

A grammar of Umbu-Ungu

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Abbreviations used in glosses:

ACT	actor	INST	instrument clitic
ADJ	adjunct	LOC	locator clitic
AN	animate	MAG	magnifying suffix
ART	article clitic	NPST	near past?
ASP	aspect	PA	present awareness tense
ASS	assertative clitic	PL	plural
BEN	benefactive suffix	POL	polite imperative
COMP	comparative clitic	POSS	possessor clitic
CON	connector	PR	present
CUST	customary aspect suffix	PST	near past tense
DEF	definitive clitic	PTR	person tense reminder
DEP	dependent verb suffix	PUR	purpose clitic
DER	derivator	REP	repetitive
DIR	directional	RES	resource
DPST	distant past tense	QI	quote imperative
DL	dual	QU	question marker
DUB	dubitive aspect clitic	REF	referent clitic
EMP	emphatic imperative	S / SG	singular
EXP	expressive clitic	SEQ	sequential suffix
FUT	future tense	SIM	simultaneous action suffix
GEN	genitive	SUBJ	subjunctive aspect
GREET	greeting clitic	1	first person
HORT	hortatory imperative	2	second person
HYP	hypothetical aspect	2/3	non-first person dependent verb suffix
IMP	imperative	3	third person
IN	inanimate		
IO	indirect object clitic		

1. INTRODUCTION

This is a description of the grammatical hierarchy of the Umbu-Ungu dialect of the Kaugel language. The description covers stem to paragraph levels and is presented according to the Tagmemic model. Kaugel (called Gawigl by Wurm, 1982), is spoken by about 80,000 people living in the Western and Southern Highlands Provinces of Papua New Guinea, in an area roughly bordered by the towns of Mt.Hagen, Mendi and Ialibu. The Umbu-Ungu dialect is spoken in the Upper Mendi area of the Mendi District of the Southern Highlands Province, and in the Tambul and Lower Kaugel Districts of the Western Highlands Province. Wurm describes Gawigl (Kaugel) as a sub-group of the Melpa language, of the Hagen sub-family, of the Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock of the Eastern-Central Trans-New Guinea Phylum of Papuan languages.

The data for this analysis were collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics while the author was resident from time to time in Palinoli village, nine miles south of the Tambul District office, between early 1970 and mid-1976. This analysis specifically reflects the Kala sub-dialect of the Umbu-Ungu dialect of Kaugel which is spoken in and near Palinoli village. Most of the textual material analysed in this paper has been given to us by men and women of Palinoli village. Sua Molo, Bereme Molo, Siljo Mandikele, Yopae Ale, and Kepa Peke have been the young men mainly responsible for assisting with the tedious task of transcription of these texts from tape recorder to type-written form for analysis. All of these young men, as well as Kambuli Nepo, Ake Molo, and Garu Puli, have also been helpful in answering questions put to them concerning the analysis. My grateful thanks to my husband, Robert Head, who undertook the tedious task of recording and transcribing all the texts on which the analysis of the Umbu-Ungu grammar is based. He also partnered with me in the analysis and description of Umbu-Ungu sentences, the first paper we wrote on the grammar, and which formed the basis of chapter 9 of this current paper.

Although the initial research for this description was undertaken during the years listed above, the author has continued to live in the Kaugel language area and continued to update and refine this description over the intervening years.

During the research, considerable use was made of a 39,000 word concordance of texts in Kaugel made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by grant No.G51605 from the National Science Foundation of the U.S.A.

Other papers which have been used as reference material in preparation and lay-out of this paper are listed in the bibliography.

Much of the basic work for this paper was done during two high-level grammar workshops conducted by the Institute at its headquarters at Ukarumpa in 1973 and 1976. Elizabeth Murane gave invaluable consultant help during both of these workshops and at other times as well. During the nineties, when I first began to undertake a review of the paper, Joan Healey (now Hooley) gave some helpful suggestions for revision of the early chapters, from Stems to Phrases. A major review and reformatting of the Umbu-Ungu Grammar was undertaken in 2008-2011. Much of this work was done by Lydia van den Berg to whom I am deeply grateful for this help, as well as for her encouragement to me to do my part in revising the paper to ready it to be published on the web.

1.1 Language overview

Kaugel is an SOV language. Like many Papuan languages it is an ergative-absolutive language so far as the Noun Phrase is concerned; that is the actor of the transitive clause is marked with an ergative clitic, but both subject of the intransitive clause and object of the transitive clause are unmarked. However, the verb suffixes reflect a nominative accusative system, in that the same set of person suffixes indicate both the subject of the intransitive verb and the actor of the transitive verb. There is no verb suffix indicating object. The participant identification system, both in verb suffixes and free-form pronouns, distinguishes first, second and third singular, and first and non-first dual and plural. Ordering rules for other structures include the following: adjectives follow nouns, the possessor precedes the thing possessed, and the relative clause usually precedes the noun it is relativising. There are no prefixes, only suffixes, and post-positions rather than pre-positions. Words fall into two major types: verbs and non-verbs. Verbs are suffixed for person, number and tense. Non-verbs take no affixation of their own but almost all of them can accept phrase-final clitics indicating such things as ergative, locative and indirect object.

This description begins with a chapter on the morphophonemics of Kaugel which are largely predetermined by various kinds of vowel harmony. The grammatical hierarchy begins with stems where a little compounding and derivation is observed. Stems build into words which are minimal free forms and largely uninflected. Only verbs and spatial are affixed, all other affixation is a system of clitics which occur phrase finally on any classes of words which occur in this position. Words group together into complexes and phrases. Words, complexes, and phrases are all broadly classified as either verb or non-verb. Complexes are close-knit groupings of two or three words related in a complementary or clarificatory sense. Words and complexes then build into phrases which can be very involved with lots of embedding. Phrases are modifying, coordinate, appositional, and semantic. Phrases build together into clauses which is probably the least complex level of the hierarchy. Clauses build into sentences, which can also be very complex with lots of embedding. Sentences in turn go together to form paragraphs which then build together into Kaugel Discourses.

The aim of this paper is to describe and illustrate all the possible constructions at each of these levels of the Kaugel grammatical hierarchy and how they fit into one another.

At this point (May 2011), the chapter on Discourse has not been finalised, but we are going ahead with making the rest of the grammar available on the world-wide-web as it is, rather than waiting until the discourse chapter is finalised.

2. MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.1 Phonemics and orthography

The phonemes of Kaugel are fifteen consonants and five vowels. The consonants are the stops /p/, /t/, and /k/; the pre-nasalised stops /mb/, /nd/, /ng/, and /nj/; the nasals /m/, /n/, and /nʏ/ (written orthographically as ni); the flaps /r/, and /l/ (written orthographically as ll); the lateral affricate /l/; and the semi-vowels /w/, and /y/. The vowels are /a, e, i, o, u/. Stress is also phonemic, but is only written (as an accent over the stressed vowel) to differentiate otherwise identical forms. There are no closed syllables in Kaugel and the only consonant clusters are lk and lt which occur syllable initially. There are seven different syllable patterns in Kaugel but by far the most dominant is the CV pattern.

The stops /p/ and /k/ are voiceless word initially and voiced word medially. The alveolar stop /t/ only rarely occurs word medially and is never voiced. The /t/ has a sibilant variant [s] in the environment of high vowels (i and u). Both s and t had been used in the orthography initially to help those already literate in another language, but this was changed in mid-1976 to the writing of t only, because the distribution of the sub-members of the phoneme varies from dialect to dialect. However, this decision was reversed again at an orthography conference held in 1983. So both s and t, sub-members of the /t/ phoneme, are now being written.

The pre-nasalised stops are being written word initially as b, d, g, and j; and word medially as mb, nd, ng, and nj. This is more difficult for previously illiterate adults but is preferred by those educated in other languages.

The /r/ and /l/ (written orthographically as ll) are both flapped, as is typical of Papua New Guinean languages. The flapped /l/ is the rarest phoneme in Kaugel, occurring in only a handful of non-verb words. The flapped /l/ is a very common phoneme in the neighbouring language family, particularly Enga, so the few words in Kaugel which contain this phoneme may well have been borrowed from Enga originally. The ll symbol is also used in the spelling of borrowed words such as proper names. This is because the flapped /l/ is closer in sound, to the l sounds of Tok Pisin or English, than the lateral affricate.

The more common l symbol is used to represent the lateral affricate which is the second most common consonant in the language - next to /k/. The alveolar allophone of the lateral affricate occurs before the front vowels i and e, while the velar form occurs before the back vowels a, o and u. The flapped /r/ only rarely occurs word initially; it is usually word medial.

2.2 Morphophonemic rules

Almost all allomorphic variation in Kaugel is based on vowel harmony of one type or another. Morphophonemic rules are mainly relevant to suffixes and clitics and the shape of the stem to which they are suffixed. The first three rules presented below are the vowel harmony rules which cover most allomorphic variation in Kaugel. Then there are two rules relating to the l phoneme, followed by one rule relating to pre-nasalised stops versus simple (i.e. non-prenasalised) stops. Each of these rules will be explained and illustrated below. However, the full picture will become clearer as examples are studied throughout the paper.

2.2.1 Rule 1: the high-low vowel rule

When there is a choice of two allomorphs of a suffixing morpheme, one having a higher vowel than the other, the allomorph with the higher vowel suffixes to stems ending in high vowels while

the allomorph with the lower vowel suffixes to stems ending in low vowels. In the Kaugel system high vowels are i and u, while a, e and o pattern as low vowels. For example, the third person future tense suffix is *-mba* ~ *-mbe*. Stems ending in low vowels take the allomorph *-mba*, while stems ending in high vowels take *-mbe*.

Examples (1) and (2) show how this rule applies with verb suffixes.

- (1) *to-mba*
strike-FUT.3SG
'he will strike'
- (2) *pu-mbe*
go-FUT.3SG
'he will go'

Examples (3) and (4) show how this rule applies with phrase final clitics. They also show that the rule applies not just between the stem and the first suffix but also runs on to subsequent suffixes. The definite singular article clitic is *-mo* ~ *-mu*, while the actor clitic which optionally follows is *-ne* ~ *-ni*.

- (3) *ye-mo-ne*
man-the.SG-ACT
'the man'
- (4) *kongi-mu-ni*
pig-the.SG-ACT
'the pig'

2.2.2 Rule 2: the front-back rule

When there is a choice of two allomorphs of a suffixing morpheme, one having a back vowel and one a front vowel, and both are either high or low so rule one cannot apply, the allomorph with the back vowel affixes to stems ending in back vowels, while the allomorph with the front vowel affixes to stems ending in front vowels. Distant past tense marker *-ri* ~ *-ru* is the commonest example of this rule (but compare also rule 2b below). Stems ending in front vowels take *-ri*, while stems ending in back vowels take *-ru*. In the Kaugel system i and e pattern as front vowels, while o u and a pattern as back vowels. It should also be noted in relation to the way morphophonemic rules 1 and 2 affect verbs and their suffixes that no verb stems end with the letter a.

- (5) *pu-ru-ndu*
go-DPST-1SG
'I went'
- (6) *si-ri-ndu*
give-DPST-1SG
'I gave'
- (7) *te-ri-ndu*
do-DPST-1SG
'I did'
- (8) *to-ru-ndu*
strike-DPST-1SG
'I struck'

2.2.2.1 Rule 2b

This rule is only applicable to the distant past tense marker *-ri* ~ *-ru* and then only when it is followed by non-first dual and plural person markers *-ngili* and *-ngi*. When preceding these person markers the distant past tense marker is obligatorily *-ri*. In all other persons the choice of *-ru* ~ *-ri* is governed by the vowel of the verb stem as per rule 2.

Rule 2b could, in comparison with rule 3 below, the complete vowel harmony rule, be called the complete vowel harmony rule in reverse. That is, instead of the affect of the vowel harmony moving from stem to suffix or left to right, as it does in rule 3, it is the vowel of the final suffix of the verb which affects the suffix which precedes it, i.e. the affect moves from right to left. In example (9), according to rule 2, and in keeping with example (5) above, the *-ru* distant past tense allomorph should occur. However, rule 2b over-rides rule 2 in this specific environment.

- (9) *pu-ri-ngi*
 go-DPST-3PL
 ‘they go’

2.2.3 Rule 3: the complete vowel harmony rule

Sometimes, the vowel harmony between the stem-final vowel and the vowel of the allomorph of the suffix which follows it, is complete. The commonest examples of this are the present tense marker *-kV* and the benefactive suffix *-ndV* (where V stands for vowel). Examples (10) to (12) show verbs suffixed by the benefactive suffix followed by the present tense suffix. The choice of allomorphs of both these suffixes is governed by the complete vowel harmony rule. (Note also that morphophonemic rule 1 (the high-low rule) governs the choice of the allomorphs of the first person singular suffix in these examples):

- (10) *te-nde-ke-ro*
 do-BEN-PR-1SG
 ‘I am doing it for...’
- (11) *ni-ndi-ki-ru*
 speak-BEN-PR-1SG
 ‘I am saying it for...’
- (12) *to-ndo-ko-ro*
 strike-BEN-PR-1SG
 ‘I am striking it for...’

2.2.4 Rule 4 concerning stems ending in -IV

2.2.4.1 Rule 4a. When a stem ending in /V/ is followed by a suffix /V/, the /V/ of the stem is elided.

The commonest example of this is with the aspect marker *-le* ~ *-li* when it occurs on verb stems ending with /V/.

- (13) *molo-le-mo* → *molemo* (not **mololemo*)
 be/exist-ASP-CUST.3SG
 ‘he exists’

- (14) *angili-li-mo* → *angilimo* (not **angililimo*)
 stand-ASP-CUST.3SG
 ‘he stands’

2.2.4.2 Rule 4b. When the combination /V plus -kV occurs across morpheme borders the first vowel is elided.

The most common example of this is a verb stem plus present tense marker *-kV*, as in examples (15) and (16). The choice of person marker allomorphs in these examples is governed by rule 1.

- (15) *molo-kV-molo* → *molkomolo* (not **molokomolo*)
 be/exist-PR-1PL
 ‘we are (here)’
- (16) *angili-kV-mili* → *angilkimili* (not **angilikimili*)
 stand-PR-3PL
 ‘they are standing’

Rule 4b also applies when the first and third person singular subjunctive marker *-ka ~ -ke* follow the aspect marker *-le ~ -li*.

(17) is an example of a combination of rules 4a and b.

- (17) *molo-le -ka* → *molka*¹ (not **mololeka*)
 be/exist-ASP-3SG
 ‘he might be’

Example (18) shows that this rule also applies to some non-verbs.

- (18) *bulu-ku -ndu* → *bulkundu* (not **bulukundu*)
 back-at-toward
 ‘behind’

2.2.5 Rule 5 governs the change from simple (i.e. non-prenasalised) stop plus vowel to pre-nasalized stop plus vowel in some verb suffixes.

Following verb stems consisting of nasal consonant plus vowel or of vowel only the initial simple stop of a suffix becomes pre-nasalised. The choice of vowel is governed by rule 1. Rule 5 specifically affects dependent verb person suffixes (see table 4.1) and the present awareness tense marker (see table 4.2), in chapter 4 on Words.

Examples (19) to (22) illustrate how this rule affects dependent verb person suffixes.

- (19) *te-pa*
 do-DEP.3SG
 ‘he doing...’

¹ It is worth noting here that when morphophonemic rule 4b comes into play it results in syllable breaks and morpheme breaks being out of phase with each other. That is, the morpheme breaks for *molka* “he might be” are *mo-l-ka*, whereas the syllable breaks are *mo.lka*; while the morpheme breaks for *bulkundu* “behind” are *bul-ku-ndu*, whereas the syllable breaks are *bu.lku.ndu*.

- (20) *me-mba*
carry-DEP.3SG
'she carrying...'
- (21) *to-kolo*
hit-DEP.3DL
'they.dual hitting...'
- (22) *ni-ngulu*
say-DEP.3DL
'they.dual saying...'

Examples (23) and (24) illustrate how this rule works with the present awareness tense suffix.

- (23) *o-mba-no*
come-PA-2SG
'I have just become aware that you are come.'
- (24) *si-pe-mo*
give-PA-3SG
'I have just become aware that she is giving (it to him)'

As well as these general morphophonemic rules there are some more specific ones which pertain to certain specific situations only. These will be described and illustrated where they are applicable.

3. STEMS

Both compound stems and suffix-derived stems occur in Kaugel. There is only one type of derivation and this occurs only on verb roots. There are two types of compounding; one with verb roots and one with non-verbs.

3.1 Derived stems

The verb to adjective derivator *-li* occurs only on verb roots. This turns the verb into an adjective, or, in some cases, something more like a noun. If the verb is part of a phrase or clause the derivator turns the whole construction into a descriptive. The derivator can potentially occur on any verb root. Some more common examples are listed:

Examples (1) and (2) are examples of adjectives derived from verbs.

- (1) *ponji-li*
shorten-DER
'short'
- (2) *kondo-li*
get.hot-DER
'red'

In examples (3) and (4) the derived form is semantically more like a noun.

- (3) *tango-li*
become.daylight-DER
'daytime'
- (4) *ipule-li*
become.night-DER
'night'

Example (5) illustrates how the derivator can be used on a clause.

- (5) *anani ou naa to-li*
onion before not pick-DER
'not-yet-picked onions'

3.2 Compound verb stems

A compound verb stem consists of any verb root combined with the verb root *pu* 'to go'. The going is always chronologically first in meaning even though it occurs second in the structure. The resultant stem is then affixed in the same way as any simple verb stem.

- (6) *te-pu-ru-ndu* *te + pu* → *tepu*
do-go-DPST-1SG do go go and do
'I went and did (it)'

- (7) *pako-pu-ku-mu* *pako + pu* → *pakopu*
 put.on-go-PR-3SG put.on go go and put on (clothes)
 ‘She is going to dress.’
- (8) *tako-pu-nge* *tako + pu* → *takopu*
 build-go-FUT.3PL build go go and build
 ‘They will go (and) build (a house).’
- (9) *molo-po-yo* *molo + pu* → *molopu*
 be-go-IMP stay go go and stay
 ‘Go and stay!’

3.3 Compound non-verb stems

These compound stems are of various classes; the most common being nouns. Various phonological changes signal the compounding: vowel loss, consonant loss, and/or change of stress. There is also sometimes a slight change in the meaning of the compounded stem from the sum of the meaning of the parts. The first four are examples of compound nouns; the last two show that some spatial (time and location words) are also formed in this way. Stress will be marked (by accent over vowel) because of its pertinence in examples of this construction.

Compound		Roots			
<i>yémbo</i>	‘person’	<i>ye</i>	‘man’	<i>ámbo</i>	‘woman’
<i>ambolángo</i>	‘child’	<i>ámbola</i>	‘girl’	<i>kángo</i>	‘boy’
<i>koláulke</i>	‘funeral’	<i>kolá</i>	‘tear’	<i>ulké</i>	‘house’
<i>kumbikeré</i>	‘face’	<i>kúmbi</i>	‘nose’	<i>keré</i>	‘mouth’
<i>walsé</i>	‘one day’	<i>wále</i>	‘day’	<i>te</i>	‘one’
<i>wélela</i>	‘across and up’	<i>wéle</i>	‘across’	<i>óla</i>	‘up’

4. WORDS

4.1 Introduction

Words in Kaugel fall into two basic groupings: verbs and non-verbs. Verbs and non-verbs differ from each other in two basic ways: verbs are the only class of words in Kaugel which must always be affixed, and verb stems are the only class of words which fill the Head slots of the various verb phrases and complexes which fill the Predicate of the clause.

4.2 Verb classes

Verbs consist of a stem plus suffixes. Verbs are either dependent or independent in form. Dependent verbs are obligatorily suffixed for subject person but do not reflect tense. Independent verbs, which always occur wherever there is a change of tense¹ or person², take a different set of person suffixes for each tense or group of tenses. Independent verbs obligatorily occur sentence finally. Verbs typically occur in the Head slot of any verb phrase and the Head slot of the Adjunct Verb complex and in the Predicate of the clause. However, modifying verbs (class 2), though clearly verbs as to their structure, have a different distribution which will be spelled out for each type.

There are four classes of verbs in Kaugel: existential verbs, modifying verbs, stative verbs and regular verbs. There is also some overlap between these classes.

4.2.1 Existential verbs (class 1)

This is a small closed class of four verbs which are grammatically distinguished by the fact that they usually take customary aspect affixation to indicate present tense, rather than the present tense marker. Existential verbs (other than *le*), along with verbs of motion, are used, in imperative and interrogative forms, as greeting words (see 4.4.10.4). Existential verbs are:

<i>angili</i>	‘to stand’
<i>le</i>	‘to be/to be put’ (inanimate)
<i>molo</i>	‘to be/exist’ (animate)
<i>pe</i>	‘to lie down/to be inside’

4.2.2 Modifying verbs (class 2)

Modifying verbs are a small closed class of verbs which modify other verbs. Unlike other verbs, verbs which belong solely to this class never manifest the Predicate of the clause and never fill the Head of any verb phrase or complex. There are two sub-classes of modifying verbs: post-head and pre-head:

4.2.2.1 Post-head modifying verbs (class 2a)

Post-Head modifying verbs always immediately follow the verb which they modify. Post-Head modifying verbs occur in the Aspect slot of the Aspect Verb Phrases (7.2). These are:

¹ ‘tense’ is used somewhat loosely to cover tense, aspect, mood and mode which are all part of one system in Kaugel verb morphology.

² ‘person’ means subject person throughout this paper; object person is not marked in Kaugel verbs or pronouns.

<i>li</i>	‘to complete’	(also a class 4 verb meaning ‘to get/receive/take’)
<i>kele</i>	‘to cease’	(also a class 2b verb meaning ‘again’)
<i>kondo</i>	‘thoroughly’	
<i>wamo</i>	‘properly’	
<i>kenji</i>	‘badly’	
<i>sundu</i>	‘inadequately’	
<i>molo</i>	‘to keep on’	(also a class 1 verb meaning ‘to be/exist’)
<i>pu</i>	‘to continue’	(also a class 4 verb meaning ‘to go’)
<i>te</i>	‘probably’	(also a class 4 verb meaning ‘to do’)

4.2.2.2 Pre-head modifying verbs (Class 2b)

Pre-head modifying verbs always precede the verb which they modify, but not necessarily immediately. Pre-head modifying verbs fill the Manner slot of either the Adjunct Verb Complex or the clause. These are:

<i>alto</i>	‘again’	(something already done before)
<i>kele</i>	‘again’	(something new)
<i>lkisi</i>	‘hurriedly’	(also a class 4 verb meaning ‘to run’)
<i>nondo</i>	‘nearly/soon’	
<i>manji</i>	‘exclusively’	

4.2.3 Stative verbs (class 3)

Although stative is a very common class of Adjunct Verb Complexes (6.1.3), the only verb word observed functioning in this way is the verb *to* ‘to fall’ which is more commonly a class 4 verb meaning ‘to hit’ or ‘to strike’. The stative verb occurs in third person singular only and expounds the Predicate of the Stative Clause (8.1.2).

4.2.4 Regular verbs (class 4)

This open class comprises all the other verbs in Kaugel³. Some common ones are:

<i>kano</i>	‘look/see’
<i>ni</i>	‘speak’
<i>no</i>	‘eat’
<i>o</i>	‘come’
<i>pu</i>	‘go’
<i>te</i>	‘do’
<i>to</i>	‘strike’
<i>li</i>	‘get/take’
<i>me</i>	‘carry’
<i>kalo</i>	‘burn/cook’
<i>aku</i>	‘dig’

There are two small sub-classes within class 4 verbs, based on distribution factors. These are verbs of motion and verbs of perception/cognition.

³ It should be noted that there are only about 100 one-word verbs in Kaugel. Other verbal concepts are expressed using Adjunct Verb Complexes (see 6.1) or Verb Phrases (see 7.1).

Class 4a. Verbs of perception/cognition have two distribution factors in common:

1. Verbs of perception/cognition are the only verbs which consistently take unmarked clauses as Object (see 8.5.3.1).
2. When verbs of perception/cognition occur with sentence level connectives, such as 'when' or 'because', they follow the connective, rather than precede it as all other verbs do.

These two factors are also true of Adjunct Verb Complexes (6.1) and Verb Phrases (7.1) of perception.

Verbs of perception/cognition are:

<i>kano</i>	'see'
<i>pili</i>	'hear'

Class 4b. Verbs of motion have several distribution features in common:

1. Verbs of motion cannot take the benefactive suffix (see 4.3.1).
2. Verbs of motion, along with existential verbs, are used, in imperative and interrogative forms, as greeting words (see 4.4.10.4).
3. Verbs of motion are the only verbs which occur in the Included Motion Clause (8.2.2.1).
4. Only verbs of motion expound the Predicate of the final clause of the Simultaneous Action Sentence (9.3.2). They also commonly occur in the final base of some Merged Sentences, especially the Intention Merged Sentence (9.6.2.3).

Verbs of motion are:

<i>pu</i>	'go'
<i>o</i>	'come'
<i>ando</i>	'wander'

Morphophonemic rules pertaining to verb stems:

The verb stem norm is that which occurs as the stem of future tense verbs. In other environments there can be allomorphs of the normal verb stem which occur according to certain well defined rules:

1. All verb stems ending in *IV* (where *V* = any vowel) are affected in present tense, customary aspect, and subjunctive in accordance with general morphophonemic rules 4a and 4b.
2. In distant past tense the verb *li* 'to take' plus the distant past tense marker *-ri* becomes *lsi*.
3. Multi-syllable stems ending in *u*:⁴
In past tense and imperative the *u* becomes *o*.
4. Multi-syllable stems ending in *i* or any stem ending in *le*:⁵
In past tense the *i* or *e* of the stem becomes *ie*.

⁴ These stems are *mundu* 'to send', *puru* 'to rot', *aku* 'to dig', *bulsu* 'to smash' and any compound verb stem (3.2) ending in *pu* 'to go'.

⁵ These stems are *nosi* 'to put', *kopisi* 'to cut', *le* 'to be' (inanimate), *kele* 'to leave', *lkisi* 'to run', *lakili* 'to bag', *angili* 'to stand', *pili* 'to hear' and *walsi* 'to call'.

4.3 Verb suffixes

There are two basic systems of verb suffixes: dependent and independent. Only the first order optional benefactive suffix *-ndV* is common to both systems. This, therefore, will be presented first, followed by the dependent verb affixation, then the independent verb affixation.

4.3.1 The benefactive suffix *-ndV*

This is an optional first order suffix occurring on any verb stem other than verbs of motion, but most commonly on transitive verbs. (Transitive verbs are not marked as a special class in Kaugel. The term is used here of verbs which occur with an object, see Transitive Active Clause 8.2.1). The benefactive suffix indicates an action performed for or on behalf of another person. If several actions are being performed on someone else's behalf the benefactive suffix will occur only on the last of the string of verbs. This is considered then to be a Merged Clause (8.3). The vowel of the benefactive suffix is governed by the complete vowel harmony rule; i.e. the vowel will always be the same as the final vowel of the verb stem. This is illustrated in the following list.

<i>me-nde</i>	'to carry for'	<i>me</i>	'to carry'
<i>kolo-ndo</i>	'to die for'	<i>kolo</i>	'to die'
<i>nosi-ndi</i>	'to put for'	<i>nosi</i>	'to put'
<i>mundu-ndu</i>	'to plant for'	<i>mundu</i>	'to plant'

The benefactive suffix can also be used in a malefactive sense; that is something done to bring hurt rather than benefit to another. It is also sometimes used as a causative as examples (1) and (2) illustrate. The symbol / used in (1) indicates a dependent verb.

- (1) *ambola awili-mu-ni ambola kelo-mo te-pa/ kola.te-nde-mu*
 girl big-the-ACT girl small-the do-3SG cry-BEN-PST.3SG
 'the big girl made the little girl cry by what she did'
- (2) *owa-mo-ne kera mango-ndo-ko-mo*
 dog-the-ACT bird fly-BEN-PR-3SG
 'the dog is making the bird fly'

4.3.2 Dependent verb suffixation

Dependent verbs are used as long as the person and tense of a string of clauses remains the same. Dependent verb suffixes are charted in table 4.1 below. Dependent verbs are marked only for person; there is no tense, mood or aspect marked on dependent verbs.

Table 4.1 Dependent Verb Suffixes

Stem	±BEN	±SIM	+Person			±SEQ
			SG	PL	DUAL	
			1.- <i>po</i>	- <i>po</i>	- <i>polo</i>	
	- <i>ndV</i>	- <i>li</i>	2.- <i>ko</i>	- <i>ko</i>	- <i>kolo</i>	- <i>lie</i>
			3.- <i>pa</i>	- <i>ko</i>	- <i>kolo</i>	

Rules:

1. Rules governing the occurrence of the sequential suffix *-lie* are presented as part of the description of the Dependent Sentence (9.3).
2. Person markers are obligatory. (See rule 3 for the only possible exception to this rule).
3. The simultaneous suffix is obligatory in the Simultaneous Action Sentence (9.3.2) but occurs nowhere else. The verb *me* ‘to carry’ optionally takes the simultaneous suffix as its only affixation (i.e. it takes no person suffix) in the Simultaneous Action Sentence, especially when the final base of the sentence is expounded by the verb *o* ‘to come’. This would seem to be because the combination ‘carry come’ is so common as to almost function as a single unit. Some speakers always use this form in this environment, others only some of the time.
4. The simultaneous suffix and the sequential suffix do not co-occur.

4.3.3 Person suffixes of the dependent verb system

This is a very simple system differentiating mainly between first and non-first persons. Singular and plural first person forms are the same (*-po*), as are the singular second person and plural second and third persons (*-ko*), while there is a distinct third person singular suffix (*-pa*). There are optional suffixes for first and non-first dual. The dual suffixes are used only when the speaker wants to be very specific, otherwise the *-ko* suffix is used. There is also a second person singular suffix *-kono* which is in the process of being dropped from the language in favour of the shorter *ko* form. The *kono* form is used only occasionally now in the Umbu-Ungu dialect of Kaugel, and then only when the following independent verb is in imperative mood. Each of these person markers has higher vowel and pre-nasalised allomorphs whose occurrence is governed by morphophonemic rules 1 and 5.

4.3.4 Independent verb suffixation

Independent verbs always occur whenever there is a change of person, tense, aspect, or mood, and sentence finally. Tense and person suffixes are obligatory on independent verbs. Independent verb suffixes are charted on table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Independent Verb Suffixes

Stem	±BEN	+Tense	+Person	DUAL	PL
			SG		
<i>-ndV</i>	T	<i>-ru</i> distant past	1. <i>-ndu</i>	<i>-mbulu</i>	<i>-mulu</i>
		<i>-0</i> near past	2. <i>-nu</i>	<i>-ngili</i>	<i>-ngi</i>
			3. <i>-mu</i>		
	E	<i>-kV</i> present	1. <i>-ro</i>	<i>-mbolo</i>	<i>-molo</i>
		<i>-pa</i> present awareness	2. <i>-no</i>	<i>-mbele</i>	<i>-mele</i>
			3. <i>-mo</i>		
	N				
	S	<i>-0</i> future	1. <i>-mbo</i>	<i>-mbolo</i>	<i>-molo</i>
			2. <i>-ni</i>	<i>-ngele</i>	<i>-nge</i>
			3. <i>-mba</i>		
<i>-ndV</i>	I	<i>-a</i> polite	2. <i>-yo</i>	<i>-lio</i>	<i>-yo</i>
	M				
	P	emphatic	1. <i>-mbo</i>	<i>-mbolo</i>	<i>-molo</i>
			2. <i>-0</i>	<i>-le</i>	<i>-me</i>
	E				
R					
A					
T	quoted	2. <i>-u</i>	<i>-le</i>	<i>-0</i>	
I					
V	hortative	1. <i>-mbo</i>	<i>-mbili</i>	<i>-mili</i>	
		2. <i>-ni</i>	<i>-ngili</i>	<i>-ngi</i>	
		3. <i>-pili</i>			
<i>-ndV</i>	A	<i>-le</i> customary	1. <i>-lio</i>	<i>-mbolo</i>	<i>-molo</i>
			2. <i>-no</i>	<i>-mbele</i>	<i>-mele</i>
			3. <i>-mo</i>		
	S				
	P				
	E	subjunctive	1. <i>-ka</i>	<i>-mbola</i>	<i>-mola</i>
			2. <i>-na</i>	<i>-mbela</i>	<i>-mela</i>
			3. <i>-ka</i>		

Rules and special notes concerning table 4.2:

1. Many of the suffixes on this chart have morphophonemically defined allomorphs. These have been omitted from the chart for the purpose of clarity of presentation. They will be presented as each suffix is discussed below.
2. Independent verb suffixes fall into three basic groupings: tense, imperative, and aspect. Within each of these there are several sub-types, each with its own system of person markers.
3. Because the person markers are different for each tense, they are in fact portmanteau morphemes as they partially indicate which tense or type of

imperative or which aspect is involved in any given instance as well as which person and number.

4. Although each set of person markers evidences some differences there are also some general similarities to be noted (not applicable to polite and quoted imperative forms):
 - 4a. second person singular is almost always *nV*.
 - 4b. first person dual is always *mbVIV*.
 - 4c. first person plural is always *mVIV*.
 - 4d. non-first person dual is almost always *ngVIV* or *mbVIV*.
 - 4e. the vowel of any given set of first person suffixes is usually constant, and is always a back vowel.
 - 4f. the vowel of any given set of non-first person and non-singular suffixes is also usually constant, and is always a front vowel.
5. There is also a pattern in the stress which occurs on verbs, though this is not actually marked on the chart:
 - 5a. For distant past tense and both present tenses stress always falls on the tense marker.
 - 5b. For near past tense and all imperatives stress always falls on the final syllable of the stem. The one exception to this is that for second singular emphatic imperative the stress falls on the first syllable of the stem.
 - 5c. For future tense, customary aspect and subjunctive mood stress always falls on the final syllable.

4.3.5 Tense suffixes

Tense suffixes of the independent verb system are of three different kinds: the five which indicate tense, the one which indicates imperative, and the one which indicates aspect and modality. They are all second order suffixes and cannot co-occur. The optional benefactive suffix (4.3.1) is the only first order suffix.

Distant past tense is indicated by the suffix *-ri ~ -ru* plus the past tense person markers. Morphophonemic rules 2 and 2b govern the choice of allomorphs.

Near past tense is indicated by a zero morpheme plus the past tense person markers. Near past tense includes today and yesterday, while distant past tense is used for events prior to that. Near past tense is obligatory to the first base of the Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence (9.7.1.2.2). When used with the Stative Adjunct Verb Complexes (6.1.3) past tense indicates something which happened in the past, the effect of which is still current in the present. For explanation and examples of this see the Stative Clause (8.1.2).

Both of the past tenses take the same set of person markers.

Present tense is indicated by the suffix *-kV* plus the present tense person markers. The choice of vowel is governed by morphophonemic rule 3, the complete vowel harmony rule.

Present awareness tense is indicated by the suffix *-pa ~ -pe ~ -mba ~ -mbe* plus the present tense person markers. Choice of allomorphs here is governed by morphophonemic rules 1 and 5. Present awareness

indicates that the speaker has only just become aware of some event. It is restricted to use in conversation and quotes.

Both of the present tenses take the same set of person markers.

Future tense is indicated by a zero morpheme plus the future tense person markers. As well as being used to speak of future events, the future tense in Kaugel has some other special uses. It is obligatory to the first base of several sentence types: the Purpose Sentence (9.7.1.1), the Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence (9.7.1.2.1), the Result-Event Merged Sentences (9.6.2). It also has a special use in the Opening Quote Clause (8.2.1.2).

Imperative mood is indicated by the suffix *-a ~ -e ~ -0*. The *0* allomorph occurs preceding polite singular, quoted singular, and hortative third person singular. Occurrence of the *-a* and *-e* allomorphs is governed by morphophonemic rule 1. However, another rule is also pertinent here. Stems ending in the back vowels *o* and *u* drop the stem final vowel which is then replaced by the applicable allomorph of the imperative marker. This could be symbolised as $o/u + a/e \rightarrow a/e$. This only applies to the distribution of the *-a* and *-e* allomorphs; the distribution of the *0* allomorph remains constant for every verb. The verbs *pu* 'to go' and *o* 'to come' are slightly irregular in the imperative forms in that *pu* takes the *-a* allomorph instead of *-e* and *o* + the *-a* allomorph becomes *wa* rather than *oa*.

Aspect and modality are indicated by the suffix *-li ~ -le*. Morphophonemic rules 1, and 4a and b are applicable here. There are two sets of person markers which occur with the aspect/modality suffix; one indicating customary aspect and the other subjunctive mode. Other aspects and modes are signified in Kaugel by the use of Aspect Verb Phrases (7.2). There is also a group of clitics which indicate various modes (5.2.2), as does the Evaluation base of the Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4).

4.3.6 Person suffixes of the independent verb system

There are nine different sets of person suffixes which occur on independent verbs. It has already been indicated how these are grouped together as to tense, imperative, and aspect/mode. Table 4.2 presents the norms of the person suffixes so only allomorphic variations will be presented here. Following these will be examples of independent verbs which, when studied with table 4.2, should be easier to understand than any explanation could be. Verbs used in the examples will be *kano* 'to see' and *si* 'to give'. Stress will be marked in examples by accent over the vowel of the stressed syllable. The person suffixes of the tense system will be presented first, followed by the imperative system, then finally the aspect/mode system.

Past tense person markers: there are no allomorphic variations; they remain constant according to table 4.2. For example, *-mbulu* occurs in both verbs in (3), even though the preceding morpheme is different in each case.

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|--------------------|
| (3) | <i>kano-rú-mbulu</i> | <i>si-rí-mbulu</i> |
| | see-DPST-1DL | give-DPST-1DL |
| | ‘we two saw’ | ‘we two gave’ |

Past tense person markers are the same for both distant past tense as in (3) and near past tense as in (4).

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-------------------|
| (4) | <i>kanó-0-mbulu</i> | <i>sí-0-mbulu</i> |
| | see-PST-1DL | give-PST-1DL |
| | ‘we two saw’ | ‘we two gave’ |

Present tense person markers each have a high-vowel variant which follows high vowels, while the lower vowel variant given on the chart occurs following low vowels. That is, wherever the vowel *o* occurs in the present tense person markers in table 4.2 there is a high vowel allomorph using the *u* vowel. Similarly, wherever the vowel *e* occurs there is a high vowel allomorph using the *i* vowel, as illustrated by (5). Present tense person markers are the same for both present and present awareness tenses, as illustrated by (5) and (6).

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (5) | <i>kano-kó-ro</i> | <i>si-kí-ru</i> |
| | see-PR-1SG | give-PR-1SG |
| | ‘I am looking’ | ‘I am giving’ |
| (6) | <i>kano-pá-ro</i> | <i>si-pé-ro</i> |
| | see-PA-1SG | give-PA-1SG |
| | ‘I have just this moment seen’ | ‘I am just at this moment giving’ |

Future tense person markers have no allomorphic variation in the sub-dialect under study, as illustrated by (7). The one exception is the third person singular which is *-mba* following low vowels and *-mbe* following high vowels, as illustrated by (8).

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---------------------|
| (7) | <i>kano-0-ngé</i> | <i>si-0-ngé</i> |
| | see-FUT-2/3PL | give-FUT-2/3PL |
| | ‘you.all will see’ | ‘you.all will give’ |
| (8) | <i>kano-0-mbá</i> | <i>si-0-mbé</i> |
| | see-FUT-3SG | give-FUT-3SG |
| | ‘he will see’ | ‘he will give’ |

There is no allomorphic variation in the **person suffixes of the imperative sub-system** except for second person singular quoted imperative, which is *u* following back vowels and *i* following front vowels. Because the verb *si* ‘to give’ is slightly irregular in some imperative forms, all examples for the imperative sub-system will be given using *kano* ‘to see/ to look’ only.

Polite imperative is typically used in greetings or when addressing social superiors or equals. It has only second person forms; singular, dual and plural, as illustrated in (9).

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| (9) | <i>kanó-0-yo</i> | <i>kan-á-lio</i> | <i>kan-á-yo</i> |
| | look-IMP-POL.2SG | look-IMP-POL.2DL | look-IMP-POL.2PL |
| | ‘Look!’ | ‘Look!’ | ‘Look!’ |

Emphatic imperative is typically used when speaking to children or social inferiors or when an immediate response is required. Emphatic has both first and second person forms, as illustrated in (10) and (11). First person indicates the intention to act immediately.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| (10) | <i>kán-a-0</i> | <i>kan-á-me</i> |
| | look-IMP-EMP.2SG | look-IMP-EMP.2PL |
| | ‘Look!’ | ‘Look!’ |
| (11) | <i>kan-á-molo</i> | <i>kan-á-mbo</i> |
| | look-IMP-EMP.1PL | look-IMP-EMP.1SG |
| | ‘Let us look at once!’ | ‘Let me look right now!’ |

Quoted imperative has second person forms only and is the form in which the polite and emphatic imperatives occur in quoted speech. Singular and plural forms of the quoted imperative (QI) are shown in (12).

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| (12) | <i>“kanó-0-u”</i> | <i>ni-kí-mu</i> | <i>“kan-á”</i> | <i>ni-'ki-mu</i> |
| | look-IMP-QI.2SG | say-PR-3SG | look-IMP-QI.2PL | say-PR-3SG |
| | ‘He is telling you to look’ | | ‘He is telling you all to look’ | |

Hortative imperative has all person forms possible to Kaugel. This form of the imperative has a variety of uses:

1. It is used as a very polite imperative where it is equivalent to the word ‘may’ in English. The first person forms especially are often used to indicate wish or desire giving a desiderative sense, as in (13).
- | | |
|------|---|
| (13) | <i>kan-á-mbo</i> |
| | look-IMP-HORT.1SG |
| | ‘Let me look!/ ‘I want to look!’/ ‘May I look.’ |
2. It is used as a future imperative, i.e. for any command given to be carried out at some later time, as in (14).
- | | | | |
|------|--|---------------|------------------|
| (14) | <i>talou</i> | <i>o-ngo/</i> | <i>kan-á-ngi</i> |
| | day.after.tomorrow | come-2PL | see-IMP-HORT.2PL |
| | ‘Come and see the day after tomorrow.’ | | |
3. It is also sometimes used as a near future tense.
 4. Hortative imperative is also the only way in Kaugel to express an obligation. Hence, to give it more impact, Kaugel English and/or Tok Pisin speakers will use *mas* (must) plus hortative to express obligation, as in (15).

- (15) *ene pali opali mas maku.tá-0-ngi*
 you/they all tomorrow must meet-IMP-HORT.2/3PL
 ‘You must all meet tomorrow.’

5. The hortative imperative forms also have some special uses on the sentence level; in the Existential Verb Sentence (9.5.5) as an historic past, and in the Unreal Antithetical Sentence (9.7.2.2) to indicate constrained desire. It also always occurs in the first base of the Imperative Merged Sentence (9.6.2.1).

Person Markers of **the aspect/mode sub-system** indicate the difference between customary aspect and subjunctive mode:

Customary aspect indicates that an action is habitual or customary, or part of one’s existence, as in (16) and (17). Customary aspect person markers have no allomorphic variants, though the combination of the aspect suffix plus the first person singular customary suffix is affected by morphophonemic rule 4a, as illustrated in (16).

Existential or Class 1 verbs (4.2.1), usually take customary aspect affixation when present tense is meant, as in (18). This is particularly so when this state of being is not actually observable by the speaker at the time of speaking, as in (19). Customary aspect is also sometimes used in this way with verbs of motion, specifically when someone is believed to be travelling at the time of the utterance but they cannot actually be seen by either speaker or hearer, as in (20).

- (16) *kerá kano-li-ó*
 birds see-ASP-CUST.1SG
 ‘I see birds (all the time)’ / ‘I know what birds are’
- (17) *kóngi si-li-moló*
 pigs give-ASP-CUST.1PL
 ‘We (customarily) give pigs’
- (18) *ená mulú-na angi-li-mó*
 sun sky-in stand.ASP-CUST.3SG
 ‘The sun stands in the sky’
- (19) *ámbo-mo pónie-na mo-le-ó*
 woman-the garden-in be.AN-ASP-CUST.3SG
 ‘The wife is in the garden’
- (20) *Súku kinié o-le-mó*
 Suku today come-ASP-CUST.3SG
 ‘Suku is coming today’

Subjunctive mode indicates unreal or hypothetical situations. Subjunctive mode also indicates what one would like or desire or wish to do if the conditions were, or had been, right. Subjunctive mode is tenseless but refers most often to past situations, especially in the Contrafactual Conditional Sentence (9.7.1.3) where it has a special use. The only allomorphic variation is in first and third person singular *-ka* ~ *-ke*, as in (21). This variation is in accord with morphophonemic rule 1. Morphophonemic rule 4b also affects the aspect/mode suffix in some subjunctive forms as is also illustrated in (21).

- (21) *si-l-ké*
 give-ASP-SUBJ.1SG
 ‘I would/should/might give (it to you)’

- (22) *kano-l-ká*
see-ASP-SUBJ.1SG
'I would have seen (it)'
- (23) *pu-li-ná*
go-ASP-SUBJ.2SG
'You should go'

4.3.7 Sequences of verbs

Because sequences of verbs pattern in various ways in Kaugel they are analysed and described in various ways. Some pattern together to form verb phrases; specifically the Aspect Verb Phrases (7.2) and the Semantic Unit Verb Phrase (7.3).⁶ Because some words which are verbs in form can function as adverbs, some sequences of verbs expound the Manner and Predicate tagmemes of the one clause. Other sequences of verbs have been analysed as an Included Motion Clause (8.2.2.1) or a Merged Clause (8.3). Sequences of dependent verbs may constitute a series of clauses as in the Dependent Sentences (9.3). Sequences of independent verbs may each be manifesting a sentence base of Merged (9.6) or Juxtaposed (9.5) Sentences.

4.4 Non-verbs

Non-verbs are all the other word classes in Kaugel. These have in common that, except for a few isolated instances, which will be spelled out as we go along, non-verb words do not have any affixation of their own, but only take the phrase final clitics (5.1) where appropriate.

4.4.1 Nouns

Nouns are typically the minimum manifestation of clause level slots other than Predicate and Manner.

4.4.1.1 Common nouns

Common nouns are either animate or inanimate. There is nothing in the structure of the noun to indicate this dichotomy, however, animate nouns take the verb 'to be' *molo*, while inanimate nouns take the verb 'to be' *le*. Also, inanimate nouns, even when understood as plural, occur with verbs affixed for singular rather than plural persons. Water, vehicles, growing plants, and clothing are all considered to be animate in the Kaugel taxonomy. Neither number nor gender are indicated in nouns, though they may accept article clitics indicating indefinite singular, or definite singular, dual or plural. Nouns do not take any affixes of their own.

Common nouns expound the Head slots of the Double Headed Noun Complex (6.2.1) and the Modified Noun Phrase (7.5.1), and the Item slot of the Appositional Noun Phrase (7.5.2). Some common nouns are:

<i>owa</i>	'dog'
<i>kongi</i>	'pig'
<i>ga</i>	'sweet potato'
<i>lopa</i>	'possum'

⁶ Sequences of verbs in these two phrase types go together in much the same way as in what are called serial verbs in some other Papuan languages. However, because in such constructions Kaugel verbs are fully inflected, these sequences have been analysed as verb phrases rather than serial verbs.

Generic Nouns are a sub-class of common nouns based on distribution. In addition to the places where other common nouns occur, generic nouns also expound the Definer slot of the Proper Name Phrase (7.5.4), the Place Name slot of the Place Name Complex (6.2.2.3), and the Identifier slot of the Subordinating Phrase (7.8.1). Some generic nouns are:

<i>kango</i>	‘boy’
<i>ye</i>	‘man’
<i>kolea</i>	‘place’
<i>ponie</i>	‘garden’
<i>ulu</i>	‘custom’
<i>mele</i>	‘thing’

4.4.1.2 Kin terms

Kin terms have their own plural and dual article affixes. The plural article is *-pili*, (occasionally shortened to *-li*) in contrast to the *-ma* article clitic which occurs on other classes of words. The dual article is *-ngulu* in contrast to *-selo* which occurs on other classes of words. This, plus the fact that kin terms can never occur in a Modified Noun Phrase, differentiates kin terms from common nouns.

Kin terms expound the Head slots of the Kinship Name Complex (6.2.2.2), the Coordinate Noun Phrase (7.5.3), and the Possession Phrase (7.9.4). Also the Axis slots of the Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.3) and the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.1), and Subject and Object slots of the Active Clauses (8.2).

Kin terms have an interesting internal structure in that each term has three different forms; vocative of address, second person, and third person. For first person forms, the vocative form is used for close kin, while the third person form is used for those beyond the nuclear family. Because possession is somewhat inherent in each kin term, kin terms do not often expound the Head slot of the Possession Phrase and the vocative form never does. The third person form could be called the default form, in that it is usually used, along with the appropriate possessive pronoun, when referring to the kin of more than one person. The commoner kin terms are:

<i>ama</i>	‘mother/my mother’	
<i>amine</i>	‘your mother’	
<i>anumu</i>	‘his/her mother’	
<i>tata</i>	‘father/my father’	
<i>lanie</i>	‘your father’	
<i>lapa</i>	‘his/her father’	<i>lapa-pili</i> father-PL.ART ‘the fathers’
<i>ano</i>	‘brother/my brother’ (i.e. sibling or parallel cousin of same sex)	
<i>angena</i>	‘your brother’	
<i>angenu</i>	‘his/her brother’	<i>angenu-ngulu</i> brother-DL.ART ‘his two brothers’
<i>aya</i>	‘sister/my sister’ (i.e. sibling or parallel cousin of opposite sex)	
<i>kemilie</i>	‘your sister’	
<i>kemulu</i>	‘his/her sister’	

4.4.1.3 Proper names

Proper names, such as the names of people and places, do not occur in many of the places where common nouns occur. For instance they never occur as Head of the Modified Noun Phrase. They cannot be affixed by any article clitics. Thus they differ from common nouns. Being fillers of

different slots in phrases and complexes and the absence of suffixes also differentiate them from kin terms.

Personal names. These are names of persons or pets. Personal names expound the Specifier slot of the Proper Name Phrase (7.5.4), and the Clarifier slot of the Kinship Name Complex (6.2.2.2).

Place and clan names. These are names of places and clans. They differ from personal names in that the slots they expound in phrases and complexes are different. Place and clan names both expound the Area slot of the Proper Name Phrase (7.5.4). Clan names also expound both slots of the Clan Name Complex (6.2.2.1). Place names also expound the Place Name slot of the Place Name Complex (6.2.2.3).

4.4.2 Pronouns

Pronouns typically stand in place of noun phrases, often standing alone expounding a clause level slot. Pronouns, like independent verb person suffixes, reflect first, second and third persons singular, and first and non-first persons dual and plural. Pronouns also occur in reduplicated form which gives a reflexive or emphatic meaning to the pronoun. See table 4.3 for a chart of all pronouns, in both their regular and reduplicated forms. Stress always falls on the final syllable of every form.

Pronouns expound the Head slots of the Coordinate Noun Phrase (7.5.3) and the Emphatic Pronoun Complex (6.2.7), the Item of the Appositional Noun Phrase (7.5.2), the Axis of the Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9), the Focus of the Focus Phrase (7.8.3), and Topic, Comment, Subject and Object slots of the clause.

Table 4.3 Pronoun Chart

Person	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	Regular	Reduplicated	Regular	Reduplicated	Regular	Reduplicated
First	<i>na</i>	<i>nanu</i>	<i>olto</i>	<i>oltolo</i>	<i>olio</i>	<i>oliolio</i>
Second	<i>nu</i>	<i>nunu</i>	<i>elo</i>	<i>elolo</i>	<i>eno</i>	<i>eneno</i>
Third	<i>yu</i>	<i>yuyu</i>				

4.4.3 Adjectives

Adjectives are descriptive words which typically expound Modifier slots in the Modified Noun Phrase. There are five sub-classes of adjectives, mainly differentiated by where they occur in a Modified Noun Phrase in relation to the Head of the phrase. They are adjectives of quality, colour, size, quantity (including numerals), and *lupe* ‘other’ and *mele* ‘like’.

