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GOLIN GRAMMAR

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The workpaper in this volume expresses the author's knowledge at the time of writing. It has not been particularly edited for publication. However, it is felt that linguists interested in the island of Papua New Guinea will appreciate having this data paper available in this form.

Richard Loving,
editor

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INTRODUCTION.

Following S.A. Wurm's classification of the languages of the Hagen-Wahgi-Jimi-Chimbu family, Golin is a sub-dialect of the Marigl dialect of the Dom language.[1] Golin is the tribal name of a number of clans situated on the south bank of the Marigl River, around the Gumine Sub-District Office. The boundaries of these clans on the east and the west are the Sua and Mon Rivers respectively. However, a group of Mian clans form a geographical wedge in the area specified, at the township of Gumine. The clan groupings which form Wurm's Marigl dialect I believe to be Golin, Mian, Kia (Sa), Gunaa, Yuri, Era, and some of the Keri clan groups. Although these clan groupings also represent sub-dialects, they do so more on the basis of differences in word lists and intonation patterns rather than on difference of grammatical structure.

The orthography used throughout this paper, with the exception that tone is only marked on the word level, is that established by the writer and his co-author, Mrs. R. Bunn in the article 'Golin Phonology'.[2] A brief description of these phonemes follows:

There are fifteen consonants represented by:

eight stops which occur at bilabial, alveolar and velar points of articulation. Distinction is made between voiced and voiceless stops, and at the velar point of articulation there is contrast between labialisation and non-labialisation:

/p/ pirín 'salt', pipolá mugu 'whistle';

/t/ terín 'flea', sutan 'two', táránta 'one';

/k/ keba 'sweet potato', tákal 'what', kalkán 'something';

/kw/ kwí 'new', kwigí bílǒ 'you whistle';

/b/ bǎ 'moon', nobé 'edible leaf';

/d/ díl 'pumpkin type', dodál 'corn', aldé 'where';

/g/ gumán 'nose', digé 'armband', singé 'you hit';

/gw/ gwí 'wind', sígwíné 'ant', sungwé 'he hit'.

Of these phonemes /p/ and /b/ range in point of articulation between bilabial and labiodental positions, and in manner of articulation between stop and fricative. The phoneme /k/ ranges in manner of articulation between stop, affricate and fricative. [k] [kx] [x] [h]. The variation of these allophones is entirely free without any observable conditioning factor. It has been observed that /g/ does not have this same range of variants.

three non-nasal continuants: /w/ voiced bilabial semi-vowel: wén 'very', kewá 'wild cane'; /s/ [s/š] voiceless grooved fricative which has a free range between alveolar and alveopalatal positions: sutan 'two', bánsú 'short'; /y/ voiced alveopalatal semi-vowel: yené 'down below', mayán 'blood'.

two nasal continuants: /m/ voiced bilabial nasal: máálé 'bamboo', simíl 'bow', tárámbi 'type of taro'; /n/ [ŋ] voiced velar nasal occurs preceding velar stop, whereas [n] voiced alveolar nasal occurs elsewhere: nóngaré 'type of tree', naalé 'locust', nenín 'your father', bánsú 'short'.

two liquids: /r/ voiced alveolar flapped vibrant: moré 'blue', bíríín 'ridge pole'; /l/ [l̆] voiced alveolar flapped lateral occurs inter-vocalically, [l/l̪] voiced alveolar lateral with no distinction made between friction or the lack of it, occurs elsewhere: dulé 'water fern', níbíl eremúe 'he is sick', kulkán 'grass'.

There are five vowels: /i/ voiced high front unrounded vowel,

with a free range from [ɪ˙] high open tending central to [i] high close; word finally, contiguous to another vowel, and following labialised velar stops, there seems to be no variation, the high close [i] occurring consistently: bíríín 'ridge pole', ibé 'above', ébí 'cassowary' kwigí bíló 'you whistle'. /e/ voiced mid open front unrounded vowel: éró 'do it', diné 'dead banana leaf', mená 'outside'; /a/ [a/ʌ] voiced central vowel which has a free range between low and mid positions, except that only low occurs in the geminate cluster /aa/: abál 'woman', alá 'inside', gilaá 'night'; /o/ voiced mid open back rounded vowel: onibá 'snake', kobá 'pandanas fruit', bó 'sugar cane', woongwé 'he is digging'; /u/ voiced high open back rounded vowel: sugú 'heart', múrú 'all', úrá dimúe 'it is soft', puúl 'knife'.

There are two suprasegmental phonemes: high and low tone, high tone being marked by an acute accent and low tone left unmarked.

As will be seen this grammar has as its theoretical base the tagmemic model as set forth by K.L.Pike and R.E.Longacre. The two chapters, Sentence and Paragraph, are based on Longacre's recent refinements as set out in his book 'Heirarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages: Discussion' Longacre 1972a. However, certain modifications which do not coincide with a rigid tagmemic approach have been made. A number of tagmemes are referred to as having several components and such components are not considered as constituting a particular level of grammatical analysis. My main reason for not considering such structures as separate levels of the grammar is because, if one grouped such structures together,

they would not exhibit the high degree of similar patterning which I consider necessary to the setting up of a grammatical level. This fact is illustrated by the Numeral Phrases where the conjoining of words does not exhibit a pattern which is similar to the patterns of other phrases included in the phrase level.

The various levels of the grammatical hierarchy in Golin have been established on the basis of the different conjoining principles which operate in the formation of utterances. Five types of conjoining principles have been noted: that which conjoins morphemes into words, that which conjoins words into phrases, that which conjoins phrases into clauses, that which conjoins clauses into sentences and finally that which conjoins sentences into paragraphs. These conjoining principles are seen as satellites operating around a nucleus with each satellite being primarily influenced by the nucleus and only secondarily influenced by the other satellites. This model is therefore not restricted to binary relationships but gives scope for the complex relationships which exist in the structure of language. It will be seen that as one moves up the hierarchy from word to paragraph more weight is given to semantic criteria for establishing a level than is given on the word level. Much of the analysis of the word level can be done with little reference to meaning but on the levels of sentence and paragraph there is a greater reliance placed on meaning in establishing conjoining principles.

To complete the hierarchical structure which is a basis of this analysis it is necessary to consider how paragraphs combine to form a discourse. A tentative analysis has been made by me of twenty discourses spoken or written by eight different language informants.

A representative selection of these texts, showing the various discourse types posited, has been included in the book 'Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages: Texts' Longacre 1972b pp. 102-143.

The double underlining of language in Chapters II and III has been done to highlight the exponents of the tagmeme which the example illustrates. The list of abbreviations, as used throughout this paper, is as follows:

Chapter 1

+	Obligatory
±	Optional
ø	Zero suffix
1stp	1st person suffix
1stps	1st person singular suffix
2ndp	2nd person suffix
3rdp	3rd person suffix
acc	Accompaniment suffix
adv	Adversative suffix
circ	Circumstance relator suffix
comp	Comparison relator suffix
def	Definitive mood suffix
dem	Demonstrative suffix
dual	Dual person suffix
dub	Dubitative relator suffix
emp	Emphatic mood suffix
fut	Future suffix
imp	Imperative mood suffix
ind	Indicative mood suffix
int	Interrogative mood suffix
intn	Intention relator suffix
mod	Modifier
naq	Narrative quotative mood suffix
neg	Negative suffix
nf	Non-future suffix
nrf	Near future suffix
pl	Pluraliser
po	Possessive suffix
rea	Reason relator suffix
rel	Event-relator suffix
rst	Restricted aspect suffix
sim	Simultaneous relator suffix
spc	Specific aspect suffix
unr	Unrestricted aspect suffix

vh	Vowel harmony	voc	Vocative mood suffix

Additional abbreviations in Chapter 2.

/	Alternating with	hes	Hesitation
ad	Adjunct	K.N.P.	Kinship Noun Phrase
A.N.P.	Appositional Noun Phrase	Mod	Modifier tagmeme
C.N.P.	Conjunctive Noun Phrase	P.N.N.P.	Personal Name Noun Phrase
Dem	Demonstrative tagmeme	Pos	Possessive tagmeme
G.N.P.	General Noun Phrase	V.P.	Verb Phrase

Additional abbreviations in Chapter 3.

I	Interrogative tagmeme	O	Object tagmeme
IO	Indirect Object tagmeme	Pr	Predicate tagmeme
L	Location tagmeme	Su	Subject tagmeme
M	Manner tagmeme	T	Temporal tagmeme

Additional abbreviations in Chapter 4.

Ant	Antecedent tagmeme	Imm	Immediacy tagmeme
Anti	Antithesis tagmeme	indep	Independent
Circ	Circumstance tagmeme	Int	Intention-Desiderative Quote tagmeme
Cl	clause	Opt	Option tagmeme
Com	Comment tagmeme	P	Paragraph
Comp	Comparison tagmeme	plr	plural
Con	Consequent tagmeme	pur	Purpose tagmeme
Co.C	Contrafactual Condition tagmeme	Qu	Quote tagmeme
Co.R	Contrafactual Result tagmeme	Qu.F	Quote Formula tagmeme
dep	Dependent	Re	Resemblance tagmeme
F.Hd	Final Head tagmeme	Rea	Reason tagmeme
F.Opt	Final Option tagmeme	Rep	Repetition tagmeme
Hd	Head tagmeme		

Res	Result tagmeme	Sub	Subordinate tagmeme
S	Sentence	Sum	Summary tagmeme
Sta	Statement tagmeme	Th	Thesis tagmeme

Additional abbreviations in Chapter 5.

Q	Question

NOTES

1. S.A. Wurm 'The Languages of the Eastern, Western & Southern Highlands Territory of Papua and New Guinea' published in A Linguistic Survey of South Western Pacific, South Pacific Commission, Noumea, 1962 p 109.
2. Gordon & Ruth Bunn 'Golin Phonology' published in Pacific Linguistics Series A - No 23 A.N.U. Canberra 1970 pp.1-7

CHAPTER I

1. Word

The word is a relevant level of structure within the grammatical hierarchy of Golin in that there is distinct contrast between the various word classes as to either their internal formal features, their function in relation to other word classes or their function in relation to other levels of the grammatical hierarchy. In relation to their internal formal features, words in Golin follow the seemingly universal pattern of being internally stable i.e. there is a fixed ordering of constituents within each of the various categories.[1] The word has only limited mobility when it functions as a constituent of the phrase level but it does become more mobile as a constituent of the clause level.

Words are analysed as comprising two major classes, verbs and non-verbs, for the following reasons: the verb has a much higher degree of complexity on this level than non-verbs, other levels confirm that the verb expounds the nucleus tagmeme of a clause and ought to be considered separately, and the verb exerts the most influence on relationships between the various levels.[2] A number of the sub-classes under the non-verbs have been included under the word level but this has been done more on the basis of tradition rather than on the basis of analytical fit. It will be seen that their function is more relevant to the higher levels.

1.1. Verbs

1.1.1. Stems

Verb stems fall into four classes according to:

(a) the effect that the person suffixes have on the final vowel of

the stem when that suffix immediately follows the stem and (b) the future suffix allomorph that occurs with the stem when the future suffix immediately follows the stem.[3]

The basic allomorph of a stem is the stem which occurs when the suffix -g 'restricted aspect' (1.1.2.5.) immediately follows the stem. This same form of the stem occurs as the non-affixed stem of a Multiple Stem Verb Phrase (2.1.1.3.). The effect on the final vowel of the stem when person suffixes immediately follow can be seen by the following chart.

Class	Basic form of stem - final vowel	1stp & dual	1stps	2ndp	3rdp '-n.w'	3rdp '-m'
1.	-e	e	e	i	u	e
2.	-e	o	e	e	o	o
3.	-o, -i, -u, -a.	no change	no change	no change	no change	no change
4.	-i	i	i	i	u	i

The following chart shows the future allomorphs that stem classes take when they immediately follow the stem.

Class	1stp, 1stps & dual	2ndp	3rdp
1.	-a	-a	-a
2. (a)	-ra	-na /-ra	-ra /-na
(b)	-na	-na	-na
3.	-ra	-na	-na
4.	-a /-ra	-a /-ra /-na	-a /-ra /-na

1.1.1.1. Class 1.

All stems in this class are polysyllabic and -e is the basic

form of the final vowel of the stem.

e.g. mile- 'to be' (animate)

kere- 'to count'

gale- 'to cook' (over flames)

kane- 'to see'

The following stem changes occur when the respective person suffixes immediately follow the stem.

(a) With 3rd person suffix '-n.w' the vowel changes to u.

e.g. Kanu-ø-ngw-é see-nf-3rdp.restr-ind - 'He is looking'

milu-ø-ngw-é be-nf-3rdp.restr-ind - 'He is'

(b) With the 2nd person suffix -n the vowel changes to i.

e.g. gali-ø-n-ó? cook-nf-2ndp-int - 'Is he cooking?'

kani-ø-n-g-é see-nf-2ndp-rst-ind - 'You looked'

When the future suffix immediately follows the stem, the final vowel of the stem is deleted and the stem takes -a future allomorph.

e.g. kan-a-ngw-é see-fut-3rdp.rst-ind - 'He will see'

mil-a-bin-g-é be-fut-1stp-rst-ind - 'I will be'

gal-a-n-g-é cook-fut-2ndp-rst-ind - 'You will cook'

1.1.1.2. Class 2.

All stems in this class are monosyllabic and -e is the basic form of the final vowel of the stem.

e.g. ne- 'to eat'

ye- 'to put'

te- 'to give'

e- 'to go'

If the 1st person suffix -bin and dual marker -bil, or the

3rd person suffixes -n.w and -m immediately follow the stem, the final vowel of the stem changes to o.

e.g.	no-Ø-ngw-é	eat-nf-3rdp.rst-ind	'He is eating'
	no-Ø-bin-g-é	eat-nf-1stp-rst-ind	'We are eating'
	yo-Ø-m-ú-e	put-nf-3rdp-unr-ind	'He put'
	no-Ø-bil-g-é	eat-nf-dual-rst-ind	'We, you or they two are eating'

When the future suffix immediately follows the stem, two sub-classes occur because of the different reaction of the stems.

Sub-class A All stems other then e- 'to go'

(a) With the suffixes 1st person -bin and dual marker -bil this sub-class takes -ra as its future suffix.

e.g.	ye-ra-bin-ó?	put-fut-1stp-int	'Will I put it?'
	ne-ra-bil-g-é	eat-fut-dual-rst-ind	'We/You/They two will eat'

(b) With the 2nd and 3rd person suffixes this sub-class takes either -ra or -na as its future suffix.

e.g.	te-ra-n-g-é / te-na-n-g-é	give-fut-2ndp-rst-ind	'You will give'
	ye-ra-m-ú-e / ye-na-m-ú-e	put-fut-3rdp-unr-ind	'They will put'

Sub-class B the stem e- 'to go'

With all person suffixes the future is marked by the allomorph -na. However, the stem is deleted when the future is added.

e.g.	Ø-na-bin-g-é	go-fut-1stp-rst-ind	'I will go'
	Ø-na-n-g-é	go-fut-2ndp-rst-ind	'You will go'

1.1.1.3. Class 3.

All stems ending in geminate vowel clusters, or a sequence of

two vowels belong to this class, along with the stem u- 'to come'.

e.g. kii- 'to cook' (steam, boil)

pai- 'to rest'

u- 'to come'

This class is distinct in that there are no changes in the final vowel of the stem when any of the person suffixes are added.

When the future suffix immediately follows the stem the following allomorphs occur:

(a) With the suffixes 1st person -bin and dual marker -bil this class takes -ra as its future suffix.

e.g. kii-ra-bin-g-é cook-fut-1stp-rst-ind 'We will cook'

(b) With the 2nd and 3rd person suffixes this class takes -na as its future suffix.

e.g. daa-na-n-g-é wind-fut-2ndp-rst-ind 'You will wind it up'

u-na-ngw-é come-fut-3rdp.rst-ind 'He will come'

1.1.1.4. Class 4.

In this class -i is the basic form of the final vowel of the stem, and only two stems have been noted to occur in this class. However, both these stems are very productive in the language. The verbs are:

di- 'to speak' or 'to be' (inanimate)

si- 'to strike'

The only stem change that occurs with person suffixes is that whenever the 3rd person suffix -n.w immediately follows the stem the final vowel changes to u.

e.g. du-Ø-ngw-é speak-nf-3rdp.rst-ind 'He is speaking'

In this class the future is marked by the final vowel of the stem being deleted and the stem taking -a as its future suffix allomorph. However, there are certain alternatives:

(a) With 1st person -bin and dual marker -bil the future suffix allomorph -ra may also be selected.

e.g. d-a-bin-g-é / di-ra-bin-g-é speak-fut-1stp-rst-ind 'We will speak'

(b) With the 2nd and 3rd persons the future suffix allomorphs -ra or -na may also be chosen.

e.g. d-a-n-g-é / di-na-n-g-é / di-ra-n-g-é speak-fut-2ndp-rst-ind 'You will speak'

d-a-m-ú-e / di-ra-m-ú-e / di-na-m-ú-e speak-fut-3rdp-unr-ind 'He will speak'

Thus class 4 verb stems take both the future suffix allomorphs appropriate to class 1 and those appropriate to class 2a.

1.1.1.5. Other Stem Changes.

1.1.1.5.1. Tone Changes

Stems further divide into two classes depending on whether they take basic high or low tone. The tone perturbation on verbs is such that the basic tone of the stem is evident in the following:

(a) when the negative suffix is added

(b) when the imperative is used

(c) when the stem is used in isolation in a verb phrase.

e.g. ye-ki-Ø-bín-g-é put-neg-nf-1stp-rst-ind 'We did not put'

ye-Ø-yó put-2ndp-imp 'Put it'

ye mile-Ø-bin-g-é put be-nf-1stp-rst-ind 'We are looking after'

tɛ́-e-bin-g-e	give-neg-1stp-rst-ind	'I did not give'
t-Ø-ó	give-2ndp-imp	'Give'
tɛ́ pisere-m-ó?	give finished-3rdp-int	'Has he finished giving it?'

1.1.1.5.2. Irregular Changes.

Irregular stem changes occur on the verbs e- 'to go', u- 'to come' and ii- 'to get'.

(a) When the negative morpheme is added then the stems change to pe- / pi- 'to go', we- 'to come' and ye- 'to get'.

e.g.	pɛ́-e-Ø-Ø-g-e	go-neg-nf-1stps-rst-ind	'I am not going'
	pí-ki-Ø-o	go-neg-2ndp-imp	'Do not go'
	wɛ́-u-Ø-ngw-e	come-neg-nf-2ndp.rst-ind	'He is not coming'
	yɛ́-e-Ø-bin-g-e	get-neg-nf-1stp-rst-ind	'I did not get it'

(b) 'Come' and 'go' also retain w- and p- respectively when the imperative is added.

e.g.	w-Ø-ó	come-2ndp-imp	'Come'
	p-Ø-ó	go-2ndp-imp	'Go'

(c) 'Go' also retains the pi- stem when the Event-relator morpheme -re (1.1.2.7.6.) is suffixed to it.

e.g.	pi-ré	go-rel	'went and...'

1.1.2. Suffixation.

The analysis of suffixation on verbs is best seen by dividing the verbs into five types of morphological construction according to the obligatory suffixation they take in reference to the following

four categories of suffix: tense, person-number, aspect and mood. Such a division agrees with the function these verbs have on the clause and sentence levels. The first type are the Independent verbs which take all four suffixes obligatorily. The second type are the Interrogative verbs which take tense, person-number and mood suffixes obligatorily. The third type are the Imperative verbs which only take person-number and mood obligatorily. These three types all occur in sentence final position. The fourth type are the Dependent Non-reliant verbs which take tense and person-number suffixes obligatorily and mainly occur sentence medially. The fifth type take none of these suffixes obligatorily but are reliant for tense and person-number on other verbs, and are referred to as Dependent Reliant verbs. This fifth type has only been noted to occur sentence medially. The following chart illustrates such suffixation.

\+ obligatory

± optional

\- non-occurrence in class

ORDER OF SUFFIXATION

	neg	tense	person-number	acc	aspect	mood	relator	dem	adv
Independent	±	+	+	±	+	+	-	-	-
Interrogative	±	+	+	±	-	+	-	-	-
Imperative	±	-	+	±	-	+	-	-	-
Dependent Non-reliant	±	+	+	±	-	-	+	±	±
Dependent Reliant	±	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

It is recognised that a number of morphological breaks (and therefore the isolation of morphemes) are quite arbitrary, and alternative solutions are possible. Whatever choice is made in these cases seems quite immaterial to the overall analysis.

1.1.2.1. Negative.

The first order of suffixation is the negative, with the allomorphs -ki /-ku /-e /-u. The negative is the only suffix which has the option of occurring with all five types of verbs. The distribution of these allomorphs is dependent on whether the stem is basic high or low tone and upon the phonetic composition of the stem.

Basic low tone verb stems take either -ki or -ku negative suffix for negation depending on the suffixes following it. If the 3rd person suffix allomorph -n.w immediately follows the negative, the allomorph -ku is used for negation, the 'u' of the negative being in harmony with the 'w' of the 3rd person suffix. In all other forms of the basic low tone verb -ki allomorph is used.

e.g.	kane-kí-Ø-g-é	see-neg-nf-rst-ind	'I didn't see'
	ye-kí-Ø-n-g-é	put-neg-nf-2ndp-rst-ind	'You didn't put'
	kii-kú-Ø-ngw-é	cook-neg-nf-3rdp.rst-ind	'He didn't cook'
	kii-kí-Ø-m-ó?	cook-neg-nf-3rdp-int	'Didn't he cook?'

Basic high tone stems have a choice as to the negative allomorph they take. If 3rd person suffix -n.w immediately follows the negative, either -ku or -u is used. In all other forms of the high tone verb, -ki or -e is used. However, if -e or -u allomorph is used, the final vowel of the stem is always 'e' before them, which

causes a stem change in some verbs. The most frequently used form of the negative in the high tone stem is -e and -u, especially in fast speech.

e.g. mílé-ki-Ø-bin-g-e /mílé-e-Ø-bin-g-e	be-neg-nf-1stp-rst-ind	'I was not here'
té-ki-Ø-o /té-e-Ø-yo	give-neg-2ndp-imp	'Don't give it'
sí-ku-Ø-ngw-e / sé-u-Ø-ngw-e	strike-neg-nf-3rdp.rst-ind	'He did not strike'

All high and low stems with 'u' or 'w' occurring in the stem and which take the negative suffix -ki may optionally take the -ku allomorph.

e.g. woo-kí-Ø-Ø-g-é /woo-kú-Ø-Ø-g-é	dig-neg-nf-1stp-rst-ind	'I am not digging up...'
duu-kí-Ø-m-ú-e /duu-kú-Ø-m-ú-e	wring-neg-nf-3rdp-unr-ind	'He is not wringing out..'

1.1.2.2. Tense.

The second order of suffixation is the tense position. The various tenses specified are:

210	morpheme	-Ø	'non future'
220	morpheme	-na /-ra /-a	'future'
230	morpheme	-nala	'near future'

Dependent Reliant verbs acquire their tense from the verb upon which they rely for tense and person-number.

1.1.2.2.1. The morpheme 210 is a zero morpheme marking a non future tense, which has the effect of showing that the action of the verb has been, or is being accomplished. However, this

zero morpheme has a different meaning in the verbs of the Contrafactual Sentence 4.15 . If the speaker wishes to be specific as to the time of the action he uses a temporal word or phrase.

e.g. u-Ø-bin-g-é	come-nf-1stp-rst-ind	'I am coming' or 'I came'
erimá ubingé	yesterday-I came	'I came yesterday'
kamá kayá ubingé	long time ago-I came	'I came a long time ago.'
maliá su-Ø-ngw-é	now hit-nf-3rdp.rst-ind	'He is hitting now'

1.1.2.2.2. The morpheme 220 has three allomorphs marking future tense, -na /-a /-ra. The future shows that the action of the verb has not been accomplished in the time setting of the events being related by the speaker. Thus one finds on Dependent Non-reliant verbs a future tense morpheme which indicates that the action of the verb although accomplished, is to be taken as unaccomplished in relation to the actions of the verbs in context. The distribution of the future allomorphs used when they immediately follow the stem has been treated previously under Verb Stems (1.1.1.)

e.g. mil-a-bin-g-é	be-fut-1stp-rst-ind	'I will be'
ye-ra-bin-ó?	put-fut-1stp-int	'Will I put it'?
daa-na-n-g-é	wind-fut-2ndp-rst-ind	'You will wind up...'
d-a-m-ú-e	speak-fut-3rdp-unr-ind	'He will speak'

When the future is preceded by the negative and followed by—

(a) 1st person suffixes and dual suffix, -ra allomorph only occurs.

(b) 2nd and 3rd person suffixes, -na and -ra allomorphs occur in free variation.

e.g. gul-a-bin-g-é die-fut-1stp-rst-ind 'I will die'

gúlé-e-ra-bin-g-e die-neg-fut-1stp-rst-ind 'I will not die'

si-na-n-g-é strike-fut-2ndp-rst-ind 'You will hit'

sé-e-na-n-g-e strike-neg-fut-2ndp-rst-ind 'You will not hit'

ye-ra-m-ú-e put-fut-3rdp-unr-ind 'He will put'

ye-ki-rá-m-ú-e / ye-ki-ná-m-ú-e put-neg-fut-3rdp-unr-ind 'He will not put'

1.1.2.2.3. Near future morpheme 230, indicates that the action will be done immediately or very soon. It should be noted that an alternative analysis of this morpheme is presented on the sentence level under the Immediate Purpose Sentence, (4.14). However, the contracted form is the most predominant form in the Golin dialect so is included under the word level analysis also. The allomorphs are -ala /-nala /-rala. This suffix only occurs with Independent and Interrogative verbs. When the near future suffix immediately follows the stem, the following allomorphs occur depending on what stem class they follow:

Verb stem class 1.	-ala
Verb stem class 2a and 3.	-rala
Verb stem class 2b	-nala
Verb stem class 4.	-ala /-rala

When the future is preceded by the negative suffix, the allomorph -rala always occurs.

e.g. kan-alá-bin-g-e look-nrf-1stp-rst-ind 'I will now look'

kere-ki-rálá-bin-g-e count-neg-nrf-1stp-rst-ind 'I will not count immediately'

te-ralá-n-g-e	give-nrf-2ndp-rst-ind	'You will give it now'
té-e-rala-ngw-e	give-neg-nrf-3rdp.rst-ind	'He will not give it immediately'
Ø-nalá-bin-g-e	go-nrf-1stp-rst-ind	'I am going immediately'
ne-ralá-bin-o?	eat-nrf-1stp-int	'Will I eat it immediately'

1.1.2.3. Person-Number.

Person-number is the third order of suffixation. The morphemes of this order fit into three distinct groups. Firstly those which indicate person with no reference to number:

310 -bin 1st person 'I' or 'We'

320 -n /-Ø 2nd person 'You'

330 -m /-n.w /-n (vh) 3rd person 'He, 'She' or 'They'

The next marks duality irrespective of person:

340 -bil dual 'We two', 'You two' or 'They two'

Lastly that which indicates both person and number:

311 -l /-i /-Ø 1st person singular 'I'

1.1.2.3.1. 310 -bin 1st person.

Since there is overlap in meaning between this morpheme and 311 the question arises as to the circumstances under which a speaker chooses one in preference to the other. Because of the strong group mindedness of the clan system, it is found that the 1st person singular is not chosen frequently as the speaker is reticent to single himself out from the group. In a sense this is very similar to the idea of the 'royal' plural in English.

e.g. no-Ø-bin-g-é eat-nf-1stp-rst-ind 'We or I (as one of my clan) are eating.'

1.1.2.3.2. 320 -n /-Ø 2nd person

If the speaker wishes to distinguish number he does so by the use of free form pronouns. The Ø allomorph occurs only with the Imperative and -n occurs elsewhere.

e.g. e-Ø-n-g-é	go-nf-2ndp-rst-ind	'You are going'
inín e-Ø-n-ó?	yourself go-nf-2ndp-int	'Are you going alone?'
p-Ø-ó	go-2ndp-imp	'You go'

1.1.2.3.3. 330 -m /-n.w /-n (vh) 3rd person.

Allomorphs -n.w and -n (vh) occur in all contexts where there is a 'g' occurring in the following suffixes. For the two instances where the 3rd person is marked by -n, plus vowel harmony in either the stem or a suffix or both, see sections 1.1.2.6.6. and 1.1.2.7.6. The -m allomorph occurs in all other contexts.

e.g. to-Ø-ngw-é	give-nf-3rdp.rst-ind	'He/They gave'
kane-Ø-m-ú-e	see-nf-3rdp-unr-ind	'He/They saw'
mile-m-a	be-3rdp-imp	'He stays!'

1.1.2.3.4. 340 -bil dual.

In the same manner as -l 1st person singular has the effect of singling out the speaker from his group, so the dual marker singles out two people in all persons. It is used infrequently and almost never encountered with the 3rd person. When used in the 1st person it shows a real desire on the part of the speaker to be associated with the other person. It has a similar effect with 2nd person but not as strong. The overuse of this suffix would appear pedantic to the fluent speaker of Golin.

e.g. no-Ø-bil-g-é	eat-nf-dual-rst-ind	'We/You/They two are eating.'
Ø-na-bil-ó?	go-fut-dual-int	'Will we/you/they two go?'

1.1.2.3.5. 311 -l /-Ø /-i 1st person singular. This morpheme has been noted to occur where a speaker has singled out a sub-clan group from a larger clan group. When preceded by the future and near future suffixes the -l allomorph is used. In all other cases -i is used with class 2 verb stems, and Ø is used with verb stems of other classes.

e.g. te-Ø-Ø-g-é	give-nf-1stps-rst-ind	'I gave it'
te-Ø-í-w-a	give-nf-1stps-unr-naq	'I have given it'
ne-ra-l-g-é	eat-fut-1stps-rst-ind	'I will eat'

1.1.2.4. Accompaniment.

The 4th order of suffixation has only the one morpheme, 410 -i 'also'. It has been noted to occur with the morphemes, 510'Unrestricted aspect', 710 'Circumstance' and 910 'Adversative' and in a limited manner with the imperative suffixes 640 'Simple imperative' and 650 'Abrupt imperative'. This use with the imperative seems more predominant in the Kia and Kere sub-dialects.

e.g. di-Ø-bín-i-ga	speak-nf-1stp-acc-circ	'In that I/we also were speaking..'
di-Ø-m-í-ba	speak-nf-3rdp-acc-adv	'He also was speaking but..'
ware-ki-Ø-m-í-ga	walk-neg-nf-3rdp-acc-circ	'In that he also did not go..'
pai-Ø-m-í-w-a	rest-nf-3rdp-acc-unr-naq	'It also rests'
p-Ø-í-á	go-2ndp-acc-imp	'You all go'

1.1.2.5. Aspect.

The fifth order of suffixation, aspect, has three morphemes:

510	-u /-w	'Unrestricted'
520	-g	'Restricted'
530	-Ø /-i /-y	'Specific'

They have the following co-occurrence restrictions with other morphemes. All the preceding orders occur with this order, but the following are restrictions on the mood morphemes which follow them:

510 is followed by -a 'Narrative-Quotative', -o 'Vocative'
-e 'Indicative'.

520 is followed by -a 'Narrative-Quotative', -o 'Vocative',
-e 'Indicative', -i 'Definitive', -iray 'Emphatic'.

530 is followed by -a 'Narrative Quotative', -o 'Vocative'.

Although the terms 'Unrestricted', 'Restricted' and 'Specific' have been used to describe these aspects, one must see the different situations in which they are used to get a feel for them.

1.1.2.5.1. 510 -u /-w 'Unrestricted aspect'.

The distribution of allomorphs is as follows: -w follows 1st and 2nd person suffixes and dual, -u follows 3rd person suffixes.

This aspect has been observed to show various kinds of situations surrounding the action of the verb to which it is attached. The situations noted have been: continuative action, customary action, habitual action, process and an action completed but with continuing consequence. It has been found to occur frequently in the following contexts:

(a) with direct quotations.

e.g. kákiibí di-Ø-m-ú-a dá. 'Say, "It is a lie"'
untrue speak-nf-3rdp-unr-naq say

ne-na-m-ú-a dungwa. '"They will eat" he said'
eat-fut-3rdp-unr-naq he said

The only explanation that seems feasible is that because what was said or done had to be repeated, or is going to be repeated, then the aspect surrounding the verb is expressed as 'Unrestricted'.

(b) when it occurs as the final verb of a sentence, but the verb is repeated in the following sentence.

e.g. ..... o-Ø-m-ú-e. Ongure'.....
go-nf-3rdp-unr-ind went-3rdp-and...

..... he went. He went and.....

It appears that the idea of unrestricted aspect enters because the speaker wants the hearer to feel there is a continuing consequence to the action.

(c) as a final verb in a sentence.

e.g. no-Ø-m-ú-e eat-nf-3rdp-unr-ind 'They are eating'

kominá kiingwá gwii-Ø-m-ú-e.
food that is cooked serve out-nf-3rdp-unr-ind
'She is serving out the food that is cooked.'

In this position the feeling one gets is that the action has relevance to other actions; that is, it does not stand alone. Thus the aspect of the verb is unrestricted and affects other situations.

Other labels that may have been given this morpheme are 'Incomplete', 'Imperfect', 'Continuing', and they are no doubt some help in understanding its meaning. After saying this it should be noted that often when someone is telling a story he will use only one aspect marker and not avail himself of the others. This seems

especially true as between -u and -g, 'Unrestricted' and 'Restricted' aspects respectively.

1.1.2.5.2. 520 -g 'Restricted aspect'

The restricted aspect shows that the action of the verb is complete in itself and without reference to a specific action or time. Some of the more frequent situations in which this aspect has been found are:

(a) in normal conversation where it indicates that the action of the verb stands alone with only little relevance or consequence to other actions.

e.g. keba ne-Ø-Ø-g-é
sweet potato eat-nf-1stps-rst-ind 'I am eating sweet potato'.

said in response to the question 'What are you eating?'

(b) in recounting happenings whose import in the opinion of the speaker, has no direct significance for present circumstances.

e.g. Bál wí sunguré kowá dí píséré éré u-Ø-bin-g-a.
Bal yodelled and laughing we stopped & came-nf-1stp-rst-ind
'Bal yodelled and then we laughed and came.'

(c) Just as -u 'Unrestricted' is mostly used for what has been quoted, so -g 'Restricted' is almost exclusively used when introducing a quote.

e.g. Muúl nén irú du-Ø-ngw-a, ná kombíl
Muul fathers thus said-nf-3rdp-rst-naq I road

konagí erebingá nígí dé pire-Ø-bín-w-a.
working upset think-nf-1stp-unr-naq 'The men (fathers) of Muul said, "We are upset about doing road work"'.

It appears that the restricted aspect is used to show that what was actually said is completed.

1.1.2.5.3. 530 -i /-y /-Ø 'Specific aspect'

This aspect does not have the haziness surrounding it as do the previous two. It has the effect of limiting the aspect of the verb to a particular time or occasion. In 1st and 2nd person, the specific aspect is a zero morpheme, except where it immediately follows 1st person singular when -y occurs. In 3rd person -i occurs but only with -m '3rd person suffix'.

e.g. Kurí abilá mile-Ø-m-í-a. 'Kuri is here now' or
Kuri here be-nf-3rdp-spc-naq 'Kuri was here then'

It should be noted that this aspect is often used with the negative.

e.g. kabé miín né-e-ra-bin-a 'I will not eat (this)
meat flesh eat-neg-fut-1stp-naq meat (now).'

The not eating of meat is limited to this occasion or this particular piece of meat.

These three aspects may be contrasted in the following sentences.

Kurí gulemíe. 'Kuri died' 'Unrestricted aspect'

The speaker gives the idea that Kuri's death is not restricted to the specific event but has a wider consequence.

