

DAGA GRAMMAR

FROM MORPHEME TO DISCOURSE

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS PUBLICATIONS
IN
LINGUISTICS AND RELATED FIELDS
PUBLICATION NUMBER 43

EDITOR
Irvine Davis

ASSISTANT EDITORS
Alan C. Wares Iris M. Wares

CONSULTING EDITORS
Doris Bartholomew Eugene Loos
Robert E. Longacre William R. Merrifield
Kenneth L. Pike

PUBLISHER
Benjamin F. Elson

DAGA GRAMMAR

FROM MORPHEME TO DISCOURSE

by

Elizabeth Murane

A Publication of the
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
of the
University of Oklahoma
Norman

1974

©

Copyright 1974

Summer Institute of Linguistics Inc.

ISBN 0-88312-053-4

Printed in U.S.A. by

The Church Press Inc.

3915 San Fernando Road

Glendale, California 91209

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS	ix
ABBREVIATIONS, DEEP STRUCTURES	xiii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1 MORPHOPHONEMICS	5
1.1. Morphophonemic Rules	5
CHAPTER 2 STEMS	11
2.1. Compound Verb Stems	11
2.2. Prefix-Derived Verb Stems	11
2.3. Adjective-Derived Verb Stems	12
2.4. Noun-Derived Verb Stems	13
2.5. Verb-Derived Noun Stems	13
CHAPTER 3 WORDS	15
3.1. Clitics	15
3.2. Particles	17
3.3. Nouns, Pronouns, Adjectives, and Locatives	31
3.4. Verbs	39
3.4.1. Verb Classes	39
3.4.2. Verb Centers	42
3.4.2.1. Verb Endocenter	42
3.4.2.2. Verb Exocenter	47
3.4.3. Irregular Verbs	70
3.5. Reduplication	72
CHAPTER 4 PHRASES	75
4.1. Phrases That Mainly Expound Phrase-Level Tagmemes	75
4.1.1. Number Phrases	81

4.1.2. Intensified Phrases	81
4.1.3. Negative Adjective Phrase	83
4.2. Phrases That Mainly Expound Clause-Level Tagmemes	84
4.2.1. Possessive Phrase	84
4.2.2. Kinship Phrase	85
4.2.3. Substantive Phrase	87
4.2.4. Modified Noun Phrase	89
4.2.5. Coordinate Phrases	92
4.2.6. Alternative Phrase	96
4.2.7. Appositional Phrases	98
4.2.8. Temporal Phrase	101
4.2.9. Direction Phrase	102
4.2.10. Relator-axis Phrases	102
4.3. Verb Phrases	112
4.3.1. General Verb Phrase	112
4.3.2. Complex Verb Phrase	113
4.3.3. Auxiliary Verb Phrases	123
CHAPTER 5 CLAUSES	131
5.1. Ditransitive Clause	132
5.2. Transitive Clause	135
5.3. Intransitive Clause	136
5.4. Equational Clause	138
5.5. Idiomatic Clause	140
5.6. Quote Clauses	142
5.7. Indirect Quote Clause	144
5.8. Medial Clauses	146
5.9. Included Clauses	147
CHAPTER 6 DEEP AND SURFACE STRUCTURES OF DAGA SENTENCES	149
6.1. Periphery	150

6.2. Sentence Constructions Not Included on the Chart	153
6.3. Sentence Constructions Included on the Chart	167
6.3.1. Coordinate Sentence	169
6.3.2. Close Sequence Sentence	181
6.3.3. Result Sentence	186
6.3.4. Reason Sentence	191
6.3.5. Antithetical Sentence	194
6.3.6. Same Subject Coordinate Sentence	204
6.3.7. Identical Predicate Sentence	211
6.3.8. Parallel Sentence	218
6.3.9. Comparison Sentence	222
6.3.10. Alternative Sentence	225
6.3.11. Sequence Sentence	234
6.3.12. Simultaneous Sentence	251
6.3.13. Conditional Sentence	255
6.3.14. Contrafactual Sentence	258
6.3.15. Terminating Action Sentence	260
6.3.16. Summary Sentence	263
6.3.17. Perception Sentence	267
6.3.18. Evaluation Sentence	271
6.3.19. Summary Negative Sentence	274
6.3.20. Conversational Alternative Sentence	276
6.4. Embedding of Sentences with Tree Diagrams	280
6.5. Summary of Mapping of Deep Structures on Surface Structures	286
CHAPTER 7 PARAGRAPHS	291
7.1. Types of Linkage within the Paragraph	291
7.2. Peripheral Tagmemes	293
7.3. Nuclear Paragraphs	294
7.3.1. Linkage by Juxtaposition	296
7.3.2. Linkage by Speech and Response	315

7.3.3. Linkage by Conjunction	328
7.3.4. Linkage by a Combination of Types	345
CHAPTER 8 DISCOURSES	375
8.1. Narrative Discourse Genre	375
8.2. Hortatory Discourse	385
8.3. Procedural Discourse	392
8.4. Expository Discourse	397
8.5. Epistolary Discourse	399
8.6. Participant Rules	403
CHAPTER 9 TEXTS	405
9.1. Autobiographical Personal Narrative Discourse (Dagas and World War II)	405
9.2. Third Person Personal Narrative Discourse (How the Crow Became Black)	411
9.3. Legend Narrative Discourse (The Story of Ainin)	415
9.4. Genealogy Narrative Discourse (Auea's Family History)	427
9.5. Compound Narrative Discourse (Our Feather Headdresses)	430
9.6. Hortatory Discourse (Everyone to Work at Agaun)	432
9.7. Procedural Discourse (How to Hunt Pigs)	437
9.8. Expository Discourse (Rain-making)	438
9.9. Epistolary Discourse (A Letter from Aravit)	440

ABBREVIATIONS

acc	accompaniment	conj	conjunction
ad	personal address	cont	continuous
add	address	coord	coordinate
adj	adjective	CQ	Closing Quote Clause
adv	adverb	cv	class marking vowel
alter	alternative	d	durative
anti	antithetical	demo	demonstrative
ap	apposition	desc	descriptive
aper	aperture	DISC	discourse
ApnPh	Apposition Noun Phrase	dm	durative medial
As	aspect	dr	durative adverb
aux	auxiliary	E	element
BU	Build-Up	ec	extended continuous suffix
BQ	Beginning Quote Clause	EF	emotive focus
C	consonant	ei	emphatic intensifier
CAPh	Contrary Action Verb Phrase	em	emphatic
CF	Contrary-to-fact	en	enumerator
CFcl	Contrary-to-fact Clause	eqcl	Equational Clause
Cl	Clause	ex	exhaustive
Co	Comment	exc	exclusive
com	comparative	exhort	exhortation
comp	completive	expo	exposition
concl	conclusion	f	future
ConPh	Coordinate Noun Phrase	form	formulaic
cond	conditional	greet	greeting
		H	Head
		hab	habitual

DAGA GRAMMAR

i	Included Clause Clitic	p	past
imp	imperative	P	Predicate
incon	inconjugable stem	P.	paragraph
Ind Obj	Indirect Object	par	parallel
inf	infinitive	Ph	phrase
int	intensifier	pl	plural
intro	introduction	plg	prolonged action
IO	Indirect Object	pln	place name
It	Item	pl. o	plural object
L	Location	pm	person markers
lat	lateral	PN	proper name
lc	location clitic	poss	possessor
loc	locative	poss ₁	bound possession type 1
lp	location postposition	poss ₂	bound possession type 2
m	medial verb	pr	present
M	Manner	PRED	Predicate
Ma	Manner	pro	pronoun
mm	merging marker	proc	procedural
mod	modifier	pur	purpose
n	noun	pur/pro	purpose pronoun
nac	Non-personal Accompaniment Phrase	qcl	quote clause
nar	narrative	qm	quote marker
neg	negative	qual	qualitative
nom	nominalizer	ref	referent
O	Object	refl	reflexive
obj	Object	res	resemblance
ofm	object focus marker	s	singular
OFvs	object focus verb stem	S	subject
		S.	sentence

ABBREVIATIONS

sal	salutation	T	Time/temporal
SPh	Substantive Phrase	term	terminal
sc	substantive clitic	To	Topic
si	superlative intensifier	TRA	Temporal Phrase
sign	signature	v	verb
sm	sequence marker	V	vowel
so	singular object	voc	vocative
spec	specifier	vz	verbalizer
ss	same subject		
sub	subjunctive		
Subj	Subject		
sum	summary		
SP ₁	Speech ₁ - a question, proposal, remark that initiates the verbal exchange		
SP ₂	Speech ₂ - a counter question, counter proposal, or counter evaluation that replies to Speech ₁ but continues the exchange		
SP ₃	Speech ₃ - an answer, response, or evaluation that replies to Speech ₁ and terminates the exchange		
SP ₀	Speech ₀ - a remark that is not carried through in the paragraph		
1s	first person singular		
2s	second person singular		
3s	third person singular		
1p	first person plural		
2p	second person plural		
3p	third person plural		
;	in examples in Chapter 6 indicates sentence final intonation		

ABBREVIATIONS

DEEP STRUCTURES

The definition of deep structure symbols and the concepts concerning deep structure used in this paper have been based on the material in "The Deep and Surface Structure of Inter-clausal Relations" by Ballard, Conrad, and Longacre which appears in *Foundations of Language* 7 (1971) and upon *Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages* by Robert E. Longacre published by Georgetown University Press, Washington (1972).

a	U	Term a is an element of set U.
a, b, ..., n		Terms of predicates, always written immediately to the right of the predication containing them.
x, y		Further predicate terms with a spacial or temporal function
a', x', etc.		Synonym or situational equivalent of term a, x, etc.
a'', x'', etc.		Antonym or situational opposite of term a, x, etc.
P, Q, N (but not U)		Predicates. If terms have been assigned to some or all of the variables to form an acceptable statement, the result is called a predication. With no terms specified, predicate symbols without temporal quantifiers refer to the entire predication. With terms specified, they refer to the predicator only.
\bar{P}		Negation of predicate P.
P'		Predication involving a synonym or situational equivalent or a lexical item with the same function in P.
P''		Predication involving an antonym or situational opposite of a lexical item with the same function in P.
<u>P</u>		P denoting an activity or state involved in chronological Succession.
P .		P denoting an event involved in chronological Succession

DAGA GRAMMAR

$\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$	P and Q each denoting a continuous activity or state which overlaps in time with another such continuous activity or state, or with a punctiliar event. Thus, e.g. $\underline{P} \wedge Q$. indicates a continuous activity or state P during which the punctiliar event Q takes place.
$\underline{P} \wedge Q$	P denoting an activity or state which occurs until terminated by an event in Q.
$P \supset Q$	If P, then Q.
$Q \subset P$	Q if P.
Pa	P with first term (actor) a.
Pab	P with first term (actor) a, and a subsequent term b which may or may not function as goal.
$Pa \wedge Qb$	P with first term (actor) a, and Q with first term (actor) b, distinct from a. If no terms are specified in a predicate, it is understood that the actors may be either the same or different.
$Pa \wedge Qa$	P with first term (actor) a, and Q with the same first term (actor) a.
$P(a) \wedge P(b) \dots \wedge P(n)$	Conjunction of n identical predications with non-identical terms having the same function in each predication.
P_{β}	Operator β changes the positive-negative value of P so that every predicate in the expression takes one of the two values. For example, $[P_{\beta} \supset Q_{\beta}] \wedge P \wedge Q$ means any of the four possibilities $[\bar{P} \supset \bar{Q}] \wedge P \wedge Q$, $[\bar{P} \supset Q] \wedge P \wedge \bar{Q}$, $[P \supset \bar{Q}] \wedge \bar{P} \wedge Q$, or $[P \supset Q] \wedge \bar{P} \wedge \bar{Q}$.
$P(a)$	P involving term a which has the same function as any other term or terms enclosed in parentheses in the same expression.
$P \wedge Q$	P and Q
$P \vee Q$	P or Q or both (inclusive disjunction).
$P \nexists Q$	Either P or Q, but not both (exclusive disjunction).

ABBREVIATIONS

P(U)	P with universal set U as a term which has the same function as other terms in the expression which are enclosed in parentheses. For example, in $\bar{P}(U) \wedge P(a)$, U has the same function in \bar{P} as term a has in P.
U	Universal set, such as the set of all people or all places.
U-a	The set U minus the particular member a.

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

aQ	Q with a reporting function denoting awareness of a statement in the accompanying predicate.
eQ	Q which denotes an assessment of the preceding P.
gP	P involving a more generic term which contrasts with a corresponding and more specific term in predicate P.
lP	P expresses a likeness or comparison with accompanying predicate.
pQ	Q has a purposive relationship (final cause) to the preceding predicate. That is, the preceding predicate was for the purpose of Q.
rQ	Q which denotes a resume of the preceding P.
sP	P involving a more specific term which contrasts with a corresponding and more generic term in gP.
tP	P which denotes a mistaken idea in the accompanying predicate.
wP	P which denotes reported speech in the accompanying predicate, with no implication about whether or not the statement results in a corresponding action.

The following symbol is illustrative of the manner in which elements of the Increment Calculus may be symbolized.

i-P	P qualified so as to express intent or desire relative to the action it indicates.
()	Expression enclosed in parentheses, which must be more than just a predicate term, is an unstated pre-

DAGA GRAMMAR

supposition with respect to the remainder of the expression not so enclosed.

[] Expression so enclosed must be grouped as one unit.

INTRODUCTION

This is a description of the grammar of Daga, a non-Austronesian language spoken by approximately 5,000 Papuans living in the Owen Stanley Mountains in the Rabaraba (formerly Baniara) Subdistrict of the Milne Bay District and in the Abau Subdistrict of the Central District of Papua New Guinea. The general linguistic theory upon which this description is based is tagmemic theory as developed by Robert E. Longacre in Grammar Discovery Procedures (Mouton, 1964) and as expanded in his various writings since then, and especially in Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constitutents in New Guinea Languages (Georgetown University Press, 1972).

One of the fundamental assumptions of tagmemics is that in language there are three simultaneous interlocking hierarchies--grammatical, phonological, and lexical. This paper describes only the grammatical hierarchy of Daga, and few, if any, interrelationships between grammar and the other hierarchies are given. The focus of this grammar is to present the levels of the grammatical hierarchy as they are related to each other, starting with the word, progressing through phrase, clause, and sentence, and ending with discourse. Morphemes are described along with the words with which they occur. An attempt is made to state the contrast, variation, and distribution for each construction. Tagmemic formulas (in the form of bidimensional arrays) are generally employed to present each construction as concisely as possible.

Tagmemic grammars have been criticized for dealing only with surface structures and not with deep structures. Although time limited a study of deep structures in all levels of the hierarchy, Chapter 6 examines both the surface and deep structures of Daga mult clause sentences. This chapter was inspired and guided by Longacre's work in this subject, especially by his lectures given in Papua New Guinea and by his two articles with Ballard and Conrad on the deep and surface structure of inter-clausal relations. (Foundations of Language 7:70-118, 1971; Language Data Asian Pacific Series No. 1, 1971.)

A variety of analytical problems were met during the research into Daga grammar, of which the following are typical:

(a) One of the analytical problems that arose was the treatment of the suffix -wa which occurs on nominal and verbal forms (see 3.1).

The problem was complicated by the fact that it has different functions according to its distribution on verbal forms. Finally, it was decided to describe all occurrences on nominal forms as the Substantive Clitic and, in order to avoid confusion, to also call it the Substantive Clitic when it occurs on verbal forms, even though it has a variety of different functions on verbs in addition to the marking of a nominal construction.

(b) Related to the problem of the Substantive Clitic was the homophony of the included clause verbal form and the past medial verb (see 3.4.2.2). The Substantive Clitic optionally occurs on both of these homophonous forms. On the included clause verbal form it marks the construction as nominal, but on the past medial verb it marks a change of subject or has various other functions. It was decided that the included clause verbal form and the past medial verb are distinct but homophonous forms.

(c) A decision also had to be made on certain morphemes and free forms, such as -a ~ gapan, den, umap, and menan, as to whether they were functioning on the phrase level as relators for relator-axis phrases or on the clause level as tagmeme markers (see 3.1 (1), 3.2 (3), and 3.3 (2)). The description seemed to be simplified if they were handled on the phrase level.

(d) At several points in the higher levels (see 6.3.16-6.3.18) where alternative analyses were possible, a description was preferred that involved recursion (the embedding of units within units of the same level). For example, a Summary Sentence was set up in which the Action slot is normally filled by one of five sentence types, instead of adding an optional Summary tagmeme to the structures of these five sentence types.

The data for this analysis were collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during 37 months of residence in the village of Kakaia between 1963 and 1971. Textual material, approximately 25,000 words, collected from various dialects has been analysed, but almost all the informants have been from the Kakaia dialect. Various monolingual young people in their twenties have served as informants and have been either illiterate or semiliterate.

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

The research and writing of the final four chapters was carried out under the auspices of the Office of Education (of the United States Government), Health, Education, and Welfare Contract no. OEC-9-097756-4409(014). This contract was undertaken and directed in Papua New Guinea during 1970 by Dr. Robert E. Longacre.

I am grateful for the help given by Alan and Phyllis Healey, Robert Longacre, Robert Conrad, and Charles Peck in the analysis and preparation of this paper.

Finally, this paper would never have been completed without the help of my husband John, who collected and transcribed all the texts, checked the data, and gave needed encouragement.

Chapter 1
MORPHOPHONEMICS

1.0. The phonemes of Daga are thirteen consonants and five vowels. The consonants are the stops p, b, t, d, k, and g; the nasals m and n; the semivowels w and y; the lateral r; and the fricatives s and v.

The voiceless stops are unaspirated, and utterance-finally, unreleased. The nasal /n/ has a velar variant [ŋ] preceding velar stops. The liquid /r/ consists of flap [ɾ] and lateral [l] in free variation. The voiced fricative /v/ freely varies between a bilabial [ɸ] and a labiodental [ɸ] articulation.

The vowels are i, e, a, u, and o. The front vowel /i/ has a high open variant [ɪ] before word-final /n/. The mid front vowel occurs as mid close [e] contiguous to another vowel, word medially preceding /w/, and word finally in free variation with [ɛ]. Mid open [ɛ] occurs in all other positions.

Some words exhibit free variation between /s/ and /t/, some show free variation between the sequences /ai/ and /ei/, and in closed syllables there is free variation between /o/ and /u/.

1.1. Morphophonemic Rules. (1) There are four morphophonemes G, R, S, and W which occur as the final segment of some stems and one suffix (-niS '(intensive)'). These morphophonemes have the following phonemic shapes when followed by a suffix:

Morpho- phoneme	followed by /i/ or /e/	followed by /a/, /o/, or /u/	followed by consonant	word final
G	g	g	---	k
R	r	r	ra	t
S	s	t	---	t
W	v	w	wa	o

batnaG + -en = batnagen
count 3p/p 'they counted'

batnaG + # = batnak
count 2s/imp 'count!'

waR get	+	-an 3p/p	=	waran 'they got'
waR get	+	-nege me	+ -an 3p/p	= waranegen 'they got me'
waR get	+	# 2s/imp	=	wat 'get (it)!'
yamoS lick	+	-ivin 1s/pr/cont	=	yamosivin 'I am licking'
yamoS lick	+	-ain 3p/f	=	yamotain 'they will lick'
yamoS lick	+	# 2s/imp	=	yamot 'lick!'
yaW see	+	-ivin 1s/pr/cont	=	yavivin 'I am seeing'
yaW see	+	-an 3p/p	=	yawan 'they saw'
yaW see	+	-nege me	+ -an 3p/p	= yawanegen 'they saw me'
yaW see	+	# 2s/imp	=	yao 'see!'

It should be noted that S was apparently a phoneme a few generations ago. The low frequency contrast between /s/ and /t/ is found mainly in words borrowed from English and Hiri Motu. Similarly, W was a phoneme two generations ago. The few contrasts between /v/ and /w/ are found only in words borrowed from English.

(2) There are three stems which do not conform to the above rules; when followed by a consonant the stem-final morphophoneme is lost.

unuG enter	+	-nege me	+	-en 3s/p	=	ununegen 'he (spirit) entered me'
yagiR burn	+	-nege me	+	-iwan 3s/pr/cont	=	yaginegiwan 'it is burning me'

ewas + -nege + -en = ewanegen
 show me 3s/p 'he showed me'

(3) All stems ending in consonants other than G, R, S, and W add /a/ when followed by a consonant-initial suffix.

en + -ne + -en = enanen
 put/in us 3s/p 'he put us in'

(4) The final consonant of prefixes in affix-derived stems assimilates in point of articulation to the contiguous root-initial consonant.

em-benag-en
 stick-tear-ls/p
 'I stuck into and tore (it)'

en-dum-an
 stick-split-ls/p
 'I stuck into and split (it)'

(5) When a morpheme-initial /w/ is preceded by a back vowel /o/ or /u/, the /w/ is lost.

amo + -wan = amoan
 go pr/cont 'they are going'

(6) Following vowel-final stems, except Classes A₁ and A₂, and vowel-final suffixes, the initial vowel of a vowel-initial suffix is lost. If the initial vowel is /i/ it is retained. No example of a stem final /i/ is included because all /i/-final verb stems are Class A₁.

na + -an = nan
 eat ls/p 'I ate'

na + -ivin = naivin
 eat ls/pr/cont 'I am eating'

to + -nege + -en = tonegen
 hit me 3s/p 'he hit me'

to + -mo + -an = tomon
 hit them ls/p 'I hit them'

tunu	+	-an	=	tunun
cook		ls/p		'I cooked'

(7) When an /i/-initial suffix follows a vowel-final suffix the final vowel of the first suffix is lost, except in the third person plural object suffix where all vowels are retained. In the verb se 'put' the vowel of the verb stem is lost when an /i/-initial suffix occurs. All other vowel-final verb stems retain the final vowel and the initial /i/ of the suffix.

to	+	-nege	+	-iwan	=	tonegiwan
hit		me		3s/pr/ cont		'he is hitting me'

to	+	-mo	+	-iwan	=	tomoiwan
hit		them		3s/pr/ cont		'he is hitting them'

se	+	-ivin	=	sivin
put		ls/pr/cont		'I am putting'

na	+	-ivin	=	naivin
eat		ls/pr/cont		'I am eating'

(8) The third singular intimate possessive suffix, which is -e, replaces the final vowel in vowel-final nouns.

yama		yam-e
eye		eye-his
meima		meim-e
husband		husband-her
ina		in-e
mother		mother-his

(9) When an /a/-initial suffix follows the first and second person singular continuous suffix -ingi, the final /i/ of -ingi is lost.

waR	+	-ingi	+	-apen	=	waringapen
get		ls/cont		sub		'I should get'

ta	+	-ingi	+	-an	=	taingan
do		2s/cont		plg		'you keep on doing'

(10) Contractions optionally occur when a word-final /a/ is followed by a word-initial /a/.

amba	ag-ean	=	/ambagean/
where	go-2s/p		'Where did you go?'

wa	aton-as-iwan	=	/watonasiwan/
say	happy-vz-3s/pr/cont		'he is praising'

(11) With a few exceptions, the location clitic -a occurs on consonant-final nouns; the location clitic -p occurs on vowel-final nouns.

tonan-a
door-lc
'at the door'

nani-p
hand-lc
'at his hand'

(12) The first singular intimate possessive suffix -na becomes -ana following consonant-final nouns.

oaen-ana
woman-my
'my wife'

nani-na
hand-my
'my hand'

(13) The allomorphs of the medial verb suffixes are conditioned by the final phoneme of the person/tense suffix. The basic form -a in the second person singular and plural follows a consonant-final person/tense suffix. The allomorph -ana follows a vowel-final person/tense suffix.

war-aan-a
get-2s/p-m
'you got (it)...'

war-ai-ana
 get-2s/f-m
 'you will get (it)...'

The basic medial form *-i* of the first person plural follows those person/tense suffixes which end in *-on*. The allomorph *-oni* follows the consonant /t/.

war-iton-i
 get-lp/p-m
 'we got (it)...'

war-ait-oni
 get-lp/f-m
 'we will get (it)...'

(14) The nominalizer suffix has two allomorphs, *-at* and zero. The zero allomorph follows verb stems ending in *S*, and *-at* occurs on all other stems.

anu tumaS	+	#	=	anu tumat		
believe		nom		'faith'		
anu waramaS	+	#	=	anu waramat		
confuse		nom		'confusion'		
yaW	+	-at	+	wan	=	yawat wan
see		nom		he/said		'He said that he saw (it).'

Chapter 2

STEMS

2.0. The few compound and prefix-derived stems which occur in Daga are verb stems. In addition, certain noun and adjective roots can be verbalized, and verb roots can be nominalized by suffixation. The use of suffix-derived stems is restricted to specific constructions.

2.1. Compound Verb Stems. Most compound verb stems are a combination of a verb root with the root yaw 'see'.

wa say	+	yaW see	=	wayaW ask
na eat	+	yaW see	=	nayaW taste
ta do	+	yaW see	=	tayaW try
anu think	+	yaW see	=	anuyaW consider

One other compound verb stem has been observed.

wa say	+	di declare	=	wadi teach
-----------	---	---------------	---	---------------

2.2. Prefix-Derived Verb Stems. The four prefixes: wa-, to-, en-, and a- are prefixed to various verb roots. The prefix wa- means that the object is singular. The prefix to- means that hitting is involved in the action and that the object is singular. The prefix en- means that the action of sticking into is involved and a- means that the action of biting is involved.

dum	'split (plural object)'
wadum	'split (singular object)'
todum	'hit and split; smash (singular object)'
endum	'stick into and split'
adum	'bite and split'

boR	'close (plural object)'
waboR	'close (singular object), used of healing of a wound'
toboR	'hit and close; slam (singular object)'
emboR	'stick into and close, often used in referring to a finger in the eye'

2.3. Adjective-Derived Verb Stems. Some adjectives take the verbalizer -am ∞ -aS and become Class E verb stems. Adjectives that have been verbalized occur only in the Qualified Verb Phrase (cf. Sec. 4.3.2).

STEM		EXAMPLE	
taman-am straight-vz	wa say	taman-am-en straight-vz-3s/p	'He corrected (the) speech.'
aipak-am good-vz	wat take	aipak-am-iwan good-vz-3s/pr/cont	'He is blessing.'
bawar-am big-vz	upun blow	bawar-am-ivin big-vz-ls/pr/cont	'I am blowing (the fire) bigger.'
amun-am warm-vz	tunu cook	amun-am-en warm-vz-ls/p	'I warmed (it).'
otu-m little-vz	anu think	otu-m-ingi little-vz-2s/pr/ cont	'You are scorning.'
koe-am bad-vz	anu think	koe-am-en bad-vz-3s/p	'He hated (him).'
koerag-am bad-vz	ta do	koerag-am-en bad-vz-3s/p	'He persecuted (him).'
kakae-aS good-vz	in sleep	kakae-aS good-vz-2s/imp	'Sleep well.'

This last is the only adjective that occurs with the -aS allomorph.

2.4. Noun-Derived Verb Stems. Some verb stems are derived from a few nouns by adding -at ∞ -am '(verbalizer)' to the noun root. These stems occur only in the Qualitative tagmeme of the Qualified Verb Phrase.

ago	ago-at
servant	servant-vz
	'help'
inak	inak-am
life	life-vz
	'save; heal'

2.5. Verb-Derived Noun Stems. Verb stems are nominalized by the suffix -at ~ # . The nominalized verb occurs most frequently in the first Head of the Desiderative Verb Phrase. Also the verb in the Indirect Quote Clause must be nominalized. Other usages of nominalized verbs are rare, but occasionally they fill the Head of the Modified Noun Phrase.

anu tumas-#		anu tumat
believe-nom		faith
anu-at		anut
hear; think-nom		thought
wan-at		wanat
give/him-nom		give/him
gek	anut	gega
yourself	thought	your
	'your own thought'	
anu tumat	baware	mega
faith	big	his
	'his big faith'	
maman	wanat	wan
our/father	give/him	he/said
	'He said to give it to our father.'	
(This example illustrates the nominalized verb used in the Indirect Quote Clause.)		

Chapter 3

WORDS

3.0. Words are inflectable units which are isolatable and which cannot be further divided into free forms. Words occur in the hierarchical order above stems and below phrases.

Word classes are distinguished from each other and by the different tagmemes in which they occur on the phrase and clause levels, by the number of suffixial orders and the particular set of suffixes occurring with them, and by the occurrence of possession. Some words fit into more than one class. The subclasses that occur will be noted with the discussion of the particular class.

Word classes are listed as follows:

Clitics

Closed classes which generally occur without suffixes

Responses	Numerals
Exclamations	Negatives
Postpositions	Manner Adverbs
Intensifiers	Temporals
Conjunctions	Interrogatives
Durative Adverb	Inconjugable Stems

Open classes which optionally occur with one or two orders of suffixes

Nouns	Adjectives
Pronouns	Locatives

Open classes which obligatorily occur with one suffix

Verbs

3.1. Clitics. There are three clitics in Daga: (1) the Location Clitic, (2) the Substantive Clitic, and (3) the Included Clause Clitic.

(1) The Location Clitic indicates location and instrument. Nouns inflected with the Location Clitic occur in the Location tagmeme of the clause.

Allomorphs of the Location Clitic are -p ∞ -a ∞ -i ∞ -u.

Generally, vowel-final nouns take the -p allomorph and consonant-final nouns the -a. However, there are a few exceptions where a vowel-final noun takes the -a allomorph, and there are three words with the -i allomorph and one with the -u allomorph.

pusi-ga-p foot-your-lc 'on your foot'	puiman-i ocean-lc 'at the ocean'
one-p shoulder-lc 'on his shoulder'	kiman-i sky-lc 'in the sky'
tonan-a door-lc 'at the door'	gawan-i ridge/pole-lc 'on the ridge-pole'
pu-a bush-lc 'in the bush'	oam-u sun-lc 'in the sun'

(2) The Substantive Clitic occurs obligatorily on the last word in the Substantive Phrase and optionally on the last word of a nominalized clause. Generally, it binds several preceding words into one nominal unit. Its forms are -a/-wa, which are used interchangeably without affecting the meaning and which occur following a vowel-final stem, and -ewa ∞ -awa which follow consonant-final stems. Only wataget 'formerly', iman 'tomorrow', and pu 'bush' have been observed with the -awa allomorph. A shorter form -e alternates with -ewa. In some cases a noun suffixed with -wa functions grammatically just as does that same noun without the Substantive Clitic.

The Substantive Clitic functions on several levels of the grammar. It occurs on nouns, as mentioned above, to mark a substantive relationship between nouns in the Substantive Phrase, and it optionally marks the Comment tagmeme of the Equational Clause. In cases where the context is ambiguous, the -wa clitic is obligatory and distinguishes an Equational Clause from a Modified Noun Phrase. Adjectives which are filling the Item₂ tagmeme of the Substantive Phrase also receive the clitic -wa. The occurrence of -a or -wa following the Included Clause Clitic indicates that the clause is expounding another phrase-level or clause-level tagmeme. Following the Medial Suffixes it indicates that there is a change of actor in the following clause. Following Durative Suffixes it indicates that simultaneous action is meant. There is also a tendency to alternate the presence and absence of -wa when more than two verbs with Medial Suffixes occur in the same sentence.

(3) The Included Clause Clitic is completely homophonous with the Medial Suffixes which occur with the Verb Exocenter Type A. The Included Clause Clitic and Medial Suffixes have the same form and allomorphs, and both occur following the Subject-Person/tense Suffix of the Verb Exocenter Type A. It agrees in person with the Subject-Person Suffix and indicates that the clause is expounding a phrase-level or clause-level tagmeme. In the chart below, the basic forms of the Included Clause Clitic will be given. Allomorphs are listed with the Medial Suffixes in Section 3.4.2.2.

Included Clause Clitics

	Singular	Plural
1	-a	-i
2	-a	-a
3	-i	-e

pa Dani tu-n-i
house Dani build-3s/p-i

'the house which Dani built'

at gega gat yon-an-a
place your just stand-2s/p-i

'the place where you just stood'

enu-ton-i
make-1p/p-i

'(the thing) which we made'

na-yan-a
eat-2p/p-i

'(food) which you ate'

3.2. Particles. The vast majority of these classes of words do not have any suffixes. However, occasionally, in certain environments as will be indicated below, a particular form occurs with a first order suffix.

(1) Responses manifest the Exclamation, one of the prenuclear tagmemes of the sentence periphery.

e	'yes'
ae	'no'
anse	'perhaps'
oare	'don't know' The person is indicated by the free pronoun; e.g., ne oare 'I don't know'. Oare also occurs with the Substantive Clitic -a, e.g., oare-a 'those who don't know; ignorant'.

(2) Exclamations also occur in the Exclamation tagmeme of the sentence periphery.

akae/kae	'(amazement)'
akui	'(emphasis)'
inan	'(fright)'
kaiwan	'(sympathy)'
goanen	'(agreement)'

(3) Postpositions function to mark location, accompaniment, comparison, and temporal constructions.

Location optionally is indicated by a free Location Postposition gapan/gan/gam or by the Location Clitic on nouns. The Location Postposition is used interchangeably with the Location Clitic, but the tendency is to use the Location Clitic when a single noun manifests the Location tagmeme and to use the Location Postposition when a phrase occurs in the Location tagmeme.

The clause-level Location tagmeme also encodes the instrumental meaning.

Waruman	gapan	in-an
Waruman	lp	sleep-3p/p

'They slept at Waruman.'

Goseagu	nagire-wa	urat-a	geamo-n
Goseagu	people-sc	hole-lc	fall-3p/p

'The Goseagu people fell in the hole.'

pusi-p	ae-n
foot-lc	go-3s/p

'He went by foot.'

Other more specific Location Postpositions are the Positionals which consist of a Positional root, person suffix, and the

Location Clitic -p.

In the third person singular the Positionals fill the Relator tagmeme of the Location Phrase.

Some of the positionals with the zero third singular form are:

maina-p	ua-p
near-lc	same/place-lc
yama-p	namu-p
present-lc	before-lc
mawa-p	gaga-p
absent-lc	on/top-lc
goana-p	aiga-p
inside-lc	on/top-lc
pota-p	evi-p
inside-lc	behind-lc
gauara-p	ina-p
under-lc	towards-lc

tuan tau maina-p sia ae-n
 pig arrive near-lc again go-3s/p
 'The pig came near (it and) left again.'

apan gaut watat aiga-p bar-en
 man stick shelf on/top-lc put-3s/p
 'The man put the stick on top of the shelf.'

The Positionals occur with person markers. These Positionals give a location in relation to a person. Except for the third person singular, the person markers are the same as the Intimate Possessive Suffixes.

Positional Person Markers

	Singular	Plural
1	-na	-nu
2	-ga	-ya
3	#	-mu

ina-mu-p
to-them-lc

'to them'

yama-ga-p
present-you-lc

'in your presence'

mawa-na-p
absent-me-lc

'in my absence'

pota- -p
inside-him-lc

'inside him'

aiga-nu-p
on/top-us-lc

'on top of us'

maina-na-p
near-me-lc

'near me'

This construction is identical to body parts which are marked with the Location Clitic.

gari-na-p
back-my-lc

'at my back'

pusi-mu-p
foot-their-lc

'on their feet; by foot'

Several words act as Accompaniment Postpositions. This class fills the Accompaniment Marker tagmeme of Accompaniment Phrases (see Section 4.2.10).

The following Accompaniment Postpositions occur:

den 'with' occurs as the Relator in both types of Accompaniment Phrases and fills the Exclamation tagmeme of the sentence periphery where it acts as a new paragraph indicator in Epistolary Discourse. Den occasionally occurs in the Manner tagmeme on the clause level when it is translated as 'also'. An alternate form dena is used when responding to a question and occasionally as the Accompaniment Marker.

The following Accompaniment Postpositions occur only in the Personal Accompaniment Phrase (see Section 4.2.10).

boen 'with'

tana 'with' is obligatorily marked for person by the

Intimate Possessive Suffixes. The person agrees with the person of the Head.

ena 'with' is used only with ak 'go' and is obligatorily marked with the plural Abbreviated Intimate Possessive Suffixes.

karopae i den buna-en
mango roots with pull-3s/p

'He pulled out the mango with its roots.'

auda boen wain-eton
foreigner with stay-lp/p

'We stayed with the foreigner.'

tana-m pa wand-en
with-them house stay-3s/p

'He stayed in the house with them.'

ena-e a-en
with-you go-3s/p

'He went with you.'

Mini/umap 'like' are used to compare items. These Comparison Postpositions are the only fillers of the Relator of the Resemblance Phrase. Mini and umap also expound the obligatory Link tagmeme in the Comparison Sentence. Mini occurs in the Manner tagmeme of the clause where it is translated 'also'. Umap occurs with the Positional Person Markers giving the forms

uma-na-p	'like me'	umanup	'like us'
like-me-lc			
umagap	'like you'	umayap	'like you'
umap	'like him'	umamup	'like them'

even-e man mini tau-en
friend-his animal like arrive-3s/p

'His friend came like an animal.'

uma-na-p ta-iwan
like-me-lc do-3s/pr/cont

'He is doing (it) like I (would do it).'

In the Time Phrase, the Temporal Postposition gapan or either of its other forms gam or gan manifests the Time Phrase Relator tagmeme.

ne tamaru waing-en-a gapan
I youth stay-ls/p-i at

'at the time when I was a youth'

mum gage gapan
night middle at

'at midnight'

(4) There are two Intensifier roots: the emphatic di and the superlative iragen/iren.

The single Emphatic Intensifier root is di. It optionally occurs in postposition to any Daga phrase, adjective, pronoun, locative, negative, adverb, participle, conjunction, or nonpast medial verb to add emphasis. It rarely occurs sentence finally. The final vowel of the sentence-final verb optionally is lengthened to add emphasis. This construction substitutes for the sentence-final di. Di also sometimes occurs as the Coordinate Marker in the Coordinate Sentence.

umap di
'definitely acceptable'

kakae di
'definitely good; very good'

The Superlative Intensifier root iragen/iren optionally occurs after adjectives, nouns, and positionals. Its most common occurrence is with adjectives to make the superlative degree.

mama-na iragen
father-my si

'my true father'

kakae iragen
good si

'best'

namu-na-p iragen
before-me-1c si

'right in front of me'

(5) Conjunctions join constructions on the phrase, clause, and sentence levels. As will be noted below, some conjunctions function on more than one grammatical level.

Phrase Conjunctions are optional joiners in Coordinate Phrase constructions.

ge 'and' is optionally used to join heads in Coordinate Phrases. It occurs obligatorily between verb stems in type 1 reduplication to form the participle (see 3.5).

go/o 'or' occurs in the Alternative Phrase.

ian Kakaia ge ian Kaumania
people Kakaia and people Kaumania

'the Kakaia people and the Kaumania people'

en de o yampo o animpo
year two or three or how/many

'two, three, or how many years'

Clause Conjunctions optionally occur in combining clauses into sentences.

e/si/di 'and' sometimes (rarely) manifest the Coordinate Marker tagmeme in the Coordinate Sentence.

menan/gapan/anega 'therefore' expound the Result Marker in the Result Sentence. Menan is used most frequently. Gapan is also the Location Postposition. Anega is also an adverb.

iwa 'because' manifests the Reason Marker in the Reason Sentence.

go/ae 'but' optionally joins the Thesis and the Antithesis in the Antithetical Sentence. Go occurs more frequently.

mini/umap 'like' obligatorily occurs in the Comparison

Sentence to join the Statement and Comparison tagmemes.

go/o 'or' fills the Pivot tagmemes in the Alternative Sentence. Go also obligatorily joins the Statement and the Alternative in the Conversational Alternative Sentence.

anega 'like this' is the obligatory Summary Marker in the Summary Sentence.

Temporal conjunctions expound the Sequence Marker of the Sequence Sentence. Generally these conjunctions mean 'then' but each specifies an approximate length of time.

boge 'immediately'

gatawan 'later, the same day'

amba/amba gan 'then', a moderate amount of time has passed. Amba optionally occurs also in the Conditional and Terminating Action Sentences and before the final Base in the Merged Sentence.

evi amba/amba evi 'then; later', a longer passage of time.

evi 'later', the longest time lapse of any of the temporal conjunctions.

Several of the conjunctions which join clauses into sentences also join sentences into similar paragraph types. These Sentence Conjunctions optionally fill the initial prenuclear tagmeme of the sentence periphery.

menan 'therefore' links the Cause and Effect tagmemes of the Result Paragraph.

iwa 'because' joins the Action and the Reason in the Reason Paragraph.

go 'but' occurs in the Antithetical Paragraph.

o 'or' joins the Alternatives in the Alternative Paragraph.

anega 'thus' is frequently used to bind the Terminus peripheral tagmeme to the body of the paragraph.

amba 'then', when occurring sentence finally binds the sentence into the paragraph, in contrast to temporal conjunctions occurring initially in a sen-

tence which indicate the start of a new paragraph.

(6) The Durative Adverb occurs following past durative verbs to highlight the durative verb and to carry the Medial Suffix/Included Clause Clitic for the durative verb. Since the simple past continuous and the durative past continuous are inflected identically, the Durative Adverb distinguishes between these two.

Durative Adverbs

Singular		Plural
1	en	et/eton
2	e	e
3	e	en

The person of the Durative Adverb must agree with the verbal suffixes and the Medial Suffix, if it occurs.

war-in en
get-ls/d dr

'I got and got'

wari e

'you got and got'

warin e

'he got and got'

warit et

'We got and got'

wari e

'you got and got'

warin en

'they got and got'

(7) Numeral roots fill slots in the Number Phrases.

daiton/da (abbreviated form)

'one'

dere/de (abbreviated form)

'two'

yampo

'three'

degede/bayabayapa (dialect
difference)

'four'

aonagaet

'ten'

iravi/iragi (dialect difference)

'all'

aruga

'many'

da de

'a few' (literally 'one, two')

(8) There are two Negative particles: *ya* occurs in the Negative tagmeme of the General Verb Phrase and *uon* occurs in the Comment of the Equational Clause, the Summary Negative tagmeme of the Summary Negative Sentence, the Alternative of the Conversational Alternative Sentence, and as a negative response to a yes-no interrogative.

Either of these two negative particles occurs in the Head of the Emphatic Intensified Phrase. An alternate type of emphasis focuses on the negative aspect of the subject, object, or topic tagmemes of the clause which contains the negative idea. In this construction, the particle *da* 'one; a' occurs in the phrase expounding the subject, object, or topic; and the Predicate or Comment must contain a negative particle.

S: oaen da O: denanu P: ya wa-p
woman a rubbish neg say-3s/imp

'No woman must say (I am going to clean up the) rubbish.'

S: bom bulusi da O: nu P: ya ara-n-en
bomb bullet a us neg hurt-us-3s/p

'Not one bomb or bullet hurt us.'

S: garip da P: ya wa-p
back a neg say-3s/imp

'Don't be disgusted a bit.'

O: taba da P: ya na-ton
food a neg eat-1p/p

'We didn't eat any food.'

O: da P: ya di yaw-an
a neg em see-1s/p

'I definitely did not see a single one.'

To: man da Co: uon
animal a neg

'(There was) not a single animal.'

To: mu nani-wa goanap da Co: uon
they hand-their inside a neg

'(It is) definitely not in their hands.'

(9) Manner Adverb roots expound the Manner tagmeme in clauses. A representative list is given below.

sia	'again; also'	ingane	'(reflexive)'
den	'also'	mondi	'purposeless; vain'
mini	'also'	enop	'upside down'
taugatanatan	'meeting from two directions'	goyago	'without order'
anega	'like this'	poe poe	'nodding'
kototot	'on and on'	nemani	'quickly'
serarat	'quickly'	ise ase	'unorganized' (literally, 'there here')
ganawan	'enough'		

Other Manner Adverbs include reduplicated forms with one vowel change as discussed in Section 3.5.

(10) Temporals fill the Head tagmeme of Temporal Phrases. A few Temporals take suffixes; those which optionally take a suffix are shown in the subclasses. A few Temporals act like nouns in that they optionally are possessed, but do not act like nouns in that they do not fill the same slots as nouns. Some Temporals are stereotyped clauses.

A representative list of Temporals:

wanaket/wataet	'before'
mumaget	'morning'
mayamawa	'day after tomorrow'
manapawa	'day before yesterday'
augaya	'late afternoon'

Temporals which optionally take the Substantive Clitic:

endi	'today; now' also acts as an indicator of a new paragraph, especially in Hortatory Discourse.
iman	'tomorrow; future'
wata	'yesterday; past'

Temporals which optionally take the Location Clitic:

mum	'night'	oam	'day; sun'
mum-a night-lc	'at night'	oam-u day-lc	'during the day- light'

Temporals which are optionally possessed:

en	'year'	yampo	'Wednesday'
oam	'day'	degedeawa	'Thursday'
pura bawarewa	'Sunday'	gugunawa	'Friday'
moninde	'Monday'	pura otukoewa	'Saturday'
daginedenawa	'Tuesday'		

Stereotyped clauses which act as Temporals:

One solution would be to consider that these stereotyped clauses are manifesting sentence-level tagmemes, either Base₁ of the Coordinate Sentence if a final verb occurs in the clause or Action of the Sequence Sentence if a medial verb occurs in the clause. This analysis, however, was rejected because the stereotyped clause acts as a single temporal in indicating a new paragraph in Narrative Discourse.

wan se-n	or	wan se-n-i
sun put-3s/p		sun put-3s/p-m
'sunrise'		'sunrise'

mum tau-en
night arrive-3s/p
'night time'

wan gear-en
sun fall-3s/p
'sun set'

marek wand-en-i
sun stay-3s/p-m
'daytime'

These stereotyped clauses manifest the Temporal tagmeme on the clause level and do not occur in Temporal Phrases.

(11) Interrogatives occur in the clause or phrase tagmemes appropriate to the question. Different dialects prefer the different alternates listed.

dime den/dim ben/dimen/din 'why' fills the Purpose
and Comment tagmemes

To: ibari Co: dimen
 reason why

'What (is the) reason?'

Pur: dime den P: ta-i
 why do-2s/f

'Why will you do (it)?'

dim/dim da 'what' fills either the Subject, Object, or
Comment tagmemes

To: ma Co: dim
 this what

'What (is) this?'

L: utupa S: dim da P: bor-iwand-in
 up/there what close-3s/cont-3s/p

'What was closing (that) over up there?'

S: ge O: dim P: war-ingi
 you what get-2s/pr/cont

'What are you doing?'

(Note: This is an idiomatic use of the verb waR 'get' = 'do'.)

ansena/ansenawa/ambe 'which' fills the Modifier tag-
meme of a Modified Noun Phrase

T: endi S: ne O: nop ambe P: wa-in
 now I word which say-1s/f

'Now what will I say?'

anen/anenen 'how' fills the Manner and Comment
tagmemes.

To: me yau-a Co: anen
 he name-his how

'What (is) his name?'

S: paua Ma: anenen P: antan-eta
 sign how drop-3s/f

‘How will the sign drop; what will happen?’

O: at yau-a Ma: anen P: wa-it
 place name-its how say-lp/f

‘What’s the name of the place?’

andi/ani ‘when’ fills the Time tagmeme.

T: andi P: tau-en
 when arrive-3s/p

‘When did he arrive?’

amba ‘where’ fills the Location tagmeme.

L: amba P: bar-an
 where put-ls/p

‘Where did I put (it)?’

animpo/anipo ‘how many’ fills the Number tagmeme of
 the Modified Noun Phrase, but in context it
 is optionally the only manifestation of the
 phrase.

S: apan anipo P: tau-an
 man how/many arrive-3p/p

‘How many men came?’

S: animpo P: gur-aan
 how/many kill-2s/p

‘How many (pigs) did you kill?’

da ‘who’ fills the Subject and Topic tagmemes of clauses
 and the Referent tagmeme of Possessive
 Phrases.

L: ao S: da P: wa-ia
 up who say-3s/pr

‘Who speaks up there?’

To: da Co: amena
 who over/there

‘Who (is) over there?’

Ref: da Poss: me-ga
 who he-poss

‘Whose (is that)?’

(12) The Inconjugable Stems are a closed class of verb auxiliaries. They fill the Lexical Head of the Definitive Verb Phrase and do not occur in other tagmemes. Each Inconjugable occurs with a specific verb.

A representative list is given below. The inconjugable stems are listed with their specific verbs in Section 4.3.2.

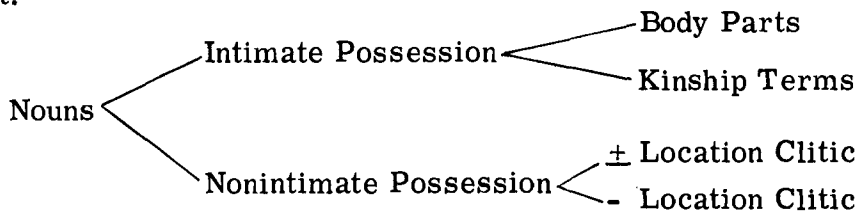
bup	‘hop’	kai	‘grow’
top	‘laugh’	nipep	‘mock’
ua	‘kiss’	tarep	‘dance’
kae	‘play’	kunk	‘sniffle’

3.3. Open classes which optionally take one or two orders of suffixes are nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and locatives.

(1) Nouns occur on the phrase level in the Head of the Modified Noun Phrase, in the Item₁ and Item₂ of the Substantive Phrase, and in the Axis of the Non-personal Accompaniment Phrase.

Two major subclasses of noun stems result because of possession. Intimately possessed noun stems obligatorily occur with possession suffixes and are subdivided into body parts and kinship terms. Body parts optionally take the location clitic as a second order suffix. Kinship terms occur in the Kinship Phrase.

Nonintimate possession is indicated by a Possessive Phrase. Nouns which occur in the Item of the Possessive Phrase are divided into those which occur with the location clitic and those which do not.



The noun *oaen* 'woman' is both intimately and nonintimately possessed, with a resulting change in meaning. *Oaen-ana* 'woman-my' means 'my wife'. *Oaen nega* 'woman my' means 'madam', and is used as a polite form of address.

The obligatory suffixes indicating intimate possession are listed in the chart.

Intimate Possessive Suffixes

Singular		Plural
1	-na	-nu
2	-ga	-ya
3	-e/#	-mu/e

mama-na
father-my
'my father'

yam-e
eye-his
'his eye'

goana-ya
liver-your
'your livers'

ina-ga
mother-your
'your mother'

nani-mu
hand-their
'their hands'

pusi-nu
foot-ours
'our feet'

In some constructions, intimate possessive suffixes are used interchangeably with abbreviated intimate possessive suffixes. But in Kinship Phrases, Idiomatic Clauses, and in body parts which are possessed by other body parts, abbreviated intimate possessive suffixes are preferred. Abbreviated intimate possessive suffixes are never followed by any other suffix. The first person -n is used with kinship terms to form the Vocative.

Abbreviated Intimate Possessive Suffixes

Singular		Plural
1	-n	-n
2	-k	# /-e
3	#	# /-m

In the second person plural and third persons the zero allomorph is used more frequently.

no-k	don-e
mouth-your	horn-its
'your teeth'	

bagu-n	sisi	wa-ia
stomach-my	bitter	say-3s/pr
'I am sad'		

ina-n
mother-my
'Mother!'

Most nouns optionally occur with an -e suffix which may be the third person singular possession suffix or a form of the substantive clitic. However, in a few examples the presence or absence of the final -e seems to make no difference in the meaning.

inat/inase	'tracks'	amat/amase	'care'
irip/iripe	'cry'	ganat/ganase	'light'
ven/vene	'call'		

In addition to the preceding suffix, nouns may also be suffixed with the location clitic, the substantive clitic, or the intensifier suffix. These are mutually exclusive and follow the possessive suffix of intimately possessed noun stems and the stem of other nouns which take suffixation.

Intensifier suffixes: either -aet or -vet with their various allomorphs intensify the noun indicating that item only was involved. The allomorphs -naet, -gaet, and -et alternate morphophonemically with -aet. The allomorph -vet follows vowel final nouns, and the allomorph -avet follows consonant final nouns. A possible difference in meaning for these suffixes was investigated without result. Some nouns take either suffix. Other nouns are limited to one or the other intensifier suffix.

nani-naet
hand-int
'only his hand'

nani-vet
hand-int
'only his hand'

kaum-aet
water-int
'only water'

Proper nouns occur in the clause level tagmemes of Subject, Object, Indirect Object, and Purpose. Place names expound the Location tagmeme. Neither proper nouns nor place names are suffixed.

(2) Pronouns fill the Subject tagmeme of clauses, the Head of Coordinate Noun Phrases, the Possessor and Referent tagmemes of the Possessive Phrase, the Referent of Kinship Phrases, the Item of Appositional Phrases, the Accompanier and Axis of Personal Accompaniment Phrases, and the Topic or Comment of Equational Clauses. It is unusual to find a pronoun in the free Object or Indirect Object tagmemes of clauses because the verbal suffixes replace the free pronouns, but it does occur perhaps as a way of highlighting the object or indirect object.

Pronouns are never possessed. They have a different set of first order suffixes than do other word types.

There are only six pronouns in Daga.

Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	ne	nu
2	ge	e
3	me	mu

There are four mutually exclusive pronominal suffixes.

(a) The possessive -ga suffixed to the basic pronoun comprises the possessive pronoun which occurs in the Possessor tagmeme of the Possessive Phrase.

Possessive Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	nega	nuga
2	gega	ega
3	mega	muga

(b) Pronouns with the purpose suffix *-nan* manifest the clause-level Purpose tagmeme and in the third person fill the Relator in the Purpose Phrase. Alternate shorter forms occur in the commonly used third person; *menan* alternates with *men*, and *munan* alternates with *mun*.

Purpose Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	nenan	nunan
2	genan	enan
3	menan/men	munan/mun

(c) Emphatic pronouns consist of the basic pronoun plus *-k*. The emphatic pronoun fills the Subject tagmeme of clauses or the Apposition tagmeme of Appositional Noun Phrases. The emphatic pronoun also encodes the reflexive meaning, which is optionally highlighted by the use of *ingane* '(reflexive)' after the emphatic pronoun.

Emphatic Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	nek	nuk
2	gek	ek
3	mek	muk

(d) The exclusive pronoun manifests the clause-level Manner tagmeme. The person of the exclusive pronoun agrees with the Subject or Object of the clause. Either *-genat* or *-aget* mark the exclusive pronoun. There is a tendency for older speakers of Daga to use the *-aget* suffix.

Exclusive Pronouns

Singular		Plural
1	negenat/neaget	nugenat/nuaget
2	gegenat/geaget	egenat/eaget
3	megenat/meaget	mugenat/muaget

The location clitic has been infrequently observed following the exclusive suffix. Optionally the substantive clitic *-wa* occurs on a possessive pronoun when it manifests the Comment tagmeme of the Equational Clause or is the only manifestation of a Possessive Phrase. Other occurrences of *-wa* following the possessive suffix do not seem to alter the meaning.

ne-ge-nat-a

I-ex-lc

'only I (as agent)'

mu-ga-wa

they-poss-sc

'their (things)'

(3) All adjectives occur in the Modifier tagmemes in the Modified Noun Phrase, in the Item₂ tagmeme of the Substantive Phrase, in the Head of the Nonpersonal Accompaniment Phrase, in the Head tagmemes of the Emphatic Intensified Phrase and the Superlative Intensified Phrase, and in the Comment tagmeme of Equational Clauses. In addition, a few adjectives in appropriate contexts may be the only manifestation of a Substantive Phrase, in which case they will have the Substantive clitic *-wa*. A few others optionally fill the Manner tagmeme in clauses, and others, as mentioned in relation to the stem level (see 2.3), can take the verbalizer suffix.

Adjective₁: This class includes all adjectives. All adjectives fill the Modifier tagmemes of the Modified Noun Phrase. When marked by the substantive clitic *-wa* they occur in the Item₂ tagmeme of the Substantive Phrase. A representative list is given.

aro	'strong'	paina	'high'
base	'sticky'	dendeni	'red'
iro-t	'cold'	nononga	'long'
baware	'big'	bobou	'short'

Adjective₂: This closed subset of Adjective₁ includes only those adjectives which optionally fill the Manner tagmeme of clauses.

aipake	'good'	kaimake	'hard'
kakae	'good'	koerage	'bad'
arita	'big'	yaema	'slow'
baware	'big'	yambuni	'proper'

Adjective₃: This is a closed subset of Adjective₁ which includes only those adjectives which in appropriate contexts may be the only manifestation of the Substantive Phrase, in which case they will receive the substantive clitic -wa.

aipake	'good'	koe	'bad'
kakae	'good'	koerage	'bad'
arita	'big'	yamu/yamune	'other of two'
baware	'big'	dendeni	'red'
upi/upine	'some'	pumpuni	'dark color'
umpatu	'short'	pomponu	'light color'
ewake	'new'		

baware-wa tau-en
big-sc arrive-3s/p
'The big (important man) came.'

auda pumpuni-wa ve amo-pen
foreigner black-sc stop go-inf
'The foreigners leave the black (man as a replacement).'

Adjective₄: This closed subset of Adjective₁ includes only those adjectives which may be verbalized (see 2.3 for a representative list of adjectives).

Adjectives optionally occur in the comparative and superlative degree which are indicated by first order suffixes.

-ntu '(comparative degree)'

-aet/-vet and allomorphs '(intensifier-superlative)'

nononga-ntu	nononga-vet
long-com	long-int
'longer'	'very long; longest'

The superlative degree is also expressed in the Superlative Intensified Phrase in which iragen/iren is the intensifier. All adjectives occur in the Superlative Intensified Phrase. Some do not take the intensifier suffix -aet/-vet.

kakae	iragen	nononga	iragen
good	int	long	int
'best'		'longest'	

(4) Locatives fill tagmemes in the Modified Noun and Location Phrases. They have their own unique suffixes. Note that the positionals (Section 3.2) do not occur in the Modified Noun Phrase.

Since locatives manifest the Demonstrative tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, in the proper context, the locative is the only manifestation of the Noun Phrase. In such cases the locative acts as a pronoun.

The locatives are

oea	'overhead'	ita	'lower level (near)'
ao	'up; high'	isi	'lower level (far)'
uta	'higher level (near)'	ise	'lower level (beyond isi)'
utu	'higher level (far)'	ae	'down; low'
use	'higher level (beyond utu)'	ea	'underneath'
ata	'same level'	ma	'near the speaker; this'
ase	'same level (beyond ata)'	ame	'near the hearer; that'

The locatives are relative to the speaker, the subject or location under discussion, and to each other.

The locative suffixes are all mutually exclusive first order suffixes.

-t ∞ -m ∞ # 'visible' -m occurs on ma only

		# occurs on ame only
		-t occurs elsewhere
-pa/-p ∞ -pe	'nonvisible; overlooked'	-pe occurs with ame
		-pa/-p occurs elsewhere
-na	'in the area of'	occurs with oea, uta, ata, ita, ea, ame
-ira ∞ -isira	'toward'	-ira occurs with ase, use, ise only, root vowel e is reduced.
		-isira occurs only with ma.

The comparative degree suffix -ntu optionally follows -ira or -isira to give -irantu and -isirantu 'more toward'.

-me	'(specifier); that one'
-mepe	'the one mentioned' has not been observed with uta, use, ase, isi, ea, and ame.

ma-m	'here, visible'
ao-t	'up there visible'
isi-pa	'far down there out of sight'
ame-pe	'that out of sight'
ata-na	'somewhere over there'
as-ira	'toward over there'
ma-isira	'toward here'
ma-isira-ntu	'more toward here'
ita-me	'that one down there'
oea-mepe	'that one mentioned overhead'

3.4. Verbs. Verbs manifest tagmemes in Verb Phrases. Uninflected verb stems occur in the first and second Bases of the Merged Sentence and in some other minor slots of the Verb Phrase. The major verb in a Verb Phrase, however, must be inflected with either a subject person/tense or nonpast medial person suffix. There are a total of four orders of verbal suffixes.

3.4.1. Verb Classes. There are two classes of verb stems,

A and E, defined by the subject person/tense suffixes with which they occur. Class A stems take /a/-initial suffixes. Class E stems take /e/-initial suffixes. Suffixes beginning with a consonant or /i/ are neither Class A nor E and occur following both classes of stems. In the verbal suffix charts usually only /a/ suffixes will be listed, but for every /a/ suffix there is a similar suffix with /e/ instead of /a/ initially. Thus, the first person singular simple past suffix is -an for Class A verbs and -en for Class E verbs.

Class A stems are divided into two subclasses. A_1 stems end in a consonant or vowel but do not change contiguous vowel initial suffixes. Class A_2 stems end in a vowel and cause a contiguous suffix to lose its initial vowel.

Representative lists of the verb classes will be given below. The verbs will be listed in the infinitive form which shows the class marking vowel. Thus, Class A_1 stems will all end in -apen, Class A_2 stems end in -pen which indicates that the initial vowel of the suffix will be dropped, and Class E stems end in -epen.

Class A_1 stems

napen	'eat'	dorapen	'ascend'
tapen	'do; make'	inapen	'sleep'
wapen	'say'	irapen	'burn'
warapen	'get'	yawapen	'see'
wadiapen	'teach'	seapen	'put'
borapen	'close'	tauapen	'arrive'
yanapen	'be born'	bekoinapen	'circle'
vitapen	'descend'		

Class A_2 stems

tambupen	'get (plural object)'	tugupen	'roast'
anupen	'know; hear; understand'	amupen	'step'
enupen	'spear'	taupen	'tie'
tupen	'dig; build'		

Class E stems

purunagepen	'make a hole'	kakaeasepen	'do well'
mitnagepen	'suck'	gotonagepen	'crush'
amunamepen	'make warm'	nasepen	'hold'
tamanamepen	'straighten'	uasepen	'throw'
ketnagepen	'cut (hair)'	waramasepen	'be con- fused'
unugepen	'enter'	kapesepen	'clasp'
paisepen	'break off'	awadonepen	'be blocked'
tomagepen	'break (string)'	beurepen	'lean'
benagepen	'dismantle'		

There is a subclass of four suppletive transitive stems in which one stem occurs with singular objects and its counterpart occurs only with plural objects.

Singular Object	Plural Object	Meaning
waR	tam/tambu/ai	'get'
to	gut	'hit; kill'
baR	se	'put down'
uaR	uaS	'throw'

There are three stative verb stems: *yagiR/igiR* 'to be burned', *boraS* 'to be closed', and *umaS* 'to be covered'.

Since 'burning' is an action performed by animate as well as inanimate objects, the verb 'burn' has an active stem *iR* and a stative stem *yagiR/igiR*. The active stem is used when a person performs the action. The stative stem uses only the third person singular suffixes.

oma	ir-en	oma	yagir-en
wood	burn-3s/p	wood	burn-3s/p
'He burned the wood.'		'The wood burned.'	

Both the active and stative stems occur with the object suffix.

orup	ira-g-en	oma	yagi-g-en
child	burn-you-3s/p	wood	burn-you-3s/p
'The child burned you.'		'The wood burned you.'	

The verbs boR 'close' and um 'cover' also have stative forms in any third person singular form. This form applies only to inanimate objects. There is no corresponding stative phrase for these verbs.

bor-en
close-3s/p

'He closed (it).'

bor-as-en
close-stative-3s/p

'It was closed.'

um-en
cover-3s/p

'He covered (it).'

um-as-en
cover-stative-3s/p

'It was covered.'

3.4.2. Verb Centers. Verbs in Daga seem best to be analysed in terms of an endocenter and an exocenter. These terms were suggested by Philip Staalsen in "Clause Relationships in Iatmul" submitted to Pacific Linguistics. The endocenter consists of the obligatory stem and the first order affixes which determine the transitivity of the verb and which relate to other elements of the clause. The exocenter consists of those suffixes in orders beyond the first order which determine if the verb is medial or final. The exocenter suffixes are important in inter-clausal relationships on the sentence, paragraph, and discourse levels.

3.4.2.1. The Verb Endocenter is made up of the stem, the prefix, and the first order suffixes. The endocenter determines the transitivity of the verb. The object person, intensive, and exhaustive are mutually exclusive first order suffixes. Intransitive stems occur only with the intensive or exhaustive suffixes. Transitive stems occur with these two and also with the object person suffix. Ditransitive stems occur with an indirect object person prefix and with the exhaustive suffix.

(1) The Ditransitive Verb Endocenter consists of the obligatory Indirect Object Person prefix and Stem followed by the optional Endocenter Suffix.

Ditransitive Verb Endocenter

+ INDIRECT OBJECT PERSON	+ STEM	± Endocenter Suffix
Indirect Object Person Prefixes	n 'give'	-itam '(exhaustive)'

Special Features:

- (a) The only ditransitive verb root that occurs is n 'give'.
- (b) The Exhaustive Suffix -itam means to do an action completely or thoroughly. Class E suffixes follow the exhaustive suffix.

The Indirect Object Person Prefixes are homophonous with free pronouns except in the third person singular.

Indirect Object Person Prefixes

	Singular	Plural
1	ne-	nu-
2	ge-	e-
3	wa-	mu-

In the examples below the verb endocenter will be enclosed in parentheses.

(ne-n)-en
(me-give)-3s/p

'He gave (it) to me.'

(nu-n)-iwan
(us-give)-3s/pr/cont

'He is giving (it) to us.'

(ge-n)-ain
(you-give)-1s/f

'I will give (it) to you.'

(e-n)-aton
(you-give)-1p/p

'We gave (it) to you.'

(wa-n-itam)-eton
(him-give-ex)-1p/p

'We gave (it) all to him.'

(mu-n)-an
(them-give)-1s/p

'I gave (it) to them.'

(2) Only the Stem is obligatory in the Transitive Verb Endocenter. The object person, exhaustive, and intensive suffixes optionally occur following the Stem and are mutually exclusive.

Transitive Verb Endocenter

+ STEM	± Endocenter Suffix
Any transitive stem	object person exhaustive intensive

Special Features:

- (a) Any transitive stem expounds the Stem tagmeme.
- (b) The Exhaustive Suffix *-itam* means that the action is done completely or thoroughly. It is mutually exclusive with the object person and intensive suffixes which refer to animate objects. The exhaustive suffix refers to nonperson objects.

(na-itam)-eton
(eat-ex)-lp/p
'We ate (it) all.'

(war-itam)-en
(get-ex)-3s/p
'He got (it) all.'

(anu-itam)-en
(know-ex)-3s/p
'He knew (it) all.'

(ta-itam)-en
(do-ex)-3p/p
'They did (the job)
thoroughly.'

(gur-itam)-en
(kill-ex)-3p/p
'They killed all (the
pigs).'

The Object Person Suffixes are given in the chart below. These suffixes apply only to animate objects. Usually the object referred to by the object person suffix is a person but occasionally the suffix refers to animals.

Object Person Suffixes

Singular		Plural
1	-nege	-ne
2	-ge	-ae
3	#	-mo

(yawa-nege)-n
(see-me)-3s/p
'He saw me.'

(yawa-ge)-n
(see-you)-3s/p
'He saw you.'

(yav-#)-en
(see-him)-3s/p

(yawa-ne)-n
(see-us)-3s/p
'He saw us.'

(yawa-e)-n
(see-you)-3s/p
'He saw you.'

(yawa-mo)-n
(see-them)-3s/p

'He saw him.'

'He saw them.'

The intensive suffixes encode three areas of meaning: intensive, drawing attention to the actor; reflexive, in which the action is directed back to the actor; and reciprocal, in which the action is shared and returned by the actors. However, only reflexive and reciprocal meanings occur with the Transitive Verb Endocenter. The person of the intensive suffix and the subject person in the exocenter must agree.

Intensive Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
1	-nigaS	-niS
2	-giS	-iS
3	#	-muS

The intensive suffixes have been observed on only five transitive verbs. Two of these, darak 'dry' and kanda 'awaken', take the intensive suffixes for both singular and plural subjects. In addition, kanda has never been observed without the intensive suffix. Three other transitive verbs, naine 'marry', wa 'say', and yaW 'see', take the intensive suffixes only for plural subjects. The intensive suffixes always occur with the plural subject-person suffixes on naine.

(kanda-nigas)-ivin
(awaken-int)-1s/pr/cont

'I am awakening.'

(kanda-gis)-ingi
(awaken-int)-2s/pr/cont

'You are awakening.'

(kanda-#)-iwan
(awaken-int)-3s/pr/cont

'He is awakening.'

(kanda-nis)-ivin
(awaken-int)-1p/pr/cont

'We are awakening.'

(kanda-is)-iwanin
(awaken-int)-2p/pr/cont

'You are awakening.'

(kanda-mus)-iwanum
(awaken-int)-3p/pr/cont

'They are awakening.'

(naine-nit)-aton
(marry-int)-1p/p

'We married each other.'

(naine-it)-ayan
(marry-int)-2p/p

'You married each other.'

(naine-mut)-an
(marry-int)-3p/p

'They married each other.'

(3) The Intransitive Verb Endocenter consists of an obligatory Stem optionally followed by either the intensive suffix or the exhaustive suffix. Indirect object person prefixes and object person suffixes do not occur in the Intransitive Verb Endocenter.

Intransitive Verb Endocenter

+ STEM	± Endocenter Suffix
Any intransitive stem	intensive suffixes
	exhaustive suffix

Special Features:

- (a) Any intransitive stem expounds the Stem of the Intransitive Verb Endocenter.
- (b) Intensive suffixes occurring on intransitive stems encode only the intensive area of meaning. Only the intransitive stems oa 'disappear', venaS 'appear', bo 'die', bambam 'be confused', bibigaS 'calm down', and iraS 'warm' have been observed with the intensive suffixes. The intensive suffixes always occur on oa 'disappear' and bo 'die'.