4.4.3.1 Adjectives of quality

Class 1 adjectives expound Modifier tagmeme 1 of the Modified Noun Phrase (7.5.1), the Auxiliary tagmeme of the Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1), and also occur in the Repetitive Adjective Complex (6.2.3.6). *peanga* ‘good’ and *keri* ‘bad’ also expound the Modifier tagmeme of the Modified Semantic Unit Verb Phrase (7.3.1). The most common adjectives of quality are:

<i>peanga</i>	‘good’
<i>komindi</i>	‘good’
<i>keri</i>	‘bad’

<i>mopune</i>	‘pretty’
<i>pepena</i>	‘handsome’
<i>kaye</i>	‘good’

4.4.3.2 Adjectives of colour

Class 2 adjectives expound the Modifier 2 tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase (7.5.1) and the Auxiliary tagmeme of the Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1) Most common are:

<i>kondoli</i>	‘red’
<i>kanie</i>	‘yellow’
<i>muku</i>	‘blue’
<i>pombera</i>	‘black/dark’
<i>kake</i>	‘white/light’

An interesting feature of adjectives of colour is that when they occur in Adjunct Verb Complexes each takes its own particular verb which could be translated ‘it is’, as in (24) and (25). Such verbs take either 3rd person singular affixation, (and commonly customary aspect) or the adjective derivational suffix *-li* as in (26). The use of this suffix, and how it is used on words, complexes or even full clauses is described in section 3.1.

- (24) *pombera to-le-mo*
 black/dark hit-ASP-CUST.3SG
 ‘It is black/dark in colour’
- (25) *kake te-le-mo*
 white do-ASP-CUST.3SG
 ‘It is white’
- (26) *kondili ni-li*
 green say-DER
 ‘green’

4.4.3.3 Adjectives of size

Class 3 adjectives expound the Modifier 3 tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase (7.5.1). They share some common properties with adjectives of quantity or class 4 adjectives. Both occur in the Repetitive Adjective Complex (6.2.3.6), the Comparative Complex (6.2.5), and have also been observed in the Manner of the Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1), and the Restrictor slots of the Embedding Phrase (7.8.2) and Nominal and Locative Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9.1) and (7.9.2). Both adjectives of size and quantity can take suffixes *-kolo* ‘diminutive’ and *-kongo* ‘magnifier’ which occur nowhere else in the language. Common adjectives of size are:

<i>awili</i>	‘big’
<i>kapo</i>	‘fat’
<i>wallo</i>	‘tiny’
<i>kelo</i>	‘little’
<i>kanga</i>	‘small’
<i>wallo-kolo</i>	‘very tiny’
<i>kapo-kongo</i>	‘huge’

4.4.3.4 Adjectives of quantity

Class 4 adjectives expound the Modifier 4 slot of the Modified Noun Phrase (7.5.1). They also, along with adjectives of size, expound various other phrase and complex level slots as listed under adjectives of size. Some common adjectives of quantity, other than numerals, are:

<i>kotalo</i>	‘few’
<i>pulumu</i>	‘many’
<i>pali</i>	‘all’
<i>awisili</i>	‘lots’
<i>pokore</i> ⁷	‘couple’
<i>mare</i> ⁸	‘some’

Numerals are also adjectives of quantity. As well as expounding the Modifier 4 slot of the Modified Noun Phrase (7.5.1), numerals also occur in the Clarifier slot of the Name of Day Temporal Complex (6.2.4.3), and in Numeral Phrases (7.6). Numerals also occur in the Auxiliary slot of the Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1) specifically when expressing ordinal numbers.

There are at least three numbering systems in Kaugel; one based on body parts, one just for counting game, and the regular counting system. The latter two are both four-base systems. The game-counting system is further discussed in section 7.6.3. Numbers in the regular system, other than the first four and those which are multiples of four, take the form of Numeral Phrases (7.6). Ordinal numbers are formed by adding the verb *si* ‘to give’ in dependent form to the cardinal number as in the regular system, whether this be a word or a phrase. Below are listed the cardinal numerals of the most common Kaugel numbering system, followed by one example of an ordinal. Other numbers in Kaugel are expressed by phrases and these are described under that section.

<i>telu</i>	‘one’
<i>talo</i>	‘two’
<i>yepoko</i>	‘three’
<i>kise</i>	‘four’
<i>engaki</i>	‘eight’
<i>rurepo</i>	‘twelve’
<i>malapu</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>supu</i>	‘twenty’
<i>tokapu</i>	‘twenty four’

talo si-pe
two give-DEP.3sg
‘second’

Except for the counting system based on body parts, which has now fallen into disuse, it is not usual to express numbers higher than twenty four, other than to begin again until one gets to *tokapu talo* ‘two twenty fours’ and so on, much as we count to 100 then “begin again” until we get to 200 and so on in English. Expressing larger numbers now is done in one of two ways. Using as a basis the former currency of the pound which had twenty shillings, the people express numbers such as fifty as *tu paono teno*, or eighty as *po paono*. Any number over 100 (*pape paono*) is now expressed using foreign words.

⁷⁻⁸ These two words have been analysed as basically being article clitics (see section 5.1.1). However, because they also occur phrase finally in the Embedding Phrase (7.8.2) and in some Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9), where they function more like adjectives of quantity, they are also included here.

4.4.3.5 Adjective class 5

The class 5 adjectives are *lupe* ‘other’ and *mele* ‘like’ which expound the Modifier 5 slot of the Modified Noun Phrase (7.5.1).

4.4.4 Adverbs

Adverbs occur in the Manner and Time slots of the clause, and in the Repetitive Adverb Complex (6.2.3.3). Many adverbial concepts are expressed by verbs or Adjunct Verb Complexes which are described under those sections. Some common non-verb adverbs are:

<i>pondeanga</i>	‘almost’
<i>alieli</i>	‘always’
<i>kokele</i>	‘unfinished’
<i>koronga</i>	‘already’
<i>tamburambu</i>	‘quickly’
<i>welea</i>	‘hurriedly’
<i>kapola</i>	‘okay’
<i>manda</i>	‘able/enough’
<i>kamu</i>	‘permanently’
<i>papu</i>	‘correctly’
<i>sike</i>	‘truly’

4.4.5 Spatial

Spatials are typically minimum fillers of Time and Location slots of the clause. There are seven sub-classes of spatial on the basis of which tagmemes they expound on higher levels. The directionals and locationals for instance serve as post-positions, filling the Restrictor slot of the Spatial Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.2), while the temporals typically occur in Time complexes and phrases. Some words can be used in both a locational and temporal sense, so that *ne* ‘nearby’ can mean ‘next’ in a time sense as in example (34) as well as ‘near’ in a locational sense as in example (33). All the spatial are tied together as one basic word class by a system of clitics which occur on these, but no other, words. The seven sub-types are listed and described below, followed by a chart and explanation of the spatial clitics.

4.4.5.1 Horizontal directionals

Horizontal directionals expound the Horizontal slot of the Direction Complex (6.2.4.1), both slots of the Repetitive Spatial Complex (6.2.3.4), and some horizontal directionals expound the Restrictor slot of the Spatial Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.2). The first four horizontal directionals listed below optionally accept the suffix *-ndi* ‘toward/nearby’ which does not occur on any other words in the language.

<i>ne</i>	‘nearby’
<i>mere</i>	‘downstream’
<i>wele</i>	‘sideways to the way the river flows’
<i>wi</i>	‘upstream’
<i>ya</i>	‘here’
<i>anjo</i>	‘there (away from both speaker and addressee)’
<i>andi</i>	‘there (near addressee)’

It is likely that these two latter words are historically a combination of a base deictic form *a* plus the *-ndi* ‘toward/nearby’ suffix mentioned above to form *andi*, and *a* plus *-njo* to form *anjo*

‘there away from both speaker and addressee’. The form *-njo* is an allomorphic variant of the spatial clitic *-ndo* ‘toward’ (4.4.5.9). The main demonstrative is *aku* ‘that’ (4.4.6).

4.4.5.2 Vertical directionals

Vertical directionals expound the Vertical slot of the Direction Complex (6.2.4.1), the Restrictor of the Spatial Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.2), and the Auxiliary of the Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1). Vertical directionals are:

<i>manie</i>	‘down’
<i>ola</i>	‘up’

4.4.5.3 Locationals

Locationals expound the Auxiliary slot of the Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1) and the Restrictor of the Spatial Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.2). Locationals are:

<i>suku</i>	‘inside’
<i>alse</i>	‘edge’
<i>ulsu</i>	‘outside’

suku also occurs in conjunction with the word *singi* to mean ‘in the middle’. The word *singi* is not used in any other environment, so has no isolatable meaning. Grammatically *suku* could be thought of as a stem with *singi* as its suffix, or the two could be classified as a compound word, but because both *suku* and *singi* take word stress they are considered to be words.

4.4.5.4 Temporal 1

Temporal class 1 words expound both Head and Clarifier slots of the Basic Time Phrase (7.7.1), and the Head slot of the Coordinate Time Phrase (7.7.3). Temporal class 1 words are basically names of days. They are:

<i>kinie</i>	‘today’
<i>opale</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>talou</i>	‘two days hence’
<i>yukou</i>	‘three days hence’
<i>ambi</i>	‘four days hence’
<i>pupiri</i>	‘five days hence’
<i>ereko</i>	‘six days hence’
<i>toyoko</i>	‘seven days hence’
<i>oleanga</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>talko</i>	‘two days ago’

The rest of the set are constructed by adding the suffix *-aka* to the ‘days hence’ forms. The suffix *-aka* is unique to this word class.

<i>yukou-aka</i>	‘three days ago’
<i>ambi-aka</i>	‘four days ago’
and etc.	

4.4.5.5 Temporal 2

Temporal class 2 words indicate time of day. They expound the Head tagmemes of the Coordinate Time Phrase (7.7.3) and the Temporal 2 Complex (6.2.4.3), the Clarifier of the Basic Time Phrase (7.7.1), and occasionally occur in the Restrictor slot of the Spatial Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.2). Most temporal 2 words are derived stems (3.1) Some are a combination of compounding and derivation. They are:

<i>ipuleli</i>	‘night’
<i>ipuleli-ou</i>	‘morning’ (night-before)
<i>ipupene</i>	‘afternoon’
<i>tangoli</i>	‘daytime’

The word for ‘night’, *ipuleli*, is actually a derived compound word. The compound is made up of the words *ipu* and *le* where *le* is the verb ‘to be’ (inanimate) and together *ipu + le* form an Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1) meaning ‘to become night’. The addition of the derivator *-li* completes the word for ‘night’. The term for ‘morning’ *ipuleli-ou* is, strictly speaking, two words phonologically, and is, in structure, the same as the Before Temporal Complex (6.2.4.3). However, because this is definitely one lexical unit, and because there would be a gaping hole in this set if we did not include it here, we have endeavoured to bring the three factors (phonological, grammatical and lexical) together by writing this as a hyphenated form. The *pene* of *ipupene* ‘afternoon’ has no known separate meaning.

4.4.5.6 Temporal 3

Temporal class 3 words denote specific periods of time. They fill the Head slots of the Basic Time Phrase (7.7.1) and the Coordinate Time Phrase (7.7.3). They are:

<i>wale</i>	‘day’
<i>koro</i>	‘week’
<i>oli</i>	‘month’ (lunar)
<i>ponie</i>	‘year’ (garden)

4.4.5.7 Temporal 4

Temporal class 4 words are non-specific time words. They fill the Pre-limiter slot of the Basic Time Phrase (7.7.1) and the Specifier slot of the Appositional Time Phrase (7.7.2). The word *ou* ‘before’ also occurs in the ‘Before’ Temporal Complex (6.2.4.3). They are:

<i>ou</i>	‘before’
<i>pe</i>	‘later’
<i>talko</i>	‘recently’

The one logically missing from this set is ‘soon’. Soon is expressed in Kaugel by the verb *nondo* ‘close’ in dependent form.

4.4.5.8 Spatial augment

The spatial augment, *awi* ‘mid’, occurs only in the Locative Complex (6.2.4.2) and the Temporal 2 Complex (6.2.4.3). It always occurs first in these constructions where it acts very much like a prefix phonologically and lexically. Because of this it is written with a hyphen attaching it to the following word. However, it is not analysed grammatically as a prefix, because Kaugel does not have any non-suspect prefixes, only suffixes.

4.4.5.9 Spatial clitics

These are charted below on table 4.4. Spatial clitics occur phrase finally on non-verb phrases filling Time or Location slots of the clause. However, it is common for Time and Location tagmemes to be expounded by only one word, so the spatial clitics could also be thought of as spatial suffixes. They are obligatory on both words of the Repetitive Spatial Complex (6.2.3.4).

Table 4.4 Spatial clitics

-kV ‘at’	-ndo ‘toward’	-pa ‘further’
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Rules and special features:

1. The chart reflects the ordering of the clitics when more than one occurs.
2. When *-ndo* ‘toward’ occurs on locationals and temporals, *-kV* ‘at’ always precedes it as in (27) to (29).

(27) *anjo-ko-ndo*
 there-at-toward
 ‘toward a specific spot beyond us’

(28) *aulke alse-ko-ndo*
 road edge-at-toward
 ‘on the edge of the road’

(29) *oleanga ipuleliou-ku-ndu*
 yesterday morning-at-toward
 ‘yesterday in the morning’

3. When *-ndo* ‘toward’ occurs on directionals, *-kV* ‘at’ precedes it as in (27) to (29), or *-pa* ‘further’ follows it as in (31) and (32), or *-ndo* occurs as the only clitic as in (30).

(30) *ya-ndo*
 here-toward
 ‘towards here’

4. *-pa* ‘further’ occurs only on directionals and is obligatorily preceded by *-ndo* ‘toward’ as in (31) and (32).

(31) *ola-ndo-pa manie-ndo-pa*
 up-toward-further down-toward-further
 ‘further up and further down’

5. *-pa* ‘further’ and *-kV* ‘at’ do not co-occur. The difference in meaning of the two suffixes is illustrated by (32) and (33).

- (32) *ne-ndo-pa*
nearby-toward-further
'toward a nearby location which is further away' (than another location which has been specified in the context)
- (33) *ne-ke-ndo*
nearby-at-toward
'toward somewhere nearby'

The two words based on *ne* 'nearby' in (32) and (33) can also be used in a temporal sense as in (34) and (35)

- (34) *ne-ke-ndo* *koro*
nearby-at-toward week
'next week'
- (35) *ne-ndo-pa* *koro*
nearby-toward-further week
'the week after next'

6. In clauses, *-pa* 'further' typically occurs on single words rather than phrases, or within the Repetitive Spatial Complex (6.2.3.4).
7. *-kV* 'at' never occurs as the only suffix, being obligatorily followed by *-ndo* 'toward', as in (27) to (29) and (33) and (34). *-kV* 'at' indicates a specific point of location or time.
- (36) *wi-ki-ndu*
upstream-at-toward/from⁹
'toward/from a specific location upstream from here'
- (37) *manie-ko-ndo*
down-at-toward
'downwards'
- (38) *ola-ko-ndo*
up-at-towards
'upwards'

The choice of vowel in the suffix *-kV* is as follows: *-ki* following *i* as in (36), *-ku* following *u* as in (29), and *-ko* following *a* as in (38), following *e* as in (28) and (37), and following *o* as in (27). The exception to this is that the horizontal directionals which end in *e* take *-ke* as in (33).

Allomorphic variation of *-ndo* ~ *-ndu* ~ *-njo* 'toward', is governed chiefly by the high-low vowel rule, morphophonemic rule 1. That is *-ndo* follows stems or suffixes ending in a low vowel, and *-ndu* follows high vowels. The one exception is that the stem *wi* 'upstream' takes the variant *-njo* when it occurs contiguous to the stem. Compare examples (36) and (39) for an illustration of this.

⁹ Kaugel now has no way of expressing 'motion away from' or ablative case, though there are some faint signs that it once did have such a marker, *-ka*. One of the question words (3.2.7) is *teka* 'from which place' which is made up of the stem *te* 'which' plus *-ka*. Some clan names also retain a vestige of this *-ka* suffix, such as *Kepaka*, in which *kepa* is a type of possum who is the legendary forefather of the people of the *Kepaka* clan.

- (39) *wi-njo*
upstream-toward
'in an upstream direction'

The suffix *-pa* 'further' has no allomorphic variant. When it occurs on one directional it indicates going further in that direction. When it occurs on two directionals with opposite meanings occurring contiguously it indicates a change of direction from one to the other. *-pa* optionally occurs complex finally on the Repetitive Spatial Complex (6.2.3.4).

4.4.6 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are similar to pronouns (4.4.2) in that they can stand in place of noun phrases. However, they differ from pronouns as to their distribution within phrases. Also demonstratives readily accept the article clitics (5.1.1) while pronouns do not. Pronoun stems can also be reduplicated for emphasis, but this is not so for demonstratives.

Demonstratives occur sentence finally in the Statement Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4), expound the first tagmeme of the Connective Complex (6.2.6), the Auxiliary of the Modifying Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1.2), the Deictic 2 tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase (7.5.1) and the Deictic tagmeme of the Subordinating Phrase (7.8.1). Demonstratives also function as response words (4.4.10.2) The demonstratives are:

<i>i</i>	'this'
<i>aku</i>	'that' (seen)
<i>kanu</i>	'that' (unseen)

When we first began our research into the Kaugel language in 1969 a few old people still used two other demonstratives which since seem to have completely dropped out of use. These were:

<i>andu</i>	'that'	(previously referred to)
<i>kalio</i>	'that'	(spoken about)

4.4.7 Question words

Question words are grouped together because they all have the same function, i.e. to ask a question; not because they are structurally the same. Question words expound tagmemes on the clause level appropriate to the question being asked, and, when doing so, take on the structure of words or phrases that typically expound that tagmeme. The interrogative clitic (5.2.2) often does not co-occur in clauses with question words, except that it is obligatory within quotes.

The Kaugel question word system is a three base system. The stems of these three are *te* 'which', *na* 'who' and *nambe* 'what'.

The *te* 'which' based question words consist of the stem *te* plus suffixes. The word meaning 'to where' is made up of *te* plus the locator clitic *-na*. The word for 'which' takes the singular definite article clitic *-mo* as its suffix. The word meaning 'from where' takes the now otherwise almost extinct ablative clitic¹⁰ *-ka*. And the word for 'when' takes as its suffix the word *wale* 'day'.

<i>te-na</i>	'where?'
which-LOC	
<i>te-mo</i>	'which one?'
which-SG.ART	

¹⁰ see note 9 on page 30

te-ka 'from where?'
which-from

te-wale 'when?'
which-day

The *na* 'who' based question words have singular, dual and plural forms. The *-we* which occurs on the singular form does not occur as a suffix anywhere else in the language, but the *-mbele* dual suffix and the *-mele* plural suffix are also used to mark dual and plural persons in many independent verb forms.

na-we 'who? (singular)'
who-SG

na-mbele 'who? (dual)'
who-DL

na-mele 'who? (plural)'
who-PL

The *nambe* 'what' based question words are mostly verb-like in form and usage.

nambe-lka 'what?' (thing)
what-?

nambe 'what?' (event)
what

nambe-mu-ne 'why?'
what-SG.ART-because

The *-lka* suffix which occurs on *nambe-lka* 'what thing?' is usually a first and third person subjunctive mode suffix, but exactly what it means here is not clear.

The stem *nambe* 'what event' is a verb stem. When it occurs in dependent verb form it means 'how' and when it occurs in independent verb form it means 'what is someone doing?' or 'what happened?'. In some dialects *nambe* is not used alone but in combination with the verb *te* 'to do', but the function and meaning is the same.

The word *nambemune* 'why?' is now a thoroughly fused form and probably no native speaker would be conscious of its underlying structure.

The following examples show how several question words, whose use may not otherwise be obvious, occur in context.

(40) *yu te-ka ye-mo*
he which-from man-SG.ART
'Where is the man from?'

(41) *na-mbele o-ko-mbele*
who-DL come-PR-2/3DL
'who are they two coming?'

(42) *nu nambolka te-ko-no-ye*
you what.thing make-PR-2SG-QU
'what are you making?'

- (43) *nu nambe-ko te-nu-ye*
 you what.do-DEP.2SG do-PST.2SG-QU
 ‘how did you do (it)?’
- (44) *nu nambe-ko-no-ye*
 you what.do-PR-2SG-QU
 ‘what are you doing?’
- (45) *nambe-mu-ye*
 what.do-PST.3SG-QU
 ‘what did he do?’ or, more commonly ‘what happened?’

4.4.8 Adjuncts

Adjuncts are words which combine with verbs to form most of the verbal concepts in Kaugel. Adjuncts occur only in the Auxiliary slot of the Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1). Most have no recognisable meaning apart from the complex in which they occur. Except for a small group of four adjuncts which always take the agent clitic *-ne* ~ *-ni* when the Head of the Adjunct Verb Complex is expounded by the verb *kolo* ‘to die’, adjuncts take no affixation. Because adjuncts are such a large open class, and because it is difficult to assign any meaning to adjuncts in isolation, examples will not be given here except for the four which can accept the agent clitic.

<i>ali-ni</i>	<i>siripulu-ni</i>	<i>engele-ne</i>	<i>umbune-ne</i>
cold-AGENT	hot-AGENT	hunger-AGENT	heavy-AGENT

4.4.9 Connectors

Connectors are words which link two or more words, phrases, clauses or sentences. They do not take any affixation. They also tend to take very low intonation and virtually no stress. Connectors are of two kinds: conjunctions, which typically link words and phrases together, and connectives, which typically link sentence bases together.

4.4.9.1 Conjunctions

Conjunctions expound the Coordinator tagmeme of the Coordinate Noun Phrase (7.5.3) and the Coordinate Time Phrases (7.7.3). Conjunctions are:

<i>kinie</i>	‘and’ (typically joins things)
<i>keme</i>	‘and’ (typically links personal names; obligatorily links lists of more than two personal names)
<i>kepe</i>	‘and’ (typically links times and places)
<i>molo</i>	‘or’ (indicates alternatives)

4.4.9.2 Connectives

Connectives expound the Link tagmeme of all Overt Link Sentences (9.7), linking them in relationships such as time sequence, apposition, purpose, cause and effect, condition, alternative and comparison.

<i>kinie</i>	‘when’	occurs in the Sequence Sentence (9.7.5) and also in the Connective Complex (6.2.6)
<i>nalo</i>	‘but’	occurs in the Real Antithetical Sentence (9.7.2.1) and also in the

		Antithetical Paragraph (10.4.1.2)
<i>kene</i>	‘therefore’	occurs in the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence (9.7.3.1)
<i>na</i>	‘because’	occurs in the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence (9.7.3.2)
<i>kulu</i>	‘because’	occurs in the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence (9.7.3.3)
<i>liemo</i>	‘if’	occurs in the Factual Conditional Sentences (9.7.1.2)
<i>ni</i>	‘to speak’	occurs with dependent affixation as the link of the Decision Sentence (9.4.2)
<i>molo</i>	‘or’	occurs in both the Alternative Sentence (9.7.4) and the Alternate Paragraph (10.4.1.1)
<i>ndo</i>	‘in order to’	occurs in the Purpose Sentence (9.7.1.1) and the Quote Sentence (9.4.1)
<i>mele</i>	‘like’	occurs in the Comparison Sentence (9.7.6)

The word *mele* ‘like’ also functions as an adjective in the Modified Noun Phrase, so it has also been included in that word class.

4.4.10 Other small closed classes

4.4.10.1 Augments

Augments are words which augment other words in an intensifying, restricting or specifying sense. The first three of the four arguments listed below occur only in the Augmented Phrase (7.4.1). They augment nouns, verbs, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbal negative, demonstratives and, occasionally, adjuncts. The distribution and function of the other augments are given below.

<i>we</i>	‘just/ordinary’ - precedes what it augments.
<i>paa</i>	‘very’ serves as an intensifier - precedes what it augments.
<i>mindī</i>	‘only’ serves as a restrictor or limiter - follows what it augments.
<i>laye</i>	‘a little’ - not as widely used as the first three augments. Augments adjectives of size or quantity in the Comparative Complex (6.2.5), may also augment verbs - precedes what it augments.

4.4.10.2 Response words

Response words typically, though not exclusively, constitute a full utterance, usually in response to a question or statement. Some response words are also members of other word classes, such as augments, adverbs and demonstratives. Exclamations (4.4.10.3) and Greetings (4.4.10.4) are also used as responses. Almost all response words can be either statements or questions, i.e. they can occur alone or affixed with the interrogative clitic *-ye*.

<i>we</i>	‘just/ for nothing/ without purpose’
<i>o/owe</i>	‘yes’
<i>pe</i>	‘yes, I agree’
<i>pe</i>	+ high rising intonation
	‘if that isn’t so, then what are the facts?’
<i>molo</i>	‘no’
<i>kapola</i>	‘okay’
<i>papu</i>	‘correct’
<i>sike</i>	‘true’
<i>manda</i>	‘enough/adequate’
<i>tena</i>	‘that’s a false accusation’

4.4.10.3 Exclamations

Exclamations are words used in isolation, never affixed, usually in reaction to something seen, heard or felt. Any lexical meaning is irrelevant when used as exclamations. These are:

<i>apa/ama</i>	‘wow!’
<i>amananana</i>	‘WOW!’
<i>kembe</i>	‘vulva’
<i>yokoli</i>	‘menstrual blood’

4.4.10.4 Greetings

The words used as greetings are actually imperative or interrogative forms of the motion verbs and the existential verbs.

- (46) *molo-yo*
be.AN-IMP.2SG
‘you stay!’
- (47) *o-ko-no-ye*
come-PR-2SG-QU
‘have you come?’

4.4.10.5 Pause words

Pause words allow the speaker to stop and think what comes next. They are *omba* and *ndemele*. They are stressless.

<i>omba</i>	equates with ‘um’ and ‘ah’ in English
<i>ndemele</i>	equates with ‘what’s his name?’ or ‘whatcha call it?’ in English.

4.4.10.6 Verbal negative

The verbal negative *naa* ‘not’ expounds the Negator tagmeme of the Negative Verb Phrase (7.1.1). The verbal negative can also occur in other verb phrases and complexes. Its function is to negate the verb word, complex or phrase which follows it.

Phonologically, the verbal negative functions like a prefix to the verb; that is, it takes a stress so strong that the stress of the verb following becomes either secondary or is lost all together so that the negator plus the verb functions as one phonological word. However, because there are no other prefixes in Kaugel, and because the verbal negative can itself occasionally be suffixed by the inclusive clitic *-la* ‘also’, the verbal negative has been analysed grammatically as a free form.

4.4.10.7 Substantive negative

The substantive negative *molo* ‘no’ has already been presented as a response word (4.4.10.2) The substantive negative also occurs as the Head of the Substantive Negative Phrase (7.9.5) and in the Evaluation of the Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4).

5. CLITICS

Kaugel has a well developed system of clitics. Some are typically phrase final and serve mainly to relate a phrase to any clause level slot, other than the Predicate. A second set of clitics typically occur utterance finally. The inclusive clitic *-la* ‘also’ seems to be able to occur almost anywhere.

5.1 Phrase final clitics

Phrase final clitics¹ are those which occur at the ends of phrases. There are two types of phrase final clitics; the article clitics and the relator or case clitics. The article clitics serve to summarise a phrase, as can be seen in the Summary Phrase (7.4.2), and the group of phrases which has to do with the embedding and subordinating of clauses or sentences (7.8). The relator clitics indicate how a phrase relates to the clause, and this is shown in the Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9) and the discussion of clause level slots (8.5).

Clitics will be presented in tables 5.1 and 5.2 followed by a description of their use with examples.

Table 5.1 Phrase Final Clitics

Article		Relator (case marker)	
indefinite singular	<i>-re</i>	agent singular	<i>-ne</i>
definite singular	<i>-mo</i>	instrument dual	<i>-nale</i>
definite dual	<i>-selo</i>	indirect object	<i>-ndo</i>
definite plural	<i>-ma</i>	referent	<i>-ndo</i>
indef. pl. ‘some’	<i>mare</i> ²	locator	<i>-na</i>
indef. pl. ‘few’	<i>pokore</i> ²	possessor	<i>-nga</i>
		comparative	<i>-mele</i>

Rules:

1. When both article and relator occur, the ordering is obligatorily that of the chart; i.e. article followed by relator.
2. The article clitics never occur on pronouns.

¹ There is another small group of clitics which optionally occur phrase finally on any spatial (locative or time) words ending phrases expounding Time or Location tagmemes of the clause. Because these only occur suffixed to spatial words they have been presented separately under 4.4.5.9.

² It is debatable whether the words *mare* ‘some’ and *pokore* ‘few’ are in fact article clitics or adjectives of quantity. However, because they always occur preceding the relator clitics, while adjectives of quantity such as *pali* ‘all’ occur following the relator clitics in the final slot of Axis-Relator phrases, these two words have been classed as indefinite plural article clitics even though they are written as free forms. Also, it would seem that *mare* is made up of *-ma* plural article clitic plus *-re* indefinite singular, thus making an indefinite plural, and that the *-re* of *pokore* is also probably the indefinite singular article clitic. This is reinforced by the fact that *poko* occasionally occurs alone, or can be suffixed to a demonstrative (4.4.6) without the *-re*.

3. The agent clitic marks actor, instrument and resource tagmemes of the clause (8.6).

5.1.1 Article clitics

The article clitics occur phrase finally in the Summary Phrase (7.4.2) which expounds the final tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase (7.5.1). They also occur phrase finally in the Subordinating Phrase (7.8.1). The purpose of the article in the Subordinating Phrase is to nominalise a clause or sentence to subordinate it to phrase level.

Indefinite singular clitic is *-re ~ -ri*; the choice of allomorph being governed by morpho-phonemic rule 1.

Indefinite singular only occurs in the Summary Phrase, never in the Subordinating Phrase; that is it summarizes noun phrases such as those shown in examples (1) and (2) but is not used to subordinate clauses.

Examples: In examples of articles the following abbreviations will be used; IART ‘indefinite article’, SART ‘singular definite article’, DART ‘dual definite article’ and PLART ‘plural definite article’.

- (1) *kewa kongi-ri*
foreign pig-IART
‘a foreign pig’
- (2) *kondoli kapo-kongo-re*
red big-magnifier-IART
‘a huge red (person)’

In each pair of examples for the three definite articles below, the first example illustrates a Summary phrase, the second a Subordinating phrase.

Definite singular clitic is *-mo ~ -mu*; the choice of allomorph being governed by morpho-phonemic rule 1. Definite articles occur phrase finally in both Summary and Subordinating Phrases.

- (3) *ya pea pu-ku-mulu-mu*
here with go-PR-1PL-SART
‘the one here who is going with us’
- (4) *Kerepiye pe-le-mo-mo*
Kerepiye live-ASP-CUST.3S-SART
‘the one who lives at Kerepiye’

Definite dual clitic *-selo* has no allomorphic variant.

- (5) *ambo ye kondoli-selo*
woman man red-DART
‘the white (red) couple’

- (6) *sumoli talo nose-ri-ngi aku-selo*
 gold-lipped.pearl.shell two put-DPST-3PL that-DART
 ‘those two gold-lipped pearl shells which they had’

Definite plural clitic is *-ma ~ -me*; the choice of allomorph being governed by morphophonemic rule 1.

- (7) *kango kelo-ma*
 boy small-PLART
 ‘the little boys’
- (8) *apuro-ru-mulu-me*
 sort.out-DPST-1PL-PLART
 ‘the ones we had sorted out’

Indefinite plural clitics are *mare* ‘some’ and *pokore* ‘a few’. The indefinite plural clitics occur phrase finally in the Summary Phrase (7.4.2), as in examples (9) and (10).

- (9) *ungu ni-0-mbolo ungu mare*
 speech speak-FUT-1.DL speech some
 ‘some of what we will say’
- (10) *yembo pu-ri-ngi pokore*
 people go-DPST-3PL a.few
 ‘a few of the people who went’

The indefinite plural clitics may also occur phrase finally in the Embedding Phrase (7.8.2) and some Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9) where they function more as adjectives of quantity (4.4.3.4).

5.1.2 Relator clitics

Relator clitics (or case markers) occur in the Relator slots of the Axis-Relator phrases. Their usual function is to indicate how the phrase relates to the Predicate of the clause, showing which clause slot the phrase is manifesting. However, the function of the possessor (and comparative) relator is different, it relates the phrase to another phrase or word within a larger phrase.

Further comments on the functions of the relator clitics is presented under Clause Level Slots (8.5).

Agent singular clitic is *-ne ~ -ni*; the choice of allomorph being governed by morphophonemic rule 1. The most common use of this clitic is to signal who is the actor of the Transitive Active Clause (8.2.1), though it may also signal what instrument or resource is involved in an action. The agent clitic expounds the Relator of the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.1), when this phrase is expounding the Actor, as in example (11), Instrument, as in (12), or Resource tagmemes of the Transitive Active Clause.

- (11) *ya i-ki-ndu o-le-mele-ma-ne naa kano-le-mele*
 here this.at-toward come-ASP-CUST.3PL-PLART-ACT not see-ASP-CUST.3PL
 ‘the ones who come here to this spot do not see...’

- (12) *lou sipi-ni to-po*
 axe base-INST strike-1
 ‘I, striking (it) with the back of the axe head...’

Instrument dual clitic *-nale* ~ *-nele* is never preceded by an article clitic. It also has a very restricted distribution, occurring only in such constructions as the following:

- (13) *iri-nele te-0-ngili*
 scold-DL.INST do-NPST-3DL
 ‘they two were scolding each other’
- (14) *ambo ye-selo opa-nale te-ke-mbele*
 woman man-DART fight-DL.INST do-PR-3DL
 ‘the (married) couple are fighting.’

Indirect object clitic is *-ndo* ~ *-ndu*; the choice of allomorph being governed by morphophonemic rule 1. Indirect object always refers to someone spoken to or asked a question. It is never used with the verbs ‘to give’ or ‘to tell’. The indirect object clitic expounds the Relator of the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.1) when this phrase expounds the Indirect Object slot of the Transitive Active Clause (8.2.1), as in examples (15) and (16).

- (15) *olio-ndo ni-ki-mu*
 us-IO speak-PR-3S
 ‘he is speaking to us’
- (16) *na-ndo walsipe.pili-e-mu*
 me-IO ask-NPST-3S
 ‘he asked me’

Referent clitic is *-ndo* ~ *-ndu* ~ *-nga* ~ *-nge*, and indicates the person, thing or event referred to - most commonly, though not exclusively, in conversation. The first pair of allomorphs are used when the clitic is not preceded by the article; the latter pair when the clitic is preceded by the article. The choice of vowel is governed by morphophonemic rule 1. The referent clitic most commonly occurs in the Relator slot of the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.1). However, unlike the previously described relator clitics, its use is not restricted to the Transitive Active Clause. Phrases including the referent clitic can occur, expounding the Referent tagmeme, in any clause other than the Commentative Clause (8.1.1).

- (17) *olionga kuru koyolemolo-mo-nga ni-ki-ru*
 our spirit we.cook-SART-REF speak-PR-1S
 ‘I am speaking about our spirit worship’
- (18) *ama-ndo yando o-ngo kolo-0-mu niringi*
 Mum-REF to.here come-2/3 die-NPST-3S say-DPST-3PL
 ‘They came here and told me about Mum that she had died.’

Locator clitic is *-na* ~ *-ne* ~ *-nga* ~ *-nge*. The first pair of allomorphs are used when the clitic is not preceded by the article; the latter pair when the clitic is preceded by the article. The choice of vowel is governed by morphophonemic rule 1. The locator clitic expounds the Relator of the

Spatial/Locative Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.2), which in turn expounds the Locative tagmeme of the clause. The locator clitic typically indicates location, but may also be used to indicate time.

- (19) *no waru-ne*
 water.course ravine-LOC
 ‘in the ravine’
- (20) *kongi koyo-ri-ngi kanu-ne*
 pig steam-cook-DPST-3PL that-LOC
 ‘in that (place) where they steam-cooked pig’
- (21) *kou.kande-mo-nga*
 cave-SART-LOC
 ‘in the cave’

Possessor clitic³ is *-nga ~ -nge*; the choice of allomorph being governed by morphophonemic rule 1. The possessor clitic occurs in the Relator slot of the Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.3). It occurs more commonly on pronouns (4.4.2) than on any other class of words. Phrases incorporating the possessor clitic expound tagmemes on the phrase level rather than the clause level.

- (22) *olio-nga*
 us-POSS
 ‘ours’
- (23) *ye lupe-ma-nga*
 man other-PLART-POSS
 ‘the other men’s’
- (24) *yu-nge*
 he-POSS
 ‘his’

The possessor clitic is also sometimes used as a genitive case marker⁴, as in (25).

- (25) *kapisi koyo-0-ngi aku-mu-nge mare*
 cabbage steam.cook-NPST-3PL that-SART-GEN some
 ‘some of that cabbage which they steam cooked’

In structure, (25) is identical to the Spatial/Locative Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.2), but as (25) is the object of a clause and has nothing to do with either locative or time, this type of phrase is considered to be a variant of the Embedding Phrase (7.8.2).

Comparative clitic *mele* has no allomorphic variant. The comparative clitic occurs as the link of the Comparison Sentence (9.7.6). It expresses similarity or comparison. Because the

³ Because the referent, locator, and possessor clitics can all take the same form, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain exactly which is being used in a given utterance.

⁴ Because this clitic is identical in form to one set of allomorphs of the locator clitic, and because phrases using this clitic with a genitive type meaning are identical in structure to one type of locative phrase, this use of the *-nga ~ -nge* clitic could also be construed as an unusual use of the locator clitic.

comparative clitic has two syllables it is usually written as a free form⁵, just as *mare* ‘some’ and *pokore* ‘a few’, the plural indefinite article clitics, are.

- (26) *koya mele*
bamboo.knife COMP
‘like a bamboo knife’

5.2 The utterance final clitics

These are the clitics which occur at the ends of utterances. There are three orders of utterance final clitics, though they do not often co-occur. Most of them have to do with the speaker's attitude to his utterance giving a type of aspectual effect to the utterance. Table 5.2 will present them in their order of occurrence. Some utterance final clitics actually occur at the ends of sentence bases. This will be spelled out below.

Table 5.2 Utterance Final Clitics

Inclusive	Mode/Aspect	Emotive
<i>-la</i> ‘also’	<i>-ye</i> interrogative	<i>-a</i> expressive
	<i>-nje</i> dubitive	<i>-o</i> herald
	<i>-ne</i> alternative	<i>-re</i> greeting
	<i>-si</i> obviative	
	<i>-mo</i> assertative	
	<i>-ko</i> definitive	

Rules:

1. All clitics are optional, but when they co-occur, which is not often, the ordering is obligatorily that of the chart.

5.2.1 The inclusive clitic

The inclusive clitic *-la* ‘also’ is what could be termed a ubiquitous clitic. It occurs both phrase finally and sentence finally. It optionally occurs phrase finally in any filler of any clause level slot. It does not often co-occur with article and/or relator clitics but when it does it follows them. It also optionally, though rarely, occurs on the verbal negative within the Negative Verb Phrase (7.1.1), being the only affixation the verbal negative ever accepts. When it occurs sentence, or sentence base, finally, it obligatorily occurs on two contiguous sentences, or sentence bases, of the same type.

- (27) *naa-la pili-mo*
not-also know-ASP.CUST.3S
‘he doesn't know either’

⁵ There is still some uncertainty as to whether *mele* ‘like’ is actually a clitic or a free form. So, it has also been described as a class 5 adjective (3.2.3.5), expounding the Modifier 5 tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase (6.2.3.1)

- (28) *na pu-ku-ru-la*
 I go-PR-1S-also
 'I am going too.'
- (29) *kongi si-ri-mu-la sumoli si-ri-mu-la*
 pig give-DPST-3S-also shells give-DPST-3S-also
 'He gave pigs; he also gave shells.'

5.2.2 Mode and aspect clitics

These occur only in quotes or conversations, and only sentence finally or sentence base finally.

Interrogative clitic, *-ye ~ -e ~ -i* turns any utterance into a question. *-ye* is the usual form and the only one acceptable in writing. *-e* and *-i* are contracted forms which are common in speech. The vowel variation is governed by morphophonemic rule 1.

- (30) *kongi-ye*
 pig-QU
 'is it a pig?'
- (31) *amine Tambuli pu-0-mu-ye*
 your.mother Tambul go-NPST-3S-QU
 'Has your mother gone to Tambul?'

Dubitive clitic *-nje* has no allomorphic variant. The dubitive clitic is the speaker's way of expressing his uncertainty about something. The dubitive clitic also has a specialised use in the Contrafactual Conditional Sentence (9.7.1.3).

- (32) *kuru-nje*
 ghost-DUB
 'perhaps it is a ghost'
- (33) *nambolka no-le-mo-nje na naa pil-ki-ru*
 what eat-ASP-CUST.3S-DUB I not know-PR-1S
 'I don't know what it might eat'

Alternative clitic *-ne* occurs only in the Alternative Sentence (9.7.4) where its use will be explained and illustrated.

Obviative clitic *-si* is the speaker's way of indicating that something is so obvious to him that it ought also to be obvious to his hearer.

Its use is invariably derisive toward the addressee.

- (34) *kera-si*
 bird-OBV
 'it's obviously a bird'

Assertative clitic *-mo* has no allomorphic variant. The assertative clitic is the speaker's way of asserting that what he is stating is beyond question. Because it is very similar in meaning to the definitive aspect clitic *-ko*, and because of the potential confusion of the assertative aspect clitic

with the *-mo* definite singular article clitic, the definitive aspect clitic *-ko* is the usual written choice.

- (35) *kano-ko-ro-mo*
see-PR-1S-ASS
'I certainly can see it'

Definitive clitic *-ko* indicates that the speaker is definite about some statement he is making.

- (36) *pu-0-mu-ko*
go-NPST-3S-DEF
'he has definitely gone'

5.2.3 Emotive clitics

Expressive clitic *-a* indicates things like hurt, surprise or desire on the part of the speaker.

- (37) *na to-0-mu-a*
me hit-NPST-3S-EXP
'Ow! it hit me!'
- (38) *na li-e-mbo-a*
I get-IMP-HORT.1S-EXP
'Oh! I'd like to get (that)!'

Herald clitic *-o* is used on any utterance being shouted from one place to another.

Greeting clitic *-re* is used only by women and children as an optional, though frequently used, suffix on short utterances such as greetings, names and response words.

- (39) *Juno-re molo-yo-re*
June-GREET stay.POL.IMP-2S-GREET
'June. You stay!'

6. COMPLEXES

Complexes in Kaugel are a unit of construction between the word and phrase levels. Complexes are like words in their distribution, in that they typically fill phrase level slots, but like phrases in structure in that they comprise more than one free form. Complexes are close-knit sequences which are closely knit both phonologically and lexically. Relationships between the tagmemes are clarificatory or complementary rather than modifying or coordinate. All complexes have two obligatory elements, and some also have optional elements. These will be described for each complex.

As with both words and phrases, complexes can be categorized as verb and non-verb. Verb complexes will be described first, followed by the description of the non-verb complexes.

6.1 Adjunct verb complex

The Adjunct Verb Complex has, as its obligatory components, an Auxiliary typically filled by an adjunct (4.4.8) and a Head filled by a verb (4.2) or verb phrase. The function of the complex is indicated by the affixation on the verb, and the meaning of the complex is carried by the whole construction, rather than being the sum of the meaning of the parts. Broadly speaking, the Adjunct Verb Complex fills the Predicate of the clause. More specific distribution is delineated under each sub-type.

Table 6.1 Adjunct Verb Complex

±Negator	+Auxiliary	±Manner	+Head
<i>naa</i> 'not'	adjunct Rep.Adj.Com. vertical dir. demonstrative common noun numeral adjective 1 adjective 2 Aug.Ph.	adverb adjective 3 Adj.Vb.Com.2.2. adjective 4 verb 2.2. Rep.Adv.Com Aug.Ph.	existential verb Rep.Vb.Ph Neg.Vb.Ph Sem.Unit Vb.Ph. Aug.Ph. <i>me</i> 'carry' <i>no</i> 'eat' <i>ni</i> 'speak' <i>kolo</i> 'die' <i>si</i> 'give' <i>te</i> 'do' <i>to</i> 'strike' <i>le</i> 'to be' <i>mondo</i> 'to put' <i>li</i> 'take'

Rules and special features:

1. The Adjunct Verb Complex is almost always manifested by only its two obligatory elements.
2. By far the most common exponent of the Auxiliary is the adjunct.

3. The verbal negative *naa*, which is the most common optional element in any Adjunct Verb Complex, optionally occurs immediately preceding the adjunct or immediately preceding the verb with no apparent difference in meaning.
4. Not all common nouns can occur in the Auxiliary slot but the list is considered too long to present here.
5. Numerals occur in the Auxiliary slot, only in the formation of ordinal numbers.
6. About half of the verbs of Kaugel occur in the Head slot. The more common ones are listed. In this construction, the usual meaning of the verb is irrelevant; meaning is conveyed by the total construction, not the parts.
7. The Repetitive Verb Phrase (7.1.2) and the Semantic Unit Verb Phrase (7.3) do not often expound the Head slot of this complex.
8. The verb of the Head slot is very occasionally used as the only exponent of this construction when the adjunct is understood.
9. Certain fillers of the Auxiliary slot occur with a specific verb or pair of verbs filling the Head slot. (See below, under Stative Adjunct Verb Complexes, for an amplification of this rule).
10. Those elements expounding the Manner slot more commonly occur preceding the Auxiliary slot. When they do so Manner is considered to be a clause level tagmeme.

The Adjunct Verb Complex is a very common construction in Kaugel. Whereas there are only about one hundred verb words, there are more than one thousand different Adjunct Verb Complexes. For instance, in the Kaugel to English dictionary, compiled over a five year period, there are some 350 Adjunct Verb Complexes with the verb *to* ‘to strike’ filling the Head slot; 250 with *te* ‘to do’ filling the Head slot; and 100 with the verb *le* ‘to be’ filling the Head slot. Each of these has a different filler of the Auxiliary slot.

Examples of the Adjunct Verb Complex given below illustrate the occurrence of optional elements¹. In these examples, where appropriate, dependent verbs will be marked by / and independent verbs by //.

Example (1) has a Semantic Unit Verb Phrase (7.3) modifying the Head tagmeme.

Aux Manner Neg Head: Sem.Unit Vb.Ph
 (1) *konopu aku.si-ku naa li-ku/ mundo-yo//*
 mind like.that-2 not take-2 send-POL.2S

‘Don’t worry like that.’

Aux Neg Head
 (2) *songo naa te-ri-mu*
 tasty not do-DPST-3S

‘It was not tasty.’

Aux Head: Neg. Vb.Ph
 (3) *mindili tei/ naa te-le-mo//*
 pain do not do-ASP-CUST.3S

‘It doesn’t hurt.’

¹ It was quite difficult to find even these examples in a concordance of 35,000 words of text material, thus emphasising that though the Manner tagmeme and the more unusual fillers of the Manner and Head slots can occur as part of this complex, they do not often do so.

Aux: Aug.Ph Head: Aug.Ph.

- (4) *opa mindi we te-ri-ngi*
 fight only just do-DPST-3PL
 ‘They just went right on fighting’

Aux Manner: Aug.Ph Head

- (5) *ali paa pulumu te-ke-mo*
 cold very much do-PR-3S
 ‘It is very cold.’

Aux Manner Head

- (6) *ala aku.si-pe/ to-le-mo//*
 priestly like.that-3S strike-ASP-CUST.3S
 ‘He carries out priestly functions like that.’

Because complexes share the same function and distribution features as words, they also fall into the same classes. Hence, just as there are four classes of verb words (4.2), there are also four classes of Adjunct Verb Complexes; i.e. Existential, Modifying, Stative and Regular Adjunct Verb Complexes. However, Adjunct Verb Complexes do not necessarily fall into the same class as the verb of the Head slot.

6.1.1 Existential adjunct verb complexes (class 1)

Existential Adjunct Verb Complexes consist of an adjunct plus an existential verb which usually takes customary affixation to indicate present tense. Conversely, however, the presence of an existential verb in the Head slot does not necessarily mean that the resulting Adjunct Verb Complex will be of this class. The Head slot may also be filled by a Repetitive Verb Phrase. Existential Adjunct Verb Complexes fill the Predicate slot of Intransitive Action Clauses.

- (7) *uru pe-le-mo*
 sleep lie-ASP-CUST.3S
 ‘He is asleep.’
- (8) *manie mo-le-mo*
 down be.AN-ASP-CUST.3S
 ‘He is sitting down.’
- (9) *ola angi-li-mo*
 up stand-ASP-CUST.3S
 ‘He is standing up.’

6.1.2 Modifying adjunct verb complexes (class 2)

Modifying Adjunct Verb Complexes modify other verbs. They do not occur in the Predicate of a clause but rather in the Manner of the clause or the Manner of the Adjunct Verb Complex. The one exception is presented below. Modifying Adjunct Verb Complexes are divided into Post-Head and Pre-Head modifiers.

Post-head modifying adjunct verb complexes (class 2.1)

The one post-head modifying Adjunct Verb Complex immediately follows the verb which it modifies. It occurs only in the Aspect slot of the Completive Aspect Verb Phrase (7.2.1). Thus far only one complex of this class has been discovered. It is:

- (10) *pora si*
 finish give
 ‘to finish’

Pre-head modifying adjunct verb complexes (class 2.2)

Pre-head modifying Adjunct Verb Complexes always precede the verb which they modify. They typically fill the Manner slot of either the clause or the Adjunct Verb Complex. One member of this class occurs in the Location of the clause. Ordinal numbers fit into this class, and so does the question word ‘how’. Dependent affixation is obligatory on the verb filling the Head.

Pre-head modifying Adjunct Verb Complexes agree in person and number with the verb which they modify, but all examples will be presented in third person singular.

<i>taka li-pe/</i>	ADJ. take-3S	‘gently/slowly’
<i>aku si-pe/</i>	that give-3S	‘like that’
<i>kumbi li-pe/</i>	nose take-3S	‘ahead/first’
<i>i si-pe/</i>	this give-3S	‘like this’
<i>kiengo ni-mbe/</i>	ADJ. speak-3S	‘stealthily’
<i>sumbi si-pe/</i>	ADJ. give-3S	‘directly’
<i>kolo to-pa/</i>	lie strike-3S	‘deceitfully’
<i>nambe te-pa/</i>	what do-3S	‘how’
<i>talo si-pe/</i>	two give-3S	‘second’

6.1.3 Stative adjunct verb complexes (class 3)

The Stative Adjunct Verb Complex occurs mainly in the Predicate slot of the Stative Clause (8.1.2). It occasionally also fills the Head slot of the Aspect Verb Phrase (7.2) which latter then, in turn, obligatorily fills the Predicate slot of the Stative Clause. The verb expounding the Head slot of the Stative Adjunct Verb Complex is obligatorily affixed for third person singular and occurs most commonly in present or near past tense². The Stative Adjunct Verb Complex represents a state of being or existence somewhat similar to passive voice. States like dry, damp, tight, loose, torn, broken, cold, hot, sorry, heavy, light, are expressed by this construction.

- (11) *ingi ni-mu*
 tight speak-PST.3S
 ‘it is tight’
- (12) *koma le-ke-mo*
 adj. be.IN-PR-3S
 ‘it is damp’
- (13) *sungu ni-mu*
 tear speak-PST.3S
 ‘it is torn’

² Near past tense, when used in this construction, indicates something which has happened in the past – not necessarily near past – the effects of which are still current.

