crucial points.

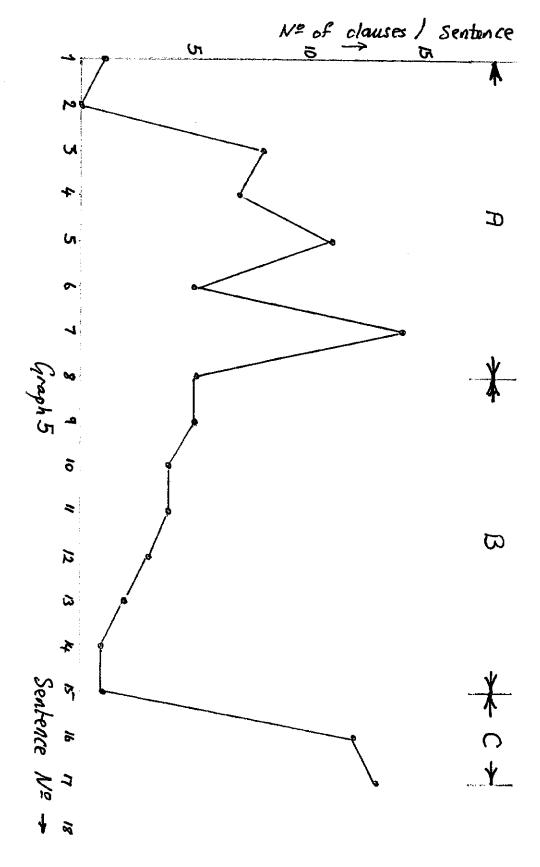
Section E was where all the arrows were finished and the villain was not dead, but was still climbing up, undeterred.

Section F was where the villain had broken down all the fences behind where the hero had hidden, and left the hero defenceless.

Section G, the hero shot at the villain with a useless arrow he found lying around, and the villain fell down.

Section H is the climax of the story, and is the long process by which the hero crept up on the body of the villain, only to find him already dead. This speaker built up to the climax using 4 sentences, each longer than the last, whereas the speakers in Graphs 1 - 3 tended to let the climax come without much build up. This may be why this narrator is considered an interesting speaker.

Section I finishes the story where the hero and his daughter disposed of the body.



(ii) Proceedural narratives with medium length sentences and clear paragraph divisions.

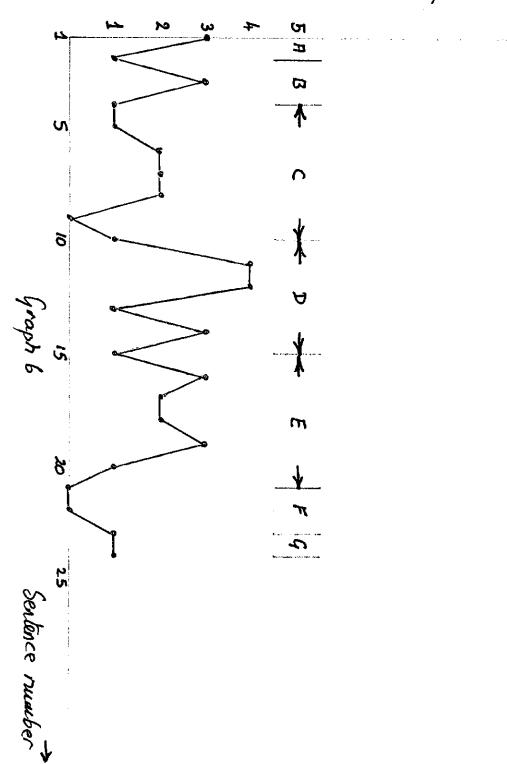
Graph 5.

The two main areas of this graph are:

Section A, planting the gardens, and

Section C, collecting the food and holding the church celebrations.

Section B is the central section and has shorter sentences, reflecting the fact that the workers move from the garden of one official to the garden of the next official, and finally to their own gardens.



(iii) Letters.

Graph 6.

Letters have grammatical markers, <u>imâ</u>, <u>ire</u>, <u>are</u>, etc., to mark off paragraphs. The graph does not show clear waves of sentence length associated with each paragraph, but a wave tendency can still be seen.

Section A: the writer says he is writing a letter.

Section B: he asks when the readers are leaving.

Section C: assuming they do leave, how can he join them.

Section D: the problems with the school he is attending.

Section E: he asks whether he can work on translation or go to a different school.

Section F: signing off and prayer.

Section G: the reader must reply.

The sections C and D are introduced with the sentence:

Da ima den sia makbe But this is speech a I must say.

'But this is the next bit of my speech.'

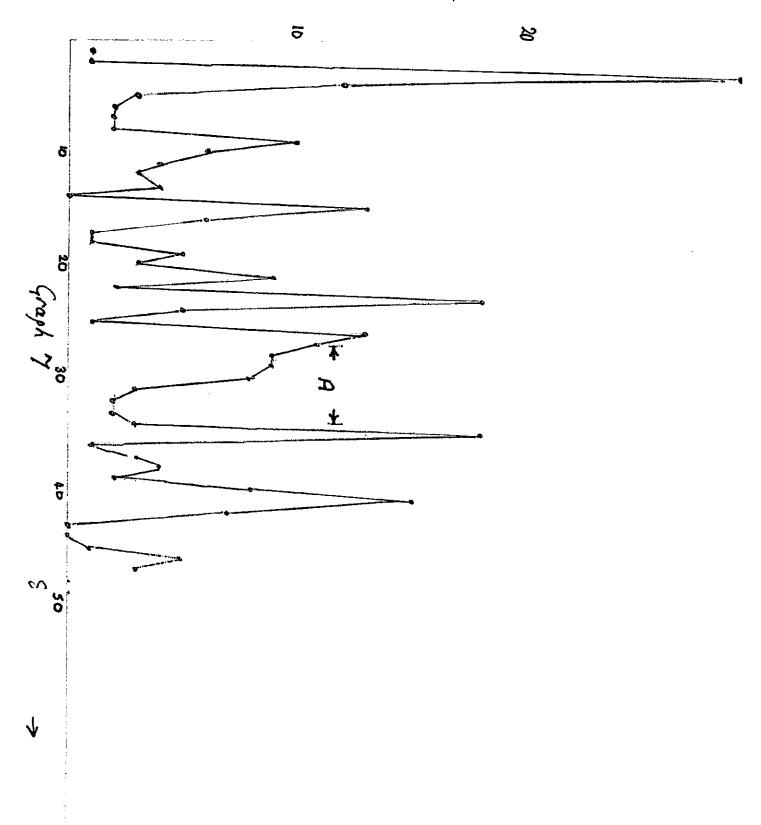
Section E is introduced with the phrase:

Ima den bai-ne...
This is speech last-possessive...