(amo-itam)-en-e
(go-ex)-3p/p-m

'They went all the way...'

(vis)-iwanum
(descend)-3p/pr/cont

'They are descending.'

(yar-itam)-ivin
(make/string-ex)-ls/pr/cont

'I am making all (the bark
into) string.'

(wand)-en
(stay)-3s/p

'He stayed.'

(dor)-aton
(ascend)-lp/p

'We ascended.'

(ong)-ivin
(come)-ls/pr/cont

'I am coming.'

(bo-nigat)-ain
(die-int)-ls/f

'I myself will die.'

(tau)-ayan
(arrive)-2p/p

'You arrived.'

3.4.2.2. The Verb Exocenter consists of those optional and obligatory suffixes which determine whether a verb is a medial or a final form. The form of the exocenter is important in sentence, paragraph, and discourse structure. The exocenter follows any of the three verb endocenters. There are two basic types of verb exocenters: Verb Exocenter Type A and Verb Exocenter Type B. Verb Exocenter Type A serves for all past tenses of the medial verb; Verb Exocenter Type B serves for the nonpast tenses of the medial verb.

(1) Verb Exocenter Type A consists of an optional Aspectual Complex, obligatory portmanteau Subject-Person and Tense, and an optional Medial Complex.

Verb Exocenter Type A

± Aspectual Complex		+ SUBJECT-PERSON/ TENSE	± Medial Complex	
(± Extended Continuous	+ Contin- uous	any person/ tense suffix	(+Medial Suffix/ Included Clause Clitic	±Sub-)stative Clitic

The optional Aspectual Complex of Verb Exocenter Type A consists of the Extended Continuous suffix -iv (for all persons) and the continuous suffixes. The continuous suffix is obligatory if the extended continuous suffix occurs.

In the past and future the continuous suffixes are given in the chart below.

Continuous Suffixes used with Past and Future

	Singular	Plural
1	-ingi	-in
2	-ingi	-iwani
3	-iwand	-iwanum

The dialect of Daga spoken in the Central District omits /n/ in the second person singular and /w/ in the third person plural; therefore, -ingi becomes -igi and -iwanum becomes -ianum. Other continuous suffixes are the same.

war-ingi-n
get-ls/cont-ls/p

'I was getting (it).'

war-in-ton
get-lp/cont-lp/p

'We were getting (it).'

war-ingi-an
get-2s/cont-2s/p

'You were getting (it).'

war-iwani-an
get-2p/cont-2p/p

'You were getting (it).'

war-iwand-in
get-3s/cont-3s/p

'He was getting (it).'

war-iwanum-un
get-3p/cont-3p/p

'They were getting (it).'

The Aspectual Complex also occurs with the future tense.

war-ing-ain
get-ls/cont-ls/f

'I will be getting (it).'

war-in-ait war-in-ain
get-lp/cont-lp/f

'We will be getting (it).'

war-ing-ai
get-2s/cont-2s/f

'You will be getting (it).'

war-iwani-ai
get-2p/cont-2p/f

'You will be getting (it).'

war-iwand-ata
get-3s/cont-3s/f

'He will be getting (it).'

war-iwanum-ain
get-3p/cont-3p/f

'They will be getting (it).'

Examples illustrating the Aspectual Complex with both the extended continuous and the continuous suffixes:

war-iv-ingi-n
get-ec-ls/cont-ls/p

'I was getting and getting (it).'

war-iv-in-ton
get-ec-lp/cont-lp/p

'We were getting and
getting (it).'

war-iv-ingi-an
get-ec-2s/cont-2s/p
'You were getting and
getting (it).'

war-iv-iwani-an
get-ec-2p/cont-2p/p
'You were getting and
getting (it).'

war-iv-iwand-in
get-ec-3s/cont-3s/p
'He was getting and
getting (it).'

war-iv-iwanum-un
get-ec-3p/cont-3p/p
'They were getting and
getting (it).'

The Present Continuous Suffixes are portmanteau morphemes indicating continuous aspect, present tense, and also subject person. The Medial Complex does not follow the present continuous suffixes.

Present Continuous Suffixes

Singular		Plural
1	-ivin	-ivin
2	-ingi	-iwanin
3	-iwan	-iwanum

war-ivin
get-1s/pr/cont
'I am getting (it).'

war-ivin
get-1p/pr/cont
'We are getting (it).'

war-ingi
get-2s/pr/cont
'You are getting (it).'

war-iwanin
get-2p/pr/cont
'You are getting (it).'

war-iwan
get-3s/pr/cont
'He is getting (it).'

war-iwanum
get-3p/pr/cont
'They are getting (it).'

Discussion of the Subject-Person/Tense Suffixes will be postponed because of its complexity until after discussion of the Medial Complex.

The Medial Complex consists of the obligatory medial suffix/ included clause clitic and the optional substantive clitic. The medial suffix is completely homophonous in forms and allomorphs

with the included clause clitic.

The substantive clitic is *-wa ~ -a*. Following front vowels the allomorph *-a* occurs in free variation with *-wa*. In addition, *-wa ~ -a* co-occurs with any durative suffix to unambiguously indicate simultaneous actions between the verb with the *-wa* suffix and the following verb. This same suffix is used in texts with two different third person actors to indicate a change of subject from one third person actor to the other. Whenever several medial forms occur together, the usual pattern is to have two of one type (i. e., without the additional *-wa* suffix) and one of the other type (i. e., with the *-wa* suffix). Finally, the substantive clitic often occurs on all the Predicates of a sentence that is embedded in another sentence.

The Medial Complex is an optional tagmeme which co-occurs with certain person/tense suffixes as will be indicated below. Only the medial suffix and its allomorphs will be discussed under each person/tense suffix with which it occurs; but it should be remembered that the substantive clitic optionally follows any medial suffix.

There are twelve sets of Subject-Person/Tense suffixes. Of these, the present, present durative, past, past durative, imperative, habitual, and infinitive do not occur with the Aspectual Complex but follow immediately after the verb endocenter.

Present Tense: There are two sets of suffixes for the present tense, the present and the present durative. The present tense means that the action is occurring at the present point in time. The present durative means that the action is occurring now and will continue for a while. Only the first person, singular and plural, and the third person plural make a distinction between the present and the present durative, as will be seen by comparing the two charts below.

Present Tense Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
1	-iangin	-ianit
2	-iagi	-iaisi
3	-ia	-iamun

Present Durative Tense Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
1	-ian	-ian
2	-iagi	-iaisi
3	-ia	-iam

war-iangin
get-1s/pr
'I get (it).'

war-ianit
get-1p/pr
'We get (it).'

war-iagi
get-2s/pr
'You get (it).'

war-iaisi
get-2p/pr
'You get (it).'

war-ia
get-3s/pr
'He gets (it).'

war-iamun
get-3p/pr
'They get (it).'

war-ian
get-1s/pr/d
'I get (it).'

war-ian
get-1p/pr/d
'We get (it).'

war-iagi
get-2s/pr
'You get (it).'

war-iaisi
get-2p/pr
'You get (it).'

war-ia
get-3s/pr
'He gets (it).'

war-iam
get-3p/pr/d
'They get (it).'

The medial suffix optionally occurs following the present tense. It occurs with the allomorphs as listed in the chart below. The present tense followed by the medial suffix apparently forms an immediate past tense that is often used in answering questions.

Medial Suffix Allomorphs
following Present Tense

Singular		Plural
1	-a	-oni
2	-ana	-ana
3	-#	-e

war-iangin-a
get-ls/pr-m

'I just got (it).' - in
answer to 'Did you get it?'

war-iagi-ana
get-2s/pr-m

'You just got (it).' - in
answer to 'Did I get it?'

war-ia
get-3s/pr

'He just got (it).' - in
answer to 'Did he get it?'

war-ianit-oni
get-lp/pr-m

'We just got (it).' - in
answer to 'Did you get it?'

war-iaisi-ana
get-2p/pr-m

'You just got (it).' - in
answer to 'Did we get it?'

war-iamun-e
get-3p/pr-m

'They just got (it).' - in
answer to 'Did they get it?'

Frequently the second /i/ in the first person plural present tense suffix is omitted in fast speech so that war-ianit-oni becomes war-iant-oni 'We just got (it).'

Past Tense: There are two completely different sets of suffixes for the past tense; the past and past durative. Both of these are optionally followed by the Medial Complex to make the medial verb.

Past Tense
Class A Suffixes

Singular		Plural
1	-an	-aton
2	-aan	-ayan
3	-en	-an

war-an
get-1s/p
'I got (it).'

war-aton
get-1p/p
'We got (it).'

war-aan
get-2s/p
'You got (it).'

war-ayan
get-2p/p
'You got (it).'

war-en
get-3s/p
'He got (it).'

war-an
get-3p/p
'They got (it).'

In the past tense, Class A verbs occur with the suffixes as listed in the chart above. For Class E verbs /e/ replaces suffix initial /a/ throughout.

Past Tense
Class E Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
1	-en	-eton
2	-ean	-ean
3	-en	-en

batnag-en
count-1s/p
'I counted.'

batnag-eton
count-1p/p
'We counted.'

batnag-ean
count-2s/p
'You counted.'

batnag-ean
count-2p/p
'You counted.'

batnag-en
count-3s/p
'He counted.'

batnag-en
count-3p/p
'They counted.'

In the past tense 'same subject' is signalled by omission of the final n in third person singular and the final on in first person plural. 'Same subject' is not marked in other persons. Thus batnag-en becomes batnag-e 'he counted and (he did something else)' and batnag-eton becomes batnag-et 'we counted and (we did

something else).’

Past Durative Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
1	-in	-it
2	-i	-i
3	-in	-in

war-in
get-ls/d

‘I got and got (it).’

war-it
get-lp/d

‘We got and got (it).’

war-i
get-2s/d

‘You got and got (it).’

war-i
get-2p/d

‘You got and got (it).’

war-in
get-3s/d

‘He got and got (it).’

war-in
get-3p/d

‘They got and got (it).’

The Medial Complex, consisting of the medial suffixes optionally followed by the substantive clitic, occurs with the past tense suffixes to make a medial verb.

Allomorphs of the Medial Suffixes
used with Past Tense

	Singular	Plural
1	-a	-i
2	-a	-a
3	-i	-e

war-an-a
get-ls/p-m

‘I got (it)...’

war-aton-i
get-lp/p-m

‘We got (it)...’

war-aan-a
get-2s/p-m

'You got (it)...'

war-en-i
get-3s/p-m

'He got (it)...'

war-ayan-a
get-2p/p-m

'You got (it)...'

war-an-e
get-3p/p-m

'They got (it)...'

In addition to serving as the past medial verb, past tense followed by the medial suffix is the affirmative reply to a yes-no question.

Question: war-aan
get-2s/p

'Did you get (it)?'

Answer: war-an-a
get-1s/p-m

'(Yes) I got (it).'

The Medial Complex occurs with the past durative but is suffixed to the Durative Adverb, which follows the past durative verb to unambiguously indicate the durative. The person of the past durative suffix, the durative adverb, and the medial suffix must agree.

Durative Adverb with Medial Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
1	en-a	eton-i
2	e-ana	e-ana
3	en-i	en-e

war-in en-a
get-1s/d dr-m

'I got and got...'

war-i e-ana
get-2s/d dr-m

'You got and got...'

war-in en-i
get-3s/d dr-m

'He got and got...'

war-it eton-i
get-1p/d dr-m

'We got and got...'

war-i e-ana
get-2p/d dr-m

'You got and got...'

war-in en-e
get-3p/d dr-m

'They got and got...'

Imperative: The imperative suffixes cover the area of meaning of 'must' and 'should'. The Medial Complex does not occur with the imperative.

Imperative Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
1	-ap	-at
2	#	-an
3	-ep	-ep

For Class E verbs, /e/ replaces initial /a/ throughout.

war-ap
get-ls/imp

'I must get (it).'

war-at
get-lp/imp

'We must get (it).'

wat
get-2s/imp

'You must get (it)./ Get (it)!'

war-an
get-2p/imp

'Get (it)!'

war-ep
get-3s/imp

'He must get (it).'

war-ep
get-3p/imp

'They must get (it).'

There are special suffixes for the second person imperative when negated. The second person singular negative imperative is -a ∞ -e. The second person plural negative imperative is -ane ∞ -ene. Class A verbs take the -a and -ane forms; Class E verbs take -e and -ene.

ya war-a
neg get-2s/imp/neg

'Don't get (it)!'

ya war-ane
neg get-2p/imp neg

'Don't get (it)!'

ya batnag-e
neg count-2s/imp/neg

'Don't count!'

ya batnag-ene
neg count-2p/imp neg

'Don't count!'

An emphatic imperative form -ian occurs only on second persons.

onak
come-2s/imp
'Come!'

anu-n
think-2p/imp
'Think!'

ong-ian
come-2/em/imp
'Come!!!'

anu-ian
think-2/em/imp
'Think!!!'

Habitual: The habitual consists of the obligatory habitual suffixes followed by the included clause clitic, which is obligatory. The resulting construction acts somewhat like a nominalized verb but occurs only in the Item₁ tagmeme of the Substantive Phrase.

Habitual Suffixes with Obligatory
Included Clause Clitic

	Singular	Plural
1	-in-a	-iton-i
2	-ian-a	-ian-a
3	-in-i	-in-e

war-in-a
get-1s/hab-i

'I, the one who gets'

war-iton-i
get-1p/hab-i

'we, the ones who get'

war-ian-a
get-2s/hab-i

'you, the one who gets'

war-ian-a
get-2p/hab-i

'you, the ones who get'

war-in-i
get-3s/hab-i

'the one who gets'

war-in-e
get-3p/hab-i

'the ones who get'

kaum amat ta-in-i apan-ewa
water care do-3s/hab-i man-sc

'the man who cares for the water; ferry boat
caretaker'

Infinitive: The infinitive expounds the Predicate tagmeme of clauses, especially embedded clauses that are manifesting the

Purpose tagmeme. The infinitive occurs in the same constructions as the final verb and acts as a final verb. The Medial Complex does not follow the infinitive. The infinitive suffix for all persons is -apen for Class A verbs and -epen for Class E verbs.

war-apen
get-inf
'to get'

nas-epen
hold-inf
'to hold'

Pur: kanu war-apen menan P: tau-en
 sweet/potato get-inf for arrive-3s/p
'He came to get the sweet potato.'

Future: The future tense suffixes are used for any action that will occur any time in the future. The future also encodes permissive which will be indicated in the gloss by 'may' and abilitative which will be indicated in the gloss by 'can'.

Future Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
1	-ain	-ait
2	-ai	-ai
3	-eta	-ain

The Aspectual Complex optionally precedes the future suffixes causing allomorphs in the third person singular and first person plural future suffixes. The first person plural suffix has two forms -ait and -ain; thus, war-in-ain alternates with war-in-ait 'We will be getting (it).' In the third person singular the future suffix following the Aspectual Complex is -ata.

war-ain
get-1s/f

'I will get (it).'

war-ait
get-1p/f

'We will get (it).'

war-ai
get-2s/f

'You will get (it).'

war-ai
get-2p/f

'You will get (it).'

war-eta
get-3s/f

'He will get (it).'

war-ain
get-3p/f

'They will get (it).'

war-ing-ain
get-1s/cont-1s/f

'I will be getting (it).'

war-in-ain
get-1p/cont-1p/f

'We will be getting (it).'

war-iv-ing-ai
get-ec-2s/cont-2s/f

'You will be getting and
getting (it).'

war-iwani-ai
get-2p/cont-2p/f

'You will be getting (it).'

war-iwand-ata
get-3s/cont-3s/f

'He will be getting (it).'

war-iwanum-ain
get-3p/cont-3p/f

'They will be getting (it).'

The included clause clitic optionally follows the future suffix to make a nominalized clause. Since Verb Exocenter Type B has its own set of suffixes, the suffix following the future is usually the included clause clitic rather than the homophonous medial suffix.

Included Clause Clitic Allomorphs
for Future Tense

	Singular	Plural
1	-a	-oni
2	-ana	-ana
3	-aini	-e

The included clause clitic in the third person singular -aini replaces the third person singular future tense suffix -eta.

war-ain-a
get-1s/f-i

'I, the one who will get (it)'

war-ait-oni
get-1p/f-i

'we, the ones who will get
(it)'

war-ai-ana
get-2s/f-i

'you, the one who will get (it)'

war-ai-ana
get-2p/f-i

'you, the ones who will get
(it)'

war-aini
get-3s/f-i

'he, the one who will get (it)'

war-ain-e
get-3p/f-i

'they, the ones who will get
(it)'

In the following Subject-Person/Tense Suffixes the Aspectual Complex is obligatory before the past continuous/past durative continuous, present obligation, and prolonged action suffixes.

Past Continuous/Past Durative Continuous: Following the Aspectual Complex a unique set of suffixes occurs to form the past continuous or the homophonous past durative continuous. The Durative Adverb follows the form to indicate unambiguously the past durative continuous.

Past and Past Durative following
Aspectual Complex

	Singular	Plural
1	-n	-ton
2	-an	-an
3	-in	-un

war-ingi-n
get-ls/cont-ls/p

'I was getting (it).'

war-in-ton
get-lp/cont-lp/p

'We were getting (it).'

war-ingi-an
get-2s/cont-2s/p

'You were getting (it).'

war-iwani-an
get-2p/cont-2p/p

'You were getting (it).'

war-iwand-in
get-3s/cont-3s/p

'He was getting (it).'

war-iwanum-un
get-3p/cont-3p/p

'They were getting (it).'

war-ingi-n en
get-ls/cont-ls/d dr

'I was getting and getting (it).'

war-in-ton eton
get-lp/cont-lp/d dr

'We were getting and getting (it).'

war-ingi-an e
get-2s/cont-2s/d dr

'You were getting and getting (it).'

war-iwani-an e
get-2p/cont-2p/d dr

'You were getting and getting (it).'

war-iwand-in e
get-3s/cont-3s/d dr

'He was getting and getting (it).'

war-iwanum-un en
get-3p/cont-3p/d dr

'They were getting and getting (it).'

The Medial Complex optionally follows the past continuous suffixes or occurs on the Durative Adverb to make a medial verb.

war-ingi-n-a
get-ls/cont-ls/p-m
'I was getting (it)...

war-in-ton-i
get-lp/cont-lp/p-m
'We were getting (it)...

war-ingi-an-a
get-2s/cont-2s/p-m
'You were getting (it)...

war-iwani-an-a
get-2p/cont-2p/p-m
'You were getting (it)...

war-iwand-in-i
get-3s/cont-3s/p-m
'He was getting (it)...

war-iwanum-un-e
get-3p/cont-3p/p-m
'They were getting (it)...

war-ingi-n en-a
get-ls/cont-ls/d dr-m
'I was getting and getting (it)...

war-in-ton eton-i
get-lp/cont-lp/d dr-m
'We were getting and getting (it)...

war-ingi-an e-ana
get-2s/cont-2s/d dr-m
'You were getting and getting (it)...

war-iwani-an e-ana
get-2p/cont-2p/d dr-m
'You were getting and getting (it)...

war-iwand-in en-i
 get-3s/cont-3s/d dr-m
 'He was getting and getting
 (it)...'

war-iwanum-un en-e
 get-3p/cont-3p/d dr-m
 'They were getting and get-
 ting (it)...'

Present Obligation Tense: The present obligation suffixes distinguish only between singular -apen and plural -ampen, but since the Aspectual Complex is obligatory the person is clearly marked except between first and second person singular. As yet the extended continuous suffix -iv has not been observed with the present obligation.

war-ing-apen
 get-1s/cont-sub
 'I should get (it).'

war-in-ampen
 get-1p/cont-sub
 'We should get (it).'

war-ing-apen
 get-2s/cont-sub
 'You should get (it).'

war-iwani-ampen
 get-2p/cont-sub
 'You should get (it).'

war-iwand-apen
 get-3s/cont-sub
 'He should get (it).'

war-iwanum-ampen
 get-3p/cont-sub
 'They should get (it).'

Prolonged Action Tense: The prolonged action suffix -an must be preceded by the Aspectual Complex. This suffix can occur any place a final suffix occurs but is diagnostic of the Terminating Action Sentence when it occurs in the Action tag-meme of that sentence.

war-ing-an
 get-1s/cont-plg
 'I keep on getting (it).'

war-in-an
 get-1p/cont-plg
 'We keep on getting (it).'

war-ing-an
 get-2s/cont-plg
 'You keep on getting (it).'

war-iwani-an
 get-2p/cont-plg
 'You keep on getting (it).'

war-iwand-an
 get-3s/cont-plg
 'He keeps on getting (it).'

war-iwanum-an
 get-3p/cont-plg
 'They keep on getting (it).'

Following -iwanum, -an optionally becomes -am so that war-iwanum-an or war-iwanum-am are acceptable alternates.

In the following Summary Chart of the suffixes comprising Verb Exocenter Type A, all suffixes are listed in paradigm form with singular on the left, plural on the right, and first, second, third person in descending order.

The chart should be read from left to right. Suffixes which optionally follow one another will be listed in linear sequence. Blank spaces indicate that those suffixes cannot co-occur. The plus (+) following the continuous indicates that the continuous is obligatory before the following suffix. In order to simplify the chart, only the continuous suffix from the Aspectual Complex and the medial suffix from the Medial Complex have been included.

Summary Chart of Verb Exocenter Type A Suffixes

± Continuous

+ PERSON/TENSE

± Medial

Present Continuous	
-ivin	-ivin
-ingi	-iwanin
-iwan	-iwanum

Present	
-iangin	-ianit
-iagi	-iaisi
-ia	-iamun

-a	-oni
-ana	-ana
#	-e

Present Durative	
-ian	-ian
-iagi	-iaisi
-ia	-iam

Past	
-an	-aton
-aan	-ayan
-en	-an

-a	-i
-a	-a
-i	-e

Past Durative	
-in	-it
-i	-i
-in	-in

-a	-i
-ana	-ana
-i	-e

Imperative	
-ap	-at
	-an
-ep	-ep

<table border="1"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">± Continuous</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-ingi</td> <td>-in</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-ingi</td> <td>-iwani</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-iwand</td> <td>-iwanum</td> </tr> </table>	± Continuous		-ingi	-in	-ingi	-iwani	-iwand	-iwanum	+	<table border="1"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">Habitual</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-in</td> <td>-iton</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-ian</td> <td>-ian</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-in</td> <td>-in</td> </tr> </table>	Habitual		-in	-iton	-ian	-ian	-in	-in	+	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>-a</td> <td>-i</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-a</td> <td>-a</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-i</td> <td>-e</td> </tr> </table>	-a	-i	-a	-a	-i	-e
	± Continuous																									
	-ingi	-in																								
	-ingi	-iwani																								
	-iwand	-iwanum																								
Habitual																										
-in	-iton																									
-ian	-ian																									
-in	-in																									
-a	-i																									
-a	-a																									
-i	-e																									
+	<table border="1"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">Infinitive</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">-apen</td> </tr> </table>	Infinitive		-apen		+	<table border="1"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">Future</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-ain</td> <td>-ait</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-ai</td> <td>-ai</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-eta</td> <td>-ain</td> </tr> </table>	Future		-ain	-ait	-ai	-ai	-eta	-ain	+	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>-a</td> <td>-oni</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-ana</td> <td>-ana</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-aini</td> <td>-e</td> </tr> </table>	-a	-oni	-ana	-ana	-aini	-e			
Infinitive																										
-apen																										
Future																										
-ain	-ait																									
-ai	-ai																									
-eta	-ain																									
-a	-oni																									
-ana	-ana																									
-aini	-e																									
+	<table border="1"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">Past</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-in</td> <td>-ton</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-an</td> <td>-an</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-in</td> <td>-un</td> </tr> </table>	Past		-in	-ton	-an	-an	-in	-un	+	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>-a</td> <td>-i</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-a</td> <td>-a</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-i</td> <td>-e</td> </tr> </table>	-a	-i	-a	-a	-i	-e									
Past																										
-in	-ton																									
-an	-an																									
-in	-un																									
-a	-i																									
-a	-a																									
-i	-e																									
+	<table border="1"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">Present Obligation</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-apen</td> <td>-ampen</td> </tr> </table>	Present Obligation		-apen	-ampen	+	<table border="1"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">Prolonged</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">-an</td> </tr> </table>	Prolonged		-an		+	<table border="1"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">Prolonged</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">-an</td> </tr> </table>	Prolonged		-an										
Present Obligation																										
-apen	-ampen																									
Prolonged																										
-an																										
Prolonged																										
-an																										

Verbs with continuous suffixes, especially in the third person, optionally break up into words. The word break usually occurs between the verb endocenter and the exocenter. The initial /i/ of the verb exocenter is lost.

onam-iwanum or onam wanum
 come-3p/pr/cont come 3p/pr/cont

'They are coming.'

anu tuma-neg-iwani-ampina
 believe-me-2p/cont-cond

or

anu tuma-nek wani-ampina
 believe-me 2p/cont-cond

'if you continue believing in me'

In the four irregular verbs: ak 'go', onak 'come', wanik 'stay', and geak 'fall' (see 3.4.3), it is more common to have the suffixes broken into words in the third person plural continuous. Occasionally other persons and aspects also break up into words.

wanig-iangin or wanik angin
 stay-ls/pr stay ls/pr

'I stay.'

In other verbs this breaking up into words optionally occurs, but the single word with suffixes is preferred.

yagir-iwan or yagit wan
 burn-3s/pr/cont burn 3s/pr/cont

'It is burning.'

magam-iwanum-un or magam wanum-un
 mix-3p/cont-3p/p mix 3p/cont-3p/p

'They were mixing.'

In some verbs which take the intensive suffixes the word break occurs after the stem and before the intensive suffix.

oak nigas-en
 disappear int-ls/p

'I myself disappeared.'

(2) In contrast to the past medial verb which is formed by adding the medial suffix to Verb Exocenter Type A, the nonpast medial verb has its own set of suffixes which indicate successive, simultaneous, conditional, and contrary-to-fact relationships. This is the Verb Exocenter Type B which occurs with all three types of verb endocenters.

Verb Exocenter Type B consists of an optional Aspectual Complex, which is the same as in the Type A Exocenter, an optional Medial Aspect tagmeme, and an obligatory Subject-Person tagmeme optionally followed by the Substantive Clitic.

Verb Exocenter Type B

± Aspectual Complex	± Medial Aspect	+ SUBJECT-PERSON	± Substantive
same as in Type A Exocenter	Durative Contrary-to-Fact Conditional	Non-past Medial Verb Person Suffixes	Substantive Clitic

The medial Aspect tagmeme is expounded by durative, contrary-to-fact, and conditional suffixes.

Durative Suffix: The Aspectual Complex optionally precedes the durative suffix -an. (The Person Suffixes following the durative suffix are the same as for Class E verbs; see subsequent discussion of nonpast medial verb person suffixes.)

Person Suffixes used with
Durative Suffix

Singular		Plural
1	-epena	-eta
2	-e	-ene
3	-epi	-epi

war-an-epena
get-d-ls/m

'I get and get...'

war-an-eta
get-d-lp/m

'We get and get...'

war-an-e
get-d-2s/m

'You get and get...'

war-an-ene
get-d-2p/m

'You get and get...'

war-an-epi
get-d-3s/m

'He gets and gets...'

war-an-epi
get-d-3p/m

'They get and get...'

war-ing-an-epena
get-ls/cont-d-ls/m

'I am getting and getting...'

war-in-an-eta
get-lp/cont-d-lp/m

'We are getting and getting...'

war-ing-an-e
get-2s/cont-d-2s/m

'You are getting and getting...'

war-iwani-an-ene
get-2p/cont-d-2p/m

'You are getting and getting...'

war-iwand-an-epi
get-3s/cont-d-3s/m

'He is getting and getting...'

war-iwanum-an-epi
get-3p/cont-d-3p/m

'They are getting and getting...'

The first person plural suffix following the durative frequently drops the initial vowel.

war-in-an-eta	or	war-in-an-ta
get-lp/cont-d-lp/m		get-lp/cont-d-lp/m
'We are getting and getting...'		

Contrary-to-Fact Suffix: In the punctiliar form the Contrary-to-Fact Suffix is -apo for all persons. When preceded by the Aspectual Complex the contrary-to-fact suffix is -apo '(singular)' and -ampo '(plural)'. The contrary-to-fact suffix is tenseless. The tense is supplied by the context. It occurs only in clauses expounding tagmemes of the Contrafactual Sentence.

war-apo	batnag-epo
get-CF	count-CF
'if (I) would have gotten (it, but I didn't)' or	'if (I) would count (but I won't)'
'if (I) would get (it, but I won't)'	

war-ing-apo	war-in-ampo
get-ls/cont-CF	get-lp/cont-CF
'if I would be getting'	'if we would be getting'

war-ing-apo	war-iwani-ampo
get-2s/cont-CF	get-2p/cont-CF
'if you would be getting'	'if you would be getting'

war-iwand-apo	war-iwanum-ampo
get-3s/cont-CF	get-3p/cont-CF
'if he would be getting'	'if they would be getting'

Conditional Suffix: The Conditional Suffix must be preceded by the Aspectual Complex. (Note that the punctiliar conditional verb is a verb phrase; see 4.3.3, Anticipatory Verb Phrase.) The conditional suffix distinguishes only between singular and plural person. Some speakers use the alternate forms listed but this usage does not correspond to any particular dialect.

-apina/-apena	'(singular)'	-ampina/-ampena	'(plural)'
---------------	--------------	-----------------	------------

Since the continuous form does not occur with the successive suffix, the conditional suffix encodes both the successive and conditional areas of meaning. It can be translated as either 'when' or 'if'.

war-ing-apina
get-1s/cont-cond

'if/when I am getting'

war-ing-apina
get-2s/cont-cond

'if/when you are getting'

war-iwand-apina
get-3s/cont-cond

'if/when he is getting'

war-in-ampina
get-1p/cont-cond

'if/when we are getting'

war-iwani-ampina
get-2p/cont-cond

'if/when you are getting'

war-iwanum-ampina
get-3p/cont-cond

'if/when they are getting'

Nonpast Medial Verb Subject-Person Suffixes: The Subject-Person tagmeme is the only obligatory tagmeme in the Verb Exocenter Type B. It follows the optional Aspectual Complex and Medial Aspect and is followed by the optional Substantive Clitic. The Subject-Person tagmeme is expounded by the Nonpast Medial Verb Person Suffixes.

The most common nonpast medial verb is formed by inflecting the verb Endocenter with the person suffixes shown in the chart below. The optional Aspectual Complex and Medial Aspect tagmemes do not occur. A verb so inflected indicates a successive relationship with the following verb.

Nonpast Medial Verb
Subject-Person Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
1	-apena	-ata
2	-a	-ane
3	-epi	-epi

For Class E verbs, /e/ replaces initial /a/ throughout.

war-apena
get-1s/m
'I get...'

war-ata
get-1p/m
'We get...'

war-a
get-2s/m
'You get...'

war-ane
get-2p/m
'You get...'

war-epi
get-3s/m
'He gets...'

war-epi
get-3p/m
'They get...'

There is an alternate obsolescent suffix for the person suffixes in which only singular -mpina or plural -impina are distinguished.

Summary Chart of Verb Exocenter Type B Suffixes

	± Medial	+ PERSON								
		<table border="1"> <tr><td>-apena</td><td>-ata</td></tr> <tr><td>-a</td><td>-ane</td></tr> <tr><td>-epi</td><td>-epi</td></tr> </table>	-apena	-ata	-a	-ane	-epi	-epi		
-apena	-ata									
-a	-ane									
-epi	-epi									
	<table border="1"> <tr><td>Durative</td></tr> <tr><td>-an</td></tr> </table>	Durative	-an	<table border="1"> <tr><td>-epena</td><td>-eta</td></tr> <tr><td>-e</td><td>-ene</td></tr> <tr><td>-epi</td><td>-epi</td></tr> </table>	-epena	-eta	-e	-ene	-epi	-epi
Durative										
-an										
-epena	-eta									
-e	-ene									
-epi	-epi									
	<table border="1"> <tr><td>Contrary-to-Fact</td></tr> <tr><td>-apo</td></tr> </table>	Contrary-to-Fact	-apo	#						
Contrary-to-Fact										
-apo										
<table border="1"> <tr><td>± Continuous</td></tr> <tr><td>-ingi -in</td></tr> <tr><td>-ingi -iwani</td></tr> <tr><td>-iwand -iwanum</td></tr> </table>	± Continuous	-ingi -in	-ingi -iwani	-iwand -iwanum	<table border="1"> <tr><td>Conditional</td></tr> <tr><td>-apina -ampina</td></tr> </table>	Conditional	-apina -ampina	#		
± Continuous										
-ingi -in										
-ingi -iwani										
-iwand -iwanum										
Conditional										
-apina -ampina										
	<table border="1"> <tr><td>Durative</td></tr> <tr><td>-an</td></tr> </table>	Durative	-an	<table border="1"> <tr><td>-epena</td><td>-eta</td></tr> <tr><td>-e</td><td>-ene</td></tr> <tr><td>-epi</td><td>-epi</td></tr> </table>	-epena	-eta	-e	-ene	-epi	-epi
Durative										
-an										
-epena	-eta									
-e	-ene									
-epi	-epi									
	<table border="1"> <tr><td>Contrary-to-Fact</td></tr> <tr><td>-apo -ampo</td></tr> </table>	Contrary-to-Fact	-apo -ampo	#						
Contrary-to-Fact										
-apo -ampo										

3.4.3. Irregular Verbs. There are four irregular verbs in Daga: aG 'go', onaG 'come', waniG 'stay', and geaG 'fall'. These verbs are irregular in that person is marked on the stem so that there is a different stem for each of the six persons. These irregular stems expound the Stem tagmeme of the Intransitive Verb Endocenter and occur with any of the forms of the verb exocenter. The simple past paradigm will be given of each of the irregular verbs to illustrate the stem allomorphs. The person of the stem must agree with all other subject persons indicated in the verb.

aG 'go'

ang-en
go-1s/p
'I went.'

an-eton
go-1p/p
'We went.'

ag-ean
go-2s/p
'You went.'

ais-ean
go-2p/p
'You went.'

a-en
go-3s/p
'He went.'

amo-n
go-3p/p
'They went.'

In the present continuous this verb is irregular in that the usual present continuous suffixes are replaced by -ewan in all persons but the third person plural which becomes -an.

ang-ewan
go-pr/cont
'I am going.'

an-ewan
go-pr/cont
'We are going.'

ag-ewan
go-pr/cont
'You are going.'

ais-ewan
go-pr/cont
'You are going.'

a-ewan
go-pr/cont
'He is going.'

amo-an
go-pr/cont
'They are going.'

onaG 'come'

ong-en
come-1s/p
'I came.'

ong-ean
come-2s/p
'You came.'

on-en
come-3s/p
'He came.'

onan-ton
come-1p/p
'We came.'

on-ayan
come-2p/p
'You came.'

onamo-n
come-3p/p
'They came.'

geaG 'fall'

geaneg-en
fall-1s/p
'I fell.'

geag-ean
fall-2s/p
'You fell.'

gear-en
fall-3s/p
'He fell.'

gean-eton
fall-1p/p
'We fell.'

gea-ean
fall-2p/p
'You fell.'

geamo-n
fall-3p/p
'They fell.'

The fourth irregular verb has two forms for the stem. These are used interchangeably. At one time they may have been dialect differences.

wanig-en or waing-en
stay-1s/p stay-1s/p
'I stayed.'

wanig-ean or waing-ean
stay-2s/p stay-2s/p
'You stayed.'

wani-eton or wain-eton
stay-1p/p stay-1p/p
'We stayed.'

wani-ean or wain-ean
stay-2p/p stay-2p/p
'You stayed.'

wand-en (only form)
stay-3s/p

'He stayed.'

wanumo-n (only form)
stay-3p/p

'They stayed.'

3.5. Reduplication. Some Daga words are partially or completely reduplicated. Generally, reduplication in verbal forms indicates a repetition of the action; in nouns it indicates a pluralization.

Various subclasses of reduplication occur: complete reduplication, reduplication with one vowel change, reduplication with two vowel changes, and reduplication of one or two syllables.

The reduplicated form fills the same tagmeme that the unreduced form fills.

Complete reduplication indicating pluralization:

Unreduplicated Form		Reduplicated Form	
oam	'sun, day'	oam oam	'always'
at	'place'	at at	'everywhere'
pa	'house, village'	pa pa	'villages'
poe	'bow head'	poe poe	'nodding'
ugup	'different'	ugup ugup	'many different ones'
da	'one'	da da	'each'
oaen tave woman old	'old woman'	oaen tave tave	'old women'
pa mega amunua gapan house his warm at	'at his warm house'	pa mega amunua gapan gapan house his warm at at	'at their warm houses'

In other examples complete reduplication is the only form used. Nonreduplicated forms have not been found.

pat pat 'waving'

pot pot 'always'

gun gun 'shade'

pose pose 'mixed'

pan pan 'curly'

Reduplication with one vowel change indicates back and forth

motion. Nonreduplicated forms have not been found. All these forms fill the Manner tagmeme of the clause.

biro baro	'mixed'	pom pam	'staggering'
menao manao	'shaky'	kirat karat	'rattling'
beo bao	'rocking'	ikuk kakuk	'dizzy'

Reduplication with two phoneme changes indicates pluralization.

no ginin wan	'his mouth dropped open/he was amazed'
no ginin ganan wan	'they were amazed'
sin tan wan tan	'various activities'
engirot wangirot	'lame people'

Reduplication of the second consonant-vowel $-C_2V_2-$ occurs in some verb stems and indicates a repetition of the action to or by different groups.

baraen	'he put'
bararaen	'he put and put until full'
wadiamopen	'to teach them'
wadidiamopen	'to teach several groups'

Nonverbal forms reduplicate the initial CVCV to intensify the word.

nononga	'long'	nononononga	'very long'
bobou	'short'	bobobobou	'very short'
karaua	'carefully'	karakaraua	'very carefully'
togan-a hill-lc	'on the hill'	togatogana	'on the hilly hill'

Verbal Participles: Verbal participles are formed by two types of reduplication. The first type repeats the stem with the conjunction *ge* 'and' between the repetition. This form is preferred as one of the fillers of the Action₁ tagmeme of the Process Verb Phrase (Section 4.3.2) or the Head of the Prolonged Action

Phrase (Section 4.3.3).

na	'eat'	na ge na	'eating'
se	'put'	se ge se	'putting'
ta	'do'	ta ge ta	'doing'
yan	'be born'	yan ge yan	'bearing'
waR	'get'	wat ge wat	'getting'
se ge se	amo-n	en yan ge yan	di on-iwand-in
putting	go-3p/p	year bearing	em come-3s/ cont-3s/p
'They continued putting.'		'The years were passing.'	

A second type of reduplication juxtaposes the reduplicated forms. Consonant final stems reduplicate by adding their class marking vowel and reduplicate the entire form. A few vowel final stems reduplicate in this way also.

Stem		Stem + V	Participle
waR	'get'	war-a	wara wara 'getting'
yaW	'see'	yaw-a	yawa yawa 'seeing'
di	'declare'	di-a	dia dia 'declaring'
se	'put'	se-a	sea sea 'putting'

Most vowel-final stems just reduplicate to form the participle. The second type of reduplication is preferred as one of the fillers of the Item₁ tagmeme of the Substantive Phrase and as the Axis of the Resemblance Phrase.

moni	wara wara	nain-ewa	goat	nuna nuna	oam-ewa
money	getting	path-sc	coin	giving/us	day-sc
'the way of getting money'			'our payday'		
at	barao barao	ar-ewa			
place	putting	place-sc			
'the putting place'					
muramura	mani mani	sea sea	ar-ewa		
medicine	things	putting	place-sc		
'hospital'					

Chapter 4

PHRASES

4.0. Phrases are units of modification, coordination, apposition, and preposition. Potentially they consist of two or more words, including nuclear and peripheral items. In the grammatical hierarchy of Daga, phrases occur above the word level and below the clause level and fill slots on the phrase and clause levels.

Long phrases are not common in Daga. Usually a minimal expression of a phrase is used; e.g., Item and Possessor is the usual manifestation of the Possessive Phrase. The nuclear items are preferred when that phrase expounds another phrase-level tagmeme. Anuclear phrases do occur in which the Head is not present and a lateral slot is the only manifestation of the phrase.

Phrase types are defined on the basis of different nuclear and peripheral tagmemes, different fillers of similar slots, different slots which they fill on the clause level, and different co-occurrence possibilities.

Nonverbal phrases will be described first. As nearly as possible each phrase will be described before the phrases in which it embeds. Phrases that mainly expound phrase-level tagmemes will be described before phrases that mainly expound clause level tagmemes.

The bidimensional arrays given for the phrases show possible expansions and the exponents of each tagmeme.

4.1. Phrases That Mainly Expound Phrase-Level Tagmemes.

4.1.1. Number Phrases. Numerals and Number Phrases occur in the Number tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, in the Summary tagmeme of the Coordinate Noun Phrase, and in the Comment tagmeme of Equational Clauses.

Since the Daga system of counting is based upon a man, and only five actual numerals exist in the language (1, 2, 3, 4, and 10), the number phrases comprise various ways of adding fingers and toes and multiplying men (units of twenty) to arrive at the desired number. This gets rather complicated; therefore, the people usually only use these numbers to twenty and then resort to English numbers.

Number phrases are double-centered, having two members of equal rank.

Number phrases are Digits Counter Phrase, Digits Phrase, Teens Counter Phrase, Teens Phrase, Multiplier Phrase, Addition Phrase, and Scores Phrase.

(1) The Digits Counter Phrase consists of an obligatory Five slot filled by nani 'hand' and an obligatory Delimiter slot filled by yamu 'other'.

Digits Counter Phrase

+ HEAD	+ DELIMITER
nani 'hand'	yamu 'other'

(2) The Digits Phrase consists of an obligatory Head filled by a Digits Counter Phrase and an obligatory Head filled by a numeral.

Digits Phrase

+ HEAD	+ HEAD
Digits Counter Phrase	Numeral -naet 'zero'

Special Features:

- (a) The Delimiter of the Digits Counter Phrase must be filled by yamu 'other'.
- (b) In following discussions, the numeral class is daiton 'one', dere 'two', yampo 'three', bayabayapa 'four'. The suffix -naet is the intensifier 'only' but is translated 'zero'.

nani yamu-naet
hand other-zero
'five'

nani yamu dere
hand other two
'seven'

nani yamu bayabayapa
hand other four 'nine'

Some speakers place nani yamunaet 'five' initially in the Digits Phrase.

nani yamu-naet nani yamu daiton
hand other-zero hand other one
'six'

(3) The Teens Counter Phrase consists of an obligatory Teen slot filled by pusin/pusinawan 'my foot' and an optional Delimiter slot filled by yamu.

Teens Counter Phrase

+ TEENS	± Delimiter
pusin/pusinawan my foot	yamu 'other'

Special Features:

When pusinawan fills the Teen slot the Delimiter does not occur.

(4) The Teens Phrase consists of an obligatory Ten tagmeme filled by aonagaet/ao boen 'ten' and an optional tagmeme filled by an obligatory Head and an optional Head.

Teens Phrase

+ TEN	± (+ HEAD	± Head)
aonagaet ao boen 'ten'	Teens Counter Phrase	Numeral -naet 'zero'

Special Features:

- (a) The numeral aonagaet 'ten' does not occur in the second Head, which is optional.
- (b) Ao boen literally means 'up died', which means the fingers are finished in the counting system. Aonagaet is undoubtedly derived from ao-na-gaet 'up-my-int = only my upper (appendages)' but this is the only occurrence of intimate possessive suffixes on a locative.

aonagaet pusinawan daiton or ao boen pusinawan daiton
ten my/foot one ten my/foot one
'eleven'

aonagaet pusinawan bayabayapa
 ten my/foot four
 'fourteen'

aonagaet pusin yamu-naet
 ten my/foot other-zero
 'fifteen'

aonagaet pusin yamu dere
 ten foot other two
 'seventeen'

For the numbers 16, 17, 18, and 19 some speakers add pusin yamunaet 'fifteen' between the Ten slot and the first Head.

aonagaet pusin yamunaet pusin yamu daiton
 ten fifteen foot other one
 'sixteen'

(5) The Multiplier, Addition, and Scores Phrases work on the principle of multiplying units of twenty (one man) and then adding another unit (1 - 19).

The Multiplier Phrase consists of an obligatory Twenty slot and an obligatory Multiplier slot.

Multiplier Phrase

+ TWENTY	+ MULTIPLIER
apane 'man'	Numeral Digits Phrase Digits Counter Phrase Teens Phrase Teens Counter Phrase
apane daiton man one 'twenty'	apane dere man two 'forty'

apane nani yamunaet
 man five
 'one hundred'

(6) The Addition Phrase consists of an obligatory Addition tagmeme and an obligatory Enumerator tagmeme.

Addition Phrase

+ ADDITION	+ ENUMERATOR
apan da man a	Numeral Digits Phrases Teen Phrases

apan da yampo
 man a three
 '(add three to a multiplier phrase)'

apan da nani yamu daiton
 man a six
 '(add 6 to a multiplier phrase)'

apan da aonagaet pusin yamu dere
 man a seventeen
 '(add 17 to a multiplier phrase)'

(7) The Scores Phrase consists of an obligatory Scores tagmeme and an optional Unit tagmeme. This construction is used to make all numbers above nineteen.

Scores Phrase

+ SCORES	± UNIT
Multiplier Phrase	Addition Phrase

apane daiton apam da aonagaet
 man one man a ten
 20 + 10 = 'thirty'

apane daiton apan da aonagaet pusin yamunaet
 man one man a fifteen

20 + 15 = 'thirty-five'

apane bayabayapa apan da aonagaet pusin yamu bayabayapa
 man four man a nineteen

80 + 19 = 'ninety-nine'

Daga Numbers from 1 to 25:

- 1 daiton
- 2 dere
- 3 yampo
- 4 bayabayapa/degede (dialect difference)
- 5 nani yamunaet
- 6 (nani yamunaet) nani yamu daiton
- 7 (nani yamunaet) nani yamu dere
- 8 (nani yamunaet) nani yamu yampo
- 9 (nani yamunaet) nani yamu bayabayapa
- 10 aonagaet/ao boen
- 11 aonagaet pusinawan daiton
- 12 aonagaet pusinawan dere
- 13 aonagaet pusinawan yampo
- 14 aonagaet pusinawan bayabayapa
- 15 aonagaet pusin yamunaet
- 16 aonagaet (pusin yamunaet) pusin yamu daiton
- 17 aonagaet (pusin yamunaet) pusin yamu dere
- 18 aonagaet (pusin yamunaet) pusin yamu yampo
- 19 aonagaet (pusin yamunaet) pusin yamu bayabayapa
- 20 apane daiton
- 21 apane daiton apan da daiton
- 22 apane daiton apan da dere
- 23 apane daiton apan da yampo

- 24 apane daiton apan da bayabayapa
 25 apane daiton apan da nani yamunaet

Selected Daga Numbers from 26 to 100:

- 30 apane daiton apan da aonagaet
 34 apane daiton apan da aonagaet pusin yamu bayabayapa
 40 apane dere
 45 apane dere apan da nani yamunaet
 50 apane dere apan da aonagaet
 57 apane dere apan da aonagaet pusin yamu dere
 60 apane yampo
 68 apane yampo apan da nani yamu yampo
 70 apane yampo apan da aonagaet
 75 apane yampo apan da aonagaet pusin yamunaet
 80 apane bayabayapa
 83 apane bayabayapa apan da yampo
 90 apane bayabayapa apan da aonagaet
 92 apane bayabayapa apan da aonagaet pusin yamu dere
 100 apane nani yamunaet

4.1.2. Intensified Phrases. There are two subtypes of the intensified phrase: the Emphatic and the Superlative.

(1) The Emphatic Intensified Phrase fills the same slot as the single phrase or word it emphasizes. Di '(emphasis)' is a lateral that optionally occurs at the end of all phrases. The construction consists of obligatory Head and Intensifier tagmemes.

Emphatic Intensified Phrase

+ HEAD	+ INTENSIFIER
any phrase	di '(emphasis)'
adjective	
pronoun	
adverb	

conjunction	
negative	
locative	
location marker	
nonpast medial verb	

kakae di
good em
'very good'

me di
he em
'he indeed'

ameme di
that em
'definitely that'

tu-pi di
dig-3s/m em
'he definitely will dig...'

tavewa ega di
body yours em
'definitely your carcass'

ia den di
net with em
'definitely with the net'

gari-ga-p di
back-your-lc em
'definitely behind you'

anega di
like/this em
'definitely like this'

uon di
neg em
'definitely not'

(2) The Superlative Intensified Phrase construction consists of an obligatory Head filled by an adjective, personal positional or adverb and an obligatory Intensifier tagmeme manifested by iragen/iren '(intensifier)'. This phrase manifests the tagmeme appropriate to the filler of the Head.

Superlative Intensified Phrase

+ HEAD	+ INTENSIFIER
adjective	iragen/iren '(intensifier)'
adverb	
personal positional	

bop iragen
 dead int
 'really dead'

arita iragen
 big int
 'biggest'

nanu-na-p iragen
 before-me-lc int
 'right in front of me'

There seems to be no difference in meaning between the Emphatic Intensified Phrase and the Superlative Intensified Phrase.

bop di
 dead em
 'definitely dead'

or

bop iragen
 dead int
 'really dead'

The adjective with the intensifier suffix also seems to mean the same as the Superlative Intensified Phrase in which the Head is expounded by an adjective.

pumpuni-gaet
 black-int
 'blackest'

or

pumpuni iragen
 black int
 'blackest'

4.1.3. Negative Adjective Phrase. The Negative Adjective Phrase consists of the obligatory Head and Negative. These adjectival antonyms form a close-knit unit that fills the Modifier tagmemes of the Modified Noun Phrase, the Head of the Emphatic Intensified Phrase, and the Comment tagmeme of the Equational Clause.

Negative Adjective Phrase

+ HEAD	+ NEGATIVE
any adjective	uon 'not'

baware uon
 big not
 'small'

bigip uon
 dirty not
 'clean'

wani uon
 sharp not
 'dull'

kaimake uon
 hard not
 'easy; soft'

amun uon
warm not

'cold'

koerage uon
bad not

'good'

4.2. Phrases That Mainly Expound Clause-Level Tagmemes.

4.2.1. Possessive Phrase. Two nuclear tagmemes, Item and Possessor, optionally preceded by a Referent tagmeme comprise the Possessive Phrase. The Possessive Phrase manifests Subject, Object, Indirect Object, Topic, and Comment tagmemes on the clause level. It occurs in the Axis of Purpose Phrases and Location Phrases.

Possessive Phrase

± Referent	± Item	+ POSSESSOR
pronoun	Noun Phrase	Intimate Possessive Suffix
Proper Noun	Coordinate Noun Phrase	Possessive Pronoun
Place name	Apposition Phrase	
Apposition Noun Phrase	Nominalized verb	
Noun Phrase		
Possessive Phrase		
Substantive Phrase		

Special Features:

- (a) The Item tagmeme optionally is omitted in context.
- (b) Possession is either intimate or nonintimate so that either possessive suffixes or free possessive pronouns expound the Possessor.
- (c) Occasionally the personal name and appropriate pronoun together act as an Appositional Noun Phrase and fill the Referent.
- (d) The Referent was used in about one-third of the examples.
- (e) Time and Manner tagmemes have been observed between the Referent and Item in a discontinuous manifestation of the phrase.
- (f) Extensive embedding of the Possessive Phrase in itself is permitted.

Ref: bariawa Poss: mega
 European his

'the European's (work)'

Ref: pumpuni-wa Item: dugup Poss: muga
 black-sc house their

'the house of the black (ones)'

Ref: ne Time: endi Item: gutut Poss: nega
 I now story my

'now my story'

Ref: Poss Ph nu dugup nuga Item-poss: oam-ewa
 we clan ours day-poss

'the day of our clan'

Ref: Apn Ph: Iruan me Item-poss: or-ewa
 Iruan he daughter-his

'Iruan's daughter'

Ref: nu Item: Apn Ph: otu mini kaukeru gu
 we little like squash sprouts

otu mini Poss: nuga
 little like our

'like a little, like little squash sprouts of ours'

(The above example may be an utterance broken by a hesitation.)

Item: Con Ph: pam nagut Poss: muga
 yam taro their

'their yam and taro'

Ref: ne Item: verb-nom: anu-t Poss: nega
 I think-nom my

'my thoughts'

4.2.2. Kinship Phrase. The Kinship Phrase consists of obligatory Head and Plural tagmemes preceded by the optional Referent tagmeme. The Kinship Phrase manifests Subject, Object, and Indirect Object tagmemes on the clause and the Axis of the Purpose and Location Phrases.

Kinship Phrase

± Referent	+ HEAD	+ PLURAL
pronoun Proper noun Noun Phrase Possessive Phrase	kinship term inflected with Abbreviated Intimate Possessive Suffixes	wai '(plural) inflected with Intimate Possessive Suffixes

Special Features:

- (a) Only kinship terms manifest the Head.
- (b) Possession on the kinship term is indicated by the Abbreviated Intimate Possessive Suffixes and on the pluralizer wai by the Intimate Possessive Suffixes. These suffixes agree in person and number.
- (c) The fillers of the Referent are probably the same as the fillers of the Referent tagmeme in the Possessive Phrase, but Apposition Noun Phrase, Substantive Phrase, and Place name have not been observed in the Referent of the Kinship Phrase.
- (d) The Kinship Phrase is used to pluralize kinship terms.

Singular Form	Kinship Phrase	
goani-na younger/sibling-my 'my younger sibling'	goani-n younger/sibling-my 'my younger siblings'	wai-na pl-my
tas-e older/sibling-his 'his older sibling'	tas-e older/sibling-his 'his older siblings'	wai-# pl-his
nu mama-nu we father-our 'our father'	nu mama-n we father-our 'our fathers'	wai-nu pl-our
ina-ga mother-your 'your mother'	ina-k mother-your 'your mothers'	wai-ga pl-your

apan even-e
man friend-his
'the friend of the man'

apan even-e wai-#
man friend-his pl-his
'the friends of the man'

Waruman domar-e
Waruman sister-his
'Waruman's sister'

Waruman domar-e wai-#
Waruman sister-his pl-his
'Waruman's sisters'

4.2.3. Substantive Phrase. The Substantive Phrase consists of three tagmemes, the Item₁, Item₂, and the Substantive Marker. It expounds Subject, Object, and Indirect Object tagmemes. On the phrase level the Substantive Phrase expounds the Referent tagmeme of the Possessive Phrase, the Head of the Coordinate Noun Phrase, the Axis of Purpose and Location Phrases, and both Item and Apposition in the Appositional Noun Phrase. In addition, the Sentence Topic (a sentence peripheral tagmeme) is filled by the Substantive Phrase.

Substantive Phrase

+ (\pm Item ₁)	\pm Item ₂)	+ SUBSTANTIVE MARKER
noun	noun	Substantive Clitic -wa
Noun Phrase	adjective	
Possessive Phrase	temporal	
Substantive Phrase	mini 'like'	
Included Clause		

Special Features:

- The phrase is not expandable.
- The Substantive Clitic is -wa/-a \leftrightarrow -ewa \leftrightarrow -awa. The allomorph -wa or -a occurs following vowel final stems; -awa occurs following wataget 'before', iman 'tomorrow', and pu 'bush' and -ewa occurs elsewhere. The -ewa optionally occurs as -e or -ea.
- A clause with a participle manifesting the Predicate is permitted in the Item₁ tagmeme.
- When Item₁ is manifested by a clause, Item₂ if occurring, must be manifested by a noun.

Item₁: oaenapan Item₂: wataget-awa
 people before-sc
 'the former people'

Item₁: tuan Item₂: pu-awa
 pig bush-sc
 'wild pig'

Item₁: pa pa Item₂: konintu-a
 villages close-sc
 'the close villages'

Item₁: wat barao barao Item₂: neigin-ewa
 get putting path-sc
 'the getting and putting (of taxes) way'

Item₁: pa Item₂: nagire
 house people
 'village people; uneducated'

Item₁: Included Clause: pa pa barik barik munan
 villages census/divisions for
 yon-in-e Item₂: otu-a
 stand-3p/hab-i fellow-sc
 'the men who represent the villages and census divisions'

Item₁: Included Clause: kopi dim dim pa wananan
 coffee something house cargo
 aigin dim dim ta-in-e-a
 sanitation something do-3p/hab-i-sc
 Item₂: neigineigin-ea
 custon-sc
 'the doing of coffee, village work, cargo, sanitation, and various activities custom'

Item₁: Apn Ph: ne nenip negawa Sinasin
 I bird my Sinasin

Item₂: gutur-ewa
 story-sc
 'my bird Sinasin story'

4.2.4. Modified Noun Phrase. The Modified Noun Phrase fills the clause level slots of Subject, Object, Indirect Object, Topic, and Comment. It also manifests the Axis of Purpose and Location Phrases.

All the tagmemes of the phrase are optional, but one must occur. The Head is optionally modified by one or two Modifiers, an Accompaniment tagmeme which optionally is repeated once, a Number, and a Demonstrative.

Modified Noun Phrase

+ [<u>± Head</u>	<u>± Modifier</u> ₁	<u>± Modifier</u> ₂	<u>± (Accompaniment)</u> ²
noun Possessive Ph Substantive Ph Participle type 2	adjective Negative Adjective Phrase Verb with included clause clitic	adjective Superlative Intensified Phrase Negative Adjective Phrase	Non-personal Accompaniment Ph Resemblance Phrase

<u>± Number</u>	<u>± Demo]</u>
Numeral Number Phrase	locative

Special Features:

- The preferred order is as given in the array but the order of the slots is fairly free. The Head, if occurring, always occurs first.
- The reduplication used to form the participle which expounds the Head is of the second type.
- To date only one example has been found in which the Head is expounded by an Included Clause and was a manifestation of the Substantive Phrase. In this case the Substantive Clitic followed the Included Clause Clitic (see first example below).
- The first Modifier tagmeme is rarely expounded by a final verb which must have the Included Clause Clitic on it. In order to distinguish this construction from an Included Clause

in which there is a free subject, another tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase must follow the verb inflected with the included clause clitic (see sixth example below).

- (e) The Nonpersonal Accompaniment Phrase which fills the Accompaniment tagmeme is made up of a Head filled by nouns or adjectives followed by the Accompaniment Marker *den* 'with'. For a fuller description see 4.2.10.
- (f) Long phrases are rare. Though two Modifiers are allowed, examples in which these occur are unusual. The Accompaniment tagmeme is occasionally used to add more modifiers in the phrase.
- (g) The full range of locative suffixes has not been observed on the locative when it expounds the Demonstrative.
- (h) Adjectives are the only manifestation of the Modified Noun Phrase only when they occur in the Item_2 tagmeme of the Substantive Phrase which embeds in the Head of the Noun Phrase (see last example below).

Head: Included Clause: mu irip wa-n-e-wa
 they cry say-3p/p-i-sc

Demo: mame
 this

'this cry which they said'

(The Included Clause above fits the pattern of a Substantive Phrase.)

Head: Poss Ph: gutut nega Mod: otu Demo: mame
 story my little this

'this little story of mine'

Head: tuan Mod₁: baware Mod₂: koka Acc: done den
 pig big big teeth with

'very big pig with teeth'

Head: S Ph: denanu tambu-ini apan-ewa Mod: baware
 garbage take-3s/hab man-sc big

'big garbage man'

Head: pa Number: nani yamu yampo
 house eight

‘eight houses’

Head: nop Mod: wa-iangin-a Demo: ma
 word say-ls/pr-i this

‘this word which I say’

Head: oma Number: da Acc: itani den Acc: kaimake den
 wood one heavy with hard with

Demo: ameme
 that

‘that one heavy hard wood (a description of a safe)’

Head: tugu tugu Mod: otu da
 burning little

‘a little (for) burning’

Head: gutut Mod: otu Demo: ame Mod: uiwa
 story little that last

‘that little last story’

Head: gutut nega Mod: otu Mod: uiwa Demo: mame
 story my little last this

‘this little last story of mine’

Head: pumpuni-wa Demo: ameme
 black-sc that

‘that black (man)’

The Head of the construction optionally is omitted in context so that any one of the peripheral tagmemes is the only manifestation of the phrase. A Class 3 adjective manifesting the phrase must have the substantive clitic.

Adjective manifesting the noun phrase

S: mu O: kakae-wa P: na-iwanum-un
 they good-sc eat-3p/cont-3p/p

‘They were eating the good (sugar cane).’

optionally followed by the Summary tagmeme. This phrase occurs in the Subject, Object, Indirect Object, Topic, and Comment tagmemes of clauses and in the Axis of Purpose and Location Phrases.

Coordinate Noun Phrase

+ HEAD	+ (± Conj	+ HEAD) ⁿ	± Summary
pronoun	ge	as	numeral
Proper Noun	'and'	listed	Number Ph
Noun Phrase		under	ame 'that'
Kinship Phrase		first	anega 'like
Possessive Ph		Head	that'
Substantive Ph			
Apposition Noun Phrase			

Special Features:

- (a) There are no co-occurrence restrictions on the fillers of the Head slots; for example, one Head may be filled by a noun, another filled by a pronoun, and another filled by a Possessive Phrase.
- (b) Although expanded Modified Noun Phrases, Kinship Phrases, etc., optionally fill the Heads of the Coordinate Noun Phrase, the nuclear tagmemes of the filler phrases are most commonly used. Expanded fillers of the Head slots have been elicited without difficulty but are rarely observed in conversation or text material.

Daio ge ne ge Orin
Daio and I and Orin

'Daio, I, and Orin'

mama-n ina-n goani-n wai-na
father-my mother-my younger/sibling-my pl-my

'my father, mother, and younger siblings'

(In this example the first two Heads are filled by the minimal expression of a Noun Phrase and the final Head is filled by a Kinship Phrase.)

apan eao mega
man dog his

'the man and his dog'

Kuagit nagire-wa Maisin nagire-wa
Kuagit people-sc Maisin people-sc

'Kuagit and Maisin people'

ne Derem Daio yampo
I Derem Daio three

'I, Derem, and Daio, three (of us)'

Persival Malcom Remi Tudesi Reginal Humphrey
Persival Malcom Remi Tudesi Reginal Humphrey

Matiu anega
Matiu like/that

'Persival, Malcom, Remi, Tudesi, Reginal, Humphrey, and
Matiu (a group) like that'

ian Kakaia ge ian Kaumania
people Kakaia and people Kaumania

'Kakaia and Kaumania people'

nu pa nugawa nu at nugawa nao nugawa
we house our we place our work our

'our village, our place, and our work'

nenip Bure ge nenip Dukuik dere
bird Bure and bird Dukuik two

'the Bure and Dukuik birds, two (of them)'

ogi guep eragi kerip iravi
banana loin/cloth mat betel/nut all

'banana, loin cloth, mat, and betel nut, all (of them)'

(2) The Coordinate Location Phrase subtype fills the Location tagmeme. A Summary tagmeme, such as occurs in other coordinate phrases, has not been observed in the data to date, but this is probably due to a limited corpus of data.

imana mayama asira aotara
 tomorrow day/after/tomorrow third/day fourth/day/hence
 ame
 that
 'tomorrow, the day after, two and three days later, those
 (days)'

4.2.6. Alternative Phrase. Two obligatory Heads and an obligatory Conjunction manifested by go/o 'or' comprise the Alternative Phrase. Two additional Heads joined by the conjunction have been observed. This phrase has been observed in the Subject, Object, Indirect Object, and Comment tagmemes of clauses, as the Head in the Resemblance Phrase, and as the Axis in Purpose and Location Relator-axis Phrases.

Alternative Phrase

+ HEAD	+ CONJ	+ HEAD	$\pm(+ \text{ Conj } \pm \text{ Head})^2$
Noun Phrase Possessive Ph Coordinate Ph Proper Noun Equational Clause	go/o 'or'	Noun Phrase Possessive Phrase Resemblance Phrase interrogative Proper Noun	go/o 'or' Noun Ph

Special Features:

- (a) Generally the same conjunction occurs between each Head, though in one example both go and o were used. The conjunction o is used more frequently.
- (b) The interrogative has been observed only in the final Head.
- (c) In one example the fourth Head was absent so that the conjunction was the final word in the phrase.

The Alternative Phrase contrasts with the Coordinate Phrase by the obligatory conjunction tagmeme which is only manifested by go/o 'or' and by the fact that the Alternative Phrase is not as expandable. It does not have an optional Summary tagmeme.

'some day (in) one year or some day (in) six months or some (day in) five (months)'

en dere o en yampo o daiton o
year two or year three or one or

'two years or three years or one year or (more)'

4.2.7. Appositional Phrases. The obligatory Item and Apposition tagmemes comprise the Appositional Phrase.

Appositional Phrase = + ITEM + APPOSITION

There are three subtypes of Appositional Phrases: noun, temporal, and location.

(1) The Appositional Noun Phrase expounds the clause level tagmemes of Subject, Object, and Indirect Object and occurs in the Head of Modified Noun, Coordinate Noun, and Accompaniment Phrases, the Item and Referent of Possessive Phrases, the Item of the Appositional Noun Phrase, and the Axis of Relator-axis Phrases.

Appositional Noun Phrase

+ ITEM	+ APPOSITION
Noun Phrase	Noun Phrase
Proper Noun	Proper Noun
pronoun	emphatic pronoun
Substantive Phrase	Substantive Phrase
Possessive Phrase	Possessive Phrase
Resemblance Phrase	Resemblance Phrase
Appositional Noun Phrase	Coordinate Noun Phrase
Included Clause	

Boborap apan gega
Boborap man your
'Boborap, your husband'

virip apan-ewa Poru
taboo man-sc Poru
'the taboo man, Poru'

ne oaen koerage
I woman bad

'I, the bad woman'

wananan sirot poteito kabeisi kopi
cargo shallots potato cabbage coffee

'the cargo, shallots, potatoes, cabbage, and coffee'

oam iman-awa govman oam mega
day tomorrow-sc government day his

govmen nav-e ta-itoni oam-ewa
government work-his do-lp/hab day-sc

'tomorrow, the government's day, the day we do the government's work'

Iruan wa-n-i nop mega
Iruan say-3s/p-i word his

'what Iruan said, his word'

otu mini kaukeru gu otu mini
little like squash sprouts little like

'like little, like little squash sprouts'

Kuini mam-ewa u'ura den ta-ini apan-ewa
Kuini father-her ritual also do-3s/hab man-sc

'Kuini's father, the man who also does rituals'

apan Yare
man Yare

'the man, Yare'

(2) The Appositional Location Phrase manifests the Location tagmeme on the clause level. The Item is filled by locatives, and the Apposition is filled by place names, positionals, nouns, locatives, and Location Phrase.

Appositional Location Phrase

+ ITEM	+ APPOSITION
locatives Appositional Location Ph Location Phrase	locatives place names positionals nouns Location Phrase

Special Features:

- (a) When a Location Phrase manifests the Item, only a locative occurs in the Apposition tagmeme.

ma Kakaia
here Kakaia
'here, Kakaia'

isi maine-mu-p
down/there near-them-lc
'down there, near them'

ea-pa pi-a
down-out/of/sight ground-lc
'down out of sight, on the ground'

Item: Location Phrase: ao Baewa Guap gerat-a
up Baewa Guap beach-lc

App: locative: utu-pa
up/there-out/of/sight
'up there out of sight, at the Baewa Guap beach'

(3) The Appositional Temporal Phrase manifests the Time tagmeme of the clause. Both the Item and Apposition are filled by Temporal Phrases (see 4.2.8 and 4.2.10).

Appositional Temporal Phrase

+ ITEM	+ APPOSITION
Temporal Phrase	Temporal Phrase

oam mame endi
day this today

'this day, today'

wan sen mumaget
sunrise morning

'at sunrise, in the morning'

sande pura baware
Sunday Sunday

'Sunday, Sunday'

4.2.8. Temporal Phrase. The Temporal Phrase occurs in the Time tagmeme. An obligatory Head followed optionally by a Modifier tagmeme comprises the Temporal Phrase. On the phrase level it manifests both the Item and the Apposition of the Appositional Temporal Phrase.

Temporal Phrase

+ HEAD	± Modifier
temporal	locative number Number Phrase

Special Features:

(a) Stereotyped Clause Temporals do not occur in the Head.

oam nani yamunaet
day five

'five days'

yampoa utu-pa
third up/there-out/of/
sight

'next Wednesday'

endi ma
today this

'right now'

siragam oea
moon overhead

'this month'

oam ianupe
sun overhead

'noon'

wataget utu-p
before up/there-out/of/
sight

'long ago'

4.2.9. Direction Phrase. Origin and Destination are the only tagmemes in the Direction Phrase. Only locatives expound the tagmemes. The Origin gives the initial location and the Destination gives the final location. This phrase occurs in the Apposition tagmeme of Appositional Location Phrases and in the clause level Location tagmeme.

Direction Phrase

+ ORIGIN	+ DESTINATION
locative	locative

ao ma
up here

'from up there to here'

ase ma
over/there here

'from over there to here'

ae ma
down here

'from down there to here'

u-sira utu-pa
up/there-toward up/there-
out/of/sight

'from the general area up
there to a place further
beyond out of sight'

4.2.10. Relator-axis Phrases. Relator-axis phrases are those phrases which have an Axis related to the clause or phrase in which they occur by postposition relators. This phrase classification has five members: Accompaniment, Time, Resemblance, Purpose, and Location.

(1) There are two types of Accompaniment Phrases. The Personal Accompaniment Phrase and the Nonpersonal Accompaniment Phrase. The Personal Accompaniment Phrase involves persons and fills clause-level tagmemes. The Nonpersonal Accompaniment Phrase involves items or attributes rather than persons and fills phrase-level tagmemes.