- (14) *umbune te-ke-mo*
 heavy do-PR-3S
 'it is heavy'
- (15) *pe ni-ki-mu*
 light speak-PR-3S
 'it is light'
- (16) *siripulu to-ko-mo*
 hot strike-PR-3S
 'it is hot'
- (17) *ali te-ke-mo*
 cold do-PR-it
 'it is cold'
- (18) *gau ni-mu*
 adj. speak-PST.3S
 'it is solid'

An interesting feature of these Stative Adjunct Verb Complexes is that many of them have a "matching" Regular Adjunct Verb Complex in what may be described as "active voice". These fill the Predicate slot of Active Clauses. These Adjunct Verb Complex pairs take the same adjunct in the Auxiliary slot but different verbs in the Head slot. The verbs tend to occur in pairs. For instance; those complexes which take the verb *ni* 'to speak' in their stative (or passive) form, usually take the verb *si* 'to give' in their regular (or active) form. Those which take the verb *te* 'to do' in their stative (passive) form, usually take the verb *kolo* 'die' in their regular (active) form. For a more detailed description of these pairs see *Active and Passive Verb Compound Pairs in Umbu-Ungu*, by the author of this paper. Some examples of these pairs:

- (19) a. *ingi ni-ki-mu*
 tight speak-PR-3S
 'it is tight'
- b. *ingi si-ki-ru*
 tight give-PR-1S
 'I am tightening (it)'
- (20) a. *(na) kondo te-ke-mo*
 (I) sorrow do-PR-3S
 '(I) am sorry for (someone)'
- b. *(na) kondo kol-ko-ro*
 (I) sorrow die-PR-1S
 '(I) have compassion on (someone)'

6.1.4 Regular adjunct verb complexes (class 4)

Regular Adjunct Verb Complexes are a large open class which is gradually being added to by using a verb from Tok Pisin (Pidgin English) as the adjunct plus the verb *te* 'to do': e.g. *allipimu + te* 'to help'. The Head of the Regular Adjunct Verb Complex may occasionally be expounded by a Repetitive Verb Phrase, but is usually expounded only by a verb. Regular Adjunct Verb Complexes typically expound the Predicate of Active Clauses (8.2), while some occur in the Head 2 slot of the Semantic Unit Verb Phrase (7.3). Some of the more common are:

<i>peke to</i>	ADJ. strike	‘to peel’
<i>ingi te</i>	tight do	‘to wring/squeeze’
<i>sungu si</i>	tear give	‘to tear (cloth/paper)’
<i>gomo le</i>	leaf put	‘to carry on shoulder’
<i>kola te</i>	tear do	‘to cry’
<i>no le</i>	water put	‘to swim’
<i>pulue to</i>	ADJ. strike	‘to jump’
<i>unjo le</i>	tree be.IN	‘to plant a tree’
<i>kako to</i>	ADJ. strike	‘to smash’
<i>kari le</i>	ADJ. be.IN	‘to crush’
<i>opa te</i>	fight do	‘to fight’

6.2 Non-verb complexes

Non-Verb Complexes are close-knit binary constructions consisting of two non-verb words. The complexes are like words in function and distribution, but like phrases in form. There are seven types of non-verb complexes which will be described and illustrated below. Non-Verb Complexes typically expound clause level slots other than Predicate. Other places where they occur will be listed for each type as they are described.

6.2.1 Double-headed noun complex

The Double-Headed Noun Complex consists of two common nouns coming together in what is often, though not exclusively, a generic-specific relationship. This complex is obligatorily used when speaking of specific flora and fauna in Kaugel. Many body parts are named using this construction also. Only generic common nouns expound the Head 1 tagmeme.

The Double-Headed Noun Complex corresponds to common nouns on the word level (4.4.1.1) so has the same distribution, including filling the Head slot of the Modified Noun Phrase (7.5.1). It has also been separated from the Proper Name Complexes for the same reason as common nouns have been separated from proper names. That is, Double-Headed Noun Complex fills the Head slot of the Modified Noun Phrase while Proper Name Complexes never occur in that phrase type. Also a proper name is an obligatory element in every Proper Name Complex but proper names never occur in the Double-Headed Noun Complex.

Table 6.2 Double-headed Noun Complex

+Head ₁		+Head ₂	
generic common noun		common noun Db.-Hd.N.Com.	
<i>kerā</i>	bird	<i>laimē</i>	cassowary ‘cassowary’
<i>lopa</i>	furred.marsupial	<i>alsu</i>	type ‘tree kangaroo’
<i>unjo</i>	tree	<i>mano</i>	type ‘cyprus’
<i>ki</i>	hand	<i>mongo</i>	lump ‘finger’

<i>koporongo</i>	knee	<i>mongo</i>	lump	'kneecap'
<i>ga</i>	sweet.potato	<i>rakira</i>	type	'type of sweet potato'
<i>era</i>	grass	<i>owa komu</i>	dog ear	'wild violet plant'
<i>pulu</i>	root	<i>ye</i>	man	'owner'
<i>ulke</i>	house	<i>pulu ye</i>	root man	'householder'

6.2.2 Proper name complexes

Proper Name Complexes are close-knit two part constructions with the same function and distribution as proper names (4.4.1.3). A proper name is the obligatory element of all Proper Name Complexes. Proper Name Complexes fill slots in the Proper Name Phrase (7.5.4) as spelled out for each sub-type.

6.2.2.1 Clan name complex

Clan Name Complexes correspond to clan names on the word level (4.4.1.5). They consist of a clan name plus a clan name. All clan names in Kaugel are paired in this way. The resulting term signifies the socio-political unit above the clan. The Clan Name Complex fills the Area slot of the Proper Name Phrase (7.5.4). I will give two examples, though, because they consist only of clan names they won't be particularly meaningful.

Peraka Kaiku
Opule Takopuka

6.2.2.2 Kinship name complex

The Kinship Name Complex corresponds to personal names on the word level (4.4.1.4). Kinship Name Complex consists of a personal name plus a kin term. Although possession is inherent in the meaning of this complex, the possession clitic is not suffixed to the proper name in this construction. This complex is most commonly used when referring to adults, so the most common kin terms used are those meaning 'father', 'mother' and 'spouse'. The Kinship Name Complex fills the Specifier slot of the Proper Name Phrase (7.5.4).

- (21) *Sua lapa*
 Sua his.father
 'Sua's father'
- (22) *Pareka menu*
 Pareka his.wife
 'Pareka's wife'
- (23) *Keapo anumu*
 Keapo her.mother
 'Keapo's mother'

6.2.2.3 Place name complex

The Place Name Complex consists of a place noun plus a place name, the whole functioning as a place name (4.4.1.5). Place Name Complex fills the Area slot of the Proper Name Phrase (7.5.4) and the Axis of the Spatial Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.2). Examples are:

<i>mulu Kiliwe</i>	mountain Kiliwe	‘mount Giluwe’
<i>no Kakoli</i>	watercourse Kakoli	‘Kaugel river’
<i>nomu Ekari</i>	body.of.water Ekari	‘lake Ekari’
<i>kolea Gallilli</i>	place Gallilli	‘Galilee’
<i>ponie Wapuneme</i>	garden Wapuneme	‘Wapuneme garden’

The Place Name Complex is being expanded now to take in new concepts, such as (24) in which the place noun tagmeme is expounded by a Modified Noun Phrase with a Double-Headed Noun Complex as its Head.

- (24) *kolea awili Mosipi*
 place big Moresby
 ‘the city of Port Moresby’

6.2.3 Repetitive complexes

Repetitive Complexes are of several types, all with basically the same structure; a word repeated in identical or similar form. There are six types of repetitives: adjuncts, nouns functioning as adjuncts, adverbs, spatial, augments, and adjectives.

6.2.3.1 Repetitive adjunct complex

The Repetitive Adjunct Complex fills the Auxiliary slot of the Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1). The Repetitive Adjunct Complex consists of an adjunct plus a slightly different form of the same adjunct, usually formed by replacing the first syllable of the adjunct with the syllable *ma*. Such adjuncts may occur alone or as repetitives (except for a few which only ever occur in what looks like a repetitive form). The repetitive indicates that a given action is either repeated or intensified. Orthographically, repetitive adjuncts are joined with a hyphen in Kaugel. The examples will be presented in pairs, giving first the simple form, then the repetitive form of the adjunct. The verb with which it occurs will also be given.

- (25) a. *topele (to-ko-mo)*
 ADJ. (strike-PR-3S)
 ‘he is turning around’
 b. *topele-mapele (to-ko-mo)*
 REP.ADJ.COM. (strike-PR-3S)
 ‘he is turning round & round’
- (26) a. *elke (to-mu)*
 ADJ. (strike-PST.3S)
 ‘she broke it’

- b. *elke-malke* (*to-mu*)
 REP.ADJ.COM. (strike-PST.3S)
 ‘she broke it to bits’

6.2.3.2 Repetitive noun complex

The Repetitive Noun Complex also fills the Auxiliary slot of the Adjunct Verb Complex. Nouns are only repeated when acting as adjuncts. Unlike repeated adjuncts, repeated nouns are always identical.

- (27) *makapu makapu* (*te-ri-ngi*)
 circle circle (do-DPST-3PL)
 ‘they went round and round in circles’
- (28) *pena pena* (*te-mu*)
 outside outside (do-PST.3S)
 ‘he put (them) right outside’

6.2.3.3 Repetitive adverb complex

The Repetitive Adverb Complex fills the Manner slot of the clause and the Manner slot of the Adjunct Verb Complex and the Time slot of the clause. It consists of an adverb plus an identical or slightly different form of the same adverb. Some Repetitive Adverb Complexes appear to no longer have a simple form.

<i>kamu</i>	‘forever’
<i>kamu-kumu</i>	‘forever and ever’
<i>walse</i>	‘once’
<i>walse-walse</i>	‘occasionally’
<i>taki-teki</i>	‘often’ (no simple form)
<i>tambu-rambu</i>	‘quickly’ (no simple form)

6.2.3.4 Repetitive spatial complex

The Repetitive Spatial Complex fills the Time or Location slots of the clause. It consists of two identical directionals or locationals, both fully inflected with spatial clitics. It is an alternative way of indicating progression in a certain direction. (The other way is to repeat the motion verb of the Predicate):

- (29) *wi-njo wi-njo*
 upstream-toward upstream-toward
 ‘on and on in an upstream direction’
- (30) *wi-njo wi-njo-pa*
 upstream-toward upstream-toward-further
 ‘on and still further on in an upstream direction’
- (31) *ya-ko-ndo ya-ko-ndo*
 here-at-toward here-at-toward
 ‘from then until now’

A slight variant of the repetitive spatial complex is observed in the repetitive form of the word *alse* ‘edge’ which is *alse-lse* ‘very edge’.

6.2.3.5 Repetitive augment complex

The Repetitive Augment Complex occurs in the Augmented Phrase. Only the three augments *we* ‘just’, *paa* ‘very’ and *laye* ‘a little’ occur in this complex. The resultant complex usually indicates an intensification of degree. However, in the case of the augment *we* ‘just’, the Repetitive Augment Complex *we we* can also fill the Auxiliary slot of the Adjunct Verb Complex with an existential verb filling the Head slot. In this construction its meaning is ‘naked’.

(32) *we we (o-ndu)*
just just (come-PST.1S)
‘I just came for no reason’

(33) *paa paa*
very very
‘very very’

(34) *laye laye*
a.little a.little
‘very little’

(35) *we we angilie-ri-mu*
just just stand-DPST-3S
‘he stood there naked’

6.2.3.6 Repetitive adjective complex

The Repetitive Adjective Complex consists of an adjective of quality or size, or *lupe* ‘other’, followed by a repetition of the same word. This complex fills Modifier slots of the Modified Noun Phrase. The function of the repetition is to indicate plurality of items so described, (not the comparative degree as may be expected).

<i>keri keri</i>	bad bad	‘lots of bad things’
<i>wallo wallo</i>	small small	‘lots of small things’
<i>lupe lupe</i>	other other	‘various’

6.2.4 Spatial complexes

Spatial complexes denote direction, location, or time.

6.2.4.1 Direction complex

The Direction Complex fills the Deictic 1 slot of the Modified Noun Phrase (7.5.1) or the Deictic slot of the Proper Name Phrase (7.5.4). It also fills the Locative slot of the clause, in which position the spatial clitics optionally occur complex finally.

The Direction Complex consists of a horizontal directional (4.4.5.1) plus a vertical directional (4.4.5.2), always combined in that order.

- (36) *mere manie-ko-ndo*
downstream down-at-toward
'toward a specific place downstream and down in altitude'
- (37) *wi ola*
upstream up
'up, upstream'
- (38) *ne manie*
nearby down
'down there nearby'

6.2.4.2 Locative complex

The Locative Complex fills the same slot as locative words; i.e. the Post-Position of the Spatial Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.2). There are only two known examples of the Locative Complex:

- (39) *awi-suku-singi*
mid-inside-LOC
'in the middle' (of a defined space or a crowd)
- (40) *awi-muli*
mid-tree.top
'in the middle' (of the top of a tree)

6.2.4.3 Temporal complexes

Temporal Complexes fill slots in phrases of time just as time words do. They are the Temporal 1 Complex, Temporal 2 Complex, and the 'Before' Temporal Complex.

Temporal 1 complex

The Temporal 1 Complex corresponds to temporal 1 words (4.4.5.4). That is, this complex indicates names of days and occurs in both the Head and Clarifier slots of the Basic Time Phrase (7.7.1) and in the Head slot of the Coordinate Time Phrase (7.7.3). The Temporal 1 Complex is a restricted Modified Noun Phrase in its structure; i.e. it consists of a head noun plus a modifier. Examples are:

- (41) *kongono telu*
work one
'Monday'
- (42) *kongono yepoko*
work three
'Wednesday'
- (43) *kongono pambu*
work thumb
'Friday'
- (44) *koro kelo*
rest small
'Saturday'
- (45) *koro awili*
rest big
'Sunday'

Temporal 2 complex

The Temporal 2 Complex corresponds to temporal 2 words (4.4.5.5). That is, this complex indicates time of day and fills the Clarifier slot of the Basic Time Phrase (7.7.1). It is similar in structure to the Locative Complex (6.2.4.2).

(46) *awi-ipulueli*
mid-night
'midnight'

(47) *awi-tangoli*
mid-daytime
'midday'

'Before' temporal complex

The 'Before' Temporal Complex occurs in the Apposition of the Appositional Time Phrase (7.7.2), the Head of the Coordinate Time Phrase (7.7.3) and the Time slot of the clause. There are several variations but they all contain the word *ou* 'before'.

(48) *koro ou*
already before
'a long time ago'

(49) *koro-nga ou*
already-at before
'a long time ago' (at a specific time)

(50) *ou pulu pulu*
before root root
'at first/at the beginning'

(51) *koro ou pulu pulu*
already before root root
'in the very beginning'

6.2.5 Comparative complex

The Comparative Complex consists of the augment *laye* 'a little', or the adjective of size *wallo* 'small', followed by an adjective of size or quantity. Or, alternatively, an adjective of size or quantity followed by *mele* 'like'. The result produces something meaning comparatively smaller in size or quantity. The Comparative Complex fills Modifier slots 3 and 4 of the Modified Noun Phrase (7.5.1) and the Manner and Time slots of the clause. Examples:

(52) *laye awili*
a.little big
'middle-sized'

(53) *wallo kol-te*
small dim-a
'a tiny bit'

(54) *laye kol-te*
a.little dim-a
'a little while'

- (55) *awili mele*
 big like
 ‘fairly big’

6.2.6 Connective complex

The Connective Complex like some of the connectives on the word level (4.4.9.2) occurs in the Link slot of the Sequence Sentence (9.7.5). The Connective Complex consists of either one of the two demonstratives *aku* and *kanu* which both mean ‘that’ plus *kinie* which is a sequence connective meaning ‘when’, or occasionally the time word *pe* ‘later’. Connective Complexes, like connectives, are virtually stressless. The Connective Complex is also used sentence initially to signal new tagmemes within a paragraph. See section (10.1.2) for a complete discussion.

<i>aku kinie</i>	that when	‘and then’
<i>kanu kinie</i>	that when	‘and then’
<i>pe kanu</i>	later that	‘then later’

6.2.7 Emphatic pronoun complex

The Emphatic Pronoun Complex occurs in the Focus slot of the Focus Phrase (7.8.3), the Axis of the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase, (7.9.1) and the Subject of the Clause. With one exception, all examples consist of a pronoun plus the emphatic form of the same pronoun (charted on table 4.3 under pronouns (4.4.2)). The purpose of the Emphatic Pronoun Complex is to indicate very specific involvement in the action of the clause in which the complex occurs.

<i>yu</i>	he	<i>yuyu</i>	he.himself
<i>nu</i>	you	<i>nunu</i>	you.yourself
<i>na</i>	I	<i>nanu</i>	I.myself
<i>eno</i>	they	<i>eneno</i>	they.themselves

6.2.8 Post-position complex

There is only one example of the Post-Position Complex and this occurs only in the Post-Position slots of the Nominal Axis Relator (7.9.1) and Embedding (7.8.2) Phrases. It functions in this latter position in the same way as an adjective of quantity (4.4.3.4). The one example is:

- (56) *yu mele mele*
 he like like
 ‘each one separately’

7. PHRASES

Phrases in Kaugel are constructions manifesting relationships such as modification, clarification, apposition, and post position. Phrases consist of from two to ten tagmemes, though, except for phrases with embedded sentences, their actual manifestation is usually quite short. In the Kaugel grammatical hierarchy phrases occur above the word and complex level and below the clause level, filling slots mostly on the clause level but occasionally on the phrase level. Even though this hierarchical ranking does exist it should be noted that sentences can expound phrase level tagmemes (7.8).

Phrases are divided into verb and non-verb phrases, and will be described and illustrated in that order. Non-verb phrases will be presented in much the same order as non-verb words and complexes were presented; i.e. noun, adjective, spatial and other.

The bi-dimensional arrays given for each phrase type show possible expansions and the exponents of each tagmeme. Rules concerning any specific restrictions or special features will follow each chart, then examples of the phrase type will be presented. When any context is included with the phrase, especially verb phrases, this will be shown in brackets. Also in verb phrase examples, dependent verbs will be indicated by / and independent verbs by //.

7.1 Verb phrases

Verb Phrases expound the Predicate of the clause. Elements of verb phrases are verbs, verb complexes, and verbal negative. There are four types of verb phrase which are presented in this order: Negative, Repetitive, Aspect, and Semantic Unit verb phrases.

7.1.1 Negative verb phrase

The Negative Verb Phrase consists of an optional uniquely inflected verb stem, plus the verbal negator, plus a fully inflected verb. The verbal negator *naa* is an optional element in all other phrase types but obligatory in the Negative Verb Phrase. The Negative Verb Phrase is also the only phrase in which the uniquely inflected verb stem may occur. These two factors separate this verb phrase off from other verb phrase types.

Table 7.1 Negative verb phrase

±Stem	+Negator	+Head
modified verb stem	<i>naa</i> 'not'	any fully inflected verb

Rules:

1. The stem of the optional modified verb stem must be the stem of the same verb as that of the fully inflected verb expounding the Head.
2. The optional verb stem is modified by an *-i* occurring on stems ending in e^1 , and *u* on stems ending in o^1 , and zero elsewhere, i.e. on single syllable stems ending in *u* or *i*.
3. Heavy phrase stress falls on the verbal negative.

¹ which includes multi-syllable stems ending in *i* where the final *i* changes to *e*, and multi-syllable stems ending in *u* where the final *u* changes to *o* as explained under morphophonemic rules pertaining to verb stems under 4.2.4.

- (1) *naa angi-li-mo*
not stand-ASP-CUST.3SG
'it is not standing'
- (2) *pu naa pu-li-mo*
go not go-ASP-CUST.3SG
'he does not go'
- (3) *molou naa molo-nge*
be.AN not be-FUT.3PL
'they will not be there'
- (4) *piliei naa pili-molo*
hear not hear-FUT.1PL
'we will not hear'

7.1.2 Repetitive verb phrase

The Repetitive Verb Phrase consists of a fully inflected verb, either dependent or independent in form, repeated from one to four times in exactly the same form. It indicates the comparatively drawn out nature or duration of the action of the verb. It occurs most commonly in stories of long-past events, such as Narrative or Legend Discourse.

The Repetitive Verb Phrase expounds the Predicate slot of the clause and has also been observed in the Head of the Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1), the Aspect of the Durative Aspect Verb Phrase (7.2.4), and the Head 2 slot of the Semantic Unit Verb Phrase (7.3).

- (5) (*me-pa/*) *pu-ru-mu// purumu// purumu// purumu// purumu//*
(carry-3SG) go-DPST-3SG it.went it.went it.went it.went
'it (carried him) on and on and on and on.'
- (6) (*api taka.li-pe/*) *kopisi-pe/ kopisipe/ kopisipe/ kopisipe/*
(salt finely-3SG) cut-3SG he.cutting he.cutting he.cutting
'he went on and on and on (cutting the salt finely)'

In (7) the Repetitive Verb Phrase is expounding the Head of an Adjunct Verb Complex, in which *kulu + to* = 'to wipe'.

- (7) (*kulu*) *to-pa/ topa/ topa/ topa/*
(ADJ) hit-3SG he.hitting he.hitting he.hitting
'he went on and on and on wiping....'

In (8) the Repetitive Phrase is expounding the Aspect slot of the Durative Aspect Verb Phrase (7.2.4).

- (8) (*kola.te-po/*) *molo-po/ molopo/ molopo/*
(cry-1) be.AN-1 we.being we.being
'we were crying and crying and crying'

7.2 Aspect verb phrases

Aspect Verb Phrases indicate the state of the action of the Predicate. The contrastive states are completive action, cessative action, qualitative action, durative action, continuative action, probabilitive action, habitual action and unsuccessful action.

The Aspect Verb Phrases are close knit sequences of two verbs or adjunct verb complexes, the second of which has a modifying or aspectual effect on the first. The only optional element of the phrase is the verbal negative which may occur phrase initially or medially. Whichever position the verbal negative takes, it serves to negate the whole phrase, which is one of the criteria for considering these sequences of verbs to comprise a phrase rather than a sequence of clauses. A second reason is that such sequences in related languages (e.g. Wahgi) have the internal structural difference that the first verb of the phrase is either not affixed at all or takes only a verb class-marker suffix which does not occur at all in Kaugel. Also, semantically, the sequences of verbs which form the Aspect and Semantic Unit Verb Phrases constitute only one unit of meaning. For these reasons, both the Aspect Verb Phrase and the Semantic Unit Verb Phrase (7.3) have been analysed as verb phrases rather than as sequences of clauses.

The Aspect Verb Phrase is similar in structure to the Semantic Unit Verb Phrase. An important difference between the two is semantic. Whereas in the Aspect Verb Phrase the two verbs relate to each other as action plus modification of that action, in the Semantic Unit Verb Phrase the two verbs function as one semantic unit which tends to be unrelated to the meanings of these two verbs in isolation. Secondly, the fillers of the Aspect slot of the Aspect Verb Phrase are more restricted than those of the Semantic Unit Verb Phrase.

Table 7.2 Aspect verb phrase

±Negator	+Head	+Aspect
<i>naa</i> 'not'	verb classes 1 and 4 Adj.Vb.Com. classes 1 and 4 Continuative Aspect Vb.Ph.	verb class 2.1 Repetitive Verb Phrase

Rules:

1. The Negator can occur either phrase initially or medially, with no apparent difference in meaning.
2. The verb expounding the Head slot must be a dependent verb, (except for the unique situation of the habitual aspect).
3. The Continuative Aspect Verb Phrase may expound the Head tagmeme only in the Durative Aspect Verb Phrase.
4. The Repetitive Verb Phrase may expound the Aspect tagmeme only in the Durative and Continuative Aspect Verb Phrases.

7.2.1 Completive aspect verb phrase

The Completive Aspect Verb Phrase has either the verb *li* 'to complete', or the Adjunct Verb Complex *pora si* 'to finish' expounding the Aspect tagmeme.

- (9) (*aku ungu ni-mbe/ pora.si-ri-mu//*
(that talk) say-3SG finish-DPST-3SG
'he finished saying (that talk)')

- (10) *(yu) ono te-ko/ pora.si-ku/-lie*
 (he) corpse do-2/3 finish.2/3-when
 ‘when they had finished burying (him..)’
- (11) *(ulke) tako-po/ li-0-mulu//*
 (house) build-1 complete-NPST.1PL
 ‘we completed the building (of the house)’

7.2.2 Cessative aspect verb phrase

The Cessative Aspect Verb Phrase has the verb *kele* ‘cease / leave off / stop’ expounding the Aspect slot.

- (12) *(lo) o-mba/ kelie-0-mu//*
 (rain) come-3SG cease-NPST-3SG
 ‘(the rain) has stopped coming’
- (13) *karaye.te-pa/ naa kelie-0-mu//*
 insist-3SG not cease-NPST.3SG
 ‘he did not leave off insisting’
- (14) *(yunge wale.pakoli) koro-po/ kel-ke-ro//-mo*
 (his shirt) search-1 cease-PR-1SG-ASS
 ‘I am definitely giving up searching for (his shirt).’

7.2.3 Qualitative aspect verb phrase

The Qualitative Aspect Verb Phrase has any one of four modifying verbs in the Aspect slot. The fillers of the Head slot are also somewhat restricted. The supplementary mini-array presented below is given to illustrate the fillers of these slots in this sub-type.

Table 7.3 Qualitative aspect verb phrase

+Head		+Aspect	
<i>te</i>	‘do’	<i>kondo</i>	‘thoroughly’
<i>molo</i>	‘be’	<i>kenji</i>	‘badly’
<i>ni</i>	‘speak’	<i>wamo</i>	‘properly’
<i>pili</i>	‘hear’	<i>sundu</i>	‘inadequately’
<i>kano</i>	‘look/see’		

Rules:

1. The list of verbs in the Head slot may not be exhaustive but they are certainly the most common ones to occur in this phrase.
 2. No other verbs may occur in the Aspect slot besides those listed. The first two are much more common than the other two. Each of the four is shown in the following examples:
- (15) *pili-pu/ sundo-0-ndu//*
 hear-1 inadequately-NPST.1SG
 ‘I didn’t hear properly / didn’t understand’

- (16) *ni-mbu/ kenje-0-ndu//*
 speak-1 badly-NPST-1SG
 ‘I spoke badly/unacceptably’
- (17) *kulumiye.to-pa/ kondo-ko-mo//*
 wash-3SG thoroughly-PR-3SG
 ‘he is washing (the clothes) thoroughly’
- (18) *te-pa/ wamo-0-mu//*
 do-3SG properly-NPST-3SG
 ‘he did (it) properly’

7.2.4 Durative aspect verb phrase

The Durative/Imperfective Aspect Verb Phrase has the verb *molo* ‘to be’ (animate) filling the Aspect slot. A Repetitive Verb Phrase optionally expounds the Aspect slot but when it does the repeated verb is obligatorily *molo* ‘to be’. The Head slot is usually expounded by a verb or adjunct verb complex but a Continuative/Durative Aspect Verb Phrase occasionally expounds this slot. The Durative Aspect Verb Phrase indicates that an action is continued over a period of time, having a meaning very similar to the English "is/was" doing something.

- | Head | Aspect |
|--|-------------------|
| (19) <i>pili-pe/ molo-ru-mu//</i>
hear-3SG be.AN-DPST-3SG
‘he was listening’ | |
| Head: Adj.Vb.Com | Aspect: Rep.Vb.Ph |
| (20) <i>kola te-po/ molo-po/ molopo/ molopo/</i>
tear do-1 be.AN-1 we.being we.being
‘we were crying and crying and crying...’ | |
| Head: Con.Asp.Vb.Ph | Aspect |
| (21) <i>kola te-pa/ pu-pe/ molo-ru-mu//</i>
tear do-3SG go-3SG be.AN-DPST-3SG
‘she continued to go on crying’ | |

7.2.5 Continuative aspect verb phrase

The Continuative/Durative Aspect Verb Phrase has the verb *pu* ‘to go’ in the Aspect. This produces a meaning much like the English "to go on" doing some action. The Continuative Aspect Verb Phrase can fill the Head of the Durative Aspect Verb Phrase as well as the Predicate of the clause. The Durative Aspect Verb Phrase, the Continuative Aspect Verb Phrase and the Repetitive Verb Phrase are all very similar in meaning.

- | | Aspect |
|--|--------|
| (22) (<i>ga mundu te-ko/ pu-li-mele//</i>)
(sweet.potato mounds) do-3PL go-ASP-CUST.3PL
‘they habitually go on making (sweet potato mounds)’ | |

The Continuative Aspect Verb of (23) is, in turn, expounding the Head of a Durative Aspect Verb Phrase.

Aspect

- (23) (*aulke.mbaris to-po/ pu-pu/ (molo-ru-mulu//)*)
 (main.road) strike-1 go-1 be.AN-DPST-1PL
 ‘we (were) going on making (the road)...’

7.2.6 Probabilitive aspect verb phrase

The Probabilitive Aspect Verb Phrase has the verb *te* ‘to do in the Aspect slot. In this construction *te* means ‘probably’, indicating that the speaker assumes what he is stating to be a fact but he is not sure.

- (24) (*yu ulke-na suku) molo-pa/ te-ke-mo//*
 (he house-in inside) be.AN-3SG do-PR-3SG
 ‘he is probably (in the house)’
- (25) (*yu o-mba/ te-le-mo//*)
 (she) come-3SG do-ASP-CUST.3SG
 ‘she is probably coming / on her way’
- (26) (*ga) pe-pa/ te-ke-mo//*
 (sweet.potato) be.in-3SG do-PR-3SG
 ‘there is probably (sweet potato) in (the sweet potato mounds)’
- (27) (*yema naa mo-le-mele) pu-ku/ te-ngi//*
 (the.men not be.AN-ASP-CUST.3PL) go-3 do-NPST.3PL
 ‘(the men are not here) they have probably (already) gone (to Hagen).’

7.2.7 Iterative aspect verb phrase

The Iterative Aspect Verb Phrase has a unique construction expounding the Head tagmeme, namely verb stem plus the suffix *-poupou* ‘repeatedly / constantly’ which is unique to this phrase. The verb *te* ‘to do’ fills the Aspect slot. Only the verb expounding the Aspect slot is affixed for tense and person.

- (28) (*kolea) kano-poupou te-le-mele//*
 (place) look-repeatedly do-ASP-CUST.3PL
 ‘They looked around (the place) constantly’
- (29) (*ga) si-poupou te-ri-ngi//*
 (sweet.potato) give-repeatedly do-DPST-3PL
 ‘they gave (sweet potato) again and again’
- (30) (*ena monga talo-nga unjo) lkene-poupou (li-pu molo-pa*
 (sun lump two-GEN wood) carry.load.after.load-repeatedly (take-1 be.AN-1
molo-pa molo-pa) te-ri-mbulu
 be.AN-1 be.AN-1) do-DPST-1DL
 ‘For two hours) we went on (getting and) carrying load after load (of wood) repeatedly.’

7.3 The semantic-unit verb phrase

The Semantic-Unit Verb Phrase consists of two verbs or a verb and an Adjunct Verb Complex occurring in very close-knit sequence. When two verbs come together in this construction their usual meaning tends to be either lost or modified and the two together become one semantic unit. Most of the adjunct verb complexes which occur in Head₂ of this phrase type are unique to this phrase type, do not occur elsewhere, and have no meaning apart from the total phrase.

The reasons for setting up this phrase type rather than analysing these verbs as a sequence of clauses, and the ways in which this phrase is similar to but different from the Aspect Verb Phrase have already been presented under the introduction to Aspect Verb Phrases (7.2).

Table 7.4 Semantic unit verb phrase

+Head ₁	±Negator	+Head ₂
regular verbs (class 4)	<i>naa</i> 'not'	regular verbs (class 4) existential verbs (class 1) Adj.Vb.Com.

Rules:

1. The verb expounding Head₁ always has dependent affixation.
2. The verbal negative optionally occurs phrase initially or medially with no apparent difference in meaning.

Amongst examples of SUVPs there are those like (31) in which the meaning of the parts does not seem to bear any relationship to the meaning of the whole, while in others such as (32) to (35) it is perhaps possible to arrive at the total meaning from the meaning of the parts.

- (31) *kalo-pa/ l-si-mu//*
cook-3SG take-DPST-3SG
'he generated' (used in genealogies)
- (32) *ni-mbe/ panje-ri-mu//*
speak-3SG put.in-DPST-3SG
'he promised'
- (33) *o-mbo/ pu-ru-ndu//*
come-1 go-DPST-1SG
'I passed by'
- (34) *te-pa/ li-e-pili//*
do-3SG take-IMP-HORT.3SG
'let her adopt (the child)'
- (35) *no-mbo/ naa pi-li-o//*
eat-1 not perceive-ASP-CUST.1SG
'I have not tasted (it)'

Examples (36) and (37) have Adjunct Verb Complexes expounding the Head₂ tagmeme.

- (36) *li-ku/ maku to-ri-ngi//*
take-3PL ADJ hit-DPST-3PL
'they gathered together'

- (37) *te-pa/ embambo si-ki-mu//*
 do-3SG ADJ give-PR-3SG
 ‘she is confusing (me)’

7.3.1 Modified semantic-unit verb phrase

The Modified Semantic Unit Verb Phrase has an obligatory Modifier between the two head slots. There is a restricted list of fillers in all three slots.

Table 7.5 Modified semantic unit verb phrase

±Negator	+Head ₁	+Modifier	+Head ₂
<i>naa</i> ‘not’	<i>kano</i> ‘see’	<i>peanga</i> ‘good’	<i>kano</i> ‘see’
	<i>pili</i> ‘hear’	<i>kaye</i> ‘good’	<i>pili</i> ‘hear’
	<i>no</i> ‘eat’	<i>komindi</i> ‘good’	<i>ni</i> ‘speak’
	<i>ni</i> ‘speak’	<i>keri</i> ‘bad’	<i>panji</i> ‘put.in’

Rules:

1. The Negator does not often occur in this phrase but when it does occur it optionally precedes either of the Head tagmemes.
 - 2a. When *kano* ‘to see’ expounds Head₁, only *kano* ‘to see’ or *panji* ‘to put in’ expound Head₂.
 - 2b. When *pili* ‘to hear’ expounds Head₁, only *pili* ‘to hear’ or *panji* ‘to put in’ expound Head₂.
 - 2c. When *no* ‘to eat’ or *ni* ‘to speak’ expound Head₁, *kano* ‘to see’ or *pili* ‘to hear’ expound Head₂.
- (38) *kano-po/ keri kano-ko-ro//*
 see-1 bad see-PR-1SG
 ‘I am displeased with what I see.’
- (39) (*ga*) *no-ngo/ peanga pili-no//ye*
 (sweet.potato) eat-2 good perceive-CUST.2SG-QU
 ‘Do you like the taste of (sweet potato)?’
- (40) *pili-pu/ keri panji-ki-ru//*
 hear-1 bad put.in-PR-1SG
 ‘I am greatly displeased with what I hear.’

7.4 Non-verb phrases

Non-Verb Phrases are groups of words which function as a unit, filling slots in other phrases and in non-predicate slots of clauses. There are ten different types of non-verb phrases, and many of these also have sub-types.

7.4.1 Augmented phrase

The Augmented Phrase is not one of the major phrase types, but it is presented first because it occurs often, and because it is extra-systemic to the various types of non-verb phrase, and because the augments can occur with both verb and non-verb words. Augments form into phrases with almost any other class of word in the language. Examples typically consist of two words, the augment and the word which it augments. The resultant phrase fills the same slot as the augmented word would fill were it not augmented. Most augments precede, and some follow, the word which they augment, as described under (4.4.10.1)

In (41) the augment *paa* ‘very’ is augmenting a quantitative adjective. Quantitative adjectives fill Modifier slots of Modified Noun Phrases, and Manner slots of clauses and Adjunct Verb Complexes, so this particular Augmented Phrase could also fill any of those slots.

- (41) *paa pulumu*
 very many
 ‘very many’

In (42) the augment *we* ‘just’ is augmenting a verb which would normally manifest the Predicate of a clause, so this Augmented Phrase would also do so, making it in a sense a verb, rather than a non-verb, phrase.

- (42) *we o-ko-ro//*
 just come-PR-1SG
 ‘I am coming for nothing / with no particular purpose’

In (43) the augment *mindī* ‘only’ is augmenting a pronoun which fills slots such as Subject and Object of the clause, so this Augmented Phrase would also do so.

- (43) *na mindī*
 me only
 ‘only me / I alone’

As exemplified in (44), where three augments occur contiguously, augments can co-occur and can modify each other.

- (44) (*na paa we mindī o-ko-ro*)
 (I) very just only come-PR-1SG
 ‘I verily came only for nothing’

7.4.2 The summary phrase

The Summary Phrase optionally occurs phrase finally on any Noun Phrase (7.5). Its function is to summarize the Noun Phrase and it consists of an obligatory article clitic which is often preceded by a demonstrative. Optionally, though only occasionally, the word *mele* ‘thing’ precedes the demonstrative.

The Summary Phrase is similar to the Subordinating Phrase (7.8.1) which has a summary function in the Embedding Phrase (7.8.2). However, whereas the Subordinating Phrase is

obligatory to the Embedding Phrase, the Summary Phrase is only optional to the Noun Phrases. Also, whereas the demonstrative can occur only once in the Summary Phrase, it optionally occurs twice in the Subordinating Phrase; i.e. at the beginning of the phrase as well as immediately preceding the phrase final article clitic. And whereas the only word which can precede the demonstrative in the Summary Phrase is *mele* ‘thing’, several other generic common nouns can occur in the Subordinating Phrase.

Table 7.6 Summary phrase

\pm <i>mele</i> ‘thing’ ²	\pm demonstrative	+article clitic
--	---------------------	-----------------

Examples of the Summary Phrase will be most easily observed in examples of the Noun Phrases which include a Summary. However, (45) and (46) are two possible examples.

- (45) *mele aku-me*
 thing that-the.PL
 ‘those things’
- (46) *kanu poko*
 that few
 ‘those few’

7.5 Noun phrases

Noun Phrases, in which the Summary Phrase optionally occurs phrase finally, are of four types: Modified Noun, Coordinate Noun, Appositional Noun and Proper Name Phrases. Noun Phrases typically expound the Axes of the Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9) on the phrase level and Subject and Object of the clause. They have also been observed in the Head of the Focus Phrase (7.8.3), the Item of the Possession Phrase (7.9.4), and some Noun Phrases also fill slots in other Noun Phrases.

7.5.1 Modified noun phrase

The Modified Noun Phrase consists basically of a noun plus modifiers. The Head noun is optionally preceded by one or two Deictics, and the whole phrase is optionally rounded off by a Summary. In context, any tagmeme is permitted as the only manifestation of the phrase, so the Head is not strictly obligatory.

On the phrase level the Modified Noun Phrase fills the Apposition of the Appositional Noun Phrase (7.5.2), the Head of the Coordinate Noun Phrase (7.5.3), the Axes of the Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9), the Item of the Possessive Phrase (7.9.4), and the Head of the Focus Phrase (7.8.3). On the clause level it fills the Topic and Comment slots of the Commentative Clause (8.1.1), the Object of the Transitive Active Clause (8.2.1), and the Subject of the Intransitive Active Clause (8.2.2).

Long phrases are rare. Although the array below reflects the fairly fixed order of the tagmemes, usually only four or less occur in any given example.

² The word *mele* ‘thing’ does not often occur. When it does it can be easily confused with the comparative clitic *mele* ‘like’ which fills the Relator slot of the Comparative Axis-Relator Phrase, especially when this latter phrase ends with a demonstrative plus article clitic, which it optionally does. Only a careful study of the context can resolve this confusion.

Table 7.7 Modified noun phrase

+(±Deictic ₁	±Deictic ₂	±Head	±Modifier ₁	±Modifier ₂	±Modifier ₃	±Modifier ₄	±Modifier ₅	±Summary)
Dir.Com	demonstrative	noun	adjective 1 (quality)	adjective 2 (colour)	adjective 3 (size)	adjective 4 (quantity)	adjective 5 <i>lupe</i> 'other' <i>mele</i> 'like'	Summary Ph.
		Db-Hd.N.Com.	Rep.Ad.Com.		Rep.Ad.Com. Comparative Complex	Comp.Ad.Com. Numeral Phrases	Rep.Ad.Com.	

Rules:

1. When Modifiers 1, 3, or 5 are expounded by the Repetitive Adjective Complex the Summary is obligatory.
2. When Modifier 4 is expounded by either *pali* 'all' or *pea* 'all', this tagmeme must come at the end of the phrase instead of in its usual position.
3. Only from one to four tagmemes usually occur in any given phrase.
4. No particular tagmeme is obligatory, but obviously at least one tagmeme must occur, most usually the Head.

Pre-Lim.₁ Head Mod.₃
 (47) *wele ola unjo kumurere awili*
 DIR up tree gum big
 'a big gum tree up in cross-river direction'

Head Mod.₄
 (48) *lopa maya talo*
 possum type two
 'two maya possums'

Head Mod.₅ Summary
 (49) *kango lupe -re*
 boy other a
 'another boy'

Head Mod.₁ Mod.₄
 (50) *ka tondolo mare*
 vine strong some
 'some strong vine'

Examples (51) and (52) do not have an exponent of the Head tagmeme.

Mod.₂ Summary
 (51) *kondoli -mu*
 red the.SG
 'the red one'

Deictic₁ Deictic₂ Summary
 (52) *nendi aku -mu*
 nearby that the.SG
 'that one nearby'

Head Mod.₁
 (53) *wale pe.nili*
 bag light
 'light bag'

Head Mod.₁ Summary
 (54) *mele keri keri -ma*
 thing bad bad the.PL
 'the many bad things'

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | Head | | Summary |
| (55) | <i>sumoli</i> | | <i>kanu-poko-re</i> |
| | gold.lipped.pearl.shells | | those-few-a |
| | | | ‘those few gold lipped pearl shells’ |
| | Head | Mod. ₃ | Mod. ₄ Summary |
| (56) | <i>mind</i> | <i>wallo</i> | <i>wallo mare kanu-me</i> |
| | meat | tiny | tiny some that-the.PL |
| | | | ‘those some tiny bits of meat’ |
| | Deictic ₂ | Head | |
| (57) | <i>kanu</i> | <i>meme</i> | |
| | that | blood | |
| | | | ‘that blood’ |
| | Head | Mod. ₁ | Summary |
| (58) | <i>ye</i> | <i>waengono</i> | <i>keri kanu-mu</i> |
| | man unmarried | bad | that-the.SG |
| | | | ‘that bad unmarried man’ |

Example (59) occurs in the Item of a Possessive Phrase (7.9.4):

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------|------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|--|
| | | Head | Mod. ₄ | Summary | Mod. ₄ |
| (59) | (yunge) | <i>ambolango</i> | <i>kise.pakera, talo.pakera</i> | <i>kanu-kongo-ma</i> | <i>pea</i> |
| | (his) | children | five six | that-enlarger-the.PL | all |
| | | | | | ‘all of those (his) many five, six children’ |

(60) and (61) are examples of the use of *mele* ‘like’ in the Modified Noun Phrase.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| | Head | Mod. ₅ | |
| (60) | <i>koya</i> | <i>mele</i> | |
| | bamboo.knife | like | |
| | | | ‘like a bamboo knife’ |
| | Head | Mod. ₅ | Summary |
| (61) | <i>ga</i> | <i>mele</i> | <i>aku-me</i> |
| | sweet.potato | like | that-the.PL |
| | | | ‘those sweet potato like (things)’ |

7.5.2 Appositional noun phrase

The Appositional Noun Phrase is relatively rare in Kaugel but it does exist. It consists of an Item usually filled by one or two non-verb words, plus an Apposition filled by a phrase which serves to expand, amplify, or explain what occurs in the Item. Both the Item and Apposition are obligatory and are optionally followed by a Summary. The Summary is more uncommon on the Appositional Noun Phrase than on other noun phrases but it does occur sometimes. Phonologically there is always a pause between the Item and the Apposition tagmemes.

On the phrase level the Appositional Noun Phrase expounds the Axes of the Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9), and the Head of the Coordinate Noun Phrase (7.5.3). It also expounds the Subject and Object tagmemes of the clause.

The Appositional Noun Phrase is semantically similar to the Focus Phrase (7.8.3), but they are somewhat different structurally. In the Focus Phrase, the elements which occur in the Apposition slot of the Appositional Phrase occur phrase initially followed by a Focus slot which is obligatorily filled by a pronoun, an emphatic pronoun, or an Emphatic Pronoun Complex.

Table 7.8 Appositional noun phrase

+Item	+Apposition	±Summary
Mod. Noun Phrase	Mod. Noun Phrase	Summary Phrase
Double-headed Noun Complex	Double-Headed Noun Complex	
Possessive Phrase	Coord. Noun Phrase	
pronoun	Embedding Phrase	
Proper Name Phrase	Proper Name Phrase	

Rules:

1. When a phrase expounds the Item tagmeme it is usually not more than two words. See examples (65) to (67).

Item Apposition

- (62) *olio we yembo-ma*
 we ordinary people-the.PL
 ‘we, the ordinary people’

Item Apposition

- (63) *pea, ye pali*
 everyone men all
 ‘everyone, all men’

Item Apposition

- (64) *olto, Kulli keme na keme*
 we.two Kulli and I and
 ‘we two, Kulli and I’

Examples (65) to (67) have minimal phrases expounding the Item tagmeme, as per rule 1 above. The Apposition of (65) is expounded by an Embedding Phrase (7.8.2); i.e. it has a clause embedded within it.

Item Apposition

- (65) *Yano Dupa, darapa.me-mba/ ando-ko-mo// ye-mo*
 Yano Dupa drive-3SG wander-PR-3SG man-the
 ‘Dupa of Yano clan, the man who is driving (a car) around’

Item Apposition

- (66) *lopa te lopa.alsu te*
 furred.marsupial a tree.kangaroo a
 ‘a furred marsupial, a tree kangaroo’

In (67), because of the pauses, it is not clear whether *akuma* ‘those’ is summarizing the whole phrase or functioning as a second Apposition.

Item	Apposition
(67) <i>nunge langi, kapes</i>	<i>kepe, anani kepe, aku-ma</i>
your food	cabbage also onion also that-the.PL
‘your food, cabbage and onions, those things’	

7.5.3 Coordinate noun phrase

The Coordinate Noun Phrase consists of from one to six Heads, usually filled by phrases, with an optional Coordinator following each Head. A Summary slot is optional phrase finally. The Coordinate Phrase expounds the Apposition of the Appositional Noun Phrase (7.5.2), the Item of the Possession Phrase (7.9.4), and the Axis of the Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9) on the phrase level. It also expounds Subject and Object tagmemes of the clause.

Table 7.9 Coordinate noun phrase

+Head	±Coord.	±(+Head	±Coord.)	±Summary
Proper Name	<i>keme</i> ‘and’	Proper Name	<i>keme</i> ‘and’	Summary Phrase
Complex		Complex		
Mod.N.Ph.	<i>kinie</i> ‘and’	Mod.N.Ph.	<i>kinie</i> ‘and’	pronoun - (first person
Embed.Ph.	<i>kepe</i> ‘also’	Embed.Ph.	<i>kepe</i> ‘also’	dual and/or plural only)
App.N.Ph.	<i>molo</i> ‘or’	App.N.Ph.	<i>molo</i> ‘or’	
Poss.Phrase		Poss.Phrase		
kin term		kin term		
pronoun		pronoun		

Rules:

1. The Coordinator usually occurs following every Head or not at all. The exception to those two patterns is that, even when it occurs following all other Heads, it is often omitted following the last Head when the Summary tagmeme occurs or when the whole phrase is filling the Axis of an Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9).
2. The most common word for ‘and’ is *kinie*. The conjunction *keme* usually coordinates people, especially more than two.
3. The same conjunction is used throughout any one phrase.
4. Article clitics, which usually do not occur on phrases embedding in other phrases, optionally occur on any appropriate phrase expounding the Head slots of the Coordinate Noun Phrase.
5. A first person pronoun may expound the Summary to include the speaker, whether or not he is actually represented in one of the Heads.
6. Up to four optional heads may occur in any one phrase.

Example (68) illustrates the maximum expansion of this phrase, having five Heads and five Coordinators.

- (68) *kondoli-selo kinie, Komisi Sikimu kinie, Kaoa, Komisi Kaoa kinie,*
 red-the.dual and Committee Sikimu and Kaoa, Committee Kaoa and
Lame Pareka kinie kopulo-mo kinie
 clan Pareka and corporal-the and
 ‘the two europeans, and Committee Sikimu, and Kaoa, Committee Kaoa, and Pareka of
 Lame clan and the corporal...’

Summary

- (69) *sumoli, kuru lou, lopa.ali mele koloa ka i-me*
 gold-lipped.pearl.shells spirit axe head.band things shell rope this-the.PL
 ‘gold-lipped pearl shells, steel axes, head-band things, shell necklaces, these things’

Summary

- (70) *Jiwa keme Ake keme olio*
 Jiwa and Ake and we
 ‘Jiwa and Ake and I’
- (71) *ga yepoko molo kise molo pakera*
 sweet.potato three or four or five
 ‘three or four or five sweet potatoes’

(72) is a good example of how phrases embed into one another. An Appositional Noun Phrase is expounding the one Head tagmeme, and an Embedding Phrase is expounding the Apposition of that phrase.

- (72) *olio, umbu ye pu-ru-mulu// aku-ma kinie*
 we local men go-DPST-1PL that-the.PL and
 ‘we, those local men who went and ...(the policeman understood)’

Summary

- (73) *Sua lapa olto*
 Sua father we.two
 ‘Sua’s father and I’

Summary

- (74) *Opulue kepe Takopuka kepe aku-me*
 clan also clan also that-the.PL
 ‘those (people) of Opule and Takopoka (clans)’

When the Coordinate Noun Phrase is expounded by only one Head plus Coordinator and the conjunction used is *kepe* ‘also’; the phrase is slightly different semantically, though the structure is consistent. Examples (75) to (77) will illustrate this:

- (75) *ou ye-ma-ne kepe*
 before men-the.PL-ACT also
 ‘The men (who lived) before also (followed these customs)’
- (76) *kera-ma kepe (aku-la)*
 bird-the.PL also (that-too)
 ‘the birds also (do that too)’

- (77) *(ou) kondoli kepe (i kolea naa o-ru-mu)*
 (before) red also (this place not come-DPST-3SG)
 ‘(before) even the European (had come to this place)’

7.5.4 Proper name phrase

The Proper Name Phrase is the device used in Kaugel to precisely define a person or place. It consists of five tagmemes; Deictic, Area, Definer, Specifier and Summary, all of which are optional though of course at least one of the last four must occur. The Proper Name Phrase expounds both the Item and Apposition of the Appositional Noun Phrase (7.5.2), the Item of the Possession Phrase (7.9.4), the Head of the Coordinate Noun Phrase (7.5.3), and the Axes of Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9). It also expounds Object and Subject of the clause.

Table 7.10 Proper name phrase

+(±Deictic	±Area	±Definer	±Specifier	±Summary)
Dir.Com.	clan name Clan Name Complex place name Place Name Complex	Db-Hd.N.Com. generic-common noun	personal name place name	Summary Ph.

Rules:

1. Deictic slot only occurs when Area tagmeme is present.
2. All five tagmemes together are possible though not common. This phrase is most commonly expounded by any two slots except for the restriction under rule 1.
3. Nouns and Double-Headed Noun Complexes filling the Definer slot must denote person, place, or pet.
4. Summary slot does not often occur.
5. When the word *kolea* ‘place’ expounds the Definer slot there are certain restrictions on the fillers of other slots:
 either the Area or Specifier tagmemes may occur but not both, and:
 the Area may be expounded only by a clan name or a Clan Name Complex,
 and only a place name can occur in the Specifier slot.

Many examples of the Proper Name Phrase translate better into English as appositional phrases. However they are not analysable as such in Kaugel because the relationship between the tagmemes is definitely clarificatory rather than appositional.