'This next speech is the last.'

The other sections are not as easy to define as paragraphs.

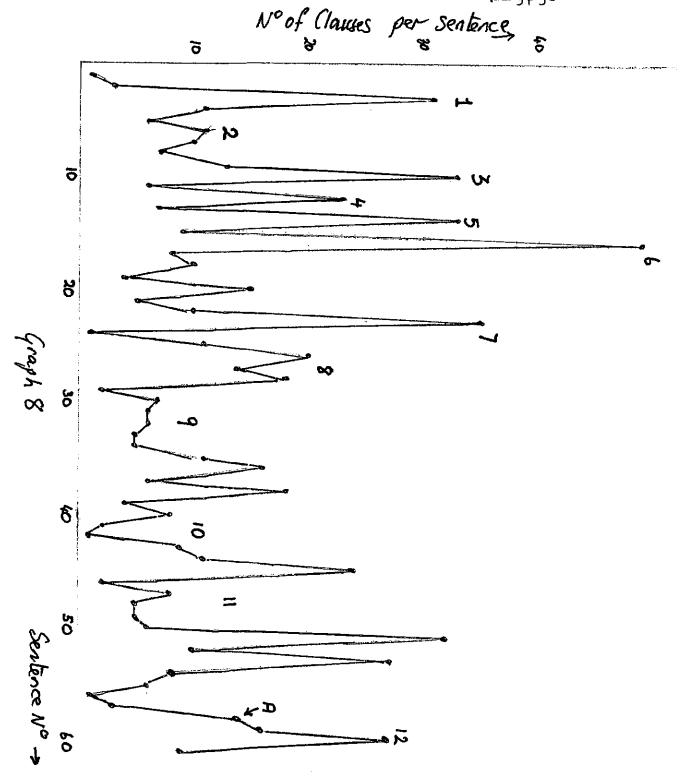
N° of Clauses / Sentence



(iv) Written narratives

Graph 7

It is immediately apparent that the paragraph based wave pattern breaks down to some extent in the written style. This text is someone's life story, and covers many moves of location. Each peak approximates to a new situation. Section A has been referred to in section 8.5, and reflects ten different moves of location on the part of the speaker, getting him from one school to another.



Graph 8, a folk tale.

This text was included for completeness, and illustrates a narrative which, when plotted into a graph of sentence length against position of the sentence, does not reflect the paragraph type waves of sentences. Almost each sentence is unique in itself. The reasons for this are considered in section 11.1.2, showing what criteria can distort the normal situation as outlined in section 8.5.1.

In this story, as with the folk tale plotted as graph 4, the narrator approaches his climax in a few steps. Step A in Graph 8 shows the point where all the hero's arrows were finished. This illustrates that even in a complex folk tale, the narrator attempts to conform to a standard pattern for folk tales.

9.0 Paragraphs.

We have seen already that in certain texts, the paragraph is a group of sentences which begins and ends with short sentences, and relates to one day, actor, location or journey. In letters, all the sentences are short.

eg 9.1

<u>Dâ</u> 'but' is a conjunction often found in conversations, but never in stories or historical accounts. <u>Ima</u> 'this' is usually cataphoric, and relates to the following few sentences. When the topic is finished, the next paragraph starts:

The last paragraph is introduced by:

Another letter reflects the same organisation.

eg 9.2

The first paragraph introducer:

Dâ imâ den siâ makbe. But this speech a I must speak.

*This is what I am going to say. *

The second paragraph introducer is the same as in eg. 9.1:

The final paragraph starts as follows:

Ima den baine.
This speech last.

This is the last thing I have to say.

Many letters display no organisation. The whole letter can be considered as one paragraph of sentences, joined by akto 'and' with each sentence consisting of one theme, usually unrelated to the sentences in the context. These letters are the ones with no specific purpose. However, those letters like the two above, and also eg. 9.3, have definite aims, and contain specific paragraph features.

eg 9.3

Paragraph 1

Galane na hin maktere nanga.

My friend I this speaking DR you must listen.

'My friend, listen to what I have to say.'

Here the writer is using a speech introducer usually heard at business meetings. The next paragraph is related to the first paragraph by a cause and effect relationship.

Paragraph 2

Aregat hin maktere nanga.
That+for this I saying you must listen.
Please note what I have to say.

Paragraph 3

O Meik galane naine den bunge O Mick my friend friendship term speech true

maktere nanga. I speaking DR you must listen.

'Meik, my dear friend, please take note of what I say'.

Joining Paragraphs

In folk tales, the word akto 'and' functions to mark paragraph boundaries. When a new actor is introduced, the words are usually akto benne... 'and then...'. Joining paragraphs in letters seems to be an individual stylistic matter, using words like den 'speech' and mak- 'to speak', plus conjunctions. Other features of paragraphs have been covered in section 8.

10.00 Cohesion

10.1 Cohesion within folk tales and historical accounts.

The joining of clauses has been considered up to and including chapter 7. The joining of focus units is considered here. If the focus unit is sentence initial or sentence medial, then the focus unit ends with a medial verb DR, and a new focus unit starts with a new participant performing. If the focus unit ends a

sentence, the various methods of joining sentences then come into operation. Cohesion between one focus unit and the next, or one sentence and the next, however, depends on:

- (i) The means of identifying participants, and
- (ii) shared participants.

10.1.1 Participant identification.

Participants are named at the beginning of the text. If
the first identification is not a pronoun, eg na 'me,I', a
name, eg Meik, or a relational, eg. aniyene 'your uncle',
then the demonstrative kia 'a' identifies it as a new participant.
Subsequent references may use a demonstrative, such as are
'that one' or ina 'this one'. When a participant is highlighted
with a demonstrative, it is either to show the degree of his
involvement in the action, or to separate him out as important
from many other actors in that section of discourse.
eg 10.1 Degree of Involvement.