The Personal Accompaniment Phrase has optional Accompanier and Axis tagmemes preceding the obligatory Relator tagmeme. When the Accompaniment Postpositions den or boen expound the Relator the Axis is obligatory. This phrase has been observed in the clause level tagmemes of Subject and Object.

Personal Accompaniment Phrase

± Accompanier	± Axis	+ RELATOR
pronoun	pronoun	den
Proper Noun	Proper Noun	boen
Noun Phrase	adjective	tana
	Noun Phrase	ena
	Possessive Phrase	'with'
	Coordinate Noun Ph	
	Kinship Phrase	
	Substantive Phrase	
	Included Clause	

Special Features:

- (a) The Accompanier tagmeme usually overtly or covertly means a person. The person involved will be specified by verbal suffixes if the Accompanier tagmeme is not filled.
- (b) Any of the Accompaniment Postpositions expound the Relator. Different dialects prefer the alternates listed.
- (c) Tana and ena are obligatorily marked for person by the Intimate Possessive Suffixes. The person agrees with the person of the Axis. Since person is marked on tana and ena, in context, the Axis is optional.

ge e den
 you you/(pl) with
 'you with you'

bagu sisi mega den
 sadness his with
 '(he went) sadly'

tap den
 fear with
 '(he went) fearfully'

(In the two preceding examples the Accompanier tagmeme is understood to be a person by the verbal suffixes. Thus these two examples are Personal Accompaniment Phrases rather than Nonpersonal Accompaniment Phrases.)

Diemisi orup upi den
James fellows other with

'James with the other fellows'

ne mama-n ina-n goani-n
I father-my mother-my younger/siblings-my

wai-na boen
pl-my with

'I with my father, mother, and younger siblings'

orup da Taki den
fellow a Taki with

'a fellow with Taki'

even-e wai-wa tana-mo
friend-his pl-his with-them

'with his friends'

okoi da mam-e den
dog a father-his with

'a dog with his owner'

Amblos Kakaia nagir-e den
Ambrose Kakaia people-sc with

'Ambrose with the Kakaia people'

Axis: Included Clause: Kuankuae gapan in-an-e-a
Kuankuae at sleep-3p/p-i-sc

Relator: den
with

'with the ones who slept at Kuankuae'

tan-e (am-on)
with-him go-3p/p

'(they went) with him' (This is equivalent in meaning to 'he went with them'.)

ena-n (a-en)
with-us go-3s/p

'(he went) with us'

ge orup ame ena-m ak
you fellow that with-them go-2s/imp

'Go with those fellows.'

Only the two obligatory tagmemes, Axis and Relator, are permitted in the Nonpersonal Accompaniment Phrase. This phrase occurs only in the Accompaniment tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase.

Nonpersonal Accompaniment Phrase

+ AXIS	+ RELATOR
adjective noun	den 'with'

Special Features:

- (a) No phrases occur in the Axis.
- (b) Only den 'with' fills the Relator.
- (c) This phrase in context is permitted as the only manifestation of the Modified Noun Phrase. Examples will be given in the noun phrase in which they occur. The Nonpersonal Accompaniment Phrase is enclosed in parentheses.

nu pa nuga (amunu den)
we house our warm with

'our houses with warmth' or 'our warm houses'

muramura (sisi den)
medicine bitter with

'bitter medicine'

ne mama-na (vege den)
I father-my pain with

'my father in pain'

tuan baware koka (done den)
 pig big big teeth with
 'very big pig with teeth'

tuan (done den) daiton
 pig teeth with one
 'one pig with teeth'

ganip (wapi den)
 coconut skin with
 'coconut with its skin'

(2) The obligatory Axis and Relator tagmemes comprise the Time Phrase which occurs in the Time tagmeme of the clause.

Time Phrase

+ AXIS	+ RELATOR
Temporal Ph Substantive Ph Included Clause	gapan/gam/gan 'at; during the time'

siragam oea gapan
 moon overhead during
 'during this month'

mum gage gapan
 night middle at
 'at midnight'

pren are to to oam-e gapan
 plane place hitting day-sc during
 'during the day for cutting the airstrip'

nop wa-pi gam
 word say-3s/i at
 'at the time when he speaks'

ne tamaru waing-en-a gapan
 I youth stay-1s/p-i during
 'during the time when I was a youth'

oam ianupe gan
 sun overhead at
 'at noon'

(3) The Resemblance Phrase consists of the obligatory Axis and Relator tagmemes. On the phrase level it manifests the Accompaniment tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, the Head tagmemes of the Coordinate Noun Phrase, the Alternative Phrase, and the Emphatic Intensified Phrase. It has been observed in the Manner, Time, Topic, and Comment tagmemes in clauses and in the sentence peripheral tagmemes of Sentence Topic and Afterthought.

Resemblance Phrase

+ AXIS	+ RELATOR
adjective	mini 'like'
pronoun	umap 'like'
interrogative	
participle-type 2	
Noun Phrase	
Possessive Phrase	
Substantive Phrase	
Alternative Phrase	
Temporal Phrase	
Included Clause	

Special Features:

- (a) Mini is used more frequently than umap.
- (b) Only the interrogative followed by the Relator has been observed as a manifestation of the Accompaniment tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase.

torsi umap
 torch like
 'like a torch'

anipo mini
 how/many like
 'like how many'

gean gean mini
 falling like
 'like falling'

man mini
 animal like
 'like an animal'

oam ianupe mini
 sun overhead like
 'like noon'

ge mini
 you like
 'like you'

oam endi-wa mini-a
 day today-sc like-sc
 'the one like today'

taba ma na-iton-i mini di
 food this eat-lp/hab-i like em
 'definitely like this food which we eat'

oaen daiton mini
 woman one like
 'like one woman'

aposisi upine umap
 apostles other like
 'like the other apostles'

(4) The Purpose Phrase consists of an obligatory Axis and an optional Relator. In unambiguous constructions the Relator may be omitted. This phrase expounds the clause level Purpose tagmeme.

Purpose Phrase

+ AXIS	± Relator
Proper Noun Possessive Phrase Kinship Phrase Substantive Phrase Modified Noun Phrase Coordinate Noun Ph Alternative Phrase Apposition Noun Ph Included Clause Infinitive	Purpose Pronoun in third person only

Special Features:

- (a) The verb in a clause manifesting the Axis is either inflected with the Included Clause Clitic or with the Infinitive Suffix.
- (b) Only the third person, both singular and plural, Purpose Pronouns manifest the Relator. These agree with the number of the Axis.

damik menan
 string for

'for string'

parameisi aritawa tau-apen menan
 plane big arrive-inf for

'for the arrival of the big plane'

otu-a vek ta-n-i menan
 son-his sick do-3s/p-i for

'for his son who was sick'

oma (a-en)
 wood go-3s/p

'(he went) (for) wood'

oaenapan nuga munan
 people our for
 'for our people'

war-apen menan
 get-inf for
 'in order to get (it)'

war-apen (ong-en)
 get-inf come-ls/p
 '(I came) to get (it)'

tase wai mun
 older/siblings/his for
 'for his older siblings'

Areba Rogua munan
 Areba Rogua for
 'for Areba and Rogua'

Kirais da Kin oam-ewa munan
 Christ the King day-sc for
 'for Christ the King day'

apan Manain menan
 man Manain for
 'for the man, Manain'

pa pa barik barik munan
 house house census/division census/division for
 'for the various villages and census divisions'

(5) The Location Phrase consists of an obligatory Axis which is joined to the rest of the clause by the optional Relator. The Relator is omitted only in a nonambiguous context, such as place verb combinations or with Place names. If the Location might be confused with another clause-level tagmeme, the Relator is obligatory.

Location Phrase

+ AXIS	± Relator
locative	Location Postposition gapan/gan/gam
Positionals	
Modified Noun Phrase	Positionals in 3 singular only
Kinship Phrase	
Possessive Phrase	Location Clitic
Substantive Phrase	
Apposition Location Ph	
Coordinate Location Ph	
Coordinate Noun Phrase	
Alternate Phrase	
Included Clause	

Special Features:

- (a) Only the third person singular Positionals manifest the Relator.
- (b) When a Positional expounds the Axis, the Relator does not occur.

Kakaia gapan
Kakaia at

'at Kakaia'

asepa gapan
there at

'there'

pa nega gapan
house my at

'at my house'

Ainin taras-en-i gapan
Ainin clean-3s/p-i at

'at the place which Ainin
cleaned'

Bonenau (tau-aton)
Bononau arrive-lp/p
'(we came) to Bononau'

Axis: Apposition Location Ph:
ao Baewa Guap gerat-a
up Baewa Guap beach-lc
'up at Baewa Guap beach'

(In this example the Relator
is manifested by the Location
Clitic -a.)

maina-na-p
near-me-1c
'near me'

pa gauarap
house under
'under the house'

4.3. Verb Phrases. Verb phrases fill the Predicate tagmeme of clauses. Verb phrase types are General Verb Phrase, Complex Verb Phrases, and Auxiliary Verb Phrases.

In Complex Verb Phrases two or three tagmemes are obligatory, and each of these is of equal status. Auxiliary Verb Phrases obligatorily have a Head and Auxiliary tagmeme.

Verb phrase types are distinguished on the basis of different nuclear slots and different fillers of the Head slot. Also the phrase types co-occur in different ways.

Because the Manner tagmeme is mobile in the clause, there is no manner slot in the verb phrase even though the preferred location of the Manner is preceding the verb.

4.3.1. General Verb Phrase. The General Verb Phrase consists of an obligatory Head optionally preceded by the Negative.

General Verb Phrase

± Negative	+ HEAD
ya 'not'	any verb
ya di 'definitely not'	Qualified Verb Phrase Object Focus Verb Ph Desiderative Verb Ph Process Verb Phrase

Special Features:

- (a) Not all verb phrases occur in the Head because the negative occurs in different positions in some verb phrases. In these the position of the negative will be indicated in the bidimensional array.
- (b) It should be noted that there are special affixes for the negative second person imperative (see 3.4.2.2).

ya a-ewan
neg go-3s/pr/cont

'He is not going.'

ya di ta-n
neg em do-1s/p

'I definitely did not do (it).'

ya nat anu-ivin
neg eat know-1s/pr/cont

'I do not want to eat.'

ya wat agoat mum-en
neg help them-3s/p

'He did not help them.'

ya war-a
neg get-2s/imp/neg

'Don't get (it)!'

ya wa-it
neg say-lp/f

'We will not say.'

ya wat on-en
neg get come-3s/p

'He did not bring (it).'

ya i kakae-as-en
neg wash good-vs-3s/p

'He did not wash well.'

wat
get-2s/imp

'Get (it)!'

4.3.2. Complex Verb Phrase. A Complex Verb Phrase has two or three obligatory tagmemes, each of which are equally important. Complex Verb Phrases are Qualified Verb Phrase, Object Focus Verb Phrase, Desiderative Verb Phrase, Definitive Verb Phrase, Process Verb Phrase, and Repetitive Verb Phrase.

(1) The obligatory Head and Qualitative tagmemes comprise the Qualified Verb Phrase. It occurs in the Head slots of the General and Object Focus Verb Phrases as well as in the Predicate tagmeme of clauses.

Qualified Verb Phrase

+ HEAD	+ QUALITATIVE
any verb stem Object Focus Verb Ph Definitive Verb Phrase Process Verb Phrase	any verb based on a verbalized adjective or noun

Special Features:

- (a) When a verb phrase manifests the Head, the final verb of that phrase must be uninflected.
- (b) The adjectives or the few nouns which occur in the Qualitative tagmeme must have the verbalizer suffix.
- (c) Tense, aspect, person, and number suffixes occur on the filler of the Qualitative tagmeme.

ta otu-m-ivin
do little-vz-1s/pr/cont
'I am making (it) smaller.'

tunu amun-am-ivin
cook warm-vz-1s/pr/cont
'I am heating (in a pot).'

in kaka-e-as-iwan
sleep good-vz-3s/pr/cont
'He is sleeping well.'

wa taman-am-eton
say straight-vz-lp/p
'We corrected the speech.'

(2) The Object Focus Verb Phrase consists of two obligatory Head tagmemes. It occurs in the Head of the General Verb Phrase and in the Predicate of Transitive Clauses. In some instances the Object Focus Phrase handles the benefactive area of meaning.

Object Focus Verb Phrase

+ HEAD	+ HEAD
object focus verb stem	Object Focus Markers
Qualified Verb Phrase	nimaneG - 1s
Process Verb Phrase	gimaG - 2s
(all fillers above must be uninflected)	# 3s
	niman- lp
	imai- 2p
	mum- 3p

Special Features:

- (a) The final head of any phrase embedding in the Object Focus Phrase Head tagmeme must be uninflected.
- (b) The aspect, subject-person/tense suffixes are placed on the

Object Focus Marker. Since the Object Focus Marker in the third person singular is zero, the aspect, and subject-person/tense suffixes are placed on the first Head of the phrase.

A representative list of Object Focus Verb Stems:

darakam	'dry (a person)'	yamam	'respect'
anut	'agree; remember; love'	nanam	'tease; urge; encourage'
baR	'put down (a person)'	garawaS	'pass'
wakauam	'drown'	gigiaS	'withhold permission'

Qualified Verb Phrases found in the Head:

ta koeragam	'destroy'
anu koeragam	'hate'
wat aipakam	'repair; bless'
anu otum	'belittle'
wat agoaS	'help'
wat inakam	'heal; save'

wat agoat nimaneg-en
help ofm/1s-3s/p
'He helped me.'

wat agoat ima-en
help ofm/2p-3s/p
'He helped you.'

wat agoat gimag-en
help ofm/2s-3s/p
'He helped you.'

wat agoat mum-en
help ofm/3p-3s/p
'He helped them.'

wat agoas-en
help-3s/p
'He helped him.'

yamam nimanek
respect ofm/1s-2s/imp
'Respect me!'

wat agoat niman-en
help ofm/lp-3s/p
'He helped us.'

nanam mum-an
tease ofm/3p-1s/p
'I teased them.'

anu otum-iwanum-un
belittle-3p/cont-3p/p
'They were belittling him.'

(3) The use of the Desiderative Verb Phrase indicates a desire. It occurs in the Head of the General Verb Phrase and in the Predicate of Ditransitive, Transitive, and Intransitive Clauses.

Desiderative Verb Phrase

+ HEAD	+ HEAD
any verb-nom	anu 'know'

Special Features:

- (a) The verb manifesting the first Head must be nominalized.
- (b) Anu 'know' is the only stem occurring in the second Head. It carries all suffixes for the phrase.
- (c) A transform of the Desiderative Verb Phrase is characterized by a Purpose tagmeme with a predicate filled by anu.

napen men anu-ivin
to/eat for know-ls/pr/cont
'I want to eat.'

na-t anu-ivin
eat-nom know-ls/pr/cont
'I want to eat.'

ane-t anu-ivin
go-nom know-lp/pr/cont
'We want to go.'

in-at anu-iwand-in
sleep-nom know-3s/cont-3s/p
'He was wanting to sleep.'

war-at anu-an
get-nom know-2s/p
'You wanted to get (it).'

(4) The Definitive Verb Phrase consists of an obligatory Lexical Head and an obligatory Grammatical Head. The Lexical Head defines or delimits the meaning of the phrase. The Grammatical Head carries the inflections for the phrase. This verb phrase expounds the Predicate of Transitive and Intransitive Clauses.

Definitive Verb Phrase

+ LEXICAL HEAD	+ GRAMMATICAL HEAD
noun inconjugable stem	definitive verb Completive Aspectual Phrase ₂

Special Features:

- (a) The verb filling the Grammatical Head takes any inflection. The participle form is also permitted when the phrase expounds other phrase-level tagmemes.
- (b) A noun or inconjugable stem must occur with a specific verb. Occasionally a noun or inconjugable occurs with two different verbs but one is usually preferred.
- (c) The Head of the Completive Aspectual Phrase₂ must be expounded by a definitive verb.

Definitive verbs are a closed class of verb stems as listed below.

ta	'do'	waR	'get'
wa	'say'	enu	'spear'
to	'hit'	in	'live'
en	'put into'	i	'imprint'

Nouns which have been found so far occurring in the Lexical Head of the phrase are marked (N) below and are listed under the verb with which they are used. The meaning as listed is for the phrase and not for the noun. If the meaning of the noun is different from that of the phrase it will be listed in parentheses. These nouns occur in other tagmemes in which nouns normally occur. They are optionally possessed. An object tagmeme is permitted in the same clause in which the Predicate is filled by the Definitive

Verb Phrase. Some times the Object is marked on the noun by the intimate possessive suffixes.

Unmarked words below are inconjugables.

Only representative lists are given.

ta 'do'

bup	'hop'	unankae	N	'swing'
yop	N 'search'	gare		'exchange'
up	'steal'	gaun	N (a relative)	'greet'
biro biro	'mix'	nipep		'mock'
etup	'hiccough'	indik	N (claw)	'pinch'
dararam	'shiver'	kae		'play'
kunk	'sniffle'			

in 'live'

aup	'sleep'	isi	N	'comb'
-----	---------	-----	---	--------

wa 'say'

nop	N (word) 'talk'	simura		'whisper'
irip	N 'cry'	kuirok		'whistle'
wak	N (song) 'sing'	senao		'shout'
top	'laugh'	mup	N	'request'
kaiwa	'intercede'	apen		'mourn'
kaewa	'thank'	sekat		'challenge'
ven	N 'call'	asi		'grunt'

to 'hit'

kuyokuyo	N (broom) 'sweep'	kabubu		'splash'
peto	N (sarif) 'cut (grass)'	sinao	N	'drum'
ken ken	'knock'	isip		'sneeze'
		ua		'kiss'

		enu	'spear'		
kaut	'stoop'			bayan	'shave'
		waR	'get'		
tarep	'dance'			wani	'sharpen'
kai	'grow'			bigi N	(dirt) 'wash'
epi N	'skin'				

		en	'put into'		
giton N	(saliva)	'spit'		sesen	'cough'
merip N	(tongue)	'vomit'		kwip	'hang'

		i	'imprint'
dup	'wash (person); swim'		

tarep	wat	or	tarep	ta
dance	get-2s/imp		dance	do-2s/imp
'Dance!'		(preferred form is with wat)		

merip	en-an	yo-mu	ta-yan
tongue	put/into-1s/p	search-their	do-2p/p
'I vomited.'		'You searched for them.'	

amat	ta-ton	mup	wa-iwanum-un
care/for	do-1p/p	request	say-3p/cont-3p/p
'We cared for.'		'They were requesting.'	

vena-ga	wa-in	dup	ia-mo-n
call-your	say-1s/f	wash	imprint-them-3s/p
'I will call you.'		'He washed them.'	

kuyokuyo	to-iwan
broom	hit-3s/pr/cont
'He is sweeping.'	

(5) The Process Verb Phrase consists of two obligatory Action tagmemes. In this verb phrase, one or two verb stems and no more occur in combination with a fully inflected verb. The phrase functions as a close-knit unit of two or more words in that the series of actions constitutes a composite action with amalgamated meaning. Since this is true, certain semantic restrictions are placed upon the fillers of the Action tagmemes. The Process Verb Phrase fills the Head of the General and Qualified Verb Phrases. The verb manifesting the second Action determines if the phrase occurs in the Predicate of Ditransitive, Transitive, or Intransitive Clauses.

Process Verb Phrase

+ ACTION ₁	+ ACTION ₂
verb stem	verb
participle	
Object Focus Verb Phrase	
Definitive Verb Phrase	
Process Verb Phrase	

Special Features:

- (a) Either type of reduplication is used to form the participle that expounds the first Action.
- (b) The second Action is manifested by any verb in any inflection. The inflected verb carries all information regarding person, tense, and aspect for the phrase.
- (c) Nor other tagmemes are permitted between the Actions.
- (d) No inflection or suffix is permitted on the verb stems which expound the first Action tagmeme. The final verb of any verb phrase manifesting Action₁ must be uninflected.
- (e) Only one embedding of the Process Verb Phrase in itself is permitted.

The Process Verb Phrase contrasts with a Merged Sentence in that no other clause level tagmemes are permitted in the phrase, the verb stem of the phrase never has a merging marker, and no more than two verb stems are permitted before the inflected verb.

pan wa-n-an
tie him-give-3p/p

'They tied (it) on him.'

wa ta-iwand-in e
say do-3s/cont-3s/p dr

'He was speaking and doing
for a long time.'

ai on-en
get come-3s/p

'He brought them.'

yawa yawa ang-ewan
seeing go-ls/pr/cont

'I am seeing as I go.'

wat en wa-n-en
get put/into him-give-
3s/p

'He got it, put (it) into (a net
bag), and gave (it) to him.'

na ge na ang-ewan
eating go-ls/pr/cont

'I am eating as I go.'

yon wanumo amo-pi
stand stay go-3p/m

'They get up and go...'

bigi wara wara ta-ivin
dirt getting do-ls/pr/
cont

'I am doing washing.'

(6) The Repetitive Verb Phrase is used to indicate an action that continues over an extended period of time. It usually seems to carry the same meaning as to time lapse as the durative suffix carries. However, this phrase does not imply overlapping or simultaneous actions. The verb must be repeated in the identical form. If the verbs are inflected with the durative, the durative adverb optionally follows the last repetition. Three repetitions are preferred, but there are two examples in which the verb is repeated twice and two examples in which it is repeated four times. In all examples but one the verb was inflected for a past tense.

dor-iwand-in doriwandin doriwandin
climb-3s/cont-3s/p

'He was climbing and climbing.'

ang-in angin angin en-a-wa
go-ls/d dr-m-sc

'While I went on and on.'

igir-en igiren
burn-3s/p

'It burned and burned.'

inat-a inata inata ae-n-i
 track-1c go-3s/p-m
 'He trailed and trailed (him)...'

4.3.3. Auxiliary Verb Phrases. The two obligatory tagmemes of an Auxiliary Verb Phrase are the Head and the Auxiliary. The Head carries the meaning. The Auxiliary modifies the meaning, as in the aspectual phrases, or carries the tense as in the stative phrase. The position of the optional negative tagmeme is determined by the particular phrase.

There are five types of Auxiliary Verb Phrase: Aspectual Verb Phrases, Anticipatory Verb Phrase, Contrary Action Verb Phrase, Stative Verb Phrase, and Prolonged Action Verb Phrase.

(1) The obligatory Head and Auxiliary tagmemes with the optional Negative tagmeme comprise the Aspectual Phrase. There are two subtypes: Cessative and Completive.

Aspectual Verb Phrase

	= + HEAD	± Negative	+ AUXILIARY
Cessative	any verb	ya 'not'	ae ve 'stop' only in past tense
	any verb ph only in past tense	ya di 'definitely not'	
Completive ₁	any verb only in past tense		uon tan 'finished' past or present

Special Features:

- The last verb of any verb phrase manifesting the Head of the Aspectual Verb Phrase must be in the past tense.
- The negative occurs either before the Auxiliary verb or between the two parts; i. e., ya ae ve or ae ya ve 'do not stop'.
- There are two types of phrases to express Completive Aspect. Completive Aspectual Verb Phrase₁ is as described here but Completive Aspectual Verb Phrase₂ has a different structure

and is described separately.

- (d) Either past or present occurs on uon tan 'finished' but only past is permitted on ae ve 'stop'.

Since both the Head and the Auxiliary verb are fully inflected in the Aspectual Verb Phrase an alternate analysis of this construction as two clauses was considered. It was rejected because the medial suffix and included clause clitic occur only on the Auxiliary verb but also apply to the Head when this phrase occurs in an Included or Medial Clause. However, it should be noted that the Aspectual Verb Phrases are the only time two completely inflected verbs are a phrase and not two clauses. It is also the only time that the included clause clitic or the medial suffix on one inflected verb applies also to the preceding inflected verb.

In the Cessative Aspectual Phrase the Auxiliary must be filled by ae ve 'stop' in the past tense. Any verb in the past tense fills the Head but it must agree with the person marked on the Auxiliary. If the included clause clitic/medial suffix is used in this construction it occurs on ae ve. There is an alternate form for ae ve which is ve.

um-an	ae ve-n-a-wa	dor-e	ae ve
cover-ls/p	stop-ls/p-m-sc	climb-3s/p/ss	stop-3s/p
			/ss
'I stopped thatching (the roof)		'He stopped climbing and ...'	
...			

The future Cessative is expressed by a Terminating Action Sentence in which the Link tagmeme is filled by amba 'then'.

ta-in-an	amba	ve-ata-wa
do-lp/cont-plg	then	stop-lp/m-sc
'We will be doing (it) until we stop...'		

In the first type of Completive Aspectual Phrase the Auxiliary must be filled by uon tan 'finished', which only occurs in the third person singular, past, or present tense. The Head is filled by any verb in the past tense. The use of this phrase expresses an action which is completed.

in-en	uon ta-n	ong-en	uon ta-ia
sleep-3s/p	finish-3s/p	come-ls/p	finish-3s/pr

'He finished sleeping.'

'I finish coming; I have just
come.'

This phrase cannot occur in the future. The future idea of a task to be completed is expressed either by the Process Verb Phrase in which the Action₂ tagmeme is filled by uon tata 'will finish' or by two clauses joined by amba 'then'; i. e., a Sequence Sentence, or by Completive Aspectual Phrase₂.

in uon ta-ta
sleep finish-3s/f

in-ep amba
sleep-3s/imp then

'He will finish sleeping.'

uon ta-ta
finish-3s/f

'He will sleep until he is
finished.'

The alternate construction to express completive aspect, the Completive Aspectual Verb Phrase₂, consists of an obligatory Auxiliary expounded by ae '(completive)' or ae di '(emphatic completive)' and an obligatory Head filled by any verb marked for any tense. The two Completive Aspectual Verb Phrases are used interchangeably in the past to express completive aspect. The second type occurs more frequently.

Completive Aspectual Phrase₂

+ AUXILIARY	+ HEAD
ae '(completive)' ae di '(emphatic completive)'	any verb inflected in any tense

ae na-n
comp eat-ls/p
'I finished eating.'

dup ae i-e
wash comp imprint-3s/p/
SS
'He finished washing and...'

ae wayaw-at
comp ask-lp/p/ss
'We finished asking and...'

ae yav-en-i
comp see-3s/p-m
'He finished seeing...'

ae di bo-eta
comp em die-3s/f
'He will definitely completely die.'

There is one example in which Completive Aspectual Phrase₂ is embedded in the other type.

en-ep uon ae ta-pi-wa
put/in-3s/imp comp finish-3s/m-sc

'When he has completely finished filling (the bag)...'

(2) The obligatory Head and Auxiliary tagmemes optionally separated by the Negative comprise the Anticipatory Verb Phrase. The use of this phrase in any tense except nonpast medial indicates that an action is ready to begin or that it is being attempted.

Anticipatory Verb Phrase

+ HEAD	± Negative	+ AUXILIARY
any verb	ya 'not'	ta 'do' with any inflection
any verb phrase inflected only with infinitive	ya di 'definitely not'	

Special Features:

- (a) Any verb or the last verb of any verb phrase manifesting the Head must be inflected with the infinitive.
- (b) In irregular verbs where person is marked in the stem, the person of the Head and Auxiliary must agree.
- (c) Any inflection occurs on the single filler of the Auxiliary.

wa-pen ta-ian
say-inf do-ls/pr/d

'I am still trying to speak.'

or

'I am ready to speak.'

war-apen ta-in
get-inf do-ls/f

'I will try to get (it).'

tugu-pen ta-iwanum-un-e
bake-inf do-3p/cont-3p/p-m

'They were getting ready to bake...'

When the Auxiliary *ta* is inflected with nonpast medial person suffixes of the Verb Exocenter Type B, the punctiliar conditional results. The continuous conditional is formed by following the continuous suffix with the conditional suffix (see 3.4.2.2, Verb Exocenter Type B). Conditionals occur in the Predicate of the clause expounding the Protasis of the Conditional Sentence.

war-*apen* ta-*pena*
get-*inf* do-*ls/m*
'if I get (it)'

bo-*epen* ta-*pi*
die-*inf* do-*3s/m*
'if he dies'

An alternative for the infinitive in the punctiliar conditional is the stem plus class marking vowel.

war-*a* ta-*pena*
get-*V* do-*ls/m*
'if I get (it)'

(3) Two obligatory tagmemes comprise the Contrary Action Verb Phrase. This construction occurs only in the Contrary Result Sentence.

Contrary Action Verb Phrase

+ HEAD	+ AUXILIARY
verb inflected with nonpast medial person suffixes	tawa 'lest'

Special Features:

- The verb must be inflected with nonpast medial person suffixes.
- Since the construction expresses an undesirable effect the negative has not been observed in text.
- This verb phrase can be transformed into a Purpose clause in which the negative occurs before the infinitive.

a-*epi* tawa
go-*3s/m* lest
'lest he go'

transform: ya aepen menan
neg to/go for
'in order that he not go'

ara-ge-pi tawa
bite-you-3s/m lest
'lest he bite you'

ae ve-pi tawa
stop-3s/m lest
'lest he leave'

war-a tawa
get-2s/m lest
'lest you get (it)'

(4) The Stative Phrase consists of an obligatory Head slot filled by an inanimate verb stem, an optional negative slot filled by ya 'not', and an obligatory Auxiliary slot filled by wa 'say' in any third person singular form. The Stative Phrase expounds the Predicate of Intransitive Clauses.

Stative Phrase

+ HEAD	± Negative	+ AUXILIARY
inanimate verb stem	ya 'not'	wa 'say' inflected only in 3 singular

Special Features:

- (a) An inanimate verb stem is a stem in which the action involves only inanimate objects. Some inanimate verb stems are marked by -naG. These verbs function as intransitive verbs in the Predicate of Intransitive clauses or occur in the Head of the Stative Phrase.

pininaG 'slide off' pinin wan 'it slid off'
totnaG 'come apart' tot wan 'it fell off'

- (b) The negative usually occurs between the Head and the Auxiliary tagmemes but it is also acceptable before the Head.

sep wa-n bebep wa-iwand-in
break say-3s/p tear say-3s/cont-3s/p
'it broke' 'it was tearing'

ya dam wa-ta or dam ya wa-ta
neg spill say-3s/f spill neg say-3s/f
'it will not spill'

bebep wa-iwand-in
 tear say-3s/cont-3s/p
 'it was tearing'

batam wa-iwan
 stick say-3s/pr/cont
 'it is sticking'

The stative verbs (see 3.4.1) *yagiR/igiR* 'to be burned', *boraS* 'to be closed', and *umaS* 'to be covered' do not occur in the Stative Phrase.

(5) The Prolonged Action Phrase consists of the obligatory Head and Auxiliary tagmemes optionally separated by the Negative. This phrase is used to indicate an action which continues over an extended period of time, even years.

Prolonged Action Phrase

+ HEAD	± Negative	+ AUXILIARY
any verb stem participle	ya 'not' ya di 'definitely not'	aG 'go' onaG 'come' wa 'say'

Special Features:

- Any verb stem or participle formed by either type of reduplication occurs in the Head.
- Any inflection is permitted on the Auxiliary.
- Only the three verbs; aG 'go', onaG 'come', and wa 'say' occur in the Auxiliary.

wa ais-en
 say go-2p/imp

'Keep on talking!'

ta an-in-ton
 do go-lp/cont-lp/p

'We kept on doing.'

barao barao on-iwand-in
 putting come-3s/cont-3s/p

'It was being handed down.'

onan wa-in-ton
 come say-lp/cont-lp/p

'We kept on coming.'

en yan ge yan di on-iwand-in
year bearing em come-3s/cont-3s/p

‘The years were passing.’

ta a-iwand-ata
do go-3s/cont-3s/f

‘He will keep on doing.’

Chapter 5
CLAUSES

5.0. Clauses are units of predication in the level of the hierarchy above the phrase and below the sentence. A clause in Daga is defined as a string of speech with only one Predicate or Predicate-like tagmeme. The clause manifests tagmemes on the sentence, clause, or phrase levels. A Predicate is defined as one final or medial verb or verb phrase.

All clauses are either active or equative. There is only one equative clause type. The ditransitive, transitive, and intransitive division is basic in Daga because of the different list of fillers of the Predicate, different verb endocenters, and different nuclear tagmemes in the clause.

All clauses occur in final form. All but the Equational also occur in medial form, as shown in the chart of clause types. Determination if a clause is medial or final is based solely on the verb exocenter. There are no other structural differences between medial and final clauses.

Chart of Clause Types

	Final	Medial
Ditransitive	x	x
Transitive	x	x
Intransitive	x	x
Equational	x	
Idiomatic	x	x
Quote	x	x
Indirect Quote	x	x

The distinction between final and medial clauses is more important on the sentence level than the transitive-intransitive division. Combinations of medial and final clauses are diagnostic of several sentence types. Medial clauses rarely occur in the final Base of a phonological sentence and never occur in the final Base of a grammatical sentence.

5.1. Ditransitive Clause. Predicate, Object, and Indirect Object tagmemes are nuclear to the Ditransitive Clause, although only the Predicate is obligatory. The peripheral clause level tagmemes will be presented in the Ditransitive Clause array. These peripheral tagmemes occur also in Transitive and Intransitive Clauses.

Since the Subject tagmeme is cross referenced in the Predicate it could also be considered as a nuclear tagmeme in the clause. However, since the occurrence of the optional Subject tagmeme is governed by paragraph and discourse structure (see 8.6), it is not diagnostic in the separation of clause types and has not been considered as nuclear. The subject which is marked in the verb affixation is the nuclear subject for the clause but does not so appear due to limitations in the formula.

Ditransitive Clause =	\pm Time	\pm Subj	\pm Pur	\pm Obj	\pm Loc	\pm Ma	\pm Ind Obj	+ PRED
Proper Noun		x		x			x	
Basic Pronoun		x		x			x	
Other Pronoun		em	pur			ex		
Locative					x			
Adverb						x		
Adjective 2						x		
Possessive Phrase		x		x			x	
Kinship Phrase		x		x			x	
Substantive Phrase		x		x			x	
Modified Noun Ph		x		x			x	
Coordinate Phrase	t *	n *		n *			n *	
Alternate Phrase	x	x		x			x	
Apposition Phrase	t *	n *		n *			n *	
Personal Accompaniment		x		x				
Resemblance Ph	x					x		
Direction Phrase					x			
Location Phrase					x			
Temporal	x							

Ditransitive Clause = continued	\pm Time	\pm Subj	\pm Pur	\pm Obj	\pm Loc	\pm Ma	\pm Ind Obj	\pm PRED
Temporal Phrase	x							
Time Phrase	x							
Stereotyped Temporal Cl	x							
Purpose Phrase			x					
Included Clause		x		x				
Verb Phrase								x

* t = temporal, n = noun

Special Features:

- (a) Personal Accompaniment Phrase occurs only in the Subject and Object.
- (b) Resemblance Phrase occurs only in Time and Manner tagmemes.
- (c) The pronoun rarely occurs in the Object or Indirect Object tagmemes because of the affixes on the verbs. When a pronoun occurs in the Object or Indirect Object it possibly adds emphasis. It must agree with the corresponding verbal affix.
- (d) Any verb phrase with a ditransitive verb in the Head occurs in the Predicate. Also one transitive verb wadi 'teach' manifests the Predicate of the Ditransitive Clause. The ditransitive verb optionally occurs in all verb phrases except Object Focus, Definitive, and Stative Verb Phrases.
- (e) The usual order of the tagmemes is as displayed, but it is flexible. Paragraph structure determines the position of the Time tagmeme. It is clause-initial to indicate a new paragraph and permutes to the second or prepredicate position in the clause when a new paragraph is not indicated. One clause-level tagmeme, either Subject, Location, or Purpose, is permitted in the Afterthought tagmeme of the sentence periphery. Generally, Subject - Object - Predicate order is followed and the other lateral tagmemes occur in almost any order.
- (f) The maximum number of tagmemes observed with the Predicate is six. The preferred limit is three or four. Short clauses are common because the Predicate carries information about the Subject, Object, and Indirect Object. The occur-

rence of a free Subject tagmeme is influenced by paragraph structure (see 8. 6).

- (g) Location, Manner, and Purpose tagmemes optionally are repeated. All repetitions occur together. Manner has been observed to be repeated four times. Seven repetitions of the Location have been observed. Each repetition was a Location Phrase in which the Relator *gapan* occurred. An alternate construction is to repeat the Predicate with the different Location tagmeme giving an Identical Predicate Sentence. Repetitions of other tagmemes within one clause do not occur, as the coordinate phrase constructions encode the information.

IO: oaen-ewa L: ig-a P: wat en
 wife-his net/bag-lc get put/into

wa-n-en
 her-give-3s/p

'He took it, put (it) into the net bag, and gave (it) to his wife.'

O: man koanse P: tam wa-n-en
 animal flying get him-give-3s/p
 insect

'He caught some flying insects and gave them to him.'

Pur: kuku irapen menan O: oma yam-ewa
 tobacco to/burn for wood eye-his

L: ao ma P: ne-n-an
 up here me-give-3p/p

'They passed a coal down to me in order to light the tobacco.'

S: ian ma IO: ne O: youp komasi-wa
 people here I sugar/cane wormy-sc

P: ne-n-iwanum
 me-give-3p/pr/cont

'These people are giving me wormy sugar cane.'

O: mani P: nu-n-en
 money us-give-3s/p

'He gave us money.'

P: mu-n-en
them-give-3s/p

'He gave (it) to them.'

IO: oaen-ewa M: karaua P: en wa-n-en
wife-his secretly put/into her-give-3s/p

'He gave (it) secretly to his wife.'

S: ne O: oaise mame P: wadia-g-ian
I news this teach-you-ls/pr/d

'I teach you this news.'

T: endi mame O: nop mega P: wadia-n-en
today this word his teach-us-3s/p

'Today he taught us his word.'

In the last two examples above, the verb morphology is that of the transitive verb, but there are two distinct objects, one the object suffix on the verb and the other a free object. When the Predicate is not expounded by a ditransitive verb the two objects are obligatory to distinguish the Ditransitive Clause.

5.2. Transitive Clause. The Predicate and Object tagmemes are nuclear to the Transitive Clause. The function and fillers of the tagmemes of the Transitive Clause are the same as the Ditransitive Clause, except that Indirect Object does not occur and transitive verbs manifest the Predicate.

The Transitive Clause has optional Time, Subject, Purpose, Object, Location, and Manner preceding the obligatory Predicate which is manifested by any verb phrase in which a transitive verb expounds the Head or by the Definitive and Object Focus Verb Phrases.

O: tuan L: ao-pa S: Orogum P: yav-e
pig up-out/of/sight Orogum see-3s/p/ss

'Orogum saw a pig up there out of sight.'

T: oam da S: Goniga O: nop paina
day one Goniga word high

L: ase-pa P: wa-ta
over/there-out/of/sight say-3s/f

'Some day Goniga will speak an important word over there.'

S: apan yampo orup oaen den O: mokare
man three girl with snake

P: yaw-an-e
see-3p/p-m

'The three men and the girl saw a snake...'

Pur: gura-n-ine nagire-wa menan O: tonum
kill-us-3p/hab people-sc for fence

L: ao-me P: enu-n
up-spec spear-3s/p

'He built a fence up at that place on account of the people who kill us.'

S: ebo anu-n-e nagire O: namu-a
wrong think-3p/p-i people first-sc

ver-an-e mani war-an-e P: yaw-an-e
plant-3p/p-i money get-3p/p-i see-3p/p-m

'The incorrect thinking people watched those who planted first and got money...'

S: Marime dere M: sia Pur: Areba Rogua munan
Marime two again Areba Rogua for

P: anu-t
think-lp/p/ss

'Marime and I thought again of Areba and Rogua.'

5.3. Intransitive Clause. The same lateral tagmemes occur in the Intransitive Clause as in the Ditransitive and Transitive Clauses. Only the Predicate is nuclear, since Object and Indirect Object tagmemes are not permitted. Therefore, an Intransitive Clause optionally has Time, Subject, Purpose, Location, and Manner tagmemes before the Predicate which is filled by any verb phrase in which an intransitive verb manifests the Head or by the Definitive or Stative Verb Phrases.

S: oaenapan Pur: Otare kaisepen menan
people Otare to/cut for

T: oam gugunawa M: namu P: onam-on
 Friday first come-3p/p

'In order to cut Otare the people came first on Friday.'

T: wataet S: oaenapan tave-wa iravi
 before people old-sc all

L: tunup gapan P: wanum-on
 mountain at stay-3p/p

'In former times all the old people lived on the mountain.'

M: serarat P: anet-on-i
 quickly go-lp/p-m

'We went quickly...'

L: utu P: tau-at
 up/there arrive-lp/p/ss

'We arrived up there.'

M: namani-gaet T: imana mayama
 quickly-int tomorrow day/after/tomorrow

P: tau-ep
 arrive-3p/imp

'They must arrive very quickly tomorrow and the day after.'

L: pa berip M: gaset S: irot P: tau a-en
 house inside already cold arrive go-3s/p

'The cold has already passed through the house.'

S: ne mama-na Pur: nonup panapen
 I father-my peace to/tie

L: ase P: a-en
 over/there go-3s/p

'My father went over there to make peace.'

P: in-aton
 sleep-lp/p

'We slept.'

5.4. Equational Clause. The Equational Clause is the only type of equative clause. A final or medial verb does not occur in the Equational Clause. An Included Clause optionally fills either the Topic or Comment tagmemes.

Topic and Comment tagmemes are obligatory. One other peripheral tagmeme is permitted. It will be expounded by fillers of the Time or Location tagmemes. In the data studied, Equational Clauses fill the Base of the Simple Sentence 148 times, occur in the first sentence Base 35 times, in a medial Base 33 times, and in a final Base 89 times.

Equational Clause

± Time/Location	+ TOPIC	+ COMMENT
Fillers of Time	pronoun	pronoun
Fillers of Location	Possessive Phrase	Possessive Phrase
	Kinship Phrase	Kinship Phrase
	Substantive Phrase	Substantive Phrase
	Noun Phrase	Noun Phrase
	Coordinate Noun Ph	Coordinate Noun Ph
	Direction Phrase	Direction Phrase
	Resemblance Ph	Resemblance Phrase
	Temporal Phrase	Temporal Phrase
	Included Clause	Included Clause
	ame 'that'	Appositional Noun Ph
	ma 'this'	Alternative Phrase
		Number Phrase
		adjective
		locative
		Proper Name
		adverb
		interrogative
		Negative Adjective Ph
		uon '(negative)'
		mini/umap 'like'
		ugup 'different'
		den 'with; has'

Special Features:

- (a) All exponents of the Topic except *ame* 'that' and *ma* 'this' also occur in the comment.

To: kopi arita war-en-i yau-a
 coffee big get-3s/p-i name-his

Co: apan John Emotut
 man John Emotut

'The name of the one who had a lot of coffee (is) the man, John Emotut.'

To: ne kaipat nega Co: kao dewai-wa
 I walking/stick my knife handle-sc

'My walking stick (was) a knife handle.'

To: nagan kakae-wa Co: ai-an-a-wa
 string good-sc get-1s/p-i-sc

'Good string (is) what I brought.'

Loc: piup at ma da To: oenapan aruga
 ground place here neg/em people many

Co: uon
 neg

'(There) definitely (are) not many people at this place.'

To: nu-ga Co: uon
 we-poss neg

'(It is) not ours.'

To: gwep pan wa-n-ini goamuan-e
 loin/cloth tie him-give-3s/hab song-sc

Co: ugup
 different

'The loin cloth tying-on song (is) different.'

To: wak ase Marao wa-ini-a anu-ian-a
 song there Marao say-3s/hab-sc hear-2s/p-i

Co: wak ame-me
 song that-spec

'That song (is) the song that Marao sang over there and you

heard.'

To: Bibitan Co: muga di
 Bibitan their em

'(It is) definitely the Bibitan (people's).'

To: ne tata-na Co: ge
 I older/sibling-my you

'You (are) my older sibling.'

5.5. Idiomatic Clause. The Idiomatic Clause has obligatory Subject and Predicate tagmemes optionally separated by Lateral and Manner tagmemes. The fillers of these tagmemes are limited as shown in the bidimensional array. The meaning of this clause is exocentric. It is used to express emotions.

Idiomatic Clause

+ SUBJECT	± Lateral	± Manner	+ PREDICATE
Emotive Focus	inap 'toward' sisi 'bitter' etc. word specific to idiom	baware 'big' otu da 'little'	General Verb Phrase Head filled by idiomatic verb inflected only in third singu- lar

Special Features:

- (a) No further expansion is possible.
- (b) The Emotive Focus consists of those various body parts that are used to express different emotions and psychological characteristics. Since there is no single emotional seat in Daga, body parts commonly involved are the insides, ears, back, stomach, and liver. The body part is always the Subject of the clause. The person involved is indicated by the possession which is marked on the body part by Abbreviated Intimate Possessive Suffixes. Like all possessive phrases a Referent tagmeme giving information about the possessor, such as name, optionally precedes the possessed body part.
- (c) The Lateral tagmeme occurs in specific idioms where it is

obligatory.

- (d) Only adjectives for 'big' and 'little' have been observed manifesting the Manner in the idioms for 'sad' and 'angry'. The Manner has not been observed in other idioms.
- (e) A limited number of idiomatic verbs inflected only in the third person singular optionally preceded by the negative *ya* manifest the predicate.
- (f) The language is changing so that *anu* 'think; know' substitutes for the idiomatic verb in the idiom for 'sad'. The person is not marked on the Emotive Focus as *anu* is inflected for all persons. Although this form is heard increasingly in conversation, it is usually unacceptable in the written form.

S: *imu-k* P: *oar-aen*
 inside-your take/out-3s/p

'You forgot.'

S: *bagu-n* Lat: *sisi* P: *wa-ia*
 stomach-my bitter say-3s/pr

'I am sad.'

S: *gari* Lat: *gangan* P: *na-en*
 back-his thorny eat-3s/p

'He is angry (at him).' The *naen* indicates singular object.

S: *gari* Lat: *gangan* P: *mus-en*
 back-his thorny wipe-3s/p

'He is angry (at them).' The *musen* indicates plural object.

S: *gari* P: *yav-ia*
 back-his see-3s/pr

'He is frustrated.'

S: *imu-a* *pos-ewa* Lat: *ina-nu-p*
 insides-his insides-his to-us-lc

P: *war-iwan*
 get-3s/pr/cont

'He loves us.'

S: bagu Lat: sisi M: baware P: wa-n
 stomach-his bitter big say-3s/p
 'He was very sad.'

S: bagu Lat: kakae P: ta-ia
 stomach-his good do-3s/pr
 'He is happy.'

5.6. Quote Clauses. There are two formulaic Quote Clauses, one fills the Beginning Quote tagmeme of the Direct Quote Sentence and the other fills the Closing Quote tagmeme.

(1) The Predicate and one other tagmeme are obligatory in the Beginning Quote Clause. This other obligatory tagmeme is chosen from the optional Subject, Addressee, and Manner tagmemes.

Beginning Quote Clause

+ (± Subject	± Addressee	± Manner)	+ PREDICATE
Proper Noun	inap 'to'	anega	wa 'say'
pronoun	Kinship Ph	'like this'	di 'declare'
Possessive Ph	Proper Noun	di	wadi 'teach'
Kinship Phrase		'(emphasis)'	diguR 'scold'
Substantive Ph		sia 'again'	wayao 'ask'
Noun Phrase			anu 'think'
Coordinate Ph			
Alternative Ph			
Apposition Ph			

Special Features:

- Two tagmemes are obligatory but either or both of the other optional tagmemes occur.
- The intimate possessive suffixes occur with inap 'to'; e.g., ina-na-p 'to me'.
- Only verbs involving speaking and thinking expound the Predicate.
- The Predicate is inflected with either final or medial suffixes.

(e) The negative *ya* optionally precedes the verb.

Orogum anega wa-n-i ne wa-n
 Orogum thus say-3s/p-m I say-ls/p
 'thus Orogum said' 'I said'

Simon ina-ga-p anega wa-n-i
 Simon to-you-1c thus say-3s/p-m
 'thus Simon said to you'

wanug-e wai anega wa-n-e
 nephew-his pl-his thus say-3p/p-m
 'his nephews said thus'

anega wa-n-i di wa-ton
 thus say-3s/p-m em say-lp/p
 'he said thus' 'we definitely said'

even-e wai di dia-mo-n-i
 friend-his pl-his em declare-them-3s/p-m
 'he definitely declared to his friends'

ne anega anu-n-a
 I thus think-ls/p-m
 'I thought like this'

(2) The obligatory Manner and Predicate comprise the Closing Quote Clause.

Closing Quote Clause

+ MANNER	+ PREDICATE
anega 'thus'	any verb of speaking or thinking

Special Features:

- (a) No expansion is possible.
 (b) If the Beginning Quote Clause occurs in the Direct Quote Sentence the verb stem of the Closing Quote Clause, if used, op-

tionally matches the verb stem of the Beginning Quote Clause. If a verb of thinking or the negative occurs in the Beginning Quote Clause the same verb or negative must occur in the Closing Quote Clause, if it is used.

- (c) wa 'say' occurs most frequently.
 (d) Either medial or final suffixes occur on the verb.

anega wa-n
 thus say-3s/p
 'thus he said'

anega ya wa-p
 thus neg say-3s/imp
 'he must not say that'

anega wa-n-e
 thus say-3p/p-m
 'thus they said'

anega wa-ia
 thus say-3s/pr
 'thus he says'

anega dia-ge-n
 thus declare-you-3s/p
 'thus he declared to you'

anega anu-n
 thus think-3s/p
 'thus he thought'

5.7. Indirect Quote Clause. The Indirect Quote Clause consists of the obligatory Object and Predicate tagmemes optionally preceded by Subject and Purpose tagmemes. The Object in the Indirect Quote Clause is manifested by a phrase or a clause in which the Predicate is nominalized and expresses the thought of the quotation. The direct quotation is a sentence-level construction.

Indirect Quote Clause

± Purpose	± Subject	+ OBJECT	+ PREDICATE
purpose fillers	noun pronoun	noun phrase clause-nom	verb of speaking

Special Features:

- (a) Only nouns and pronouns have been observed to date in the Subject.
 (b) The verb wa 'say' occurs most frequently in the Predicate.
 (c) The Indirect Quote Clause is used infrequently as direct quotations are preferred.

- (d) In one example an additional clause-level tagmeme, the Purpose, was observed.

Pur: warapen menan S: ne O: muma P: wa-n
 to/get for I night say-1s/p

'In order to get it, I said (it's) night.'

S: orup oaen O: kaum na-t P: wa-n
 girl water eat-nom say-3p/p

'The girls said (that they wanted) a drink of water.'

O: mama-n wa-n-at P: wa-ton
 father-our him-give-nom say-lp/p

'We said to give (it) to our father.'

O: man P: wa-an
 animal say-2s/p

'You said (that we should go for) animals.'

O: 2 poun go 3 poun se-at P: wa-pi
 2 pounds or 3 pounds put-nom say-3s/m

'He said to put down two or three pounds.'

S: oaenapan O: baiki uon ta-t P: di-an
 people bag finish-nom declare-3p/p

'The people declared that the bags were finished.'

S: orup otua O: namben misoneri muga
 children carry missionary their

wat agoas-et P: wa-n
 help-nom say-3p/p

'The children said to help carry the missionaries' (cargo).'

O: tuan P: wa-n-e
 pig say-3p/p-m

'They said (that it's a) pig...'

S: ge O: Dion dup iamuini apanewa i-wa
 you John baptizer head-his

tonugus-et P: mup wa
cut-nom request say-2s/imp

'Request that John the Baptizer's head be cut off.'

5.8. Medial Clauses. Medial Clauses have the same structure as Final Clauses. The verb of a Medial Clause is either past or nonpast. Past medial verbs occur in sentences in which the final verb is in one of the past tenses. Medial verbs in the past are formed by adding a medial suffix to the final verb with a past or past continuous suffix or to the Durative Adverb which follows the past durative verb. The person of the medial suffix must agree with the person of the verbal suffixes and the Durative Adverb.

Nonpast Medial Verbs have their own set of suffixes which indicate person and a temporal relationship with the following clause. They occur in sentences in which the final verb is present, future, or imperative.

L: oma beno-p P: yon-iwand-in-i
 wood crotch-lc stand-3s/cont-3s/p-m

'He was standing in the crotch of the tree...'

Pur: ikawat menan O: dun P: ir-apena-wa
 frog for torch burn-ls/m-sc

'I will burn a torch for the frogs...'

P: vis-iwand-in en-i-a
 descend-3s/cont-3s/d dr-m-sc

'While he was descending...'

P: um-an ae ve-n-a-wa
 cover-ls/p stop-ls/p-m-sc

'I ceased thatching (the roof)...'

T: woup sen M: sia P: onan-ton-i
 dawn again come-lp/p-m

'At dawn we came again...'

S: misonari Pur: eragi ep menan P: wa-n-e
 missionary mat ep for say-3p/p-m

'The missionary asked for ep mats...'

L: nok ao P: dor-a-wa
 hole up climb-2s/m-sc

'When you climb up to the hole...'

L: ia P: unug-epi
 net enter-3s/m

'When (the bird) enters the net...'

O: tuan da P: war-ane
 pig a get-2p/m

'When you grab a pig...'

Pur: uon tapen menan P: amo-pi
 to-finish for go-3p/m

'In order to stop (the rain) they go...'

5.9. Included Clauses. The grammatical structure of the Included Clause is the same as the final clause. The final verb of the Included Clause must be marked with the Included Clause Clitic.

Ainin taras-en-i gapan
 Ainin clean-3s/p-i at

'at the place which Ainin cleaned'

ne utu Wao ang-en-a gutur-ewa
 I up/there Wao go-ls/p-i story-sc

'the story of when I went up to Wao'

nop wa-iangin-a ma
 word say-ls/pr-i this

'this word which I say'

urat war-iwanum-un-e
 hole get-3p/cont-3p/p-i

'the hole which they were digging'

ma war-an-a
 this get-ls/p-i

'this (one) which I got'

Dauni pa tu-n-i
 Dauni house build-3s/p-i

'the house which Dauni built'

nenip ao ia watu-ton-i-a
 bird up net fasten-lp/p-i-sc

'the net which we fastened up (in the tree for) the bird'

isi at gega gat yon-an-a
 lower place your just stand-2s/p-i

'at your lower place where you just stood'

Taki ta-ini
 Taki do-3s/f/i

'that which Taki does'

nop gat wa-iwani-an-a
 word just say-2p/cont-2p/p-i

'the word which you just said'

Chapter 6
**DEEP AND SURFACE STRUCTURES
OF DAGA SENTENCES**

6.0. This chapter is a description of Daga Sentence structures. Items of the periphery which optionally occur with any sentence will be described first. The sentences which are not shown on the chart (i. e., Simple, Contrary Result, Merged, and Direct Quote) will then be described.

Each description will include the distinctive contrastive features of that particular sentence type followed by a bidimensional array including exponents and deep grammar symbolization. A double line separates surface structures from deep structures. Unusual deep encodings occur below the single line in the bidimensional array. The cross reference listed at the end of the unusual encoding gives the more common surface structure for that particular deep structure. Abbreviations and deep grammar symbols used are described in the front of the paper. Special features listed below the bidimensional array are identified by lower-case letters so that the same feature is discussed under the same letter (e. g., negation will always be discussed under (c)). Features that do not apply to the construction being described are omitted.

The following special features will be described, if pertinent, for a construction:

- (a) any restrictions on tense of the verbs
- (b) frequency and conditions governing occurrence of optional tagmemes
- (c) negation
- (d) expansion possibilities
- (e) restrictions on exponents of the tagmemes
- (f) possible transformations
- (g) reversal of tagmemes
- (h) chronological order
- (i) comments on deep structure
- (j) occurrence of sentence final intonation between tagmemes of the construction
- (k) influence of construction on clause-level tagmemes
- (l) same subject
- (m) distribution on higher level

Phonologically, a sentence in Daga is marked by final falling intonation with varying degrees of pause, except for the yes-no interrogative which has a rising intonation finally. Internally, the intonation is level or dipping. A contrastive study of intonation patterns is needed.

Grammatically, the sentence is a combination of predications and is held together by tense restrictions on the verbs and by other restrictions on the exponents of the bases. The medial-final distinction in the morphology of the verb exocenter is more important in sentence constructions than the transitivity shown in the endocenter. Optional conjunctions occur in several sentence types.

Recursion is common. The bidimensional array of each sentence type will indicate those sentence types which have been found expounding the bases of that particular sentence. Further data should reveal a greater range of exponents in most cases.

The examples will be listed according to their deep structure and will follow the order of the deep structures as listed on the bidimensional array. Embedded examples will use an oblique ‘/’ to indicate the end of a non-medial clause and a double oblique ‘//’ to mark the end of a medial clause.

6.1. Periphery. Sentence periphery includes three prenuclear tagmemes and one postnuclear tagmeme. Tagmemes which precede the sentence nucleus are Exclamation, Vocative, and Sentence Topic. Any two co-occur in the order listed. The postnuclear periphery contains the Afterthought tagmeme.

Exclamations are such attention getting devices as o, e, a, or emotive expressions like akae ‘(displeasure)’, kae ‘oh’, ae ‘no’. The exclamatory vowels are used in quoted dialogue to indicate change of speaker. The presence of the vowel indicates a new speaker. Conjunctions menan ‘therefore’, iwa ‘because’, go ‘but’ and boge ‘immediately’ which serve as internal linkage in the paragraph occur in the same position and are mutually exclusive with exclamations. Conjunctions and other indicators of a new paragraph also occur in this position and are mutually exclusive with exclamations.

Vocative includes all personal names, kinship terms, enda ‘friend’ and group addressing forms as oru ma ‘fellows’, inan maman tatan goanin ‘mothers, fathers, older and younger siblings’, tasin ‘brothers’.

The Sentence Topic always occurs next to the nucleus and is expounded by an equational clause or noun phrase. New points in

a Hortatory Discourse are often introduced by a Sentence Topic.

Exclamation: o
oh

Vocative: enda
friend

Base: ne ma war-iangin
I here get-ls/pr

'Oh friend, I have it here.'

Exclamation: kae
oh

Vocative: Dion
John

Base: ame dim da
that what

'Oh John, what is that?'

Vocative: oru ma
fellows

Base: ne eao nega utupa dim da bor-iwandin
I dog my there something close-3s/p/cont

'Fellows, my dog was blocking something there.'

Sentence Topic: da ine mame ominewa
who mother/his father/his curse/his

Base: ine mame ta-n-i karae
mother/his father/his do-3s/p-r behavior
nu oare
we don't/know

'Concerning the cursing of someone's parents, we don't know what his parents did.'

Conjunctions as paragraph linkage: go
but

Base: mu naniwa goanap da uon
their hand inside a neg

'But it is not inside their hands.'

Conjunction indicating new paragraph: endi
now

Base: Bantut eto asepagana den agun
Bantut side there/at also surely
wadia-mo-n
tell-them-2p/imp

'Now make sure you tell them on the other side of the Bantut.'

Points which have been forgotten in the clause are included in the postnuclear position. Possibly the Afterthought is used for emphasis. In a few examples the Afterthought was preceded by a final intonation, making the Afterthought a complete phonological sentence. Only phrases or equational clauses fill the Afterthought. In some examples these Afterthoughts are fulfilling paragraph or discourse requirements. In narrative discourse it is not unusual to introduce new dramatis personae or locale using an equational clause as an Afterthought. Expository discourses optionally close with *ap anega* 'so thus' which optionally is included in the intonation of the final sentence of the discourse. This takes the place of the more formulaic closure usually used.

Base: Simple S. ae nau-mo am-on
down led-them go-3p/p

Afterthought: at yaua Kuagit gam
place name/his Kuagit at

'They led them down (the mountain); (this happened) at the place named Kuagit.'

Base: Coordinate S. ne ong-en / kaum yupin
I come-1s/p/ water bamboo
toketnag-en / tau-an /
cut-1s/p arrive-1s/p/

Afterthought: awan yampo
hole three

'I came, / I cut the bamboo for water, / (and) I returned, / (I cut) three holes.'

Base: Simple S. ne mapa kai war-an
 I here grow get-ls/p

Afterthought: Kakaia gapan
 Kakaia at

'I grew up here; at Kakaia.'

Base: Coordinate S. nanip taba ya war-ait /
 hand food neg get-lp/f /
 inamup kae ya ta-it /
 them/with play neg do-lp/f/

Afterthought: ap anega
 so thus

'We will not take food from their hand, / we will not play
 with them, / so it is.'

(This example ends an Expository Discourse.)

Base: Simple S. aemepe wand-in e
 down/there stay-3s/d dr

Afterthought: otu tasine dere
 children two

'He lived down there a long time; his two children (also lived
 there).'

(This Afterthought introduced the dramatis personae for the
 next paragraph.)

6.2. Sentence Constructions Not Included on the Chart. The Simple, Contrary Result, Merged, and Direct Quote Sentences do not fit into the chart of Daga Sentences because they do not share characteristics of those sentences in the chart.

(1) The Simple Sentence consists of a clause with the appropriate sentence-final intonation. Fragmentary sentences (an utterance less than a clause) also occur but are not included in this description. The bidimensional array given below shows the periphery which optionally occur with any sentence nucleus.

Simple Sentence

± Exclamation	± Vocative	± Sentence Topic	+ BASE	± After-thought
Exclamations	Names	Equational clause	Any clause	Equational clause
Conjunctions applying to paragraphs	Kinship terms Group address	Noun Phrase		Any phrase

Special Features:

- (a) Any tense occurs in the Base.
 (c) The Base optionally is negated.
 (d) Any two prenuclear periphery occur, but not all three. As yet no examples have been found which include both pre and postnuclear periphery.
 (h) The order of tagmemes is fixed.

ae ne ya visinawa
 no I neg descender

'No, I'm not the one who descended.'

ne gutut da ya anu-n
 I story a neg know-ls/p

'I didn't know a story.'

Yarae naewa ne
 Yarae offspring/his I

'I am the offspring of Yarae.'

sia ewai onan-ton
 again return come-lp/p

'We returned again.'

Exclamation: a
ah

Base: gare oaen otu uoni upi use
exchange woman child neg others up/there
den di amo-wanum-am
with em go-3p/cont-plg

'Ah, in exchange the women without children will keep going with the others up there (to Agaun)!'

Base: anet-on
go-lp/p

Afterthought: Mamuki de utu
Mamuki two up/there

'We went; Mamuki and I (went) up there.'

oyapa sia tau-ianit
overhead again arrive-lp/pr

'We arrive overhead again.'

me Gurik gapan yan-en
he Greek at born-3s/p

'He was born in Greece.'

ame sia in-eta
that again sleep-3s/f

'That (one) will sleep again.'

Conjunction indicating new paragraph: amba
then

Base: gumewa upi aupa seane wand-ia
fur/his other up which/they/put stay-3s/pr

'Then the other fur which they put up there remains (today).'

(2) The Negative Purpose tagmeme expounded by the Contrary Action Verb Phrase is the only obligatory tagmeme in the rarely used Contrary Result Sentence. Optional Result Marker and Prevention tagmemes occur. The present analysis, a revision of the

former, follows that of R. E. Longacre in Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages: Discussion, Georgetown University Press, Washington, D. C., 1972. Only the Negative Purpose tagmeme occurs when the Contrary Result Sentence expounds another sentence-level tagmeme.

Contrary Result Sentence

	+ NEGATIVE PURPOSE	± Result Marker	±Prevention
	Contrary Action Ph Direct Quote S.	menan 'there- fore'	Final Cl Merged S.
Negative Purpose	$(P_s \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge [P$	\supset	$pQ_s]$

Special Features:

- (a) Only the Contrary Action Verb Phrase manifests the Predicate. This is formed by adding tawa to the nonpast successive medial verb.
- (c) The negative has never been observed in the Contrary Action Verb Phrase.
- (e) When a Direct Quote Sentence occurs in the Negative Purpose tagmeme the Closing Quote Formula must contain the Contrary Action Verb Phrase.
- (f) The Contrary Result Sentence can be transformed into a Purpose tagmeme which is negated in the Indicative Clause.

aepi tawa 'lest he go'

Transform: ya aepen menan 'in order that he not go'

The Contrary Result Sentence differs from the Result Sentence in that the Contrary Action Phrase which is indicated by tawa 'lest' must occur in the Contrary Result Sentence and never occurs in the Result Sentence. No bases of the Result Sentence are optional and other Result Markers than menan 'therefore' occur.

Negative Purpose: Contrary Action Phrase

enu-nege-pi tawa
spear-me-3s/m lest

Prevention: tarep war-an
 dance get-ls/p

'Lest he spear me, I danced about.'

Negative Purpose: Coordinate S. with Contrary Action Phrase
 in both bases

nu koewa wa den aepi tawa / yaunu dere
 we bad say with go lest / name/our two

tapi tawa
 do lest

Result Marker: menan
 therefore

Prevention: ae ve-t tap yaima di
 stop-lp/imp fear properly em
 tanauvinan
 we/keep/on/and keep/on/doing

'Lest we get a bad reputation and lest we are hypocrites, let's
 stop (our bad behavior) and keep on working in fear and
 properly.'

Negative Purpose: Contrary Action Phrase

utupa merawa geamopi tawa
 there fire fall lest

Result Marker: menan
 therefore

Prevention: nop mame wa-iingin
 word this say-ls/pr

'Lest the punishment come there, I am speaking this message.'

In the last three examples the manifestation of Predicate P is
 present in previous sentences.

Exclamation: a
 ah

Negative Purpose: gatawan tuan ap aepi tawa
 later pig walk go lest

'Ah, lest the pig later run away, (you do the series of rituals
 listed previously).'

In Culmination tagmeme of Sequence Sentence

Action: Identical Predicate S.

gatawan	evene	ita	war-epi-a	goat
later	friend/his	spear	get-3s/m-sc	rock
	war-epi			
	get-3s/m			

Culmination: Contrary Result S.

arepi	tawa
hurt	lest

'Lest he get hurt later when his friend gets a spear or someone else gets a rock, (he will do certain rituals).'

In the Closing Quote Formula of a Direct Quote Sentence expounding the Culmination tagmeme of a Sequence S.

Action:	tuan	barep	wandap	ae-pi-a
	pig	put	far	go-3s/m-sc

Culmination: Direct Quote Sentence

BQ Form:	gatawan	evene	nagure	pam	da	nop
	later	friend/his	taro	yam	a	word
	anega	waine				
	thus	they/say				

Quote:	aim	tuan	gega	tau-e	nagut	nan
	ahem	pig	your	arrive-mm	taro	he/ate
	pam	nan				
	yam	he/ate				

CQ Form:	anega	wapi	tawa
	thus	say	lest

'When a pig is born and goes far away, and then lest his friend say concerning his taro and yams, "Ahem, your pig came and ate (my) taro and yams." (he will do certain rituals).'

(3) The Merged Sentence consists of a series of from two to five brief clauses, all having the same subject. All but the last one have only verb stems in their Predicates. The verb in the last clause carries the verbal inflections for the whole sentence.

Merged Sentence

	+ BASE ₁	± (Base ₂) ⁿ⁼¹⁻⁴	+ BASE ₃
	minimal clause any verb stem	minimal clause any verb stem	minimal clause any medial or final verb
	nonminimal cl Subject Object Location	nonminimal cl Object Location Manner	nonminimal cl Object Location Manner amba 'then'
Succession	<u>Pa</u> ^ <u>Pa</u> ^ <u>Pa</u> ^ <u>Pa</u> ^	<u>Qa</u> ... ^ <u>Qa</u> ... ^	<u>Qa</u> <u>Qa</u> <u>Na</u> <u>Na</u>
Overlap	<u>P</u> ^		<u>Q</u>

Special Features

- (a) Not all final verbs have been observed in the data, but a wide range has been observed and it is expected that further data would show any final verb optionally occurs in this position.
- (b) If the clause manifesting a Base₂ or a Base₃ is minimal, i. e., consists of only a Predicate, then the verb stem in the preceding base has the -e 'merging marker' affixed to it.
- (c) The negative occurs in Base₃ and negates the whole construction.
- (d) Two tagmemes are obligatory. Up to four additional Bases have been observed in the data. Usually when several Bases occur minimal clauses fill some of them.
- (e) The clauses manifesting the Bases are usually nonminimal, i. e., they have one clause tagmeme overtly manifested in addition to and preceding the Predicate. In Base₁ the one additional clause tagmeme is chosen from Subject, Object, or Location. In Base₂ it is chosen from Object, Location, or Manner and in Base₃ the choices are the same as Base₂ with

the addition of amba 'then' as a possible choice. A minimal clause rarely expounds Base₃.

- (k) When a motion verb stem expounds the Predicate of the clause in Base₁, up to three clause tagmemes are permitted in the clause manifesting Base₃.
- (l) The subject is the same for all verbs and is permitted only in the clause manifesting Base₁.

The Merged Sentence contrasts with the Process Verb Phrase in which verb stems without the merging marker must be contiguous to the inflected verb. In the data thus far, no more than two verb stems have been observed in the Process Verb Phrase.

The Merged Sentence resembles the Coordinate Sentence but in a contracted form. The Coordinate Sentence allows more bases to be coordinated and each of these optionally are negated while the Merged Sentence is negated only in Base₃ and this negation applies to the preceding verb stems. At times it appears that the Merged Sentence and the Coordinate Sentence are alternate ways of saying the same thing.

In many examples it is impossible to distinguish between the Merged Sentence and the Same Subject Coordinate Sentence when the actor is third person singular. All such examples in the present data have been analysed as Same Subject Coordinate Sentences.