- | | | | |
|------|---|--------------|-------------------|
| | Deictic | Def. | Specifier |
| (78) | <i>ne</i> | <i>manie</i> | <i>kango Garu</i> |
| | nearby | down | boy Garu |
| | ‘(the) boy Garu (who) is down there nearby’ | | |
| | Area | Def. | Specifier |
| (79) | <i>Yano ye</i> | <i>Dupa</i> | |
| | Yano | man | Dupa |
| | ‘Dupa a Yano clan man’ | | |

Area Specifier

(80) *Eka Mone*

Eka Mone

‘Mone of Eka clan’

Deictic Area Def. Specifier

(81) *wele ola Malkie kanjoli Silso*

across up Malki councillor Siljo

‘Councillor Siljo from up over there at Malki village’

Deictic Area Definer

(82) *wi ola no Warakinie penge*

upstream up water Warakinie head

‘upstream, up (towards the) headwaters of Warakinie creek’

Def. Spec. Summary

(83) *kuru Kopeaka kanu*

spirit Kopeaka that

‘that spirit (named) Kopeaka’

7.6 Numeral phrases

There are three types of numeral phrase which are described below: Possessed, Double-Headed, and with embedding. Numeral Phrases expound Modifier 4 of the Modified Noun Phrase.

7.6.1 Possessed numeral phrase

The Possessed Numeral Phrase is the device used for expressing most numerals in Kaugel. All Kaugel counting systems have four as the basic unit. In the most common system, numbers from eight upwards are made up of the possessed form of the numeral signifying the next unit of four plus the words for ‘one’, ‘two’, or ‘three’. (refer adjectives of quantity 4.4.3.4).

Examples will be better understood if I remind the reader that the word for twelve is *rurepo* and the word for sixteen is *malapu*.

<i>rurepo-nga</i>	<i>telu</i>	‘one in the system of 12’ = 9
twelve-POSS	one	
<i>rurepo-nga</i>	<i>talo</i>	‘two in the system of 12’ = 10
twelve-POSS	two	
<i>rurepo-nga</i>	<i>yepoko</i>	‘three in the system of 12’ = 11
twelve-POSS	three	
<i>malapu-nge</i>	<i>telu</i>	‘one in the system of 16’ = 13
sixteen-POSS	one	
<i>malapu-nge</i>	<i>talo</i>	‘two in the system of 16’ = 14
sixteen-POSS	two	
<i>malapu-nge</i>	<i>yepoko</i>	‘three in the system of 16’ = 15
sixteen-POSS	three	

7.6.2 Double-headed numeral phrase

The Double-Headed Numeral Phrase consists of any two numeral words - **not** numeral phrases - which occur following one another in the regular counting system. They obligatorily occur in the order lower, then higher, number. The meaning of the phrase is an alternate way of expressing the

higher number, especially used when counting pigs at a pig exchange. (Numerals are presented in section 4.4.3.4. under adjectives of quantity)

<i>telu</i>	<i>talo</i>	‘two’
one	two	
<i>engaki</i>	<i>rurepo</i>	‘twelve’
eight	twelve	
<i>rurepo</i>	<i>malapu</i>	‘sixteen’
twelve	sixteen	

7.6.3 Numeral phrase with embedding

Another system of numeration in Kaugel uses a phrase which consists of a Head and a Tail; each of which is expounded by a phrase which is unique to this type of numeral phrase. This phrase is usually used when counting game.

Table 7.11 Numeral phrase with embedding

+Head	+Tail
<i>ki.mongo</i> + numeral ‘finger’	numeral + <i>goli</i> ‘more’

- | | Head | | Tail | |
|------|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (84) | <i>ki.mongo</i> | <i>telu</i> | <i>talo</i> | <i>goli</i> |
| | finger | one | two | more |
| | ‘the fingers of one hand (excludes thumb) and two more’ (= 6) | | | |

- | | Head | | Tail | |
|------|--|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| (85) | <i>ki.mongo</i> | <i>talo</i> | <i>yepoko</i> | <i>goli</i> |
| | finger | two | three | more |
| | ‘the fingers of two hands and three more’ (= 11) | | | |

7.7 Spatial phrases

Spatial Phrases include both Time and Locative Phrases. As already mentioned in the discussion of Spatial in section (4.4.5), constructions indicating time or location tend to function in similar ways and both attract the spatial clitics (4.4.5.9). However, there are differences in structure. Phrases of time will be presented first, followed by phrases of location.

Phrases of Time fill the Time slot of the clause. There are three phrases of time: the Basic Time Phrase, the Appositional Time Phrase, and the Coordinate Time Phrase.

7.7.1 Basic time phrase

The Basic Time Phrase consists of an optional Clarifier₁, plus a Head and a Clarifier₂, one of which is obligatory.

Table 7.12 Basic time phrase

\pm Clarifier ₁	+(\pm Head	\pm Clarifier ₂)
<i>nekendo</i> ‘next’ <i>nendepa</i> ‘next but one’	temporal 1 Temporal 1 Com.	temporal 2 Temporal 2 Com.
<i>ou</i> ‘before’ <i>pe</i> ‘later’	temporal 3	numeral temporal 1 Temporal 1 Com.

Rules:

1. All tagmemes are optional, but either Head or Clarifier₂ must occur.
2. When the Head slot is filled by a temporal 1 word or Temporal 1 Complex, indicating the name of a day, only a temporal 2 word or Temporal 2 Complex, indicating the time of day, can occur in Clarifier₂.
3. When a temporal 3 word, indicating a specific period of time, is filling the Head slot, only a numeral or a temporal 1 word or Temporal 1 Complex can occur in Clarifier₂.
4. The words *ou* ‘before’ or *pe* ‘later’ only occur in the Clarifier₁ slot if a temporal 3 word is expounding the Head slot.
5. Spatial clitics optionally occur phrase finally.

NOTE: Rules 2, 3, and 4 would suggest that this phrase potentially consists of four rather than three tagmemes. However, none has been observed or elicited.

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | Clarifier ₁ | Head | Clarifier ₂ | |
| (86) | <i>nendepa</i> | <i>koro</i> | <i>kongono</i> | <i>pambu kinie</i> |
| | next.but.one | week | work | thumb when |
| | | | | ‘on Friday of the week after next’ |
-
- | | | |
|------|--------------|------------------------|
| | Head | Clarifier ₂ |
| (87) | <i>opale</i> | <i>ipulueliou</i> |
| | tomorrow | morning |
| | | ‘tomorrow morning’ |
-
- | | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| | Clarifier ₁ | Head | | Clarifier ₂ |
| (88) | <i>nekendo</i> | <i>koro</i> | <i>awili kinie</i> | <i>awi-tangoli-ku-ndu</i> |
| | next | rest | big when | mid-daytime-at-loc |
| | | | | ‘next Sunday at midday’ |
-
- | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| | Clarifier ₁ | Head | Clarifier ₂ |
| (89) | <i>ou</i> | <i>ponie talo</i> | |
| | before | garden two | |
| | | | ‘two years ago’ |

7.7.2 Appositional time phrase

The Appositional Time Phrase consists of a Specifier plus an Apposition. Both are obligatory. The Specifier is expounded only by Temporal 4, which are non-specific time words. Phonologically there is always a pause between the tagmemes.

Table 7.13 Appositional time phrase

+Specifier	+Apposition
<i>ou</i> 'before'	Basic Time Phrase
<i>pe</i> 'later'	'Before' Temporal Complex
<i>talko</i> 'recently'	

Rules:

1. When a 'Before' Temporal Complex is filling the Apposition slot, the word *ou* 'before' obligatorily expounds the Specifier.
2. Spatial clitics optionally occur phrase finally.

(90) *ou, koro-ou pulu-pulu*
 before already-before root-root
 'before, in the beginning'

(91) *pe, kongono talo kinie*
 later work two when
 'later, on Tuesday'

(92) *talko, ou koro-ko-ndo*
 recently before week-at-loc
 'recently, last week specifically (implied)'

This same sort of construction occurs on sentence level with what is termed here as Specifier acting as sentence periphery, and what is termed here as Apposition equating to a base of the Sequence Sentence (9.7.5).

7.7.3 Coordinate time phrase

The Coordinate Time Phrase consists of from one to three Heads joined by Coordinators. It is similar to the Coordinate Noun Phrase (7.5.3) but fillers of slots differ and it fills a different slot in the clause. Also tagmemes cannot be repeated as often as in the Coordinate Noun Phrase. The Coordinate Time Phrase is not a very common phrase.

Table 7.14 Coordinate time phrase

(+Head	+Coordinator)
temporal word Temporal Complex	<i>kepe</i> 'and/even'

Rules:

1. Both Head and Coordinator may be repeated twice.
2. If Head and Coordinator occur only once, *kepe* translates as 'even', otherwise it translates as 'and'.

(93) *kinié kepe, opale kepe, pe pe kepe*
 today and tomorrow and later later and
 'today and tomorrow and from then on'

- (94) *kinié kepe*
 now even
 ‘even now’

Locative phrases normally expound the Locative of the clause. The most common type of locative phrase is the Locative Axis-Relator Phrase which will be described a little further on under Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9). Another common way of expressing location is by using a Proper Name Phrase (7.5.4) with place nouns or names expounding the tagmemes, plus or minus the locative clitics.

One example of a **potential Coordinate Locative Phrase** has been observed but this has not been set up as a separate type because it exactly fits the structure of the Coordinate Noun Phrase (7.5.3). This example will be presented as (95), in which there are three Head tagmemes joined by the conjunction *molo* ‘or’, plus a Summary.

- (95) *mere Yalipu-ku-ndu molo, wi Mandi-ki-ndu molo kolea lupe*
 downstream Ialibu-at-LOC or upstream Mendi-at-LOC or place other
i-me-nge aku-ma-nga
 this-the.PL-LOC that-the.PL-LOC
 ‘toward Ialibu, or Mendi, or to these other places, to those places’

Only two examples of a **potential Appositional Locative Phrase** have been observed. As they are both similar in structure to the Appositional Noun Phrase (7.5.2), a separate phrase type is not being postulated. The examples are presented below as (96) and (97).

In (96) the fillers of both Item and Apposition are Locative Axis-Relator Phrases. Note that the locator clitic *-nge* occurs at the end of both tagmemes of this phrase.

- (96) *ama kolo-ru-mu-nge, ulke aku-mu-nge*
 mother die-DPST-she-LOC house that-the.SG-LOC
 ‘in the (place where) Mum died, in that house...’

In (97) the Item is filled by a horizontal directional while the Apposition is filled by a Locative Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.2) which has the same horizontal directional filling the Post-Position slot. Note that the same spatial clitic *-ndo* ‘toward’ occurs at the end of both tagmemes of this phrase example.

- (97) *me-ndo manie no.waru aulke te-nga me-ndo*
 downstream-toward down ravine path one-loc downstream-toward
 ‘downstream, downstream on a path down in the ravine.’

7.8 Subordinating clause phrases

The Subordinating Clause Phrases are a group of phrases which have to do with the subordination of clauses and sentences by embedding them within phrases. Such subordination can be accomplished by adding various elements to a clause, such as article clitics (5.1.1), demonstratives (4.4.6), pronouns (4.4.2) or even the verb to adjective derivator suffix (3.1). The Subordinating Clause Phrases can occur expounding both clause and phrase level tagmemes as will

be spelled out for each type. Specifically, some can expound the Axes of the Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9).

7.8.1 Subordinating phrase

The Subordinating Phrase occurs exclusively in the Embedder of the Embedding Phrase. Its function is to subordinate clauses and sentences to fill clause, or even phrase, level slots. The Subordinating Phrase consists of an optional Deictic filled by a demonstrative, plus an Identifier filled by a generic common noun, plus a Summary filled by a Summary Phrase (7.4.2).

The actualisation of a Modified Noun Phrase can at times be identical to an example of the Subordinating Phrase. However, limited number of slots, absence of adjectives, limited fillers, and, especially, its exclusive subordinating function, differentiate this phrase from the Modified Noun Phrase.

Table 7.15 Subordinating phrase

+ (±Deictic	±Identifier	±Summary)
demonstrative	generic common noun	Summary Ph. ±LOC clitic

Rules:

1. None of the tagmemes is obligatory, though of course at least one must occur. The Summary tagmeme is the most common single exponent of this phrase.
2. When the Deictic occurs, the Summary Phrase filling the Summary slot will be expounded only by its obligatory component, an article clitic.
3. The optional locator clitic does not occur very often and when it does it does not really signify location in this construction. (refer examples (107) and (108).
4. The generic common noun expounding the Identifier always relates back to an element, either expressed or implied, in the embedded sentence³. Examples of the Embedding Phrase (7.8.2) will illustrate this point.

Examples will not be particularly useful in isolation; it is easier to see how this phrase works in context. But here are a couple of examples anyway.

Identifier Summary
 (98) *kolea* *i-me*
 place this-the.PL
 ‘these places’

Deictic Identifier
 (99) *kanu* *ye-mo*
 that man-the.SG
 ‘that man’

³ a type of relative clause

7.8.2 Embedding phrase

The Embedding Phrase consists of an Item filled by a clause⁴ or a sentence, plus an Embedder filled by the Subordinating Phrase described above. Both tagmemes are obligatory and are optionally followed by a Post-Position typically expounded by adjectives of quantity. The Embedding Phrase covers what otherwise might be called both nominalised clauses and relative clauses.

The Embedding Phrase fills the Apposition of the Appositional Noun Phrase (7.5.2), and has been observed once in the Item of the Appositional Noun Phrase, but its most common use on the phrase level is filling the Axis of the Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9). It also manifests the Subject, Object and Comment slots of the clause.

Table 7.16 Embedding phrase

+Item	+Embedder	±Post-Position
sentence + indicative + customary - interrogative - imperative - subjunctive	Subordinating Phrase	Post-Position Com. (<i>yu-mele-mele</i>) adjective 4 (quantitative)

Rules:

1. The Post-Position indicates how many of the persons, places, or things in the body of the phrase are specifically involved in the verb of the clause of which this phrase will expound either Subject or Object. (104) to (108).
2. When the Post-Position occurs, the locator clitic optionally occurs phrase finally on the Subordinating Phrase expounding the Embedder; i.e. immediately preceding the Post-Position. (107) and (108)
3. The Post-Position Complex *yu-mele-mele* ‘each one’ and the quantitative adjective *pali* ‘all’ only occur in the Post-Position slot when the Embedding Phrase is expounding a clause level slot, not when it is expounding the Axis of an Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9).
4. The final verb of the sentence expounding the Item phrase must be either indicative or customary, not subjunctive, imperative or interrogative.

	Item		Embedder	Post-Position
(100)	<i>yunge sumoli</i> his gold-lipped.pearl.shell		<i>wale me-ri-mu//</i> bag carry-DPST-3SG	<i>kanu-me mare</i> that-the.PL some
	‘some (of) those bags of his gold-lipped pearl shells he carried’			

	Item	Embedder
(101)	<i>ambo kolo-ru-mu//</i> woman die-DPST-3SG	<i>kanu-mu</i> that-the.SG
	‘that woman (who) died’	

⁴ As clauses embedded in this phrase are always independent in form (see initial remarks in chapter 8), they are virtually Simple Sentences anyway (9.2).

In (102) and (103) the Subordinating Phrase filling the Embedder is expounded only by a generic common noun.

	Item	Embedder
(102)	<i>api ka-le-mele</i> salt cook-ASP-CUST.3PL	<i>ungu</i> talk
	‘talk (about how) they cook salt’	
	Item	Embedder
(103)	<i>ou molo-ri-ngi//</i> before live-DPST-3PL	<i>ye-ma</i> man-the.PL
	‘the men who used to live before’	

Examples (104) to (108) include exponents of the Post-Position tagmeme.

	Item	Embedder	Post-Position
(104)	<i>kalopera naa to-ru-mu//</i> frost not strike-DPST-3SG	<i>kolea</i> place	<i>aku-me pali</i> that-the.PL all
	‘all those places the frost did not strike’		
	Item	Embedder	Post-Position
(105)	<i>na kongi walo talo koyo-mbo//</i> I pig young two cook-FUT.1SG	<i>te-o-ndu//-selo</i> do-NPST-1SG-the.DL	<i>te</i> one
	‘one of the two piglets I was about to cook’		
	Item	Embedder	Post-Position
(106)	<i>kindele aku-nge//-ndo</i> nymphs dig-FUT.3PL-PUR	<i>ni-li-mele//</i> say-ASP-CUST.3PL	<i>ungu mare</i> talk some
	‘some talk they say when purposing to dig up nymphs (embryonic cicadas)’		

Examples (107) and (108) include the optional locator clitic immediately preceding the Post-Position, according to rule 2 above. When used in this way the locator clitic has more of a genitive than a locative function.

	Item	Embedder	Post-Position
(107)	<i>kapisi koyo-ngi</i> cabbage steam.cook-NPST-3PL	<i>aku-mu-nge</i> that-the.SG-LOC	<i>mare</i> some
	‘some of the cabbage which they had steam cooked’		

In (108) the context indicates that the -nga clitic is the possessor clitic rather than the locator clitic; the form is the same, except for allomorphic variation based on morphophonemic rule 1.

	Item	Embedder	Post-Position
(108)	<i>anda kolo-ri-ngi</i> old.men die-DPST-3PL	<i>aku-me-nga</i> that-the.PL-POSS	<i>pali</i> all
	‘all (the heads) of those old men who had died’		

(109) and (110) include the Deictic tagmeme in the Subordinating Phrase expounding the Embedder.

	Item		Embedder
(109)	<i>ye mere manie Akena pu-ru-mu//</i>		<i>kanu ye-mo</i>
	man downstream down Hagen go-DPST-3SG		that man-the.SG
	‘that man who went down to Hagen’		

	Item		Embedder
(110)	<i>olio ga me-ri-mulu//</i>		<i>kanu ga kanu-mu</i>
	we sweet.potato carry-DPST-1PL		that s.p that-the-SG
	‘that sweet potato we carried’		

7.8.3 Focus phrase

The Focus Phrase consists of a Head plus a Focus, both of which are obligatory. The Head may be expounded by a sentence, any type of Noun Phrase, or the Embedding Phrase. The Focus is expounded by a pronoun word or complex. The Focus Phrase fills the Subject of the clause and the Axes of the Nominal and Possessive Axis-Relator Phrases; (7.9.1) and (7.9.2). The Focus phrase is a device to bring a main discourse participant into focus and to indicate that the action which follows will be an important one in the story.

The Focus tends to be in apposition to the Head of the phrase, but the Focus Phrase is quite different in structure from what has already been described as the Appositional Noun Phrase (7.5.2).

Table 7.17 Focus phrase

+Head	+Focus
sentence	pronoun
Noun Phrase	Emphatic Pronoun Com.
Embedding Phrase	

In examples (111) to (113) the Head is expounded by a Noun Phrase (7.5).

	Head		Focus
(111)	<i>ambo.wenepo</i>		<i>kanu-kongo yu</i>
	young.woman		that-MAG she
	‘that large young woman, she’		

	Head	Focus
(112)	<i>Silso yu</i>	
	Siljo he	
	‘Siljo, he’	

	Head		Focus
(113)	<i>ye sukuna-mo</i>		<i>yu</i>
	man middle.born-the		he
	‘the middle-born man, he’		

In (114) and (115) the Head is expounded by an Embedding Phrase (7.8.2).

	Head	Focus
(114)	<i>ye-mo-ne ambo mane.si-pe/ to-le-mo//</i> man-the-ACT women teach-3SG hit-ASP-CUST.3SG	<i>ye-mo yuyu</i> man-the he.himself
	‘the man who teaching women beats them, he himself’	
	Head	Focus
(115)	<i>to-ko/ bulu-balo.si-ku/ mundo-ri-ngi// lopama eneno</i> hit-3PL scatter-3PL send-DPST-3PL possums they.themselves	
	‘the possums which they (the dogs) struck and sent scattering, they themselves’	

7.8.4 Derived clause phrase

The Derived Clause Phrase is formed in exactly the same way as derived adjectives which have been described on the stem level under 3.1. Because verb complexes, verb phrases and whole clauses can also be turned into descriptives in the same way as verb words, the construction is described here also. This construction is unusual in that the verb of the clause or complex used in this construction is manifest only by its stem plus the derivator; it takes no other affixation.

The Derived Clause Phrase is typically used in a modifying relationship to the main verb of the clause, so it occurs most often expounding the Manner tagmeme. It also functions as a modifier of nouns so occurs in the Modifier slots of the Modified Noun Phrase. It has also been observed three times in the Apposition of the Appositional Noun Phrase. When the Derived Clause Phrase expounds the Manner tagmeme of the clause it is typically, though not obligatorily, negative in form.

Table 7.18 Derived clause phrase

+Head	+Derivator
clause	- <i>li</i> verb to adjective derivator
verb-stem only	±article clitic

Rules:

1. When the Derived Clause Phrase fills the Apposition of the Appositional Noun Phrase, the article clitic obligatory occurs phrase finally.
2. The verb in the Head slot consists of stem only.

(116) to (120) expound the Manner tagmeme of the clause. Some context will be given, in brackets, to show how this functions, and the derivator will be presented in bold characters. In this context the derivator is best translated by the words ‘with’ or ‘without’ depending on the presence or absence of the verbal negative.

(116)	(we)	<i>ungu naa</i>	<i>ni-li</i>		<i>(angilie-ri-ndu)</i>
	(just)	word	not	stand-DPST-1SG	
					‘(I just stood there) without speaking’

- (117) *tepe naa kalo-li (pepa)*
 fire not burn-DER (he.lived)
 ‘(he lived) without fire’
- (118) *na oma te naa si-li (nambemona no-ngi-ye)*
 me fish a not give-DER (why eat-2PL-QU)
 ‘(Why did you all eat) without giving me a fish?’
- (119) *pipili naa kolo-li (kuru koyo-mbo)*
 fear not die-DER (spirit worship-FUT.1SG)
 ‘(I will worship the spirit) without fear’

(120) is one of the rarer positive examples. It is not easy to properly reflect this particular example in clear English.

- (120) *kapo-nga pendeko telu-kongo apu.to-pa/ mondo-li (andi*
 giant-poss shoulder one-MAG carry.on.shoulder-3S put.ani-DER there
ulke lkise-ri-mu//)
 house run-DPST-3SG
 ‘Putting him on his one large shoulder and carrying him the giant (ran to the house there)’

(121) to (124) expound a Modifier of the Modified Noun Phrase (7.5.1).

- (121) *(amu) lou to-li (telu)*
 (pandanus.nut) axe hit-DER (one)
 ‘(one) cut down with an axe (pandanus nut)’
- (122) *(wale) pe.ni-li*
 (bag) light-DER
 ‘light (weight) (bag)’
- (123) *(ponie) kamu.kumu no te-li*
 (garden) permanently water do-DER
 ‘permanently wet (garden)’ (swamp garden)
- (124) *(ambola) pipili kolo-li*
 (girls) fear die-DER
 ‘frightened (girls)’

(125) occurs as the Apposition of the Appositional Noun Phrase (7.5.2).

- (125) *(yembo ki mele-mo) indi molo-li-mu*
 (person hand like-the) hair be.AN-DER-the
 ‘(like a person's hand) with hair on it’

7.9 Axis-relator phrases

The Axis-Relator Phrases are set apart from other similar types of phrases in Kaugel by the presence of the relator clitics which serve to indicate where and how the phrase will function. All

Axis-Relator Phrases consist of an obligatory Axis and an obligatory Relator. The two Axis-Relator Phrases which fill clause level slots, the Nominal and Locative Axis-Relator Phrases, also have an optional Post-Position⁵ tagmeme phrase finally. Because the function of the Nominal and Locative/Spatial Axis-Relator Phrases is somewhat similar to those phrases described under (7.8) which have to do with embedding sentences into phrases to expound clause level tagmemes, they will be presented first. The other two are the Possessive Axis Relator Phrase and the Comparative Axis-Relator Phrase. These are set up as four different types on the basis of different fillers of the Post-Position and Relator slots, the presence or absence of the Post-Position, and some variety in the potential fillers of the Axis slot.

7.9.1 Nominal axis-relator phrase

The Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase consists of an Axis filled by Noun Phrases, Embedding Phrase, Focus Phrase, pronouns and demonstratives, plus a Relator expounded by relator clitics (5.1.2), followed by an optional Post-Position. Strictly speaking, only the Axis is obligatory. The Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase fills the Actor, Indirect Object, Referent, Resource, and Instrument slots of the clause.

Table 7.19 Nominal axis-relator phrase

+Axis	±Relator	±Post-Position	
Any Noun Phrase	agent clitic <i>-ne ~ -ni</i>	<i>pali</i>	‘all’
Embedding Phrase		<i>yu mele mele</i>	‘each one’
Focus Phrase	indirect object clitic	<i>pea</i>	‘all/both’
Possession Phrase	<i>-ndo ~ -ndu</i>	<i>ungu te</i>	‘a word’
kin terms		<i>ungu mare</i>	‘some words’
pronouns	<i>-mele</i> ‘how’ / ‘about’		
demonstratives			
<i>nambolka</i> ‘what’	referent clitic		
<i>nawe</i> ‘who.sg’	<i>-ndo -ndu ~ -nga -nge</i>		
<i>nambele</i> ‘who.dual’			
<i>namele</i> ‘who.pl’			

Rules:

1. The agent clitic *-ne ~ -ni* occurs when the phrase is expounding Actor, Resource, or Instrument tagmemes of the clause. Morphophonemic rule 1 governs the choice of allomorph.
2. The indirect object enclitic *-ndo ~ -ndu* occurs when the phrase is expounding the Indirect Object tagmeme of the clause. Morphophonemic rule 1 governs the choice of allomorph. The indirect object clitic is used only in conjunction with the verbs ‘to speak’ and ‘ask’, never with the verbs ‘to give’ or ‘to tell’.
3. The referent clitic *-ndo ~ -ndu ~ -nga ~ -nge* and *mele* ‘how’ / ‘about’⁶ occur only when the phrase is expounding the Referent tagmeme of the clause. The choice of vowel in each pair of suffixes of the referent clitic is governed by

⁵ For the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.1) and also for the Embedding Phrase (7.8.2) it may be appropriate to call this tagmeme the Restrictor as more accurately describing its function. However, because in the Locative/Spatial Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.2) the Post-Position tagmeme is expounded by words typically thought of as post-positions, and because this tagmeme always occurs following what are considered to be the phrase final clitics, it has been called the Post-Position tagmeme.

⁶ *mele* is particularly used as the relator when this phrase occurs at the beginning or end of Procedural (11.1) or Expository (11.2) Discourse.

morphophonemic rule 1. The *nd* pair occur only on nouns, the *ng* pair typically on verbs.

4. The Post-Position indicates whether all or each of the items indicated in the Axis of the phrase are actually active in the verb of the clause into which the phrase fits.
5. When the Axis is expounded by a question word the Post-Position cannot occur.
6. The word *ungu* ‘talk’ can only occur in the Post-Position when the Relator is expounded by the referent clitic.

(126) to (132) show the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase expounding the Actor and Instrument tagmemes of the Transitive Active Clause (8.2.1).

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| | Axis | | Relator | |
| (126) | <i>Takopoka Gini</i> | | <i>-ni</i> | |
| | Takopoka | Gini | ACT | |
| | ‘Gini of Takopoka clan...’ | | | |
| | | | | |
| | Axis | | Relator | Post Position |
| (127) | <i>Yombi ye wele</i> | <i>aku-me</i> | <i>-ne</i> | <i>yu.mele.mele</i> |
| | Yombi | men | across that-the.PL | ACT each.one |
| | ‘Each one of those men from over there at Yombi’ | | | |
| | | | | |
| | Axis | Relator | | |
| (128) | <i>(nu) nawe</i> | <i>-ne</i> | <i>(tomu)</i> | |
| | (you) | who | ACT | (he.hit) |
| | ‘Who (hit you)?’ | | | |
| | | | | |
| | Axis | | Relator | Post Position |
| (129) | <i>Kole yembo kinie</i> | <i>kanjoli-mu</i> | <i>-ni</i> | <i>pali</i> |
| | Kole | people and | councillor-the | ACT all |
| | ‘All the people of Kole including the councillor’ | | | |
| | | | | |
| | Axis | | Relator | Postposition |
| (130) | <i>oli ena-selo</i> | <i>-ne</i> | <i>pea</i> | |
| | moon | sun-the.DL | ACT | both |
| | ‘both the sun and the moon...’ | | | |

(131) includes both Actor and Instrument tagmemes of the clause.

- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|----------------|------------|------|-----------|--|------------|
| | Axis | | Relator | | Axis | | Relator |
| (131) | <i>olio</i> | | <i>-ne</i> | | <i>ki</i> | | <i>-ni</i> |
| | we | ACT | | hand | INST | | |
| | ‘we, with our hands’ | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | Axis | | | | Relator | | |
| (132) | <i>kolomongo</i> | <i>telu-mu</i> | <i>-ni</i> | | | | |
| | arrow | one-the | INST | | | | |
| | ‘with the one arrow’ | | | | | | |

(133) to (136) are examples of the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase which expound the Indirect Object tagmeme of the clause.

	Axis	Relator	
(133)	<i>Tata -ndo</i>	<i>(aku.sipe nirimu)</i>	
	Dad IO	(like.that he.spoke)	
	'(He spoke like that) to Dad'		

	Axis		Relator
(134)	<i>kango kelo aku-selo -ndo</i>		
	boys little that-the.DL IO		
	'(I said) to those two little boys'		

In (135) an Embedding Phrase (7.8.2) expounds the Axis.

	Axis		Relator
(135)	<i>Pango pena angilie-mu-mu</i>		<i>-ndu</i>
	Pango outside stand-NPST.3SG-the.SG IO		
	'(She said) to Pango who was standing outside'		

	Axis	Relator	
(136)	<i>na -ndo</i>	<i>(walsipe.pilie-ri-mu)</i>	
	me IO	(ask-DPST-3SG)	
	'(He asked) to me'		

(137) to (142) are examples of the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase which expound the Referent tagmeme of the clause. (137) to (140) use the relator clitic, while examples (141) and (142) use the clitic *-mele* 'how' or 'about'.

	Axis	Relator	
(137)	<i>ama -ndo</i>	<i>(yando o-ngo "kolo-0-mu" ni-ri-ngi)</i>	
	Mum REF	(here come-2/3 die-NPST-3SG say-DPST-3PL)	
	'(They came here and told me) about Mum (dying)'		

In (138) to (140) an Embedding Phrase (7.8.2) expounds the Axis.

	Axis		Relator
(138)	<i>ga mundu te-le-molo-mo</i>		<i>-nga</i>
	sweet.potato mounds make-ASP-CUST.1PL-the REF		
	'(I have finished telling you) about how we make sweet potato mounds / the making of sweet potato mounds'		

	Axis	Relator
(139)	<i>ambo-ma enenga kongono Mande kinie-la pe-le-mo-mo</i> women-the their work Monday on-also be.in-ASP-CUST.3SG-the	<i>-nga</i> REF
	‘(I am reminding you all) about the women's work (to be done) on Monday too.’	

In (140) the word *ungu* ‘word’ occurs in the Post-Position slot according to rule 6 above.

	Axis	Relator	Post-Position
(140)	<i>olionga kuru koyo-le-molo-mo</i> our spirit worship-ASP-CUST.1PL.the	<i>-nga</i> REF	<i>ungu mare</i> word some
	‘(I am speaking) some words about our spirit worship’		

	Axis	Relator
(141)	<i>amu to-le-mo</i> pandanus.nut grow-ASP-CUST.3SG	<i>-mele</i> how
	‘(I am telling you) how pandanus nuts grow’	

	Axis	Relator
(142)	<i>aku te-le-molo</i> that do-ASP-CUST.1PL	<i>-mele</i> how
	‘(I am telling you) how we do that’	

7.9.2 Locative/spatial axis-relator phrase

The Locative or Spatial Axis-Relator Phrase consists of an obligatory Axis and an obligatory Relator plus an optional Post-Position. Fillers of the Axis slot are much the same as for other Axis-Relator Phrases. The Relator is the locative clitic *-na ~ -ne ~ -nga ~ -nge*. (Refer 5.1.2. for rules governing the choice of allomorphs of this morpheme) Fillers of the Post-Position include all directionals (4.4.5.1) and (4.4.5.2) and locationals (4.4.5.3) as well as some quantitative adjectives (4.4.3.4).

Because this same construction is occasionally used to indicate Time as well as Location, this phrase is sometimes referred to in this paper as the Spatial Axis-Relator Phrase, or Locative/Spatial Axis-Relator Phrase. However, its use is primarily as a locative.

The Locative Axis-Relator Phrase expounds the Locative tagmeme, and occasionally the Time tagmeme, of the clause.

Table 7.20 Locative/spatial axis-relator phrase

+Axis	+Relator	±Post-Position
Noun Phrase	locator clitic <i>-na ~ -ne ~ -nga ~ -nge</i>	adjective (quantitative)
Embedding Phrase		locationals
Possession Phrase		directionals
demonstratives		temporals

Rules:

1. Phrases expounding the Axis typically include the word *kolea* ‘place’ or some other element implying location such as a place or clan name.

2. Quantitative adjectives in the Post-Position slot indicate how many of the places indicated in the body of the phrase are actually places where the verb of the clause takes place. Locationals indicate the precise place where the action took place. Directionals indicate in what direction from the location the action took place.
3. Post-Position occurs much more commonly in this Axis-Relator Phrase than in any other.
4. The locative clitic may be variously translated as 'in', 'on', 'to' or 'from' .

	Axis	Relator	
(143)	<i>kolea we lie-ri-mu</i>	<i>aku -ne</i>	
	place just	be-DPST-3SG that	LOC
	‘to that place which wasn't being used for anything’		

	Axis	Relator	
(144)	<i>ya ulke nawe-nga -na</i>		
	here house	who-POSS	LOC
	‘from whose house here?’		

	Axis		Relator	Post-Position
(145)	<i>kongi penge koyo-ngi</i>		<i>kanu -na</i>	<i>ola</i>
	pig head	steam.cook-NPST.3PL	that	LOC up
	‘up to that (place where) they steam cooked the pig's head’			

	Axis		Relator	Post-Position
(146)	<i>kuru ulke -na</i>		<i>suku</i>	
	spirit house	LOC	inside	
	‘inside the spirit house’			

(147) is a "time" example.

	Axis		Relator	Post-Position
(147)	<i>kise.sipe-mo</i>		<i>-nga</i>	<i>ipulueli</i>
	fourth-the.SG	LOC		night
	‘night of the fourth day’			

	Axis		Relator	Post-Position
(148)	<i>Kanjoli keme Mase keme meku.to-li wele</i>		<i>aku-ma -nga</i>	<i>anjo</i>
	Councillor and Mase and vomit-DER	across	that-the.PL	LOC away
	‘away from those places across there where Councillor and Mase vomited’			

	Axis	Relator	
(149)	<i>olionga kolea -na</i>		
	our place	LOC	
	‘to our place’		

	Axis	Relator	
(150)	<i>no.waru -na</i>		
	ravine	LOC	
	‘in the ravine’		

	Axis			Relator	Post-Position
(151)	<i>ya</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>polo</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>-ne manie</i>
	here	this	platform	this	LOC down
	'down in here under this platform'				

(152) is an example of several Locative Axis-Relator Phrases embedded into one another.

	Axis								
(152)	<i>mere</i>		<i>kongono</i>	<i>te-le-mele</i>		<i>akena</i>	<i>ollia</i>		<i>ni-li-mele</i>
	downstream		work	do-ASP-CUST.3PL		Hagen	Hauliers		speak-ASP-CUST.3PL
		Relator	Axis		Relator	Axis			
		<i>aku</i>	<i>-ne</i>	<i>te-le-mele</i>	<i>kolea</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>-ne</i>	<i>kako</i>	<i>li-mele</i>
		that	LOC	do-ASP-CUST.3PL	place	that	LOC	cargo	receive-ASP-CUST.3PL
		<i>kolea</i>							
		place							
			Relator						
		<i>aku</i>	<i>-ne</i>	<i>(pu-pu/ kano-ru-mbulu/)</i>					
		that	LOC	<i>(go-1 see-DPST-1DL)</i>					
		'(We went and looked) down there where they work at the firm called Hagen Hauliers, at that place where they work, at that place where they receive cargo.'							

7.9.3 Possessive axis-relator phrase

The Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase fills the Possessor slot of the Possession Phrase (7.9.4). The Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase consists of an obligatory Axis filled by any Noun Phrase, the Embedding Phrase, the Focus Phrase, or a pronoun, plus an obligatory Relator filled by the possession clitic *-nga* ~ *-nge*. It has no Post-Position tagmeme.

Table 7.21 Possessive axis-relator phrase

+Axis	+Relator
Noun Phrase	possession clitic <i>-nga</i>
Focus Phrase	
Embedding Phrase	
pronoun	

Rules:

1. Morphophonemic rule 1 governs the choice of allomorphs of the possession clitic *-nga* ~ *-nge*.
2. Pronouns are by far the most common words to be affixed with the possession clitic, making pronouns and the Focus Phrase (which obligatorily ends in a pronoun) the most common fillers of the Axis of the Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase.

	Axis		Relator
(153)	<i>umbu ye-mo</i>		<i>-nga</i>
	local man-the.SG		POSS
	‘belonging to the local man’		

	Axis		Relator
(154)	<i>olio -nga</i>		
	we		POSS
	‘our’		

The Axis of (155) is expounded by a Focus Phrase (7.8.3).

	Axis		Relator
(155)	<i>ambo-ma eno -nga</i>		
	woman-the.PL they		POSS
	‘the women, their’		

	Axis		Relator
(156)	<i>Sua lapa -nga</i>		
	Sua his.father		POSS
	‘belonging to Sua's father’		

	Axis		Relator
(157)	<i>angenu kanu-mu -nge</i>		
	brother that-the.SG		POSS
	‘belonging to that brother’		

	Axis		Relator
(158)	<i>ye telu-mu -nge</i>		
	man one-the.SG		POSS
	‘belonging to the one man’		

	Axis		Relator
(159)	<i>Pango menu-gulu -nge</i>		
	Pango wife-DL.ART		POSS
	‘belonging to Pango and his wife’		

7.9.4 Possession phrase

The Possession⁷ Phrase consists of a Possessor filled by the Possessive Axis Relator Phrase (7.9.3) plus an Item filled by a phrase. Only the Possessor is obligatory.

The Possession Phrase fills the Axis of the Nominal and Locative Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9), the Item of the Appositional Noun Phrase (7.5.2), the Head of the Coordinate Noun Phrase (7.5.3), and Subject and Object and Topic and Comment of the clause.

⁷ Possession is not necessarily expressed even when implied in Kaugel. Possession is not overtly expressed with kin terms because possession is inherently included within each kin term as described under 4.4.1.2. The Kinship Complex described under 6.2.2.2. also does not express possession overtly. Also, when the possessed item is a body part the possessor clitic is optionally omitted. The possessor clitic is never used when the thing possessed is the word *imbi* ‘name’. I will present a few examples of these exceptions before presenting examples of the Possession Phrase itself.

Table 7.22 Possession phrase

+Possessor	±Item	
Possessive Axis-Rel. Phrase	Noun Phrase kin term Possession Phrase	
<i>Keapo anumu</i>	Keapo her.mother	Keapo's mother
<i>Yako malo</i>	Yako his.son	Yako's son
<i>nu ki</i>	you hand	your hand
<i>yembo ki</i>	person hand	a person's hand
<i>nu imbi nawe</i>	you name who	what is your name?

Examples of Possession Phrase:

	Possessor	Item
(160)	<i>ye-mo-nga</i> man-the-POSS	<i>amu</i> pandanus.palm
	'the man's pandanus palm'	

In (161) the Item is expounded by a Possession Phrase. This example would have exactly the same meaning without the *nanga* 'my' which is expounding the Possessor.

	Possessor	Item
(161)	<i>na-nga</i> me-POSS	<i>tara-nga lapa</i> dad-POSS his.father
	'my father's father'	

	Possessor	Item
(162)	<i>Yombi</i> Yombi	<i>manga-nga kolea</i> group-POSS place
	'the Yombi groups's place'	

	Possessor	Item
(163)	<i>Sua</i> Sua	<i>lapa-nga kera</i> his.father-POSS bird
	'Sua's father's bird'	

Example (164) shows a Possession Phrase expounded only by a Possessor, which is in turn expounding the Topic of a Commentative Clause (8.1.1). The whole construction is given in the example. It is quite common to omit the Item as generally understood in this type of construction.

	Topic:Possessor	Comment	
(164)	<i>olio-nga</i>	<i>aku.sipe</i>	<i>molo</i>
	we-POSS	like.that	not
	‘Our (custom is) not like that’		
	Possessor		Item
(165)	<i>Pango</i>	<i>menu-ngulu-nga</i>	<i>kongi</i>
	Pango	wife-DL.ART-POSS	pig
	‘Pango and his wife's pig’		

7.9.5 Substantive negative phrase

The Substantive Negative Phrase consists of an optional Item plus a Head filled by the substantive negative. The Substantive Negative Phrase occurs only in the Comment of the Commentative Clause (8.1.1).

Table 7.23 Substantive negative phrase

±Item		+Head		
adjective demonstrative demon. + <i>sipe</i> ‘like this’/ ‘like that’		<i>molo</i> ‘no/not’		
Item		Head		
<i>lupe</i>	‘other’	<i>molo</i>	‘no’	‘not different’
<i>kondoli</i>	‘red’	<i>molo</i>	‘no’	‘not red’
<i>aku</i>	‘that’	<i>molo</i>	‘no’	‘not that’
<i>i.sipe</i>	‘like.this’	<i>molo</i>	‘no’	‘not like this’

7.9.6 Accompaniment phrase

The Accompaniment Phrase consists of a Head tagmeme plus an Accompaniment tagmeme. The Accompaniment Phrase has been observed in both the Subject and Object of the clause.

The word *pea* ‘including’ which expounds the Accompaniment tagmeme also has the meaning of ‘all’ when it occurs phrase finally in the Modified Noun Phrase or Axis-Relator phrases. There are times therefore when it is only clear from the context in which way the *pea* ‘including/all’ is being used.

Table 7.24 Accompaniment phrase

±Head		+Accompaniment	
pronoun Noun Phrase		<i>pea</i> ‘including’ <i>kinie</i> ‘with’	

Rules:

1. When the Accompaniment Phrase is filling the Subject of the clause, the party not specified but inferred in the Head of the phrase is included in the person suffixation of the following verb.

2. Only the Accompaniment is obligatory.

Examples will be presented within their context to illustrate how this phrase is used. The context will be presented in brackets and the salient part of the free English will be underlined.

Examples (166) to (170) have *pea* ‘including’ expounding the Accompaniment tagmeme.

	Head		Accompaniment
(166)	<i>yembo-ma</i>	<i>kepe pea</i>	<i>(ko-le-molo)</i>
	people-the.PL	also including	(die-ASP-CUST.1PL)
	‘ <u>the people also including (me)</u> (we all die)’		

	Head		Accompaniment
(167)	<i>kango-ma</i>	<i>pea</i>	<i>(pu-ru-mulu)</i>
	boy-the.PL	including	(go-DPST-3SG)
	‘ <u>the boys, including (me)</u> (went)’		

In (166) and (167) the speaker is the one who has been understood as included. In (168) it is a third party.

	Head		Accompaniment
(168)	<i>na</i>	<i>pea</i>	<i>(kote.te-molo)</i>
	I	with	(bring.charges-FUT.3SG)
	‘(They) <u>including me</u> , (we will take this matter to court)’		

In (169) the Head is not expressed at all.

		Accompaniment
(169)	<i>pea</i>	<i>(manie-ndo pu-pu)</i>
	including	(down-towards go-1)
	‘(we), <u>including (me)</u> , (going down)’	

	Head		Accompaniment
(170)	<i>melte</i>	<i>pea</i>	<i>(naa panji-li-molo)</i>
	a.thing	with	(not plant-ASP-CUST.1PL)
	‘(we do not plant) <u>anything else with</u> (sweet potato runners)’		

Examples (171) to (173) have *kinie* ‘with’ expounding the Accompaniment tagmeme.

	Head		Accompaniment
(171)	<i>ga</i>	<i>wale kinie</i>	<i>(ulkendo purumu)</i>
	sweet.potato	bag with	(home he.went)
	‘(he went home) <u>with a bag of sweet potato</u> ’		

Head Accompaniment

- (172) *lopoku kinie (angi-li-o)*
club with (stand-ASP-CUST.1SG)
'(I am standing here) with a club (in my hand waiting for a bird to come so I can kill it)'

Head Accompaniment

- (173) *(nu ya) na kinie (o-ngo mol-ko-no)*
(you here) me with (come-2 be.AN-PR-2SG)
'(you coming are here) with me'

8. CLAUSES

Clause in Kaugel is the grammatical construction which signifies one unit of action or being. So it is a string of speech with one predicate or predicate-like tagmeme. Only the Predicate is obligatory and it is filled by a verb, a verb complex, or a verb phrase which is either dependent or independent in form. This form of the verb or verb phrase filling the Predicate slot reflects the main distinction of clause types: Dependent and Independent. This factor is based on the verb morphology already described under verbs (4.2).

Other tagmemes of the clause are manifest by non-verb phrases. Clauses, in their turn are fillers of sentence Bases.

Dependent clauses occur only sentence medially, never finally; that is, they do not constitute complete statements but are dependent on other clauses. They must be followed by at least one independent clause to constitute a complete utterance. Dependent clauses manifest all but the final base of the four Dependent-Verb Sentences (9.3).

Independent clauses occur in isolation constituting a complete utterance, or in combination with other clauses both sentence medially and finally. They manifest any base of any sentence other than the Dependent-Verb Sentences, and obligatorily fill the final base of all sentence types.

All clauses are either Equative or Active. There are two types of each: Equative are either Commentative or Stative; Active are either Transitive or Intransitive.

The type of clause which expounds any particular base of any particular sentence type is governed more by whether the clause is dependent or independent rather than whether it is active or equative. It has however been observed that Equative Clauses tend to co-occur in any given sentence with other Equative Clauses and Active Clauses with Active Clauses.

Each clause type will be presented in the following way: First there will be a prose description of the clause, then a bi-dimensional array, including any special features, to visually display the clause, followed by any rules pertinent to that clause type. In the bi-dimensional arrays nuclear tagmemes will be signified by the use of block capitals. Finally, examples will be presented, in which each tagmeme will be identified both as to slot and filler. In the examples the symbol / will be used to signify the end of a dependent verb and // to mark the end of an independent verb.

8.1 Equative clauses

Equative Clauses always reflect a state of being. There are two types of Equative Clause: the Commentative Clause and the Stative Clause, each of which has two nuclear tagmemes, which in all most examples consist of, though occasionally a peripheral tagmeme such as Time or Location does occur. Equative Clauses are typically short, occur most often as complete utterances i.e. filling the one Base of the Simple Sentence (9.2), and are far more common in conversation than in recorded text.

8.1.1 Commentative clause

The Commentative Clause consists of a Topic and a Comment, both of which are obligatory. These are optionally, though rarely, followed by a Predicate tagmeme which will always be filled by an existential verb (4.2.1). Because the Predicate is optional the Commentative Clause is unique among Kaugel clauses.

The Commentative Clause may be either a statement or a question. A question is marked by the interrogative clitic (5.2.2) clause finally, or by a question word expounding the Comment.

Table 8.1 Commentative clause

±Time	+Topic	+Comment	±Predicate
Basic time Ph.	pronoun demonstrative Noun Phrase Possession Phrase Embedding Phrase Db-Hd.N.Comment	pronoun Substantive Negative Phrase response word Possession Phrase Poss. A-R. Phrase question word	existential verb

Rules and Special Features:

1. The Predicate is obligatorily absent if Comment is filled by a Substantive Negative Phrase.
2. When the Predicate does occur it is obligatorily expounded by an existential (class 1) verb (4.2.1)
3. When the Topic is expounded by a demonstrative and the Comment by a response word (4.4.10.2), the clause itself then functions as a response - example (1).
4. Phrases occurring in this clause type are typically short, and the Comment tagmeme is usually shorter than the Topic.
5. The Time tagmeme occurs only rarely and in any examples observed it has co-occurred with the Predicate tagmeme which also does not occur very often. However, the Predicate tagmeme does occur without the Time tagmeme.
6. Both Topic and Comment are always obligatory.

Topic Comment (sub.negative)

- (1) *aku molo*
that not
'Not that' (functioning as a response)

Topic (Emb.Ph.) Comment

- (2) *owa oleanga to-0-nu// kanu-mu nanga*
dog yesterday hit-NPST-2SG that-the mine
'That dog you killed yesterday was mine.'

Topic (pronoun) Comment (Db-Hd.N.Com.) Predicate

- (3) *na ambo.ambou mo-li-o*
I old.woman I be.AN-ASP-CUST.1SG
'I am an old woman.'

Topic (Db-Hd.N.Com.) Comment

- (4) *lopa imbi-mu olkou*
marsupial name-the wallaby
'The name of the marsupial is wallaby.'

Topic (Poss.A-R.Ph.) Comment (Sub.Neg.Ph.)

- (5) *olionga aku.si-pe/ molo*
ours like.that-3SG not
'Our custom is not like that.'

In example (6), hortative imperative is being used as historic past, as per note 5 under Hortative imperative on page 10 of Chapter 4 on Words.

	Time (Tem.Com.)	Topic (pronoun)	Comment (Mod.N.Ph.)	Predicate
(6)	<i>koronga ou</i> already before	<i>na</i> I	<i>kango kanga</i> boy little	<i>mol-a-mbo//</i> be.AN-IMP-HORT.1SG
	'Long ago (when) I was a little boy.'			
	Topic (Emb.Ph.)	Comment (question word)		
(7)	<i>eno o-ngo/</i> they come-3PL	<i>pu-ku-mili//me</i> go-PR-3PL-the.PL	<i>namele-ye</i> who.PL-QU	
	'Who are the people going past?'			

8.1.2 Stative clause

The Stative Clause consists of a Referent, a Stative Subject, and a Predicate. Only the Predicate is obligatory, always expounded by a Stative Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1.3). The Stative Subject also occurs quite commonly. Time and Location are also optional but occur only rarely.

The action of the verb complex which expounds the Predicate is seen as acting upon the Stative Subject to bring about a particular state of being. Such things as cold, fear, pain, sorrow, weariness, being torn, wet, dry, tight, and so on. The person of the Stative Subject is the recipient of a force or action over which he has no conscious control¹.

The Stative Clause may be either a statement or a question. A question is marked by the interrogative clitic clause finally, or occasionally by a question word expounding the Stative Subject.

Table 8.2 Stative clause

±Time	±Location	±Referent	±Stative Subject	+Predicate
Basic Time Ph.	Locative Axis-Rel. Ph.	Nominal Phrase	pronoun Noun question word	Stative Adj.Vb. Complex
features:		+ clitic <i>monga</i>		3SG; usually present or past tense

Rules and Special Features:

1. Time and Location do not usually occur.
2. Stative Subject is usually expounded by only one word, most commonly a pronoun. Nouns expounding Stative Subject are, most commonly, generic common nouns (4.4.1.1).
3. The Predicate is always expounded by a Stative Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1.3), the verb of which accepts only third person singular affixation, usually in either present or immediate past tense.

¹ For a discussion of Stative Clauses and their Active Clause pairs, see Active and Passive Verb Compound Pairs in Kaugel by June Head.

