Kamasau (Wand Tuan) Grammar
Morpheme to Sentence

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1. INTRODUCTION

This grammar is a description of Wand Tuan (Kamasau), a Papuan language spoken in the East Sepik Province by about 700 people. Wand Tuan is part of the Marienberg stock-level family of the Torricelli Phylum (Laycock, 1973:16,74).

This description is hierarchical, beginning with morphology and word structure and proceeding through phrases and clauses.

I view language as a functional, dynamic system by which persons communicate ideas to each other (cf, Halliday, 1985). The basic unit of language is the discourse, in that people (other than linguists) do not communicate through isolated sentences. Rather, they speak in discourses, whether they be single words or lengthy dialogues.

Because of this functional perspective, the following description will be more functional than structural in its approach. Some structural description will be included, but is not intended to be the primary focus.

In giving examples, I try to select brief examples from texts that hopefully will still be clear out of context and will illustrate what is being discussed. When a suitable example is not available in the body of texts used, I take examples overheard in conversation and recorded, or as a last resort, invent one. In the latter case, I have checked the examples with native speakers of the language.

Table 1-1 is a list of abbreviations used. There are two basic ways of labelling constituents of grammatical structures. They may be labelled with class labels using all lower case letters (eg, nouns, adj., etc.), or with function labels with the first letter capital (eg, Head, Modifier, Complement, etc.). I use both systems in this paper. I follow Halliday (1985:27) in using all lower case letters for class labels and the first letter capitalized for function labels. An asterisk (*) at the beginning of an example indicates that it is not an acceptable construction in the language. I place brackets <> around infixes. For example, the word *yengu* 'I stand' may occur in an example. The morphemic representation would be *ye<ng>u*, with *ye-u* glossed as 'stand', and <ng> as '1s' (i.e., first person singular).

Table 1-1: Abbreviations Used

A	Agent	Inst	Instrument	PossP1	Possess. Phrase 1
AccomP	Accompaniment Phrase	InstP	Instrument Phrase	PossP2	Possess. Phrase 2
adj	adjective	Intens	Intensifier	pred	predicate
AdjP	Adjective Phrase	IntrCl	Intransitive Clause	Pur	Purpose
adv	adverb	io	indirect object	QSDir	Quote Sent.-Direct
AdvP	Adverb Phrase	irr	irrealis	QSIndr	Quote Sent.-Indirect
AltS	Alternative Sent.	lg	paralinguistic	Qua	Quantifier
AmpS	Amplification Sent.	Lim	Limiter	R	Range
auxV	auxiliary verb	loc	Locative	RCl	relative clause
Ben	Benefactive	LocCl	Locative Clause	real	realis
CausS	Causation Sent.	LocP	Locative Phrase	Reas	Reason
Comp	Completive	m	masculine	ReasP	Reason Phrase
CondS	Conditional Sent.	M	Measure	RedupP	Reduplicat. Phrase
conj	conjunction	mainV	main verb	refl	reflexive
ConjS	Conjunction Sent.	Man	Manner	rel	relativiser
ContfS	Contrafactual Sent.	ManP	Manner Phrase	Rel-AxisP	Relator-Axis Phrase
ContrS	Contrast Sent.	Mod	Modifier	s	singular
ContS	Continuation Sent.	MSDur	Merged Sent.-Durat'n	SimP	Similarity Phrase
Delim	delimiter	MSGen	Merged Sent.-General	So	Source
dem	demonstrative	MSMot	Merged Sent.-Motion	subj	subject
DescCl	Descriptive Clause	n	neuter	TempP	Temporal Phrase
Det	Determiner	NarS	Narrative Sent.	TrCl	Transitive Clause
DitrCl	Ditransitive Clause	neg	negative	V	vowel
E	Experiencer	Neg	Negation	voc	vocative
EqCl	Equative Clause	num	numeral	WarnS	Warning Sentence
ExistCl	Existential Clause	obj	object	0	non-occurring form
ExplS	Explanatory Sent.	p	plural	*	position of infix;
f	feminine	P	Patient	+	clitic break
Fut	future	Pa	Path	-	morpheme break
G	Goal	PercS	Perception Sent.	1	first person
gen	genitive	ph	phrase	2	second person
Gen	Generic	Poss	Possessor	3	third person

Imp	Imperative		poss	possessive word	

1.1 Cultural Setting

Wand Tuan is spoken by 700 speakers living in six villages: Wandomi, Yibab, Tring, Wau, Kamasau, and Kenyari. The speakers live between Wewak and Angoram along the Angoram highway in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea.

The people live in an area of low rolling hills at approximately 250 meters elevation, with dense jungle and sago swamps interspersed with open grassland. Because of extensive land area the population density is quite low, though they are not evenly distributed throughout the area. Most of the villages are located on the top of ridges. Being tropical, the environment is relatively benign with ready access to food. The greatest lack in the diet is in protein. Sago is the staple food which, being solely starch, does not provide adequate nutrition in itself. The greatest health risks are malaria and pneumonia. Although sago is the staple of their diet, the Wand Tuan speakers supplement this with garden produce (slash-and-burn farming) and items gathered in the jungle.

The people have been part of the Roman Catholic church for several years. Even so, their traditional belief system is largely intact. This entails, among other things, extensive reliance on bush spirits and ancestral spirits, and frequent accusations of sorcery.

A more extensive description of the culture has been written elsewhere (Sanders & Sanders, 1988).

1.2 Linguistic Setting

Wand Tuan is one of six languages in the Marienberg Stock-level family of the Torricelli Phylum (Laycock, 1973:15-17). The Marienberg family of languages includes Wand Tuan (Kamasau), Urimo near the Urimo agricultural station, Munwara next to Urimo, Mandi on the coast near Wewak, Samap down the coast east of Wewak, and Buna around the Marienberg mission station on the Sepik River. The family is geographically isolated from the rest of the Torricelli Phylum to the West.

1.2.1 Dialects

Wand Tuan is divided into four dialects. These dialects are most easily distinguished by the word used for ‘no,’ the dialects being identified by this word (Figure 1-1).

Figure 1-1: Dialects of Wand Tuan

ghini	(Wandomi, Yibab)
segi	(Tring, Wau)
soigi	(Kamasau)
hagi	(Kenyari)

Lexicostatistically and phonostatistically, of these four dialects, *segi* and *soigi* are the most closely related. These two then relate fairly closely to the *hagi* dialect, with the *ghini* dialect being quite divergent from the other three. In recent years speakers of the *soigi* dialect have been shifting toward the *segi* dialect, so that speakers of the language now tend to recognize only three dialects: *ghini*, *segi*, and *hagi*.

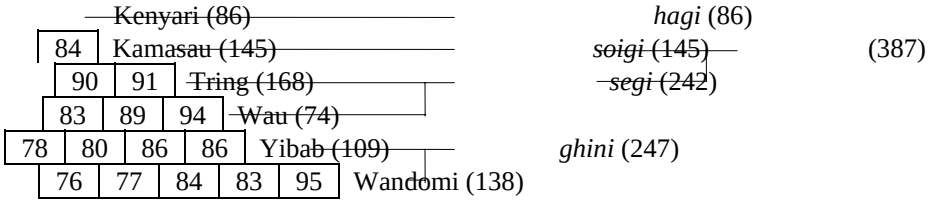
The most distinctive phonological difference between the dialects is that the [s]/[t] contrast in the *segi* and *soigi* dialects is reduced to [h] and [t] in the *hagi* and *ghini* dialects respectively. See the following comparison:

segi	soigi	hagi	ghini	
kas	*kas*	*kah*	*kat*	‘I sit’
su	*su*	*hu*	*tu*	‘fingernail’
wet	*wet*	*weh*	*wet*	‘stone’
tumo	*tumo*	*humo*	*tumo*	‘tail’

Another phonological distinction is that glottal stops (symbolized ‘q’) are lost in the *ghini* dialect. For example:

segi	soigi	hagi	ghini	
guqod	*guqod*	*guqod*	*guod*	‘I see’
mueq	*mueq*	*mueq*	*mue*	‘saucepan’

Figure 1-2: Cognate percentages
(1990 census figures given in parentheses)



Lexicostatistically Wand Tuan groups into three major dialects: *hagi*, *segi*/*soigi*, and *ghini*.

1.2.2 Knowledge of Other Languages

At least 90% of the population are bilingual in Wand Tuan and Tok Pisin, and about 40-50% speak and understand English to some extent. Approximately 5-8% speak Tok Pisin as their primary language with only a passive comprehension of Wand Tuan.

1.2.3 A Typological Sketch

Wand Tuan is basically a SOV language (contra Foley, 1986:105, 241). C.f., the following:

1) joe2:17

Quayi	*nungoqi*	*umbo*	*ngamo*	*te*	*w-*	*awo.*
man	2p	stomach	hole	dem	2p-	put.p
subj		obj			verb	

'You men dig the toilets.'

2) joe1:10

quayi	*ni*	*wand*	*quari*	*m*	*-e*	*-m*
man	3s/p	talk	story	3mp-	give	-3mp
subj	io	obj		verb		

'…the men give some stories to them.'

It is possible to change the order of the clause constituents for pragmatic reasons, placing a component other than Subject in the Topic position, as in the following.

3) joe5:29

Pudi	*nyombui*	*ren*	*nungoqi*	*ne*	*wutari*	*wo…*
pudi	nyombui	ren	nungoqi	ne	w- uta*i -r-	w- o
but	dog	dem.3fp	2p	Lim	2p- take -3fp-	3fp- go
conj	obj-Topic		subj		verb	

'But these dogs, you yourselves (cannot) take.'

Consistent with being an SOV language, Wand Tuan is primarily postpositional. The postposition *pe*, Adjectives, Relative Clauses, Demonstratives, and Numerals all follow the Head which they modify.

4) *baj yumbui*
house big

'big house'

5) *baj pe (k- o)*
house to (1s- go)

'I go to the house.'

6) *wuti baj pe n- as kin te*
man house at 3ms- sit rel dem

'the man who is in the house'

7) *baj* *wen*
house dem.3fs
'this house'

8) *baj* *teri*
house two.f
'two houses'

The one exception to the postpositional word order that one would expect of an SOV language is that the genitive precedes the noun Head.

9) *nge* *yir*
1s spear
'my spear'

10) ange1:11
Moris *ning* *baj*
Maurice poss house
'Maurice's house'

11) amu2:47
ni *kin* *tiqe*
3s/p refl village
'his own village'

The normal order of occurrence of these modifiers is genitive (phrase), noun, adjective, numeral and demonstrative.

12) *nge* *nyombui* *wo* *temi* *men*
1s dog child two.m dem.m
'these two small dogs of mine'

The fact that Wand Tuan is SOV and postpositional with the genitive preceding the noun is not unheard of (cf, Hawkins, 1983:26, 135).

There are two means by which Wand Tuan indicates possession, kinship terms being inalienably possessed and all other things being alienably possessed. Inalienable possession is restricted to kinship only and does not extend to other realms, e.g., body parts.

Inalienable *Pita* *kiyi*
Peter father.3s/p
'Peter's father'

Alienable *ni* *ning* *nyombui*
3s/p poss dog
'his dog'

nu *mame*
2s knife
'your knife'

baj *ni* *te*
house 3s/p dem
'his house'

nge *si*
1s hand
'my hand'

Wand Tuan distinguishes four noun classes. These classes are marked by verb affixation, proximal demonstratives, and the numerals '1' and '2'. Noun class is not marked on nouns, pronouns or adjectives. These classes overlap somewhat with gender, but do not line up exactly with semantic gender (cf., Table 1-2).

Table 1-2: Noun Classes

class	features	verb prefix	proximal dem	numeral
Class 1:	masculine	n = 3s	*nen*	*iri*
	elongated	m = 3p	*men*	*temi*
	strong			
	hard			
Class 2:	feminine	w = 3s	*wen*	*ire*
	round	r = 3p	*ren*	*teri*
	weak			
	soft			
Class 3:	neuter	ku = 3s	*kuen*	*ire*
	gender unknown	r = 3p	*ren*	*tengi*
	immature			
Class 4:	paralinguistic	v = 3s	*ven*	*ire*
		r = 3p	ven	tevi

The usage of the fourth class of nouns is not evenly distributed among the dialects. The description above is for the *segi* dialect. Class 4 is more widely used in *hagi*, and missing entirely in *ghini*. In the dialects that use it, it is restricted to reference to speech.

Nouns are not marked for plurality, this being indicated by context, verb affixation, demonstratives, and/or numerals.

Pronouns distinguish person and number in all but third person, but not noun class/gender:

	SG	PL
1PERS	*nge*	*beghi*
2PERS	*nu*	*nungoqi*
3PERS	*ni*	*ni*

According to Foley (1986:105) one would expect Wand Tuan, as a Papuan SOV language, to have verbal affixation for Actor "A" and Undergoer "U" both as suffixes (e.g., either V-U-A or V-A-U). It would also be more common for the Undergoer to precede the Actor (e.g., either U-V-A or V-U-A). But Wand Tuan does not follow that expected pattern. Rather, the affixation is A-V-U (Agent-verb-Undergoer).

Interrogation is marked by rising pitch and/or the insertion of an interrogative word. Interrogative words occur in the position of the clause constituent being questioned. Cf.,

13) *Nu Wewak kw-o?*
2s Wewak 2s- go
'Did you go to Wewak?'

14) *Nu muai nde kw- o?*
2s where to 2s- go
'Where are you going?'

15) *Tughe Wewak n- o?*
who Wewak 3ms- go
'Who went to Wewak?'

2. SUMMARY OF PHONOLOGY

We do not intend to give a comprehensive summary of Wand Tuan phonology here. That is available elsewhere (Sanders & Sanders, 1980a). Rather, this section is intended to give a summary of the phonology so as to facilitate reading the examples throughout the paper.

2.1 Phonemes

The following phonemes have been identified in Wand Tuan.

	Bilab	Alveol	Alveopal	Velar	Glottal
voiceless stops		t		k	?
voiced stops	b	d		g	
voiced/prenasal stops	^{m}b	^{n}d		^{n}g	
voiceless affricate			tš		
voiced affricate			dz		
prenasal voiced affricate		^{n}dz			
nasals	m	n	ñ¤	n	
voiceless sibilant		s			
voiceless fricative	~~þ~~				
voiced fricative	~~ƀ~~			~~ɠ~~	
voiced flap		r			
glides	w		y		

	[-back] [-rounded]	[+back] [-rounded]	[+rounded]
[+high vowel]	i	~~ɨ~~	u
[-high vowel]	e	a	o

Orthographically, representations of these phonemes is fairly straightforward using Roman characters.

/t/	t	/s/	s
/k/	k	/~~þ~~/	p
/?/	q	/~~ƀ~~/	v
/b/	b	/~~ɠ~~/	gh
/d/	d	/r/	r
/g/	g	/w/	w
/mb/	m	/y/	y
/nd/	n	/i/	i
/ts/	c	/e/	e
/dz/	j	/~~ɨ~~/	i
/ndz/	nj	/a/	a
/m/	m	/u/	u
/n/	n	/o/	o
/ñ/	ny		
/ng/	ng		
/ngg/	ng		

3. MORPHEME TO WORD

The morphology of Wand Tuan is fairly straight-forward. There is little inflection, and derivational processes are minimal. In this section I first discuss derivation then inflection. The term “word” is used here to refer to the surface structure level of the grammatical hierarchy which encodes both derivation and inflection. This is different than Longacre who defines stem as encoding derivation and word as encoding inflection (1976: 272).

3.1 Derivation

Under derivation I first describe compounding of conjunctions and nouns. After that, I discuss reduplication.

3.1.1 Compounding

Compounding is minimally productive in Wand Tuan. Compound forms are short, my having observed no more than two elements together. The only factor that distinguishes compounds from phrases is the presence of only one primary phonological stress in compounds.

Conjunctions

There are only three compound conjunctions. All three involve the conjuction *di* 'and' as the second element. The disjunctive conjunction, *pudi* 'but', is a compound of *pu* 'thus' and *di* 'and'. The conjunction *muqdi* 'now, next' is composed of *muq* 'now' and *di* 'and'. The other conjunction produced by compounding is *tedi* 'then, therefore'. This conjunction is the result of the compounding of *te* 'that' and *di* 'and'.

Nouns

The most productive area of compounding in Wand Tuan is the nouns, though even there it is not very common. Compound nouns are the product of two nouns being combined.

16)	*waserar*	from	*wase*	+	*rar*
	'sore'		fire		eye
17)	*nginyrar*	from	*nginy*	+	*rar*
	'watch/clock'		sun		eye
18)	*Angesegi*	from	*ange*	+	*segi*
	man's name		ear		neg
19)	*Iremborar*	from	*irembo*	+	*rar*
	woman's name		bandicoot		eye
20)	*Wamgadi*	from	*wam*	+	*g- adi*
	man's name		above		1s- come

3.1.2 Reduplication

Very few reduplicated words occur in Wand Tuan. In example 21 the final vowel, *u*, of the first word may be lost in rapid speech.

21) *breq(u)* + *brequ*
bad + bad
'quickly'

22) *waghi* + *waghi*
slow + slow
'carefully'

23) *pri* + *pri*
early + early
'often'

There are some examples of onomatopoeic animal names that resemble the animal's call, e.g., *wapi ngrong ngrong*, a type of bird and *oru krip*, a type of frog. While the former resembles reduplication, I have not classified it as such.

3.2 Inflection

Under the heading of Inflection I discuss the inflection that takes place in numerals, demonstratives, reflexives, postpositions, kinship terms, and verbs.

3.2.1 Numerals

The Wand Tuan counting system is essentially a base-two system, with slight modification for multiples of '5'.

1	*ire*	'one'
2	*teri*	'two'
3	*teri ire*	'two one'
4	*teri aye teri*	'two another two'
5	*si ire omo*	'one hand'
6	*si ire omo di aye ire*	'one hand and one more'
10	*si tengi*	'two hand'

The numerals *ire* 'one' and *teri* 'two' are both inflected for noun class, and the latter is also inflected for person. The inflection of the singular numeral is defective in that there are only two forms (see Table 3-1). Noun classes one, two, and three roughly correspond with the genders masculine, feminine, and neuter respectively. Noun class four is labelled "paralinguistic".

Table 3-1: Numerals

	one	two
Third Person		
class 1	*iri*	*temi*
class 2	*ire*	*teri*
class 3	*ire*	*tengi/tenji*
class 4	*ire*	*tevi*
Second Person	*iri*	*tequ*
First Person	*iri*	*temu*

At present this counting system is usually used only for the numerals up to '4' or '5'. Above that it is replaced by numerals borrowed from Tok Pisin.

3.2.2 Demonstratives

The proximal demonstrative, *nen* 'this', is inflected for number and noun class. The inflection is defective in the plural form, in that there are only two morphological forms to mark the four noun classes (see Table 3-2). The distal demonstrative, *te* 'that', is uninflected for either number or noun class.

Table 3-2: Proximal Demonstratives

	singular	plural
class 1	*nen*	*men*
class 2	*wen*	*ren*
class 3	*kuen*	*ren*
class 4	*ven*	*ren*

3.2.3 Reflexive

The reflexive, 'one's own', is partially inflected for person, number, and noun class (see Table 3-3).

Table 3-3: Reflexives

	singular	plural
1st	*ning*	*bon*
2nd	*non*	*non*
3ms	*kin*	*ming*
3fm	*kun*	*ring*

The reflexives may function as reflexives, or as intensives when combined with the clitic *ne*.

24) *Nge nge ning mir kateri.*
1s 1s refl food 1s_get.fp
'I got my own food.'

25) *Nge ning+ne puq ken.*
1s refl+Lim thus 1s_do
'I do it myself.'

The reflexive may also be used distributively.

26) amu5:27
beghi bon bon quem+ye mitamu mo,
1p refl refl white+real 3mp_take.1p 3mp_go
'our own white skins took us,'

3.2.4 Possessives

The possessive particle is partially inflected for person, number and noun class. Some of the forms (i.e., third person plural masculine and feminine) are homophonous with the reflexives.

Table 3-4: Possessives

	singular	plural
1st	*gig*	*big*
2nd	*gug*	*ning*
3ms	*ning*	*ming*
3fs	*wung*	*ring*

27) amu5:8
masin ming piksa
machine poss picture
'machines' pictures'

28) sai7:58
ni wung lain
3s/p poss family
'her family'

3.2.5 Postpositions

Only one postpositional word undergoes changes to semantically conditioned allomorphs. The word *pe*, 'to, in, at, with', has three allomorphs depending on the element it follows. The three forms are: *nde* following persons, demonstratives and the words *muai* 'where' and *oti* 'later'; *mbe* following two words, *wuny* 'garden' and *tan* 'kunai'; and *pe* following all other words. These allomorphs have no phonological basis, nor are the groups of words with which they are associated related to the existing noun classes. The groupings appear to be arbitrary. These are demonstrated in the following examples.

29) *Nge baj pe k- o.*
1s house to 1s-go
'I went to the house.'

30) joe4:26
nyumbueg wo pe r- uso … kin
woman child to 3fp- go … rel
'…the women who bear children…'

31) sai7:65
O muq ni nde w- us.
Oh now 3s/p to 3fs- sit
'Oh now she stays with her.'

32) joe4:15
ningiyi ven nde m- as kin…
bush.spirit Dem at 3mp- sit Rel
'…the bush spirits who live here…'

33) sai19:22
Asi nu muai nde yembe gw- ad?
before 2s where at work 2s- do
'Where did you work before?'

34) joe7:7
oti nde gre r- ind
later at hard 3fp- do
'they will take their time drying'

35) joe4:24
wuny mbe y- o.
garden to 2s.Imp- go
'Go to the garden'

cf.,

joe4:13
wuny choq pe yeru
wuny choq pe ye*u -r-
garden edge at stand -2s.Imp-
'stand at the edge of the garden'

36) reg2:45
tan mbe ngim +ne te k- awo r- is.
kunai at road Lim Dem 1s- put.p 3fp- sit
'I put them there in the kunai on the path.'

The use of *pe* with geographically near place names is arbitrary in that it is used with some names but not with others. Locations that are geographically distant from the Wand Tuan area never use *pe*. In the following example, the village name Wau takes the demonstrative *pe* while the other name for the same village, Etem, does not.

37) *Wau pe po* cf, *Etem po*
Wau to 1p_go Etem 1p_go
'We went to Wau.' 'We went to Etem.'

3.2.6 Kinship

Wand Tuan kinship terms are inalienably possessed. That is, the forms must indicate whose relative is being discussed. The second and third person forms are based on the root form, with the second person adding the prefix *n-* to the root form and the third person adding *k-* regardless of gender. The first person sometimes varies from the root form (Table 3-5).

Table 3-5: Kinship Terms

kin term	1st	2nd	3rd
mother	*moyu*	*numo*	*kumo*
father	*wuyi*	*nuyi*	*kiyi*
son	*wonyimi*	*nuwonyimi*	*kuwonyimi*
daughter	*wonyumbu*	*nuwonyumbu*	*kuwonyumbu*
younger sibling	*qam*	*nuqam*	*kiqam*
older sibling	*jeje*	*nuse*	*kise*
brother	*nyimi*	*nunyimi*	*kinyimi*
sister	*nyumbu*	*nunyumbu*	*kinyumbu*
maternal grandparent	*koku*	*nuqo*	*kuqo*
paternal grandparent	*mem*	*numem*	*kimem*
cousin	*yai*	*nuqangri*	*kiqangri*
in-law	*yine*	*nine*	*kine*
mother's younger sister	*mom*	*numotumo*	*kumotumo*
mother's older sister	*bar*	*nubar*	*kibar*

mother's brother	*wau*	*nuwau*	*kuwau*
father's sister	*bobo*	*nunyam*	*kinyam*
father's younger brother	*mom*	*nuyitumo*	*kiyitumo*
father's older brother	*mem*	*numem*	*kimem*

3.2.7 Verbs

Verbs are the most productive words morphologically. They are inflected for two moods -- imperative and indicative -- with indicative being the unmarked form. They are also inflected for person, number, and noun class of the Subject, Object, and Indirect Object. Object and Indirect Object are mutually exclusive in that both are not marked on the verb at the same time. I describe this pattern of affixation in more depth below (cf., Affixation, page 15).

Morphophonemics in Verbs

There is some morphophonemic variation in the verbs. The first example involves voicing of subject prefixes. The first and second person singular prefixes are generally unvoiced (*k-* and *kw-* respectively). However, they become voiced (*g-* and *gw-*) when followed by a voiced stop in the same syllable.

38) *wiye k- at*
water 1s- fill
'get water'

cf.,

Nge umbo wiye g- ad.
1s stomach water 1s- do
'I have diarrhea.'

A second morphophonemic change occurs in the feminine and neuter prefixes (both singular and plural). In verbs in which the first phoneme of the verb root is a low central vowel /a/, third person feminine singular replaces that vowel with a high back vowel /u/. If this were not to occur then third person feminine singular and second person plural would be homophonous, as would the third person neuter singular and the first person singular. Third person feminine plural usually replaces the /a/ with a high central vowel (orthographically represented by 'i').

39)

n-	*as*	*m-*	*as*	*w-*	*us*	*r-*	*is*	*k-*	*us*	*v-*	*is*
3ms-	sit	3mp-	sit	3fs-	sit	3fp-	sit	3ns-	sit	3ps-	sit
'he sits		they(m) sit		she sits		they(f) sit		it sits		it sits'	

In one verb, *no* 'go,' the feminine and neuter forms add a syllable. The stress remains on the verb root.

40)

n-	*o*	*m-*	*o*	*w-*	*uso*	*r-*	*uso*	*k-*	*uso*
3ms-	go	3mp-	go	3fs-	go	3fp-	go	3ns-	go
'he goes		they(m) go		she goes		they(f) go		it goes'	

A third example of morphophonemic change in verbs involves the prefix for second person singular *kw-*. When this prefix comes before the vowel sequences /ua/ and /ue/ the timing of the labialization is reduced to that of the /w/ in the prefix. Note that in example 41 even though the timing is reduced to just that of the labialization, it is orthographically symbolized with a /u/.

41) *kwuaq wughe => kuaq wughe / *kwues kwewo => kues kuewo
'You put it down.' 'You get up.'

The first person singular prefix (k-) when occurring before a front vowel (/e/ or /i/) is usually pronounced as a palatalized consonant [ky-].

42) *ki nati* → [kyi nati]
I.hit.him he.die
'I killed him.'

43) *kew* → [kyew]
I.give.you
'I give to you.'

44) *geg* → [gyeg]
I.give.him
'I give to him.'

While this palatalization is generally true for the first person singular prefix, some speakers have generalized the palatalization to include other verbal prefixes, e.g., /new/ → [nyew] 'he give her;' /pew/ → [pyew] 'we give her.'

The third person masculine singular suffix on the verb *-ng*, becomes a voiced stop *-g* when it follows a voiced stop in the preceding syllable. (Note that the /p/ represents a fricative, rather than a stop.)

45) *n- e -ng* cf., *g- e -g*
3ms- give -3ms 1s- give-3ms
'He gives to him.' 'I give to him.'

46) *r- ua -ng* cf., *gw- ua -g*
3fp- put -3ms 2s- put -3ms
'They(f) put for him.' 'You(s) put for him.'

47) *m- ipi -ng* cf., *m- indi -g*
3mp- hold -3ms 3mp- do -3ms
'They hold for him.' 'They do to him.'

Verbs with a prenasalized, voiced stop in the root also undergo some morphophonemic change. The prenasalized stop loses its nasalization, becoming the corresponding voiced stop when following a voiced stop.

48) *wase m- ande* cf., *wase g- ade*
fire 3mp- burn fire 1s- burn
'They(mp) burned [it].' 'I burned [it].'

The application of combinations of these morphophonemic rules can result in dramatic changes in some of the verbs. In the following examples the following rules apply.

/k-/	→	[g-] / before a voiced stop in that syllable
	→	[k-] / elsewhere
/nd, mb/	→	[d,b] / following a voiced stop
(in stem)	→	[nd,mb] / elsewhere
/-ng/	→	[-g] / following a voiced stop
(suffix)	→	[-ng] / elsewhere

Example 49 demonstrates the suffix *-ng* unchanged following a voiceless stop, and the prefix *k-* unchanged in the environment of a voiceless stop. Example 50 shows the change of the prefix *k-* to *g-* preceding a voiced stop, and the change of the /nd/ in the verb root to /d/. Example 51 shows the suffix *-ng* changed to *-g* following the voiced prenasalized stop /nd/. Example 52 shows all three of the rules mentioned above in operation.

49) *wiye n- ita-ng* cf., *wiye k- ita-ng*
water 3ms- apply-3ms water 1s- apply-3ms
'He bathed him.' 'I bathe him.'

50) *pengu n- and* cf., *pengu g- ad*
ask 3ms- do ask 1s- do
'he asked' 'I ask'

51) *pengu n- indi -g*
ask 3ms- do -3ms
'he asked him'

52) *pengu g- idi -g*
ask 1s- do -3ms
'I asked him'

Mood

Wand Tuan indicates only two types of mood on the verbs, indicative and imperative. They are both marked in portmanteau with the person/number prefixes, indicative being the unmarked force.

Imperative is marked by the prefixes *gh-*, *y-* or *0-* for second-person singular and *w-* for second-person plural. Imperative in Wand Tuan sometimes indicates more than simple imperative. It can also indicate the wish of the speaker on behalf of the hearer. This secondary use of the imperative is distinct from the desiderative modality, which may express the speaker's desire for another person to perform an action. The use of the imperative mood to indicate the speaker's wish for (or on behalf of) a second person is best illustrated by example 53.

53) *Nge nu k- i gh- ati.*
1s 2s 1s- hit 2s.Imp- die
'I will (want to) kill you.'

In this example, ghati is not an action that the intender wants the other person to perform, unless 'dying' is an action that one performs. I have chosen the label "imperative mood" for both illocutionary forces. Imperative mood also expresses both positive commands and prohibitions.

54) joe4:9
si pe +ne ei yeri gh- and.
hand with +Lim Fut command 2s.Imp- do
'…motion with your hands.'

55) joe4:21
nu wuny mbe gh- eyi y- i wayequ
2s/p garden in 2s.Imp- enter 2s.Imp- come don't
'…don't you(s) enter the garden.'

Affixation

Three grammatical cases are core in that they are marked on the verb: subject, object, and indirect object. They are generally marked using a nominative-accusative case-marking pattern in which the same set of affixes are used for both the subject of intransitive verbs and the subject (Agent) of transitive verbs (cf., Foley, 1986: 103ff).

Subjects of intransitive verbs are marked in three ways. The most common of these is to mark the subject with a prefix. The subject prefix encodes Agent, Experiencer, Patient, or a combination of two of the above three semantic cases. The second method of marking the subject of an intransitive verb is by infix (cf., Table 3-6). This is restricted to the verb *yenu* 'stand', and encodes the semantic case Agent.

Table 3-6: Verbal Subject Prefixes & Infixes

	prefix		infix	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
1st person	*k-*	*p-*	*-ng-*	*-mb-*
2nd person	*kw-*	*w-*	*-r-*	*-q-*
3rd person m	*n-*	*m-*	*-n-*	*-m-*
3rd person f	*w-*	*r-*	*-q-*	*-r-*
3rd person n	*k-*	*r-*	*-ng-*	*-r-*

56) *n- o* Agent/Patient
3ms- go
'he went'

57) *k- as* Agent
1s- sit
'I sat'

58) *m- ati* Patient
3mp- die
'free_translation'

59) *yenu* Agent
ye*u <n>
stand <3ms>
'he stood'

Although there are three core grammatical cases, as mentioned above, transitive verbs only mark two at any one time. The normal, unmarked inflection of a transitive verb is to indicate the subject of the clause with a prefix and the object by inflection of the verb stem.