...arewa gem Kapenda akto luak kia ina...
...there from descending carpenter and man a these...
'after that the carpenter and another man out of the graup,
they...'

With this example, two participants who have acted during the preceding 12 hours act independently of their group. Note that the second man, <u>luak kia</u> is identified as <u>kia</u> (see chapter 2.0) a new one not met before, but the word is used to select him out from many. <u>Ina</u> shows that they have been acting for some time. This example shows one of the rare examples of combined demonstratives.

eg 10.2

Signalling who is the actor and who the patient

Kileine luak arekne ambenne a
They standing man that one (agent) wife that (patient)

he hitting DR there only dying she slept.

Whilst they were just standing there, the husband hit his wife, and she immediately died.

Here both people are third person singular, so verb endings alone could not distinguish between them. Names are rarely used in identifying participants, except at the beginning of a text, however, pronouns, relational terms and social roles are Very frequently used.

eg 10.3

agayeon. Agam heak netgimbo we all climbed. Climbing SR breath got us two DR

tatetne yak hepun nelekma...
sitting DR they leaving us us....

'As we all climbed, we two got out of breath and sat down, whilst the others went on...'

Again the object pronoun points on after the verb netgimbo 'got us two DR', and the verb tatethe 'we two sitting DR' does not need net 'we two' to identify the participants, but as with the last example there is a contrast between two groups of participants. Notice also that the focus unit starts at agam '(everyone) climbing SR', then there is an o.f.u., namely heak netgimbo 'we were out of breath DR', followed by a second o.f.u. net tatethe 'we two sitting DR', followed by a

third o.f.u. yak hepun nelekma 'they left us'. Thus pronouns are used to identify the different groups of people.

Relational terms are frequently used to identify participants.

This is true particularly in folk tales.

eg 10.4

hin makyengiep... this said to them...

'The wife's husband and children's father carried and stood and then said to them...'

The Agent is identified by his relationship to the other people in the story, and they become the object of the verb <u>makyenglep</u> the said to them. This man is the husband and father of those he is speaking to. eg 10.5 also uses relational terms to identify participants.

eg 10.5

yakne letambo bain ambenne baep.
he tied (the bridge) DR enough his wife crossed over.

When he secured the bridge, his wife went over.

Since only one person there had a wife, both participants are identified.

Social roles and positions, personal characteristics, etc., are also frequently used to identify participants. Whether a person is young or old, insane, married, a visible bush spirit, one who eats people, can be used to identify a participant, but names are rarely used.

Participant sharing.

Having once identified an Agent or Actor/s, they are usually identified only by the medial verb chain. The SR suffix /-m/, shows that they are still acting, and unless an o.f.u. interposes, they remain main participants until the last verb of the focus unit. If this verb is medial DR, we assume that any patient now becomes the actor for the next focus unit, and if no noun phrase or o.f.u. interpose, then at the next DR we expect our first actor to return.

eg 10.7

basine togo... kindo... nenne aga tatenne the bus came and stood we climbed and sat DR

luak hak kau kia ambae nananda kia akto nen man skin white a woman child with a and us

menemekma gem menenekto... held us going down holding us DR...

'The bus came and waited, we got on, and then the bus got a man, his wife, and children, and left, holding us all..'

This example shows how the actor of the first focus unit is the actor for the third. The basine, then the verb kindo 'it stood DR' introduces a new agent. Since kindo 'it stood DR' does not normally have an object, the actors of the next focus unit have to be specified as <a href="mailto:nemmail

- 1 ... yem kindenne... haunep ama agtma
 ...sleeping we all stood DR day broke then standing SR
- 2 <u>luak samba kiane goka oep gat netgimbo</u> man old a food cooked for gave to us DR
- minditma nem arekneak tatma breaking SR eating SR for that reason sitting
- 4 <u>vak</u> ti om <u>ambennaet mem</u> he tea cooking SR for his wife carrying it SR
- 5 agambo na ninep a Busian he climbed DR me pouring he gave me FV that Busian
- 6 <u>gatne Komiti arekne nendo</u> from Committee that one he drank DR
- 7 aen tatmâ... Komiti aen gâtne arekne there sitting SR... Committee there from that one
- kewil om togombo...
 banana cooking he came DR...

 '...and we slept till daybreak. Then after we got up
 an old man gave us food he had cooked and we sat to
 eat it. He made some tea and took some for his wife.
 That which he had poured out for me, the Committee from
 Busian drank it. As we were sitting, the Committee of
 that village came and...

In line 1, the actors are identified by the medial verb; ending /denne/ 'we all'. Haunep ama 'it broke' usually denotes daybreak. The narrative continues with the actors of the previous clause, i.e. 'we all'. 'We all' then are the actors for getting up. A new agent luak samba kiane 'an old man' (line 2) is introduced, the indirect object is a clause construct, and the beneficiaries are specified in the verb netgimbo 'gave to us'. These beneficiaries become actors for the next three clauses

(line 3). Line 4 shows another o.f.u. starting yak 'he/they' and he is identified as the one with a wife. The next o.f.u. has a pronoun na 'me', i.e. the narrator, and an unspecified transitive agent ninep 'he gave to me'. The transitive agent and the object, i.e. 'me' and 'tea', respectively, from the previous clause identify what is referred to in the clause construct. A 'that' refers to some tea. Since the next two transitive agents are both committees, then they are identified by their place names.

Cohesion in larger units is outlined above for folk tales and narratives. Cohesion within letters is considered next.

10.2 Cohesion Within Letters.

Letter3 tend to focus on topics, rather than participants. The first example shows that the writer is concerned with the idea of travelling to his village.

eg 10.9

- Akto ye ariwai aregat sop kia And you all will go that for time a
- Z makmena nangawe. Da you speaking I must know. But
- j ima den kia makbe. this speech a I will speak.
- 4 Ye Kulun sop gain hinan ariwai.
 You Kulun time how like what will you go?
- Nama dap meawakto and alepne I, however, road it appearing DR is good
- 6 togowean. Da dap bo meawakto
 I will come. But road not appearing DR

- 7 and bo togowean. Gane puli K50.00 given not I will come. You money K50.00
- 8 <u>kalen ama in ba ingon Lae gewean gat.</u>
 you put is here from down there Lae I will go for.
- Da wanga puli ama bo.
 But boat money is no.