4. When Predicate is manifesting near past tense, this typically indicates something which has taken place in the past - not necessarily the immediate past - which is still currently relevant, as in (11) and (12).
5. The Referent tagmeme when occurring in this clause is marked by the second position allomorph of the referent clitic (5.1.2) and is always preceded by the article clitic (5.1.1).
6. The Referent tagmeme only occurs, and then only optionally, when any one of a small list of fillers expounds the Predicate (compare the Referent tagmeme of the Intransitive Active Clause, (8.2.2)). These fillers are:

<i>siye te</i>	to be weary
<i>kondo kolo</i>	to be sorry
<i>umbune te</i>	to have a heavy heart / to bear a heavy burden
<i>mini-wale pu</i>	to be distressed / amazed
<i>pipili te</i>	to be frightened

- | | Stative Subject (noun) | Predicate | |
|------|---|---|---|
| (8) | <i>kolea</i>
place | <i>ali pulumu te-ke-mo//</i>
cold much do-PR-3SG | |
| | ‘It is very cold.’ | | |
| | Stative Subject (pronoun) | Predicate | |
| (9) | <i>na</i>
I | <i>penge no-ko-mo//</i>
head eat-PR-3SG | |
| | ‘I have a headache.’ | | |
| | Stative Subject (pronoun) | Predicate | |
| (10) | <i>olio</i>
we | <i>mini-wale pu-ku-mu//</i>
soul-bag go-PR-3SG | |
| | ‘We are distressed.’ | | |
| | Stative Subject (noun) | Predicate | |
| (11) | <i>wale</i>
bag | <i>sungu.ni-mu//</i>
tear-NPST.3SG | |
| | ‘(The/My) bag is torn.’ | | |
| | Stative Subject (noun) | Predicate | |
| (12) | <i>mulumbale</i>
cloth | <i>koma.lie-mu//</i>
be.damp-NPST.3SG | |
| | ‘The cloth is damp.’ | | |
| | Time (Basic T.Ph.) | Stative Subject | Predicate |
| (13) | <i>oleanga ipulueli</i>
yesterday night | <i>Okaramba</i>
Ukarumpa | <i>kupe to-mu//</i>
cloud hit-NPST.3SG |
| | ‘It was foggy at Ukarumpa last night.’ | | |
| | Referent (Nom.A-R.Ph.) | Stative Subject (pronoun) | Predicate |
| (14) | <i>nu pu-ni// mu-nge</i>
you go-FUT.2SG the.SG-REF | <i>na</i>
I | <i>kondo te-ke-mo//</i>
sorrow DO-PR-3SG |
| | ‘I am sad about your going.’ | | |

8.2 Active clauses

Just as there are two types of Equative Clauses, Active Clauses are also of two types; transitive and intransitive. Only the Predicate tagmeme is obligatory in Active Clauses. The peripheral tagmemes of both transitive and intransitive Active Clauses are Time, Location and Manner. Active Clauses can be commands, questions or statements; i.e. can occur in imperative, interrogative, or indicative moods, indicated by the verb affixation in the Predicate. Questions are also indicated by the presence of a question word (4.4.7) in the Time, Location, Object, Subject, or Manner slots. When a question word is present in the clause the verb of the Predicate takes indicative rather than question affixation (the one exception to this is within quotes in written material where both question marking devices are considered necessary). Hence these are not set up as emic clause types as there is only ever one difference between the three forms of the clause.

8.2.1 Transitive active clause

The Transitive Active Clause has seven nuclear tagmemes: Actor, Object, Indirect Object, Resource, Referent, Instrument, and Predicate. Only the Predicate is obligatory. Actor and Object are more common than the other four non-predicate tagmemes. Peripheral tagmemes are Time, Location, and Manner. Any peripheral tagmemes are optionally repeated and, when they are, the repetitions tend to occur contiguously.

Actor, Indirect Object, Referent, Resource, and Instrument tagmemes are manifest always and only by Nominal Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9.1); the only exception being that the Comparative Axis-Relator Phrase can occasionally expound the Referent tagmeme. The relator clitic of the phrase signifies which clause level tagmeme is manifest and shows the relationship of that tagmeme to the verb manifesting the Predicate. Conversely, though, only the Actor of the clause is marked in the verb of the Predicate, and there it is marked in exactly the same way as the Subject of the Intransitive Active Clause². The Object is not manifested by an Axis-Relator Phrase because the language has no object clitic³.

Except that the Predicate must always occur clause finally there is no fixed ordering of tagmemes of the Transitive Active Clause though the preferred order is as presented in the bi-dimensional array. When a clause is interrogative, the Object will usually precede the Actor.

The Transitive Active Clause differs from the Intransitive Active Clause in the following respects:

1. There are seven nuclear tagmemes in the Transitive Active Clause but only two in the Intransitive Active Clause.
2. The Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase expounds five of the nuclear tagmemes of the Transitive Active Clause but this phrase only occurs in one slot of the Intransitive Active Clause, and then only a peripheral one.
3. Existential verbs (4.2.1) and verbs of motion, which commonly expound the Predicate of the Intransitive Active Clause, do not occur in the Transitive Active Clause, except occasionally as modifiers of other verbs

² Kaugel is a nominative accusative language so far as verb affixation is concerned - actor and subject being marked in the same way, and no suffixation to indicate object. But it is an ergative absolutive language so far as the system of relator clitics (4.1.2) is concerned - actor being marked by a relator clitic in the Noun Phrase, while subject and object are unmarked.

³ Information about the allomorphic variation of these clitics, as well as further factors governing their use is presented in Chapter 5.

Table 8.3 Transitive active clause

±(Time)	±(Location)	±ACTOR	±INDIRECT OBJ	±REFERENT	<u>OBJECT</u>	±INSTRUMENT	±RESOURCE	±Manner)	+PREDICATE
any Time Phrase	Locative Axis-Rel. Phrase	Nominal Axis-Rel. Phrase	Nominal Axis-Rel. Phrase	Nominal Axis-Rel. Phrase	Independent Clause	Nominal Axis-Rel. Phrase	Nominal Axis-Rel. Phrase	Repetitive Adverb Complex*.	any Verb Phrase* Augmented Phrase
Comparative Complex*	Place Name Complex			Comparative Axis- Rel. Phrase	Sentence* any Noun Phrase	Complex*		Modifying Adjunct Verb Com.*	RegularAdjunct Verb Complex
Repetitive Adverb Complex*	Direction Complex				Embedding Phrase			modifying verbs*	regular verbs
	Locative Complex				Possession Phrase			adverbs*	
Repetitive Spatial Complex*	Repetitive-Spatial Complex*				Derived-Clause Phrase			question words*	
modifying verbs*	Modifying Adjunct Verb Complex*				Accompaniment Phrase				
adverbs*					Comparative Axis-Rel. Phrase				
question word*	modifying verbs*				pronoun kin term question word demonstrative quote				
special features: *indicate time	*indicate location clitics: <i>-na</i> and <i>-ndo</i>	clitic <i>-ne</i>	clitic <i>-ndo</i>	clitics <i>-ndo</i> and <i>-mele</i>	*typically short with only one or two bases	clitic <i>-ne</i>	clitic <i>-ne</i>	*indicate manner	*regular verb as Head

Rules and Special Features:

1. The agent clitic *-ne* (5.1.2) is the relator of the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase filling the Actor, Instrument and Resource slots.
2. The indirect object clitic *-ndo* (5.1.2) is the relator of the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase filling the Indirect Object slot.
3. The referent clitic *-ndo* (5.1.2) is the relator of the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase filling the Referent slot.
4. The locator clitic *-na* (5.1.2)⁴ or spatial clitic *-ndo* (4.4.5.9) are the relators of the Locative Axis-Relator Phrase which occurs in the Locative slot.
5. The peripheral tagmemes Time, Location, and Manner are optionally repeated once. The tagmeme and its repetition tend to occur contiguously.
6. Not all tagmemes occur in any one example; three or four commonly occur.
7. Indirect Object and Referent tagmemes tend to be mutually exclusive, as do Instrument and Resource, though co-occurrence can be elicited.
8. An Included Motion Clause (8.2.2.1) may occur in any Transitive Active Clause, usually immediately preceding the Predicate.

- | | | | |
|------|--|--|--|
| | Actor | Object (Mod.N.Ph) | Predicate (regular verb) |
| (15) | <i>ye-mo-ne</i>
man-the-ACT | <i>sumoli</i>
gold.lipped.pearl.shell | <i>si-l-ke//</i>
give-ASP-SUBJ.3SG |
| | ‘The man might give a gold-lipped pearl shell.’ | | |
| | Object (Emb.Ph) | Manner (adverb) | Predicate (regular verb) |
| (16) | <i>si-ki-nu// -mu</i>
give-PR-2SG-the | <i>kapola</i>
okay | <i>li-ki-ru// -mu</i>
take-PR-1SG-ASS |
| | ‘The (thing) you are giving (me) I am certainly taking okay (with pleasure)’ | | |
| | Manner (mod.vb) | Predicate (regular vb) | |
| (17) | <i>nambe-po/</i>
how-1 | <i>te-a-mbo//</i>
do-IMP-HORT.1SG | |
| | ‘How shall I do it?’ | | |
| | Time (Basic Time Ph.) | Object (Mod.N.Ph) | Predicate |
| (18) | <i>orili.ou-ku-ndu</i>
next.morning-at-toward | <i>pele</i>
battens | <i>to-po/</i>
hit-1 |
| | ‘In the morning I cut roof battens.’ | | |
| | Time (Basic Time Ph.) | Time (Basic Time Ph.) | |
| (19) | <i>koro kelo kinie orili.ou</i>
rest small when next.morning | <i>koro awili kinie ipulueli.ou</i>
rest big when morning | |
| | Pred: Completive Aspect Vb.Ph. | | |
| | <i>tako-po/</i>
build-1 | <i>pora.si-ndu//</i>
finish-NPST.1SG | |
| | ‘On Saturday morning and on Sunday morning I finished building (my house).’ | | |

⁴ Included in (5.1.2) is information about the allomorphic variation of these clitics, as well as further factors governing their use.

- Location (Loc.A-R.Phase)
- (20) *ga.ponie-na kinie kamaye.ponie-na kinie*
 sweet.potato.garden-LOC and wild.sugar.cane.garden-LOC and
kepe kolea-ma-nga pali
 also places-the-LOC all
- Object (Poss.Ph.) Predicate (Asp.Vb.Ph.)
- nanga kongi koro-po/ kelie-ndu*
 my pig search-1 leave-NPST.1SG
- ‘In the sweet potato garden and also in the pitpit garden I have searched unsuccessfully everywhere for my pig.’
- Object (Poss.Ph.) Instrument (Nom.A-R.Ph.) Predicate (reg.verb)
- (21) *nanga kimbu kou-ni to-mu//*
 my foot stone-ACT hit-NPST.3SG
- ‘A stone cut my foot.’

Because there is no actual passive voice in Kaugel, (21) is the way a passive situation is represented. It is not possible to literally say ‘my foot was cut by a stone’, or even ‘I cut my foot on a stone’, the stone being seen as the agent - unless the cutting was intended by the person cut.

- Resource (Nom.A-R.Ph.) Object (Mod.N.Ph.) Predicate (reg.verb)
- (22) *unjo aku-poko-ne ele te-le-mele*
 wood that-several-RES bow do-ASP-CUST.3PL
- ‘They make bows out of those several (kinds of) wood’
- Indirect Object (Nom.A-R.Ph.) Predicate (Sem.UnitVb.Ph)
- (23) *umbu yembo-ma-ndo walsi-pu/ pilie-ri-ndu//*
 local people-the.PL-IO ask-1 hear-DPST-1SG
- ‘I asked (to) the local people.’

The suffix *-ndo* ‘to’ in the Indirect Object of (23) cannot be translated into English. However it is always used in Kaugel when this particular Semantic Unit Verb Phrase expounds the Predicate.

- Referent (Nom.A-R.Ph.) Predicate (Asp.Vb.Ph.)
- (24) *ga mundu te-le-molo// -mo-nga ni-mbu/ pora.si-ki-ru//*
 sweet.potato mound do-ASP-CUST.1PL-the-REF speak-1 finish-PR-1SG
- ‘I am finishing speaking about how we make the sweet potato mound.’
- Instr. (Nom.A-R.Ph.) Object (Mod.N.Ph.) Predicate (Asp.Vb.Ph.)
- (25) *koya-ne alumbelu kanu-me kopisi-li-pe/ pu-pe/ pu-pe/ pupe/*
 bamboo.knife-INST tongue that-the.PL sever-SIM-3SG go-3SG go-3SG go-3SG
- ‘He went on and on severing those tongues with a bamboo knife.’

(26) is part of a text about a special language used by the Kaugel people when harvesting pandanus nuts.

	Referent (Nom.A-R.Ph.)	Object (Quote)	Predicate (reg.verb)
(26)	<i>wale-mo-ndo</i> string.bag-the-REF	<i>pingisyē</i> pingisyē	<i>ni-le-mele//</i> say-ASP-CUST.3PL
	‘In referring to the string bag they say "pingisyē".’		

8.2.1.1 Benefactive clause

The Benefactive Clause is a sub-type of the Transitive Active Clause. It has all the features of the Transitive Active Clause plus two extra features to signify benefaction. One is the presence of the benefactive suffix (4.3.1) on the verb of the Predicate, the other is the use of the Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase as the only exponent of the Benefittee tagmeme. This Phrase does not occur elsewhere in clauses - except occasionally expounding Topic or Comment of the Commentative Clause (8.1.1). The Benefittee tagmeme of the Benefactive Clause virtually takes the place of the Indirect Object of the regular Transitive Active Clause. The Benefittee tagmeme is nuclear to this clause type but not obligatory.

It should be noted that when the benefitting action relates to more than one verb the benefactive suffix will occur only on the last of the string of verbs. This construction is then considered to be a Merged Clause (8.3).

	Benefittee (Poss.A-R.Ph.)	Object (Mod.N.Ph.)	Predicate (reg.verb)
(27)	<i>kondoli-mu-nge</i> red-the.SG-POSS	<i>no</i> water	<i>kolo-ndo-po/</i> draw-BEN-1
	‘I am drawing water for the white (man)...’		
	Object (Mod.N.Ph.)	Benefittee (Poss.A-R.Ph.)	Predicate (reg.verb)
(28)	<i>lopa te</i> possum one	<i>tata-nga</i> dad-POSS	<i>to-ndo-ndu</i> hit-BEN-NPST.1SG
	‘I killed a possum for Dad.’		
	Time (Tem.Com.)	Object (Mod.N.Ph.)	Predicate (reg.verb)
(29)	<i>koro awili kinie</i> rest big when	<i>angi</i> kunai.grass	<i>to-ndo-ri-ngi//</i> hit-BEN-DPST-3PL
	‘On Sunday they cut kunai grass (for my house).’		

8.2.1.2 Opening and closing quote clauses

The opening and closing quote clauses, both of which occur only in the Quote Sentence (9.4.1), are restricted forms of the Transitive Active Clause.

The Opening Quote Clause

The Opening Quote Clause has only three tagmemes, all nuclear: Actor, Indirect Object, and Predicate. Only the Predicate is obligatory⁵. Also the list of fillers of the Predicate is restricted to verbs, verb complexes, or verb phrases which indicate speech such as *ni* ‘to speak’, *ni plus si* ‘to tell’, and *walsi plus pili* ‘to ask’. The final verb of the Opening Quote Clause is always suffixed for future tense plus the suffix *-ndo ~ -ndu* which is used in other contexts to indicate purpose or intention. The actor clitic *-ne ~ -ni* obligatorily occurs phrase finally in the Actor tagmeme.

⁵ Sometimes, either in conversation or cultural-story telling, the Opening Quote Clause is represented only by the Actor tagmeme and the Predicate is omitted. However, native speakers will not allow this short-cutting in written form, so the Predicate tagmeme is considered obligatory to this construction.

- | | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| | Actor (Nom.A-R.Ph.) | IndObj (Nom.A-R.Ph.) | Predicate (reg.verb) |
| (30) | <i>Yako-mele yu-ni</i> | <i>Kemboro-ndo</i> | <i>ni-mbe//-ndo</i> |
| | Yako-like he-ACT | Kemboro-IO | speak-FUT.3S-PUR |
| | ‘The one like Yako he said to Kemboro...’ | | |
| | Actor (Nom.A-R.Ph.) | Predicate (reg.verb) | |
| (31) | <i>na-ne</i> | <i>ni-mbo//-ndo</i> | |
| | I-ACT | speak-FUT.1SG-PUR | |
| | ‘I said...’ | | |
| | Actor (Nom.A-R.Ph.) | Indirect Object (Mod.N.Ph.) | |
| (32) | <i>no li-nde-li</i> | <i>Jono-ne yembo-ma</i> | |
| | water take-BEN-DER | John-ACT people-the | |
| | Predicate (SemUnitVb.Ph.) | | |
| | <i>ni-mbe/ si-mbe//-ndo</i> | | |
| | speak-3SG give-FUT.3SG-PUR | | |
| | ‘John the baptiser told the people...’ | | |

In (32) the indirect object clitic is omitted from the Indirect Object tagmeme because when the verb *si* ‘to give’ occurs in the Predicate the indirect object clitic is obligatorily omitted from the Indirect Object tagmeme of the clause.

The Closing Quote Clause

The Closing Quote Clause is even more restricted than the Opening Quote Clause. It consists only of Object or Manner, plus Predicate. Only the Predicate is obligatory and this is restricted to the same fillers as the Predicate of the Opening Quote Clause. There are, however no restrictions of tense. The Object tagmeme is expounded only by a demonstrative ‘that’, and Manner only by the modifying adjunct verb complex ‘like that’.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| | Object (dem) | Predicate (reg.verb) |
| (33) | <i>aku</i> | <i>ni-ri-ndu//</i> |
| | that | speak-DPST-1SG |
| | ‘I said that.’ | |
| | Manner (Mod.Adj.Vb.Com.) | Predicate (reg.verb) |
| (34) | <i>aku.si-pe/</i> | <i>ni-ri-mu//</i> |
| | like.that-3SG | speak-DPST-3SG |
| | ‘He spoke like that.’ | |

8.2.2 Intransitive active clause

The Intransitive Active Clause has only two nuclear tagmemes, Subject and Predicate. Only the Predicate is obligatory. Peripheral tagmemes are Time, Location and Manner - as for the Transitive Active Clause - with the addition of a Referent tagmeme which only occurs and then optionally, when one of a short list of particular fillers expounds the Predicate. The subject of the clause is also marked in the verb of the Predicate thus rendering the Subject tagmeme optional to the clause structure. The Location tagmeme occurs far more commonly in the Intransitive Active Clause than in the Transitive; chiefly because the most common exponents of the Predicate are verbs of motion.

Except that the Predicate must always occur clause finally there is no fixed ordering of the tagmemes though the preferred order is as shown in the bi-dimensional array, with Location being the tagmeme most likely to move position.

Table 8.4 Intransitive active clause

±Time	±Location	±Referent	±Subject	±Manner	+Predicate
any Time Ph. Comp. Com.*	Locative AR Ph. Place-Nm.Com.	Nominal AR Ph.	any Noun Ph. Embedding Ph.	Rep.Adv.Com.* Modifying Adjunct Vb.Com.*	any Verb Ph. Augm. Ph.
Rep.Adv.Com.*	Direction Com.		Focus Ph.	modifying verbs	Adjunct Verb Com.
Repet.Spatial Com.*	Loc.Com.		Accompan. Ph.	adverbs	existential verbs
modifying verbs* adverbs*	Rep.Spatial Com* Mod.Adjunct Vb.Com* modifying verbs*	Poss. Phrase	quest.wrds* demonstr. pronoun kin term quest.word*	regular verbs	
quest.word*	quest.word*				
Special features:					
*indicate time	*indicate loc. clitics <i>-na, -ndo</i>	clitic <i>-monga</i>	*indicate manner		

Rules and Special Features:

1. The peripheral tagmemes Time, Location, and Manner are optionally repeated once. The tagmeme and its repetition tend to occur contiguously.
2. The locator clitic *-na* (5.1.2) or the spatial clitic *-ndo* (4.4.5.9) are the relators of the Locative Axis-Relator Phrase which occurs in the Locative slot.
3. The Referent tagmeme when occurring in this clause is marked by the second position allomorph of the referent clitic (5.1.2) and is always preceded by the article clitic (5.1.1).
4. Verbs of existence or motion, or phrases or complexes with verbs of existence or motion expounding the Head slot, are the most common exponents of the Predicate.
5. The Referent tagmeme⁶ occurs only, and even then it is optional, when one of a small list of Adjunct Verb Complexes⁷ expounds the Predicate:

<i>siye kolo</i>	‘to be weary’
<i>kondo kolo</i>	‘to be sorry’
<i>umbune kolo</i>	‘to have a heavy heart’ / ‘to bear a heavy burden’
<i>mini-wale mundu</i>	‘to be distressed/upset/amazed’
<i>pipili kolo</i>	‘to be frightened’

⁶ Compare the Referent tagmeme of the Stative Clause (8.1.2).

⁷ For a discussion of how these Adjunct Verb Complexes and the similar Adjunct Verb Complexes which expound the Predicate of some Stative clauses occur in pairs see Active and Passive Verb Compound Pairs in Umbu-Ungu by the author of this paper.

- Referent (Nom.A-R.Ph.) Subject (Mod.N.Ph.) Predicate (Adj.Vb.Com.)
- (35) *kope aku-me-nga kango-ma pipili.kol-kol/*
 cliff that-the.PL-REF boy-the.PL be.afraid-2
 ‘the boys being afraid of those cliffs...’
- Time (BasicT.Ph.) Location (Loc.A-R.Ph.) Predicate (exist.verb)
- (36) *walse na-nga ulke molo-po/-lie*
 one.day me-POSS house be.AN-1-SEQ
 ‘One day I was in my house when....’

In regard to (36) it should be noted that the locative clitic is optional when common locative nouns like *ulke* ‘house’ occur phrase finally.

- Time (mod.vb) Subject (prn) Manner (mod.vb) Location (hor.dir) Pred (motion verb)
- (37) *alto-po/ na lkisi-pu/ anjo pu-pu/*
 again-1 I run-1 there go-1
 ‘I went running there again....’
- Subject (Acc.Ph.) Predicate (motion verb)
- (38) *mele pea pu-ru-mulu//*
 things with go-DPST-1PL
 ‘We went with the things./ We went (taking) the things with us.’
- Subject (Mod.N. Ph.) Predicate (Augmented Ph.)
- (39) *ne kango kanu-mu we o-ru-mu//*
 nearby boy that-the.SG just come-DPST-3SG
 ‘That boy there just came for nothing.’
- Subject (Focus Ph.) Predicate (motion verb)
- (40) *Bereme yu-yu o-ru-mu//*
 Bereme he-himself come-DPST-3SG
 ‘Bereme himself came / Bereme came on his own.’
- Time Location (Loc.A-R.Ph.) Pred (motion vb)
- (41) *Pe Pupuroi-ni melu lie-ri-mu// aku-me-nga nekendo pu-pu/*
 then Pupuroi-ACT traps set-DSPT-3SG that-the.PL-LOC near go-1
 ‘Then going near where Pupuroi had set those traps we...’
- Referent (Nom.A-R.Ph.) Predicate (Adj.Vb.Com)
- (42) *kera laime pipili.ko-li-o//*
 bird cassowary be.afraid-ASP-CUST.1SG
 ‘I am afraid of cassowaries.’

8.2.2.1 Included motion clause

The Included Motion Clause is a sub-type of the Intransitive Active Clause and consists of only an optional Location plus an obligatory Predicate. This clause is so named because a verb of **motion** obligatorily expounds the Predicate and because it is **included** in the Transitive Active Clause, usually immediately preceding the Predicate. This clause also embeds in the Merged Clause (8.3). Because it is always included in a larger clause, the Included Motion Clause obligatorily ends with a dependent verb.

The examples of the Included Motion Clause will be presented in the context of the main clause into which they embed, as it is not otherwise possible to see how this construction is used. The translation of the actual Included Motion Clause will be underlined in the free English. The Included Motion Clause even occasionally occurs **between** the elements of the Predicate, especially between the Auxiliary and Head of the Adjunct Verb Complex, as in (43).

- | | | | | |
|------|---|------------------|--------------------|--|
| | Auxiliary | Incl. Motion Cl. | Head | |
| (43) | <i>ala</i> | <i>ando-po/</i> | <i>to-ru-ndu//</i> | |
| | priestly | wander.about-1 | hit-DPST-1SG | |
| | ‘I went about carrying out priestly functions.’ | | | |

Note: *ala to* is an Adjunct Verb Complex meaning to carry out priestly duties/functions.

- | | | | | |
|------|--|------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| | Object (Poss.Ph.) | | Incl.M.Cl. | Pred (reg.verb) |
| (44) | <i>opa si-ri-mu</i> | <i>ye-mo-nga</i> | <i>sumoli o-mba/</i> | <i>ambolo-ru-mu//</i> |
| | fight give-DPST-3SG | man-the.SG-POSS | shell come-3SG | take.hold.of-DPST-3SG |
| | ‘He came (and) took hold of the fight leader's gold lipped pearl shell.’ | | | |

Example (45) illustrates how the actor clitic *-ni* pertains to the verb of the final Predicate rather than to the verb of motion in the Included Motion Clause.

- | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Actor (Nom.A-R.Ph.) | | Incl.Mot.Cl. | Predicate (reg.verb) |
| (45) | <i>mondokolie mongo pulu kanu-ni</i> | <i>o-mba/</i> | <i>kano-ru-mu//</i> | |
| | mondokolie fruit owner | that-ACT | come-3SG | look-DSPT-3SG |
| | ‘That owner of the modokolie fruit came (and) looked...’ | | | |
| | Time (tem.1) | Actor (Nom.A-R.Ph.) | | Object (Nom.A-R.Ph.) |
| (46) | <i>opali</i> | <i>ye kondoli keapo-mo-ne</i> | <i>illekton te-molo//mele</i> | |
| | tomorrow | man red | govt.officer-the-ACT | election do-FUT.1PL-about |
| | Incl.Mot.Cl. | Pred (SemUnitVbPh.) | | |
| | <i>ya-ndo o-mba/ ni-mbe/ si-mbe//</i> | | | |
| | here-to | come-3SG | speak-3SG | give-FUT.3SG |
| | ‘Tomorrow the white government officer will come here (and) tell us about the elections.’ | | | |

8.3 Merged clauses

The Merged Clause consists of a series of Predicates which share tagmemes from various levels. These shared tagmemes include Object, and Locations, from the clause level, the verbal negative *naa* ‘not’ from the phrase level, and the benefactive suffix *-ndV* from the word level. Either one or two shared tagmemes occur in any given example of the Merged Clause. A shared clause level tagmeme occurs preceding the sequence of Predicates, of which there may be two, three, or more. The verbal negative occurs most often as part of the filler of the second Predicate which it is negating and is restricted to two Predicates. The benefactive suffix occurs on the verb of the second Predicate of the Merged Clause in which it occurs, and is also restricted to two Predicates. The Predicates of Merged Clauses are commonly, though not exclusively, transitive. Object is the more common shared clause level tagmeme.

The series of Predicates sharing several tagmemes was analysed as a merged clause rather than a merged sentence for the following reasons:

1. All sentences, even those embedded in other sentences or clauses or phrases, obligatorily end with an independent verb. The Merged Clause, however, optionally ends in either a dependent or independent verb.
2. The tagmemes shared by the Predicates of the Merged Clause are always clause level or lower, never sentence level.
3. Another quite different construction has been analysed as Merged Sentence (9.6).

	Object	Pred (reg.vb)	Pred (reg.vb)	Pred (reg.vb)
(47)	<i>ga</i> sweet.potato	<i>aku-ku/</i> dig-3PL	<i>koyo-ko/</i> steam.cook-3PL	<i>no-ri-ngi//</i> eat-DPST-3PL
	‘They dug up and cooked and ate sweet potato.’			

(48) is very similar to (47) except that it also has an Included Motion Clause (8.2.2.1) embedded in it.

	Object	Pred (Inc.Mot.Cl.)	Pred	Pred
(48)	<i>ga</i> sweet.potato	<i>aku-ku/ lko-ndo</i> dig-3PL home-to	<i>me-ngo/ pu-ku/</i> carry-3PL go-3PL	<i>koyo-ko/ no-ri-ngi//</i> steam.cook-3PL eat-DPST-3PL
	‘They dug up sweet potatoes, took them home, steam cooked them and ate them.’			

(49) is an example of shared Location.

	Actor	Loc (Axis-Rel.Ph.)	Object	Pred (reg.vb)	Pred (motion vb)
(49)	<i>olio</i> we	<i>konde</i> bush	<i>lama-ndo</i> bush-to	<i>lopa</i> possum	<i>koro-li-pu/ pu-pu/</i> search-SIM-1 go-1
	‘We went to the bush searching for possums...’				

(50) is an example of shared benefactive suffix and shared Object.

	Object	Predicate	Predicate
(50)	<i>ga</i> sweet.potato	<i>aku-ku/</i> dig.up-2SG	<i>kalo-ndo-yo//</i> cook-BEN-2SG.IMP
	‘Dig up and cook some sweet potato for (me)!’		

What may be termed a sub-type of the Merged Clause is the "split-tagmeme" Merged Clause. This construction consists of a partly expressed Object or Location tagmeme followed by its Predicate, then the remainder of the Object or Location tagmeme followed by a repeat of the Predicate. It is very likely that if recorded texts were edited these constructions would be regularized. Examples (51), (52) and (53) are of this sub-type. (51) and (52) exhibit split object, while (53) has a split location.

- | | | | | |
|------|--|------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | Object (split) | Pred (reg.vb) | Object (split) | Pred (DurativeAspectVbPh.) |
| (51) | <i>ka</i> | <i>te-ko/</i> | <i>awili-mele</i> | <i>te-ko/ molo-ngi//</i> |
| | rope | make-3PL | big-like | make-3PL be.AN-NPST.3PL |
| | ‘They were making fairly big rope.’ | | | |
| | Object (split) | Pred (reg.vb) | Object (split) | Pred (Contin.AspectVbPh.) |
| (52) | <i>murū</i> | <i>aku-l-ku/</i> | <i>loyoko-mele</i> | <i>aku-l-ku/ pu-li-mele//</i> |
| | hole/pit | dig-SIM-3PL | steam.cooking.pit-like | dig-SIM-3PL go-ASP-CUST.3PL |
| | ‘They go on digging a pit like a steam cooking pit.’ | | | |

In (53) the shared tagmemes are "split" Location and verbal negative. In the "split" Location tagmeme the post-position of the Locative Axis-Relator Phrase expounding the Location occurs following the first Predicate.

- | | | | | |
|------|--|----------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| | Loc (split) | Predicate | Loc (split) | Predicate |
| (53) | <i>kuru kopiaka-mo-nga</i> | <i>me-ngo/</i> | <i>suku</i> | <i>naa pu-li-mele//</i> |
| | spirit kopiaka-the-LOC | lead-3PL | inside | not go-ASP-CUST.3PL |
| | ‘They do not take (people who eat pandanus fruit) inside the place where they worship the kopiaka spirit.’ | | | |

8.4 Coordinate clauses

There are two ways in which clauses of equal rank can be joined into larger constructions. One is a series of dependent clauses as in Dependent Sentences (9.3). The other is by combining independent clauses into Juxta-posed Sentences (9.5)

8.5 Subordinate clauses

Subordinate Clauses⁸ are of two main kinds; dependent and embedded. There are also two main kinds of embedded clauses; those which embed into phrases and those which embed as or within clause level tagmemes.

8.5.1 Dependent clauses

The very name, Dependent Clause, indicates that these clauses are dependent upon, and therefore subordinate to, Independent Clauses. Refer to the introductory remarks in chapter 8 for a discussion of the Dependent Clause, and to examples of the Dependent Sentences (9.3) to see how dependent clauses function. For description and examples of another type of dependent clause refer to the Included Motion Clause (8.2.2.1)

8.5.2 Clauses embedding in phrases

The Embedding Phrase (7.8.2), the Focus Phrase (7.8.3), and the Derived Clause Phrase (7.8.4) are the three phrases into which clauses or sentences⁹ embed. The Embedding phrase may then expound tagmemes on the clause level; namely Subject, Object, or Topic, or may further embed

⁸ There is also a sense in which sentence level connectives subordinate clauses/sentences within the larger sentence. For description and examples of such constructions see section 9.7.

⁹ Any clause, or sequence of clauses, embedded in the Embedding Phrase or the Focus Phrase obligatorily ends with an independent verb, which technically makes them sentences.

into other phrases such as the Focus Phrase or the Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9). The Focus Phrase expounds the Subject tagmeme of the clause. The Derived Clause Phrase typically expounds the Manner tagmeme of the clause, though it has also been observed once expounding Object. The Embedding Phrase covers what could be called Relative Clause and also Nominalised Clause.

8.5.3 Clauses embedding as or within clause level tagmemes

8.5.3.1 Clauses embedding as object of verbs of perception

A clause or sentence may embed, with no change in structure whatever, as the Object of a verb of perception¹⁰. Such an embedded clause/sentence will always end with an independent verb.

- Object (Emb.Cl.) Pred (verb of perception)
- (54) *nanga kongi to-mu// kano-ndu//*
 my pig kill-PST.3SG see-NPST.1SG
 ‘I saw him kill my pig.’
- Object (Emb.Cl.) Pred (verb of perception)
- (55) *yu Akena pu-mu// konopu.le-ke-ro*
 she Hagen go-NPST.3SG think-PR-1SG
 ‘I think she went to Hagen.’
- Object (Emb.Clause/Sentence)
- (56) *Tunde kinie ele yema o-ngo/ opa llo te-nge// ni-ki-mili//*
 Tuesday on bow men come-3PL fight law do-FUT.3PL say-PR-3PL
 Pred: DurativeAspectVerbPhrase (with perception verb as head)
pili-pu/ mo-le-mbolo
 hear/know-1 be.AN-ASP-CUST.1DL
 ‘We two are aware (that) they say (that) the police are coming on Tuesday to enforce the law (in regard to the) fight.’
- Time (mod.vb) Object (Summary Sentence) Pred (verb of perception)
- (57) *kel-ko/ nu maratini mare kano-ko/-lie (o-ngo/ ni-ki-mili//)*
 again-2SG you medicine some see-3PL-SEQ (come-3PL say-PR-3PL)
 ‘Once again they saw and (came and told me) (that) you have some medicine and are applying ointment.’

(58) unmarked clause as locative.

- (58) *Mandi kongi-ri to-ko-mele// p-a-mbo//*
 Mendi pig-a kill-PR-3PL go-IMP-HORT.1SG
 ‘Let me go (to where) they are killing a pig (at) Mendi’
- (59) *amu tana.o-mu// li-po-ndu//*
 pandanu.nut fall.down-NPST.3SG get-go-NPST.1S
 ‘I went and got the fallen pandanus nut.’

¹⁰ Very occasionally, a totally unmarked clause will embed as the object of some other verb, and once only an unmarked clause was observed functioning as a Locative. Examples (58) and (59) will illustrate this. However, all such constructions would be regularised in written form.

8.5.3.2 Clause embedding as subject of existential verb

Clauses in which the Predicate is expounded by a Stative Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1.3) may embed in an Intransitive Active Clause of which the Predicate is expounded by an existential verb (4.2.1). In such constructions the verb of the Adjunct Verb Complex must be suffixed for third person singular hortative.

	Subject (Embedded Clause)	Predicate
(60)	<i>Ene konopu pe.ni-pili//</i> you.PL mind be.at.peace-HORT.3SG	<i>mol-a-ngi//</i> be.AN-IMP-3PL.HORT
	‘Stay with your hearts at peace.’	

(61) also includes an example of a nominalised clause (Embedding Phrase) as the Subject of the clause.

	Subject	Loc	Embedded Clause	Predicate
(61)	<i>Bosele ni-ki-nu-mu</i> bottle say-PR-2SG-the	<i>ya</i> here	<i>pipi ingi.ni-pili//</i> lid stuck-HORT.3SG	<i>le-mo//</i> be.IN-3SG
	‘The bottle you are speaking of, it’s here with its lid stuck.’			

8.6 Clause level tagmemes

The slots of the clause level are Time, Location, Topic, Comment, Referent, Stative-Subject, Actor, Indirect-Object, Object, Instrument, Resource, Benefittee, Subject, Manner, and Predicate. A description of each slot with potential fillers, plus any restrictions as to distribution, will now be presented:

8.6.1 Time

The Time tagmeme optionally occurs in any clause type, usually clause initially. The Time tagmeme may be expounded by any Temporal Phrase (7.2.5), any complex which indicates time such as *taki-teki* ‘often’ and *laye-kolte* ‘a little while’, adverbs which indicate time such as *koronga* ‘already’, modifying verbs such as *nondo* ‘soon’, and the question word *tewale* ‘when?’.

It should be noted that the time element in a sentence is often a separate independent clause to which is attached the sequence connective *kinie* ‘when’ or one of the Connective Complexes such as *kanu-kinie* ‘and then’. As such they function as bases of the Sequence Sentence (9.7.5).

It should also be noted that even when a Time tagmeme occurs in a specific clause it is quite often the time setting for a much larger unit than just the clause in which it occurs. In other words, the Time tagmeme is often more salient to a whole paragraph or even a whole discourse, rather than just to the clause in which it occurs. This will be covered more specifically in the Paragraph and Discourse chapters.

8.6.2 Location

The Location tagmeme optionally occurs in any clause type except the Commentative Clause. It usually occurs following the Time tagmeme although it has no fixed position, being the most moveable of the clause level tagmemes. The Location tagmeme may be expounded by the Locative Axis-Relator Phrase, any complex which indicates location or direction such as *mulu-kiliwe* ‘mount

Giluwe' or *ne manie* 'down there nearby', a Modifying Adjunct Verb Complex like *kumbi le* 'in front', modifying verbs like *akili* 'behind', and the question word *tena* 'where?'.

The clitics which indicate location are the locator clitic *-na ~ -ne ~ -nga ~ -nge* (5.1.2) and the spatial clitic *-ndo ~ -ndu* (4.4.5.9).

As with the Time tagmeme, even when a Location tagmeme occurs in a specific clause it is quite often the location setting for a much larger unit than just the clause in which it occurs.

8.6.3 Topic

The Topic tagmeme occurs only in the Commentative Clause, where it is obligatory. It always occurs immediately preceding the Comment tagmeme, which is also obligatory to this clause type. Fillers of the Topic tagmeme, which are usually short, are any Noun Phrase (7.5), the Embedding Phrase (7.8.2), the Possession Phrase (7.9.4), a pronoun (4.4.2), or a demonstrative (4.4.6).

8.6.4 Comment

The Comment tagmeme occurs only in the Commentative Clause where it is obligatory. It always immediately follows the Topic tagmeme. Fillers of the Comment tagmeme, which are usually short, are any Noun Phrase (7.5), the Possession Phrase (7.9.4), the Substantive Negative Phrase (7.9.5), a pronoun (4.4.2), or question words such as *nawe* 'who (singular)?', *namele* 'who (plural)?'.

8.6.5 Referent

The Referent tagmeme optionally occurs in any clause other than the Commentative Clause. In the Stative and Intransitive Active Clauses the Referent tagmeme occurs only if certain Adjunct Verb Complexes manifest the Predicate and even then it is optional. (A list of these particular Verb Complexes is given in the rules for each clause type). The Referent in these two clause types is usually indicating someone or something one is concerned about, sorry for, frightened of, weary of, etc.

In the Transitive Active Clause the Referent tagmeme tends to occur when the Predicate is expounded by a verb word, complex, or phrase indicating speech. The Referent in this clause is usually indicating someone or something spoken about.

The Referent clitic *-ndo ~ -ndu ~ -nga ~ -nge* (5.1.2) is the marker for the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase which is the main exponent of the Referent tagmeme. The first position allomorphs *-ndo ~ -ndu* are usually used to mark the Referent tagmeme of the Transitive Active Clause, whereas only the second position allomorphs *-nga ~ -nge* have been observed in examples of the Referent tagmeme in Stative and Intransitive Active Clauses, where the referent clitic is always preceded by one of the article clitics (5.1.1).

The only other exponent of the Referent tagmeme is the Comparative Axis-Relator Phrase, the relator of which is *-mele* 'like/about'. This phrase has only been observed in the Transitive Active Clause.

8.6.6 Stative subject

The Stative Subject tagmeme is exclusive to the Stative Clause where it immediately precedes the Predicate. The Stative Subject is seen as the recipient of an action or force over which he has no conscious control. The Stative Subject is most commonly expounded by a pronoun, though sometimes a noun or occasionally a question word occurs.

When a question word expounds the Stative Subject it often occurs between the elements of the Predicate rather than preceding it.

In (62) *nawe* ‘who?’ is expounding the Stative Subject while *penge no* ‘to have a headache’ expounds the Predicate.

- (62) *penge nawe no-ko-mo*
 head who.SG eat-PR-3SG
 ‘Who has a headache?’

8.6.7 Actor

The Actor is the person who performs the action of the verb in the Transitive Active Clause. The Actor tagmeme does not occur in any other clause. It is differentiated from the Subject of the Intransitive Active Clause by the agent/ergative clitic *-ne ~ -ni* which is the relator of the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase. However Actor is marked in the verb in the same way in which subject is marked. This phrase is the only exponent of the Actor tagmeme. Where there is absolutely no possibility of confusion as to the actor the agent/ergative clitic may be omitted. However, the lower the actor is in animacy the more likely the agent/ergative clitic is to occur.

The Actor tagmeme is commonly used in a discourse to indicate the actor of the first action of a new participant immediately after he is introduced. So even though an Actor tagmeme occurs in a specific clause, the sphere of action is not necessarily limited to that clause. The Actor tagmeme tends to occur near the beginning of a sentence or even a paragraph and is not likely to reoccur unless there is a change of actor.

8.6.8 Indirect object

The Indirect Object occurs only in the Transitive Active Clause and the Quote Sentences (9.4.1). It occurs most often in the Opening Quote Clause (8.2.1.2), which is a sub-type of the Transitive Active Clause.

The only filler of the Indirect Object slot is the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase, the relator of which is the clitic *-ndo ~ -ndu* (5.1.2). The clitic is obligatorily present when the Predicate of the clause is expounded by the verb *ni* ‘to speak’ or the Semantic Unit Verb Phrase *walsi* plus *pili* ‘to ask’. However it is obligatorily omitted when the Predicate of the clause is expounded by the verb *si* ‘to give’, or the verb phrase *ni* plus *si* ‘to tell’. This apparent omission may be because the language sees the person(s) given to or told more as objects than indirect objects, object being an unmarked case.

8.6.9 Object

The Object tagmeme occurs only in the Transitive Active Clause and is the most common tagmeme of that clause other than the Predicate. It is the only nuclear non-Predicate tagmeme of the Transitive Active Clause which is not expounded by the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase. The Object tagmeme is often shared by several clauses. When such clauses are expounded only by a Predicate this series of Object plus several Predicates is called a Merged Clause (8.3). Object is unmarked, both within the tagmeme and verbal affixation.

The Object of a clause can be separated from its Predicate by an Included Motion Clause (8.2.2.1). (63) is a very common example of this.

- Object Inc.Mot.Cl. Predicate
 (63) *no o-ngo/ kol-a//*
 water come-2SG draw-IMP.2SG
 ‘Come and draw water!’

The Object slot has a long list of fillers (virtually the same as those which fill the Axis of the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.1)). They are Independent Clause, Sentence, any Noun Phrase, the Embedding Phrase, the Possession Phrase, the Derived Clause Phrase, the Accompaniment Phrase, the Comparative Axis-Relator Phrase, a quote, a pronoun, a kin-term, a demonstrative, or a question word such as *nambolka* ‘what thing?’.

A sentence expounding the Object tagmeme is typically short and usually a Simple Sentence or a Dependent-Verb Sentence of two or three bases. This only happens when the verb expounding the Predicate is a verb of perception, as described and illustrated under 8.5.3.1.

8.6.10 Instrument

The Instrument tagmeme occurs only in the Transitive Active Clause and is not very common. The Instrument is the thing used to carry out the action of the Predicate. The only filler of the Instrument slot is the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase and the clitic expounding the Relator is *-ne ~ -ni* as for Actor and Resource tagmemes¹¹.

The main difference between the Actor and Instrument tagmemes is that the Actor is a person and the Instrument is a thing. Actor and Instrument can co-occur.

8.6.11 Resource

The Resource tagmeme occurs only in the Transitive Active Clause and is the least common of all the tagmemes of that clause. It occurs only when the verb *te* ‘to do/make’, or a verb complex or phrase containing that verb, expounds the Predicate slot, and even then it is optional. The Resource is the thing or substance out of which the Object of the verb of the Predicate is made. The only filler of the Resource slot is the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase and the clitic expounding the Relator is *-ne ~ -ni*, as for Actor and Instrument tagmemes.

Combinations of Actor, Instrument, and Resource tagmemes can be elicited but they do not normally co-occur.

8.6.12 Benefittee

The Benefittee tagmeme occurs only in the Benefactive Clause which is a restricted sub-type of the Transitive Active Clause. The Benefittee is the person who benefits from the action of the Predicate. The benefitting action is marked in the Predicate by the presence of the benefactive suffix on the final verb of that Predicate.

The only filler of the Benefittee slot is the Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase which occurs nowhere else on the clause level.

8.6.13 Subject

The Subject occurs only in the Intransitive Active Clause and is the person who performs the action of that clause. Although the Subject is expressed in a specific clause, his sphere of action is not necessarily limited to that clause but quite often carries right on through a full sentence, a paragraph, or even a first-person Narrative Discourse without being re-stated. The Subject tagmeme is unmarked, though subject is marked in the verb in the same way as Actor of the Transitive Active Clause is marked.

The fillers of the Subject slot are similar to the fillers of the Object slot of the Transitive Active Clause except that neither an Independent Clause nor a sentence ever expound the Subject. The

¹¹ Because the same clitic marks all three tagmemes, this clitic could be termed agent clitic.

fillers are any Noun Phrase, the Embedding Phrase, the Focus Phrase, the Accompaniment Phrase, the Possession Phrase, a demonstrative, a pronoun, a kin term, or a question word such as *nawe* ‘who?’.

8.6.14 Manner

The Manner tagmeme optionally occurs in both types of Active Clause (8.2). Manner indicates how or in what way the action of the Predicate is carried out. The Manner tagmeme almost always immediately precedes the Predicate to which it is very closely linked.

As many of the adverbial concepts of Kaugel are expressed by verbs or verb complexes, Manner has a similar list of fillers to the Predicate; the fillers being adverbs, modifying verbs, the Modifying Adjunct Verb Complex, the Repetitive Adverb Complex, and the question word *nambemuna* ‘why?’. ‘How?’ is also a common filler of the Manner slot but this takes the form of a modifying verb.

Some of the fillers of the Manner slot overlap not only with fillers of the Predicate slot but also with those of the Time (8.6.1) and Location (8.6.2) slots. This is because, as already stated, many adverbial concepts are expressed by verbs in Kaugel and may be adverbs of time, adverbs of place, or adverbs of manner.

The Manner tagmeme usually immediately precedes the Predicate of a clause but may also occur between the elements of the Predicate, especially between the Auxiliary and Head of the Adjunct Verb Complexes. The Manner and Predicate tagmemes can also share the verbal negative *naa* in the same way as a sequence of two Predicates does (see Merged Clause 8.3). Example (64) illustrates this.

	Manner		Predicate
(64)	<i>lkisi-pe/</i>	<i>naa</i>	<i>pu-ru-mu//</i>
	quickly-3SG	not	go-DPST-3SG
	‘He did not go quickly.’		

Some examples of the Manner tagmeme occur between the elements of the Predicate. In each of the following examples the Manner occurs between the auxiliary and the head of the Adjunct Verb Complex which expounds the Predicate.

	Auxiliary	Manner	Neg	Head (Sem.UnitVb.Ph.)
(65)	<i>konopu</i>	<i>aku.si-ku/</i>	<i>naa</i>	<i>li-ku/ mundo-yo//</i>
	mind	like.that-2SG	not	take-2SG send-IMP.2SG
	‘Don't worry like that!’			

	Auxiliary	Manner	Head
(66)	<i>ali</i>	<i>paa</i>	<i>pulumu te-ke-mo//</i>
	cold	very	much do-PR-3SG
	‘It is very cold.’		

8.6.15 Predicate

The Predicate tagmeme is obligatory to all clause types except the Commentative Clause in which it occurs only rarely. The Predicate indicates either action or existence. It always occurs clause finally. The Predicate tagmeme is expounded by a verb, a Verb Complex, or a Verb Phrase.

9. SENTENCES

9.1 Introduction

Sentences in Kaugel may be defined as a clause or a sequence of clauses which constitute a complete utterance. They range from simple to very complex structures. Embedding of sentence within sentence is the main feature which contributes to the complexity of the Kaugel sentences. A previous paper (Head 1973) focuses on this embedding feature, but in this present paper I simply bring it to the attention of the reader as it may help in the understanding of some examples, particularly when the last base of one sentence becomes the first base of the next. Kaugel sentences are of five types, each with various sub-types. There are three sentence types which feature dependent clauses, three which feature Quote clauses, five juxtaposed sentence types, four types of merged sentence, and fifteen sentence types with overt links; four of which are sub-classified as tight binary sentences. The simple sentence, falling, as it does, outside all of these types, is regarded as extra-systemic. This is a total of 31 different sentence types.

For each **group** of sentences I will present the features they have in common as well as how they differ from each other. For each **type** of sentence I will present a description of its structure, ways in which it is similar to and/or differs from other similar sentences, information on its distribution in other constructions, and a bi-dimensional array or chart of its form with any special features at the foot of the chart and relevant rules immediately following it. Then examples will be given to illustrate the sentence type described and charted. Where an example of a sentence is given in the context of a larger sentence into which it embeds, the appropriate part of the free English translation will be underlined. Ends of clauses, whether main, subordinate or embedded, will be marked by // for an independent clause, and by / for a dependent clause. Information added to the free English translation to help it make better sense will be presented in brackets.

9.1.1 Sentence Periphery

There are two types of sentence periphery; that which precedes the sentence proper and that which follows. The elements which occur as preceding sentence periphery include exclamations; sentence, paragraph or discourse topics; elements which are used to link sentences into paragraphs, or to introduce new paragraphs; the words for 'yes' and 'no'; and vocative of address kin terms. Sentence topic is most often encoded as a Noun Phrase or a clause followed by the referent clitic or a demonstrative affixed by the referent clitic (5.1.2). The periphery item following a sentence is after-thought; something which would normally have occurred as part of the sentence proper but which has been thought of afterwards by the speaker. After-thought may be just a Noun Phrase which would have expounded a tagmeme of the sentence proper, or even sometimes a full clause of additional explanatory or clarificatory information. Because Sentence Periphery can occur in any sentence, Sentence Periphery will not be included in the bi-dimensional arrays.

9.2 Simple Sentence

A Simple Sentence consists of only one base manifest by an independent clause (see chapter 8, introductory remarks). The feature which differentiates a Simple Sentence from an independent clause is that the Simple Sentence can be uttered in isolation, with appropriate intonation contour.

Table 9.1 Simple Sentence

+Base

any independent Clause

The minimal manifestation of a clause is the predicate. However, when a clause is a Simple Sentence it is very rarely manifested by just a predicate, and all examples of Simple Sentence manifest just by a predicate have been found in conversation. Here are three of them.

In examples (1) to (3) the Simple Sentence is expounded by just one word. In (1) the word shown is expounding the Comment tagmeme of a Commentative Clause (8.1.1):

Base

- (1) *Komindi*
good
'(It is) good'

Examples (2) and (3) are the predicates of active clauses:

Base

- (2) *Kano-ndu*
see-1S.PST
'I saw (it).'

Base

- (3) *Walsi-e!*
call-EMP.2S
'Call (him)!'

Other more expanded examples:

Example (4) is expounded by a Commentative Clause (8.1.1).

Base

- (4) *I ulke kolo-mo nanga//.*
this house ground.impression-the mine
'This place with the mark of where a house once stood (is) mine.'

Examples (5) and (6) are expounded by independent active clauses (8.2).

Base

- (5) *Kolea koronga tango-0-mu//.*
place already daylight-PST-3S
'Day has already broken.'

Base

- (6) *Na-ne talko waembono-te to-ru-ndu//.*
 I-ACT two.days.ago bird.type-a shoot-DPST-1S
 ‘Two days ago I shot a waembono (bird).’

Example (7) has preceding periphery, in the form of a demonstrative indicating the topic of the sentence.

Periphery Base

- (7) *Kanu nambolka ni-0-mbo//.*
 that what say-FUT-1S
 ‘What will I say (about) that?’

Example (8) has preceding periphery, which is a more typical form of sentence topic than in (7). An after-thought periphery also follows the sentence base. In the periphery preceding the base there is an embedded Simple Sentence.