60) *n- uaq* / 3ms- put.fs / 'he put her'
n- owi / 3ms- put.ms / 'he put him'
n- awo / 3ms- put.p / 'he put them'

61) *n- aq* / 3ms- eat.fs / 'he ate (fs)'
n- e / 3ms- eat.ms/p / 'he ate (ms/p)'

62) *n- itaq* / 3ms- get.fs / 'he got (fs)'
n- eti / 3ms- get.ms / 'he got (ms)'
n- ate / 3ms- get.p / 'he got (p)'

63) *n- umbueq* / 3ms- hit.fs / 'he hit her'
n- i / 3ms- hit.ms / 'he hit him'
n- amb / 3ms- hit.p / 'he hit them'

64) *n- indiq* / 3ms- do.3fs / 'he do to her'
n- aind / 3ms- do.3ms / 'he do to him'
n- and / 3ms- do.p / 'he do to them'

When the indirect object is overtly marked on the verb it occurs as a suffix on a stripped-down form of the verb stem, normally used for a third-person feminine singular object. The form of the verb stem may still be inflected to reflect the noun class of the object.

65) *n- ua -w* / 3ms- put.f -3fs / 'he put for her'
n- ua -gh / 3ms- put.f -1s / 'he put for him'
n- ua -m / 3ms- put.f -3ms / 'he put for them'

cf., *n- ue -w* / *3ms- put.m -3fs* / 'he put for her'
n- ue -gh / *3ms- put.m -1s* / 'he put for him'
n- ue -m / *3ms- put.m -3ms* / 'he put for them'

66) *n- ita- m* *w- i* / 3ms- get -3mp 3fs- come / 'he got it(f) from them(m)'
n- ita- m *r- i* / 3ms- get -3mp 3fp- come / 'he got them(f) from them(m)'

67) *n- indi -g* / 3ms- do -3ms / 'he did for him'
n- indi -gh / 3ms- do -1s / 'he did for me'

The suffixes used to mark the indirect object are given in Table 3-7.

Table 3-7: Verbal Indirect Object Suffixes

	sg	pl
1st person	*-gh*	*-(V)mu, -ug, -ngu*
2nd person	*-w*	*-qu, -uq*
3rd person m	*[3]-ng*	*-m*
3rd person f	*-w*	*-ny*

First person plural indirect object is expressed by three forms. The most common form is *-mu*. It is affixed to the form of the verb stem commonly used for third person feminine singular objects. The third person feminine suffix, *-w*, that would normally occur following this form of the verb stem, is replaced by *-mu* to indicate a first person plural indirect object. The other two forms are restricted in their distribution. The suffix *-ngu* is restricted to the verb *neng* 'give' and *nuaq* 'put'. The suffix *-ug* is used only with the generic verb *nand* 'do'.

68) *n -e -ngu*
3ms- give -1p
'he gave us'

69) *pengu n- ind -ug*
ask 3ms- do -1p
'he asks us'

70) *Ni beghi n- undo -mu.*
3s/p 1p 3ms- see -1p
'He sees us.'

For second person plural indirect objects the most common suffix is *-qu*. The other form, *-uq*, is restricted to the two generic verbs *nand* 'do' and *namb* 'feel'.

71) *Ni m- ita -qu m- o.*
3s/p 3mp- take -2p 3mp- go
'They took you(pl).'

72) *Ni wandoqi n- ind -uq.*
3s/p lie 3ms- do -2p
'He lied to you(pl).'

73) *Ni nei r- imb-uq.*
3s/p know 3fp- feel-2p
'They know you(pl).'

Verbs can be described as intransitive, transitive and ditransitive on the basis of the number of obligatorily associated persons and their semantic roles. While there is a difference between intransitive and transitive verbs, to classify Wand Tuan verbs as being either transitive or ditransitive is not entirely accurate, as they may function as either transitive or ditransitive verbs. The following examples show how the verbs may function either way, depending on their inflection.

74) *Beghi yaq p- are b- adi.*
1p sago.leaf 1p- carry.p 1p- come
'We are bringing sago leaves.'

cf.,

Beghi yaq p- ira-w b- adi.
1p sago.leaf 1p- carry-2s 1p- come
'We are bringing sago leaves for you.'

75) *Ni awo m- ate r- i.*
3s/p sorcery 3mp- get.p 3fp- come
'They got sorcery things.'

cf.,

Ni awo m- ita-m r- i.
3s/p sorcery 3mp- get.p-3mp 3fp- come
'They got sorcery things from them.'

76) *Ni wane n- e.*
3s/p banana 3ms- eat.m
'He ate a banana.'

cf.,

Ni	*ngam*	*wane*	*n-*	*a-w.*
3s/p	wife	banana	3ms-	eat-3fs

'He ate his wife's banana.'

4. PHRASE

Under the section "Phrase" I discuss Wand Tuan phrases under two main headings. In the first, Verb Phrases, I discuss the three types of verb phrases identified. In the second section, Nonverbal Phrases, I describe noun phrases, relator-axis phrases and quantifier phrases. The term "phrase" is used to refer to that level of the grammatical hierarchy which forms the constituents of clauses (cf., Longacre, 1976:272).

4.1 Verbal Phrases

Structurally, Wand Tuan predications occur in one of four forms: simple verbs; main verbs with associated auxiliary verbs; generic verbs with adjuncts; and serial predications. I describe the first three forms of predications as verb phrases. I consider the fourth, serial predications, to be a series of two clauses functioning together to express a predication (equivalent to the English verbs "come" and "go").

In this section on verb phrases I deal with the verb phrase and its three subtypes. Before discussing them, though, there is a brief description of some criteria for determining what a verb phrase is in Wand Tuan.

4.1.1 Determining Verb Phrases

It is necessary to be able to distinguish between verb phrases (the nucleus of most clauses) and clauses themselves. This can be complicated by the fact that a clause can be manifested by only a verb phrase (or by a single verb, for that matter). In Wand Tuan some verbal ideas are expressed by combining two verbs, e.g. *kowi nase* 'put it' + 'it lies' = 'lay it down'). At the same time some sequences of verbs are manifestations of a series of minimal clauses. This section describes the means of distinguishing a verb phrase composed of more than one verb from a series of two or more minimal clauses.

The second verb of a complex verb phrase (i.e., composed of two verbs) often has a different person/number affix than does the first verb, as in the first example below of main verb plus auxiliary verb.

77) sai15:14

yod	*m-*	*i*	*r-*	*ighe.*
post	3mp-	put.in.p	3fp-	descend

'they put in the posts.'

78) gid1:15

wiye	*ambri*	*m-*	*aghe*	*m-*	*o*
water	river	3mp-	descend	3mp-	go

'they went into the river'

In these examples, the second verb does not mark a new clause. Rather, the two verbs function together as a close-knit semantic unit. That is, they are a single predication expressed by two verbs. For example, in transitive predications the subject of the second verb invariably agrees in person, number and gender with the object of the first verb. In intransitive predications the subject prefix of both verbs agree in person, number, and noun class. In both instances the two verbs form a tight-knit semantic unit.

Serial predications were mentioned in the introduction to this section. They correspond semantically to the English verbs "take" and "bring". These are predicated as "carry go" and "carry come" respectively. Although the subject prefixes of both verbs generally agree in person, number and noun class it is possible for them to differ, as illustrated below. The affixation on the second of the two verbs in serial predications is more flexible than is true with main verb plus auxiliary verb.

79) reg2:66
wuge te… k- are b- adi.
sago dem 1s- carry.p 1p- come
'I carried the sago [and] we came.'

80) ben1:2
Joy ninge te ane r- iraq b- adi
Joy some dem with 3fp- carry 1p- come
'Joy with some others carried [sago stems and] we came.'

The greater flexibility of verbal affixation combined with the fact that other clause-level units can occur between the two verbs leads me to consider these double predications as two clauses rather than a single complex verb phrase. Elements that may occur between the two verbs include Location/Goal expressions, conjunctions, and adverbs.

The first criterion, then, in determining if a series of verbs is a single verb phrase is how tightly knit a unit is formed by the two verbs. A phrase does not permit other units to come between the verbs. Serial predications, as in the following examples, are open to having clause-level units come between the two verbs that make up the total predication.

81) joe6:34
m- are haus sik m- o
3mp- carry.p house sick 3mp- go
'they took them to the hospital'

82) joe4:12
gh- are di mune y- o.
2s.Imp- carry.p and again 2s.Imp- go
'…take them and go back.'

The second criterion is specific to oral text. The intonation contour of non-final clauses consists of a rising pitch at the end of the clause, generally followed by a brief pause. The pitch drops at the end of the final clause, and is generally followed by a longer pause than that which follows a non-final clause. These patterns of intonation contours help in oral disambiguation of sentences in which there is a series of clauses composed solely of verb phrases.

These intonation contours may become neutralized in complex relative clauses. In example 83 there are two clauses, each composed of one verb phrase, making up a relative clause. The two verb phrases in this example are *mi newo* 'put up' and *meri mandi* 'bring', each in a separate clause. There is no rising pitch or pause between the two verb phrases, even though they are separate clauses. This is because they together comprise a relative sentence that is itself backlooped into an Attributive Noun Phrase as a Modifier of the nominal head. The main clause, then, determines the intonation contour of the embedded relative clause and of its constituent clauses.

83) gid1:37
wuti iri ((kar pe m- i n- ewo)
man one.m car in 3mp- put.ms 3ms- go.up
(m- eri m- andi) kin te) simbe n- and…
3mp- carry.ms 3mp- come rel dem tell 3ms- do
'the man they put up in the car and brought told…'

There are 22 phrase types -- five verb phrases and seventeen nonverb phrases. The following sections deal first with the verb phrases then with the nonverb phrases.

4.1.2 Wand Tuan Verb Phrases

The nucleus of a verb phrase is the Head. It is, in fact, the only tagmeme that is obligatory. The other tagmemes — Modifier1, Completive, Negation and Modifier2 — are optional, as indicated by brackets in the following formula:

(Modifier1) Head (Completive) (Negation) (Modifier2)

The order of the tagmemes of the verb phrase is inflexible.

Aspect is partly handled at the phrase level. Continuous or habitual action is expressed by reduplicating the verb. The verb is generally only reduplicated once in written texts, though I have heard it reduplicated up to four times in oral texts.

84) sai1:33
yewon ne b- adi b- adi Maprik.
well Lim 1p- come 1p- come Maprik
'we kept coming well (all the way) to Maprik.'

85) regi2:36
rand pe te w- uyo w- uso w- uso
mountain to dem 3fs- ascend 3fs- go 3fs- go
'she kept going up the mountain'

86) sai17:19
Qo m- indi-q, buid m- ap m- ap m- ap
pull 3mp- do-3fs strong 3mp- hold 3mp- hold 3mp- hold
'they kept pulling hard'

Completive aspect is expressed in the verb phrase by a completion word immediately after the Head. There are two completion words, *pre* 'finished, done' and *omo* 'completely, entirely'.

87) joe2:21
karas pend w- ua-q pre…
grass cut 2p- put-3fs done
'after you have cut the grass…'

Adverbial modifiers manifest Modifier before the verb that they modify.

88) sai19:77
brequ +ne w- andi.
bad Lim 2p.Imp- come
'you(p) come quickly'

89) *meri w- uso*
search 3fs- go
'she went searching'

There are five types of verb phrases described in the following subsections: Auxiliary Verb Phrase, Coordinate Verb Phrase, Generic Verb Phrase, Modified Verb Phrase, and Motion Verb Phrase.

Auxiliary Verb Phrase (AuxVP)

The Auxiliary Verb Phrase differs from the Modified Verb Phrase (see below) in that the predication is manifested by two verbs rather than one. The peripheral tagmemes of the verb phrase occur in their normal position and order around the predication. The first of the two verbs is the main verb, expressing the nuclear concept of the predication. The second verb is the auxiliary verb. The main verb and the auxiliary verb are both obligatory. The formula for the Auxiliary Verb Phrase is:

(Mod1)	mainV	auxV^n	(Comp)	(Neg)	(Mod2)
adv	trans verb	intrans verb	*pre* 'done'	*segi* neg	*ye* real
RedupP			*omo* 'comp'	*ghari* neg	*bri* irr

The main verb is transitive (usually "get", "throw" or "put"), and the auxiliary verb intransitive. The subject of the auxiliary verb agrees in person, number, and noun class with the object of the main verb.

90) ignas3:13 (mainV: trans verb + auxV: intrans verb)
p- ua-q w- use,
1p- put-3fs 3fs- lie
'we layed it down'

91) amu3:7 (Mod1: adverb + mainV: trans verb + auxV: intrans verb)
mune *wundub* *yeru*
mune *w-* *undub* *ye*u* *-r-*
again 3fs- put.upright stand -3fp-
'she stood them upright again'

92) sai7:53 (mainV: trans verb + auxV: intrans verb)
memiraq *wuso*
m- *me*iraq* *w-* *uso*
3mp- throw.fs 3fs- go
'they threw it'

93) ignas1:18 (mainV: trans verb + auxV: intrans verb + Comp: *pre*)
r- *uwo* *k-* *ughe* *pre*
3fp- put.p 3ns- descend comp
'they finish putting it down'

94) joe7:8 (Mod1: ManP + mainV: trans verb + auxV: intrans verb + Mod2: *ye*)
pughe *gri* *ei* *p-* *awo* *r-* *ighe* *ye?*
what way Fut 1p- put.p 3fp- descend real
'…how will we truly plant them?'

95) joe12:12 (mainV: trans verb + auxxV: intrans verb + Neg: *segi*)
k- *ap* *r-* *uso* *segi,*
1s- fill.p 3fp- go neg
'I don't know,'

As with the Modified Verb Phrase, continuous or habitual aspect is marked by reduplicating the verb. In Auxiliary Verb Phrases it is the auxiliary verb that is reduplicated.

96) sai17:15
m- *eq* *w-* *uso* *w-* *uso,*
3mp- insert.fs 3fs- go 3fs- go
'they kept inserting it,'

97) sai7:48
m- *i* *r-* *ur* *r-* *ur* *r-* *ur* *r-* *ur…*
3mp- put.in 3fp- gather 3fp- gather 3fp- gather 3fp- gather
'while they kept gathering them…'

Coordinate Verb Phrase (CoordVP)

The Coordinate Verb Phrase is composed of only two parts: Head1 and Head2. The subject is the same for the predication in both heads. The verbs manifesting the heads are restricted to motion intransitive verbs, and are coordinate in the sense that they predicate a motion to and from. The structure of a Coordinate Verb Phrase is:

(Mod1)	Head1	Head2	(Neg)	(Mod2)
adverb	intrans verb	intrans verb	*segi*	*ye* real *bri* irr

98) amu3:15 (Head1: intrans verb + Head2: intrans verb)
m- *ondo* *m-* *andi*
3mp- go.to 3mp- come
'they went around'

99) *m-* *o* *m-* *andi*
3mp- go 3mp-come
'they went back and forth'

100) ange1:4
w- i w- ughe, w- undo w- undi
3fs- ascend 3fs- descend 3fs- go.to 3fs- come
'[the airplane] went up and down, and back and forth'

101) amu3:15
tuqui mondo mandi segi,
correct 3mp_go.to 3mp_come neg
'they could not walk around well,'

Repeated action is predicated by repeating the whole verb phrase.

102) aug1:38 (Head1: intrans verb + Head2: intrans verb)2
n- ondo n- andi n- ondo n- andi
3ms- go.to 3ms- come 3ms- go.to 3ms- come
'he kept going back and forth'

cf.,

n- ondo n- andi n- andi
3ms- go.to 3ms- come 3ms- come
'he went and is now returning'

Wand Tuan makes a distinction between *no nandi*, 'he went and returned (by the same path),' and *nondo nandi*, 'he went and returned (by a different path).'

Generic Verb Phrase (GenericVP)

A flexible aspect of Wand Tuan is the Generic Verb Phrase, in that it facilitates the creation of new verbal expressions, and makes borrowing from other languages natural. There are seven generic verbs: *nand* 'do', *namb* 'feel', *nap* 'hold/pick', *nat* 'fill', *nawo* 'put', *nati* 'die' and *nari* 'say'. These generic verbs combine with nouns, adjectives, adverbs, noun phrases and loanwords to create verbal expressions. Some of these generic verbs, when used in a Generic Verb Phrase, express an idea quite different than their primary sense. Because of this semantic flexibility, I have called them generic verbs. The following examples demonstrate some of the flexibility of these generic verbs.

103) *chongo m- and* with noun
skin 3mp- do.p
'they remove the bark'

104) *pre m- and* with completive particle
comp 3mp- do.p
'they finished'

105) *groq w- undiq* with abstract noun
dump 3fs- do.fs
'she dumped it out'

106) *griny te m- and* with noun phrase
play dem 3mp- do
'they played that'

107) *interruptim g- id-uq* with loanword
interrupt 1s-do-2p
'I interrupted you(p)'

The predication of the Generic Verb Phrase, like the Auxiliary Verb Phrase, is composed of two parts. The two parts of the predication are the adjunct and the main verb. The formula for the Generic Verb Phrase is:

(Mod1)	Adjunct	Head^{n}	(Comp)	(Neg)	(Mod2)
adv	comp word	*nand* 'do'	*pre* 'done'	*segi* neg	*ye* real
AdvP	adst noun	*namb* 'feel'	*omo* 'comp'	*ghari* neg	*bri* irr
	noun	*nap* 'hold'	*ruso* 'go'		
	ModNP	*nat* 'fill'			
	RedupP	*nawo* 'put'			
	AdjP	*nati* 'die'			
	loanword	*nari* 'say'			

Like the other types of verb phrase, the Generic Verb Phrase expresses continuous or habitual aspect by reduplicating the main verb.

108) sai17:19 (Adj: adverb + Head x3: generic verb)
buid m- ap m- ap m- ap
strong 3mp- hold 3mp-hold 3mp-hold
'they kept (pulling) hard'

109) ignas3:16 (Adj:abstract noun + Head x2: generic verb)
bi n- uaq n- uaq
cut.up 3ms-put.fs 3fs-put.fs
'he kept cutting it up'

Duration of the action is expressed by placing the verb *ruso* 'go' in the Completive slot.

110) amu5:10 (Adj: adverb + Head: generic verb + Comp: ruso)
puq m- en r- uso
thus 3mp- do 3fp- go
'they did that for awhile'

The peripheral tagmemes of the verb phrase occur in their normal position and order around the adjunct and main verb.

111) amu2:68 (Adj: abstract noun + Head: generic verb + Comp: *pre*)
simbe g- ad pre.
tell 1s- do.p comp
'I already told.'

112) sai4:18 (Adj: abstract noun + Head: generic verb + Comp: *omo*)
wureq n- and omo +ne.
wrap 3ms- do.p comp +Lim
'he completed wrapping (it) around [the tree branch].'

113) amu3:40 (Mod: adverb + Adj: abstract noun + Head: generic verb)
mune di w- uwi
again cut.off 3fs- put.ms
'she again cut one off'

114) joe1:3 (Adj: abstract noun + Head: generic verb + Neg: *segi* + Mod2: *ye*)
nei w- umbi-ny segi ye.
know 2p- do-3fp neg real
'…you will definitely not know things.'

As mentioned above, there are seven generic verbs. The most common of these is *nand* 'do'. Nand is the only one of the generic verbs that is used to import loanwords. There is almost no overlap in the lexical items associated with the generic verbs. What little overlap there is tends to involve a semantic distinction, as illustrated in the following examples.

115) sai15:34
[baj] imb m- ipi-q
house fence 3mp- hold-3fs
'they walled in [the house]'

116) sai1:161
nyumo kis… imb b- ibi -q
tree seed fence 1p- feel -3fs
'we wrapped up the rice'

117) sai6:65
ngim imb m- awo
path fence 3mp-put.p
'they blocked the road'

The noun *imb* 'fence' occurs with *nap* 'hold', *namb* 'feel' and *nawo* 'put', with different meanings. *Imb nap* means to 'enclose' or 'wall in', as with a house. *Imb namb* means to 'wrap', as when food is wrapped in leaves, and *imb nawo* means 'to block'.

As was already mentioned, one of the major differences between the generic verbs is in their distribution with other lexical items. Another potential difference between the two generic verbs *nand* and *namb*, is the semantic function of the subject. The subject of *nand* is almost always the Agent of the predication. The subject of *namb* is evenly divided in its occurences between Agent and Experiencer, as illustrated below.

	Agent	Experiencer
nand	93%	7%
namb	48%	52%

Therefore I have glossed the primary sense of *nand* with subject as Agent ('do'), and of *namb* with subject as Experiencer ('feel').

Modified Verb Phrase (ModVP)

In a Modified Verb Phrase, the Head of the verb phrase is manifested by a single verb, which may be either intransitive or transitive. The structure of the Modified Verb Phrase is:

(Mod1)	Head^{n}	(Comp)	(Neg)	(Mod2)
adv	intrans verb	*pre* 'done'	*segi* neg	*ye* real
ManP	trans verb	*omo* 'comp'	*ghari* neg	*bri* irr
AccomP		*ruso* 'go'		

118) ajk1:3 (Head: verb)
g- adi
1s- come
'I came'

119) amu2:22 (Head: verb + Comp: *pre*)
g- uqoid pre
1s- see.ms comp
'I already saw him'

120) gid3:9 (Mod1: adverb + Head: verb)
mune g- odo
again 1s- go.to
'I went [there] again'

121) amu2:10 (Mod1: adjective + Head: verb + Comp: *pre*)
yumbui w- uso pre
big 3fs- go comp
'she had already grown up'

122) aug2:32 (Mod1:AccomP + Head: verb)
Rechel ni nge tomu badi
Rechel 3s/p 1s two 1p_come
'Rechel came with me…'

123) joe13:3 (Head: verb + Comp: *pre* + Mod2: *bri*)
…w- utungu pre bri?
…2p- hear comp irr
'...have you perhaps already heard?'

124) sai8:11 (Head: verb + Comp: *omo* + Neg: *segi*)
m- utungu omo segi,
3mp- hear comp neg
'they did not hear all,'

As was noted above, continuous or habitual action is manifested by reduplicating the verb.

125) amu3:17 (Head x2: verb)
m- utungu m- utungu
3mp- hear 3mp- hear
'they kept listening'

126) bade1:11 (Head x3: verb + Comp: *pre*)
k- as k- as k- as pre
1s- sit 1s- sit 1s- sit comp
'after I sat for a long time'

Motion Verb Phrase (MotionVP)

The Motion Verb Phrase is another verb phrase that is composed of two verbal heads. The subject of both verbs is the same, with both verbs indicating motion of the subject. The structure of the Motion Verb Phrase is:

(Mod1)	Head1	(Head2)	(Comp)	(Neg)	(Mod2)
adv abstract noun	intrans verb	intrans verb	*pre* 'done' *omo* 'comp'	*segi* neg *ghari* neg	*ye* real *bri* irr

127) amu3:15
m -ewo
3mp-ascend
"they ascended"

128) sai6:25
m -ewo m -o
3mp -ascend 3mp -go
"they went up"

129) paul2:19
mune p -owi p -i
again 1p -come.through 1p -come
"we came up again"

130) aug1:3
ir r -i r -ighe
fall 3fp -come 3fp -descend
"they fell down"

131) reg2:4
p -aghe *p -o*
1p -descend 1p -go
"we went down"

132) joe4:21
gh -eyi *gh -i* *segi,*
2s.Imp -descend 2s.Imp -come neg
"don't come down,"

4.2 Nonverbal Phrases

Under the heading of nonverbal phrases this section discusses Wand Tuan phrase types under two general categories: noun phrases and other nonverbal phrases. Nonverbal phrases allow for significant flexibility for three reasons. First, many of the phrase-level tagmemes are optional, allowing for several structural variations. Second, the phrase level involves considerable recursion, with phrases manifesting phrase-level tagmemes of other phrases. A third contributing factor to the flexibility of nonverbal phrases is backlooping, in which relative clauses manifest phrase-level tagmemes. (For a theoretical discussion of recursion and backlooping in exponence see Longacre, 1976:262f.)

As Longacre observed, the phrase level appears to be layered (1976:272). In Wand Tuan the Modified Noun Phrase is the bottom level. Above that are the Coordinate and Apposite Noun Phrases, and above that are the other phrase types. This is illustrated in example 133. The phrases *tingi baj* and *wase ede* are both Modified Noun Phrases. They are combined in an Apposite Noun Phrase manifesting Delimiter of another Modified Noun Phrase, which itself manifests the Locative element of a Locative Phrase.

133) gid2:11
tingi baj *wase ede* *cheq* *pe*
below house fire shelf end at
((((ModNP) (ModNP) AppNP) ModNP) LocP)
"at the end of the house below, the meeting house"

4.2.1 Noun Phrases

There are three types of noun phrases: Apposition Noun Phrases, Coordinate Noun Phrases, and Modified Noun Phrases.

Apposition Noun Phrases (AppNP)

The Apposition Noun Phrase is composed of two obligatory tagmemes:

Head	Apposition
noun	pronoun
ModNP	noun
AccomP	proper name
RedupP	ModNP
Rel-AxisP	Rel-AxisP
	RelCl

The tagmemes of the Apposition Noun Phrase are joined paratactically. Head and Apposition both index the same semantic subject (cf, Coordinate Noun Phrase). The semantic function of the Apposition tagmeme differs from Modifier1 of the Modified Noun Phrase in that it is non-restrictive, whereas Modifier1 restricts the semantic range of the Head it modifies.

134) amu1:1 (Head: temporal word + App: temporal word)
muq burane
now morning
"this morning"

135) ignas1:16 (Head: noun + App: pronoun)
nyumbueg *ni...*
woman 3s/p
"women, they..."

136) amu4:12 (Head: ModNP + App: proper name)
beghi *bon* *quem+ye,* *Arden*
1p poss white+real Arden
"our own white one, Arden"

Example 137 is an example of recursion within an Apposition Noun Phrase. It is composed of a Modified Noun Phrase (*boi gang*) within another Modified Noun Phrase (*boi gang kiyi*), with the latter being a tagmeme of an Apposition Noun Phrase. The structure is:

(((*boi gang*) *kiyi*) *Damur*)

137) gid4:4 (Head: ModNP + App: proper name)
boi *gang* *kiyi,* *Damur*
father old father Damur
"grandfather's father, Damur"

Coordinate Noun Phrase (CoordNP)

The Coordinate Noun Phrase is composed of two obligatory slots: Head1 and Head2. Head2 may be repeated several times, with four occurrences of Head2 being the most in the data. Head2 refers to a different semantic subject than does Head1 (cf, Apposition Noun Phrase). Coordinator is optional. The formula for a Coordinate Noun Phrase is:

Head1	[(Coordinator)	Head2]^{n}
noun	*di* 'and'	noun
proper name	*o* 'or'	proper name
ModNP		ModNP
AccomP		AccomP
		RelCl

When there are only two Heads (semantic subjects) manifested and they are conjunctively coordinate (i.e., "A and B"), the Coordinator tagmeme is not usually manifested. When there are only two Heads and they are disjunctively coordinate (i.e., "A or B"), the Coordinator tagmeme is manifested by *o* 'or'. When there are more than two Heads conjunctively coordinate, Coordinator is manifested by *di* 'and' only between the last two occurrences of Head2 (although some speakers leave it off even there). When more than two Heads are disjunctively coordinate, the Coordinator tagmeme is manifested by *o* 'or' between each pair of Heads.

138) joe2:25 (Head1: noun + Coord: *di* + Head2: ModNP)
kutau *di* *nyumo* *aye*
rafter and tree other
"rafters and other trees"

139) sai5:36 (Head1: noun + Head2: noun)
kiyi *kumo*
father.3s/p mother.3s/p
"his father (and) mother"

140) amu4:19 (Head1: noun + Coord: *o* + Head2: noun + Coord: *o* + Head2: RelCl)
meme *o* *kau* *o* *yumbo* *yumbo* *te* *dro* *mand* *kin* *te*
goat or cow or thing thing dem draw 3mp_do rel dem
"a goat, or a cow, or different things they draw"

141) aug2:1 (Head1: proper name + Head2: proper name)
Arden *Joy*
Arden Joy
"Arden (and) Joy"

In example 142 Head2 occurs four times. Both Head1 and Head2 (in all its occurrences) are manifested by Modified Noun Phrases.

142) joe1:12 (Head1: ModNP + Head2: ModNP + Head2: ModNP + Coord: di + Head2: ModNP

umo	*mu,*	*nyombui*	*sabi*	*mindiny*	*kin*	*mu,*	*nyumo*	*chongo*	*mu,*
meat	magic	dog	fix	3mp_do_3fp	rel	magic	tree	bark	magic
Head1		Head2					Head2		

anemau	*mu,*	*di*	*mu*	*nganye*	*buagi*	*aye*	*te*
nettle	magic	and	magic	true	much	other	dem
Head2		Coord		Head2			

"game magic, magic for fixing dogs, three bark magic, stinging nettle magic, and all other kinds of magic"

Modified Noun Phrases (ModNP)

The Modified Noun Phrase is the most common and basic of Wand Tuan noun phrases. The order of tagmemes of the Modified Noun Phrase is:

(Poss)	(Delim)	Head	(Mod1)	(Qua)	(Det)	(Mod2)
pronoun	noun	pronoun	adjective	numeral	dem	*bu* real
proper name	numeral	noun	adverb	qua word		*bri* irr
ModNP	ModNP	ModNP	noun	IntensP		
PossP1	AdjP	CoordNP	AdjP	NumP		
	Rel-AxisP	Rel-AxisP	RedupP			
	RelCl		Rel-AxisP			
			RelCl			

This order is inflexible. The only obligatory element is the nominal Head, the other phrase-level elements being optional.

The Possessive tagmeme may be manifested by a pronoun, a proper name, a Modified Noun Phrase, or a Possessive Phrase1.

143) amu2:21 (Poss: pronoun + Delim: noun + Head: noun)
nu *wiye* *eny*
2s/p water bamboo
"your water bamboo"

144) (Poss: proper name + Head: noun)
Maiker *ngam*
Maiker wife
"Michael's wife"

145) amu4:4 (Poss: PossP1 + Head: noun+clitic)
beghi *bon* *quem+ye*
1p own white+real
"our own white man"

146) amu2:4 (Poss: ModNP + Head: noun)
wute *ire* *kumo*
person one.f mother.3s/p
"a person's mother"

The Delimiter tagmeme restricts the semantic range of the Head. For example, in the phrase *wane raqe*, the delimiter *wane* 'banana' restricts the semantic range of the noun *raqe* 'leaf', i.e., a 'banana leaf'.

147) sai19:57 (Delim: noun + Head: noun)
umbo *baj*
stomach house
"toilet"

148) joe1:12 (Delim: ModNP + Head: noun)
nyumo *chongo* *mu*
tree skin magic
"magic (using) tree bark"

149) joe1:12 (Delim: RelCl + Head: noun)
nyombui *sabi* *mindiny* *kin* *mu*
dog fix 3mp.do.3fp rel magic
"magic for fixing dogs"

The Modifier1 tagmeme follows the Head and restricts the semantic range of that which is referred to by the Head (cf, Apposition Noun Phrase). The Quantity, Determiner and Modifier2 tagmemes occur phrase final in that order. Following are some examples of Modified Noun Phrases with varying numbers of manifested tagmemes.

150) ignas6:15 (Head: noun + Qua: numeral)
wute *ire*
person one
"one person"

151) joe2:19 (Poss: Rel-AxisP + Delim: noun + Head: noun)
skul *kin* *kakao* *wuny*
school rel cacao garden
"school's cacao garden"

152) amu3:48 (Head: noun + Mod: adj)
wand *dobui*
talk long
"long story"

153) joe2:15 (Delim: noun + Head: noun + Qua: NumP + Det: dem)
umbo *baj* *teri* *ire* *pu* *te*
stomach house two one thus dem
"those three toilets"

154) amu2:68 (Delim: Rel-AxisP + Head: noun + Det: dem)
wiye *pe* *kin* *wand* *taq*
water in rel talk dem
"this talk about the water"

155) joe1:9 (Head: noun + Mod1: adj + Qua: quantity word)
wand *quari* *ninge*
talk dark some
"some instruction"

156) amu3:7 (Head: noun + Mod1: proper name)
wute *Songroi*
person Songroi
"a person, Songroi"

157) amu6:12 (Head: pronoun + Mod1: RelCL)
nu, wuti *yembe* *pe* *ven* *gh-andisegi* *ye* *te*
2s person work to dem 2s.Imp-come neg real dem
"you, a person who hasn't come here to work"

158) amu6:3 (Head: RedupP + Mod1: ModNP)
yumbo yumbo, mir wase kin yumbo
thing thing food fire rel thing
"different things, things for cooking"

Five phrase-level tagmemes is the most that a Modified Noun Phrase would normally have.