Kurí gulungwé. 'Kuri died' 'Restricted aspect'

The speaker conveys the idea that Kuri died and that was all.

Kurí gulemía. 'Kuri died' 'Specific aspect'

The speaker conveys the idea that he is referring to the specific event or time of death.

1.1.2.6. Mood.

The 6th order of suffixation, mood, has various morphemes as shown below:

1.1.2.6.1. Interrogative.

1.1.2.6.1.1. 605 -e 'Eliciting interrogative'.

This morpheme occurs in clauses with an Interrogative tagmeme, and in the Final Option tagmeme of Alternative sentences (4.12.2).

e.g. tákal ne-Ø-n-e? 'What are you eating?'
what eat-nf-2ndp-int

yál Ø-na-m mo abál Ø-na-m-e? 'Is a man going
man go-fut-3rdp or woman go-fut-3rdp-int or a woman?'

1.1.2.6.1.2. 610 -o 'Yes-no interrogative'.

This morpheme has rising intonation and is used in simple yes-no interrogative clauses. High tone -o with falling intonation, is used in vocative yes-no interrogative clauses.

e.g. kani-Ø-n-ó? see-nf-2ndp-int 'Can you see?'

no-Ø-m-ó? eat-nf-3rdp-int 'Are they eating?'

no-Ø-m-ó? eat-nf-3rdp-int 'Are they eating? (vocative)'

The interrogative suffixes immediately follow the person-number suffixes i.e. they do not take the aspect suffixes.

1.1.2.6.2. 615 -o 'Vocative'

It is used in the simple clause, when one wishes to draw attention to the fact that he is speaking, or doing something, or is calling out.

e.g. no-Ø-m-ú-o! eat-nf-3rdp-unr-voc 'They are eating (voc)'

di-Ø-m-í-o! speak-nf-3rdp-spec-voc 'He spoke (voc)'

1.1.2.6.3. 620 -a 'Narrative-Quotative'

This mood is used when the speaker does not indicate any particular feeling towards the situation, thus it is used very often when quoting and in story telling. It is the mood most frequently used with 530; possibly the reason is that when this aspect is referred

to there is no need to express a strong mood.

e.g. kane-Ø-bín-Ø-a see-nf-1stp-spc-naq 'I saw it then'
to-Ø-bin-g-a gave-nf-1stp-rst-naq 'I gave it'
si-Ø-m-ú-a hit-nf-3rdp-unr-naq 'He hit'

1.1.2.6.4. 625 -e 'Indicative mood'

This mood is the one most frequently used in conversation. It perhaps carries a little more emphasis than 620, but less than 630. Any suffix may precede it except 530.

e.g. mile-Ø-m-ú-e be-nf-3rdp-unr-ind 'He is'
kanu-Ø-ngw-é see-nf-3rdp.rst-ind 'He saw'

1.1.2.6.5. 630 -i 'Definitive mood'

Measured in intensity this is stronger than 625, but less than 635. It points out or refers back to an action, object or person, as the demonstrative pronoun can in English. Of the aspect suffixes it only follows morpheme 520.

e.g. du-Ø-ngw-í be-nf-3rdp.rst-def 'It is right here'
kani-Ø-n-g-í see-nf-2ndp-rst-def 'You certainly saw it'
konagí eri-Ø-n-g-í work-nf-2ndp-rst-def 'You did that work'

1.1.2.6.6. 635 -iray 'Emphatic mood'

This mood gives a similar meaning as the English expression 'of-course'. There seems little doubt that it is a combination of -i 'Definitive' and iray 'that' (1.2.2.3.). However the combination has been considered to be one morpheme for the following reasons: iray does not occur with other suffixes, the semantic function of the combination is like that of a single morpheme, this assumption gives a

simpler analysis of the verb suffixes.

This morpheme only follows morpheme 520, in which case the 'w' of the 3rd person marker -n.w drops out when 3rd person form is used, making the final vowel of the stem the only difference between 2nd and 3rd persons.

e.g.	kane-Ø-bin-g-iráy	see-nf-1stp-rst-emp	'Of-course we saw it'
	kani-Ø-n-g-iráy	see-nf-2ndp-rst-emp	'Of-course you saw'
	kanu-Ø-n-g-iráy	see-nf-3rdp-rst-emp	'Of-course he saw it'
	te-na-n-g-iráy	give-fut-2ndp-rst-emp	'Of-course you will give it'

1.1.2.6.7. 640 -o /-yo 'Simple imperative' (singular or plural)
650 -a 'Abrupt imperative' (")
660 -ga 'Imperative request' (")

Allomorph -yo of 640 occurs with the verbs of stem class 3, except the verb 'to come' and with the verb 'to put' of stem class 2. It also occurs following the -e allomorph of negative suffix. Morphemes 640 and 650 may occur with either the negative or accompaniment but not with both simultaneously. 650 can take the negative suffix, but not tense.

e.g.	of 640	p-Ø-ó	go-2ndp-imp	'Go' (singular or plural)
		ye-Ø-yó	put-2ndp-imp	'Put it' " " "
	of 650	p-Ø-á	go-2ndp-imp	'You go' (abrupt)
		di-m-a	be-3rdp-imp	'It stays'
	of 660	té-Ø-ga	give-2ndp-imp	'Please give it'

1.1.2.7. Relators.

The seventh order of suffixation has the morphemes which relate

the dependent and independent medial clauses to each other and to the final clauses on the sentence level. As could be seen from the chart showing occurrence of suffixes (1.1.2.), all suffixes from the seventh order on, apply to Dependent Non-reliant and Dependent Reliant verbs only. i.e. the two dependent types of morphological construction.

710	-ga	'Circumstance'
720	-gi	'Comparison'
730	-ia	'Reason-Result'
740	-ara	'Dubitative'
750	-a	'Intention'
760	-re	'Event-relator'
770	-Ø	'Simultaneous'

The morphemes 710, 720 and 730 were each first analysed as containing both aspect plus mood suffixes. However, this alternate analysis was dropped because the function of these three morphemes on the sentence level, does not appear to have any primary relationship to the appropriate combinations of aspect and mood suffixes. The morphemes 710 to 750 belong to Dependent Non-reliant verbs and so take tense and person-number obligatorily. Morpheme 760 belongs to both Dependent Non-reliant and Dependent Reliant verbs, and 770 belong to the Dependent Reliant verbs only.

1.1.2.7.1. 710 -ga 'Circumstance'

This relator encodes a number of semantic relationships on the sentence level (4.2.). It may occur with either or both of morphemes 810 and 910.

e.g. si-Ø-bin-gá strike-nf-1stp-circ 'In that we hit him...'

du-Ø-ngwá-re say-nf-3rdp.circ-dem 'Concerning this that they said...'

kuli-Ø-n-gá-re-ba rear-nf-2ndp-circ-dem-adv 'Concerning this (pig) that we reared but...'

1.1.2.7.2. 720 -gi 'Comparison'

This morpheme has not been noted to occur with either of the following suffixes, 810 'Demonstrative' or 910 'Adversitive'. The Comparison Sentence indicates the function this morpheme has on the sentence level (4.3.).

e.g. dé-ku-Ø-ngwi be-neg-nf-3rdp.comp 'It's not here...'

pé-ke-ra-l-gi go-neg-fut-1stps-comp 'I will not go...'

1.1.2.7.3. 730 -ia /-a /-ya 'Reason-Result'

The Adversative suffix 910 is the only suffix which follows this morpheme. Such co-occurrence has the effect of combining reason and antithesis in the one sentence. The distribution of allomorphs is as follows: -a occurs with 1st and 2nd person except where it immediately follows 1st person singular, when -ya occurs, -ia occurs with 3rd person.

e.g. u-Ø-m-ía come-nf-3rdp-rea 'Because he came...'

te-ra-bín-a give-fut-1stp-rea 'We will give it so...'

mile-Ø-bín-a-ba be-nf-1stp-rea-adv 'I stayed but...'

ne-Ø-í-ya eat-nf-1stps-rea 'I ate it so...'

1.1.2.7.4. 740 -ara 'Dubitative'

The Adversative suffix 910 is the only suffix which follows this morpheme. The dubditative does not form a particular sentence type

in that when it occurs as the final suffix of the verb the clause which it relates to is implied.

e.g. mil-i-Ø-ára be-1stps-nf-dub 'I think it's okay for me to stay.' (Don't you?)

mile-Ø-bin-ára-ba' be-nf-1stp-dub-adv 'I think it's okay for me to stay but..'

1.1.2.7.5. 750 -a 'Intention'

This morpheme is mutually exclusive with the following two orders of suffixation. Its occurrence on the sentence level is restricted to the more rigid sentence patterns of Intention-Desiderative Quote Sentence, Immediate Purpose Sentence and Contrafactual Sentence.

e.g. ne-na-m-á eat-fut-3rdp-intn 'They will eat...'

no-Ø-bin-á eat-nf-1stp-intn 'If you had eaten...'

te-ra-1-á give-fut-1stps-intn 'I intend to give...'

1.1.2.7.6. 760 -ride /-de /-re /-gire /-gure 'Event-relator'. Both the Dependent Reliant and Dependent Non-reliant verbs take this morpheme. However, the distribution of the allomorphs is controlled by two factors: the distinction between Dependent Reliant and Dependent Non-reliant verbs, and the verb stem classes. With the Dependent Reliant verbs class 1 stems, allomorphs -re /-de are used, and with stem classes 2,3, and 4 -re /-ride are used. When the negative suffix occurs then the shorter form allomorph -re is chosen. With the Dependent Non-reliant verbs the allomorphs -gire /-gure are used with the following distribution: -gire occurs with 1st and 2nd person suffixes, -gure occurs with 3rd person suffixes. (The vowel change is due to vowel harmony related to the person suffix). The only

suffix which follows this morpheme is -ba 'Adversative' and this has only been found to occur in the case of Dependent Non-reliant verbs. When this happens the final vowel of this suffix changes to 'a' in harmony with the vowel of the adversative suffix.

e.g. si-ré or si-ridé strike-rel 'struck and...'

kanu-Ø-nguré see-nf-3rdp.rel 'he saw and...'

ne-Ø-n-giré eat-nf-2ndp-rel 'you ate and...'

kii-ra-bin-girá-ba cook-fut-1stp-rel-adv 'I will cook and..'

1.1.2.7.7. 770 -Ø 'Simultaneous'

This morpheme belongs to the Dependent Reliant verbs and it relies on the verb of its Head tagmeme on the sentence level for person-number and tense.

e.g. milé-Ø be-sim 'is...'

It may be argued that this verb form is always part of a Multiple Stem Verb Phrase (2.1.1.3.). However, as will be seen, the function and mobility of this verb form, and the forms of verb occurring as the first elements of a Multiple Stem Verb Phrase are quite different.

1.1.2.8. Demonstrative.

1.1.2.8.1. 810 -re 'Demonstrative'

The distribution of this suffix has already been noted under 710.

e.g. su-Ø-ngwá-re hit-nf-3rdp.circ-dem 'Concerning this that he hit..'

kan-a-bin-gá-re-ba see-fut-1stp-circ-dem-adv 'Concerning this that we reared but...'

1.1.2.9. Adversative.

1.1.2.9.1. 910 -ba /-bo 'Adversative'

This suffix indicates a contrastive relationship with the following clause or sentence or with something implied. When it is contrastive with something implied and occurs finally, allomorph -bo is often used.

e.g. pai-na-m-í-ba	rest-fut-3rdp-acc-adv	'It will also rest but...'
sí-ki-rala-bin-ba	strike-neg-nrf-1stp-adv	'We will not strike now but...'
Ø-na-bín-bo	go-fut-1stp-adv	'We will go with you but..' (you won't take us)

1.1.3. Tone Perturbation.

As noted earlier under the analysis of stems, there are two basic tone patterns of verb stems, high tone and low tone. On the other hand verb suffixes have not been assigned a phonetic tone value. This is because the tone which occurs on a particular suffix is not determined on its own right, but rather by its occurrence with other suffixes. The tone patterns which occur across verbs is determined by the following features:

(a) the particular suffixes which occur on the stem and

(b) whether the stem is a high tone stem or a low tone stem.

Certain suffixes have an inherent power to determine the tone pattern over all other syllables of the verb. Such inherent power within these suffixes also has an order of priority by which it exercises its influence, i.e. the occurrence of one suffix supersedes another in exercising its inherent power. For Indepen-

dent verbs the order of priority excluding the negative suffix may be stated as:

1st order	-rala	'near future' suffix
2nd order	-iray	'definitive' suffix
3rd order	-g	'restricted aspect' suffix
4th order		'person-number' suffixes.

Since person-number is obligatory this will account for all tone patterns on these verbs. For Dependent Non-reliant verbs the order of priority excluding the negative suffix may be stated as follows:

1st order	-a	'intention' suffix
	-ga	'circumstance' suffix
	-gi	'comparison' suffix
	-gire	'event-relator' suffix
	-ara	'dubitative' suffix

These suffixes are all relators (1.1.2.7.) and mutually exclusive.

2nd order 'Person-number' suffixes.

Generally speaking the tone patterns on the Dependent Reliant verbs and the Interrogative and Imperative verbs rely on whether the stem is a basic high or basic low tone.

1.1.3.1. Independent verb Tone Patterns (Excluding negative).

1.1.3.1.1. The first order priority 'near future' suffix -rala /-ala /-nala supersedes all other priority suffixes with the second syllable of the suffix taking high tone with all other syllables low.

e.g. ye-ralá-m-u-e	put-nrf-3rdp-unr-ind	'He will soon put it'
mil-alá-bin-g-e	be-nrf-1stp-rst-ind	'We will soon be'

kan-alá-bin-g-iray see-nrf-1stp-rst-def 'Of-course I will soon see it.'

ne-ralá-m-i-a eat-nrf-3rdp-spc-naq 'He will soon eat it'.

1.1.3.1.2. The second order priority suffix -iray 'Definitive' supersedes the 3rd and 4th order priority suffixes and its second syllable takes a high tone and all other syllables are low.

e.g. no-Ø-bin-g-iráy eat-nf-1stp-rst-def 'Of-course we ate it'

si-ra-l-g-iráy strike-fut-1stps-rst-def 'Of-course I will hit it.'

piri-Ø-n-g-iráy know-nf-2ndp-rst-def 'Of-course you know'

1.1.3.1.3. The third order priority suffix -g 'Restricted' aspect supersedes the person-number priority suffixes with the syllable following it taking a high tone and with all other syllables low.

e.g. yo-Ø-ngw-é put-nf-3rdp.rst-ind 'He put it'

si-ra-bin-g-é strike-fut-1stp-rst-ind 'We will strike'

kan-alá-ngw-e see-nrf-3rdp.rst-ind 'He will soon see it'

An exception to this rule is when the restricted aspect suffix occurs with narrative-quotative mood. In this case all syllables are low.

e.g. yo-Ø-ngw-a put-nf-3rdp.rst-naq 'He put it'

si-ra-bin-g-a strike-fut-1stp-rst-naq 'He will strike'

1.1.3.1.4. The fourth order priority suffixes are the person-number suffixes, and these determine the tone pattern on all verbs which do not have the three higher priority suffixes. The person-number suffixes take a high tone according to the following

pattern and all other syllables are low. Where the suffix has a vowel then it takes the high tone.

e.g. te-Ø-í-y-a give-nf-1stps-spc-naq 'I gave it'

yo-Ø-bín-w-a put-nf-1stp-unr-naq 'We put it'

Where the suffix does not have a vowel, then the preceding vowel takes the high tone except where the 3rd person suffix -m has a vowel immediately following, then this vowel takes the high tone.

e.g. te-rá-l-Ø-a give-fut-1stps-spc-naq 'I will give now'

no-Ø-m-í-a eat-nf-3rdp-spc-naq 'I ate it then'

kaní-Ø-n-Ø-a see-nf-2ndp-spc-naq 'I saw it then'

dí-Ø-Ø-w-a say-nf-1stps-unr-naq 'I saw it'

1.1.3.2. Dependent Non-reliant verb Tone Patterns. (Excluding negative)

1.1.3.2.1. The first order priority suffixes consist of relator suffixes which are mutually exclusive e.g. -ga 'Circumstance' -gi 'Comparison', -gire /-gure 'Event-relator', -ara 'Dubitative', -a 'Intention'. Tonally, they supersede the person-number suffixes (second order priority) taking a high tone with all other syllables low. There is one exception to this rule and that is if -i 'Accompaniment' suffix occurs with -ga 'Circumstance' then the priority of -ga is negated and the second order priority suffixes, person-number, determine the tone pattern.

e.g. Ø-na-bin-á go-fut-1stp-intn 'We are going to go'

to-Ø-bin-gá give-nf-1stp-circ 'Concerning our giving...'

ne-ra-l-gí eat-fut-1stps-com 'He will eat this...'

mile-Ø-m-ára be-nf-3rdp-dub 'I think it's okay for him to stay'

mile-Ø-bin-girá-ba be-nf-1stp-rel-adv 'We were there but..

mile-Ø-bin-gá-re-ba be-nf-1stp-circ-dem-adv 'In that we are there but...'

to-Ø-bín-i-ga give-nf-1stp-acc-circ 'In that we also gave..'

1.1.3.3. Independent verbs and Dependent Non-reliant verbs with the Negative suffix.

When the negative suffix -ki /-ku /-e /-u is added to the stems of these two verb types, then depending on whether the stem is basic high or basic low tone, the following tone patterns occur.

1.1.3.3.1. With basic high tone stems the stem takes high tone and all suffixes including the negative are low.

e.g. té-ke-Ø-Ø-g-e give-neg-nf-1stps-rst-ind 'I did not give it'

mílé-ke-ra-bin-ga be-neg-fut-1stp-circ 'In that we will not be there..'

né-ke-rala-m-i-a eat-neg-nrf-3rdp-spc-naq 'I will not eat it now'

1.1.3.3.2. With basic low tone stems, the stem takes low tone, then all the syllables from the negative to the syllable which normally takes the high tone change to high.

e.g. ye-kí-rálá-bin-g-e put-neg-nrf-1stp-rst-ind
'I will not put it right away'

kane-kí-rá-m-ú-e see-neg-fut-3rdp-unr-ind
'He will not look'

kane-kú-Ø-ngúré see-neg-nf-3rdp.rel
'He did not look and...'

ye-kí-Ø-n-g-íráy put-neg-nf-2ndp-rst-def
'Of-course you did not put it'

pattern and all other syllables are low. Where the suffix has a vowel then it takes the high tone.

e.g. te-Ø-í-y-a give-nf-1stps-spc-naq 'I gave it'

yo-Ø-bín-w-a put-nf-1stp-unr-naq 'We put it'

Where the suffix does not have a vowel, then the preceding vowel takes the high tone except where the 3rd person suffix -m has a vowel immediately following, then this vowel takes the high tone.

e.g. te-rá-1-Ø-a give-fut-1stps-spc-naq 'I will give now'

no-Ø-m-í-a eat-nf-3rdp-spc-naq 'I ate it then'

kaní-Ø-n-Ø-a see-nf-2ndp-spc-naq 'I saw it then'

dí-Ø-Ø-w-a say-nf-1stps-unr-naq 'I saw it'

1.1.3.2. Dependent Non-reliant verb Tone Patterns. (Excluding negative)

1.1.3.2.1. The first order priority suffixes consist of relator suffixes which are mutually exclusive e.g. -ga 'Circumstance' -gi 'Comparison', -gire /-gure 'Event-relator', -ara 'Dubitative', -a 'Intention'. Tonally, they supersede the person-number suffixes (second order priority) taking a high tone with all other syllables low. There is one exception to this rule and that is if -i 'Accompaniment' suffix occurs with -ga 'Circumstance' then the priority of -ga is negated and the second order priority suffixes, person-number, determine the tone pattern.

e.g. Ø-na-bin-á go-fut-1stp-intn 'We are going to go'

to-Ø-bin-gá give-nf-1stp-circ 'Concerning our giving...'

ne-ra-1-gí eat-fut-1stps-com 'He will eat this...'

mile-Ø-m-ára be-nf-3rdp-dub 'I think it's okay for him to stay'

Class 3 stems	duu-Ø-yó	squeeze-2ndp-imp	'Squeeze it'
	duu-Ø-gá	squeeze-2ndp-imp	'Do squeeze it'

When the negative is added the stem remains low but all suffixes are high.

e.g.	kane-kí-Ø-ó	look-neg-2ndp-imp	'Don't look'
	kane-kí-Ø-gá	look-neg-2ndp-imp	'Please don't look'
	ye-kí-Ø-ó	put-neg-2ndp-imp	'Don't put it'
	duu-kí-Ø-ó	squeeze-neg-2ndp-imp	'Don't squeeze it'
	duu-kí-Ø-gá	squeeze-neg-2ndp-imp	'Please don't squeeze it'
	ye-kí-Ø-gá	put-neg-2ndp-imp	'Please don't put it'

1.1.3.4.2. Interrogative Tone Patterns. The interrogatives act in much the same manner as the Independent and Dependent Non-reliant verbs in that the basic tone of the stem does not take effect until the negative suffix is added.

e.g.	mili-Ø-n-ó?	be-nf-2ndp-int	'Are you here?'
	kani-Ø-n-ó?	see-nf-2ndp-int	'Do you see?'
	míle-ke-Ø-n-o?	be-neg-nf-2ndp-int	'Aren't you here?'
	kane-kí-Ø-n-ó?	see-neg-nf-2ndp-int	'Didn't you see it?'
	ye-na-m-ó?	put-fut-3rdp-int	'Will he put it?'
	ne-na-m-ó?	eat-fut-3rdp-int	'Will he eat it?'
	ye-ké-ná-m-ó?	put-neg-fut-3rdp-int	'Won't he put it?'
	né-ke-na-m-ó?	eat-neg-fut-3rdp-int	'Won't he eat it?'

1.1.3.5. Dependent Reliant Verbs.

This verb type has considerable free variation of tone patterns. However, with only three suffixes to consider, -o 'Simultaneous'

-re 'Event-relator', and -ki 'Negative', such variation can be easily identified.

1.1.3.5.1. With the simultaneous suffix added, basic high tone stems may take either of the following patterns:

e.g. piré-Ø or píré-Ø know-sim 'know'

whereas low tone stems take either of the following.

e.g. kané-Ø or kane-Ø see-sim 'see'

One syllable stems take only their basic tone.

e.g. dí-Ø say-sim 'said'

ye-Ø put-sim 'put'

1.1.3.5.2. With the event-relator suffix added both basic high and low tone stems predominantly take the pattern of low tones with a final high.

e.g. kani-dé look-rel 'saw and...'

mili-dé be-rel 'was and...'

si-ridé saw-rel 'saw and...'

ye-ridé put-rel 'put and...'

It has been noted however, that the basic low tone stems may take low tone on the suffix as well as on the stem.

e.g. ye-re put-rel 'put and...'

kani-de see-rel 'saw and...'

It should also be noted that when this form of the verb is used in the Listing-Summary Sentence type then the event-relator suffix must take the high tone with an optional overriding listing intonation (4.6.).

When the negative suffix occurs with the event-relator suffix then the tone pattern of the stem takes its basic tone and the tone on the suffixes are: 'Negative' low tone, and 'Event-relator' high tone.

e.g.	mílé-ki-ré-	be-neg-rel	'was not and...'
	kane-ki-ré	see-neg-rel	'did not see and...'
	ye-ki-ré	put-neg-rel	'put and...'
	né-ki-ré	eat-neg-rel	'eat and...'

1.2. Non-verbs.

1.2.1. Nouns.

Nouns form a distinct category of non-verbs in that they may fill the Head tagmemes of Simple Noun Phrases and Locative Phrases. They form six sub-categories (along general semantic lines) which are illustrated by the following matrix.

	Animate	Inanimate
Non-alienable	kinship terms	body parts
Alienable	animals and liquids	concretes
Non-possessable	personal names and generic humans	place names

The basic difference between Alienable, Non-alienable and Non-possessable nouns is that the Non-alienable are obligatorily possessed, Alienable are optionally possessed and Non-possessable are never possessed. The Animate and Inanimate nouns are

distinguished by the particular form of the verb 'to be' which they take.

1.2.1.1. Non-alienable Animate Nouns.

Semantically this sub-category is composed almost solely of kinship terms and they occur with the verb stem mile- 'to be' (animate). The only exception is that the word for 'pig' has been found to occur with possessive suffixation, but usually it is included in the Alienable Animate sub-category. No doubt the importance of pigs in the culture is the reason for this usage. This sub-category optionally takes the pluralizer kobe. The order of suffixation is:

+ stem + possessive suffix ± relationship term

The relationship suffix -bi /-bia can be optionally added to any relative born in a previous generation or ones own generation, and indicates respect. This sub-category comprises two groups on the basis of the possessive allomorphs they take:

(a) those which take -an '1st person possessive'
-in '2nd person possessive'
-Ø '3rd person possessive'

e.g.	ebin-án-bi	wife-1stp.po-rsp	'my wife'
	ebin-ín-bi	wife-2ndp.po-rsp	'your wife'
	ebín-Ø-bi	wife-3rdp.po-rsp	'his wife'
	ebin-ín	wife-2ndp.po	'your wife'
	wán-án	son-1stp.po	'my son'
	wán-ín	son-2ndp.po	'your son'
	wán-Ø	son-3rdp.po	'his son'

boliman-án	pig-1stp.po	'my pig'
boliman-ín	pig-2ndp.po	'your pig'
bolimán-Ø	pig-3rdp.po	'his pig'

The terms for 'mother' and 'father' belong to this group, but differ in that (a) the 1st person possessive is an irregular form not necessitating the use of -an '1st person possessive', (b) their first person stems take an optional prefix na- '1st person possessive'.

e.g. abé / ná-abé	1stp.po-father	'my father'
nen-ín-bi	father-2ndp.po-rsp	'your father'
nén-Ø-bia	father-3rdp.po-rsp	'his father'
miná-bi / ná-miná	1stp.po-mother-rsp	'my mother'
man-ín-bi	mother-2ndp.po-rsp	'your mother'
mán-Ø-bi	mother-3rdp-rsp	'his/her mother'

(b) those which take -an '1st person possessive'

-in '2nd & 3rd person possessive'

One distinquishes between 2nd and 3rd person by the use of a free form pronoun or by the particular context.

e.g. al-an-bi	sibling of opposite sex-1stp.po-rsp	'My sister' (ego male)
al-in-bi	sibling of opposite sex-2nd/3rdp.po-rsp	'Your/his sister' (ego male)
ibal-án	people-1stp.po	'my people'
ibal-ín	people-2nd/3rdp.po	'your/his people'

1.2.1.2. Non-alienable Inanimate Nouns.

This sub-category mainly contains body parts (which includes a person's shadow), the notable exceptions being a person's house, land,

village and enemies. Just as the word for 'pig' shifts between the Non-alienable Animate and Alienable Animate sub-categories, so the words for 'house', 'land', and 'village' shift between the Non-alienable Inanimate and Alienable Inanimate sub-categories. However, they are heard more frequently in the Alienable Inanimate sub-category. This sub-category occurs with the verb stem di- 'to be' (inanimate). The order of suffixation is:

+ stem + possessive suffix

In the same manner as the previous sub-category, this sub-category comprises two groups according to the set of possessive allomorphs they occur with.

(a) Those which take -an '1st person possessive'
-in '2nd person possessive'
-Ø '3rd person possessive'

e.g.	an-an	hand-1stp.po	'my hand'
	an-in	hand-2ndp.po	'your hand'
	an-Ø	hand-3rdp.po	'his hand'
	giran-án	mouth-1stp.po	'my mouth'
	giran-ín	mouth-2ndp.po	'your mouth'
	girán-Ø	mouth-3rdp.po	'his/her mouth'

When the word garibá 'land' occurs in this sub-category, a final 'n' is added to its stem. This is similar to the occurrence of bolimá 'pig' in the previous sub-category.

e.g.	gariban-án	ground-1stp.po	'my land'
	gariban-ín	ground-2ndp.po	'your land'
	garibán-Ø	ground-3rdp.po	'his land'

(b) Those which take -an '1st person possessive'

-in '2nd and 3rd person possessive'

The distinction is made between 2nd and 3rd person by the use of a free form pronoun.

e.g.	gibil-án	head-1stp.po	'my head'
	gibil-ín	head-2nd/3rdp.po	'your/his head'
	ain-án	place-1stp.po	'my village'
	ain-ín	place-2nd/3rdp.po	'your/his village'
	díín-án	ribs-1stp.po	'my ribs'
	díín-ín	ribs-2nd/3rdp.po	'your/his ribs'

When the word ogu 'house' occurs in this sub-category with suffixation added, then the final vowel 'u' is dropped in 2nd/3rd person and is optionally retained in 1st person, but with the allomorph -nan '1st person possessive'.

e.g.	og-an /ogu-nan	house-1stp.po	'my house'
	og-in	house-2nd/3rdp.po	'your/his house'

An interesting feature of the tone pattern of both sub-categories of Non-alienable nouns is that the basic tone pattern spreads across the word to the possessive suffix. The relationship suffix -bi is always low tone.

e.g.	ˋ stems ⟶ ˋˋ	an	'his hand'	anan	'my hand'	
	ˊ stems ⟶ ˊˊ	dén	'his stomach'	dénán	'my stomach'	
	ˊˊ stems ⟶ ˊˊˊ	kébín	'his young sibling'	kébínán	'my young sibling'	
	ˋˊ stems ⟶ ˋˋˊ	girán	'his mouth'	giranán	'my mouth'	

The only exceptions to this rule are the third person irregular

stems nén- 'father', and mán- 'mother'. (See examples under 1.2.1.1.)

1.2.1.3. Alienable Animate Nouns.

This sub-category consists of terms which have the ability of being self propelled, with the exception of humans. However the words abál 'woman', yál 'man' gí 'girl', kumíl 'youth' gaan'child' etc. which belong to the Non-possessable Animate sub-category, occur in this sub-category, but with an idiomatic or humourous usage connected with them. Liquids are considered as self propelled and new liquids introduced into the society have been included under this sub-category. They all occur with the stem mile- 'to be' (animate).

e.g. awí milemúe 'It is a dog'
mayán milemúe 'It is blood'
kérosín milemúe 'It is kerosene'

1.2.1.4. Alienable Inanimate Nouns.

This sub-category is composed of concrete terms which occur with the verb stem di- 'to be' (inanimate). The nouns in this sub-category are the main exponents of the Head tagmeme of the General Noun Phrase. When nouns of the previous sub-category cease to be self propelling, they are included in this sub-category.

e.g. eri dimúe 'It is a tree'
bol dimúe 'It is a bed'
bolimá dimúe 'It is pork'
pirín dimúe 'It is salt'

1.2.1.5. Non-possessable Animate Nouns.

Semantically this sub-category is composed of personal names, clan names and generic human terms. The personal names occur as exponents of the Head tagmeme of the Personal Name Noun Phrase, whereas the generic human terms occur as exponents of the Head tagmeme of the General Noun Phrase. The generic terms optionally occur with the pluralizer kobe. Being animate, this sub-category occurs with the verb stem mile- 'to be' (animate).

e.g.	Kurí milemúe	'Kuri is here'
	yál milemúe	'It is a man'
	gí milemúe	'She is a girl'
	gí kobe	'the girls'
	gaan kobe	'the children'

1.2.1.6. Non-possessable Inanimate Nouns.

This sub-category is composed of place names and they occur as exponents of the Head tagmeme of Locative Phrases. Being inanimate they occur with the verb stem di- 'to be' (inanimate).

e.g.	Gumíné dimía	'That is Gumine'
	Gorokâ dimía	'It is Goroka'

1.2.2. Pronouns.

Pronouns comprise a category of non-verbs in that their occurrence on the phrase level is limited to particular tagmemes and their potential expansion within such tagmemes, is limited to a very small group of words. The pronouns have been sub-categorized

as Personal, Reflexive, Demonstrative and Interrogative.

1.2.2.1. Personal Pronouns.

The personal pronouns are a loose system and they do not distinquish between subject, object and possessive; the same form is used irrespective of its function. Their function is determined by the position they take in a clause. There are only two personal pronouns which are not compounds and they are ná 'I/We' and í 'you'. The compounds are:

yalíni 'he' formed from yál inín man himself

abalíni 'she' formed from abál inín woman herself

These pronouns join with the generic terms, pluralizer, and the numeral for 'two' to form compounds and phrases which supply the free form pronouns which correspond to the bound forms of the verbs.

e.g. ná yasu - 'we two'

í yasu - 'you two'

yasu - 'they two'

yasu being formed from yál 'man' and su 'two'

ná ibál kobe - 'we'

í ibál kobe - 'you (plural)'

ibál kobe - 'they'

1.2.2.2. Reflexive Pronouns.

There are two forms of the reflexive: inán which combines with 1st person and inín which combines with 2nd and 3rd person.

e.g. ná inán 'myself'

í inín 'you yourself'

yalíni inín 'he himself'

ná ibál kobe inán 'we ourselves'

The reflexive does not occur obligatorily with the personal pronoun. When it occurs independent of a personal pronoun, it relies on a bound form to distinguish between 2nd and 3rd person.

e.g. inín o-m-í-a self go-3rdp-spc-naq 'He himself went'

bolimá inín eru-ngw-í pig self effect-3rdp.rst-def 'The pig did it itself'

inín gariban-ín self ground-2ndp.po 'your own land'

1.2.2.3. Demonstrative Pronouns.

Two demonstratives have been found to occur:

í 'this' - an object in view or now perceived.

idáy 'that' - an object not in view or one previously seen or perceived and now referred to.

They function as the exponents of the Demonstrative tagmeme of the non-verb phrases.

e.g. Gali idáy 'That (particular) Gali'

bolimá tá í 'This one pig'

1.2.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns.

Interrogative pronouns are the main exponents of the Interrogative tagmeme on the clause level, and as such, they have no potential expansion. Those identified are:

tákal / tá 'what'

táwa 'what (words)'

téméran 'why'

támíntan 'how much' or 'how many'

ena / íbéna 'who' (íbéna is a compound of ibál 'person' and ena 'who')
aldé / kóldé 'where' (kóldé is a compound of kól 'path' and aldé 'where')

e.g. tákal dime? 'What is it?'
táwa dime? 'What did he say?'
íbéna ume? 'Who came?'
kóldé ene? 'Where did you go?'

1.2.3. Locatives.

The main function of the locatives occurs on the phrase level and to a lesser degree on the clause level. However, suffixation does occur on a number of the locatives. Thus the locatives comprise two sub-categories; those which occur with the proximity suffix and those which do not.

1.2.3.1. Suffixed Class.

This class take the proximity suffix -a /-ya 'here', 'this' which indicates nearness to the speaker. They mainly occur in the Modifier tagmemes of the Locative Phrase.

e.g. imé 'below the speaker'
amé 'below the speaker but on his side.'
ibé 'above the speaker'
abé 'above the speaker but on his side'
malgé 'village centre'
malgiá 'village centre here'
suna 'middle'
sunayá 'middle here'
koli 'this section'

kolá 'this section near speaker'

alá 'inside'

aliá 'inside here'

The words for 'below the speaker' and 'above the speaker' have reference to the direction of the valley, and to the direction the river flows. Where a village is down the valley, even if higher in altitude than the speaker, it is referred to as being 'below the speaker'.

1.2.3.2. Unsuffixed Class.

These locatives occur as exponents of the Attributive tagmeme and Modifier 1 tagmeme of the Locative phrase.

e.g. binán 'alongside'

mínín 'topmost' (of trees etc.)

idé 'there' (a term that is used when one is uncommitted as to the position of the speaker)

maalá 'near'

tayán 'far'

1.2.4. Descriptives.

Descriptives have been treated as a separate category of non-verbs in that they have the function of modifying the Head tagmemes of non-verb phrases. They have the distinctive feature of not being able to be possessed, and of being relatively free of suffixation. Descriptives are sub-categorized on both structural and semantic grounds.