Periphery

- (8) *Kuru, kuru ambo.kuru koyo-le-molo// aku-mu-nge*
 spirit spirit ambo-kuru sacrifice.to-ASP-1PL that-the-REF

Base

Periphery

koyo-ru-mulu,// ou
 sacrifice.to-DPST-1PL before

‘Concerning the (fact) that we sacrifice to the ambo-kuru spirit, we sacrificed to (it) some time back.’

Example (9) is a comparatively complex "Simple" Sentence. There is a sentence topic as introductory periphery, and embedding within embedding in the object of the main Simple Sentence. The Base of the sentence is expounded by a Transitive Active Clause (8.2.1) consisting of an object and a predicate. The verb expounding the predicate is ‘to tell’. Within the object of that verb is embedded a second Transitive Active Clause consisting of an object and a predicate. The verb expounding the predicate of this embedded clause is ‘to hear’. That verb in turn has an embedded Paraphrase Sentence (9.5.2) functioning as object.

Periphery Base

- (9) *Aku olio wi kalopa.l-si-mu//, kalopa.l-si-mu// ni-ngu/*
 that us upstream generate-DPST-3S generate-DPST-3S say-3PL
ye anda-ma-ne ni-li-mele// pili-li-o//
 men old-the.PL-ACT say-ASP-3PL.CUST hear-ASP-1S.CUST
aku mele nimbu.si-ki-ru//.
 that like tell-PR-1S

‘I am telling you like that what I hear the old men say, about him generating us back then.’

9.3 Dependent Base Sentences

There are three Dependent-Base Sentences - that is, sentences which have dependent-verb non-final bases. They are the Dependent Sentence, the Simultaneous Action Sentence, and the Summary Sentence.

9.3.1 The Dependent Sentence

The Dependent Sentence consists of a sequence of up to 23 Bases expounded by dependent clauses (see chapter 8, introductory remarks) and one final Base expounded by an independent clause. Between each Base an optional Connector occurs, expounded by the dependent verb sequence connector *-lie* (4.3.2).

The ways in which the Dependent Sentence differs from the Simultaneous Action Sentence have been given under the Simultaneous Action Sentence (9.3.2). The ways in which the Dependent Sentence differs from the Listing Sentence, when the Listing Sentence has dependent verbs in its bases, are given under the Listing Sentence (9.5.3).

It should be remembered, when studying examples of the Dependent Sentence, that not every word which is verbal in form is in itself manifesting the predicate of a clause. Some "verbs" function as adverbs or mood/aspect indicators (4.4.4) and (7.2). Some verbs team together into one semantic unit with varying degrees of bleaching of their original meaning (7.3). Many verbal - and adverbial - concepts are expressed by a combination of adjunct plus verb (6.1). Some series of verbs share tagmemes, thus forming Merged Clauses (8.3). Finally, repetition of an identical verb form is considered to be manifesting the predicate of one clause rather than a sequence of clauses.

The Dependent Sentence is used so commonly that it could be considered the back-bone of the language. The Dependent Sentence can occur in the bases of almost any sentence type except that it cannot occur in any of the four Merged Sentences (9.6). It also occurs commonly in paragraphs and can expound almost any tagmeme of any paragraph type except that it cannot occur in the Alternate (10.4.1.1), Frustration (10.4.3.3), Contrast (10.4.4.2) or Hypothetical (10.4.5.2) Paragraphs.

Semantically, the Dependent Sentence can be viewed as fulfilling the functions of what have been described elsewhere as Coordinate (9.5.1) and Sequence (9.7.5) Sentences, except that with the Dependent Sentence the same person and tense¹ must apply throughout the whole sentence.

Table 9.2 The Dependent Sentence

+Base ₁	±CON	±(+Base ₂	±CON)	+Base ₃
Dependent Clause	<i>-lie</i>	Dependent Clause	<i>-lie</i>	Independent Clause
Quote Sentence		Quote Sentence		Quote Sentence
Paraphrase Sentence				Paraphrase Sentence
				Reason Merged S.
				Purpose Sentence
				Simultaneous Action S.
Features:	same person and number throughout			independent verb

¹ 'Tense' throughout this chapter is to be understood as any tense, mood or aspect which can be marked in the nucleus of the verb (4.3).

Rules:

1. The dependent clause person-number must agree with that of the final base independent verb person-number, except that occasionally a difference of number is permitted provided there is an overlap of subject-actors.
2. A maximum of 24 bases are allowable, but 2,3,4 and up to about 10 are more common.
3. The connector is optional, but a maximum of two are used in any one sentence.

The functions of the sequence connector *-lie* are as follows:

- 3.1 When a sentence begins with recapitulation and the final verb of that recapitulation is dependent in form *-lie* is almost always suffixed to that verb, thus separating the recapitulation from the new information.
- 3.2 When one (group of) dependent clause(s) is to be disassociated, in time location or type of event, from the next (group of) (dependent) clause(s) *-lie* can be used to highlight this disassociation. This principle of disassociation also means that a group of clauses preceding the connector is held together as a unit distinct from what follows the connector.
- 3.3 *-lie* can be used to signal that an embedded sentence follows.
- 3.4 When the ‘person-tense reminder’ is used *-lie* virtually obligatorily precedes it.
4. Because the dependent verb morphology is so simple, the language employs a person-tense reminder which may be used anywhere in a dependent sequence, though not more than once in any sentence, and to varying degrees in a discourse by different speakers. The person-tense reminder consists of the verb stem *ni* ‘to speak’ suffixed with independent verb morphology in the person and tense² of the sentence of which it is a part plus the suffixes *-mo-ne* / *-mu-ni* which is possibly the singular definite article plus actor clitics. Morpho-phonemic rule 1 (the high-low vowel rule) pertains to the choice of allomorphs.

Examples (10) to (13) have no connectors.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| | Base ₁ | | Base ₂ | | | | |
| (10) | <i>"Sike"</i> | <i>konopu.le-ko/</i> | <i>lopa</i> | <i>anda</i> | <i>sukundu</i> | <i>o-ngo</i> | <i>o-ngo/</i> |
| | true | think-2/3 | possum | one.and.all | inside | come-2/3 | come-2/3 |
| | | Base ₃ | | | | | |
| | <i>wele</i> | <i>manie</i> | <i>te-nga</i> | <i>maku.to-ri-ngi//.</i> | | | |
| | across | down | a-LOC | gather-DPST-3PL | | | |
- ‘Thinking (that it was) true every last possum came streaming in (and) gathered at a place down across from there.’

In example (11) Base₁ is filled by a Quote Sentence.

² Imperative mood is not permitted

- Base₁
 (11) "Ama!, *nambolka melte-ne te-ke-mo//*" *ni-mbe/*
 Wow!, what thing-INST do-PR-3S say-3S
- Base₂ Base₃
winji-pa pu.pe/ no-ru-mu//.
 upstream-further go.3S drink-DPST-3S
 'Saying "Wow!, what's doing (this)" he went further upstream (and) drank.'

Example (12) has five bases. Base₁ is a Merged Clause (8.3).

- Base₁
 (12) *Lopa kanuma li-pe/ talape.tondo-pa/ kambu.li-pe/*
 possum those take-3S make.a.line-3S count-3S
- Base₂
ulke te tako-pa/ aku-na mo.mundu-pe/ olo pali nosi-pe/
 house a build-3S that-in line.up.game-3S innards all put-3S
- Base₃
pe-po/ lie-ri-mulu//.
 sleep-1 lie-DPST-1PL.
 'Taking those possums (and) lining (them) up he counted (them) (and) building a shelter he lined up (the game) in that, putting (them) innards and all, (and) we (including him) slept soundly.'

In example (13) the object of the Merged Clause expounding Base₁ is an Embedding Phrase (7.8.2).

- Base₁
 (13) *Oma rais me-ri-mu// akuma ya-ndo nosi-pu/ kele-po/*
 fish rice carry-DPST-3S those here-to put-1 leave-1
- Base₂ Base₃
ga me-po/ mele wale kinie pu-ru-mulu//
 sweet.potato carry-1 thing bag with go-DPST-3PL.
 'Leaving behind those fish (and) rice (which) he (had) brought, carrying sweet potatoes (of our own instead) we went (off) with (the patrol-officer's) bag of things.'

Example (14) has thirteen bases, with quite a bit of embedding. This includes a Listing Sentence (9.5.3) embedded in Base_{2,4}, a general-specific Paraphrase Sentence (9.5.2) in Base_{2,8}, a Decision Sentence (9.4.2) in Base_{2,10} which in turn has a Listing Sentence manifesting its second Base. Merged Clauses (8.3) expound bases 2-2, 2-7, and 2-9. The connector *-lie* occurs following Base₁ according to rule 3.1. above, regarding recapitulation.

- (14) Base₁ Base₂₋₁
Ga-mbo panji-pu/-lie wende-po/
 sweet.potato-runners plant-1-CON open.up.mounds-1
- Base₂₋₂ Base₂₋₃
ga kanumu aku-pu/ sikele.te-po kongi-nge me-nde-po/
 sweet.potato that dig.up-1 scale.out-1 pig-POSS carry-BEN-1
- Base₂₋₄
kongi kanu-mu-nge lupe lali-ndi-pu/ yemboma-nga lupe
 pig that-the-POSS separately bag(V)-BEN-1 the.people-POSS separately
- Base₂₋₅ Base₂₋₆ Base₂₋₇
lali-ndi-pu/ me-mbo/ pu-pu/ ulke suku pu-pu/ ga
 bag(V)-BEN-1 carry-1 go-1 house inside go-1 sweet.potato
- Base₂₋₈
gomo to-po/ lali-pu/ me-mbo/ pu-pu/ kongi si-pu/
 leaf break.off-1 bag-1 carry-1 go-1 pig give-1
- kongi kanuma-nga kumbime-nga yaka.yaka.ni-mbu nosi-pu/*
 pig those-POSS noses-POSS for.each.one.separately put-1
- Base₂₋₉ Base₂₋₁₀
yembo kanume kalo-ndo-po/ boro-ndo-po/ "n(o)-a-ngi" ni-mbu/
 people those cook-BEN-1 serve-BEN-1 "eat-IMP-3PL.HORT" say-1
- Base₂₋₁₁ Base₃
yema si-pu/ amboma si-pu/ olio no-mbo/ uru.pe-le-molo//.
 men give-1 women give-1 we eat-1 sleep-ASP-1PL.CUST
- ‘When we have planted (the) sweet potato runners we open up (the mounds), that sweet potato we dig up (and) distributing (it) we carry (the) pig's for (it); that pig's (sweet potato) we bag separately for (it) (and) the people's we bag separately for (them) (and) taking (it) we enter into (the) house; breaking off sweet potato leaves we bag (them) (and) take (them) (and) give (them to the) pig, one at each we put (them) at each of the pig's snouts; those people's we cook for (them) (and) remove-from-cooking for (them) (and) so that they may eat we give (the men (theirs) and give the women (theirs) (and) we eat (and) sleep.’

Examples (15) to (21) incorporate the connector *-lie*.

In example (15) Base₁ is an example of *-lie* used following recapitulation, as per 3.1. above. This particular style of Dependent Sentence is very typical of the Procedure Paragraph (10.4.2.2).

- (15) Base₁ Base₃
Mundu wende-po/-lie mundu te-le-molo//.
 sweet.potato.mound open.up-1-CON sweet.potato.mound make-ASP-1PL.CUST
- ‘We open up the sweet potato mounds then we make (new) mounds.’

In example (16) the *-lie* is used as per rules 3.1. and 3.2. above. The sentence is the final one in a procedural discourse on making string bags. The first clause recapitulates the last step of the procedure then the second clause speaks of an event unrelated to bag making and differing in both time and location from the previous event, with the final clause bringing the two together by delineating the use to be made of the bag.

- Base₁ Base₂
 (16) *Kolo.to-po/-lie* *kango-re me-mbo/-lie*
 do.the.finishing.ridge.around.the.top.of.a.bag-1-CON boy-a bear-1-CON
 Base₃
la(li)-lio//.
 bag-ASP-1S.CUST
 ‘Having put the finishing edge around the top of the string bag and having given birth to a son then I bag (him).’

In example (17) the *-lie* is used as per rule 3.2. above; that is the *-lie* attached to the first clause indicates that the following events take place at a different time and location.

- Base₁ Base₂₋₁
 (17) *Opali kinie talou-selo molo-po/-lie yuko pu-pu/*
 tomorrow and two.days.hence-both stay-1-CON three.days.hence go-1
 Base₂₋₂ Base₃
kano-po/ nambe.e-0-mu//nje kano-pu-0-mbo//.
 look-1 what.do-PST-3S-DUB see-go-fut-1S
 ‘I will stay (here) both tomorrow and the next day, then three days from now I will go and see, I will go and see what perhaps has happened (to her).’

In examples (18) and (19) the connector *-lie* is being used in the way described under 3.3. above, that is indicating that an embedded sentence follows. In (18) the Predicate of Base₁ is expounded by an Imperfective Aspect Verb Phrase (7.2.4) The embedded sentence expounding Base₃ is a Simultaneous Action Sentence (9.3.2) with a Repetitive Verb Phrase (7.1.2) expounding its second predicate.

- Base₁ Base₃
 (18) *Pe koya nosi-pe/ molo-pa/-lie koya-ne alumbelu*
 then bamboo.knife put-3S be.AN-3S-CON bamboo.knife-INST tongue
kanuma kopisi-li-pe/-lie pu-pe/ pu-pe/ pu-pe/ pu-pe ulsu pu-ru-mu//.
 those sever-SIM-3S-CON go-3S go-3S go-3S go-3S out.of go-DPST-3S
 ‘Then, having in his possession a bamboo knife, with (the) bamboo knife he went on severing those tongues (which the children, standing with their eyes shut, had stuck out) until he reached the end of the line.’

In (19) the embedded sentence in Base₃, indicated by the connector *-lie* on Base₁, is a Purpose Sentence (9.7.1.1).

- Base₁ Base₃
 (19) *Na engele-ne kolo-po/-lie ga aku-pu/ koyo-0-mbo//ndo*
 I hunger-INST die-1-CON sweet.potato dig.up-1 steam.cook-FUT-1S-PUR
wendo o-0-ndu//.
 out.of come-PST-1S
 ‘Because I was "dying" of hunger I got out of (the bag I had been tied up in) in order to dig up and steam-cook sweet potato.’

Examples (20) and (21) show the use of the person-tense reminder (PTR) marker as per rules 3.4. and 4. above. Example (20) is actually expounding the first base of a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5).

	Base ₁		Base ₃
(20)	<i>Kongi koyo-po/-lie</i>	<i>ni-li-molo//mone</i>	<i>ga mundu</i>
	pig steam.cook-1-CON	PTR-ASP-1PL.CUST-PTR	sweet.potato mound
	<i>te-le-molo//</i>	<i>aku.kinie</i>	
	make-ASP-1PL.CUST	and.then	
	‘ <u>Having steam-cooked pig (as an offering to the spirits) we make sweet potato mounds and then...</u> ’		

Base₁ of example (21) is expounded by a Merged Clause (8.3) in which the first predicate is expounded by a Repetitive Verb Phrase (7.1.2) in which only the verb part of an Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1) is actually repeated.

	Base ₁		
(21)	<i>Inie.to-ko/ to-ko/ to-ko/ me-ngo/-lie</i>	<i>ni-ri-ngili//muni</i>	
	Pick-2/3 REP REP carry-2/3-CON	PTR-DPST-3DL//PTR	
	Base ₃		
	<i>winjo lkondo elo lkise-ri-ngili//.</i>		
	upstream home they.2 run-DPST-3DL		
	‘They two picked (and) picked (and) picked then carrying (the fruit) they ran home in an upstream direction.’		

Finally, example (22), has an interesting overlap of persons between the bases as per the second half of rule 1. Base₃ is expounded by an Intention Merged Sentence (9.6.2.3).

	Base ₁	Base ₂	Base ₃
(22)	<i>Aku.si-pu/ li-pu/ Yako kinie opa.te-ko/ Kondoli to-0-mba// te-ri-mu//.</i>		
	Like.that-1 take-1 Y. with fight-2/3	European strike-FUT-3SG	do-DPST-3SG
	‘We (including Yako) having taken (the varying amounts of pay the patrol officer offered us) like that Yako fought with the European and attempted to hit him.’		

The man named Yako is included in the subject of each clause, even though overtly the subject markers are different in each case.

Other examples of Dependent Sentence will occur further on in the chapter, embedded in examples of other sentence types.

9.3.2 Simultaneous Action Sentence

The Simultaneous Action Sentence consists of two obligatory bases, obligatorily linked by the simultaneous action suffix *-li*, which occurs as the second order suffix on the verb of Base₁. The verb of Base₂ must be a motion verb. The Simultaneous Action Sentence is used to indicate that the action(s) of the first base is occurring at the same time as the (motion) action of the second base.

The Simultaneous Action Sentence shares some features with the Dependent Sentence. Both sentence types must have same person and tense in all bases, and in both types all main clauses other than the final clause must be dependent clauses. However, the Simultaneous Action Sentence contrasts with the Dependent Sentence in the following ways:

1. The simultaneous action suffix *-li*, which is obligatory in the Simultaneous Action Sentence, is mutually exclusive with the connector *-lie* which is an optional link in the Dependent Sentence, and the person-number-tense reminder which occurs in the Dependent Sentence cannot occur in the Simultaneous Action Sentence.
2. The verb of the final base of a Simultaneous Action Sentence must be a motion verb, but there is no such restriction on the choice of verbs in the Dependent Sentence.
3. The Simultaneous Action Sentence is only binary, whereas the Dependent Sentence is multi-based.

The Simultaneous Action Sentence and the Intention Merged Sentence (9.6.2.3) are similar in that they are both binary and can both take a motion verb in the second base. However, they differ in the following ways:

1. The simultaneous action suffix *-li*, which is obligatory in the Simultaneous Action Sentence, cannot occur in the Intention Merged Sentence.
2. An independent verb suffixed for future tense is obligatory in the first base of the Intention Merged Sentence, whereas only a dependent verb can occur in the first base of the Simultaneous Action Sentence.

The Simultaneous Action Sentence typically embeds within Dependent Sentences. It also occurs in the Narrative Paragraph (10.4.2.1).

Table 9.3 The Simultaneous Action Sentence

+(+Base ₁	+Simultaneous)	+Base ₂
Dependent Clause	<i>-li</i> ‘simultaneous action suffix’	Dependent Clause Independent Clause
dependent verb	second-order dependent-verb suffix	motion verb

Rules:

1. Base₁ must end with a dependent verb.
2. The second order³ simultaneous action suffix *-li* must occur on the dependent verb of Base₁. Morphophonemic rules 4. and 5. (see 2.2.4 and 2.2.5) affect the use of the simultaneous action suffix *-li*.
3. The predicate of the clause manifesting Base₂ must be expounded by a motion verb, or motion verb phrase.
4. When the Simultaneous Action Sentence embeds in any base of a Dependent Sentence, other than the final one, the second base verb will be a dependent verb.
5. The person, number and tense of the two bases must agree.

Although the obligatory presence of the simultaneous action suffix *-li* has been highlighted in the bi-dimensional array, it will actually be shown in the examples, in capitals, as part of the verb of Base₁.

³ The first-order suffix is the optional benefactive suffix. Subject person suffixes follow the simultaneous action suffix.

- | | | |
|------|--|--------------------------|
| | Base ₁ | Base ₂ |
| (23) | <i>Keko.ponie winjo kiwiki to-LI-pu/</i> | <i>p(u)-a-mbolo//ye.</i> |
| | K. upstream bird.type shoot-SIM-1 | go-IMP-1DL.EMP.QU |
| | ‘How about we two go upstream (to) Keko-ponie killing kiwiki (birds)?’ | |

In example (24) the Simultaneous Action Sentence is embedded as the last base of a Dependent Sentence. The full Dependent Sentence is presented in the example, as the object tagmeme of the first base of the Dependent Sentence is relevant to the whole construction.

- | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------|
| | Base ₁ | Base ₂ |
| (24) | <i>Wi ulke ele kinie akume li-pu/ me-LI-pu/</i> | <i>p(u)-a-mbolo//</i> |
| | upstream house bow and those get-1 carry-SIM-1 | go-IMP-1DL.EMP |
| | Periphery | |
| | <i>anjo</i> | |
| | there | |
| | ‘Let us two get those (things) including (the) bow (and arrows) (which are in the) house upstream (from here and) <u>carrying (them) let's go, to there</u> (where we've been discussing)!’ | |

- | | | |
|------|---|-------------------|
| | Periphery | Base ₁ |
| (25) | <i>Palinoli-Palime-ne me-ri-mu// akumu-nge ye sukunamo yu kera</i> | |
| | P.-ACT bear-DPST-3S that-REF man middle.born he bird | |
| | Base ₂ | |
| | <i>to-LI-pe/ inie wele pu-ru-mu//.</i> | |
| | shoot-SIM-3S in.here across go-DPST-3S | |
| | ‘Concerning that (which) Palinoli-Palime bore, <u>the middle-born man, he went (in a) cross-stream direction to this (here place) shooting bird(s).</u> ’ | |

In example (26) the Simultaneous Action Sentence expounds the first base of a two base Dependent Sentence. Base₁ is expounded by a Merged Clause (8.3).

- | | | |
|------|---|-------------------|
| | Base ₁ | Base ₂ |
| (26) | <i>Aku no-L(I)-ku/ me-L(I)-ku/ o-ngo/ Tongomako Lkie Wapie aku</i> | |
| | that eat-SIM-2/3 carry-SIM-2/3 come-2/3 T. L. W. that | |
| | <i>olko.to-ko-mele//.</i> | |
| | cut.down-PR-3PL | |
| | ‘ <u>Eating carrying as they come those</u> (pandanus nuts which they cut down at previously mentioned places) they are cutting down those (nuts) (at) Tongomako, Lkie, (and) Wapie.’ | |

In example (27) a Simultaneous Action Sentence is embedded in an Embedding (Noun) Phrase (7.8.2) as object of a clause.

- Base₁ Base₂
- (27) *Terepi andi ola aku "rere" ni-LI-pe/ ando-ko-mo// aku-mu mindi*
 bird.type there up that bird.call say-SIM-3S fly.about-PR-3S that-the only
 ‘...only that Terepi (bird) flying around up there near you calling "rere".’

Example (28), which is embedded in a Dependent Sentence, has a Semantic Unit Verb Phrase (7.3) expounding the predicate of Base₂.

- (28) *Kupu.mopune kanu kongo pu-pe/-lie ni-ri-mu-muni*
 beautiful.unmarried.woman that immense go-3S-CON PTR-DPST-3S-PTR
- Base₁ Base₂
- nendi pangi te-nga lawea ni-LI-pe/ o-mba/ winjo pu-ru-mu//.*
 nearby hill a-LOC song say-SIM-3S come-3S upstream go-DPST-3S
 ‘That immensely beautiful unmarried woman went along and, travelling in an upstream direction, passed over a nearby hill singing as she went.’

In example (29) the verb *me-* ‘to carry’ occurs in the predicate of Base₁ suffixed only with the simultaneous action suffix without any person suffix. This is the only verb which can occur in this way. Once again the previous clause in the larger sentence provides other arguments of the clause; subject and object in this case - compare (24).

- Base₁ Base₂
- (29) *Ye-ne kondolime li-ku/ me-LI/ pu-ku/-lie*
 man-act the.reds take-2/3 carry-SIM go-2/3-CON
 ‘The men having taken the Europeans went off leading (them on a guided tour up the mountain) then...’

(30) is another example in which the events of the Simultaneous Action Sentence itself don't make much sense without the larger sentence of which it is a part. Also, in this example, the verb *pu* ‘to go’ filling the Head of the Repetitive Verb Phrase (7.1.2) which expounds Base₂ is not functioning in its lexical sense as a motion verb but in its aspectual sense to indicate durative aspect; see the Imperfective Aspect Verb Phrase (7.2.4).

- Base₁ Base₂
- (30) *Kanumu "wakaye.le-0-mbo//" ni-mbe/ te-LI-pe/ pu-ru-mu// purumu//*
 that glue.up-fut-1S.FUT say-3S do-SIM-3S go-DPST-3S go-DPST-3S
purumu// purumu// purumu// kapola naa te-ri-mu//.
 go-DPST-3S go-DPST-3S go-DPST-3S all.right not do-DPST-3S
 ‘Deciding that he would glue up that (broken sugar cane) with resin he worked at (it) (and) at (it) (and) at (it) (and) at (it) (and) at (it) (and) at (it) (but) it didn't mend.’

Because of this aspectual relationship which occurs between the two bases in some examples of the Simultaneous Action Sentence, and because of the dependence on the larger sentence for some clausal arguments, and because only limited directional or locational information can occur between the two verbs of this construction, it could be that this is a verb phrase type, or some type of merged clause, and not a sentence type at all. However, because in all other verb phrase types

(7.1), nothing, except the verbal negator, can occur between the verbs, this construction has been analysed as a sequence of clauses; i.e. a sentence type.

9.3.3 The Summary Sentence

The Summary Sentence consists of an obligatory Action, and an obligatory Summary manifest by a single clause, which usually consists of only a predicate, in which the verb *te* 'to do' is obligatory and is used as a pro-verb.

In that the dependent morphology is obligatory to the first base of the Summary Sentence the Summary Sentence is similar to the Dependent Sentence (9.3.1). However, the two sentence types differ in the following ways:

1. The Summary Sentence is only binary whereas the Dependent Sentence is multi-based.
2. The Summary Sentence must end with the verb *te* 'to do' whereas the Dependent Sentence can end with any verb.

In that the Summary Sentence is a binary sentence with dependent verb morphology obligatorily occurring on the verb of the first clause it is similar to the Simultaneous Action Sentence (9.3.2). However, these two sentence types differ in the following ways:

1. The simultaneous action suffix *-li* must occur on the verb in the first clause of the Simultaneous Action Sentence but it cannot occur in the Summary Sentence.
2. Only the verb *te* 'to do' can manifest the predicate of Base₂ of the Summary Sentence, while only a motion verb can manifest the predicate of Base₂ of the Simultaneous Action Sentence.

The Summary Sentence and the Intention Merged Sentence (9.6.2.3) are similar in that they are both binary and can both have the verb *te* 'to do' in the second base. However, they differ in the following ways:

1. An independent verb suffixed for future tense is obligatory in the first base of the Intention Merged Sentence, whereas only a dependent verb can occur in the first base of the Summary Sentence.
2. Only a single Independent Clause can expound the first base of the Intention Merged Sentence, whereas both Listing and Dependent Sentences can expound the first base of the Summary Sentence.
3. Semantically, the way the *te* verb is used in each sentence type is entirely different.

In a larger sentence it is sometimes impossible to tell, even semantically, and almost always structurally, how much of what precedes Summary is manifesting Action.

As is so with the Simultaneous Action Sentence presented above (9.3.2), the Summary Sentence more typically occurs embedded in other sentence types rather than expounding paragraph level tagmemes. It most commonly embeds in the Dependent Sentence and has also been observed expounding the Cycle of a Listing Paragraph.

Table 9.4 Summary Sentence

+Action	+Summary
Dependent Clause Listing Sentence Dependent Sentence	Independent Clause
+ dependent verb minus Quote Sentence	<i>te</i> 'to do'

Rules:

1. The filler of Action obligatorily ends with a dependent verb.
2. Action cannot be expounded by any of the Quote type sentences (9.4).
3. Summary is essentially manifest by the verb *te* 'to do' which is used anaphorically to summarise the preceding action(s).
(Compare its use as the execution pro-verb of the Decision Sentence (9.4.2) where it is used cataphorically to refer to actions which will take place to bring the decision into effect).
4. The word *ulu* 'event' or 'custom', or some minimal noun phrase with *ulu* as its head occasionally occurs in the Summary along with the verb *te*.

Example (31) consists of two Summary Sentences occurring in one Dependent Sentence, the first one actually embedding as a Quote in the first base of the larger Dependent Sentence. The Action of (31) is manifest by a dependent Listing Sentence.

	Periphery	Action		Summary
(31)	" <i>Ya</i> introductory.expression	<i>neka</i> pandanus.fruit	<i>no-ngo/ owa no-ngo/</i> eat-2/3 dog eat-2/3	<i>te-le-nol/</i> do-ASP-2SG.CUST
		Action		
	<i>ni-ngu/-lie</i> say-2/3-CON	<i>o-ngo/</i> come-2/3	<i>kopiaka-mo-nga</i> kopiaka-the-LOC	<i>me-ngo/ suku naa pu-ku/</i> carry-2/3 inside not go-2/3
			Summary	
	<i>eneno</i> they.themselves	<i>mindi</i> just	<i>koyo-ko/</i> sacrifice-2/3	<i>te-le-mele//mo.</i> do-ASP-3PL.CUST-ASS
	<u>'Saying "You eat both pandanus-fruit (and) dog" they didn't take (me with them) into the Kopiaka (-spirit-worship)-place they definitely just did the sacrificing on their own.'</u>			

Example (32) has a two-base Listing Sentence (9.5.3) manifesting action.

Action

- (32) *Inie.to-ko/ li-ku/ kere-kere, inie.to-ko/ li-ku/ wale-wale*
 pick-2/3 take-2/3 mouth-mouth pick-2/3 take-2/3 bag-bag

Summary

te-ri-ngili//.
 do-DPST-3DL

‘They ‘went-through-the-actions’ of picking (the fruit) (and) stuffing (it) in (their) mouths (and) picking (the fruit) (and) stuffing (it) in (their) bags continuously-without-pausing-for-anything.’

In (32) *kere-kere* (literally ‘mouth-mouth’) ‘stuff repeatedly into mouth’ and *wale-wale* (literally bag-bag) ‘stuff repeatedly into bag’ are each the first word of an Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1) which normally takes the verb *te* ‘to do’, but in this case the verb *te* has been left off and presented at the close of BOTH. Thus *te* in this instance is not just a summary of the actions but also an essential part of the verb complex at the end of each base of the Listing Sentence manifesting the Action. Both actions should be viewed as happening concurrently.

In example (33) the Action is once again expounded by a Listing Sentence - in which the verbs are synonyms. In examples (34) and (35) the Summary is manifested by more than just the verb *te*, as per rule 4. above.

Action

- (33) *Olio-ne sumoli ambolo-po/ aema kongi koyo-po/ si-pu/*
 we-ACT gold.lipped.pearl.shell hold-1 and.um pig steam.cook-1 give-1

Summary

ulu akuma te-le-molo//.
 custom those do-ASP-1PL.CUST

‘We hold (up-and-hand-over) gold-lipped-pearl-shell(s) and-um we steam cook (and) give (him) pig - we do those customs.’

Example (34) is in a text speaking of how a particular spirit has the power to bring either plenty or famine.

Action

- (34) *Pe ke-le-pa/ engele le-pa/ ulu-ri te-le-mo//.*
 Later leave/cease-3S hunger cause-3S doing-a do-ASP-3S.CUST

Summary

‘Later leaving off (causing us to have a time of plenty) it causes a time of hunger it does that.’

Finally, in example (35) we have a relatively long Paraphrase Sentence (9.5.2) expounding the Action.

Periphery	Action
(35) <i>Aku aulke to-po pora.si-ri-ndu// -mu-nge kinié nu i o-ngo/</i> that road build-1 finish-DPST-1S-the-REF now you.S this come-2/3	
<i>pe-ke-no// -wele kangoma-ne kongono te-nde-ko ungu.umbu.to-ndo-ko/</i> live-PR-2SG-SEQ boys-ACT work do-BEN-2/3 teach-BEN-2/3	
<i>Ropete nu i o-ngo/ pe-ke-no// kongono te-nde-ko/</i> Robert you this come-2/3 live-PR-2SG work do-BEN-2/3	

Summary

ungu.umbu.to-ndo-ko/ te-ke-mele//.
teach-BEN-2/3 do-PR-3PL.CUST

‘I finished that road building (I have been telling you about and) now since you have come (and) are living (in) this (place of mine) the boys do work for (you) (and) teach you (the local language and customs), Robert you have come (and) are living (in) this (place of mine) (and) the boys do work for (you) (and) teach you (the local language and customs).’

9.4 Speech Sentences

There are three sentences which have as a common feature that they all grammatically consist of at least a Quote plus the verb *ni* ‘to speak’. The three are the Quote Sentence, the Decision Sentence, and the Naming Sentence. Because all three sentences have these similarities, the reasons for considering them to be different types will be presented below. Various semantic uses of the verb *ni* ‘to speak’ will be illustrated by the examples, especially examples of the Decision sentence.

9.4.1 The quote sentence

The Quote Sentence consists of an optional Opening Quote Formula, an obligatory Quote, and an obligatory Closing Quote Formula. It is the way the Kaugel language encodes all direct speech.

The Quote Sentence differs from the Decision Sentence in the following ways:

1. The tense of the final verb of the Quote of the Quote Sentence is unlimited, whereas in the Decision Sentence it is limited to either future or hortative tense affixation.
2. The verb *ni* ‘to speak’ which follows the Quote of the Quote Sentence is usually independent in form, whereas the verb *ni* ‘to speak’ which is used as the LINK in the Decision Sentence must always be a dependent verb.

The Quote Sentence differs from the Naming Sentence in the following ways:

1. The Quote Sentence is always only one quote followed by *ni* ‘to speak’, whereas the Naming Sentence is always a split quote, with each half of the quote followed by *ni* ‘to speak’, and the first occurrence of *ni* obligatorily being a dependent verb.
2. The Naming Sentence is a very stylised structure which occurs only in origin legends, whereas the Quote Sentence occurs in virtually any type of discourse.
3. The final speech verb in the Naming Sentence, when independent in form, must be in distant past tense. There is no such restriction in the Quote Sentence.

The Quote Sentence and the Purpose Sentence have in common that they both obligatorily incorporate the purpose clitic *-ndo* ~ *-ndu*, but the two sentence types differ in the following ways:

1. The main verb of the Opening Quote Formula of the Quote Sentence can only be either the verb stem *ni* ‘to say’ or some verb stem implying speech, whereas the Purpose of the Purpose Sentence is not so limited.

2. The Opening Quote Formula of the Quote Sentence can only be followed by a Quote and the Closing Quote Formula, whereas the Purpose Sentence is not so limited in what follows the Link.

Table 9.5 The Quote Sentence

±Opening Quote Formula	+Quote	+Closing Quote Formula
Noun Phrase + actor clitic Noun Phrase + indirect object clitic <i>ni</i> 'to speak' + purpose clitic	any speech	± demonstrative + <i>ni</i> 'to speak'
verb of speech must occur in Future tense		

Rules re Opening Quote Formula:

1. When an Actor occurs it is almost always suffixed by the *-ne* ~ *-ni* actor clitic.
2. When an Indirect Object occurs it is almost always suffixed by the *-ndo* ~ *-ndu* indirect object clitic.
3. The verb *ni* 'to speak' is obligatorily suffixed for future tense plus the appropriate person, obligatorily followed by the purpose clitic *-ndo* ~ *-ndu*.
4. Any verb which implies speech (e.g. 'to chant') can stand in place of *ni* 'to speak', though *ni* is far and away the most common.
5. Morphophonemic rule 1 - the high-low vowel rule - pertains to the choice of allomorphs under rules 1, 2, and 3.

Rules re Quote:

1. When a first person singular subject or a second person singular subject are expressed by a pronoun within the Quote, they usually take third person singular form, see (43) and (52) below, though this rule tends to be resisted in written form.
2. There is a special set of imperative suffix forms used only within quotes (refer to Table 2 in chapter 4 on Words and (37) and (38) below).

Rules re Closing Quote Formula:

1. The optional demonstrative *aku* 'that'⁴ precedes *ni* 'to speak', and acts here as a summary or emphasis of what has just been said.
2. When the demonstrative *aku* 'that' occurs the verb *ni* 'to speak' which follows is dependent in form rather than independent.
3. Here *ni* 'to speak' has no restriction as to tense such as there is in the Opening Quote Formula.

⁴ The demonstrative *aku* 'that' could be construed as turning a direct quote into an indirect quote. However, because there is absolutely no change in the form of a quote when it is followed by *aku*, and because *aku* occurs in this position so rarely, and because the *ni* verb when following *aku* is always dependent in form, and because of native speaker reaction to want to edit examples of this construction, it is postulated that what is taking place is actually elision of the verb *ni* 'to speak' plus sentence final intonation immediately following the quote, and that the *aku* plus *ni* verb, see (36) below, is actually a form of recapitulation (10.1.1) leading on to the next event. We have seen no clear unquestionable instance of indirect quote in Kaugel.

In the presentation of examples Opening Quote Formula will be represented as Op-Q-F and Closing Quote Formula will be represented as Cl-Q-F.

Examples (36) to (38) are a series of quotes from a conversation between two brothers in one Bedtime Story Discourse (11.4).

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|----------------|-----------|--|--|
| | Op-Q-F | | Quote | | Cl-Q-F |
| (36) | <i>Yako</i> | <i>mele-mo</i> | <i>yu</i> | " <i>Mandi kongi-ri to-ko-mele// p(u)a-mbo//</i> " | <i>ni-ri-mu//</i> . |
| | Yako | like-the | he | Mendi pig-a | kill-PR-3PL go-IMP-1S.HORT say-DPST-3S |
| | 'The (man) like Yako, he said, "They are killing a pig (at) Mendi, (so) I'm going".' | | | | |

Example (37) follows on immediately from (36). The total sentence is a Dependent Sentence (9.3.1), the first word of which, *Kemboro-ndo*, appears to be functioning as Indirect Object to both the action which precedes the Quote and also the Quote itself. Note the use of the quoted imperative form in both (37) and (38); see rule 7 above.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| (37) | <i>Kemboro-ndo</i> | <i>po</i> | <i>ponie</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>lipe.ora.si-pe/-lie</i> |
| | Kemboro-IO | sugar.cane | garden | a | show-3S-CON |
| | | Quote | | | Cl-Q-F |
| | " <i>Po</i> | <i>mako-ko/</i> | <i>molo-u//</i> " | <i>ni-ri-mu//</i> . | |
| | sugar.cane | stake.and.tie-2/3 | stay-QI.2SG | say-DPST-3SG | |
| | 'He showed a sugar cane garden to Kemboro (and) said (to him): "Stay (here) staking and tying (my) sugar-cane!"' | | | | |

Example (38) follows on immediately from (37). Once again the Quote Sentence is embedded in a Dependent Sentence, this time as the penultimate base. The Quote itself is a Coordinate Sentence (9.5.1).

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|---------|
| | | Quote | | | Cl-Q-F |
| (38) | " <i>Po</i> | <i>te elke.to-0-mba//</i> | <i>wakaye.lende-i//</i> " | <i>ni-mbe/</i> | |
| | sugar.cane | a | break-FUT-3SG | stick.up.with.wakaye.gum-QI.2SG | say-3SG |
| | <i>wakaye</i> | <i>li-pe/</i> | <i>si-pe/</i> | <i>pu-ru-mu//</i> . | |
| | wakaye.gum | get-3SG | give-3SG | go-DPST-3SG | |
| | '"(If) a sugar-cane should break stick (it) up (with) wakaye (gum)!" saying (the one like Yako) got (some) wakaye (and) gave (it to the one like Kemboro) (and) left.' | | | | |

Example (39) comes from later in the same text where the one like Yako has just returned and the one like Kemboro is giving a report of what happened while he was away.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| | Op-Q-F | | Quote | | |
| (39) | <i>Kemboro-ne</i> | <i>Yako-ndo</i> | <i>ni-0-mbe//-ndo</i> | " <i>Elke.to-ru-mu// -na</i> | <i>yu li-pu/</i> |
| | Kemboro-ACT | Yako-IO | say-FUT-3SG-PUR | break-DPST-3SG-because | it take-1 |
| | | Cl-Q-F | | | |
| | <i>no-ru-ndu//</i> " | <i>ni-ri-mu//</i> . | | | |
| | eat-DPST-1SG | say-DPST-3SG | | | |
| | 'Kemboro said to Yako: "Because it broke I took it (and) ate (it)".' | | | | |

Example (40) is one of the rare examples of the demonstrative *aku* ‘that’ occurring in the Closing Quote Formula. The Quote Sentence in this example is embedded in a Dependent Sentence.

- (40) *Api akumu panji-pe/ kopo-ndo-pa/-lie ni-ri-mu-muni*
 salt that put.in-3SG hold.in.mouth-BEN-3SG-CON PTR-DPST-3SG-PTR

Quote

"*Api kopo-ndo-ko-ro//la nu naa no-u!*"
 salt hold.in.mouth-BEN-PR-1SG-also you.SG not eat-QI.2SG

CI-Q-F

aku ni-mbe/ kele-pa/ pu-ru-mu//.
 that say-3SG again-3SG go-DPST-3SG

‘He put that salt in his mouth held it there for me and (said to me) "I am holding the salt in my mouth for you too, don't you eat/swallow (it)!" saying that he went again.’

Finally, examples (41) to (43) form a conversational exchange in which three Quote Sentences are joined in one Sequence Sentence (9.7.5) by the sequence connector *kinie* ‘when’. The story is told by a man about his mother who was very ill. The first quote is spoken by the near relatives, the second by the son, and the third by the mother herself.

- (41) *Lie-ri-mu//kanu.kinie pe paa tepa.embambo.si-pe/ te-ri-mu//kulu*
 lie.prostrate-DPST-3S-and.then later verily confuse-3SG do-DPST-3S-because

Quote

"*Me-mbo/ Tambuli p(u)a-mili//*"
 carry-1 Tambul go-IMP-1PL.HORT

CI-Q-F

ni-ri-ngi//kinie
 say-DPST-3PL-when

Op-Q-F

Quote

- (42) *Na-ne ni-0-mbo//-ndo "Kongi walo te akumu si-e-mbo//*
 I-ACT say-FUT-1SG-PUR pig young a that give-IMP-1SG.HORT

CI-Q-F

koyo-ko/ no-ngo/ wi-njo pu-0// ni-ri-ndu//kinie
 steam.cook-2/3 eat-2/3 upstream-toward go-QI.2SG say-DPST-I-when

Quote

- (43) "*yu manie le-lio//mo 'yembo nawe no-pili//*
 she(I) down lie-1SG.CUST-ASS person who eat-3SG.HORT
koyo-nd(o)-a-mbo//" *ni-ngu/ ni-ki-nu//ye Konde molo-po/*
 steam.cook-BEN-IMP-HORT.1SG say-2/3 say-PR-2SG-QU alive be.AN-1
wendo o-mbo/ te-0-ndu//liemo aku.kinie o-mbo/ koyo-po/
 out come-1 do-PST-1SG-if and.then come-1 steam.cook-1
no-0-mbo//. Yu manie le-po/-lie yemboma-nga n(o)-a-ngi//
 eat-FUT-1SG she-(I) down lie-1-CON people-for eat-IMP-3PL.HORT

CI-Q-F

naa koyo-ndo-0-mbo//, molo." ni-mbe/ karaye.te-ri-mu//.
 not steam.cook-BEN-FUT-1SG no say-3SG be.stubborn-DPST-3SG

‘She was lying there prostrate (with illness) and then after a time because they were at their wit’s end (over her illness) they said: "Let's take her (to the hospital at) Tambul!" then when I said (to her): "Let me give you that piglet, you can cook and eat it then go to (Tambul which is in an) upstream direction from here she (said): "I am definitely lying here helpless (so) who are you saying will eat (this pig) you want to steam.cook for them? If I get well and come out (of hospital) okay then I will come and steam cook and eat (the pig). (But) while I am lying here helpless I am not going to cook (it) for other people to eat, no way." she said stubbornly.’

9.4.2 The decision sentence

The Decision Sentence consists of an obligatory Decision, an obligatory Link *ni* ‘to speak’ in dependent-verb form, and an obligatory Execution. Semantically the Decision Sentence encodes the desire or decision to take a certain course of action, followed by the execution of the action. This structure is also sometimes used to encode cause.

The ways in which the Decision Sentence is similar to, yet different from, the Quote Sentence have been given in the introduction to the Quote Sentence. The features which the Decision Sentence and the Naming Sentence have in common are also presented in the introduction to the Quote Sentence. The Decision Sentence and the Naming Sentence differ in the following ways:

1. The final verb of the (first-base) quote of the Decision Sentence is obligatorily suffixed with either future or hortative tense, whereas the first-base quote of the Naming Sentence is not so limited.
2. The second base of the Naming Sentence is obligatorily filled by a quote, the filler of which is of such a nature as to be considered the ‘second half’ of the sentence filling the quote of the first base, whereas the action(s) filling the second base of a Decision Sentence rarely includes speech at all, and certainly not continued speech.

Although the first base plus the *ni* ‘to speak’ link of the Decision Sentence structurally suggests actual speech, the words are not normally actually spoken, though there are instances when it is feasible semantically to allow for it to be actual speech. Semantically, the structure encodes a decision or desire to do something, the execution of which is expressed as the filler of the second base.

Although the Decision Sentence can semantically encode purpose, it does not readily transform to the structure of the Purpose Sentence (9.7.1.1). The main difference, semantically, between the two sentence types is plus control - the Decision Sentence - and minus control - the Purpose Sentence - which is a dichotomy relevant to other areas of the language also.

Table 9.6 The Decision Sentence

+Decision	+Link	+Execution
Independent Clause Paraphrase Sentence Dependent Sentence Imperative Merged Sentence	<i>ni</i> ‘to speak’	Independent Clause Coordinate Sentence Dependent Sentence Simultaneous-Action Sentence Listing Sentence Quote Sentence Statement-Evaluation Sentence
future or hortative	dependent	any tense

Rules:

1. Only future or hortative tense can suffix to the independent verb ending the filler of Decision.
2. Any tense can suffix to the final verb of the filler of Execution.
3. The Link verb *ni* 'to speak' must be dependent in form.

In example (44) the speaker explains the reason why he came back and shut the door.

	Decision		Link Execution
(44)	<i>'Ali naa kol(o)-a-ngi//'</i> cold not die-IMP-2PL.HORT		<i>ni-mbu/ o-mbo/ anji-ki-ru//.</i> say-1 come-1 stand.up-PR-1SG*
	<i>'So that you won't 'die-of-cold' I'm coming (back and) shutting (the door).'</i>		
	(*in context = 'shut the door')		

Example (45) has a Coordinate Sentence of expectancy reversal manifesting Execution. The first word, *kanumu* 'that' stands for the sugar-cane which 'broke' in the previous sentence. Example (45) is embedded in a Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4).

	Decision		Link Execution
(45)	<i>Kanumu 'wakaye.le-0-mbo//'</i> that stick.up.with.wakaye.gum-FUT-1SG		<i>ni-mbe/ te-li-pe/ pu-ru-mu//</i> say-3SG do-SIM-3SG go-DPST-3SG
	<i>purumu purumu purumu// kapola naa te-ri-mu//.</i> go-DPST-3SG go-DPST-3SG go-DPST-3SG all.right not do-DPST-3SG		
	<i>'Deciding (that) he would stick that (broken sugar-cane) up with wakaye (gum); he worked at (it) (and) at (it) (and) at (it) (and) at (it) (and) at (it) (but) to no avail.'</i>		

Example (46) encodes a decision to do something so that something feared will not happen; that is it is a "lest" construction. Although the subject is third singular in both the Decision and the Execution they are two different people.

	Decision		Link Execution
(46)	<i>'Po elkema kano-0-mba//'</i> sugar.cane spittings see-FUT-3SG		<i>ni-mbe/ li-pe/ le.muru-na manie</i> say-3SG take-3SG toilet.hole-LOC down
	<i>mundo-ru-mu//.</i> throw-DPST-3SG		
	<i>'Lest (his brother) see the sugar-cane spittings he took (them) (and) threw (them) down into (the) toilet hole.'</i>		

In example (47) I will present the larger Sequence Sentence in which the Decision Sentence is embedded.

Decision

- (47) *Ye.anda kanumu loye kanumu 'boro-po/*
 old.man that steam.cooking.pit that open.steam.cooking.pit-1
 Link Execution
no-0-mbo//' *ni-mbe/ boro-ru-mu//*-*kanu.kinie* *ne ola*
 eat-FUT-1SG say-3SG open.steam.cooking.pit-DPST-3SG-and.then there top
ambo.ambou kanumu pe-ri-mu//.
 old.woman that be.in-DPST-3SG
 'That old man, deciding to open that steam cooking pit (and) eat (what was in it) he
 opened it and then there on top in (the hole) was that old woman.'

Example (48) is the first base of a Coordinate Sentence (9.5.1) in a story about dogs and possums. This is an instance where the "quote" part of the Decision could have been actually spoken, though it also carries the meaning of desire or intent.

Decision

- (48) *Kanu.kinie owa te-ne yu 'ungu te ni-e-mbo//'* *ni-mbe/ ola angilie-ri-mu//.*
 and.then dog a-ACT he word a say-IMP-1SG say-3SG up stand-DPST-3SG
 'And then a dog stood up to speak.'

Link

Execution

Example (49) encodes cause.

Decision

- (49) *Lapa-ne kanu kango-mo 'kola.te-pili//'* *ni-mbe/ ko.si-ri-mu//.*
 father-ACT that boy-the cry-HORT.3SG say-3SG mock.DPST-3SG
 'The father mocked that (naughty) boy to make him cry.'

Link

Execution

9.4.3 The naming sentence

The Naming Sentence consists of an obligatory Reason Quote, plus an obligatory Naming Quote Formula₁, *ni* 'to speak' in dependent-verb form, plus an obligatory Naming Quote, plus an obligatory Naming Quote Formula₂ *ni* 'to speak'.

The Naming Sentence is used when naming a person for some (characteristic) action or happening. The first base speaks of the action for which the person is to be named, the second base gives the actual name by which he or she is to be known and this name reflects something of the action or characteristic referred to in the first base.

The reasons why the Naming Sentence is considered different from the Quote Sentence are given in the introduction to the Quote Sentence.

The reasons why the Naming Sentence is considered different from the Decision Sentence are given in the introduction to the Decision Sentence.

While it is true that the Naming Sentence manifests much the same features as a Dependent Sentence it is considered not to be a true Dependent Sentence for the following reasons:

1. The Naming Sentence consists only of the four tagmemes noted above, whereas the Dependent Sentence is comparatively unlimited in the number of bases which can manifest it.

2. Only quotes can fill the main two bases of the Naming Sentence whereas the Dependent Sentence is virtually unlimited in what can manifest its bases.
3. The only link-like tagmeme which the Naming Sentence has must be expounded by a verb with the stem *ni* 'to say', whereas the Dependent Sentence uses no such link.

The Naming Sentence typically occurs in origin stories, which are a type of Legend Discourse (11.3).

Table 9.7 The Naming Sentence

+Reason Quote	+Naming Quote Formula ₁	+Naming Quote	+Naming Quote Formula ₂
Dependent Sentence Statement-Evaluation S. Contrafactual Conditional S.	<i>ni</i> 'to say'	a name	<i>ni</i> 'to say' ± <i>imbi si</i> 'to name'
± <i>kene</i> 'because'	dependent verb		dependent or independent verb + DPST

Rules:

1. The verb *ni* 'to say', when manifesting Naming Quote Formula₁, can only occur as a dependent verb.
2. The verb *ni* 'to say', when manifesting Naming Quote Formula₂, can be either dependent or independent in form. When independent, it obligatorily takes distant past tense suffixation.
3. The verb *ni* 'to say', when manifesting Naming Quote Formula₂, is optionally followed by *imbi si* 'to name'.
4. The verbs *ni* 'to say' in Naming Quote Formula₁ and ₂ must agree with each other in person, number and tense.
5. The filler of Reason Quote plus the filler of Naming Quote Formula, semantically combine as a cause-result type structure. This is sometimes made overtly clear by the use of *kene* 'therefore' as the last word of the filler of Reason Quote.
(compare the use of *kene* in the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence (9.7.3.1).

In the examples abbreviations will be used for the four tagmemes, in the order given, as follows: Reason-Q, N-Q-F₁, Naming-Q, and N-Q-F₂.

The four examples (50) to (53) occur fairly close together in the one text. (50) and (51) are two versions in one sentence of the naming of the last-born of three brothers, while (52) and (53) are the naming of the firstborn of the three after the actions of the second-born. (53) is virtually a re-statement of (52), but each has unique extra features not in the other so both are presented. The immediate context of each example will be included because it helps to supply the semantic feel of what is going on.