Examples showing chronological succession in which one event follows another - Pa \wedge Qa

Base₁: isewa onan yao
 down/there cliff see

Base₃: ise ve
 down/there leave-3s/p/ss

'He saw the cliff down there and turned from it.'

Base₁: nenip serarat tau-e
 bird quickly arrive-mm

Base₃: ia unug-ep
 net enter-3s/imp

'The bird should arrive quickly and go into the net.'

Base₁: ange
go

Base₃: utu aua kaisiwandini karaua
there uncle that/which/he/was/cutting secretly
etop yaw-ain
edge see-ls/f

'I will go there and secretly see the edge of that which the uncle was cutting.'

Base₁: amo
go

Base₃: kerip gaium ai tau-ep
betel/nut spice/pepper get arrive-3p/imp

'They should go and bring the betel nut and spice pepper.'

Examples of Succession in which a punctiliar event is followed by a span - Pa \wedge Qa

Base₁: gio ae dot
mirror down climb

Base₃: ae gio yav-iwandin en-i-a
down mirror see-3s/d/cont dr-m-sc

'He climbed up before the mirror, and while he was looking for a long time...'

Base₁: dor-e
climb-mm

Base₃: yangut ta-iwand-an-epi-wa
look/about do-3s/cont/d-3s/m-sc

'While he climbs (up) and looks about for a long time...'

Base₁: amo
go

Base₃: orup da mugenat orup upi mugenat
person one only person other only
ware ta-iwanum-ampina
get do-3p/cont-cond

'(It is bad) if only a few persons and some others go and are

doing (the work).'

Succession in which more than two punctiliar events follow one another - $\underline{Pa} \wedge \underline{Qa} \dots \wedge \underline{Na}$

Base₁: orup da amo
person one go

Base₂: oma ai-e
wood get-mm

Base₂: tau-e
arrive-mm

Base₂: dum-e
split-mm

Base₂: ae se
down put

Base₃: utu amba am-op
there then go-3p/imp

'Someone should go and get wood, split (it), and pile it up and then go (home).'

Base₁: warepi otua ae
one/who/gets/it person go

Base₂: ase tau
there arrive

Base₂: sedi gan barae
shed at put

Base₃: amba di on-ep
then em come-3s/imp

'The person who gets (the shovel) should go and arrive there and put it in the shed, and then he should come (home)!'

The following examples encode more than two span events - $\underline{Pa} \wedge \underline{Qa} \wedge \dots \wedge \underline{Na}$

Base₁: ame sia enu
that again spear

Base₂: unup ma tunu
pot here cook

Base₃: goat yogup anega ta-iwanum-an
 rock container thus do-3p/cont-plg

'They were still spearing more (pigs) and cooking (them) in pots and on rocks.'

Base₁: aopa pa tu
 up/there house build

Base₂: tuan gur-e
 pig kill-mm

Base₃: barip tugu-iwanumun
 feast cook-3p/p/cont

'They were building a house up there, killing pigs, and holding a feast.'

One example encodes Overlap - P \wedge Q

Base₁: ne wanik
 I stay

Base₃: pa nega tu-ingin
 house my build-1s/p/cont

'I was remaining (in the village) and building my house.'

(4) The Direct Quote Sentence has only one obligatory tag-meme, the Direct Quote, which is optionally preceded and followed by formulaic quote clauses, either, both, or neither of which need occur.

Direct Quote Sentence

	\pm Beginning Quote	+ DIRECT QUOTE	\pm Closing Quote
	Beginning Quote Clause	Any Speech	Closing Quote Clause
Speech	wP \wedge	Q	

Special Features:

- (a) There are no tense restrictions, but the verb of the Beginning Quote in 85 % of the examples is a medial form.

- (c) Any tagmeme is optionally negated. If the Beginning Quote is negated the Closing Quote will be negated if it occurs.
- (j) Sentence final intonation optionally occurs between any of the three tagmemes and within the Direct Quote if more than one sentence is being quoted.

Direct Quote Sentences in which neither the Beginning or Closing Quote tagmemes occur are relatively infrequent. When there is no quote formula the Direct Quote usually begins with one of the exclamatory vowels a, e, o and/or a vocative. In five examples only the context (i. e., tense or person change in the verb) indicated the presence of a Direct Quote.

In a quoted dialogue it is common to indicate change of speaker with one of the exclamatory vowels which precedes the quotation. In quoted dialogue in which questions are asked by one speaker and answered by another the change of speaker indicator, a, o, or e is optional.

In the following example of a quoted dialogue, the dialogue is introduced by a Beginning Quote Formula. Thereafter a or e or an answer to a question indicates the repartee between the speakers.

BQ Formula: anega wani
 thus he/said

Speaker A: tatan ma dim anop dansewa
 older/brother this what tree sweet

'Older brother, what is this sweet taste?'

Speaker B: a siuran
 ah salt

'Salt.'

A: siuran da amba tauen
 salt a where arrived

'Where did the salt come from?'

B: aipa kauma puimani aipa warup ongen
 down water ocean down pull I/came

'I brought (it) from down at the ocean.'

A: a tatan ma dim
ah older/brother this what

'Older brother, what is this?'

B: a ganip ganip endi nagut gam magosena
ah coconut coconut now taro at that/I/squeezed

'Coconut; it is coconut that I squeezed into the taro now.'

A: e tatan endi da waraan
eh older/brother now one you/got

'Older brother, do you have one now?' (Speaker A is requesting that some be given to him.)

B: a ne ma warana iman genapen wat agepen
ah I this I/got tomorrow give/you get you/go

'I got this, (but) tomorrow I will give you (some), and you can take it.'

Thoughts, except for mistaken impressions which are encoded as Sequence Sentences, are encoded as the Direct Quote Sentence with a verb of thinking in the predicate of the quote formulas.

The indirect quote in Daga is a clause construction in which the indirect quote is nominalized and fills the Object tagmeme of the clause.

Exact repetition of the Direct Quote is used in Narrative Discourse as a way to indicate that strong emotion is involved.

Direct Quote: enda ge ge ben koakoaro wat
friend you you decoration poor get
nenaan ben koakoaro wat
you/gave/me decoration poor get
nenaan
you/gave/me

CQ Formula: anega waja
thus he/says

"Friend, you gave me a poor decoration, you gave me a poor decoration," he says.'

Conjunction: go
but

BQ Formula: anega ya anune
 thus neg you/think

Direct Quote: ma etunu umap ne inanap dim da
 here skins/our like I to/me what
 ya tata
 neg he/will/do

CQ Formula: ap anega da ya anune
 so thus a neg you/think

'But don't think, "This (one) is like us. He won't do anything to me," so don't think like that.'

BQ Formula: Orogum anega wani
 Orogum thus he/said

Direct Quote: ae tuan da warane araeta
 no pig a when/you/take he/will/bite/you

CQ Formula: anega wan
 thus he/said

'Orogum said thus, "No, when/if you catch a pig, he will bite you." Thus he said.'

BQ Formula: mitoneri di wane
 missionary em they/said

Direct Quote: pa tupen
 house let's/build

CQ Formula: anega wane
 thus they/said

'The missionaries said, "Let's build the house." Thus they said.'

BQ Formula: anega wana
 thus I/said

Direct Quote: ne orup nega yampo pa angepen taian
 I child my three house to/go I/do

CQ Formula: anega waian
 thus I/say

'I said thus, "I have three children, (therefore) I am ready to go home." Thus I say.'

Direct Quote: oaenapan aruga onamopo me
 people many if/they/would/come he
 tap aupa aepe
 fear up he/would/go

'If many people would come, he would flee up (higher).'

Direct Quote: tuan anan tauiam
 pig trouble he/arrives

CQ Formula: anega wane
 thus they/said

"The pig comes (to make) trouble." Thus they said.'

BQ Formula: di watoni
 em we/said

Direct Quote: tamaru neigin Darip anepen
 fellow path Darip let's go

CQ Formula: anega ae wayawat
 thus comp we/asked

'We definitely said, "Fellows, let's take the Darip path." Thus we finished asking (each other about the correct path).'

Direct Quote: imana barip tat nat
 tomorrow feast we/should/do we/should/eat
 amba aisen
 then you/go

CQ Formula: anega wane
 thus they/said

"Tomorrow we should make and eat the feast, and then you leave." Thus they said.'

6.3. Sentence Constructions Included on the Chart. Chart 1 lists twenty sentence nuclei. Sentence periphery optionally occur with any of these nuclear constructions. The chart serves to organize the presentation and to give major contrastive features between the various sentence types. There are no parameters to the chart.

The five sentences of each column will be described in order from the top of the column to the bottom.

In some examples the tenses used indicate one type of sentence but the conjunctions used indicate another type. In such cases the conjunction takes precedence and indicates the sentence type. If tense restrictions indicate one sentence type (e.g., past followed by past indicates a Coordinate Sentence) and another sentence type is desired, the conjunction is obligatory (i.e., past *menan* 'therefore' past indicates a Result Sentence).

The chart lists the name of the sentence type followed by the number of obligatory tagmemes and optional tagmemes that are possible. Any conjunction which occurs is listed next. Most of the conjunctions are optional, but these optional conjunctions have not been included in the count of optional tagmemes which is just above the conjunction. Any other unusual features of the sentence are then listed. Finally tense restrictions are given.

Chart 1

Coordinate 2+ 9± ± <i>si</i> 'and' Any final tense Same tense throughout	Same Subject Coordinate 2+ 4± Same subject p/ss — p — imp	Sequence 2+ 4± ± <i>amba</i> 'then' Medial — Final	Summary 2+ + <i>anega</i> 'like this' Any tense
Close Sequence 2+ p — pr	Identical Predicate 2+ 3± Any tense Same verb stem throughout	Simultaneous 2+ Base ₁ not neg Durative-sc — Any tense	Perception 2+ Order reversi- ble Any tense — 3 verb stems
Result 2+ ± <i>menan</i> 'therefore' Any final tense but tenses must differ	Parallel 2+ 1± Tenses must agree Synonymous verb stems	Conditional 2+ ± <i>amba</i> 'then' If — imp — past — future	Evaluation 2+ Order reversi- ble Any tense — 'good'

Chart 1 continued

Reason 2+ ± iwa 'because' obligatory unless imperative occurs Any final tense	Comparison 3+ + mini 'like'	Contrafactual 1+ 1± CF tense only	Summary Negative 2+ Base ₁ must be negated Any tense—neg
Antithetical 2+ ± go 'but' Any tense 2 contrasts in Predicate and/or terms	Alternative 2+ 1± ± go/o 'or' Tense must agree 1 contrast in Predicate or terms	Terminating Action 2+ ± amba 'then' prolonged tense—final	Conversational Alternative 2+ 1± + go 'or' ± neg

6.3.1. The Coordinate Sentence consists of at least two bases in which only final verbs are permitted. The same tense must be used throughout all Bases. Past durative and past act as if they are the same tense. Usually the aspect is the same throughout all Bases. An optional Coordinate Marker si, di, e 'and' occurs between the Bases.

Coordinate Sentence

	+ BASE ₁	± (± Coord- inate Marker	+ Base ₂) ^{n=l-7}	± Coord- inate Marker	+ BASE ₃
	Final Cl Merged S. Identical Predicate S. Perception S. Summary S. Parallel S. Same Subject Coordinate S. Sequence S. Contrary Result S.	e si di 'and'	Final Cl Sequence S. Identical Predicate S. Same Subject Coordinate S.	e si di 'and'	Final Cl Sequence S. Close Sequence S. Perception S. Contrary Result S. Parallel S. Reason S. Direct Quote S. Same Subject Coordinate S.

Coordinate Sentence (chart continued)

Overlap	\underline{P} \underline{P}	\wedge			\underline{Q} \underline{Q}
Succession	\underline{P}	\wedge			\underline{Q}
	\underline{P}	\wedge			\underline{Q}
	$\underline{P}a$ $\underline{P}a$	\wedge			$\underline{Q}a$ $\underline{Q}b$
	$[\underline{P} \neq \underline{P}]$	\wedge		$[Q \neq Q]$	$[N \neq N]$
Coupling	P	\wedge			Q (cf. Close Sequence S.) N
Expectancy Reversal	P	\wedge		Q	Q (cf. Anti-theoretical S.)
	$(P \supset Q) \wedge P$	\wedge			Q] (cf. Result S.)
Efficient Cause	$P \wedge [P$	\supset			$Qb]$ (cf. Result S.)
	$Pab \wedge [Pab$	\supset			

Special Features:

- (b) The Coordinate Markers rarely occur.
- (c) Any base optionally is negated, but a contrasting relationship between the Bases is not possible. A positive-negative relationship which results in contrast between the two Bases is an Antithetical or Alternative Sentence.
- (d) Only two tagmemes are obligatory, but seven additional Bases have been observed in the data. It is expected that this limit will be exceeded. Two or three Bases is most common.

Examples in which the actions of the first and second base occur at the same time - P ^ Q

Base₁: ita to a-iwandin e
spear hit go-3s/p/cont dr

Base₃: dor-iwandin-i
climb-3s/p/cont-m

'He kept on spearing and climbing ...'

Base₁: on-iwandin
come-3s/p/cont

Base₃: yav-iwandin
see-3s/p/cont

'He was coming, and he was recognizing (the trail).'

Base₁: oaenapan opinewa tap ta-iwanum
people others fear do-3p/pr/cont

Base₃: opinewa den ya wa tomag-iwanum
others also neg say break-3p/pr/cont

'Some people are afraid (to do what they are told), and also others are not being peaceful.'

Base₁: utu mepe gaukara anega ta-inton
up there work thus do-lp/p/cont

Base₃: ita tau-iwanumun-e
spear arrive-3p/p/cont-m

'We were working like this up there, and the bombers were coming ...'

Base₁: onamo-in e
come-3p/d dr

Base₃: ugin tau-inia
rain arrive-3s/hab

'They were coming and coming (along the trail), and it was raining.'

Examples in which the punctiliar action of the second Base occurs sometime during the continuous action of the first Base - P ^ Q.

Base₁: anega wa-ingin en
thus stay-ls/d dr

Base₃: orup Mosisi bar-aen
child Mosisi put-ls/p

'While I was living (here), I fathered the child, Mosisi.'

Base₁: aup in-inton
sleep live-lp/p/cont

Base₃: Direct Quote S.

mu wane // ma inat
they they/said // here we/should/sleep

iman amba anet
tomorrow then we/should/go

'(While) we were sleeping, they said, "We should sleep here (tonight) then tomorrow we should go."'

Base₁: ae ma onan-inton
down here come-lp/p/cont

Base₃: ugin tau-en
rain arrive-3s/p

'(While) we were coming here from down there, it rained.'

Base₁: Irakae apan da Gayawanaki gapan pa
Irakae man a Gayawanaki at house
tu-iwandin
build-3s/p/cont

Base₃: yaw-at
see-lp/p/ss

'As an Irakae man was building a house at Gayawanaki, we saw (him).'

Base₁: uta tau-iwandin
 there arrive-3s/p/cont

Base₃: mum tau-en
 night arrive-3s/p

'As he was arriving there, night fell.'

Base₁: na-iwandin
 eat-3s/p/cont

Base₃: ambor-en
 close-3s/p

'(While) he was eating, he (someone else) blocked (the path).'

One example encodes a span followed by a span - P ^ Q

Base₁: ange ta-ingain
 go do-ls/f/cont

Base₃: nain isewa usewa ae v-ingain
 path down/there up/there leave-ls/f/cont

'I will be going and doing (as I have described), and I will be leaving the path down there (and the path) up there (and will be taking the middle path).'

Examples of Succession in which a span precedes a punctiliar event - P ^ Q

Base₁: tayav-in e
 try-3s/d dr

Base₃: Same Subject Coordinate S.
 ae ve dor-e
 stop-3s/p/ss climb-3s/p/ss

'He tried (to do it) for a long time and stopped (trying) and climbed (the mountain).'

Base₁: Sequence S.

nagirewa dagin ir-iwanumun-e // yav-in e
 people smoke burn-3p/p/cont-m // see-3s/d dr

Base₃: Sequence S.

vit ae-n-i // boge ase
 descend go-3s/p-m // immediately there
 tau-e
 arrive-3s/p/ss

'The people were burning, then he watched (the smoke) for a long time and he descended, then immediately he arrived there and ...'

Base₁: Same Subject Coordinate S.

yampo anet ketnag-it et
 three go/lp/p/ss cut-lp/d dr

Base₃: Same Subject Coordinate S.

ae onan-et pa tau-at
 down come-3p/p/ss house arrive-lp/p/ss

'We three went and cut (material for shirts) for a long time, and we came down and arrived at the house.'

Base₁: tuan si-wanumun en
 pig put-3p/p/d dr

Base₃: yon wanum-on
 stand stay-3p/p

'They brought a lot of pigs and got ready (for the feast).'

Base₁: tap anega ta-it et
 fear thus do-lp/d dr

Base₃: in-aton
 sleep-lp/p

'Thus we fled and (then) slept (elsewhere).'

In the following examples a punctiliar event is followed by a punctiliar event. The actor of each event is the same. The deep structure formula is $\dot{P}a \wedge \dot{Q}a$

'We descended to the pig, tied the net there, and blocked (the path), and the pig came (and immediately) entered the net.'

A Coordinate Sentence with more than two Bases is permitted to indicate a succession of punctiliar and continuous events together in any combination - $[P \ddagger P] \wedge [Q \ddagger Q] \dots \wedge [N \ddagger N]$

Base₁: sinasin ben wat wan-in en
 cockatoo decoration get give/him-3s/d dr

Base₂: uon tan
 finished

Coordinate Marker: si
 and

Base₃: wao anega wa-n-i
 crow thus say-3s/p-m

'He (the crow) decorated the cockatoo for a long time, finished (the decoration), and the crow said ...'

Base₁: kaum mut-an
 water dip-3p/p

Base₂: bar-en
 put-3p/p

Coordinate Marker: e
 and

Base₃: Sequence S.

 ne-n-an-e // ae na-n
 me-give-3p/p-m// comp drink-1s/p

'They dipped the water, put (it down), and gave it to me then I drank it.'

Base₁: yaw-an
 see-2p/imp

Base₂: ais-en
 go-2p/imp

Base₃: atana nao ya tat wa ta-iwanian
 there work neg do say do-2p/p/cont

'Think about (the result of not working) and go (work), (regard-

less of the fact that) you were continually saying we won't do the work there.'

Base₁: wanwan iragi mun-in en
cargo all give/them-3p/d dr

Base₂: tam-an
take-3p/p

Base₃: am-on
go-3p/p

'They gave and gave them all the cargo; they took it and went.'

Base₁: wanin-eton
stay-lp/p

Base₂: Close Sequence S.

sia onan-et / oyapa ne uat
again come-lp/p/ss / overhead I net

pan-iangin
tie-ls/pr

Base₂: inap wanig-en
with/it stay-ls/p

Base₂: Result S.

Toureao ao wa-n / uat wabutunag-en
Toureao up say-3s/p / net loosen-ls/p

Base₂: sia war-an
again get-ls/p

Base₂: ang-en
go-ls/p

Base₂: Close Sequence S.

ao tau-an / pan-ianit
up arrive-ls/p / tie-lp/pr

Base₂: Mamuki de uat inap wanin-eton
Mamuki two net with/it stay-lp/p

Base₃: oanenapan agan onam-on
people shout come-3p/p

'We waited and (then) came back, and I (immediately) tied the net overhead and stayed with it; Toureao shouted, (so) I untied the net, took it again, left, and arrived up (there), and (imme-

diately) we tied (it), and Mamuki and I stayed with the net, and the people came driving (the pig).'

Coordinate Sentences also have the deep structure of coupling, but only a few examples have been found to date. One clause is coupled with another clause giving the formula $P \wedge Q$

Base₁: nega itapu bayabayapa pan-an
my bundle four tie-1s/p
Base₃: a Daio ge Orin dere nani yamunaet
a Daio and Orin two five
tam-an
take-3p/p

'I tied four bundles of mine, and Daio and Orin both took five.'

It is possible to conjoin more than two Bases - $P \wedge Q \dots \wedge N$

Base₁: Same Subject Coordinate S.

ame onana ae gear-e / aipa
that cliff down fall-3s/p/ss / down
mea wand-en
water stay-3s/p

Base₂: Same Subject Coordinate S.

Derem meimewa vis-e / use
Derem husband/her descend-3s/p/ss / there
ambot wand-en
close stay-3s/p

Base₃: Same Subject Coordinate S.

Orogum on-e / oaenapan
Orogum come-3s/p/ss / people
upa-mo / uat war-e /
lead-them/3s/p/ss / net get-3s/p/ss /
dor-e / ao tau-en
Climb-3s/p/ss / up arrive-3s/p

'That one fell over the cliff and stayed down at the river; Derem's husband descended and blocked (the path) there; Orogum came, brought the people, got the net, climbed, and arrived at the top.'

There are two examples of the Coordinate Sentence encoding Expectancy Reversal - $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_3$

Base₁: dawan sia ang-en
 hunting again go-1s/p

Base₃: man da ya yaw-an
 animal one neg see-1s/p

'I went hunting again, (and) I didn't see a single animal.'

Base₁: yau-a wa-iwandin
 name-his say-3s/p/cont

Base₃: uon ta-iwandin
 neg do-3s/p/cont

'He was answering (roll call) (and) was not working.'

(These two examples are marginal in that the identical tense on the verb in each base indicates a Coordinate Sentence, but it may be possible to find two contrasts between each base which would indicate an Antithetical Sentence.)

One example encodes Efficient Cause - $P \wedge [P \supset Q]$

Base₁: nao mondi tayav-in e
 work vainly try-3s/d dr

Base₃: Identical Predicate S.

ae up ae-n
go-3s/p/ss // steal go-3s/p

'He tried (to make) a garden for a long time (but was) unsuccessful; (therefore) he went, he went to steal.'

Examples which encode Efficient Cause, in which the event performed by actor a makes actor b perform another event - Pab Pab Qb

Base₁: oaenapan warapen ta-inton
 people to/get do-1p/p/cont

Base₃: aranepen ta-iwandin
 to/bite/us do-3s/p/cont

'We people were trying to catch (the pig, therefore) it was

trying to bite us.'

Base₁: isi oam ara-n-en
 there sun hurt-us-3s/p

Base₃: gongonu ae wanin-et
 shade down stay-lp/p/ss

'We were getting so hot out in the sun, (therefore) we stayed down in the shade.'

Base₁: man ame itani nagura-nege-n
 animal that heavy hurt-me-3s/p

Base₃: amepe ae bar-an
 there down put-ls/p

'(When I carried) that heavy animal (it) hurt me, (so) I put it down there.'

6.3.2. The Close Sequence Sentence involves two bases, in which the tense sequence must be past followed by present and indicates that the event of the second Base follows closely after the event of the first Base. (This close time sequence will be indicated in the gloss by the word 'immediately'.)

Close Sequence Sentence

	+ BASE ₁	+ BASE ₂
	Clause - past tense past medial past same subject Parallel S.	Clause - present tense Coordinate S.
Succession	Pa ^ Pa ^	Qa Qb

Close Sequence Sentence (chart continued)

Overlap	<u>P</u>	^	Q. (cf. Sequence S.)
Succession	<u>P</u>	^	Q (cf. Sequence S.)
Coupling	P	^	Q̇ (cf. Coordinate S.)
Efficient Cause	P ^ [P	⊃	Q] (cf. Result S.)
	Pab ^ [Pab	⊃	Qb] (cf. Result S.)
Expectancy Reversal	(P⊃Q) ^ P	^	Q ₃ (cf. Antithetical S.)

Special Features:

- (a) In Base₂ the simple present tense usually is used for regular verbs and the continuous form for irregular verbs. Future tense is an understandable substitute for present tense, but the informant prefers the present. The past tense of Base₁ optionally occurs in the medial or same subject form.
- (c) The second Base optionally is negated but the first Base is negated only in special cases where the meaning permits.
- (e) The predicates of both Bases of the Coordinate Sentence expounding Base₂ must be present tense. Optionally one is present durative tense.
- (f) This sentence is transformable into a Sequence Sentence in which the Sequence Marker boge 'immediately' obligatorily occurs between the two Bases whose predicates are past tense.
 Base₁ - past tense + Base₂ - present Base₁ - past
 + boge + Base₂ - past.

Close Sequence Sentence

Base₁: sia man veri war-an
 again animal tail/his get-ls/p

Base₂: togur-iangin
 kill-ls/pr

Transform to Sequence Sentence

Action: sia man veri war-an
 again animal tail/his get-ls/p

Sequence Marker: boge
 immediately

Culmination: togur-an
 kill-ls/p

'Again I caught the animal's tail (and) immediately killed (it).'

- (j) In 68 out of 73 examples, final intonation occurred on the second Base. A final intonation occurs between the two Bases in three of the 73 examples.

Encoding succession of two punctiliar events - Pa \wedge Qa

Base₁: Mosisi ine de ma ae ve-m-on
 Mosisi mother/his two here leave-them-ls/p

Base₂: ang-ewan
 go-ls/pr/cont

'I left both Mosisi and his mother here (and immediately) went.'

Base : Parallel S.

₁ war-ianit / ame war-aton
 get-ls/pr / that get-lp/p

Base₂: Coordinate S.

ao pa tau-ian / bar-ianit
 up house arrive-lp/pr/d / put-lp/pr

'We get (it), we got that (pig) (and immediately) arrived up at the house and put it down.'

Base₁: man kauari ameme yav-en-i
 animal cuscus that see-3s/p-m

Base₂: ame boku wa-ia
 that bark way-3s/pr

'That (dog) saw a cuscus animal, (then immediately) he barked.'

Base₁: Daman yon wand-e
Daman stand stay-3s/p/ss

Base₂: tamaru ta-ia
youth do-3s/pr

'Daman grew up (and immediately) became a youth.'

Base₁: tau-aton
arrive-lp/p

Base₂: pe ta-ianit
drying/rack do-lp/pr

'We arrived (and immediately) made a drying rack.'

A punctiliar event of Base₁ is followed by a punctiliar event in Base₂ with different actors - Pa \wedge Qb

Base₁: Orogum gom en-en
Orogum ashes put/into-3s/p

Base₂: na-ianit
eat-lp/pr

'Orogum put (the sweet potato) into the ashes, (and) we (immediately) ate.'

Base₁: tau-en
arrive-3s/p

Base₂: Daman nais-ia
Daman marry-3s/pr

'She arrived, (and immediately) Daman married her.'

The punctiliar event of Base₂ occurs sometime during the continuous event of Base₁ - P \wedge Q.

Base₁: ae in-it eton-i-a
down sleep-lp/d dr-m-sc

Base₂: pakin tau-iam
dried/meat arrive-3p/pr

'While we were sleeping, (immediately) they arrived (with the)

dried meat.'

Base₁: orup ma peawa kawanem en-in en-e
fellows smoked/meat pole put-3p/d dr-m

Base₂: ae ma dor-iamun
down here climb-3p/pr

'The fellows put and carried the smoked meat on a pole (and immediately) climbed from down there to here.'

There are two examples in which span is followed by an event -
 $\underline{P} \wedge Q$

Base₁: wand-in en
stay-3s/d dr

Base₂: ae sia tau-ia
down again arrive-3s/pr

'He stayed for a long time, (and immediately after that) he arrived down there again.'

Base₁: wanum-en e
stay-3s/d dr

Base₂: apan Naveru tau-ia
man Naveru arrive-3s/pr

'They lived (there) for a long time, (and immediately after that) the man Naveru arrived.'

There is one example in which coupling occurs - $P \wedge Q$

Base₁: ae ma tau-aton-i
down here arrive-1p/p-m

Base₂: Agupon orup otua ma tau-iam
Agupon boys here arrive-3p/pr

'We arrived here from down there, and the Agupon boys arrived here.'

Efficient Cause $P \wedge [P \supset Q]$ is also encoded twice as a Close Sequence Sentence.

Base₁: tuan wa-n-e
pig say-3p/p-m

Base₂: karopae ao sin-iam
mango up climb-3p/pr

'They said (it was a) pig, (therefore they immediately) climbed a mango.'

Base₁: dugup dugup gaset on-en
clan clan already come-3s/p

Base₂: ma inanup mondi puaka-iwan
here with/us purposelessly rot-3s/pr/cont

'Each clan has already come, (therefore) they are purposelessly rotting (not doing their own work) here with us.'

There is one example of Efficient Cause in which the deep structure is $Pab \wedge [Pab \supset Qb]$

Base₁: ita koerage ma ne gamunap tau-iamon-e
spear bad here I my/side arrive-3p/p-m

Base₂: bop koerage ta-ian
death bad do-ls/pr

'They arrived here at my side with bad spears, (so) I am dying.'

There is one example of Expectancy Reversal - $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_p$

Base₁: sia ae-n
again go-3s/p

Base₂: ya tau-ia
neg arrive-3s/pr

'He went again, (but) he didn't arrive (at the place where they were waiting for him).'

6.3.3. The two obligatory tagmemes, Cause and Effect, optionally connected by the Result Marker compose the Result Sentence. The tense or aspect of the Cause must be different from the tense or aspect used in the Effect.

Result Sentence

	+ CAUSE	\pm Result Marker	+ EFFECT
	Final Clause Equational Clause Medial Clause Sequence S. Coordinate S. Direct Quote S. Parallel S. Alternative S. Antithetical S. Evaluation S. Result S.	menan ap ap menan gapan/gan anega 'therefore'	Final Clause Equational Clause Medial Clause Identical Predicate S. Coordinate S. Sequence S. Close Sequence S. Parallel S. Conditional S. Direct Quote S. Evaluation S.
Efficient Cause	$P \wedge [P$ $Pab \wedge [Pab$	\supset \supset	$Q]$ $Qb]$

Special Features:

- (a) Any tense occurs in either base, but they must be different.
- (b) The Result Marker is obligatory if a Medial Clause expounds the Cause, if the tense of the final verbs is the same, or if past occurs in the Cause and present in the Effect. Menan is the most frequently used Result Marker.
- (c) Either base optionally is negated.
- (d) No further expansion is possible.
- (e) Sentences are more frequent as fillers of the Cause and Effect than are clauses. It is expected that further data would show that any sentence type expounds either of the obligatory slots.

The following examples have the deep structure of Efficient Cause - $P \wedge [P \supset Q]$

Cause: ma inanup tau-en
here to/us arrive-3s/p

Result Marker: menan
therefore

Effect: oaen kao wani war-ep
woman knife sharp get-3p/imp

'(The work) has arrived here for us, therefore the women should sharpen the knives.'

Cause: nu top wa-inton-i
we laugh say-lp/p/cont-m

Result Marker: menan
therefore

Effect: ta-ia
do-3s/pr

'We were laughing, therefore (our laughter) is recorded (on the tape recorder).'

Cause: Equational Clause

govman	nave	taitoni	oamewa
government	work/his	which/we/do	day/his

Result Marker: ap menan
so therefore

oaen	da	map	wandinia	apan	mapa
woman	a	here	who/stays	man	here
wandinia	imana	uruga	Agaun	gapan	
who/stays	tomorrow	all	Agaun	at	

'(It is) the day on which we do the government's work, so therefore women and men who have been staying here (should) all (go) to Agaun.'

Cause: Alternative S.

baiki	daiton	daiton	tam	anet-on	/	go
bag	one	one	get	go-lp/p	/	or

semu	semu	tam	anet-on
piece	piece	get	go-lp/p

Result Marker: ap
so

Effect: anu-n
remember-2p/imp

'We took only a few bags or we took only a few pieces, so remember (that and quit complaining).'

Cause: ae	uas-en
down	throw-3p/p

Result Marker: gan
therefore

Effect: ao	ma	kapas-en
up	here	pinch-3p/p

'They threw (wood) down (the hillside), therefore they made (a sign) up (by the trail to indicate that no one was to take the wood).'

Cause: oaenapan	ise	ase	ta-in-an-eta-wa
people	there	there	do-lp/cont-d-lp/m-sc

Result Marker: permuted into Effect

Effect: Agaun	ap	anega	di	wand-eeta
Agaun	so	thus	em	stay-3s/f

'The people keep going here and there, so therefore Agaun (airstrip) will remain (unfinished) (as long as they keep doing this)!'

In approximately 6% of the examples studied the conjunction is permuted from the usual clause-initial position to a position immediately following the first clause level tagmeme or to a prepredicate position. The latter permutation is more common. Temporal conjunctions mark the start of new Discourse level tagmemes when they occur sentence initially, so are permuted when a new discourse tagmeme is not desired. Further investigation of permutation of the conjunction within the sentence nucleus is needed.

Cause: Antithetical S.

ugin	union	ya	taunia	/	go
rain	haphazard	neg	arrive/hab	/	but
oam	ta-in				
sun	do-3s/d				

Result Marker: gan
therefore

Effect: Close Sequence S.

amo-n-e	//	ugin	gan	war-iwanum
go-3p/p-m	//	rain	at	get-3p/pr/cont

'There had been no rain, and it was a drought; therefore they went, then (immediately) they made rain.'

Cause: Coordinate S.

bom	mainep	atapa	gear-en	/	awak	iragi
bomb	near	there	fall-3s/p	/	dirt	all
enu	ae	uma-mo-n				
spear	comp	cover-them-3s/p				

Result Marker: gapan
therefore

Effect: Parallel S.

waialesi	ae	tau-en	/	king	waialesi
radio	down	arrive-3s/p	/	king	radio
ap	anega	watu	en-en		
so	thus	send-3s/p			

'The bomb fell near there and completely covered them all with dirt, therefore a radio message arrived, so therefore the king sent a radio message.'

In some examples of Efficient Cause encoded as a Result Sentence, the event performed by actor a in the Cause makes actor b perform the event in the Effect - $Pab \wedge [Pab \supset Qb]$

Cause: Result S.

oaenapan	warapen	ta-inton	/	aranepen
people	to/get	do-lp/p/cont	/	to/bite/us

ta-iwandin
do-3s/p/cont

Result Marker: permuted into Effect

Effect: nu tap anega ta-inton
we fear therefore do-lp/p/cont

'We people were trying to catch (the pig), therefore it was trying to bite us, therefore we were fleeing.'

Cause: nima-nege-n
bore-me-3s/p

Result Marker: ap
therefore

Effect: Iret pona itapa yan-an
Iret plain there born-ls/p

'He fathered me, therefore I was born on Iret plain.'

6.3.4. The rarely used Reason Sentence is the reverse of the Result Sentence and consists of the obligatory Effect and Cause tagmemes joined by the optional Reason Markers iwa 'because' or anega 'thus'. The Reason Marker is omitted only when the imperative occurs in the Effect.

Reason Sentence

	+ EFFECT	± Reason Marker	+ CAUSE
	Equational Clause Medial Clause dr Final Clause imperative past future Coordinate S. Identical Pred S.	iwa 'because' anega 'thus'	Equational Clause Final Clause past present future Contrary Result S.
Efficient Cause	$P \wedge [P$ $P \wedge [P$	\supset \supset	$Q]$ $Q]$
Final Cause	$P \wedge [P$	\supset	$pQ]$

Special Features:

- (a) Future, imperative, past, and successive durative medial are the only verbal forms which have been found in the Effect tagmeme. Past, present, and future have been found in the Cause tagmeme. Limited data may be the reason for these restrictions.
- (b) When the Effect is desirable, the Reason Marker is more likely to occur, but it is not often used when the imperative occurs in the Effect.
- (c) Either base optionally is negated.
- (f) When the effect is undesirable, the deep structure is $P \wedge [P \supset Q]$. Only one such example has been found to date. It is transformable into a Contrary Result Sentence.

Effect: Identical Predicate S.

tase	goani	ya	yaw-an	/	otu	tasine
siblings/his	neg	see-3p/p	/	children/his		
ya	yaw-an					
neg	see-3p/p					

Cause: meaget karaua karaua ta-iwandin
 only secretly secretly do-3s/p/cont

'His siblings did not see, and his children did not see,
 (because) he was only doing (it) very secretly.'

Transform into a Result Sentence with Contrary Result Sentence in the Effect tagmeme.

Effect:	tase	goani	yavepi	tawa	otu	tasine
	siblings		lest/they/see	children		
	yavepi	tawa				
	lest/they/see					

Result Marker: menan
 therefore

Cause: meaget karaua karaua ta-iwandin
 only secretly secretly do-3s/p/cont

'Lest his siblings see, and lest his children see, therefore he
 was only doing (it) very secretly.'

- (i) Efficient Cause $P \wedge [P \supset Q]$ is encoded in the Reason Sentence, but in this surface structure the second base causes the first base to occur. This is logically equivalent to $[Q \subset P] \wedge P$, which is closer to the surface structure.

Examples which encode Efficient Cause - $P \wedge [P \supset Q]$

Effect: ma baigan bar-eta
here peace put-3s/f

Reason Marker: iwa
because

Cause: Rupna dagin irine yaw-an
Rupna smoke which/they/burned see-3p/p

'He will make peace here because they saw the smoke which the Rupna people burned.'

Effect: Coordinate S.

yambuni ais-en / utu sedi gapan
careful go-2p/imp / there shed at
baraen
put-2p/imp

Cause: Equational Clause

govman ona megawa
government cargo his

'Carefully go and put it (the spade) in the shed up there (because) it is the government's property.'

Effect: Coordinate S.

ge wat ak / ase sedi gapan
you get go-2s/imp / there shed at
barao
put-2s/imp

Cause: ne ang-ewan
I go-pr/cont

'You go, get it and put it there in the shed (because) I am going.'

Effect: anega ya wa-p
 thus neg say-3s/imp

Cause: endi nao ma goanap
 now work here inside

'He shouldn't say that (because) the work is here now.'

Effect: Identical Predicate S.

mum tapaet di / woup tapaet di
 night fear/only em / dawn fear/only em

Reason Marker: permuted into Cause

Cause: ita ianup anega wa-iwandin
 spear head/our thus say-3s/p/cont

'(We were) terrified at night and at dawn because the bullets were (flying) over our heads.'

One example of a Reason Sentence encoding Final Cause $P \wedge [P \supset pQ]$ has been found.

Effect: oma bae aeme war-en-epi
 tree leaf under/there get-d-3s/m

Result Marker: iwa
 because

Cause: Contrary Result S.

oaen ame apan aeve aepe tawa
 woman that man leave go lest

'She (relative of the bride) puts many leaves under there (the sleeping mat) because (that is the thing to do so that) the husband won't leave that woman (the bride).'

6.3.5. The Antithetical Sentence consists of an obligatory Thesis and Antithesis optionally linked by go 'but'. In one example the link is filled by the particle ae which has several usages in Daga. There must be two contrasts between the Thesis and Antithesis in the predicate and/or the terms.

Antithetical Sentence

	+ THESIS	\pm Link	+ ANTITHESIS
	Final Clause Equational Clause Indirect Quote Clause Medial Clause Sequence S. Coordinate S. Direct Quote S. Alternative S. Parallel S. Contrafactual S. Summary S. Same Subject Coordinate S.	go 'but' ae 'but'	Final Clause Equational Clause Merged S. Sequence S. Coordinate S. Parallel S.
Contrast	$P(a)$ $\bar{P}(a)$ $P(a)$ $\bar{P}(U-a)$ $P(a)$ $\bar{P}a$	\wedge \wedge \wedge \wedge \wedge \wedge	$P''(b)$ $[P(b) \nexists Q(b)]$ $\bar{P}(b)$ $Pa \wedge (a \in U)$ $P(U-a) \wedge (a \in U)$ Pa''
Paraphrase	$\bar{P}''a$ Pa	\wedge \wedge	Pa $\bar{P}''a$
Expectancy Reversal	$(P \supset Q) \wedge P$	\wedge	Q_s
Frustrated Intent	$(i-Pa \supset Pa) \wedge i-Pa$	\wedge	R

Special Features:

- (a) Any tense is permitted in the final clauses.
 (b) The Link is obligatory when a medial verb occurs in the Thesis.
 (c) Either Thesis or Antithesis is negated but not both.

There is a preference to use the Link if there is a tense shift between the Thesis and the Antithesis. In examples where the Link is not obligatory a negative or a situational opposite must occur in either the Thesis or the Antithesis.

There is one example in which two contiguous Antithetical Sentences occur with portmanteau exponence of Antithesis of the first sentence and Thesis of the second sentence.

Thesis: bom bulusi da nu ya ara-n-en
 bomb bullet a we neg hurt-us-3p/p

Antithesis-Thesis: Parallel S.

Ausiralia	Amerika	mugenat	bom
Australia	America	only	bomb
bulusi	ar-iwanumun	/	gur-iwanumun
bullet	hurt-3p/p/cont	/	kill-3p/p/cont

Antithesis: nu anega wanin an-it et
 we thus stay go-lp/d dr

'The bombs and bullets did not hurt us, (but) the bombs and bullets were hurting and killing only the Australians and the Americans, (but) we kept on remaining like this.'

Examples encoding the deep structure $P(a) \wedge P''(b)$

Thesis: Coordinate S.

da	endi	tayav-it	/	onan-ton
one	today	try-lp/d	/	come-lp/p

Antithesis: da itapa wand-ia
 one there stay-3s/pr

'We did one today and returned (home) (but) one remains (to be done) there.'

Thesis: pa pa ayop warup-en
 house house leader lead-3s/p

Link: ae
but

Antithesis: mek pa mega amunua gapan
himself house his warmth at
wande ae-p
stay go-3s/imp

'The leader led (them) from various villages, but he himself should go and stay at his house (where it is) warm - (the place where he is comfortable).'

(All the references in this sentence are to third person singular but mean third person plural.)

Thesis: egaga wand-en
garden stay-3s/p

Antithesis: Sequence S.

nu Daio dere kanu tu-ton-i //
we Daio two sweet/potato dig-lp/p-m //

boge Daio ik en-e
immediately Daio net/bag put/into-3s/p/ss

'She stayed in the garden, (but) Daio and I dug sweet potato, then immediately Daio put (it) into the net bag and ...'

Thesis: Coordinate S.

man am-on / aruga tam-an-e
animal go-3p/p / many get-3p/p-m

Link: go
but

Antithesis: nao negenat ver-an
garden only plant-ls/p

'They went hunting and got a lot (of animals), but only I planted the garden.'

Thesis: yaogi wanin-it eton
still stay-lp/d dr

Antithesis: orup oaen tanamoni namu
child woman with/whom/he/went first
onam amun
come 3p/pr/cont

'We were still staying (at the river), (but) the girls with whom he went were coming (home) ahead (of us).'

The following examples encode Contrast of $\bar{P}(a) \wedge [P(b) \nabla Q(b)]$

Thesis: oaenapan ya yawa-mo-n-e
people neg see-them-3p/p-m

Link: go
but

Antithesis: ouga nukap in-iamun
back/of/house without/fire sleep-3p/pr

'The people didn't see them, but they were just sleeping in back of the house without a fire.'

Thesis: bom bulusi da nu ya ara-n-en
bomb bullet a we neg hurt-us-3p/p

Antithesis: Parallel S.

Ausiralia	Amerika	mugenat	bom	bulusi
Australia	America	only	bomb	bullet
ar-iwanumun	/	gur-iwanumun		
hurt-3p/p/cont	/	kill-3p/p/cont		

'The bombs and bullets did not hurt us, (but) the bombs and bullets were hurting and killing only the Australians and the Americans.'

Contrast of $P(a) \wedge \bar{P}(b)$ is shown in these examples.

Thesis: ma ewakewa nagire megenat amo-anum
here new people only go-3p/pr/cont

Antithesis: namua da uon
former a neg

'Only the new people are going here, (but) the former (people) (are) not (going).'

Thesis: ik enenia aritawa ta-n-i-a
net/bag that/he/put/into big do-3s/p-m-sc

Link: go
but

Antithesis: pun ae me ya war-en-i-a
 shell down he neg get-3s/p-m-sc

'He used the big net bag into which he put (things), but he didn't get the shell.'

(This example is not well formed in that the two verbs are not identical in form but are similar in meaning.)

There is one example encoding the deep structure $\bar{P}(U-a) \wedge Pa \wedge$
 $(a \in U)$.

Thesis: taba ya nat-on
 food neg eat-lp/p

Antithesis: mondiga tuan goanewa ge tuan
 purposeless pig liver/his and pig
 otua na inat-on
 child/his eat sleep-lp/p

'We didn't eat (any) food, (except) we just ate a pig's liver and a little pig and slept.'

(The two contrasts between Thesis and Antithesis needed to indicate an Antithetical Sentence are weak in this example.)

There is one encoding of the deep structure - $P(a) \wedge P(U-a) \wedge$
 $(a \in U)$.

Thesis: ne gutut nega negenat uon
 I story my only neg

Link: go
 but

Antithesis: nega oaenapan iravi
 my people all

'It is not only my story, but (it is) mine and all the people's.'

The final example of Contrast encodes the deep structure -
 $\bar{P}a \wedge Pa$.

Thesis: ugin union ya tau-inia
 rain haphazard neg arrive-3s/hab

Link: go
but

Antithesis: oam ta-in
sun do-3s/d

‘(There is) no usual rain, but (there is) drought.’

Paraphrase by negated antonym is also encoded in the Antithetical Sentence. In the following examples the negated antonym occurs in the first base - P" a ^ Pa

Thesis: Contrafactual S.

aumam pua ya wa-po
song/type bush neg say-CF

Link: go
but

Antithesis: aumam aroga wawadiawa
song open telling

‘(Were he to sing) the Aumam, he wouldn’t sing it poorly, but (he would) be telling it well.’

Thesis: ne baware uon
I big neg

Antithesis: ne otukoerage
I little

‘I (was) not big, (but) I was little.’

Thesis: boge kaimewa uon
shell bone/his neg

Link: go
but

Antithesis: Sequence S.

mu bawam ta-pi-wa // ao yon
they without do-3p/m-sc // up stand
wanumo amo-pi //
stay go-3p/m //

‘(There are) no shells and so they don’t have (any) then they rise up and go ...’

Thesis: vek da uon
 pain a neg

Antithesis: umap di wanik angin
 o.k. em stay ls/pr

'(I am) not sick, (but) I am definitely o.k.'

Thesis: nop nega arita uon
 word my big neg

Antithesis: otu mame
 little this

'My word (is) not long, (but) it (is) little.'

Thesis: ya wand-eta
 neg stay-3s/f

Antithesis: ae di bo-eta
 comp em die-3s/f

'He will not live, (but) he will definitely die.'

Thesis: nao otu da baware uon
 work little a big neg

Link: go
 but

Antithesis: piup koni otu da dere
 ground edge little a two

'(There is) a little work, not much but (there are) a little, a few little edges of ground (to be moved).'

There is one example in which the negated antonym was in the Antithesis - Pa \wedge \bar{P} "a

Thesis: Sequence S.

 nop ma wa-pena // anu
 word here say-ls/m // hear-2s/imp

Antithesis: ae ya ve-a
 stop neg stop-2s/imp

'When I speak this word, listen; don't stop (listening).'

Expectancy Reversal $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q$, is usually encoded as an Antithetical Sentence. It is also encoded once as a Close Sequence Sentence, once as a Sequence Sentence, and twice as a Coordinate Sentence.

Thesis: mu goaniwa di
they younger/sibling/his em

Link: go
but

Antithesis: sia ae embor-an
again comp surround-3p/p

'They (were) definitely his younger siblings, but they surrounded him again (to work sorcery).'

Thesis: Same Subject Coordinate S.

yop ta / yas-in en
search do-3s/p/ss / see-3s/d dr

Antithesis: uon
neg

'He searched and looked for a long time, (but there was) nothing.'

Thesis: Coordinate S.

nagut Tarapen warup-en / mu-n-en
taro Tarapen pull-3s/p / them-give-3s/p
/ na-n-e
/ eat-3p/p-m

Link: go
but

Antithesis: bagu sisi ya anu-n
pity neg know-3p/p

'He pulled (up) Tarapen taro, gave (it) to them, and they ate it but did not pity (him).'

Thesis: dup a-en
wash go-3s/p

Link: go
but

Antithesis: ya i kakayas-en
neg wash good-3s/p

'He went to wash, but he did not wash properly.'

Thesis: Eoabongage tau-iam
Eoabongage arrive-3p/pr

Antithesis: man da uon
animal a neg

'They arrive at Eoabongage, (but) (there are) no animals.'

In one example the deep structure is: $(Q \supset P) \wedge P \wedge Q_{\beta}$

Thesis: Summary S.

mum tapaet di / woup tapaet di
night fear/only em dawn fear/only em
/ anega ta-inton
thus do-lp/p/cont

Antithesis: bom bulusi da nu ya ara-n-en
bomb bullet a we neg hurt-us-3p/p

'At night (we were) definitely full of fear, (and) at dawn (we were) definitely full of fear, so we were existing, (but) the bombs and bullets didn't hurt us.'

Frustrated Intent $(i-Pa \supset Pa) \wedge i-Pa \wedge R$ is encoded as an Antithetical Sentence.

Thesis: Oavin man wa-n (Indirect quote clause)
Oavin animal say-3s/p

Antithesis: ne wanik pa nega tu-ingin
I stay house my build-ls/p/cont

(Merged Sentence)

'Oavin said that (he wanted) animals, (but) I was staying (in the village) and building my house.'

Thesis: use ang-ewan
there go-ls/pr/cont

Link: go
but

Antithesis: endi orup munan anu-n
now child for/them think-1s/p

'I was going there, but then I remembered the children.'

Thesis: ne endi dor-apena
I now climb-1s/m

Link: go
but

Antithesis: endi tap a-eta
now fear go-3s/f

'I will climb (the tree) now, but he will flee.'

6.3.6. Two obligatory slots, Action and Final Action, make up the Same Subject Coordinate Sentence. Additional Chronological Actions up to six are permitted between the obligatory tagmemes. The subject is the same throughout the sentence. Only past tense is permitted.

Same Subject Coordinate Sentence

	+ ACTION	± (Chronological Action) n=1-6	+ FINAL ACTION
	Final Clause past-ss	Final Clause past-ss	Final Clause past Medial Clause past Summary S. Identical Predicate S.
Succession	Pa ^ Pa ^ Pa ^	Qa . . . ^ Qa . . . ^	Qa Na Na

Special Features:

- (a) Only past tense is permitted in this sentence type. In the Final Action it occurs as durative, simple past, past continuous, or medial past.
- (c) Any base is optionally negated.
- (d) Up to six additional bases have been observed in text material, but more data should increase this number.
- (e) The subject must be the same throughout the construction. If a free subject is used, it will occur in the clause filling the Action slot. The following clauses will not have a free subject. Only third person singular and first person plural subjects are permitted. The same subject is signalled by omission of the final n in third person and the final on in first person. Thus dor-en becomes dor-e, dor-aton becomes dor-at.

Since the actions are always chronological, Longacre chooses to rename this construction 'Same Subject Sequence Sentence'. However, the verb morphology is that of the final verb. Therefore, in form this construction resembles the Coordinate Sentence more than the Sequence Sentence which has medial verbs in all but the last base. So I am retaining the name 'Same Subject Coordinate Sentence.'

Examples encoding Succession of two punctiliar events - Pa \wedge Qa

Action: namu wao ao yon wand-e
 first crow up stand stay-3s/p/ss

Final Action: sinasin ben wat wa-n-en
 cockatoo decoration get him-give-3s/p

'First the crow stood up and decorated the cockatoo.'

Action: Etasin ma ve
 Etasin here leave-3s/p/ss

Final Action: Kuk use ae-n
 Kuk there go-3s/p

'He avoided the Etasin River this (way) and went up that (way) on the Kuk.'

Action: onan-et
 come-lp/p/ss

Final Action: ma tau-at
 here arrive-lp/p/ss

'We came and arrived here.'

Action: yaw-at
 see-lp/p

Final Action: ae ve-aton
 leave-lp/p

'We say (it) and left.'

Action: ae na-t
 comp eat-lp/p/ss

Final Action: an-eton-i
 go-lp/p-m

'We finished eating and went ...'

(This example is embedded in a Sequence S.)

Action: Bibitan neigine ase ae ve-at
 Bibitan path there leave-lp/p/ss

Final Action: Identical Predicate S.

tau-at	/	isi	Kuan	neigine
arrive-lp/p/ss	/	there	Kuan	path
tau-aton-i				
arrive-lp/p-m				

'We left the Bibitan path there and arrived; we arrived at the Kuan path there ...'

Action: utu tau-at
 there arrive-lp/p/ss

Final Action: pe ta-ton
 drying/rack do-lp/p

'We arrived there and made a drying rack.'

Action: vis-e
descend-3s/p/ss

Final Action: tap anu-n
fear know-3s/p

'He descended and was afraid.'

Action: tuan aopa Orogum yav-e
pig up Orogum see-3s/p/ss

Final Action: wa-n
say-3s/p

'Orogum saw a pig up there and told (the people).'

Encoding events in more than two bases occurring in succession
Pa[.] ^ Qa[.] ... ^ Na[.]

Action: a-e
go-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: dor-e
climb-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: karaua bar-e
hidden put-3s/p/ss

Final Action: a-en-i
go-3s/p-m

'He went, climbed (up), hid (it), and went ...'

Action: Identical Predicate S.

dor-e / awana aupa dor-e
climb-3s/p/ss / plain high climb-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: ogi boa na
banana ripe eat-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: dor-e
climb-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: yatup oma no todum-e
yatup tree mouth smash-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: ae kapes-e
down clasp-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: gorogot moiep daiton wat
 skirt strip one get

tomag-e
 tear-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: ae kapes-e
 comp clasp-3s/p/ss

Final Action: kototot (Ellipsis of verb)
 on/and/on

'She climbed; she climbed up to the plateau, ate a ripe banana and climbed (again); she smashed the top of the yatup tree and made a clasp; she tore one strip from (her) skirt and clasped it (in the yatup tree clasp she made), and (she climbed) on and on.'

Action: ase Tunuina on-e
 there Tunuina come-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: dotou-e
 ascend-3s/p/ss

Final Action: Idop gear-en
 Idop fall-3s/p

'He came there to Tunuina, ascended, and fell down at Idop.'

Action: utu oaen topen menan kereba war-e
 there woman hit for knife get-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: tau a-e
 arrive go-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: noa bor-e
 mouth close-3s/p/ss

Final Action: topen ta-n
 hit do-3s/p

'He got his knife in order to hit the woman there, came by, covered the edge, and was about to hit (her).'

Action: anega an-et
 thus go-lp/p/ss

Chronological Action: isi goe da gean-et
 there water a cross-lp/p/ss

Final Action: etoet an-eton-i
edge go-lp/p-m

'We went like this and crossed a river there and went (along) the bank ...'

Action: dor-e
climb-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: Umitan ase ma war-e
Umitan there here get-3s/p/ss

Final Action: sia on-en-i
again come-3s/p-m

'He climbed, got Umitan there, and came here again ...'

Action: Daio ik en-e
Daio net/bag put/into-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: oma gedo ta
wood bundle do-3s/p/ss

Final Action: iap war-en
head get-3s/p

'Daio filled the net bag, made a bundle of sticks, and put it on her head.'

In some examples punctiliar events are followed by a span event
Pa \wedge Qa ... \wedge Na

Action: ae ve
leave 3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: dor-e
climb-3s/p/ss

Final Action: in-iwandin
sleep-3s/p/cont

'He left, entered (the house), and was sleeping.'

Action: patukare gur-e
pole cut-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: up-e
pull-3s/p/ss

Final Action: vis-iwandin
descend-3s/p/cont

'He cut and pulled the poles and was descending (the mountain).'

Action: yav-e
see-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: ae ve
leave-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: sia on-e
again come-3s/p/ss

Final Action: uta tau wand-in
there arrive stay-3s/d

'He looked, left, came again, and arrived there and stayed for a long time.'

Action: ganip war-e
coconut get-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: ganip getav-e
coconut skin-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: tut ae topamag-e
hit comp smash/open-3s/p/ss

Final Action: taba tunu-in
food cook-3s/d

'He got and skinned the coconut, finished opening (it), and cooked and cooked the food.'

Action: Businia ao yon wand-e
Businia up stand stay-3s/p/ss

Chronological Action: goaniwa war-e
younger/sibling/her get-3s/p/ss

Final Action: Summary S.

ae	iga	wat	en-en	/	nip
down	net/bag	get	put/into-3s/p	/	stool
ut	wat	an-en	/	anega	
urine	get	put/on-3s/p	/	thus	
ta-iwandin					
do-3s/p/cont					

'Businia rose up, took her younger sibling and put (him) into the net bag, (cleaned up) the excreta he put on (her), and thus she was doing (these things).'

6.3.7. Two obligatory Bases juxtaposed comprise the Identical Predicate Sentence. Three additional optional Bases have been observed in the data. All Bases must contain the same verb stem. Usually the inflection of the verb also is identical, but in a few examples different inflection occurs on the identical stem. Coupling and paraphrase are achieved in this surface structure by alternating the terms.

It should be noted that Robert Longacre suggests that the 'Identical Predicate Sentence' be called the 'Parallel Sentence' and in turn renames the 'Parallel Sentence' as the 'Paraphrase Sentence.' I have chosen to reserve the Paraphrase nomenclature for the deep structure. 'Identical Predicate Sentence' was chosen because the name reflects the restriction placed on the verb stems.

Identical Predicate Sentence

	+ BASE ₁	+ BASE ₂	± Base ₃ ⁿ⁼¹⁻³
	Final Clause Medial Clause Equational Clause Merged S. Alternative S. Coordinate S. Same Subject Coordinate S.	Final Clause Medial Clause Equational Clause Merged S. Alternative S. Antithetical S. Same Subject Coordinate S.	Final Clause Alternative S.
Coupling	P(a) ^ P(a) ^ Pax ^	P(b) P(b) ... ^ Pay	P(n)
Paraphrase	gP ^ sPa ^ Pa ^ Pa ^	sP gPa Pax Pab	

Special Features:

- (a) Although not all the possible verbal inflections have been observed in this sentence, it is expected that more data would show that any verbal inflection is possible.
- (c) By elicitation, any or all Bases were negated.
- (d) Two Bases are obligatory, but a total of five Bases has been found and it is expected that this number will be increased.

Coupling $P(a) \wedge P(b)$ is encoded in these examples.

Base₁: ne dawan ang-en
I hunting go-1s/p

Base₂: mu nainaet am-on
they path go-3p/p

'I went hunting, and they went along the path.'

Base₁: sinao war-an
drum get-3p/p

Base₂: pum war-an
shell get-3p/p

'They got the drum and the shell.'

Base₁: Same Subject Coordinate S.

orin ae ta / iga wat
package comp do-3s/p/ss / net/bag get
en wa-n-en
put/in her-give-3s/p

Base₂: Same Subject Coordinate S.

siuran war-e / to kais-e /
salt get-3s/p/ss / hit cut-3s/p/ss /
oaenewa wat en wa-n-en
wife/his get put/in her-give-3s/p

'He finished making the package, got the net bag, put (it) into the bag, and gave (it) to her; and he got and cut the salt, put it (into the net bag), and gave it to his wife.'

Base₁: nu uruga oaenan den
we all wife/our with

Base₂: nu uruga otun den
we all child/our with

'We all have wives, and we all have children.'

Base₁: tase goani ya yaw-an
sibling/his neg see-3p/p

Base₂: otu tasine ya yaw-an
children/his neg see-3p/p

'His siblings didn't see (him), (and) his children didn't see (him).'

Base₁: oaen da map wand-ini-a
woman a here stay-hab-sc

Base₂: apan da map wand-ini-a
man a here stay-hab-sc

'(There are) some women who always stay here and some men who always stay here.'

Base₁: Waia yan-en
Waia born-3s/p

Base₂: Wodu yan-en
Wodu born-3s/p

'Waia was born, and Wodu was born.'

Periphery Conjunction: endi menan
now therefore

Base₁: imana oaen pa wan-iana-wa
tomorrow woman house stay-2p/hab-sc

Base₂: apan pa wan-iana-wa
man house stay-2p/hab-sc

'Now therefore tomorrow you women who stay in the village and you men who stay in the village (go to Agaun).'

Up to five Bases encode the deep structure formula -
 $P(a) \wedge P(b) \dots \wedge P(n)$.

Base₁: upi Kakaia gapan wanum amun
 others Kakaia at stay 3p/pr/cont

Base₂: upi Komania gapan wanum amun
 others Komania at stay 3p/pr/cont

Base_n: upi Dogon gam wanum amun
 others Dogon at stay 3p/pr/cont

'Some live at Kakaia, others live at Komania, and others live at Dogon.'

Base₁: Alternative S.

tuan na-itam-en / wand-iwan
 pig eat-comp-3s/p / stay-3s/pr/cont

Base₂: Alternative S.

tave bo-iwan / wand-iwan
 fruit ripe-3s/pr/cont / stay-3s/pr/cont

Base_n: Alternative S.

nonankae urase ta-iwan / wand-iwan
 mouse hole do-3s/pr/cont / stay-3s/pr/cont

'(We don't know if) the pigs ate (the food) all up or not, (if) the fruit is ripe or not, and (if) the mice are making holes (in the house) or not.'

Base₁: Waia ma Kakaia gam wand-ia
 Waia here Kakaia at stay-3s/pr

Base₂: Urimia wand-ia
 Urimia stay-3s/pr

Base₃: Gaunasin wand-ia
 Gaunasin stay-3s/pr

Base₄: Oko wand-ia
 Oko stay-3s/pr

Base₅: endi Damam wand-ia
 today Damam stay-3s/pr

'Waia lives here at Kakaia, Urimia lives (here), Gaunasin lives (here), Oko lives (here), and today Damam lives (here).'

Base₁: da nanip tau-n-i-a
 one hand tie-3s/p-m-sc

Base₂: da nanip tau-n-i-a
 one hand tie-3s/p-m-sc

Base₃: da airanip tau-n
 one ankle tie-3s/p

Base_n: da airanip tau-n
 one ankle tie-3s/p

'He tied one (shell) to each hand, and then he tied one to each ankle.'

Base₁: imana oaen da denanu ya wa-p
 tomorrow woman some rubbish neg say-3s/
 imp

Base₂: apan da dara ya wa-p
 man some work neg say-3s/imp

Base_n: denanu ya wa-p
 rubbish neg say-3s/imp

'Tomorrow, some woman shouldn't say (that she is going to clean up) the rubbish, some man shouldn't say (that he is going to do other) work, (and no one) should say (that they are going to clean up) the rubbish.'

The following examples encode Coupling - Pax \wedge Pay

Sentence Topic: oaenapan yauya siwaniana
 people name/your who/put/them

Base₁: uruga endi Agaun gapan
 all today Agaun at

Base₂: imana mayama uruga Agaun
 tomorrow day/after/tomorrow all Agaun
 gapan
 at

'Concerning the people who put their names (on the roll for work), all (should be) at Agaun today, tomorrow, and the next day.'

Base₁: mum tapaet di
 night fear/only em

Base₂: woup tapaet di
dawn fear/only em

‘(We were) terrified at night and at dawn.’

Base₁: isi ae yav-in
there down see-3s/d

Base₂: dagup da yav-in
cave a see-3s/d

‘He looked down there for a long time; he looked at a cave for a long time.’

Paraphrase is also encoded as an Identical Predicate Sentence. The first group of examples demonstrates Paraphrase in which the first Base contains a generic term and the second Base contains a specific term - $gP \wedge sP$. The generic term in the English free translation will have a single underline. The specific term will have a double underline.

Base₁: Yaiton barip napen ta-iwanum
Yaiton feast eat do-3p/pr/cont

Base₂: Antithetical S.

barip neine orup da de yampo ya
feast when/they/eat person a/few neg
ta-in-e-a oaenapan uruga barip napan
do-3p/f-m-sc people all feast eat
ta-in-e-a
do-3p/f-m-sc

‘Yaiton (people) are about to make a feast; when they have the feast a few people will not hold (it), (but) all the people will be making the feast.’

Base₁: me bogasi ambagan yon wand-e
he immediately then stand stay-3s/p/ss

Base₂: apane ameme Donum yon wand-e
man that Donum stand stay-3s/p/ss

‘Then he immediately rose up; that man Donum rose up ...’

Base₁: Coordinate S.

ta-iwandin en / uon tan
do-3s/d/cont dr / finished

Base₂: man uon tan
animal finished

'He did (it) for a long time, and it finished; the animals finished.'

Base₁: utu tau-ia
there arrive-3s/pr

Base₂: Orogum utu tau-ia
Orogum there arrive-3s/pr

'He arrives there; Orogum arrives there.'

Base₁: on-iwandin
come-3s/p/cont

Base₂: meaget on-iwandin
only come-3s/p/cont

'He was coming; only he was coming.'

Base₁: ap anega ta-iwani-ampena
so thus do-2p/cont-cond

Base₂: semu ta-iwani-apina
piece do-3s/cont-cond (here 3s is the polite way
to get across the point to
2p)

'If you keep on doing like this, if you keep on doing (just) a piece ...'

There is one example in which the first base encodes a specific term and the second base encodes a generic term - sP^Λ gP.

Base₁: dayup ta-ton-i-wa
clear do-lp/p-m-sc

Base₂: nao aome ta-ton
work up do-lp/p

'We cleared (a garden); we worked up there.'

There are two examples which have to do with a location -
Pa \wedge Pax

Base₁: tau-aton
arrive-lp/p

Base₂: pa tau-aton
house arrive-lp/p

'We arrived; we arrived at the house.'

Base₁: dayup ketnag-en
clear cut-3p/p

Base₂: arat ame ketnag-in en-i-wa
place that cut-3p/d dr-m-sc

'They cut (a new garden); they cut and cut at that place ...'

One example encodes as Amplification - Pa \wedge Pab

Base₁: war-ianit
get-lp/pr

Base₂: ame war-aton
that get-lp/p

'We get; we got that.'

6.3.8. The Parallel Sentence consists of two obligatory Bases optionally followed by a third Base. Each Base in the Parallel Sentence must have the same inflection on its predicate. The verb stems are different but are always synonyms or situational equivalents. Grammatically, the structure of the Bases of this sentence is parallel. This parallelism will be illustrated in the examples by a single line joining the parallel tagmemes. A double line joins the synonymous predicates.

The Parallel Sentence

	+ BASE ₁	+ BASE ₂	± Base ₃
	Final Clause Medial Clause Coordinate S.	Final Clause Medial Clause Coordinate S.	Final Clause
Equivalence	$P_a \wedge$	$P'a$	

Special Features:

- (a) Tenses must agree throughout the sentence Bases. Past, present, continuous, imperative and future have been observed on the final verbs, but this limitation is probably caused by the small sample.
- (c) Both Bases optionally are negated. Since this sentence type requires that all modifications to the predicate be consistent throughout the Bases, all predicates must be negated if one is negated.
- (d) There are two obligatory Bases and one optional additional Base. It is expected that further data would show additional optional Bases are possible, but this would be limited by the number of synonyms available.

The Parallel Sentence is suspect of being a subtype of either the Identical Predicate Sentence or the Coordinate Sentence.

The Parallel Sentence contrasts with the Identical Predicate Sentence in the following ways:

(1) Only a clause or Coordinate Sentence expounds tagmemes of the Parallel Sentence. The range of fillers of the Identical Predicate Sentence is broader. Possibly, this particular difference is conditioned by the limited sample.

(2) In the data to date the Parallel Sentence has only one additional optional Base, while the Identical Predicate Sentence has three. The Parallel Sentence expansion possibilities are limited to the number of synonyms of the predicate available, while the Identical Predicate Sentence is not so limited.

(3) The Parallel Sentence always encodes $P \wedge P'$. The Identical Predicate Sentence encodes $P \wedge P$.

(4) The tense in the Parallel Sentence must be the same, but different tenses are possible in the Identical Predicate Sentence.

The Parallel Sentence contrasts with the Coordinate Sentence in the following ways:

(1) Medial and final verbs occur in the Parallel Sentence, but only final verbs occur in the Coordinate Sentence.

(2) The Parallel Sentence has one additional optional Base, while the Coordinate Sentence is more open-ended.

(3) The Parallel Sentence encodes only paraphrase of the Equivalence variety - $P \wedge P'$. The Coordinate Sentence encodes Conjoining and Temporal deep structures.

(4) Parallelism of the tagmemes of the clause expounding the tagmemes of the Parallel Sentence is common. Such parallelism in the Coordinate Sentence is not common.

Base₁: Coordinate S.

orup da ag-ean / itana kopi
fellow a go-2s/p / down/there coffee

kopi din wa-an ta-ingi
coffee what say-2s/p do-2s/pr/cont

Base₂: Coordinate S.

ag-ean // atana ugup
go-2s/p // over/there different

amba gan din iv-ingi
where what do-2s/pr/cont

'You fellow, you went down there and are doing the coffee which you said (you would do); you went over there and are doing various things at various places.'

Base₁: at Bibitan gapan venas-en
place Bibitan at appear-3p/p

Base₂: Bibitan gam geam-on
 Bibitan at fall/down-3p/p

'They appeared at Bibitan; they fell down at Bibitan.'

Base₁: kai war-an-a-wa
 grow get-1s/p-m-sc
 Base₂: baware ta-n-a-wa
 big do-1s/p-m-sc
 'I grew up; I got big ...'

Base₁: ao maeta di vit onak
 up here em descend /come-2s/imp
 Base₂: piup tau
 ground arrive-2s/imp
 'Descend from up there to here; come to the ground.'

Base₁: ya wa-ne
 neg say-2p/imp
 Base₂: ya dia-ne
 neg declare-2p/imp
 'Don't say (it); don't declare (it).'

Base₁: garia ya yavep
 don't/be/disgusted
 Base₂: tanda ya anu-ne
 refuse neg know-2p/imp
 'Don't be disgusted; don't refuse (to do it).'

Base₁: Coordinate S.
 (iravi nop ameme) (indicates a correction)
 all word that
 iravi darine pait-an / en-an
 all ear break-2p/imp / put-2p/imp
 Base₂: iravi an-un
 all hear-2p/imp
 'All of you open your ears; all of you listen.'