159) (Poss: pro + Head: noun + Mod: noun + Qua: num + Det: dem)
nge nyombui wo temi men
1s dog child 2.m dem
"these two puppies of mine"

4.2.2 Other Nonverbal Phrases

Aside from the three noun phrase types, there are 13 other types of nonverbal phrases. The following discussion presents these in alphabetical order.

Accompaniment Phrase (AccomP)

The Accompaniment Phrase is composed of three elements only one of which is obligatory.

(Head1)	(Head2)	Accompaniment
pronoun	pronoun	*ane* 'with'
noun	noun	'two'
proper name	proper name	
ModNP	ModNP	

Accompaniment is manifested by either *ane* 'with' or an inflected form of the numeral 'two' with the meaning of 'with'. The participants indexed by the Heads, when not overtly manifested, is patent in the context.

160) amu2:46 (Head1: pronoun + Head2: noun + Acc: numeral)
ni ngaim teri
3s/p husband two.f
"she with her husband"

161) amu2:48 (Head1: 0 + Head2: noun + Acc: numeral)
ngaim teri
husband two.f
"[she] with her husband"

162) joe6:40 (Head1: pronoun + Head2: proper name + Acc: numeral)
nge Seyum temu
1s Seyum two.1p
"I with Seyum"

163) ange1:6 (Head1: pronoun + Head2: proper name + Acc: *ane*)
beghi Joy ane
1p Joy with
"we with Joy"

164) aug2:3 (Head1: 0 + Head2: pronoun + Acc: *ane*)
ni ane
3s/p with
"[I] with him"

165) reg2:67 (Head1: ModNP + Head2: ModNP + Acc: *ane*)
Somog kaiv Yan kaiv ane
Somog swamp Yan swamp with
"Somog swampt and Yan swamp"

166) sai1:45 (Head1: 0 + Head2: 0 + Acc: *ane*)
ane *[yembu]*
with stand_1p
"[we] together [stand]"

Adjective Phrase (AdjP)

The Adjective Phrase is composed of four elements:

Head	(Mod1)	(Mod2)	(Mod3)
adjective	adverb	*yumbui* 'large'	*bu* real
RedupP	adjective	*nganye* 'true'	*bri* irr
AppNP	*kiyi* 'father'		
	kumo 'mother'		
	irene 'one only'		
	chuqo 'very'		
	segi 'neg'		

The only obligatory tagmeme is the Head. Modifier2 is restricted, in the data, to being manifested by *yumbui* 'big' or *nganye* 'true'. There is one example of a Reduplicative Phrase manifesting Modifier2, but it is itself composed of the word *yumbui*. Modifier2 is manifested only when Modifier1 is also manifested.

167) ignas5:13 (Head: adj)
nguan
mature
"mature"

168) ignas6:6 (Head: adj + Mod1: adj)
dobui *nganye*
long true
"very long"

169) sai13:15 (Head: RedupP)
yumbui *yumbui*
big big
"several large [pieces]"

170) aug1:34 (Head: adj + Mod1: adv + Mod2: adv)
yumbui *chuqo* *nganye*
big very true
"very very big"

171) joe14:2 (Head: adj + Mod1: neg word)
quan *segi*
much neg
"not much"

Adverb Phrase (AdvP)

The Adverb Phrase can manifest the Modifier tagmeme of verb phrases and Comment of Descriptive Clauses. It is composed of three tagmemes, one of which is obligatory:

Head	(Mod1)	(Mod2)
adverb	*nganye* 'true'	*bu* real
	kumo 'mother'	*bri* irr
	segi 'neg'	
	IntensP	

Following are examples of the Adverb Phrase.

172) sai1:76 (Head: adverb)
pugri
thus
"thus"

173) aug1:15 (Head: adv + Mod1: *nganye* + Mod2: *bu*)
oghi+ne *nganye* *bu*
well+Lim true real
"truly well only"

174) ignas6:8 (Head: adv + Mod: kinship term)
quan *kumo+ne*
much mother+Lim
"very much"

175) amu1:15 (Head: adv + Mod1: *segi*)
tiq *segi*
able neg
"not able"

Instrumental Phrase (InstP)

Instrumental Phrase manifests the Instrument tagmeme of clauses. It is a relator-axis phrase composed of three tagmemes, two of which are obligatory:

Head	Inst	(Mod)
noun	*pe* 'with'	*bu* real
ModNP		*bri* irr
SimP		

The Instrument tagmeme is always manifested by *pe* 'with'.

176) joe13:35 (Head: noun + Inst: *pe*)
si *pe+ne*
hand with+Lim
"with hands only"

177) ange1:2 (Head: noun + Inst: *pe*)
balus *pe*
airplane with
"by airplane"

178) amu5:13 (Head: ModNP + Inst: *pe*)
ni *kin* *wand* *pe*
3s/p rel talk with
"in their language"

179) joe6:39 (Head: SimP + Inst: *pe*)
wet *bidi* *te* *kin* *pugri* *pe*
stone piece dem rel thus with
"with money like that"

180) *si* *pe+ne* *bri*
hand with+Lim irr
"perhaps by hand"

Locative Phrase (LocP)

The Locative Phrase is composed of four elements, one of which is obligatory, the Head.

Head	(Loc)	(Source)	(Det)	(Mod)
pronoun	loc word	*pu* 'from'	dem	*bu* real
noun	AdjP			*bri* irr
proper name				
dem				
ModNP				

Locative Phrase may manifest the locative slots of clauses.

181) ajk1:9 (Head: noun + Loc: loc word)
maket pe
market to
"to the market"

182) amu2:41 (Head: noun + Loc: loc word + Det: dem)
wiye pe te
water in dem
"there in the water"

183) sai1:1 (Head: proper name + Source: *pu*)
Tigebyu pu
Tigebyu from
"from Tigebyu"

184) ignas5:1 (Head: ModNP + Loc: loc word + Source: *pu*)
yembe puate pe pu+ne
work base at from+Lim
"from the start (only) of the work"

185) ange1:3 (Head: proper name + Loc: loc word)
Kainantu tumo
Kainantu near
"near Kainantu"

186) paul2:15 (Head: noun + Loc: AdjP + Mod: *bu*)
qi tamu nganye bu
ground under true real
"truly below the ground"

Manner Phrase (ManP)

The Manner Phrase is a relator-axis phrase composed of two obligatory tagmemes and one optional tagmeme.

Head	Man	(Mod)
noun	*pu* 'thus'	*bu* real
abstract noun	*pugri* 'thus'	*bri* irr
adverb	*segi* neg	
	gri 'way'	

It predicates the manner of a verb phrase. In the following examples, the predicate is included in square brackets.

187) amu2:41 (Head: noun + Man: *pu*)
muet pu [yenu]
coil thus he_stands
"[he stood] coiled"

188) sai11:30 (Head: abstract noun + Man: *pu*)
puaq *pu* *[yemu]*
remove thus 3mp_stand
"[They stay] away."

189) amu4:14 (Head: adverb + Man: *pu*)
tuqui *pu* *[rise]*
able thus 3fp_lie
"[things were] enough"

190) joe7:8
pughe *gri* *ei* *[pawo* *righe]*
what way Fut 1p_put 3fp_descend
"how will [we plant them]"

Possessive Phrase1 (PossP1)

The Possessive Phrase1 manifests the Possessor slot of the Modified Noun Phrase. It is itself composed of two obligatory elements:

Head	(Poss)
pronoun	poss word
noun	refl word
proper name	

191) ange1:11 (Head: proper name + Poss: possessive)
Moris *ning*
Maurice poss
"Maurice's"

192) sai19:4 (Head: pronoun + Poss: reflexive)
ni *kin*
3s/p refl
"his own"

193) sai1:47 (Head: pronoun + Poss: reflexive)
beghi *bon*
1p refl
"our own"

Possessive Phrase2 (PossP2)

The Possessive Phrase2 occurs in the Comment slot of the Descriptive Clause. It is composed of two obligatory elements:

Head	Poss
pronoun	*te* 'that'
proper name	

Possessive Phrase2 differs from Possessive Phrase1 in that it has (1) a different distribution, and (2) a different manifestation of the Possessive tagmeme (i.e., *te* 'that' rather than a possessive or a reflexive).

194) amu3:23 (Head: pronoun + Poss: *te*)
nge *te*
1s dem
"mine"

195) (Head: noun + Poss: *te*)
Arowis *te*
Arowis dem
"Arowis'"

Reason Phrase (ReasP)

The Reason Phrase is composed of three tagmemes, one of which is obligatory. The Reason Phrase is generally used at higher levels of the grammatical hierarchy, between clauses, sentences, or paragraphs. It indicates that the previous unit(s) is the reason or grounds of the action of the following unit(s). The structure is:

(Delim)	(Mod)	Reas
demonstrative ModNP	*ning* poss *pu* 'thus' *pugri* 'thus'	*bu* realis

196) ajk1:3
Nu iri+ne kuas bu nge gadi…
2s one+Lim 2s_sit real 1s 1s_come
"You were alone so I came..."

197) ignas7:16
Nge yembe quan pugri bu nge kare ko kem kin tuqui segi.
1s work much therefor 1s 1s_carry 1s_go 1s_give_3mp rel able neg
"I have a lot of work therefore I cannot take [the letters] to give them."

198) joe6:12-13
Nu brequ+ne ghondo ei tequ wo.
2s quickly 2s.Imp_go.to purp you.2 2p_go
Te ning bu nge tiqi nindogh gadi.
dem poss real 1s send 3ms_do_1s 1s_come
"You go to him quickly so that you two can go. Because of that he sent me here."

199) joe2:31
…nungoqi wandi yembe wand segi,
2p 2p_come work 2p_do neg
pu bu muq oi pugri yembe wand.
thus real now again thus work 2p_do
"…you didn't come work, so now you will do this work."

200) sai10:41
A te wand te ving bu ni num gureg.
ah dem talk dem poss real 3ms sick is_3ms
"Ah, it's because of that talk that he is sick."

Reduplicative Phrase (RedupP)

The Reduplicative Phrase is composed of two obligatory heads. Head1 and Head2 are always manifested by the same item. Reduplication predicates distribution or emphasis. The structure of the Reduplicative Phrase is:

Head1	Head2
adjective	adjective
numeral	numeral
particle	particle
noun	noun

201) paul2:19 (Head1: noun + Head2: noun)
yumbo yumbo
thing thing
"things"

202) amu4:16 (Head1: adj + Head2: adj)
yumbui yumbui
big big
"many large"

203) aug1:20 (Head1: numeral + Head2: numeral)
ire *ire*
one one
"one at a time; few"

Relator-Axis Phrase (Rel-AxisP)

The Relator-Axis Phrase is composed of four elements, two of which are obligatory — Axis and Relator. The formula is:

Axis	Relator	(Det)	(Mod)
dem	*kin* rel	*te* 'that'	*bu* real
num	*ye* real; rel		*bri* irr
adj			
noun			
LocP			
SimP			
ModNP			

The Relator-Axis Phrase differs from the Relative Clause in that the Axis of the latter is manifested by a clause or sentence, and the Axis of the former by either phrase- or word-level tagmemes. The particle *ye*, realis or relativiser, manifesting the Relator tagmeme functions as a relativiser in the Relator Axis Phrase.

204) amu2:1 (Axis: noun + Rel: *kin*)
Tring *kin*
Tring rel
"one from Tring"

205) amu2:28 (Axis: adj + Rel: *kin*)
aye *kin*
other rel
"another one"

206) amu3:19 (Axis: LocP + Rel: *kin* + Det: *te*)
baj *pe* *kin* *te*
house at rel dem
"those in the house"

207) amu4:11 (Axis: SimP + Rel: *ye* + Det: *te*)
mame *kin* *pugri* *ye* *te*
knife rel thus rel dem
"one like a knife"

208) aug1:40 (Axis: ModNP + Rel: *kin*)
sawo *gidi* *ire+ne* *kin*
tooth leg one+Lim rel
"one with only one claw"

Similarity Phrase (SimP)

The Similarity Phrase is composed of two elements (Head and Similarity), both of which are obligatory. Its structure is:

Head	Similarity
demonstrative	*pugri* 'like'
noun	
ModNP	
Rel-AxisP	

209) amu1:6 (Head: noun + Sim: *pugri*)
pris *pugri*
lightening thus
"like lightening"

210) amu4:11 (Head: Rel-AxisP + Sim: *pugri*)
mame *kin* *pugri*
knife rel thus
"like a knife"

211) amu6:2 (Head: ModNP + Sim: *pugri*)
wand *ren* *pugri*
talk dem thus
"like this talk"

212) aug1:26 (Head: dem + Sim: *pugri*+clitic)
te *pugri+ne*
dem like+Lim
"just like that"

Temporal Phrase (TempP)

The Temporal Phrase manifests the time slot of clauses. It is composed of four elements, one of which, the Head, is obligatory. Its structure is:

(Delim)	Head	(Mod1)	(Mod2)
TempP	temp word	adj	*bu* real
RelCl		AdjP	*bri* irr

213) amu2:31 (Head: temp word + Mod: adj)
bur *ninge*
night some
"some nights"

214) mark9:3 (Head: temp word + Mod: adj)
bur+ne *brequ*
night+Lim bad
"still very early morning (i.e., before dawn)"

215) ignas6:1 (Delim: RelCl + Head: temp word)
asi *nge* *skul* *pe* *yengu* *kin* *te+nde* *puayi*
before 1s school at 1s_stand rel dem+to time
"during the time when I was in school"

216) joe7:18 (Head: temp word + Mod1: adj + Mod2: *bu*)
kei+ne *nganye* *bu*
before+Lim true real
"truly before"

5. CLAUSE

Clauses are the primary means of expressing predications. This assertion is consonant with Longacre's distinction between clause and sentence:

> The clause level exist[s] primarily to encode elements of the predicate calculus while the sentence level exists to encode elements of the propositional (or statement) calculus. (Longacre, 1976:284)

As the basic unit of predication, the clause falls between the phrase and sentence levels. As was shown in the section on verb phrases, a verb phrase may be minimally manifested by a single verb. Similarly, a clause may be

minimally manifested by a verb phrase. There is also considerable room for elaboration on these minimal manifestations.

This discussion of Wand Tuan clauses recognizes several different types of clauses. The first criterion in distinguishing between clause types is verbal versus nonverbal clauses. These two general types of clauses are then further divided, on the basis of transitivity in the verbal clauses, and on the basis of what manifests the Comment element of the nonverbal clauses.

This section is divided into four main subsections. The first subsection describes the structure of verbal clauses. The second subsection describes nonverbal clauses. The third subsection describes the hierarchical uses of clauses. The final subsection describes the deep structure of clauses in terms of case frames (what Longacre calls "predicate calculus").

The following discussion of the different types of clauses describes the clause-level tagmemes. Clause-level tagmemes do not all have the same degree of significance to the predication. Some tagmemes are core to the predication, while others are peripheral. The core tagmemes are subject, object, indirect object and predicate. The peripheral tagmemes are time, location and instrument.

The rationale for the distinction between core and peripheral tagmemes is that the former are more tightly bound to the verb than are the latter. The core versus peripheral distinction does not reflect "obligatoriness" of manifestation. The predicate is the only tagmeme that is obligatorily present. The subject, object and indirect object, while not obligatory, are core in that they are encoded in the morphology of the verb. The peripheral tagmemes are not encoded in the same way.

Verb morphology in intransitive verbs obligatorily encodes the subject. The core subject tagmeme, when manifested, must agree with the verb morphology in person, number, and noun class. Transitive predications add the object to the verb morphology, and the surface structure object, when manifested, must agree with it in person, number, and noun class. In the third level of transitivity, Ditransitive clauses, the indirect object is indexed in the verb morphology (cf., 217 & 218).

217) *Nge mir k-are g-adi*
1s food 1s-carry.p 1s-come
"I brought food."

218) *Nge mir k-ira-w g-adi.*
1s food 1s-carry-3fs 1s-come
"I brought you food."

In some ditransitive predications the indexing of indirect object replaces that of the object. This reflects the level of animacy of the participants. The indirect object is at a higher level of animacy than is the object. Even when the object is technically "animate" (i.e., a living being), it functions at a lower level of animacy than does the indirect object. This is reflected in examples 219 and 220. In the latter example, the indirect object is indexed in the verb, consequently the indexing of the object in the verb *keri* 'I carry him' is replaced by the indirect object in the verb *kiraw* 'I carry for you'.

219) *Nge nu wo k-eri pu k-as*
1s 2s child 1s-carry.ms thus 1s-sit
"I am holding your child."

220) *Nge nu wo k-ira-w pu k-as*
1s 2s child 1s-carry-3fs thus 1s-sit
"I am holding your child for you."

The peripheral elements, while neither obligatory nor indexed in the verb, may optionally occur. These tagmemes are peripheral in function, but not necessarily in position, in that location and instrument, for example, usually occur between the subject and the predicate.

Time may occur with any clause type. When manifested, it normally occurs clause initially.

Location may be manifested in all the verbal clauses, but not in the nonverbal clauses. When manifested, it occurs after the subject of the clause. As will be noted below in the discussion of intransitive clauses, location may be expanded to three grammatical locative elements in predications of motion (i.e., Source, Path and Goal).

The third peripheral tagmeme is instrument. Its normal position is immediately following the object.

In the following sections, when clause-level tagmemes are listed in formulae, the peripheral elements are enclosed in square brackets [ ], and non-obligatory core elements enclosed in parentheses ( ).

5.1 Verbal Clauses

Verbal clauses are those in which a verbal predicate is present. There are three types of verbal clauses. The three types are distinguished on the basis of transitivity, as reflected in the number of core elements potentially present in the clause. Intransitive clauses have two core elements (subject and predicate); transitive clauses have three (subject, object and predicate); and ditransitive clauses have four (subject, object, indirect object and predicate).

5.1.1 Intransitive Clause (IntrCl)

The core elements of the Intransitive clause are the predicate, as the only obligatory tagmeme, and the subject. The latter is an optional grammatical subject, though it is obligatorily indexed in the verb morphology. The peripheral tagmemes, time and location, are optional.

There are two types of intransitive clauses: stative and motion. These two types differ in the manifestation of location and in their semantic role structures.

The order of tagmemes of the **Stative Intransitive Clause** is:

[time] (sub) [loc] pred

The Stative Intransitive Clause may be minimally manifested by one tagmeme, the predicate alone. Only 7 (0.8%) of the examples in the data have all four tagmemes manifested. 71% of those occur paragraph initial, setting the stage for the paragraph. The most common use of the Stative Intransitive Clause is to affirm something about the subject.

221) amu4:23 (pred: verb)
mas,
3ms_sit
"they stay"

222) amu5:16 (sub: pronoun + loc: locative word + pred: verb)
Nu wonji ghas,
2s distant 2s.Imp_sit
"You sit a long ways away,"

223) joe12:23 (time: TimeP + sub: AccomP + loc: LocP + pred: verb)
wik wen Joy Ignas tequ workshop pe was.
week Dem Joy Ignas two workshop at 2p_sit
"this week you two, Joy & Ignas, are at a workshop."

The order of tagmemes is flexible to indicate focus or emphasis. Time placed clause final indicates duration or extent of time of the predication. 58% of these examples occur either paragraph initial, setting the time frame for the paragraph, or paragraph final, indicating the duration of the final event of that paragraph, leading into the events of the following paragraph.

224) gid2:12 (sub: noun + loc: location word + pred: verb + time: time word)
wute tende mase yambgriq.
person Dem 3mp_lie morning
"They slept there until morning."

There are four examples of Stative Intransitive Clauses with the time tagmeme reduplicated -- one clause initial and the other clause final. All four establish the time frame of a new paragraph, being paragraph initial. The

clause-initial time tagmeme indicates the time frame within which the action takes place, and the clause-final time tagmeme indicates the extent or duration of the action.

225) paul3:5 (time1: ModNP + pred: ModVP + time2: time word)
yambgriq Fraide segine pas pas bur
next.day Friday just 1p_sit 1p_sit night
"the next day, Friday, we just sat around until evening"

Subject and location may switch places in the clause to emphasize the location. 67% of the examples occur sentence initial, establishing the location for the whole sentence.

226) joe2:7 (time: time word + loc: LocP + sub: ModNP + pred: verb)
muq skul pe yembe quan nganye rise.
now school at work much true 3fp_lie
"now there is very much work at the school."

Time may be placed immediately after the subject to emphasize the time.

227) joe2:8 (sub: noun + time: time word + pred: GenericVP)
Karas muq quan nganye muaw wumb,
grass now much true tall 3fs_feel
"Now the grass is very tall,"

On rare occasions the verb phrase may be discontinuous, with the Modifier tagmeme fronted to occur before a clause-level tagmeme. The result is an emphasis on the manner (cf, the following example from a hortatory discourse).

228) joe3:7 (Mod of ModVP: adverb + loc: LocP + mainV of ModVP: verb)
waghine baj pe was
quietly house in 2p_sit
"you stay <u>quietly</u> in your houses"

Stative Intransitive Clause may also be used to predicate the existence of the object indexed by the subject. This is in contrast with the Existential Clause which denies the existence of the object indexed by the Topic.

229) ange1:17 (sub: noun + pred: verb)
lait yeru,
*lait ye*u-r-*
light stand-3fp-
"there are lights,"

230) sai19:79 (time: TempP + sub: noun + loc: noun + pred: verb)
Tende puayi stua Wewak rise,
Dem time store Wewak 3fp_lie
"At that time there were stores in Wewak,"

The **Motion Intransitive Clause** is structurally the same as the Stative Intransitive Clause except for location. In motion clauses, location is expanded into three grammatical locative elements that encode source, path and goal. The resulting structure is:

[time] (sub) [So] [Pa] [G] [inst] pred

While all three of these locative elements do occur they do not all co-occur in one clause in the data. At most, two of them may co-occur in one clause. Generally, Motion Intransitive Clauses are short, with 79% of the examples in the data (1,014 of 1,281 clauses) having only 1 or 2 tagmemes, and 97% having 3 or less. There are no examples of fully expanded clauses. The one example of a Motion Intransitive Clause with five tagmemes occurs discourse initially in a travelogue (cf, example 231). There are 36 examples of clauses with four tagmemes, 80% of these occurring sentence initial.

231) sai1:1 (time: time word + sub: pronoun + So: LocP + G: Dem + pred: verb)
Muqdi nge Tigebyu pu ren g-adi
now 1s Tigebyu from Dem 1s-come
"Now I came here from Tigebyu."

232) ben1:1 (time: time word + sub: pronoun + G: noun + pred: verb)
Kambe nu Wewak kw-o.
yesterday 2s Wewak 2s-go
"You went to Wewak yesterday."

233) paul2:6 (time: time word + inst: InstP + pred: MotionVP)
muq kar pe paghe po,
now car with 1p_descend 1p_go
"then we went down by car,"

Permutations of the clause-level tagmemes are analogous to those which take place in the Stative Intransitive Clause. Time may occur either clause-final, to indicate extent or duration of time, or after the subject to lend emphasis to the time.

234) amu1:8 (sub: pronoun + time: time word + pred: verb)
Nge muq ko,
1s now 1s_go
"Then I went,"

Goal can be held back to occur after the predicate. This indicates that the action of the predicate continues to take place up to that location in preparation for the following event, which takes place at that new location. 58% of the clauses with Goal post-predicate occur sentence initially. The Goal may also be forefronted for emphasis.

235) paul3:18 (pred: verb + G: proper name)
Badi Bajiman,...
1p_come Bajiman
"We came as far as Bajiman,..."

236) joe5:50 (G: ModNP + sub: noun + pred: MotionVP)
tan mbe dabo nyumbueg rir ruso,
kunai to bush women 3fp_enter 3fp_go
"the women entered the bush around the kunai,"

Like the Stative Intransitive Clause, the Motion Intransitive Clause may have a discontinuous verb phrase. The Modifier of the verb phrase is forefronted to a position before one of the clause-level tagmemes.

237) ignas7:2 (sub: pronoun + Mod of ModVP: adverb + G: noun + mainV & Comp of ModVP: *gadi pre*)
Nge yewon nambu gadi pre,
1s well home 1s_come comp
"I have already come home well,"

5.1.2 Transitive Clause (TrCl)

The **Transitive Clause** encodes a predication involving both subject and object, both of which are obligatorily indexed on the verb. They are, however, only optionally manifested by clause-level nominal tagmemes. The normal order of tagmemes is as follows:

[time] (sub) (obj) [inst] [loc] pred

The predicate is the only obligatory tagmeme. The subject and object, when overtly manifested, agree with the verb morphology in person, number, and noun class. The verb obligatorily indexes subject and object. A fully expanded Transitive Clause, with every tagmeme manifested, does not occur in the data, the largest number of tagmemes manifested being five (cf., example 238 which also demonstrates permutation of both the location and the time tagmemes). Transitive clauses tend to be short, with 29% having the predicate only, 45.6% having two tagmemes and 20.1% having three tagmemes (i.e., 94.7% have three or less tagmemes).

238) joe11:8 (sub: proper name + loc: ModNP + obj: ModNP + time: CoordNP + pred: GenericVP)
Joe Singi Budaq Grade six wand skul te Fraide 6 omo nawo.
Joe Singi Budaq Grade Six talk school Dem Friday 6 comp 3ms_put
"Joe Singi on Friday the 6th completed language school at Budaq Grade six."

239) gid2:13 (time: time word + sub: noun + obj: noun + pred: AuxVP)
Yambgriq nyumbueg gos ri righe,
next.day woman sago 3fp_put.in 3fp_descend
"The next day the women cooked sago,"

240) (sub: pronoun + inst: InstP + obj: noun + pred: GenericVP)
Nge mame bidi pe karas puaq gidiq.
1s knife piece with grass clear 1s_do.fs
"I cleared the grass with a bush knife."

241) sai7:53 (sub: 0 + loc: LocP + obj: noun + pred: AuxVP)
…tende pe quanj memiraq wuso.
Dem to to ring 3mp_throw.fs 3fs_go
"...they(m) threw the shell ring there."

242) bade1:11 (time: time word + sub: ModNP + obj: noun + pred: verb)
muq nge ngaim wiye n-itaq,
now 1s husband water 3ms-get.fs
"Now my husband is getting water."

As with other verbal clause types, the tagmemes may be permuted to emphasize the tagmeme that is thus moved out of its normal position. Time, for example may be withheld for emphasis.

243) ignas7:18 (sub: pronoun + time: time word + obj: ModNP + pred: GenericVP)
nge muq+ne wand ninge nei gibiny segi.
1s now+Lim talk some think 1s_do_3fp neg
"I now can't think of anything to say."

The use of time in transitive clauses is different that in intransitive clauses in that it is not moved clause final to indicate duration or extent of time of the predication.

The object and location tagmemes may be forefronted for emphasis.

244) amu4:19 (obj: RedupP + sub: noun + pred: GenericVP)
yumbo yumbo wute dro mand,
thing thing person draw 3mp_do
"different things the people draw,"

245) ignas2:16 (time: time word + loc: locative word + obj: noun + pred: GenericVP)
Muqdi vende+ne irembo wase bade,
now Dem +Lim bandicoot fire 1p_cook
"Now let's cook the bandicoot HERE,"

While clause-level tagmemes may be permuted for pragmatic reasons, over 93% of the clauses in the data have the unmarked word order. The 7% that have a marked order are evenly distributed in terms of where they occur in sentences, paragraphs and discourses (i.e., initially, medially or finally).

5.1.3 Ditransitive Clause (DitrCl)

The **Ditransitive Clause** is structurally like the transitive clause except that the indirect object is inserted between the subject and object tagmemes. The normal order of tagmemes in ditransitive clauses is:

[time] (sub) (io) (obj) [inst] [loc] pred

The predicate is the only obligatory tagmeme. The verb manifesting predicate in a ditransitive clause is often the same verb as would occur in transitive clauses, except that the core nominals indexed in the verb morphology are different. Whereas the transitive manifestation of these verbs indexes the subject and object, the ditransitive

manifestation indexes the subject and indirect object, and optionally the object also. The nominal subject and indirect object, when manifested, agree in person, number, and noun class with the subject and indirect object indexed in the verb morphology.

Although the normal structure of a ditransitive clause allows for seven clause-level tagmemes, that many do not occur in any one manifestation in the data. The maximum number of tagmemes to occur in one clause is five. The mean number of tagmemes per clause is 2.6, with 79% of the examples having three or less tagmemes. The longer manifestations of ditransitive clauses (four or five tagmemes) are more frequently used sentence initially or in mono-clausal sentences.

246) joe8:20 (time: TimeP + sub: pronoun + io: AccomP + obj: noun + pred: verb)
ghiy segine ni Wamgadi Muaigodo temi awo nitamri.
long.time neg 3s Wamgadi Muaigodo two poison 3ms_get_3mp
"not a long time (after that) he got sorcery (material) for Wamgadi and Muaigodo."

In the previous example the indirect object is overtly manifested. By contrast, the indirect object tagmeme may be left unmanifested, the referent being understood from the context, as in the following example.

247) joe6:40
…kar te wong nindim,
car Dem buy 3ms_do_3mp
"...he bought that car from them,"

As with other verbal clause type the tagmemes may be reordered for pragmatic reasons (with only 9% of the examples being in a marked order). Of the clauses with marked word order, 64% occur either sentence initially or in mono-clausal sentences. They are fairly evenly distributed in paragraphs and discourses.

248) joe7:24 (obj: ModNP + io: pronoun + pred: verb)
ni ning wuny kin ngase iri beghi mengu
3p poss garden Rel area one 1p 3mp_give_1p
"he will give us an area of his own garden"

249) sai19:53 (subj: pronoun + time: time word + io: pronoun + pred: verb)
Nge muq nu simbe giduw
1s now 2s tell 1s_do_2s
"Now I am tell you"

250) amu6:8 (obj: ModNP + sub: noun + io: pronoun + pred: GenericVP)
yumbo yumbo te SIL beghi sabi mindug
thing thing Dem SIL 1p fix 3mp_do_1p
"all these things SIL fixed for us"

5.2 Nonverbal Clauses

Nonverbal clauses are those in which the predicate is something other than a verb. There are four types of nonverbal clauses in Wand Tuan. They are distinguished from each other by their semantic import and by what occurs in the Comment element (the predicate) of the clause.

5.2.1 Descriptive Clause (DescCl)

The **Descriptive Clause** ascribes some characteristic to the subject of the clause, here called topic. It may include the peripheral element, Time. The formula for Descriptive clauses is:

[time] (topic) comment

The comment element may be manifested by an adjective, adverb, Adjective Phrase, Adverb Phrase or ModNP. The majority of examples (76%) exhibit two tagmemes -- topic and comment. Only 5% have all three tagmemes manifested, and 18% have only one tagmeme manifested.

251) amu4:7 (topic: noun + comm: adj)
Masin yumbui.
machine big
"The machine [is] big."

252) aug1:28 (time: time word + topic: PossP1 + comm: adj)
Muq ni mir tiq.
now 3s/p food enough
"Now his food [was] sufficient."

253) amu2:16 (topic: 0 + comm: adj)
...bir.
broken
"[It is] broken."

254) amu2:3 (topic: ModNP + comm: adj)
Wiye kin stori pugri.
water Rel story thus
"The story about the water [is] thus."

255) amu6:7 (topic: ModNP + comm: adj)
Pase kin baj yewon.
1p_lie Rel house good
"The house where we sleep [is] good."