 'Tell me the time you will go. Now another thing, how are you going to get to Kulun. As for me, if a road appears, I will come, but if not, I cannot. You sent K50, that will get me to Lae, but not on the boat round to Wasu.'

The first paragraph is one sentence, asking for the time of our The next paragraph is on a related topic, i.e. the departure, means of departure. The participants shift from writer to reader, but the Topic is the same: how to get from the highlands to the Timbe valley. The first paragraph is only one sentence, so intersentential cohesion is not present. The next paragraph has the paragraph introduction (lines 2-3) Da ima den kia makbe 'This is what I am going to say' (see also eg 9.1). Note the use of kia/sia 'a new one' to bring in a new topic. named as den 'speech', and so the Timbe letter writers know that they are handling topics and not participants. (In a subsequent paper we will discuss arguements and conversations and see this feature in spoken styles also). The sentences within the paragraph use several grammatical cojoining methods, the coherence relying to some extent on lexical relationships. Line 9 fits in with line 8 not only with reference to money, but also the verb is missing after bo 'not', further cojoining these sentences.

The letter continues:

eg 10.10

- 1 Da ima den sia makbe. Ga ingon speech a I will say. You down there
- 2 Lokawengat papia kalen are haune Lokawen+for paper you put that answer
- togoep me boak. are makmena it has come or no+only, that you say DR
- 4 nangawe? Da bo togombo ama
 I will hear? But not it coming DR is
- 5 gain akbean? Aregat makmena how I will be? That+for you speaking
- 6 mangawe. In Nazarin togowean I must know. Here Nazarene College I will come
- 7 me bo? Da gane bo damena ama or not? But you not saying is
- papia wan ima harok loko akma togowean.
 paper etc. this all carrying being I will come.
 'Now the next thing I want to say is this. Have you got a reply from Lokawen yet? If not, what shall I do?
 Shall I come back next year to Nazarene College? If you don't want that, then I shall bring my work to you.'

This paragraph starts with the usual introduction. The Topic for the paragraph is outlined in the second sentence of this paragraph, line 4-5. 'What shall I do?'. The topics of this paragraph and the previous one are related. The sentence lines 1-4 is background information, known to writer and reader, thus no syntactic signal is given to its relationship to the paragraph. The next three sentences reiterate the theme 'What shall I do, this or that?'.

11.0 The linguistic features and statistics of the texts analysed.

The question of linguistic feature is considered under two criteria:

i) the difference in linguistic features between the types of texts analysed. That is its content, eg folk tales, and in the method of recording, i.e., spoken or written.

ii) the linguistic differences associated with the people who give the texts. This latter consideration will be considered in a different paper.

We divided the texts up into 5 categories on the basis of content, then analysed these texts to see whether some of these categories could be combined, or whether further division within one category was required. Both lexical and grammatical considerations were taken into account.

11.1 Folk tales

11.1.1 Verb tense.

The first two or so sentences of folk tales can have the final verb displaying habitual or continuous mode (or both). The tense is often past, but not necessarily so. The most frequently encountered verb is tat 'to sit'.

i) Habitual past and continuous on first sentence.

eg 11.1

Bondagen luak kia ambenda baratda tat-mande-At Bonda man a with wife with daughter sit continuous

-minei...

habitual past third person plural....

'Once upon a time, a man, his wife and daughter all lived at Bonda...'

ii) Continuous only on first sentence.

eg 11.2

Luak kia ambenda Waragangen tat-mande- -yei...

Man a with wife Waragen at sit-continuous-past, third

person plural.

'Once, a man and his wife and family lived at Waragan...'
This story quickly goes on to limit the characters to the central daughter, and she is described in the past habitual mode.

eg 11.3

yak tu wat -minep.
she water chased habitual past, third person singular.
'She would follow the water each day'.

iii) Present Habitual

eg 11.4

Mamara ambale kia mamara
With older siblings woman a with older siblings

emira tat-mande- -mai.
with younger brother(s) sit-continuous-present habitual third
plural.

'Once there was a girl who lived with her brothers and sisters.'

eg 11.5

'There once was a man who lived with his wife and children.'

We note that the first sentence or two incorporated both habitual (past or present) and continuous mode, if not on the same verb, then on the final verbs of the first two sentences. The most frequent construction is present habitual continuous mode. This combination is only found here and in procedural discourses. Subsequent sentences of folk tales, however, use the distant past tense. One story has a distant past habitual mode with the future tense/person suffix. See the second sentence in eg 11.6.

<u>Luak imbat Bondagen tat-mai.</u> Man four Bonda at sit-present habitual third plural.

Once four men lived at Bonda. Their father had a good friend who lived at Hemân.

Note that in this one case, the speaker does not use the continuous verb mande- 'to continue'.

Stories occasionally use the habitual again when a new character is introduced.

eg 11.7

luak samba yan ambamanba ambam kalegen ye-map.
man old nothing moss from moss inside sleeps-habitual 3 singular present

'At this point, an old man who slept in the moss appeared.'

Other than these instances, all sentences end with verbs in the distant past tense.

11.1.2 Sentence length.

Narrated folk tales tend to have long sentences. (See chart 1, rows 1 and 2, columns 2 and 3). We saw in 8.5.1 that the long sentences of folk tales have a wave like occurance, corresponding with the peak about each actor. The highest peak is the climax of the story (see sentence 27 graph 2, and sentence 18, graph 3). These factors concerned with sentence length help to identify folk tales. However, the factors listed in 8.5.1 can distort the picture of the sentence groups (paragraphs). See graph 8. story starts with one participant who has bursts of activity, corresponding to sections 1-5. In section 6, she marries the man she has been chasing. From then on, however, there are several events which the narrator keeps bringing in. Section 10 of the graph, for instance switches between the old man (the villain) and the young woman. Section 10 plays off three groups against each other, and likewise section 11 with the husband coming back from section 7. This switching from one group to the other is a device for creating interest, but it makes the paragraph patterns

difficult to define. For this reason, we will not use these wave patterns as identifying a certain type of text, but will refer to it when measuring style, compared with proceedural texts, historical texts and letters.