Base₁: man dawan ta-iwan
 animal hunting do-3s/pr/cont
 Base₂: man gur-iwan
 animal kill-3s/pr/cont

'He is hunting; he is killing animals.'

Base₁: kaum wakorai ta-iwan
 water fishing do-3s/pr/cont
 Base₂: uram gur-iwan
 eel kill-3s/pr/cont

'He is fishing in the river; he is killing eels.'

Base₁: aumam wapen ta-po
 song/type speak do-CF
 Base₂: aumam di wa-po
 song/type em say-CF

'He would have been ready to sing the Aumam; he would definitely have sung the Aumam, (but he isn't here).'

Base₁: oaenewa anega wa-n-i
 wife/his thus say-3s/p-m
 Base₂: oaenewa anega di-en-i
 wife/his thus declare-3s/p-m

'His wife said thus; his wife declared thus.'

6.3.9. Three obligatory tagmemes, the Statement and Comparison joined by the Link, comprise the Comparison Sentence.

Comparison Sentence

	+ STATEMENT	+ LINK	+ COMPARISON
	Equational Cl Final Cl Coordinate S. Sequence S.	mini 'like' ap mini ap umap 'so like'	Equational Cl Final Cl Coordinate S. Sequence S.
Comparison	P	^	P

Special Features:

(a) Past and future tenses have been observed in the Statement

and Comparison. In addition, imperative occurred in the Comparison in almost half the examples.

- (c) The Comparison optionally is negated. The negative was elicited in the Statement.
- (d) Only one example used *ap umap* as the Link.
- (e) Although the list of fillers of the Statement and Comparison tagmemes are the same, any filler of the Statement co-occurs with any filler of the Comparison. In one example the Predicate of the Statement was deleted.
- (j) Final intonation occurred on the Statement in one third of the examples.

Statement: Taki taini
Taki that/which/he/does

Link: mini
like

Comparison: nao munepia ta-in
work which/he/gives/them do-3p/f

'In the same way that Taki does that which he does, they will do the work which he will give them.'

Statement: Sequence S.
anet-on-i // bogani utu kaum
go-lp/p-m // immediately there water
ma Ruaba Atakuare tau-at
here Ruaba Atakuare arrive-lp/p/ss

Link: ap mini
so like

Comparison: Coordinate S.
sia kaum gean-eton / wakauam
again water cross-lp/p / swallow
niman-en
us-lp/p

'We went, then immediately we arrived there at the Ruaba and Atakuare Rivers; likewise we again crossed the river, (and) the water covered us.'

Statement: nop uniunion nuk watoni
 word haphazard ourselves which/we/said

Link: mini miniwa
 like like

Comparison: waitoni gear-iwandata
 which/we/say fall-3s/f/cont

'What we're recording now (is) haphazard, just like the word which we said.'

Statement: nop gat waiwaniana
 word just which/you/said

Link: ap mini mini di
 so like like em

Comparison: wa-iwanian
 say-lp/cont/imp

'Just exactly like the words you just said, speak.'

Statement: Sequence S.

ne Nanabun kiki wat-apena-wa //
 I Nanabun story open-ls/m-sc //

negenat di wa-in
 I/only em say-ls/f

Link: miniwa
 like

Comparison: ge kiki gega gase oneni
 you story your already which/came

ame nainewa gapan anu
 that path on think-2s/imp

'When I start the Nanabun story, definitely only I will tell (it); likewise you think on the path about your story which you already know.'

Statement: manap aopa tana yaw-aan
 before up which/I/did see-2s/p

Link: ap umap
 so like

Comparison: ta onak
do come-2s/imp

'Bring (it) like you saw me do up there before.'

Statement: ne gare Omabu mega yawa-mo-in
I exchange Omabu his see-them-1s/f

Link: ap mini
so like

Comparison: Sequence S.

yaw-ae wa-pi-wa // nao ta-n
see-you say-3s/m-sc // work do-2p/imp

'In exchange, I will be overseeing Omabu's (workers); likewise when he sees you and speaks, you work.'

Statement: (ellipsis of Predicate)

oaenapan anut evene inap
people thought friend towards

Link: ap mini
so like

Comparison: ya anuinewa
neg that/which/they/will/think

'They will not think like people (who have hard) thoughts towards their friends.'

6.3.10. The Alternative Sentence consists of an obligatory Statement and Alternative₁ preceded and connected by an optional Pivot and followed by an optional Pivot slot and/or an Alternative₂. Occasionally there is a Pivot after the second or third Alternative. There must be one contrast either in the Predicate or the terms of the exponents of the Alternatives. The fillers of all bases usually are of one type (i. e., Sequence S. with Sequence S., Medial Clause with Medial Clause).

The Alternative Sentence

± Pivot	+ STATEMENT	± Pivot	+ ALTERN- ATIVE ₁	± (+Pivot 'or')	± Altern- ative ₂	± Pivot
go/o 'or'	Final Cl Medial Clause Sequence S.	go/o 'or'	Final Cl Medial Clause Sequence S.	go/o 'or'	Final Cl Sequence S.	go/o 'or'
Altern- ation with excluded middle	P	#	P"			
Altern- ation without excluded middle	P (a) Pa P (a) P	v v v v	P (b) [Pay#P'ay] P (b) Q	... v ... v	P (n) N	
Paraphrase	Pab	^	Pab'			

Special Features:

- (a) The Final Clause expounding the Alternative tagmeme is inflected for any tense, but the same tenses must be used throughout the sentence.
- (b) The Pivot is obligatory if Sequence Sentences fill the slots or if a Paraphrase is encoded as an alternative. It is more likely to occur if there are more than two bases, at which time it always occurs between all bases. The initial Pivot slot optionally but infrequently occurs only if both Alternatives are present. It is common to use the same Pivot through the sentence, but in one example the alternate forms go/o were mixed. When the Pivot does not occur, there must be obvious alternation in either the predicate or the terms. In such examples the Pivot was readily supplied by the informant.
- (c) The negative occurs in any or all bases.
- (d) Two tagmemes are obligatory. Further data may show that another Alternative is possible.
- (m) To date all Alternative Sentences have been observed in Hortatory and Expository Discourses.

The only three examples which encode Alternation with an excluded middle $P \nabla P$ occurred as exponents of the Bases of the Identical Predicate Sentence.

Statement: tuan na-itam-en
 pig eat-comp-3s/p

Alternative₁: wand-iwan
 stay-3s/pr/cont

‘(Either) the pig ate it all up or not.’

Statement: tave bo-iwan
 fruit ripe-3s/pr/cont

Alternative₁: wand-iwan
 stay-3s/pr/cont

‘(Either) the fruit is ripe or not.’

Statement: nonankae urase ta-iwan
 mouse hole do-3s/pr/cont

Alternative₁: wand-iwan
stay-3s/pr/cont

‘(Either) the mouse is making holes (in the house) or not.’

As Longacre suggests, the optional Pivot does not occur in the sentences which encode excluded middle.

Examples encoded as Alternation without excluded middle -
P(a) ∨ P(b)

Statement: oaen anu-pi-a
woman hear-3s/m-sc

Alternative₁: apan anu-pi
man hear-3s/m

‘When (either) the woman or when the man hears (the horn blow) ...’

Statement: ne dugup tupen ta-ivin
I house build do-ls/pr/cont

Alternative₁: ne kanu nae verapen ta-ivin
I sweet/potato sprouts plant do-ls/pr/
cont

‘I am about to build a house, or I am about to plant sweet potato sprouts.’

Statement: Sequence S.

nuga megenat anu-ta // utu
ours only think-lp/m // there

bariawa gam koerage
foreigner at bad

Pivot: o
or

Alternative₁: Sequence S.

bariawa megenat anu-ta // nuga
foreigner only think-lp/m // ours

gam koerage
at bad

‘When/if we think only of our (work), the foreigner’s (work

will) be ruined; or when/if we think only of the foreigner's (work), our work (will be) ruined.'

Statement: vek tapi megenat wand-ep
sick doer only stay-3s/imp

Pivot: go
or

Alternative₁: dim da tapi megenat wand-ep
something doer only stay-3s/imp

'Only the sick ones should stay. or only those doing something should stay.'

The Alternation optionally occurs in the location -
Pax √ [Pay ≠ P'ay]

Statement: naunewa pa da ugup isipa
brother/her house a different down/there
wand-ia
stay-3s/pr

Alternative₁: utupa wand-ia
up/there stay-3s/pr

'Her brother stays in a different house down there, or he stays (in a different house) up there.'

In this example both the Statement and the Alternative are negated.

Statement: itapa uon
down/there neg

Alternative₁: atapa uon
over/there neg

'(They are) neither down there nor over there (but are in the middle).'

Statement: Sequence S.

paosi tam watu en-a // Menapi
nails get send-2s/m // Menapi
gam tau-ep
at arrive-3s/imp

Pivot: go
or

Alternative₁: Sequence S.

misin	plen	gapan	bar-e	//
mission	plane	at	put-2s/m	//
on-ep				
come-3s/imp				

'When you send the nails, they should come to Menapi; or when you put (them) on the mission plane, they should come (here).'

Statement: da ogi bae pokari pane gapan
one banana leaf empty tied at
en-ain
put/into-3p/f

Alternative₁: da tin poke da gapan en-ain
one tin empty one at put/into-3p/f

'Some will put (the powder) into an empty banana leaf (which has been) tied, or some will put it into an empty tin can.'

More than one Alternative is possible. In the following examples the alternation occurs in the terms - P(a) ∨ P(b) ... ∨ P(n)

Statement: oaenapan da barip Yaiton gapan
people a feast Yaiton at
tugu-iam
cook-3p/pr

Alternative₁: You gapan tugu-iam
You at cook-3p/pr

Alternative₂: utu Gaonani Payawa gapan tugu-iamun
there Gaonani Payawa at cook-3p/pr

Alternative₃: aepa Uni Danawan gapan da ir-iamun
down Uni Danawan at a cook-3p/pr

'Some people are having a feast at Yaiton, (or) they're having a feast at You, (or) they're having a feast up at Gaonani and Payawa, (or) they're having a feast down at Uni and Danawan.'

Statement: eao ya yan-eta
dog neg born-3s/f

Alternative₁: tuan ya yan-eta
pig neg born-3s/f

Alternative₂: nagut pam ya yan-eta
taro yam neg born-3s/f

'The dogs will not be born, (or) the pigs will not be born, (or) the taro and yams will not sprout.'

Pivot: o
or

Statement: Sequence S.

konso tasi munan wa-pi-wa
council taxes for say-3p/m-sc
// tasi di tapen
taxes em do

Pivot: o
or

Alternative₁: Sequence S.

konso iup dim da wa-pi-wa
council law something say-3p/m-sc
// wawakoko ya tapen
mock neg do

Pivot: go
or

Alternative₂: Sequence S.

ameme wa-pi // di tapen
that say-3p/m // em do

'Or when the council sets the taxes, let's pay the taxes; or when the council makes some law, let's not mock (it); or when they say something let's do (it).'

Statement: Dumura ang-ain
Dumura go-ls/f

Pivot: o
or

Alternative₁: amba gan ea aepa kauma ang-ain
 where down down water go-ls/f

Pivot: o
 or

Alternative₂: kauma wakorae ang-ain
 water fishing go-ls/f

Pivot: o
 or

'I will go to Dumura, or I will go somewhere down at the water, or I will go fishing in the water, or (I will go somewhere else).'

Statement: kopi ver-iwan
 coffee plant-3s/pr/cont

Pivot: go
 or

Alternative₁: ewake rusina ver-iwan
 new cortiliria plant-3s/pr/cont

Pivot: go
 or

Alternative₂: dim ta-iwan
 something do-3s/pr/cont

'He is planting coffee, or he is planting new cortiliria (shade tree), or he is doing something (along those lines).'

In some cases the alternation occurs in the Predicate of the Statement and Alternatives - $P \vee Q \dots \vee N$

Conjunction: endi
 now

Statement: oaen da gambop oaen da war-iamun
 woman a young woman a get-3p/pr

Pivot: o
 or

Alternative₁: tuan da enune na-iamun
 pig a which/they/speared eat-3p/pr

Pivot: o
 or

'Now they take a young woman or a woman, or they eat a pig which they have speared, or (do something similar which leads to a fight).'

Statement: atamun bor-as-en
door close-stative-3s/p

Pivot: go
or

Alternative₁: wapagim umane
cloth with/which/to/cover

Pivot: go
or

'(They used the bags) to close the door or (as) cloth with which to cover (themselves) or (something similar).'

Statement: endi waana mame waiantoni
now what/you/said this what/we/say
umap
o.k.

Pivot: go
or

Alternative₁: gare utupa aritavet sia
exchange there biggest again
wa aget wani-agi
keep/on/talking stay-2s/pr

Pivot: go
or

Alternative₂: arita anupen anu-iagi
big hear know-2s/pr

Pivot: go
or

Alternative₃: ameme
that

'Now, was what we said to your remark enough, or will you stay and keep on talking more (about the matter), or do you wish to hear more, or (do you want to do) something like that?'

There is one example encoding Paraphrase of the Equivalence type, Pab Pab'

Statement: baiki daiton daiton tam ane-ton
 bag one one get go-lp/p

Pivot: go
 or

Alternative₁: semu semu tam ane-ton
 bit bit get go-lp/p

'We took a few bags, or we took a little bit.'

6.3.11. The Sequence Sentence has obligatory Action and Culmination tagmemes. Optionally up to five Sequence tagmemes occur between the Action and the Culmination. The Sequence Marker occurs optionally between any of the Bases. If the Sequence Marker does not occur, only medial verbs are permitted in the Action and Sequence tagmemes. Only final verbs occur in the Culmination. (See chart, pp. 236-237)

Special Features:

- (a) All verbs in the Action and Sequence tagmemes must be medial forms. Any final verb can occur in the Culmination.
- (c) The negative occurs in any of the bases.
- (d) The maximum number of clauses that has been observed to date in one Sequence Sentence is seven.

The optional Sequence Marker is used to clarify the meaning if the preceding tense signals a sentence type other than Sequence Sentence.

In order to give a more specific idea of the amount of time between the events involved, the appropriate Sequence Marker occurs:

boge 'then' implies a very short time lapse and could be translated 'immediately'

gatawan 'later, the same day'

amba/amba gan 'then', a moderate amount of time has passed

amba evi/evi amba 'then, later', a longer passage of time

evi 'later', the longest time lapse of any of these Sequence Markers.

The Sequence Marker in approximately 6 % of the examples studied is permuted from the usual clause-initial position to a position immediately following the first clause-level tagmeme or to a prepredicate position. The latter permutation is more common. In most cases the informant permitted the Sequence Marker to return to the clause-initial position with no apparent meaning change, but in a few cases the informant definitely wanted the Sequence Marker in the prepredicate position. Occasionally, two identical Sequence Markers occurred, one clause-initial and one prepredicate. Further investigation of this problem is needed.

The Sequence Markers also occur in the prenuclear sentence peripheral tagmeme. When boge 'immediately' occurs in this position, it links the previous sentence and the sentence with which it occurs into one paragraph. Amba and evi in this position indicate a new paragraph. Gatawan has not been observed in this position yet.

Change of subject usually is unambiguous because of the person suffixes on the verb. In the course of a Sequence Sentence in which more than one third person actor is involved, confusion as to actor is possible. There are two ways to indicate change of actor when the person markers on the medial verbs are identical, either a Sequence Marker must occur between the two medial clauses or the first medial verb must have the substantive clitic.

In the following example the Sequence Marker amba indicates that two different actors are involved:

mot	wa-pi	amba	yav-epi-a
powder	say-3s/m	then	see-3s/m-sc

'It will become powder then he will look (at it) ...'

In the following example of an Identical Predicate Sentence embedded in a Sequence Sentence, the change of actor is indicated by the presence and absence of the substantive clitic.

onam-on-e-wa	onam-on-e
come-3p/p-m-sc	come-3p/p-m

'They came, then they (another group) came ...'

Sequence Sentence	+ ACTION	±(+Sequence Marker	+ Sequence) ⁿ⁼¹⁻⁵	±Sequence Marker	+ CULMINATION
	<p>Medial Cl.</p> <p>Final Cl.</p> <p>Merged S.</p> <p>Coord S.</p> <p>Same Subject Coord S.</p> <p>Simultaneous S.</p> <p>Identical Predicate S.</p> <p>Conditional S.</p>	<p>boge (short)</p> <p>gatawan (same day)</p> <p>amba (medium)</p> <p>amba evi (longer)</p> <p>evi (longest)</p> <p>'then' with time lapse as indicated</p>	<p>Medial Clause</p> <p>Final Clause</p> <p>Merged S.</p> <p>Summary S.</p> <p>Same Subject Coordinate S.</p> <p>Alternative S.</p> <p>Simultaneous S.</p>	<p>boge</p> <p>gatawan</p> <p>amba</p> <p>amba evi</p> <p>evi</p>	<p>Final Clause</p> <p>Merged S.</p> <p>Coordinate S.</p> <p>Same Subject Coordinate S.</p> <p>Simultaneous S.</p> <p>Alternative S.</p> <p>Identical Pred S.</p> <p>Perception S.</p> <p>Result S.</p> <p>Close Sequence S.</p> <p>Contrary Result S.</p> <p>Summary S.</p>

Succession	P_a P_a \dot{P}_a \dot{P} \dot{P} P $[\dot{P} \neq P]$ \underline{P} \underline{P} P	\wedge \wedge \wedge \wedge \wedge \wedge \wedge \wedge \wedge \supset	Q_a ... \dot{Q} ... $[\dot{Q} \neq \dot{Q}]$...	\wedge \wedge \wedge	Q_a Q_b \dot{N}_a \dot{N} \dot{Q} \dot{Q} $[\dot{N} \neq \dot{N}]$ \underline{Q} $Q.$ Q
Overlap					
Hypothetical					
Efficient Cause	$P \wedge [P$ $P_a \wedge [P_a$	\supset \supset			$Q]$ (cf. Reason S.) $Q_b]$ (cf. Result S.)
Expectancy Reversal	$(P \supset Q) \wedge P$	\wedge			Q_s (cf. Antithetical S.)
Mistaken Impression	$tP \wedge Q.$	\wedge			Q_s

Cause-effect relationships are at times also encoded into a Sequence Sentence which may be transformed into a Result Sentence by changing the medial verb to a final form and optionally joining the two bases with *menan* 'therefore'.

mokare dere anan onam-on-e // mu tap
 snake two trouble come-3p/p-m // they fear
 am-on
 go-3p/p

'Two snakes came for trouble, then they fled.'

Transform: mokare dere anan onam-on menan
 snake two trouble come-3p/p therefore

mu tap am-on
 they fear go-3p/p

'Two snakes came (to make) trouble, therefore they fled.'

Conditionals relationships in which the second event is the inevitable outcome of the first event are always encoded as a Sequence Sentence.

tuan da war-ane // ar-ae-ta
 pig a get-2p/m // bite-you-3s/f

'When/if you grab a pig, he will bite you.'

Deletion (gapping) of the predicate is permitted following any medial verb which has a reciprocal partner (e. g., go-arrive). Such deletion occurs most frequently in the Culmination tagmeme but is permissible in the Sequence tagmeme.

Action: vis-iwandin en-i-a
 descend-3s/d/cont dr-m-sc

Culmination: mea
 water

'He was descending for a long time, then (he arrived) at the water.'

Action: ae-n-i
 go-3s/p-m

Sequence Marker: bogasi
 immediately

Sequence: aopa
up

Culmination: naua menan ewankui ta-ia
 brother/her for look/back do-3s/pr

'She went, then immediately (she arrived) up there, and she looked back for her brother.'

An idiomatic use of the Sequence Sentence carries the meaning of 'when I want to, I will'. Only the Action and Culmination tagmemes are permitted. The verb stem and person in both tagmemes is identical. The verb in the Action must be inflected with the nonpast medial person suffix. The verb in the Culmination must be inflected with the future tense. No other words are permitted between the Action and Culmination except the obligatory intensifier di.

Action: nao mega ta-ta di
 work his do-lp/m em

Culmination: ta-it
 do-lp/f

'When we (want to) do his work, we will do it.'

Action: pa isi ong-epeña di
 house there come-ls/m em

Culmination: ong-ain
 come-ls/f

'When I (want to) come to the house there, I will come.'

The following examples encode Succession - Pa ^ Qa

Action: Unumawa yon wand-en-i
 Unumawa stand stay-3s/p-m

Culmination: ne mamana bar-aen
 I father/my put-3s/p

'Unumawa grew up, (and) then he begat my father.'

Action: uman ae ve-n-a-wa
 cover stop-ls/p-m-sc

Sequence Marker: evi
later

Culmination: Coordinate S.

pakarin war-an / di ang-en
supplies get-lp/p / em go-ls/p

'I stopped thatching (the roof), then later I got the supplies and went.'

Action: on-en-i
come-3s/p-m

Sequence Marker: bogasi
immediately

Culmination: at Berit gapan wand-en
place Berit at stay-3s/p

'He came, then immediately he stayed at the place Berit.'

Action: Same Subject Coordinate S.

pan-at / tau ae set-on
tie-lp/p/ss / arrive down put-lp/p

Sequence Marker: boge,
immediately

Culmination: aoma umat-on uon tan
up thatch-lp/p finished

'We tied up (the roofing material) and brought it, then immediately we finished roofing (the house).'

Action: ve-an
leave-3p/p

Sequence Marker: permuted next to verb in Culmination

Culmination: pa amba am-on
house then go-3p/p

'They left and then went home.'

The following examples encode succession with different actors

- Pa ^ Qb

Action: kaewa wa-ini uon ta-ia
greeting say-3s/hab finish-3s/pr

Sequence Marker: evi
later

Culmination: sia anan uon
again war neg

'The peace-maker causes (the fighting) to finish, (and) later (there is) no more war.'

Action: tapunea bo-en
mother/in/law/his die-3s/p

Sequence Marker: boge
immediately

Culmination: Same Subject Coordinate S.

gear-e / aenagaet di a-en
fall-3s/p/ss / away em go-3s/p

'His mother-in-law died, (and) immediately he left (her house) and went away!'

Action: apan ar-epi-a
man hurt-3s/m-sc

(Successive suffix with substantive clitic indicates change of actor)

Culmination: Antithetical S.

ya wand-eta / ae di bo-eta
neg stay-3s/f / comp em die-3s/f

'He will hurt the man, (who) will then not live (but) will definitely die.'

Action: ne tau-an
I arrive-1s/p

Sequence Marker: amba gan
then

Culmination: Close Sequence S.

eao man kauari ar-en /
dog animal cuscus bite-3s/p /

wa-iwan
say-3s/pr/cont

'I arrived, then the dog bit the cuscus animal (and immediately) barked.'

Vocative: oaen aipanewa
woman good

Action: ae ag-e
down go-2s/m

Culmination: ne oaen koerage negenat ang-ep
I woman bad only go-1s/imp

'Good woman, you go down; then I, the bad woman, must go alone.'

More than two bases are joined in successive events in the following examples - Pa \wedge Qa ... \wedge Na. The actor is the same throughout the sentence:

Action: burao pokea enep uon ae ta-pi-wa
lime/pot empty fill finish comp-3p/m-sc

Sequence₁: ame nokomu ututu ae tobor-epi-wa
that lid lid comp close-3p/m-sc

Sequence Marker: ambagan evi
then later

Sequence₂: Merged S.

amo kerip gaium ai tau-epi
go betel/nut spice/pepper get arrive-3p/m

Sequence Marker: amba
then

'They finish completely filling the empty lime pot, then they completely close that (lime pot) with a lid, then later they go and bring betel nut and spice pepper, then (they eat the lime, betel nut and pepper).'

Action: nok ao dor-a-wa
hole up climb-2s/m-sc

Sequence₁: damak gatawan isip mawa wat dor-a
vine then down here get climb-2s/m

Sequence₂: ao oia onep dotou
up tree crotch arrive-2s/m

Sequence₃: ao ma vit onag-e
up here descend come-2s/m

Sequence Marker: amba
then

Sequence₄: maitun ame yao
possum that see-2s/imp

Sequence Marker: amba
then

Culmination: to
kill-2s/imp

'When you climb up to the hole, then get the vine and climb from down below to here, then arrive up on the crotch of the tree and descend from up there to here, then see that possum, then kill (it).'

Action: uon tapen menan amo-pi
finish for go-3p/m

Sequence Marker: boge
immediately

Sequence₁: Merged S.
tau wisirio upun-epi
arrive whistle blow-3p/m

Sequence Marker: boge
immediately

Sequence₂: atagin tu-pi
dust dig-3p/m

Sequence Marker: boge
immediately

Sequence₃: tonana yon-epi
door stand-3p/m

Sequence Marker: boge
immediately

Culmination: ae paunag-ain
down clap-3p/f

'In order to stop (the rain) they go, then immediately they

arrive and blow a whistle, then immediately they dig dust, then immediately they stand in the door, then immediately they clap (their hands together).'

Other examples of succession in which the actors differ in the various bases - $P \wedge Q \dots \wedge N$

Action: bor-en-i
close-3s/p-m

Sequence₁: ian ase dor-an
people there climb-3p/p

Sequence Marker: amba
then

Sequence₂: to-n
hit-3p/p

Sequence Marker: amba
then

Culmination: man muga wa-n
animal their say-3p/p

'He (the bird) finished building (his nest), then the people there climbed (up to the nest), then they killed (him), then they said (that) (he was) their animal.'

Action: mitonari eragi ep menan wa-n-e
missionary mat woven for say-3p/p-m

Sequence₁: Daio ge ne ge Orin anega onan-ton-i
Daio and I and Orin thus come-lp/p-m

Sequence Marker: boge
immediately

Culmination: ma pa tau-at
here house arrive-lp/p/ss

'The missionary asked for woven mats; then Daio, I, and Orin came, then immediately we arrived here in the village.'

Action: ia unug-epi
net enter-3s/m

Sequence₁: ame warup-e
that pull-2s/m

Culmination: ia den di wat onak
 net with em get come-2s/imp

'When (the bird) enters the net, pull it, then definitely bring the (bird) with the net.'

Action: woup sen sia onan-ton-i
 dawn again come-lp/p-m

Sequence Marker: bogasi
 immediately

Sequence₁: tuan warup wait-aton-i
 pig chase-lp/p-m

Sequence₂: ao Wao ideve tau-aton-i
 up Wao peak arrive-lp/p-m

Sequence Marker: bogasi
 immediately

Culmination: Close Sequence S.

Dauni de uat pan-aton / sia
 Dauni 2 net tie-lp/p / again
 wabutunag-ianit
 loses-lp/pr

'At dawn we came again, then immediately we chased a pig, then we arrived up at the peak of Wao, then immediately Dauni and I tied the net (and) immediately untied (it) again.'

Succession of events in which the event of the first base is continuous and the event of the second base is punctiliar is also encoded in the Sequence Sentence - $\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$

Action: burao manega na i-an-epi-a
 lime/pot like/this eat imprint-d-3p/m-sc

Culmination: da nanip wat amo-in
 a hand get go-3p/f

'They will eat and imprint (the lime licking stick) in the lime pot like this for a long time, then they will take one (lime-licking stick) in their hand and go.'

Action: anega yao nau dor-iwandin en-i
 like/this see lead climb-3s/p/d dr-m

Culmination: ao
up

'He was watching him climb like this for a long time, then (he arrived) up there.'

Action: Coordinate S.

tap	anega	ta-iwanumun	/	pu	pu
fear	thus	do-3p/p/cont	/	bush	bush
anega	in-iwanumun-e				
thus	live-3p/p/cont-m				

Culmination: auda tam-en
foreigner get-3s/p

'Thus they were afraid, (therefore) they were living in various places in the bush, then the foreigner got them.'

Action: pain ao dor-iin
high up climb-3s/d

Sequence Marker permuted into clause in Culmination

Culmination: yamaman boge pipa wand-en
cassowary immediately below stay-3s/p

'He climbed and climbed high up (in the tree), and immediately the cassowary stayed on (the ground) below.'

A punctiliar event is followed by a span event in the following example - $P \wedge Q$

Action: utap use ma tau-epi-wa
up/there from/up/there here arrive-3p/m-sc

Culmination: tap ewae ma onam anum-an
fear turn here come-3p/cont-plg

'When they come from up there to here, then they (some others) keep turning and fleeing from here.'

Examples of more than two Bases in which a span or punctiliar event optionally occurs in any base - $[\underline{P} \nexists P] \wedge [Q \nexists Q] \dots \wedge [N \nexists N]$

Action: dom gigit tamb-un-e
magic/leaves get-3p/p-m

Sequence₁: amo-n-e
go-3p/p-m

Sequence₂: goat ai-an-e
rock get-3p/p-m

Sequence₃: mea en-an-e
water put/into-3p/p-m

Sequence₄: oma bae aigap se-n-e
tree leaf on put-3p/p-m

Culmination: Coordinate S.

onam-oin e / ugin tau-ini-a
come-3p/d dr / rain arrive-3s/hab-sc

'They get magic leaves, then they went, then they got rocks, then they put (them) into the water, then they put leaves on top (of the rocks), then they came for a long way, and (there was) rain.'

Action: tuan anega en-in en-e
pig thus put/into-3p/d dr-m

Sequence₁: onan-ton-i
come-lp/p-m

Sequence Marker: boge
immediately

Culmination: ma Aigat in-aton
here Aigat sleep-lp/p

'Thus they put and put the pigs (into net bags), then we came (and) immediately slept here at Aigat.'

Action: oaenapan ae mu-n-en-i-wa
people comp them-give-3s/p-m-sc

Sequence₁: wanin-it et-oni
stay-lp/d dr-m

Sequence₂: onan-ton-i-wa
come-lp/p-m-sc

Culmination: inan ae bop ta-n
mother/my comp death do-3s/p

'He finished giving (the pigs) to the people, then we lived (there) for a long time, then we came, and then my mother died.'

Sequence Sentences also encode Overlap in which the continuous action of the second base occurs at the same time as the continuous action of the first base - P \wedge Q

Action: tuan oaenapan evi mu-n-an-epi
pig people later them-give-dr-3p/m

Culmination: ai amo-an
get go-3p/pr/cont

'Later they will be giving and giving the pigs to the people, (and) then the people will be taking (the pigs).'

Action: tuan gur-an-epi
pig kill-d-3p/m

Sequence Marker: amba
then

Culmination: endi orup ma mame ose mame wagu
now boy here male/clan/relative/his
amba wanum amun
then stay-3p/pr/cont

'While they are killing many pigs, the boy and his male clan relatives are sitting (there).'

Overlap in which the first event is continuous and the second event is punctiliar and occurs sometime during the first event is also encoded as a Sequence Sentence - P \wedge Q.

Action: Merged S.

man tam-e / tau-e / tunu-n-epi-a
animal get-mm / arrive-mm / cook-d-3p/m-
sc

Culmination: Identical Predicate S.

naunewa pa da ugup isipa
brother/her house a different down/
there
wand-ia / utupa wand-ia
stay-3s/pr / up/there stay-3s/pr

'While they get, bring, and cook the animals, her brother stays in a different house, either down there or up there.'

Action: Rogua topen ta-in en-i
 Rogua hit do-3s/d dr-m

Culmination: mamewa yav-en
 father/his see-3s/p

'While Rogua was trying to hit (the dog), his father (the dog's owner) saw (Rogua).'

Action: dagin tugu-iwanumun-e
 smoke burn-3p/p/cont-m

Culmination: yaw-an
 see-3p/p

'While they were burning, they saw (the smoke).'

Hypothetical deep structures are encoded as a Sequence Sentence
 - $P \supset Q$.

Action: man da gur-apena-wa
 animal a kill-ls/m-sc

Culmination: naina tau ewayap ong-ain
 path arrive after/you come-ls/f

'If I kill some animals, then I will come on the path after you.'

Action: wapasim-eta-wa
 lose-lp/m-sc

Culmination: Equational Clause
 kerere
 bad

'If we lose (the shovel), (that's) bad.'

Action: iman manega tait di wa-in-an-ta
 tomorrow like/this do em say-lp/cont-d-lp/m

Culmination: an ta-it
 how do-lp/f

'Tomorrow, if we keep on doing like this, what will we do?'

Action: tuan da war-ane
pig a get-2p/m

Culmination: ar-ae-ta
bite-you-3s/f

'If you grab a pig, he will bite you.'

Efficient Cause is also encoded as a Sequence Sentence -
 $P \wedge [P \supset Q]$

Action: mu bawam ta-pi-wa
they without do-3s/m-sc

Culmination: ao yon wanumo amo-pi
up stand stay go-3p/m

'They don't have any (lime, therefore) they rise up and go ...'

Action: ita tau-iwanumun-e
spear arrive-3p/p/cont-m

Culmination: Summary S.

mum	tapaet	di	/	woup	tapaet
night	fear/only	em	/	dawn	fear/only
di	/	anega	ta-inton		
em	/	thus	do-lp/cont		

'The spears (bombs) were coming, (so) then at night and at dawn (we knew) only fear, (and) thus we were doing.'

Action: ne youp komasi ne-n-an-e
I sugar/cane wormy me-give-3p/p-m

Culmination: gunare ong-en
anger come-ls/p

'They gave me wormy sugar cane, (so) I came in anger.'

There is one example of Efficient Cause - $Pab \wedge [Pab \supset Qb]$

Action: apan ar-epi-wa
man hurt-3s/m-sc

Culmination: Antithetical S.

ya wand-eta / ae di bo-eta
 neg stay-3s/f / comp em die-3s/f

'He will hurt the man, (so then the man) will not live (but) will definitely die.'

One example of Expectancy Reversal $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_{\beta}$ encoded as a Sequence Sentence was found.

Action: wan sen sia anet-on-i
 dawn again go-lp/p-m

Culmination: man da uon
 animal a neg

'When we went again at dawn, there were no animals.'

The only example of Mistaken Impression found was encoded in a Sequence Sentence $tP \wedge Q \wedge Q_{\beta}$

Action: ne man anu-n-a
 I animal think-ls/p-m

Culmination: apan da yav-ian
 man a see-ls/pr

'I thought (I saw) an animal; (now) I see a man.'

Longacre suggests reanalyzing this example as an Antithetical Sentence, but the surface structure is that of the Sequence Sentence (i. e., there is a medial verb and no Link go 'but').

6.3.12. The Simultaneous Sentence has two obligatory Bases with no other tagmemes possible. Only Overlapping Temporal relationships are encoded in this sentence type. The first Base must have a predicate with a durative suffix and the substantive clitic on the medial suffix.

Simultaneous Sentence

	+ BASE ₁	+ BASE ₂
	Medial Clause durative substantive clitic	Final Clause Equational Clause Sequence Sentence Parallel S. Summary S. Simultaneous S. Direct Quote S. Same Subject Coordinate S.
Overlap	<u>P</u> ^	<u>Q</u>
	<u>P</u> ^	Q.

Special Features:

- (a) Past, durative, present, imperative, and future have been observed in Base₂.
- (c) The negative occurs only in the second Base.

Examples demonstrating Coterminous Overlap - P ^ Q

Base₁: wand-in en-i-a
 stay-3s/d dr-m-sc

Base₂: wande yav-in
 stay see-3s/d

'While he stayed, he watched.'

Base₁: amo yav-in en-e-a
 go see-3p/d dr-m-sc

Base₂: ase ma tayav-in
 there here try-3p/d

'While they were going and looking, they tried (to look) from

there to here.'

Base₁: ame dawan anega ang-in ang-in
 that hunting thus go-ls/d go-ls/d
 ang-in en-a-wa
 go-ls/d dr-m-sc

Base₂: Summary S.

oma noke yawapen / eao nega yawapen
 tree hole see / dog my see
 / anega di ang-ingin
 / thus em go-ls/p/cont

'While I was going hunting (with) that (one - the dog), and I was going and going and going, I was watching for holes in trees, and I was watching my dog.'

Base₁: guiton ise en-iamun-e-a
 spit there put/into-3p/pr/d-m-sc

Base₂: Simultaneous S. (Deep - P ^ Q.)

Base₁: wanum-un en-e-a
 stay-3p/d dr-3p/m-sc

Base₂: da sia aigap na-iam
 another on eat-3p/pr

'While they are spitting there, and while they are staying (around the fire chewing betel nut), they eat another (betel nut).'

In these examples Continuous-Punctiliar Overlap - P ^ Q. is encoded in the Simultaneous Sentence.

Base₁: togana ame ao anega dor-ingin en-a-wa
 hill that up thus climb-ls/d dr-m-sc

Base₂: Sequence S.

yamu ase ang-en-a-wa // man ame
 other there go-ls/p-m-sc // animal that
 itani nagura-nege-n
 heavy hurt-me-3s/p

'While I was climbing up that hill like this, when I went to the

other side, that heavy animal hurt me.'

Base₁: anega wanit et-oni-wa
 thus stay-lp/d dr-m-sc

Base₂: Same Subject Coordinate S.

ewai on-e / tau-e /
 turn come-3s/p/ss / arrive-3s/p/ss /
 tuan to tugu-n
 pig kill cook-3s/p

'While we were staying, he returned, arrived, killed, and cooked a pig.'

Base₁: Agaun nope wa-in-an-ta-wa
 Agaun word say-lp/cont-d-lp/m-sc

Base₂: Parallel S.

garia ya yavep / tanda ya anune
 don't/be/disgusted / don't/refuse

'While we keep on giving the messages about Agaun, don't be disgusted and don't refuse (to listen).'

Base₁: yav-in en-i-a
 see-3s/d dr-m-sc

Base₂: Direct Quote S.

BQ Form: oaenewa anega wani
 wife/his thus he/said

Quote: a endi utupa apan da utupa
 ah now there man a there
 ine tauapena ge tap ya age
 at arrive/I you fear neg go

'While he was thinking, he said to his wife, "When I arrive there at some man, don't you be afraid."'

Base₁: yangut ta-iwand-an-epi-wa
 search do-3s/cont-d-3s/m-sc

Base₂: Equational Clause

ame me uon
 that he neg

'While he continues to search and search, there is no one.'

Base₁: wand-in en-i-wa
 stay-3s/d dr-m-sc

Base₂: pa tu-n
 house build-3s/p

'While he was living (there) he built a house.'

Base₁: wanum-in en-e-a
 stay-3p/d dr-m-sc

Base₂: Goaibo mamewa ge Emotut mamewa
 Goaibo father/his and Emotut father/his
 dere namu borit wa-n
 two first death say-3p/p

'While they were living (there), Goaibo's father and Emotut's father both died first.'

6.3.13. The Conditional Sentence consists of an obligatory Protasis and Apodosis which are linked in one example by amba 'then'. The Conditional Sentence is used when there is uncertainty if the action will be done or when the outcome is uncertain. Actions in which the outcome is inevitable are expressed by the Sequence Sentence. The Protasis must contain a conditional form.

Conditional Sentence

	+ PROTASIS	± Link	+ APODOSIS
	Medial Clause Conditional Merged S. Parallel S. Identical Predicate S.	amba 'then'	Final Clause Equational Clause Sequence S. Alternative S. Merged S.
Hypothetical	P	⊃	Q (cf. Sequence S.)

Special Features:

- (a) All Predicates in the Protasis must contain the Anticipatory Verb Phrase with the nonpast medial person suffixes on the Auxiliary or the conditional medial suffix. Imperative, past, present, and future tenses have been noted in the Apodosis.
- (c) By elicitation either or both the Protasis and the Apodosis were negated. As yet, a negative in both obligatory tagmemes has not been observed in speech or texts, probably because the Contrafactual Sentence would be the preferred construction to express such an idea.

Protasis: tuan dugup in-iwand-apina-wa
pig house live-3s/cont-cond-sc

Apodosis: tuan tau yao
pig arrive see

'If the pig is living in his house, go up close and look (for the pig).'

Protasis: vek warapen tapi
sick get/3s/cond

Apodosis: dawan ya a-eta
hunting neg go-3s/f

'If he gets sick, he will not go hunting.'

Protasis: Parallel S.

endi barip sino pum Irao Bobogi
now feast drum shell Irao Bobogi

namboea aepa wa-iwand-apena //
front/yard down say-3s/cont-cond //

sino tarep aton da da ta-iwanum-apena
drum dance happy a a do-3p/cont-cond

Apodosis: Equational Clause

barip iman
feast tomorrow

'If Irao Bobogi is playing the drum and the shell for the feast down in the front yard today, and if each one is dancing for happiness, the feast (is) tomorrow.'

Protasis: ap mepe wara tawa
there get/2s/cond

Apodosis: Merged S.

nenip serarat tau-e / ia unug-ep
bird quickly arrive-mm / net enter-3s/imp

'If you grab (it) there, the bird will come quickly and go into the net.'

Protasis: Identical Predicate S.

me eapa pia in-iwand-apina //
he down ground live-3s/cont-cond //
dugup ame dore in-iwand-apina
house that climb live-3s/cont-cond

Link: amba
then

Apodosis: ita pia anega ae uat
spear ground thus down throw-2s/imp

'If he (the pig) is living down on the ground, (and) if he is living in that house, then throw your spear down on the ground like this.'

Protasis: batnak wand-apina
count-3s/cont-cond

Apodosis: Alternative S.

orup da ya tau-ia / o
fellow a neg arrive-3s/pr / or
orup da notatae wa-ia
fellow a argument say-3s/pr

'If he is calling the roll, someone won't come or someone will argue.'

Protasis: endi mame na-ing-apena-wa
now here eat-1s/cont-cond-sc

Apodosis: Sequence S.

oaenapan da orup da ugupe
people a fellow a different

na-pi-wa // vek ta-ta
 eat-3s/m-sc // sick do-3s/f

'If I eat it right now, (I will not get sick); when someone different eats it, he will get sick.'

Protasis: orup da de yampo ta-iwanum-ampina
 fellow 1 2 3 do-3p/cont-cond

Apodosis: ame koerage
 that bad

'If a few fellows do (the work), that (is) bad.'

Protasis: nuga warapen tane
 ours get 2s/cond

Apodosis: Sequence S.

ae ve // amba bariawa mega den
 stop // then foreigner his also

anu-ne // amba ta-n
 know-2p/m // then do-2p/imp

'If you do our (work), stop and think of the foreigner's (work), then do (it).'

Protasis: ma nop warapen tata
 here word get 2s/cond

Apodosis: umap ya ta-n
 enough neg do-3s/p

'If we get the words here, it is insufficient.'

Protasis: nao noa wapen tapi-wa
 work word say 3s/cond-sc

Apodosis: nu gende karaua
 we together hidden

'If he speaks the word about work, we (will be) hidden together.'

6.3.14. Only the Protasis is obligatory in the Contrafactual Sentence. An optional Apodosis is the only other tagmeme. All verbs must be inflected with the contrafactual suffix -apo '(singular)' -ampo '(plural)'.

Contrafactual Sentence

	+ PROTASIS	± Apodosis
	Contrafactual Clause -apo	Contrafactual Clause -apo Parallel S.
Contrafactual	$P_{\beta} \wedge [P_{\beta} \supset Q_{\beta}] \wedge [P \supset Q]$ $P_{\beta} \wedge [P_{\beta} \supset Q_{\beta}] \wedge [(P) \supset Q]$	$Q]$ $Q]$

Special Features:

- (b) The optional Apodosis is less likely to occur when the Contrafactual Sentence expounds the Base of another sentence type.
- (c) Either or both Bases optionally are negated.
- (d) Only one Base is obligatory. Perhaps more data will expand the number of optional Apodosis that occur.
- (e) A Parallel Sentence in which both Bases were inflected with the contrafactual suffix has been observed expounding the Apodosis.

Protasis: ya wada-nege-po
neg say-me-cf

Apodosis: ya anu-po
neg know-cf

'If he hadn't told me, I wouldn't know.'

Protasis: gauen me ebo ya wa-po
xanthotis he lie neg say-cf

Apodosis: endi dere paina oma gamop oma
today two high tree trunk tree
onep aopa iwanum-ampo
crotch up 3p/cont-cf

'If he (the cassowary) hadn't lied to the xanthotis (bird species), today they both would be living high up in the tree trunks and crotches.'

Protasis: oaenapan aruga onamo-po
 people many come-cf

Apodosis: me tap aopa ae-po
 he fear up go-cf

'If many people would come, he would flee up (higher; but many are not coming).'

Protasis: endi Orogum on-apo
 now Orogum come-cf

Apodosis: Parallel S.

aumam wapen ta-po / aumam di wa-po
 aumam say do-cf / aumam em say-cf

'Now if Orogum would come, he would sing the Aumam (a song), he would indeed sing the Aumam, (but he won't come).'

Protasis: ame endi Auea wadia-ge-po
 that now Auea tell-you-cf

Apodosis: anu-po
 know-cf

'Now if Auea would tell you that, you would know (it, but he won't tell you).'

Protasis: mondiga wand-epo
 purposelessly stay-cf

Apodosis: geanege-po
 fall-cf

'Had he stayed without doing anything, I would have fallen.'

One example encoded $P_3 \wedge [P_3 \supset Q_3] \wedge [(P) \supset Q]$

Protasis: eao ame na-po
 dog that eat-cf

'I would eat that dog (were he mine).'

6.3.15. The Terminating Action Sentence has two obligatory tagmemes, Action and Terminal Action. These tagmemes are so named because the Action continues until terminated by the

Terminal Action. Optionally amba 'then' occurs to link the two bases in about one-third of the examples. The prolonged suffix -an must occur on the Predicate of the Action.

Terminating Action Sentence

	+ ACTION ± Link	+ TERMINATING ACTION
	Final Clause amba 'then' plg	Final Clause Sequence S. Direct Quote S. Merged S.
Span- limitation	<u>P</u> <u>Λ</u>	Q

Special Features:

- (a) Tenses observed in the Terminating Action are past, present, imperative, and future.
- (c) Negative occurs in the Action and was elicited in the Terminating Action tagmeme.

Action: Dinip bare wanum-an
cordyline put stay-plg

Link: amba
then

Terminal Action: ver-ain
plant-3p/f

'They will place the cordyline plant, and it will stay (there) until they plant it.'

Action: oaen endi mapa wand-an
woman now here stay-plg

Terminal Action: Merged S.

mapa wa yon wande / irip wa
here say stand stay / cry say
ta-iwandata
do-3s/cont/f

'Now the woman will stay here until she causes (the girl) to get up and cry.'

Action: oaenapan manega ya ta-iwanum-an
 people like/this neg do-3p/cont-plg

Link: amba
 then

Terminal Action: ge onak
 you come-2s/imp

'The people are refusing to do (it) until then (when) you come.'

Action: gatawan karakaraua ag-ing-an
 later very/carefully go-2s/cont-plg

Terminal Action: Sequence S.

utup ma tau-a // damik
 there here arrive-2s/m // vine

kwikwi utup ma bar-aen
 (vine/species) there here put-3s/p

'Later go very carefully until you arrive from up there to here, then (get) the vine that he put from there to here.'

Action: iv-ing-an
 go-1s/cont-plg

Terminal Action: tau-iangin
 arrive-1s/pr

'I will be going until I arrive.'

Action: iwand-an
 3s/cont-plg

Terminal Action: Sequence S.

en dere o en yampo o
 year 2 or year 3 or

daiton o uon ta-ini // amba
 one or finish-m // then

nagut pam ver-iamun
 taro yam plant-3p/pr

'He will be living until one, two, three, or (more) years are finished; then they plant the taro and yams.'

6.3.16. Three tagmemes, Action, Summary Marker, and Summary of the Summary Sentence are obligatory. Only anega 'thus' or ap anega 'so thus' fill the Summary Marker. The Action is expounded by the sentence types listed below or a final clause whose Predicate is expounded by a participle - type 1. The Summary slot must be manifested by a minimal expression of any clause.

Summary Sentence

	+ ACTION	+ SUMMARY MARKER	+ SUMMARY
	Final Clause Participle-type ₁ Sequence S. Identical Predicate S. Parallel S. Coordinate S. Same Subject Coordinate S.	anega 'thus' ap anega 'so thus'	Final Clause Medial Clause Coordinate S.
Resume	P	Λ	rQ

Special Features:

- (a) In the examples noted thus far, only the infinitive, past, and uninflected verb stems have been observed in the Action. Only past tense has been noted in the Summary. These limitations probably are caused by the small sample.
- (c) Only the first Base is optionally negated.
- (e) Verbs of higher generality, such as tapen 'to do', anepen 'to go', onanepen 'to come' and wainepen 'to stay', occur more frequently in the clauses expounding the Summary.
- (j) One example occurs in which final intonation marks the Action.

Action: Final clause Predicate expounded by Participle-type 1

ase	oma	oae	tam	ge	tam	ge	tam
there	tree	dry	get	and	get	and	get

Summary Marker: anega
 thus

Summary: anet-on-i-a
 go-lp/p-m-sc

‘Gathering and gathering firewood there, thus we went ...’

Action: Sequence S.

ai-an-e	//	onam wanum
get-3p/p-m	//	come/3p/pr/cont

Summary Marker: ap anega
 so thus

Summary: ta-iwanumun
 do-3p/p/cont

‘They got (them), then they come; thus they were doing.’

Action: Identical Predicate S.

Indea	bar-aen	/	Vesin	bar-aen	/
Indea	put-3s/p	/	Vesin	put-3s/p	/
Yaura	bar-aen	/	Kewatan	bar-aen	
Yaura	put-3s/p	/	Kewatan	Put-3s/p	

Summary Marker: anega
 thus

Summary: se tau a-en
 put arrive go-3s/p

‘She gave birth to Indea, Vesin, Yaura, Kewatan; thus she went along bearing (children).’

Action: Coordinate S.

ae	iga	wat	en-en	/	nip
down	net/bag	get	put/into-3s/p	/	stool
ut	wat	an-en			
urine	get	put/on-3s/p			

Summary Marker: anega
 thus

Summary: ta a-iwandin
 do go-3s/p/cont

'She put (him) down in the net bag, (she cleaned) the excreta he put on (her), thus she kept on doing.'

Action: Identical Predicate S.

piup	tu	/	unup	piup	tu
ground	dig	/	pot	ground	dig

Summary Marker: anega
 thus

Summary: tu-iwandin
 dig-3s/p/cont

'He dug dirt, he dug dirt for a pot; thus he was digging.'

Action: mawaka wait ge na
 pawpaw pick and eat

Summary Marker: anega
 thus

Summary: anet-on-i
 go-lp/p-m

'Picking and eating pawpaw, thus we went ...'

Action: Coordinate S.

ogi	emoan	bun-aen	/	ai-an
banana	emoan	pull-3p/p	/	get-3p/p

Summary Marker: anega
 thus

Summary: onam-on-e-a
 come-3p/p-m-sc

'They pulled out and brought the Emoan banana, thus they came ...'

Action: Identical Predicate S.

oma	noke	yawapen	/	eao	nega	yawapen
tree	hole	see/to	/	dog	my	to/see

Summary Marker: anega di
 thus em

Summary: ang-ingin
 go-ls/p/cont

'Watching for holes in the trees and watching my dog, thus I indeed was going.'

Action: Identical Predicate S.

orup	oaen	tambu	ge	se	/	tambu
child	female	take	and	put	/	take
ge	se					
and	put					

Summary Marker: anega
 thus

Summary: ta-ton
 do-lp/p

'Taking and putting the girls (on the other side), thus we did.'

Action: Same Subject Coordinate S.

isi	goe	ap	gean-et	/	ise
there	water	walk	cross-lp/p/ss	/	there

dotou-at / ganip i tau-at
ascend-lp/p/ss / coconut base arrive-lp/p/ss

Summary Marker: anega
thus

Summary: an-et
go-lp/p/ss

'We walked across the river there, ascended (the bank) there,
(and) arrived at the base of the coconut; thus we went.'

Longacre suggests that the deep structure in the above examples is Summary Paraphrase Pa Qa Ra ... gNa where gN is a generic predication. Since the Summary Sentence is a binary structure in which several predicates occur in the Action only when a sentence expounds that tagmeme, I have chosen to symbolize the deep structure as Resume P rQ.

6.3.17. Two obligatory tagmemes, Statement and Perception, comprise the Perception Sentence. The Perception slot is filled by the minimal expressions of a final clause, namely just the predicate, in which only the verbs anupen 'to know', yawapen 'to see', and oare 'don't know' occur. There seems to be a preference to use anupen 'to know' in the nonpast tenses and yawapen 'to see, perceive' in the past tenses.

Perception Sentence

	+ STATEMENT	+ PERCEPTION
	Final Clause	Minimal Final Clause
	Equational Clause	Medial Clause
	Medial Clause	anupen
	Antithetical S.	yawapen
	Alternative S.	oare
	Coordinate S.	
	Conversational Alternative S.	
	Same Subject Coordinate S.	
Awareness	P ^	[aQ ‡ aQ̄]

Special Features:

- (a) Past, present, and future tenses have been observed in both Bases.
- (b) The Statement optionally is negated. The Perception is negated by using the negative stem of 'know', oare 'don't know'. In this form, person is indicated by free subject pronouns. Tense is indicated by context.
- (e) Further data should expand the fillers of the Statement. Theoretically any sentence, any clause, and any tense should be able to fill the Statement.
- (g) The tagmemes optionally are reversed.

Statement: Alternative S.

nonankae	urase	ta-iwan	/	wand-iwan
mouse	hole	do-3s/pr/cont	/	stay-3s/pr/ cont

Perception: nu oare
we don't/know

'We don't know if the mouse is making holes (in the house) or not.'

Statement: aguna sisi wa-in
thigh/my pain say-ls/f

Perception: anu-ingin-a
know-ls/p/cont-m

'I know my thigh will pain.'

Statement: endi auda otu da nop baware iragen
now foreigner little word biggest
ap wa-iwandin
so say-3s/p/cont

Perception: yaw-an
see-ls/p

'Now I knew that the little foreigner was saying the most important word.'

Statement: Same Subject Coordinate S.

oma make ame irurua yon-e
 tree seed that animal stand-3s/p/ss
 / na-iwandin
 / eat-3s/p/cont

Perception: yav-en
 see-3s/p

'He perceived that an animal was standing and eating that nut.'

Statement: oaenapan nega uon
 people my neg

Perception: anu-in
 know-1s/f

'I know that my relatives (are) not (are dead).'

Statement: Coordinate S.

utu oaen tau-en / veri amnas-en
 there woman arrive-3s/p / end step-3s/p

Perception: yav-en
 see-3s/p

'He perceived that a woman came up there and stepped on the end (of the branches he was carrying).'

Statement: nu seni dabua ao upa wa-iwandin-i
 we change uniform up lead say-3s/p/cont-
 m

Perception: anu-iwanin
 know-2s/pr/cont

'You know that he was saying we will change from policemen (to councillors).'

Statement: apan karukat utupa wa
 man council/clerk there say

on-iwandin
come-3s/p/cont

Perception: anu-in
know-ls/f

'I know that the council clerk will send (the message) from there.'

Statement: Conversational Alternative S.

umap wa-ivin / go uon
o.k. say-ls/pr/cont / or neg

Perception: anu-ingin-a
know-ls/p/cont-m

'I wonder if I am saying enough or not.'

Statement: Antithetical S.

yaua wa-iwandin / uon ta-iwandin
name/his say-3s/p/cont / neg do-3s/p/cont

Perception: anu-ivin
know-ls/pr/cont

'I know that he is answering roll call (but) is not working.'

Statement: oaenapan karua anepen tauapen ta-ianton
people secretly go arrive do-lp/pr

Perception: ne yav-iangin
I see-ls/pr

'I know that we people are going and coming secretly.'

Perception: oaenapan yawa-ya-ngin-a
people see-you-ls/pr-m

Statement: Equational Clause

etu-nu itaniwa baware
skin-our heavy big

'I perceive that you people (are) big and strong.'

Statement: polisiman inap nop koerage wapen
 policeman to/him word bad say
 ta-iwanian
 do-2p/p/cont

Perception: yawa-e-vin
 see-you-ls/pr/cont

'I know that you are swearing at the policeman.'

6.3.18. The Evaluation Sentence consists of two obligatory tagmemes, the Statement which is filled by any clause or the sentence types as listed and the Evaluation which is filled by any lexical term meaning 'good' or 'bad', 'acceptable' or 'unacceptable'.

Evaluation Sentence

	+ STATEMENT	+ EVALUATION
	Final Clause	umap 'acceptable'
	Medial Clause	umap ya tan 'unacceptable'
	Sequence S.	umap uon 'unacceptable'
	Coordinate S.	ebo 'wrong'
	Conditional S.	koewa 'bad'
	Perception S.	kakae 'good'
	Alternative S.	kakae kakae iragen 'best'
Assessment	P Λ	[eQ ≠ eQ̄]

Special Features:

- (a) Past, present, imperative, and future have been observed in the final clause of the Statement. Conditional and successive suffixes have been observed on the Medial Clause. It is assumed that further data will show that any sentence and any tense occurs in the Statement.

- (d) The pausal *a* optionally occurs between the two Bases.
 (g) In one example the order of the tagmemes was reversed.

Statement: gase na-n
 already eat-ls/p

Evaluation: umap
 acceptable

'I already ate (it), (and it is) acceptable.'

Statement: govman ona megawa
 government possession his
 wapasim-eta-wa
 lose-lp/m-sc

Evaluation: a kerere
 pausal bad

'When/if we lose the government's property, (that's) bad.'

Statement: Perception S.

oaenapan karaua anepen tauapen
 people secretly go arrive
 ta-ianton / ne yav-iangin
 do-lp/pr / I see-ls/pr

Evaluation: umap ya ta-n
 o.k. neg do-3p/p

'I know that people are going and coming secretly, (and) that is not acceptable.'

Evaluation: koewa
 bad

Statement: Conditional S.

amo orup da mugenat orup upi
 go fellow a only fellow other

mugenat	ware	ta-iwanum-ampina	//	upi
only	get	do-3p/cont-cond	//	other
mapa	pa	wanum-oin		
here	house	stay-3p/f		

'(It's) bad if only a few fellows and some other fellows are doing (the work), and others remain here in the village.'

Statement: Coordinate S.

kakae	di	gase	war-an	/	no
good	em	already	get-3p/p	/	mouth
pumpuni	ta-n				
black	do-3s/p				

Evaluation: kakae kakae iragen
best

'They indeed already have the good (taste); the mouth is black, (that's) the best.'

Vocative: orup da atana
fellow a over/there

Statement: Alternative S.

karaua	nao	ya	wa-p	/	en
secretly	work	neg	say-3s/imp	/	pitpit
nae	ya	wa-p	/	kopi	ya
sprouts	neg	say-3s/imp	/	coffee	neg
		wa-p			
		say-3s/imp			

Evaluation: ame ebo
that bad

'Some fellow over there don't say (you're) going to work secretly, or don't say (you're going to plant) pitpit sprouts, or don't say (you're going to do) coffee; that's bad.'

Statement: endi ma nop erere gorago waintoni
now here word start messy which/we/
said

Evaluation: ma umap uon
 this o.k. neg

'Now this messy beginning which we made (on the tape recorder) is not acceptable.'

Statement: God daiton ian poe ta-ton-i
 God one people bow do-lp/p-m

Evaluation: umap uon
 unacceptable

'When we people bow (before) the one God, (it is) unacceptable.'

Statement: Sequence S.

endi ma nop daiton daiton wa-in-e
 now here word one one say-3p/f-m

// ma nop warapen tata
 // here word get/3s/cond

Evaluation: umap ya tan
 unacceptable

'Now when they say a few words, if he obeys, (it is) unacceptable.'

6.3.19. The Summary Negative Sentence consists of the obligatory Negative Statement and the Summary Negative tag-memes. The limitations on the exponents of the Negative Statement reflect the infrequent useage of this sentence in text. The Summary Negative is expounded only by uon '(negative)'. The use of this sentence implies emphatic negative.

Summary Negative Sentence

	+ NEGATIVE STATEMENT	+ SUMMARY NEGATIVE
	Final Clause Coordinate S.	uon '(negative)'
Resume	\bar{P} \wedge	$r\bar{Q}$

Special Features:

- (a) Past, present, and future have been observed in the Negative Statement. Further data should expand the exponents of the first Base.
- (c) The Negative Statement must be negated.
- (e) Pausal *a* optionally occurs between the Bases.
- (j) Final intonation optionally occurs between the Bases.

Negative Statement: nonup ya wand-ia
 peace neg stay-3s/pr

Summary Negative: uon
 neg

'There definitely is no peace.'

Conjunction: go
 but

Negative Statement: anan union da ya
 war purposelessly a neg
 ta-iwanumun
 do-3s/p/cont

Summary Negative: uon
 neg

'But they were not fighting purposelessly, definitely not.'

Sentence Topic: nu virip arita inamup
 we taboo big to/them

Negative Statement: Coordinate S.

yaua ya wa-it /
 name/their neg say-lp/f /
 mainep ya tau an-ait
 near/them neg arrive go-lp/f

Summary Negative: uon
 neg

'Concerning our great taboo to them, we will not say their names, and we will not go near them, definitely not.'

- Conjunction: go
but
- Negative Statement: Coordinate S.
da dagup ya in-iwanumun
a cave neg live-3p/p/cont
/
/ anop onep paina ya
/ tree crotch high neg
in-iwanumun
live-3p/p/cont
- Summary Negative: a uon
pausal neg

'But some were not living in caves, and they were not living up in trees, definitely not.'

6.3.20. The Conversational Alternative Sentence has an obligatory Statement filled by any final clause and Pivot filled by go 'or'. The optional Alternative is filled by uon '(negative)', a locational, or descriptive. No predicate is permitted as a filler of the Alternative. This sentence occurs only in conversation or filling the Quote of a Direct Quote Sentence.

Conversational Alternative Sentence

	+ STATEMENT	+ PIVOT	± Alternative
	Final Clause Medial Clause Coordinate S. Same Subject Coordinate S.	go 'or'	uon '(negative)' locational descriptive
Alternation with excluded middle	P P	‡ ‡	\bar{P} (\bar{P})

Special Features:

- (a) Past, present, and future have been observed in the Statement but it is assumed that any tense is possible there.

- (b) When the other fillers of the Alternative, locationals and descriptives, occur it is assumed that the Alternative is obligatory.
- (c) The Statement is not negated.

Examples encoding $P \nexists \bar{P}$

Statement: neigin aiwagewa da dotou-ait
 path good a ascend-lp/f

Pivot: go
 or

Alternative: uon
 neg

'Will we find a good way (of life) or not?'

Statement: Same Subject Coordinate S.

apan ma endi on-e / mapa
 man here now come-3s/p/ss / here
 dim war-e / ae-n
 what get-3s/p/ss / go-3s/p

Pivot: go
 or

Alternative: oyat
 overhead

'Did a man come here, get something, and leave, or (is he) up there?'

Statement: endi me gaset da mapa wa-n
 now he already a here say-3s/p

Pivot: go
 or

Alternative: uon
 neg

'Did he already say something here today or not?'

Statement: endi uta mondi wand-ia
 now that just stay-3s/pr

Pivot: go
 or

Alternative: tugutuk
 repeat

'Now is that (tape recorder) just sitting, or (will it) repeat
 (what we have just said).'

Statement: Coordinate S.

oam evi anenen ta-it / inak
 day later how do-lp/f / life
 neigine tau-ait
 path arrive-lp/f

Pivot: go
 or

Alternative: uon
 neg

'What will we do some day later, will we arrive at the path
 of life or not?'

Statement: nop da wand-ia
 word a stay-3s/pr

Pivot: go
 or

Alternative: uon
 neg

'Does anyone have anything else to say or not?'

Examples encoding $P \ddagger (\bar{P})$

Statement: ne umap di wa-ivin
 I o.k. em say-ls/pr/cont

Pivot: go
 or

'Am I saying (it) alright or (not)?'

Exclamation: kae
oh/dear

Statement: oma ir-ain
wood burn-1s/f

Pivot: go
or

'Oh dear, should I burn the wood or (not)?'

Statement: Mamuni tuan guture wa-n-i
Mamuni pig story say-3s/p-m

Pivot: go
or

'Did Mamuni tell the pig story or (not)?'

Statement: gare Koarek endi waini
exchange a/song now who/will/say

Pivot: go
or

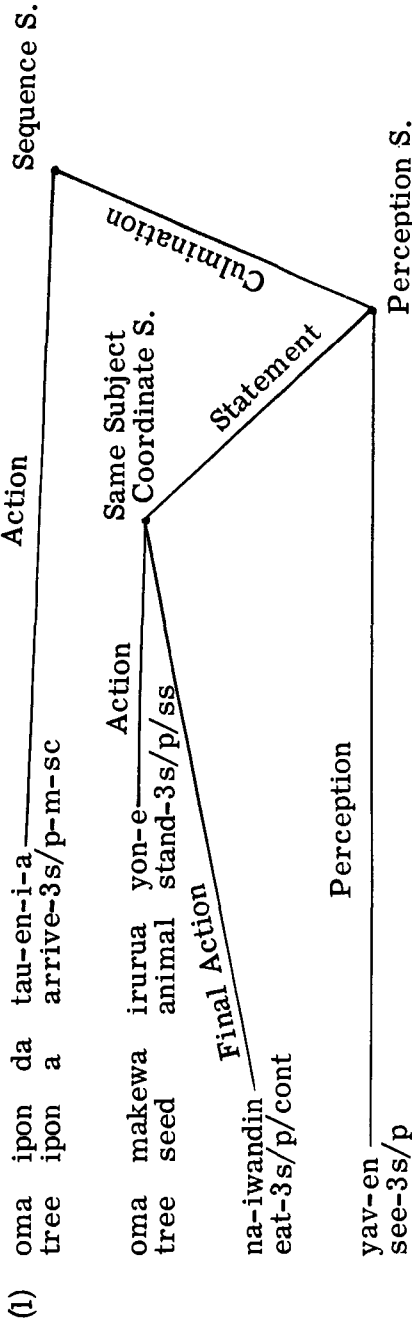
'Is he the one who will sing the Koarek now in repayment or (not)?'

Statement: oaen go apan da anu-iwan
woman or man a know-3s/pr/cont

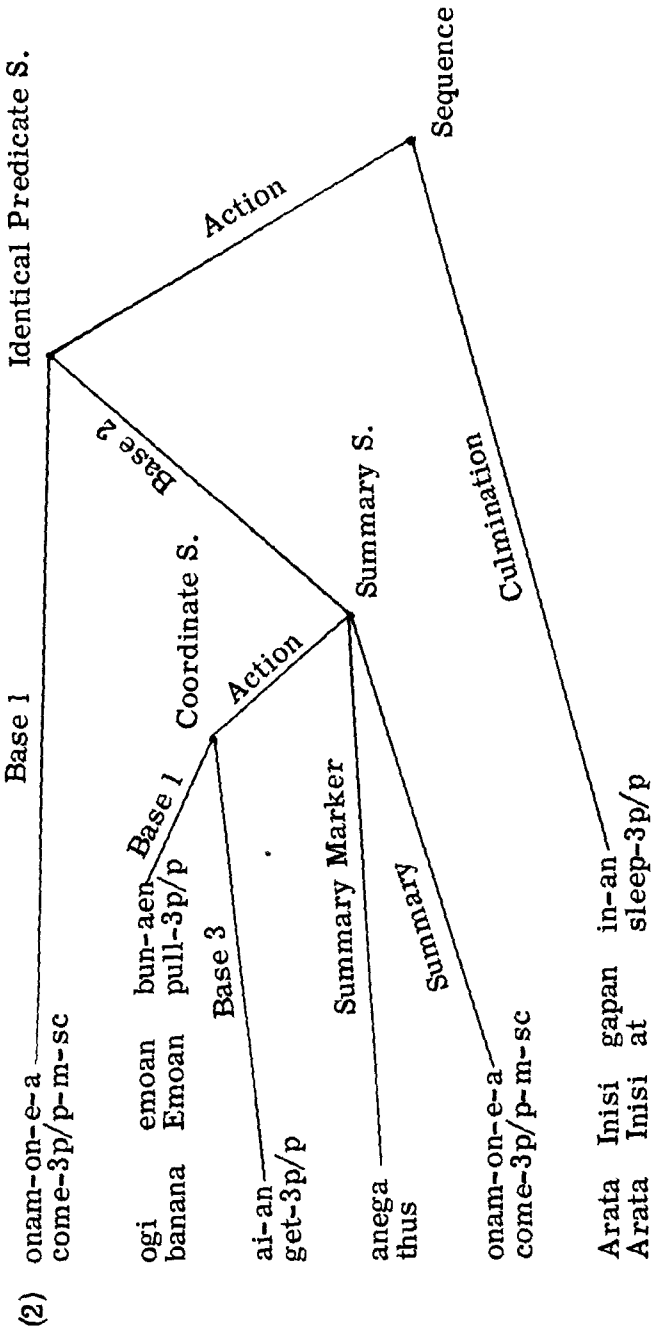
Pivot: go
or

'Does some woman or some man know or (not)?'