1.2.4.1. Adjectives.

Words in this sub-category occur as the exponents of the Modifier tagmemes of the General Noun Phrase. They have the semantic qualities which generally indicate age, colour, size or shape and quality.

e.g. gólín 'old' (of inanimate)

dimanín 'old' (of animate)

pégé 'white'

araway 'long'

digán 'bad'

1.2.4.2. Intensifiers.

The intensifiers mainly act as intensifiers of peripheral tagmemes; however, they also occur as intensifiers of nuclear tagmemes. The intensifiers occur both with verb and non-verb phrases. They are divided into two classes on the structural basis of those which intensify nuclear tagmemes and those which intensify peripheral tagmemes. wén, wó and kí, each having the general meaning 'very' intensify nuclear tagmemes whereas only wén has been noted to occur intensifying peripheral tagmemes.

e.g. Intensifying nuclear tagmemes.

awí wó 'a real dog'
dog very

nega wén dimúe 'it's very hot'
hot very it is

abál kí 'a tremendous woman'
woman very

Intensifying peripheral tagmemes.

ogu gólín wén 'a very old house'
house old very

míné wén ibé
top very above speaker 'on the very top above the speaker'

ómálé kaún wén
noon time right 'right at noon'

sutan wén
two definitely 'definitely two'

bigin waí wén singé
wash good very you strike 'You washed it very well'

1.2.4.3. Pluralizer.

Although there is only one word in this sub-category, the word kobe which indicates plurality, its distribution is such as to treat it separately from the numerals. It occurs as a pluralizer of the generic human terms of the Non-possessable Animate and the Non-alienable Animate noun sub-categories.

e.g.	miná kobe	my mother pl	'my mothers'
	ebín kobe	his wife pl	'his wives'
	abál kobe	woman pl	'women'
	bolimá kobe	pig pl	'pigs'
	gaan kobe	child pl	'children'

The pluralizer also occurs as a demonstrative form kobi 'these'.

e.g.	abál kobi	woman pl	'these women'
	abé kobi	my father pl	'these fathers of mine'

1.2.4.4. Numerals.

The numerals form two sub-categories mainly on semantic grounds, definite number and indefinite number. Structurally the indefinite numerals do not occur as constituents of the Numeral Phrase, whereas

the definite numerals do. Both sub-categories occur as modifiers to the Simple Noun Phrases.

1.2.4.4.1. Definite Numerals.

These will be listed under the Numeral Phrase (2.2.5.).

1.2.4.4.2. Indefinite Numerals.

The only suffixation noted to occur on some of the words of this sub-category is the intensifier -ta /-ga /-waaga.

e.g.	taulé	'few'
	taulé-ta	'very few'
	taulé-ga	'very few'
	taulé-waága	'very very few'
	binánbile	'many', 'a lot'
	múrú	'all'
	mirikí	'many'
	párá	'the whole'
	kírárá	'everyone/everything'

Some of these combine into compound expressions for the purpose of intensification.

e.g.	párá múrú	'the whole lot'
	kírárá múrú	'absolutely everyone'

1.2.4.5. Temporals.

The same dichotomy of definite versus indefinite which applies to numerals applies also to temporals. However, the temporals have a stronger structural basis for distinguishing the sub-categories; definite temporals occur as exponents of the Definite Point tagmeme,

while the indefinite occur as exponents of the Indefinite Point tagmeme of the Temporal Phrase.

1.2.4.5.1. Definite Temporals.

There are only six definite temporals and they are:

keminá	'today'
erimá	'one day from today' (tomorrow or yesterday)
taale	'two days from today'
éí	'three days from today'
mané	'four days from today'
kiné	'five days from today'

A full statement of the semantic (contextual) meaning of these words can only be gained with reference to the tense of the verb.

e.g. erimá o-Ø-bin-g-é one day from today go-nf-1stp-rst-ind
'We/I went yesterday'

erimá Ø-na-bin-g-é one day from today go-fut-1stp-rst-ind
'We/I will go tomorrow'

1.2.4.5.2. Indefinite Temporals.

Only one of the Indefinite temporals has been found to take the intensifying suffix -ga /-gira 'very'. The following is not an exhaustive list.

e.g. maliá 'now'

maliá-gá /maliá-gírá 'right now'

omalé 'noon'

goma 'before', 'previously'

kayá 'already'

1.2.5. Adverbs.

Non-verbs in this category are structurally distinct in that they occur as exponents of the Manner tagmeme on the clause level. A number of the words in this category also function in the Descriptive category and Conjunction category. Adverbs are only expandable by the use of the intensifier wén 'very' which itself may also function as an adverb.

e.g. wén 'thoroughly', 'well'

bíl 'heavily', 'hard'

párá 'enough'

waí wén 'very well'

kírárá 'completely'

tá 'certainly not' (as intensifier with negative)

1.2.6. Conjunctions.

Conjunctions form a distinct category of non-verbs in that they have the function of conjoining two similar constituents of a construction. Such constructions being either words, phrases, clauses or sentences.

1.2.6.1. Co-ordinative Conjunctions.

(a) Those which conjoin non-verbs and non-verb phrases:

ya 'and'

idé 'and'

té 'hesitation' (indicates indecision concerning following constituent)

té may combine with ya or idé to form the co-ordinative conjunction compounds, idé té 'and (hesitation)', ya té 'and (hesitation)'.

When one of these co-ordinative conjunctions is chosen, it is used consistently throughout the phrase. However, the hesitation marker tế often occurs after a succession of ya's or idé's.

(b) Those which conjoin clauses and sentences:

ne	'then'	
pare	'after'	(only occurs after the Event-relator suffix, when it is the terminal suffix)
tế	'hesitation'	

These combine to form the following co-ordinating conjunctive compounds.

ne tế	'and then'
pare ne	'and then after'

The co-ordinating conjunction ne is an abbreviated form of the word ená 'then', which has two functions on the paragraph level:

(a) that of signalling, along with other indicators, the commencement of a new paragraph and

(b) as an introducer of a discourse, where it takes the vocative enó and has the function of drawing attention to what the speaker is going to say.

1.2.6.2. Disjunctive Conjunction.

The disjunctive conjunction mo 'or' only functions as a conjoiner of clauses and sentences within the Alternative sentence type. Examples of its occurrence may be found in section 4.12.

1.2.6.3. Comparative Conjunctions.

The Comparative conjunction mere 'like' or 'just as' functions as a comparative between nouns, as well as between clauses and sentences in the Resemblance Sentence type.

(a) Between nouns it has the same structure as the axis conjunctions (see 1.2.6.4. below), i.e. it follows the items which it joins.

e.g. Kone diminá mere pirebingé. 'I think Kone is just like the bush.'
Kone bush like I think

(b) Between clauses it occurs between the two constituents it joins.

e.g. Ká dungwá mere éró. 'Do just as he says'
word he says just as do

(c) Between sentences it also occurs between the two constituents it joins. (see section 4.13. for examples of this.)

1.2.6.4. Axis Conjunctions.

There are three axis single conjunctions:

bólé 'together'

párá 'also'

éréko 'with'

These combine to form the following axis conjunction compounds.

bólé párá 'together also'

bólé éréko 'together with'

These axis conjunctions join various non-verb phrases to form the Accompaniment Noun Phrase. (see section 2.2.2.3. for examples)

NOTES

1. Lyons J. 1969 p203
2. With reference to a similar dichotomy see Franklin K. 1971 p 30ff.
3. It is possible to formulate these changes into a set of morphophonemic rules. However, the resulting complexity of the rules needed indicated that on the grounds of simplicity, the above analysis is more satisfactory. It should be noted, however, that for making a diachronic analysis of the verb morphology of the related languages in the Chimbu area morphophonemic procedures provide interesting comparisons. See McVinney P & Lusbetak L. 1954 pp 74-79 and Irwin B. 1971 pp 8-11

CHAPTER II

2. Phrase.

2.1. Verb Phrases.

The distinction between verbs and non-verbs is also maintained on the phrase level in both their structure and function. Generally speaking the non-verb phrases are endocentric, whereas the verb phrases are exocentric. If we take a typical verb phrase such as

egin gale ere milungwa. 'He continues to dance in regalia'
ad. burn effect he is

only the affixed stem tagmeme milungwa may function with the same syntagmatic relationship as the complete verb phrase. However, even though it may do this, the meaning it then has is different, for when milungwa occurs as a Single Stem Verb Phrase it has the meaning 'he is', but in the above Continuative Periphrastic Verb Phrase it simply denotes the continuous action of the verb specified in the non-affixed stem tagmeme.

Contrasting with this we have the endocentricity of non-verb phrases. In the following General Noun Phrase,

na awi bil sutan 'my two big dogs'
my dog big two

the exponents of the Head tagmeme and the two Modifier tagmemes may function with the same syntagmatic relationship as the complete General Noun Phrase. If the exponents of the Modifier tagmemes bil 'big' and sutan 'two' are to function in the same manner as the complete phrase, then there needs to be sufficient contextual material present to allow for the ellipsis of the Head tagmeme.

Verb phrases fall into the following three categories: Simple, Periphrastic and Repetitive. The Simple and Periphrastic categories have the following general structure:

± Non-affixed stems or adjuncts + Affixed stem ± Conjunction.

The Repetitive category has the following general structure:

+ Head + Repetition ± Conjunction.

2.1.1. Simple Verb Phrase.

This category differs from the Periphrastic Verb Phrase in that the semantic content of the affixed stem does not convey the aspectual meaning as do the affixed stems of the Periphrastic Verb Phrase.

2.1.1.1. Single Stem Verb Phrase.

This sub-category does not take optional non-affixed stems or adjuncts. Single stem verbs with affixation occur as exponents of the affixed stem tagmeme and the conjunction tagmeme is expounded by the locative set ide, ibe and ime with Independent verbs in sentence final position,[1] and by the conjunctions ne, te, pare, ne pare, ne te and pare ne with the Dependent verbs.

e.g. Independent verbs.

dungwi ime it is there below speaker	'It's down there'
kanebingi ide I saw there	'I saw it there'

Dependent verbs.

sibinga ne... we struck then	'We struck it then...'
dungure pare... he said after	'After he said...'

kanide ne te... 'Saw it and then...'
saw and then and

The exponents of the Conjunction tagmeme are the same for the following two sub-categories of the Simple Verb Phrase.

2.1.1.2. Single Phrasal Stem Verb Phrase.

This sub-category consists of an adjunct word expounding the Non-affixed Stem tagmeme, plus an affix carrying stem with the optional Conjunction tagmeme occurring in the same manner as in the Single Stem sub-category. One particular feature of this verb phrase sub-category is that it may be split between the adjunct and affixed stem, by the clause level tagmemes of Subject, Manner, Location, Temporal and Interrogative. This feature will be handled more fully in the following chapter on clauses. There are semantic restrictions as to which clause level tagmeme may split each particular verb phrase.

The Non-affixed Stem tagmeme is expounded by one or two adjunct words, some of which are unique to this class, and therefore it is difficult to determine a separate meaning for them apart from the affixed stem. Others of the adjuncts occur elsewhere in various non-verb word classes.

Adjuncts unique to adjunct class

e.g. pena galungwe 'They do things together'
ad. they burn

egin erungwi ime 'They are dancing down there'
ad. they do down

Adjuncts which occur in non-verb classes

e.g. u maribe ongwe 'It is shown'
come reveal it goes

baa galungwe 'He is blushing'
red he burns

bil ongwe 'He is growing big'
big he goes

gain sungwe 'He is peeling'
skin he strikes

baan ongwe 'He is growing up'
place he goes

Most of the exponents of the Affixed Verb Stem tagmeme also occur as Single Stem Verb Phrases; however, a few occur only as affixed stems with the adjuncts.

e.g. egin galungwe 'They are dressing up'
ad. they burn

galungwe 'They are burning (wood)'

kay miingwe 'He is crying'
ad. he cries

miingwe has not been noted to occur as a single verb.

2.1.1.3. Multiple Stem Verb Phrase.

Verb phrases in this sub-category are simply groupings of the two previous sub-categories with the final verb stem of the group occurring as the exponent of the Affixed Stem tagmeme. When such groupings take place the complete phrase indicates the meaning of the action and often it is difficult to equate this meaning with that of the verb stems used in isolation.

Groupings of Single Stem Verb Phrases have been found to occur to the third degree.

e.g. si ki nomia 'He prepared and ate the meat'
strike cook he ate

di bilemia say he marks	'He resembles'
di bile dige say mark I said	'I inferred (by speech)'
kane milege look I am	'I am waiting'
ye milungwe put he is	'He is minding (the child)'

Single Phrasal Stem Verb Phrases have been noted to group together to the second degree only.

e.g. kela kule kiraan simia 'He tempted'
ad. bear ear he struck

This is a grouping of kela kulemia 'He deceived' and kiraan simia 'He enticed'.

Where the adjuncts of the Single Phrasal Stem Verb Phrases are the same then the second adjunct is omitted.

e.g. egin gale erungwe 'He dances in regalia'
ad. burn he effects

This is a grouping of egin galungwe 'He is dressing up in regalia' and egin erungwe 'He is dancing'.

Single Stem Verb Phrases and Single Phrasal Stem Verb Phrases also join together to form Multiple Stem Verb Phrases.

e.g. aa te nongwe 'He owns'
ad. give he eats

This is a grouping of aa tongwe 'He holds' and nongwe 'He eats.

nigi de pirungwe 'He is upset'
ad. cooked he knows

This is a grouping of nigi dongwe 'It is no good' and pirungwe 'He knows'.

2.1.2. Periphrastic Verb Phrases.

Many of the Simple Verb Phrases combine with a number of particular stems which indicate various types of aspectual meaning, and thus form the Periphrastic Verb Phrase. The Simple Verb Phrase section of the periphrase is uninflected, and it retains the meaning it has when it occurs independent of the periphrase. The verb stem which indicates the aspectual meaning carries the affixation. This aspectual meaning is not necessarily related to the meaning the particular verb stems have when they occur apart from the periphrase. It should be noted that these same stems also occur as affix-carrying stems of the Multiple Stem Verb Phrase; however the different function enables one to distinguish between such usage.

There are semantic restrictions as to which Simple Verb Phrase can occur with the various stems that indicate aspectual meaning. The verb stem bau- 'to be stuck to' has implied in its meaning the idea of continuation, and so does not occur as an exponent of the Non-affixed Stem tagmeme in the Continuative Periphrastic Verb Phrase. Many similar semantic restrictions occur in the various sub-categories of this verb phrase.

The Periphrastic Verb Phrases have been sub-categorized into five groups mainly on semantic grounds.

2.1.2.1. Benefactive Periphrastic Verb Phrase.

This sub-category has the following structure:

+ Non-affixed stem + Affixed stem ± Conjunction.

The Non-affixed Stem tagmeme has as its exponents Simple Verb Phrases and the Conjunction Tagmeme has the same exponents as it has under

the Simple Verb Phrase. The Affixed Stem tagmeme is expounded by the verb stem te-. When this stem is used as a Single Stem Verb Phrase, it means 'to give', but when it is used in this periphrase it indicates that the action expressed by the Simple Verb Phrase is performed on behalf of, or on account of somebody, that person being expressed in the Indirect Object tagmeme.

e.g. si ki tongwe 'He cooked the meat for...'
strike cook he gave

nigi de pire tongwe 'He was upset with...'
ad. cooked know he gave

keba ki tongwi ime 'There's the sweet potato he
sweet potato cook he gave down there cooked for....'

The clause level tagmeme Indirect Object may occur immediately preceding the Affixed stem.

e.g. di na tomia 'He said to me'
speak me he gave

2.1.2.2. Completive Periphrastic Verb Phrase.

This sub-category has the same structure and exponents as 2.1.2.1. except that:

(a) the Affixed Stem tagmeme is expounded by the verb stem pisere- and wei si-

(b) the Conjunction tagmeme does not take those exponents which apply to Independent verbs in sentence final position (2.1.1.1.).

The verb stem pisere- used as a Single Stem Verb Phrase means 'to discard' or 'to let go', and the verb stem wei si- used as a Single Phrasal Stem Verb Phrase means 'to finish'. However, when these verb stems occur in this periphrase, they indicate that

the action of the verb expressed by the Simple Verb Phrase has been completed.

e.g. bigin si piseremue 'He completed washing'
ad. strike he let go

kane piseride pare ne.. 'After (he) completed looking
look let go & after then then...'

ki wei sungwe 'He completed building'[2]
build ad. strike 'He completed cooking'

konagi ere wei sungwe 'He completed the work'
work effect ad. strike

2.1.2.3. Continuative Periphrastic Verb Phrase.

This sub-category has the same structure and exponents as 2.1.2.1. except that the verb stems which occur in the Affixed Stem tagmeme are mile-, pai- and e-. When mile- is used as a Single Stem Verb Phrase it means 'to be' (animate), whereas pai- /paa- means 'to be correct' or 'to rest', and e- means 'to go'. When they occur in this periphrase they denote the continuous action of the verb expressed by the Simple Verb Phrase. The verb stem e- 'to go' is used as an alternative to the other stems, but not in all instances. If the final stem in the Simple Verb Phrase is mile- or pai- then they are followed by pai- and mile- respectively.

e.g. nil pai milungwi ime 'He continues washing him-
water rest he is down there self down there.'

ye mile paabinge 'I continue minding (a child)'
put be I rest

konagi ere milemue or
work effect he is 'He continues working'
konagi ere paamue
work effect he rests

ki milungwi or ki ongwi 'He continues cooking'
cook he being cook he going

2.1.2.4. Audible Periphrastic Verb Phrase.

This sub-category has the same structure as 2.1.2.1. except that the verb stem di- occurs in the Affixed Stem tagmeme and is limited to third person. When di- is used as a Single Stem Verb Phrase it means 'to say' or 'to be' (inanimate). However, in the context of this periphrase it indicates that the action of the Simple Verb Phrase is audible or in some cases predictable.

e.g. nimin si dungwe 'It is the sound of rain' or
rain strike it says 'It is about to rain'

gi kaa di dungwi ibe 'It is the sound of courting up
girl ad. say it says up there'

kura bile dungwe 'It is the sound of fighting'
fight mark it says

2.1.2.5. Suspended Periphrastic Verb Phrase.

This sub-category has the same structure as 2.1.2.1. except that the verb stem paale- occurs in the Affixed Stem tagmeme. The verb stem paale- has not been noted to occur as a Single Stem Verb Phrase. In this periphrase it signifies that the action of the Simple Verb Phrase has been suspended or adjourned.

e.g. ka kol ere paalebinge 'We adjourned the arbitra-
word section effect we adjourned tion'

kura bile paalungwe 'They have suspended the
fight mark they suspended fighting'

gul si paalebina 'We suspended erecting the
fence strike we suspended fence'

ogu ki paalungure pare... 'After he suspended build-
house build he suspended after ing...'

2.1.3. Repetitive Verb Phrase.

This category of Verb Phrase has three separate sub-categories. Each of these has the structural feature of repeating in exact form words contained in the Head tagmeme. This repetition has been noted to occur to the fifth degree. The sub-categories are also linked semantically in that they all express continuance in time or action, or both.

2.1.3.1. Passage of Time and Action Verb Phrase.

This sub-category focuses on the action of the verb and the time taken for the action. It has the following structure:

+ Head + Repetition

The Head tagmeme is expounded by Simple Verb Phrases and by Continuative Periphrastic Verb Phrases, which take as their final suffix the Circumstance suffix (1.1.2.7.1.) or the Reason suffix (1.1.2.7.3.), the former being more predominant.

e.g. kuria di milangwa di milangwa di milangwa...
chant say being say being say being
'They will continue singing and singing'

omia omia omia 'They kept on going and going...'
going going going

ki nanga ki nanga.... 'They will go on building
build will go build will go and building'

The Repetition tagmeme is expounded by the affix-carrying stem of the Verb Phrase which occurs as the constituent of the Head tagmeme together with the preceding non-affixed stem, but not adjuncts.

e.g. egin ere milungwa ere milungwa... 'They continued dancing
ad. make being make being and dancing'

mile paangwa mile paangwa mile paangwa... 'They stayed, stayed and stayed...'
be resting be resting be resting

2.1.3.2. The Passage of Time Verb Phrase.

This sub-category focuses on the passage of time taken during the action. It has the same structure as the previous sub-category i.e. + Head + Repetition

The Head tagmeme is expounded by the same verb phrases as the previous sub-category except that the Simple Verb Phrases do not occur.

e.g. si milungwa milungwa milungwa... 'They kept on and on striking...'
strike being being being

gala di milungwa milungwa milungwa.. 'They kept on and on calling out...'
ad. say being being being

ne nanga nanga... 'You will go on and on eating'
eat will go will go

The Repetition tagmeme is expounded by the affix carrying stem of the verb phrase which occurs as the constituent of the Head tagmeme.

e.g. ki nanga nanga nanga... 'You will go on and on and on building...'
build will go will go will go

gaan ye mile paangwa paangwa... 'You will continue on and on caring for the child'
child put be resting resting

ki pai milungwa milungwa milungwa.. 'You will continue on and on living there'
build rest being being being

2.1.3.3. Passage of Action Verb Phrase.

This sub-category focuses on the action of the verb. It has the following structure:

+ Head + Repetition ± Conjunction

The Head tagmeme is expounded by verb phrases composed of non-affixed verb stems. It expresses the lexical meaning content of the verb phrase.

e.g. si si sire pare... 'After they hit and hit and hit...'
hit hit hit and after

ere ere ere... 'Made and made and made...'
made made made

kiraanin bile pi pi pire... 'They followed and followed and followed...'
his ear mark go go go and

The Repetition tagmeme simply repeats the last stem of the Head tagmeme. The final repetition carries the affixation.

e.g. ki te mile mile... '(she) will continue serving and serving...'
cook give be be

si si sire pare... 'After (they) struck and struck and struck'
hit hit hit and after

sikul di mile mile... '(he) will continue doing and doing school work'
school say be be

The Conjunction tagmeme is expounded by the conjunctions which occur with dependent verbs (2.1.1.1.).

e.g. si si siride ne... '(they) hit and hit and hit and then...'
hit hit hit and then

sikul di mile mile pare... 'After (he has) continued, doing and doing school work...'
school say be be after

2.2. Non-verb Phrases.

The reasons for the general distinction between verb phrases and non-verb phrases has been given previously under 2.1. Non-verb phrases comprise five categories: Simple Noun Phrases, Complex Noun Phrases, Locative Phrases, Temporal Phrases and Numeral Phrases. All categories except the Numeral Phrases have been posited on the basis of their internal structure and their occurrence as constituents of clause level tagmemes. With these categories, preference

is given to expression in short phrases and many clauses, rather than long phrases and few clauses.

The Numeral Phrases do not occur as constituents of clause level tagmemes and could have been treated as compound type expressions under the word level. It was thought however, to include them under the phrase level because of their internal structure and length of expression.

2.2.1. Simple Noun Phrases.

Noun phrases form two categories in that their internal structures are quite different, and in that Complex Noun Phrases have as their constituents Simple Noun Phrases. Both categories occur as constituents of the Subject, Object and Indirect Object tagmemes on the clause level. The general structure of this category is:

Head plus Modifier plus Demonstrative

2.2.1.1. General Noun Phrases.

This sub-category has the following structure:

$$+\left[\pm(\pm \text{ Pos } + \text{ Head}) \pm \text{Mod}\right] \pm \text{Mod } 2 \pm \text{Mod } 3 \pm \text{Mod } 4 \pm \text{Mod } 5\right] \pm \text{Dem}$$

Although the Head tagmeme is optional, this is only so because ellipsis of the Head tagmeme can occur where the context is clear as to the object referred to. The Possessive tagmeme does not occur when ellipsis of the Head tagmeme occurs. Although all Modifier tagmemes may be intensified, the maximum noted in any one particular phrase has been two. It should be noted that although this formula generates all of the General Noun Phrases which have been

observed, fully expanded phrases matching the above formula do not occur in data. In fact preference is given to short phrases using multiple clauses where the speaker wishes to describe fully a certain object.

e.g. Na bolima gawlin sutan kulegire pege bil milemue.
my pig offspring two I reared white big they are
'I reared two piglets and they are big white ones.'

Na bolima gawlin pege bil sutan milemue.
my pig offspring white big two they are
'They are my two big white piglets'.

The Possessive tagmeme has as its exponents Pronouns, Non-alienable Animate Nouns, Non-possessable Animate Nouns, Kinship Noun Phrases and Personal Name Noun Phrases.

e.g. na gal 'my net bag'
my net bag

abe ogu
my father house 'my father's house'

Kuri simil 'Kuri's bow'
Kuri bow

Na ebinanbi alenbi wan ogu - 'My wife's brother's
my my wife her brother his son house son's house'

Golin Egeku kare 'Golin Egeku's car'
Golin Egeku car

All of these exponents may be expanded by the use of the reflexive pronouns (1.2.2.2.). Where this expansion occurs and the context is clear, ellipsis of the Possessive tagmeme may occur.

e.g. inin ogin 'his/your own house'
own his/your house

The Head tagmeme has as its exponents Alienable Animate Nouns, Alienable Inanimate Nouns, Non-alienable Inanimate Nouns and the

generic human terms of the Non-possessable Animate Nouns.

e.g. Kuri awi bil sutan 'Kuri's two big dogs'
Kuri dog big two

na eri binanbile 'all my wood'
my wood much

i anin 'your hand'
your your hand

abal bilkau ta 'the large woman'
woman large one

Expansion of the Head tagmeme takes place in the following ways:

(a) by the grouping of words which form a type of compound which are possessed and modified as a whole.

e.g. yalini an gwaalin sui sui 'his four arm joints'
his arm joints two two

na erewan ogu 'my grass roofed house'
my grass house

Kuri awi bolima binanbile 'Kuri's many four legged animals'
Kuri dog pig many

(b) by the occurrence of the intensifiers wen 'real', 'true' with Alienable Inanimate Nouns and wo 'superb' with Alienable Animate Nouns.

e.g. na abal bolima wo sutan 'my two superb sows'
my woman pig superb two

Ninkama eri wen 'Ninkama's real wood'
Ninkama wood real

(c) by the occurrence of the pluralizer kobe with the generic human terms.

e.g. gi kobe binanbile 'many girls'
girls pl many

When the words yal 'man', abal 'woman', ibal 'person' occur with the demonstrative form of the pluralizer kobi, these words may take

an optional -in suffix.

e.g. ibalin kobi 'Those people'
person those

yalin kobi 'Those men'
man those

The Modifier tagmemes 1 to 4 are expounded by Adjectives (1.2.4.1.) and the Modifier tagmeme 5 is expounded by Numerals (1.2.4.4.) and Numeral Phrases (2.2.2.5.). All Modifier tagmemes may be expanded by the use of the intensifier wen 'very'. The Modifier 1 tagmeme is expounded by adjectives which indicate the semantic quality of age.

e.g. Kuri ogu golin wen 'Kuri's very old house'
Kuri house old very

Gumine yal dimanin ta 'an old Gumine man'
Gumine man old one

The Modifier 2 tagmeme is expounded by adjectives which indicate the semantic quality of colour.

e.g. na galsuna golin pege 'my old white shirt'
my shirt old white

na awi kunaku wen wai 'my very spotted good dog'
my dog spotted very good

The Modifier 3 tagmeme is expounded by adjectives which indicate the semantic quality of size or shape.

e.g. na bolima pege bil sutan 'my two white pigs'
my pig white big two

Gali inin ogu arawakiina wen 'Gali's own very long house'
Gali own house very long very

The Modifier 4 tagmeme is expounded by adjectives which indicate the semantic property of quality. A restricted number of words have been noted to occur in this tagmeme.

e.g. abal digan sutan 'two bad women'
women bad two

na gal mege wai ta 'my one good small bag'
my bag small good one

yalini ogu bil wai wen 'his very good large house'
his house big good very

The exponents of the Modifier 5 tagmeme have been previously stated; examples of these are:

na bolima wai anan kole muru 'my five good pigs'
my pig good my hand part all

i ogu taran wen 'your one only house'
your house one very

Kuri kabe para muru 'all Kuri's bananas'
Kuri banana whole all

The Demonstrative tagmeme is expounded by Demonstrative Pronouns (1.2.2.3.). This tagmeme may occur contiguous with any other tagmeme except the Possessive. It is not intensified.

e.g. na awi sutan iday 'those two dogs of mine'
my dog two those

pege i 'this white one'
white one

2.2.1.2. Kinship Noun Phrase.

This sub-category has the following structure:

± Possessive + Head ± Numeral ± Demonstrative

Its maximum expansion consists of the four tagmemes and these expansions occur regularly in data. The minimum exponent is the Head tagmeme occurring alone.

The Possessive tagmeme has as its exponents Pronouns, Non-alienable Animate Nouns, Non-possessable Animate Nouns, Kinship Noun

Phrases, and Personal Name Noun Phrases. However, the exponent Non-possessable Animate Nouns does not include the semantic categories of clan names or generic human terms. These exponents may be expanded by the use of the reflexive pronouns inan and inin as in the General Noun Phrase.

e.g. na ebinanbi alenbi 'my wife's brother'
my my wife sibling of opposite sex

Kobila alenbi 'Kobila's sister'
Kobila sibling of opposite sex

Pari Maril winbi 'Pari & Maril's husband'
Pari Maril their husband

inan mina 'my own mother'
my own my mother

Where the kinship terms nen 'his father' and man 'his mother' are used in an idiomatic sense and expound the Head tagmeme, the Possessive tagmeme may take various exponents not included above. However, these exponents are not intensified by the use of the reflexive.

e.g. badisi baa nen 'the owner of the red plane'
plane red his (father)

Kone nen ta
Kone (place)his (father) one 'One of Kone's men'

kobile moni man 'the owner of the money'
stone money his (mother)

The Head tagmeme has for its exponents Non-alienable Animate Nouns. They may be expanded by the use of the intensifier wen 'real'

e.g. i manin wen 'your real mother'
your your mother real

Kuri yaun 'Kuri's grandfather'
Kuri his grandfather

The Numeral tagmeme has the same exponents as the Modifier 5 tagmeme of the General Noun Phrases. This tagmeme may be expanded by the use of the intensifier wen 'very, 'only'.[3]

e.g. kebinanbi sutan 'my two younger brothers/sisters'
my younger sibling two

na mina taran wen 'my only mother'
my my mother one only

ebinbi binanwenbile 'his very many wives'
his wife very many

The Demonstrative tagmeme is expounded by the Demonstrative pronouns (1.2.2.3.).

e.g. na abe iday 'that father of mine'
my my father that

na mina ta i 'this one mother of mine'
my my mother one this

2.2.1.3. Personal Name Noun Phrase.

This sub-category has the following structure:

+ Head ± Numeral ± Demonstrative

A notable difference between this sub-category and the two previous sub-categories is that the Head tagmeme cannot be possessed. The Head tagmeme has as its exponents Pronouns and Non-possessable Animate Nouns with the exception of the generic human terms. This sub-category may be expanded in the following ways:

(a) by the use of the reflexive

e.g. yalini inin 'he himself'
he himself

Gali inin 'Gali himself'
Gali himself

(b) by the juxtaposing of personal names. The last syllable of each name in apposition with the exception of the last name in the series, is a ballistic syllable followed by voicelessness and is marked by a comma.

e.g. Kuri, Gali, Simau 'Kuri, Gali and Simau'
Kuri Gali Simau

(c) by the grouping of two clan names. In such a grouping tribal names precede clan names and clan names precede sub-clan names, that is, one proceeds from the generic to the specific.

e.g. Golin Egeku 'the Egeku clan of the Golin tribe'

Egeku Kobila 'the Kobila sub-clan of the Egeku clan'

Milaku Kunaraku 'the Milaku and Kunaraku clans'

The Numeral tagmeme has the same exponents as the Numeral tagmeme of the Kinship Noun Phrases, and the same expansion potential.

e.g. Kuri sutan 'the two Kuries'
Kuri two

Milaku sutan wen 'only two Milakues'
Milaku two only

The Demonstrative tagmeme is again expounded by the Demonstrative Pronouns (1.2.2.3.).

e.g. yalini sutan iday 'those two men'
he two those

Kobila i 'this Kobila'
Kobila this

Milaku inin binanwenbile iday 'those very many Milaku's themselves.'
Milaku themselves very many those

2.2.2. Complex Noun Phrases.

The reasons for analysing Noun Phrases into two categories were given under 2.2.1. The general structure of this category is:

Head plus Referent

2.2.2.1. Appositional Noun Phrase.

This sub-category has the following structure:

+ Head ± Specifier

The unacceptability of several modifiers in the one General Noun Phrase gives rise to the frequent occurrence of several shorter General Noun Phrases occurring in juxtaposition to form the Appositional Noun Phrase. The last syllable of each Simple Noun Phrase in apposition, with the exception of phrases that precede a Personal Name Noun Phrase whose exponent is the name of a person and also with the exception of a final phrase in apposition, is a ballistic syllable followed by voicelessness and is marked by a comma.

The Head tagmeme is expounded by Simple Noun Phrases juxtaposed in a series. Ordering within the series is done on semantic grounds beginning with the general definition and then proceeding to the specific. If the phrase refers to a person or persons, this ordering has the effect of placing the Personal Name Noun Phrase last in the series, as it is the most specific means of definition.

e.g.

G.N.P.		P.N.N.P.	
yal	dimanin	Kuri	
man	old	Kuri	'the old man Kuri'

G.N.P.		G.N.P.		K.N.P.		P.N.N.P.
yal	ta,	Keri yal	ta,	Sibilungwa	alenbi	Mugwale
man	one	Keri man	one	Sibilungwa's	brother	Mugwale

'Sibilungwa's brother, Mugwale, a Keri man'

G.N.P.	G.N.P.	G.N.P.
bolima ta,	bolima bilkau ta,	Omilinbaa bolima pege
pig one	pig big one	Omilinbaa pig white

'Omilinbaa's large white pig'

The exponents of the Specifier tagmeme are dependent on whether the Head tagmeme refers to a person or not. If it does refer to a person then the exponent of the Specifier tagmeme is a Personal Name Noun Phrase which has a pronoun filling its Head tagmeme.

e.g.

K.N.P.	P.N.N.P.	P.N.N.P.
na mina	Obaneku,	abalini inin
my my mother	Obaneku	she herself

'my mother Obaneku herself'

G.N.P.	K.N.P.	P.N.N.P.
gi taw,	Gali abilin kobe,	abalin kobi
girl some	Gali daughter pl	she pl

'some girls, Gali's daughters'

When the Head tagmeme does not refer to a person then the Specifier tagmeme has as its exponent a General Noun Phrase. The Head tagmeme of this General Noun Phrase has as its exponent the semantic nucleus of the phrases in juxtaposition. The only other tagmeme which this restricted type of General Noun Phrase takes is the Demonstrative.

e.g.

G.N.P.	G.N.P.	G.N.P.
ogu ta,	Basila yal ogu bere,	ogu iday
house one	Basila man house gabled	house that

'that Basila gable-roofed men's house'.

G.N.P.	G.N.P.	G.N.P.
awi sutan,	Yoba awi kama sui,	awi iday
dog two	Yoba dog black two	dog those

'those two black dogs of Yoba's'

2.2.2.2. Conjunctive Noun Phrase.

This sub-category has the following structure:

+ Head ± Summariser

The Head tagmeme has as its exponents Simple Noun Phrases which are joined by Co-ordinative Conjunctions (1.2.6.1.a). These co-ordinative conjunctions occur between each phrase and may optionally occur following the last phrase of the Head. It should be noted that the phrases conjoined are short, and often consist of only the Head tagmeme of the particular phrase. There are no restrictions as to which particular phrase type occurs with another or the order in which they occur. However, there is a semantic restriction placed on the items which may be conjoined, in that Animate Noun sub-categories may not be conjoined to the Inanimate Noun sub-categories.

e.g.