11.1.3 Clause statistics

A significant feature of folk tales is the low occurrence of clauses with a noun phrase object associated with them. (See chart 1, row 1, column 16). This is partially due to the fact that the props (pigs, food, string bags, etc.) are familiar items. However, a big factor in this low figure of 12% clauses with objects in folk tales, compared with higher figures for proceedural texts, historical texts and letters (see chart one column 16), is the fact that in folk tales inanimate props (patients of transitive verbs) frequently display the agentive marker, although the verbs associated with these props (now agents) are usually intransitive verbs. This is further discussed in chapter 12, Props so marked occur in these folk tales at event changes, i.e. when the story approaches a climax. The next example is taken from just such a position in a folk tale.

eg 11.8 The whole sentence is given. We pick up the Actor from the previous sentence.

Yonak ekma kinma katma yan bea Secretly watching standing pausing nothing taro

yan anditma hikaep arekne nothing scraping she carried FV past tense that+Agent

ba ama yan luak sigan aregat dinenne leaving given nothing man young that+possessive his chest

karik kariknanan strong strong+adjective+locative+locative

ireama yan bea arekne awam just here+contrast nothing taro that+Agent shattering

akma ariep. being it went.

'She secretly watched him. Then she took that taro which she had brought with her, and threw it at that young man. It hit him on the chest and flew into pieces.'

The taro in this example was mentioned 80 clauses previously as a patient of a transitive verb 'to cook', and as a shared patient of some of the following few verbs, i.e. 'to scrape', 'to hold', and 'to put in her bag'. It is reintroduced here by the relative clause: bea yan anditma hikaep arekne 'that taro which she had scraped and put in her bag', and marked as an Agent by the suffixation of ne to the demonstrative are 'that'. This ne could also signal instrument, but there are no verbs before the end of the sentence which is a verb which could take an instrument. The taro is reintroduced again as agent bea arekne for the three intransitive verbs: awam 'shattering', akma 'being', and ariep 'it went'. However, after this point the story changes. The following sentence is the climax of this part of the story (see peak 6, graph 8). The fact of Agentivity for intransitive verbs is discussed in chapter 12. Another prop in this story

which takes the transitive agent/instrument is given in the next example.

eg 11.9

emet hilâm kian gaep maine yu
house day a she came up while there and then

yan nukum punpun olowak ama yan wan
nothing (dust fine dust with that is nothing what

arekne pelâk arekne gam
that+Agent insect that+instrument/agent) descending

gam ingon arimbo
descending down there it going DR

'And then on another day whilst she was coming up she saw

some dust flow down the waterfall, and in it was a pelak... t

Here the dust changes the story and introduces peak 3 in graph 8.

Arrows are invariably marked with the agent marker in folk tales.

eg 11.10

yonon arekne ama sarum sarum agaep. kind of arrow that one in contrast glancing off it went. That arrow, however, just glanced off.

This inanimate prop, marked as agent of an intransitive verb, initiates one of the peaks in section 11, graph 4.

To take an example from another story, here it is a transitive agent, but its associated verb is intransitive.

eg 11.11

egon luak arekne puka lapanan talep.
up there man that agent mango on the branches he sat.
'And in the tree sat that man.'

This sentence (eg 11.11) initiates the climax of the story in graph 2.

Another living transitive agent is in the onset of the final peak in graph 3, Again, the verbs are intransitive.

eg 11.12

dua arekne ewum sorotma kileine...
dog that agent pushing searching while standing...
'and the dog pushed his way on...'

There is a full discussion of eg 11.12 in chapter 12.

These examples illustrate the statement that a characteristic of folk tales is that transitive Agents, i.e. Noun phrases with the agentive marker, often occur at a crucial point in the story. This is true often when the agent is inanimate, and when the verb is intransitive. Thus in chapter 12 we consider - pe 'transitive agentive marker' to indicate Thematic participants under certain conditions.

Another significant feature of these texts (in common with spoken history texts) is the low choice ratio (chart 1, rows 1 & 2, column 8) of the final verb. This ratio indicates that the speaker preferred to finish on a small set of verbs, despite a wide vocabulary of verbs in the text.

Column 19 of chart 1 indicates the percentage of clauses hat have either an agent or patient within that clause all other clauses sharing an agent or patient). For folk ales, this figure is significantly lower than the other types f text in the list.

11.1.4 Noun Phrases

Noun phrases (other than locative and temporal noun phrases) in folk tales tend to be longer than noun phrases in the other spoken text types. This is so particularly for those phrases which display the transitive agent marker. The feature discussed in 11.1.3 no doubt contributes to this, namely that these phrases (Thematic Topic) emphasise the approach of the climax of the story or the description of the participants.

eg 11.2 gives the first sentence of the folk tale analysed in row 1 of chart 1. The second sentence is as follows:

eg 11.13

Tatmândem tatmandem luakne kotne sit continue sit continue man-her name-his kotne Yainuwe barathe ulik ulik woman-his name-her Yainuwe daughter-his first Murawei hamenan nanne kotne name-her Murawei after that son-his name-his Nopene Sanewe hamenan Sanewe after that hamenan kotne baratne after that daughter-his name-her Pauwe hamenan baratne kotne son-his name-his Pauwe after that daughter-his Gapi tatmandeyei. Gapi sit+continuous+past tense third person plural. The husband was called Aum, the wife called Yainuwe, the first daughter was Murawei, after her they had a son called Nopene, then a daughter Sonewe, then a son called Pauwe, and last of all, a daughter, Gapi.

In eg 11.13, the first two words and the last word are verbs, most of the rest are noun phrases. Such a high proportion of nouns to one verb is rare in Timbe texts, except folk tales, when the main participants are introduced. In these cases, the noun phrase tends to be long, contributing to the high figures in columns 9,10, and 11 of chart 1.

An example with the agent marker is as follows: eg 11.14

katma kilit kia kotne yonon arekne, emelak putting arrow a name it's yonon that-agent already

biseran kotne yonon arekne...
bind arrow name-it's yonon that-agent
'It was an arrow called yonon, in fact a biseran
(class of arrows) called yonon...'