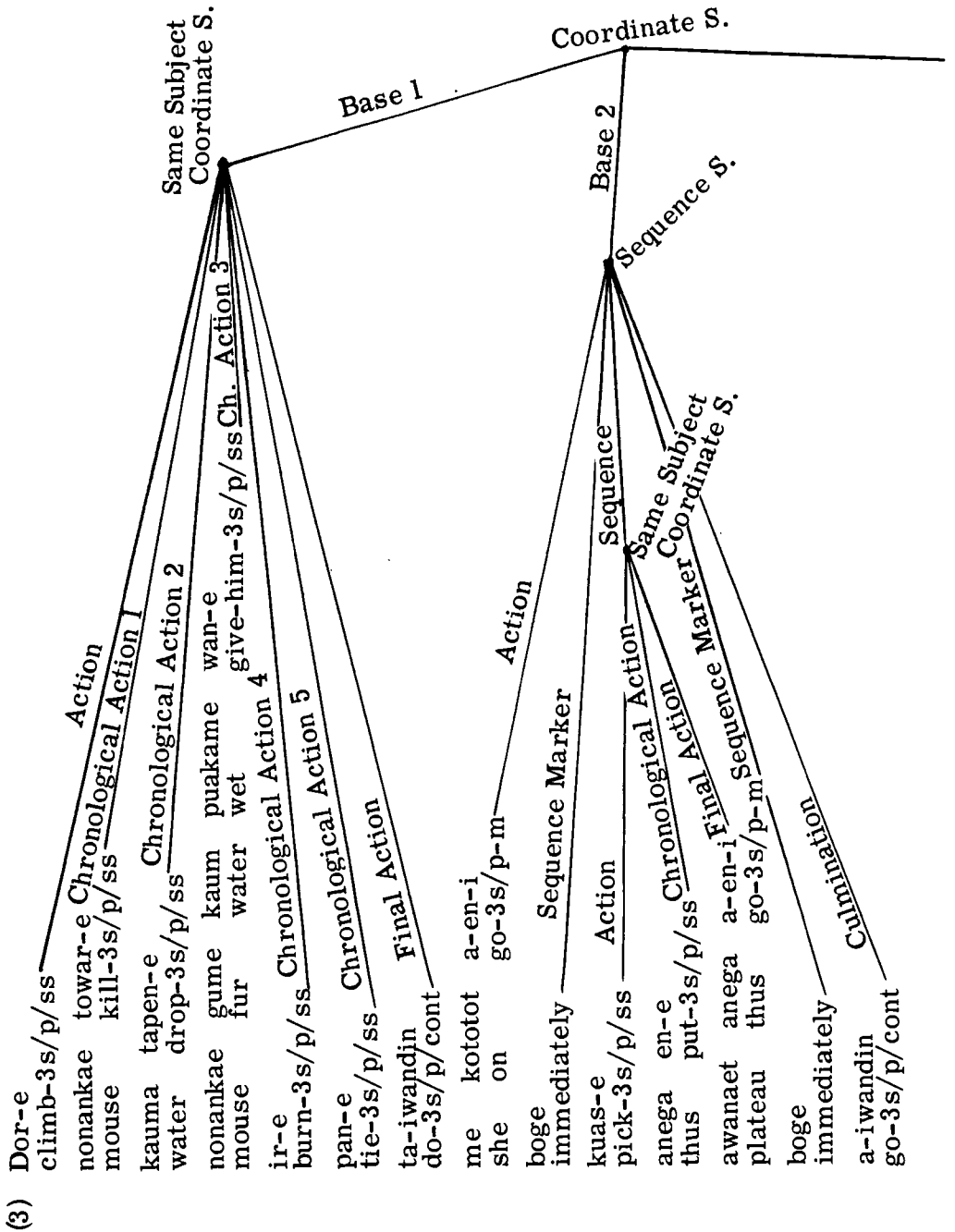
6. 4. Embedding of Sentences with Tree Diagrams

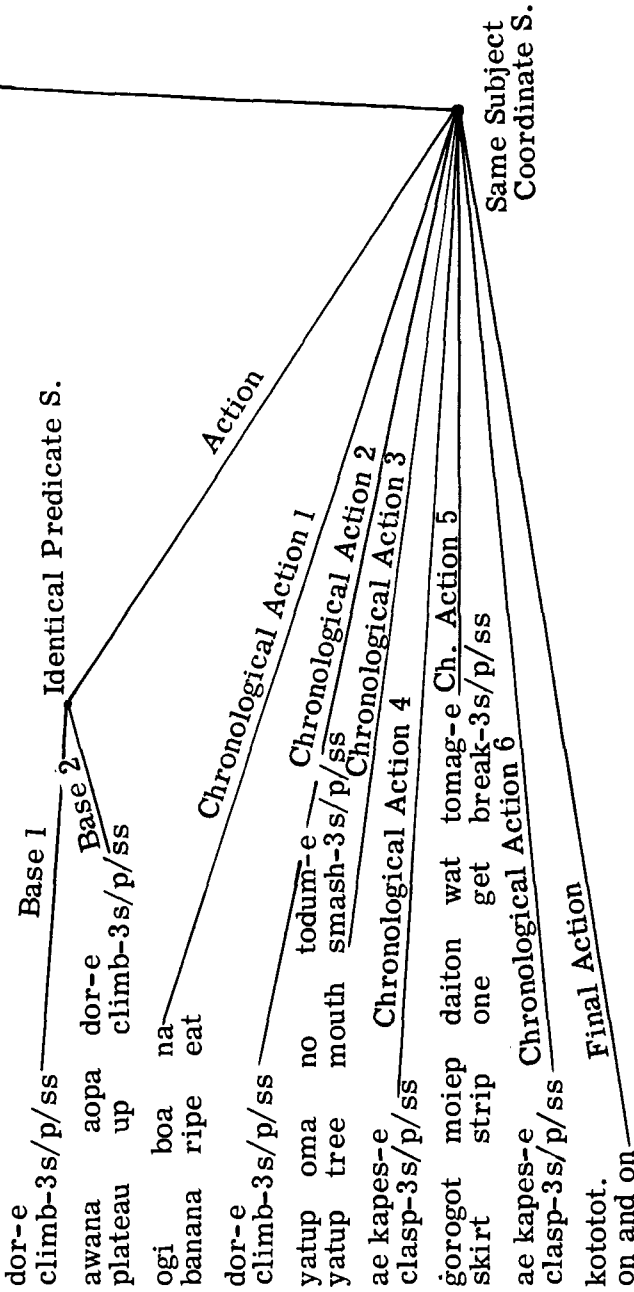


'When he came to the Ipon tree, he perceived that an animal was standing and eating the seeds.'

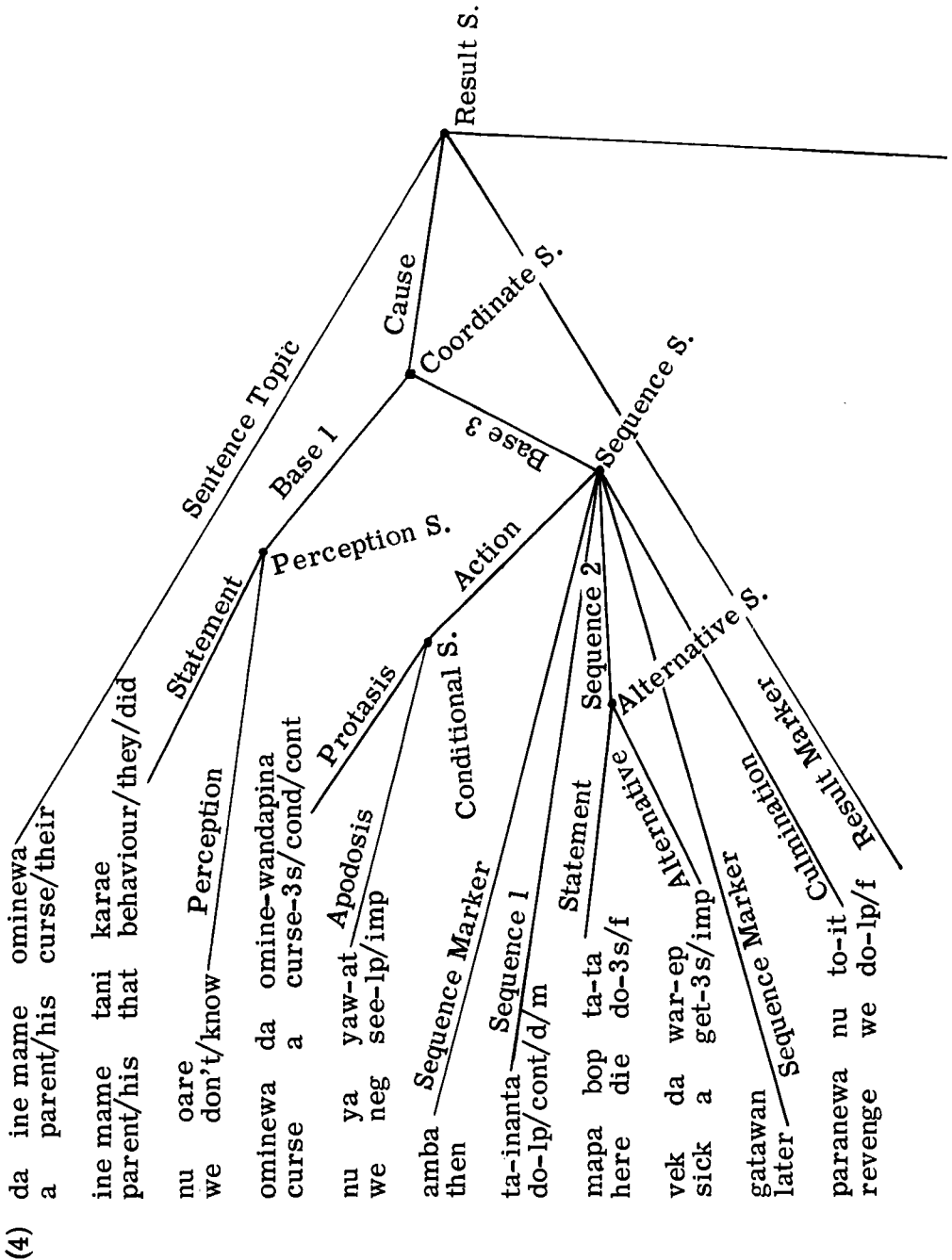


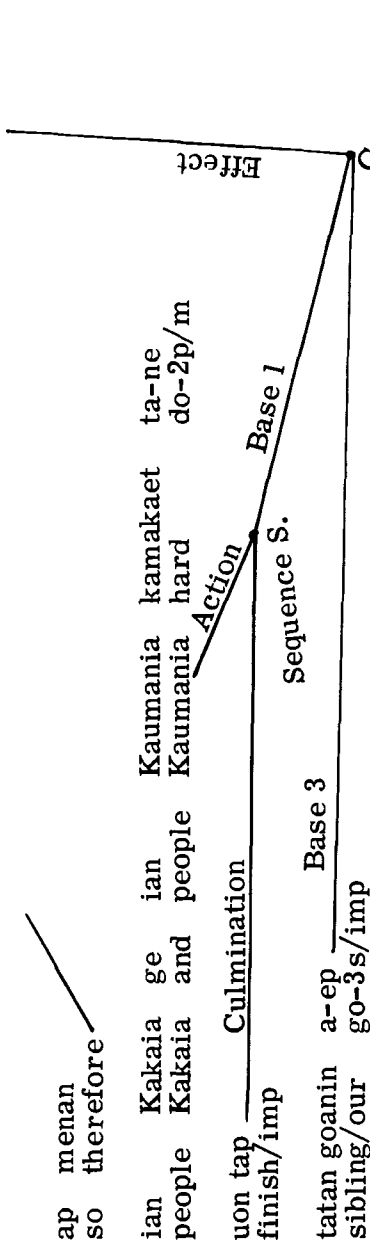
'When they came, they pulled out the Emoan banana and brought them; so when they came they slept at Arata Inisi.'





‘She climbed, killed a mouse, dropped (it) into water, gave the mouse with the wet hair to him, burned it, tied it, and she went on and on; then she picked a ripe banana, and put it into a net bag; thus she went along the plateau. Then she just was going, and she climbed; she climbed up the plateau; she ate the ripe banana; she climbed; she smashed the top of the Yatup tree; she (made a) pincher; she broke off one strip from (her) skirt; she pinched (it on the pincher she had made), and (she went) on and on.’





'Concerning the curse of someone's parents, we don't know what his parents are doing, (because) if someone is working sorcery, we shouldn't see it; then while we are working, someone will die here, (or) someone will get sick; then we will (have to) do the revenge (killing), so therefore the Kakaia and Kaumania people will work hard, then finish (the work), and our siblings can go home (to prevent their parents from working sorcery).'

6.5. Summary of Mapping of Deep Structures on Surface Structures.

This is a reverse encoding of materials in Section 6.2.2, 6.2.3, and 6.3. The sentence types listed indicate the various surface structure encodings of each deep structure.

I. Conjoining

1. Coupling

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| (1) $P \wedge Q$ | Coordinate S.
Close Sequence S. |
| (2) $P(a) \wedge P(b)$ | Identical Predicate S. |
| (3) $Pax \wedge Pay$ | Identical Predicate S. |
| (4) $P \wedge Q \dots \wedge N$ | Coordinate S. |
| (5) $P(a) \wedge P(b) \dots \wedge P(n)$ | Identical Predicate S. |

2. Contrast

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| (1) $P(a) \wedge P''(b)$ | all Antithetical S. |
| (2) $\bar{P}(a) \wedge [P(b) \neq Q(b)]$ | |
| (3) $P(a) \wedge \bar{P}(b)$ | |
| (4) $\bar{P}(U-a) \wedge Pa \wedge (a \in U)$ | |
| (5) $P(a) \wedge P(U-a) \wedge (a \in U)$ | |
| (6) $\bar{P}a \wedge Pa''$ | |

II. Paraphrase

1. Equivalence

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| $Pa \wedge P'a$ | Parallel S. |
| $Pab \wedge Pab'$ | Alternative S. |

2. Generic-Specific

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| $gP \wedge sP$ | Identical Predicate S. |
| $sPa \wedge gPa$ | Identical Predicate S. |

3. Amplification

 $Pa \wedge Pax$

Identical Predicate S.

 $Pa \wedge Pab$

Identical Predicate S.

4. Negated Antonym

 $\bar{P}^n a \wedge Pa$

Antithetical S.

 $Pa \wedge \bar{P}^n a$

Antithetical S.

III. Temporal

1. Overlap

(1) Coterminous

 $\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$ Simultaneous S., Sequence S.,
Coordinate S., Merged S.

(2) Continuous-Punctiliar

 $\underline{P} \wedge \dot{Q}$ Simultaneous S., Sequence S.,
Coordinate S., Close
Sequence S.

(3) Span-Limitation

 $\underline{P} \wedge Q$

Terminating Action S.

2. Succession

(1) Span-Span

 $\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$

Coordinate S.

(2) Span-Event

 $\underline{P} \wedge \dot{Q}$ Sequence S., Coordinate S.,
Close Sequence S. $[\underline{P} \nexists P] \wedge [\underline{Q} \nexists Q] \dots \wedge [\underline{N} \nexists N]$ Coordinate S.,
Sequence S.

(3) Event-Event

 $\dot{P} a \wedge \dot{Q} a$ Same Subject Coordinate S.,
Sequence S., Coordinate S.,
Close Sequence S., Merged
S.

$\underline{P}a \wedge \underline{Q}b$	Sequence S., Coordinate S., Close Sequence S.
$\underline{P}a \wedge \underline{Q}a \dots \wedge \underline{N}a$	Sequence S., Coordinate S., Same Subject Coordinate S., Merged S.
$\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q} \dots \wedge \underline{N}$	Sequence S., Coordinate S.
(4) Event-Span	
$\underline{P}a \wedge \underline{Q}a$	Merged S.
$\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$	Sequence S.
$\underline{P}a \wedge \underline{Q}a \dots \wedge \underline{N}a$	Same Subject Coordinate S.
$\underline{P}a \wedge \underline{Q}a \dots \wedge \underline{N}a$	Merged S.

IV. Implication

1. Realization

(1) Hypothetical

$P \supset Q$ Conditional S., Sequence S.

(2) Contrafactual

$P_{\beta} \wedge [P_{\beta} \supset Q_{\beta}] \wedge [P \supset Q]$ Contrafactual S.

$P_{\beta} \wedge [P_{\beta} \supset Q_{\beta}] \wedge [(P) \supset Q]$ Contrafactual S.

2. Frustration

(1) Expectancy Reversal

$(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_{\beta}$ Antithetical S., Coordinate
S., Sequence S., Close
Sequence S.

$(Q \supset P) \wedge P \wedge Q_{\beta}$ Antithetical S.

(2) Frustrated Intent

$(i-Pa \supset Pa) \wedge i-Pa \wedge R$ Antithetical S.

(3) Negative Purpose

$(P_{\beta} \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge [P \supset pQ_{\beta}]$ Contrary Result S.

(4) Mistaken Impression

$tP \wedge Q \wedge Q_{\beta}$ Sequence S.

3. Causation

(1) Efficient Cause

$$P \wedge [P \supset Q]$$

Reason S., Result S.,
Sequence S., Close Sequence
S., Coordinate S.

$$P \wedge [P \supset \bar{Q}]$$

Reason S.

$$Pab \wedge [Pab \supset Qb]$$

Result S., Sequence S.,
Close Sequence S., Co-
ordinate S.

(2) Final Cause

$$P \wedge [P \supset pQ]$$

Reason S.

V. Alternation

1. With excluded middle (exclusive disjunction)

(1) By negation

$$P \nexists \bar{P}$$

Conversational Alternative S.

$$P \nexists (\bar{P})$$

Conversational Alternative S.

(2) By antonym

$$P \nexists P''$$

Alternative S.

2. Without excluded middle (inclusive disjunction)

$$P(a) \vee P(b)$$

all Alternative S.

$$Pax \vee [Pay \nexists P'ay] *$$

$$P(a) \vee P(b) \dots \vee P(n) *$$

$$P \vee Q \dots \vee N$$

*P also occurs as \bar{P} (i. e., $\bar{P}ax \vee \bar{P}ay$ or $\bar{P}(a) \vee \bar{P}(b) \dots \vee \bar{P}(n)$)

VI. Reporting

1. Speech

$$wP \wedge Q$$

Direct Quote S.

2. Awareness

$$P \wedge [aQ \nexists a\bar{Q}]$$

Perception S.

3. Assessment

$$P \wedge [eQ \nexists e\bar{Q}]$$

Evaluation S.

4. Resume

$$P \wedge rQ$$

Summary S.

$$\bar{P} \wedge r\bar{Q}$$

Summary Negative S.

5. Comparison

$$|P \wedge P$$

Comparison S.

Chapter 7

PARAGRAPHS

7.0. This chapter is a description of Daga Paragraph structures. Types of linkage within the paragraph will be discussed first. The peripheral tagmemes, Setting and Terminous, will be described together, after which the sixteen nuclear paragraphs of Daga will be examined. A bidimensional array followed by numbered points is used to present the features of each nuclear paragraph type. The following special features will be described, if pertinent, for a construction:

- (a) distribution of the paragraph
- (b) occurrence of peripheral tagmemes
- (c) occurrence of optional tagmemes
- (d) information on fillers
- (e) linkage within the paragraph
- (f) comments on deep structure
- (g) expansion possibilities

Paragraphs in Daga expound discourse- and paragraph-level tagmemes.

This analysis is based upon a limited amount of data; therefore the conclusions drawn are very tentative. Further data should expand the exponents of the various tagmemes and refine the analysis.

7.1. Types of Linkage within the Paragraph. Paragraphs, except for embedded paragraphs, match the discourse-level tagmemes. Thus lexical items marking a new discourse-level tagmeme also indicate a new paragraph.

Internally, the paragraph in Daga is held together by various features: Recapitulation, Conjunctions, mismatch of phonological and grammatical sentences, same subject, purposeful useage of the same sentence type, use of referents, and juxtaposition.

(1) Recapitulation is of various types. The final verb of the previous sentence may be repeated exactly, repeated with a tense change, or repeated with a change from final to medial form. In some cases additional tagmemes are recapitulated with the predi-

cate. Factors governing the choice of what is recapitulated are not known at this time.

Recapitulation as a paragraph-internal cohesive factor is used in all Discourse types except Epistolary Discourse, but is most common in Narrative Discourse. However, it is unusual to find a paragraph that uses only recapitulation to bind the sentences together.

(2) Conjunctions are divided into two types: logical and temporal. When the logical conjunctions; such as menan 'therefore', ap anega 'so thus', iwa 'because', go 'but' occur initially in a sentence they join that sentence to the previous sentence. The temporal conjunction boge 'immediately' also serves to link sentences into one paragraph.

Temporal conjunctions, such as amba 'then', evi 'later', endi 'now' occurring in the sentence-initial position indicate a new paragraph or discourse-level tagmeme. When these conjunctions do not indicate a new paragraph they permute to a position within the initial clause of the sentence. Usually they permute next to the predicate but also occur following the first clause level tagmeme in the sentence.

(3) Mismatch of Phonological and Grammatical Sentences. In three situations the boundaries of the phonological sentence and the grammatical sentence do not match. The final intonation which marks the end of the phonological sentence does not break the grammatical sentence nor does a paragraph break occur. Phonological sentences are permitted to be out of phase when

- a. amba 'then' follows a medial verb and has final intonation
- b. a medial verb has final intonation
- c. the Durative Adverb en has final intonation.

(4) Same Subject. The same subject suffix occurs on the final verb of a sentence to link that sentence with the following sentence. This feature corresponds with the tendency to mention the actor of the paragraph in the first sentence and then to refer to him throughout the paragraph only by verbal suffixes.

(5) Referents. One sentence is also bound to another by the use of a referent. Ap mepe 'there' and ame 'that one' are used to refer back to a place or person mentioned in a previous sentence. Possessive pronouns also refer back to a previous sentence for clarification as to the possessor.

(6) In Hortatory Discourse a common way to bind a paragraph together is to introduce the matter under discussion by means of a sentence topic in the periphery of the initial sentence of the paragraph. Thereafter the matter under discussion is not mentioned overtly again in the paragraph.

(7) Sentence Type. Some speakers used the same sentence type consecutively to hold the paragraph together. The Close Sequence Sentence in which past tense is followed by present tense is used in this way.

(8) Juxtaposition. When a paragraph break is not indicated but there is no overt linkage, juxtaposed sentences are considered to be in the same paragraph.

Embedding of one paragraph within another when chronological order is upset or when a parenthetical idea is expressed is marked by recapitulation of the final predicate or clause of the sentence before the parenthetical thought in the sentence following the parenthetical idea.

7.2. Peripheral Tagmemes. A Setting optionally precedes and a Terminus optionally follows the nucleus of a paragraph. Further data will probably reveal that Setting and Terminus optionally occur with any paragraph nucleus, but in the data studied so far Remark, Alternative, Reason, and Procedural Paragraphs have not been observed with any peripheral tagmemes. A Terminus with the Dialogue and Exhortation Paragraph has not been noted. Genealogy, Identical Predicate, Parallel, and Antithetical Paragraphs have not been observed with a Setting.

(1) The Setting gives the locale, characters, activity or some other feature common to the entire paragraph. Manega 'like this' occurs in the Setting and refers down to the following sentences. The fillers of the Setting observed so far are Simple, Coordinate, Sequence, Antithetical, and Identical Predicate Sentences. Result, Identical Predicate, and Narrative Paragraphs have also been observed in the Setting. In some cases the Setting is given as the initial clause of the first nuclear tagmeme.

(2) The Terminus of a paragraph is frequently indicated by ap me/ ap 'so' or anega/ ap anega 'like this' which occur initially in the sentence or paragraph expounding the Terminus. In two examples the Terminus was connected to the rest of the

paragraph by recapitulation. Fillers of the Terminus observed thus far are Simple, Sequence, and Coordinate Sentences, and Antithetical and Expository Paragraphs.

7.3. Nuclear Paragraphs. Paragraphs in Daga group according to the type of internal linkage employed. The tagmemes of Exhortation, Parallel, Identical Predicate, and Dialogue Paragraphs are juxtaposed. Speech and Response is the type of linkage in the Verbal Exchange, Execution, Remark, and Rhetorical Question Paragraphs. The Antithetical, Result, Reason, and Alternative Paragraphs have two tagmemes optionally joined by a conjunction. A combination of different types of linkage is used in Narrative, Expository, Genealogy, and Procedural Paragraphs.

Chart of Paragraph Nuclear Constructions

Juxtaposed	Exhortation + Exhort ₁ ± Exhort ₂ Imperative only	Parallel + Theme + Parallel Theme Parallelism Often synonyms	Identical Predicate + Idea ₁ + Idea ₂ ± Idea ₃ Same Verb Stem	Dialogue n=1-5 + (Exchange) ± Speech ₀ Verbal Exchange P.
Speech - Response	Verbal Exchange + Speech + Reply	Execution + Proposal + Non-verbal Response	Remark + Action + Remark	Rhetorical Question + Question + Answer ₁ ± Answer ₂
Conjunction	Antithetical + Thesis ± go 'but' + Antithesis	Result + Cause ± menan 'therefore' + Effect	Reason + Action ± iwa 'because' + Reason	Alternative + Statement ± o 'or' + Alternative
Combination	Narrative n=1-13 ± (Build-Up) + Build-Up _n	Expositional + Text + Expo ₁ ± (Expo ₂) n=1-2	Genealogy + Step ₁ + Step _{2n} ± (Step ₃) n=1-3	Procedural + Activity n=5-38 + (Procedure)

7.3.1. Linkage by Juxtaposition. Those paragraphs in which the tagmemes are juxtaposed are Exhortation, Parallel, Identical Predicate, and Dialogue. Overt linkage, such as recapitulation or conjunctions, does not occur. Internal cohesion is maintained by identical tense, verb stem, or synonyms.

The Exhortation Paragraph has one obligatory Exhortation tagmeme which optionally is followed by a second Exhortation.

The Parallel and Identical Predicate Paragraphs resemble each other in that the initial tagmeme of these two paragraphs is permitted to function as a portmanteau structure; i. e., the sentence expounding the initial tagmeme of the Parallel or Identical Predicate Paragraph also functions in the final tagmeme in the preceding paragraph.

In addition, these two paragraphs have matching sentence constructions. The paragraph differs from its corresponding sentence type in the following ways:

- a. peripheral tagmemes, Setting and Terminus, occur only with the paragraph
- b. final intonation occurs on the tagmemes of the paragraph but not on the tagmemes of the sentence
- c. other paragraphs are permitted as exponents of the paragraph tagmemes but not of the sentence tagmemes.

The Dialogue Paragraph involves quoted repartee between speakers.

(1) The Exhortation Paragraph has an obligatory Exhortation which is optionally followed by a second Exhortation. Only the imperative tense is permitted in this paragraph.

Exhortation Paragraph

+ EXHORTATION ₁	± Exhortation ₂
imperative Simple S. Sequence S. Parallel S. Identical Predicate P.	imperative Simple S. Coordinate S.

Special Features:

- (a) The Exhortation Paragraph expounds discourse level tag-memes in Epistolary, Procedural, and Hortatory Discourses. In Epistolary Discourse the Exhortation often contains the word 'please'. Since letters are written only by those who have had some schooling, this has undoubtedly caused the introduction of 'please' with a command.
- (b) A Setting has been observed in the periphery of this paragraph, but as yet a Terminus has not been noted.

The spelling of 'please' differs in the following examples because the data was taken from written texts. Those Dagas whose schooling has been more recent retain the English spelling, while those who attended school several years ago spell 'please' as it is pronounced in the vernacular, *pirisi*.

Setting: Simple S.

Pirisi	Gagorin	inagap	mup	waia
please	Gagorin	to/you	request	he/says

Exhort₁: Simple S.

guep	nonongawa	yaua	ron	dawa	boboua
loin/cloth	long	name	long	another	short
gine	daiton	yaua	kake	tambu-an	
kind	one	name	tan	get-2p/imp	

'Please, Gagorin has a request for you. Get him a pair of long trousers called long and another short pair, (both) tan color.'

Exhort₁: Sequence S.

Please	ok	nega	enu	yaw-ap
please	letter	my	spear-2s/imp	see-ls/imp
amba	angep			
then	go-ls/imp			

Exhort₂: Coordinate S.

siragam	August	gam	tau-ep	yaw-ap
moon	August	at	arrive-3s/imp	see-ls/imp
please				
please				

'Please write me (so that) I can read it before I leave. It should arrive in August (so that) I can see it, please.'

Exhort₁: Identical Predicate P. (For context see Text 9.4 paragraph 4)

Idea₁: Simple S.

Endi	Bantut	eto asepagana	den	apun
now	Bantut	other/side	also	sure
wadia-mo-n				
tell-them-2p/imp				

Idea₂: Simple S.

Nop	waiangina	ma	apun	wadia-mo-n
word	which/I/said	here	sure	tell-them-2p/imp
imp				

'Now make sure you tell them on the other side of the Bantut River. Make sure you tell them what I told (you).'

Exhort₁: Sequence S.

Please	onaepen	t-ane	ok	nega	gapan
please	come	do-2p/m	letter	my	at
enu	please.				
spear-2s/imp					

'Please write me when you are ready to come.'

Setting: Simple S.

Sia	mame	nop	negawa	pirisi	mup
again	this	word	my	please	request
wa-iangin.					
say-ls/pr					

Exhort₁: Parallel S.

Wanup	rarema	den	tambu	den	oaen
cloth	flower	with	get-2s/imp	also	woman
sueta	mugawa	da	eragi	abarara	den
sweater	their	a	mat	umbrella	also
get					

ne-n.
me-give/2s/imp

'Please, I have another request. Get me some flowered material, also one woman's sweater, (and) also get me an umbrella.'

Exhort₁: Simple S.

Ap anega ta.
so thus do-2s/imp

'So do it that way.'

Exhort₁: Sequence S.

Nop ma wapena anu ae ya vea.
word this say/1s/m hear/2s/imp neg/stop/2s/imp

'When I say this, listen; don't stop (listening).'

Setting: Simple S.

Ge nao gega dim da ta-ingi?
you work your what do-2s/pr/cont

Exhort₁: Sequence S.

Wadia-nege anu-p please
tell-me-2s/m hear-1s/imp please

'What is your work? Please tell me, then I will know.'

Exhort₁: Parallel S.

Please ok nega gare sia enu
please letter my exchange again spear-2s/imp
please inagap ok nega sia di watu-en
please to/you letter my again em send-2s/imp
please.
please

'Please reply to my letter which I sent to you.'

(2) The Parallel Paragraph consists of two obligatory tagmemes: Theme and Parallel Theme, which express synonyms or situational equivalents. There are elements of parallel grammatical structures between the sentences filling the Theme and Parallel Theme.

The names 'Identical Predicate Paragraph' and 'Parallel Paragraph' have been retained in order to highlight the similarities between these constructions on the paragraph and sentence levels. Longacre renames these as 'Parallel Paragraph' and 'Coordinate Paragraph', respectively.

Parallel Paragraph

+ THEME	+ PARALLEL THEME
Simple S.	Simple S.
Sequence S.	Sequence S.
Result S.	Coordinate S.
Negative Summary S.	Identical Predicate S.
	Evaluation S.

Special Features:

- (a) In one example the Parallel Paragraph expounds the Point of an Expository Discourse. In the remaining examples it expounded paragraph level tagmemes.
- (b) There is one example in which a Terminus occurs with the paragraph.

Theme: Result S.

Oaenapan sikop ta-ianton utu namani ya
 people scatter do-lp/pr there quickly neg
 uon tata.
 it/will/finish

Parallel Theme: Evaluation S.

Oaenapan karaua anepen tauapen ta-ianton ne
 people secretly go come do-lp/pr I
 yav-iangin ya umap ta-ia.
 see-ls/pr neg o.k. do-3s/pr

'We people scatter, (therefore the work) there will not finish quickly. I know that we people go and come secretly, (and that) is not acceptable.'

Theme: Negative Summary S.

Yaua	ya	wa-it	mainep	ya	tau	an-ait
name	neg	say-lp/f	near	neg	arrive	go-lp/f
uon.						
neg						

Parallel Theme: Coordinate S.

Nanip	taba	ya	war-ait	inamup	kae	ya
hand	food	neg	get-lp/f	with/them	play	neg
ta-it.						
do-lp/f						

'We will not say their names, (and) we will not go near them, definitely not. We will not take food from their hand, and we will not play with them.'

Theme: Simple S.

Ame	tuan	ame	tau a-en.
that	pig	that	leave-3s/p

Parallel Theme: Simple S.

Ame	dugup	pokaet.
that	house	empty

'That pig has left. That house (is) empty.'

Theme: Simple S. which expounds the Culmination tagmeme of a Sequence S.

bogasi	eragi	nuga	ai-at.
immediately	mat	our	take-lp/p/ss

Parallel Theme: Identical Predicate S. which expounds the Action Tagmeme of Summary S.

Ik	nuga	tam-at	wapagin	nuga	tam-at...
net/bag	our	take-lp/p/ss	cloth	our	take-lp/p/ss
					ss

'Immediately we got our mats. We got our net bags, (and) we got our sheets.'

Theme: Sequence S. (cf. Text 9.1, paragraph 2.1)

Paramesi	map	use	tau-epiwa	tap	ewae
plane	here	there	arrive-3s/m	fear	return
ma	onam	anuman.			
here	come	3p/cont			

Parallel Theme: Sequence S.

utap	use	ma	tau-epiwa	tap	ewae	use
there	there	here	arrive-3p/m	fear	return	there
am wanuman.						
go-3p/cont						

'When the planes go away (the people) turned and fled (back) here. When the planes returned (the people) turned and fled in the opposite direction.'

Theme: Simple S.

Da ?
who

Parallel Theme: Simple S.

Ge	yauga	anen?
you	your/name	how

'Who (are you)? What is your name?'

Theme: Simple S.

Oaenapan	da	uon.
people	a	neg

Parallel Theme: Simple S.

Megenat	di	vit	a-en.
only	em	descend	go-3s/p

'There were no people. Only he descended!'

Theme: Simple S.

Orup da agoe den uon.
fellow a slave with neg

Parallel Theme: Simple S.

Meaget di a-en.
only em go-3s/p

'There was no slave. Only he went!'

(3) The Identical Predicate Paragraph consists of two or three Idea tagmemes, each having the same verb stem in its exponent and usually a similar grammatical structure.

The Identical Predicate Paragraph contrasts with the Parallel Paragraph in that all verb stems in the same position in the Identical Predicate Paragraph must be the same. The verbs in the Parallel Paragraph are synonyms or situational equivalents. Generally, the fillers of the Idea tagmemes match in structure. There is no such matching in the Parallel Paragraph. An optional third Idea occurs in the Identical Predicate Paragraph, but to date no more than three have been observed with the Parallel Paragraph.

Identical Predicate Paragraph

+ IDEA ₁	+ IDEA ₂	± Idea ₃
Simple S.	Simple S.	Identical Predicate S. Sequence S.
Sequence S.	Sequence S.	
Coordinate S.	Coordinate S.	
Same Subject Coordinate S.	Identical Predicate S.	
Reason S.	Narrative Paragraph	
Narrative Paragraph	Parallel Paragraph	
Parallel Paragraph	Alternative S.	

Special Features:

- (a) Usually the Identical Predicate Paragraph expounds another paragraph-level tagmeme.
- (b) Both peripheral tagmemes have been observed with this paragraph.
- (e) Internal cohesion in the paragraph is maintained by the identical verb stems in the exponents.
- (f) Frequently the deep structure is paraphrase of the amplification type.
- (g) Two examples in which a third Idea occurred were found.
(See Text 9.1, paragraph 2)

Idea₁: Simple S.

Piup	gapan	s-en
ground	at	put-3s/p

Idea₂: Simple S.

Pon	gapan	s-en.
plain	at	put-3s/p

'He put (the people) on the ground. He put (them) on the plain.'

Idea₁: Simple S. filling Culmination of Sequence S.

uram	verivet	wa-n-iwanumun.
eel	tail	her-give-3p/p/cont

Idea₂: Simple S.

Wage	tanevet	wa-n-iwanumun.
greens	tough	her-give-3p/p/cont

'They were giving her eel tails. They were giving her tough greens.'

Idea₁: Same Subject Coordinate S.

Daio	ik	en-e	oma	gedo
Daio	net/bag	put/into-3s/p/ss	wood	bundle

ta iap war-an.
do-3s/p/ss head get-3s/p

Idea₂: Coordinate S.

Kanu ik en-an oma gedo
sweet/potato net/bag put/into-3s/p wood bundle
t-an ianap war-an.
do-1s/p my/head get-1s/p

'Daio filled the net bag, made a bundle of wood, and put (them) on her head. I filled the net bag with sweet potato, made a bundle of wood, and put (them) on my head.'

Idea₁: Simple S.

A barip uon.
ah feast neg

Idea₂: Simple S.

A tarep uon.
ah dance neg

'Ah, there (is) no feast. Ah, there (is) no dance.'

Setting: Coordinate S. (Cf. Text 9.1, paragraph 2.2)

Watu enen amba nu tap mapa aruga ta-inton
he/sent then we fear here all do-1p/p/cont
urat wariwanumune ae vean.
hole which/they/were/getting they/stopped

Idea₁: Sequence S.

Tap aruga utap use ma tau-iamun-e map
fear all there here arrive-3p/pr-m here
use anewan.
there we/are/going

Idea₂: Simple S.

Ewae use anewan.
return there we/are/going

Idea₃: Sequence S.

Itap	ise	ma	tauiamune	ewae
down/there	here	they/arrive/then	return	
ise		anewan.		
down/there		we/are/going		

Terminus: Simple S.

Ap	anega	ta-inton.
so	thus	do-lp/p/cont

'Having sent (the message about how to avoid attacking aircraft), then we were all fleeing here, and they stopped digging the holes (in which they hid from the planes). When (the planes) all arrive from one direction, then we flee in the opposite direction. We are returning (from the way they came). When they arrive from another direction, we return (to the area they have just flown over). So we were acting like this.'

Idea₁: Sequence S.

Koapura	orup	s-en-ia	Yarae	Bemben	dere
Koapura	child	put-3s/p-m	Yarae	Bemben	two
	s-en.				
	put-3s/p				

Idea₂: Umitan orup s-en-ia Moitua Eraman dere
 Umitan child put-3s/p-m Moitua Eraman two
 s-en.
 put-3s/p

'When Koapura bore children, she bore both Yarae and Bemben. When Umitan bore children, she bore both Moitua and Eraman.'

Idea₁: Simple S. (Cf. Text 9.5, paragraph 5)

Endiwa	nu	upi	Birat	gapan	wainian.
now	we	others	Birat	at	we/stay

Idea₂: Identical Predicate S.

Upi	Kakaia	gapan	wanum	amun
others	Kakaia	at	they/are/staying	

upi Komania gapan wanum amun
others Komania at they/are/staying

upi Dogon gam wanum amun.
others Dogon at they/are/staying

'Now we live at Birat. Others are living at Kakaia, others are living at Komania, (and) others at Dogon.'

Idea₁: Simple S.

Kikia Nanabun kikia mame ta-iangin.
story Nanabun story this do-ls/pr

Idea₂: Simple S.

Dara Ongane kikia ta-iangin.
Dara Ongane story do-ls/pr

'I am telling the story of the Nanabun (clan). I am telling the story of Dara Ongane (property of Nanabun clan).'

Idea₁: Narrative Paragraph

BU₁: Close Sequence S.

Wansen dawan an-eton-i oamak sia
sunrise hunting go-lp/p-m cassowary again
tu-ian.
kill-ls/pr

BU_n: Close Sequence S.

Tau-aton pe ta-ianit
arrive-lp/p rack do-lp/pr

Idea₂: Narrative Paragraph

BU₁: Close Sequence S.

Wansen dawan an-eton-i tuan baware
sunrise hunting go-lp/p-m pig big
koka done den tu-ian.
very teeth with kill-ls/pr

BU_n: Close Sequence S.

Tau-aton pe ta-ian.
 arrive-lp/p rack do-lp/pr

'At sunrise when we went hunting I (immediately) killed another cassowary. We came and (immediately) made a drying rack. At sunrise when we went hunting I (immediately) killed a very big pig with teeth. We came and (immediately) made a drying rack.'

Idea₁: Parallel Paragraph

Theme: Oaenapan da uon.
 people a neg

Parallel Theme: Megenat di vit a-en.
 only em descend go-3s/p

Idea₂: Parallel Paragraph

Theme: Orup da agoe den uon.
 fellow a slave with neg

Parallel Theme: Meaget di a-en.
 only em go-3s/p

'There were no people. Only he descended! There was no slave. Only he went!'

Idea₁: Sequence S.

Ne kibi wa-inawa kibi ap men wa-ivin.
 I shell say-ls/m shell so for say-ls/pr/cont

Idea₂: Alternative S.

Kibi oaenapan kanda mumapen wa-ivin
 shell people to/awaken/them say-ls/pr/cont

go
 or

ame ap menan wa-ivin.
 that so for say-ls/pr/cont

'When I blow the shell I blow the shell (to get the people ready to work). I blow the shell to awaken the people, or (to get them ready to work) I blow (the shell).'

Idea₁: Coordinate S.

Mamana	bar-aen	uon tan	osen	bar-aen
my/father	put-3s/p	finished	my/uncle	put-3s/p
ean	anega	s-en	endi	ne
my/aunt	thus	put-3s/p	now	I
				bat nimanegen.
				put/me-3s/p

Idea₂: Sequence S.

Tarep	bar-en-ia	Wasiro	bar-en-ia	Pumane
Tarep	put-3s/p-m	Wasiro	put-3s/p-m	Pumane
bar-en-ia	yon	wand-e	ne	bat nima-nege-n.
put-3s/p-m	stand	stay-3s/p/ss	I	put/me-3s/p

'He finished begetting my father, my uncle, and my aunts, and then he begat me. He begat Tarep, then Wasiro, then Pumane; then time passed and he begat me.'

Idea₁: Simple S.

Tireini	am-on.
training	go-3p/p

Idea₂: Simple S.

Tireini	apan	Manain	ge	apan	Emotut	am-on.
training	man	Manain	and	man	Emotut	go-3p/p

'They went for training. The man Manain and the man Emotut went for training.'

Idea₁: Simple S.

Ae	ma	dor-iamon.
down	here	climb-3s/pr

Idea₂: Simple S.

Ae	ma	Yabione	ae	ma	dor-iam.
down	here	Yabione	down	here	climb-3s/pr

'They climb from down there to here. They climb from down there at Yabione to here.'

Idea₁: Simple S.

Orup	Busini	bar-aen.
child	Busini	put-3s/p

Idea₂: Simple S.

Busini	apan	mini	use	bar-aen.
Busini	man	like	there	put-3s/p

'He begat the child Busini. He begat Busini like a man there.'
(Busini was a girl, and in the Daga mind a boy should be born first.)

Idea₁: Simple S.

Kapese	burao	kauma	en-ain.
tongs	lime	water	put/into-3p/f

Idea₂: Alternative S.

Da	ogi	bae	pokari	pane	gapan	en-ain
one	banana	leaf	empty	tie	at	put/into-3p/f
da	tin	poke	da	gapan	en-ain.	
a	tin	empty	a	at	put/into-3p/f	

'They will put the lime in water with tongs. Some will put (it) in an empty tied banana leaf, (or) some will put (it) in an empty tin.'

(4) The Dialogue Paragraph consists of from one to five Exchange tagmemes plus an optional closing Speech₀. The Exchange tagmemes are manifested by Verbal Exchange Paragraphs.

In Dialogue Paragraphs in which more than one Exchange occurs the change of speaker is optionally introduced by a or e or by a vocative. In cases where a question is answered there is rarely any indication of change of speaker and no quote formulas occur between the question and the answer.

As might be expected, deep and surface structure can be out of phase. A Direct Quote Sentence which in its initial clause is Speech₃ optionally adds a Speech₁ or Speech₂ in following clauses.

Dialogue Paragraph

+ (EXCHANGE) ⁿ⁼¹⁻⁵	± Speech ₀
Verbal Exchange P.	Direct Quote S.

Special Features:

- (a) The Dialogue Paragraph expounds discourse-level tagmemes of Episode in the Narrative Discourse or Procedure in Procedural Discourse.
- (b) Optionally, a Setting expounded by a Sequence or Coordinate Sentence occurs. No Terminus has been observed thus far.
- (c) If there is only one Exchange tagmeme the Speech₀ tagmeme is obligatory to distinguish the Dialogue Paragraph from the Verbal Exchange Paragraph.

Exchange₁: Verbal Exchange Paragraph

Speech: "E amba ona-ean?"
 you where come-2p/p

Reply: "Nu utupa Koeabagira gan onan-ton,"
 we there Koeabagira at come-1p/p

Exchange₂: Verbal Exchange Paragraph

Speech: "Goe awawadone arita go ontotu?"
 water waves big or little

 anega wat-on di wa-n-e-a
 thus say-1p/p dm say-3p/p-m-sc

Reply: "Bor-en."
 closed

"From where did you come?"

"We came from up there at Koeabagira."

"(Are) the waves big or little?" thus we said, (and) they said,
"(The path is) closed."

Setting: Result Paragraph

Cause: Endi aome paina wand-ia.
 now up high stay-3s/pr

Effect: Yambuni dot ak.
 carefully climb go-2s/imp

Exchange₁: Verbal Exchange P.

Speech: "Enda man ma wand-ia."
 friend animal here stay-3s/pr

Reply: "To mapa antapen."
 kill here drop-2s/imp

Exchange₂: Verbal Exchange P.

Speech: "O enda ne ma war-iangin."
 oh friend I here get-1s/pr

Reply: "Pa anepen."
 house let's/go

'Now (an animal) is up high (in the tree). Climb carefully.

"Friend, the animal is here."

"Kill (it and) drop (it) here."

"Oh Friend, I have it here."

"Let's go home."

Exchange_n: Verbal Exchange P.

Speech: Di wa-ton-i "Menapi nagire onam anum?"
 em say-1p/p-m Menapi people come 3s/pr

Reply: "A utupa di.
 ah there em

Speech₀: Direct Quote S.

Ne wata tau-an, " anega wa-ia.
 I yesterday arrive-1s/p thus say-3s/pr

'We said, "Have the Menapi people come?"

"Ah, (they're) there indeed. (I know because) I came yesterday,"
 thus he says.'

Setting: Sequence S.

Taba wa-n-en na-iwandin en-i anega
 food him-give-3s/p eat-3s/d/cont dr-m thus
 wa-n-i
 say-3s/p-m

Exchange₁: Verbal Exchange P.

Speech: "Tatan a tatan ma dim anop dansewa?"
 older brother this what wood sweet

Reply: "A siuran."
 ah salt

Exchange₂: Verbal Exchange P.

Speech: "Siuran da amba tau-en?"
 salt a where arrive-3s/p

Reply: "Aipa kauma puimani aipa warup ong-en."
 down water ocean down pull come-1s/p

(In Exchange 3, 4, and 5 Speech and Reply are one phonological sentence.)

Exchange₃: Verbal Exchange P.

Speech: "A Tatan ma dim"
 ah older/brother this what

Reply: "A ganip ganip endi nagut gam
 ah coconut coconut now taro at
 magosena"
 which/I/squeezed

Exchange₄: Verbal Exchange P.

Speech: "A Tatan endi da war-aan"
 ah older/brother now one get-2s/p

Reply: "A ne ma warana iman
 ah I this which/I/got tomorrow
 genapen wat agepen"
 give/you get you/go

Exchange₅: Verbal Exchange P.

Speech: "E Tatanawa endi siuran da war-aan"
 eh older/brother now salt one get-2s/p

Reply: "A dena ma iman genapen wat
 ah with this tomorrow give/you get
 agepen."
 you/go

'He gave him food, and he was eating for a long time; then he said this, "Older brother, what (is) this sweet taste?"

"Salt."

"Where did the salt come from?"

"I got it out of the ocean and brought it (here)."

"Older brother, what (is) this?"

"Coconut, I squeezed the coconut into the taro today."

"Older brother, (do) you have (an extra) one now?"

"Ah, I have this (extra one), (and) tomorrow I'll give it to you, (and) you can take it."

"Older brother, now (do) you have some (extra) salt?"

"Yes, I'll give it to you tomorrow, and you can take it."

Setting: Sequence S.

Meganat a-in en-i ao tau-en.
 only go-3s/d dr-m up arrive-3s/p

Exchange_n: Verbal Exchange P.

Speech: Ao tau-en-i amba anega wa-n-i
 up arrive-3s/p-m then thus say-3s/p-m

"Augaru ge ak amba in-ingian?"
 Augaru you go where live-2s/p/cont

Reply: "Ne ae Ilakae pon vit ang-en
 I down Ilakae plain descend go-1s/p

Ilakae vit ang-en.
 Ilakae descend go-1s/p

Aipa Modeni nagire men ivingin en-a.
 down Modeni people for 1s/d/cont dr-m

Aipa Ilakae pona tau-an.
 down Ilakae plain arrive-1s/p

Apan	yaua	Boborap	men	ang-en."
man	name	Boborap	for	go-1s/p

Speech₀: Oaenewa anega wa-n-i-a "Apan da
 wife/his thus say-3s/p-m-sc man a
 wata utupa meaget yaw-aton a-en
 yesterday there only see-lp/p go-3s/p
 men evi a-en."
 therefore later go-3s/p

'He went alone for a long way, then he arrived up (there). Having arrived up (there), he said, "Augaru, where did you go and live?"

"I descended down to the Ilakae plain, I descended down to Ilakae. I lived for a long time down with the Modeni people. I came down on the Ilakae plain. I went on account of a man named Boborap."

His wife said this, "Previously we saw a man alone up there, (but) he left therefore (my husband) went after (him)."

7.3.2. Linkage By Speech and Response. There are four paragraph types in which the linkage involves speech and response. In the Verbal Exchange Paragraph the response is verbal. In the Execution Paragraph the response is nonverbal. In the Remark Paragraph the activity eliciting the verbal response is nonverbal. In the Rhetorical Question Paragraph the Question is asked and the Answer is given by the same speaker.

The Verbal Exchange Paragraph involves a quoted speech and its reply.

The Execution and Remark Paragraphs are reverses of each other. In the Execution Paragraph a quotation is followed by a nonverbal activity. In the Remark Paragraph a nonverbal activity is followed by a Remark. Both paragraphs have only been found expounding the Build-Up tagmeme in the Narrative Paragraph.

(1) The Verbal Exchange Paragraph consists of an initiatory Speech, Speech₁; and a countering Speech₂ and/or a resolving Speech₃ as the Reply. The exponents of Speech₁, Speech₂, and Speech₃ are Direct Quote Sentences.

Verbal Exchange Paragraph

+ SPEECH	+ REPLY
Speech ₁	Speech ₂
Direct Quote Sentence	Speech ₃
Indirect Quote Clause	Direct Quote Sentence

Special Features:

- (a) The Verbal Exchange Paragraph expounds the Exchange tagmeme of the Dialogue Paragraph, the Build-Up tagmeme of the Narrative Paragraph or the Proposal tagmeme of the Execution Paragraph.
- (b) A Setting has been observed with this paragraph.

It is customary to introduce the Direct Quote Sentence in the Speech tagmeme with the Beginning Quote Formula and to close the Direct Quote Sentence expounding the Reply with a Closing Quote Formula.

In one example the Speech₁ was given as an Indirect Quote Clause which expounded the last Base of a Coordinate Sentence. The Speech₃ was given as a Direct Quote Sentence which expounded the Cause tagmeme of a Result Sentence.

Speech: "E amba onae-an?"
you where come-2p/p

Reply: "Nu utupa Koeabagira gan onan-ton."
we there Koeabagira at come-1p/p

"From where did you come?"

"We came from up there at Koeabagira."

Speech: "Goe awawadone arita go ontotu?" anega
water waves big or little thus
wa-ton
say-1p/p

Reply: di wa-n-e-a "Bor-en."
em say-3p/p-m-sc close-3s/p

"(Are) the waves big or little?" thus we said, (and) they answered, "(The path is) closed (implying that the waves are big)."

Speech: anega wa-n-i "A endi utupa apan da
thus say-3s/p-m ah now there man a
utupa ine tau-apena ge tap ya ag-e."
there at arrive-ls/m you fear neg go-2s/neg/
imp

Reply: "Kae" wa-n
oh/dear say-3s/p

'He said thus, "Ah, now when I arrive up there (there is) a man, (so) don't you run away."

"Oh dear," she said.'

Speech: is an Indirect Quote Clause expounding the final Base of a Coordinate S.

warapen menan ne muma wa-n.
to/get for I night say-ls/p

Reply: is a Direct Quote S. Expounding the Cause of a Result S.

Orogum anega wa-n-i "Ae tuan da war-ane
Orogum thus say-3s/p-m no pig a get-2p/m
ar-ae-ta"
bite-you-3s/f

'In order to catch (the pig) I said (that it was) night. Orogum said, "No, if you catch a pig he will bite you."'

(cf. Text 9.3 para 4.2)

Speech: anega wa-n-i "Apan ge dot kauari
thus say-3s/p-m man you climb cuscus
tapen."
drop

Reply: anega wa-n meimewa anega wa-n-i
 thus say-3s/p husband thus say-3s/p-m
 "Ae ge dot ge dot tapen. Ne endi
 no you climb you climb drop I now
 dor-ain-a endi tap a-eta," anega wa-n.
 climb-1s/f-m now fear go-3s/f thus say-3s/p

'She said this, "Man you climb (the tree and) drop the cuscus (down)." So she said, (and) her husband said this, "No, you climb, you climb (and) drop (it down). If I climb up now he will escape," thus he said.'

(cf. Text 9.3 para 4.4)

Setting: Dor-e warapen ta-n
 climb-3s/p/ss to/get do-3s/p

Speech: anega wani, "Apan man wara-nege taini."
 thus she/said man animal get-me does

Reply: anega wani "Ae ame aopan aopan ta-iwan
 thus he/said no that wrong do-3s/pr/
 ise ise ak wat," anega wan cont
 further/down go get-2s/imp thus he/said

'She climbed and tried to grab (the cuscus, and) she said this, "Man, the animal is trying to get me." He said this, "Oh no, that (cuscus) is trying to trick (you); go further down (the branch) and get it," thus he said.'

(2) The Execution Paragraph consists of an obligatory Proposal which must be filled by a quotation followed by an obligatory Nonverbal Response in which no quotation is permitted.

Execution Paragraph

+ PROPOSAL	+ NONVERBAL RESPONSE
Direct Quote S.	Simple S.
Verbal Exchange Paragraph	Sequence S.
	Coordinate S.
	Result S.
	Narrative Paragraph

Special Features:

- (a) In all examples the Execution Paragraph expounded the Build-Up tagmeme of the Narrative Paragraph.
- (b) Both peripheral tagmemes have been observed with this paragraph.

(In one example the Proposal and Nonverbal Response were encoded as a single phonological sentence.)

Proposal: Direct Quote S.

Ne anega wana "E ae v-ene gatawan
 I thus I/said You leave-2s/m later
 amba warat."
 then we/should/get/it

Nonverbal Response: Simple S.

Dawan sia aneton.
 hunting again go-lp/p

'I said this, "You leave (the pig lying in the underbrush), then later we will get it." We went hunting again.'

Proposal: Direct Quote S.

anega wani "Ao maeta vit"
 thus he/said up here descend-2s/imp

Nonverbal Response: Coordinate S.

Vise tap anun wani
 he/descended fear he/knew he/said

'He said this, "Come down here." He (another man) descended and was afraid, and he (the above speaker) said ...'

Proposal: Direct Quote S. (cf. Text 9.2, paragraphs 3.1 and 3.2)

wao anega wani "O ge gare
 crow thus he/said o you exchange
 ben wat nen." Anega wan.
 decoration get give/me thus he/said

Nonverbal Response: Narrative Paragraph

BU₁: Identical Predicate P.Idea₁: Simple S.

Sinasin	ameme	gamat	ae ve.
cockatoo	that	face/paint	stopped

Idea₂: Simple S.

Gamat	ae ve.
face/paint	stopped

BU_n: Coordinate S.

Yon wande	kagugum	megenat	gotonagin	e
he/rose/up	charcoal	only	he/crushed	dr
doba	wat	wanen.		
decoration	get	he/gave/him		

'The crow said this, "Oh you pay me back and give me a decoration," so he said. The cockatoo stopped (putting on his) face paint. He stopped his face paint. He rose up and crushed and crushed only charcoal (and) gave him a decoration.'

Proposal: Verbal Exchange Paragraph (cf. Text 9.3, paragraph 4.3)

Speech: Direct Quote S.

Anega wani	"Apan man	waranege	taini."
thus she/said	man animal	get/me	he/does

Reply: Direct Quote S.

Anega wani	"Ae ame	aopan aopan
thus he/said	no that	wrong
taiwan	ise ise	ak wat," anega
he/is/doing	further/down	go get thus
wan		
he/said		

Nonverbal Response: Sequence S.

Ise ise	ae	warapen	tani
further/down	she/went	to/get	she/did/then

ameme kauari epara ta yon wande oaen
 that cuscus stubborn do he/rose/up woman
 wareni
 he/got/then

'Thus she said, "Man, that animal is trying to get me." He said, "Oh no, it is trying to trick you, go further down (the branch) and get it," thus he said. She went further down (the branch) and tried to get it; then that cuscus stubbornly rose up and grabbed the woman ...'

Proposal: Direct Quote S. (cf. Text 9.1, paragraph 2.1)

"Paramesi map use tauepiwa tap
 plane here there it/arrives/then fear
 ewae ma onam anuman. Utap use ma
 return here they/keep/coming there here
 tauepiwa tap ewae use am anuman."
 it/arrives/then fear return there they/keep/going

Nonverbal Response: Result S.

Ap anega wan gam tap gam
 so thus he/said therefore fear at
 tainton.
 we/were/doing

'"When the planes go away (the people) should keep running (back) here. When the planes return they should keep running up there." So thus (the officer) said; therefore we were running (according to his directions).'

In this example both tagmemes are included in one phonological sentence.

Proposal: Direct Quote S.

Ne di wana, "Tamaru ne isi angep
 I em I/said fellows I there I/must/go
 kaum da waseat to pamak nain," anega
 water a grab hit break I/will/eat thus
 wan
 I/said

Nonverbal Response: Coordinate S.

tamaru	up	ya	wane	negenat		
fellows	steal	neg	they/said/then	I/only		
angen	kaum	daiton	to	pamak	ae	nan.
I/went	water	one	hit	break	down	I/ate

'I definitely said, "Fellows, I must go down there; I will grab a coconut, break, and eat it," thus I said, (and) the fellows said not to steal (it), (but) I went alone, broke open one coconut, and ate it.'

(3) Two examples of the Remark Paragraph have been found. In each of these the obligatory Event expounded by a Sequence Sentence was followed by an obligatory Remark expounded only by a Direct Quote Sentence.

Remark Paragraph

+ EVENT	+ REMARK
Sequence S.	Direct Quote S.

Special Features:

- (a) Both examples occurred as fillers of the Build-Up Tagmeme of the Narrative Paragraph.
- (b) No peripheral tagmemes have been observed with the paragraph.
- (d) Further data should expand the fillers of the Event tagmeme.

Event: Sequence S.

Ambagan	taueni	bogasi	utu		
then	when/he/arrived	immediately	there		
oaen	topen	menan	kereba	ware	taue
woman	to/hit	for	knife	he/got/and	arrive
ae	noa	bore	topen		
he/went/and	its/mouth	he/covered/and	hit		
tan					
he/did					

Remark: Direct Quote S.

oaen utu anega wani "Ya tonege
 woman there thus she/said neg hit/me
 ae ve ne wapena anu."
 stop I when/I/speak you/listen

'Then he arrived, and immediately he got out his knife in order to hit the woman; he covered the blade and was ready to hit her. The woman there said this, "Don't hit me, stop, listen to me."

Event: Sequence S. (cf. Text 9.2 paragraph 3.3)

Ugu wapi gine namu iravi kagugum anega wat
 body face all charcoal thus get
 wanin en amba wao yon wande gio
 he/gave/him dr then crow he/rose mirror
 ae dor ae gio yaviwandin en-ia
 down climb down mirror he/was/looking dr-m
 pumpunigaet yaven.
 only/black he/saw

Remark: Direct Quote S.

"Enda ge ge ben koakoaro wat
 friend you you decoration poor get
 nenaan ben koakoaro wat
 you/gave/me decoration poor get
 nenaan," anega waia.
 you/gave/me thus he/says

'He put lots of charcoal all over his face and body; then the crow rose, climbed in front of the mirror, and while he was looking and looking he saw only black. Immediately he said, "Friend, you, you gave me a poor decoration, you gave me a poor decoration." (Repetition in the quote indicates the strong emotion of the situation.)

(4) The Rhetorical Question Paragraph consists of a Question and an Answer by the same speaker. The speaker may optionally include a second Answer. The Question is always asked in the

form of a Simple Sentence which contains the interrogatives *iwa* 'why' or *anenen* 'how' or one of their equivalents in another dialect. The Answers frequently are introduced by *A*, the change of speaker indicator in a quoted dialogue. Logical conjunctions, such as *iwa* 'because' or *menan/ap me/ap men/gapan* 'therefore' occur in the Answer. *A* and/or a logical conjunction must occur in the Answer tagmeme.

This paragraph is often used as a teaching device.

Rhetorical Question Paragraph

+ QUESTION	+ ANSWER ₁	± Answer ₂
Simple S. <i>iwa</i> 'why' <i>anenen</i> 'how'	Simple S. Reason S. Result S. Direct Quote S. Narrative Paragraph Result Paragraph Antithetical P. Identical Predicate P. <i>iwa</i> 'because' <i>A</i> <i>ap me/ap men/menan</i> <i>gapan</i> 'therefore'	Simple S. Sequence S. Narrative P. <i>A</i> <i>iwa</i> 'because' <i>menan</i> 'therefore'

Special Features:

- (a) The Rhetorical Question Paragraph expounds tagmemes in Expository Discourse.
- (b) A Setting and Terminus optionally occur with this paragraph.

Question: Simple S.

Virip *iwa dim ben?*
in/law/taboo why

Answer: Narrative P.

Setting: Simple S.

Virip iwa manega.
in/law/taboo reason like/this

BU_n: Simple S.

Virip iwa apan ame orewa
in/law/taboo reason man that daughter/his
apan ame naiseni menan.
man that who/married for

'Why (is there) an in-law taboo? Because the in-law taboo (is) like this. Because the in-law taboo applies to the man who married that (other) man's daughter.'

Question: Simple S.

Naiseni iwa dim ben?
who/married why

Answer₁: Simple S.

A ne gase wana nu guegue nuga
ah I already what/I/said we custom our
namu tani di taiwanum.
first which/he/did em they/are/doing

Answer₂: Narrative P.

Setting: Simple S.

A tapi iwa manega.
ah which/he/does reason like/this

BU_n: Sequence S.

A ae naisepiwa orup barepiwa
ah comp he/marries/then child he/puts/then
o okoi barepia tuan barepia ae
or dog he/puts/then pig he/puts/then comp
boeta.
he/will/die

'Why (does it apply) to the one who married (into the family)?
(As) I just said, (it is) our custom which was done much earlier,

(and so) they are practicing (it now). This (is) the reason it's done. After their marriage when a child or dog or pig is born it will definitely die (if the in-law taboo is broken).'

Question: Simple S.

Anenen boeta?
why he/will/die

Answer: Identical Predicate P.

Idea₁: Reason S.

A warini go ya umap iwa
ah he/got/that but neg sufficient because
gase mamewa garip wan.
already father/her behind he/said

Idea₂: Simple S.

Mamewa inewa garip wan.
father/her mother/her behind he/said

'Why will he (the offspring) die? Well, he followed (the taboo), but insufficiently because he already had said her father's (name) secretly. He had said her father's (or) her mother's (name) secretly.'

Setting: Identical Predicate P.

Idea₁: Simple S.

Ine mame mugenat ya tain ame
parents/her only neg they/will/do that
virip gare gare.
in/law/taboo exchange

Idea₂: Simple S.

Naunewa o tapunewa
son/in/law/their or mother/in/law/his
nemnagewa o ame virip gare gare.
father/in/law/his or that in/law/taboo exchange

Question: Simple S.

Gare gare iwa dim ben?
exchange why

Answer: Result S.

A	gase	yan tan	orewa	
ah	already	he/gave/birth	daughter/his	
wanen		o	ap me	garewa virip
he/gave/him	or	therefore	exchange	in/law/taboo
kakae	iragen	taiwanum.		
good	intensifier	they/are/doing		

'The (wife's) parents will not observe (the in-law taboo) only (on their side, but there is) a reciprocal (keeping) of the taboo. The in-law exchange (is between) the son-in-law and mother-in-law, (and between the son-in-law) and the father-in-law. Why (do they practice) the exchange? Well, he gave birth to his daughter (and) gave her to his son-in-law, or (the mother gave birth to her daughter and gave her to her son-in-law), therefore in repayment they practice the in-law taboo as carefully (as possible).'

Question: Simple S.

Man	dawan	amuine	iwa dim ben?
animal	hunting	they/go	why

Answer: Reason S.

Man	dawan	amuine	iwa	evene
animal	hunting	they/go	because	friend/their
da kanu		vere	yave	wan go
a	sweet/potato	he/planted	he/saw	he/said or
anega wan		"Ne kanu	nega veran	
thus	he/said	I	sweet/potato	my I/planted
man	anepen, "	anega wan.		
animal	let's/go	thus	he/said	

Terminus: Simple S.

Ap men	dawan	amoanum.
therefore	hunting	they/are/going

'Why do they (the people) go hunting? They go hunting because one of their friends planted and cared for (his) sweet potato and said, "I have planted my sweet potato, let's go hunting," he said. So they go hunting.'

Question: Simple S.

Tauane	iwa anenen	taiwanum?
they/returned/then	why	they/are/doing

Answer: Simple S.

A	oma	tugune	pe	aminum.
ah	wood	they/burn/then	smoking/rack	they/ smoked

'They returned (from the hunt), then what do they do? Well, they smoke (the meat) on a rack.'

7.3.3. Linkage by Conjunction. The Antithetical, Result, Reason, and Alternative Paragraphs all have an optional link between their obligatory tagmemes. The conjunction functioning as this link occurs in the periphery of the sentence expounding the second obligatory tagmeme.

These four paragraph types also have similar sentence types: the Antithetical, Result, Reason, and Alternative Sentences. Paragraph periphery have been observed with each paragraph except the Alternative so that these paragraphs differ from their matching sentences by intonational features, the optional occurrence of paragraph peripheral tagmemes, Setting and Terminus, and in the range and length of exponents.

The Antithetical Paragraph has a Thesis and Antithesis optionally linked by go 'but'.

Result Paragraph and Reason Paragraph state implicational relationships. The tagmemes in the Result Paragraph are optionally joined by menan 'therefore' and in the Reason Paragraph by iwa 'because'.

Reason Paragraph occurs more frequently than the Reason Sentence.

Two examples of an Alternative Paragraph were found.

(1) The Antithetical Paragraph has an obligatory Thesis and Antithesis optionally linked by go 'but'. If the Link does not occur, there must be two contrasts in the Predicate and/or terms between the Thesis and Antithesis.

Antithetical Paragraph

+ THESIS	± Link	+ ANTITHESIS
Simple S.	go 'but'	Simple S.
Sequence S.		Merged S.
Coordinate S.		Sequence S.
Evaluation S.		Coordinate S.
Identical Predicate S.		Evaluation S.
Conditional S.		Close Sequence S.
Result P.		Direct Quote S.
Antithetical P.		Conditional S.
Identical Predicate P.		Result Paragraph
		Reason Paragraph

Special Features:

- (a) The Antithetical Paragraph occurs mainly embedded in Narrative, Expository, and Reason Paragraphs. In one case the Thesis of the Antithetical Paragraph was expounded by an Antithetical Paragraph. There are a few examples where the Antithetical Paragraph expounds a Discourse level tagmeme.
- (b) A Terminus filled by an Expository Paragraph occurs with one Antithetical Paragraph.
- (c) The optional Link occurs in 67% of the examples studied.
- (d) Further data will probably show that any sentence expounds the Thesis or Antithesis.
- (f) Deep structures of Contrast and Paraphrase are encoded in this surface paragraph.
- (g) In some cases lexical items given in the Thesis are not mentioned again in the Antithesis.

Thesis: Sequence S.

Yao asigasenia na-piwa vek ya war-eta.
owner eat-3s/m sick neg get-3s/f

Antithesis: Sequence S. (with ellipsis of first Predicate)

Oarea vek war-eta.
non/owner sick get-3s/f

'When the owner eats (with the lime licking stick) he will not get sick. (But) a nonowner will get sick (when he eats with the lime licking stick).'

Thesis: Simple S.

Oaenapan moni da di war-an.
people money much get-3p/p

Link: Go
but

Antithesis: Simple S.

endi John Emotut wareni waise wa-ian.
now John Emotut what/he/got story say-ls/pr

'The people got a lot of money. But now I am telling the news about (the money that) John Emotut got.'

Thesis: Sequence S.

Oam ewake tauge ang-en-a at koerage.
day new arrive-ls/p-m place bad

Antithesis: Sequence S.

Endi yav-iangin-a kakae menan anu-ian.
now see-ls/pr-m good for think-ls/pr

'When I first arrived (it was) a bad place. (But) now when I look (at it) I think (it will be) good.'

Thesis: Conditional S. (cf. Text 9.7, paragraph 1)

Yawa	me	eapa	pia	in-iwandapina
when/you/look	he	down	ground	live-3s/cond/cont
paina	oeapa	dugup	dore	in-iwandapinawa
high	overhead	house	climb	live-3s/cond/cont
amba	ita	pia	anega	ae uat.
then	spear	ground	then	down throw-2s/imp

Link: Go
but

Antithesis: Conditional S.

dugup	ame	ni mot wa	gapan	in-iwandapinawa
house	that	collapsed	at	live-3s/cond/cont
ame	tuan	ame	tau	ae-n.
that	pig	that	leave-3s/p	

'When you look (at the pig's house), if (the pig) is living down on the ground, (that is) if he has entered and remains in the house, then throw the spear down in the ground. But if the house in which he is living has collapsed, that (means the) pig has left.'

Thesis: Sequence S.