256) joe8:9 (time: time word + topic: pro + comm: ModNP)
Muq nu quayi nganye.
now 2s man true
"Now you [are a] true adult."

5.2.2 Equative Clause (EqCl)

Equative clauses are predications of set membership and of identity. That is, they identify the subject (topic) as being a member of a set, or they predicate the identity of the subject. The structure of equative clauses is:

[time] (topic) (comment)

While the comment is labelled as optional in the formula, rarely is it left implicit. There are three examples in the data, all from a dialogue between two persons in which one is asking the other for his name, his wife's name and the name of his village. The implied comment is pughe 'what'. The first example below gives an example of this. The majority of Equative Clauses (63%) have at least two tagmemes overtly manifested.

257) sai19:38,40
Nu tiqe nyamb? … Tring.
2s village name Tring
"'[What is] your village name?' … 'Tring.'"

258) sai5:1 (topic: pronoun + comm: proper name)
nge Saiwa Mewuri,
1s Saiwa Mewuri
"I [am] Saiwa Mewuri,"

259) amu2:1 (topic: 0 + comm: RelCl)
…Tring kin,
Tring Rel
"...[I am] from Tring,"

260) amu2:34 (topic: ModNP + comm: ModNP)
wuti nen wiye quari wo.
person this.ms water dark child
"this man [is] a water spirit."

261) amu2:27 (topic: ModNP + comm: ModNP + Neg: *segi*)
Wuti nen tiqe ren segi.
person this.ms village this.fp neg
"This man [is] not from these villages."

5.2.3 Existential Clause (ExistCl)

Existential clauses are predications about the existence of the subject. The structure of these nonverbal clauses is:

[time] topic comment

Comment is always the negation word segi 'not'. Nonverbal existential clauses always deny the existence of the topic. In order to affirm the existence of the subject, Wand Tuan uses the Stative Intransitive Clause.

Compare *Lait segi.* "[There are] no lights."
with *Lait yeru.* "[There are] lights."

262) sai1:89 (topic: ModNP + comm: *segi*)
nge nyombui segi
1s dog neg
"I [do] not [have] dogs."

263) sai3:33 (time: time word + topic: noun + comm: *segi*)
Muq yeng segi,
now fight Neg
"Now [there is] no fighting,"

264) moses1:9 (topic: ModNP + comm: *segi*)
Nge nambu godo kin ngim segi,
1s home 1s_go.to Rel road Neg
"[There is] no way for me to go home,"

265) joe9:6 (topic: noun + comm: *segi*)
Soi segi,
torch Neg
"[There were] no torches,"

5.2.4 Locational Clause (LocCl)

Locational clauses affirm or deny the presence of the subject at a specified location. The order of tagmemes is:

[time] (topic) comment

Although examples of this clause type are limited in the data it is posited as a separate clause type because of its distinct semantic function *vis-à-vis* the other clause types.

266) amu2:14 (topic: ModNP + comm: loc word)
Nu wiye eny te muai?
2s water bamboo Dem where
"Where is your water bamboo?"

267) amu3:34 (topic: 0 + comm: Dem + Neg: segi)
Ren segi.
Dem neg
"[It is] not here."

268) (topic: proper name + comm: loc word)
Moru muai?
Moru where
"Where [is] Moru?"

269) sai1:100 (topic: noun + comm: Dem)
kopi *nen.*
coffee Dem
"Here [is] coffee."

270) gid1:47 (time: time word + topic: RelCl + comm: Dem)
Muq *nen* *nati* *pu* *nase* *ye* *nen.*
now Dem 3ms_die thus 3ms_lie Rel Dem
"Now this one who is dead [is] here."

5.3 Use of Clauses

5.3.1 Word Order

The syntactic structure of a Wand Tuan clause carries semantic information in a communication situation. As was noted in the typological discussion in the Introduction, the basic word order for a Wand Tuan clause is S-O-V. While this is the basic word order, it is not as inflexible as is the word order of English. On the other hand, neither is it as free as Yimas for which there are apparently "…no syntactic rules necessary to produce a sentence" (Foley, 1986:170).

In transitive clauses, the verb morphology marks both the subject and the object. It may not be necessary for any particular clause to manifest those participants by surface-level nominals, if they are apparent from the context. While the nominal (or a substitute pronominal) may not be always necessary, the word order is important. The order in which the clause tagmemes occur conveys semantic information.

The following examples demonstrate some of the importance of the order of the nuclear tagmemes--subject, object and verb.

Examples 271 and 273 are in the normal word order. By contrast, the order of examples 272 and 274 are O-S-V. In example 272 the fact that the subject pronominal (*ni*) is manifested and is withheld from its normal initial position, combined with phonological stress on that nominal, places it in focus. The implication is that the tree is a given in the context, and that the speaker is denying responsibility for the felling of the tree.

271) (subject + object + predicate)
Ni *nyumo* *eneri*
ni *nyumo* *e<n>eri*
3s/p tree <3ms>fell.ms
"He felled the tree..."

272) (object + subject + predicate)
Nyumo **ni** *eneri*
nyumo *ni* *e<n>eri*
tree 3s/p <3ms>fell.ms
"He felled the tree..."

In example 274 the object nominal is modified by a demonstrative. The fact that it is modified by a demonstrative, that it is forefronted and that it receives phonological stress places the object in focus. That is, "It is this tree that he felled, as opposed to some other tree." In both 272 and 274 the object is topic. The difference between the two is which element, subject or object, is in focus.

273) (subject + object + predicate)
Ni *nyumo* *nen* *eneri*
ni *nyumo* *nen* *e<n>eri*
3s/p tree Dem <3ms>fell.ms
"He felled this tree..."

274) (object + subject + predicate)
Nyumo **nen** *ni* *eneri*
nyumo *nen* *ni* *e<n>eri*
tree Dem 3s/p <3ms>fell.ms
"This tree (is the one) he felled..."

The following examples further demonstrate this principle. Example 275 is the normal way to say "He killed the pig". Example 276 adds another semantic component by inserting the conjunction *di* 'and'. While the normal semantic meaning of *di* is 'and', in this marked situation it conveys a causal sense. Example 277 denies responsibility of the speaker for the death of the pig, by emphasizing that *ni* 'he' killed it.

275) *Ni* *pu* *n-umbue-q,* *w-uti.*
3ms pig 3ms-hit-3fs 3fs-die
"He killed the pig. (Lit: He hit the pig, she died.)"

276) *Ni* *pu* *n-umbue-q,* *di* *w-uti.*
3ms pig 3ms-hit-3fs and 3fs-die
"He hit the pig so that she died.

277) *Pu* **ni** *n-umbue-q,* *w-uti.*
pig 3ms 3ms-hit-3fs 3fs-die
"He killed the pig."

The same can be said about the peripheral tagmemes, Time and Location. The normal word order for stative intransitive clauses is:

[time] (sub) [loc] pred

Yet, as the following examples demonstrate, this order is flexible for the locative.

In example 279 location, "Wewak," is withheld to a position after the predicate. This position conveys to the listener that the speaker is not yet finished with his or her thought, and will talk about something that happened at that location. In oral communication this would be accompanied by a level or rising pitch. But in written communication, it still carries that para-message, even without the phonological cue.

278) (subject + location + predicate)
Nge *Wewak* *k-o.*
1s Wewak 1s-go
"I went to Wewak."

279) (subject + predicate + location)
Nge *k-o* *Wewak…*
1s 1s-go Wewak
"I went to Wewak..."

In example 281 the Time tagmeme, *bur tengi* 'two nights', is withheld to a post-subject position. This makes time focal in this clause. The Time tagmeme in example 282 is held until after the predicate. This communicates to the hearer or reader that the speaker has more to say about what happened upon completion of that time.

280) (time + subject + predicate)
Bur *tengi* *beghi* *p-ase.*
night two.n 1p 1p-lie
"We stayed two nights.

281) (subject + time + predicate)
Beghi *bur* *tengi* *p-ase.*
1p night two.n 1p-lie
"We stayed two nights."

282) joe5:65 (subject + predicate + time)
Beghi p-ase bur tengi, [pudi nyombui b-udoq segi.]
1p 1p-lie night two.n but dogs 1p-see.fs neg
"We stayed two nights, [but didn't see the dogs.]"

5.3.2 Relative Clause (RelCl)

The **Relative Clause** is structurally similar to the Relator-Axis Phrase, in that there is a core element (the axis) and a term that relates that to the context.

Axis	Relator	(Determiner)
intrans clause	*kin* Rel	*te* Dem
trans clause	*ye* real	*taq* Dem
ditrans clause		
sentence		
Descriptive Clause		

The Relator tagmeme may be manifested by either *kin* 'relator' or *ye* 'realis'. The selection of which of the two particles to use can be for stylistic reasons. In general, speakers of the language do not like to have two occurrences of *kin* too near to each other, so one of the occurrences is changed to a *ye*. The selection may also have semantic import. Consider the following example, in which the use of *kin* indicates that the inability to kill the person is an already observed phenomenon, whereas the use of *ye* indicates that, while it is true, it has not yet been experientially observed.

283) *ni mi kin tiq segi*
3p 3mp_kill Rel able neg
"they could not kill him"

cf, *ni mi ye tiq segi*
3p 3mp_kill Rel able neg
"they cannot kill him"

The Determiner tagmeme is optionally manifested by either *te* 'that' or *taq* 'this.' When the Relative Clause comes before the nominal which it is modifying, the Determiner is never manifested.

284) amu6:5
Burpoq ruqo pase kin baj
night sleep 1p_lie Rel house
"the house in which we sleep at night"

When, however, the Relative Clause follows the nominal which it is modifying, the Determiner may be manifested. The demonstrative *te* 'that' is generally an anaphoric reference, while *taq* 'this' is cataphoric. In example 285, which has roughly analogous clause structures, one with *taq* manifesting Determiner, and the other with *te*. In the example with *taq* the speaker has not yet identified the location. With this sentence he is identifying for the hearer what the location is. In the other sentence with *te*, the speaker has already identified that the participant has gone to the *kunai*. He is hereby further specifying more exactly within the already identified location where the participant went.

285) ignas2:2
Ni mo kin **taq** *Wuyemin opu tende mo.*
3p 3mp_go Rel this Wuyemin area there 3mp_go
"Their going was thus, they went to Wuyemin area."

cf, ignas4:4
Ni no kin **te** *tan mbe dabone no.*
3s 3ms_go Rel that kunai to edge 3ms_go
"Where he went was to the edge of the kunai."

The way in which the Relative Clause is used is an example of non-primary exponence. Longacre distinguished between three kinds of exponence — primary, secondary and tertiary (1976:260ff). The Relative

Clause functions by both secondary exponence (“recursion”) and tertiary exponence (“backlooping”). The following example is a Relative Clause, *buqod kin*, recursed into the subject tagmeme of a Stative Intransitive Clause.

286) amu5:24
B-uqod kin woichi r-ip.
1p-see Rel frightening 3fp-hold
“What we saw [was] frightening.”

Example 287 is a Descriptive Clause in which the topic, *pas kin sunyi* ‘the place where we live’, is manifested by an Modified Noun Phrase. The Head of that noun phrase is *sunyi* ‘place’, and the Relative Clause, *pas kin* ‘where we live’, manifests the Delimiter tagmeme of the noun phrase (i.e., by tertiary exponence, backlooping).

287) amu6:4
…p-as kin sunyi yewon.
1p-sit Rel place good
“…the place where we live [is] good.”

A Relative Clause in which the Axis is manifested by a predication of thinking or speaking can be used as a quotation formula to introduce an indirect quotation.

288) ignas6:15
nge nei gab kin te *wuti iri o wute ire nambu tende*
1s think 1s_feel Rel Dem man one or woman one home there
wuti, bu ni ning ququ te nge nde wundi.
3fs_die so 3s poss spirit Dem 1s to 3fs_come
“…what I thought was that a man or woman at home died, so their spirit came to me.”

Finally, a Relative Clause may be used as the topic of a higher level unit, either sentence or paragraph. In example 289 the author identifies the topic of a paragraph with a Relative Clause, *Nge yembe gad kin*, ‘About my work’. The following paragraph then proceeds to describe his working situation.

289) moses1:8
Nge yembe gad kin beghi youth mitamu powi,
1s work 1s_do Rel 1p youth 3mp_get.1p 1p_ascend
pugri bu beghi wet bidi quan mengu segi….
therefore 1p money much 3mp_give_1p neg
“About my work, they get us youth, therefore they don’t give us much money….”

5.4 Case Frames

The clause is the basic unit of predication. This section describes predications in terms of case frames. In this description, I basically follow the system of case frames described by Longacre (1976:38ff). But, rather than having the full 48 cells of Longacre’s’ system, I divide the predications only into a sufficient number of cells to describe what is overtly marked on the verbs. Also, I have renamed row A as “Existential” and row B as “Experiential”.

In the examples of this section simple verbs, full clauses, and some idioms are given since many predications are expressed by a nominal in combination with a generic verb. Also, many predications are expressed by idioms, for example *ker nawo* (lit: “he puts anger”) meaning “He is angry”.

In the following discussion, abbreviations for cases and case frames are enclosed in square brackets []. Cases enclosed in parentheses () are optional. Alternative case frames are separated by a vertical bar, |. Cases that are co-referential are joined by a slash mark, e.g., a nominal that is both Agent and Source is marked A/So. The following paradigm often distinguishes between state, process, action-process, and action predications for each category of predication. When this results in different case frames, those different frames are separated by a vertical bar in a list after the name of that category of case frames in the heading. The definitions of cases used in this discussion are listed in Appendix A.

A. Existential [P]

Existential predications indicate the existence of an object or the fact of the occurrence of an event. Existential predications mark the Patient [P] of the predication with a verbal prefix.

290) joe2:5
Muq skul yembe quan nganye r-ise.
now school work much true 3fp[P]-lie
"Now there is a lot of school work."

291) joe7:3
wiye w-undi.
water 3fs[P]-come
"It is raining."

B. Experiential [E]|[I (E)]

Experiential predications indicate the impingement of an inanimate entity on the nervous system of an animate being. These predications occur in two forms. Some mark the Experiencer [E] of the predication with a prefix on the verb. Others mark the inanimate entity which conditions the state being predicated (Instrument [I]) with a prefix, and the animate entity experiencing the predication (Experiencer [E]) with a suffix.

292) ignas2:14
uwi m-ati,
cold 3mp[E]-die
"they[E] are cold,"

293) reg2:59
Nge rar ghabe r-imbi-gh.
3s/p eye ignorant 3fp[I]-do-1s[E]
"My[E] eyes[I] are bad."

C. Emotional & Impingement [E (I)]|[A/E (I)]|[A E]

Emotional and impingement predications occur in three subgroups. The first subgroup indicates the emotive or psychological state of the subject of the predication. The verb prefix indicates the Experiencer [E] of the predication. The verb in these predications optionally marks the Instrument [I] of the emotional state of the Experiencer. The Instrument, when overtly marked on the verb, is indicated by suffix.

294) joe4:16
…ningiyi … ker m-awo…
bush.spirit angry 3mp[E]-put.pl
"…the bush spirits…are angry…"

295) *Nge ni munyu k-ite-ng.*
1s 3s/p shame 1s[E]-fill-3ms[I]
"I[E] feel shame before him[I]."

The second type of Impingement predications is Affective predications (action-process). The person marked by the prefix of the verb in Affective predications co-referentially marks both Agent [A] and Experiencer [E]. Affective predications may optionally mark Instrument [I] with a suffix.

296) aug2:25
Nge wur k-aq,
1s laugh 1s[A/E]-put.fs
"I[A/E] laughed,"

297) *Nge wur k-ua-w.*
1s laugh 1s[A/E]-put-3fs[I]
"I[A/E] laughed at her[I]."

The third subgroup is Impingement predications (action). The Actor [A] of an Impingement predication is marked by a prefix on the verb. The Experiencer [E] is indicated by either suffix or the form of the verb root itself.

Example 298 is similar in surface structure to Placement predications (cf., G. Locative, page 54). The semantics, though, is very different. In the following example, the Agent is not giving an object [P] to another person [G]. Rather, he is intentionally causing an emotional state in a second person [E]. The nominal *woingo* 'fear', and the verb that agrees with it (*wughe*), is Range [R] because of their essential role in completing the predication.

298) *Ni woingo n-ua-ng w-ughe*
3s/p fear 3ms[A]-put-3ms[E] 3fs[I]-descend
"He[A] frightened him[E]."

Example 299 demonstrates that even if Instrument is overtly manifested in an Impingement predication, it is not reflected in the verb morphology, as would be the case with Affective predications.

299) *Ni kuawu pe nyombui n-i*
3s/p pangal with dog 3ms[A]-hit.3m[E]
"He[A] hit the dog[E] with pangal[I]."

C'. Factual Knowledge [E (R)]|[A E (R)]

Factual knowledge predications may be either state, process, or action-process. As state (Know) predications, they indicate the fact of knowing. The verb prefix indicates the Experiencer [E] of the predication. Optionally marked by suffix is the Range [R].

300) joe5:24
…ni … ghabe g-ud.
3s/p ignorant 3ns[E]-do
"…they[E] are…ignorant."

301) joe1:3
…otiwo yumbo ninge nei w-umbi-ny segi ye.
later thing some know 2p[E]-feel-3fp[R] neg real
"…later you(pl)[E] will not know things[R]."

As action-process predications (Teach), factual knowledge predications indicate the process by which one person facilitates a second person acquiring knowledge. The verbs mark the Agent [A] with a prefix and, optionally, the Experiencer [E] with a suffix. The Range [R] may be overtly manifested in the clause, though not reflected in the verb morphology.

302) joe4:6
Ni nge pugri yeri n-indi-gh,
3s/p 1s thus advise 3ms[A]-do-1s[E]
"He[A] gave me[E] advice like this,"

303) joe1:10
…quayi ni wand quari m-e-m.
man 3s/p talk story 3mp[A]-give-3mp[E]
"…the men[A] taught them[E] stories."

D. Desire [E G]|[A G] or [A E/G]

Desire predications may predicate either a state or an action. State desire predications mark the Experiencer [E] of the predication by suffix on the verb. There is only one verb in this group, and it is the only verb in the language that indexes the subject of the clause by suffix. The Goal [G], the entity toward which the predication is directed, is manifested in the clause, but not indexed on the verb.

304) gid3:3
…nge kari yawo kure-gh.
1s 1s_cry desire need-1s[E]
"…I[E] wanted to cry out."

305) regi2:71
…muqdi mir gure-g ye,
now food need-3ms[E] real
"…now he[E] will be hungry (for food[G]),"

Action desire predications mark the Agent [A] of the predication with a prefix on the verb. They may optionally index the Goal [G] with a verbal suffix. If the object of the predication is an animate being, it may function as both Experiencer and Goal. In example 306 the Goal of the predication is the whole embedded clause *Nge gubueq wuti* 'I kill her'.

306) sai9:22
Nge gubueq wuti yambu k-ari.
1s 1s_hit_3fs 3fs_die dislike 1s[A]-say
"I[A] don't want to kill her,"

307) *Nge ni yambu k-ira-w.*
1s 3s/p dislike 1s[A]-say-3fs[G]
"I[A] dislike her[G]."

D'. Sensation [E So (R)]|[A/So (E) (R)]|[A/E (So) (R)]

Sensation predications may occur in three subgroups--process (Sensation), action-process (Speech), or action (Attention). As process (Sensation) predications they index the Experiencer [E] of the predication by the verbal prefix. The Source [So] may be optionally marked by suffix, or change of the verb root. (Source, as used here, refers to the entity from which a physical sensation emanates.) Range [R] is optionally manifested in the clause, but not on the verb.

308) sai1:105
…ni ning wand p-utungu,
3s/p own talk 1p[E]-hear
"…we[E] listen to his[So] talk[R],"

309) amu2:22
Nge g-uqoid pre.
1s 1s[E]-see.3ms[So] comp
"I[E] saw him[So]."

The action-process predications may be labelled predications of Speech. The verbal prefix co-referentially marks the Agent [A] as Source [So]. The Experiencer [E] may be optionally indexed by suffix. The Range [R] may optionally be manifested in the clause, but not on the verb.

310) joe1:22
…yumbo buagi quayi kiyi nde simbe w-and…
thing all man father to tell 2p[A/S]-do
"…you[A/S] have told everything to the elders[E]…"

311) sai19:68
Muq ni simbe n-indi-m…
now 3s/p tell 3ms[A/E]-do-3mp[E]
"Now he[A/S] told them[E]…"

The action predications may be labeled Attention predications. In these predications, the Agent [A] and Experiencer [E] are co-referentially marked by verbal prefix. The Source [So], the entity from which a sensation emanates, may optionally be marked by a verbal suffix. Example 313 is somewhat different in that the verbal suffix marks Range rather than Source.

312) sai11:75
Tingi rar n-at,
below eye 3ms[A/E]-fill
"He[A/E] looked below[R],"

313) regi2:25
Nuqam meri g-idi-g…
2.brother search 1s[A/E]-do-3ms[R]
"I[A/E] am looking for your brother[R]…"

E. Physical [P]|[A P (I)]|[A R] or [A G]

Physical predications are widely distributed in the data, occurring as state, process, action-process, and action predications. The first two subgroups--physical state and physical process--mark the Patient [P] of the predication on the verb prefix. Some physical state predications use the same verb as existential predications in A. above (Existential), i.e., *nase* 'lie'. In both instances the prefix marks the Patient. The difference is semantic. Existential predications predicate the existence of an object or the fact of the occurrence of an event. Physical state predications indicate a characteristic or quality of the Patient nominal.

Physical state predications:

314) joe2:8
…umbo baj teri brequ r-ise,
stomach house two bad 3fp[P]-lie
"…the two toilets[P] are bad,"

315) amu3:45
Irew yumbui yequ…
*irew yumbui ye*u-q*
moon big stand-3fs[P]
"The moon[P] is large [full moon]…"

Physical process predications:

316) joe1:16
Nungoqi puq wen, di w-ati.
2p thus 2p_do and 2p[P]-die
"If you do that you[P] will die."

317) joe7:5
…tedi rise +ne nyang r-ighe ye
then 3fp_lie+Lim rot 3fp[P]-descend rea
"…then they[P] will just lie and rot."

The physical action-process predications generally mark the Agent [A] on the prefix and Patient [P] or Goal [G] on the suffix of the verb. Normally the suffix marks Patient, though that may be substituted by Goal. One verb, *enare* 'fell', marks Agent with an infix rather than a prefix, and Patient by the form of the verb root.

318) sai4:15
…nyumo muange sabi n-indi-ny.
tree branch fix 3ms[A]-do-3fp[P]
"…he[A] fixed up the tree branches[P]."

319) amu6:8
yumbo yumbo te SIL beghi sabi m-indu-g…
thing thing Dem SIL 1p fix 3mp[A]-do-1p[G]
"SIL[A] helped us[G] with those things[I]…"

320) sai4:6
Weg temi e<m>are…
breadfruit two.3m <3mp[A]>fell.p[P]
"They[A] felled two breadfruit trees[P]…"

Physical action predications mark Agent [A] with the verb prefix and Range [R] with the form of the verb root. There is at present only one verb in this subgroup -- *naq* 'eat'. In one highly unusual form, this verb occurs with a

suffix marking the Goal [G] of the predication. (Goal: an entity toward which the predication is directed without any necessary change in the state of that entity.)

321) sai10:34
Gos n-aq segi.
sago 3ms[A]-eat.3fs[R] neg
"He[A] doesn't eat sago[R]."

322) sai3:18
Ni nyumo chongo m-e…
3s/p tree skin 3mp[A]-eat.p[R]
"They[A] chew tree bark[R]…"

323) joe8:15
ngam umbo gawo y-a-w!
wife stomach hole 2s.Imp[A]-eat-3fs[G]
"eat your wife's bottom[G]!"

F. Measure

Measure verbs do not occur in the data.

G. Locative [P (L)]|[A P (L)]|[A (L) (R)]

There are three subgroups of locative predications -- Locative state, Placement (action-process) and Locative action. In the first subgroup, Locative state, the verbal prefix indexes the Patient [P] of the predication. One verb in this group, *yenu* 'stand', marks the Patient with an infix. The optional Locative [L] nominal may be manifested in the clause, but not on the verb.

324) amu3:43
nginy tu wam ungu pu yequ.
nginy tu wam ungu pu ye<q>u
sun top above hang thus <3fs[P]>stand
"(it)[P] hung in the sky[L]."

325) ignas3:17
(Jebe yembe bidig pre) yenu,
jebe yembe b-idi-g pre ye<n>u
shelf work 1p-do-3ms done <3ms[P]>stand
"(We finished making the shelf), it[P] stood,"

The Placement predications occur in two forms. Some are similar to "put" in English. In these predications the verb prefix marks the Agent [A] of the predication, and the suffix or verb root marks the Patient [P].

326) joe1:25
Nungoqi wand ninge suqo w-are…
2p talk some hide 2p[A]-carry.p[P]
"You[A] will hide some talk[P]…"

327) joe3:3
…di wapi waghe nyoq m-awo segi.
and wildfowl egg 3mp[A]-put.p[P] neg
"…and the wildfowl[A] don't lay eggs[P]."

328) sai5:25
…ghighe groq w-undi-q…
lime pour 3fs[A]-do-3fs[P]
"…she[A] pours out lime[P]…"

The other form of Placement verb is manifested by the Auxiliary Verb Phrase in which two verbs combine to form a single predication. The Agent [A] of the predication is marked by the prefix of the main verb. The Patient [P]

is marked by the suffix (or verb root) of the main verb and by the prefix of the auxiliary verb. Locative [L] is optionally manifested in the clause, though not on the verb.

329) sai11:18
…kuamb umbo m-awo r-ighe…
earthworm stomach 3mp[A]-put.p[P] 3fp[P]-descend
"…they[A] put in (some) earthworm intestines[P]…"

330) sai2:21
Wiye pe n-e-q w-ughe… w-uso
water to 3ms[A]-put-3fs[P] 3fs[P]-descend 3fs[P]-go
"He[A] stuck it[P] into the water…"

The third subgroup of locative predications is Locative action. In form, these may be the same as the locative state verbs, with the context determining which they are. As locative action verbs, the prefix (or infix) marks the Agent [A] of the predication. One of the locative action predications, *ghimbi nawo* 'wait', may have a suffix marking the Range [R]. Like other locative predications, the Locative [L] is manifested in the clause but not on the verb.

331) *…quayi ninge nambu ne yemu,*
quayi ninge nambu ne ye<m>u
man some village Lim <3mp>stand
"…some men[A] stand in the village[L]"

332) joe5:39
Di bur beghi p-ase.
and night 1p 1p-lie
"And we[A] slept at night."

333) joe5:60
…di mune ghimbi p-awo p-awo,
and again body 1p-put.p 1p-put.p
"…and we[A] were waiting again,"

334) joe6:8
nge ni ghimbi g-ua-g pu k-as.
1s 3s/p body 1s-put-3ms thus 1s-sit
"…I[A] sat waiting for him[R]."

G'. Motion [P (So)(Pa)(G)]|
[A/So P (Pa)(G)],[A/G P (So)(Pa)],[A P (So)(Pa)(G)]|
[A/P (So)(Pa)(G)]

There are three forms of motion predications: Motion, Propulsion, and Locomotion. **Motion** predications (the first group) predicate a process. They obligatorily index the Patient [P], at least by verb prefix if not by other clause level tagmemes. Source [So], Path [Pa], and/or Goal [G] may also be overtly manifested in the clause but not in the verb.

335) sai2:111
koku wiye pe ir n-aghe,
my.ancestor water it fall 3ms[P]-descend
"my ancestor[P] fell into the water[G]."

336) *Wo pombri n-o.*
child fall 3ms[P]-go
"The child[P] fell down."

337) joe10:20
Beghi wam pu p-o tingi…
1p above from 1p[P]-go below
"We[P] went from above[So] down below[G]…"

The subject of example 337 is marked as Patient since, in context, he is not actively descending, but is being taken down in a lift.

The second group of Motion predications, **Propulsion**, occurs in three subgroups. In one group the Agent [A] and Source [So] are co-referentially marked by the verbal affix. One of these verbs, *meneri* 'throw', marks the Agent/Source by infix, while the others mark it with a prefix. The verb suffix, and/or form of the verb root, usually marks the Patient [P] of the predication. It may, however, mark the Goal [G], rather than Patient if the nominal in the Goal role is at a higher animacy level than the Patient nominal.

338) sai19:61

Di	*ni*	*mame*	*wet*	*memare*	*ruso.*
di	*ni*	*mame*	*wet*	*m- me*are*	*r-uso*
and	3s/p	knife	stone	3ms[A/So]-throw.p[P]	3fp[P]-go

"And they[A/So] threw away their stone knives[P]."

339) sai5:41

memirew	*nondo.*
me<m>ire-w	*n-ondo*
<3mp[A/So]>throw-3fs[G]	3ms[P]-go.to

"they[A/S] threw it[P] to her[G]."

340) joe6:29

prais	*lis*	*te*	*w-eq*	*w-undi…*
price	list	Dem	2p[A/So]-put.3fs[P]	3fs[P]-come

"…you[A/S] give the price list[P] here[G]…"

The second subgroup of Propulsion predications involves the Agent [A] and Goal [G] being co-referential. This is marked on the verb prefix, with the Patient [P] marked on the verb suffix or form of the root.

341)

Nge	*sare*	*qo*	*g-ibi-q.*
1s	rope	pull	1s[A/G]-do-3fs[P]

"I[A] pulled the rope[P]."

The third subgroup of Propulsion predications differs from the first two in that the prefix marks Agent [A] only, rather than Agent/Source or Agent/Goal. The suffix indicates the Patient [P]. Source [So], Path [Pa] and/or Goal [G] may also be manifested.

[NOTE that the following examples are not single clauses. The predications "take" and "bring" are manifested by Merged Sentences.]

342) sai2:7

segi	*n-ira-q*	*n-o,*
neg	3ms[A]-carry-3fs[P]	3ms[A]-go

"he[A] just took it[P]…"

343) sai12:16

…kiyi	*nitanyi*	*no…*
kiyi	*n-ita<ny>i*	*n-o*
father	3ms[A]-take<3ms[P]>	3ms[A]-go

"…his father[A] will take him[P]…"

344)

Nge	*yod*	*k-eri*	*nambu*	*g-adi.*
1s	post	1s[A]-carry.ms[P]	village	1s[A]-come

"I[A] brought the post[P] home[G]."

The third major group of Motion predications expresses **Locomotion**. The referent indicated by the verb prefix is co-referentially Agent [A] and Patient [P]. Locomotion predications may also manifest Source [So], Path [Pa] and/or Goal [G] in the clause.

345) joe6:1
Kei Seyum n-andi…
before Seyum 3ms[A/P]-come
"Seyum[A/P] came the day before yesterday…"

346) sai2:3
…koku yabe dabo n-o.
ancestor before bush 3ms[A/P]-go
"…my ancestor[A/P] went to the bush[G] long ago."

347) amu3:25
…minye pe n-ewo n-o.
gnetum in 3ms[A/P]-ascend 3ms[A/P]-go
"…he[A/P] went up the gnetum tree[G]."

348) joe3:10
Yuram bur di w-ati w-i.
evening dark and 2p[A/P]-come.down 2p[A/P]-come
"In the evening you(p)[A/P] come down."

H. Property [G P]|[A/So G]|[A/G P|So]

There are three groups of Property predications. The first of these is Acquisition predications (property process). They express the fact of the acquisition of some property, but there is no overt concern about whether or not the person was an active agent in the acquisition. The form of the verbs is the same as that of some of the property action (Grab) predications, the context determining to which subgroup each occurrence belongs. In the verbs of Acquisition predications, the prefix indicates Goal [G] and the suffix indicates Patient [P]. Goal is here used to refer to the animate entity who is the non-transitory or terminal owner of that which is marked as Patient of the predication.

The second group of Property predications, Transfer, co-referentially mark the Agent [A] and Source [So] or Goal [G] with a verbal prefix, and the Goal [G] with a suffix. The verbs in these predications may optionally mark Patient [P] with the suffix rather than Goal, as in example 372. Predications involving buying may also indicate Measure [M] in the clause but not on the verb.