G.N.P.		G.N.P.	
keba	ya	me	ya
sweet potato	and	taro	and

'sweet potato and taro'

G.N.P.				G.N.P.				
keba	binanbile	ide	te	dilolua	bil	ta	ide	te
sweet potato	many	and	hes	pumpkin	big	one	and	hes

'much sweet potato and a large pumpkin'

P.N.N.P.		G.N.P.		
Kuri	te	yalini	awi	sutan
Kuri	hes	his	dog	two

'Kuri and his two dogs'

P.N.N.P.		K.N.P.		K.N.P.				
na	ya	ebinanbi	ya	Nauri	alenbi	Nebi	ya	te
I	and	my wife	and	Nauri	's brother	Nebi	and	hes

'my wife and I and Nauri's brother Nebi'

The Summariser tagmeme is expounded by General and Personal Name Noun Phrases which are of a restricted type i.e. they consist of either

Head plus Demonstrative or Head plus Numeral

e.g.

G.N.P.		G.N.P.		G.N.P.		
keba	ya	kabe	ya	komina	iru	taule
sweet potato	and	banana	and	food	thus	some

'sweet potato and bananas, only a little food'

P.N.N.P.		P.N.N.P.		P.N.N.P.	P.N.N.P.		
Kuri	te	Mosimina	te	Gali	ibal	kobe	iday
Kuri	hes	Mosimina	hes	Gali	people	pl	those

'Kuri, Mosimina, Gali, these people'

G.N.P.			G.N.P.			G.N.P.	
kungu kuba		ide te	me	kon	ide te	bo	kabe
green vegetables		and hes	taro	yam	and hes	sugar cane	banana

G.N.P.			
ide te	komina	ta ta	para
and hes	food	one one	all

'green vegetables and root vegetables and fruit, all kinds of food'

2.2.2.3. Accompaniment Noun Phrase.

This sub-category has the following structure:

± Head + Relator

If ellipsis of the Head tagmeme occurs then the context must clearly show the meaning of the exponent that is omitted.

e.g. Kuri omba bole para obilge.
Kuri went but together also we two went

'Kuri went but I went with him'

The Head tagmeme may be expounded by any of the previous Simple and Complex Noun Phrase sub-categories.

e.g. K.N.P.

na	mina	ta	bole
my	my mother	one	together

'with one of my mothers'

A.N.P.

abal	su,	Boi ebinbi	Baan, Arin	bole
woman	two	Boi his wife	Baan Arin	together

'The two women, Boi's wife Baan and Arin, together'

C.N.P.

Kuri	te	Boi	te	Baan	bole
Kuri	hes	Boi	hes	Baan	together

'Kuri, Boi and Baan together'

P.N.N.P.

Kuri,	Boi,	Baan	bole
Kuri	Boi	Baan	together

'Kuri, Boi and Baan together'

The Relator tagmeme is expounded by the Axis Conjunctions (1.2.6.4.).

e.g. K.N.P.

na	mina	bole	para
my	my mother	together	also

'with my mother also'

A.N.P.

yal	ta,	sibilungwa alenbi	Mugwale	bole	ereko
man	one	Sibilungwa sibling of opposite sex	Mugwale	together	with

'together with Sibilungwa's brother Mugwale'

C.N.P.

Kuri	te	Boi	te	Baan	ereko
Kuri	hes	Boi	hes	Baan	with

'Kuri and Boi and Baan'

C.N.P.

Kuri	te	Boi,	Baan	para
Kuri	hes	Boi	Baan	also

'Kuri with Boi and Baan'

G.N.P.

bolima bil bole para
pig large together also

'The large pig also'

2.2.3. Locative Phrase.

Exponents of this category of Non-verb Phrase occur as constituents of the Locative tagmeme on the clause level. It has the following structure:

± Head ± Attributive ± Modifier 1 ± Modifier 2

This structure is not based so much on the particular exponent of each tagmeme but rather on the semantic function of each tagmeme. These semantic functions in order of the above formula are; place name, place type, position in relation to place and position in relation to speaker. Any tagmeme may occur alone and there is no restriction on the co-occurrence of tagmemes. The Head tagmeme has as its exponents Non-possessable Inanimate Nouns (1.2.1.6.).

e.g. Mui kuul ibe 'on Mui hill above the speaker'
Mui hill above speaker

Egile Daanibe pera ide 'there at the Egile Daanibe flat stretch'
Egile Daanibe horizontal there

The Attributive tagmeme has as its exponents, words, compound expressions and embedded clauses, all of which describe the type of location. The embedded clause is often followed by the words gul 'area' or ai 'place'.

e.g. daan ali ime 'on the steep below the speak
steep in below

maul ali 'in the hole'
hole in

Sigima dimin gul malge mine ibe 'on the top side of Sigima, the bush place above speaker'
Sigima bush area clearing top above

Sigima nil yaangwa mena buuna 'Away from the Sigima waterfall'
Sigima water falling outside away from

yal ta milungwa gul ide 'there where the man is'
man one being area there

Many of the constituents of this tagmeme may be intensified by the use of wen 'very'.

e.g. daan wen ime 'the very steep slope below speaker'
steep very below

yal ta milungwa gul wen 'at the very place where the man is'
man one being area very

The Modifier 1 tagmeme has as its exponents Locative words (1.2.3.) and compound expressions which describe the position in relation to the place.

e.g. Kwali kuul yene kol tayan ime 'At the bottom part of the Kwali hill, far below speaker'
Kwali hill bottom section far below

eri minin wen ali ibe 'in the topmost part of the tree above the speaker'
tree top very in above

Many of the constituents of this tagmeme may be intensified by the use of wen 'very'.

e.g. Omkolai malge mine wen ibe 'on the high side of the clearing at Omkolai above speaker'
Omkolai clearing top very above

The Modifier 2 tagmeme has as its exponents only three words ibe, ime and ide (1.2.3.) or compound expressions which include one of these words and which describe the position in relation to the speaker.

e.g. Kwali daan mine kol tayan ame 'at the top section of the Kwali steep far below the speaker but nearest him'
Kwali steep above section far below

eri minin wen ali ibe 'in the topmost part of the
tree top very in above tree above speaker'

gul mena binan ide 'there outside, alongside the
fence outside alongside there fence'

2.2.4. Temporal Phrases.

This category does not show the same degree of endocentricity as do the other Non-verb Phrases. Both syntactially and semantically this category has three sub-categories: that which indicates points of time, that which indicates periods of time and that which combines both point of time and period of time. It should be noted also that temporal phrases are dependent upon the tense and aspect of the verb which dominates them for a full statement of their contextual meaning.

2.2.4.1. Temporal Phrase - Point of Time.

This sub-category has the following structure:

+ (± Definite ± Indefinite) ± Demonstrative

The Definite tagmeme is expounded by the Definite Temporals (1.2.4.5.1.).

e.g. erima omale kaun 'yesterday/tomorrow round noon'
a day from today noon time

kemina gilaa 'to-night'
today night

The Indefinite tagmeme is expounded by the Indefinite temporals (1.2.4.5.2.), compound expressions which contain an Indefinite Temporal, embedded clauses, and embedded sentences. Where embedded clauses and sentences expound this tagmeme, then they are obligatorily

expanded by the determiner kaun 'time'.

e.g. goma 'before'

mane kwimile 'in the morning five days from now'
5 days from now morning

erima gilaa taanima 'early yesterday/tomorrow night'
a day night early
from today

are bol ongwa kaun 'at sunset'
sun ripen goes time

are yaa biingwa kaun 'late in the afternoon'
sun falling time

nala di pirebinga kaun 'when I thought that I would go'
I will go say thinking time

Expansion of this tagmeme may occur in the following ways; by the determiner kaun 'time', and by the intensifier wen 'really', 'right'.

e.g. omale kaun 'noon time'
noon time

gilaa wen 'when it's really night'
night really

kamin girungwa kaun wen 'right on dusk'
sky darkening time right

The Demonstrative tagmeme is expounded by the Demonstrative pronouns (1.2.2.3.), and by the locative ibe 'above the speaker'. This locative type demonstrative has only been noted to occur with phrases expressing the far past.

e.g. erima iday 'that yesterday/tomorrow'
a day from today that

gilaa iday 'that night'
night that

kamin kaya wen ibe 'a very long time ago'
sky already very above

malia milebinga kaun i 'this present time'
now we being time this

An account needs to be given of the assimilation by the language of the seven day week system and the corresponding names of the days. Although the names of days have been noted to occur as exponents of both Definite and Indefinite tagmemes, they occur most frequently as exponents of the Definite tagmeme.

When the days of a week are exponents of the Definite tagmeme they may occur alone i.e. they function as Definite Temporals (1.2.4.5.1.), or they may occur in apposition within the compound expression.

e.g. erima Mande omale kaun wen 'tomorrow, Monday, right
tomorrow Monday noon time very at noon'

satebil gilaa
Sunday night 'Sunday night'

When the days of the week occur as exponents of the Indefinite tagmeme they obligatorily take the determiner kaun 'time'.

e.g. Tune kaun 'on Tuesday'
Tuesday time

In a few examples noted the day names occur in apposition to the complete Temporal phrase.

e.g. kemina imore miliga kaun Satebil 'today, the time I
today nothing I being time Sunday rest, Sunday'

erima iday Ponde 'yesterday Thursday'
yesterday that Thursday

2.2.4.2. Temporal Phrase - Period of Time.

This sub-category has been analysed as two distinct types: the period type which is modified by Numerals and the periodic type

which is modified by the sequence kaun kaun 'each'.

2.2.4.2.1. The Period type has the following structure:

+ Head + Numeral

The Head tagmeme is expounded by the same exponents as the Indefinite tagmeme of the Point of Time sub-category. However, there are a number of semantic constraints which restrict the occurrence of these exponents and allow for the occurrence of such constituents as baan 'time'.

e.g. girungwa taangwa ta darkening lighting up one	'a day and night'
ba sutan moon two	'two months'
kaun tawle time a little	'a short time'
baan araway time long	'a long time'
bolima ogu sutakobe pig house three	'three pig festivals' (three years)

This tagmeme may be expanded by the use of the determiner kaun 'time' in the same manner as the Point of Time sub-category. If kaun 'time' fills the Head tagmeme it precludes its occurrence as an expansion.

e.g. nimin sungwa kaun ta rain striking time one	'a rainy season'
erin kaun ta holiday time one	'a holiday time'

The Numeral tagmeme is expounded by Numerals (1.2.4.4.) and by a few of the Adjectives which describe size and shape (1.2.4.1.) i.e. the exponents of the Modifier 3 tagmeme of the General Noun

Phrase.

e.g. me erin sutan 'two taro seasons' (two years)
taro stem two

baan tawliga 'short time'
time a little

baan araway 'a long time'
time long

This tagmeme may be expanded in the following ways:

(a) by the use of ginin 'times' preceding the numeral.

e.g. ba kaun ginin sutan 'for two months'
moon time times two

me erin ginin binanbile 'a large number of years'
taro stem times many

(b) by the use of the Indefinite numerals tawle 'few' and muru 'all' following the Definite numerals.

e.g. ba ta muru 'a full month'
moon one all

sate sutan tawle 'only two weeks'
Saturday two few

(c) by the use of the intensifier wen 'very', 'really', 'exactly' following the Numeral.

e.g. ba ginin sutan wen 'exactly two months'
moon times two exactly

baan araway wen 'very long time'
time long very

Sate sutan tawle wen 'really only two weeks'
Saturday two few really

2.2.4.2.2. The Periodic type has the following structure:

+ Head + Frequency

The Head tagmeme has the same fillers as the Head tagmeme of the

Period type except that it is not expanded by the determiner kaun 'time'.

e.g. me erin kaun kaun 'each year'
taro stem time time

nimin sungwa kaun kaun 'each wet season'
rain striking time time

The Frequency tagmeme has as its only exponent the compound expression kaun kaun 'each'. This tagmeme may be expanded by the addition of certain of the Indefinite numerals.

e.g. bolima ogu kaun kaun muru 'every pig festival'
pig house time time all

Sate kaun kaun para muru 'every week'
Saturday time time whole all

nala di pirebinga kaun kaun 'each time I think I
I will go say I thinking time time will go'

2.2.4.3. Complex Temporal Phrases.

The previous sub-categories of Temporal Phrases occur in apposition to form the Complex Temporal Phrase. Apposition occurs both by juxtaposition and conjunction. The following patterns of juxtaposition have been noted.

(a) Temporal Phrase Period of Time - Period type + Temporal Phrase Period of Time - Periodic type.

e.g. ba sui muru sate kaun kaun
moon two all Saturday time time

'each Saturday for two full months'

me erin kaun sutakobe ba kaun kaun muru
taro stem time three moon time time all

'every month for three years'

(b) Temporal Phrase Period of Time - Period type + Temporal Phrase Point of Time.

When these phrases occur in apposition then the complete phrase refers to a point of time rather than a period of time. The constituents of Temporal Phrase Point of Time have as their nucleus Indefinite temporals which indicate past or future time.

e.g. ba anan kole muru goma 'five months ago'
moon my hand part all before

Sate ta eme 'a week later'
Saturday one later

The conjunction of Temporal phrases has only been noted to occur between two Period type phrases of the Temporal Phrase Period of Time. When the Head tagmeme of the second phrase has the same referrent as the first phrase, then ellipsis of the Head occurs in the second phrase.

e.g. ba sui muru te ta kole 'two and a half months'
moon two all and one part

me erin ta te ba sutan 'a year and two months'
taro stem one and moon two

2.2.5. Numeral Phrases.

The definite numerals form numeral phrases which are based on the numbers ta 'one' and sutan 'two' plus the use of the fingers and toes. The counting system to ten may also be accompanied by a system of equating by bending the fingers to the palm beginning with the little finger on one hand, thence proceeding along that hand until the closed hand represents five. The closed hand then begins by holding down the little finger of the other hand to the palm for

six and then proceeds along the fingers of that hand until both hands are closed and held together for ten. The numerals to four are:

ta / taran / taranta	'one'
su / sutan / sui	'two'
sutakobe / su ta i 2 1 pl 2 1 this	'three'
sui sui two two	'four'

There are two alternative systems from five to ten inclusive. One system uses the one-two basis solely and the other uses the one-two system plus the hands. When the one-two system is used, it is most often accompanied by the equating system.

The one-two system is as follows:

sui sui ta i two two one this	'five'
sui sui sui two two two	'six'
sui sui sui ta i two two two one this	'seven'
sui sui sui sui two two two two	'eight'
sui sui sui sui ta i two two two two one this	'nine'
sui sui sui sui sui two two two two two	'ten'

The one-two and hand system is as follows:

anan kole muru my hand part all	'five'
anan kole muru kole taran my hand part all part one	'six'

anan kole muru kole sutan 'seven'
my hand part all part two

anan kole muru kole sutakobe 'eight'
my hand part all part three

anan kole muru kole sui sui 'nine'
my hand part all part two two

anan kole kole muru 'ten'
my hand part part all

The numeral phrases which express the numerals eleven to twenty are based on the hands and feet of the speaker plus the one-two system. To cut down on redundancy the expression for 'ten' which precedes all these is left out.

e.g. .... kawnan milin taran 'eleven'
ten my foot seed one

.... kawnan milin sutan 'twelve'
my foot seed two

.... kawnan kole muru 'fifteen'
my foot part all

.... kawnan kole muru kole taran 'sixteen'
my foot part all part one

.... kawnan kole kole muru 'twenty'
my foot part part all

For numbers above twenty, the counting system proceeds in multiples of twenty with the numbers for 1-19 following the phrases.

e.g. yal ta an kawn muru 'twenty'
man one his hand foot all

yal sutan an kawn muru anan kole muru 'forty five'
man two his hands feet all my hand part all

It should be noted that when one gets into the relatively high figures above twenty, only round figures are referred to.

This basic system has influenced the assimilation of the Arabic numerals into the system in the following manner:

e.g. tuenti sutakobe 'sixty'
twenty three

tuenti sutan 'forty'
twenty two

Because of the loquacious manner the language uses in its counting system, the Arabic system is being adopted fairly rapidly.

NOTES

1. The occurrence of these locatives has not been considered as an exponent of the clause level tagmeme location because on the clause level the location tagmeme may co-occur with this type of verb phrase.

   e.g. main abila dungwi ime 'It is down here right here'
   base here it is here

2. The verb stem ki- is a homophonous form meaning both 'to cook' and 'to build'.

3. When the intensifier wen intensifies the indefinite numeral binanbile 'many' it infixes and forms the word binanwenbile 'very many'.

CHAPTER III

3. Clause

Although the clause has been identified as a relevant level of structure in Golin it carries a low functional load grammatically. This phenomenon is due to the fact that some of the tagmemes on the sentence level are able to expound a number of grammatical functions on the clause level. For example, exponents of the Subject, Object, Location and Temporal tagmemes on the clause level may be accounted for by exponents of the Circumstance, Antecedent, Subordinate and Resemblance tagmemes on the sentence level. Because Golin speakers prefer short clauses together with long sentences composed of multiple clauses and embedded sentences, the majority of clauses contain three or less tagmemes.

A clause consists of a series of juxtaposed lower level units followed by a final verb phrase, that is, all constituents which precede a verb phrase, up to any verb phrase which is not subordinate to a level lower than clause, is subordinate to that verb phrase. The lower level units may consist of Interrogative Pronouns (1.2.2.4.), Adverbs (1.2.5.), Locative Phrases (2.2.3.), Temporal Phrases (2.2.4.), Simple Noun Phrases (2.2.1.) and Complex Noun Phrases (2.2.2.). The units which have been found to be diagnostic in determining clause types are the Verb Phrases and the Simple and Complex Noun Phrases.

No embedding of clause within clause occurs. What was earlier thought by the writer to be clause embedding has now been handled under the analysis of sentences. (see section 4.2. and other sentence types containing Circumstance tagmeme on the sentence level.) However, clauses are embedded in various kinds of non-verb phrases.

3.1. Clause Tagmemes.

There are no overt clause level markers which indicate the occurrence of particular tagmemes and so the establishing of clause tagmemes relies heavily on the exponents of tagmemes and their meaning and function, and the order and co-occurrence of tagmemes. Because clause tagmemes are established on this basis it would be quite feasible to sub-categorize ad infinitum until one reached the stage where each individual verb phrase expounding the predicate tagmeme had its own category occurring with certain tagmemes with a limited range of exponents of each tagmeme. Such detailed analysis requires a comprehensive semantic analysis of the language which is not the aim of this thesis.

Eight clause level tagmemes have been identified and they are; Predicate, Subject, Object, Indirect Object, Location, Temporal, Interrogative and Manner. A notable gap is that of Instrument. In Golin this function is handled on either the verb phrase or on the sentence level.

e.g.

O		Pr	O	Pr	
gul kuba		aa tere	abalini	sungwe.	'He held a fence post and hit her.'
fence stick		held and	her	he hit	

O	Pr	
bolima	el sungwe.	'He arrowed the pig' i.e. 'He shot the pig with an arrow.'
pig	arrow he struck	

The normal and most preferred order of occurrence of tagmemes noted from data is I Su T L O IO M Pr. All tagmemes may move to the position immediately preceding the Predicate and this permutation has the effect of bringing into focus that particular tagmeme.

3.1.1. Nuclear Diagnostic Tagmeme.

The Predicate tagmeme is the only tagmeme which is obligatory for every clause type and is therefore considered as nuclear to the clause with all other clause tagmemes considered peripheral and having a direct syntagmatic relationship to it. This syntagmatic relationship is indicated by both the exponent of the Predicate tagmeme and the corresponding exponents of the Peripheral tagmemes. An example of this is that when the Benefactive Periphrastic Verb Phrase expounds the Predicate tagmeme then this allows for the occurrence of the Indirect Object tagmeme.

Any verb phrase can expound the Predicate tagmeme. All exponents may occur with the Peripheral Non-diagnostic tagmemes, Location, Temporal, Interrogative and Manner. However, inherent in the meaning of the exponent is the condition of how many Simple and/or Complex Noun Phrases (i.e. the Non-Predicate Diagnostic Clause tagmemes) may occur in syntagmatic relationship to that exponent. Thus Predicate exponents have been found to have the potential of being in syntagmatic relationship with either none, one, two or three Simple and/or Complex Noun Phrases. Examples of these are as follows;

(a) Those verb phrases which have no noun phrases in syntagmatic relationship with them and are referred to as 'no place' verbs.

e.g.	nimin	sungwe	'It rains'
	ad	it strikes	
	ememe	ungwe	'The earth quakes'
	ad	it comes	
	kamin	girungwe	'It comes on dark'
	sky	it gathers	

(b) Those verb phrases which may have only one noun phrase in syntagmatic relationship with them, and are referred to as 'one place' verbs. These exponents are the intransitive verb phrases.

e.g.	bol ongwe ripe it went	'It ripened'
	gulungwe he died	'He died'
	gay gulungwe ad he died	'He was embarassed'
	de taa ongwe cook ad it went	'It was overcooked'
	di dungwe ad it was	'It was overcrowded'
	ongwe he went	'He went'

(c) Those verb phrases which may have only two noun phrases in syntagmatic relationship with them and later are referred to as 'two place' verbs. These are: (1) the intransitive verb phrases which combine with the verb stem te- 'to give' to form the Benefactive Periphrastic Verb Phrases and (2) the transitive verbs.

e.g.	kanungwe he saw	'He saw'
	milungwe he was	'He was'
	kay mii tongwe ad cry he gave	'He cried for...'
	nigi de pire tongwe ad cook know he gave	'He was upset with'

(d) Those verb phrases which may have three noun phrases in syntagmatic relationship with them and later are referred to as 'three place' verbs. These are the Benefactive Periphrastic Verb Phrases which are transitive.

e.g. si tongwe 'He killed for...'
strike he gave

gale tongwe 'He roasted for...'
roast he gave

kere di tongwe 'He read to...'
count say he gave

Although the Predicate tagmeme occurs finally it may be split by other tagmemes. Except for the Indirect Object and Manner tagmemes, such splitting has the effect of bringing into focus the particular tagmeme. Not all Predicate exponents may be split but all tagmemes except the Object tagmeme have been noted to split the Predicate. Only brief exponents of these tagmemes, mainly of one word, split the Predicate.

e.g.

Pr	IO	Pr	
si ki	na	tongwe	'He cooked for me'
hit cook	me	he gave	

Pr	L	Pr	
si ere	Gumine	ongwe	'They ran away to Gumine'
ad ad	Gumine	they went	

Pr	Su	Pr	
konagi	na	erege	'I worked'
work	I	I effected	

Pr	M	Pr	
nimin	bilkau	sungwe	'It rained heavily'
ad	very big	it struck	

Pr	I	Pr	
egin gale	genauna	erame?	'When will they dress up and dance?'
ad roast	when	will they effect	

Pr	T	Pr	
bigin	erima	sirabinge	'We will wash tomorrow'
ad	tomorrow	we will strike	

3.1.2. Peripheral Diagnostic tagmemes.

The three non-predicate diagnostic tagmemes, Subject, Object and Indirect Object are all expounded by Simple and Complex Noun Phrases. Distinction between these three different syntagmatic relationships is identified primarily on a semantic and/or contextual basis.

e.g.

O		Su	Pr	
kabe	bol	golgan	nongwe	'The child ate the banana'
banana	ripe	child	he ate	

Su		Pr		O	Pr		
yal	du	milide		awi	si	nongwe	'The crazy man was there and he bit the dog'
man	crazy	was	and	dog	strike	he ate	

If however, the following sentence was spoken out of context,

Omilinbaa	Gibosboi	Keri	tongwe
Omilinbaa	Gibosboi	Keri	he gave

it would be understood as 'Omilinbaa gave (in marriage) Gibosboi to Keri' in that the order of occurrence applied in understanding an ambiguous context is Subject first then Object, then Indirect Object. Where the exponent of the Predicate is a Benefactive Periphrastic Verb Phrase it has been noted that strong preference is given to the Indirect Object tagmeme splitting the Predicate.

e.g.

Su	O			Pr		IO	Pr
Kuri	yalini	nen	bolima	si	ki	Kobila	tongwe
Kuri	his	father	pig	hit	cook	Kobila	he gave

'Kuri prepared his father's pig for Kobila'

Another aid to the identification of the Subject tagmeme is the fact that the person morpheme indicating the subject of the verb in the predicate must agree with the person indicated by the exponent of the Subject tagmeme.

e.g. Su Pr

na	nu sige	'I have a cold'
I	nose excreta I strike	

0 Pr

na	nu sungwe	'A cold has me'
I	nose excreta it strikes	

3.1.3. Peripheral Non-Diagnostic tagmemes.

The four Peripheral Non-Diagnostic tagmemes are: Location, Temporal, Interrogative and Manner. The exponents of the Location and Temporal tagmemes are Locative Phrases (2.2.3.) and Temporal Phrases (2.2.4.) respectively. Their preferred position of occurrence is towards the beginning of a clause and where both tagmemes occur in the one clause, the Temporal tagmeme normally precedes the Location tagmeme.

The exponents of the Interrogative and Manner tagmemes are Interrogative Pronouns (1.2.2.4.) and Adverbs (1.2.5.) respectively. Whereas the Interrogative tagmeme normally occurs at the beginning of a clause, the preferred position of the Manner tagmeme is immediately prior to the Predicate tagmeme and is only split from the Predicate by another tagmeme coming into focus. Exponents of the Manner tagmeme function so as to modify the action of the Predicate. A number of the exponents of this tagmeme also function as the exponents of the Modifier tagmemes of the Simple Noun Phrases (2.2.1.) and in some clauses this may cause ambiguity.

e.g. Su Pr

Kone	ibal	para	milungwi	ide	'All the Kone people
Kone	people	all	they are	there	are there'.

Su	M	Pr	
Kone ibal	para	milungwi ide	'The Kone people are also there.'
Kone people	also	they are there	

An alternative analysis would have been to include the Manner tagmeme as a component of the verb phrases, but this would have meant further splitting of the Predicate and so a more complex analysis.

3.2. Clause Types.

On the basis of the analysis of clauses so far, five clause types are posited: A-transitive, Transitive, Transitive Benefactive, Intransitive and Intransitive Benefactive. These types have been posited on the basis of the different exponents of the Predicate tagmeme and by the co-occurrence possibilities of the three other non-predicate diagnostic tagmemes which are shown by the following chart.

\+ obligatory

± optional

\- non-occurrence in clause type

	Subject	Object	Indirect Object	Predicate
A-transitive	-	-	-	+
Transitive	±	±	-	+
Transitive Benefactive	±	±	±	+
Intransitive	±	-	-	+
Intransitive Benefactive	±	-	±	+

All non-diagnostic tagmemes occur optionally with each clause type.

3.2.1. A-transitive Clause.

The A-transitive clause has the following distinguishing features:

(1) the non-occurrence of Subject, Object and Indirect Object tagmemes.

(2) the occurrence in the Predicate tagmeme of 'no place' verbs which only occur in the third person. Examples of the A-transitive clause are as follows:

T			Pr	M	Pr
erima	omale	kaun	nimin	bilkau	sungwe
yesterday	noon	time	ad	big	it struck

'Yesterday at noon it rained heavily'

I	L		Pr	
genauna	Gumine	ai	are	dename?
when	Gumine	place	sun	will it burn?

'When will it be sunny at Gumine?'

3.2.2. Transitive Clause.

This clause type has the following distinguishing features:

(1) the occurrence in the Predicate tagmeme of a 'two place' verb which is not a Benefactive Periphrastic Verb Phrase (2.1.2.1.).

(2) the optional occurrence of Subject and Object tagmemes.

(3) the obligatory non-occurrence of the Indirect Object tagmeme.

Examples are as follows:

Su		O	Pr		
na	abe	eri	bugu	dungwe	'My father split the three'
I	my father	tree	ad	he split	

T	O		Pr	
kemina	kare	ta	kanebinge	'Today we saw a car'
today	car	one	we saw	

Su		O		Pr	
bolima	iray	bolima	bilkau	wen	milungwe 'That pig is a very large pig'
pig	that	pig	large	very	he is

L		O	Pr	
na	miliga gul	bolima	sungwe	'He killed the pig where I
I	I being area	pig	he struck	was'

3.2.3. Transitive Benefactive Clause.

The Transitive Benefactive clause type has the following distinguishing features:

(1) the occurrence in the Predicate tagmeme of a 'three place' verb (that is, a transitive stem in a benefactive periphrase).

(2) the optional occurrence of Subject, Object and Indirect Object tagmemes.

Examples are as follows:

Su	O	P	IO	Pr	
Kuri	korale	si ki	na	tongwe	'Kuri killed and cooked
Kuri	fowl	strike cook	me	he gave	the fowl for me'

M	P	IO	Pr	
kwi	kere di	na	tongwe	'He read it to me again'
again	count say	me	he gave	

3.2.4. Intransitive Clause.

This clause type has the following distinguishing features:

(1) the obligatory occurrence in the Predicate tagmeme of a 'one place' verb.

(2) the optional occurrence of the Subject tagmeme.

(3) the obligatory non-occurrence of the Object and Indirect Object tagmemes.

Examples are as follows:

T			Pr		
kamin	girangwa	kaun	gay	gulangwe	'He will be ashamed when
sky	gathering	time	ad	he will die	it gets dark'

Su	L	Pr	
Gumine ibal	Kone	egin erungwe	'The Gumine people danced
Gumine people	Kone	ad they effect	at Kone'

T	I	Pr	L	Pr	
erima	genauna	ere	Gumine	nane?	'When are you going
tomorrow	when	ad	Gumine	will you go?	to Gumine tomorrow'

Su	Pr	M	Pr	
na	nibil	bil	erege	'I am very sick'
I	sick	big	I effect	

L	Su	Pr	
enderin ali	me	de taa ongwe	'The taro has burnt in the
fire inside	taro	burn ad it went	fire'

3.2.5. Intransitive Benefactive Clause.

The following distinguishing features mark the Intransitive Benefactive Clause type:

(1) the occurrence in the Predicate tagmeme of a 'two place' verb which is also a Benefactive Periphrastic Verb Phrase.

(2) the obligatory non-occurrence of an Object tagmeme.

(3) the optional occurrence of the Subject and Indirect Object tagmemes.

Examples are as follows:

Su	IO	Pr	M	Pr	
na mina	na	kay	bil	mii tongwe	'my mother cried greatly
I my mother	me	ad	big	cry gave	for me'

I	Pr	IO	Pr	
ibena	den gule	yalini	tome?	'Who was angry with him?'
who	stomach die	he	did he give?	

T	Su	Pr	IO	Pr	
erima	yalini	nigi de pire	na	tongwe	'Yesterday he was
yesterday	he	ad burn know	I	he gave	upset with me'

3.3. Distribution of Clauses in Sentences.

Just as verbs have been sub-categorized on the basis of the suffixation they take (1.1.2.), so clauses need to be sub-categorized on the basis of their distribution in a sentence and also on the basis of their reliance or otherwise on other clauses within the sentence for tense and person-number.

All clauses which occur finally in a sentence and whose Predicate tagmeme is expounded by Independent, Interrogative and Imperative verbs (1.1.2.) are referred to as final clauses. Where a clause occurs medially or finally in a sentence then if the Predicate tagmeme is expounded by a Dependent Non-reliant verb such a clause is an Independent medial clause. However, if a Dependent Reliant verb expounds such a Predicate tagmeme, then that clause is referred to as a Dependent medial clause.

CHAPTER IV

4. Sentence.

The sentence in Golin is identified by phonological, syntactic and semantic criteria. Sentence final pause is signalled by a short falling pitch with decrescendo. Where a high tone occurs on the final syllable, a high falling pitch with decrescendo occurs. But if a low tone occurs on the final syllable, a low falling pitch with decrescendo occurs. The normal syntactic criterion which indicates the end of a sentence is the occurrence of a final clause (3.3.). It should be noted however, that both dependent medial clauses and independent medial clauses may occur with sentence final intonation indicating the end of a sentence. Semantic criteria have been used in the following two instances to determine sentence boundaries. In the Contrafactual Sentence (4.15.) the end of a sentence is indicated by an independent medial clause with non-final intonation. In the case of the Direct Quote Sentence (4.8.) final clause occurs but without sentence final intonation.

An understanding of the sentence level is crucial not only to the understanding of this level, but also to the understanding of the function and relationship of lower level tagmemes within the sentence. To be able to identify the subject of a dependent medial clause within a sentence, one has to recognise that non-final clauses of embedded sentences are not taken into account. For example, in the following sentence, although the initial clause of the embedded Sequence Sentence (cl 2) and the initial clause of the embedded Circumstance Sentence (cl 4) both indicate person-number in their Predicate tagmeme, the

dependent medial clauses 1, 3, 5, 6, 7 rely syntactically on Clause 8 for their person-number and contextually on the overt subject of Clause 1, i.e. Na Boi bole 'Boi and I together'.
I Boi together

e.g. (1) Na Boi bole pi-ride
I Boi together (we) went and

(2) nimin sun-gure pare
rain struck after

(3) Kwale kuul bili-de
Kwale hill (we) got wet and

(4) kewa su yon-gwa
can in that they had gathered

(5) i pi pe-re
took (we) went and

(6) Kwali kuul gale paal-ide
Kwali hill (we) lit it being and

(7) gilaa pi pe-re
night go (we) went and

(8) maa pi Omkolai milebin-gire
climb go and Omkolai we were and

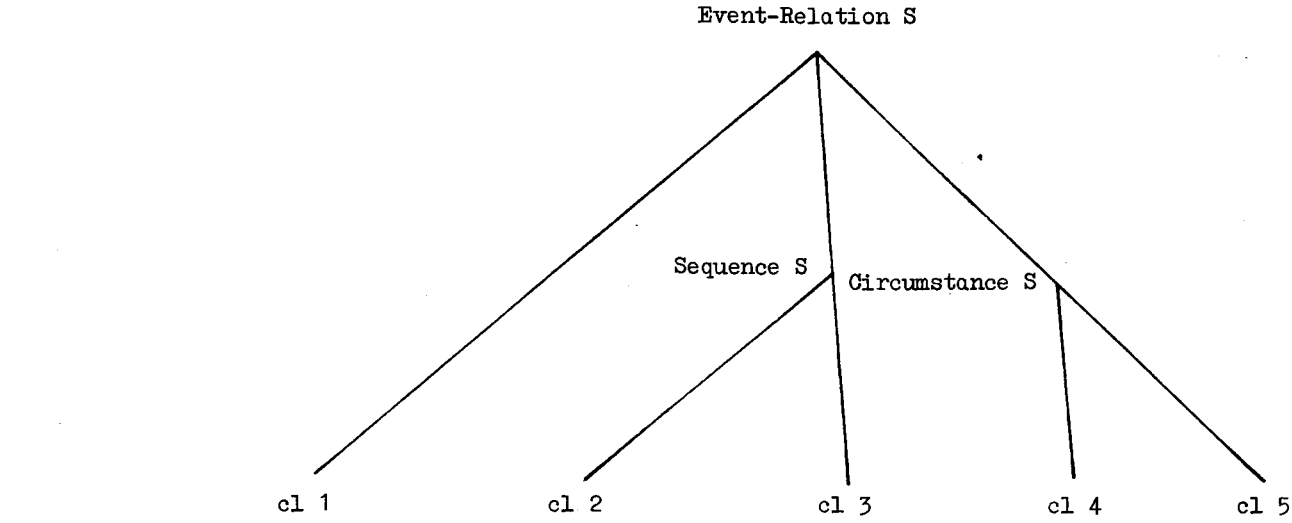
(9) Pari u bawa dun-gure
Pari she had arrived and

(10) awli i-de
(we) brought (her) and

(11) ere ubinwe.
we came

'Boi and I went together and when it rained we got wet at Kwale hill and the cane that they had gathered, in that we had taken it and gone, we lit at Kwali hill, and we went at night and climbed up and came to Omkolai and when Pari had arrived we brought her and came back.'