Nu	nanin	goanewa	auda	onam-on-e	nu
we	hand	inside	foreigner	some-3p/p-m	we
nanin	goanap	ma	bara-iwanum.		
hand	inside	here	put-3s/pr/cont		

Link: Go
but

Antithesis: mu naniwa goanap da uon.
they hand inside a neg

'Concerning (the work) in our hands (i. e., which we have), when the foreigners came they gave us (the work). But they don't have to do it.'

Thesis: Evaluation S.

Ap anega ya wa-ne ame koerage.
so thus neg say-2p/imp/neg that bad

Antithesis: Merged S.

Warepi otua ae ase tau sedi gan ae
one/who/gets/it go there arrive shed at down
barae amba di on-ep.
put then em come-3s/imp

Terminus: Perception S.

Endi auda otu da nop baware iragen ap
now foreigner little word biggest so
wa-iwandin yaw-an
say-3s/p/cont see-2p/imp

'So don't say that, (because) it (is) bad (to say that you won't put the shovel back). (But) the one who gets (the shovel) should go and put (it) in the shed and then come (home). Remember (that) today the little foreigner was so saying (this) important message.'

Thesis: Antithetical Paragraph

Thesis: Sequence S.

Orup da sin tan wan tan muga dim tap
fellow a various/activities their what do
uon ta-piwa namanigaet imana mayama
finish-3s/m quickly tomorrow day/after/
tau-ep. tomorrow
arrive-3s/imp

Link: Go
but

Antithesis: Antithetical S.

nao nao kanu kanu ya wa-ne
work work sweet/potato neg say-2p/imp/neg
go sin tan wan tan ega amena dim dim da
but various/activities your there something

anune ame tane uon ta-pi ame
 which/you/think that do finish-3s/m that
 namani tau-an.
 quickly arrive-2p/imp

Link: Go
 but

Antithesis: Direct Quote S.

apan da anega wapi "Ne enam nae
 man a thus he/says I yam sprout
 bunao seapen taivin. Ne dugup tupen
 pull/out put I/am/doing I house build
 taivin ne kanu nae verapen
 I/am/doing I sweet/potato sprout plant
 taivin," anega ya wa-p.
 I/am/doing thus neg say-3s/imp

'When a fellow finishes his various activities or what (he is) doing, he should come (to the airstrip) tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. But don't say that (you're going to) work (and) work (and finish planting) sweet potato (and more) sweet potato, but do your various activities there (and) whatever you think (of) then come quickly. But don't say, "I am going to prepare and plant yams. I am ready to build a house (or) I am ready to plant sweet potato."'

Thesis: Result Paragraph

Cause: Ane karaua waninet.
 go secretly we/should/stay
 Effect: Oaenapan noa tambuinapen.
 people word we/should/get

Link: Go
 but

Antithesis: Conditional S.

endi ma nop daiton daiton waine ma
 now word a/few which/they/say here

nop warapen tata umap ya tan.
word if/we/get it/is/not/sufficient

'We should go and hide, (so that) we can get the people's words (on the tape recorder). But if we get a few words which they speak now (when they know we are taping), it is not sufficient.'

Thesis: Identical Predicate S.

Nu uruga oaenen den nu uruga otun den
we all wife with we all child with
nuk mini mini di.
we each each em

Link: Go
but

Antithesis: Close Sequence S.

nu gaset ae ve aneton Agaun taivin.
we already leave we/went Agaun we/are/doing

'We all have wives; we all have children, each one of us. But we have already left (our homes) and gone, (and) we are working at Agaun.'

(2) The Result Paragraph consists of an obligatory Cause and Effect optionally linked by menan 'therefore'. If the Link does not occur, the tense of the Cause must be different from the tense of the Effect.

Result Paragraph

+ CAUSE	± Link	+ EFFECT
Simple S.	menan 'therefore'	Simple S.
Sequence S.		Sequence S.
Coordinate S.		Coordinate S.
Perception S.		Result S.
Narrative P.		Narrative P.
Expositional P.		Expositional P.
Alternative P.		Identical Predicate P.

Special Features:

- (a) Usually Result Paragraphs expound other paragraph-level tagmemes. The example which had the optional peripheral tagmemes expounded an Episode tagmeme in a Narrative Discourse. In two other examples the Result Paragraph expounded the Conclusion tagmeme of the Hortatory and Narrative Discourses. One Result Paragraph expounded a Point tagmeme in a Hortatory Discourse.
- (b) A Setting and a Terminus expounded by Simple Sentences occurred in one example. This example also contained the Link.
- (c) The Link *menan* is obligatory when the same tense occurs in the Cause and in the Effect.
- (f) The deep structure of Causation optionally is encoded as a Result Paragraph or as a Narrative Paragraph in which the Link *menan* does not occur and in which the same tense occurs in two successive Steps.

Cause: Simple S.

Endi aome paina wand-ia,
now up high stay-3s/pr

Effect: Simple S.

Yambuni dot ak.
carefully climb go-2s/imp

'Now it (the animal) is high up (in the tree). (Therefore) climb carefully.'

Cause: Coordinate S.

Endi tatan goanin gaset oaenewa ve
now siblings/ours already wife/his leave

on-en pa mega amunu on-en
come-3s/p house his warm come-3s/p

inanup wand-en irot war-iwandin-i
with/us stay-3s/p cold get-3s/p/cont-m

yav-iwanin.
see-2p/pr/cont

Effect: Result S.

Endi yaw-an gapan Agaun nao gapan
 now see-2p/imp therefore Agaun work at
 war-an.
 get-2p/imp

'Now our siblings have already left their wives and their warm homes and are with us, and you are observing that they are getting cold/uncomfortable. (Therefore) now think (about this), then get to work at Agaun.'

Cause: Expository Paragraph (cf. Text 9.7, paragraph 1.2)

Text: Conditional S.

dugup ame ni mot wa gapan iniwandapina
 house that collapsed at if/he/is/living
 ame tuan ame tau aen.
 that pig that he/escaped

Expo₁: Simple S.

Ame dugup pokaet.
 that house empty

Expo₂: Coordinate S.

Ame tuan ame aen iniwan?
 that pig that he/went he/is/living

Link: Menan
 therefore

Effect: Sequence S.

ame yawa ae veawa yop sia di ak.
 that you/see/then stop/then search again em go

'If the house has collapsed, the pig has escaped. That house is empty. That pig has gone, (and who knows) where he is living? Therefore when you see that, stop; then go search again (elsewhere)!'

Cause: Expository Paragraph

Text: Simple S.

Endi mame agirikulta nave ne warivin.
now here agriculture work I am/doing

Expo₁: Simple S.

Nao mame warintonia oenapan iravi piup
work this which/we/do people all ground
ma menan guegue taivin.
here for behavior we/are/doing

Expo₂: Simple S.

Oenapan nuga menan warivin.
people our for we/are/doing

Link: Menan
therefore

Effect: Expository Paragraph

Text: Simple S.

endi oenapan pa nagirewa nu guegue
now people house people we behavior
menan wadiamoivin.
for we/are/telling/them

Expo₁: Simple S.

Kopi dim dim pa wananan haigin
coffee something house possessions hygiene
dim dim tainea neigineiginea
something which/they/do custom
tativin.
we/are/continually/doing

'Right now I am doing agriculture work. The work which we are doing is for all the people in this area. We are working for our people. Therefore we are telling the village people about behavior. We are continually telling (them) how to care for coffee (or) something (similar) and how to care for their houses and possessions (or) something (similar).'

Setting: Simple S.

Ne gase isimurana apan Taupae.
I before my/great/grandfather man Taupae

Cause: Narrative Paragraph

BU₁: Simple S.

Taupae mapa wandeen.
Taupae here he/lived

BU₂: Wanugewa siri waren.
his/nephew leprosy he/got

BU_n: Siri waren kabani tune
leprosy he/got young they/buried/then
inan maman wa bumage make make oaituren.
my/parents extreme/sadness know

Link: Menan
therefore

Effect: Narrative Paragraph

BU₁: gunarewa Sinao Enuni gapan aeni
anger Sinao Enuni at he/went/then
boge ao Ginantae awana Daitutu
immediately up Ginantae plain Daitutu
ae antapene.
down he/dropped

Parenthetical BU: Otu tasine Vedo Magama dere
his/children Vedo Magama two
tame.
he/took

BU₂: Aeni boge Daitutu ae antapene
he/went immediately Daitutu down he/dropped
aeni boge ae Nuaut geare.
he/went/then immediately down Nuaut he/
crossed

BU₃: Birat pon taue egak nugusen.
Birat valley he/arrived garden he/made

BU_n: Taba mega Bomaut makewa na gapan
food his Bomaut seed eat at

nao tan.
work he/did

Terminus: Simple S. with afterthought peripheral tagmeme.

Ap mepe wandin e otu tasine dere
there he/lvied/for/a/long/time children/his 2

'Before my great-grandfather (was) the man Taupae. Taupae lived here. His nephew got leprosy. He got leprosy, and they buried him as a young man; then my parents were extremely sad. Therefore in grief he (Taupae) went to Sinao Enuni, then immediately (he went) up to Ginantae, (then) he descended down to Daitutu. He took his two children Vedo and Magama. And he went, then immediately he descended down to Daitutu, and he went, then immediately he crossed the Nuaut River. He arrived in the Birat valley and made a garden. He worked (the garden), (and at that time) he ate his food, Bomaut nuts. He lived there a long time (with) his two children.' (The next paragraph discusses the two children, and that is why they were introduced as an afterthought in the Terminus of this paragraph.)

(3) The Reason Paragraph consists of an obligatory Action and Reason optionally linked by iwa 'because'. The Link is not needed when the imperative occurs in the Action.

Reason Paragraph

+ ACTION	± Link	+ REASON
Simple S. Summary Negative S. Simultaneous S. Antithetical S. Reason P.	iwa 'because'	Simple S. Result S. Antithetical S. Identical Predicate S. Expositional P.

Special Features:

- (a) The Reason Paragraph in half the examples expounded discourse-level tagmemes and in the other half expounded paragraph-level tagmemes.

- (b) No examples were found in which a Setting occurred but this was probably caused by the small sample. In one example a Terminus reiterated the Action.
- (c) The Link occurred in approximately 50% of the examples. In these examples the imperative did not occur in the Action slot.

Action: Simple S.

Aro tapen.
strong do

Link: Iwa
 because

Reason: dup.
 wash

‘(They will be) strong, because (they) washed.’

Action: Simple S.

Plen are wanua isi sia
plane area lower/end down/there again
kaisiwanum.
they/are/cutting

Link: Iwa
 because

Reason: Simple S.

plen aritawa tauapen menan.
plane big arrive for

Terminus: Simple S.

Plen are ewakewa sia kaisiwanum.
plane area new again they/are/cutting

‘They are cutting more (grass) down at the lower end of the airstrip, because a big plane (will) come. They are cutting a new (area) for the airstrip.’

Action: Summary Negative S.

Apan da den uon apan amba tauap
 man a with neg man then he/should/arrive
 de ya vereit uon.
 two neg we/will/plant neg

Link: Iwa
 because

Reason: Simple S.

nein onamon.
 path they/come

‘(There is) not another man with (me); (if) a man should come we two definitely will not plant. Because (the others) come on the path (only to visit and hunt).’

Action: Simultaneous S.

Agaun nope wainantawa garia ya yavep
 Agaun word while/we/say don't/be/disgusted
 tanda ya anune.
 don't/refuse

Reason: Result S.

Utu koerage anikapi den auda nao
 there bad handcuff with foreigner work
 mugawa anikapi den menan oaenapan nuga
 their handcuff with therefore people our
 goandagewa waianton menan opata
 taboo we/say therefore announcement
 pot pot waivin.
 always I/am/saying

‘While I give the message concerning Agaun, don't be disgusted and don't refuse (to listen). (Because) up there they have bad handcuffs; the foreigners have handcuffs with their work (this means they have authority to punish), therefore (since) our people refuse (to do the work) I am always making announcements (concerning the work).’

Action: Simple S.

Pa pa	mu	enip		burao
villages	they	lime/licking/stick		lime/pot
ik	iwa	muga	uon.	
net/bag	head	their	neg	

Link: Iwa
because

Reason: Simple S.

ne	gutut	nega	ta	venasen.
I	story	my	do	it/appeared

'The ownership of the lime licking stick, the lime pot, and the net bag (is) not the possession of the various villages. Because it appeared (to my clan and is) my story.' (The meaning is that this man is the owner of the story of the origin of the above three items.)

Action: Reason Paragraph (cf. Text 9.6, paragraph 1)

Action: Coordinate S.

Endi	ge	apan	agean	yauga	ae
now	you	man	you/went	your/name	down
barae	on	gean	ma	dim da	waringi
you/put	you/	came	here	what	you/are/doing
oaen	agean	yauga	ae	barae	
woman	you/went	your/name	down	you/put	
on	gean	ma	dimoma	waringi	vek
you/	came	here	what	are/you/doing	sick
tapi	megenat	wandep	go	dim da	tapi
doer	only	should/stay	or	what	doer
megenat	wandep	orup da	atana	karaua	
only	should/stay	fellow	there	secretly	
nao	ya	wap	en nae	ya	
work	neg	he/should/say	sprouts	neg	
wap		kopi	ya	wap	ame
he/should/say		coffee	neg	he/should/say	that
ebo.					
wrong					

Reason: Identical Predicate S.

Oaenapan	yauga	siwaniana	uruga	endi
people	your/name	you/who/put	all	now
Agaun	gapan	imana	mayama	uruga
Agaun	at	tomorrow	day/after/tomorrow	all
Agaun	gapan.			
Agaun	at			

Reason: Expository Paragraph

Text: Antithetical S.

Nao	otu da	baware	uon	go	piup	koni
work	little	big	neg	but	ground	edge
otu da	dere	megenat.				
little	two	only				

Expo₁: Antithetical S.

Da	endi	tayavit	onanton	da	itapa	wandia.
one	today	we/tried	we/came	one	there	it/stays

Expo₂: Simple S.

A	yampoa	ea	bumak	ya	taut	veatoniwa
a	third	down	bank	neg	we/do	leave
ameme	enapen.					
that	we/should/do					

'Now you, fellow, you went and signed on for work and came back; what are you doing? You, woman, you went and signed on for work and came back; what are you doing? Only the sick ones or the ones doing something should stay (in the village). You, fellow, over there, don't say to (do your own work) secretly; don't say to (plant) sprouts; don't say (to do) coffee; that (is) bad. (Because) all the people who signed on (to work) (should be) at Agaun today, tomorrow, and the next day. (Because) (there is) not a lot of work (left to do), but (there are) only two little edges of ground. We did one today and came (home, but) one remains (to be done). We should (also) do that third bank down there which we left today.'

(4) The Alternative Paragraph consists of a Statement and an Alternative optionally linked by o 'or'. There must be a contrast between the predicate or terms of the Statement and of the Alternative.

Alternative Paragraph

+ STATEMENT	± Link	+ ALTERNATIVE
Sequence S.	o 'or'	Sequence S.

Special Features:

- (a) Two examples of Alternative Paragraph have been observed. One manifested the Exposition tagmeme of an Expository Paragraph. The other filled the Procedure tagmeme of a Procedural Paragraph.
- (b) Setting and Terminus have not been observed with this paragraph as yet.

Statement: Sequence S.

Nuga megenat anuta utu bariawa
ours only when/we/think there foreigner
mega koerage.
his bad

Link: O
or

Alternative: Sequence S.

bariawa megawa megenat anuta nuga
foreigner his only when/we/think ours
gam koerage.
at bad

'When/if we think only of our (work), the foreigner's (work will be) unfinished. Or when/if we think only of the foreigner's, our (work will be) unfinished.'

Statement: Sequence S.

Wat ase ma warup-ewa kabani warat
get there here pull-2s/m alive get
anu-a pusiwa wapait-a kabani di
know-2s/m foot/his break-2s/m alive em

wat.
get-2s/imp

Alternative: Sequence S.

Togurat	anu-a	di	togut	amba
kill	know-2s/m	em	kill-2s/imp	then
boniga	wat.			
dead	get-2s/imp			

'When you bring (the animal) home, if you want (it) alive, break its legs (and) bring (it) alive. (Or) if you want (it) dead, definitely kill (it), then bring (it) (home) dead.'

7.3.4. Linkage by a Combination of Types. A combination of methods of linkage is used in the Narrative, Expository, Genealogy, and Procedural Paragraphs. Generally, these four paragraphs are longer than the other paragraph types and frequently expound Discourse level tagmemes.

The Narrative and Procedural Paragraphs are the most open-ended paragraphs in Daga. Expository and Genealogy have only two to three additional nuclear tagmemes.

(1) The Narrative Paragraph has been so termed because it fills tagmemes of all Discourse types, it employs a combination of types of linkage, and the order of events is chronological. A nonchronological event is permitted, but the chronological ordering of events must be restored. This is done by recapitulating the final verb or clause of the Build-Up before the parenthetical insertion in the Build-Up following the insertion.

The only tagmeme of the Narrative Paragraph is the Build-Up, which must occur once and has been observed to occur up to fourteen times.

In preparing Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages, Robert Longacre used an earlier draft of this chapter in which the 'Narrative Paragraph' was termed 'General Paragraph' because it expounded both Narrative and Procedure Discourse tagmemes. Longacre suggests 'Sequence Paragraph' as a more suitable name than 'General Paragraph'. However, since further investigation has revealed a separate 'Procedural Paragraph', the construction has been termed 'Narrative Paragraph'. 'Narrative Paragraphs' can occur

in Procedure Discourse as well as 'Procedural Paragraphs'.

Narrative Paragraph

\pm (Build-Up) ⁿ⁼¹⁻¹³	+ BUILD-UP _n	
same fillers as in Build-Up _n	Simple S.	Antithetical P.
	Sequence S.	Identical Predicate P.
	Coordinate S.	Verbal Exchange P.
	Close Sequence S.	Execution P.
	Conditional S.	Remark P.
	Direct Quote S.	Result P.
	Result S.	Expositional P.
	Simultaneous S.	Dialogue P.
	Antithetical S.	
	Terminating Action S.	
	Identical Predicate S.	
	Same Subject Coordinate S.	

Special Features:

- (a) The Narrative Paragraph is mainly found expounding discourse-level tagmemes of Episode, Procedure, and Point. In two examples a Narrative Paragraph filled the Setting of a Narrative Paragraph. Two other examples filled tagmemes of the Result Paragraph.
- (b) Almost half the examples have a Setting which is filled by Simple S., Sequence S., Coordinate S., Identical Predicate S., Antithetical S., or Narrative or Result Paragraph. One-fourth of the examples have a Terminus expounded by Simple S., Sequence S., Coordinate S., or Antithetical Paragraph.
- (d) The Simple, Sequence, and Coordinate Sentences are used predominantly. Further data should expand the fillers to include every sentence and paragraph type.
- (e) A combination of methods of linkage is used within the Narrative Paragraph. 50% of the linkage observed was by juxtaposition, 33% was by recapitulation. The remaining 12% of the linkage was divided among linkage by mismatch of phono-

logical and grammatical sentences, linkage by a reference to a lexical item in the previous sentence, linkage by use of the same surface structure sentence types, and linkage by the same subject as actor.

- (f) The deep structure of Causation which usually is encoded as a Result Paragraph is also encoded as a Narrative Paragraph in which the tenses of two successive Steps are the same and *menan* 'therefore' does not occur. Causation occurring in a Narrative Discourse would be more likely to be encoded as a Narrative Paragraph. In Hortatory Discourse it would probably be encoded as a Result Paragraph.

Setting: Identical Predicate S.

Ao	doranea	at	Baunam	utut	doran.
up	when/they/climbed	place	Baunam	there	they/ climbed

BU_n: Direct Quote S.

Dorane	bogasi	aupa	tasewa	
having/climbed	immediately	up	older/sister	
anega	wani	"E	oaen	aepanewa
thus	she/said	hey	woman	good
				down
ak.	Oaen	aepanewa	ae	age
you/go	woman	good	down	you/go/then
				I
oaen	koerage	negenat	angep.	Ge
woman	bad	only	I/should/go	you
				woman
aepanewa	apan	tanamoan	iniana	din
good	man	with/them	who/sleeps	why
evinap	ongingi,"		anega	wan.
after/me	you/are/coming		thus	she/said

'When they had climbed up, they climbed up there to the place Baunam. Having climbed, immediately the older sister said this up there, "Hey, good woman, you go down. Good woman, you go down; then I, the bad woman, should go alone. You, good woman, who sleeps with men, why are you coming after me?" thus she said.'

Setting: Identical Predicate S.

Wan sen (Temporal indicator of a new paragraph)
sunrise

ne	dawan	angen	mu	nainaet	amon.
I	hunting	I/went	they	path	they/went

BU₁: Antithetical S.

Eaobongage	tauiam	man	da	uon.
Eaobongage	they/arrive	animal	a	neg

BU_n: Antithetical Paragraph

Thesis: Coordinate S.

Man	da	uon	inaton	wan sen	anetoni
animal	a	neg	we/slept	sunrise	when/we/went
isi	Apan	Wat	Eneni	tauian.	
there	Apan	Wat	Eneni	we/arrive	

Antithesis: Simple S.

Man	da	uon.
animal	a	neg

'At sunrise I went hunting, and (the other people) went along the path. Immediately they arrived at Eaobongage, (but there were) no animals. (There were) no animals, (so) we slept, the sun rose (the next day, and) we went hunting; then immediately we arrived at Apan Wat Eneni. (But there were) no animals.'

This example illustrates the use of recaptitulation and the same surface sentence types as methods of linkage.

Setting: Narrative Paragraph (cf. Text 9.1, paragraph 1)

BU₁: Coordinate S.

Tamaru	gapan	wanigen	ase	anega	waingin
youth	at	I/stayed	there	thus	I/stayed
en	oaen	wariangin	oaen	waran	anega
dr	woman	I/got	woman	I/got	thus
waingin	en	orup	Mosisi	baraan.	
I/stayed	dr	child	Mosisi	I/bore	

BU_n: Coordinate S.

Ma ongen ma tauan Duguruk waningingin
 here I/came here I/arrived Duguruk I/was/living
 Diwawan kurudin dot onen.
 Diwawan carriers climb he/came

BU₁: Coordinate S. with Close Sequence S. in Base₃

Dot one uta Duguruk tauen enanin
 having/climbed there Duguruk he/arrived he/got/us
 di anewan.
 em we/are/going

BU₂: Close Sequence S.

Anewaton utu Baniara tauian.
 we/went there Baniara we/arrive

Parenthetical BU: Close Sequence S.

Mosisi ine de ae vemon angewan.
 Mosisi mother/his 2 I/left/them I/am/going

BU₃: Close Sequence S.

Baniara tauaton wanagi tauen anewan.
 Baniara we/arrived boat it/arrived we/are/going

BU₄: Close Sequence S.

Anewaton ao Girigiri gean anit.
 we/went up Girigiri we/disembark

BU_n: Expository P.

Text: Sequence S. with Close Sequence S. in Culmination

Gean anton motuka tauane orup
 we/disembarked motor/car arrived/then fellow
 upi tap tauane tuan wane
 others fear arrived/then pig they/said/then
 karopae ao siniam.
 mango up they/climb

Expo₁: Simple S.

"Tuan anan tuaiam."
 pig trouble arrive

Expo₂: Sequence S.

Anega wane karopae ao siniamun.
thus they/said/then mango up they/climb

'I lived as a young man, thus I lived there for a long time; I married, (and) I lived (as a married man) for a long time, and I begat Mosisi. I came here, I arrived here, (and) I was living at Duguruk (when) Diwawan came (to get) carriers. Having come, he arrived there at Duguruk; he got us indeed, and (immediately) we left. Having left, (immediately) we arrived there at Baniara. (I left both Mosisi and his mother, and immediately went (with him).) Having arrived at Baniara, the boat arrived, and (immediately) we went (on the boat). Having gone, we disembarked (immediately) up at Girigiri. Having disembarked, motor cars came; then other fellows were afraid (because) they said (that they were) pigs, (so immediately) they climbed up a mango tree. "The pigs come (to make) trouble." Thus they said, (so immediately) they climbed up the mango.'

BU₁: Simple S.

Woup sen Orogum use Wao sia aewan.
dawn Orogum there Wao again he/is/going

BU₂: Coordinate S.

Utu tauia Orogum utu tauen tuan
there he/arrives Orogum there he/arrived pig
da sia torot wan warup waitatoni bogasi ao
another broke/loose we/chased/then immediately up
Wao ideve tauaton.
Wao peak we/arrived

BU₃: Sequence S.

Ainin taraseni gapan Dauni ge
Ainin place/which/she/cleaned at Dauni and
Mamuki dere uat panan wanumene nu
Mamuki both net they/tied they/stayed/then we
Derem meimewa ge osen anega anetoni
Derem husband and uncle thus we/went/then
bogasi tuan warup waitatoni bogasi ao .
immediately pig we/chased/then immediately up

BU₄: Coordinate S.

Oanaeset bunua gan aupa onana gearen ne tuan
 Oanaeset source at up cliff he/fell I pig
 yawapen serarat angena oma meganap yanen.
 to/see I/ran/then wood my/throat was/born

BU₅: Coordinate S.

Ame onana ae geara aipa mea wanden
 that cliff down he/fell/and below water he/stayed
 Derem meimewa vise use ambot
 Derem husband he/descended/and up/there block
 wanden Orogum one oaenapan upamo
 he/stayed Orogum he/came/and people he/brought/
 them
 uat ware dore ao tauen.
 net he/got/and he/climbed/and up he/arrived

BU₆: Coordinate S.

Tuan vitat use uat panat
 pig we/descended/and there net we/tied/and
 amboraton tuan tauen uata unugia.
 we/blocked pig he/arrived net he/enters

BU₇: Result S.

Unugen oaenapan warapen tainton aranepen
 he/entered people to/get we/were/doing to/bite/us
 taiwandin nu tap anega tainton
 he/was/doing we fear thus we/were/doing

BU₈: Simple S.

Ameme evi amba sia warian.
 that later then again we/got

BU₉: Sequence S.

Waraton sia anega onantoni bogasi
 we/got again thus we/came/then immediately
 neigin Irape anega vitatoni bogasi
 path Irape thus we/descended/then immediately

ae Aniata me tauat meat ma
 down Aniata water we/arrived/and in/water here
 onanet.
 we/came/and

BU₁₀: Simple S.

Dauni pa tuni tauat.
 Dauni house which/he/built we/arrived/and

BU₁₁: Close Sequence S.

Ae ma dorat goe naine tauat
 down here we/climbed/and water path we/arrived/
 and
 ae ma onanet oya pa tauianit.
 down here we/came/and up house we/arrive

BU_n: Simple S.

Pa inianit.
 house we/sleep

'At dawn Orogum again went up there to Wao. He arrived there; Orogum arrived up there, and another pig broke loose, and when we chased it immediately we arrived up at the peak of Wao. Dauni and Mamuki both tied a net at the place which Ainin cleaned and stayed (there); then Derem's husband, (my) uncle, and I went; then as we chased the pig, immediately (we arrived) up (there at the peak). Up at the source of the Oanaeset River, (the pig) fell over the cliff, and when I ran to see the pig, a stick struck me in my throat. That one (the pig) fell down over the cliff and remained below at the river, Derem's husband descended and blocked the upper (path), Orogum came and brought the people and got the net, climbed, and arrived up (there). We descended to the pig, tied a net there and blocked (the path), and the pig came and went right into the net. Having caught it, we people were trying to catch it, (so) it was trying to bite us, (so) we fled. Then later we got that one. Having got it, thus we came again; then immediately we descended the Irape path; then immediately we arrived down at the Aniata River, and we came up through the water. We arrived at the house which Dauni built. And we climbed up from there, and we arrived at the water path, and we came from there, and we immediately arrived up at the house. Immediately we slept in the house.

BU₁: Terminating Action S.

Nenip ao ia watutonia gatawan
 bird up net which/we/fastened later
 karakaraua agingan utup ma taua
 very/carefully you/go/until up/there you/arrive/then
 damik kwikwi utup ma baraan.
 vine kwikwi up/there he/put

BU₂: Conditional S.

Ap mepe wara tawa nenip serarat taua ia
 there if/you/get bird quickly arrive net
 unugep.
 he/should/enter

BU_n: Sequence S.

Ia unugepi ame warupe ia den
 net he/enters/then that you/pull/then net with
 di wat onak.
 em get you/come

'Go very carefully until you arrive up there at the net which we fastened for birds, then (get) the kwikwi vine he put up there. If you get (it) there, the bird will come quickly and enter the net. Having entered the net, you pull that (net), then bring (the bird) with the net!' (This preceded by an Aperture filled by Enda 'Friend' is the entire Procedural Discourse on How to Catch a Bird.)

Setting: Simple S. (cf. Text 9.2, paragraph 3)

Ben waran.
 decoration they/got

BU₁: De ben wariwanumun ene namu
 two decoration they/were/getting dr/then first
 wao ao yon wande sinasin ben wat
 crow up he/rose/and cockatoo decoration get
 wanen.
 he/gave/him

BU₂: Execution Paragraph

Proposal: Coordinate S.

Sinasin ben wat wanin en uon tan
cockatoo decoration get he/gave/him dr finished

si wao anega wani "O ge gare
and crow thus he/said oh you exchange

ben wat nen." Anega wan.
decoration get give/me thus he/said

Non-verbal Response: Narrative Paragraph

BU₁: Simple S.

Sinasin ameme gamat ae ve
cockatoo that face/paint he/stopped/and

BU₂: Simple S.

Gamat ae ve.
face/paint he/stopped/and

BU_n: Coordinate S.

Yon wande kagugum megenat gotonagin e
he/rose/and charcoal only he/crushed dr

doba wat wanen.
decoration get he/gave/him

BU₃: Remark Paragraph

Event: Sequence S.

Ugu wapi gine namu iravi kagugum anega wat
body face all charcoal thus get

wanin en amba wao yon wande gio
he/gave/him dr then crow he/rose/and mirror

ae dor ae gio yaviwandin enia
down climb down mirror he/was/looking dr/while

pumpunigaet yaven.
only/black he/saw

Remark: Direct Quote S.

"Enda ge ge ben koakoaro wat nenaan
friend you you decoration poor get you/gave/
me

ben koakoaro wat nenaan, " anega
 decoration poor get you/gave/me thus
 waia.
 he/says.

BU_n: Result S.

Wani amba anan ao yon wänden sinasin
 having/said then war up he/rose cockatoo
 topen tan sinasin ao yon wänden tap.
 to/hit he/did cockatoo up he/rose fear

Terminus: Sequence S.

Tap anega oneni bogasi a
 fear thus he/came/then immediately pausal
 at yaua anen wait.
 place name how we/will/say

'They were decorating (themselves). They were both decorating and decorating; then the crow rose up first and decorated the cockatoo. He finished decorating the cockatoo, and the crow said this, "Oh, in repayment you decorate me," thus he said. That cockatoo stopped (putting) on face paint. He stopped (putting) on face paint. He rose up, crushed and crushed only charcoal, and decorated him. Thus he decorated his whole body and face with charcoal; then the crow rose up, climbed up in front of a mirror, and while he was looking in the mirror for a long time he saw only black. Immediately he said, "Friend, you gave me a poor decoration, you gave me a poor decoration." Having said (this), then he rose up to fight and tried to hit the cockatoo (therefore) the cockatoo rose up and fled. Thus he came fleeing; then immediately - ah what's the name of the place (where he arrived)?

Examples of the Narrative Paragraph encoding Efficient Cause.

BU₁: Coordinate S.

Ewap dawan utupa sia angingin ugin
 after hunting there again I/was/going rain
 tau-en.
 arrive-3s/p

BU_n: Simple S.

Ma sia ong-en.
here again come-1s/p

'Afterward I was going hunting up there again, and it rained.
(Therefore) I came here again.'

BU₁: Simple S.

Orin vek war-en.
Orin sick get-3s/p

BU_n: Coordinate S.

Egaga wand-en nu Daio dere kanu
garden stay-3s/p we Daio two sweet/potato
tu-ton-i bosi Daio ik en-e
dig-1p/p-m immediately Daio net/bag put/into-3s/p/
oma gedo ta iyap war-en. ^{ss}
wood bundle do-3s/p/ss head get-3s/p

'Orin was sick. (Therefore) she stayed in the garden, and
Daio and I dug sweet potato; as soon as (that was done) Daio put
(it) into the net bag, made a bundle of wood, and put (it all) on
her head.'

BU₁: Sequence S.

Ap megenat veriwa ge tanewa megenat
so only tail and tough only
na-iwandin amba imua posewa aean
eat-3s/p/cont then mind/her inside/her sullen
anu-n.
know-3s/p

BU_n: Coordinate S.

Pa bot wand-in en-i-wa ame yon
house close stay-3s/d dr-m-sc that stand
wand-e naua ivewa aean
stay-3s/p/ss brother/her sister/in/law/her sullen
a-iwandin.
go-3s/p/cont

'So she was only eating the tail (of the eel) and the tough (stems), after which she grew sullen. (Therefore) she remained closed up in the house for a long time; then she got up and left her brother and sister-in-law and stayed in (another) house with her nephews and grew more sullen.'

(2) The Expositional Paragraph consists of a Text followed by one to three Expositions which elaborate on lexical items of the Text. Generally, the first Exposition tagmeme would elaborate on the clause of the Text which occurred first, and Exposition₂ would elaborate on a clause of the Text occurring later. But in two examples this was reversed, so that Exposition₁ elaborated the end of the Text and Exposition₂ and Exposition₃ elaborated the beginning of the Text.

Expositional Paragraph

+ TEXT	+ EXPOSITION ₁	+ Exposition ₂	+ Exposition ₃
Simple S.	Simple S.	Simple S.	Simple S.
Sequence S.	Sequence S.	Sequence S.	Sequence S.
Reason S.	Result S.	Reason S.	Reason P.
Result S.	Perception S.	Result S.	
Perception S.	Coordinate S.	Coordinate S.	
Alternative S.	Antithetical S.	Antithetical S.	
Conditional S.	Direct Quote S.	Direct Quote S.	
Coordinate S.	Close Sequence S.	Antithetical P.	
Close Sequence S.	Summary S.		
Same Subject Coordinate S.	Summary Negative S.		
Parallel P.	Antithetical P.		
	Reason P.		
	Identical Predicate P.		

Special Features:

- (a) The Exposition Paragraph expounds both discourse- and paragraph-level tagmemes. It occurs frequently expounding a Point in a Hortatory Discourse or a Build-Up in a Narrative Paragraph.
- (b) Both peripheral tagmemes, Setting and Terminus, have been observed.
- (d) Further data should show that any sentence expounds Text or Exposition.
- (e) Internal cohesion of the paragraph is maintained by the elaboration of lexical items of the Text in the Exposition tagmemes, but occasionally recapitulation occurs.

Text: Coordinate S.

Apan Kairebara Unibara dere yon wanumon sinao
 man Kairebara Unibara two they/rose drum
 waran pum waran.
 they/got shell they/got

Expo₁: Simple S. elaboration of last clause of Text

Pum bokua bokuma dere aian.
 shell bokua bokuma two they/took

Expo₂: Simple S. elaboration of last two clauses of Text

Sinao pum gemau tapau dere aian.
 drum shell gemau tapau two they/took

Expo₃: Simple S. elaboration of next to last clause of Text

Sinao naruta wainkunume waran.
 drum naruta wainkunume they/got

'The men, Kairebara and Unibara, both rose up and got the drum and got the shell. They took two shells, the bokua and bokuma types. They took both the gemau drum and the tapau shell. They (also) got the naruta wainkunume type drum.'

Text: Simple S.

Baem baen aipa vit aen.
 rolling down descend he/went

Expo₁: Identical Predicate Paragraph

Idea₁: Parallel Paragraph

Theme: Simple S.

Oaenapan da uon.
people a neg

Parallel Theme: Simple S.

Megenat di vit aen.
only em descend he/went

Idea₂: Parallel Paragraph

Theme: Simple S.

Orup da agoe den uon.
fellow a slave with neg

Parallel Theme: Simple S.

Meaget di aen.
only em he/went

Terminus: Coordinate S.

Aeni vit aen aipa gerata tauen.
having/gone descend he/went down sand he/arrived

'He rolled down (the mountain). (There were) no people.
Indeed he descended alone. (There was) no slave with (him).
He went alone. Having gone, he descended and arrived down at
the beach.'

Setting: Perception S.

Endi tatan goanin gaset oaenewa ve onen
now our/siblings already wives leave he/came
pa mega amunu onen inanup wanden
house his warm he/came with/us he/stayed
irot wariwandini yaviwanin.
cold he/was/getting you/are/seeing

Text: Coordinate S.

Endi yawan gapan Agaun nao gapan waran
now see at Agaun work at you/get

warane tatan goanin ae pa mega amunup
 you/get/then our/siblings go house his warm
 wandep.
 he/should/stay

Expo₁: Result S.

Da ine mame ominewa ine mame tani
 who his/parents curse his/parents what/they/did
 karae nu oare ominewa da ominewandapina
 behavior we don't/know curse a if/he/is/cursing
 nu ya yawat amba tainanta mapa
 we neg we/saw/and then while/we/work here
 bop tata vek da warep gatawan
 die he/will/do sick a he/should/get later
 paranewa nu toi ap menan ian
 revenge we we/will/hit so therefore people
 Kakaia ge ian Kaumania nao Agaun gapan
 Kakaia and people Kaumania work Agaun at
 kaimakaet tane uon tap tatan goanin
 hard when/you/do it/should/finish our/siblings
 aep.
 he/should/go

Expo₂: Simple S.

Pa megawa irap mega amunua gapan sia
 house his post his warm at again
 wandep.
 he/should/stay

'Now you know (that) our siblings have already left their wives and come; they came from their warm homes, stayed with us, and are getting cold. Now remember, you work at Agaun; when you work then our siblings can go and stay in their warm homes. Concerning the curse of someone's parents, we don't know what his parents are doing (because) if someone is working sorcery we wouldn't see it; then while we are working, someone will die here (or) someone will get sick; then we will (have to) do the revenge (killing), so therefore the Kakaia and Kaumania people will work hard (so that) (the work) will get finished and our siblings can go home (to prevent their parents from working

sorcery). They can stay again in their houses at their warm villages.'

Text: Sequence S.

Mitoneri	eragi	ep	menan	wane	Daio
missionary	mat	woven	for	they/said/then	Daio
ge	ne ge	Orin	anega	onantoni	bogasi
and I	and	Orin	thus	we/came/then	immediately
ma	pa	tauat.			
here	house	we/arrive/and			

Expo₁: Simple S.

Guninioaen	ge	Binu	dere	utupa	ae yemo
Guninioaen	and	Binu	two	there	we/left/them
onanton.					
we/came					

Expo₂: Sequence S.

Nu	oaen	yampo	onan	ma	tauatoni
we	women	three	come	here	we/arrived/then
bogasi		eragi	nuga	aiat.	
immediately	mat	our	we/got		

'The missionary asked for woven mats; then Daio, I, and Orin came, then immediately we arrived here at the village. We left Guninioaen and Binu both up there and came (back here). We three women came and arrived here, then immediately we got our mats.' (This paragraph expounds the Setting of a Narrative Paragraph.)

Text: Sequence S. (cf. Text 9.3, paragraph 1.2)

Nau wai	wanumonewa	oaene	den	uram
brothers/her	they/stayed/then	wives	with	eel
man	uram	wage	uram	veriyet
animal	eel	edible/leaves	eel	tail/only
waniwanumun.				
they/were/giving/her				

Expo₁: Simple S.

Wage	tanevet	waniwanumun.
edible/leaves	tough/only	they/were/giving/her

Terminus: Sequence S.

Ap	megenat	veriwa	ge	tanewa	megenat
so	only	tail	and	tough	only
naiwandin	amba	imua	posewa	aeon	
she/was/eating	then	insides/her	resentment		
anun.					
she/knew					

'Her brothers remained, then they and their wives were giving her only eel's tails and edible leaves. They were giving her only the tough leaves. So she was eating only the tails (of the eels) and tough (leaves, therefore) she resented (this treatment).'

Text: Sequence S.

A	endi	auda	pumpuniwa	ve	amopen	
ah	now	foreigner	indigene	leave	to/go	
taiamone	apan	ame	yawane	anega	ya	
they/do/then	man	that	when/you/see	thus	neg	
anune	"Ata	baita	koerage	nu	mapa	wagat
you/think	there	big	bad	we	here	holiday
waninet	kuku	nat	dubi			
we/can/stay	tobacco	we/can/eat	spice/pepper			
nat,"	ap	anega	ya	anune.		
we/can/eat	so	thus	neg	you/think		

Expo₁: Identical Predicate Paragraph

Idea₁: Simple S.

Ame	auda	garewa	ameme	di	ve	amoin.
that	foreigner	exchange	that	em	leave	they/ will/go

Idea₂: Auda pomponua amopi gare
foreigner white when/they/go exchange

pumpuniwa ameme di ve amoin.
indigene that em leave they/will/go

Expo₂: Direct Quote S.

Go anega ya anune "Ma etunu umap.
but thus neg you/think this skin/our like

Ne inanap dim da ya tata, " ap anega da
I to/me something neg he/will/do so thus a

ya anune.
neg don't/think

'And now the foreigners are ready to leave the indigene and depart (for the coast, therefore) when you see that man, don't think this, "There (is) a big bad (one) (means he's not so dangerous), (so) we can sit here and holiday, we can smoke and we can eat spice pepper," so don't think that. That (one) is the replacement that the foreigner will leave (when he) departs. When the foreigner leaves, that indigene is definitely the replacement. But don't think this, "This (one) (is) like us. He won't do anything to me," so don't think like this.'

(3) The Genealogy Paragraph consists of two obligatory Steps plus an optional Step which has been observed to be repeated up to three times. Lexically, the paragraph is limited to Proper Names, kinship terms, and verbs meaning 'to grow up' and 'to beget'. Only the past tense occurs in the nuclear tagmemes.

Genealogy Paragraph

+ STEP ₁	+ STEP ₂	± (Step ₃) ⁿ⁼¹⁻³
Sequence S.	Simple S.	Sequence S.
Coordinate S.	Sequence S.	Coordinate S.
	Coordinate S.	
	Identical Predicate P.	

Special Features:

- (a) The Genealogy Paragraph is diagnostic of the Genealogy Narrative Discourse. It expounds the Genealogy tagmeme or

the Terminus of a Narrative Paragraph in the Genealogy Narrative Discourse.

- (b) One example has a Terminus linked by recapitulation to the Steps. This same example also has a Setting.
- (c) Sequence and Coordinate Sentences primarily expound the tagmemes. One occurrence of Simple Sentence and Identical Predicate Paragraph filling the Step₂ has been observed.
- (e) Linkage within the paragraph is by recapitulation of the Proper Name and by the phonological and grammatical sentence being out of phase. This will be shown in the examples by a numbered asterisk and a period following a phonological sentence and a number preceding the grammatical sentence.

Step₁: Sequence S.

1. Uon tani Unumawa yon wandeni ne mamana
 having/finished Unumawa rose/then I my/father
 baraen.¹
 he/bore

Step₂: Identical Predicate Paragraph

Idea₁: Coordinate S.

2. Mamana baraen uon tan osen baraen
 my/father he/bore finished my/uncle he/bore
 ean anega sen endi ne bat nimanegen.²
 my/aunt thus he/bore now I he/bore/me

Idea₂: Sequence S.

3. Tarep barenia Wasiro barenia
 Tarep he/bore/then Wasiro he/bore/then
 Pumane barenia yon wande ne
 Pumane he/bore/then he/rose/and I
 bat nimanegen.³
 he/bore/me

'Having finished (that), Unumawa grew up; then he begat my father. After my father was born, he begat my uncle, and thus he begat my aunts, then he begat me. He begat Tarep, Wasiro, and Pumane; then time passed, and he begat me.'

Step₁: Sequence S. (cf. Text 9.4, paragraph 2)

1. Yarae yon wardenia Kurea barae
Yarae he/rose/then Kurea he/bore

Step₂: Sequence S.

2. Kurae yon wardenia ma.¹ Diut barae.² Onin
Kurae he/rose/then here Diut he/bore Onin
barae
he/bore

Step₃: Sequence S.

3. Onin yon wardenia Diut barae.³
Onin he/rose/then Diut he/bore

Step₄: Sequence S.

4. Diut yon wardenia Diut Giaba Barao de senia
Diut he/rose/then Diut Giaba Barao two he/bore/
then
Barao yon wardenia.⁴ Kambit barae
Barao he/rose/then Kambit he/bore

Step₅: Sequence S.

5. Kambit yon wardenia Yunit Gontap Goivet Kanawat
Kambit he/rose/then Yunit Gontap Goivet Kanawat
Barentain sen.⁵
Barentain he/bore

'Yarae grew up, then he begat Kurea. Kurea grew up, then he begat Diut and Onin here. Onin grew up, then he begat Diut. Diut grew up, then he begat both Giaba and Barao; then Barao grew up, then he begat Kambit. Kambit grew up, then he begat Yunit, Gontap, Goivet, Kanawat, and Barentain.'

Setting: Coordinate S.

1. Apan Kairebara Unibara de ata mepe wanumin
man Kairebara Unibara 2 over/there they/stayed
en orup seanea yon wanumon
dr child they/bore/then they/rose

(4) The Procedural Paragraph consists of a Procedure tag-meme which must be repeated at least four times and has been observed repeated 37 times. The obligatory Activity always contains the word manega 'like this' and tells what procedure is being described. Imperative and non-past medial verbs are common.

The Procedural Paragraph differs from the Narrative Paragraph in that the Procedural Paragraph occurs only in Procedural Discourse. The Narrative Paragraph occurs in any Discourse type. The Activity, which acts like a Setting, of the Procedural Paragraph is obligatory and must contain manega 'like this', while the Setting of the Narrative Paragraph is optional. A minimum of five Procedure tagmemes occur in the Procedural Paragraph, but only one Build-Up need occur in the Narrative Paragraph.

Procedural Paragraph

+ ACTIVITY	+ (PROCEDURE) ⁿ = 5-38
Simple S. Identical Predicate P. manega 'like this'	Simple S. Sequence S. Coordinate S. Identical Predicate P. Execution Paragraph

Special Features:

- (a) This paragraph frequently is the entire Procedural Discourse. The Activity is permitted to function also as the Stage for the discourse.
- (b) In all examples to date, an Activity has occurred, but further data would probably show that it is optional if the Stage tag-meme of the Procedural Discourse occurs. A Terminus has not been observed as yet.
- (d) Only Simple, Sequence, and Coordinate Sentences and Identical Predicate and Execution Paragraphs have been observed as exponents of the Procedure.
- (e) Linkage by recapitulation occurs in approximately one-third of the connections, by sentence-initial amba 'then' in approximately one-seventh and as juxtaposition in the remain-

der of the connections.

Activity: Simple S.

Tarep manega yon-iwanum,
dance like/this stand-3p/pr/cont

Procedure₁: Identical Predicate P.

Idea₁: Simple S.

Orup dere yaumakap.
fellow two middle

Idea₂: Simple S.

Orup de de yaumakap.
fellow two two middle

Procedure₂: Coordinate S.

Amba tarep nonongawa endi yaumakap semu-in
then dance long now middle put-3p/f

orup degede yaumakap semu-in upi yamu
fellow four middle put-3p/f others other/
side

dere dere yon wanumo-in upi yamu
two two stand stay-3p/f others other/side

yamu dere yon wanumo-in.
other/side two stand stay-3p/f

Procedure₃: Identical Predicate P.

Idea₁: Sequence S.

Amba tarep warapen menan tarep war-an-epi-wa
then dance to/get for dance get-d-3p/m-sc

seu dumapen menan endi oru utu yaumakape
to/split for now fellow upper middle

otua sinoa ao war-epi-wa e etop etop
fellow drum up get-3s/m-sc you on/each/edge

dor-an.
ascend-2p/imp

Idea₂: Sequence S.

E yamune ao war-epi-a mini utu
 oh other/one up get-3s/m-sc like upper
 yamune wanawat war-ep e
 other/one spread/apart get-3s/imp you
 etop etop dor-an.
 on/each/edge ascend-2p/imp

Procedure₄: Identical Predicate P.

Idea₁: Simultaneous S.

Amba ge etop dot ag-en-a-wa yaumakap
 then you edge climb go-d-2s/m-sc middle
 ise garip vis-iagi.
 lower behind descend-2s/pr

Idea₂: Simultaneous S.

Yaumakap dot ag-en-a-wa etoa garip
 middle climb go-d-2s/m-sc edge behind
 vis-iagi.
 descend-2s/pr

Procedure_n: Sequence S.

Vit-a-wa ag-en-a-wa isi at gega
 descend-2s/m-sc go-d-2s/m-sc lower place your
 gat yonana are sia tau-a-wa
 just where/you/stood place again arrive-2s/m-sc
 amepe di yon-ai.
 there em stand-2s/f

'They dance like this. (There are) two fellows (in the) middle. (There are) two pairs of fellows (in the) middle. Then for a long (line) dance they will put them (in the) middle; they will put the four fellows (in the) middle, and some (dancers) will line up two by two on one side, (and) the others will line up two by two on the other side. Then for the actual dance, while they are dancing, the fellow who is on the upper side of the middle will hold up his drum to (signal that the lines) are to split apart; then you go along the edges (of the dance pattern). When the other one (in the middle) holds up (his drum) in the same way (as mentioned above), the others on the upper side should spread apart (and) you should go along the edges. Then while you go along the edges, you follow behind the lower middle (line). While you go along the middle you

follow behind (those on) the edge. Having followed along, then you arrive again at the place where you originally stood, (and) there you will stand.'

Activity: Identical Predicate P.

Idea₁: Simple S.

Nenip denkoe otu manega enutonia.
bird trap little like/this which/we/make

Idea₂: Manega enu-n.
like/this make-2p/imp

Procedure₁: Sequence S.

Ais-ene bogasi tau-an tuman
go-2p/m immediately arrive-2p/imp multicrested/
bird/of/paradise
kae megawa pa mega ware tau-ane
play his house his get arrive-2p/m
yaw-ane-a ameme ais-en oma otu da
see-2p/m-sc there go-2p/imp tree little a
gur-an.
cut-2p/imp

Procedure₂: Simple S.

Tau-an.
arrive-2p/imp

Procedure₃: Simple S.

Nagan oma begesip pan-an.
vine wood stake tie-2p/imp

Procedure₄: Coordinate S.

Amba oma da atapa uar-en ae
then tree a over/there throw-2p/imp down
wakautam-en.
pull-2p/imp

Procedure₅: Coordinate S.

Ais-en oma baewa tambu-n dor-an
go-2p/imp tree leaf get-2p/imp climb-2p/imp

gerok otu da gapan ni ao ao ta-n.
stick little a at hole up up do-2p/imp

Procedure₆: Simple S.

Amba use gisen enu-n.
then there support stick/in-2p/imp

Procedure₇: Sequence S.

Gisin enu-ne-a tuman
support stick/into-2p/m-sc bird/of/paradise
tau-epi-wa ameme oma bae yav-ia.
arrive-3s/m-sc that tree leaf see-3s/pr

Procedure_n: Execution P.

Proposal: Direct Quote S.

Oma bae yavini anega waini "A
tree leaf which/he/saw thus he/says ah
at nega ma da goeagam-een?"
place my here who mess-3s/p

Non-verbal Response: Coordinate S.

Anega wainia ame vis-en oma baewa
thus he/says that descend-3s/p tree leaf
wakoatait aepa uarapen taini ame nagan
pull/off down throw when/he/does that vine
war-eta.
get-3s/f

'We make the little bird trap like this. Make it like this. Go and just get (to the hunting place). When you arrive and see the multicrested bird of paradise's play area and his nest, then you go and cut some small trees. Return (to the bird's area). Tie the vine to the wooden stake. Then throw (it up over) a nearby tree (and) pull (it) down. Go get leaves, climb (above the trap), (and) cover the little sticks (of the trap with leaves). Then fasten the supporting stick (over a little ways). Having fastened the supporting stick, (the trap is ready, and) when the bird of paradise returns he sees the leaves. Having seen the leaves he says, "Ah, who has messed up my place?" Having said that, he comes down, and when he starts to pull off the leaves and throw them away, the vine catches him.'

Activity: Simple S.

Goaibo Namba burao manega ir-an.
Goaibo Namba lime like/this burn-2p/imp

Procedure₁: Coordinate S.

Ais-en boge kaimewa dogit kaimewa
go-2p/imp wentletrap bone mussel bone
tambu-u ais-en.
get-2p/imp go-2p/imp

Procedure₂: Sequence S.

Korou go atop oaewa tambu-n ais-en
bamboo or cane dry get-2p/imp go-2p/imp
goat goaratan war-an amba korou oaewa
rock pile get-2p/imp then bamboo dry
ameme ikukuk denkom se-an.
that circle log/cabin/style put-2p/imp

Procedure₃: Simple S.

Amba boge kaimewa napap se-an.
then wentletrap bone inside put-2p/imp

Procedure₄: Coordinate S.

Upi korou oaewa sia tambu-n ao ukum
other bamboo dry again get-2p/imp up lid
ao ma sia um-an.
up here again cover-2p/imp

Procedure₅: Coordinate S.

Amba ais-en tunua upi tambu-n
then go-2p/imp pulp other get-2p/imp
dor-an ae gauarap se-an.
climb-2p/imp down under put-2p/imp

Procedure₆: Sequence S.

Amba dun to-n ase wat en-ane
then torch hit-2p/imp there get put/in-2p/m
yagir-ep.
burn-3s/imp

Procedure₇: Sequence S.

Yagir-epi wani-en,
burn-3s/m stay-2p/imp

Procedure₈: Sequence S.

Wanie yav-inampina men pom a-ep
stay see-1p/cont/cond for ash go-3s/imp
amba sia gerok pait-an.
then again stick break-2p/imp

Procedure₉: Coordinate S.

Amba ais-en kaum wat ona-en disi
then go-2p/imp water get come-2p/imp dish
gapan ae wagem-an.
at down pour-2p/imp

Procedure₁₀: Identical Predicate P.

Idea₁: Simple S.

Ase gerok gapan ase ma up-an.
there stick at there here pull-2p/imp

Idea₂: Sequence S.

Kaum ae antapen-ane bigar-ep ae ma
water down drop-2p/m cool-3s/imp down here
up-an.
pull-2p/imp

Procedure₁₁: Simple S.

Ase amununtu den ase burao gapan
there warm with there lime at
en-an.
put/into-2p/imp

Procedure₁₂: Sequence S.

En-ane amba asepa amba i pou wa-ta.
put/into-2p/m then there then powder say-3s/f

'Goaibo and Namba make lime this way. Go and get wentle-trap (and) mussel shells. Get bamboo or dry cane, go and build a rock pile, then lay the dry bamboo around that (rock pile in the

shape of a log cabin. Then place the shells inside (the bamboo pile). Again gather some other dry bamboo (and) cover the (whole pile with it) like a lid. Then go get some pulp (which will burn easily), return, and put it under (the pile). Then light a torch, and when you put it there (under the pile) it should burn. Wait while it burns. As you are waiting and watching, it should turn to ash; then break some more sticks. Then go get some water (and) pour it into a dish. With the sticks pull out (the shells) here and there. Drop (them) down into the water, then (after they) cool off, pull (them) out (of the dish). While (they are) slightly warm, put them into the lime pot. Having put them (into the lime pot), then they will become powder.'

Chapter 8

DISCOURSES

8.0 This chapter presents the results of the analysis of 54 Daga discourses. With such a limited corpus, all conclusions are tentative. Further study should refine and expand the analysis.

Five discourse genre were discovered: Narrative, Hortatory, Procedural, Expository, and Epistolary. The Narrative Discourse divided into Personal, Legend, and Genealogy Narratives.

Each discourse genre will be presented with a bidimensional array showing the tagmemes that have been observed. Pertinent features of that discourse and the predominant person and tense, if significant, will then be given. The lexical items marking a new tagmeme will be described for each discourse type. Linkage within the paragraph is influenced by the discourse type in which the paragraph occurs, therefore the predominant methods of linkage within the paragraph for each discourse type will be examined. Any other details of description will precede the array showing the tagmemes and exponents of the actual discourses that were examined.

8.1. Narrative Discourse Genre. A Narrative Discourse is characterized by the past tense and chronological order. New paragraphs are indicated by a change in time, actor, or locale. Linkage within the paragraphs of a Narrative Discourse is mainly by recapitulation or is not overtly indicated.

Narrative Discourses divide into three subtypes: Personal, Legend, and Genealogy. Further study may indicate that there are more subtypes and also may cause a regrouping of the subtypes.

The Title and Finis tagmemes occur in all types of Narrative Discourse.

The Title tagmeme is formulaic. Generally it is a variation

of
Ne gutut nega wapen tajian.
I story my say I/do

'I am ready to tell my story.'

Gutut 'story' or one of its synonyms is often modified by a relative clause.

Ne utu Wao angena waise wapen taian.
 I there Wao when/I/went story say I/do
 'I am ready to tell the story of when I went to Wao.'

Some speakers include their name in the Title.

A ne gutut nega wapen taian ne Goniga.
 ah I story my say I/do I Goniga
 'Ah, I am ready to tell my story; I (am) Goniga.'

Some speakers express the Title in two formulaic sentences, usually using an Identical Predicate Paragraph.

Ne oaen dere guturewa wapen ta-ian.
 I woman two story say do-ls/pr/d
 Oaen dere guturewa wapen ta-iangin.
 woman two story say do-ls/pr
 'I am ready to tell the story of two women.
 I am ready to tell the story of two women.'

The Finis tagmeme also is formulaic. It is a variation of

Gutut otu nega mame uon taia.
 story little my this finishes
 'This my little story finishes.'

Final intonation optionally occurs between the noun phrase and the verb.

Nop otu ameme; uon taia.
 word little this finishes
 'This (is) a little word; (it) finishes.'

(1) The Personal Narrative Discourse consists of an obligatory Episode tagmeme which has been found occurring up to ten times. The speaker must be either a participant in or an observer of the Episodes of the Discourse. Preceding the Episodes are the optional formulaic Title which did not occur in two texts and the optional Stage which occurred in three out of four narratives told in the third person and in only one of the seven narratives told in the first person. In three of the autobiographical

narratives the Stage was included as part of the first Build-Up in the first Narrative Paragraph. Following the Episodes and optional Closure occurred in four narratives; twice in autobiographical narratives and twice in third person narratives. One autobiographical narrative had an additional Episode between Closure and Finis. The formulaic Finis occurred in all Personal Narrative Discourses except one.

Personal Narrative Discourse

± Title	± Stage	ⁿ⁼¹⁻¹⁰ + (EPISODE)	± Closure	± Additional Episode	± Finis
Formulaic	Sequence S. Close Sequence S. Narrative P.	Sequence S. Coordinate S. Narrative P. Result P. Parallel P.	Simple S. Result P. Identical Predicate P. Expositional P.	Narrative P.	Formulaic

In the eleven Personal Narrative Discourses studied the action was always given in chronological order. Occasionally an action which was not in chronological order was inserted. When such an insertion occurs it does not recapitulate the previous sentence, but instead the next sentence which is a continuation of the chronological order recapitulates the end of the sentence preceding the insertion. Personal Narratives are either told in the first person or the third person and are predominantly in past tense.

New tagmemes generally are indicated by change in time, locale, actor, or movement from one place to another. Such terms as *evi* 'later', *amba* 'then', *wan sen* 'sunrise', *muma* 'at night' are used to indicate a change in time. These must occur sentence initially in the first sentence of the new tagmeme. A new locale for the action is indicated predominantly by an equational clause or a location phrase expounding the peripheral Afterthought tagmeme of the last sentence of the previous paragraph. Sometimes new *dramatis personae* for the next paragraph are introduced in the same way as the new locale. Thus the deep and surface structures of the paragraph are out of phase at this point.

Kaum	ma	kaum	Oaip	meaet	dorane
water	here	water	Oaip	water/only	they/climbed/then
boge		dagup	yaua	Nanaun.	
immediately		cave	named	Nanaun	

'They ascended up through the stream here, the Oaip Stream, then immediately (they arrived) at the cave named Nanaun.'

In this example the medial clause is the final sequence in a Narrative Paragraph. The 'cave named Nanaun' is the setting for the next paragraph. In a few cases the change in locale was given in the first sentence of the new paragraph/tagmeme.

The new actor optionally is introduced in the same way as a new locale but is more commonly given as a free subject filled either by a proper noun or a pronoun in the first clause of the paragraph.

The final way of indicating a new tagmeme in Narrative Discourse is to use a motion verb in the sentence-initial position. In all instances but one the motion verb was a medial form.

When the speaker does not wish to indicate a new Episode or other new tagmeme, a new time, locale, actor, or motion verb will occur within the sentence nucleus. Usually this sentence will be linked to the sentence preceding it by recapitulation or some other method of overt linkage.

Panatonia	inaton	wan sen	ame	Orogum	boen
having/tied	we/slept	sunrise	that	Orogum	with
Eveawa	onanton.				
Eveawa	we/came				

'Having tied (the fence) we slept, at sunrise that (being finished) we came with Orogum to Eveawa.'

Ne	evi	kototot	sia	anega	ongena ...
I	later	on/and/on	again	thus	I/came/then

'I thus came on and on again later ...'

In the second example above, the evi 'later' is permuted after the subject slot as a new tagmeme is not indicated.

Autobiographical Personal Narratives usually indicate a new Episode by a change in time or actor. Narratives told in the third person employ motion verbs or a new locale/dramatis personae introduced in the Afterthought of the last sentence of the previous paragraph.

Linkage within the paragraph or tagmeme in the Autobiographical Narrative is by juxtaposition or by the fact that the object under discussion throughout the paragraph is mentioned only in the first sentence. Recapitulation was rarely used except in one text in which the speaker used a series of Close Sequence Sentences in which the last verb must be in the present tense. Each succeeding sentence then began with recapitulation of the verb in the past tense.

In contrast, a narrative told in the third person links one sentence to the next within the paragraph predominantly by recapitulation.

This array shows the tagmemes and their exponents as they occur in seven Autobiographical Personal Narrative Discourses.

	1	2	3	4
Title		Formula		Formula
Stage	Close Sequence S.			
EPISODE ₁	Narrative P.	Narrative P.	Narrative P.	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₂	Narrative P.	Narrative P.	Narrative P.	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₃	Narrative P.	Narrative P.	Narrative P.	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₄	Narrative P.	Narrative P.		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₅		Narrative P.		Parallel P.
EPISODE ₆		Narrative P.		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₇		Narrative P.		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₈		Narrative P.		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₉		Narrative P.		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₁₀				Narrative P.
Closure				
Additional Episode				
Finis	Formula	Formula	Formula	Formula

Array of Autobiographical Personal Narrative Discourses continued

	5	6	7
	See Text 9.1		
Title	Formula		
Stage			
EPISODE ₁	Narrative P.	Narrative P.	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₂	Narrative P.	Narrative P.	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₃		Narrative P.	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₄			Narrative P.
EPISODE ₅			Narrative P.
EPISODE ₆			
EPISODE ₇			
EPISODE ₈			
EPISODE ₉			
EPISODE ₁₀			
Closure	Simple S.		Result P.
Additional Episode	Narrative P.		
Finis	Formula	Formula	

Array of Third Person Personal Narrative Discourses

	1	2	3	4
	See Text 9.2			
Title	Formula		Formula	Formula
Stage	Narrative P.	Sequence S.		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₁	Narrative P.	Narrative P.	Result P.	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₂	Narrative P.		Narrative P.	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₃	Narrative P.		Narrative P.	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₄			Narrative P.	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₅			Sequence S.	Coordinate S.
EPISODE ₆			Narrative P.	Sequence S.
EPISODE ₇				Narrative P.
EPISODE ₈				Narrative P.
Closure		Identical Predicate P.		Expositional P.
Additional Episode				
Finis	Formula	Formula	Formula	Formula

(2) Legends are clan property which are passed from generation to generation as close to the original as possible. The speaker is never the actual participant in or observer of the Episodes of the discourse.

Two legendary narratives were studied. Both of these had obligatory Title, Aperture, Finis, and Episodes. One text has six Episodes and the other has eighteen. In addition, one text had Stage and Closure tagmemes.

Legend Narrative Discourse

+TITLE	+APER	+Stage	+(EPISODE) ⁿ⁼⁶⁻¹⁸	+ Closure	+FINIS
Form	Coord S.	Nar P.	Close Sequence S.	Expo P.	Formu- laic
Expo P.	Par P.		Narrative P. Dialogue P.		

Past tense and third person are used. In one Legend the Closure states that the storyteller is one of the characters in the story. This does not mean that the man who gave the text is one of the characters in the story but that his ancestor was. One legend which was not included in the present corpus because it is interspersed with several magical songs is told in the first person but concerns the activities of an ancestor of the storyteller rather than the person actually telling the story at this time.

As with Personal Narrative Discourses, the start of a new tagmeme is indicated by temporal items, change in locale, free subject, or motion verbs in the medial form.

Linkage within the paragraph is mainly by juxtaposition and recapitulation.

Array of Legend Narrative Discourses

	1	2
	See Text 9.3	
TITLE	Formula	Expositional P.
APERTURE	Coordinate S.	Parallel P.
Stage		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₁	Narrative P.	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₂	Narrative P.	Close Sequence S.
EPISODE ₃	Narrative P.	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₄	Narrative P.	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₅	Narrative P.	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₆	Narrative P.	Narrative P.

Array of Legend Narrative Discourses continued

	1	2
EPISODE ₇		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₈		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₉		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₁₀		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₁₁		Dialogue P.
EPISODE ₁₂		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₁₃		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₁₄		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₁₅		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₁₆		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₁₇		Narrative P.
EPISODE ₁₈		Dialogue P.
Closure		Expositional P.
FINIS	Formula	Formula

(3) The three Genealogy Narrative Discourses studied had obligatory Title, Finis, and from one to eight Episodes. A Genealogy Paragraph must occur somewhere in the Discourse. In two texts it was in the optional Genealogy tagmeme. In one of these two texts the Genealogy tagmeme occurred between Episodes. In the third text the Genealogy Paragraph expounded the Terminus of the Narrative Paragraph. Two of the Genealogy Narratives had an optional Present Episode which served to relate the genealogy to the narrator.

Genealogy Narrative Discourse

+ TITLE	+(EPISODES) ⁿ⁼¹⁻⁸	± Genealogy	± Present Episode	+FINIS
Formula	Coordinate S. Narrative P. Expositional P. Narrative Disc.	Genealogy P.	Sequence S. Narrative P.	Formula

Chronological order is followed. Past tense is predominant.

Array of Genealogy Narrative Discourses

	1	2	3
	See Text 9.4		
TITLE	Formula	Formula	Formula
EPISODE ₁	Narrative P. *	Narrative P.**	Narrative P.
EPISODE ₂	Narrative P.		Expositional P.
EPISODE ₃			Narrative P.
EPISODE ₄			Coordinate S.
EPISODE ₅			Narrative Dis- course
EPISODE ₆			Narrative P.
EPISODE ₇			Narrative P.
EPISODE ₈			Narrative P.
Genealogy	Genealogy P.		Genealogy P.
Present Episode	Sequence S.	Narrative P.	
FINIS	Formula	Formula	Formula

* The Genealogy tagmeme occurred between the first and second Episodes.

** The Genealogy Paragraph expounded the Terminus of the Narrative Paragraph.

(4) One Compound Narrative Discourse was observed in the data in which parallelism of form, a common theme, one common tagmeme (the Finis), and chronological sequence characterized the Discourse. The common theme was feather headdresses.

The bidimensional array for this particular discourse is set out with the two discourses lined up to show the parallelism of form. The Episodes in the first discourse are introduced by amba 'then'. The second Episode in the second discourse is introduced by endi 'now'.

Compound Narrative Discourse

Title	Stage	Episode ₁	Episode ₂
Formula	Simple S.	Narrative P.	Simple S.

Title	Stage	Episode ₁	Episode ₂	Finis
Formula	Sequence S.	Narrative P.	Identical Predicate P.	Formula

Example Text 9.5.

8.2. Hortatory Discourse. A Hortatory Discourse is characterized by the imperative tense and second or third person plural. New paragraphs are indicated by *endi* 'now', sentence topic, *den* 'also', or a vocative. Result and Reason constructions are common. Optional conjunctions in these constructions are used quite frequently in Hortatory Discourse.

In the eight Hortatory Discourses studied the obligatory Point tagmeme occurred from two to nine times. Optional tagmemes, Aperture (which usually includes a vocative) and Introduction, precede the Point. Following the nucleus four optional tagmemes occur: Request, Conclusion, Appeal, and Finis. Three of these postnuclear tagmemes have been observed to co-occur. The Finis is a formulaic sentence or phrase.

Hortatory Discourse

± Aper	± Intro	+ (POINT) ⁿ⁻³⁻⁹	± Request	± Concl	± Appeal	± Finis
Simple S. Result S. Reason P. Nar P.	Expo P.	Perception S. Sequence S. Coordinate S. Narrative P. Reason P. Result P. Expositional P. Antithetical P.	Identical Predicate P.	Result S. Reason P. Nar. P.	Simple S. Anti S. Coord S. Exhort P.	Formulaic Simple S.

In one Discourse the Appeal and Finis were in reverse order.

In one text the Aperture, Point₁, and Point₂ were one phonological sentence.

The most predominant tense is the imperative, but non-past successive medial verbs and future tense occur frequently.

Second and third person plural are the most predominant person suffixes used. These usually indicate a 'general' person rather than specific individuals.