349) sai5:23
di ghighe groq w-undi-q
and lime pour 3fs[A/So]-do-3fs[P]
"…and she[A/So] poured out the lime[P]."

350) sai17:32
wase r-e-ng segi.
fire 3fp[A/So]-give-3ms[G] neg
"she[A/So] didn't give him[G] fire[P]."

351) sai8:8
wiye mang pe groq n-and
water bank at drop 3ms[A/So]-do.p[P]
"he[A/So] dropped (them)[P] on the river bank[G]"

352) joe6:29
wet bidi te kin pugri pe wong g-idi-q
stone piece Dem Rel thus with buy 1s[A/G]-do-3fs[P]
"…I[A/G] will buy it[P] for that amount of money[M]."

353) joe6:30
kar te wong n-indi-m…
car Dem buy 3ms[A/G]-do-3mp[So]
"he[A/G] bought that car[P] from them[So]…"

The third group of Property predications is Grab predications. They mark the Agent/Goal [A/G] of the predication with the verb prefix. The suffix usually indexes the Patient [P], although it may optionally index Source [S] instead.

354) sai13:10
nyumo puayi n-ita-q w-i
wood piece 3ms[A/G]-get-3fs[P] 3fs[P]-come
"…he[A/G] got a piece of wood[P]"

355) joe8:17
Ni awo n-ita-m r-i.
1s/p sorcery 3ms[A/G]-get-3mp[So] 3fp[P]-come
"He[A/G] got sorcery items[P] from them(m)[So]."

H'. Property (Motion)

Property (Motion) verbs do not occur in our data.

6. SENTENCE

The term "sentence" is used in this paper to refer to that level of the grammatical hierarchy which encodes propositions. That is, sentences combine clause-level predications to form propositions (cf., Longacre, 1976:274). The sentence falls, hierarchically, between the clause and the paragraph.

Sentences may vary greatly in length from a single-base structure composed of only one clause to a multi-base structure that is coterminous with a brief paragraph. There are several features which may be used in determining sentence boundaries.

1. If a verb is repeated in a following clause by the same verb or a close synonym this denotes a sentence boundary, provided the second occurrence is identical to or shorter than the first manifestation. This is particularly evident when associated with final intonation between the two occurrences. If the repeated stretch uses the same verb or a close synonym and is longer than the first stretch it is an Amplification Sentence.
2. The end of a question is a sentence boundary. A question is indicated by context, question intonation and, sometimes, the presence of a question word.
3. The end of a quotation denotes the end of a sentence. The closure of a quotation is indicated by context, meaning and the reference of the free pronouns and person-number affixation on the verbs. The end of a quotation may optionally also be indicated by the presence of the quotation formula, QF3.
4. Sentence Conjunctions, when present, occur at the beginning of a sentence.
5. A sentence, other than a question, generally ends with a falling final intonation.

The following discussion of sentences is divided into two major sections. The first considers the structural descriptions of the sentences types which occur in Wand Tuan. The second major section discusses propositional meanings and how they are encoded by Wand Tuan sentences.

6.1 Sentence Types

Wand Tuan has eighteen sentence types. Two of these are "loose" sentence types in that the surface structure allows the encoding of a large number of deep-structure relationships. Fifteen of the others are "tight" in that each one has a limited range of deep-structure relationships. The other sentence type is the Simple Sentence. This discussion is divided into three parts: Simple Sentence, Loose Sentences and Tight Sentences.

6.1.1 Simple Sentence (SimpS)

A Simple Sentence has only one nuclear Base, manifested by a clause. It is distinguished from a clause by the presence of sentence-level peripheral tagmemes. The structure of the Simple Sentence is as follows:

±Conjunction	±Vocative	±Remark	±Response	±Topic	±Temp. Marg.	+Nucleus
any of a number	pronoun personal name AccomP kinship term	*a* ‘ah’ *o* ‘oh’ *segi* ‘Neg’ *orait* ‘OK’	*segi* ‘Neg’ *yewo* ‘no’ *tebe* ‘OK’ *eqe* ‘yes’ *oq* ‘yes’	RelCl ReasP	clause	clause

A Simple Sentence may embed into the other sentence types.

356) amu1:15 (Conj: *pugri* + Nuc: DescCl)
Pugri nge oghi+ne stori gad tiq segi.
thus 1s good+Lim story 1s_do able Neg
“Therefore I am not able to tell it well.”

357) amu2:34 (Remark: *o* + Nuc: EqCl)
O wuti nen wiye wari wo.
oh man Dem water spirit
“Oh, this man is a water spirit.”

358) ignas2:2 (Topic: RelCl + Nuc: IntrCl)
Ni mo kin taq Wuyemin opu tende mo.
3p 3mp_go Rel Dem Wuyemin area Dem 3mp_go
“About their going, they went to Wuyemin area.”

359) ignas7:21 (Conj: *di* + Topic: RelCl + Nuc: IntrCl)
Di yuwo resis kin te wute ni Ista puq bad kin te ning chumbai mand
and song contest Rel Dem men 3p Easter thus 1p_do Rel Dem about happy 3mp_do
“And about the song contest, people are happy about us saying [it will be] at Easter.”

360) joe2:22 (Voc: AccomP + Nuc: TrCl)
Tring Wau ane nungoqi skul opis baj urupui yembe wunduw.
Tring Wau with 2p school office house new work 2p_do_3fs
“Tring and Wau, you will build a new school office building.”

361) joe14:16 (Conj: *di* + Voc: name + Topic: RelCl + Nuc: TrCl)
Di Joy nu kuari Mak musoq sabi biduw puq guad kin te
and Joy 2s 2s_say Mark some fix 1p_do_3fs thus 2s_do Rel Dem
beghi pas dobu pu nganye pitaqwi.
1p letter behind from true 1p_get_3fs
“And Joy, about you saying to fix Mark a little, we received the letter very [too] late.”

6.1.2 Loose Sentences

Loose sentences are those types of sentences which may express a broad range of semantic relationships between their bases. There are two types of loose sentences in Wand Tuan. One of these, the Conjunction Sentence, combines clauses by means of conjunctions and the other, the Narrative Sentence, combines clauses paratactically.

Conjunction Sentence (ConjS)

The Conjunction Sentence is a loose sentence type, composed of two bases and a Link. Base1 and Link may be repeated. Link may be manifested by a wide range of conjunctions, although 62% of the examples in the data use di ‘and; then’. The Conjunction Sentence is used to encode several semantic relationships: sequence, conjoining, step-GOAL, circumstance-HEAD, causation and means. The above-mentioned relationships account for 87% of the data, the other 13% of the data being various other semantic relationships.

(+Base1	+Link)^{n}	+Base2
IntrCl	*di* ‘and; then’	IntrCl
TrCl	*muq(di)* ‘now; next’	TrCl

DitrCl	*be* 'then'	DitrCl
DescCl	*pu(ne)* 'thus; next'	DescCl
ExCl	*ei (te)* 'so that'	ExCl
sentence	*orait* 'all right'	sentence

362) ignas1:11 (Base1: IntrCl + Link: *di* + Base1: NarS + Link: *di* + Base2: TrCl) -- sequence
Pre mand, di mondo wuge sambe meb, di wud map.
done 3mp_do and 3mp_approach sago 3mp_notch and piece 3mp_hold

"After that they go notch the sago [trunk] and divide it into lengths."

363) ignas1:3 (Base1: MSMot + Link: *di* + Base2: TrCl) -- step-Goal
Otiwo di nyumbueg ni chang te riraq ruso
later and women 3p stem.base Dem 3fp_carry.3fs 3fp_go

di sinyeq yembe rinduw.
and stand work 3fp_do_3fs

"Later the women take the base of the stem and make a sago washing stand."

364) ignas3:3 (Base1: TrCl + Link: *di* + Base2: TrCl) -- conjoining
Nge mame puate kiraq, di Leo ain mame bidi ane nare.
1s ax 1s_carry_3fs and Leo spear bush.knife with 3ms_carry

"I took an ax, and Leo took spears and a bush knife."

365) amu1:10 (Base1: NarS + Link: *muq* + Base2: IntrCl) -- sequence
Ni tende righe, wabe gri te brequ wet gawo,
3p there 3fp_descend inside way Dem bad stone hole

yumbui wet kiyi bu bir mawo pre, muq pawa masin wuse.
big stone father real break 3mp_put done now power machine 3fs_lie

"They went down there, inside was a very big cave, they broke very big stones, then the power machine stands there."

366) joe10:14 (Base1: NarS + Link: *muq* + Base2: PercS) -- time-Head
Otiwo nge ber si ire omo, o aiye tengi, nge skul pe ko,
later 1s year hand one comp o other two 1s school to 1s_go

muq nge kutungu, mari, 'Beghi qi wen yumbui nganye wuse.
now 1s 1s_hear 3mp_say 1p ground Dem big true 3fs_lie

Beghi wiyi, God, qi wen yembe nunduw.'
1s father God ground Dem work 3ms_do_3fs

"Later when I was five years old, oh another two, I went to school, then I heard them say, 'Our ground is very big. Our father God made this ground.'"

367) amu3:10 (Base1: IntrCl + Link: *be* + Base2: IntrCl) -- circumstance-Head
Temi te mas mas, be Songroi te mune wundi.
two Dem 3mp_sit 3mp_sit then Songroi Dem also 3fs_come

"Those two were sitting there, then Songroi also came there."

368) ignas2:18 (Base1: TrCl + Link: *be* + Base2: TrCl) -- step-Goal
Wase nuaq wughe pre, be Adam Paul temi
fire 3ms_put_3fs 3fs_descend done then Adam Paul two

irembo te wase mande.
bandicoot Dem fire 3mp_burn

"After he lit the fire, then Adam and Paul singed the bandicoot."

369) joe4:20 (Base1: SimpS + Link: *pu* + Base2: IntrCl) -- circumstance-Head
Di mir buagi nu segine ye pu wuny mbe gheyi yi.
and food all 2s just 2s.Imp_eat thus garden to 2s.Imp_enter 2s.Imp_come

"And you can just eat all foods when you enter the garden."

370) joe2:28 (Base1: TrCl + Link: *ei* + Base2: TrCl) -- means-Purpose
Beghi puq pen, ei yembe brequ omo pawo.
1s thus 1p_do that work quickly comp 1p_put
"We will do that so that we can finish the work quickly."

371) amu6:4 (Base1: IntrCl + Link: *orait* + Base2: DescCl) -- conjoining
Praimas yeru, orait pas mir bad kin tebol sia,
primus 3fp.stand all.right 1p_sit food 1s_do Rel table chair
pas kin sunyi yewon.
1p_sit Rel place good
"There were primuses, all right the table and chairs where we ate [and] the place we lived were good."

372) joe7:10 (Base1: NarS + Link: *di* + Base2: DescCl) -- grounds-Conclusion
Tedi muq oi wiye wundi, qi qui wure,
then now return rain 3fs.come ground cold 3fs.carry
di yumbo pi righe kin yewon nganye.
and thing 1p_insert 3fp_descend Rel good true
"So now the rain has come and the ground is cold [wet], so it would be good to plant the things."

373) ignas5:12 (Base1: IntrCl + Link: *di* + Base2: NarS) -- reason-Result
Nyungo te wuwi, di priprine ruso, bi ruaq.
weed Dem 3fs_ascend and often 3fp_go pull 3fp_put_3fs
"The weeds came up, so they went often [and] pulled them out."

Narrative Sentence (NarS)

The Narrative Sentence is a loose sentence structure in that it can encode a broad range of semantic relationships. It can encode many of the same semantic relationships as does the Conjunction Sentence, but it differs from the latter in that the bases are paratactically joined. Base1 may be repeated.

$(+Base1)^n$	+Base2
IntrCl	IntrCl
TrCl	TrCl
DitrCl	DitrCl
DescCl	DescCl
sentence	sentence

374) amu2:18 (Base1: IntrCl + Base2: DitrCl) -- sequence
…wuti iri wiye pe pu nowi ni, wiye eny te bir nuaw.
man one river in from 3ms_ascend 3ms_come water bamboo Dem break
3ms_put_ws
"…a man came up out of the river and broke your water bamboo."

375) ignas2:8 (Base1: IntrCl + Base2: TrCl) -- circumstance-Head
Mune+ne mandi mandi nyombui aye bub wuri.
again+Lim 3mp_come 3mp_come dog other chase 3fs_carry_3ms
"As they were coming back the dog chased another one."

376) ignas7:14 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: CondS) -- conjoining
…nge buagi ane simbe gad tuqui segi, otiwo nambu wandi
1s all with tell 1s_do able Neg later home 2p_come
tedi nei wamb.
then thought 2p_feel
"…I cannot tell everything, later when you come home then you will know."

377) amu3:6 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: MSDur) -- Head-amplification
…ni yembe mand, nyumo emare ruso.
3p work 3mp_do tree 3mp.fell 3fp_go
"…they worked, they kept felling trees."

378) joe5:71 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: QSDir) -- manner-Head
Nyari wand mi vindi mari, 'Nyombui wundi,
Nyari talk 3mp_send 3lg_come 3mp_say dog 3fs_come
wen wi wuyi, di beghi pitaqwi pu wuse.
Dem 3fs_come 3fs_enter and 1p 1p_get_3fs thus 3fs_lie
"Nyari sent word, they said, '[Your] dog came, arrived here, and we are holding it.'"

379) amu5:17 (Base1: ExistCl + Base2: TrCl) -- contrast-Head
Piksa segi, te wute ne bu raqe kin ne bu puq men.
picture Neg Dem men Lim real open Rel Lim real thus 3mp_do
"[It was] not a picture, real people did it openly."

380) joe4:7 (Base1: IntrCl + Base2: TrCl) -- reason-Result
Nu muq te+ne ven opu guadi ye,
2s now Dem+Lim Dem area 2s_come real
nu qi wen ye yumbo ur te nei guab segi.
2s ground Dem Rel thing mark Dem thought 2s_feel Neg
"You have just arrived in this area, you do not know the customs of this ground."

381) amu2:16 (Base1: MSGen + Base2: DescCl) -- means-Result
Nge nyumo pe kap yeru, bir.
1s tree on 1s_hit 3fp.stand break
"I bumped it on a tree, [it] broke."

382) joe4:10 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: TrCl) -- purpose-Means
Nu wand guad ning, si pe+ne ei yeri ghand.
2s talk 2s_do want hand with+Lim fut command 2s.Imp_do
"When you want to talk, gives commands with your hands."

6.1.3 Tight Sentences

Tight sentences are those sentences which encode a limited range of semantic relationships between their constituent bases. There are fifteen types of tight sentences in Wand Tuan. These are described in this section in alphabetical order.

Alternative Sentence (AltS)

The Alternative Sentence is composed of two obligatory bases joined by an obligatory Link. The Link and Base2 may be repeated. Both bases may be manifested by a clause or a sentence recursed into that base. In addition, Base2 may be manifested by only *segi* 'Neg', thus expressing an elliptical negation of the predicate manifesting Base1. Link is always manifested by *o* 'or'. The alternative turns on one point of difference between the predications of Base1 and Base2. The alternation may encode either excluded middle or included middle.

+Base1	(+Link	+Base2)^n
Intr Cl	*o* 'or'	IntrCl
TrCl		TrCl
DitrCl		truncated clause
sentence		sentence

383) joe3:27 (Base1: TrCl + Link: *o* + Base2: segi)
Char pe umo mune nyinge ruwo o segi.
bush in game again feet 3fp_put.p or neg
"Will the game again enter the jungle or not."

384) joe4:12 (Base1: ConjS + Link: *o* + Base2: ConjS)
Tedi nu non ne waghine ghandi, ghateri,
then 2s own ?? quietly 2s.Imp_come 2s.Imp_get.p
ghare di mune yo, o
2s.Imp_carry.p and again 2s.Imp_go or
waghine si pene yeri ghand, di rire rundo.
quietly hand with command 2s.Imp_do and 3fp_carry.p 3fp_approach
"Then you yourself quietly come, get them, and take them back, or quietly signal with your hands and they will bring them to you."

385) joe5:13 (Base1: NarS + Link: *o* + Base2: TrCl + Link: *o* + Base2: IntrCl)
di ghati rit riti, o duagi rumb, o ir ruso
and snake 3fp_bite 3fp_die or cassowary 3fp_hit or fall 3fp_go
"…and snakes will bite them, or cassowarys will hit them, or they will get lost…"

386) joe12:8 (Base1: IntrCl + Link: *o* + Base2: IntrCl)
…Lae nas o Madang nas.
Lae 3ms_sit or Madang 3ms_sit
"…is he in Lae or in Madang."

387) joe13:3 (Base1: TrCl + Link: *o* + Base2: TrCl)
…wute ninge pas ur mand o ring mand…
people some letter write 3mp_do or ring 3mp_do
"…did someone write a letter or telephone…"

Amplification Sentence (AmpS)

The Amplification Sentence is a two-base structure in which the two bases are paratactically conjoined. Base2 amplifies the semantic content of Base1 and may be repeated. It may either use the same verb as Base1, with added information, or use an entirely different verb. Base2 is always more specific than is Base1. Either base may be manifested by either a clause or a recursed sentence.

+Base1	$(+Base2)^n$
IntrCl	IntrCl
TrCl	TrCl
DescCl	DitrCl
sentence	DescCl
	sentence

388) amu2:10 (Base1: IntrCl + Base2: IntrCl)
Otiwo nyumbueg te yumbui wuso pre, ni miny ane wus,
later woman dem big 3fs_go Comp 3s/p breast with 3fs_sit
"Later that girl got big, she had breasts,"

389) amu5:5 (Base1: IntrCl + Base2: IntrCl)
beghi quemye ane po, Arden ane po,
2p white.one with 1p_go Arden with 2p_go
"…we went with the white man, we went with Arden,"

390) amu5:21 (Base1: IntrCl + Base2: DescCl)
Puq men men kin kiyi rindim, yewon ayene.
thus 3mp_do 3mp_do Rel father 3fp_do_3mp good other
"Their doing like that was excellent, it was very good."

391) joe1:12 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: TrCl)
Mu isis materi: umo mu, nyombui sabi mindiny kin mu,
magic different 3mp_get.p game magic dog fix 3mp_do Rel magic
nyumo chongo mu, anemau mu, di mu nganye buagi aye te materi.
tree bark magic nettle magic and magic true many other Dem 3mp_get.p
"They got different kinds of magic: they got game magic, magic for fixing dogs, tree bark magic, nettle magic, and many other kinds of magic."

392) joe2:4 (Base1: SimpP + Base2: NarS)
Pudi quayi nyumbueg wand rutungu segi,
but men women talk 3fp_hear Neg
ni skul pe ruso, yembe rind segi.
3s/p school to 3fp_go work 3fp_do Neg
"But the men and women didn't listen, they didn't go to the school and work."

393) joe6:9 (Base1: IntrCl + Base2: ConjS)
ni brequne nandi segi,
3s/p quickly 3ms_come Neg
ni yenu yenu yiram nganye muq nandi.
3s/p 3ms_stand 3ms_stand evening true then 3ms_come
"…he didn't come quickly, he stayed until late evening then he came."

394) joe10:9 (Base1: DescCl + Base2: DescCl + Base2: IntrCl)
Otiwo nge yumbui pugri,
later 1s big thus
nge nyinge kare kin,
1s feet 1s_carry.p Rel
nge musoq ju wand gad,
1s little good talk 1s_do
"Later I got big, I could walk, I could talk a little,"

395) joe13:3 (Base1: PercS + Base2: ConjS)
Nge nei gab segi nungoqi wutungu pre bri-
1s think 1s_do Neg 2p 2p_hear Comp Irr
wute ninge pas ur mand o ring mand
person some letter write 3mp_do or ring 3mp_do
di nungoqi simbe minduq wutungu pre bri?
and 2p tell 3mp_do_2p 2p_hear Comp Irr
"I don't know if you have already heard - if anyone has written a letter or telephoned and told you already?"

Causation Sentence (CausS)

The Causation Sentence is a two-base structure joined by an obligatory Link. Both bases may be manifested by either a clause or a recursed sentence. The Causation Sentence predicates Reason-Result or, sometimes, Means-Result. Base1 encodes the Reason or Means and Base2 the Result. If Link is manifested by *muqdi* 'now' or *di* 'and; then' the Causation Sentence predicates Grounds-Conclusion, with Base2 encoding the Conclusion.

+Base1	+Link	+Base2
IntrCl	*bu* 'realis; so'	IntrCl
TrCl	*pugri bu* 'therefore'	TrCl
DescCl	*pugri(ne)* 'thus'	DescCl
sentence	*muqdi* 'now'	sentence
	di 'and'	
	te ning 'therefore'	

396) amu1:14 (Base1-reason: TrCl + Link: *bu* + Base2-result: IntrCl)
Yumbo quan buqod bu nge ghabe gad.
thing many 1p_see real 1s dumb 1s_do
"We saw many things so I am ignorant."

397) ignas4:7 (Base1-reason: IntrCl + Link: *pugri bu* + Base2-result: DescCl)
Pu te tan mbe mingi wur wuso,
pig Dem kunai to middle 3fs_enter 3fs_go
pugri bu Leo ni kin irine numbueq kin tuqui segi.
therefore Leo 3s Rel one+Lim 3ms_hit Rel able Neg
"That pig entered the center of the kunai, therefore Leo could not kill it by himself."

398) joe1:26 (Base1-reason: SimpS + Link: *di* Base2-result: PercS)
Di pu yumbo ur ninge bei wund, di tende puayi di quayi kiyi nei mamb,
and pig thing mark some show 3fs_do so Dem time and man father know 3mp_feel
nu wandoqi wand, wand ninge suqo ware.
2s lie 2p_do talk some hide 2p_carry
"And the pig will show some actions, so at that time the elders will know that you have lied [and] hidden some talk."

399) joe6:28 (Base1-reason: IntrCl + Link: *bu* + Base2-result: NarS)
Muq wute maket kin pare po bu yembu yembu
now people market Rel 1p_carry 1p_go so 1p.stand 1p.stand
yiram nganye pu badi.
evening true thus 1p_come
"Today we took people to market so we stayed [and] came back in late evening."

400) joe6:40 (Base1-reason: ConjS + Link: *pugri* + Base2-result: ConjS)
Pita ni quan nganye buid nap di kar te wong nindim
Pita 3s much true strong 3ms_fill and car Dem buy 3ms_do_3mp
pugri ni mune meri haus sik mo
so 3p again 3mp_take hospital 3mp_go
di nge Seyum temu nyimbuar giqe po segi.
and 1s Seyum two bat.net clearing 1p_go Neg
"Peter was very determined to hire their car so they also took him to the hospital and Seyum and I did not go to the bat-net clearing."

401) joe7:5 (Base1-grounds: IntrCl + Link: *di* + Base2-conclusion: DescCl)
Wiye wundi puq di namb tuqui segi ye…
rain 3fs_come thus so 3ms_burn able Neg real
"The rain has come so it cannot burn…"

402) joe7:8 (Base1-reason: TrCl + Link: *bu* + Base2-result: ConjS)
Nungoqi puq wand bu rise rise, muq yabe wiye
2p thus 2p_do so 3fp_lie 3fp_lie now before rain
wundi pre, muqdi pughe gri ei pawo righe ye?
3fs_come done now what way fut 1p_put 3fp_descend real
"You said thus so they kept lying, now the rain has come, [and] now how can we burn it?"

403) joe14:8 (Base1-reason: IntrCl + Link: *te ning* + Base2-result: DescCl)
Sumowie ni ker wuwo ye
Sumowie 3s angry 3fs_put Rel
te ning nge yembe si kare tuqui segi.
Dem reas 1s work hand 1s_carry able Neg
"I cannot quit working because Sumowie is angry."

Conditional Sentence (CondS)

The Conditional Sentence is composed of two bases connected by a Link tagmeme. This sentence type encodes Condition-Consequence, with Base2 encoding the Consequence. The bases cannot be permuted. Link can be manifested by a limited range of conjunctions. The conjuctions *di* 'and; then' and *tedi* 'then' may be used interchangeably with minimal semantic difference. Both Base1 and Base2 may be manifested by either a clause or a recursed sentence.

+Base1	+Link	+Base2
IntrCl	*di* 'and; then'	IntrCl
TrCl	*tedi* 'then'	TrCl
DitrCl	*ei* 'so that'	DitrCl
DescCl	*ate* 'then'	DescCl
EqCl		
sentence		sentence

404) joe1:16 (Base1: TrCl + Link: *di* + Base2: IntrCl)
Nungoqi puq wen, di wati.
2p thus 2p_do then 2p_die
"If you do that, then you will die."

405) ignas1:1 (Base1: TrCl + Link: *tedi* + Base2: ConjS)
Wuge yembe bad ning tedi po, wuge ire buqod,
sago work 1p_do want then 1p_go sage one 1p_see
beghi bon te ire yas gud pu yengu, muqdi epare.
1p own Dem one flower 3ns_do thus 3ns.stand now 1p_fell
"If we want to work sago then we go, see a sago tree, one of our own sago trees has flowered, then we fell it."

406) joe2:29 (Base1: NarS + Link: *ei* + Base2: TrCl)
Yembe nganye buagi rise, ren omo pawo pu,
work true much 3fp_lie Dem comp 1p_put thus
ei skul wik aye te ning beghi yembe irene bad.
so school week other Dem reas 1p work one+Lim 1p_do
"There is very much work [and] if we finish this then in the other school week we will do another job."

407) joe5:70 (Base1: IntrCl + Link: *ate* + Base2: TrCl)
Nungoqi nde munde wuso wur, ate wand wi vindi…
2p to again 3fs_go 3fs_enter then talk 2p_send 3lg_come
"If she comes to where you are, then send a message…"

408) joe5:70 (Base1: CondS + Link: *ei* + Base2: NarS)
Nungoqi nde munde wuso wur, ate wand wi vindi,
2p to again 3fs_go 3fs_enter then talk 2p_send 3lg_come
ei beghi bodo, mune pitaqi badi.
then 1p 1p_approach again 1p-take 1p_come
"If she comes to where you are, then send a message, then we will go there and bring her back."

409) ignas7:20 (Base1: SimpS + Link: *tedi* + Base2: ConjS)
O nge pas aye ire ur gidiq ye tuqui
oh 1s letter other one write 1s_do_3fs real able
tedi ur gidiq di simbe guduq.
then write 1s_do_3fs and tell 1s_do_2p
"Oh if I am able to write another letter then I will write and tell you."

410) joe6:43 (Base1: NarS + Link: *di* + Base2: NarS)
Prangi temu Seyum ghimbi buag buag nginy quane nandi segi
next.day two Seyum body 1p_put 1p_put sun with 3ms_come Neg
di piyi yenu beghi temu ne po.
and just 3ms.stand 1p two Lim 1p_go
"Tomorrow we will wait for Seyum [and] if he does not come during the daylight, then let him stay [behind and] we two will go."

411) joe8:9 (Base1: EqCl + Link: *tedi* + Base2: TrCl)
Muq nu quayi nganye tedi oi ghand…
now 2s man true then return 2s.Imp_do
"Now if you are a real man then repay them…"

Continuation Sentence (ContS)

The Continuation Sentence is composed of two bases and an optional Link. Base1 encodes an action that continues until the action encoded in Base2 occurs. The point of contact between Base1 and Base2 can be either time or location. The word order of the clause manifesting Base1 is marked for either time or location, with the time or location tagmeme occurring clause-final. The majority of occurrences of Continuation Sentences in the data are paragraph initial, setting the stage for a new paragraph.

+Base1	±Link	+Base2
IntrCl	*muq* 'now; then'	IntrCl
TrCL	*di* 'and'	TrCl
sentence	*be* 'then'	
	+ non-final intonation	

412) amu2:46 (Base1: IntrCl + Link: *muq* + Base2: IntrCl)
Ris yambgriq, muq ni ngaim teri wiye pe ruso.
3fp_lie next.day then 3p husband two river to 3fp_go
"They waited until the next day, then she went to the river with her husband."

413) joe5:20 (Base1: IntrCl + Link: *di* + Base2: QSDir)
Bur ni mune nawi beghi nde baj pe,
night 3s again 3ms_come.up 1p to house to
di nge simbe nindigh, nari…
then 1s tell 3ms_do_1s 3ms_say
"At night he came back to our house, then he told me…"

414) ignas4:3 (Base1: NarS + Link: *be* + Base2: MSMot)
Ni ruso rise yambgriq be Leo gan niraq dabo no.
3p 3fp_go 3fp_lie next.day then Leo gun 3ms_carry bush 3ms_go
"They went and slept until the next day then Leo took a gun to the bush."

415) ignas3:13 (Base1: MSMot + Base2: TrCl)
Temu piraq badi nambu, puaq wuse…
two 1p_carry_3fs 1p_come home 1p_put_3fs 3fs_lie
"We two brought it back to the village, then we put it down…"

Contrafactual Sentence (ContfS)

The Contrafactual Sentence occurs infrequently in the data. It is structurally similar to the Conditional Sentence in that the Link tagmeme of both sentence types is manifested by *tedi* 'then'. There are, however, three differences between them. Base1 of the Contrafactual Sentence is in past time and ends in *pu* 'thus; like that'. Also, both bases of a Contrafactual Sentence are less flexible as to what may manifest them than are the bases of a Conditional Sentence. [This latter difference may be an artifact of limited data for the Contrafactual Sentence.]

+Base1	+Link	+Base2
TrCl	*tedi* 'then'	TrCl
MSGen		DescCl

416) joe7:9 (Base1: TrCl + Link: *tedi* + Base2: DescCl)
Kei ne pugri pawo righe pu tedi muq yewon.
before Lim thus 1p_put 3fp_go.down thus then now good
"If we had burned it before then it would be good now."

417) joe7:14 (Base1: MSGen + *tedi* + Base2: TrCl)
Nge kari kin tende puayi ne pawo righe namb pu,
1s 1s_say Rel then time Lim 1p_put 3fp_go.down 3ms_burn thus
tedi muq beghi mune pi ne righe.
then now 1p again 1p_put.in Lim 3fp_go.down
"If we had burned it when I said to then now we could also plant them."

418) joe7:17 (Base1: MSGen + Link: *tedi* + Base2: DescCl)
Nge kari kin tende puayi ne pawo righe namb pu
1s 1p_say Rel then time Lim 1p_put 3fp_go.down 3ms_burn thus
tedi muq yewon.
then now good
"If we had burned it when I said to then now it would be good."

Contrast Sentence (ContrS)

The Contrast Sentence is composed of two bases which may be manifested by either a clause or a recursed sentence. The Link tagmeme is generally manifested by *pudi* 'but'. It may also be manifested by only non-final intonation, in which case Base1 is negated. Contrast Sentences may be used to predicate contrast or contraexpectation. The semantic contrast of the Contrast Sentence differs from that of the Alternative Sentence in that there are two points of difference (cf, Longacre, 1976:111)

+Base1	+Link	+Base2
IntrCl	*pudi* 'but'	IntrCl
TrCl	non-final	TrCl
DitrCl	intonation	DitrCl
DescCl		DescCl
ExistCl		ExistCl
sentence		sentence

419) ignas4:5 (Base1: ConjS + Link: *pudi* + Base2: IntrCl) — contraexpectation
Ni no no, be pu ire numbueq, pudi pu te wuti segi.
3s 3ms_go 3ms_go then pig one 3ms_hit_3fs but pig Dem 3fs_die Neg
"He kept going, then he hit a pig, but that pig did not die."

420) ignas4:14 (Base1: NarS + Link: *pudi* + Base2: TrCl) — contraexpectation
…brequne yir iri neti nowi, pu te meniraw,
quickly spear one 3ms_get 3ms_ascend pig Dem 3ms.throw_3fs
pudi baq ninduw segi.
but hit 3ms_do_3fs Neg
"…he quickly picked up another spear, threw [it] at that pig, but he did not hit her."