11.2 Oral historical narrative.

11.2.1 Verb tense.

All sentences of the historical narrative end with the distant past tense.

11.2.2 Sentence length

As with folk tales the sentences tend to be long. The graph of sentence length against sentence position displays a wave formation with each wave associated with one episode or location. See section 8.5.2, and graph 1.

11.2.3 Clause statistics and noun phrases.

The significant difference between folk tales and spoken histories is seen in columns 14 and 15 of chart 1. With histories, more clauses have an agent or patient noun phrase associated with that clause than with folk tales, but these phrases are shorter in length (columns 9 and 10, chart 1). There are none of the long agent type phrases we saw in 11.1.4. Participants are usually briefly described, presumably because participants are assumed to be known by those in the audience. The start of one such text goes:

eg 11.15

Uran Meik net iren togore Meikne...
Yesterday Meik we two here I coming DR Meik...
'Yesterday when we two were here (I having just arrived) Meik said...'

In this example, the participants are named with a noun phrase of two words only: Meik net 'Meik and I'. Later in the same text, there is a Noun phrase of three words: eg 11.6

agam ___ Malanba ambae sigan imbat gambi
we climbing SR Malan-from women young four they coming down DR

aen are Merekugen ewangiyekma... there then Mereku-at we passed them...

'While we were climbing, we passed four young women coming down from Malan at Mereku.'

Here the noun phrase is three words, but the referents are not on the event line. Ambae sigan imbat 'four young women'.

11.3 Spoken proceedural texts.

11.3.1 Verb tense.

The predominant tense at sentence final position in proceedural texts is present habitual. 69% of the sentences finish in this tense.

eg 11.17

mem hengengombi yemap.

holding clearing it into one place DR it habitually sleeps.

'they gather the rubbish into one pile.'

The rest of the verbs in this text are in the immediate future tense. This occurs at the end of several sentences joined with list intonation, i.e. short sentences with short falling intonation and only short pauses between each sentence. These few sentences list various shoots and seeds which are planted.

eg 11.18

bain luak ambae arekne uruwon maiawa

O.K! men women those+agent kind beans all beans

sengo hologom mandewerai.

corn planting continue+immediate future+3 person plural.

Bain gon kametberai.

O.K! then kind grass they plant immediate future.

Ane katap bain halam alekne... Onion potatoes O.K! next sugar shoots...(other shoots)...

kitawo alekne hologom mandewerai. kitawo shoots planting they will continue.

'Next they will plant <u>uruwon</u> and the other beans, corn and <u>son</u>. Then they will plant onions, potatoes, sugar shoots...(other shoots)... and <u>kitawo</u> shoots.'

These sentences, terminating with the immediate future tense, indicate the main events of the narrative, whereas the habitual tense tends to indicate preparatory action. (The habitual tense tends to indicate preparatory conditions to folk tales, see 11.1.1).

11.3.2 Sentence length.

The sentence length of these spoken proceedural texts is significantly shorter than either of the two types discussed so far. One reason for this, given in section 8.5.2, is the necessity to insert the habitual mode, which requires a final verb. There are no clear waves when the sentence length is plotted against position of sentence in the discourse, although graph 5 illustrates two waves: A the planting of the gardens, and C the gathering of the crops.

11.3.3 Clause statistics and Noun phrase.

The significant feature is the low number of relative clauses, see chart 1, row 6, column 7. There is a marked increase in the percentage of clauses which have a noun phrase (agent or patient) attached. The speaker is giving shorter sentences of

higher information load then either of the two previous types, inserting many noun phrases which say who is doing what to what. However, these phrases are usually quite short. (See columns 9-10 on chart 1). eg 11.19 is the longest noun phrase (agentive in this text, see row 3 on chart 1.) eg 11.19

Sonan lauwa Numune Batannu-ne Church leaders two Numune Batannu-agent the two church leaders, Numune and Batannu'

This noun phrase is only four words long. The demonstrative are is usually absent in proceedural texts. This is reflected here in the presence of the agentive on the Proper Noun Batannu, rather than it being suffixed to the demonstrative are. This indicates that in proceedural texts, the noun phrases are generic. This is reflected in the lower figures in row 6, columns 9-10 of chart 1. Most patients in proceedural texts do not display demonstratives. This is a feature of the habitual nature of these texts. That is, they are not certain shoots or seeds which are planted.

11.4 Letters

We will now look at written texts, i.e. letters.

11.4.1 Verb tenses

The tenses of letters reflect the theme of that letter.

In row 7 of chart 1. 31% of the verbs are in the future tense,
the writer asking for advice as to his future movements.

In a letter from someone giving us all his complicated moves as he travelled home, all the verbs are in the past tense. The only conclusion which can be drawn is that the habitual is rare. Also, future tenses are possible, whereas they do not occur in other types of text except in speech.

11.4.2 Sentence length.

Letters have the shortest length of sentences analysed in the types of text under discussion here. However, this is not an automatic feature of written styles (see 11.5.2).

11.4.3 Clause statistics.

Several facts strike us when we consider letters:

- (i) The high percentage of relative clauses.
- (ii) The shortness of the noun phrase.
- (iii) The large number of clauses with an agent or or patient. See chart 1, column 14.

These factors are inter-related. Since letters concern topics rather than participants, the writer is changing his participants and props frequently, but he does not describe them in detail, lest they detract from the focus of his topic. Consider the Noun phrases in the following example.

eg 11.20 (a repeat of eg 10.9)

Dâ	ima	den	siâ	mak	tbe.	1	2		Kulu		
But	this	speech	a(new)	Ιn	ust	say.		You	Kulu	n time	
gain	hinar	ı ariwa	i?	2	3	Nâmâ		dâp		awakto	
what	kind	you w	ill go?			I howev	ær	road	<u>l</u> it	appearing	DR

alepne togowean. 3 4 Da good I will come. But bo Gane 4 5 puli bo togowean. put past not I will come. money ingon Lae geweangat. 5 6 6 down Lae I will go for that in ba that is here from down amâ bo. wanga puli money it is

'Now for my next speech. When do you go to Kulwin? If I get the chance, I shall come too, but if no way appears, I will not come. I have that K50 you sent for me to get to Lae, but it will not pay for the boat.'