Examples (50) and (51) together form a Paraphrase Sentence (9.5.2).

- (50) *Iri.to-ru-mu//-aku.kinie ye sumbu akumu mere manie*
scold-DPST-3SG-and.then man short.unmarried that downstream down

kumbie opu.si-pe/ no-mba/ mere manie molo-ru-mu//kulu
 field.rat trap-3SG eat-3SG downstream down be-DPST-3SG-because

Reason-Q

"*Nu opu maniekondo pe-ko/ te-ke-no// le-mo-kene*"
 you trap underneath live-2/3 do-PR-2SG be.apparent-CUST.3SG-therefore

N-Q-F₁ Naming-Q N-Q-F₂
ni-ngu/ "Opu-le" ni-ri-ngi//,
 say-2/3 trap-fact say-DPST-3PL

- (51) Reason-Q N-Q-F₁
 "*Opu maniekondo pe-ri-nu//ri le-mo*" *ni-ngu/*
 trap underneath live-DPST-2SG-a be.apparent-CUST.3SG say-2/3

Naming-Q N-Q-F₂ Afterthought
 "*Opu-le" ni-ri-ngi//, "Kumili-Opu-le"*
 Trap-apparently say-DPST-3PL bush.name-trap-apparently

‘She scolded (him); and then because that short man trapped (and) ate field-rat(s) downstream from here (and) stayed down (at) mere-direction they said "Apparently you do sleep under a trap therefore (let your name be) ‘Trap-apparently’”, saying "Apparently you are a slept-under-a-trap (person) (let your name be) ‘Trap-apparently’ they said, "Trap-apparently-of-Kumili bush".’

- (52) Periphery Reason-Q
Aku te-ri-mu// akumu-nge Takopuka-mo-ne "*I ye-mo-ne yu*
 that do-DPST-3SG that-REF T.-the-ACT this man-the-ACT he(you)

N-Q-F₁ Naming-Q
tako-ko/ nosi-ku/ kel(e)-ko/ pu-ku-nu//" *ni-mbe/-lie "yu Tako-pu-ka"*
 build-2/3 put-2/3 leave-2/3 go-PR-2SG say-3SG-CON he(you) build-go-from

N Q F₂

ni-ri-mu//.
 say-DPST-3SG

‘Concerning that which he (Peraka, the middle-born) did, Takopuka having said (of Peraka) (that) he (was) "this man, you (who) are building (and) putting (and) leaving (behind and) going" he said "you come from Takopuka".’

Example (52) reads as though Takopuka is both the namer and the named. Example (53) is virtually a re-statement, making it clear that it was the father, Palinoli-Palime, who named his first-born son Takopuka.

- (53) *Palinoli-Palime akumu ye Peraka-mo-nga pe ya Takopuka-mo-ndo*
 P. that man P.-the-REF later here T.-the-IO
 Reason-Q N-Q-F₁ Naming-Q
"Tako-ko/ nosi-ku/ kel(e)-ko/ pu-ku-nu/" ni-mbe/-kinie yu "Tako-pu-ka"
 build-2/3 put-2/3 leave-2/3 go-PR-2SG say-3SG-CON he build-go-from
 N-Q-F₂
ni-mbe/ imbi si-ri-mu//.
 say-3SG name give-DPST-3SG
 'That (ancestor) Palinoli-Palime (having already spoken about) the man Peraka (middle son), then later he said to Takopuka (first born son) (who now lives) here "You come from building (and) putting (and) leaving (and) going" so he named him "Build-go-from"'

Example (54) speaks of the naming of a place rather than a person or clan.

- (54) Reason-Q N-Q-F₁
"Ambo walo-mo no-na mundu-0-ndu/" ni-mbe/-lie
 woman small-the water-LOC throw-PST-1SG say-3SG-CON
 Naming-Q N-Q-F₂
"Waolemo" ni-ri-mu//.
 place.name say-DPST-3SG
 'Having said "I threw the small woman into the river" he (called the place) "Waolemo"'

Example (55) uses an idiomatic way to refer to the birth process as the underlying reason for the name given to the child, which in turn became a clan name. This idiom is usually only used of a woman giving birth, but here a man is the speaker.

- (55) Reason-Q N-Q-F₁ Naming-Q N-Q-F₂
"Kilu to-po/ kano-po/ li-0-ndu// -mu" ni-mbe/ "Kilu" ni-ri-mu
 skin peel-1 see-1 take-PST-1SG-ASS say-3SG skin say-DPST-3SG
 "'Having peeled off (my) skin I (have) certainly delivered (a baby)" saying he (named him) "Skin".'

9.5 The juxtaposed sentences

There are five sentences whose main common feature is that their bases are always juxtaposed, with no overt links. They are the Coordinate Sentence, the Paraphrase Sentence, the Listing Sentence, the Statement-Evaluation Sentence, and the Existential Verb Sentence. Juxtaposed Sentences typically have two bases, commonly ending with independent verbs. The Statement-Evaluation Sentence and the Existential Verb Sentence are obligatorily limited to two bases, the Coordinate and Paraphrase Sentences may have as many as three bases, while the Listing Sentence may have up to six bases.

The Merged Sentences (9.6) are also juxtaposed sentences, but the reasons for considering them different from the set of five juxtaposed sentences here presented are given in the introduction to section 9.6.

9.5.1 The coordinate sentence

The Coordinate Sentence consists of two or sometimes three bases which are juxtaposed. All bases must end with independent verbs. The bases are held together phonologically in that they lack sentence-final intonation and pause, and semantically in that many times there is an obvious relationship such as ‘and’, ‘but’, ‘when’, ‘because’, etc. Many of these relationships can be overtly indicated in the language, but often the speaker chooses otherwise. In written material, especially with culturally unfamiliar content, overt links between bases are preferred; see section 9.7.

The Coordinate Sentence differs from both the Paraphrase Sentence and the Listing Sentence in the following ways:

1. In the Coordinate Sentence there must be a change of tense or person or both tense and person between the bases, whereas in the Paraphrase Sentence any change of tense or person is unusual, and in the Listing Sentence no change of person or tense is permitted.
2. In both the Paraphrase Sentence and the Listing Sentence the stem of the final verbs of the fillers of the bases must be either identical or synonymous, whereas the final verbs of the fillers of the Coordinate Sentence are only optionally the same, and will usually be different.

There is virtually no restriction on the distribution of the Coordinate Sentence, which can occur in almost any type of paragraph, and also embeds freely into other types of sentences.

Table 9.8 The Coordinate Sentence

+Base ₁	±Base ₂	+Base ₃
Independent Clause	Independent Clause	Independent Clause
Dependent Sentence	Dependent Sentence	Dependent Sentence
Paraphrase Sentence		Paraphrase Sentence
Simultaneous Action S.		Statement-Evaluation S.
Factual Conditional S.		Factual Conditional S.
Decision Sentence		Decision Sentence
Quote Sentence		Quote Sentence
Sequence Sentence		Imperative Cause-Result S.
Goal Merged Sentence		
Reasoning Merged S.		
independent verb	independent verb	independent verb

Rules and special features:

1. Each base must end with an independent verb.
2. There will always be a change of tense or subject, and usually both, from one base to the next. (see (62) for what could be an exception to this rule).
3. Base₂, which is optional, appears to be very limited in filler types. It could be that this is so, but it is probably because three-base Coordinate Sentences occur quite infrequently, and thus there are few examples of Base₂.
4. When Base₁ is filled by a Factual Condition Sentence, Base₂ will not occur, and Base₃ is also filled by a Factual Conditional Sentence (9.7.1.2). In such examples the relationship between the two bases is one of alternative; i.e. Base₁ ‘or’ Base₃. ((64) is an example of this feature.)

In examples (56) and (57) the subject is the same in each base, though there is a change of tense. The semantic ‘feel’ between the two bases is coordinate; ‘and’.

Example (56) is the first base of an Imperative Cause-Result Sentence (9.7.3.1).

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Base₁</p> | <p>Base₃</p> |
| <p>(56) <i>Ena koronga to-0-mu// olto</i></p> | <p><i>wi kepo-na li-0-mbe/-kene</i></p> |
| <p>sun already hit-PST-3SG us.two</p> | <p>upstream hill-LOC get-FUT-3SG-therefore</p> |
| <p>‘(The) sun (has) already risen to full strength, (and) will catch us on the hill up there so...’</p> | |

In example (57) there is an unusual, though not unique, use of the benefactive suffix as a causative.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| <p>Base₁</p> | <p>Base₃</p> |
| <p>(57) <i>Owa koronga pu-0-mu// kera</i></p> | <p><i>wi mango-ndo-ko-mo//.</i></p> |
| <p>dog already go-PST-3SG bird</p> | <p>upstream fly-CAUSE-PR-3SG</p> |
| <p>‘(The) dog (has) already gone in an upstream direction (and) is causing (the) bird(s) to fly.’</p> | |

Examples (58) to (61) all have a semantic feel of reason-result; ‘so’.

Example (58) is the closing sentence of a Quote. Base₁ is expounded by a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5) and Base₃ by a Dependent Sentence. The connector *-lie* at the end of the first clause has an ‘if’ feel. It is also interesting to note in this example that *wi* ‘upstream’ is being used in a temporal, rather than a locative, sense.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Base₁</p> | <p>Base₃</p> |
| <p>(58) "<i>We pu-ku/-lie wi kolo-0-ni//-kinie alto-ko/</i> ‘<i>Ya kongi-mu</i></p> | <p><i>molo-pili// kele-po pu-0-ndu//’ i konopu.lie-0-ni//</i></p> |
| <p>just go-2/3-CON upstream die-FUT-2SG-SEQ again-2/3 here pig-the</p> | <p>be.AN-HORT leave-1 go-PST-1SG this think-FUT-2SG</p> |
| <p>Base₃</p> | |
| <p><i>koyo-ko/ no-ngo/ pu-0//"</i></p> | |
| <p>steam.cook-2/3 eat-2/3 go-QI</p> | |
| <p>“If you just go (without our fulfilling our obligation to you) then later when you die you will think again about this pig you went off and left here alive (and, as a spirit, take it out on us), so steam cook, eat (it) (and then) go!”</p> | |

Example (59) is a two-base example, with a Goal Merged Sentence (9.6.2.2) manifesting the first base and a Dependent Sentence manifesting the last base. There is an actual though not overt change of subject, but no change of tense, between the bases.

- Base₁ Base₃
 (59) *Paa songo.te-0-mba// te-ri-mu// winji-pa pu-pe/ no-ru-mu//.*
 very be.tasty-FUT-3SG do-DPST-3SG upstream-further go-3SG eat-DPST-3SG
 ‘(The water) was getting very tasty (so) he went further upstream (and) drank.’

In Example (60) the first base is expounded by a Paraphrase Sentence (9.5.2), and the last by an Independent Clause.

- Base₁ Base₃
 (60) *Yu kou te naa si-ri-mu// paono talo mindi si-ri-mu//*
 him money a not give-DPST-3SG pound two only give-DPST-3SG
opa.te-ri-ngili//.
 fight-DPST-2DL
 ‘He didn't give him one money (i.e. he gave him one less than he gave everyone else), he only gave (him) two pounds (\$4.00) (so) they fought.’

In example (61) the tense is the same in both bases while the subject is different. Base₁ is expounded by a Simple Sentence, and Base₃ by a Dependent Sentence.

- Base₁ Base₃
 (61) *Lo siri mindi to-0-mu// na naa puru-pu/ o-0-ndu//.*
 rain drizzle only hit-PST-3SG I not rain.wet-1 come-PST-1SG
 ‘The rain was only sprinkling (so) I came without getting rain wet.’

Example (62) is unusual in that both bases have the same overt tense and subject person, however the actual time is different, indicated by temporal phrases in each base.

- Base₁ Base₃
 (62) *Laye.kolte ou mol(o)-a-mbo// pe.mele p(u)-a-mbo//.*
 a.little.while first stay-IMP-HORT.1SG after.a.while go-IMP-HORT.1SG
 ‘Let me stay a little while first, (then) a bit later let me go.’

(63) is an example of a three-base Coordinate Sentence.

- Base₁ Base₂ Base₃
 (63) *Nu-ni kepe te me-0-ni// te yando si-yo//*
 you-ACT also one carry-FUT-2SG one here give-POL.2SG
keramo t(o)-a-mbo//.
 bird-the shoot-IMP-HORT.1SG
 ‘You also will carry one, give one here to (me), let me shoot the bird!’

Example (64) has a Factual Conditional Sentence (9.7.1.2) in both bases as per rule 4 above. As explained above the semantic ‘feel’ between the two bases is one of alternative; ‘or’. The Sentence in Base₁ is positive, the one in Base₃ is virtually the same in the negative.

Base ₁		Base ₃				
(64)	<i>pu-0-nu//-liemo</i>	<i>p(u)-a-ni//</i>	<i>naa</i>	<i>pu-0-nu//-liemo</i>	<i>naa</i>	<i>p(u)-a-ni//</i> .
	go-PST-2SG-if	go-IMP-2SG	not	go-PST-2SG-if	not	go-IMP-2SG
	‘If you are going go, if you are not going don't go!’					

9.5.2 The paraphrase sentence

The Paraphrase Sentence consists of two or sometimes three bases which are juxtaposed. The Predicate of all bases is usually identical. The semantic relationship between the bases is usually one of clarification or expansion in the second and third bases of information given in the first base. The Paraphrase Sentence performs much the same function as the Exposition Paragraph (10.4.4.3); that is the giving of some information then clarifying or expounding on that information, but the structure is different.

The differences between both the Paraphrase Sentence and the Listing Sentence and the Coordinate Sentence have been given under the Coordinate Sentence. Another difference between the Paraphrase Sentence and the Coordinate Sentence is that fillers of the bases of Paraphrase Sentence are usually just clauses, whereas fillers in the Coordinate Sentence are normally quite complex.

The Paraphrase Sentence and the Listing Sentence are similar, not only in the fact that their bases are juxtaposed but also in that the verbs of the bases are often the same in both sentence types. However, they differ in the following ways:

1. The final verbs of the bases of the Listing Sentence must be either all suffixed with dependent verb morphology or all suffixed with independent verb morphology, whereas the Paraphrase Sentence can have dependent verb morphology suffixed to the verb of one base and independent to the verb of the other.
2. The Paraphrase Sentence is limited to a maximum of three bases, whereas the Listing Sentence can have more than three bases.
3. The Listing Sentence has an optional Summary, whereas the Paraphrase Sentence does not have a summary.
4. The two sentence types also differ semantically. Whereas the semantic purpose of the Paraphrase Sentence is to give extra information about one event, the Listing Sentence presents a series of related events.

The Paraphrase Sentence typically embeds in other types of sentences.

Table 9.9 The Paraphrase Sentence

+Base ₁	±Base ₂	+Base ₃
Equational Clause		Equational Clause
Dependent Cl. ±Link	Dependent Clause	Dependent Cl. ±Link
Independent Cl. ±Link	Independent Cl. ±Link	Independent Cl. ±Link
Sequence S. ±Link		Sequence S. ±Link
Dependent Sentence	Dependent S. ±Link	Dependent S. ±Link
Merged Clause	Merged Clause	Merged Clause
		Coordinate S. ±Link
same verb stem	same verb stem	same verb stem

Rules and special features:

1. The stems of the final verb in the three bases are usually identical, however a synonym or a pro-verb is also permitted in Base₂ and Base₃.
2. The suffixation on the verbs in all bases is usually identical, however, when the verb of the first base is suffixed with dependent morphology the verb of the final base is optionally suffixed with independent morphology.
3. When an Equational Clause manifests the final base, an Equational Clause obligatorily manifests the first base - the reverse is usual (rules 1. and 2) but not obligatory.
4. The link of a larger sentence, into which the Paraphrase Sentence is embedded, can be picked up as part of the filler of Base₁, and if so would usually be repeated at end of the sentence.

In all of the examples, the stem of the verb which occurs in all bases of the sentence will be bolded so as to be easily recognised. When the form of the verb is identical the whole word, or series of words expounding the Predicate, as in example (73), will be bolded.

Example (65) is embedded in a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5) in a story about a wicked man an old couple put into a bag and tied up so that he could not molest their children. When the old couple went away, the man in the bag, by promising to tell the children a story, persuaded them to let him out. Some of this context will be presented with the example to give it sense.

(65) *Kanu-kinie ambou-anda kanu-selo elo pu-ri-ngili//*
 and.then old.woman-old.man that-DL.ART they.two go-DPST-3DL

Base₁

*ambolango kanume molo-ri-ngi//kanu.kinie wale-na **pe-pa/-lie***
 children those stay-DPST-3PL-and.then bag-LOC be.in-3SG-CON

Base₃

*wale kulupi-ne **pe-pa/-lie** nimbendo "... nirimu//*
 bag parcel-LOC be.in-3SG.CON quote.introducer ... he.said

wendo li-ri-ngi//

out take-DPST-3PL

‘Then, when that old couple (had) gone (and) those children were there (with the tied-up wrapped-up man), he being in the string bag, parceled up in the string bag said (to the children): "(Let me out of here so I can tell you a story!)" (and so) they took (him) out.’

Examples (66) and (67) are both from the same origin story, spoken as the narrator is rounding off his story and emphasising some pertinent points. Both (66) and (67) are embedded, at different points, in the same Sequence Sentence (9.7.5).

- | | | | |
|------|---|--|------------------------------------|
| | Base ₁ | | Base ₃ |
| (66) | <i>Ou imbi-mu Peraka mendepolo</i> | | <i>imbi-mu ou Peraka mendepolo</i> |
| | before name-the P. only | | name-the before P. only |
| | ‘Before the name (was) just Peraka, the name before (was) just Peraka;’ | | |

- | | | | |
|------|---|--|-------------------|
| | Base ₁ | | Base ₃ |
| (67) | <i>yu "Takopuka" ni-mbe/ imbi si-ri-mu//, Palinoli-Palime-ne "Takopuka"</i> | | |
| | he Takopuka say-3SG name give-DPST-3SG P-P.-ACT T. | | |
| | <i>ni-mbe/ imbi si-ri-mu//.</i> | | |
| | say-3SG name give-DPST-3SG | | |
| | ‘Saying "Takopuka" he named (him), Palinoli-Palime named him Takopuka.’ | | |

Example (68) is the first base of a Coordinate Sentence. Both (68) and (69) have a dependent verb in the first base, with the same verb in independent form in the final base, as per rule 2 above.

- | | | | |
|------|---|--|-------------------|
| | Base ₁ | | Base ₃ |
| (68) | <i>Na me-ngo/ ulke i-mu-nge me-ri-ngi// pe i ulke-mo-nga</i> | | |
| | me bear-2/3 house this-the-LOC bear-DPST-3PL later this house-the-LOC | | |
| | <i>ama kolo-ru-mu//.</i> | | |
| | mum die-DPST-3SG | | |
| | ‘ <u>They bore me, they bore (me) in this very house, (and) later mum died in this house.</u> ’ | | |

Example (69) is unusual in that the second base is expounded by a Coordinate Sentence, the first base of which is a Dependent Sentence. However, the final verb of both bases is the same; dependent in Base₁ and independent in Base₃.

- | | | | |
|------|--|--|-------------------|
| | Base ₁ | | Base ₃ |
| (69) | <i>Meku.to-po/ maratene si-ki-mu// akume no-mbo/ olo-na naa</i> | | |
| | vomit-1 medicine give-PR-3SG those eat-1 stomach-LOC not | | |
| | <i>panji-ki-ru// meku.to-ko-ro//.</i> | | |
| | keep.in-PR-1SG vomit-PR-1SG | | |
| | ‘I vomit; eating those medicines he is giving (me) I "am not keeping (them) down", I am vomiting.’ | | |

Example (70) is unusual in having just a verb stem closing off the filler of Base₁. The same verb, in independent form closes off the filler of the final base. As with examples (66) and (67) the narrator is rounding off an origin story by emphasising some salient points. The first base focuses upon the object of the verb, and the final base on its subject.

1. The Listing Sentence fillers maintain a regular pattern, with regular and minimal filler change in one clause-level tagmeme, and
2. The verb stem(s) of the filler of the bases of the Listing Sentence either remain the same or are only substitutable by synonyms.

The Listing Sentence most commonly embeds into other sentences; particularly Coordinate, Paraphrase and Dependent.

Table 9.10 The Listing Sentence

+Listing Base ₁	±Listing Base ₂	+Listing Base ₃	±Summary Base
Dependent Clause	Dependent Clause	Dependent Clause	Simultaneous-Action S.
Independent Clause	Independent Clause	Independent Clause	
Dependent Sentence	Dependent Sentence	Dependent Sentence	
Decision Sentence		Decision Sentence	
		Purpose Sentence	

same verb stem and verb morphology throughout (even in Summary)

Rules:

1. The same verb stem, or very occasionally a synonym verb stem, must occur in each base.
2. Verb morphology on the final verb of each base remains constant.
3. Fillers of all bases tend to be non-complex sentences.
4. Fillers of Listing Bases in any one example tend to be very similar both in structure and content.
5. There is only one example with a Summary Base (76).
6. Listing Base₂ is optional, but can occur up to three times in one sentence.

In the examples Listing Base will be abbreviated to Lst-Bs.

Example (72) is a two base example of the Listing Sentence, which is in turn the second base of a Paraphrase Sentence.

	Lst-Bs ₁	
(72)	<i>Tawe-manga pu-pu/ ka to-le-molo//;</i>	<i>ka kumbuku-me</i>
	bush-area go-1 vine hit-ASP-1PL.CUST vine	vine.type-PL.ART
	Lst-Bs ₃	
	<i>to-le-molo//, kele-ma to-le-molo//.</i>	
	hit-ASP-1PL.CUST vine.type-PL.ART hit-ASP-1PL.CUST	

‘Going to (the) bush area we pull off vine(s); we pull off kumbuku vines, we pull off kele vines.’

Example (73) is another two base example with equational clauses filling each base.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| Lst-Bs ₁ | Lst-Bs ₃ |
| (73) <i>Komo-mo ya Takopuka//;</i> | <i>sukuna-mo Peraka</i> |
| first.born-the here T. | middle.born-the P. |
| ‘The firstborn (is (was) Takopoka (of) here; the middleborn (is) Peraka.’ | |
| (Takopuka and Peraka are clan names) | |

Example (74) is another two base example, winding up a legend about how dogs and possums became enemies. (In itself this Listing Sentence is very simple, but it is actually the last base of a very complex sentence within which many other sentences are embedded.)

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| Lst-Bs ₁ | Lst-Bs ₃ |
| (74) <i>kinié lopa-ma eneno pe-le-mele//;</i> | <i>kinié owa-ma</i> |
| now possums-PL.ART they.themselves live-ASP-CUST.3PL | now dog-PL.ART |
| <i>eneno pe-le-mele//.</i> | |
| they.themselves live-ASP-CUST.3PL | |
| ‘Now the possums live on their own, (and) the dogs live on their own.’ | |

Example (75) is once again a two base sentence. In this case the verbs of the two bases are different, but they are both state-of-being verbs. I will present the whole of the Sequence Sentence into which this example embeds to give the sense.

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| (75) <i>Pe mondokolie mongo pulu kanu-ne o-mba/ kano-ru-mu//-kanu.kinie</i> | |
| then tree.type fruit owner that-ACT come-3SG look-DPST-3SG-and.then | |
| Lst-Bs ₁ | Lst-Bs ₃ |
| <i>Kemboro mele kanumu unjo paka-na ola pe-ri-mu//,</i> | <i>Yako mele</i> |
| K. like that tree fork-LOC up be.in-DPST-3SG | Y. like |
| <i>kanumu manie molo-ru-mu</i> | |
| that down be.AN-DPST-3SG | |
| ‘Then that owner (of the) mondokolie fruit tree came and looked and <u>there was that (one) like Kemboro up in (a) fork (of the) tree, (and) there was that (one) like Yako down (on the ground.)</u> ’ | |

Example (76) is the maximum-base Listing Sentence found. It is presented here in its context as the first base of a Coordinate Sentence which has an antithetical sense. The man in the story is trying to discover what calamity has occurred to cause his itch.

- Lst-Bs₁
 (76) "Nanga *ambolango o-mba/ tepe-na pu-0-mu//*" *ni-ri-mu//*;
 my child come-3SG fire-LOC go-PST-3SG say-DPST-3SG
- Lst-Bs₂₋₁ Lst-Bs₂₋₂ Lst-Bs₂₋₃
 "Nanga *kongi*" *ni-ri-mu//*; "Nanga *owa*" *ni-ri-mu//*; "Nanga *pokie*"
 my pig say-DPST-3SG my dog say-DPST-3SG my shells
- Lst-Bs₃
ni-ri-mu//; "Nanga *ga wa aku-0-ngi//*" *ni-ri-mu//*;
 say-DPST-3SG my sweet.potato steal dig-PST-3PL say-DPST-3SG

Summary

melema "wa li-0-ngi//" *ni-li-pe/ pu-ru-mu// naa kano-ru-mu//*.
 things steal take-PST-2PL say-SIM-3SG go-DPST-3SG not see-DPST-3SG
 "My child has got into (the) fire" he said; "(It's) my pig" he said; "My dog" he said;
 "my pokie (shell)" he said; "They have dug up (and) stolen my sweet potato" he said;
 he continued (in this vein) "listing off" the things they (might have) stolen-taken (but)
 he didn't find out.'

In example (77) the Listing Sentence is the second base of a Paraphrase Sentence, (which, in turn is part of a larger Dependent Sentence. The Dependent Sentence is the second base of a Coordinate Sentence.) Because of this embedding, all the fillers of this example end with dependent verbs.

- Lst-Bs₁
 (77) *gomo te-pa/ li-pe/: minimbe lango-pa/ li-pe/*,
 leaves do-3SG take-3SG bread.fruit pick.off-3SG take-3SG
- Lst-Bs₂ Lst-Bs₃
pamba lango-pa/ li-pe/ lkepa me-mba/ li-pe/,
 tree.fern pick.off-3SG take-3SG greens pick-3SG take-3SG
 'he picked (and) collected (assorted) leaves: he picked (and) collected breadfruit
 leaves, he picked (and) collected tree fern leaves, he picked (and) collected lkepa
 (greens).'

The word expounding the Periphery of example (78) is the topic of the two listing bases which follow. Both bases are expounded by Decision Sentences (9.4.2).

- Periphery Lst-Bs₁
 (78) *Kou mare 'paono yepoko' ni-mbe/ si-ri-mu//*.
 money some pound three say-3SG give-DPST-3SG
- Lst-Bs₃
mare 'paono talo' ni-mbe/ 'tene' ni-mbe/ si-ri-mu//.
 some pound two say-3SG ten say-3SG give-DPST-3SG
 '(Concerning) money: (to) some deciding on three pounds (\$6) he gave (that to them),
 (and) (to) some deciding on two pounds ten (\$5) he gave (that to them).'

9.5.4 Statement-evaluation sentence

The Statement-Evaluation Sentence consists of an obligatory Statement followed by an obligatory Evaluation. Statement can be manifest by a clause or a sentence. Evaluation has a limited list of fillers with meanings such as ‘it is good’, ‘it is bad’, ‘it seems as though’.

One of the features of the Statement-Evaluation Sentence is the way in which the verb *le* ‘to.be.inanimate’ is used in the Evaluation slot, to indicate that what has been stated is apparently so or is assumed to be so. So, for the purposes of this sentence type *le* will be translated as ‘to be a apparent’.

Both the Statement-Evaluation Sentence and the Existential Verb Sentence (9.5.5) differ from the other juxtaposed sentences in that they are always and only binary.

The Statement-Evaluation Sentence also differs from all other juxtaposed sentence types, by virtue of the limited list of fillers which may expound the final base.

Table 9.11 The Statement-Evaluation Sentence

+Statement	+Evaluation
Commentative Clause	<i>molo</i> ‘no’ / ‘not’ ⁵
Independent Clause	<i>kanumu/akumu</i> ‘that’
Dependent Sentence	<i>le</i> ‘to be apparent’
Purpose Sentence	<i>keri.le</i> ‘to be bad’
Purpose Merged Sentence	<i>kapola.naa.te</i> ‘to not be good’ <i>imu komindi</i> ‘this (is) good’
+ independent verb	all verbs limited to third-person singular, and <i>le</i> to customary, present-awareness, and near-past tenses

Rules and special features:

1. When Statement is expounded by a positive statement, and *molo* ‘not’ is manifesting Evaluation, then *molo* negates what precedes it, in the same semantic sense in which the verbal negative *naa* is normally used to negate active and stative clauses.
2. When verbal negative *naa* is present in the filler of Statement, and *molo* ‘not’ is manifesting Evaluation, then the Statement is already negative and *molo*⁶ serves only to emphasize that negation, not to make it positive as it would in English.
3. All verbs occurring in the Evaluation are limited to third person singular forms, while *le* ‘to be apparent’ or ‘to look as though’ is limited as to tense, occurring only in customary, present-awareness, and near-past.

There are other possible fillers of Evaluation but the more common ones are presented in the bi-dimensional array.

Examples (79) to (82) feature *molo* ‘not’ in Evaluation.

⁵ A discussion of the problems associated with homophonous forms of *molo* meaning ‘no’, ‘not’, or ‘or’, as well as being the stem of the verb ‘to.be.animate’ is to be found in the introduction to the Alternative Sentence. In the Statement Evaluation Sentence *molo* carries the meaning of ‘no’ or ‘not’.

⁶ There is a phonological difference between *molo* used as per rules 1. versus 2. above. In written form, *molo* used as per rule 2. will be preceded by a comma to indicate this, versus no comma preceding *molo* as described in rule 1.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|---------------------|----------------------------|--------------|------------|
| | Periphery | | Statement | | Evaluation |
| (79) | <i>Aku,</i> | <i>Kondoli</i> | <i>ulu-ri</i> | <i>molo.</i> | |
| | that | European | custom-a | no | |
| | '(Concerning) that, (that is) Europeans, (we have) no custom.' | | | | |
| | Periphery | Statement | | | Evaluation |
| (80) | <i>Aku</i> | <i>kongi</i> | <i>naa koyo-ru-mulu//,</i> | <i>molo.</i> | |
| | that | pig | not steam.cook-DPST-3PL | no | |
| | '(Concerning) that (spirit) we didn't steam.cook pig (in worship to him), no.' | | | | |
| | Statement | | | | Evaluation |
| (81) | <i>we</i> | <i>no-le-mele//</i> | <i>molo.</i> | | |
| | without.good.reason | eat-ASP-CUST.3PL | no | | |
| | 'They don't eat (pig) without good reason.' | | | | |

Example (82) is unusual in that the natural transverse of the Statement-Evaluation is actually stated, giving a Paraphrase Sentence, or double Evaluation effect.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Statement | | | | Evaluation |
| (82) | <i>Ou</i> | <i>yema-ne kepe</i> | <i>aku ulu-ri</i> | <i>molo, ulu-ri</i> | <i>naa te-ri-mu//.</i> |
| | before | men-ACT | also | that custom-a | no custom-a not do-DPST-3SG |
| | 'The men of bygone days also (did not have) a custom (of) that (nature), (they) didn't do anything (like that).' | | | | |

Example (83) has two of the possible evaluating statements combined into one Evaluation.

- | | | | | |
|------|--|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | Statement | | | Evaluation |
| (83) | <i>We ando-0-ni//</i> | <i>kapola</i> | <i>naa te-0-mba//</i> | <i>le-pa-mo//.</i> |
| | just travel.about-FUT-2SG | good | not do-FUT-3SG | to.be.apparent-PA-3SG |
| | 'I have just now decided/reached the conclusion that it really wouldn't be fair for you to just travel around (with this group of visitors without any remuneration).' | | | |

Example (84) is the Resolving Speech of a Speech Paragraph (10.4.3.2).

- | | | | | |
|------|--|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| | | | | Statement |
| (84) | <i>"Nu nambemune</i> | <i>aku.si-ku/</i> | <i>te-ke-no//-ye</i> | <i>"Nu 'Te-i' ni-0-nu//</i> |
| | you | why | like.that-2/3 | do-PR-2SG-QU you do-QI say-PST-2SG |
| | Evaluation | | | |
| | <i>kanumu.</i> | | | |
| | that | | | |
| | 'Why are you doing like that?. You said (to) do (it) - that (is why).' | | | |
| | Statement | | | Evaluation |
| (85) | <i>Ungu awisili</i> | <i>ni-mbu/</i> | <i>mol-ko-molo//</i> | <i>keri le-ke-mo.</i> |
| | talk | lots | say-1 | stay-PR-1PL bad be-PR-3SG |
| | 'It's bad (that) we are continually talking a lot.' | | | |

Statement	Evaluation
(86) <i>Yembo ponenge kolea lipu.ora.si-ki-mulu ni-e-mbo//,</i> person visitor place show-PR-1PL say-IMP-HORT.1SG this good 'Let me talk about us showing a visitor around, this (would be) good.'	

Examples (87) and (88) fill the penultimate and final bases of a three base Coordinate Sentence with a semantic feel of expectancy reversal.

Statement	Evaluation
(87) <i>Kale wale engaki li-0-mu// aku-poko kapola naa te-ke-mo//</i> needle times eight take-PST-3SG that-few good not do-PR-3SG	

Statement	Evaluation
(88) <i>na waengo.naa.ni-0-mbe//⁷ le-0-mu//</i> I not.get.well-FUT-3SG to.be.apparent-PST-3SG 'He injected (me) eight times, (but) <u>those few (things) are not doing any good, it looks as though I will not get well.</u> '	

9.5.5 The existential verb sentence

The Existential Verb Sentence is a binary juxtaposed sentence with typically only an Independent Clause expounding the first base or Setting, and an Independent Clause or a Dependent Sentence expounding the second base or Event. The Independent Clause expounding Setting must end with an existential verb (4.2.1), which must be in hortative imperative tense (Table 4.2). The first base or Setting sets a time frame for the Event with the two overlapping in time, usually, though not necessarily, past time. The time overlap between Setting and Event is usually not total; the Event occurring somewhere within the time frame of the Setting.

The Existential Verb Sentence differs from all other juxtaposed sentences by virtue of the three features pertaining to the first base which have been delineated in the above paragraph. These same three features also make the Existential Verb Sentence similar to the Merged Sentences which follow (9.6) However, the Existential Verb Sentence differs from the Merged Sentences in the following ways:

1. The second base of all merged sentences is obligatorily manifest only by a predicate, whereas the fillers of the second base of the Existential Verb Sentence are not so limited.
2. There is no restriction on the final verb of the second base of the Existential Verb Sentence, but there are tight restrictions on both tense and person, as well as sometimes the type of verb, in the second base of merged sentences.
3. In the Existential Verb Sentence there is always an overlap of time between the bases, whereas, in the Merged Sentences, the events of the two bases typically occur one after the other, with future tense marking which event will be the last.

The Existential Verb Sentence occurs most commonly in narrative type discourses.

⁷ The Adjunct Verb Complex *waengo ni* 'to get well' is a Stative Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1.3) which can only occur in third person singular.

Table 9.12 The Existential Verb Sentence

Setting	Event
Independent Clause	Independent Clause Dependent Sentence
existential verb + hortative	

Rules and special features:

1. The Independent Clause in Setting obligatorily ends with an existential verb.
2. The existential verb in Setting is obligatorily suffixed for hortative tense.⁸

Examples (89) and (90), having only a predicate expounding Event, are virtually identical in structure to some Merged Sentences (9.6), but the time relationship between the bases is different, as per rule 3 above. In example (89) the pig stays at the same time as the speaker leaves, but if this were a merged sentence, the action of the second base would have to take place before that of the first base.

Setting	Event
(89) <i>Kongi-mu molo-pili//</i> pig-the be.AN-3SG.HORT	<i>kele-po/ pu-0-ndu//.</i> leave-1 go-PST-1SG
‘I left the pig (behind)’	

Examples (90) and (91) are somewhat unusual in that the whole construction is in future time, as indicated by the verb of the Event. In (90) the soap will be in the water while the washing takes place.

Setting	Event
(90) <i>Sopo pe-pili//</i> soap be.in-3SG.HORT	<i>kulumiyē.to-0-mbo//.</i> wash-FUT-1SG
‘I will wash (it) with soap in the water.’	

Setting	Event
(91) <i>Supuleme ponie pu-pu/ mol(o)-a-mbili//</i> S. garden go-1 be.AN-IMP-HORT.1DL	<i>mulu.pili-pu/ no</i> rest.1 water
<i>no-0-mbo//.</i> drink-FUT-1SG	
‘While we two are at Supuleme garden I will rest (and) have a drink of water.’	

Example (92) is an account of a sickness which two men had. Having described the symptoms the speaker goes on to say:

⁸ In many examples of this sentence type, especially those using *molo* ‘to.be.animate’ as the verb of Setting the hortative tense is used in an historic past sense. This will be illustrated by the examples.

- | | Setting | Event |
|------|---|--|
| (92) | <i>Aku-ne mol(o)-a-mbili//</i>
that-loc be.AN-IMP-HORT.1DL | <i>oli te kolo-ru-mu//.</i>
moon a die-DPST-3SG |
| | ‘While we two continued in that (condition) a month died (passed).’ | |

- | | Setting | Event |
|------|--|------------------------------------|
| (93) | <i>Pita none.teli mol(o)-a-mbo//</i>
Peter be.like be.AN-IMP-HORT.1SG | <i>te-ri-ngi//.</i>
do-DPST-3PL |
| | ‘They did (it) when I was about Peter's age.’ | |

Example (94) has a slightly different semantic sense, much like (89).

- | | Periphery | Setting | Event |
|------|--|---|--|
| (94) | <i>Kanu.kinie</i>
and.then | <i>alto-po/ ye mare akili.lie-ri-ngi//</i>
again-1 men some come.behind-DPST-3PL | <i>akume</i>
those |
| | | <i>mol(o)-a-ngi//</i>
be.AN-IMP-HORT.3PL | <i>olio ola-ndo-pa pu-ru-mulu//.</i>
we up-toward-further go-DPST-1PL |
| | ‘And then once again leaving behind those few men who were coming behind us we went on further up toward (the top of the mountain).’ | | |

In (95) the verb *molo* is being used to indicate imperfective aspect (7.2.4) on the verb *pu* ‘to go’.

- | | Periphery | Setting | Event |
|------|--|--|---|
| (95) | <i>Kanu.kinie</i>
and.then | <i>ye kanu-mu pu-pe/ molo-pili//</i>
man that-the go-3SG be.AN-HORT.3SG | <i>koro te o-mba/.</i>
week a come-3SG |
| | | <i>pu-ru-mu//</i>
go-DPST-3SG | |
| | ‘And then while that man was on his way (to that place) a week went by.’ | | |

- | | Periphery | Setting | Event |
|------|--|--|--|
| (96) | <i>Kanu.kinie</i>
and.then | <i>kuli-ne kowa te lie-pili//</i>
grassland-LOC tunnel a be.IN-HORT.3SG | <i>naa kano-pa/-lie</i>
not see-3SG-CON |
| | | <i>yu aye.te-li-pe/ pu-ru-mu//.</i>
he hunt-sim-3SG go-DPST-3SG | |
| | ‘And then not seeing there was a tunnel there on the grassland he went hunting (there).’ | | |

Example (97) is from a true story about expeditions up Mt. Giluwe looking for the wild dog that used to live there. In this example the Setting seems to be embedded into the main clause, almost as just a time tagmeme. Note the use of the word *wi* ‘upstream’ in a time sense.

3. In chronological ordering of the actions the Reasoning Merged Sentence is an Event-Result Sentence, whereas all the other Merged Sentences are Result-Event Sentences.
4. Fitting to its title, the Reasoning Merged Sentence can transform to a Cause-Result Sentence, whereas the other Merged Sentences cannot, but rather they are all of a Purpose or Decision Sentence nature.

The Reasoning Merged Sentence occurs most commonly in conversation.

Table 9.13 The Reasoning Merged Sentence

+Base ₁	+Base ₂
Independent Clause	Independent Predicate
same verb stem	same verb stem
same person	same person
+ customary tense	+ future tense

Rules:

1. The filler of the second base is obligatorily only a predicate.
2. Both bases obligatorily manifest the same main-verb stem.
3. Both bases obligatorily manifest the same subject person.
4. Customary tense is obligatorily affixed to the main verb of Base₁ and future tense to the main verb of Base₂.

Example (98) will be presented in its context. It is the second base of a two base Dependent Sentence (9.3.1), which is in turn the second base of a two base Sequence Sentence (9.7.5).

(98) is talking about a pet dog.

	Base ₁	Base ₂
(98) <i>Ope.to-0-mbo//-kinie</i>	<i>pili-pe/-lie</i>	<i>we o-le-mo//</i>
whistle-FUT-1SG-when	hear-3SG-CON just	come-ASP-3SG.CUST come-FUT-3SG-DEF
‘When I whistle (the dog) hears, and (because) he habitually just comes he will <u>definitely come.</u> ’		

Examples (99) and (100) are talking about the habits of birds in different places.

	Base ₁	Base ₂
(99) <i>Yakondo yando</i>	<i>o-le-mo//</i>	<i>o-0-mba//.</i>
towards.here back	come-ASP-3SG.CUST	come-FUT-3SG
‘(The bird) habitually comes back this way (so this is the direction) it will come.’		

Example (100) will be presented in its context. It is the first base of a Coordinate Sentence (9.5.1), which is in turn the second base of a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5).

		Base ₁	Base ₂
(100)	<i>Keko ponie pu-0-mbolo//-kinie</i>	<i>mango-le-mele//</i>	<i>mango-0-nge//</i>
	K. garden go-FUT-1DL-when	fly-ASP-3PL.CUST	fly-FUT-3PL
	<i>naa to-0-mbolo//-k(o)-a</i>		
	not hit-FUT-1DL-DEF-EXP		
	‘When we go (to) Keko-garden (as) (the birds) are in the habit of flying (off) (so) they will fly (away) (and) we definitely won’t shoot (any).’		

Finally, example (101), which is unusual in that the second base of the sentence becomes the first base of a Goal Merged Sentence (9.6.2.2). This example is speaking about rain.

	Reasoning-Merged-S-Base ₁	R-M-S-Base ₂ -and-Goal-Merged-S-Base ₁	G-M-S-Base ₂
(101)	<i>o-le-mo//</i>	<i>o-0-mba//</i>	<i>o-ko-mo//.</i>
	come-ASP-3SG.CUST	come-FUT-3SG	come-PR-3SG
	‘ <u>It always rains (so) it will rain</u> (and) here it comes.’		

9.6.2 The result-event merged sentences

The Result-Event Merged Sentences are so grouped because they all have future time as the common feature of the first base (expressed by future or hortative). The significance of this use of future tense is to indicate that the event so marked can only occur after the event of the second base has been completed. That is, the use of future tense does not represent the actual time of the event, but rather it signifies the chronological relationship between the two events.

The three Result-Event Merged Sentences are the Imperative Merged Sentence, the Goal Merged Sentence, and the Intention Merged Sentence.

The ways in which the Result-Event Merged Sentences differ from the Reasoning Merged Sentence have already been presented in the discussion on the Reasoning Merged Sentence.

9.6.2.1 The imperative merged sentence

The Imperative Merged Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases are obligatory. The two bases are bound together phonologically and by their tenses, and there is no overt link morpheme. The semantic ‘feel’ of the Imperative Merged Sentence is one of reasoned imperative.

The Imperative Merged Sentence differs from all other Merged Sentences in the following ways:

1. Hortative⁹ tense is obligatorily suffixed to the final verb of the first base, whereas it cannot occur in first base of other Merged Sentences.
2. Imperative tense is obligatorily suffixed to the main verb of the second base, whereas it cannot occur in the second base of the other Merged Sentences.

The Imperative Merged Sentence occurs only in conversation, or within quotes.

⁹ Hortative is part of the imperative suffixation system on verbs; refer to Table 4.2.

Table 9.14 The Imperative Merged Sentence

+Base ₁	+Base ₂
Independent Clause	Predicate
+ hortative	any imperative

Rules:

1. The Base₁ verb is obligatorily suffixed with hortative.
2. The Base₂ verb is obligatorily suffixed with any imperative.

Examples: The abbreviation EMP, used frequently in the following examples, stands for emphatic imperative; refer to Table 4.2 for a full chart of all imperative forms.

In examples (102) and (103) the actor of Base₂ is one of the actors of Base₁.

	Base ₁	Base ₂
(102)	<i>P(u)-a-mbili//</i> go-IMP-1DL.HORT	<i>wa//.</i> come.2SG.EMP
	'Come, let's go!'	

	Base ₁	Base ₂
(103)	<i>Kinié p(u)-a-mbili//</i> now go-IMP-1DL.HORT	<i>wlea kan(o)-a//.</i> quickly see-2SG.EMP
	'Find (what you're after) quickly (and) let's go now!'	

In examples (104) to (106) the subject of both bases is the same, which is quite common. In example (104) the imperative form, hortative, is also the same.

	Base ₁	Base ₂
(104)	<i>Kan(o)-a-mbo//</i> see-IMP-1SG.HORT	<i>p(u)-a-mbo//.</i> go-IMP-1SG.HORT
	'Let me go (and) see (how things are there)!' / 'I must go (and) see (how things are there)!'	

In example (105) and (106) the subject person is the same in both bases, but the imperative form differs; hortative in first base, and emphatic imperative in second base in both cases.

	Base ₁	Base ₂
(105)	<i>N(o)-a-ni//</i> eat-IMP-2SG.HORT	<i>wa//.</i> come.2SG.EMP
	'You may come (and) eat'	

Example (106) is part of a quote. I will present the whole context, including the Dependent Sentence into which the Quote Sentence embeds.

- (106) *Yalipu kango langi kalo-pa/ panji-pe/ o-mba/ na-ndo* "Langi kalo-po/
 Y. boy food cook-3SG put.3SG come-3SG me-to food cook-1

		Base ₁	Base ₂	
<i>panji-pu/</i>	<i>o-ko-ro</i>	<i>n(o)-a-mbili//</i>	<i>p(u)-a-mbolo//</i>	<i>ni-ri-mu//</i>
put-1	come-PR-1SG	eat-IMP-1DL.HORT	go-IMP-1DL.EMP	say-DPST-3SG

pu-ru-mbulu//.
 go-DPST-1DL

‘The Ialibu boy put food on to cook (then) came (and) said to me "I have put food on to cook (and) come (to get you so) let's go (and) eat!" (so) we went.’

In examples (107) to (110) the subjects of the two bases are entirely different.

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Base ₁ | Base ₂ |
| (107) | <i>lie-pili//</i> | <i>kele-a//.</i> |
| | be.IN-3SG.HORT | leave-2SG.EMP |
- ‘Leave it (alone), let it be!’

In example (108) the benefactive suffix *-ndo* is used in something of a causative sense; compare example (57).

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------|----------------------|
| | Base ₁ | Base ₂ |
| (108) | <i>o-pili//</i> | <i>to-nd(o)-a//.</i> |
| | come-3SG.HORT | hit-BEN-2SG.EMP |
- ‘Hit (him) for (me) (so that) he'll come’ / ‘Hit (him) to make him come (to me)!’

Example (109) has a Merged Clause (8.3) expounding Base₂.

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| | Base ₁ | Base ₂ | |
| (109) | <i>lie-pili//</i> | <i>li-ku/</i> | <i>maku.to-ko/ nosi-e//.</i> |
| | be.IN-3SG.HORT | take-2SG | gather.together-2SG put-2SG.EMP |
- ‘Gather (them) together, put (them), (and) let (them) be!’

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------|-------------------|
| | Base ₁ | Base ₂ |
| (110) | <i>kan(o)-a-mbol//</i> | <i>si-e//.</i> |
| | look-IMP-HORT.1SG | give-EMP.2SG |
- ‘Give (it) to (me), I want to look (at it)!’

9.6.2.2 The goal merged sentence

The Goal Merged Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases are obligatory. The two bases are bound together phonologically, by the use of the same verb stem in both bases, and

by their tenses. There is no overt link between the bases. The semantic ‘feel’ of the Goal Merged Sentence is of progression toward a goal.

The differences between the Goal Merged Sentence and the Imperative Merged Sentence have been noted in the discussion on the latter.

The Goal Merged Sentence, and the Intention Merged Sentence have these features in common:

1. The verbs of both bases will always be affixed for the same subject person.
2. Future tense is obligatory in first base.
3. Any tense other than imperative can occur in second base.
4. The verbs *te* ‘to do’ and *pu* ‘to go’ are the two verbs which occur most commonly in the second base of both sentence types.

However the Goal Merged Sentence differs from the Intention Merged Sentence in the following ways:

1. In the Goal Merged Sentence the verb stems must be the same in both bases, whereas in the Intention Merged Sentence the verb stems of each base are almost always different from each other.
2. In the Intention Merged Sentence *te* ‘to do’, *pu* ‘to go’, or *o* ‘to come’ obligatorily occur as the verb of the second base, whereas in the Goal Merged Sentence these verbs can only occur in the second base when they also occur in the first base.

Table 9.15 The Goal Merged Sentence

+Base ₁	+Base ₂
Independent Clause	Predicate
same verb + future tense same person	same verb minus imperative same person

Rules:

1. 1a. Both bases are obligatorily manifested by the same main verb, though not necessarily in the same form.
1b. When the first base manifests an Adunct Verb Complex (6.1), only the final verb of the complex carries on into Base₂ (111).
2. The final verb of Base₁ is obligatorily suffixed with future tense.
3. The verb of Base₂ may be suffixed for any tense except imperative. It takes either the tense of the context, or embeds into a Dependent Sentence by suffixing dependent verb morphology (115).

Base ₁	Base ₂
(111) <i>Paa songo.te-0-mba//</i>	<i>te-ri-mu//.</i>
very be.tasty-FUT-3SG	do-DPST-3SG

‘It was getting very tasty.’

Example (112) was elicited:

Base₁ Base₂
 (112) *Yalipu pu-0-mbe// pu-0-mbe//.*
 Y. go-FUT-3SG go-FUT-3SG
 ‘He will be going (to) Ialibu.’

Base₁ Base₂
 (113) *No kumbulu-0-mbe// kumbulu-ru-mu//.*
 water dry.up-FUT-3SG dry.up-DPST-3SG
 ‘(The) water (creek) was drying up.’

Base₁ Base₂
 (114) *Na Kiripie pu-0-mbo// pu-ku-ru*
 I K. go-FUT-1SG go-PR-1SG
 ‘I am on my way to Kiripie.’

Base₁ Base₂
 (115) *Kanu ulke-na suku pu-0-ngele// pu-kulu/-lie*
 that house-LOC inside go-FUT-3DL go-3DL-CON
 ‘As they.two were going into that house...’

9.6.2.3 The intention merged sentence

The Intention Merged Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases are obligatory. There is no overt link morpheme, instead, the two bases are held together phonologically, by the occurrence of future tense in the first base, and by the use of specific verbs in the second base. The semantic ‘feel’ of the Intention Merged Sentence is that of preparing to do, intending to do, purposing to do, or being about to do, some action.

The ways in which the Intention Merged Sentence differs from the Imperative Merged Sentence are given under the Imperative Merged Sentence; and the ways in which the Intention Merged Sentence is similar to, yet differs from, the Goal Merged Sentence are given under the Goal Merged Sentence.

Table 9.16 The Intention Merged Sentence

+Base ₁	+Base ₂
Independent Clause	Predicate
any verb + future tense same person	<i>te</i> ‘to do’ or motion verb minus imperative same person

Rules:

1. Any verb can occur in the predicate of Base₁ but it must be suffixed for future tense.

2. Base₂ is obligatorily only filled by *te* ‘to do’, *o* ‘to come’, or *pu* ‘to go’¹⁰ which verbs may be suffixed by anything except imperative tense.
3. The verb of both bases is suffixed obligatorily with the same subject person.

Examples (116) to (120) all have the verb *te* ‘to do’ in second base.

Example (116) represents the type of statement which is common in every-day conversation.