421) ignas6:8 (Base1: SimpS + Link: *pudi* + Base2: IntrCl) — contraexpectation
Pugri bu nge quan kumo ne kari,
thus real 1s much mother Lim 1s_cry
pudi wokuandi nge ane pase kin ni mutungu segi.
but child 1s with 1p_lie Rel 3p 3mp_hear Neg
"So I called out very loudly, but the children sleeping with me did not hear."

422) joe1:18 (Base1: SimpS + Link: *pudi* + Base2: IntrCl) — contraexpectation
Di yamb yembe wundiny, pudi pu wur segi.
and trap work 2p_do_3fp but pig 3fs_enter Neg
"And you will make traps, but no pig will enter."

423) joe6:9 (Base1: DitrCl + Link: *pudi* + Base2: AmpS) — contrast
Nge ghimbi guag kas, pudi ni brequne nandi segi,
1s body 1s_put_3ms 1s_sit but 3s quickly 3ms_come Neg
ni yenu yenu yiram nganye muq nandi.
3s 3ms.stand 3ms.stand evening true now 3ms_come
"I kept waiting for him but he did not come, he stayed until late evening then came."

424) joe12:2 (Base1: DescCl + Link: *pudi* + Base2: TrCl) — contraexpectation
Muq September omo pre pudi beghi Arden ning wand putungu segine.
now September comp done but 1p Arden about talk 1p_hear Neg+Lim
"September is already finished, but we have not yet heard about Arden."

425) ignas7:22 (Base1:TrCl + Link: *pudi* + Base2: DitrCl) — contrast
…yuwo ninge ur mand pudi wute aye bei meny segi+ne.
song some mark 3mp_do but people other show 3mp_do_3fp Neg+Lim
"…they have written some songs but have not yet taught them to other people."

Explanatory Sentence (ExplS)

The Explanatory Sentence is composed of two bases. The Explanatory Sentence can serve any one of three semantic functions: 1) Base2 may enumerate items that fit into a category described in Base1; 2) Base2 may give the meaning of another language term given in Base1; or 3) Base2 two may explain a procedure, rule or custom.

+Base1	+Base2
DescCl with comment manifested by *te/taq pugri* 'like that/this'	DescCl sentence

426) amu4:4 (Base1: DescCl + Base2: NarS)
Te beghi badi kin pugri,
Dem 1p 1p_come Rel thus
beghi bon quem ye Arden ane badi badi, Ukarumpa pas.
1p own white Rel Arden with 1p_come 1p_come Ukarumpa 1p_sit
"Our coming was thus, we came with our own white man Arden [and] are at Ukarumpa."

427) amu6:2 (Base1: DescCl + Base2: RelCl)
Wand ren pugri, beghi ren badi kin te.
talk Dem thus 1p Dem 1p_come Rel Dem
"The talk is thus, [about] our coming here."

428) joe4:9 (Base1: DescCl + Base2: ConjS)
Qi wen kin yumbo ur taq pugri:
ground Dem Rel thing mark Dem thus
Nu wuny mbe mingi ghar yo pu yeru
2s garden to middle 2s.Imp_enter 2s.Imp_go thus 2s.Imp.stand
di wand ghand tuqui segi.
and talk 2s.Imp_do able Neg
"The custom of this ground is thus: Having entered the garden you cannot stand there and talk."

429) joe13:24 (Base1: SimpS + Base2: NarS)
Di wand aye te pugri: Alois Yambo Sande 18 burane
and talk other Dem thus Alois Yambo Sande 18 morning
powi yenu, Monday 19 Boni ngaw ghabe rindig.
1p_put_3ms 3ms.stand Monday 19 Boni head crazy 3fp_do_3ms
"Other talk is thus: We buried Alois Yambo on Sunday morning the 18th [and] Monday the 19th Boni went crazy."

430) ignas7:22 (Base1: SimpS + Base2: AmpS)
Te pugri, ni sir map segi+ne, yuwo ninge ur mand
Dem thus 3p prepare 3mp_do Neg+Lim song some write 3mp_do
pudi wute aye bei meny segi+ne.
but people other show 3mp_do_3fp Neg+Lim
"It is thus, they have not yet prepared, they have written some songs but have not yet taught them to other [people]."

Merged Sentence - Duration (MSDur)

Merged Sentence - Duration is a two-base structure with an optional Link tagmeme. Base1 manifests the primary predication of the sentence. Base2 is limited to being manifested by only an Intransitive Clause. Base2 encodes the durative and perfective aspects. The predicate head of the Intransitive Clause of Base2 is manifested by *yenu* 'stand', *nas* 'sit' or *nase* 'lie', with yenu being the most frequently occurring verb in the data.

+Base1	±Link	+Base2
IntrCl	*pu* 'thus'	IntrCl
TrCl		
DitrCl		

431) amu2:18 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: IntrCl) — durative force
…yeng nawo yenu…
fight 3ms_put 3ms.stand
"…he stood guard…"

432) amu3:16 (Base1: IntrCl + Link: *pu* + Base2: IntrCl) — durative force
Nyumo wam mewo mo pu mase…
tree above 3mp_ascend 3mp_go thus 3mp_lie
"They waited up in the tree…"

433) joe4:9 (Base1: IntrCl + Link: *pu* + Base2: IntrCl) — perfective force
Nu wuny mbe mingi ghar yo pu yeru…
2s garden to middle 2s.Imp_enter 2s.Imp_go thus 2s.Imp.stand
"After you have entered the garden…"

434) joe6:7 (Base1: TrCl + Link: *pu* + Base2: IntrCl — durative force
…yeng pawo pu pas…
fight 1p_put thus 1p_sit
"…we stay guarding…"

435) joe6:11 (Base1: DitrCl + Link: *pu* + Base2: IntrCl) — perfective force
…nu ghimbi nuaw pu yenu.
2s body 3ms_put-2s thus 3ms.stand
"…he is waiting for you."

436) ignas1:1 (Base1: IntrCl + Link: *pu* + Base2: IntrCl) — perfective force
…beghi bon te ire yas gud pu yengu…
1p own Dem one flower 3lg_do thus 3lg.stand
"…one of our own has flowered…"

437) ignas3:16 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: IntrCl) — durative force
Leo bi nuaq nuaq yenu…
Leo cut 3ms_put_3fs 3ms_put_3fs 3ms.stand
"Leo was cutting it…"

Merged Sentence - General (MSGen)

The Merged Sentence - General is a two-base structure that predicates two semantic areas. One subtype predicates causation. In this subtype, Base1 encodes the action of the causer and Base2 the resultant, caused action. The other subtype encodes the desiderative mood (desire/intent). In this subtype, Base1 encodes that which is desired. Base2 can be manifested by either *yawo gureg* 'desire; need' or *ning nari* 'intend to'. This second subtype of Merged Sentence - General may also predicate negative desire by being manifested by *yambu nari* 'dislike' in Base2.

+Base1	+Base2
IntrCl	IntrCl
TrCl	TrCl
DitrCl	
sentence	

438) ignas2:6 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: IntrCl) — causation
Bub wuri nandi…
chase 3fs_carry 3ms_come
"She chased him here…"

439) joe12:18 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: TrCl) — desire
Wute nganye buagi ruqond yawo kureny…
people true many 3fp_see desire need_3fp
"Very many people wanted to see…"

440) joe13:25 (Base1: MSGen + Base2: IntrCl) — desire
…moyu ngam Margaret teri mame pe nambu riti ning nari…
mother wife Margaret two knife with 3ms_hit 3fp_die want 3ms_say
"…he wanted to kill mother and [his] wife Margaret with a knife…"

441) ignas5:6 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: IntrCl) — causation
…wase nawo righe namb.
fire 3ms_put 3fp_go.down 3ms_burn
"…he lit a fire."

442) joe9:11 (Base1: IntrCl + Base2: IntrCl) — negative desire
Yembe pe ko yambu kari.
work to 1s_go dislike 1s_say
"I don't want to go to work."

Merged Sentence - Motion (MSMot)

Merged Sentence - Motion is a two-base, tightly-knit structure. The two bases together predicate the equivalent of what would be encoded in English as "bring" or "take". Base1 encodes the semantic concept "take" or "hold", and Base2 encodes the direction the actor takes as (s)he holds the object. This structure is not a clause-level verbal head because of the occurrence of other clause-level tagmemes (e.g., Location, Goal and Manner) between the two verbs.

+Base1	+Base2
TrCl	IntrCl
DitrCl	

443) amu2:37 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: IntrCl)
Nge wiye ghare ghandi,
1s water 2s.Imp_carry 2s.Imp_come
"Bring water for me,"

444) amu2:48 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: IntrCl)
…ni gos wuraq ne ngaim teri ni nde tiqe pe ruso.
3s sago 3fs_carry Lim husband two 3s to village to 3fp_go
"…she took sago [and] went with her husband to his village."

445) amu3:21 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: IntrCl)
…mare mandi,
3mp_carry 3mp_come
"…they brought them,"

446) amu5:27 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: IntrCl)
…beghi bon bon quem+ye te mitamu mo,
1p own own white+Rel Dem 3mp_take_1p 3mp_go
"…our own white men took us,"

447) joe4:21 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: IntrCl)
…ghare wuny mbe gri ghandi wayequ.
2s.Imp_carry garden to road 2s.Imp_come don't
"…don't bring them through the garden."

448) joe6:36 (Base1: TrCl + Base2: IntrCl)
…prangi burane ei piraqu po.
tomorrow morning fut 1p_take_2p 1p_go
"…tomorrow morning we will take you."

449) joe14:22 (Base1: SimpS + Base2: IntrCl)
Pugri bu nge Rom kare kaghe ko Wewak,
thus real 1s Romans 1s_carry 1s_descend 1s_go Wewak
"Therefore I took Romans down to Wewak,"

Perception Sentence (PercS)

The Perception Sentence is composed of two bases. Base1 is a perceptual orienter, being manifested by a Transitive Clause whose predicate head is any one of a closed set of three verbal forms: *nutungu* 'hear; feel', *nuqond* 'see' and *nei namb* 'think; know'. The most commonly used verbs in Base1 are *nuqond* and *nei namb*. Base2 encodes that which is perceived. It is more flexible as to what may manifest it than is Base1. The order of the bases may be reversed, although 88% of the examples in the data have the unmarked order.

+Base1	+Base2
TrCl with	IntrCl
nutungu 'hear; feel'	TrCl
nuqond 'see'	DescCl
nei namb 'think; know'	sentence

450) ignas6:16 (Base1: TrCl-'hear' + Base2: IntrCl)
…nge wand kutungu, te Muep ni kiyi nati.
1s talk 1s_hear Dem Muep 3s father 3ms_die
"…I heard that Muep's father died."

451) amu2:32 (Base1: TrCl-'see' + Base2: DescCl)
…ni muqoind, ni mi ye tiq segi.
3p 3mp_see 3p 3mp_hit Rel able Neg
"…they saw, they could not kill him."

452) ignas6:5 (Base2: IntrCl + Base1: TrCl-'see')
…wuti iri ngimrawu ne yenu guqoid.
person one door Lim 3ms.stand 1s_see_3ms
"…I saw a person standing at the door."

453) joe10:1 (Base1: TrCl-'know' + Base2: IntrCl)
…nge nei gab segi nge muainde bri kas.
1s thought 1s_feel Neg 1s where irr 1s_sit
"…I didn't know where I was."

454) ignas7:10 (Base2: SimpS + Base1: TrCl-'know')
Pudi pughe puayi ni rundo te nge nei gab segi.
but what time 3p 3fp_go.to Dem 1s thought 1s_feel Neg
"But I don't know when they will go."

455) joe10:7 (Base2: IntrCl + Base1: TrCl-'feel')
Otiwo si nimbiq kutungu,
later hand 3ms_burn 1s_hear
"Later I felt my hand burn,"

456) ignas6:17 (Base1: TrCl-'know' + Base2: NarS)
Muq nge nei gab, ni ning ququ te wundo,
now 1s thought 1s_feel 3s own spirit Dem 3fs_go.to
nge nde raqe wuso.
1s to clear 3fs_go
"Then I knew, his spirit had come and appeared to me."

Quotation Sentence - Direct (QSDir)

The Quotation Sentence - Direct is composed of three tagmemes only one of which, Quotation, is obligatory. The Quote Formulae may be implicit in repartee in which the participants are otherwise clear from the context. The Quotation Sentence - Direct generally has only the second formula, QF2 (60% of the examples in the data). The first formula, QF1, may be manifested if the speaker desires to further specify the type of speech act, for example "tell", "command", "ask", etc.

±QF1	±QF2	+Quotation
TrCl DitrCl	TrCl with nari 'say'	any word, clause, sentence, paragraph, or discourse type

457) amu2:15 (QF2: TrCl + Quote: NarS)
Ni wuri, 'Segi, nge nyumo pe kap yeru, bir.'
3s 3fs_say Neg 1s tree on 1s_hit 3fp.stand break
"She said, 'No, I bumped it on a tree [and it] broke.'"

458) amu2:19 (QF1: DitrCl + QF2: TrCl + Quote: paragraph)
Muq ni simbe ninduw, nari, 'Wandoqi guad.
now 3s tell 3ms_do_3fs 3ms_say lie 2s_do
Wuti iri wiye pe pu nowi ni, nu wiye eny bir nuaw.
man one river in from 3ms_ascend 3ms_come 2s water bamboo break 3ms_put_2s
Nge guqoid pre. Nu yo, tanyi ghandi.'
1s 1s_see_3ms done 2s 2s.Imp_go bring_3ms 2s.Imp_come
"Then he told her, 'You're lying. A man came up out of the river, [and] broke your water bamboo. I saw him. You go, bring him here.'"

459) amu2:29 (QF1: TrCl + QF2: TrCl + Quote: DescCl)
Muq ni nei mimbiq, mari, 'A, wiye pe kin.'
now 3p thought 3mp_feel 3mp_say Ah river at Rel
"Then they thought, 'Ah, [he is] one from the river.'"

460) amu2:57 (QF2: TrCl + Quote: CausS)
Ni simbe wund, 'Nge mune nambu ko ning
3s tell 3fs_do 1s again home 1s_go want
bu moyu nuyi riri bu gos wen kiraq gadi.'
so mother father 3fp_say so sago Dem 1s_carry_3fs 1s_come
"She told [him], 'I want to return home so my mother and father said so I brought this sago.'"

461) ignas3:10 (QF2: TrClo + Quote: MSMot)
…di nge oi kari, 'Yewo, piraq+ne nambu po.'
and 1s back 1s_say no 1p_carry+Lim home 1p_go
"…and I answered, 'No, let's take it home.'"

462) joe5:4 (QF2: SimpS + Quote: DescCl)
Di wuri, 'Nyombui ane pitari po ei yewon.'
and 3fs_say dog with 1p_take.3fp 1p_go fut good
"And she said, 'It would be good to take dogs along.'"

463) joe6:34 (QF1: DitrCl + QF2: TrCl + Quote: paragraph)
…di August oi segi puq nindig nari,
and August back Neg thus 3ms_do_3ms 3ms_say
'Beghi muq po pre di bur pu mune badi kin te
1p now 1p_go done and night thus back 1p_come Rel Dem
yambu pari. Pugri bu ni num musoq ne
dislike 1p_say thus real 3s sick little Lim
tedi piyi wus prangi burane ei piraqu po.'
then permit 3fs_sit tomorrow morning fut 1p_carry_2p 1p_go
"…and August refused saying, 'We don't want to go now and return after dark. So if she is just a little sick then let her stay and tomorrow we will take you two.'"

Quotation Sentence - Indirect (QSIndr)

Quotation Sentence - Indirect is composed of four tagmemes, one of which is obligatory. All three Quotation Formulae are optional, but at least one of them, usually QF2, must be manifested in each occurrence of the Quotation Sentence - Indirect. There are restrictions as to the co-occurrence of the Formulae. If QF2 is manifested by puq nand 'thus say', then QF3 will not be manifested, as it also utilizes the same expression. QF1 is quite rare, occurring in only 8% of the data. The co-occurrence of all three Formulae in one sentence is highly marked. QF3 is never the only Formula to occur. QF1 may occur as the only Formula if it is manifested by pengu nand 'ask'.

±QF1	±QF2	+Quotation	±QF3
DitrCl with *simbe nand*, 'tell'	TrCl with *nari* 'say' *puq nand*, 'thus say'	any word, clause or sentence type	TrCl with *puq nand*, 'thus say'

464) joe14:12 (QF1: DitrCl + Quote: TrCl)
Nge nungoqi pengu giduq, nge muq Hibru tanim gidiq ning.
1s 2p ask 1s_do_2p 1s now Hebrews translate 1s_do_3fs want
"I ask you, I want to translate Hebrews."

465) amu1:4 (QF2: *mari* + Quote: IntrCl)
Ni mari beghi paghe po kin taq 700 fit pugri paghe po.
3p 3mp_say 1p 1p_descend 1p_go Rel Dem 700 feet thus 1p_descend 1p_go
"They said that when we went down we went down about 700 feet."

466) joe7:1 (QF2: *puq gad* + Quote: NarS)
Nge puq qa gad, nungoqi kei ne wo
1s say real 1s_do 2p before Lim 2p_go
nawu te wawo righe namb ei.
treetop Dem 2p_put 3fp_descend 3ms_burn fut
"I said before for you to go burn the treetops."

467) joe14:24 (QF1: SimpS + QF2: *kari* + Quote: ConjS)
Di nge simbe gidig kari Seyum ni Wewak no,
and 1s tell 1s_do_3ms 1s_say Seyum 3s Wewak 3ms_go
ei ki rindo, nare no,
fut 1s_send 3fp_go 3ms_carry 3ms_go
"I told him that when Seyum goes to town I will give them to him to take."

468) joe7:22 (QF2: *wari* + Quote: IntrCl + QF3: *puq wand*)
…nungoqi wari nge wandoqi gad puq wand pu.
2p 2p_say 1s lie 1s_do say 2p_do thus
"…you said I was lying."

469) joe6:34 (QF1: DitrCl + QF2: *nari* + Quote: TrCl + QF3: *puq nand*)
…ni simbe nindim nari ni ngam teri mune mare
3s tell 3ms_do_3mp 3ms_say 3s wife two again 3mp_carry
haus sik mo puq nand,
hospital 3mp_go say 3ms_do
"…he told them to take him and his wife to the hospital,"

Warning Sentence (WarnS)

The Warning Sentence is composed of three tagmemes, two of which, Link and Base2, are obligatory. Link is always manifested by *eti* 'lest; don't'. This sentence type is used to predicate warning and prohibition. The Warning Sentence is a fairly rare sentence type.

±Base1	+Link	+Base2
IntrCl sentence	*eti* 'lest'	IntrCl sentence

470) amu4:15 (Link: *eti* + Base2: QSIndr)
Te eti wari, ni yumbo si pe bu ur mand.
Dem lest 2p_say 3p thing hand with real mark 3mp_do
"Don't say [think] that they write things by hand."

471) amu4:23 (Link: *eti* + Base2: QSIndr)
Te eti wari, ni si bu mare mo, mas,
Dem lest 2p_say 3p hand real 3mp_carry 3mp_go 3mp_sit
te kin yembe mindiny.
Dem Rel work 3mp_do_3fp
"Don't say [think] that they by hand take those things, sit and make them."

472) amu6:12 (Link: *eti* + Base2: QSDir)
Eti nu wuti yembe pe ven ghandi segi ye te
lest 2s man work to Dem 2s.Imp_come Neg Rel Dem
nu nei mbiq ghari, 'Ni mo kin si pe+ne bri
2s think do 2s.Imp_say 3p 3mp_go Rel hand with+Lim irr
mir yembe hatwok mand.'
food work labor 3mp_do
"Don't you, a person who has not come here for work think, 'Those who go there have to work hard with their hands.'"

473) joe1:4 (Link: *eti* + Base2: IntrCl)
Eti nungoqi nyumbueg ning was.
lest 2p woman like 2p_sit
"[Look out] lest you live like women."

474) joe5:34 (Base1: NarS + Link: *eti* + Base2: IntrCl)
Wo, mingi munde yequ, eti nyombui mune rindi.
2p_go middle again 2p.Imp.stand lest dog again 3fp_come
"[Don't] go stand while on the way, lest the dogs come back."

475) joe6:23 (Base1: IntrCl + Link: *eti* + Base2: ConjS)
…nei kumo bab, eti po po bur kuti
thought mother 1p_feel lest 1p_go 1p_go dark 3ns_descend
di kuap taq bab ye tuqui segi.
and support tie 1p_do real able Neg
"…we worried lest while going it would become dark and we could not tie up the supports."

6.2 Semantic Relationships

This section describes the semantic relationships that may be manifested between predications at the sentence level. The semantic relationships are those described by Mildred Larson (1984). The format of the following discussion is to identify the relationships then to list, with examples, sentence types which may encode those relationships. The discussion is divided into two major sections: Addition Relationships and Support Relationships.

6.2.1 Addition Relationships

Addition relationships are those in which the predications are emphasized equally, i.e., one is not subordinate to the other. Larson (1984:277, 284) has identified four addition relationships, two chronological (sequential and simultaneous) and two nonchronological (conjoining and alternation).

The **sequential relationship** may be encoded in Wand Tuan by the Conjunction Sentence, the Continuation Sentence and the Narrative Sentence. The Conjunction Sentence is the most frequently used sentence type for this relationship, with 53.8% of the examples of the sequential relationship in the data. The Narrative Sentence accounts for 40.7% of the examples, and the Continuation Sentence 5.5%. The Continuation Sentence occurs almost exclusively paragraph initially.

476) joe6:9 (ContS)
…ni yenu yenu yiram nganye muq nandi.
3s 3ms_stand 3ms_stand evening true now 3ms_come
"…he stayed until late evening then he came."

477) ignas3:15 (ConjS)
Wiye pipiq pre, muq Leo bi nuaq.
water 1p_hold_3fs done now Leo cut 3ms_put_3fs
"After we washed it Leo cut it up."

478) amu2:21 (NarS)
Wuti iri wiye pe pu nowi ni, nu wiye eny bir nuaw.
man one water in from 3ms_ascend 3ms,come 2s water bamboo break 3ms_put_2s
"A man came up out of the river [and] broke your water bamboo."

The **simultaneous relationship** may be encoded by the Conjunction Sentence and the Narrative Sentence, with the Conjunction Sentence being the more frequent.

479) ignas4:20 (ConjS)
Ni teri te yembe rind di wiyi oi jebe yembe nindig.
3p two Dem work 3fp_do and father return rack work 3ms_do_3ms
"They two were doing that work and father was making a smoking rack."

480) ignas3:16 (NarS)
Leo bi nuaq nuaq yenu, nge Adam temu po
Leo cut 3ms_put_3fs 3ms_put_3fs 3ms_stand 1s Adam two 1p_go
jebe yembe bidig
rack work 1p_do_3ms
"Leo was cutting it up, [and] Adam and I went to make a smoking rack."

Conjoining is the combination of two or more predications of equal status without any temporal relationship between them being in focus. The predications may have either the same or different actors. Wand Tuan can encode conjoining using the Conjunction Sentence or the Narrative Sentence, with a higher percentage of the examples in the data being the former. The most frequently used conjunction utilized in Conjunction Sentences for this relationship is *di* 'and' (93%). There are a few examples of the Tok Pisin loanword *orait* 'all right' (3.5%).

481) ignas2:12 (ConjS)
…Pita ni churom teri nat rise, di Paul ni ire
Peter 3s turtle two 3ms_hold.p 3fp_lie and Paul 3s one
nitiq wuse.
3ms_hold_3fs 3fs_lie
"…Peter got two turtles and Paul got one."

482) amu6:6 (NarS)
Bet sit yewon, matres yewon, lait yeru.
bed sheet good mattress good light 3fp_stand
"The bed sheets were good, the mattresses were good, [and] there were lights."

Alternation is the relationship of two predications of equal status that turns on one point of contrast between them. Either one predication or the other applies. Wand Tuan encodes this relationship using the Alternative Sentence, which is dedicated to this relationship.

483) joe5:13 (AltS)
…ghati rit riti, o duagi rumb, o ir ruso,
snake 3fp_bite 3fp_die or cassowary 3fp_hit or fall 3fp_go
"…snakes will bite and kill them, or cassowaries will hit them, or they will get lost,"

484) joe14:13 (AltS)
…buk wen tanim bidiq o segi.
book Dem translate 1p_do_3fs or Neg
"[I don't know whether] we will translate this book or not."

6.2.2 Support Relationships

Larson identifies twenty three types of support relationships in which one or more predications support in some way a more prominent predication (1984). She divides these into chronological and nonchronological support relationships. She further divides the nonchronological relationships into orientation, clarification and logical. The following discussion is divided into four sections, grouping these relationships into the categories of Chronological, Orientation, Clarification and Logical relationships.

Chronological

The support chronological relationship is similar to the sequential addition relationship. The difference is that, in the support relationship only one of the predications is prominent, or in focus, with the other(s) supporting it. Wand Tuan may encode this relationship using either the Conjunction Sentence or the Narrative Sentence. This is the most common usage of the Narrative Sentence, with 42.4% of Narrative Sentences encoding this relationship, and 83.5% of the examples of this relationship being Narrative Sentences.

485) ignas1:3 (ConjS)
Otiwo di nyumbueg ni chang te riraq ruso di
later then women 3p frond.base Dem 3fp_carry_3fs 3fp_go and
sinyeq yembe rinduw.
platform work 3fp_do_3fs
"Later then the women will take that base of the sago frond and make a sago-washing platform."

486) joe1:2 (NarS)
Pripri burane yuram wo, quayi kiyi ane was,
often morning evening 2p_go man father with 2p_sit
"Mornings and evenings go often, sit with the elders,"

Orientation

Larson divides the orientation relationships into those which give orientation as to the circumstance of the main predication, and those which use some "orienter" to introduce the main predication (1984:289ff).

Circumstance. There are three types of circumstance relationships: location-HEAD, time-HEAD and circumstance-HEAD. These relationships can all be encoded in Wand Tuan using either the Conjunction Sentence or the Narrative Sentence.

487) joe4:2 (ConjS: location: IntrCl + HEAD: DitrCl)
Wute qi puate kin ni wuny yemu, di beghi ngase ire bir muangu.
men ground base Rel 3p garden 3mp_stand and 1p border one break 3mp_put_1p
"Owners of the ground stood in the garden, and assigned us an area [of the garden]."

488) joe4:14 (NarS: location: SimpS + HEAD: ConjS)
Di ni wuny mingi o wuny choq pe yeru, mame nyamb rany segi
& 3p garden middle or garden edge at 3fp_stand knife name 3fp_do_3fp Neg
di quang nyamb rang tuqui segi.
and mallet name 3fp_do_3ms able Neg
"And they cannot stand in either the middle or the edge of the garden and call out the name of the knives or mallet."

489) amu2:10 (ConjS: time: AmpS + HEAD: NarS)
Otiwo nyumbueg te yumbui wuso pre, ni miny ane wus,
later woman Dem big 3fs_go done 3s breast with 3fs_sit
muq ni wiye pe wuso wiye wut.
now 3s river to 3fs_go water 3fs_get
"Later that girl got big, she had breasts, she went to the river and got water."

490) joe8:22 (NarS: time: SimpS + HEAD: QSDir)
Pudi ni mande segine, wute nyamb ning pengu mand mari,…
but 3p 3mp_burn Neg+Lim men name about ask 3mp_do 3mp_say
"But they had not yet burned them, the men asked about their names [and] said,…"

491) amu2:36 (ConjS: circumstance: IntrCl + HEAD: QSDir)
Yuwo mand, muq ni ngam simbe ninduw nari,…
song 3mp_do then 3s wife tell 3ms_do_3fs 3ms_say
"They were singing, then he told his wife,…"

492) ignas2:8 (NarS: circumstance: IntrCl + HEAD: TrCl)
Munene mandi mandi nyombui aye bub wuri.
again+Lim 3mp_come 3mp_come dog other chase 3fs_carry_3ms
"They were coming back again [and] the dog chased another one."

Orienter. The other group of orientation relationships are those in which one predication orients another as to being speech, perception, cognition, volition or evaluation. This section discusses each of these five relationships in that order.

Speech orientation is encoded in Wand Tuan using Quotation Sentences, both Direct and Indirect.

493) amu2:19 (QSDir)
Muq ni simbe ninduw nari, 'Wandoqi guad…'
now 3s tell 3ms_do_3fs 3ms_say lie 1s_do
"Then he told her, 'You are lying…'"

494) amu1:4 (QSIndr)
Ni mari beghi paghe po kin taq 700 fit pugri paghe po.
3p 3mp_say 1p 1p_descend 1p_go Rel Dem 700 feet thus 1p_descend 1p_go
"They said that when we went down we went down about 700 feet."

Perceptual orientation is encoded in Wand Tuan using the Perception Sentence.

495) amu2:32 (PercS: *nuqond* 'see')
…ni muqoind ni mi ye tiq segi.
3p 3mp_see.3ms 3p 3mp_kill real able Neg
"…they saw that they could not kill him."

496) ignas 6:16 (PercS: *kutungu* 'hear')
…nge wand kutungu te Muep ni kiyi nati.
1s talk 1s_hear Dem Muep 3s father 3ms_die
"…I heard that Muep's father died."

497) joe10:7 (PercS: *kutungu* 'feel')
Otiwo si nimbiq kutungu,…
later hand 3ms_burn 1s_feel
"Later I felt my hand burn,…"

Cognitive orientation is encoded in Wand Tuan using the Perception Sentence and the Quotation Sentence.

498) ignas6:17 (PercS: *nei gab* 'I think; know')
Muq nge nei gab ni ning ququ te wundo nge nde raqe wuso.
now 1s thought 1s_feel 3s own spirit Dem 3fs_approach 1s to clear 3fs_go
"Then I knew his spirit had come and appeared to me."

499) amu2:29 (QSDir)
Muq ni nei mimbiq mari, 'A, wiye pe kin.'
then 3p thought 3mp_feel 3mp_say ah river in Rel
"Then they knew, 'Ah, he is from the river.'"

500) amu5:22 (QSIndr)
…pari yumbo nganye ne bu.
1p_say thing true Lim real
"…we thought it was real."

Volitional orientation is encoded in Wand Tuan using the Merged Sentence-General.

501) joe12:18 (MSGen: desire)
Wute nganye buagi ruqond yawo kureny…
people true all 3fp_see 3fp.desire
"Everybody wants to see them…"

502) joe9:11 (MSGen: negative desire)
Yembe pe ko yambu kari.
work to 1s_go 1s.dislike
"I do not wand to go to work."

Evaluative orientation is encoded in Wand Tuan using the Descriptive Clause, the Conjunction Sentence or the Narrative Sentence, depending on the semantics being encoded.

503) joe5:3 (ConjS: 'is good')
…quan po ei yewon.
many 1p_go fut good
"…if a lot of us go that will be good."

504) joe14:5 (NarS: 'is true')
Te nganye, Sumowie asi pripri mir ning nge ker wuagh wuagh.
Dem true Sumowie before often food about 1s anger 3fs_put-1s 3fs_put_1s
"That is true, Sumowie used to get cross with me all the time about food."

505) amu1:15 (SimpS: sentence conj: pugri + Nuc: DescCl 'is impossible')
Pugri nge oghine stori gad tiq segi.
thus 1s good+Lim story 1s_do able Neg
"Therefore I am not able to tell it well."

Clarification

Larson divides clarification into two major subtypes, those in which the second predication restates in the some form the first predication and those in which the second predication encodes information that is not a restatement of that which was in the first predication (1984:294).

Restatement. Larson identifies three types of restatement, support relationships: HEAD-equivalence, HEAD-amplification and GENERIC-specific (1984:294f). Wand Tuan encodes the HEAD-equivalence relationship either with a Narrative Sentence or by using two sentences, paratactically conjoined.

506) amu5:9 (NarS)
Pu ni piksa pe segi, ni wute nganye raqe ne puq men.
thus 3p picture in Neg 3p person true clear Lim 3mp_do.thus
"Thus they were not a picture, they were real people doing that openly."