The following tree diagram, figure No. 1, of the first half of the above sentence illustrates the embedding of the Sequence and Circumstance Sentences.



Na	Boi	bole	pi-ride	nimin	sun-gure	pare	Kwale	kuul	bili-de	kewa	su	yon-gwa	i	pi	pe-re	...
I	Boi	together	go and	rain	struck	after	Kwale	kuul	mark and	cane	gathered		took	go	go and	

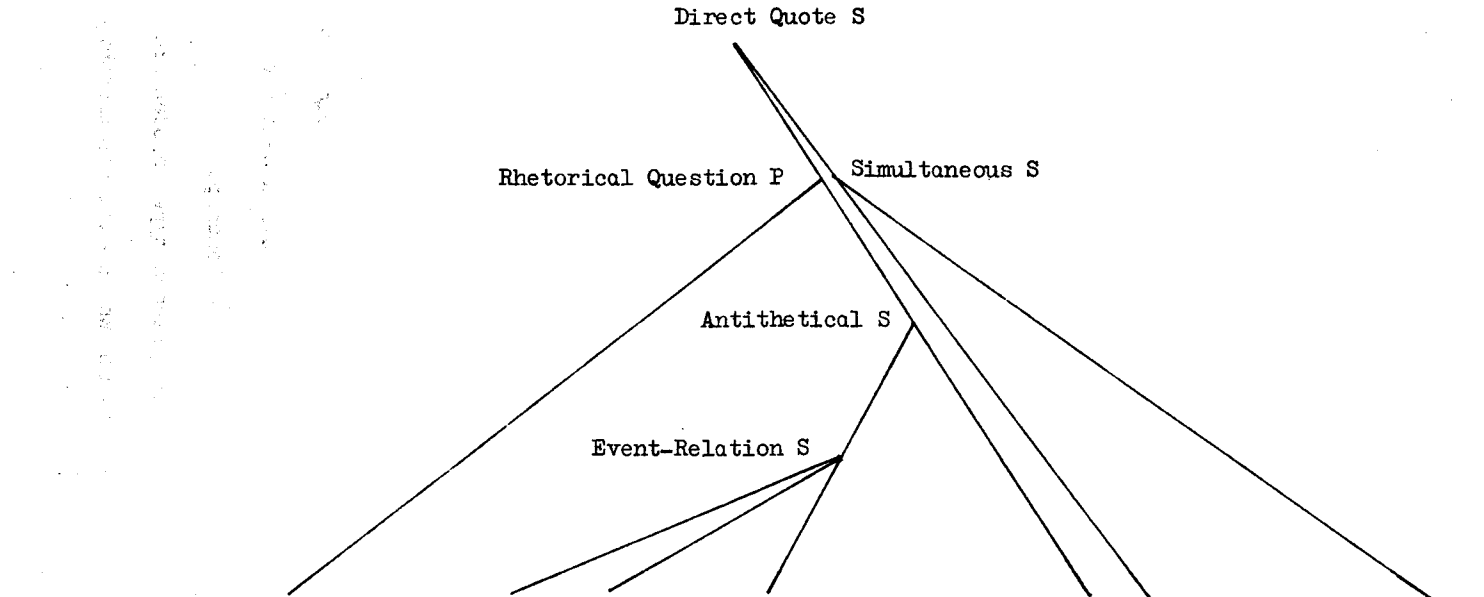
'Boi and I went together and when it rained we got wet at Kwale hill and the cane that they had gathered, in that we had taken it and gone ...'

FIGURE No 1.

It can be seen then that perhaps the largest single factor in understanding the surface structure of Golin Sentences is the concept of embedding. Sentence embedding is generally indicated by the occurrence of various tagmemes of each sentence type. However, in some instances one has to revert to the context to determine whether a particular clause is a part of the main sentence or an embedded sentence. Figure No. 2 is a tree diagram showing a paragraph and three different sentence types embedded in a Direct Quote Sentence. In such sentences one needs to know whether a clause has primary syntagmatic relationship to an embedded sentence or to the main sentence so as to follow the speaker's intended meaning.

A relatively large number of semantic relationships may be encoded by the one sentence type; conversely, one semantic relationship may be accounted for by various surface structures. Five surface structure sentences, the Simultaneous, Event-Relation, Circumstance, Comparison and Reason-Result encode the semantic relationship of Efficient Cause-Result. The choice of a particular surface structure is in part related to each particular context. If the Efficient Cause-Result relationship is quite clear in the context, it is somewhat pedantic to the Golin speaker to choose the Reason-Result Sentence surface structure as a surface expression. Also it has been noted that one may de-emphasize a semantic relationship within a sentence by the choice of an Event-Relation Sentence surface structure to express say, a Contrast relationship.

The semantic relationships which each sentence type encodes are dealt with in the order of the frequency with which each relationship



'"What about if a person comes to hit me? Two men can come and hit me but I also am two men" one says thus and is happy.'

FIGURE No 2.

is encoded by that particular sentence type. Even though this frequency of encoding is related to the frequency of occurrence with which a particular semantic relationship occurs in the language data analysed, (i.e. the Referential relationship may occur in data only one fourth the number of times of say the Efficient Cause-Result relationship) it is noteworthy that the primary semantic encoding is in each case in phase with the surface structure sentence type.

The term relationship used in this chapter and the following refers to underlying semantic relationships that exist between the clauses of a sentence, an embedded sentence and the sentence in which it is embedded and between sentences in a paragraph. No attempt is made in this paper to define the semantic relationships referred to. The names given to the various relationships give some indication as to their meaning. These relationships may in general be equated with what Longacre refers to as 'deep structure propositions' as outlined in Chapter III of Longacre 1972a[1]. A goodly number of examples are given so that the reader may see for himself the area of the semantic relationships referred to.

Ellipsis occurs on this level in a number of specific instances (4.1.2.). The ellipsis most frequently encountered is the deletion of forms of the verbs mile- 'to be' (animate) and di- 'to be' (inanimate). For example in the sentence takal dime? 'What is that?' (what / is it?) the verb dime is often omitted.

The following criteria have been used to distinguish the various categories of sentences:

(1) The overall structure of the sentence. i.e. Number and type of tagmemes and the recursion probabilities of each tagmeme.

(2) The occurrence of obligatory items e.g. suffixes, conjunctions and varying intonation on particular tagmemes.

(3) The special relationships which exist between the tagmemes, i.e. restriction on tense, negation, subject pronouns etc.

(4) The frequency with which sentence types embed within other sentence types.

For each sentence type the exponents of each tagmeme are listed. These lists do not exclude the possibility of other exponents occurring, but are merely those noted in the language data analysed. Also where a tagmeme is recursive the maximum number of recursions noted refers only to the maximum noted in language data analysed. Although it may appear that such recursion could occur ad infinitum, I believe that the maximum number shown is some indication as to what is considered good style.

4.1. Simple Sentence.

The Simple Sentence has two sub-types, the Complete and the Fragmentary. They differ from other sentence types in that they have only one tagmeme, the Head tagmeme. They differ from each other in that the Head tagmeme of the Complete Simple Sentence is expounded by a final clause or an independent medial clause with sentence final intonation, while the Head tagmeme of the Fragmentary Simple Sentence is expounded by a clause which does not have a Nuclear Predicate tagmeme.

4.1.1. Complete Simple Sentence.

This sub-type does not embed in other sentence types and its categorization simply accounts for the occurrence of a minimal clause unit functioning on this level as a sentence.

Examples.

1. po. 'You go away'
   go

2. Na kal dimia. 'It is mine'.
   my thing it is

3. Ere Gumine nano? 'Are you going to Gumine?'
   ad Gumine are you going?

4. ... iru dibingire. 'I told you that'
   thus I said

5. Kuri nigi de pire na tongwe. 'Kuri was upset with me'.
   Kuri ad upset me he gave

6. Kemina nimin go simia. 'To-day it is raining a lot'.
   to-day rain a lot it struck

7. Ibal si Gumine ongwe. 'The people ran away to Gumine.'
   people ad Gumine ran away

4.1.2. Fragmentary Simple Sentence.

The Fragmentary Simple Sentence often expounds the Question tagmeme of a Rhetorical Question Paragraph. As one can see from the examples given this sub-type accounts for such universal type utterances as greetings, exclamations, elliptical sentences etc.

Examples.

1. awi mo? '(Is it) a dog or?'
   dog or

2. Yalkuno 'Hello friend'
   man equal (Greeting of man to man or woman to man)

3. Ayo! (exclamation of astonishment)
   Wow!

4. Gumine
Gumine
'Gumine'
(in answer to the question 'Where are you going?')

5. Na du we
my one name
'Hello, person of the same name.'

6. Ibena?
who
'Who is there?'

4.2. Circumstance Sentence.

The Circumstance Sentence contrasts with other sentence types in the following ways:

(1) The sentence consists of only two obligatory tagmemes, the Circumstance tagmeme and the Comment tagmeme. The Circumstance tagmeme has been noted to occur to the third degree. Beyond three occurrences Circumstance Sentences embed within other Circumstance Sentences.

(2) The Circumstance tagmeme is indicated by the occurrence of the Circumstance Relator -ga /-g.a (1.1.2.7.1.) with non-final intonation.

(3) There is no restriction on the occurrence of tenses, negation or subject pronouns between the exponents of the two tagmemes.

(4) The Circumstance Sentence has a high frequency of embedding within other sentence types.

Circumstance S = + Circumstance ^{n} -ga /-g.a + Comment

exponents		
	indep medial cl Direct Quote S Event-Relation S Simultaneous S Circumstance S Antithetical S	final cl Immediate Purpose S Circumstance S

n = 1-3

The Circumstance Sentence encodes the following semantic relationships: Referential relationship, Efficient Cause-Result relationship, Temporal Setting relationship, Perceptive Content relationship and the Paraphrase relationship.

The surface structure Circumstance Sentence encodes most frequently the Referential relationship. This relationship is in phase with the surface structure features except that the negative does not occur in the Circumstance tagmeme.

Examples:

1. (Cir) Ibal suna kandiri ya maanima ya wiyaal suna
people inside cousins, friends, guests amongst

unan-ga (Com) pisin piranga ibal pisin goma dirabina
you coming pidgin understanding people pidgin first I will speak

piro.
listen

'Those of you who have come amongst us of our cousins, friends and guests, first I will speak in pidgin to those of you who understand pidgin, listen.'

2. (Cir_1) ... wiyaal ye nobinga muru milin-ga (Cir_2) nenan-ga
guests friends all you being you will eat

(Com) paama.
it is

'The guests and our friends, all of you here, it's for you to eat.'

3. (Cir) Gi ala painan-gwa (Com) ka do....
girls inside in that they will be words speak

'Tell me about girls who come into puberty...'

4. (Cir) Erima erebin-ga (Com) ka pore do...
yesterday in that we did word story speak

'Tell me the story of what we did yesterday...'

5. (Cir) ... yalkiru dun-gwa (Com) ibal kenaa
European man speaking people outsiders

pirekire...
they did not listen

'The local people did not listen to what the European man said...'

6. (Cir) ... ibayal abal u milun-gwa (Com) no dungure...
visitors women come being eat they said

'They told the women and the visitors who had come to eat...'

The Circumstance Sentence next most frequently encodes the Efficient Cause-Result relationship. Whenever a negative is expressed in the Circumstance tagmeme then the relationship encoded is always the Efficient Cause-Result relationship.

Examples:

1. (Cir) Na memba malia bot di na ten-ga (Com)
I the Member now vote speak me you giving

milebinua.
I am

'Because you voted for me, I am now the member.'

2. (Cir) Bolima ta i kulin bilun-gwa (Com) ta nekerabinge.
pig one this in that it is fatty I will not eat

'Because this pig is fatty, I will not eat it.'

3. (Cir) ... wan kenin ere milun-gwa (Com) bilkau
their son in that they looked after big

milungwa.
he is

'Because they looked after their son he is big.'

4. (Cir) ... wei sikinan-gwa (Com) abal ta ikinangwi.
in that he will not finish woman one he will not get

'in that he will not be finished (school) he will not marry.'

5. (Cir) Ena abal i tekerabin-ga (Com) sikul taran
And so woman this we will not give school only

wen •di milangwi.
truly he will keep doing

'And so in that we won't give him a wife he will keep on doing only school work.'

6. (Cir) Te si ki nekiran-gwa (Com) pisero.
hes kill cook eat they haven't let it go

'In that they won't have killed, cooked and eaten it, forget about it.'

The last two examples could be conceived of as encodings of a Condition-Result relationship, but it is questionable whether in the emic semantic structure the people conceive of a Conditional relationship or simply a projected Circumstance relationship.

The Circumstance Sentence also encodes the Temporal Setting relationship. The only restriction on tense, negative and subject pronouns is that the negative does not occur in the Circumstance tagmeme.

Examples:

1. (Cir) ... goma ibal kobe wan kule yon-gwa (Com) konagi
before people pl son in that they bore work

iru paangwi.
thus they had

'Before when people bore a son, they worked like that.'

2. (Cir) ... kaunsol kwi ere mena uran-gwa (Com) pipol gaan
council again outside they coming peoples' children

kule nerabinga sikul dan mo kinbol mo kal ta
that we will bear school will do or bridges or thing one

erangurai.
will they do this.

'When the Councillors come outside again (after the meeting) the children whom we will bear, will they do school or will they build bridges, they will do some type of work.'

3. (Cir) Kaunsol yal ta senis eran-gwa (Com) ka
Councillor man one change when it effects word

ta dinangwa paikinangure...
one if he speaks in that it will not be right

'When a Councillor is changed, if what he says is not right..'

4. (Cir) Na goma Ukarumpa ubin-ga (Com) ogu tawlega
I before Ukarumpa I came houses a few

dungwa...
there were

'When I came to Ukarumpa before there were only a few houses...'

5. (Cir) Kamin kira tanan-gwa (Com)
sky completely in that it will be morning

sia biide...
dress up and...

'When it is morning they will dress up and...'

The Circumstance Sentence may also encode the Paraphrase relationship. Those occurring have been noted to have the following restrictions: same tense, same subject pronoun and same predicate or synonyms between the predicates in each tagmeme. Such a Paraphrase relationship may occur between separate Circumstance tagmemes, or between the Circumstance and Comment tagmemes.

Examples:

1. (Cir) Ena wanan kule yobin-ga (Com) wanan goma wen
so our son in that we bore our son first truly

kule yobingane wai pirebinge.
in that we bore then we were happy

'So we bore a son; we bore a son at the very first and were happy.'

2. (Cir) di iru dun-gwa (Com) iru nomanin si pirungwa.
speech thus they speak thus thoughts they think

'They speak like that; their thoughts are like that.'

3. (Cir$_1$) Na mina i suna eri-ga (Cir$_2$) na namina
my mother inside I effected my my mother

goma wen i suna eri-ga...
before truly inside I effected

'I effected my mother's entering in (to church fellowship); a long time ago I effected my mother's entering in...'

4. (Cir$_1$) Na abal ta goma i-ga (Cir$_2$) abal Pari
I woman one before I got woman Pari

goma i-ga (Com) erima yal ongwe.
before in that I got yesterday man she went

'The wife I took first; the woman Pari whom I took first, deserted me to another man yesterday.'

The Circumstance Sentence also encodes the Perceptive Content relationship. However, to date not many examples of this have been found in language data analysed.

Examples:

1. (Cir) Ene abal i tenan-gwa (Com) piride...
And so woman this in that they will give they think

'And so they think that they will give him a woman...'

2. (Cir) ...te wai wen ta milangwa inan-gwa
hes good truly one she being in that they will get

(Com) piride (iru erungwa)
they think thus they do

'They think they will get one that is very good (that's what they do)'

3. (Cir$_1$) ... kuunin eran-gwa (Cir$_2$) painan-gwa
enough in that it will be it will be right

(Com) kanide...
you see

'... you will see that it is enough, that it is right ...'

4.3. Comparison Sentence.

The Comparison Sentence contrasts with other sentence types in the following ways:

(1) This sentence type has two tagmemes, the Circumstance tagmeme which has been noted to occur to the second degree and a Comparison tagmeme, both of which are obligatory.

(2) The Circumstance tagmeme is indicated by the occurrence of the Comparison Relator -gi (1.1.2.7.2.) with non-final intonation.

(3) No restriction on tense, subject pronouns or negation has been noted, except that, where a future tense occurs in the exponent of the Circumstance tagmeme, then the exponent of the Comparison tagmeme also occurs in the future.

(4) This sentence type has a low frequency of embedding in other sentences.

Comparison S = + Circumstance ^{n} -gi /-g.i + Comparison

exponents		
	indep medial cl Comparison S Simultaneous S Circumstance S Event-Relation S Direct Quote S	indep medial cl final cl Event-Relation S

n = 1-2

The Comparison Sentence encodes three semantic relationships: the Contrast relationship, the Efficient Cause-Result relationship, and the Referential relationship.

The main feature of this surface structure is that it encodes a Contrast relationship which expresses situational opposites where the same subject pronouns are expressed in both the Circumstance tagmeme and the Comparison tagmeme. This is not allowed for by the Antithetical Sentence type.

e.g. 1. (Cir) Na kenaa ta mileke-gi (Comp) nil bigin ibal
I heathen I am not baptised person

miliwe.
I am

'I am not a heathen but I am a baptised person.'

2. (Cir) Na kare ta pekeral-gi (Comp) main nabinge.
I car I will not go thus ground I will go

'I will not go by car, I will walk.'

The Comparison Sentence most frequently encodes the Contrast relationship. The contrast may be one of contrastive evaluation, contrastive response, contrastive outcome or contrastive parallelism. Examples:

Contrastive Evaluation.

1. (Cir) ... (bolima gawlin kwi ta na to) din-gi
pig young alive one me give you say this

(Comp) kal nigi domia ...
thing no good it is

'(Give me a young live pig) you say this but that is not good.'

2. (Cir) Ka iru dinan-gi (Comp) ta paikinangwe.
word thus you say this it will not be right

'You will say this but it will not be right.'

3. (Cir) ... ibalin i munin kule inini din-gi (Comp) ki
his you back being you fall in line bad

eremia ...
it is

'... you step behind him and fall in line and that's bad...'

Contrastive Outcome.

4. (Cir) ... kwi kal ere paan-gwi (Comp) kal ta gulekenamuo.
again sick it rests sickness she will not die

'She is sick again, but she will not die with this sickness.'

5. (Cir) Erebin-gi (Comp) para an aa te tobingire ...
we have done this also hand we hold have given

'We did this, but we also shook hands ...'

6. (Cir) Ena nebare kanin-gi (Comp) kabe nebare
so sacred flute you saw these meat of sacred flute

tobingi.
we gave

'You have seen the sacred flute and we gave you the feast of the sacred flute.'

Contrastive Response.

7. (Cir_1) ... abal muna kol painan-gwi (Cir_2) gain
woman behind place sleeping skin

abara dire eran-gwi (Comp) pire wege ere payo ...
she will flick she will do this think unresponsive rest

'If a woman that is sleeping behind you flicks your skin, she may do this, but lie down unresponsive ...'

8. (Cir) Yalini na sirala dire erun-gwi (Comp) kaya
he me intended to hit effect beforehand

si obina.
I ran away

'He was going to hit me but I had already run away.'

Contrastive Parallelism.

9. (Cir) I yal kobe nil bigin sin-gi (Comp) na para
you man pl you are baptised I also

sire miliwo.
struck I am

'You people have been baptised, but I also am baptised.'

10. (Cir) Te u Batire misin kol en-gi (Comp)
hes come Catholic Mission way you went this

Waibia nil bilal di erungwa bolima ta i siwo.
Waibia when he was baptised pig one I killed

'You have become Catholics but when Waibi was going to be baptised I killed a pig.'

The Comparison Sentence type also encodes the Efficient Cause-Result relationship but this encoding expresses this semantic relationship more emphatically than when the Circumstance Sentence encodes the Efficient Cause-Result relationship.

Examples:

1. (Cir) I pekin-gi (Comp) na nigi de pirege.
you did not go I upset I thought

'You did not go and so I am upset.'

2. (Cir) Te mena milan-gi (Comp) mila
hes outside you will be stay there

'You will be outside so you stay there.'

3. (Cir) Gaan ta kulangwa milan-gwi ire (Comp)
child one in that he bears he will be there

i ausi waro.
you carry and walk about

'They will bear a child and he will be there, so you carry him about.'

4. (Cir) I maan ta na tekin-gi (Comp) nigi de wen
you back one me did not give this upset very

pirege.
I think

'You didn't pay me back (material goods) so I am very upset.'

In a few cases the Comparison Sentence type encodes the Referential relationship. This encoding has the effect of being more

specific than when the Circumstance Sentence encodes the same semantic relationship.

Examples:

1. (Cir) Aan ta aa te nenan-gwi (Comp) iramio.
kina one he will own this he will get
'This mother of pearl shell that he will own, he (his brother) will get.'

2. (Cir) Bolima kunaku ta yuin keli kiraan bole si-gi iray
pig spotted one tail cut ear also I killed this one
(Comp) pire diwe.
I know and say
'The spotted pig with the tail and ear cut off, I remember I killed this one.'

3. (Cir) Ka iru diral-gi (Comp) ibal kobe
word thus that I will speak people pl
ta pirekenangwe.
will not know
'They will not understand anything of what I will say.'

4.4. Event-Relation Sentence.

The Event-Relation Sentence contrasts with other sentence types in the following ways:

(1) The sentence consists of three tagmemes: the Circumstance tagmeme which is optional, the obligatory Head tagmeme which has been noted to occur to the 8th degree, and the Final Head tagmeme which is also obligatory.

(2) The Head tagmeme is marked by the occurrence of the Event-relator morpheme (1.1.2.7.6.) -de /-re /-ride or -gire /-gure with non-

final intonation, while the Circumstance tagmeme is marked in the same manner as the Circumstance tagmeme of the Circumstance Sentence (4.2.).

(3) Normally whatever tense is used is sustained throughout the sentence except for quotes. However, it has been noted that tense change has occurred occasionally for the purpose of focusing on the sequence of the actions. The actions encoded in an Event-Relation Sentence may be simultaneous or subsequent; time relationship is not in focus. No limitation has been noted on negation or subject pronouns between the exponents of the tagmemes.

(4) This sentence type has a high frequency of embedding in other sentences, but in such embedded sentences the sentence bases have been noted to be fewer in number.

Event-Relation S = ± Circumstance -ga / -g.a + Head^{n} -de / -re / -ride / -gire / -gure + Final Head

exponents

indep medial cl	dep medial cl indep medial cl Comparison S Simultaneous S Event-Relation S Circumstance S Sequence S Direct Quote S Desiderative Quote S	final cl indep medial cl Circumstance S

n = 1-8

The Event-Relation Sentence encodes the following semantic relationships: Temporal Sequence relationship, Coterminus Temporal relationship, Efficient Cause-Result relationship, Temporal Setting relationship, Paraphrase relationship and the Contrast relationship. It should be noted that a number of these semantic relationships may occur successively in the one Event-Relation Sentence. In some cases there is ambiguity as to which particular semantic relationship is expressed.

The surface structure Event-Relation Sentence encodes most frequently the Temporal Sequence relationship.

Examples:

1. (Hd_1) ... ena yal teranta suna pi-re (F.Hd) dua eremue.
then man one centre goes and rats he hunts
'Then one man goes into the centre and hunts the rats.

2. (Hd_1) Si-re (Hd_2) kii yuun-gire (Hd_3) ibayal
they kill and cook and bring and visitors
abal u milungwa no dun-gire (F.Hd) nongwa ...
women come being eat they said and they eating ...
'They killed it and brought the cooked (cat) and said to the visitors and women who were there, "You eat it", and in that they ate ...'

3. (Cir) Ere on-gwa (Hd_1) Golin gibilin sabinwa di-re
they went Golin we will buy her they said and
(Hd_2) kalkan i yon-gure ...
things they brought and put ...
'In that they went, the Golin people said, "We will buy her", and then they put the things (for the birde price) ...'

4. (Hd_1) ... kiape gaman u-re (F.Hd) Kaunsol ere dimia
officer Gov't came and Councils exist

opim ere sinangwa iru dungwo.
you will open one thus they said

'The Government officer came and said, "There are councils so you will start one".

5. (Hd_1) .. u-ride (F.Hd) na sinamba ...
they come and me they will hit but ...

'... they will come and will hit me but ...'

6. (Hd_1) Ere ere wei si-re (Hd_2) kobile binanbile
doing doing he is finished and money a lot

dinangwa kani-de ...
in that it is he sees and ...

'When he has finished doing this he will see that there will be plenty of money and ...'

The surface structure Event-Relation Sentence also encodes the Coterminus Temporal relationship.

Examples:

1. (Hd_1) ... gilaa pi pe-re (Hd_2) maa pi Omkolai milebin-gire
night go we went climb go Omkolai we were and

'... we went at night and we climbed up and came to Omkolai ...'

2. (Hd_1) ... awli i-de (F.Hd) ere ubinwe.
we brought (her) we came

'... we brought her with us and came.'

3. (Hd_1) ... yal su mili-de (Hd_2) u-ride ...
man two were and came and

'... two men were and they came and ...'

4. (Hd_1) Wai piri-de (F.Hd) wan kenin ere milungwa
good they think son they looking after being

bilkau milungwa.
big he is

'While they are happy, because they look after their son he is big.'

5. (Hd_1) ... ena sikul wai wen di-ride (F.Hd) Ingilis
then school good truly he will do English

para muru piramua ...
also all he will understand ...

'... then he will do school really well and will also understand all English ...'

The Surface structure Event-Relation Sentence also encodes the Temporal Setting relationship.

Examples:

1. (Hd_1) Pari u bawa dun-gure (Hd_2) awli i-de
Pari arrived when she we brought (her)

(F.Hd) ere ubinwe.
and we came

'When Pari arrived, we brought her and came.'

2. (Hd_1) Bilkau milun-gure (F.Hd) ene abal i tenangwa ...
big he being then woman one they will give

'When he is big, then they will give him a woman ...'

3. (Hd_1) Gilaa un-gure (Hd_2) ibal kobe bole kura bilungwa
night they came people pl together they were fight-

bile bili-de ...
ing fight fight ...

'When they came at night the people that they were fighting with, kept on fighting ...'

4. (Hd_1) Gumine on-gure (F.Hd) gaan a abal a ibal
Gumine they went children, women, people

tau mile pare ...
some were there

'When they went to Gumine, the children, women and some people there (said) ...'

5. (Hd_1) te iru di di wei si-ride (Hd_2) eme
hes thus doing doing it will be finished later

ibal wen mili-de ... (F.Hd) sikul wei sikinangwa
a person truly he being school in that it won't be finished

abal ta ama ta ikinangwi.
woman one also he will not get

'Thus when he's done a lot of school and it's finished, and when he is really grown up, in that he will not be finished, he will not marry.'

The surface structure Event-Relation Sentence also encodes the Paraphrase Relationship.

Examples:

1. (Cir) Na wanan kule ye-ga (Hd_1) sikul di-ride
my my son that I bore school he will do

(Hd_2) sikul wai wen di-ride ...
school good very he will do

'My son that I bore will do school; he will do it well ...'

2. (Hd_1) Ene abal i tenangwa piri-de (Hd_2) te wai
then woman one will give they think hes good

wen ta milangwa inangwa piri-de (F.Hd) iru
very one she being they will get they think thus

erungwa.
they effect

'Then they think that they will give him a woman; they think they will get one that is very good, thus they do.'

3. (Hd_1) ... kwi lip ere ala u-ride (Hd_2) erin kaun
again leave ad inside he comes resting time

ere ala u-ride ...
ad inside he comes ...

'... he comes home on leave again; he comes home for holidays ...'

4. (Hd_1) ... sabe bilkau wen kal ta kal ta para
knowledge very big truly thing one thing one all

wen piri-de (Hd_2) te main para wen piri-de
truly he will know hes reasons all truly he will know ...
'... he will know lots of different things very well; all the reasons he will know ...'

The Event-Relation Sentence also encodes the Efficient Cause-Result relationship. However, when this encoding occurs it appears that there is some de-emphasis of the Efficient Cause-Result relationship.

Examples:

1. (Hd_1) ... ka ta dinangwa paikinan-gure
word one in that he speaks it is not right and

(F.Hd) yal ta senis.
man one change to

'In that what he says will not be right, we change to another man.'

2. (Cir) Kol erun-gwa (Hd_1) Pari girin dun-gure
court case working Pari was adamant and

(F.Hd) ere omue.
they went

'Re the court case, Pari was adamant and so they went.'

3. (Hd_1) ... anin mina aa ti obin ere kine yu
your hand on top hold carry on your shoulder

warin-gire (F.Hd) ta maakinamia ...
walk about it will not grow ...

'In that you will just hold it in your hand, carry it, and walk about with it on your shoulder, it (the plant) will not grow ...'

4. (Hd_1) Gilaa un-gure (Hd_2) ibal kobe bole
night when they came people pl together

kura bilungwa bile bili-de (F.Hd) gilaa ere ongwa ...
they fighting fight fight night they went

'When they came at night, the people that they were fighting with, kept on fighting so that night they went ...'

The surface structure Event-Relation Sentence also encodes the Referential relationship.

Examples:

1. (Hd_1) Na gaan kule-gire ... (F.Hd) erego eremua ...
I child that I bore no good he is

'The child that I bore is disappointing.'

2. (Cir) ... kewa su yon-gwa (Hd_1) i pi pe-re
cane gathered took went and

(Hd_2) Kwale kuul gale paali-de ...
Kwale hill lit it being

'The cane that they gathered, in that we had taken it and gone, we lit it at Kwale hill ...'

3. (Hd_1) ... kalkan i yon-gure (F.Hd) ka pore ero
things these in that they put word story make

dungwa ...
he saying

'Concerning their putting the things (bride price) he said "Tell the story" and so ...'

Finally the surface structure Event-Relation Sentence has been noted to encode the Contrast relationship where the speaker wishes to de-emphasise the Contrast relationship.

Example:

1. (Hd_1) Pari ama girin dun-gure (Hd_2) awli i-de ...
Pari more was adamant they took (her)

'Pari was once again adamant but they took her ...'

4.5. Sequence Sentence.

The Sequence Sentence contrasts with other sentences in the following ways:

(1) This sentence contains only two tagmemes, the Antecedent tagmeme and the Consequent tagmeme, both of which are obligatory. The Antecedent tagmeme has been noted to occur to the second degree.

(2) The Antecedent tagmeme is marked by the Co-ordinative Conjunctions pare /pare ne / ne (1.1.2.6.1 (b)).

(3) There is no tense change occurring between the exponents of the Antecedent and Consequent tagmemes. The negative has not been noted to occur in the exponents of the Antecedent tagmeme, otherwise there are no restrictions on negation or subject pronouns between the exponents of the two tagmemes.

(4) They have a low frequency of embedding within other sentence types, and have only been noted to embed in Direct Quote Sentences and Event-Relationship Sentences.

Sequence S = + Antecedent^{n} (± pare ± ne) + Consequent

exponents		
	indep medial cl	final cl
	depend medial cl	depend medial cl
	Circumstance S	Simultaneous S
	Event-Relation S	Event-Relation S
	Listing-Summary S	Direct Quote S

n = 1-2

This surface structure encodes various Temporal relationships all of which involve sequence. The action expressed in the Antecedent

tagmeme must have commenced prior to the action expressed in the Consequent tagmeme, but it may be either completed or still in progress before the commencement of the action of the Consequent tagmeme. One can only understand which specific type of temporal sequence is involved by the lexical content, and in some cases ambiguity arises which can only be overcome by the addition of further lexical material.

Examples:

1. (Na Boi bole piride) (Ant) nimin sungure pare
I Boi together we went rain it struck after

(Con) Kwale kuul bilide ...
Kwale hill we got wet ...

'(I went with Boi) and when it rained we got wet at Kwali hill ...'

2. (Ant) Ere ongure pare (Con) mile paangwa mile paangwa
ad they went after she being still being still

Sata ta yongure...
Saturday one was put ...

'After they went, she stayed there, and stayed there, one week went past and ...'

3. (Ant) Kay miide pare (Con) ere ongwa Golin
they cried and after when they went Golin

gibilin sabinwa dire ...
we will buy (her) they said ...

'After they cried they went and the Golin people said, "We will buy her ..."'

4. (Ant$_1$) Kane buul kunungure pare (Ant$_2$) bol kule
see (he) with amazement after bed make

paale ne (Con) ibal dua eremue.
being then people rats hunted

'After he looked in amazement they made the beds and then the people hunted rats.'

5. (Ant_1) Dua ere ungire pare (Con) umia sire
rats ad come after they come so they strike and

simue.
strike

'After he has hunted out the rats, they (the rats) come, so they hit them and catch them.'

6. (Ant_1) ... bigan arin balungure yuure pare
fern leaves they picked and brought after

(Ant_2) piride ne (Con) dain bilemue.
they went then wrapped them

'... they picked fern leaves, and after they brought them they went and then wrapped them up.'

7. (Ant_1) Yongire pare (Con) ene si milungwa milungwa
they put after then strike keep on keep on

milungwa ene wan wik ta ye piseride Tunde kaun u
keep on then one week one put finish Tuesday time come

malge nama dimue.
outside she will they say

'After they put them aside (the cooked rats) then they go on catching for some time, then when a week has gone, on Tuesday, she will come outside they say.'

8. (... paib piride) (Ant) wei sangwa ne
form 5 he will go in that it will be finished

(Con) unibesiti piride ...
university he will go

'... he will do Form 5 and when it is finished then he will go to University ...'

9. (Ant) ... ena ka main lo ibe Gaman lo na tongwa
then word reason law up Gov't law me they gave

aa tere pare (Con) miliga Kaunsol sire miliwa.
I held after I being Councillor I became and I am

'... then the foundation talk, the Government law, the law that they gave me, after I kept it, I became a Councillor and here I am.'

4.6. Listing-Summary Sentence.

The Listing-Summary Sentence contrasts with other sentences in the following ways:

(1) This sentence consists of three tagmemes: the Head tagmeme, which has been noted to occur to the 7th degree, one of which is obligatory; the obligatory Final Head tagmeme; and the optional Summary tagmeme. In the written language data analysed the Summary tagmeme is obligatory. This seems reasonable since it is written and not spoken, and therefore lacks intonation features and needs an additional signal to indicate it as a Listing-Summary Sentence type.

(2) The Head tagmeme is indicated by the occurrence of the same markers which indicate the occurrence of the Head tagmeme of the Event-Relation Sentence, i.e. -re /-de /-ride or -gire /-gure but with special listing intonation. The Final Head tagmeme has the option of dropping the listing intonation. Exponents of the Summary tagmeme contain such semantic items as iru 'thus' and generic terms such as 'do' and 'help' etc.

(3) Whatever tense is used is sustained throughout the sentence. Negation has not been noted to occur in this sentence type. In some cases it has been noted that the suffix -re /-de /-ride does not indicate that the subject of its clause and the next are the same, and this is an apparent contradiction of its function elsewhere.

(4) This sentence type has a high frequency of embedding in other sentence types.

Listing-Summary S =

+ Head^{n} + -re -de -ride -gire -gure + Final Head + -re -de -ride -gire -gure ± Summary

exponents			
	dep medial cl indep medial cl Circumstance S Event-Relation S Simultaneous S	dep medial cl indep medial cl Simultaneous S	final cl dep medial cl indep medial cl

n = 1-7

In this sentence type the semantic relationship is in phase with the surface structure and thus it does not encode any other semantic relationships. In each instance the listed exponents of the Head or Final Head tagmemes, have either constant subject or constant predicate.

Examples: Constant subject.