The above example is given in length to illustrate the striking differences between letters and the other texts described so far.

Note the repetition of props (patients), see dap 'road' in the third and fourth sentences. Puli 'money' in the last two sentences. Repetitions such as this are unknown in the spoken texts when they occur within a few works of each other. Note also the short noun phrases (mostly one word), except where the phrase is to show a theme, ima den sia 'this new speech' (first sentence). Sentence 5 has a feature never found in spoken texts, that is, the relative clause of purpose occuring last in a sentence. (The demonstrative -gat is described in section 3.5

The writer finishes his sentences with a wide choice of verbs (see chart 1, rows 7 and 8, column 8). This is due to the fact that since he is not dealing with participants, he is not obliged to leave them sleeping, eating, etc. whereas he is dealing

with topics where the final verb aspects, i.e. tense and mode, need to be specified. For this reason, there are not only short sentences (referred to already) but conjunctions are present which are not found in other texts, eg da 'but', ima 'this next bit'. Also, there is no H.T.L. in this letter, The reason H.T.L. is absent is that see chart 1 column 4. H.T.L. as described in section 8.3 is for picking up the Event line, and complete absence of H.T.L. is always for reiterating the theme and adding to it. Usually in letters the topic is reiterated until it is exhausted, then a new paragraph is started. For an example, eg. 11.20 (page 98) is considered again. This is a complete paragraph (section C in Graph 6). The first sentence introduces a new paragraph, but says nothing about the The second sentence has no H.T.L., and alerts us to a There are no conjunctions, and this repeat of that topic. indicates that sentence 2 is in complete agreement with the topic. (Obviously this is so in this case, since the topic has not been stated in sentence 1). Now that sentence 2 defines the topic, sentence 3, starting again without H.T.L., repeats that topic, and, having Nama 'I' sentence initial, gives the speaker's view of that topic. Da 'but', which starts sentence 4 continues with the topic of going to Kulun (i.e. there is no H.T.L.). Sentence 5 (again no H.T.L.) speaks of Gane 'you' (that is me), I had given K50 for travel, so this sentence is following on from the topic as modified in sentence 4, i.e. 'I am short of a means of getting to Kulun'.

A letter which did exhibit H.T.L. only displayed this phenomena when the writer was continuing with the same participant, and only adding to the action of that participant.

eg 11.21 The topic is: 'When are those who receive the letter going to Kulun?'

Gâ hinne me hânk You now or late	ooi to	goweat?	1		wu ta
You now or late	er wi	.11 you co	me?	Mot	iths
aman tatbai?	2	3 Sop		akto	
how many will you s	sit?	Time	long	it being	80
na togowean. 3		ore	olow a k	manma	
I will come.	I	oming DR	with	living	
togowaen. we will all come.	ì				

'When are you coming? How long are you staying there? If it is a long time, I will come and stay with you and we will all return together.'

The sentences 1 and 2, and 2 and 3 join without H.T.L. reiterating the topic and adding some more information.

Sentence 3 ends in the distant future. The writer has not finished with his participant, but needs a sentence final break there to get the tense in. He picks up his participant with the usual H.T.L., found in other kinds of texts, starting sentence 4. Note the H.T.L. does not repeat the participant,

11. In this letter, the writer repeated his theme and participant in one place, but since it was not sequential

action of the participant, there was no H.T.L. as follows.

Let us know when you are coming. I am not going to the towns. I am just sitting in the village.

The junction of sentences 2 and 3 displays no H.T.L., thus it is a restatement of the topic, and not additional time sequentially orientated information on the same participant.

11.5 Written history

Only one long written historical narrative was available for this analysis.

11.5.1 Verb tense.

96% of the sentences were concluded by the distant past tense. In this feature, the written history is similar to spoken folk tales or historical events.

11.5.2 Sentence length.

The sentence length of a written style is shorter than a spoken style. Except for proceedural texts, where the sentences are short to allow inclusion of mode considerations, this written history has shorter sentences than spoken texts. The writer, wanting to break off his sentences more frequently than in spoken texts, had to do so at places where there

were not the usual breaking verbs, see chart 1. For this reason, his choice of final verb count was high, see chart 1, row 5, column 8, compared with the usual count of spoken texts.

11.5.3 Clause statistics.

One interesting phenomenon about this written text is that it has almost the same characteristics as spoken narratives (chart 1, rows 1 & 2), when we look at the frequency and length of noun phrases. However, the frequency of locative and temporal phrases is significantly higher than any of the other texts analysed, presumably because this text was written specifically to inform the reader (me) of places and times of which I was completely unaware.

The final verb choice has already been commented on (section 11.5.2) as to how the writer breaks his sentences in places not equivalent to those in spoken narratives.

Because of this frequent interruption to his Event line, this written text has a high incidence of H.T.L. With spoken narratives, the speaker dispenses with H.T.L. when he changes location or temporal setting. In this written text he has one main participant (himself), and he organises his material carefully to avoid change of location or temporal setting.

11.6 Written folk tale.

One written folk tale was available for this analysis.

It patterened mid way between written history and spoken folk tales (chart 1, row 3), except that again the sentences were short, and consequently the choice of final verbs was high. There was no one who could decipher much of this text, so its analysis was not completed.

Conclusions.

The distinguishing features of texts then. are:

1 Sentence length.

Spoken narratives have long sentences. Proceedural texts and letters have short sentences. Written histories and folk tales lie in between.

2 The number of clauses which carry a noun phrase subject or a noun phrase object.

Letters have the highest percentage here. In chart 1, the sum of columns 15,16,17, & 18 exceeds 100% for row 4, showing that some clauses have more than one noun phrase associated with them.

3 Verb tense.

Histories and folk tales are predominately in the past tense.