A new tagmeme is marked by the following lexical features which are listed according to their usage, most frequent to least frequent:

- (1) Endi 'now'
- (2) New subject matter introduced by a sentence topic or a free subject tagmeme expounded either by a noun or pronoun in the initial clause of the tagmeme. Thereafter in that tagmeme the subject is marked only in the verbal person/tense suffixes.
- (3) Den 'also'
- (4) Vocative - usually a group vocative
- (5) Dotouen/Nop dotouen 'It arrived/the word arrived'. Since the introduction of the Local Government Council where the interpreter uses dotouen or nop dotouen to introduce a new point, these are being used in the village to introduce a new tagmeme.
- (6) Waiangina 'that's what I say' occurred only once, but the informant felt it functioned the same as endi 'now'.

Linkage within the paragraph in the Hortatory Discourse is predominantly by use of the optional conjunctions which occur in the prenuclear periphery of the sentence which is being linked to the preceding sentence or embedded paragraph. Some recapitulation occurs. Implicational linkage in which the optional conjunction does not occur is used especially when iwa 'because' is implied. In one discourse of seven paragraphs three of these were Reason Paragraphs in which iwa 'because' did not occur.

Eleven rhetorical questions were scattered among four of the six Hortatory Discourses studied, compared with one rhetorical question in a Procedural Discourse and none elsewhere. No formal features distinguish the rhetorical question from the question word type of question except that no answer is given.

Only two examples occurred with the sentence-final intonation, one in Hortatory Discourse and the other in a Procedural Discourse. Perhaps further data will show that the non-sentence-final intonation plus no answer expected will distinguish rhetorical questions from other types of questions.

In one discourse urging the people to work on the airstrip, the command to go to the airstrip was never stated. In four sentences ellipsis of the predicate (that particular command) occurred.

Although the imperative is predominant in Hortatory Discourse all the final tenses except durative have been observed in the data. This particular gap in the data is no doubt caused by the small sample. Logically, any tense should be useable since the speaker usually backs up his commands with reasons and results that necessarily need to be expressed in the various final tenses.

Person suffixes in the Hortatory Discourse are usually in one of the three plural persons. In some instances the speaker uses first person plural to mean first person singular. The message is softened at times by using the third person plural imperative to mean the second person plural imperative. At times the first person plural is used to mean the second person plural. One text was addressed to an individual so second person singular was used. Further data may reveal that Hortatory Discourse can be divided into Group and Individual Hortatory Discourses depending on the intended audience. The one text addressed to the individual seemed less formal.

Since this analysis was prepared additional Hortatory Discourses have been heard. These have agreed with the analysis as presented. Because of various circumstances they were not recorded on tape.

Array of Hortatory Discourses studied

	1	2
	See Text 9.6	
Aperture	Result S.	
Introduction		
POINT ₁	Reason P.	Narrative P.
POINT ₂	Expositional P.	Expositional P.
POINT ₃	Expositional P.	Expositional P.
POINT ₄		
POINT ₅		
POINT ₆		
POINT ₇		
POINT ₈		
POINT ₉		
Request	Identical Predicate P.	
Conclusion	Result S.	
Appeal	Exhortation P.	
Finis		ap anega so thus

Array of Hortatory Discourses studied continued

	3	4	5
Aperture		Reason P.	Reason P.
Introduction			Expositional P.
POINT ₁	Expositional P.	Result S.	Expositional P.
POINT ₂	Result P.	Reason P.	Result P.
POINT ₃	Expositional P.	Reason P.	Result P.
POINT ₄	Expositional P.	Coordinate S.	Result P.
POINT ₅	Antithetical P.	Expositional P.	
POINT ₆	Expositional P.	Narrative P.	
POINT ₇		Expositional P.	
POINT ₈			
POINT ₉			
Request			
Conclusion		Reason P.	
Appeal		Antithetical S.	Coordinate S. *
Finis	Simple S.	Simple S.	Formula

* Appeal and Finis were in reverse order.

Array of Hortatory Discourses studied continued

	6	7	8
Aperture		Simple S.	Narrative P.
Introduction			
POINT ₁	Perception S.	Antithetical P.	Expositional P.
POINT ₂	Sequence S.	Antithetical P.	Coordinate S.
POINT ₃	Coordinate S.	Antithetical P.	
POINT ₄	Narrative P.		
POINT ₅	Result P.		
POINT ₆	Narrative P.		
POINT ₇	Reason P.		
POINT ₈	Result P.		
POINT ₉	Narrative P.		
Request			
Conclusion	Narrative P.		
Appeal		Simple S.	Simple S.
Finis			

8.3. Procedural Discourse. A Procedural Discourse is characterized by nonpast medial verbs and the imperative tense on final verbs. Person is usually second singular or third plural. Frequently the entire discourse is one paragraph. Amba 'then' in Procedural Discourse indicates continuation of the same paragraph in contrast to Narrative Discourse where amba indicates a new paragraph.

The Procedure tagmeme which was found repeated in three texts is the only obligatory tagmeme in the Procedural Discourse. It is usually expounded by a Narrative or Procedural Paragraph. Fourteen discourses were the corpus for this analysis. In these the following peripheral tagmemes occurred: Address and Stage were prenuclear and Alternative Procedure, Target Procedure, Exhortation, and Finis occurred postnuclear. The Target Procedure is the final process in the procedure, the completion of what the person started out to do. It is specially marked by a change in style. Sequence Sentences are avoided, and a Dialogue Paragraph is used. A Dialogue Paragraph does not occur in any other tagmeme in the Procedural Discourse; for this reason Target Procedure tagmeme was chosen over a repetition of the Procedure tagmeme. One text had a Stage manifested by a Procedural Discourse, giving unsuccessful procedures. The successful procedure was given in the Procedure tagmeme of the main discourse.

Procedural Discourse

± Add	± Stage	ⁿ⁼¹⁻² +(PROCE- DURE)	+ Alter Proce- dure	+ Target Proce- dure	± Exhort	± Finis
Voc	Cond. S. Proc Disc	Narrative P. Procedural P. Antithetical P.	Reason S.	Dialogue P.	Simple S. Exhort P.	Form- ula

Imperative and nonpast medial forms mark the majority of the verbs in the Procedural Discourse. Past, present, and future have limited occurrence.

General person is indicated by the vocative *Enda* 'Friend' which occurs in four of the texts. Two texts were addressed to specific individuals. The person indicated by the verbal suffixes is predominantly second person singular or third person plural.

One rhetorical question occurs.

Lexically, a new tagmeme is initiated by *endi* 'now' and *ap anega* 'so thus'. Frequently the entire discourse is one Procedural Paragraph.

Linkage within the paragraph is by recapitulation, sentence final conjunction *amba* 'then', initial *amba* 'then', sentence initial conjunction *go* 'but' or *menan* 'therefore', juxtaposition, referent to a previous sentence, and implicational relationships in which the optional conjunction does not occur.

Simple, Sequence, Coordinate, and Evaluation Sentences are the sentence types that recur frequently.

Chronological ordering is obligatory.

In half of the discourses the main steps of the procedure are given in the medial verbs of the Sequence Sentences which fill tagmemes in the Narrative Paragraph that expounds the Procedure tagmeme. This causes the deep and surface structures of the Procedural Discourse to be out-of-phase.

Deep Structure Stage	Narrative Paragraph	Sentence on Surface
Procedure ₁	BU ₁	1. Sequence S.
Procedure ₂ Procedure ₃	BU ₂	2. Sequence S.
Procedure ₄ Procedure ₅ Simultaneous Procedure ₆	BU ₃	3. Sequence S.
Procedure ₇	BU ₄	4. Simple S.
Procedure ₈ Simultaneous Procedure ₉	BU ₅	5. Sequence S.
Procedure ₁₀	BU ₆ Identical Predicate P.	6. Simple S. 7. Identical Predicate S.
Procedure ₁₁ Procedure ₁₂ Procedure ₁₃ Procedure ₁₄	BU ₇	8. Sequence S.
Procedure ₁₅ Procedure ₁₆	BU ₈	9. Sequence S.
Procedure ₁₇	BU ₉	10. Sequence S.
Procedure ₁₈ Procedure ₁₉	BU ₁₀	11. Sequence S.
Target Procedure	BU ₁₁ BU _n	12. Sequence S. 13-15. Direct Quote S.

Array of Procedural Discourses studied

	1	2	3	4
	See Text 9.7			
Address	Vocative	Vocative	Vocative	Vocative
Stage	Conditional S.			
PROCEDURE	Antithetical P.	Narrative P.	Narrative P.	Narrative P.
Procedure Repeated				
Alternative Procedure	Reason S.			
Target Procedure				Dialogue P.
Exhortation	Exhortation P.			
Finis				
	5	6	7	8
Address				Vocative
Stage				
PROCEDURE	Narrative P.	Narrative P.	Narrative P.	Proce- dural P.*
Procedure Repeated	Narrative P.			
Alternative Procedure				
Target Procedure				
Exhortation	Simple S.			
Finis			Formula	

* Stage and Setting of the Procedural Paragraph are portman-
teau.

Array of Procedural Discourses studied continued

	9	10	11	12
Address			Vocative	
Stage		Procedural Discourse		Identical Predicate P.
PROCEDURE	Procedural P.	Narrative P.	Procedur- al P.*	Procedur- al P.
Procedure Repeated				
Alternative Procedure				
Target Procedure				
Exhortation				Simple S.
Finis				

* Stage and Setting of the Procedural Paragraph are portman-
teau.

	13	14	15 (embedded in no. 10)
Address			
Stage			
PROCEDURE	Procedural P.	Procedural P.	Narrative P.
Procedure Repeated	Narrative P.		Narrative P.
Alternative Procedure			
Target Procedure			
Exhortation			
Finis			

8.4. Expository Discourse. There is no specific tense used in an Expository Discourse. The person is "general" and mainly third person is used. New paragraphs are indicated by a sentence topic, by the introduction of a new actor or setting, or by a question. Continuation of a paragraph is mainly accomplished by use of recapitulation and parallel grammatical constructions.

The Expository Discourse consists of an obligatory Point tagmeme which in two of the texts studied was repeated twice preceded by an optional formulaic Aperture and an optional Explanation and followed by an optional formulaic Finis.

There are seven Expository Discourses in the current corpus. In several situations where an Expository Discourse might have been used the speaker chose to encode the teaching or explanation as a Narrative Discourse related to a specific person and event.

Expository Discourse

± Aperture	± Explanation	+ (POINT) ⁿ⁼¹⁻³	± Finis
Formulaic	Expositional P.	Coordinate S.	Formulaic
Simple S.	Narrative P.	Narrative P.	Simple S.
		Parallel P.	
		Expositional P.	
		Antithetical P.	
		Question P.	

Past, present, and future tenses and nonpast medial verbs have been used in the Expository Discourses studied.

The person is 'general' and is usually expressed by third person singular or plural. One text also used first person plural in the Explanation tagmeme.

The Point tagmeme and paragraph boundaries match. A Sentence Topic in the first sentence of one discourse encoded information of an Aperture. In another text an Afterthought in the periphery of the last sentence gave the Finis.

The beginning of new paragraphs and tagmemes whose boundaries are the same as the paragraph boundaries is indicated by

a Sentence Topic in the periphery of the first sentence, by change of actor or setting, or by a question.

One-half of the linkage within the paragraph except in the Rhetorical Question Paragraph was by recapitulation. Other types of linkage used were parallel grammatical construction between sentences, the grammatical and phonological sentence out of phase, and use of referents to an item in the previous sentence.

Simple, Sequence, and Coordinate Sentences were used most frequently. Embedding occurred mainly in the sentence rather than in the paragraph.

Array of Expository Discourse studied

	1	2	3
	See Text 9.8		
Aperture	Simple S.	Simple S.	
Explanation	Expositional P.		
POINT ₁	Narrative P.	Coordinate S.	Narrative P.**
POINT ₂		Expositional P.	Narrative P.
POINT ₃		Parallel P.	
Finis	Simple S.	ap anega * so thus	

* Ap anega 'so thus' fills the After-thought of the final sentence in Point₃.

** Aperture is given as a Sentence Topic in the initial sentence in the discourse.

Array of Expository Discourses studied continued

	4	5	6	7
Aperture	Simple S.	Simple S.		
Explanation				Narrative P.
POINT ₁	Narrative P.	Narrative P.	Question P.	Question P.
POINT ₂		Antithetical P.	Question P.	
POINT ₃			Question P.	
Finis	Simple S.			Simple S.

8.5. Epistolary Discourse. Epistolary Discourse is the only written corpus available to date in Daga. Any tense or person is used. New paragraphs are indicated by vocatives, den 'also', and nop da sia 'another word'. Salutation and Signature are tagmemes unique to Epistolary Discourse.

In the eight letters examined, Salutation and Message tagmemes occurred in each. The Message tagmeme was repeated from two to twelve times. Optionally Appeal, Greetings, Signature, Finis, and Postscript tagmemes occurred. Although the bidimensional array shows these tagmemes as postnuclear, the Appeal, Greetings, and Signature occurred between Messages in some letters and are also permitted to occur more than once in a letter. In two letters the Signature occurred twice. The Signature followed the Salutation twice. In three letters there was no Signature. Appeal occurred twice in one letter. Three Greetings occurred in each of two letters and two Greetings occurred in another. The Finis is the formulaic closure of Narrative Discourse. Only one letter had a Postscript. Five of the letters examined were written by Daga speakers to the investigator. Three were by Dagas to other Dagas. Two were written by the same person.

Epistolary Discourse

+SAL	+ (MESSAGES) ⁿ⁼²⁻¹²	± Appeal	± Greet	± Sign	± Finis	± Post-script
Form	Simple S. Coordinate S. Direct Quote S. Alternative S. Summary S. Expositional P. Parallel P. Reason P. Identical Predicate P.	Simple S. Sequence S. Parallel S. Result P. Identical Predicate P. Exhort P.	Form	Form	Form	Sequence S.

Linkage within a paragraph in the Epistolary Discourse is predominately by juxtaposition. No recapitulation or sentence-final linkage occurs. A few conjunctions occur as paragraph links.

In most cases sentence breaks were arbitrarily determined by the investigator since very little punctuation was used by the writers. These sentence breaks could easily have been desired elsewhere by the writer, but there is no way to determine his intentions.

New Messages, Appeals, Greetings are usually clearly marked by an initial vocative, pronoun, proper name, den 'also, and', nop da sia 'another word', pirisi 'please', or a new Sentence Topic.

The subject matter of the Epistolary Discourses studied was news and requests. News included village happenings, such as births, deaths, marriages, feasts, house building, and floods. News items always occurred in the Message tagmeme. Requests occurred in the Appeal and usually contained pirisi 'please' somewhere in the request. Requests divided into those requesting a reply to be written and those requesting the recipient of the letter to purchase certain items for the writer.

The obligatory formulaic Salutation always contained the name of the recipient of the letter. In seven out of the eight letters a kinship term was coupled with the proper name. This kinship term gave the relationship between the writer and the recipient.

The formulaic signature occurred in five texts. In four of these both the kinship term and the proper name of the writer occurred. In the fifth, only the writer's name was used.

Array of Epistolary Discourses studied

	1	2	3	4
	See Text 9.9			
SALUTATION	Formula	Formula [*]	Formula	Formula
MESSAGE ₁	Expositional P.	Simple S.	Expositional P.	Direct Quote S.
MESSAGE ₂	Identical Predicate P.	Coordinate S.	Simple S.	Simple S.
MESSAGE ₃	Parallel P.	Coordinate S.	Parallel P. **	Sequence S.
MESSAGE ₄	Sequence S.		Parallel P.	
MESSAGE ₅	Alternative S.		Simple S.	
MESSAGE ₆	Summary S.			
MESSAGE ₇				
MESSAGE ₈				
MESSAGE ₉				
MESSAGE ₁₀				
MESSAGE ₁₁				
MESSAGE ₁₂				
Appeal			Simple S.	Exhorta- tion P.
Greeting	Coordinate S.		Simple S.	
Signature	Formula	Formula	Formula	
Finis		Formula		
Postscript				

* Signature occurred in this position

** Greeting occurred in this position as well as listed

Array of Epistolary Discourses studied continued

	5	6	7	8
SALUTATION	Formula	Formula	Formula	Formula +++
MESSAGE ₁	Simple S.	Reason P.	Expositional P.	Parallel P.
MESSAGE ₂	Narrative P.	Expositional * P.	Simple S.	Simple S.
MESSAGE ₃	Expositional + P.		Simple S.	Coordi- nate S.
MESSAGE ₄	Sequence S.		Simple S.	Simple S.
MESSAGE ₅	Coordinate S.		Identical Predicate P.	Exposi- tional P.
MESSAGE ₆	Alternative S.		** Simple S.	Exposi- tional P.
MESSAGE ₇			++ Simple S.	Parallel P.
MESSAGE ₈			Simple S.	++ Simple S.
MESSAGE ₉				Coordi- nate S.
MESSAGE ₁₀				Coordi- nate S.
MESSAGE ₁₁				++ Coordi- nate S.
MESSAGE ₁₂				Coordi- nate S.
Appeal	Sequence S.	Result P.	Simple S.	
Greeting		Simple S.	Simple S.	Simple S.
Signature	Expositional P.		*** Formula	Formula
Finis	Formula	Formula		
Postscript				Sequence S.

+ Appeal occurred in this position

* Greeting occurred in this position

** Finis followed by a formulaic Signature followed by Greeting expounded by a Coordinate Sentence followed by Appeal filled by Parallel S. occurred in this position. An alternate analysis, therefore, would be to consider there is a Postscript expounded by another letter which would include everything following the Finis. This analysis is rejected because there is no Salutation.

++Greeting occurred in this position and as listed

*** Message_g occurred in this position

+++Signature occurred in this position and as listed

8.6. Participant Rules. We have concluded the discussion of discourse types. However, in all types of discourse there are rules based on grammatical structures of higher levels for determining the necessary occurrences of optional clause-level tagmemes. These rules apply to all paragraph types, but are mainly determined by sequences within the discourse.

- (1) In general, if there is any problem knowing who the actor is, use the free subject tagmeme manifest by the simplest form (pronoun, noun, or ame 'that') that will remove the ambiguity. Occasionally ambiguity is allowed to exist for one sentence and then is explained by the next sentence.
- (2) When the actor remains the same, no free subject occurs since the verbal suffix indicates person.
- (3) When verbal suffixes show actor without ambiguity (e.g., we - he shift) no free subject is needed.
- (4) When actor shifts and the verbal suffix is ambiguous, free subject is used.
- (5) If two third persons are involved in the text, shift between actors is indicated by
 - (a) free noun subject
 - (b) ae between the clauses
 - (c) amba between two medial verbs
 - (d) one of the two medial verbs has the substantive clitic
- (6) To move characters on and off the scene, their proper name fills the subject slot. New dramatis personae are often introduced by means of an equational clause filling an Afterthought tagmeme.

- (7) Plural person verbal suffixes refer to everyone who is currently on the scene and continue to do so until otherwise overtly specified. When specific ones out of the plural verbal suffix are meant, they must be mentioned. From that point on until the entire group is gathered back in by a noun/nouns or ameme 'that', the plural suffix refers only to the smaller group.
- (8) Ne 'I' optionally expounds the free subject tagmeme, even when the verbal suffix is clearly first singular, to put the spotlight on one's self.
- (9) Directionals have their point of reference from the last Place Name.
- (10) Props, such as nets, string bags, loin cloth, etc. must be specified with the noun unless the verb carries the generic idea. (e.g., enapen 'to put into' means 'to put into a string bag' and napen means 'to eat food'). But if a specific type of container or type of food is involved it must be mentioned.
- (11) Time slot is filled to show passage of time and to mark the paragraph boundaries.
- (12) The topic of a paragraph is given in the Sentence Topic tagmeme of the first sentence in the paragraph. After that the topic under discussion is not mentioned again in that paragraph.

Chapter 9

TEXTS

There are two number columns in the left margin of the texts. The column on the left gives the number of the paragraph and includes decimal numbers to indicate a paragraph manifesting another paragraph tagmeme. Each sentence of a particular text is also numbered. This number appears in the right-hand column.

9.1. AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL PERSONAL NARRATIVE DIS-COURSE

The Dagas and World War II

This AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL PERSONAL NARRATIVE DIS-COURSE consists of a Title, 2 Episodes, Closure, Added Episode, and Finis.

1 TITLE: Ne nop nega ne gutut nega wapen
I word my I story my say

taian.
I/am/ready

'I am ready to tell my story, my word.'

1. EPISODE 1: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

1.1 2 SETTING: NARRATIVE P.

BU l: Tamaru gapan wanigen ase anega
youth at I/lived there thus

waingin en oaen wariangin.
I/was/living dr woman I/take

BU n: Oaen waran anega waingin orup
woman I/took thus I/was/living child

Mosisi baraen.
Mosisi I/bore

3 BU l: Ma ongen ma tauan Duguruk
here I/came here I/arrived Duguruk

- waningingin Diwawan kurudin dot onen.
I/was/living Diwawan carriers climb he/came
- 4 BU 2: Dot one uta Duguruk tauen
climb he/came/and there Duguruk he/arrived
enanin di anewan.
he/got/us em we/are/going
- 5 BU 3: Anewaton utu Baniara tauian.
we/went there Baniara we/arrive
- 6 PARENTHETICAL BU: Mosisi ine de ma
Mosisi his/mother two here
ae vemon angewan.
I/left/them I/am/going
- 7 BU 4: Baniara tauaton wanagi tauen anewan.
Baniara we/arrived boat arrived we/are/
going
- 8 BU 5: Anewaton ao Girigiri gean anit.
we/went up Girigiri we/disembark
- 1.2 BU 6: EXPOSITIONAL PARAGRAPH
- 9 TEXT: Gean anton motuka tauane
we/disembarked motor/car arrived/then
orup upi tap tauane tuan wane
fellow others fear arrived/then pig they/said/
then
karopae ao siniam.
mango up they/climb
- 10 EXPO 1: "Tuan anan tauiam."
pig trouble arrives
- 11 EXPO 2: Anega wane karopae ao
thus they/said/then mango up
siniamun.
they/climb

'I was a youth; thus I was living there for a long time, and I married; thus I was living, and I bore the child Mosisi. I came here, I arrived here, and I was living at Duguruk, and Diwawan came up (here to get) carriers. Having come up (here), he

arrived there at Duguruk; he got us indeed, and immediately we went. Having gone, we immediately arrived there at Baniara. I left Mosisi and his mother here, and immediately went. Having arrived at Baniara, the boat came, and immediately we went. Having gone, we immediately disembarked up at Girigiri. Having disembarked, the motor cars arrived; then some fellows were afraid; then they said (that they were) pigs; then immediately they climbed a mango tree. "The pigs come for trouble," thus they said then immediately they climbed the mango tree.'

2 EPISODE 2: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

12 BU 1: Muma motuka enanen anit
 night motor/car they/put/us we/went
 eton utu gaukara are tauian.
 dr there work area we/arrive

13 BU 2: Tauaton utu mepe gaukara anega
 we/arrived there work thus
 tainton ita tauiwanumune
 we/were/doing spear they/were/arriving/then
 mum tapaet di woup tapaet di
 night fear/only em dawn fear/only em
 anega tainton bom bulusi da nu
 thus we/were/doing bomb bullet a we
 ya aranen.
 neg they/hurt/us

14 BU 3: Bom bulusi da nu ya aranen
 bomb bullet a we neg they/hurt/us
 Ausiralia Amerika mugenat bom bulusi
 Australia America only bomb bullet
 ariwanumun guriwanumun nu anega
 they/were/hurting they/were/killing we thus
 wanin anit et.
 stay we/keep/going dr

2.1 BU 4: EXECUTION PARAGRAPH

15 PROPOSAL: King aepa waialesi di
 king down wireless em

- 16 watu eneni Papua. Paramesi map use
 he/sent/them Papua plane here there
 taupepiwa tap ewae ma onam anuman.
 arrives/then fear return here they/keep/coming
- 17 Utap use ma taupepi tap ewae use
 there here arrives/then fear return there
 am wanuman.
 they/keep/going
- 18 NON VERBAL RESPONSE: Ap anega wan
 so thus he/said
 gan tap gam tainton.
 therefore fear at we/were/doing
- 19 BU 5: Urat warane Goseagu nagirewa urata
 hole they/got/then Goseagu people hole
 geamone bom mainep atapa gearen awak
 they/fell/then bomb near there it/fell dirt
 iragi enu ae ae umamon gapan
 all speared/and comp it/covered/them therefore
 waialesi ae tauen king waialesi ap anega
 wireless down it/arrived king wireless so thus
 watu enen.
 he/sent
- 2.2 BU 6: IDENTICAL PREDICATE P.
- 20 SETTING: Watu enen amba nu tap mapa aruga
 we/sent then we fear here all
 tainton urat wariwanumune ae vean.
 we/were/doing hole they/were/getting/then they/
 stopped
- 21 IDEA 1: Tap aruga utap use ma tauiamune
 fear all there here they/arrive/then
 map use anewan.
 here there we/are/going
- 22 IDEA 2: Ewae use anewan.
 return there we/are/going
- 23 IDEA 3: Itap ise ma tauiamune ewae
 down/there here they/arrive/then return

- ise anewan.
down/there we/are/going
- 24 TERMINUS: Ap anega tainton.
 so thus we/were/doing
- 25 BU 7: Anega ta aninton amba king aepa
 thus so we/keep/doing then king down
- watu enen John Morris amba opata
 he/sent John Morris then announcement
- onen.
 he/came
- 26 BU 8: Opata oneni amba.
 announcement he/came/then then
- 27 BU 9: Amba ita aim use mani ameme
 then spear something something that
- amba oke tan.
 then it/finished
- 28 BU n: Oke tane ambagan boge wa
 having/finished then immediately say
- wain ene doko tat pa nuga nuga
 they/said dr/then home do house our our
- amba onan waiton.
 then come we/lived

'At night they put us in a motor car; we went for a long time and immediately arrived up there at the work area. Having arrived, we were working up there like this, (and) the planes were arriving; then, therefore, at night and at day we were only afraid, (but) the bombs and bullets did not hurt us; the bombs and bullets were hurting and killing only the Australians and the Americans, (so) thus we kept on living. The King over the water sent (a message) to Papua. "When the planes go away they should keep running (back) here. When they return they should keep running up there." So thus he said, therefore we were running (according to his directions). They dug a hole, then the Goseagu people fell in the hole, then a bomb fell over there near them; it went into all the dirt and completely covered them therefore the (message) arrived (by) the wireless; so thus the king sent (the message) (by) the wireless. Having sent (it), then we were all running around, and they stopped digging the holes. When they (planes) all come from up there to here then we run in the opposite direction. We are returning up there. When they arrive

37 BU n: Ongena endi mame boge waingian.
 having/come now here just I/live

'The other fellows returned; they worked, and they went again. I immediately came, then I immediately arrived down there. I went again, then immediately I arrived at Baniara. I got a pass. I said this, "I (have) three children, (and) I am ready to go home," thus I said. Having said that, I came home. Having come, now I am just living here.'

4 FINIS: Gutut nega uon taia.
 story my finishes

'My story is done.'

9.2. THIRD PERSON PERSONAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

'How the Crow Became Black'

This THIRD PERSON PERSONAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE consists of a TITLE, STAGE, 3 EPISODES, and a FINIS.

1 TITLE: IDENTICAL PREDICATE PARAGRAPH

1 IDEA 1: Ne yauna Iuio ne nenip negawa sinasin
 I name Iuio I bird my cockatoo

guturewa wapen taiangin.
story say I/am/ready

2 IDEA 2: Guturewa wapen taiangin.
 story say I/am/ready

'My name (is) Iuio; I am ready to tell the story of my bird, the Red-tailed Black Cockatoo. I am ready to tell the story.'

2 STAGE: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

3 BU 1: Ne nenip nega sinasin a at
 I bird my cockatoo (pausal) place

yaua Buiwa Gorebuna.
name Buiwa Gorebuna

4 BU 2: Gapan nenip yaua wao sinasin de.
 at bird namu crow cockatoo two

'My bird (is) the cockatoo; the place (is) named Buiwa Gorebuna. At (that place) the birds (are) named crow and cockatoo, the two (of them).'

3 EPISODE 1: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

- 5 SETTING: Ben waran.
decoration they/got
- 6 BU 1: De ben wariwanumun ene
two decoration they/were/getting dr/then
namu wao ao yon wande Sinasin ben
first crow up he/rose/and cockatoo decoration
wat wanen.
get he/gave/him

3.1 BU 2: EXECUTION PARAGRAPH

- 7 PROPOSAL: Sinasin ben wat wanin
cockatoo decoration get he/gave/him
en uon tan si wao anega wani "O ge
dr finished and crow thus he/said oh you
8 gare ben wat nen." Anega
exchange decoration get you/give/me thus
wan.
he/said

3.2 NON VERBAL RESPONSE: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

BU 1: IDENTICAL PREDICATE PARAGRAPH

IDEA 1: SIMPLE S.

- 9 Sinasin ameme gamat ae ve.
cockatoo that face/paint he/stopped

IDEA 2: SIMPLE S.

- 10 Gamat ae ve.
face/paint he/stopped

- 11 BU 2: Yon wande kagugum megenat gotonagin
he/rose/and charcoal only he/crushed
e doba wat wanen.
dr decoration get he/gave/him

3.3 BU 3: REMARK PARAGRAPH

- 12 EVENT: Ugu wapi gine namu iravi kagugum anega
body face all charcoal thus
wat wanin en amba wao yon wande
get he/gave/him dr then crow he/rose/and

- gio ae dot ae gio yaviwandin
 mirror down climb down mirror he/was/
 looking
- enia pumpunigaet yaven.
 dr/while only/black he/saw
- 13 REMARK: "Enda ge ge ben koakoaro
 friend you you decoration poor
- nenaan ben koakoaro wat
 you/gave/me decoration poor get
- nenaan, " anega waia.
 you/gave/me thus he/says
- 14 BU n: Wani amba anan ao yon wanden
 having/spoken then trouble up he/rose
- Sinasin topen tan Sinasin ao yon wanden
 cockatoo hit he/tried cockatoo up he/rose
- tap.
 fear
- 15 TERMINUS: Tap anega oneni bogasi
 fear thus he/came/then immediately
- at yaua anen wait.
 place name how we/will/say

'They decorated. As they were decorating each other, first the crow rose up and decorated the cockatoo. He finished decorating the cockatoo, and the crow said this, "Oh, you decorate me in repayment." Thus he said. That cockatoo stopped (putting on) his face paint. He stopped (putting on) his face paint. He rose and crushed and crushed only charcoal (and) decorated him. He decorated all his body and face (with the) charcoal; then the crow rose, climbed in front of the mirror, and while he was looking, he saw only black. He immediately said, "Friend, you gave me a poor decoration, you gave me a poor decoration." Having spoken, then he rose up to fight; he tried to hit the cockatoo, (but) the cockatoo rose up and fled. Thus he fled and came immediately to the place - what's its name?'

4 EPISODE 2: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

- 16 SETTING: Wagoë Yarae pon tauen.
 Wagoë Yarae plain he/arrived

- 17 BU 1: Wagoë Yarae pon taue tau
Wagoë Yarae plain he/arrived/and arrive
ase Buran tapana ae yone
there Buran waterfalls down he/rose/and
guep mega tonewa watotnak ae
loin/cloth hi worn remove down
bareni amba
he/put/then then
- 18 BU 2: Amba onen.
then he/came
- 19 BU 3: Onenia onenia Mosewaiwat
having/come having/come Mosewaiwat
muga wande.
their he/stayed
- 20 BU 4: Mosewaiwat muga wande Wayu
Mosewaiwat their he/stayed/and Wayu
Dubase at muga wande.
Dubase place their he/stayed
- 21 TERMINUS: Anega onenia Iwarup ma
thus he/came/then Iwarup here
Baigen Baretā at muga wandenia anega
Baigen Baretā place their he/stayed/then thus
wandinia Mon Yawarot i wandenia
he/stayed Mon Yawarot peak he/stayed/then
utu Notau i tauen.
there Notau peak he/arrived

'He arrived at the Wagoë Yarae plain. He arrived at the Wagoë Yarae plain, and there at the Buran waterfalls he rose up and removed his worn loin cloth and put it down. Then he came. Having come, he stayed at the place of Mosewaiwat. Having stayed at the place of Mosewaiwat, he stayed at the place of Wayu Dubase. Thus he came; then he stayed here at Iwarup, the place of Baigen Baretā; thus he stayed a long time; then he stayed at the peak of Mon Yawarot; then he arrived there at the peak of Notau.'

5 EPISODE 3: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

22 SETTING: Aeni ase Apit Taumawan
 having/gone there Apit Taumawan
 bunup boren.
 headwaters he/closed

5.1 BU 1: ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH

23 THESIS: Borenia ian ase doran
 having/closed people there they/climbed
 amba ton amba man muga wan.
 then they/killed then animal their they/said

24 ANTITHESIS: Go man iwa negawa.
 but animal cause mine

'Having gone, he closed in (his nest) there at the headwaters of the Apit Taumawan. Having closed in (his nest), the people there climbed (up to it); then they killed (him); then they said (that it was) their animal. But the cause of the animal (is) mine.'

25 FINIS: Ne Aiwa Bavena Tuna Karanta Doga
 I Aiwa Bavena Tuna Karanta Doga
 Kamose apan ne man nega guture otu
 Kamose man I animal my story little
 mame waian nononga uon.
 this I/say long neg

'I (am) an Aiwa Bavena Tuna Karanta Doga Kamose man, (and) I tell this little story of my animal, (and) (it is) not long.'

9.3 LEGEND NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

'The Story of Ainin'

This LEGEND NARRATIVE DISCOURSE consists of a TITLE, APERTURE, 6 EPISODES and a FINIS.

1 TITLE: Oaen yaua Ainin guturewa wapen
 woman name Ainin story say
 taiangin.
 I/am/ready

'I am ready to tell the story of the woman named Ainin.'

- 2 APERTURE: Iravi nop ae vean iravi nop
 all word you/stop all word
 ameme iravi darine paitan enan iravi
 this all ear you/break you/put/into all
 anun.
 you/listen

'All of you stop talking; all of you open all your ears and put this word in; all of you listen.'

1 EPISODE 1: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

- 3 SETTING: Oaen yaua Ainin me erewa aean
 woman name Ainin she start anger
 aeniwa.
 one/who/went

1.1 BU 1: RESULT PARAGRAPH

1.2 CAUSE: EXPOSITIONAL PARAGRAPH

- 4 TEXT: Nau wai wanumonewa oaene
 her/brothers they/stayed/then wives
 den uram man uram wage uram
 with eel animal eel edible/leaves eel
 verivet waniwanumun.
 tail/only they/were/giving/her
- 5 EXPO 1: Wage tanevet waniwanumun.
 edible/leaves tough/only they/were/giving/
 her
- 6 TERMINUS: Ap megenat veriwa ge tanewa
 so only tail and tough
 megenat naiwandin amba imua posewa
 only she/was/eating then insides/her
 aean anun.
 resentment she/knew

1.3 RESULT: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

- BU 1: Pa bot wandin eniwa ame
 house close she/stayed dr/then that
 yon wande naua ivewa
 she/rose/and her/brother her/sister/in/law

- ae vemo wanuge tanam pa
 she/left/they/and her/nephew with house
- wanden aean aiwandin endi to
 she/stayed resentment she/was/going now go
- wanuge ewap den aen.
 her/nephew after also he/went
- 8 BU n: Ae wa waisen ya onen.
 down say she/chased neg he/came
- 9 BU 2: Ewavi ae irip aen isi
 retrace he/went cry he/went down/there
- ewa ine sia tauen ae man
 his/aunt to/him again she/arrived down animal
- koanse tam wanen one
 flying/insect get she/gave/him he/came/and
- naina kaninga nan.
 path raw he/ate
- 10 BU 3: Sia ae isi irip ae
 again he/went/and there cry he/went/and
- isi ewa ine sia tauen.
 there his/aunt to/him again she/arrived
- 11 BU 4: Ewa ak ak wayaven.
 his/aunt go go she/asked
- 12 BU 5: Baita tan ae dore yaup
 big she/did down she/climbed sugar/cane
- tanua ameme baime wandin e
 tough that leafing/through she/stayed dr
- goaratan baime ase ma se
 rock/pile leafing/through there here she/put/and
- wandin e.
 she/stayed dr
- 13 BU 6: Dore nonankae to ware kauma
 she/climbed/and mouse hit get water
- tapene nonankae gumewa kaum puakame
 she/dropped/and mouse fur water soaked
- wane ire pane
 she/gave/him/and she/burned/and she/tied/and

taiwandin me kototot aeni
 she/was/doing she on/and/on she/went/then
 bogasi ogi boa kuase anega
 immediately banana ripe she/picked/and thus
 ene anega awanaet anega
 she/put/into/and thus plain/only thus
 aeni bogasi aiwandin
 she/went/then immediately she/was/going
 dore awana aupa dore
 she/climbed/and plain up she/climbed/and
 ogi boa na dore oma
 banana ripe she/ate/and she/climbed/and tree
 no todume ae kapese
 mouth she/smashed/and comp she/pinched
 gorogot moiep daiton wat tomage ae
 skirt strip one get she/tore/and down
 kapese kototot.
 she/pinched/and on/and/on

- 14 BU 7: Aeni bogasi awanaet awanaet
 having/gone immediately plain/only
 anega aeni bogasi aupa naua
 thus she/went/then immediately up her/brother
 menan ewankui tata.
 for looking/back she/will/do
- 15 BU 8: Aeta aupa wande irip
 she/will/go up she/stayed/and cry
 waiwandin epiwa ewankui tata
 she/was/saying skin looking/back she/will/do
 aeta anega aiwandin Donana awanaet
 she/will/go thus she/was/going Donana plain
 anega aiwandin eni ambagan.
 thus she/was/going dr then
- 16 BU 9: Awana aupa wandeni amba mum tauen
 plain up she/stayed then night arrived
 ae geat ae iniwandini ambagan mum
 down she/lay down she/was/lying then night

- gage gapan apit pom pom onampina
 middle at wallaby hopping he/comes/then
 me anuini "Nauna nenan ambagan
 she she/thought my/brother for/me where
 da sia oniwan."
 a again he/is/coming
- 17 BU 10: Anega anun dore yangut
 thus she/thought she/climbed looking
 taiwandanepiwa ameme uon.
 while/she/is/doing that neg
- 18 BU n: Ame sia ineta.
 that again she/will/sleep
- 19 TERMINUS: Ame anega taiwandin woup ase
 that thus she/was/doing dawn there
 senia ambagan dore aeni
 put/then then she/climbed/and she/went/then
 bogasi aiwandin eni ambagan
 immediately she/was/going dr/then then
 kaum yaua Aniata.
 water name Aniata

'The woman named Ainin (was) the first one to go off in anger. Her brothers were there; then they with their wives were giving her only eels' tails and edible leaves. They were giving her only the tough leaves. So she was eating only the tails (of the eels) and tough (leaves); then she resented (this treatment). (Therefore) she closed up the house and stayed (in there) a long time; then she rose and left her brother and her sister-in-law and stayed in (another) house with her nephew; she was growing (more) resentful, (so) she left, and her nephew also went after her. She told him not to come. He retraced (his steps), crying (as) he went, (so) his aunt came down there to him again, and she caught a flying insect and gave it to him, and he came and ate it raw on the path. Again he went, he went down there crying, and again his aunt came down there to him. His aunt asked him to go. She repeatedly (asked him), and she climbed up (the hill) and stayed (there) leafing through tough (pieces of) sugar cane, and she stayed (there) hunting through the rock pile and putting them around, and she stayed a long time. She climbed (further) and killed a mouse, dropped it into water, and (when) the fur

was soaked with water she gave it to him; she burned and tied (it); (these were) her actions, and she went on and on; then she just picked a ripe banana, put it into her net bag, and thus she went only along the plain; then immediately (thereafter) she was going (on), and she climbed up the plain, and she ate the ripe banana, and she climbed (some more); she smashed the top of a tree and (made) a clasp; she ripped one strip from her skirt and clasped it (in the clasp she had just made as a sign), and (she went) on and on. Having gone she just went on the plain only, then immediately looked back for her brother. Going on, she stayed up there and cried; immediately she looked back for a person; she went on; thus she was going, thus she was going along on the Donana plain for a long time. The she stayed up on the plain, and night came; she lay down; as she was lying down in the middle of the night a wallaby came hopping along. (so) she thought, "Whereabouts is my brother coming from for me again?" Thus she thought, and she climbed (up the hill), (but) while she was searching she saw no one. Immediately that one again slept. Thus she was doing when dawn came; then she again climbed and went; then she was just going and going; then (she came) to the river named Aniata.'

2 EPISODE 2: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

20 SETTING: Ium Aniata bunua gapan amepe apan
Ium Aniata source at there man

yaua Donum.
name Donum

21 BU 1: Vit aiwandinia amba apan
descend she/was/going/then then man

Donum ameme ambagan yaup patukare
Donum that then sugar/cane stakes

gure upe visiwandin ameme aupa
he/cut/and pull he/was/descending that up

tanen.
he/came/near/her

22 BU 2: Oma benop yoniwandini ambagan apan
tree among she/was/standing then man

Donum ambagan yaup patukare ise
Donum then sugar/cane stakes there

- warupeta.
he/will pull
- 23 BU 3: Onep ware ise ise warupepi
shoulder he/got/and further/along he/pulls/
then
amba me tauen verip am nasia.
then she arrived end step it/holds
- 24 BU 4: Warep bim bim tayaviwanda aepa ware
pull tight he/tried/until down he/put
utu nain wanawat to aiwanda
up/there path tramping/down hit he/was/going/un-
til
utupa bare.
up/there he/put/and
- 25 BU 5: One isi sia ao wareta.
he/came/and down/there again up he/will/
get
- 26 BU 6: Warepiwa utu tauen verip
he/gets/then up/there she/arrived end
am nasia ware warup aepen menan
step it/holds he/got/and pull to/go for
bim bim tayaviwanda amba "Anen taja?"
tight he/tried/until then how it/does
- 27 BU 7: Ae utu anega sia to
he/went/and up/there thus again hit
aiwanda ae ao wareta.
he/did/until he/went/and up he/will/get
- 28 BU n: Tain eni ambagan one ita
he/did dr then he/came/and down/there
ware yame geri one tunui yangut
he/got/and eye edge shoulder turned watching
tani amba utu oaen taue
he/did/then then up/there woman arrived/and
veri am nasen yaven.
end step it/held he/saw

'(Now the action is) at the source of the Ium and Aniata Rivers, (and) at that place (there is) a man named Donum. She was descending (the mountain); then that man Donum cut stakes for sugar cane and descended pulling (them); he came up near her. She was standing among the trees; then the man Donum immediately was pulling the stakes for the sugar cane down there. He put (them) on his shoulder, and as he pulled them further along she came up, stepped on the end, and it held. He tried to pull, (but it was) tight until he put them down and kept on tramping down the trail up there until he put them up there. He came, and immediately he picked them up down there again. When he picked them up, then she came (back out) up there, stepped on the end, and it immediately held; he picked them up in order to go (but) he tried and tried (without success at it was) caught, until (he thought) "What's going on?" He went and again tramped down (the trail) up there until he went and again picked up (the stakes). He did this several times, then he came and got them down there, and he secretly watched out of the corner of his eye; then he saw the woman come (out) up there, step on the end (of the stakes), and they held.

3 EPISODE 3: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

- 29 BU 1: Ambagan taueni bogasi
 then he/arrived/then immediately
 utu oaen topen menan kereba ware
 up/there woman to/hit for knife he/got/and
 taue noa bore topen tan
 arrived/and mouth he/closed/and to/hit he/was/
 ready
 oaen utu anega wani "Ya tonege ae ve
 woman there thus she/said neg hit/me stop
 ne wapena anu.
 I when/I/speak you/listen
- 30 Uramu begawa na nenane.
 eel foot eat they/gave/me
- 31 Kokopu tanawa na nenane, " anega
 edible/leaves tough eat they/gave/me thus
 wani ambagan.
 she/said then

- 32 BU 2: Ameme topen tani amba dere
 that to/hit he/was/ready then two
 bogasi nau aeni bogasi ae
 immediately led he/went/then immediately down
 dore karaua bare aeni
 he/climbed/and secretly he/put/and he/went/then
 bogasi yaup patukare yaup
 immediately sugar/cane stakes sugar/cane
 urewa upe taue ae
 suckers he/pulled/and he/arrived/and comp
 wani anega wandin eni ambagan.
 he/said/then thus he/stayed dr then
- 33 BU 3: Oam da gorogot uon tan menan
 day one skirt finished therefore
 kaum yaua Ium Aniata.
 water name Ium Aniata

'Then he arrived and immediately got his knife to hit the woman up there; he came, covered the blade and was ready to hit her, and that woman said this, "Don't hit me, stop, you listen while I talk. They gave me the foot of the eel to eat. They gave me tough leaves to eat," so she said. Then that one who was ready to hit her immediately he led her, immediately he climbed (into his house) and hid her; then he went and immediately (put up) the stakes for the sugar cane, suckered the sugar cane, came (back to the house), and talked; thus they lived for a long time. Then one day her skirt was worn out; therefore (they went) to the river named Ium Aniata.'

4 EPISODE 4: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

- 34 BU 1: Bunua anega gorogot eniwanumun
 source thus skirt they/were/putting/into
 enea ambagan aiwandini amba man
 dr then she/was/going then animal
 kawari yave.
 cuscus she/saw/and

4.1 BU 2: EXECUTION PARAGRAPH

4.2 PROPOSAL: VERBAL EXCHANGE PARAGRAPH

sine aeni ambagan.
 he/hung/and he/went then

- 45 BU n: Bogasi endi eao eao mame
 just now fragrant/clerodendron this
 kurantane mame ambagan.
 fragrant/clerodendron/flower this then

- 46 TERMINUS: Ame oaen monobuewa.
 that woman her/earrings

'Later then her husband rose and was very sad; he rose and tried and tried (to find the body); he climbed and gathered sticks; he then put them into the water and tried for a long time to pull (up the body) without success; then he climbed up. Then he climbed and pulled out only an earring. Having pulled it out, then he just got that earring and hung it there on the branch of the fragrant clerodendron, and he went. Then just now (even today) the flower of the fragrant clerodendron (is) the woman's earring.'

6 EPISODE 6: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

- 47 BU n: Me bogasi ambagan yon wande apan
 he immediately then he/rose/and man
 ameme Donum yon wande irip anega wani
 that Donum he/rose/and cry thus he/said

- 48 "Ium Aniata sipaiven topaiven,"
 (Language here is obselete and no informant knows
 meaning)

anega wani amba pa di aen.
 thus he/said then house em he/went

'He immediately thereafter rose; that man Donum rose and cried this, "Ium Aniata sipaiven topaiven," thus he cried, then he definitely went home.'

- 49 FINIS: Nop otu ame gutut ansena oaen
 word little this story which woman
 gutut otu koerak mame bobou veri bobou otu
 story little this short end short little
 mame wan.
 this I/said

50 Uon taia.
it/finishes

'I said this little word, which story - the woman's story - this little (one) (with) the little short end. The End.'

9.4. GENEALOGY NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

'Auea's Family History'

This GENEALOGY NARRATIVE DISCOURSE consists of a TITLE, 2 EPISODES, a GENEALOGY, a PRESENT EPISODE and a FINIS.

1 TITLE: Gutut nega mame endi wapen taian.
story my this now to/say I/am/ready
'Now I am ready to tell this my story.'

1 EPISODE 1: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

2 BU 1: Endi apan Naveru Naveru onenia
now man Naveru Naveru he/came/then
oaen Koapura warena Yarae baraien.
woman Koapura he/got/then Yarae he/bore

1.1 BU 2: IDENTICAL PREDICATE PARAGRAPH

3 IDEA 1: Yarae baraenia Yarae yon wandenia
Yarae having/born Yarae he/rose/then

Umitan aeni boge ae.
Umitan he/went/then immediately he/went

4 IDEA 2: Koapura aeni boge
Koapura he/went/then immediately

ae.
he/went

5 BU 3: Waruman taue.
Waruman he/arrived/and

6 BU 4: Dore Umitan ase ma ware
he/climbed/and Umitan there here he/got/
and

sia oneni boge ma tauen.
again he/came/then immediately here he/arrived

7 BU n: Yon wande Bemben barae.
he/rose/and Bemben he/bore/and

1.2 TERMINUS: IDENTICAL PREDICATE PARAGRAPH

- 8 IDEA 1: Bemben baraenja Bemben baraen
 Bemben having/born Bemben he/bore
 Bemben naewa boge.
 Bemben offspring none
- 9 IDEA 2: Yarae naewa ne.
 Yarae offspring I

'Now concerning the man Naveru, Naveru came; then when he married the woman Koapura he begat Yarae. Having begat Yarae; Yarae grew up, then he (Naveru) went to Umitan immediately he went. And he went to Koapura; immediately he went. And he arrived at Mount Waruman. And he climbed and married Umitan there, and again he came then immediately he arrived here. Time passed and he begat Bemben. Having begat Bemben, he begat Bemben - Bemben (had) no offspring. I (am) Yarae's offspring.'

2 GENEALOGY: GENEALOGY PARAGRAPH

- 10 STEP 1: Endi Yarae yon wandenia Kurea
 now Yarae he/rose/then Kurea
 yon wandenia ma.
 he/rose/then here
- 11 STEP 2: Diut baraen.
 Diut he/bore
- 12 STEP 3: Onin baraen Onin yon wandenia Diut
 Onin he/bore Onin he/rose/then Diut
 baraen.
 he/bore
- 13 STEP 4: Diut yon wandenia Diut Giaba Barao
 Diut he/rose/then Diut Giaba Barao
 de senia Barao yon wandenia.
 two he/bore/them Barao he/rose/then
- 14 STEP 5: Kambit baraen Kambit yon wandenia
 Kambit he/bore Kambit he/rose/then
 Yunit Gontap Goivet Kanawat Barentain sen.
 Yunit Gontap Goivet Kanawat Barentain he/bore

'Now Yarae grew up; then he begat Kurea. Kurea grew up; then he begat Diut and Onin here. Onin grew up, then he begat Diut. Diut grew up; then he begat both Giaba and Barao; then

Barao grew up; then he begat Kambit. Kambit grew up; then he begat Yunit, Gontap, Goivet, Kanawat, and Barentain.'

3 EPISODE 2: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

- 15 BU 1: Yarae warige aeni ae.
Yarae namesake he/went/then he/went
- 16 BU 2: Maiu gan wandenia aipa bop tan.
Maiu at he/stayed/then there he/died
- 17 BU 3: A Yunit Gontap Goivet bop tanea
ah Yunit Gontap Goivet they/died/then
- Anentain orup evi yaneniwa yon wandenia
Anentain child later who/was/born he/rose/then
- Mamewon baraen.
Mamewon he/bore

'Yarae's namesake, when he went, he went. He stayed at Maiu; then he died there. Yunit, Gontap, and Goivet died; then Anentain, the child who was born later, grew up; then he begat Mamewon.

PRESENT EPISODE:

- 18 Endia mame gutut negawa ma Nanaua
now this story my here Nanaua
- yon wandenia Butai bare ne bat nimanegen.
he/rose/then Butai he/bore/and I he/bore/me

'Right now this (is) my story - Nanaua grew up; then he begat Butai and me.'

4 FINIS: IDENTICAL PREDICATE PARAGRAPH

- 19 IDEA 1: Ne gutut nega otu mame endi waiangin.
I story my little this now I/say
- 20 IDEA 2: Endi mame waian gutut nega mame
now this I/say story my this
endi waiangin.
now I/say
- 21 TERMINUS: Gutut nega dawa uon taia.
story my another finishes

'I tell this little story of mine now. Right now I tell (it); now

I say this my story. Another of my stories finishes.'

9.5. COMPOUND NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

'Our Feather Headdresses'

This COMPOUND NARRATIVE DISCOURSE consists of a TITLE, STAGE and 2 EPISODES followed by a TITLE, STAGE, 2 EPISODES, and a FINIS.

1 TITLE: IDENTICAL PREDICATE PARAGRAPH

- 1 IDEA 1: Ne gutut nega wapen taian
I story my to/say I/am/ready
- 2 IDEA 2: Ne nenip nega boewa gureni
I bird my lory when/he/killed
- waise wapen taian.
story to/say I/am/ready

'I am ready to tell my story. I am ready to tell the story of when he killed my bird lory.'

STAGE:

- 3 Kugawa gapan ne nenip nega boewa nesip
Kugawa at I bird my lory stair
- paniwandin.
he/was/tying

'My bird lory was tying a stair at Kugawa.'

2 EPISODE 1: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

- 4 BU 1: Ambagan dore.
then he/climbed/and
- 5 BU 2: Guren.
he/killed
- 6 BU 3: Gumewa aie onen.
feathers he/took/and he/came
- 7 BU n: Sinao tarep gapan taiwandin.
drum dance at he/was/doing

'Then he (the killer) climbed (up). And he killed (the lory). He brought the feathers. He made a (headdress) for dancing.'

EPISODE 2:

8 Amba gumewa opi aupa seane
 then feathers others up which/they/put
 wandia.
 they/stay

'The other feathers which they preserved are here (today).'

3 TITLE: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

9 BU 1: Ne kiki nega Gaua gapan onen.
 I story my Gaua at it/came

10 BU 2: Ne waisewa waiangin.
 I story I/say

'My story came from Gaua. I tell the story.'

STAGE:

11 Gureni gumewa aie ao ma
 when/he/killed feathers he/took/and up here
 onen.
 he/came

'When he killed (the lory) he brought the feathers here.'

4 EPISODE 1: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

12 BU 1: Oaenapan tavewa se amo anumun
 people feathers put they/were/going

kiki gapan wa amo anumun.
 story at say they/were/going

13 BU 2: Anuinton.
 we/were/hearing

'The people handed down the feathers with the story. We heard it.'

5 EPISODE 2: IDENTICAL PREDICATE PARAGRAPH

14 IDEA 1: Endiwa nu upi Birat gapan wainian.
 now we others Birat at we/live

15 IDEA 2: Upi Kakaia gapan wanum amun
 others Kakaia at they/are/living

upi Komania gapan wanum amun upi
 others Komania at they/are/living others

Dogon gan wanum amun.
 Dogon at they/are/living

'Now some of us live at Birat. Others are living at Kakaia, others at Komania, (and) others at Dogon.'

FINIS: Otu ameme aruna uon.
 little this big neg

'This little (story) (is) not big.'

9.6. HORTATORY DISCOURSE

'Everyone to Work at Agaun'

This HORTATORY DISCOURSE consists of an APERTURE, 3 POINTS, REQUEST, CONCLUSION, and APPEAL.

APERTURE:

1 A inan maman tatan goanin oaenapan at at
 ah my/parents my/siblings people places
 gaset onen dugup dugup gaset onen
 already he/came various/clans already he/came
 ma inanup mondi puakaiwan.
 here with/us purposelessly he/is/rotting(is un-
 comfortable)

'Ah my parents and my siblings, the people have already come from various places; they have already come from various clans, (therefore) they are uncomfortable here with us.'

1 POINT 1: REASON PARAGRAPH

1.1 ACTION: REASON PARAGRAPH

2 ACTION: Endi ge apan agean yauga
 now you man you/went your/name
 ae baraeen ongean ma dim da
 down you/put you/came here what
 waringi oaen agean yauga
 you/are/doing woman you/went your/name
 ae baraeen ongean ma dimoma
 down you/put you/came here what
 waringi vek tapi megenat wandep
 you/are/doing sick doer only should/stay

go dim da tapi megenat wandep orup da
 or what doer only should/stay fellow
 atana karaua nao ya wap en nae
 there secretly work neg he/should/say sprouts
 ya wap kopi ya wap
 neg he/should/say coffee neg he/should/say
 ame ebo.
 that wrong

- 3 REASON: Oaenapan yauya siwaniana
 people your/name you/who/put
 uruga endi Agaun gapan imana mayama
 all now Agaun at tomorrow day/after/
 tomorrow
 uruga Agaun gapan.
 all Agaun at

1.2 REASON: EXPOSITIONAL PARAGRAPH

- 4 TEXT: Nao otu da baware uon go piup
 work little big neg but ground
 koni otu da dere megenat.
 edge little two only
 5 EXPO 1: Da endi tayavit onanton da
 one now we/tried we/came one
 itapa wandia.
 there it/stays
 6 EXPO 2: A yampoa ea bumak ya tait
 a third down bank neg we/do
 veatoniwa ameme enapen.
 leave that we/should/do

'Now you, fellow, you went and signed on for work and came (back) here; what are you doing? You, woman, you went and signed on for work and came (back) here, what are you doing? Only the sick ones or the ones doing something should stay (in the village); you, fellow, over there, don't say to (do your own) work secretly; don't say to (plant) sprouts; don't say (to do) coffee; that (is) bad. (Because) all the people who signed on (to work) (should be) at Agaun today, tomorrow, and the next day. (Because) (there is) not a lot of work (left to do), but (there are) only two little edges of ground. We did one today and came, (but) one remains (to be done). We should (also) do that third bank

down there which we left today.'

2 POINT 2: EXPOSITIONAL PARAGRAPH

7 TEXT: Oaenapan ise ase tainanetawa Agaun
 people there there when/we/do Agaun

ap anega di wandeeta pa beri
 so thus em it/will/remain house among

gaset irot tau aen menan yawan
 already cold passed/through therefore you/look

aisen atana nao ya tat wa taiwanian.
 you/go there work neg do say you/do

8 EXPO 1: Taue pa pa ayop warupen ae
 arrive villages leader he/pulled but

mek pa mega amunua gapan gapan wande
 himself house his warm at at stay

aep.
 he/should/go

2.2 EXPO 2: PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

9 THEME: Nu pa nuga amunu den wandepoa
 we house our warm with stay/CF

koe ame ina tainampo endi nu pa
 bad that live try/CF now we house

koerak tan.
 bad did

10 PARALLEL THEME: Pa gaset irot
 house already cold

tau aen.
 passed/through

'If we people keep on working here and there, Agaun (airstrip) will remain (unfinished); the cold (time of little food) has already passed through the village, therefore think about (this); go (work at Agaun and) don't say that you won't do the work. The leaders have brought (the people) from the villages, but they themselves should go and stay at their various warm (comfortable with food) houses. If we were to stay in our warm houses, that (would be) bad, and if we were to try to live (that way) our houses would be bad now. The cold would have already come to our village.'

3 POINT 3: EXPOSITIONAL PARAGRAPH

- 11 TEXT: Endi oam imanawa govman oam
 now day tomorrow government day
 megawa govman nave taitoni oamewa
 his government work which/we/do day
 ap menan oaen da map wandinia
 so therefore woman a here who/has/been/staying
 apan mapa wandinia imana uruga
 man here who/has/been/staying tomorrow all
 Agaun gapan.
 Agaun at

- 12 EXPO 1: Imana govman navewa imana
 tomorrow government work tomorrow
 tainaneta mum ya taueta oam ianupe
 when/we/do night neg will/arrive noon
 gan onanait.
 at we/will/come

3.1 EXPO 2: ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH

- 13 THESIS: Imana ma oaen wandepia
 tomorrow here woman when/she/stays
 otua vek taniwa mek vek tapiwa
 child sick who/did herself sick who/does
 megenat wandep.
 only should/stay

- 14 ANTITHESIS: Oaen kakaewa apan kakaewa
 woman good man good
 uruga Agaun gapan.
 all Agaun at

- 15 EXPO 3: Oaenapan yaunu wainia aen
 people our/name who/says he/went
 atapa ae gearini ne umam baware.
 there down who/fell I embarrassed big

- 16 TERMINUS: Endi menan imana oaen
 now therefore tomorrow woman
 pa wanianawa apan pa wanianawa uruga
 house who/stayed man house who/stayed all

Agaun gapan.
Agaun at

'Now tomorrow (is) the government's day, the day on which we do the government's work, so therefore any woman who has been staying here or any man who has been staying here tomorrow all (should be) at Agaun. Concerning the government's work tomorrow, when we work tomorrow we will not come (back) at night (but) at noon. Tomorrow, the woman with a sick child or who herself is sick should stay here. (But) the well men and women (should) all (go) to Agaun. I am very embarrassed that some people who signed (on to work) go over there and sleep. Now therefore tomorrow the women who have been staying in the village and the men who have been staying in the village (should) all (go) to Agaun.'

4 REQUEST: IDENTICAL PREDICATE PARAGRAPH

- 17 IDEA 1: Endi Bantut eto asepagana den
now Bantut on/the/other/side also
agun wadiamon.
make/sure you/tell/them
- 18 IDEA 2: Nop waiangina ma agun
word which/I/say this make/sure
wadiamon.
you/tell/them

'Now make sure you tell (the people) on the other side of the Bantut River. Make sure you tell them the message which I said.'

CONCLUSION:

- 19 Ganawan anuiana ganawan waiwanian
enough what/you/heard enough you/are/saying
ne ata asepa wa ge wa ange taian.
I over/there saying go I/do

'You've heard enough, (and) you're saying (it is) enough. (therefore) I (will) be going over there and talking.'

5 APPEAL: EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH

- 20 EXHORTATION 1: Anuian.
remember

'Remember!'

9.7. PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

'How to Hunt Pigs'

This PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE consists of an ADDRESS, STAGE, PROCEDURE, ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURE, and EXHORTATION.

1 ADDRESS: Vocative

Enda.
friend

'Friend.'

2 STAGE:

Gatawan agingapena edani
later if/you/go hunting/in/poor/weather
agingapena tuan dugup iniwandapinawa tuan
if/you/go pig house if/he/lives pig
tau yao.
arrive look

'Later, if you go, if you go hunting in poor weather and if the pig is in his house, arrive at the pig and look.'

1 PROCEDURE: ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH

3 THESIS: Yawa me eapa pia
when/you/look he down ground
iniwandapina paina oeapa dugup dore
if/he/lives high overhead house climb
iniwandapinawa amba ita pia anega ae
if/he/lives then spear ground thus down
uat.
you/throw

1.1 ANTITHESIS: RESULT PARAGRAPH

1.2 CAUSE: EXPOSITIONAL PARAGRAPH

4 TEXT: Go dugup ame ni mot wa gagap
but house that collapsed at
iniwandapinawa amo tuan ame tau aen.
if/he/lives that pig that passed/through
5 EXPO 1: Ame dugup pokaet.
that house empty

- 6 EXPO 2: Ame tuan ame aen amba da
 that pig that he/went where a
 iniwan?
 he/is/living
- 7 RESULT: Menan ame yawa ae veawa
 therefore that when/you/see stop/then
 yop sia di ak.
 search again em go

'When you look, if he is down there on the ground, (that is) if he has entered and remains in the house, then throw your spear into the ground thus. But if house has collapsed that pig has escaped. That house (is) empty. That pig has gone, (and) (who knows) where he is living? Therefore when you see that, leave and search again elsewhere.'

ALTERNATE PROCEDURE:

- 8 O tuan enua yao kakaeat amba
 or pig when/you/spear look well then
 taingan da tan arageta.
 you/do/until one he/did he/will/bite/you

'Or when you spear a pig, then watch carefully until (he is dead), (because) in his writhings he will bite you.'

2 EXHORTATION: EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH

- 9 EXHORT 1: Endi ma waiangina ge anu.
 now this when/I/tell you listen
- 10 EXHORT 2: Ameme gapan diingan.
 that at I/declare

'Now when I tell you this, you listen (remember). I declare this (to you).'

9.8. EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE

'Rain-making'

This EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE consists of an INTRODUCTION, EXPLANATION, 1 POINT, and a FINIS.

INTRODUCTION:

- 1 Nop nega wapen taiangin.
 word my to/say I/am/ready

'I am ready to say my word.'

1 EXPLANATION: EXPOSITIONAL PARAGRAPH

2 TEXT: Gutut uon go wait.
story neg but report

1.1 EXPO 1: ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH

3 THESIS: Oaenapan tave waisewa.
people old their/report

1.2 ANTITHESIS: REASON PARAGRAPH

4 ACTION: Nu orup otu nu ya taitonia.
we fellow little we neg who/do

5 REASON: Orup otu nu oare.
fellow little we don't/know

'This (is) not a story but a report. (It is) the report of the old people. We young fellows (are) not the ones who do it. (Because) we young fellows don't know (the proper ritual).'

2 POINT 1: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

6 SETTING: Oaenapan tave amone boge
people old they/went/then just

7 oma baewa o dim dim. Dom gigit.
tree leaf or something mushroom

2.1 BU 1: EXPOSITIONAL PARAGRAPH

8 TEXT: Dom gigit tambune amone
mushroom they/got/then they/went/then

goat aiane mea enane
rock they/got/then water they/put/into/then

oma bae aigap sene onamoin e
tree leaf on they/put/then they/came dr

ugin tauinia.
rain which/arrived

9 EXPO 1: Ugin unuion ya tauinia
rain haphazardly neg which/arrived

go oam tain gan amone
but sun did/and/did therefore they/went/then

ugin gan wariwanum.
rain at they/are/getting

2.2 BU n: EXPOSITIONAL PARAGRAPH

- 10 TEXT: Sia tane ugin waiwandan
 again when/they/did rain it/said/until
 uon tapen menan amopi bogani
 to/finish for when/they/go immediately
 tau visoro upunepi bogani
 arrive whistle when/they/blow immediately
 atagin tupi bogani tonana
 ash when/they/dig immediately door
 yonepi bogani ae paunagain.
 when/they/stand immediately down they/will/clap
- 11 EXPO 1: Nani goanap se nani goane ae
 hand inside put hand palm down
 pau tain.
 clap they/will/do
- 12 TERMINUS: Ameme oam taia.
 that sun it/does

'The old people went; then they just (got) a tree leaf, something, or a mushroom. Having got the mushroom, they went; then they got rocks; then they put them into water, then they put a tree leaf on the rocks; then as they came (there was) rain. (It was) not a haphazardly rain, but (there was) drought, therefore they went; then immediately made rain. When they did (it) again, it rained until in order to stop (the rain) they go; then immediately they arrive and blow a whistle, then immediately they dig ashes; then immediately they stand in the door; then immediately they clap. They put (the ashes) inside their hand, and they clap their palm together. That makes the sun (shine).'

FINIS:

- 13 Nop nega mame.
 word my this

'This (is) my word.'

9.9. EPISTOLARY DISCOURSE

'A Letter from Aravit'

This EPISTOLARY DISCOURSE consists of a SALUTATION, 6 MESSAGES, GREETINGS, and a SIGNATURE.

SALUTATION:

- 1 Kaewa kaewa tatan wainawa John ge Elizabeth
greetings my/older/siblings John and Elizabeth
e umap iniwanin?
you o.k. you/are/living

'Greetings my older siblings, John and Elizabeth, are you well?'

1 MESSAGE 1: EXPOSITIONAL PARAGRAPH

- 2 TEXT: Nu school ok yampo a yavivin.
we school book third we/are/seeing
- 3 EXPO 1: Endi ne anuingina John ge garewa
now I am/thinking John you wages
nuga ao barepen anuivin.
our up to/put I/want
- 4 TERMINUS: Endi ge anu umap waiangin go
now you think o.k. I/say or
ebo waiangin.
wrong I/say

'In school we are reading book three. Now I am thinking that I want you, John, to raise our wages. Now you evaluate (is) (what) I say all right or wrong?'

2 MESSAGE 2: IDENTICAL PREDICATE PARAGRAPH

- 5 ITEM 1: Enda at Mayauman nagirewa kaum
friend place Mayauman people water
yaua Maiu umamopen tan.
name Maiu to/cover/them it/did
- 6 ITEM 2: Siragam yaua February gapan umamopen
month name February at to/cover/
tan. them
it/did
- 7 ITEM 3: Nu Bonenau gapan sia umamopen
we Bonenau at again to/cover/us
tan at yaua Uni mini sia umamopen
it/did place name Uni also again to/cover/them
tan.
it/did

8 TERMINUS: Otu ap me uon tan.
 little this finished

'Friend, the river named Maiu flooded the Mayauman people. The flood occurred in February. It flooded us also at Bonenau and also at Uni. This is all the news about the floods.'

3 MESSAGE 3: PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

9 THEME: Enda ne en daiton waingen
 friend I year one I/stayed

ae veapena umap ge anu.
 when/I/stop o.k. you think

10 PARALLEL THEME: Ne imunap anuiangina
 I my/insides I/think

primary school da tat anuivin enda ge
 primary school a do I/am/wanting friend you
 anu umap waiangin.
 think o.k. I/say

'Friend, I stayed here one year (teaching literacy); when I stop you agree (that it is) all right. In my heart I think that I want to go to a primary school, (so), friend, you agree (that what I say is all right).'

11 MESSAGE 4:

Enda ok nega garewa agun enu
 friend letter my reply make/sure you/write/
 yawap. then
 I/should/see

'Friend, make sure you write a reply to my letter; then I can see (it).'

MESSAGE 5:

12 Ne umap da inivin dim da uon.
 I o.k. a I/am/living something neg

'I am well; (there is) nothing wrong.'

MESSAGE 6:

13 Enda oaenapan inanap school tainea apan
 friend people with/me school who/do man

dere megenat oaen nanin yamunaet nanin yamu dere
 two only woman seven

ap anega inanap school taiwanum.
 so thus with/me school they/are/doing

‘Friend, the people who do school with me (are) two men
 only and seven woman, so thus they are doing school with me.’

GREETINGS:

14 E da orup gega den kaewa kaewa arita
 and a child your also greetings big
 eniangin umap yae iniwanian.
 I/write o.k. properly you/live

‘And I also write big greetings to your children; you live
 properly and well.’

SIGNATURE:

15 Enda ma ne Aravit Gaup.
 friend here I Aravit Gaup

‘Friend, here I (am) Aravit Gaup.’