1. (Hd_1) Gul bulan bule na te-re (F.Hd) te eri wiirabinga
fence posts cut me give hes tree we felling

egwa si na te-re (Sum) te na aki damia.
split me give hes me he will help

'He will cut fence pails for me, he will help me split the trees that we cut down, he will help me.'

2. (Hd_1) Ena sikul wei sinangwa kaun abal i-ride
then school it will be finished time woman he will get

(Hd_2) amin di mili-de (Hd_3) kobile konagi eri-de
sit down he will be money work he will do

(F.Hd) bisines eri-de (Sum) iru ere nenangwi.
business he will work thus doing he will eat

'Then when it is time for him to finish school he will marry,

sit down in the village, work for money, work a business, thus he will make his living.'

3. (Hd_1) ... ena gulan si-ride (Hd_2) eri gain kula diri-de
then rafters cut and tree skin peel off and

(Hd_3) te maipuan tori-de (F.Hd) maan bali-de
hes forked stakes sharpen wall stakes sharpen

(Sum) iru ere wei sire pare ...
thus do finish after

'... then cut the rafters, peel the bark off the trees, sharpen the forked stakes, sharpen the wall stakes, and after all that work is finished ...'

4. (Hd_1) Bilkau milungure ene abal i tenangwa piri-de
big he is and then woman that we will give we think

(F.Hd) te wai wen ta milangwa inangwa piri-de
hes good very one being we will get we think

(Sum) iru erungwa.
thus we do

'When he is big then they think that they will give him a woman, they think they will get one that is very good, this is what we do.'

5. (Hd_1) ... bolima si-ride (F.Hd) nin aan ye-re
pigs kill head decorations put

(Sum) erungure pare ...
do this after

' ... they kill pigs, put head decorations on, and after they have done this ...'

6. (Hd_1) ... eri su te-re (F.Hd) eri sule yu nega di
wood gather give wood gather bring hot

gali-de (Sum) kal iru ero di tobinga.
burn it things thus do I tell you

'Gather and give wood, gather and bring wood and burn it well, do these sort of things, I tell you.'

Constant Predicate.

7. (Hd_1) ... Kone kuul ibe Pari inan-gure (Hd_2) Mingaiku
Kone hill up Pari will get Mingaiku

inan-gure (Hd_3) Keri Abal inan-gure (Hd_4) u Tori
will get Keri Abal will get come Tori

Simina inan-gure (Hd_5) u Kiraan inan-gure (Hd_6)
Simina will get come Kiraan will get

u Erabia inangure (Hd_7) Mangara in-gure (F.Hd) Geril
come Erabia will get Mangara got Geril

inan-gure (Sum) u koli ibe po.
will get come there up go

' ... Pari from Kone hill will get some, Mingaiku will get some, Keri Abal will get some, when Tori Simina comes she will get some, when Kiraan comes she will get some, when Erabia comes she will get some, Mangara has some, Geril will get some, and off you all go up there.'

8. (Hd_1) Kuri kobile ta i-ride (Hd_2) Mosimina kobile ta
Kuri money one got Mosimina money one

i-ride (F.Hd) Gumansuna kobile ta i-ride (Sum) kobile
got Gumansuna money one got money

iru tobinge.
thus I gave

'Kuri got one dollar, Mosimina got one dollar, Gumansuna got one dollar, that's how I gave the money.'

4.7. Simultaneous Sentence.

The Simultaneous Sentence contrasts with other sentences in the following ways:

(1) The sentence consists of only two tagmemes, the Subordinate tagmeme and the Head tagmeme both of which are obligatory. The Subordinate tagmeme has been noted to occur to the 4th degree.

(2) The Subordinate tagmeme is marked by the occurrence of the Simultaneous Relator -Ø (1.1.2.7.7.).

(3) Tense and subject pronouns are identical for exponents of both tagmemes, but are only indicated in the Head tagmeme.

(4) This sentence type does not have a high frequency of embedding in other sentence types.

Simultaneous S = + Subordinate^{n} -Ø + Head

exponents		
	dep medial cl Intention Quote S Circumstance S Desiderative Quote S Direct Quote S Event-Relation S	final cl indep medial cl Circumstance S Reason Result S

n = 1-4

In actual structure, brief exponents of this sentence type have an identical form to Multiple Stem Verb Phrases (2.1.1.3.). However, distinction between the two can be made by testing the possible expansion of these exponents. If other sentences or more than one clause level tagmeme may occur between the suspect units, then this indicates that the structure is a Simultaneous Sentence.

The Simultaneous Sentence encodes three different semantic relationships: the Coterminus Temporal relationship, the Paraphrase relationship and the Efficient Cause-Result relationship.

It most frequently encodes the Coterminus Temporal relationship where the actions in the Subordinate tagmeme and the Head tagmeme

occur simultaneously even though the commencement and completion of the actions expressed in both tagmemes do not necessarily correspond. There is some overlap of temporal relationship between Simultaneous Sentence and the Sequence Sentence, but the Simultaneous Sentence focuses only on the simultaneous occurrence of the action.

Examples:

1. (Sub_1) pire-Ø (Hd) diwe.
I know I am speaking
'... I know and I am speaking.'

2. (Sub_1) ... na mile-Ø (Hd) kaunsol sire ...
I was here Councillor I became
'I was here and I became the Councillor ...'

3. (Sub_1) Dain bile yuu-Ø (Hd) enderin alin benagi kulungwa
they wrap bring fire over rack being made
mine ire yomue.
on top there they put
'They bring them wrapped and put them over the fire where the wood rack is.'

4. (Sub_1) I inin na memba milebinga mile-Ø
you yourselves I the Member in that I am I am
(Hd) ka dime di di tobina.
word openly say I tell you
'Here I am your very own Member of the House of Assembly and I tell you this straight.'

5. (Sub_1) ... Kaunsol ala mile-Ø (Hd) konagi mege
the council inside it being and work small
painangwa ...
it will have
'The Council will be here and the small jobs it will have to do...'

The Simultaneous Sentence next most frequently encodes the Paraphrase relationship. The actions expressed between the

Subordinate tagmeme and the Head tagmeme in these are completely simultaneous concerning their commencement and completion.

Examples:

1. (Sub$_1$) ... ibal kenaa milema di-Ø (Hd) kananba ...
person outsider he is you say and see but

'... you say and see him as an outsider but...'

2. (Sub$_1$) Na kalpim ere mile-Ø (Hd) aa te yebe di i
I aiding am helping you

teiwe.
I am giving

'I am aiding and helping you.'

3. (Sub$_1$) ... ibalin i munin kule-Ø (Hd) inini dingi ...
he you his back being you fall in line

'... you step behind him and fall in line ...'

4. (Sub$_1$) ... di-Ø (Hd) iru pirungwa.
speak and thus they thought

'... thus they said and thought.'

5. (Sub$_1$) Maban sutan ere mile-Ø (Sub$_2$) ta alibe yere
frames two make being one under they put

ta temina yere ere mile-Ø (Hd) bigan arin
one on top they put they make and are fern leaves

balungware ...
they pick

'They are making two frames, one they are putting underneath, one they are putting on top, they are making frames and are picking fern leaves ...'

Only two examples have been found in the present data under analysis of the Efficient Cause-Result relationship being encoded by the Simultaneous Sentence.

Examples:

1. (Sub$_1$) Na konagi bil aa te milebingawa di pire-Ø
I work big hold in that I am I think

(Hd) Omilinbaa Kaunsol iday yomiba
Omilinbaa Councillorship this they also put but

kaure ta dekebinge.
I was not cross with him

'Because I think I am holding an important job, even though they gave the Councillorship to Omilinbaa, I was not cross with him.'

2. (Sub_1) Malgia na mina gulangwa i yal kobe
now my mother in that she will die you people

i pi mena i imore yenanga na nigi de pirala di pire-Ø
take away in vain in that you put I upset will be I feel

(Sub_2) kwi kal ere paangwi kal ta gulekenamuo u
again sick she is sickness she will not die come

kwi nama di pire-Ø (Sub_3) i yal kobe ... na mina
again alive I feel you people my mother

aa sirin bile tengire mile pai pai kuun sire ena
asking you give being resting resting blossom and so

kamin kabe kii te mile mile ere kirara ere kol
sky devotion give being being effect and truly ad road

wai ibe nama di pire-Ø (Hd) arasi kiiwo.
good up she will go I feel rice I am cooking.

'If my mother dies now and you people take her away and simply bury her, since I feel I will be upset; also she is sick again but she will not die with this sickness since I feel she will get better; also you people have prayed for her, and she will stay on and blossom and so keep on worshipping, so that she will truly go the good road up there, since I think this also; I am cooking rice.'

4.8. Direct Quote Sentence.

The Direct Quote Sentence contrasts with other sentence types in the following ways:

(1) The sentence consists of two obligatory tagmemes, the Quote

tagmeme and the Quote Formula tagmeme. The only extraneous material noted to occur before the verb 'to say' in the Quote Formula tagmeme is iru meaning 'thus'.

(2) The Quote Formula tagmeme takes the verb stem di- 'to say' and if the subject is indicated by a free form, this precedes the Quote tagmeme, (see example 2).

(3) There is no correlation regarding tense, negation, person between the exponents of the two tagmemes in this sentence type.

(4) It has a high frequency of embedding in other sentences.

Direct Quote S = + Quote + di- Quote Formula

exponents		
	final cl	dep medial cl
	indep medial cl	indep medial cl
	Circumstance S	final cl
	Sequence S	Simultaneous S
	Event-Relation S	
	Listing-Summary S	
	Listing P	
	Rhetorical Question P	
	Procedural P	
	Expository P	

In this sentence type the semantic relationship is in phase with the surface structure but what is quoted may not have been said but only thought, even though the verb 'to say' is used in the Quote Formula tagmeme. One interesting point is that although almost any clause, sentence and paragraph type may expound the Quote tagmeme,

only clauses and the Simultaneous Sentence have been noted to expound the Quote Formula tagmeme.

Examples:

1. (Qu) ... Pari awli nabinwa (Qu.F) du-ngwa ...
Pari we will take they saying
'... because they said "We will take Pari" ...'

2. (ere ongwa) Golin (Qu) gibilin sabinwa (Qu.F) di-re ...
they going Golin we will buy her they said
'.. (when they went) the Golin people said, "We will buy her"..'

3. (Qu) Na konagi bil aa te milebingawa (Qu.F) di pire ...
I work big hold I being speak I think
'I think "I have an important job" ...'

4. Malia Omilinbaa pirebinga (Qu) bolima ta simua
now Omilinbaa in that I am thinking pig one he killed
(Qu.F) di-mba ...
they said but ...
'Now I'm thinking about Omilinbaa, "He killed a pig" they say but ...'

5. (Qu) Ena na inin miligawe? Kwi enan ta milemua
then I myself in that I am? new relative one being
(Qu.F) di iru pirungwa.
speak thus they think
'"What about my being alone? (without a child) Now I have a close relative" this is what they said and thought.

6. (Qu) Kule sinangwa sirabinwa (Qu.F) di pirebina.
in that he turns back we will hit speak we think
'"If he is disobedient, we will hit him", we think.'

7. (Qu) Ena sikul dinangwa kenin nega nega dire
and so school in that he will do look after hot hot being
eride konagi eride iru erabinwa (Qu.F) di pirebingi.
we will work we will do thus we will do speak we think
'"And so because he will do school, we will look after him very well, we will do work, that's how we'll do it" we say and think.'

8. ... ibayal abal u milungwa (Qu) no (Qu.F) du-ngure ...
visitors women come being eat they said

'"You eat it" they said to the visitors and women who had come'

9. (Qu) Na gaan kulegire erego eremua (Qu.F) di-namba ...
I child that I bore no good he is they will say but

'"The child that I bore is disappointing" they will say but ...'

10. na yal kenaa miliba (Qu) na mina i suna eria
I man heathen I am but my mother going in I effected

(Qu.F) di-re ...
I said

'I am a heathen man but I said "I effected my mother's entering into (church fellowship)".'

11. ... iru ere wei sire pare (Qu) para yeya (Qu.F) di-ride
thus do finished after enough I put you say and

kaningire ...
you see and

'After you have finished doing this, you note "I have put enough (wood)"...'

12. Imia ibal goma paalungwa ibal mile
they get it so people first that were chosen people they being

(Qu) na paaliga ole di yomia bolima gawlin si
I was chosen fallen down it is so pig young kill

kiinanga na taa. Kobile moni wan silin ta na taa.
and cook me give stone money one shilling one me give

Bolima gawlin kwi ta na to. (Qu.F) di-ngi kal
pig young alive one me give you say this thing

nigi domia dikio.
no good it is so don't say it.

'They get it (money) so those (Councillors) who were chosen before say "I have lost my office so give me a young pig that you have killed and cooked. Give me some money. Give me a young live pig." you say this but it is rubbish so do not say it.'

13. Erima ibal taw uride (Qu) gi Kobila yal
yesterday people some came and girl Kobila man

terabina aa to. aa to. kay mio. (Qu.F) du-ngure ...
we will give hold her hold her cry they said and

'Yesterday some people came and said, "We will give Kobila to a man so hold her. Hold her. Cry."'

14 & 15 (Qu) na ta ama dibinwa (Qu.F) di-re (Qu) i yal
I one more I spoke I said you man

kobe iru yal tenanga Kobila kwi eme yal
pl thus man in that you will give Kobila again later man

nangwa i ibal kobe gaynin mina i wai dala eremia.
will go you people pl your skin on top good it will be

Na Gaman unangwa naanan kan kulangwa paimua.
I Gov't they will come my neck rope will tie it will be

(Qu.F) iru di-ride ...
thus I said and ...

'"I want to say some more" I said, "If you give her in marriage like this, and if she later goes to another man, you people will be okay. The Government will come for me, and I will be strung up by the neck" I said and ...'

4.9. Intention-Desiderative Quote Sentence.

The Intention-Desiderative Quote Sentence contrasts with other sentences in the following ways:

(1) The sentence consists of only two tagmemes, the Intention-Desiderative Quote tagmeme and the Quote Formula tagmeme, both of which are obligatory. No extraneous material occurs between the exponents of the Quote Formula tagmeme and the Intention-Desiderative Quote tagmeme.

(2) The Quote Formula tagmeme is marked by the occurrence of either of the stems di- 'to say' or pire- 'to know', 'to understand' or the

combination di pire-. If the subject of the exponent of the Quote Formula tagmeme is indicated by a free form this precedes the Intention-Desiderative Quote tagmeme (See 4.9.1. example 4 and 4.9.2. examples 2 and 4). The Intention-Desiderative Quote tagmeme is indicated by the occurrence of the Intention Relator -a (1.1.2.7.5.) occurring after the person-number suffix.

(3) Only the future tense occurs in exponents of the Intention-Desiderative Quote tagmeme, while any tense may occur in exponents of the Quote Formula tagmeme. There is no restriction on the subject pronouns which occur in the exponents of each tagmeme.

(4) This sentence type has a high frequency of embedding in other sentence types.

Intention-Desiderative Quote S =

+ Intention-Desiderative Quote -a + di- / pire- / di pire- Quote Formula

exponents	
indep medial cl Circumstance S Event-Relation S Simultaneous S	final cl dep medial cl indep medial cl

It should be noted that no sentence types embed in the Quote Formula tagmeme.

4.9.1. The Desiderative Quote sub-type takes the pire- and di pire- exponents in the Quote Formula tagmeme. Pire- occurs in the following contexts: (a) when the same actor is expressed in the

verb of both tagmemes and (b) when the Quote Formula tagmeme takes the negative. The Intention-Desiderative Quote tagmeme expresses the content of the desire or feeling of the speaker. In this sentence sub-type the semantic relationship is in phase with surface structure and it does not encode any other alternative semantic relationships.

Examples:

1. (Int) Abal motabe ikinam-a (Qu.F) di piri-gi
woman quickly he will not get I want this
'I don't want him to get a woman quickly.'

2. (Int) Na neral-a (Qu.F) pire-kege.
I I will eat I don't want
'I don't want to eat it.'

3. (Int) Na wanan komina nenam-a (Qu.F) di pire-ge.
my my son food he will eat I want
'I want my son to eat the food.'

4. Mosimina (Int) Gumine nal-a (Qu.F) di piru-ngwe.
Mosimina to Gumine I will go he wants
'Mosimina wants to go to Gumine.'

5. (Int) Para nenam-a (Qu.F) di pire ibalan
all they will eat I thought my people

gala diga unwo.
I called out to you came
'I wanted them all to eat, and I called out to my people and you have come.'

6. (Int) ... i yal kobe i pi mena i imore yenanga
you man pl take outside in vain in that you will put

na nigi di piral-a (Qu.F) di pire ...'
I will be upset I feel so
'... in that you take her out and simply bury her I feel I will be upset so ...'

7. (Int) ... u kwi nam-a (Qu.F) di pire ...
come again she will I feel so
'... since I feel she will get better ...'

8. (Int) ... ena kamin kabe kii te mile mile ere kirara
then sky meat cook give being being effect always
ere kol wai ibe nam-a (Qu.F) di pire ...
ad road good up she will go I feel so
'... and she will stay on and on worshipping, and she will always go the good way, and since I want (her to do this)...'

4.9.2. The Intention Quote sub-type takes the di- exponent of the Quote Formula tagmeme and encodes two semantic relationships: the Intention relationship and the Awareness relationship.

The Intention relationship shows that the action expressed in the Intention-Desiderative Quote tagmeme is the intention of the subject of the Quote Formula tagmeme.

Examples:

1. (Int) Yalini pekenam-a (Qu.F) dekungwe.
him he will not go he did not say
'He didn't intend him not to go.'

2. Iru i (Int) ogu kiiral-a (Qu.F) di nomanin
thus you house I will build speak thoughts
si piranga ...
you will think
'It's like this, when you intend and think about building a house ...'

3. (Int) Kuri Gumine nam-a (Qu.F) du-ngure
Kuri to Gumine he will go they said and
'They intended Kuri to go to Gumine and...'

4. Kuri (Int) Gumine nal-a (Qu.F) di-re (namue).
Kuri to Gumine I will go he says and he will go
'Kuri intends to go to Gumine and (he will go).'

5. (Int) Kone madasin nenam-a (Qu.F) di-re (awli Gumine
Kone medicine he will eat we said we took Gumine
obinwe).
we went
'Intending that Kone would have medicine, (we took him to Gumine).'

6. (Int) Awi yalini siral-a (Qu.F) de erungure
dog him I will bite saying he effected
ere ongwe.
he went away
'The dog was going to bite him and he (the person) went away.'

7. ... Piida Kumil koma kuba ta i piride (Int) Aiwa Kumil
Piida Kumil cane stick one took and Aiwa Kumil
siral-a (Qu.F) di-re ...
I will strike he said
'Pida Kumil took a club and he made out as if he was going to strike Aiwa Kumil ...'

The Awareness relationship shows that the subject of the Quote Formula tagmeme is aware of the intended action expressed by the exponent of the Intention-Desiderative Quote tagmeme, which has a different subject to the Quote Formula tagmeme.

Examples:

1. (Int) Awi na sinam-a (Qu.F) di-re ere obinge.
dog me he will bite I said and I went
'I expected the dog to bite me and so I went away.'

2. (Int) Na lain kole ibe ki piram-a (Qu.F) di
my line half up no good they will think I said
Omilinbaa kaure tawliga di tobinga.
Omilinbaa cross a little I told
'I was aware that my clan up there would be upset, so I was cross with Omilinbaa a little.'

4.10. Reason-Result Sentence.

The Reason-Result Sentence contrasts with other sentence types in the following ways:

(1) The sentence contains only two tagmemes, Reason tagmeme and Result tagmeme, both of which are obligatory.

(2) The Reason tagmeme is marked by the occurrence of the Reason Relator -a /-ia (1.1.2.7.3.) with non final intonation. This tagmeme has been noted to occur to the second degree but only when this sentence type encodes the Paraphrase relationship.

(3) Only one restriction on tense has been noted between the verbs of the exponents of the two tagmemes; future tense in the Reason tagmeme must be followed by a future in the Result tagmeme. There is no restriction on negation or subject pronouns between the exponents of the tagmemes.

(4) This sentence type does not have a high frequency of embedding in other sentences.

Reason-Result S = + Reason^{n} -a /-ia + Result

exponents		
	indep medial cl	final cl
	Circumstance S	dep medial cl
	Comparison S	Simultaneous S
	Event-Relation S	Direct Quote S
	Intention Quote S	Event-Relation S
	Immediate Purpose S	Sequence S
		Resemblance S
		Circumstance S
		Immediate Purpose S

n = 1-2

The Reason-Result Sentence has been found to encode only two semantic relationships, those of the Efficient Cause-Result and of the Paraphrase relationship.

The Reason-Result Sentence expresses a stronger Efficient Cause-Result relationship between the two tagmemes than does the Circumstance Sentence when it encodes that relationship.

Examples:

1. (Rea) ... kal nigi dom-ia (Res) dikio
thing no good being don't speak
'That isn't any good so don't say it.'

2. (Rea) ... ki erem-ia (Res) dikio.
bad it is so don't speak
'That's bad so don't say it.'

3. (Rea) Gul bulan bule na tere te eri wiirabinga
fence posts cut me give hes tree in that we will fell

egwa si na tere te na aki dam-ia (Res) yasu dawa dire
split me give hes me he will help we two comrades will be

konagi erabino.
we will work
'He will cut fence posts for me, and he will help me split the trees that we cut down, and he will help me, so we two will be comrades and will work.'

4. (Rea) ... ena wei sim-ia (Res) konagi ta ero dinangwa ...
then it is finished work one do in that he says
' ... in that he will say "It is finished so take a job",...'

5. (Rea) Kobila yal terabin-a (Res) aa to
Kobila man we will give (her) to hold
'We will give Kobila in marriage, so hold her.'

6. (Rea) ... komina kunibe nongwi nerala di nom-ia
food he stole ate this I will eat he says and ate

(Res) bolima bilkau wen i tere pare nomanin
pig big very this give after thoughts

si kiruul sire ...
will turn about ...

'He stole this food, he intends to steal again so after he gives a very big pig he will change his mind ...'

7. & 8. (Rea) Kura malge bilem-ia (Res) ibal kane milebinga
in the clearing they fought people see we being

pisere Pida Kumil koma kuba ta i piride Aiwa Kumil
they let go Pida Kumil cane stick one took and Aiwa Kumil

sirala dire (Rea) meme di piserem-ia (Res) ibal
I will hit he said threatening finished people

kowa kowa dibinawe.
we laughed

'They feuded and so forgot about us looking on, and Pida Kumil took a cane stick and he made out as if he was going to strike Aiwa Kumil so we laughed.'

9. (Rea) Guman nu kirin sibin-a (Res) ali
my nose excreta I blew. in there

kirin sirala eremia.
blowing will be

'I've blown my nose so it will be blown in there (on the tape recording)'

10. (Rea) I ogal i ala terala erem-ia (Res) i gaan
your sperm inside it about to give you child

eme kulanga bunatan pire u suan sekenamua.
later if you bear, it will be unhealthy it will not be strong

'You will be about to put your seed in her so later if you bear a child it will be unhealthy and will not be strong.'

In a limited number of cases this surface structure encodes the Paraphrase relationship between exponents of the two Reason tagmemes; and just as in the Circumstance Sentence encoding of Paraphrase, the restrictions of same tense, same subject pronouns and same predicate

between exponents of tagmemes have been noted.

Example:

1. (Rea$_1$) Ena tom-ia (Rea$_2$) sule tom-ia (Res) nomue.
then they gave pouring they gave they ate

'Then they gave it, poured and gave it, and so they ate.'

4.11. Antithetical Sentence.

The Antithetical Sentence contrasts with other sentences in the following ways:

(1) The sentence consists of two obligatory tagmemes, the Thesis tagmeme and the Antithesis tagmeme.

(2) The Thesis tagmeme is indicated by the occurrence of the Adversative suffix -ba (1.1.2.9.1.) with non-final intonation.

(3) Where different subject pronouns are referred to in the exponents of both Thesis and Antithesis tagmemes there is no restriction on the tense, negation, and predicate. Where the same subject pronouns are expressed in the exponents of both tagmemes, there is no restriction on tense, or negation, but the predicates may not express situational opposites (4.3.).

(4) This sentence has a low frequency of embedding in other sentences.

Antithetical S = + Thesis -ba + Antithesis

exponents	
indep medial cl	indep medial cl
Simultaneous S	final cl
Direct Quote S	Circumstance S
Circumstance S	Direct Quote S
Event-Relation S	Event-Relation S
Comparison S	Immediate Purpose S

The surface structure Antithetical Sentence encodes various types of Contrast relationships. The contrast may be one of contrastive outcome, contrastive evaluation, contrastive response or contrastive parallelism.

Examples:

Contrastive Outcome.

1. (Th) Na nabin-ba (Anti) na abe manaa dungwi.
I I will go but my father no he says

'I would go but my father says I can't.'

2. (Th) Na Lae kanekirabin-ba (Anti) Goroka kanabinge.
I Lae I will not see but Goroka I will see

'I won't see Lae, but I'll see Goroka.'

3. (Th) Dim-ba (Anti) wei sikinangwa abal
it is but in that he is not finished woman

ta ikinangwi.
one he will not get

'This is so but, in that he will not be finished (school) he will not get a wife.'

4. (Th) Na gaan kulegire erego eremua dinam-ba
I child that I bore no good it is they will say but

(Anti) i inin eranga main pairala eremiwa ...
you yourself in that you will do reason it will soon be known

'They will say "The child that I bore is disappointing" but in that you will do it yourself (have intercourse with unmarried girl) the reason will soon be known ...'

5. (Th) ... mena ali ime si balala di nan-ba (Anti)
outside in down hidden being you will go but

yalini ire i kanala eremia.
he there you he will soon see

'You may go down in where it's hidden, but he will soon see you.'

6. (Th) ... ya enane na ereiwa dinan-ba
ah my comrade I am going you will say but

(Anti) abal ogu kobi ya pire ...
woman house there you will go

'You will say, "My friend, I am going" but you will go to the woman's house over there ...'

7. (Th) Yalini inin konagi dim-ba (Anti) na ama di terabingi.
he himself work it is but I also will tell

'It is his own business but I will also tell him.'

8. (Th) Na yal kenaa mili-ba- (Anti) na mina i suna
I man heathen I am but my mother entering in

eria dire nangwa kol ibe na eme duulin bile
I effect I said she going way up I later I will follow and

nalga dima dire i yal kobe konagi eringa
go it will be I say you man pl work in that you are doing

minai na kalpim ere mile aa te yebe di i teiwe.
here I aiding am being helping I am you I give

'I am a heathen man but I said that I made my mother enter in (to church fellowship) and where she's going I will follow later on, and I am aiding you men in your work here, I am giving you help.'

Contrastive Evaluation.

9. (Th) Dim-ba (Anti) malia ena malia ibal wen
it was but now then now people truly

kule yongwa iru nomanin si pirungwi.
that bear thus thoughts they think

'It was like this, but now when people bear(children) they think like this.'

10. (Th) Na na kaninga ibal kenaa milema di
me me in that you look person heathen he is you say and

kanan-ba (Anti) kenaa ta milekiwe.
see but heathen I am not

'When you look at me you think "He is a heathen person", but I am not a heathen.'

11. (Th) Na milebinara-ba (Anti) abinanbi ka gogo
I stay okay but my older brother words confused

dungwi.
he says these

'I think it's okay for me to stay but my brother says otherwise.'

12. (Th) Iru i ogu kiirala de nomanin si piranga
thus you house I will build saying thoughts you think.

iru gogo kiinan-ba (Anti) paikinangwe.
thus anyhow you can build but it will not be right

'It's like this, when you think about intending to build, you could build it anyhow but that would not be right.'

Contrastive Response.

13. (Th) Na konagi bil aa te milebingawa di pire Omilinbaa
I work big hold being I think Omilinbaa

kaunsol iday yomi-ba (Anti) kaure ta
Councillorship this he has put also but cross one

dekebinge.
I did not speak

'I feel I have an important job, and Omilinbaa also got his Council position, but I was not cross (with him).'

14. (Th) Na kal digan erekibin-ba (Anti) yalini kal
I thing bad did not do but he thing

ta na tekungwe.
one me did not give

'I didn't do anything wrong, but he didn't give me anything.'

Contrastive Parallelism.

15. (Th) Malia Omilinbaa pirebinga bolima ta simua
now Omilinbaa in that I am thinking pig one he killed

dim-ba (Anti) na ta sibingiwe.
they said but I one killed

'Now I'm thinking about Omilinbaa, "He killed a pig" they said but I also certainly killed one.'

16. (Th) Omilinbaa nil bia ta imua dim-ba (Anti) na
Omilinbaa water beer one got they said but I

nil bia ta ibingi ime.
water beer one I got down there

'"Omilinbaa got a case of beer" they say, however, the case of beer that I got is there.'

4.12. Alternative Sentence.

The Alternative Sentence contrasts with other sentence types in the following ways:

(1) This sentence has three tagmemes: the Option tagmeme, which is obligatory, the Final Option tagmeme which is optional and the optional Comment tagmeme.

(2) The Option tagmeme is marked by the occurrence of the Disjunctive Conjunction mo 'or' (1.1.2.6.2.) immediately following it, and the Final Option tagmeme is indicated by the occurrence of the Eliciting Interrogative suffix -e (1.1.2.6.1.1.).

(3) There are no restrictions on tense or subject pronouns between exponents of tagmemes. Where two Option tagmemes with the same predicate expounding them follow one another, it is most usual for the second to take the negation. Two negatives have not been noted to occur in the exponents of succeeding Option tagmemes or between Option tagmeme and Final Option tagmeme.

(4) This sentence type has a low frequency of embedding in other sentences.

The Alternative Sentence has two sub-types, sub-type (a) which takes the Comment tagmeme, and sub-type (b) which takes the Final Option tagmeme.

4.12.1. Alternative Sentence Sub-type (a) =

$$+\left[\text{Option } \underline{\text{mo}} \quad (\pm \text{ Option } \underline{\text{mo}})\right]^{n} \qquad \pm \text{ Comment}$$

exponents	indep medial cl Circumstance S Comparison S	final cl Circumstance S Event-Relation S Reason-Result S

n = 1-3

The Option tagmeme must have at least two occurrences, the second of which need not occur formally but is implied (i.e. the negative). This sub-type also encodes both Mono-propositional Alternatives and Multi-propositional Alternatives.

Examples:

Mono-propositional Alternatives.

1. (Opt) ... i pikisa inan mo (Com) i piro.
you picture will you get or you think
'Will you take a picture or (not) you think about it.'

2. (Opt) ... paim mo (Opt) paikim mo
is it right or is it not right or
(Com) paikinangwa di na to.
in that it is not right speak me give
'Is it right or isn't it right? if it isn't tell me.'

3. (Opt) ... i kanin mo (Opt) te kanekin mo
you did you see or hes didn't you see or
(Com) na kwi bilibina i kano.
I again am writing you see it
'Did you see (my last letter) or didn't you? I am writing again so you look at it.'

4. (Opt) Nabin mo
will I go or?

'Am I going or (not)?'

5. (Opt) Ena tisa milabin mo (Opt) milekirabin mo
And so teacher will I be or won't I be or

(Opt) te i konagi erabin mo (Opt) erekirabin mo
hes your work will I do or won't I do or

(Com) i nomanin si pire pas bile na to.
you thoughts think and letter write me give

'So, will I be a teacher or not? or will I work for you or not? you think about it and write to me.'

Multi-propositional Alternatives.

6. (Opt) Na kawl pire milabin mo (Opt) te gal
I native skirt wear will I be or hes dress

pirabin mo (Com) na pirekige.
will I wear or I do not know

'Will I wear a native skirt or a dress or? I really don't know.'

7. (Opt) Komtin ka din mo (Opt) kansol
Committee word are you speaking or Council

kawa ka din mo (Com) na pirekun erekige.
truly words are you speaking or I do not know really well

'Are you talking about the Committee, or are you talking about the proper Council or (what)?, I don't really know what you mean.'

8. (Opt) Gi kaa kol nabinga Gumine nabin mo (Opt)
girl embrace way we going Gumine will we go or

Yani nabin mo (Opt) Dirima nabin mo (Com) i da.
Yani will we go or Dirima will we go or you say

'Concerning our going to court girls, will we go to Gumine or will we go to Yani or will we go to Dirima or (some other place)? you tell us.'

9. (Opt) Ena ka ta i pikisa inanga i ogu inan
then word one you picture getting your house will you get it

mo (Opt) te na ogu inan mo (Com) i konagi
or hes my house will you get it or your work

paingwe.
this is

'One more word, in that you take a picture, will you take it at your house, or at my house or (where)? that's for you to decide.'

10. (Opt) ... kakibi dim mo (Opt) ebinbi sui
lies is he saying or wives two

sirala di erim mo (Opt) sala dire kakibi
is he intending to hit or intending to hit lies

dim mo (Com) pirekebina.
is he saying or I do not know

'Is he telling lies, or is he really going to hit his two wives, or is it just lies? I don't know.'

4.12.2. Alternative Sentence Sub-type (b) =

± Option mo ^{n} + Option mo ± Final Option -e

exponents

indep medial cl Circumstance S	final cl

n = 1-2

This sub-type encodes both Mono-propositional Alternatives and Multip-propositional Alternatives.

Examples:

Mono-propositional Alternatives.

1. (Opt) Na goma poto sire ubinga um mo (F.Opt) ukim-e?
I before photo took I coming come or didn't it come?

'I took a photo before, did it come or didn't you get it?'

2. (Opt) Ena tisa milabin mo (Opt) milekirabin mo
And so teacher will I be or won't I be or

(Opt) te i konagi erabin mo (Opt) erekirabin-e?
hes your work will I do or won't I do?

'So, will I be a teacher or not or will I work for you or won't I?'

Multi-propositional Alternatives.

3. (Opt) I yal abal sui malge paiyo dibinga
you man woman two village sleep in that I said

pain mo (F.Opt) te Gingi kuul imore pai
are you sleeping or hes Gingi hill simply sleep

milin-e?
are you staying?

'I said that you two should sleep in the village, are you sleeping there or simply still sleeping up at Gingi hill?'

4. (Opt) Ka kiibi dim mo (F.Opt) kawa dim-e?
word lies is he speaking or truth is he speaking?

'Is he telling lies, or speaking the truth?'

4.13. Resemblance Sentence.

The Resemblance Sentence contrasts with other sentence types in the following ways:

(1) The Resemblance Sentence has two tagmemes, the Resemblance tagmeme and the Statement tagmeme, both of which are obligatory.

(2) The Resemblance tagmeme is marked by the occurrence of the Circumstance Relator -ga /-g.a (1.1.2.7.1.) with non-final intonation and by the Comparative Conjunction mere (1.1.2.6.3.) immediately following.

(3) There is no restriction on subject pronouns, negation or tense occurring in the exponents of either tagmeme, except that where a

negative occurs with non-future in the Resemblance tagmeme it is followed by a negative in the Statement tagmeme.

(4) This sentence type has a low frequency of embedding in other sentences.

Resemblance S = + Resemblance -ga mere / -g.a mere + Statement

exponents		
	indep medial cl Circumstance S	indep medial cl dep medial cl final cl Direct Quote S Simultaneous S Event-Relation S

The Resemblance Sentence has not been noted to encode any other semantic relationships other than the Resemblance relationship. However, the sixth example could be considered as encoding the semantic relationship of Contrastive Outcome and the seventh example as encoding Contrastive Parallelism.

Examples:

1. (Re) Pirin-ga mere (Sta) dingi.
you thinking just as you said this
'You said just what you were thinking.'

2. (Re) Kemina erin-ga mere (Sta) wei samia.
to-day you doing just as it will be finished
'There will be no more of (the doings) like you are doing to-day.'