							ا	CHART	<u>-</u>												
Column number (see key) 1 2	r (see ke	y)	~	Ń	К	4	r.	9	2	ω	6	10	11	12	13	4	15	16	14 15 16 17 18 19	8	19
Type of text Oral or Row	Oral or Written	Row	T.	()	9 4 9			,				_	!	- !				ı			
		Γ	A)	Senie	2 L L C =							ัง	Clauses	81 1	{		Ĭ	Ť	}	}	
	neyods	~	58	32	13	54	725	2,5	1,2	29	3.4	2,8	2,5	1.7	1.3	5	10	12	72	Ŗ.	2
Folk tales	spoken	2	22 34	34	15	43	330	2.3	1,2	25	:										
	written	3	46	77	8	72	354	3,2	10	38											
	spoken	4	04	45	17	09	999	2.5 2.4		<u>ب</u>	21 1.642.0	2,0	2,0	2,0	٦°,	6	()	22	12	100	37
hlstorical narratives	written	r.	49 18	18	5.7 73	73	281	Z.1	13	42	2,6	S O	1,9	1,9 2,0 1,2	1,2	5	13	15	30	7	34
proceedural texts		6 47		13	64 65	69	95	5	0	35,189		<u>م</u> ان	2.4	200	8¢ b	ЬЬ	47	34	N.		45
-		7	24	24 6.5	1.70	0	L#	3.8	17	9	103 103		1,8 1,8	1,8	2,3	15 17		56 10		7	99
Letters		ω	24	24 5,1	۸ ر	4.5 4.3 35		3.50		20											

Key to chart 1

- Column 1 Number of sentences in text.
 - 2 Average number of words per sentence.
 - 3 Average number of clauses per sentence.
 - 4 Percentage of H.T.L.
 - 5 Number of clauses in text.
 - 6 Average number of words per clause.
 - 7 Percentage of relative clauses.
 - 8 Ratio of choice of final verbs used sentence finally, compared with total choice of verbs.
 - 9 Average length of Agentive noun phrases.
 - 10 " " Actor " "
 - 11 " Patient " "
 - 12 " " Locative " "
 - 13 " " Temporal " "
 - 14 Percentage of those clauses with Agentive Noun Phrase.
 - 15 " " " Actor " Actor
 - 16 " " Patient " "
 - 17 " " " Locative " '
 - 18 " " " Temporal " "
 - 19 " " " One or more Noun Phrases.

12.00 Topicalisation

The Agent case Noun Phrase is the suffix -ne in clauses with transitive verbs. For the Actor of intransitive verbs, this marker is absent, i.e. the marker is zero. The same is true for Patients of transitive verbs. This leads to a concept of transitivity for the two classes of verbs, that is: Agents have control over the Patient in transitive clauses, whereas Actors in intransitive clauses can be considered as having less control. This concept, control over, or affect on, the Patient is also suggested by the Instrument case, which also takes the suffix -ne. Some examples taken from various texts will illustrate Timbe ergativity marking. The Agentive case on a Noun Phrase with the Patient indicated by a verb suffix:

eg 12.1

The noun phrase: <u>luak samba siane</u> 'An old man' is the Agent case.

The Agentive case on a pronoun, the patient is a noun:

eg 12.2

The pronoun nane 'I-agent' is used in the Agent case of transitive verbs. Both of the above examples are of that transitive class of verbs which usually have the Agent and Patient cases.

[&]quot;I must carry the child." he said.

Actors of an intransitive verb in Noun Phrases without the Agentive marker -ne:

eg 12.3

- ... amba sisik alawu are bambi... women young three those left DR.
- '...and the three young women left.'

The noun phrase amba sisik alawu are 'those three young women.' is terminated by the demonstrative are and does not have the agentive marker -ne. This case marker indicates control which the Agent bearing that marker has in contrast to the Patient and intransitive Actor which do not have such control.

However, when analysing monologue texts, these simple rules did not hold in some cases.

eg 12.4

togomena coming DR

You have come from an important clan.

Here the agentive marker (in this case -nande) terminates a Noun Phrase for the verb togomena 'coming DR', a verb which is normally intransitive. The Agent phrase in this example is not a case of cohesion (see chapter 5), since this verb is terminated by DR, which restricts this Agent to the one verb and no other.

In example 12.5, the speaker makes the important discovery that the bridge is broken, and someone in the party, Meik, mends it.

eg 12.5

Timbe tu irawut gewerambi na-ne
Timbe river eventually they descending DR I-Agent

bam katma hin dan "O Timbe tirik baleap."
leaving pausing this said "Oh Timbe bridge is broken."

dan ama Meik-ne "Ba ekbe."
I said and/but Meik-Agent "To leave I must see."

dam talim nangam bam togom "Tak un."
saying treading knowing leaving coming "Vine collect."

dambo.... he saying DR...

'whilst they were taking their time coming down, I left them and discovered that the Timbe brdige was broken, however, Meik decided to test it. He went over and come back carefully and called out for vine.

We would expect that na-ne 'I-Agent' would have been na (without the Agent) and also Meik-ne 'Meik-Agent would have been Meik from a consideration of the verbs alone. However, from a consideration of the story as a whole, it is apparent that the two agents here control the action of the story. Thus the agentive function of the ne suffix, which normally indicates control over the Patient in a clause, here, in this story, indicates that, as there are no Patients in the clauses, this control is over the discourse.

The reverse was also noted, namely that some noun phrases which functioned as Agents for transitive verbs did not have the agentive marker. (See eg.12.6).

eg 12.6

arewa yak Gungun ambale are mani from there he (no agent) Gungun women those money

yengimbo he gave to them.

'Then he gave the Gungun women their money.'

In this case, the verb 'to give to them' would normally require an Agent, i.e. <u>yak-ne</u> 'he-Agent'. This clause, however, was found not focal to the discourse, and of low import in the story, thus the agentive marker -ne is missing. Eg 12.7 is a similar example.

eg 12.7

luakambaleyansomothelokomtatbi...menwomennothinggrasscarryingthey sat DR...Somepeoplewerecarryinggrass...

These people would normally have an agentive case, <u>luck</u>

<u>ambale sidene</u> 'some-Agent men and women' with a transitive

verb like <u>lokom</u> 'to carry', when the Noun Phrase Patient,

<u>somothe</u> 'grass' is present. However, this phrase also is an

'out of focus unit', and does not contribute to the main

Theme/Event line of the story.

There is thus an extension of the clause function of the ergative marker to indicate that a Noun Phrase has control over the discourse.