507) amu2:27-28 (two sentences)
Wuti nen tiqe ren kin segi. Ni aye pe kin.
man Dem village Dem Rel Neg 3s other at Rel
"This man is not from these villages. He is from elsewhere."

The HEAD-amplification and GENERIC-specific relationships are both encoded by Wand Tuan using the Amplification Sentence.

508) amu4:14 (AmpS: HEAD-amplification)
Ni tuqui, yumbo yumbo ni tuqui pu rise,
3p enough thing thing 3p enough thus 3fp_lie
"They are sufficient, they have sufficient things,"

509) joe3:25 (AmpS: GENERIC-specific)
…yumbo pughe kin wuqond, munyi wo o irembo
thing what Rel 2p_see tree.opposum child or bandicoot
o yanji pugri kin wuqond,
or tree.kangaroo thus Rel 2p_see
"…you will see game, you will see things like young tree opposums or bandicoots or tree kangaroos,"

Nonrestatement. Larson identifies four types of nonrestatement, support relationships, three of which are relevant at the sentence level or below in Wand Tuan: HEAD-comparison, HEAD-manner and contrast-HEAD (1984:297f). Wand Tuan generally encodes HEAD-comparison using a Descriptive Clause.

510) mark12:1
Meme ni musoq nyombui gib rimb kin pugri…
goat 3p little dog resemble 3fp_feel Rel thus
"Goats somewhat resemble goats…"

511) joe13:30
…ni moyu Margaret teri nuqond kin te wute te gib rimb…
3s mother Margaret two 3ms_see Rel Dem persons Dem resemble 3fp_feel
"…mother and Margaret looked like those people to him…"

Wand Tuan may encode HEAD-manner either by using the Narrative Sentence or by recursing a clause into the Manner tagmeme of another clause.

512) joe6:37 (NarS)
Pudi Pita oi quan nganye buid nap nari,…
but Peter return much true strong 3ms_hold 3ms_say
"But Peter responded very strongly,…"

513) ignas4:12 (IntrCl recursed into IntrCl)
Muq temi vig mamb maru.
now two run 3mp_feel 3mp_follow
"Then the two of them ran after them."

Contrast-HEAD is encoded by Wand Tuan using the Contrast Sentence.

514) joe5:67 (ContrS)
Ni yanji rit kin te buqoid sigh namb
3p tree.kangaroo 3fp_kill Rel Dem 1p_see.3ms rot 3ms_feel
ning tumo pu nase, pudi nyombui tende yequ segi.
about near thus 3ms_lie but dog there 3fs_stand Neg
"We saw the tree kangaroo they had killed lying there about to rot, but the dog was not there."

Logical

Larson identifies seven types of logical, support relationships (1984:305f). These are:

reason-RESULT	Why this result?
means-RESULT	How did this result come about?
purpose-MEANS	What was done to achieve this purpose?
concession-CONTRAEXPECTATION	What happened although something else was expected?
grounds-CONCLUSION	On what fact is this conclusion based?
grounds-EXHORTATION	On what fact is this exhortation made?
condition-CONSEQUENCE	either contrary-to-fact or potential fact

Reason-RESULT is encoded in Wand Tuan by using either the Conjunction Sentence or the Narrative Sentence, with approximately equal frequency, and by using the Causation Sentence. The Causation Sentence is the most common means of encoding this relationship.

515) joe4:16 (ConjS)
…ningiyi vende mas kin ker mawo, di nu yumbo yi
spirit here 3mp_sit Rel angry 3mp_put then 2s thing 2s.Imp_insert
righe kin te ruwi segi.
3fp_descend Rel Dem 3fp_come.up Neg
"…the spirits who live here will be angry then the things you planted will not come up."

516) ignas4:7 (CausS)
Pu te tan mbe mingi wur wuso, pugri bu Leo ni kin irine
pig Dem kunai to middle 3fs_enter 3fs_go therefore Leo 3s Rel alone
numbueq kin tuqui segi.
3ms_hit_3fs Rel able Neg
"That pig went into the middle of the kunai clearing, therefore Leo could not kill it by himself."

517) joe4:7 (NarS)

Nu	*muq*	*tene*	*ven*	*opu*	*guadi*	*ye,*	*nu*	*qi*	*wen*	*ye*	*yumbo*	*ur*	*te*
2s	now	Dem+Lim	Dem	area	2s_come	real	2s	ground	Dem	Rel	thing	mark	Dem

nei	*guab*	*segi.*
thought	2s_feel	Neg

"You have just arrived in this area, [so] you do not know the customs of this ground."

The **means-RESULT** relationship is encoded in Wand Tuan primarily by the Causation Sentence, though on rare occasions Wand Tuan may use either the Conjunction Sentence or the Narrative Sentence.

518) joe1:26 (CausS)

Di	*pu*	*yumbo*	*ur*	*ninge*	*bei*	*wund,*	*di*	*tende*	*puayi*	*di*	*quayi*	*kiyi*
and	pig	thing	mark	some	show	3fs_du	and	then	short	and	man	father

nei	*mamb…*
thought	3mp_feel

"And the pig will show some [of your] actions, and then the elders will know…"

519) joe5:26 (ConjS)

…ni	*mune*	*chir*	*rind*	*rindi,*	*mening*	*ar*	*rind*	*kin*	*te*	*tuqo*
3p	again	sniff	3fp_do	3fp_come	before	urine	3fp_do	Rel	Dem	smell

rip,	*di*	*segine*	*baj*	*pe*	*rindi.*
3fp_hold	and	Neg+Lim	house	to	3fp_come

"…they will sniff and smell where they urinated before, and just come back home."

520) amu2:16 (NarS)

Nge	*nyumo*	*pe*	*kap*	*yeru,*	*bir.*
1s	tree	on	1s_bump	3fp_stand	broken

"I bumped it on a tree [and] it broke."

Wand Tuan encodes the **purpose-MEANS** relationship by means of the Conjunction Sentence and the Narrative Sentence, although usually the former.

521) ignas6:4 (ConjS)

…bur	*mingi*	*be*	*nge*	*kes*	*kewo,*	*ei*	*te*	*ari*	*ko*	*ning.*
night	middle	then	1s	1s_ascend	1s_go.up	Pur	Dem	urine	1s_go	desire

"…in the middle of the night I got up to go urinate."

522) joe4:10 (NarS)

Nu	*wand*	*guad*	*ning,*	*si*	*pene*	*ei*	*yeri*	*ghand.*
2s	talk	2s_do	desire	hand	with+Lim	fut	command	2s.Imp_do

"When you want to talk, signal with your hands."

The **concession-CONTRAEXPECTATION** relationship is encoded in Wand Tuan using the Contrast Sentence.

523) ignas4:5

Ni	*no*	*no*	*be*	*pu*	*ire*	*numbueq,*	*pudi*	*pu*	*te*	*wuti*	*segi.*
3s	3ms-go	3ms_go	then	pig	one	3ms_hit_3fs	but	pig	Dem	3fs_die	Neg

"He kept going then he shot a pig, but that pig did not die."

524)

Wute	*dabo*	*mo,*	*pudi*	*umo*	*mare*	*mandi*	*segi.*
men	bush	3mp_go	but	game	3mp_carry	3mp_come	Neg

"The men went to the bush, but they did not bring back any game."

Wand Tuan encodes the **grounds-CONCLUSION** and **grounds-EXHORTATION** relationships via the Causation Sentence, the Conjunction Sentence and the Narrative Sentence.

525) joe7:5 (CausS)

Wiye	*wundi*	*puq*	*di*	*namb*	*tuqui*	*segi*	*ye,*
rain	3fs_come	thus	and	3ms_burn	able	Neg	real

"The rain came so now it will not burn,"

526) joe7:18 (NarS)

…nginy	*kei*	*ne*	*nganye*	*yenu*	*pu*	*muqdi*	*wiye*	*wundi*	*ning*
sun	before	Lim	true	3ms_stand	thus	now	rain	3fs_come	desire

tumo,	*wuny*	*muq*	*pugrine*	*ei*	*pawo*	*vighe*	*namb.*
near	garden	now	thus+Lim	fut	1p_put	3ns_descend	3ms_burn

"…it has been sunny a long time and will rain again soon, [so] let's burn the garden now."

527) joe3:12

…beghi	*tiqe*	*brequ*	*wuse*	*pre*	*bu*	*muq*	*nungoqi*	*waghe*	*pu*	*was,*
1p	village	bad	3fs_lie	Comp	Reas	now	2p	quiet	thus	2p_sit

"…our village is in bad condition so you(p) sit quietly,…"

The **condition-CONSEQUENCE** relationship is encoded in Wand Tuan by means of the Conditional Sentence when it encodes potential fact, and by means of the Contrafactual Sentence when it encodes that which is contrary to act.

528) joe1:16 (CondS)

Nungoqi	*puq*	*wen*	*di*	*wati.*
2p	thus	2p_do	then	2p_die

"If you do that you will die."

529) joe7:9 (ContfS)

Kei	ne	pugri	pawo	righe	pu	tedi	muq	yewon.
before	Lim	like.that	1p_put	3fs_descend	thus	then	now	good

"If we had burned them before like that then now it would be good."

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8. DEFINITION OF CASES

The following definitions for the cases are used in this discussion (cf., Longacre, 1976:27ff).

(1) Experiencer [E]:
an animate entity whose registering nervous system is relevant to the predication (e.g. subject of psychological verbs).

(2) Patient [P]:
(a) the inanimate entity of which a state is predicated or which undergoes a change of state or of location;
(b) the animate entity which undergoes a change of (physical) state or of location;
(c) that which is possessed, acquired, or exchanged.

(3) Agent [A]:
(a) the animate entity which acts or which instigates a process;
(b) an inanimate entity which acts (e.g. an astronomical body or the autonomous machines).

(4) Range [R]:

(a) the role assigned to any surface structure nominal that completes or further specifies the predicate;
(b) the product of the activity of the predicate (factitive).

(5) Instrument [I]:
(a) that which an (animate) agent intentionally uses to accomplish an action or instigate a process; an inanimate entity or body part thus involved in such a predication;
(b) any entity (unintentional with animate) which conditions an (emotional) state or which triggers a change of emotional or physical state (i.e., stimulus).

(6) Locative [L]:
the place where the predication takes place without implying motion to, from, or across the space.

(7) Source [So]:
(a) the locale at which a predication assumes as place of origin;
(b) the entity from which a physical sensation emanates;
(c) the animate entity who is the original owner in a transfer.

(8) Goal [G]:
(a) the entity towards which a predication is directed without any necessary change of state in that entity;
(b) the locale which is the point of termination for a predication;
(c) the animate entity who is the non-transitory or terminal owner.

(9) Path [Pa]:
(a) the locale or locales transversed in motion (etc.) predications;
(b) the transitory owner in a transfer.

(10) Measure [M]:
(a) the role assigned to a surface structure nominal which completes a predication by quantifying it;
(b) the price in a transfer.

9. AMU2 TEXT

amu2:1

Nge	*Andrew*	*Wom,*	*Tring*	*kin.*
nge	*Andrew*	*Wom*	*Tring*	*kin*
1s	Andrew	Wom	Tring	Rel

I am Andrew Wom from Tring.

amu2:2

Nge	*wiye*	*kin*	*stori*	*gad.*
nge	*wiye*	*kin*	*stori*	*g-ad*
1s	river	Rel	story	1s-do

I will tell the story about the river.

amu2:3

Wiye	*kin*	*stori*	*pugri.*
wiye	*kin*	*stori*	*pugri*
river	Rel	story	thus

The river story is like this.

amu2:4

Asi	*wute*	*ire*	*kumo*	*wiye*	*wutaw.*
asi	*wute*	*ire*	*kumo*	*wiye*	*w-at-w*
before	woman	one	mother	water	3fs-hold-3fs

Before a certain girl's mother was washing her.

amu2:5

Kumo	*wiye*	*wutaw*	*wutaw,*	*oru*	*krip*	*nandi,*	*nari.*
kumo	*wiye*	*w-at-w*	*w-at-w*	*oru*	*krip*	*n-andi*	*n-ari*
mother	water	3fs-hold-3fs	3fs-hold-3fs	frog	krip	3ms-come	3ms-say

She was washing her and a krip frog came and called out.

amu2:6

Segi	*ni*	*simbe*	*wundig,*
segi	*ni*	*simbe*	*w-and-g*
Neg	3s/p	tell	3fs-do-3ms

Then she told him,

amu2:7

“Nge	*nu*	*ngam*	*wiye*	*kitaw.”*
nge	*nu*	*ngam*	*wiye*	*k-at-w*
1s	2s	wife	water	1s-hold-3fs

`I am washing your wife.'

amu2:8

Pugri	*simbe*	*wundig.*
pugri	*simbe*	*w-and-g*
thus	tell	3fs-do-3ms

She told him thus.

amu2:9

Segi	*ni*	*oi*	*nas.*
segi	*ni*	*oi*	*n-as*
Neg	3s/p	return	3ms-sit

Then he stayed [away].

amu2:10

Otiwo	*nyumbueg*	*te*	*yumbui*	*wuso*	*pre,*
otiwo	*nyumbueg*	*te*	*yumbui*	*w-o*	*pre*
later	woman	Dem	big	3fs-go	done

ni	*miny*	*ane*	*wus,*	*muq*	*ni*	*wiye*	*pe*
ni	*miny*	*ane*	*w-as*	*muq*	*ni*	*wiye*	*pe*
3s/p	breast	with	3fs-sit	then	3s/p	river	to

wuso,	*wiye*	*wut.*
w-o	*wiye*	*w-at*
3fs-go	water	3fs-hold

Later that girl grew up, she had breasts, then she went to the river to get water.

amu2:11

Oru	*te*	*wuti*	*nase,*	*nowi*	*ni,*	*ni*	*wiye*
oru	*te*	*wuti*	*n-ase*	*n-owi*	*n-i*	*ni*	*wiye*
frog	Dem	man	3ms-lie	3ms-come.up	3ms-come	3s/p	water

eny	*te*	*bir*	*nuaw.*
eny	*te*	*bir*	*n-ua-w*
bamboo	Dem	split	3ms-put-3fs

That frog became a man, came out, [and] broke her water bamboo.

amu2:12

Segi	*kinyimi*	*nondo,*	*nindoq.*
segi	*kinyimi*	*n-ondo*	*n-uqond-q*
Neg	brother	3ms-approach	3ms-see-3fs

Then her brother approached and saw her.

amu2:13

Segi	*pengu*	*ninduw,*
segi	*pengu*	*n-and-w*
Neg	ask	3ms-do-3fs

Then he asked her,

amu2:14

“Nu	*wiye*	*eny*	*te*	*muai?”*
nu	*wiye*	*eny*	*te*	*muai*
2s	water	bamboo	Dem	where

`Where is your water bamboo?'

amu2:15

Ni	*wuri,*
ni	*w-ari*
3s/p	3fs-say

She said,

amu2:16

“Segi,	*nge*	*nyumo*	*pe*	*kap*	*yeru,*	*bir.”*
segi	*nge*	*nyumo*	*pe*	*k-ap*	*r-ye*u*	*bir*
Neg	1s	tree	on	1s-hold	3fp-stand	split

`No, I bumped it on a tree, [and] it split.'

amu2:17

Pugri	*simbe*	*wund.*
pugri	*simbe*	*w-and*
thus	tell	3fs-do

She told thus.

amu2:18

Segi	*kinyimi*	*mune*	*no,*	*yeng*	*nawo*
segi	*kinyimi*	*mune*	*n-o*	*yeng*	*n-awo*
Neg	brother	again	3ms-go	fight	3ms-put

yenu,	*nindoq,*	*wuti*	*iri*	*wiye*	*pe*	*pu*
*ye*u-n*	*n-uqond-q*	*wuti*	*iri*	*wiye*	*pe*	*pu*
stand-3ms	3ms-see-3fs	man	one	river	in	from

nowi	*ni,*	*wiye*	*eny*	*te*	*bir*	*nuaw.*
n-owi	*n-i*	*wiye*	*eny*	*te*	*bir*	*n-ua-w*
3ms-come.up	3ms-come	water	bamboo	Dem	split	3ms-put-3fs

Then he also went, stood guard, saw her, a man came up out of the river [and] broke her water bamboo.

amu2:19

Segi	*ni*	*simbe*	*ninduw,*	*nari,*
segi	*ni*	*simbe*	*n-and-w*	*n-ari*
Neg	3s/p	tell	3ms-do-3fs	3ms-say

Then he told her,

amu2:20

“Wandoqi	*guad.*
wandoqi	*gu-and*
lie	2s-do

`You're lying.

amu2:21

Wuti	*iri*	*wiye*	*pe*	*pu*	*nowi*	*ni,*	*nu*	*wiye*
wuti	*iri*	*wiye*	*pe*	*pu*	*n-owi*	*n-i*	*nu*	*wiye*
man	one	river	in	from	3ms-come.up	3ms-come	2s	water

eny	*bir*	*nuaw.*
eny	*bir*	*n-ua-w*
bamboo	split	3ms-put-3fs

A man came up out of the river and broke your water bamboo.

amu2:22

Nge	*guqoid*	*pre.*
nge	*g-uqoid*	*pre*
1s	1s-see.3ms	done

I saw him.

amu2:23

Nu	*yo,*	*tanyi*	*ghandi.”*
nu	*y-o*	*ta*i-ny*	*gh-andi*
2s	2s.Imp-go	take-3ms	2s.Imp-come

You go, bring him here.'

amu2:24

Segi	*ni*	*mune*	*wuso,*	*wuti*	*te*	*simbe*	*wundig.*
segi	*ni*	*mune*	*w-o*	*wuti*	*te*	*simbe*	*w-and-g*
Neg	3s/p	again	3fs-go	man	Dem	tell	3fs-do-3ms

Then she also went, told that man.

amu2:25

Simbe	*wundig,*	*terine*	*rindi*	*nambu,*	
simbe	*w-and-g*	*teri*	*ne*	*r-andi*	*nambu*
tell	3fs-do-3ms	two.f	Lim	3fp-come	home

ris,	*muq*	*kinyimi*	*muqoind.*
r-as	*muq*	*kinyimi*	*m-uqoind*
3fp-sit	then	brother	3mp-see.3ms

She told him, they two came and stayed in the village, then her brothers saw him.

amu2:26

Segi	*mari,*
segi	*m-ari*
Neg	3mp-say

They said,

amu2:27

“Wuti	*nen*	*tiqe*	*ren*	*segi.*	
wuti	*nen*	*tiqe*	*ren*	*segi*	
man	Dem	village		Dem	Neg

`This man is not from these villages.

amu2:28

Aye	*kin.”*
aye	*kin*
other	Rel

[He is from] elsewhere.'

amu2:29

Muq	*ni*	*nei*	*mimbiq,*	*mari,*
muq	*ni*	*nei*	*m-amb-q*	*m-ari*
then	3s/p	thought	3mp-feel-3fs	3mp-say

Then they thought,

amu2:30

“A,	*wiye*	*pe*	*kin.”*
a	*wiye*	*pe*	*kin*
ah	river	at	Rel

`Ah, he's from the river.'

amu2:31

Bur	*ninge*	*ni*	*ane*	*mo,*	*wute*	*tiqe*	*yeng*	*mand.*
bur	*ninge*	*ni*	*ane*	*m-o*	*wute*	*tiqe*	*yeng*	*m-and*
night	some	3s/p	with	3mp-go	people	village	fight	3mp-do

Some nights he went with them, they fought against other villages.

amu2:32

Yeng	*mand,*	*ni*	*muqoind,*	*ni*	*mi*	*ye*	*tiq*	*segi.*
yeng	*m-and*	*ni*	*m-uqoind*	*ni*	*m-i*	*ye*	*tiq*	*segi*
fight	3mp-do	3s/p	3mp-see.3ms	3s/p	3mp-hit	real	able	Neg

They were fighting, they saw, they could not kill him.

amu2:33

Segi	*ni*	*nei*	*mimbiq,*	*mari,*
segi	*ni*	*nei*	*m-amb-q*	*m-ari*
Neg	3s/p	thought	3mp-feel-3fs	3mp-say

Then they thought,

amu2:34

“O,	*wuti*	*nen*	*wiye*	*quari*	*wo.”*
o	*wuti*	*nen*	*wiye*	*quari*	*wo*
oh	man	Dem	river	dark	child

`Oh, this man is a river spirit.'

amu2:35

Mandi	*nambu,*	*burpoq*	*yuwo*	*mand.*
m-andi	*nambu*	*burpoq*	*yuwo*	*m-and*
3mp-come	home	night	song	3mp-do

They came back home, they sang at night.

amu2:36

Yuwo	*mand,*	*muq*	*ni*	*ngam*	*simbe*	*ninduw,*	*nari,*
yuwo	*m-and*	*muq*	*ni*	*ngam*	*simbe*	*n-and-w*	*n-ari*
song	3mp-do	then	3s/p	wife	tell	3ms-do-3fs	3ms-say

They were singing, then he told his wife,

amu2:37

“Nge	*wiye*	*ghare*	*ghandi,*	*njoqu*	*pe*
nge	*wiye*	*gh-are*	*gh-andi*	*njoqu*	*pe*
1s	water	2s.Imp-carry	2s.Imp-come	limbum	in

ghawo	*kughe,*	*mit*	*dabo*	*te*	*ghawo*	*kuse.”*
gh-awo	*k-aghe*	*mit*	*dabo*	*te*	*gh-awo*	*k-ase*

`Bring me some water, put it in a limbum sheath, [and] lay it beside the house.'

amu2:38

Pugri	*simbe*	*ninduw.*
pugri	*simbe*	*n-and-w*
thus	tell	3ms-do-3fs

He told her thus.

amu2:39

Segi	*ni*	*wuso,*	*wiye*	*wure*	*wundi,*	*njoqu*
segi	*ni*	*w-o*	*wiye*	*w-are*	*w-andi*	*njoqu*
Neg	3s/p	3fs-go	water	3fs-carry	3fs-come	limbum

pe	*wuwo*	*kughe,*	*mit*	*dabo*	*te*	*wuwo*	*kuse.*
pe	*w-awo*	*k-aghe*	*mit*	*dabo*	*te*	*w-awo*	*k-ase*
in	3fs-put	3ns-descend	side	outside	Dem	3fs-put	3ns-lie

Then she went, brought water, put it in a limbu sheath, [and] layed it beside the house.

amu2:40

Muq	*ni*	*tindi*	*no,*	*ghati*	*nase.*
muq	*ni*	*tindi*	*n-o*	*ghati*	*n-ase*
then	3s/p	change	3ms-go	snake	3ms-lie

Then he changed, and was a snake.

amu2:41

Ghati	*nase,*	*wiye*	*pe*	*te*	*muet*	*pu*	*yenu.*
ghati	*n-ase*	*wiye*	*pe*	*te*	*muet*	*pu*	*ye*u-n*
snake	3ms-lie	water	in	Dem	knot	thus	stand-3ms

He was a snake, was coiled in the water.

amu2:42

Segi	*ni*	*wundo,*	*wuqoind,*	*muq*	*kinyimi*
segi	*ni*	*w-ondo*	*w-uqoind*	*muq*	*kinyimi*
Neg	3s/p	3fs-approach	3fs-see.3ms	then	brother

simbe	*wundim.*
simbe	*w-and-m*
tell	3fs-do-3mp

Then she went, saw him, then told her brothers.

amu2:43

Muq	*ni*	*nei*	*mimbiq,*	*mari,*
muq	*ni*	*nei*	*m-amb-q*	*m-ari*
then	3s/p	thought	3mp-feel-3fs	3mp-say

Then they knew,

amu2:44

“Nganye	*ne*	*a.*
nganye	*ne*	*a*
true	Lim	a

`It is true.

amu2:45

Wuti	*wiye*	*quari*	*wo*	*a."*
wuti	*wiye*	*quari*	*wo*	*a*
man	river	dark	child	ah

He is a river spirit!'

amu2:46

Ris	*yambgriq,*	*muq*	*ni*	*ngaim*	*teri*	*wiye*	*pe*	*ruso.*
r-as	*yambgriq*	*muq*	*ni*	*ngaim*	*teri*	*wiye*	*pe*	*r-o*
3fp-sit	next.day	then	3s/p	husband	two.f	river	to	3fp-go

They stayed until dawn, then she and her husband went to the river.

amu2:47

Ni	*kin*	*tiqe*	*ruso.*
ni	*kin*	*tiqe*	*r-o*
3s/p	Rel	village	3fp-go

They went to his village.

amu2:48

Ruso	*ning,*	*nyumbueg*	*te*	*kiyi*	*kumo*	*mir*	*rite*	*ruwi,*
r-o	*ning*	*nyumbueg*	*te*	*kiyi*	*kumo*	*mir*	*r-ate*	*r-owi*
3fp-go	about	woman	Dem	father	mother	food	3fp-get.p	3fp-come.up

quanj	*rite*	*ruwi,*	*gos*	*ire*	*njoqu*	*pe*	*ruaq*	*pre,*
quanj	*r-ate*	*r-owi*	*gos*	*ire*	*njoqu*	*pe*	*r-ua-q*	*pre*
shell.ring	3fp-get.p	3fp-come.up	sago	one	limbum	in	3fp-put-3fs	done

quanj	*ruwo*	*righe*	*ane,*	*ni*	*gos*	*wuraq*	*ne*	*ngaim*	*teri*
quanj	*r-awo*	*r-ighe*	*ane*	*ni*	*gos*	*w-are-q*	*ne*	*ngaim*	*teri*
shell.ring	3fp-put	3fp-descend	with	3s/p	sago	3fs-carry-3fs	Lim	husband	two.f

ni	*nde*	*tiqe*	*pe*	*ruso.*
ni	*nde*	*tiqe*	*pe*	*r-o*
3s/p	to	village	to	3fp-go

They were about to go, that woman's father and mother got some food, they got shell rings, put sago in a limbum sheath, put the shell rings with it, [then] she took that sago and went with her husband to his village.

amu2:49

Ruso	*wiye*	*pe,*	*muq*	*ni*	*pengu*	*wund,*
r-o	*wiye*	*pe*	*muq*	*ni*	*pengu*	*w-and*
3fp-go	river	to	then	3s/p	ask	3fs-do

They went to the river, then she asked,

amu2:50

"Nge	*koku*	*muai*	*wus?"*	
nge	*koku*	*muai*	*w-as*	
1s	ancestor		where	3fs-sit

`Where is my grandmother?'

amu2:51

Pugri	*pengu*	*wund.*	
pugri	*pengu*	*w-and*	
thus	ask	3fs-do	

She asked thus.

amu2:52

Muq	*ni*	*simbe*	*ninduw,*
muq	*ni*	*simbe*	*n-and-w*
then	3s/p	tell	3ms-do-3fs

Then he told her,

amu2:53

“Nu	*nuqo*	*te*	*wus.”*
nu	*nuqo*	*te*	*w-as*
2s	ancestor	Dem	3fs-sit

`Your grandmother is there.'

amu2:54

Pugri	*simbe*	*ninduw,*	*muq*	*ni*	*gos*	*te*
pugri	*simbe*	*n-and-w*	*muq*	*ni*	*gos*	*te*
thus	tell	3ms-do-3fs	then	3s/p	sago	Dem

wuaq	*wi,*	*kuqo*	*wew.*
w-ua-q	*w-i*	*kuqo*	*w-e-w*
3fs-put-3fs	3fs-come	ancestor	3fs-give-3fs

He told her thus, then she took that sago, gave it to her grandmother.

amu2:55

Kuqo	*wew,*	*muq*	*ni*	*pengu*	*wunduw,*
kuqo	*w-e-w*	*muq*	*ni*	*pengu*	*w-and-w*
ancestor	3fs-give-3fs	then	3s/p	ask	3fs-do-3fs

She gave it to her grandmother, then she asked,

amu2:56

“Nu	*pughe*	*ning*	*gos*	*wen*	*kuraq*	*guadi?”*
nu	*pughe*	*ning*	*gos*	*wen*	*ku-ira-q*	*gu-andi*
2s	what	about	sago	Dem	2s-carry-3fs	2s-come

`Why did you bring this sago?'

amu2:57

Ni	*simbe*	*wund,*	
ni	*simbe*	*w-and*	
3s/p	tell	3fs-do	

She told [her],

amu2:58

“Nge	*mune*	*nambu*	*ko*	*ning*	*bu*	*moyu*
nge	*mune*	*nambu*	*k-o*	*ning*	*bu*	*moyu*
1s	again	home	1s-go	desire	so	mother

nuyi	*riri*	*bu*	*gos*	*wen*	*kiraq*	*gadi.”*
nuyi	*r-ari*	*bu*	*gos*	*wen*	*k-ira-q*	*g-andi*
father	3fp-say	so	sago	Dem	1s-carry-3fs	1s-come

`I want to go back home so my mother father said for me to bring this sago.'

amu2:59

Ni	*simbe*	*wunduw,*	*wuri,*
ni	*simbe*	*w-and-w*	*w-ari*
3s/p	tell	3fs-do-3fs	3fs-say

She told her,

amu2:60

“Nu	*yo*	*ye*	*tuqui.*
nu	*y-o*	*ye*	*tuqui*
2s	2s.Imp-go	real	able

`You can go.

amu2:61

Segine	*mune*	*yo*		*ye.”*
segi ne	*mune*	*y*	*-o*	*ye*
Neg	Lim	again	2s.Imp-go	real

You can just go back.'

amu2:62

Pugri	*simbe*	*wunduw*	*pre,*	*kuqo*	*te*	*wes*
pugri	*simbe*	*w-and-w*	*pre*	*kuqo*	*te*	*w-es*
thus	tell	3fs-do-3fs	done	ancestor	Dem	3fs-get.up

wuyo,	*awo*	*wutam*	*ri.*
w-uyo	*awo*	*w-ita-m*	*r-i*
3fs-go.up	sorcery	3fs-take-3mp	3fp-come

After she told her thus, her grandmother got up, [and] got sorcery items from them.

amu2:63

Ni	*mbeni*	*te*	*pend*	*wuam,*	*pre*	*kuqo*	*wew,*
ni	*mbeni*	*te*	*pend*	*w-ua-m*	*pre*	*kuqo*	*w-e-w*
3s/p	snake	Dem	cut	3fs-put-3mp	done	ancestor	3fs-give-3fs

wure	*mune*	*wundi.*
w-are	*mune*	*w-andi*
3fs-carry	again	3fs-come

She cut those snakes, then she gave them to her granddaughter, she brought them back.

amu2:64

Wundi,	*wase*	*wunde*	*namb,*	*wute*	*te*	*mati*	*omo.*
w-andi	*wase*	*w-ande*	*n-amb*	*wute*	*te*	*m-ati*	*omo*
3fs-come	fire	3fs-burn	3ms-burn	people	Dem	3mp-die	Comp

She came, burned them, those people died.

amu2:65

Muq	*ni*	*wundi,*	*nambu*	*wus.*
muq	*ni*	*w-andi*	*nambu*	*w-as*
then	3s/p	3fs-come	home	3fs-sit

Then she came, [and] stayed home.

amu2:66

Muq	*kuqo*	*te*	*mune*	*wuwi*	*nambu,*	*tindaq*
muq	*kuqo*	*te*	*mune*	*w-owi*	*nambu*	*tindaq*
then	ancestor	Dem	also	3fs-come.up	home	change

wuso,	*muar*	*wuse.*
w-o	*muar*	*w-use*
3fs-go	yam	3fs-lie

Then the grandmother also came up home, changed into a yam.

amu2:67

Muar	*nyamb*	*Muar*	*Wiyemang.*
muar	*nyamb*	*Muar*	*Wiyemang*
yam	name	yam	Wiyemang

The name of that yam is Wiyemang.

amu2:68

Nge	*wiye*	*pe*	*kin*	*wand*	*taq*	*teneqa*
nge	*wiye*	*pe*	*kin*	*wand*	*taq*	*teneqa*
1s	river	at	Rel	talk	Dem	done

simbe	*gad*	*pre.*
simbe	*g-ad*	*pre*
tell	1s-do	done

I have now told the river story.