3. (Re) ... iru na wanan kule nobinga na piri-ga mere
thus my my son that I bore I thinking just as

(Sta) para diga wei sungwi.
enough I saying it is finished
'... thus about my son that we bore, just as I have thought (about him) I have finished all I have to say.'

4. (Re) Ogu kane kun ere pare kiinan-ga mere
house see well effect after you building just as

(Sta) eri kan a kalkan i binanbile iya ta iya
wood rope things these many get one get

ta i imo dimia di dobil wen i wei sire ...
one this still is there say well very this finish and
'After you have taken a good look at the house, just as you will build, regarding wood, rope and these sort of things, I've got that, I've got this, I need one more of those, after you have really done this well ...'

5. Na ka ta ere gule pirekebina (Re) baan tawlita
I word one effect well I do not know place a little

pirebin-ga mere (Sta) para dibina.
I knowing like all I have said
'I do not know about this very well, but the little as I know it, I have told you everything.'

6. (Re) Balus unan-gwa mere (Sta) ukungwe.
plane it will come just as it did not come
'The plane did not come as it should have come.'

7. (Re) Kuri ka dekenan-gwa mere
Kuri word in that he did not speak just the same

(Sta) Mosimina dungwe.
Mosimina spoke
'Mosimina spoke just what Kuri would not speak.'

8. (Re) God Anutu milun-gwa mere (Sta) milanwa.
God Anutu he being just as you will be
'You will be just like God.'

9. (Re) Malia i abal kwi iride te komina kunibe binanbile
now you woman new you got hes food steal much

neride erin-ga mere (Sta) paire na bolima kulebinga
you eat doing just as it rest my pigs that I reared

gulide te Dion te Weri nibil morin morin eremue.
died Dion Weri sickness always always they are
'Now you have another wife, you are stealing lots of food and eating it and just as you are doing these things, it is with us, our pigs have died, and Dion and Weri are always sick.'

10. (Re) ... yalin ebin gawlin a gaan kulangwa
his wives grandchildren children that he has borne

nenan-gwa mere (Sta) pire kuunin tawlita
they will eat just as much I think equal a little

nenama di pire eriwo.
they will eat I feel I have done this
'... his wife, his grandchildren, and his children, what they eat will only be a little I feel and I have done this.'

4.14. Immediate Purpose Sentence.

The Immediate Purpose Sentence contrasts with other sentences in the following ways:

(1) The sentence consists of two obligatory tagmemes, the Purpose tdgmeme and the Immediacy tagmeme.

(2) The Purpose tagmeme is indicated by the occurrence of the Intention Relator -a (1.1.2.7.5.) and the Immediacy tagmeme is marked by the occurrence of a form of the verb ere- 'to effect'. The verb stem of the Immediacy tagmeme may be omitted, in which case the affixation which would have appeared on ere- attaches to the Intention Relator -a. The form of this deletion is handled on the word level (1.1.2.2.3.).

(3) Although the 1st person singular suffix is always used with the Purpose tagmeme, the same subject referent is expressed in both tagmemes. The Purpose tagmeme always occurs in the future tense

while the Immediacy tagmeme takes non future tense. Only the Purpose tagmeme takes negation.

(4) This sentence type has a high frequency of embedding in other sentences.

Immediate Purpose S = + Purpose -a + ere- Immediacy

exponents	indep medial cl	final cl indep medial cl

It should be noted that there can be no embedding of other sentence types in the Purpose or Immediacy tagmemes.

In this sentence type the semantic relationship is in phase with the surface structure and no other semantic relationships are encoded.

Examples:

1. ... ki nanga nanga (Pur) ene ki wei sal-a
build going going then build I will finish

(Imm) eri-nwa.
you effect

'... and as you keep on building then you will be finished in a flash.'

2. (Pur) Ogu kiinangi ire gilgin gulal-a (Imm)
house you will build this I will dry up

ere-mia.
it effects

'This house you would build will dry up quickly.'

3. (Ka pore ero dungwa) (Pur) eral-a
word story make in that he said I will effect

(Imm) ere-bina.
I effected

'(He said tell a story) so I'm about to commence.'

4. (Pur) I ogal i ala teral-a (Imm) ere-mia ...
your sperm inside I will give it effects

'You will be about to put your seed in her ...'

5. (Pur) Yalini ire i kanal-a (Imm) ere-mia.
he there you I will see he effects

'The man there will see you immediately.'

6. (... ebinbia keba di tere) (Pur) ural-a
his wife sweet potato tells and I will come

(Imm) ere-mia.
he effects

'(He will tell his wife about the sweet potato) and come immediately.'

7. (Erima erebinga ka pore do dungwa (pur) diral-a
yesterday we doing story speak he saying I will speak

(Imm) ere-binwe.
I effect

'(Because he said "Tell me the story of what we did yesterday",) I am about to speak.'

8. (... te kawligi ta ama i yeride teranta kuunin
hes post one more there you will put one enough

pire i yenanba) (Pur) perau dal-a
you think there you will put but I will be short

(Imm) ere-mia.
it effects

'(... the extra post you will put there and you think you have put sufficient but) it will soon be short.'

9. (... ebinbi milangwa) (Pur) di teral-a (Imm) eru-ngwe.
his wife being I will tell he will effect
'(if his wife is there) he will tell her immediately.'

4.15. Contrafactual Sentence.

The Contrafactual Sentence contrasts with other sentence types in the following ways:

(1) This sentence type has two tagmemes, the Contrafactual Condition tagmeme and the Contrafactual Result tagmeme, both of which are obligatory.

(2) The Contrafactual Condition tagmeme is marked by the occurrence of the Intention Relator -a (1.1.2.7.5.) and the Contrafactual Result tagmeme is identified by the occurrence of the Event-relator allomorphs -gire /-gure (1.1.2.7.6.) which occur on the Dependent Non-reliant verbs.

(3) Exponents of neither tagmeme take future tense, but there is no restriction on subject pronoun or negation.

(4) As very few of this sentence type occur in the language data analysed, it is difficult to state its frequency of embedding in other sentence types.

Contrafactual S = + Contrafactual Condition + Contrafactual Result
-a -gire
-gure

exponents	indep medial cl	indep medial cl

This sentence type has not been found in text, and is a derogatory way of speaking to a person. It is used by adults speaking to children and in arguments between peers. The 'polite' way of stating the contrafactual is by the use of an Antithetical Sentence. e.g. 'If you will finish the work I will pay you but in that you have not finished, I will not pay you.'

In this sentence type the semantic relationship is in phase with the surface structure and it does not encode any other semantic relationships.

Examples:

1. (Co.C) Na medisin nobin-a (Co.R) nibil erekibin-gire ...
   I medicine I ate sick I did not get
   'If I had taken medicine I would not be sick ...'

2. (Co.C) I sin nege erekin-a (Co.R) tobe bil tobin-gire ...
   you lazy you were not pay big I gave
   'If you had not been lazy, I would have paid you well ..'

3. (Co.C) I kal digan erekin-a (Co.R) ta sekebin-gire ...
   you thing bad did not do one I did not hit
   'If you had not been bad, I would not have hit you ...'

4. (Co.C) Konogi ere wei sin-a (Co.R) kobile i
   work effect you had finished money you
   tobin-gire ...
   I gave
   'If you had finished the work, I would have paid you.'

NOTES

1. It is understood that a thorough semantic analysis of Golin is needed; it was not included in the scope of this paper.

CHAPTER V

5. Paragraph

It will be evident to the reader as he proceeds through this chapter, that in any particular discourse in Golin there are clear semantic relationships existing between sentences. With the Narrative Paragraph such a semantic relationship may be marked structurally, where one finds a high frequency of recapitulation of the final verb of one sentence, in the first clause of the following sentence.

Because this analysis of paragraphs is heavily dependent on semantic rather than on structural criteria for the establishment of distinct paragraph types, I believe that the categories set up are less rigid than on the other levels of the grammar. In approximately half of the paragraph types identified, there is some distinctive structural feature present. Thus it is more on the level of the paragraph where a speaker is able to express his individual style.

I do not believe that the categories established by this paper exhaust the ways in which sentences group together, nor do I believe that the tagmemes and order of tagmemes set up for each category have to be strictly adherred to for that category. However, since almost all of the language data analysed fit the analysis presented (without too much semantic manipulation) it is reasonable to assume that the categories and their tagmemic structures are a good general indication of how Golin speakers combine sentences in an utterance.

The following criteria have been used in establishing the various categories of paragraphs:

(1) The number, type and status (whether optional or obligatory) of tagmemes, and their recursion probabilities.

(2) The semantic and/or structural relationship existing between the tagmemes.

(3) Particular features of the exponents of the tagmemes.

(4) Whether the paragraph occurs as a constituent of the discourse or embeds within other paragraph types.

The same conditions which apply to exponents and recursion of tagmemes on the sentence level also apply on the paragraph level (see 4.).

Nine categories of paragraphs have been established but because of the limited data and because the writer is not a native speaker of the language the analysis is not considered exhaustive.

5.1. Paraphrase Paragraph.

The Paraphrase Paragraph contrasts with other paragraph types in the following ways:

(1) It consists of two tagmemes the obligatory Theme tagmeme, and the obligatory Paraphrase tagmeme.

(2) The Paraphrase tagmeme may either add to or qualify the semantic content of the Theme tagmeme in the following ways:

(a) by a Generic-Specific relationship

(b) by an Amplification relationship

(c) by a Negated Antonym relationship

(d) by an Identification relationship

(3) The Theme tagmeme is often expounded by a Complete Simple

Sentence. When it is expounded by other sentence types these rarely consist of more than two clauses.

(4) This paragraph type has only been noted to occur embedded in other paragraph types, except where it occurs as the closure of a discourse.

Paraphrase P = + Theme + Paraphrase

exponents		
	Circumstance S Complete Simple S Comparison S Intention-Desiderative S Event-Relation S Immediate Purpose S	Complete Simple S Event-Relation S Circumstance S Immediate Purpose S Resemblance S

The following Paraphrase Paragraphs encode a Generic-Specific relationship:

1. THEME
Ogu kiinanga kiinanga ai imo dala eremia.
house you will build and build place yet it will soon be
'You will build the house on and on and yet some places will still be uncompleted.'

PARAPHRASE
Ogu imo dala eremia.
house yet it will soon be
'The house will still be uncompleted.'

2. THEME
Ta u irala de eramia.
one come I will get intending he will do
'That one will come intending to take (a man).'

PARAPHRASE
Galan sinangwa pire eramia.
in that he will prick (her) she will think and will do it
'She will do it in that she will want to be pricked (have intercourse).'

3. THEME
Ogu kiinangi ire gilgin gurala eremia.
house you will build this dried up dead it soon will be
'You will build like this and yet the house will soon dry up.'

PARAPHRASE
Kan ire gilgin gule are dere gilgin gule yaa di
rope there will dry up sun burn it will dry up fall down

gule mile kan ire sirebil sire unala eremia.
dead will be rope this will come undone it will soon come out of place
'The sun will scorch the rope and dry it up; it will fall down, come undone and soon come out of place.'

4. THEME
Te i yal kobe kal tawle tawle i ibe engire Sa
hes you man pl things few few you up you take Sa

manaa dinangwi na para imore u main a inin
in that they refuse this I also simply come here alone

kira milalwa.
always I will stay
'When you men have taken only a few things up there, if the Sa people reject them, I will simply stay here alone always.'

PARAPHRASE
Kobila bole milalwa.
Kobila together I will stay
'I will stay here with Kobila.'

The following Paraphrase Paragraphs encode an Amplification relationship:

1. THEME
Di tobingarai.
I tell you this
'I tell you this.'

PARAPHRASE
Wiule kaman i iru tobinei.
Wiule instruction you thus I give
'I give you this instruction Wiule'

2. THEME
Yale ta ire inin unala eremia.
plant one that itself it will soon come
'Plant that one and it will soon grow up by itself.'

PARAPHRASE
Gariba ali inin kule. bil erala eremia.
ground in itself it will grow large it will soon effect
'It will soon grow large by itself in the ground.'

3. THEME
Te na ama iru piregi.
And so I also thus I think
'And I also think like this.'

PARAPHRASE
Wanan kule yobinga ama iru pirebingi.
my son in that we bore also thus we think
'We also think the same about the son we bore.'

4. THEME
Kwi pi ain erungwa teti paib omue.
again go place it effecting thirty five it went
'It being put in again, it amounted to thirty five.'

PARAPHRASE
Goma mani poti yobinga iru se keli sungure pare ten
before money forty we put thus cut off struck after ten

se keli sungure yal kiru kwi paib erungwa teti paib
was cut off man European again five effected thirty five

omue.
it went
'At first we had forty and after they took away like that; they took away ten, the European man again put five and it amounted to thirty five pounds.'

5. THEME
Konagi erana di pire bolima kule nere pati
work you will do you think pig rear eat and party

erana dire ta dekemia.
you will do you say it is not so
'You will do work you think, you will rear pigs and have a party you say, and it should not be so.'

PARAPHRASE
Kemina eringa mere wei samia.
to-day you doing just as it will be finished

'Like you have done to-day, it will be finished.'

The following Paraphrase Paragraphs encode a Negated Antonym relationship:

1. THEME
Na mina u kwi namuo.
my mother come new she will go

'My mother will get better.'

PARAPHRASE
Gulekenamuo.
she will not die

'She will not die.'

2. THEME
Na kenaa ta milekiwo.
I heathen one I am not

'I am not a heathen.'

PARAPHRASE
Nil bigin yal miliwo.
water washed man I am

'I am a baptised man.'

3. THEME
Na ka binanbile ta dikirabinge.
I word many I will not say

'I will not say a lot.'

PARAPHRASE
Tawlega dirabinge.
little I will say

'I will say a little.'

4. THEME
I yal kobe nil bigin singi na para sire miliwo.
you man pl you are baptised I also struck I am

'You fellows are baptised, but I also am baptised.'

PARAPHRASE
Na na kaninga ibal kenaa milema di
me me when you look person heathen he is you speak and

kananba kenaa ta milekewe.
see but heathen I am not

'When you look at me you think and say "He is a heathen person", but I am not a heathen.'

5. THEME
Nomanin pire nomanin pire ta milekiwa.
thoughts thoughts one I am not

'I am not just a thought (a nobody).'

PARAPHRASE
Na abe te na mina bole kule yongwa na
my my father hes my mother together in that they bore me I

mile kaunsol sire ena ka main lo ibe Gaman lo na
am Councillor struck then word reason law up Gov't law me

tongwa aa tere pare miliga Kaunsol sire miliwa.
they gave I held after I being Councillor I struck and I am

'My mother and my father bore me and I became the Councillor, and in that I kept the laws that the Goverrment gave me, I became the Councillor.'

The following Paraphrase Paragraphs encode an Identification relationship:

1. THEME
Te malge ka ta paikimio.
hes village word one it does not rest

'There is no news from here at the village.'

PARAPHRASE
Wai milebinge.
good we are

'We are all fine.'

2. THEME
Iru erangi ena pore paamia.
thus in that you will do then a load it will be

'You will do it like this but it is hard.'

PARAPHRASE
Eranga buul kunana.
if you do it you will be exhausted
'If you do it you will be exhausted.'

5.2. Listing Paragraph.

The Listing Paragraph contrasts with other paragraph types in the following ways:

(1) It consists of two tagmemes: the Item tagmeme which occurs obligatorily to the second degree and has been noted to occur to the 5th degree, and the optional Summary tagmeme.

(2) The final verb of the Item tagmeme occurs with a special listing intonation. This listing intonation is optional for the final Item tagmeme.

(3) Sentences expounding the Item tagmeme are short, mostly being Complete Simple Sentences of one clause. Only in a few cases do the number of clauses comprising the exponent of the Item tagmeme exceed two.

(4) This paragraph type has been noted to only occur embedded in other paragraph types.

Listing P = + Item^{n} ± Summary

exponents		
	Complete Simple S Listing S Circumstance S Reason-Result S Comparison S Narrative P	Complete Simple S Circumstance S

n = 2-5

In this paragraph type the semantic relationship encoded is in phase with the surface structure. In all examples, with the exception of example 5, the exponents of the Item tagmemes are related, in that they have either constant subjects and/or constant predicates.

Examples:

1. ITEM 1: NARRATIVE P

SETTING
Bolima ta i siwe.
pig one this I killed
'I killed a pig.'

BUILD UP 1
Ibal nenwe.
people you ate
'You people ate it.'

ITEM 2: RHETORICAL QUESTION P

QUESTION
Bolima ta i siga we?
pig one this that I killed?
'What about that other pig that I killed?'

ANSWER
Ibal nenwe.
people you ate it
'You people ate it.'

ITEM 3: RHETORICAL QUESTION P

QUESTION
Bolima ta siga we?
pig one that I killed?
'What about the other pig that I killed?'

ANSWER
Ibal kobe nenwe.
people pl you ate it
'You people ate it.'

ITEM 4: RHETORICAL QUESTION P

QUESTION
Bolima ta siga we?
pig one that I killed

'What about the other pig that I killed?'

ANSWER
Ibal kobe nenwe.
people pl you ate it

'You people ate it.'

2. ITEM 1
Na paaliga ole di yomia bolima gawlin
I being chosen it has fallen down pig young

si kiinanga na taa.
kill cook you will me give

'I have lost my office so give me a young pig that you have killed and cooked.'

ITEM 2
Kobile moni wan silin ta na taa.
stones money one shilling one me give

'Give me some money (silver)'

ITEM 3
Bolima gawlin kwi ta na to.
pig young alive one me give

'Give me a young live pig.'

3. ITEM 1
Ena gul kan yuwo.
then fence rope bring

'Then bring rope for the fence.'

ITEM 2
Gul bulan bulo.
fence palings cut

'Cut fence palings.'

ITEM 3
Te bo yale no.
hes sugar cane plant eat

'Plant and eat sugar cane.'

4 ITEM 1
Te u Batire misin kol engi Waibia nil bilal di
hes come Catholic Mission way you went Waibia I will be baptised

erungwa bolima ta i siwo.
he effecting pig one this I killed

'You have become Catholics but when Waibi was going to be baptised I killed a pig.'

ITEM 2
Bolima ta siwe.
pig one I killed

'I killed another pig.'

ITEM 3
Awi ta siwo.
dog one I killed

'I killed a dog.'

ITEM 4
Korale ta siwo.
fowl one I killed

'I killed a fowl.'

ITEM 5
Korale ta siwo.
fowl one I killed

'I killed another fowl.'

SUMMARY
Batire kalpim ere tega iru ere teiwo.
Catholic help in that I gave thus doing I gave

'When I helped the Catholics, that's what I did.'

5. ITEM 1
Gariba Gural ibal Ninkama-Bomai wan Kamin gulemue.
Gariba Gural person Ninkama-Bomai's son Kamin he died

'Ninkama-Bomai from Gariba Gural, his son Kamin died.'

ITEM 2
Te Kone ibal Ninkama-Kuri te ebinbi Enin-Yoba te wan
hes Kone person Ninkama-Kuri hes his wife Enin-Yoba hes their son

Kuri-Ninkama te Keri ibal Kuria-Bula tutuul te Olui ibal
Kuri-Ninkama hes Keri person Kuria-Bula a tutuul hes Olui person

ta kaan Bamin te Dirima ibal ta kaan Pari te Pari
one his name Bamin hes Dirima person one his name Pari hes Pari's

ebinbi te yal ta kaan Kora te diraiba te ibal ta
wife hes man one his name Kora hes driver hes person one

kaan na pirekige.
his name I do not know

'There was Ninkama-Kuri from Kone, his wife Enin-Yoba, their son Kuri-Ninkama, a Keri man Kuria-Bula a tutuul, an Olui man whose name is Bamin, a Dirima person whose name is Pari, and his wife, a man named Kora, the driver, and another name I do not know.'

SUMMARY
Ibal eleben pela iru gulemue.
people eleven thus they died
'These eleven people died.'

6. ITEM 1
Bolima kulebingi ime kenin pi mena ime ero.
pigs we are raising down look after go outside down effect
'You go down and look after the pigs that we have raised down there.'

ITEM 2
Te ebinanbi milangwa ali ime eri su to.
hes our wives they being in down wood gather give
'Gather wood for our wives that are down there.'

ITEM 3
Te konagi ta eranga nu nawa ere to.
hes work one in that you will do quickly effect give
'In that you will do work, do it quickly for them.'

ITEM 4
Iru abin kobe milangwa ebin kobe milangware Wiule
thus older brothers if they be their wives they being Wiule

pi eri iru su to.
go wood thus gather give
'If your older brothers have wives, Wiule, you go and bring wood for them.'

SUMMARY
Te konagi iru ere to.
hes work thus effect give
'Do work like that for them.'

5.3. Rhetorical Question Paragraph.

The Rhetorical Question Paragraph contrasts with other paragraph types in the following ways:

(1) It consists of two tagmemes: the Question tagmeme, which is obligatory, and the Answer tagmeme which is also obligatory.

(2) The Question tagmeme is expounded by a sentence with question intonation on the clitic we / wa[1], or by a sentence which contains an Interrogative tagmeme on the clause level.

(3) Sentences expounding the Question tagmeme have rarely been noted to contain more than two clauses.

(4) This paragraph type has mostly been noted to occur embedded in other paragraph types.

Rhetorical Question P = + Question ± we / wa + Answer

exponents	
Complete Simple S Fragmentary Simple S Event-Relation S	Complete Simple S Circumstance S Direct Quote S Comparison S Event-Relation S Antithetical S Paraphrase P Simultaneous P

The surface structure of this paragraph type is in phase with the semantic relationship it encodes; the Question tagmeme simply poses a question and the Answer tagmeme givesan answer to the question.

Examples:

1. QUESTION
Na mani we?
my money
'What about the bride price for me?'

ANSWER: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Gaman ide makim tuenti paib eremua iru dungwa.
Gov't this marked twenty five it effected thus they said
'This Government say the price is $25.'

PARAPHRASE
Tuenti paib eremio.
twenty five it is effected
'The price is $25.'

2. QUESTION
Ya wa?
this
'What about this?'

ANSWER: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Ena nebare kaningi.
then sacred flute you have seen
'You have seen the sacred flutes.'

PARAPHRASE
Kabe nebare tobingi.
meat sacred flute we have given
'We have given you the feast of the sacred flute.'

3. QUESTION
Gi ta ure gain mina aa gabe sinangu we?
girl one come and skin on top she will flick?
'What about the girl who comes and flicks him on the skin?'

ANSWER: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Ta u irala de eramia.
one come I will get intending she will do
'That one will come intending to take (a man)'

PARAPHRASE
Galan sinangwa pire eramia.
in that he will prick (her) she thinks and will do it.
'She will do it in that she will want to have intercourse.'

4. QUESTION
Na we?
me
'What about me?'

ANSWER: SIMULTANEOUS P

HEAD 1
Na milalga mile.
I in that I will be be
'While I continue living.'

HEAD 2: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
U go go ta pekeralo.
come anyhow I will not go
'I will not carry on any old way.'

PARAPHRASE
Iru na abe na mina egilangwa kol
thus my father my mother they will tread way

na egilalo.
I will tread.
'I will follow in the footsteps of my mother and father.'

5. QUESTION
Di mile mile sabe bilkau wen kal ta kal ta para
do being being knowledge big very thing one thing one all

wen piride te main para wen piride ena
truly he will know hes reasons all truly he will know then

sikul wei sinangwa u konagi eride ta konagi eran?
school when it is finished come and will work what work he will do?
'He will continue on going (to school) and will know lots of different things well and the reasons also, then when school is finished, he will come and work and what work will he do?'

ANSWER: ANTITHETICAL P

THESIS
Pirekege. Yalini inin konagi dimba
I do not know he himself work it is but

'I don't know. It is his own business but

ANTITHESIS
na ama di terabingi.
I also will tell

'I will also tell him.'

6. QUESTION
Na milegi we?
I am here

'What of my being here?'

ANSWER: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Nomanin pire nomanin pire ta milekiwa.
thoughts thoughts one I am not

'I am not just a thought (a nobody)'.

PARAPHRASE
Na abe te na mina bole kule yongwa
my father hes my mother tŏgether in that they bore me

na mile Kaunsol sire ena ka main lo ibe
I am Councillor I struck then word reason law up

Gaman lo na tongwa aa tere pare miliga Kaunsol
Gov't law me they gave I held after I being Councillor

sire miliwa.
I struck and I am

'My mother and my father bore me and I became the Councillor, and in that I kept the laws that the Government gave me I became the Councillor.'

5.4. Narrative Paragraph.

The Narrative Paragraph contrasts with other paragraph types in the following ways:

(1) It consists of two tagmemes: the Setting tagmeme which is optional, and the Build Up tagmeme which is obligatory. In some cases the lexical material which would comprise the Setting has been noted to occur in Build Up 1, and also to occur portmanteau with the final Build Up of the preceding paragraph.

(2) The onset of a Narrative Paragraph is marked by at least two of the following features:

(a) use of te 'hesitation marker', ena 'then, or however', iru 'thus' (when it refers to previous circumstances).

(b) the indication of a passage of time, a new location, new character or change in theme.

(c) recapitulation of the verb which ended the previous paragraph.

These features occur in either the Setting tagmeme or Build Up 1 tagmeme.

(3) The imperative has not been noted to occur in this paragraph type except in quotes. Also the Antithetical and Resemblance Sentences have not been noted to occur in the data under analysis. However, the writer can see no reason why these could not occur within a larger corpus, but the occurrence of them would be expected to be limited.

(4) This paragraph type has a low frequency of embedding in other paragraphs.

Narrative P = ± Setting + Build Up^{n}

exponents		
	Complete Simple S	Reason-Result S
	Sequence S	Comparison S
	Rhetorical Q P	Listing S
		Event-Relation S
		Direct Quote S
		Circumstance S
		Sequence S
		Paraphrase P

n = 1-4

The semantic relationship which exists between exponents of the Build Up tagmemes is one of Temporal Sequence.

Examples:

1. SETTING
Satabaa e satabil gilaa ena Omkolai obinwe.
Saturday um Sunday night then Omkolai we went
'On Saturday, um I mean Sunday night we went to Omkolai.'

BUILD UP 1
Na Boi bole piride nimin sungure pare Kwale kuul
I Boi together we went rain it struck after Kwale hill

bilide kewa su yongwa i pi pere Kwale kuul gale paalide
we got wet cane gathered we took went Kwale hill lit being

gilaa pi pere maa pi Omkolai milebingire Pari u bawa
night go go and climbed up Omkolai we were and Pari come

dungure awli ide ere ubinwe.
arrived and we brought (her) and we came
'I went with Boi and when it rained at Kwale hill we got wet and the cane that they had gathered, in that we had taken it and gone, we lit at Kwale hill, and we went at night and climbed up and came to Omkolai and when Pari arrived we brought her and came back.'

2. BUILD UP 1

U Kwale kuul ubingire Bal milemia.
come Kwale hill we coming Bal was there

'We came to Kwale hill and Bal was there.'

BUILD UP 2

Bal wi sungure kowa di pisere ere ubinga u malge
Bal cheered and laughing let go we came come village

milebingire nen man bole gilaa umue.
we were there her father her mother together night they came

'Bal cheered us on and after we'd stopped laughing we came and arrived at the village and her father and mother came that night.'

BUILD UP 3

Gilaa ungure ibal kobe bole kura bilungwa bile
night they came person pl together that they fought fight

bilide gilaa ere ongwa kwimile kwi ibal binanbile
fight night they went next morning again people many

umue.
they came

'They came at night and the people that they were fighting with kept on fighting so that night they went and next morning they came again with many people.'

3. BUILD UP 1

Ure kol erungwa Pari girin dungure ere omue.
they came and re the court Pari was unmovable and they went

'They came and re the court that they worked Pari remained adamant so they went.'

BUILD UP 2

Taranta i kwi ungwa ama uride Pari awli nabinwa
one this again they came more came and Pari we will take

dungwa Pari ama girin dungure awli ide ibal kobe
they saying Pari more was unmovable they took her people pl

ere omue.
they went

'Once again they came and said "We will take Pari", but Pari was again adamant but they took her and all went.'

4. BUILD UP 1

Ere ongure pare mile paangwa mile paangwa mile paangwa
they went after being still being still being still

Sata ta yongure kemina Tunde nen man uride
Saturday one was put to-day Tuesday her father her mother came and

awli nala dire ere une Pari girin dungure pare
intending to take (her) they came Pari was unmovable after

manbi kay miimue.
her mother cried

'After they went she remained there and time passed and when one week was gone, to-day, Tuesday her father and mother came intending to take her, but after Pari was adamant her mother cried.'

BUILD UP 2

Kay miide pare ere ongwa Golin gibilin sabinwa dire
cried after they went Golin we will buy her they said

kalkan i yongure (ka pore ero dungwa yalkiru
things these they put word story make he saying European man

iru dungure pare maliaga dibino.)[2]
thus he said after now I have spoken

'After she cried they went and the Golin people said "We will buy her" and they put the bride price (and because the European man said "Tell the story", I have now told it.)'

5. SETTING

Ena goma ibe gi ala paimue.
listen firstly up girl inside she rested

'Listen, girls came into puberty long ago.'

BUILD UP 1

U ala ongire pare bol kurala de dua siride puan
come inside gone after bed intending to make rats kill forks

toride kal iru ere bolima siride nin aan yere
sharpen things thus do pigs kill head decoration put on

erungure pare yal kiru kane buul kunamue.
doing after man European will look with amazement

'After they came into puberty, they would go and make a bed, kill rats, sharpen forks and did things like that, they killed pigs, put on head decorations and after they would do this, the European man would look in amazement.'

6. SETTING
Di maribe erungure pare Kale gale di milungwa milungwa ungure
he revealed it after Kale called out for being he came

pare kol eremue.
after they worked a court

'After he (a child) revealed it, they called out and called out for Kale and after he came they worked an arbitration.'

BUILD UP 1
Kol erungwa bolima ta iride wan paun ta iride tomue.
court working pig one got one pound one got he gave

'About the arbitration he gave a pig and $2.'

BUILD UP 2: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Tongwa bolima kobaan mile pare ka ta dekemue.
giving pig owner was there word one he did not speak

'The pig owner was there and he didn't say a word about what was given.'

PARAPHRASE
Pire go go ere milemue.
thought anyhow do he was

'He was uneasy about it all.'

7. BUILD UP 1
Erima ibal tau uride gi Kobila yal terabina
yesterday people some came girl Kobila man we will give

aa to. Aa to. Kay mio. dungure na kiranan piride
hold her hold her cry they said my ear heard and

pare ala ya milide piride yalkuno di tobinwe.
after inside being I heard man equal I told

'Yesterday some people came and they said "We are going to give Kobila in marriage so hold her. Hold her. Cry." and after I heard it; I was inside when I heard it, I told my close friend.'

BUILD UP 2: EXPOSITORY P

POINT 1
Kobila yal terabina aa to. Kay mio. di dimua.
Kobila man we will give hold cry say they saying

POINT 2
Pari nen Kobila yal tekio dire manaa dimua.
Pari's father Kobila man do not give said don't he said

dire di tobinga yalkiru malge piride ena
I said and I told European man outside went and then

iru dungure pare yalkiru dungwa ibal kenaa
thus he saying after European man saying people locals

pirekire aa terabinwa aa terabinwa dungure
did not listen we will hold her we will hold her they said

na kwi malge piride iru dibinwe.
I again outside went and thus I said

'"We will give Kobila to a man, hold her, cry" they kept on saying and Pari's father said "Don't give her to a man" he refused that, I told the European man, my close friend this and he went outside and after he'd said that, the local people did not listen to what he'd said and they said "We will hold her, we will hold her" and I went outside again and said this.'

BUILD UP 3
Ena ibal ku bilo dibinga taw ku bilungure
then people gather I saying some gathered and

EXPOSITORY P

POINT 1
Pari nen Kobila yal tekio iru dimua.
Pari's father Kobila man don't give thus he said

POINT 2
Yal kobe ka dagi dinua.
man pl word strong you speak

POINT 3
Kobila ama naanin paamua.
Kobila also is strong

POINT 4: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Yal na pirekiwa dungure iru terabinga abal
man I do not know she said thus giving woman

Gwi Garagi yal tobingare kal ta ere gule yukungirawa.
Gwi Garagi man we gave thing one enough they did not bring

PARAPHRASE
Moni paib yungwarayo.
money five they brought here

POINT 5

Bamin ta iride siine ta iride iru tawle
feather one they got black feather one they got thus a little

yungware aan sutokobe ide iru yungwa nobinga
they brought shells three they got thus brought we ate it

yal ongure kal ta maangwi ide kwi terabina
man she went thing one that we got again we intending

de erebinga buul kunebinwa.
to give back we were astonished

iru di maribe ere Kobila yobilaan bilungwi yal ta
thus I revealed Kobila bones being strong man one

tekinanwa iru dibingire.
you will not give thus I said that

'Then I told the people to gather and some gathered and I pointed this out, "Pari's father says 'Don't give Kobila to a man'. You fellows are obstinate. Kobila is also unrelenting. She says 'I don't know this man', and in that we will give her like this, we gave Gwi Garagi to a man and they did not bring enough bride price. They brought five pounds in money. They brought a bird of paradise feather, a black feather, only a few things, three pearl shells, we consumed it and she ran away to another man, and when we went to give these things back we were ashamed." and I also said "Since Kobila is strong (on the issue) you will not give her to a man."'

5.5. Procedural Paragraph.

The Procedural Paragraph contrasts with other paragraph types in the following ways:

(1) It consists of four tagmemes: the Theme tagmeme, which is optional, the Step tagmeme which is obligatory but which may take an optional Evaluation tagmeme following each Step tagmeme, and the Conclusion tagmeme which is optional.

(2) Although the Theme tagmeme is optional, when the Procedural Paragraph embeds within another Procedural Paragraph, the final Step tagmeme of the first Procedural Paragraph can occur portmanteau with the Theme tagmeme of the following Procedural Paragraph. The lexical items which would semantically be exponents of the Theme, Evaluation and Conclusion tagmemes may occur within the Step tagmeme.

(3) In this paragraph type frequent use is made of the Sequence Sentence and the Simultaneous Sentence.

(4) This paragraph type is often found to embed in the Antithetical Paragraph.

Procedural P =

± Theme + [+ Step ± Evaluation]^{n} ± Conclusion

exponents				
	Sequence S Antithetical S Paraphrase P	Simultaneous S Sequence S Comparison S Event-Relation S Circumstance S Paraphrase P Procedural P	Paraphrase P	Complete Simple S Sequence S

n = 1-5

As the names of the tagmemes suggest, the Step tagmemes relate to each other in that they describe the steps which occur in a particular procedure and the Evaluation tagmeme evaluates the step in the procedure which precedes it.

Examples:

1. STEP 1

I	yal	kobe	iru	yal	tenanga		Kobila	kwi	eme	yal
you	man	pl	thus	man	if you give		Kobila	again	later	man

nangwa i ibal kobe gaynin mina i wai dalamia.
if she goes you people pl your skin on top good it will be
'If you give Kobila in marriage like this and if she later runs away to another man, you people will be okay.'

STEP 2
Na Gaman unangwa na naan kan kulangwa paimua.
I Gov't they will come my neck rope they will tie it will be
'The Government will come for me and I will be strung up by the neck.'

2. THEME
Kane buul kunungure pare bol kule paale ne ibal dua eremue.
see he was amazed after bed made being then people rats hunted
'After he looked so amazed the beds were made and then the people hunted rats.'

STEP 1
Dua erala de ongure ibal kii paya kii pai pai
rats we will hunt intending people build build being

piserungure pare ne ena yal teranta suna pire dua eremue.
finish after then then man one centre goes rats he hunted
'They went to hunt rats, some people built the alley ways, and after they were finished, then one man went into the centre and hunted out the rats.'

STEP 2: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Dua ere ungire pare umia sire simue.
rats they come after they come hit and struck
'After the rats came out, they came and so they were hit and caught.'