10. IGNAS6 TEXT

ignas6:1

Asi	*nge*	*skul*	*pe*	*yengu*	*kin*	*tende*	*puayi*	*di*
asi	*nge*	*skul*	*pe*	*ye*u-ng*	*kin*	*te-nde*	*puayi*	*di*
before	1s	school	at	stand-1s	Rel	Dem-at	time	and

bur	*ire*	*ning*	*nge*	*quan*	*nganye*	*wune*	*gab.*
bur	*ire*	*ning*	*nge*	*quan*	*nganye*	*wune*	*g-ab*
night	one	about	1s	much	true	fear	1s-feel

Before when I was in school one night I was very afraid.

ignas6:2

Nge	*wune*	*gab*	*kin*	*wand*	*puate*	*taq*	*pugri.*
nge	*wune*	*g-ab*	*kin*	*wand*	*puate*	*taq*	*pugri*
1s	fear	1s-feel	Rel	talk	base	Dem	thus

The talk about me being afraid is like this.

ignas6:3

Bur	*te*	*ning*	*beghi*	*(skul*	*wo)*	*quan*
bur	*te*	*ning*	*beghi*	*skul*	*wo*	*quan*
night	Dem	about	1p	school	child	much

pugrine	*ruqo*	*pase.*
pugri	*ne*	*ruqo*	*p-ase*
thus	Lim	sleep	1p-lie

That night all of us (school children) were sleeping.

ignas6:4

Pase	*pase*	*ruso*	*bur*	*mingi*	*be*	*nge*	*kes*
p-ase	*p-ase*	*r-o*	*bur*	*mingi*	*be*	*nge*	*k-es*
1p-lie	1p-lie	3fp-go	night	middle	then	1s	1s-get.up

kewo,	*ei*	*te*	*ari*	*ko*	*ning.*
k-ewo	*ei*	*te*	*ari*	*k-o*	*ning*
1s-go.up	Fut	Dem	urine	1s-go	desire

We slept [then] in the middle of the night I got up to go urinate.

ignas6:5

Kes	*kewo*	*pu*	*ne*	*wuti*	*iri*	*ngimrawu*	*ne*
k-es	*k-ewo*	*pu*	*ne*	*wuti*	*iri*	*ngimrawu*	*ne*
1s-get.up	1s-go.up	thus	Lim	man	one	door	Lim

yenu	*guqoid.*
*ye*u-n*	*g-uqoid*
stand-3ms	1s-see.3ms

I got up then saw a man standing in the door.

ignas6:6

Wuti	*te*	*ni*	*dobui*	*nganye,*	*di*	*tomingi*
wuti	*te*	*ni*	*dobui*	*nganye*	*di*	*tomingi*
man	Dem	3s/p	tall	true	and	star

iri	*ninde*	*ngawu*	*wam*	*newo*	*nas.*
iri	*ni*	*nde*	*ngawu*	*wam*	*n-ewo*	*n-as*
one	3s/p	at	head	above	3ms-go.up	3ms-sit

That man was very tall, and a star was above his head.

ignas6:7

Nge	*wuti*	*te*	*guqoid,*	*di*	*nge*	*ghimbi*
nge	*wuti*	*te*	*g-uqoid*	*di*	*nge*	*ghimbi*
1s	man	Dem	1s-see.3ms	and	1s	body

res,	*di*	*nge*	*quan*	*nganye*	*wune*	*gab.*
r-es	*di*	*nge*	*quan*	*nganye*	*wune*	*g-ab*
3fp-get.up	and	1s	much	true	fear	1s-feel

I saw that man, and my body chilled, and I was very afraid.

ignas6:8

Pugri bu nge quan kumo ne kari, pudi
pugri bu nge quan kumo ne k-ari pudi
thus real 1s much mother Lim 1s-say but

wokuandi nge ane pase kin ni mutungu segi.
wokuandi nge ane p-ase kin ni m-utungu segi
child 1s with 1p-lie Rel 3s/p 3mp-hear Neg

Therefore I cried out loudly, but the children sleeping with me did not hear me.

ignas6:9

Nge kari kin te mutungu segi, di nge
nge k-ari kin te m-utungu segi di nge
1s 1s-say Rel Dem 3mp-hear Neg then 1s

oi nei gibiq kin kari nge ruqo kase
oi nei g-amb-q kin k-ari nge ruqo k-ase
return thought 1s-feel-3fs Rel 1s-say 1s sleep 1s-lie

ei te wuti nen guqoid segi.
ei te wuti nen g-uqoid segi
Fut Dem man Dem 1s-see.3ms Neg

They didn't hear me cry out, and I thought if I go to sleep I won't see this man.

ignas6:10

Nge ruqo kase pre, muq wuti te nandi, nge nde
nge ruqo k-ase pre muq wuti te n-andi nge nde
1s sleep 1s-lie done then man Dem 3ms-come 1s at

ngawu tiqe nas wand nand, di wur wur nas.
ngawu tiqe n-as wand n-and di wur wur n-as
head village 3ms-sit talk 3ms-do and laugh laugh 3ms-sit

After I layed down, then that man came, [and] stood above my head talking and laughing.

ignas6:11

Nge kutungu pudi nge kari kin tuqui segi.
nge k-utungu pudi nge k-ari kin tuqui segi
1s 1s-hear but 1s 1s-say Rel able Neg

I heard [him] but I could not cry out.

ignas6:12

Nge quan kumo nganye wune gab, di
nge quan kumo nganye wune g-ab di
1s much mother true fear 1s-feel then

waghi waghine kari,
waghi waghi ne k-ari
carefully carefully Lim 1s-say

I was very afraid, then I said very quietly,

ignas6:13

“Jisas ning nyamb pe nge kari nu yo”,
Jisas ning nyamb pe nge k-ari nu y-o
Jesus poss name with 1s 1s-say 2s 2s.Imp-go

`In Jesus' name I say you go',

ignas6:14

di wuti te opu no.
di wuti te opu n-o
then man Dem area 3ms-go

then that man went away.

ignas6:15

Muq nge kes kewo, di nge nei gab kin
muq nge k-es k-ewo di nge nei g-ab kin
then 1s 1s-get.up 1s-go.up then 1s thought 1s-feel Rel

te wuti iri o wute ire nambu tende wuti,
te wuti iri o wute ire nambu te-nde w-ati
Dem man one or woman one home Dem-at 3fs-die

bu ni ning ququ te nge nde wundi.
bu ni ning ququ te nge nde w-andi
so 3s/p poss spirit Dem 1s to 3fs-come

Then I got up and I thought that a man or a woman back home had died, and his spirit had come to me.

ignas6:16

Te pre dobu pu muq nge wand kutungu,
te pre dobu pu muq nge wand k-utungu
Dem done behind thus then 1s talk 1s-hear

te Muep ni kiyi nati.
te Muep ni kiyi n-ati
Dem Muep 3s/p father 3ms-die

After that then I heard that Muep's father died.

ignas6:17

Muq nge nei gab, ni ning ququ te
muq nge nei g-ab ni ning ququ te
then 1s thought 1s-feel 3s/p poss spirit Dem

wundo, nge nde raqe wuso.
w-ondo nge nde raqe w-o
3fs-approach 1s to clear 3fs-go

Then I knew, his spirit approached and appeared to me.

ignas6:18

Teneqa.
teneqa
done

That is all.

11. JOE1 TEXT

joe1:1

Quayi kiyi pripri wo yeri mindim, mari,
quayi kiyi pripri wo yeri m-and-m m-ari
man father often child command 3mp-do-3mp 3mp-say

The elders often command the children saying,

joe1:2

“Pripri burane yiram wo, quayi kiyi
pripri burane yiram w-o quayi kiyi
often morning evening 2p-go man father

ane was, ei ni nde mim pe waghe, di
ane w-as ei ni nde mim pe w-aghe di
with 2p-sit Fut 3s/p to mouth in 2p-descend and

stori ninge wateri pu ei.
stori ninge w-ateri pu ei
story some 2p-get.3fp thus Fut

`Go often in the morning and evening, sit with the elders, listen to them and learn some of their stories.

joe1:3

Segi yequ, ngim dugu muaqu waghe
*segi ye*u-q ngim dugu m-ua-qu w-aghe*
Neg stand-2p.Imp road piece 3mp-put-2p 2p-descend

waghe pu, tedi otiwo yumbo ninge nei
w-aghe pu tedi otiwo yumbo ninge nei
2p-descend thus then later thing some thought

wumbiny segi ye.
w-amb-ny segi ye
2p-feel-3fp Neg real

If you just stand around doing nothing then later you will not understand some things.

joe1:4

Eti nungoqi nyumbueg ning was.
eti nungoqi nyumbueg ning w-as
lest 2p woman about 2p-sit

Lest you be women.

joe1:5

Di otiwo nungoqi wase kin was, pudi
di otiwo nungoqi wase kin w-as pudi
then later 2p fire Rel 2p-sit but

wase tuqo kuri segi.
wase tuqo k-ari segi
fire smell 3ns-say Neg

Later you will be like fire, but the fire will not flame up.

joe1:6

Di wo num kureny, pudi ware wute aye
di wo num kure-ny pudi w-are wute aye
and child sick need-3fp but 2p-carry people other

nde ne ei wo.
nde ne ei w-o
to Lim Fut 2p-go

And your children will be sick, but you will take them to other people.

joe1:7

Di wute aye ne ei umo mare mandi, di
di wute aye ne ei umo m-are m-andi di
and people other Lim Fut game 3mp-carry 3mp-come and

nungoqi puch mequ.
nungoqi puch m-e-qu
2p piece 3mp-give-2p

And other people will bring game and give you a piece.

joe1:8

Nungoqi non ne di segi nganye ei was.
nungoqi non ne di segi nganye ei w-as
2p self Lim and Neg true Fut 2p-sit

You yourselves will live without anything.

joe1:9

Muq pugrine quayi kiyi nde mim pe waghe,
muq pugri ne quayi kiyi nde mim pe w-aghe
now thus Lim man father to mouth in 2p-descend

di wand quari ninge wateri pu, tedi otiwo tuqui."
di wand quari ninge w-ateri pu tedi otiwo tuqui
and talk dark some 2p-get.3fp thus then later able

Now learn thus from the elders, and get some lessons from them then later you will be able.

joe1:10

Pugri bu wokuandi pripri mo, quayi kiyi
pugri bu wokuandi pripri m-o quayi kiyi
thus real child often 3mp-go man father

ane mas, quayi ni wand quari mem.
ane m-as quayi ni wand quari m-e-m
with 3mp-sit man 3s/p talk dark 3mp-give-3mp

Therefore the children often go, sit with the elders, and the elders give them lessons.

joe1:11

Di mu materi.
di mu m-ate r-i
and magic 3mp-get.p 3fp-come

And they get magic.

joe1:12

Mu isis materi: umo mu, nyombui sabi
mu isis m-ate r-i umo mu nyombui sabi
magic kinds 3mp-get.p 3fp-come game magic dog fix

mindiny kin mu, nyumo chongo mu, anemau mu,
m-and-ny kin mu nyumo chongo mu anemau mu
3mp-do-3fp Rel magic tree bark magic nettle magic

di mu nganye buagi aye te materi.
di mu nganye buagi aye te m-ate r-i
and magic true all other Dem 3mp-get.p 3fp-come

They got different kinds of magic: hunting magic, magic for fixing dogs, tree bark magic, stinging nettle magic, and many other kinds of magic.

joe1:13

Di	*ni*	*simbe*	*mindim,*	*mari,*
di	*ni*	*simbe*	*m-and-m*	*m-ari*
then	3s/p	tell	3mp-do-3mp	3mp-say

Then they tell them,

joe1:14

“Nungoqi	*segi*	*segi*	*nyumbueg*	*wand*	*weny*	*wayequ.*
nungoqi	*segi*	*segi*	*nyumbueg*	*wand*	*w-e-ny*	*wayequ*
2p	Neg	Neg	woman	talk	2p-give-3fp	don't

`Don't just give women talk.

joe1:15

Di	*quayi*	*kiyi*	*ngam*	*wand*	*weny*	*wayequ.*
di	*quayi*	*kiyi*	*ngam*	*wand*	*w-e-ny*	*wayequ*
and	man	father	wife	talk	2p-give-3fp	don't

And don't give the elders' wives talk.

joe1:16

Nungoqi	*puq*	*wen,*	*di*	*wati.*
nungoqi	*puq*	*w-en*	*di*	*w-ati*
2p	thus	2p-do	then	2p-die

If you do that you will die.

joe1:17

Wati	*segi,*	*tedi*	*dabo*	*oi*	*wo,*	*pu*	*umo*
w-ati	*segi*	*tedi*	*dabo*	*oi*	*w-o*	*pu*	*umo*
2p-die	Neg	then	bush	return	2p-go	pig	game

wuqond	*tuqui*	*segi.*
w-uqond	*tuqui*	*segi*
2p-see	able	Neg

If you don't die, then you will go to the bush but not see pigs or game.

joe1:18

Di	*yamb*	*yembe*	*wundiny,*	*pudi*	*pu*	*wur*	*segi.*	
di	*yamb*	*yembe*	*w-and-ny*	*pudi*	*pu*	*w-ar*	*segi*	
and	trap	work	2p-do-3fp	but	pig	3fs-enter	Neg	

And you will make traps, but pigs will not enter.

joe1:19

Eti	*wari,*	*muq*	*puq*	*wen*	*wen*	*pre,*	*di*	*suqo*	*ware,*
eti	*w-ari*	*muq*	*puq*	*w-en*	*w-en*	*pre*	*di*	*suqo*	*w-are*
lest	2p-say	now	thus	2p-do	2p-do	done	then	hide	2p-carry

di	*wute*	*buagi*	*nei*	*mamb*	*segi*	*ye.*
di	*wute*	*buagi*	*nei*	*m-amb*	*segi*	*ye*
and	people	all	thought	3mp-feel	Neg	real

Don't say you can keep doing that now then hide it and no one will know.

joe1:20

Te	*tuqui*	*segi.*
te	*tuqui*	*segi*
Dem	able	Neg

That cannot be.

joe1:21

Muq piyi suqo ware, pudi otiwo
muq piyi suqo w-are pudi otiwo
now okay hide 2p-carry but later

nungoqi ngam wo urupui ne, muq pu
nungoqi ngam w-o urupui ne muq pu
2p wife 2p-go new Lim then pig

wuge wundiq ning, di simbe wand ye.
wuge w-and-q ning di simbe w-and ye
sago 2p-do-3fs desire then tell 2p-do real

You can hide it now, but later when you are newly married and you want to make a sago pig trap then you will tell.

joe1:22

Tende puayi nu yumbo yumbo buagi quayi kiyi
te-nde puayi nu yumbo yumbo buagi quayi kiyi
Dem-at time 2s thing thing all man father

nde simbe wand pre, ei ni mitaqu mo,
nde simbe w-and pre ei ni m-ita-qu m-o
to tell 2p-do done Fut 3s/p 3mp-take-2p 3mp-go

wuge eware, di yamb yembe wundiny.
*wuge w-e*are di yamb yembe w-and-ny*
sago 2p-fell.p and trap work 2p-do-3fp

At that time you will tell everything to the elders then they will take you, you will fell some sago trees, and make traps.

joe1:23

Di ni nu ngam mune pugrine pengu
di ni nu ngam mune pugri ne pengu
then 3s/p 2s wife also thus Lim ask

minduw ye.
m-and-w ye
3mp-do-3fs real

And they will also ask your wife like that.

joe1:24

Ni pengu minduq, di nungoqi yumbo
ni pengu m-and-uq di nungoqi yumbo
3s/p ask 3mp-do-2p then 2p thing

yumbo buagi simbe wand pre ei.
yumbo buagi simbe w-and pre ei
thing all tell 2p-do done Fut

They will ask you, and you will tell everything.

joe1:25

Nungoqi wand ninge suqo ware, quayi kiyi
nungoqi wand ninge suqo w-are quayi kiyi
2p talk some hide 2p-carry man father

simbe wundim segine, muq wo, wuge eware pu,
*simbe w-and-m segi ne muq w-o wuge w-e*are pu*
tell 2p-do-3mp Neg Lim then 2p-go sago 2p-fell.p thus

tedi nu nde yamb pe pu wur tuqui segi.
tedi nu nde yamb pe pu w-ar tuqui segi
then 2s to trap in pig 3fs-enter able Neg

If you hide some talk and go fell sago without telling the elders, then a pig will not enter your trap.

joe1:26

Di	*pu*	*yumbo*	*ur*	*ninge*	*bei*	*wund,*	*di*
di	*pu*	*yumbo*	*ur*	*ninge*	*bei*	*w-and*	*di*
and	pig	thing	mark	some	show	3fs-do	and

tende	*puayi*	*di*	*quayi*	*kiyi*	*nei*	*mamb,*
te-nde	*puayi*	*di*	*quayi*	*kiyi*	*nei*	*m-amb*
Dem-at	time	then	man	father	thought	3mp-feel

nu	*wandoqi*	*wand,*	*wand*	*ninge*	*suqo*	*ware.*
nu	*wandoqi*	*w-and*	*wand*	*ninge*	*suqo*	*w-are*
2s	lie	2p-do	talk	some	hide	2p-carry

And the pig will show some actions, and at that time the elders will know you lied and hid some talk.

joe1:27

Di	*otiwo*	*mune*	*pengu*	*minduq*	*ye.*
di	*otiwo*	*mune*	*pengu*	*m-and-uq*	*ye*
then	later	again	ask	3mp-do-2p	real

Then later they will ask you again.

joe1:28

Te	*ning*	*bu*	*nungoqi*	*nyumbueg*	*segi*
te	*ning*	*bu*	*nungoqi*	*nyumbueg*	*segi*
Dem	about	real	2p	woman	Neg

segi	*wand*	*weny*	*wayequ.*	
segi	*wand*	*w-e-ny*	*wayequ*	
Neg	talk	2p-give-3fp	don't	

Therefore don't just give women talk.

joe1:29

Nu	*oghi*	*ne*	*yeru*	*pu,*	*tedi*	*otiwo*	*yewon.*
nu	*oghi*	*ne*	*r-ye*u*	*pu*	*tedi*	*otiwo*	*yewon*
2s	good	Lim	3fp-stand	thus	then	later	good

If you live well, then later it will be good.

joe1:30

Te	*kin*	*segi,*	*tedi*	*otiwo*	*nyumbueg*	*nu*	*wand*	*kuew*	*kin*
te	*kin*	*segi*	*tedi*	*otiwo*	*nyumbueg*	*nu*	*wand*	*k-ue-w*	*kin*
Dem	Rel	Neg	then	later	woman	2s	talk	1s-give-3fs	Rel

te	*oi*	*ngam*	*wuso,*	*di*	*ngaim*	*oi*	*nu*	*wiye*
te	*oi*	*ngam*	*w-o*	*di*	*ngaim*	*oi*	*nu*	*wiye*
Dem	return	wife	3fs-go	and	husband	return	2s	river

nowi	*yaghe*	*yo,*	*di*	*nu*	*wuti*
n-owi	*y-aghe*	*y-o*	*di*	*nu*	*wuti*
3ms-come.up	2s.Imp-descend	2s.Imp-go	and	2s	man

nyes	*ghamb*	*ghamb*	*ghas*	*ghas,*
nyes	*gh-amb*	*gh-amb*	*gh-as*	*gh-as*
yellow	2s.Imp-feel	2s.Imp-feel	2s.Imp-sit	2s.Imp-sit

di	*ghati.*
di	*gh-ati*
then	2s.Imp-die

If not, then later when the woman you gave talk to gets married, her husband will put you in the river, your body will become weak and you will die.

joe1:31

Te	*ning*	*bu*	*pripri*	*quayi*	*kiyi*	*mari,*
te	*ning*	*bu*	*pripri*	*quayi*	*kiyi*	*m-ari*
Dem	about	real	always	man	father	3mp-say

yewon	*ne*	*ei*	*was."*
yewon	*ne*	*ei*	*w-as*
good	Lim	Fut	2p-sit

Therefore the elders always say, live well.'

12. IGNAS4 TEXT

ignas4:1

Ngeri	*ire*	*ning,*	*wiyi,*	*moyu*	*di*	*Leo*	*pugri*	*pune*	*ruso,*	*dabo*	*rise.*	
ngeri	*ire*	*ning*	*wiyi*	*moyu*	*di*	*Leo*	*pugri*	*pu*	*ne*	*r-o*	*dabo*	*r-ise*
time	one	about	father	mother	and	Leo	thus	thus	Lim	3fp-go	bush	3fp-lie

One time father, mother and Leo went and stayed in the bush.

ignas4:2

Ni	*nyombui*	*irine*		*ritanyi,*		*di*	*Leo*
ni	*nyombui*	*iri*	*ne*	*r-ita**i-ny*		*di*	*Leo*
3s/p	dog	one	Lim	3fp-take-3ms		and	Leo

Lukas	*ning*	*gan*	*te*	*niraq*	*be*	*ruso.*	
Lukas	*ning*	*gan*	*te*	*n-ira-q*	*be*	*r-o*	
Lucas	poss	gun	Dem	3ms-carry-3fs	then	3fp-go	

They took one dog, and Leo took Lucas' gun and they went.

ignas4:3

Ni	*ruso*	*rise*	*yambgriq*	*be*	*Leo*	*gan*	*niraq*	*dabo*	*no.*
ni	*r-o*	*r-ise*	*yambgriq*	*be*	*Leo*	*gan*	*n-ira-q*	*dabo*	*n-o*
3s/p	3fp-go	3fp-lie	next.day	then	Leo	gun	3ms-carry-3fs	bush	3ms-go

They went and slept then the next day Leo took the gun to the bush.

ignas4:4

Ni	*no*	*kin*	*te*	*tan*	*mbe*	*dabone*	*no.*	
ni	*n-o*	*kin*	*te*	*tan*	*mbe*	*dabo*	*ne*	*n-o*
3s/p	3ms-go	Rel	Dem	kunai	to	bush	Lim	3ms-go

About his going, he went to the edge of the kunai clearing.

ignas4:5

Ni	*no*	*no,*	*be*	*pu*	*ire*	*numbueq,*	*pudi*	*pu*	*te*	*wuti*	*segi.*
ni	*n-o*	*n-o*	*be*	*pu*	*ire*	*n-amb-q*	*pudi*	*pu*	*te*	*w-ati*	*segi*
3s/p	3ms-go	3ms-go	then	pig	one	3ms-hit-3fs	but	pig	Dem	3fs-die	Neg

He kept going, then he hit a pig, but that pig didn't die.

ignas4:6

Pu	*te*	*wuti*	*segine*	*wu*	*wuse*	*tan*	*mbe*	*mingi*	*wur*	*wuso.*
pu	*te*	*w-ati*	*segi+ne*	*wu*	*w-use*	*tan*	*mbe*	*mingi*	*w-ar*	*w-o*
pig	Dem	3fs-die	Neg+Lim	flee	3fs-lie	kunai	to	middle	3fs-enter	3fs-go

That pig didn't die it fled into the middle of the kunai clearing.

ignas4:7

Pu	*te*	*tan*	*mbe*	*mingi*	*wur*	*wuso,*	*pugri*
pu	*te*	*tan*	*mbe*	*mingi*	*w-ar*	*w-o*	*pugri*
pig	Dem	kunai	to	middle	3fs-enter	3fs-go	thus

bu	*Leo*	*ni*	*kin*	*irine*	*numbueq*	*kin*	*tuqui*	*segi.*
bu	*Leo*	*ni*	*kin*	*iri+ne*	*n-amb-q*	*kin*	*tuqui*	*segi*
real	Leo	3s/p	Rel	one+Lim	3ms-hit-3fs	Rel	able	Neg

That pig entered the middle of the kunai clearing, therefore Leo could not kill it by himself.

ignas4:8

Muq	*mune*	*no*	*baj*	*nambu,*	*wiyi*	*moyu*	*teri*	*simbe*	*nindiny.*
muq	*mune*	*n-o*	*baj*	*nambu*	*wiyi*	*moyu*	*teri*	*simbe*	*n-and-ny*
then	again	3ms-go	house	under	father	mother	two.f	tell	3ms-do-3fp

Then he went back to the house, [and] told father and mother.

ignas4:9

Simbe	*nindiny*	*pre,*	*muq*	*wiyi*	*nes*	*newo,*	
simbe	*n-and-ny*	*pre*	*muq*	*wiyi*	*n-es*	*newo,*	
tell	3ms-do-3fp	done	then	father	3ms-get.up	3ms-go.up	

Leo	*temi*	*yir*	*mare*	*di*	*nyombui*	*mitanyi*	*mune*	*mo.*	
Leo	*temi*	*yir*	*m-are*	*di*	*nyombui*	*m-ita*i-ny*	*mune*	*m-o*	
Leo	2m	spear	3mp-carry	and	dog	3mp-take-3ms	again	3mp-go	

After he told them, then father got up, he and Leo took spears and took the dog and went back.

ignas4:10

Mo	*mo,*	*Leo*	*pu*	*numbueq*	*kin*	*sunyi*	*pe*	*mitari*	*righe,*	
m-o	*m-o*	*Leo*	*pu*	*n-amb-q*	*kin*	*sunyi*	*pe*	*m-itari*	*r-ighe*	
3mp-go	3mp-go	Leo	pig	3ms-hit-3fs	Rel	place	to	3mp-arrive	3fp-descend	

muq	*nyombui*	*pu*	*te*	*quabe*	*ninduw.*
muq	*nyombui*	*pu*	*te*	*quabe*	*n-and-w*
then	dog	pig	Dem	chase	3ms-do-3fs

They went, arrived at the place where Leo hit the pig, then the dog chased that pig.

ignas4:11

Ni	*temi*	*dobu*	*maru*	*pune*	*nyombui*	*pu*	*te*	*queg*	*ninduw.*
ni	*temi*	*dobu*	*m-aru*	*pu+ne*	*nyombui*	*pu*	*te*	*queg*	*n-and-w*
3s/p	2m	behind	3mp-follow	thus+Lim	dog	pig	Dem	bark.at	3ms-do-3fs

They were following and the dog barked at that pig.

ignas4:12

Muq	*temi*	*vig*	*mamb*	*maru.*
muq	*temi*	*vig*	*m-amb*	*m-aru*
then	2m	run	3mp-feel	3mp-follow

Then they two ran after it.

ignas4:13

Maru	*mitari*	*righe*	*pune,*	*pu*	*ne*	*oi*	*nes*
m-aru	*m-itari*	*r-ighe*	*pu+ne*	*pu*	*ne*	*oi*	*n-es*
3mp-follow	3mp-arrive	3fp-descend	thus+Lim	pig	Lim	return	3ms-get.up

newo	*nyombui*	*nait.*
n-ewo	*nyombui*	*n-ait*
3ms-go.up	dog	3ms-hold.3ms

They arrived and the pig got up and bit the dog.

ignas4:14

Wiyi	*te*	*nuqoind*	*di*	*brequne*	*yir*	*iri*	*neti*	*nowi,*
wiyi	*te*	*n-uqoind*	*di*	*brequ+ne*	*yir*	*iri*	*n-eti*	*n-owi*
father	Dem	3ms-see.3ms	and	bad+Lim	spear	one	3ms-get	3ms-come.up

pu	*te*	*meniraw,*	*pudi*	*baq*	*ninduw*	*segi.*	
pu	*te*	*mei n-ira-w*	*pudi*	*baq*	*n-and-w*	*segi*	
pig	Dem	throw	3ms-carry-3fs	but	hit	3ms-do-3fs	Neg

Father saw that and quickly got a spear, threw it at the pig, but he didn't hit the pig.

ignas4:15

Muq	*Leo*	*mune*	*yir*	*aye*	*neti*	*nowi,*
muq	*Leo*	*mune*	*yir*	*aye*	*n-eti*	*n-owi*
then	Leo	again	spear	other	3ms-get	3ms-come.up

meniraw,	*muq*	*baq*	*ninduw.*	
mei n-ira-w	*muq*	*baq*	*n-and-w*	
throw	3ms-carry-3fs	then	hit	3ms-do-3fs

Then Leo also got a spear, threw it at her [pig], then hit it.

ignas4:16

Pu	*te*	*numbueq*	*pre,*	*muq*	*wiyi*	*nondo,*
pu	*te*	*n-amb-q*	*pre*	*muq*	*wiyi*	*n-ondo*
pig	Dem	3ms-hit-3fs	done	then	father	3ms-approach

nyombui	*te*	*nuqoind*	*ning,*	*pudi*	
nyombui	*te*	*n-uqoind*	*ning*	*pudi*	
dog	Dem	3ms-see.3ms	desire	but	

nyombui	*ne*	*oi*	*nes*	*newo,*	*nandi.*
nyombui	*ne*	*oi*	*n-es*	*n-ewo*	*n-andi*
dog	Lim	return	3ms-get.up	3ms-go.up	3ms-come

After they hit the pig, then father went to look at the dog, but the dog got up itself and came.

ignas4:17

Muq wiyi munene no, char pe nyumo
muq wiyi mune+ne n-o char pe nyumo
then father again+Lim 3ms-go jungle to tree

iri eneri, di sare ir nawo, nare
*iri n-e*eri di sare ir n-awo n-are*
one 3ms-fell.3ms and vine remove 3ms-put 3ms-carry

mune tan mbe nar no.
mune tan mbe n-ar n-o
again kunai to 3ms-enter 3ms-go

Then father went back, felled a tree in the jungle, got some vines, [and] brought them back to the kunai clearning.

ignas4:18

No nitari righe, muq pu te si muange
n-o n-itari r-ighe muq pu te si muange
3ms-go 3ms-arrive 3fp-descend then pig Dem hand leg

taq mimbuw pre, muq temi nyumo muaw,
taq m-amb-w pre muq temi nyumo m-ua-w
Dem 3mp-hit-3fs done then 2m tree 3mp-put-3fs

miraq baj nambu mo.
m-ira-q baj nambu m-o
3mp-carry-3fs house under 3mp-go

He arrived, then they tied that pig's legs, inserted a tree, [and] carried it home.

ignas4:19

Mo mo mitari righe pre, muq moyu wuso wase
m-o m-o m-itari r-ighe pre muq moyu w-o wase
3mp-go 3mp-go 3mp-arrive 3fp-descend done then mother 3fs-go fire

gure wuwo, di Leo ni pu te wase nindaq di bi nuaq.
gure w-awo di Leo ni pu te wase n-ande-q di bi n-ua-q
break 3fs-put and Leo 3s/p pig Dem fire 3ms-burn-3fs then cut 3ms-put-3fs

After they arrived, then mother went, got firewood, and Leo burned the pig and cut it up.

ignas4:20

Ni teri te yembe rind di wiyi oi
ni teri te yembe r-and di wiyi oi
3s/p two.f Dem work 3fp-do and father return

jebe yembe nindig.
jebe yembe n-and-g
rack work 3ms-do-3ms

They two were doing that work and father made a drying rack.

ignas4:21

Yembe te omo ruwo segine di Markus
yembe te omo r-awo segi+ne di Markus
work Dem Comp 3fp-put Neg+Lim and Mark

Simon temi dobu maru mitari righe.
Simon temi dobu m-aru m-itari r-ighe
Simon 2m behind 3mp-follow 3mp-arrive 3fp-descend

They had not yet finished doing that work and Mark and Simon arrived.

ignas4:22

Muq	*Simon*	*nondo*	*Leo*	*ghav*	*nindig,*	*di*
muq	*Simon*	*n-ondo*	*Leo*	*ghav*	*n-and-g*	*di*
then	Simon	3ms-approach	Leo	help	3ms-do-3ms	and

Markus	*nondo*	*wiyi*	*ghav*	*nindig.*
Markus	*n-ondo*	*wiyi*	*ghav*	*n-and-g*
Mark	3ms-approach	father	help	3ms-do-3ms

Then Simon went and helped Leo, and Mark went and helped father.