PARAPHRASE
Binanwenbile simia.
very many they caught
'They caught very many.'

STEP 3
Si si sire pare yu malge ure kobile galide
strike strike strike after bring village come stones heat and

kiimue.
they cook

'After they have caught and caught they bring them and come to the village and heat the stones and cook them.'

STEP 4
Kobile gale kiiride ene dongire maban eremue.
stones heat cook then when cooked frames they made
'They heated the stones and cooked them and after they were cooked they made frames.'

STEP 5: PROCEDURAL P

STEP 1
Maban sutan ere mile ta alibe yere ta temina
frames two made being one under put and one on top

yere ere mile bigan arin balungware bigan arin
put and made being fern leaves picked these fern leaves

balungure yuure pare piride ne dain bilemue.
picked brought after went then wrapped them
'They made two frames, they made one to be put underneath, and one to be put on top, and they picked fern leaves and after they brought them, they went and then wrapped them up.'

STEP 2
Dain bile yuu enderin alin benagi kulungwa mine
wrapped bring fire over wood rack made on top

ire yomue.
there they put them
'They wrapped them and brought them and put them over the fire on top there where the wood rack is made.'

3. THEME: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Ogu kiinanga kiinanga ai imo dala eremia.
house you will build and build places yet they will be
'You will build the house on and on and yet places will be uncompleted.'

PARAPHRASE
Ogu imo dala eremia.
house yet it will be
'The house will be uncompleted.'

STEP 1
Ena kwi yuure uride erana.
then again bring and come and you will make
'Then you will bring more (building materials) and come and build.'

EVALUATION: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Ogu kiinangi ire gilgin gurala eremia.
house you will build this dried up dead it soon will be
'This house that you will be building will soon dry up.'

PARAPHRASE
Kan ire gilgin gule are dere gilgin gule
rope this will dry up sun will burn it will dry up

yaa di gule mile kan ire sirebil sire
fall down dead being rope this undone will come

unala eremia.
it will soon come out of place
'The sun will scorch the rope and dry it up, it will be falling down, this rope will come undone and will soon come out of place.'

STEP 2: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Kwi kan sire iru erangi ena pore paamia.
again rope tie and thus you do then a load it will be
'You will tie the rope again and do it like this but it will be hard.'

PARAPHRASE
Eranga buul kunana.
you doing it exhausted you will be
'If you do it, you will be exhausted.'

CONCLUSION
Pisera.
throw away
'Don't do it like this.'

4. STEP 1

Main goma bale wai eride bale piserangarei ogu yoba
ground first level well and levelled finished this house stakes

goma wi bale piseride yu malge ye paalide ena
first cut sharpened finished bring village put being then

gulan siride eri gain kula diride te maipuan toride
rafters cut tree bark peel off and hes forked stakes sharpen

maan balide iru ere wei sire pare para yeya
wall stakes sharpen thus do finished after enough I put

diride kaningire maipuan para dinan kanide
you say and you see and forked stakes enough it will be you see

gulan para dinan kuunin erangwa painangwa kanide
rafters enough it will be equal it being right it being you see

te kawligi ta ama i yeride teranta kuunin pire i
hes post one more there put one enough think there

yenanba perau dala eremia.
you put but it will be short

'First you level the ground and when you have finished this, you finish cutting down the wall stakes first then bring and put them in the village, then you cut the rafters, peel off the bark, make the forks, make the wall stakes, and after you have finished doing that you look and say "I have put enough" and you see there will be enough forked stakes, and you see there will be enough rafters, that they will be just right and you put one extra post and you think if you put that one more it will be enough wood but it will be insufficient.'

STEP 2

Kane taw sutan mo sutakobe mo sui sui iru yengire ta singire
see some two or three or four thus you put one cutting

kuunin biikinangwa ta sinana ama piride iru yeride
it will not be enough one to cut more you will go thus you put

te ena warabin pera ya warabin daan a te gulan a iru
hes however perloin low and perloin high and rafters and thus

ama kuunin erekinamia.
also will not be enough

'You look at the two or three or four that you have put (wood) and one that you cut is not the right size, so you go to get another

to use and put it; however, the low perloin and the high perloin and rafters also won't be enough.'

STEP 3
Binanbile yu yeride.
many bring put
'You must bring many (pieces of wood.)'

CONCLUSION
I yere pare eringire kuunin eramia.
there put after you effecting enough it will be
'After you put those, having done that, there will be enough.'

5. THEME
Te tawle tawle inanba ogu kiinanga si koliba
hes little little you will get but house if you build strike half

taw wei sala eremia.
some it will be finished quickly
'You could get a little at a time but if you build the house, only half of it will be finished quickly.'

STEP 1
Kwi dimin gul nanga ena ere milanga kan goma
again bush place you will go then work you will be rope before

sanga ki paalanga kan goma sangi ire are dere
you tieing build being rope before you will have tied sun burn

sirebil sirala eremia.
untied it soon will be
'You will go back to the bush and will work there, the rope that you will have tied, the building that you will have left, the rope that you first tied will be burnt up and quickly be untied.'

STEP 2
Kwi yuu sire iru eranga taw eranga buul kunangi.
again bring and tie thus you will do some doing you will be astounded
'You will bring rope again and tie and if you do it like this, after you've done a little you'll be exhausted.'

5.6. Hortatory Paragraph.

The Hortatory Paragraph contrasts with other paragraph type in the following ways:

(1) It consists of four tagmemes: the Prelim tagmeme which is optional; the Exhortation tagmeme and the Exhortation Head tagmeme both of which are optional, but at least one of which must occur; and the optional Reinforcement tagmeme.

(2) The Prelim tagmeme either introduces a new theme or relates back to a previous circumstance which becomes the theme for further exhortation. The Exhortation Head tagmeme is identified by the occurrence of the imperative in its final clause.

(3) In this paragraph type frequent use is made of the Antithetical Sentence, the Comparison Sentence and the Rhetorical Question Paragraph.

(4) This paragraph type does not have a high frequency of embedding in other paragraphs and it has only been noted to embed in the Narrative, Expository and Procedural Paragraphs.

Hortatory P =

$$\pm \text{ Prelim} + \left[\pm \text{ Exhortation}^{n} \pm \text{ Exhortation}^{n}_{\text{Head}}\right]^{n} \pm \text{ Reinforcement}$$

exponents				
	Circumstance S Simultaneous S Complete Simple S	Comparison S Reason-Result S Antithetical S Listing P Paraphrase P Rhetorical Q P	Circumstance S Complete Simple S Simultaneous S Listing P	Complete Simple S Expository P Paraphrase P

n = 1-2

Because this paragraph type is structured mainly on the basis of its semantic properties, its semantic encoding is in phase with the surface structure and does not encode any other semantic relationships.

Examples:

1. PRELIM
Ogu kiinanga ogu kiinanga main di i terabina.
house you building house you building reason I will tell you
'Re building a house, I will tell you how to build a house.'

EXHORTATION 1
Iru i ogu kiirala de nomanin si piranga iru
thus you house I will build thoughts you think about thus

gogo kiinanba paikinangwe.
anyhow you could build but it will not be right
'It's like this, when you think about building a house, you could build it anyhow, but that would not be right.'

2. PRELIM
Ena iru pamiwa.
then thus it is
'Well it's like this.'

EXHORTATION 1: LISTING P

ITEM 1
Kamin kaun kemina milebinga kaun i inin moni
sky time to-day being time this our money

pusi mena erekirabinge.
throw away we will not
'In these days we will not throw away our money.'

ITEM 2
Pati bil wen ta erekirabinge.
party big very we will not have
'We will not have great big feasts.'

REINFORCEMENT
Loa gaman kaunsol waa dungwi.
law Gov't Council say this
'This is the Government and Council law.'

3. EXHORTATION 1: RHETORICAL QUESTION P

QUESTION
Gi kaa kol warebinga gi ta ure gain
girl courting we walk about girl one come skin

mina aa gabe sinangu we?
on top she will flick?

'Re our walking about courting girls, what about the girl who comes and flicks a fellow on the skin?'

ANSWER: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Ta u irala de eramia.
one come I will get intending will do

'That one will come intending to take a man.'

PARAPHRASE
Galan sinangwa pire eramia.
prick in that she will she will think and do

'She will do it in that she will want to have intercourse.'

EXHORTATION HEAD
Pi ikio.
go do not get

'Don't go and take her.'

REINFORCEMENT
Di tobingi.
I tell you

'I tell you this.'

4. PRELIM: RHETORICAL QUESTION P

QUESTION
Yaa wa?
this about

'What about this'

ANSWER
Ena nebare kaningi kabe nebare tobingi.
then sacred flute you have seen meat sacred flute we have given

'You have seen the sacred flute, we gave you the feast of the sacred flute.'

EXHORTATION HEAD: LISTING P

ITEM 1
Ena gul kan yuwo.
then fence rope bring
'Then bring rope for the fences.'

ITEM 2
Gul bulan bulo.
fence palings cut
'Cut fence palings.'

ITEM 3
Te bo yale no
hes sugar cane plant eat
'Plant and eat sugar cane.'

ITEM 4
Kabe yale no.
bananas plant eat
'Plant and eat bananas.'

5. EXHORTATION 1: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Kaunsol milingi ka dire konagi erana
Council you being word speak work you will do

di pire bolima kule nere pati erana
you think pigs rear eat parties you will have

dire ta dekemia.
you say it is not so
'You are the council so you speak, you do work, you think you will rear pigs and have parties you say, and it is not so.'

PARAPHRASE
Kemina eringa mere wei samia.
to-day you doing like it will be finished
'Like you have done to-day will be finished.'

EXHORTATION HEAD
Kaunsol eme senis eranga kaun i senis ere kole kole po.
Council later a change you make time this change make here there go
'Later when it's time to change the Council, change it, and each go his way.'

6. EXHORTATION HEAD

Imia ibal goma paalungwa ibal mile
they got people first chosen people being

LISTING P

ITEM 1

Na paaliga ole di yomia bolima gawlin si
I being chosen it is fallen down so pig young killed

kiinanga na ta.
you cooking me give

ITEM 2

Kobile moni wan silin ta na ta.
stone money one shilling one me give

ITEM 3

Bolima gawlin kwi ta na to.
pig young alive one me give

dingi kal nigi domia dikio.
you say this thing no good it is so do not say

'They get it (money) so those Councillors who were chosen before say "I have lost my office so give me a young pig that you have killed and cooked. Give me some money. Give me a young live pig." but this thing is not good so don't say it.'

REINFORCEMENT: EXPOSITORY P

POINT 1: PARAPHRASE P

THEME

Na konagi bil aa te milebinga waa
I work big I hold and am this

di pire Omilinbaa Kaunsol iday
I feel Omilinbaa Councillorship this

yomiba kaure ta dekebinge.
he got also but cross I was not

'I feel I have an important job and Omilinbaa also got this Council position, but I was not cross.'

PARAPHRASE

Na lain kole ibe ki pirama de
my line half up bad they will think

Omilinbaa kaure tawliga di tobinga.
Omilinbaa cross a little I told

'I was aware that my clan up there would be upset, so I rebuked Omilinbaa a little.'

POINT 2
Malia Omilinbaa pirebinga bolima ta simua
now Omilinbaa I am thinking pig one he killed

dimba na ta sibingiwe.
they say I one killed
'Now I'm thinking about Omilinbaa, "He killed a pig" they say but I also certainly killed one.'

POINT 3
Omilinbaa nil bia ta imua dimba na
Omilinbaa water beer one got they say but I

nil bia ta ibingi ime.
water beer one I got there down
'"Omilinbaa got a case of beer" they say, but the case of beer that I got is there.'

POINT 4
Omilinbaa sua ta imua dimba na sua
Omilinbaa cigarettes one got they say but I cigar-

ta ibingi ime.
ettes one I got down there
'"Omilinbaa has given cigarettes" they say but the cigarettes that I got are down there.'

REINFORCEMENT
Wi yaal ye nobinga muru milinga nenanga
guests friends all you being you will eat

paama.
it is
'The guests and our friends, all of you here it's for you to eat.'

7. EXHORTATION
HEAD 1: LISTING P

ITEM 1
Bolima kulebingi ime kenin pi mena ime ero.
pigs we reared down look after outside down effect
'You go down and look after the pigs that we have raised down there.'

ITEM 2
Te ebinanbi milangwa ali ime eri sui to.
hes our wives if they are in down wood gather give
'Gather wood for our wives who will be down there.'

ITEM 3
Te konagi ta eranga nu nawa ere to.
hes work one if you do quickly effect give
'If you do work, do it quickly for them.'

ITEM 4
Iru abin kobe milangwa ebin kobe milangware
thus older brothers if they be wives pl if they are

Wiule pi eri iru su to.
Wiule go wood thus gather give
'If your older brothers have wives, Wiule, you go and bring wood for them.'

SUMMARY
Te konagi iru ere to.
hes work thus effect give
'Do work like that for them.'

EXHORTATION
HEAD 2: LISTING P

ITEM 1
Nil ka dinangwa wina ere kulo.
water words if they speak obey and fetch
'If they talk about water, obey and go and get it.'

ITEM 2
Gaan ta kulangwa milangwi ire i au si waro.
child one if they bear being there you carry about
'If there are children that they have borne, carry them about on your shoulders.'

SUMMARY
Kal iru ero.
things thus do
'Do things like this.'

REINFORCEMENT: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Di tobingarai.
I tell you this.
'I really tell you this.'

PARAPHRASE
Wiule kaman i iru tobinei.
Wiule instruction these thus I tell
'Wiule I am giving you these instructions.'

5.7. Expository Paragraph.

The Expository Paragraph contrasts with other paragraph types in the following ways:

(1) It consists of three tagmemes: the Text tagmeme, which is optional, the Point tagmeme, which is obligatory but which may occur with an optional Reinforcement tagmeme following each Point tagmeme. When the Reinforcement tagmeme occurs there is a strong contextual semantic tie between it and its respective Point tagmeme. The Point tagmeme has been noted to occur to the 4th degree.

(2) Within the Point tagmeme a great deal of use is made of such lexical items as iru pire- 'think like this', di pire 'say and feel', 'remember'. However, distinction between each tagmeme is made on the basis of the semantic content of the tagmeme.

(3) As in the Hortatory Paragraph frequent use is made of the Antithetical Sentences and Rhetorical Question Paragraph.

(4) This paragraph type occurs self-embedded and also occurs embedded in the Narrative, Hortatory and Antithetical Paragraphs.

Expository P = ± Text + [+ Point ± Reinforcement]^{n}

exponents			
	Simultaneous S	Complete Simple S	Direct Quote S
	Circumstance S	Antithetical S	Simultaneous S
	Antithetical S	Circumstance S	Expository P
	Antithetical P	Simultaneous S	
	Paraphrase P	Event-Relation S	
		Rhetorical Q P	
		Paraphrase P	
		Expository P	
		Narrative P	
		Simultaneous P	
		Antithetical P	

n = 1-4

For the same reason as given in the previous paragraph type, the semantic relationship which this paragraph type encodes is in phase with its surface structure.

Examples:

1. POINT 1: RHETORICAL QUESTION P

QUESTION
Na mani we?
me money what about
'What about the bride price for me.'

ANSWER: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Gaman ide makim tuenti paib eremua iru
Gov't this marked twenty five it effected thus

dungwa.
they said

'The Government say the price for me is $25.'

PARAPHRASE
Tuenti paib eremio.
twenty five it is effected
'The price is $25.'

POINT 2: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Te i yal kobe kal tawle tawle i ibe engire Sa
hes you man pl things few few up you take Sa

manaa dinangwi na para imore u main a
in that they refuse this I also simply come here

inin kira milalwa.
alone always I will stay.
'When you men have taken only a few things up there, if the Sa people reject it, I will simply stay here alone always.'

PARAPHRASE
Kobila bole milalwa.
Kobila together I will stay
'I will stay here with Kobila.'

2. POINT 1
Wei sikinangwa abal ta ikinangwi.
if he will not finish woman one he will not get
'If he has not finished, he will not marry.'

POINT 2
Imore sikul di milangwi.
simply school doing he will be
'He will simply continue on doing school.'

3. TEXT: ANTITHETICAL P

THESIS
Ena wanan kule yobinga wanan goma wen kule yobinga ne
then our son that we bore our son first truly that we bore

wai pirebinge. Wai pirebinba
we were happy We were happy but
'Re our son that we bore, after we bore a son at the very first we were happy. We were happy but ...'

ANTITHESIS

goma ibal kobe wan kule yongwa konagi iru paangwi.
before people pl sons when they bore work thus they did

'also before when people bore their sons, this is what work they had to do.'

POINT 1

Ena na inin miliga we? Kwi enan ta milemua.
then I myself being new close relative one there is

di iru pirungwa.
speak thus they think

'"What about my being alone? Now I have a close relative" this is what they said and felt.'

POINT 2

Ibal ta na sinangwa we? Yal su milide uride na
person one me in that he will hit? man two being come me

sinamba na ama yal su miliwa. di ibal iru
they will hit but I also man two I am speak people thus

wai pirungwa.
good they think

'"What about if a person comes to hit me? Two men are there and would come and would hit me but we also are two men now", this is what they said and they felt happy.'

POINT 3: NARRATIVE P

BUILD UP 1

Wai piride wan kenin ere milungwa bilkaw
good they think son in that they looked after big

milungwa.
he is

'They were happy and because they looked after their son he was big.'

BUILD UP 2

Bilkaw milungure ene abal i tenangwa piride te
big he being then woman one will give they think

wai wen ta milangwa inangwa piride iru
good very one she will be he will get they think thus

erungwa.
they did

'When he became big then they thought they would give him

a woman, they thought they would get one that was very good that's what they did.'

POINT 4
Te konagi erungwa
hes in that he works

PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Konagi eringa na aki dinamio.
work that I do me he will help

PARAPHRASE
Gul bulan bule na tere te eri wiirabinga egwa si
fence palings cut me give tree that we fell split up

na tere te na aki damia yasu dawa dire
me give hes me he will help we two will be friends

konagi erabino.
work we will do

di iru dungwa iru nomanin si pirungwa.
speak thus they say thus they thought

'Re his working, "He will help me to do my work, He will cut fence palings for me, he will help me split the trees that we cut down, he will help me and so we two will be comrades, we will work." they spoke like that, they thought like that.'

4. TEXT
I inin na memba milebinga mile ka dime di
yourselves I the member in that I am being word openly

di tobina.
I will tell you

'Here I am your very own Member of the House and I tell you this straight.'

POINT 1
Kaunsol yal ta senis erangwa ka ta dinangwa paikinangure
Council man one if he changes word one he speaking if it is not

yal ta senis.
right man one change to

'If the Councillor changes and what he says if it is not right, we change to another man.'

REINFORCEMENT
Ka ta dinangwa paikinangure ta senis.
word one he speaking if it is not right one change to
'If what he says is not right, we change to another one.'

5. TEXT
Te iru di di wei siride eme ibal wen milide sikul
hes thus doing doing finished later person truly being school

wei sikinangwa abal ta ama ta ikinangwi.
if he has not finished woman one also he will not get
'Thus after he's done a lot of school and it's finished, and when he is really grown up, if school is not finished, he also will not get a wife.'

POINT 1
Sikul ura di unibesiti di milangwi.
school easy doing University doing continuing
'University will be easy, University he will continue doing.'

POINT 2
Ena sikul wei sinangwa di nangwa paikinangwa ena
then school if it is finished going if it is not right then

nen yal nen yal tisa milide pare ena wei simia
his father man father man teacher being after then it is finished

konagi ta ero dinangwa ena pi konagi erangwa eride
work one do they will say then go work he will do do and

kobile goma ben erangwi.
money first bank he will put
'Concerning his finishing school, if he keeps going and is not doing well, then his father and teacher being there will say "School is finished, so take a job", then he will go and work, he will do it and will first put money in the bank.'

POINT 3
Ere ere wei sire kobile binanbile dinangwa kanide
put putting finished money much there will be he will see

abal ta inama dire na wanan kulebinga iru
woman one he will want to get my son that I bore thus

nomanin si piregi.
I think
'After he's finished putting money, he will see that it is a lot and he will want to get married, I think like that about my son.'

REINFORCEMENT
Abal motabe ikinama de pirigi.
woman quickly he will not get I say and think
'I don't want him to get a wife quickly.'

6. TEXT
Ena miti nil bilungwa ere kamin mina ongwa ibal wai ibe
then mission baptised to sky on top going people good up

milemua dungwa pire na abe na mina i suna eriga
they are they say I know my father my mother inside I effected

para na abe Patire nil bilungwa.
also my father Catholic he is baptised
'"Concerning those that are baptised, those that have gone to heaven good people are up there" it was said and I heard and my father and mother I have made to enter into Church fellowship, my father also is a baptised Catholic.'

POINT 1: SIMULTANEOUS P

HEAD 1
Na mina i suna eriga goma wen misin i Kone
my mother inside I effected first truly Mission this Kone

malge ogu ki tega ena Misin Bapapi ure
village house build I gave then Mission Evangelist came and

ere miina kol kol nala de erungwa na na mina
to away place place they intended to go I my mother

goma wen i suna eriga suna ibe milungwa maliaga
first truly inside effected inside up she being now

miti nil bile terala de eriga ere.
Lutheran baptise we intending to effect we effect
'I effected my mother's entering into Church fellowship; a long time ago we built a house at Kone for the Mission, then the Mission Evangelist came and when they were going to go away to another place, I was the first to make my mother enter into fellowship and so she was in the Lutheran Mission compound, and now as we were going to baptise them, I did this.'

HEAD 2: LISTING P

ITEM 1: NARRATIVE P

SETTING
Bolima ta i siwe.
pig one this I killed
'I killed a pig.'

BUILD UP 1
Ibal nenwe.
people you ate
'You people ate it.'

ITEM 2: RHETORICAL QUESTION P

QUESTION
Bolima ta i siga we?
pig one this that I killed
'What about that pig which I killed?'

ANSWER
Ibal nenwe.
people you ate it
'You people ate it.'

ITEM 3: RHETORICAL QUESTION P

QUESTION
Bolima ta siga we?
pig one that I killed
'What about the other pig that I killed?'

ANSWER
Ibal kobe nenwe.
people pl you ate it
'You people ate it.'

ITEM 4: RHETORICAL QUESTION P

QUESTION
Bolima ta siga we?
pig one that I killed
'What about that other pig that I killed?'

ANSWER
Ibal kobe nenwe.
people pl you ate it
'You people ate it'.

POINT 2: ANTITHETICAL P

THESIS

Ena bolima siwa digi pirekenanba
then pigs I killed I said you will not know but

'Then you will not know the pigs that I said I killed but ...'

ANTITHESIS: EXPOSITORY P

POINT 1

Tawbegi bolima ta kulungwa gulal de erungwa
Tawbegi pig one bearing going to die

goma yu ogu ki paangwa gul i
first brought house living place this

si kiiga nenga bolima kunaku ta
killed cooked you ate it pig spotted one

yuin keli kiraan bole sigirai pire
tail cut ear also that I killed I think and

diwe.
speak

'a pig that Tawbegi reared, when it was going to die, we brought it first to the village, and when I killed and cooked it you ate it, I remember it was a spotted pig, with it's tail and ear cut off that I killed.'

POINT 2

Bolima ta pi Omkolai ibe moni tuenti paun
pig one go Omkolai up money twenty pounds

i tere bolima man ta yuure nil bilungwa
this I gave pig female one brought baptism

mina siga nengarai pire diwe.
at I killed you ate this I think and say.

'I remember I went up to Omkolai and gave twenty pounds for a female pig and I brought it and at the time of the baptism I killed it and you ate this one.'

POINT 3

Bolima ta nil bilungwa mina Wi Sungwa bolima
pig one baptism at Wi Sungwa's pig

man ta i sungwa nengarai pire diwe.
female one this killed you ate it I know and say
'I remember they killed one of Wi Sungwa's pigs at the baptism, a female one.'

POINT 4
Bolima ta na inin kuliga gurala de erungwa
pig one I myself reared it going to die

si tega nengarai pire diwe.
I killed and gave you ate it I think and say
'I remember a pig that I reared myself, because it was going to die, I killed and gave it, and you ate it.'

POINT 3
Na yal kenaa miliba na mina i suna eria dire
I man heathen I am but my mother inside I effected I said

nangwa kol ibe na eme duulin bili nalga dima dire i
she going place up I later I will follow go it is I say you

yal kobe konagi eringa minai na kalpim ere mile aa te yebe
man pl work you doing here I helping do I am lifting up

di i teiwo.
say you I give
'I am a heathen man but as I said, I made my mother to enter into Church fellowship and the place where she will go, I will follow later, that's so, I say, the work that you men are doing here, I am helping, I am giving help to you.'

5.8. Antithetical Paragraph.

The Antithetical Paragraph contrasts with other paragraph types in the following ways:

(1) It consists of two tagmemes: the Thesis tagmeme and the Antithesis tagmeme, both of which are obligatory.

(2) The conjoining suffix -ba 'but' may either occur on the final

verb of the Thesis tagmeme or the first verb of the Antithesis tagmeme. If the conjoining suffix occurs in the Thesis tagmeme then the lexical material in the Antithesis tagmeme of the Antithetical Sentence belongs to the Antithesis tagmeme of the paragraph. However, if the conjoining suffix occurs in the Antithesis tagmeme then the lexical material in the Thesis tagmeme of the Antithetical Sentence belongs to the Thesis tagmeme of the paragraph. Such material has been included according to its lexical distribution.

(3) Expository Paragraphs have a high frequency of embedding in both Thesis and Antithesis tagmemes.

(4) It has only been found to embed twice in an Expository Paragraph, otherwise they do not occur embedded in other paragraphs.

Antithetical P = + Thesis + -ba + Antithesis

exponents		
	Complete Simple S Circumstance S Event-Relation S Antithetical S Expository P	Antithetical S Expository P Procedural P

This paragraph type encodes the same Contrast relationships as does its counterpart, Antithetical Sentence, on the sentence level, that is, contrastive outcome, contrastive parallelism, contrastive evaluation and contrastive response.

Examples:

Contrastive outcome

1. THESIS
Te tawle tawle inan-ba
hes a little little you will get but
'You could get a little at a time but...'

ANTITHESIS: PROCEDURAL P

THEME
Ogu kiinanga si koliba taw wei sala eremia.
house if you build half some it will be finished
'if you build the house only half of it will be finished quickly.'

STEP 1
Kwi dimin gul nanga ena ere milanga
again bush place you will go then work being

kan goma sanga ki palanga kan goma
rope before you tied build being rope before

sangi ire are dere sirebil sirala
you will have tied sun will burn untied it soon

eremia.
will be
'You will go back to the bush and will work there, and the rope that you have tied, the building that you have left, the rope that you first tied will be burnt up and quickly untie.

STEP 2
Kwi yuu sire iru eranga tau eranga
again bring and tie thus you will do some you will do

buul kunangi.
you will be exhausted
'If you do it like this, after you've done a little you'll be exhausted.'

2. THESIS: RHETORICAL QUESTION P

QUESTION
Ena sikul kal wai dungwa sikul Gumine diride
so then school thing good he doing school Gumine he will do

te kai sikul piride te kwi nangwa
hes high school he will go again he will keep going

nangwa pom tamintan nangwa?
going form how many will go

'Re his doing school well, he will do school at Gumine and he will go to High School and he will keep going on, how many forms will he do?'

ANSWER
Paib piride wei sangwa ne unibesiti piride
five he will go finished then university he will go

unibesiti nangwa wei sinangwa ena abal
university he will go it being finished then woman

inangwi.
he will get

'He will go to Form five and when he is finished then he will go to University and when University is finished, then he will get a wife.'

ANTITHESIS: EXPOSITORY P

POINT 1
Dim-ba wei sikinangwa abal ta ikinangwi.
it is but if he has not finished woman one he will not get

'This is so but if he has not finished school he will not marry.'

POINT 2
Imore sikul di milangwi.
simply school doing he will be

'He will simply continue on doing school.'

3. THESIS
Te i imore gulan kaya tawle kole sutakobe iru tawle
hes you in vain rafters before few there three thus a few

si yere te kawligi kaya taran taran ta i yere
cut and put hes posts before one one one there put

biriin kaya taran taran para i yeya diride te
ridge pole before one one enough there put you say hes

tawle tawle i yere ogu kinan-ba
a few few there put house you could build but

'If beforehand you have only cut and put a few rafters, say three, and you have only put one or two posts and if beforehand you say, I have put one or two ridge poles that's enough, you could build a house by just putting a few pieces of wood but ...'

ANTITHESIS: PROCEDURAL P

THEME: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Ogu kiinanga kiinanga ai imo
house you will build and build places yet

dala eremia.
it will soon be

'You will build the house on and on and yet some places will still be uncompleted.'

PARAPHRASE
Ogu imo dala eremia.
house yet it will soon be

'The house will still be uncompleted.'

STEP 1
Ena kwi yuure uride erana.
then again bring and come and you will make

'Then you will have to bring more and come to build.'

EVALUATION: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Ogu kiinangi ire gilgin gurala
house you will build this dried up dead

eremia.
it soon will be

'This house that you will build will soon dry up.'

PARAPHRASE
Kan ire gilgin gule are dere
rope there will dry up sun will burn

gilgin gule yaa di gule mile kan
it will dry up fall down dead it will be rope

ire sirebil sire unala eremia.
this will come undone it will soon come out of place

'The sun will scorch the rope and dry it up, it will be falling down, this rope will come undone and will soon come out of place.'

STEP 2: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
Kwi kan sire iru erangi ena pore
again rope tie and thus doing then a load

paamia.
it will be

'You will tie the rope again and doing it like this will be hard.'

PARAPHRASE
Eranga buul kunana.
doing it you will be exhausted

'If you do it you will have had it.'

CONCLUSION
Pisera.
throw away

'Don't do it like this.'

Contrastive parallelism.

4. THESIS: EXPOSITORY P

POINT 1: RHETORICAL QUESTION P

QUESTION
Di mile mile sabe bilkaw wen kal ta
doing being being knowledge big very thing one

kal ta para wen piride te main para
thing one all truly will know hes reason all

wen piride ena sikul wei sinangwa
truly he will know then school when finished

u konagi eride ta konagi eran?
come and will work what work he will do

'He will continue on going to school and will know lots of different things well and the reasons also, then when school is finished, he will come and work and what work will he do?'

ANSWER: ANTITHETICAL P

THESIS
Pirekege. Yalini inin konagi dim-ba
I do not know he himself work it is but

'I don't know. It is his own business but..'

ANTITHESIS
na ama di terabingi.
I also will tell

'.. I also will tell him.'

REINFORCEMENT
I konagi ta iru ero di terabingi.
you work one thus do I will tell him

'You do this work, I will tell him.'

POINT 2
Di terabinga ena yalin pi konagi erangwa eride
I will tell then he go work he will do he will do

ene abal inangwi.
then woman he will get

'Because I will tell him he will go and work and then he will get a wife.'

ANTITHESIS: EXPOSITORY P

POINT 1
Dim-ba malia sikul di milide kwi lip ere
it is but now school doing being again leave to

ala uride erin kaun ere ala uride gi
inside they come rest time to inside come and girls

kaa kol waride abal ta iride te
courting they walk about woman one they get hes

nen man gibilin siride i abal milemua
their father mother they buy and your wife she is

di tongure ena yalini piride kwi sikul ogu
they tell him then he hears again school house

ongwa aa nomanin binanbile sungwi.
he goes wow! thoughts many strike

'This is so but, now when they do school; they come back on leave and holidays, they walk about courting girls, they get a wife; their mother and father buy her and say "She is your wife", and then he hears this and when he goes back to school he is very confused.'

POINT 2
Na abal na mina te na abe kenin ere milemua
my wife my mother hes my father is looking after them

ere nalwa di pirungwi.
I will go saying he thinks

'"My father is looking after my wife and mother, I will go back" he thinks.

POINT 3
Eru piride sikul taw piserungwi.
thus he thinks and school some he throws away

'This is how he thinks and he give up school.'

Contrastive evaluation.

5. THESIS
Na kaninga ibal kenaa milema di kaningi.
me you seeing person heathen he is say you see

'When you look at me you think that I'm a heathen.'

ANTITHESIS
Iru kanin-ba na kenaa ta milekiwe.
thus you see but I heathen I am not

'You think like that but I am not a heathen.'

Contrastive response.

6. THESIS
Na kal digan ta erekibinge.
I thing bad one I did not do

'I didn't do a thing wrong.'

ANTITHESIS
Ta erekebin-ba yalini kal ta na tekemuo.
one I did not do but he thing one me he did not give

'I didn't do a thing wrong but he hasn't given me something.'

5.9. Simultaneous Paragraph.

The Simultaneous Paragraph contrasts with other paragraph types in the following ways:

(1) It consists of two tagmemes both of which are obligatory: the Head 1 tagmeme and the Head 2 tagmeme.

(2) The exponent of the Head 1 tagmeme has as its final clause a verb which is a repetition of the previous verb in the sentence, but with no pause between. This verb of the final clause occurs with ø suffixation. There is obligatory pause after the repetition of the verb whose intonation has no rise or fall and so is considered sentence final.

(3) Only two examples have been found of this type, the exponents of which are listed in the following bi-dimensional array.

(4) Both examples found are embedded in other paragraph types.

Simultaneous P =	+ Head 1	+ Head 2
exponents	Circumstance S	Listing P Paraphrase P

The Simultaneous Paragraph has been noted to encode only the Coterminus Temporal relationship. It has the same time specifications as the Sequence Sentence does when it encodes the same semantic relationship on the sentence level.

Examples:

1. HEAD 1
Na milalga mile-Ø
I in that I will be be

'While I continue living.'

HEAD 2: PARAPHRASE P

THEME
U go go ta pekeralo.
become anyhow I will not go

'I will not carry on any old way.'

PARAPHRASE
Iru na abe na mina egilangwa kol na
thus my father my mother they will tread way I

egilalo.
I will tread

'I will follow in the footsteps of my mother and father.'

2. HEAD 1
Na mina i suna eriga goma wen misin i Kone
my mother inside I effected firstly truly Mission this Kone

malge ogu ki tega ena Misin Bapapi ure ere miina
village house build I gave then Mission Evangelist came to away

kol kol nala de erungwa na namina goma wen i suna
place place they intended to go I my mother first truly inside

eriga suna ibe milungwa maliaga miti nil bile
effected inside up she being now Lutheran baptism

terala de eriga ere-Ø.
intending to effect effect

'I effected my mother's entering in to Church fellowship; a long time ago we built a house at Kone for the Mission, then the Mission Evangelist came and when they were going to go away to another place, I was the first to make my mother enter into fellowship and so she was in the Lutheran Mission compound, and now as we were going to baptise them, I did this.'

HEAD 2: LISTING P

ITEM 1: NARRATIVE P

SETTING
Bolima ta i siwe.
pig one this I killed

'I killed a pig.'

BUILD UP 1
Ibal nenwe.
people you ate
'You people ate it.'

ITEM 2: RHETORICAL QUESTION P

QUESTION
Bolima ta i siga we?
pig one this that I killed
'What about that other pig which I killed?'

ANSWER
Ibal nenwe.
people you ate it
'You people ate it.'

ITEM 3: RHETORICAL QUESTION P

QUESTION
Bolima ta siga we?
pig one that I killed
'What about the other pig that I killed?'

ANSWER
Ibal kobe nenwe.
people pl you ate it
'You people ate it.'

ITEM 4: RHETORICAL QUESTION P

QUESTION
Bolima ta siga we?
pig one that I killed
'What about the other pig that I killed?'

ANSWER
Ibal kobe nenwe.
people pl you ate it
'You people ate it.'

NOTES

1. This clitic was not handled on the word level as its main function is on this level, where it has the general meaning 'what about'.

2. The semantic content of the material inside these brackets comprise the closure of the discourse from which the paragraph was taken.

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