- | | Base ₁ | Base ₂ | |
|-------|--|---------------------|--|
| (116) | <i>Pu-0-mbo//</i> | <i>te-ke-ro//</i> . | |
| | go-FUT-1SG | do-PR-1SG | |
| | ‘I’m getting ready to go.’ / ‘I’m preparing to go.’ / ‘I’m about to go.’ | | |

Example (117) is embedded in a Dependent Sentence which is, in turn, embedded in a Narrative Cause-Result Sentence (9.7.3.3). Only a little of this context will be given with the example.

- | | | Base ₁ | Base ₂ | |
|-------|---|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| (117) | <i>ye komo-mo-nga menu-ni ga</i> | <i>kalo-pa/</i> | <i>si-0-mbe//</i> | <i>te-pa/</i> |
| | man first.born-the-POSS wife-ACT sweet.potato | cook-3SG | give-FUT-3SG | do-3SG |
| | ‘as the wife of the first-born man was about to give (him) the sweet potato she had cooked ...’ | | | |

Example (118) is the first base of a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5).

- | | Base ₁ | Base ₂ | |
|-------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| (118) | <i>Wendo o-0-mbo//</i> | <i>te-0-ndu//-kinie</i> | |
| | out come-FUT-1SG | do-PST-1SG-when | |
| | ‘When I was about to come out ...’ | | |

Example (119) is the last base of a Dependent Sentence which gives an account of an argument between a local man and an expatriate patrol officer.

- | | Base ₁ | Base ₂ | |
|-------|---|---------------------|--|
| (119) | <i>Kondoli to-0-mba//</i> | <i>te-ri-mu//</i> . | |
| | red.man hit-FUT-3SG | do-DPST-3SG | |
| | ‘he made as if to hit the patrol officer’ | | |
-
- | | Base ₁ | Base ₂ | |
|-------|--|-----------------------|--|
| (120) | <i>Oleanga Akena kinié pu-0-mbe//</i> | <i>te-0-mu//</i> . | |
| | yesterday A. today | go-FUT-3SG do-PST-3SG | |
| | ‘Yesterday he was intending to go to Hagen today.’ | | |

¹⁰ When the second base of the Intention Merged Sentence is expounded by *te* ‘to do’, the semantic ‘feel’ is one of preparing to do, intending to do, or being about to do, some action. When the second base is expounded by one of the motion verbs, the semantic ‘feel’ is one of more definite purpose.

Examples (121) to (125) all have a motion verb in second base. Example (121) is a type common in everyday usage.

- | | Base ₁ | Base ₂ | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| (121) | <i>No</i> | <i>no-0-mbo//</i> | <i>o-ko-ro//</i> . |
| | water | drink-FUT-1SG | come-PR-1SG |
| | ‘I’ve come for a drink of water.’ | | |

- | | Base ₁ | Base ₂ | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| (122) | <i>Oleanga kongi</i> | <i>li-0-mbe//</i> | <i>pu-0-mu//</i> . |
| | yesterday pig | get-FUT-3SG | go-PST-3SG |
| | ‘He went to get (his) pig yesterday.’ | | |

- | | Base ₁ | Base ₂ | |
|-------|--|---------------------|---------------------|
| (123) | <i>Rambai</i> | <i>kano-0-mbo//</i> | <i>pu-0-ndu//</i> . |
| | R. | see-FUT-1SG | go-PST-1SG |
| | ‘I’ve been to see Rambai.’ / ‘I went to see Rambai.’ | | |

- | | Base ₁ | Base ₂ | |
|-------|--|---------------------|---------------------|
| (124) | <i>Palinoli</i> | <i>pe-0-mbolo//</i> | <i>pu-0-mbolo//</i> |
| | P | sleep-FUT-1DL | go-FUT-1DL |
| | ‘We two will go to Palinoli to sleep.’ | | |

In example (125) the overt subject person markers are different, but the speaker is included as subject of both bases.

- | | Base ₁ | Base ₂ | |
|-------|---|-------------------|--|
| (125) | <i>P(u)-a-mbili//</i> | <i>o-ko-ro</i> | |
| | go-IMP-1DL.HORT | come-PR-1SG | |
| | ‘I am coming so we can both go.’ / ‘I’m coming, let’s go’ | | |

9.7 The overt-link sentences

The Overt-Link Sentences are the final and the largest group of sentences. Each of these sentences has an overt link, either a word or an clitic, which links the bases of the sentence. Each base is expounded by an Independent Clause or a sentence whose final verb is independent. Within this group of sentences are several sub-types; the Tight Binary Sentences, the Antithetical Sentences, the Cause Result Sentences, then the Alternative, Sequence, and Comparison Sentences.

Many of the Overt-Link sentences are similar structurally and semantically to examples of the Coordinate Sentence (9.5.1). The only real structural difference being the presence or absence of an overt link. That is, in the Coordinate Sentence the bases are simply juxtaposed, whereas in the Overt-Link sentences there is an overt link. In written material, especially material with culturally unfamiliar content, native speakers overwhelmingly prefer to insert the overt link, though juxtaposition of sentence bases is very common in their own oral tradition stories.

9.7.1 The tight binary sentences

The Tight Binary Sentences are a group of four sentences which share the following features:

1. They are always and only binary.
2. Both bases are typically manifest by short, simple constructions.
3. They have tense restrictions.

In all the above ways the Tight Binary Sentences are similar to the Merged Sentences (9.6). The Tight Binary Sentences differ from the Merged Sentences in the following ways:

1. All Tight Binary Sentences obligatorily manifest an overt link, while no Merged Sentence has an overt link; their bases simply being juxtaposed.
2. The Merged Sentences are all restricted to having only a Predicate expounding second base, whereas the Tight Binary Sentences have no such restriction.

The Tight Binary Sentences are the Purpose Sentence, the Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence, the Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence, and the Contrafactual Conditional Sentence.

The first three sentences of the group have more in common with each other than they have with the fourth sentence, so they will be discussed as a grouping before they are discussed separately.

The Purpose Sentence and the Factual Conditional Sentences are a group of three sentences which share the common feature that the tense restrictions in the first base are of peculiar significance, in much the same way as in the Merged Sentences (9.6). The tenses of the first base do not represent the actual time of the event, but rather they signify the chronological relationship of the first base with the second, regardless of the tense of the second base. Thus future tense, as used in the first base of the Purpose and Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentences, indicates that this action can only occur, or be completed, after the action of the second base has been fulfilled. Near past tense in the first base, as in the Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence, signals that this action must happen before the action of the second base can happen.

9.7.1.1 The purpose sentence

The Purpose Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases are obligatory, with an obligatory link, *-ndo ~ -ndu*¹¹ 'for the purpose of'. The first base must be in future tense, signifying that this event will take place after the event of the second base, though there can sometimes be some time overlap between the bases. Purpose Sentences are typically quite short.

The Purpose Sentence and the Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence have in common that future tense is obligatory in the final verb of the first base. However, they differ in the following ways:

1. The overt link is different for each sentence type.
2. Whereas the Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence accepts any tense in the second base, there are restrictions on the tenses which may occur in the second base of the Purpose Sentence.

The Purpose Sentence is similar to the Decision Sentence in that both are binary and both can have future tense in first base. However, they differ in the following ways:

1. The Decision Sentence also commonly has hortative tense in first base, whereas the Purpose Sentence never does.

¹¹ The Purpose Sentence link *-ndo ~ -ndu* is homophonous with the reference clitic meaning 'concerning' or 'about' as well as with the indirect object clitic (see 5.1.2), and the direction 'toward' clitic (see 4.4.5.9). Whether there is one underlying meaning which ties these four together is an, as yet, unresolved question.

2. In the Decision Sentence first base is optionally negative, but this is not an option for the Purpose Sentence.
3. The links joining the bases of the two sentence types are different.
4. The Purpose Sentence typically has the same subject person in each base, but the Decision Sentence often has different subject persons in its bases.

The Purpose Sentence is semantically similar to the Intention Merged Sentence (9.6.2.3) and the Decision Sentence (9.4.2), which both also express a type of purpose. The main semantic difference is that the Decision Sentence and the Intention Merged Sentence always express plus-control purpose, or pre-meditated purpose, while the Purpose Sentence could often be described as minus-control purpose. The examples will illustrate this. Another difference between these two sentences is that the Decision Sentence can encode negative purpose, ‘lest’, ‘so that it won’t’, whereas the Purpose Sentence always encodes only positive purpose.

Another way of viewing the Purpose Sentence is something happening in anticipation of something else happening. Many of the situations in which the Purpose Sentence is used are situations in which a conscious decision cannot be logically involved, and also when something is done as a matter of customary course for the purpose of accomplishing something else. Examples (131) - (133) illustrate this. On the other hand the Decision Sentence always encodes an action carried out on the basis of a definite and conscious decision; refer examples (44) - (47).

The Purpose Sentence typically, though not exclusively, embeds into other sentences.

Table 9.17 The Purpose Sentence

+Purpose	+Link	+Action
Independent Clause	<i>-ndo ~ -ndu</i> ‘for the purpose of’ or ‘in order to’ or ‘in anticipation of’	Independent Clause
Merged Clause		Dependent Sentence
Dependent Sentence		Simultaneous Sentence
Simultaneous Sentence		
Merged Sentence		
only future		minus imperative and hypothetical

Rules:

1. All tagmemes are obligatory.
2. The Purpose must end with future tense.
3. The Action can be in any tense except imperative or hypothetical.
4. Dependent Sentences expounding Purpose or Action are limited to two or three clauses.
5. Purpose and Action tend to have the same subject, though this is not obligatory.
6. Morphophonemic rule 1, the high low vowel rule, applies to the choice of allomorphs of the link.

The link, which actually occurs suffixed as a clitic to the final verb of the Purpose, will be shown in examples as part of the Purpose. It will be **bolded** so as to be easily recognisable.

Examples (126) to (130) all have same subject in both bases. In examples (126) to (128) the type of purpose encoded is more that of controlled purpose, semantically similar to the Decision

Sentence (9.4.2). In examples (126) and (127) the Action must be completed before the Purpose can be realised.

- | | Purpose | | | | Action | | |
|-------|---|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| (126) | <i>ga</i> | <i>mare</i> | <i>aku-pu/</i> | <i>koyo-0-mbo//</i> | <i>-ndo</i> | <i>wendo</i> | <i>o-0-ndu//</i> . |
| | sweet.potato | some | dig.1 | steam.cook-FUT-1SG-PUR | out | come-PST-1SG | |
| | ‘I came out in order to dig (up and) steam cook some sweet potato.’ | | | | | | |
| | Purpose | | | | Action | | |
| (127) | <i>Owa</i> | <i>to-0-mbo//</i> | <i>-ndo</i> | <i>undu.si-ki-ru//</i> . | | | |
| | dog | kill-FUT-1SG-PUR | lie.in.wait-PR-1SG | | | | |
| | ‘I am lying in wait for the purpose of killing the dog.’ | | | | | | |

Examples (128) to (130), which all have motion verbs in the Purpose, have a semantic sense of doing something on the way to something else. Here there is a definite overlap in time between the two bases, yet the Purpose cannot be completed until the Action is carried out.

Example (128) has Simultaneous Action Sentences filling both Purpose and Action.

- | | Purpose | | | | | Action | | |
|-------|---|---------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| (128) | <i>Kinié</i> | <i>aku-na</i> | <i>yema</i> | <i>aye.te-l-ku/</i> | <i>pu-0-nge//</i> | <i>-ndo</i> | <i>owa</i> | <i>me-l-ku/</i> |
| | now | that-LOC | the.men | hunt-SIM-3PL | go-FUT-3PL-PUR | dog | lead-SIM-3PL | |
| | <i>pu-li-mele/-kinie</i> | | | | | | | |
| | go-ASP-CUST.3PL-when | | | | | | | |
| | ‘Now, when the men go there for the purpose of hunting (possums) they take dog(s) along.’ | | | | | | | |

Example (129) is embedded in a Dependent Sentence.

- | | Purpose | | | | | Action | |
|-------|---|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--|
| (129) | <i>winjo</i> | <i>pu-0-ngele//</i> | <i>-ndo</i> | <i>mondokolie</i> | <i>mongo-mo</i> | <i>kinie</i> | |
| | upstream | go-FUT-3DL-PUR | | tree.type | fruit.the | and | |
| | <i>koya.mote-mo</i> | | | | | | |
| | bamboo.knife-the | and | down | send-3DL | | | |
| | ‘as they went off in an upstream direction (the two birds) dropped the mondokolie fruit and the bamboo knife’ | | | | | | |

- | | Purpose | | | | | Action | |
|-------|---|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------------|
| (130) | <i>Kerepie-ndo</i> | <i>pu-0-mbo//</i> | <i>o-0-mbo//</i> | <i>-ndo</i> | <i>o-mbo/</i> | <i>si-li-pu/</i> | <i>pu-0-mbo//</i> . |
| | K.-toward | go-FUT-1SG | come-FUT-1SG-PUR | come-1 | give-SIM-1 | go-FUT-1SG | |
| | ‘As I come by on my way to Kiripia I will come and give it to you as I go.’ | | | | | | |

In examples (131) to (133) the actual subjects of the bases differ, and there is a corresponding difference in the semantic feel of the construction from examples (126) to (130) where the subjects of each base are the same. Semantically, in examples (131) to (132), the Action is a spontaneous reaction to an anticipated event which is encoded in the Purpose.

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|-------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|
| | Purpose | | Action | |
| (131) | <i>Kongi no-0-mbo-ndo</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>konopu paa peanga pe-le-mo//.</i> | |
| | pig | eat-FUT-1SG-PUR I | mind very good | be.in-ASP-CUST.3SG |
| | 'At the prospect of eating pig I feel very pleased.' | | | |

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| | Purpose | | Action | |
| (132) | <i>Owa-mo-ne nu no-0-mba//-ndo</i> | <i>manda.indi li-pe/ anji-li-mo//.</i> | | |
| | dog-the-act you | bite-FUT-3SG-PUR | neck.hair take-3SG | stand-ASP-CUST.3SG |
| | 'In anticipation of his biting you the hair on the dog's neck is standing on end.' | | | |

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| | Purpose | | Action | |
| (133) | <i>Nondopa ipu.le-0-mba//-ndo</i> | <i>nohta to-le-mo//.</i> | | |
| | nearly | be.night-FUT-3SG-PUR | cicada sing-ASP-CUST.3SG | |
| | 'In anticipation of night soon falling (the) cicada sings.' | | | |

9.7.1.2 The factual conditional sentences

There are two Factual Conditional Sentences, both of which are binary, with both bases obligatory. They each have the same obligatory link - *liemo* 'if'. Also, both may embed into Alternate Sentences, whereas neither can embed into Antithetical Sentences. However, they are distinct from each other on three counts:

1. The tense in the first base is different for each type of Factual Conditional Sentence.
2. The Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence can transform into the Purpose Sentence simply by changing the link from *liemo* 'if' to *-ndo* 'purpose' whereas the Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence will not so transform.
3. The Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence will transform to a Sequence Sentence, by replacing *liemo* 'if' with *kinie* 'when', and changing the tense of the first base to agree with that of the second. The context of the resulting sentence often forces the translation 'if' for the new construction too.

The Event-Result is by far the more common of the two Factual Conditional Sentences.

Because of the phonological feature of the language that back vowels word finally in unstressed syllables following nasals are usually dropped, the link *liemo* 'if' cannot be phonologically distinguished from *liemu* 'it is apparent' which occurs in the Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4). Even though the native speakers insist that these forms differ, so we should write them differently, it could easily be construed that the meaning of *liemo* in this sentence type is actually something like 'X being apparently so then Y'.

9.7.1.2.1 The result-event factual conditional sentence

The Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases and the link *liemo* 'if' are obligatory. Future tense is obligatory in the first base, indicating that the event so marked cannot occur until after the event of the second base.

The similarities and differences between the Result-Event and the Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentences are discussed above under (9.7.1.2).

The similarities and differences between the Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence and the Purpose Sentence are discussed above in the introduction to the Purpose Sentence (9.7.1.1).

Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentences typically occur in pairs as alternatives, sometimes as an Alternative Sentence (9.7.4), sometimes as an Alternate Paragraph (10.4.1.1).

Table 9.18 The Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence

+Protasis	+Link	+Apodosis
Independent Clause	<i>liemo</i> ‘if’	Independent Clause Coordinate Sentence Dependent Sentence
future		minus hypothetical

Rules:

1. All three tagmemes are obligatory.
2. The filler of the Protasis must end with future.
3. Any tense except hypothetical is permitted in the filler of the Apodosis.
4. The Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence can be transformed into the Purpose Sentence simply by changing the link (from *liemo* ‘if’ to *-ndo* ‘purpose’).

Examples (134) and (135) occur contiguously in the same text, forming an Alternative Paragraph. The customary tense used in the Apodosis of both examples is a little difficult to translate.

	Protasis	Link	Apodosis
(134)	<i>Konde pu-0-mbe//</i> new go-FUT-3SG	<i>liemo</i> if	<i>aku opali talou-selo</i> that tomorrow two.days.hence-the.DL <i>kinié ipulueli kinie we uru.pe-le-mo//.</i> now night and just sleep-ASP-CUST.3SG ‘If she is going to get well then she (will) just sleep tomorrow and the next day and tonight.’

	Protasis	Link	Apodosis
(135)	<i>Kolo-0-mba//</i> die-FUT-3SG	<i>liemo</i> if	<i>aku.kinie tepa.embambo.si-li-mo// andi yembo</i> and.then bewilder-ASP-CUST.3SG there person <i>te mendo ni-ngu/ o-0-nge//.</i> a downstream say-2/3 come-FUT-3PL ‘If she's going to die then it perplexes (us) (and) a person from there will come down to tell (us).’

Examples (136) and (137) together form an Alternative Sentence.

	Protasis		Link	Apodosis	
(136)	<i>Ga</i>	<i>no-0-ngele//</i>	<i>liemo</i>	<i>pilesi o-ngo/</i>	<i>li-0-ngele//; molo</i>
	sweet.potato	eat-FUT-3DL	if	plate come-2/3	get-FUT-3DL or

	Protasis		Link	Apodosis
(137)	<i>naa</i>	<i>no-0-ngele//</i>	<i>liemo</i>	<i>o-ngo/ naa li-0-ngele//.</i>
	not	eat-FUT-3DL	if	come-2/3 not get-FUT-3DL

‘If they two are going to eat sweet potato they will come (and) collect (the) plate(s); or if they are not going to eat (sweet potato) they will not come and get (the plates).’

For an example of an Event-Result Conditional Sentence in an alternative construction with a Result-Event Conditional Sentence, see example (149).

9.7.1.2.2 The event-result factual conditional sentence

The Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases and the link *liemo* ‘if’ are obligatory. Near past tense is obligatory in the first base, indicating that the event of the first base precedes the result of the second base in time.

The similarities and differences between the Event-Result and the Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentences are discussed above under 9.7.1.2.

The Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence is much more common than its counterpart the Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence.

As it is a common way to encode the giving of instructions, the most common place for the Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence to occur is in the Exhortation Paragraph (10.4.5.3) and/or in Hortatory Discourse (11.6).

Table 9.19 The Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence

+Protasis	+Link	+Apodosis
Independent Clause Dependent Sentence Coordinate Sentence	<i>liemo</i> ‘if’	Independent Clause Dependent Sentence Coordinate Sentence Sequence Sentence
near past		minus past tenses and hypothetical

Rules:

1. All three tagmemes are obligatory.
2. The filler of the Protasis must end with near past.
3. Neither of the past tenses nor hypothetical are permitted in the filler of the Apodosis.

Examples (138) and (139) come from the same Hortatory Discourse (11.6).

	Protasis		Link	Apodosis
(138)	<i>Komu.sindi-ku/</i>	<i>poro-0-nu//</i>	<i>liemo</i>	<i>na pape paono si-0-ni//.</i>
	forget-2SG	cut.hair-PST-2SG	if	me five pound give-FUT-2SG

‘If you forget (and) cut (your hair) you will (must) give me five pounds (= K10).’

- | | Protasis | | Link | Apodosis |
|-------|---|--|------------------------------|---------------------|
| (139) | <i>Alto-ko/ ta.ni-ngu/ poro-0-ngili//</i>
again-2/3 disobey-2/3 cut.hair-PST-2/3 | | <i>liemo kou</i>
if money | <i>pape</i>
five |
| | <i>paono si-0-nge// li-0-mbo//.</i>
pound give-FUT-2PL take-FUT-1SG | | | |
| | 'If they two disobeying cut (your) hair again you-all will give five pounds (= K10) (which) I will take.' | | | |

Example (140) and (141) are spoken in the context of bird-hunting. The Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1), expounding the Afterthought of (140), is adverbial and would normally have preceded the verb *ni* 'to speak'.

- | | Protasis | Link | Apodosis | Afterthought |
|-------|---|--------------------|--|--|
| (140) | <i>Pu-0-mu//</i>
go-PST-3SG | <i>liemo</i>
if | <i>"Pu-ku-m(u)-a//"</i>
go-PR-3SG-EXP say.EMP.2SG | <i>ni//, ope.to-ko/</i>
whistle-2SG |
| | 'If (the bird) goes, say "it's going", (by) whistling!' ¹² | | | |

- | | Protasis | | Link | Apodosis |
|-------|--|--|--|----------|
| (141) | <i>To-pa/ yu no-0-mu//</i>
kill-3SG he eat-PST-3SG | | <i>liemo no-pili//.</i>
if eat-HORT.3SG | |
| | 'If (having) killed (the bird) he (=the dog) eats (it) let (it) eat (it)!' | | | |

- | | Protasis | Link | Apodosis |
|-------|--|--------------------|--|
| (142) | <i>Tawe.te-0-ngi//</i>
laugh-PST-3PL | <i>liemo</i>
if | <i>ungu naa ni-li pu-ku-ru</i>
talk not say-DER go-PR-1SG |
| | 'If you are all going to laugh I am going without speaking.' | | |

Examples (143) to (146) occur together in pairs, each pair as two sides of an Alternative Sentence (9.7.4).

- | | Protasis | | Link | Apodosis |
|-------|--|--|---|--|
| (143) | <i>Alto-pa/ nondo-pa/ te-nga</i>
again-3SG soon-3SG one-LOC | | <i>para.le-pa/ te-0-mu//</i>
reveal-3SG do-PST-3SG | <i>liemo aku alto-pa/</i>
if that again-3SG |
| | <i>anji-0-mbe//; molo</i>
stand-FUT-3SG or | | | |

¹² The Kaugel people sometimes communicate using 'whistle talk', i.e. whistling the intonation of a word or short phrase, often a greeting, or a question.

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|--------------------|--|--|
| | Protasis | | Link | Apodosis |
| (144) | <i>wale poko-re mol(o)-a-mbo//</i>
day few-a stay-IMP-HORT.1SG | <i>pe</i>
later | <i>para.lie-0-mu//</i>
reveal-PST-3SG | <i>liemo aku alto-pa/</i>
if that again-3SG |
| | <i>para.le-0-mba// -aku.kinie anji-0-nge//</i>
reveal-FUT-3SG-and.then stand-FUT-3PL | | | |
- ‘If the problem shows up somewhere (in my body) again soon then he will give (me) (the sugarcane treatment) again; or if I stay (free of the problem for) a few days (and) later it shows up again then when it shows up again they will give (me the sugarcane treatment again).’

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|--|--------------------|---|
| | Protasis | | Link | Apodosis |
| (145) | <i>Ga ou no-0-ngili//</i>
sweet.potato before eat-PST-3DL | | <i>liemo</i>
if | <i>pilesi o-ngo/ si-0-ngele//;</i>
plate come-2/3 give-FUT-3DL |
| | <i>molo</i>
or | | | |

- | | | | |
|-------|--|------|---|
| | Protasis | Link | Apodosis |
| (146) | <i>ou naa no-0-ngili//</i>
before not eat-PST-3DL | | <i>liemo o-ngo/ naa si-0-ngele//.</i>
if come-2/3 not give-FUT-3DL |
- ‘If they have already eaten they will come (and) give (us) (the) plate(s); (or) if they have not yet eaten they will not come (and) give (us the plates yet).’

Examples (147) and (148) form, semantically, the same kind of construction, but in this instance there is no *molo* ‘or’ linking the two. As they are just juxtaposed this is structurally a Coordinate Sentence (9.5.1). Free English translation of both examples follows (148).

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|--|---|----------|
| | Protasis | | Link | Apodosis |
| (147) | <i>Lo o-0-mu//</i>
rain come-PST-3SG | | <i>liemo naa pu-0-mbo//;</i>
if not go-FUT-1SG | |
| | Protasis | | Link | Apodosis |
| (148) | <i>naa o-0-mu//</i>
not come-PST-3SG | | <i>liemo pu-0-mbo//.</i>
if go-FUT-1SG | |
- ‘If it rains I won't go; if it doesn't (rain) I'll go.’

Finally, example (149) is a combination of the two Factual Conditional Sentences in one sentence. These two have been combined by the Apodosis of the first becoming the Protasis of the second. The two occur in the order of Event-Result followed by Result-Event, actually collapsed into Event-Result-Event.

- | | | | |
|-------|--|---|-----------------------|
| | Protasis ₁ | | Link |
| (149) | <i>Pe alto-pa/ walse kano-0-mbo//</i>
later again-3SG one.day see-FUT-1SG | <i>sike poro-0-nu//</i>
true cut.hair-PST-2SG | <i>liemo</i>
if |
| | Apodosis ₁ -Protasis ₂ | Link | Apodosis ₂ |
| | <i>pape paono si-0-ni//</i>
five pound give-FUT-2SG | <i>liemo poro-i//.</i>
if cut.hair-POL.IMP.2SG | |
- ‘If later one day I see you have really cut (your) hair again you will (must) give me five pounds (K10) (; if you give me five pounds) you (may) cut (your) hair.’

9.7.1.3 The contrafactual conditional sentence

The Contrafactual Conditional Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases are obligatory¹³. The two bases are linked together by means of hypothetical tense in both bases and the dubitive clitic *-nje* occurring at the end of the first base as the overt link. Almost all examples have hypothetical affixation on the main verb of both bases, but future has occasionally been found in the first base. The sense of the sentence is typically that of something which would have happened had the situation been different, and is usually, though not always, set in past time.

The Contrafactual Conditional Sentence only rarely embeds into other sentences, though it can embed into Antithetical sentences (9.7.2), and into Coordinate sentences (9.5.1) with an antithetical ‘feel’. Unlike the Factual Conditional Sentences it cannot embed into any alternative construction. It occurs most commonly expounding the Hypothetical Circumstance tagmeme at the end of Legend Discourses (11.3).

Table 9.20 The Contrafactual Conditional Sentence

+Protasis	+Link	+Apodosis
<i>we</i> ‘for no reason’ Independent Clause Dependent Sentence Summary Sentence Paraphrase Sentence Imperative Cause-Result S.	<i>-nje</i> hypothetical	<i>papu</i> ‘correct’ <i>komindi</i> ‘good’ Independent Clause Dependent Sentence Summary Sentence Coordinate Sentence Listing Sentence
hypothetical (occasionally future)		

Rules:

1. The final verb of the Protasis must be suffixed with hypothetical or, occasionally, future tense.
2. The final verb of the Apodosis is always hypothetical.
3. The Link is usually the dubitive clitic *-nje* ‘perhaps’. Occasionally the assertative clitic *-mo* ~ *-mu* can occur instead.¹⁴

The link, which actually occurs suffixed as a clitic to the final verb of the Protasis, will be shown in examples as part of the Protasis. It will be **bolded** so as to be easily recognisable.

Examples (150) to (153) all have a present or immediate future time orientation. Examples (150) to (152) will be presented in their context to illustrate how this sentence is used in antithetical constructions.

Example (150) is the second half of a Coordinate Sentence (9.5.1), the first half of which is a Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4). The whole thing is a quote.

¹³ Although both bases are considered to be obligatory, sometimes, in conversation, only one base is expressed, as a type of rhetorical question, when the other base is clearly understood from the situational context.

¹⁴ The one example using *-mo* also has *-mo* suffixed to the Apodosis (161).

- (150) "We *ando-0-ni// kapola naa te-0-mba le-pa-mo//*;
 just go.about-FUT-2SG satisfactory not do-FUT-3SG be.obvious-PA-3SG
 Protasis Apodosis
Kou.mone kolte li-li-na//nje papu." ni-ri-mu//
 money a.little get-ASP-HYP.2SG-DUB proper say-DPST-3SG
 "It's obvious that, for you to roam about (with us) without remuneration, would not be good. (But, on the other hand,) if you were to receive a small (payment of) money (it would be) proper" he said.'

In both (151) and (152) the contrary to fact situation is given as the first half of a Coordinate Sentence, with the actual situation as the second half, with a total meaning of expectancy reversal.

- Protasis Apodosis
 (151) *Na kambani te o-l-ka//nje nu manda lipu.tapondo-l-ka//*;
 I company a come-ASP-HYP.1SG-DUB you able help-ASP-HYP.1SG
na umbu-ungu-mu-nge kongono te-lio// ye-mo o-mbo/ kongono
 I umbu-ungu-the-REF work do-CUST.1SG man-the come-1 work
te-ke-ro//
 do-PR-1SG
 'If I had come (as) a company I would have been able to help you; (but as it is) I am come to work as the man who works on (learning-analysing) the local language (so I am not able to help you).'

In example (152) the Protasis is filled by a Dependent Sentence and the Apodosis is filled by a Summary Sentence.

- Periphery Protasis Apodosis
 (152) "Ya *nu o-ngo/ nunge kondoli kolea-re-nga*
 introductory.exclamation you come-2/3 your European place-a-LOC
mo(lo)-le-na//nje nu kondoli awilime-ne noko-ko/
 stay-ASP-HYP.2SG-DUB you European the.bigs-ACT look.after-2/3
polisi-poya-ma-ne noko-ko/ te-le-mola// Umbu kolea-na elo
 the.police.boys-ACT look.after-2/3 do-ASP-HYP.3PL local place-LOC you.2
ambo ye talo mindi o-ngo/ mol(o)-ko-mbele//mo;
 woman man two only come-2/3 stay-PR-2DL-ASS
yu komisimu-ni yu-ni noko-po/ mo(lo)-lio//mo-ne
 he=I the.committee-ACT he=I-ACT look.after-1 stay-CUST.1SG-the-ACT
nu o-mbo/ walsipu.pil(i)-ki-ru//."
 youSG come-1 ask-PR-1SG
 'Ah, if you had come (and) stayed at a European place of yours the European leaders and the police would have looked after you. (But the fact is) you+2, just a married couple came (and) are staying in (this) local place, (and) I the committee who is looking after you have come asking you (to clarify this situation).'

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| Protasis | Apodosis |
| (153) "Nu kongi te pea koyo-le-na// nje
you pig one with steam.cook-ASP-HYP.1SG-DUB
aku-mu-ni te pea si-l-ke//"
that-the-INST one with give-ASP-HYP.1SG | I one give-ASP-HYP.1SG |
| ‘If you would give/cook another pig as well, along with that one (which) I would give I would give another.’ | |

Examples (154) to (159) illustrate the more typical use of this sentence type; to express what could have been different in the past had the circumstances been different. For these examples I will present only the illustrative sentence, excluding the context.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Protasis | Apodosis |
| (154) <i>Aku te-ri-ndu//kene "pu-pu/ kano-p(u)-a-mbili//"</i>
that do-DPST-1SG-so go-1 see-go-IMP-HORT.1DL | <i>ni-l(i)-ke//nje</i>
say-ASP-HYP.1SG-DUB |
| Apodosis
<i>kano-pu-li-mbola//.</i>
see-go-ASP-HYP.1DL | |
| ‘I did that so if I had said "let's go (and) see" we would have gone (and) seen.’ | |

The Apodosis of example (155) is a question, which is also a common use of this construction.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Periphery Protasis | Apodosis |
| (155) <i>Nola nu to-l-ka¹⁵//nje</i>
N. you fall-ASP-HYP.3SG-DUB | <i>nu nambe-le-na//?</i>
you what.do-ASP-HYP.2SG |
| ‘Nola, if you had fallen (off the swing) what would you have done?’ (in fact she only almost did) | |

- | | |
|---|----------|
| Protasis | Apodosis |
| (156) <i>Nu wale pokore pea ya mo(lo)-le-mbola//nje</i>
you day a.few with here stay-ASP-HYP.1DL-DUB | |
| Apodosis
<i>to-pu-li-mbola//mo.</i>
shoot-go-ASP-HYP.1DL-ASS | |
| ‘If you had been staying here with (me) several more days we two would definitely have gone shooting (up there).’ | |

Example (157) illustrates the use of *we* ‘just / for no good reason’ in the Protasis.

¹⁵ The verb *to* ‘to fall’, being a stative verb (4.2.3), can only occur in third person singular.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|------------|----------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| | Protasis | Apodosis | | | |
| (157) | <i>We-nje</i> | <i>naa</i> | <i>to-le-mela//;</i> | <i>lopa</i> | <i>oa-selo</i> |
| | just-DUB | not | attack-ASP-HYP.3PL | possum | dog-the.DL |
| | | | | | <i>telu-na</i> |
| | | | | | one-LOC |
| | | | | | <i>pe-le-mbela//.</i> |
| | | | | | live-ASP-HYP.3DL |
- ‘If (there had been) no reason they would not have attacked (them), the possum and the dog would (still) be living together.’

Examples (158) to (160) all occur contiguously in a Listing Sentence (9.5.3). In this case the link *-nje* is only attached to the Protasis of the first of the three embedded sentences. The free translation is given following (160).

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| | Protasis | | Apodosis |
| (158) | <i>Kiliwe.Pelkepo</i> | <i>aku-mu-ni</i> | <i>no-l(e)-ka// -nje</i> |
| | K.P. | that-the-ACT | eat-ASP-HYP.3SG-DUB |
| | | | that we-ACT not |
| | | <i>no-le-mela//</i> | <i>lopa</i> |
| | | eat-ASP-HYP.1PL | possum |
| | | | <i>naa</i> |
| | | | not |
| | | | <i>no-le-mela//;</i> |
| | | | eat-ASP-HYP.1PL |
| | | | <i>ker</i> |
| | | | bird |
| | | | <i>kepe</i> |
| | | | also |
| | | | <i>olio</i> |
| | | | we |
| | | | <i>naa-la</i> |
| | | | not-too |
| | | | eat-ASP-HYP.1PL |
-
- | | | | |
|-------|--------------|----------------|--------------------|
| | Protasis | | Apodosis |
| (159) | <i>yu-ni</i> | <i>no-mba/</i> | <i>p</i> |
| | he-act | eat-3SG | finish-ASP-HYP.3SG |
| | | | bird |
| | | | <i>laime</i> |
| | | | cassowary |
| | | | also |
| | | | <i>we</i> |
| | | | not-too |
| | | | eat-ASP-HYP.1PL |
-
- | | | | |
|-------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| | Protasis | | Apodosis |
| (160) | <i>no-mba/</i> | <i>p</i> | <i>olio</i> |
| | eat-3SG | finish-ASP-HYP.3SG | we |
| | | | not |
| | | | eat-ASP-HYP.1PL |
- ‘If perchance Kiliwe-Pelkepo had (made a habit of) eating (possum), then we wouldn't be eating (it), we wouldn't be eating possum; neither would we be eating bird(s); if he had completely eaten (them) we would also not be eating cassowary bird, (if) he had completely eaten (them) we wouldn't be eating (them).’

Finally, in example (161) the more uncommon (in this sentence type) assertative clitic *-mo* occurs on the Protasis instead of the dubitive clitic. The assertative clitic is also suffixed to the Apodosis.

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| | Protasis | | Apodosis |
| (161) | <i>"Lopi.te-l(e)-ka// -mo</i> | <i>naa</i> | <i>kano-po/</i> |
| | hide-ASP-HYP.3SG-ASS | not | see-1 |
| | | | <i>li-l(i)-ke// -mo"</i> |
| | | | take-ASP-HYP.1SG-ASS |
- ‘If she had definitely hidden (the baby) I definitely wouldn't have seen (and) taken (it).’

9.7.2 The antithetical sentences

There are two Antithetical Sentences in Kaugel. They are both always and only binary, with an obligatory link. The two types are the Real Antithetical Sentence and the Unreal Antithetical Sentence.

Antithetical constructions are very rarely found in traditional oral material, because expectancy-reversal is rarely overtly expressed. In 39,000 words of (concordance) text only nine examples of the more common Real Antithetical Sentence and only one example of the much less common Unreal Antithetical Sentence were found. However, in translated written material Antithetical Sentences, especially the Real Antithetical Sentence, are much more commonly used by the native speakers, presumably because of the unfamiliar content.

The Real Antithetical Sentence and the Unreal Antithetical Sentence differ in the following ways:

1. They have different links from each other.
2. Hortative is obligatorily suffixed to the final verb of the Thesis of the Unreal Antithetical Sentence, but cannot occur in this position in the Real Antithetical Sentence.
3. The Unreal Antithetical Sentence is always short with usually only an Independent Clause filling the Thesis and usually only two (as a Coordinate Sentence), and never more than three clauses, filling the Antithesis, whereas there is virtually no restriction on the length of the Real Antithetical Sentence.
4. On the higher level, the Real Antithetical Sentence can occur in any type of discourse, whereas the Unreal Antithetical Sentence can only occur in conversation or within a quote.

9.7.2.1 The real antithetical sentence

The Real Antithetical Sentence consists of an obligatory Thesis, an obligatory Link *nalo* 'but', and an obligatory Antithesis.

The similarities and differences between the Real Antithetical Sentence and the Unreal Antithetical Sentence are given above under 9.7.2.

Table 9.21 The Real Antithetical Sentence

+Thesis	+Link	+Antithesis
Independent Clause Equational Sentence Dependent Sentence Coordinate Sentence Statement-Evaluation S. Sequence Sentence	<i>nalo</i> 'but'	Independent Clause Coordinate Sentence Dependent Sentence Narrative Cause-Result
any tense except hortative		any tense

Rules:

1. Any tense other than hortative can be suffixed to the main verb of the Thesis.
2. Any tense can be suffixed to the main verb of the Antithesis.

Examples (162) to (166) all come from one narrative discourse about climbing the 14,000' mountain behind our village. (163) and (164) are consecutive sentences, and (165) and (166) are the next consecutive sentence. In (163) it is interesting to note the use of *wi* 'upstream' in a time sense as well as the more common locative sense.

- Thesis Link Antithesis
- (162) *kolea sulu-na, nalo koyeka pu-pu/ Londewaru pe-ri-mulu//.*
 place long-LOC but without.resting go-1 L. sleep-DPST-1PL
 ‘It was a long way to go, but going on without resting we slept (at) Londewaru.’

- Thesis
- (163) *Ou Kondoli keapo naa o-ru-mu//-kinie wi ou*
 before European patrol.officer not come-DPST-3S-when upstream before
molo-ri-ngi//-kinie ou nanga lapali ou molo-ri-ngi//-kinie
 be.AN-DPST-3.PL-when before my fathers before be.AN-DPST-3PL-when

Link Antithesis

yembo ena te-ri-mu//-ne pu-ru-mulu// nalo yembo poporome
 people sun do-DPST-3SG-because go-DPST-1PL but people wind
o-mba/-lie ni-ri-mu//muni, lo o-mba/ ni-ri-mu//-muni
 come-3SG-CON PTR-DPST-3SG.PTR rain come-3SG PTR-DPST-3SG-PTR
yembo no-mba/ aku-manga kol-kol/ lie-ri-ngi//-mu yembo ombelema
 people eat-3SG that-area die-2/3 be.IN-DPST-3SG-ASS people the.bones
we wi aku-manga kuli-manga le-mo//.
 just upstream that-area swamp-area be.IN-CUST.3SG

‘Before the European patrol officer came, when they were still staying upstream from here, before when my (fore-)fathers were still alive, we people, went up (the mountain) because the sun was shining, but (the) wind came (and) rain came (and) struck (the) people (and) dying (their corpses) were at that place, (and) the people's bones are (still) just lying up there in that area in the swampy grassland area.’

Examples (164) to (165) will be given in their context to provide the sense and setting for the Antithetical Sentences.

- (164) *Kinié Kondoli keapo o-ko-mo//-kinie mindi kinié ena te-pa/*
 now European patrol.officer come-PR-3SG-since only now sun do-3SG

Thesis

na naa no-ko-mo//. Ya pu-li-molo//-kinie ena
 me(=we.locals) not eat-PR-3SG here go-ASP-CUST.1PL-when sun

Link Antithesis

te-le-mo// nalo lo o-mba/-la te-le-mo//-mo.
 do-ASP-CUST.3SG but rain come-3SG-too do-ASP-CUST.3SG-ASS

‘Now, only since the European-government-officer is come, now the sun shines (and the wind and rain) don't strike us-locals. When we go (up the mountain from) here the sun shines but it definitely also rains.’

- (165) *Ya Kondoli keapo, ya Kondoli kanumu "kinié" talko*
 here European patrol.officer here European that today two.days.ago
 Thesis Link Antithesis
pu-pu/-lie "Pu-0-mbolo// nalo lo-re o-0-mba// kupe-ne o-mba/
 go-1-CON go-FUT-1DL but rain-a come-FUT-3SG cloud-act come-3SG
wi kou-mu aki.to-0-mba//".
 upstream stone-the cover-FUT-3SG (note: *wi koumu* = 'the mountain peak')
 '(The) European government officer, that European (who was here that is), when we
 (two) went (up the mountain) two-days-ago (I said) "Today we two will go (up to the
 peak) but it will rain (and) cloud will come cover the peak."'
- Thesis Link Antithesis
- (166) *Ena te-0-mba// nalo pu-0-mbolo//-kinie, pu-pu/ kano-0-mbolo//-kinie*
 sun do-FUT-3SG but go-FUT-1DL-when go-1 see-FUT-1DL-when
"lo o-0-mba// ni-ri-ndu// mele lo laye-re lo o-mba/ "pe kupe"
 rain come-FUT-3SG say-DPST-1SG like rain little-a rain come-3SG later cloud
ni-ri-ndu// mele kupe to-pa/ aku te-ri-mu//.
 say-DSPT-1SG like cloud hit-3SG that do-DPST-3SG
 'The sun will shine but like I said "When we two go, as we go we two will see it will
 rain" it did rain a bit, (and) like I said "Later (it will) cloud (over)" it did that.'

Example (167) is from a Procedural Discourse (11.1) about making sweet potato gardens.

- Periphery Thesis
- (167) *Aku.kinie ga-mo-nga melte, ga-mbo-re kepe*
 and.then sweet.potato-the-REF something sweet.potato-cutting-a also
ga walo-re kepe melte pea naa panji-li-molo//
 sweet.potato small.a also something with not plant-ASP-CUST.1PL
- Link Antithesis
- nalo we ga-mbo panji-pu/, lango-po pu-pu/ mundu-ne*
 but just sweet.potato-cutting plant-1 pick.off.1 go-1 mound-LOC
mundu te-po/ ga-mbo panji-pu/ panji-li-molo
 mound make-1 sweet.potato-cutting plant-1 plant-ASP-CUST.1PL
 'And then concerning the sweet potato, we don't plant something (such as) a small
 sweet potato or anything with a sweet potato runner, but we plant just sweet potato
 runner(s), picking (them) off we go (and) making mound(s) we plant sweet potato
 runner(s) in (the) mound(s).'

Examples (168) to (172) are selected from our field notes, compiled in natural conversation sessions.

- Thesis Link Antithesis
- (168) *Na simburumbu.to-0-ndu// nalo yu ungu-ri naa ni-0-mu//.*
 I touch-PST-1SG but she talk-a not say-PST-3SG
 'I touched her but she didn't respond.'

- | | Thesis | Link | Antithesis |
|-------|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| (169) | <i>Nu kano-0-ni//-kinie</i> | <i>pipili.ko-le-na//.</i> | <i>nalo kano-ko-no//.</i> |
| | you look-FUT-2SG-when | be.ashamed-ASP-HYP.2SG | but look-PR-2SG |
| | ‘When you see (naked people) you should be ashamed, but (here) you are looking (at pictures of naked people) (and are not ashamed).’ | | |

Example (170) is in response to the question "Are you getting the clothes clean?".

- | | Thesis | Link | Antithesis |
|-------|---|-------------------|---|
| (170) | <i>Manda nalo i</i> | <i>kalaro-mo</i> | <i>ingi.ni-ki-mu// wendo naa o-ko-mo//.</i> |
| | okay | but this dirt-the | stuck.on-PR-3SG out not come-PR-3SG |
| | ‘(I’m doing) all right, but this dirtiness is stuck on (and) won't come out.’ | | |

Example (171) answers the question "Is the water all right for washing these items?".

- | | Thesis | Link | Antithesis |
|-------|---|------------------------|---|
| (171) | <i>No manda molo</i> | <i>nalo lupe</i> | <i>konde kolo-po/ li-pu/ kulumiye.t(o)-a-mbo//.</i> |
| | water suitable not | but other fresh draw.1 | get-1 wash-IMP-HORT.1SG |
| | ‘(The) water (is) not suitable, but let me draw (and) get other fresh (water) (and) wash (them).’ | | |

Examples (172) and (173) were both spoken in the context of being taken to task for not sweeping the floor properly.

- | | Thesis | Link | Antithesis |
|-------|---|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| (172) | <i>Oleanga ando-po/</i> | <i>koro-0-ndu//</i> | <i>nalo nu molo-0-nu// naa</i> |
| | yesterday wander.about-1 | search-PST-1SG | but you be.AN-PST-2SG not |
| | <i>kano-0-ndu//.</i> | | |
| | see-PST-1SG | | |
| | ‘I wandered about searching (for dirt) yesterday, but you were sitting (there) (so) I didn't see (it).’ | | |
| | (note: both dirt and water are considered to be animate in Kaugel taxonomy) | | |
| | Thesis | Link | Antithesis |
| (173) | <i>puri.me-0-ndu//</i> | <i>nalo</i> | <i>mo(lo)-le-mo// -nje</i> |
| | sweep-PST-1SG | but | be.AN-ASP-CUST.3SG-DUB |
| | ‘I did sweep but perhaps there is (still some dirt there).’ | | |

9.7.2.2 The unreal antithetical sentence

The Unreal Antithetical Sentence consists of an obligatory Thesis, an obligatory Link *mangali* ‘but’, and an obligatory Antithesis. Semantically the Thesis of the Unreal Antithetical Sentence encodes desire or obligation to do something, while the Antithesis encodes the excuse or reason for not carrying out the desire or obligation.

The similarities and differences between the Unreal Antithetical Sentence and the Real Antithetical Sentence are given above under 9.7.2.

The Unreal Antithetical Sentence occurs only in conversation and quotes.

Table 9.22 The Unreal Antithetical Sentence

+Thesis	+Link	+Antithesis
Independent Clause Imperative Merged Sentence	<i>mangali</i> 'but'	Independent Clause Coordinate Sentence
+ hortative		minus distant past tense

Rules:

1. The main verb of the Thesis must be in hortative tense, but its meaning in this context is more desiderative or hypothetical.
2. The final verb of the Antithesis can take any tense other than distant past.
3. The Unreal Antithetical Sentence transforms to a Real Antithetical Sentence by ending the Thesis with hypothetical tense and changing the link form *mangali* to *nalo*. This transform does not change the essential meaning of the sentence.

Example (174) is the one and only example of an Unreal Antithetical Sentence to be found in our 39,000 word corpus of (concordance) text. It comes from a Bed-Time Story Discourse (11.4).

The batchelor has just told the beautiful woman that he's going, but she responds:

Periphery	Thesis	Link	Antithesis	
(174)	" <i>Molo,</i> no <i>kinié</i> today	<i>p(u)-a-ni//</i> go-IMP-HORT.2SG <i>mol(o)-a-mbili"//.</i> stay-IMP-HORT.1DL	<i>mangali</i> but <i>siye.te-ke-mo//</i> be.lazy/can't.be.bothered-PR-3SG	<i>opali</i> tomorrow <i>p(u)-a-ni//,</i> go-IMP-HORT.2SG

“No, you may go but let you go tomorrow, stay here with me today!”

Example (175) was elicited:

Thesis	Link	Antithesis
(175) <i>P(u)-a-mbo//</i> go-IMP-HORT.1SG	<i>mangali</i> but	<i>siye.te-ke-mo//</i> be.lazy/can't.be.bothered-PR-3SG <i>naa pu-0-mbo//.</i> not go-FUT-1SG

'I should go.' / 'I would go.' / 'I would like to go but (because) I can't be bothered I won't go.'

Example (176) is similar to (175) but comes from natural conversation.

	Thesis	Link	Antithesis
(176)	<i>Pea p(u)-a-mbili//</i> with go-IMP-HORT.1DL	<i>mangali na</i> but I/me	<i>siye.te-ke-mo// naa pu-ku-ru//</i> lazy/tired-PR-3SG not go-PR-1SG
	‘I would go with (you) but I’m (feeling) tired (and so) I’m not going.’		

Examples (177) and (178) were also recorded in natural conversation situations.

	Thesis	Link	Antithesis
(177)	<i>Na andi w-a-mbo//</i> I to.there come-IMP-HORT.1SG	<i>mangali boku lo</i> but book rain	<i>puru-0-mbe//</i> wet-FUT-3SG
	<i>na naa o-ko-ro//, nu yando w-a//.</i> I not come-PR-1SG you to.here come-EMP.2SG		
	‘I would come to (you) there (outside where it is raining) but (the) book (I’m carrying) would get rain-wet (and so) I am not coming, you come to (me) here!’		

	Thesis	Link	Antithesis
(178)	<i>Poko-ne te-a-mbo//</i> fork-INST do-IMP-HORT.1SG	<i>mangali poko Kepa</i> but fork K.	<i>li-0-mu// lie-0-mu</i> take-PST-3S be.apparent-PST-3S
	<i>ki-ni te-a-mbo//.</i> hand-INST do-IMP-1SG		
	‘I would do (it) with (the) fork, but Kepa has apparently taken (the) fork (so) let me do (it) with (my) hand(s).’		

	Thesis	Link	Antithesis
(179)	<i>Pea p(u)-a-mili//</i> with go-IMP-HORT.1PL	<i>mangali karo si.ni-0-mu//.</i> but car crowded-PST-3SG	
	‘(You) could come with us but the car is full (so you can’t).’		

9.7.3 The cause-result sentences

The Cause-Result Sentences are a group of three sentences which are usually binary with an obligatory link. They all maintain the order of Cause followed by Link followed by Result.

These three sentences are the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence, the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence, and the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence.

9.7.3.1 The imperative cause-result sentence

The Imperative Cause-Result Sentence consists of an obligatory Cause, an obligatory link, *kene* ‘so’ and an optional Result. The Imperative Cause-Result Sentence is so named because the Result tagmeme always manifests imperative tense.

The Imperative Cause-Result Sentence differs from the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence and the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence in the following ways:

1. The link is different.
2. Imperative tense suffixation on the final verb of the filler of the Result is obligatory for the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence, but cannot occur at all with the other two Cause-Result sentences.
3. The Result is optional in the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence but obligatory in the other two Cause-Result sentences.

4. The Cause plus Link can be optionally repeated in the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence but cannot be repeated in the other two Cause-Result sentences.

The Imperative Cause-Result Sentence only occurs in conversation and quotes. The fillers of the bases tend to be short, with more than two clauses uncommon as a filler of a base.

Table 9.23 The Imperative Cause-Result Sentence

+(Cause	+Link)	±Result
Independent Clause	<i>kene</i> 'so'	Independent Clause
Dependent Sentence		Dependent Sentence
Coordinate Sentence		Coordinate Sentence
Statement-Evaluation S.		Imperative Merged S.
any tense		+ imperative

Rules:

1. The Result tagmeme is about fifty percent optional in conversation, and is obligatory in quotes.
2. Imperative is obligatorily suffixed to the verb of the Result filler.
3. Any tense can occur suffixed to the final verb of the Cause filler, but past tense is unusual.
4. The Link *kene* is optional, but can occur up to two times.

Examples (180) and (181) come from the climax of a Legend Discourse (11.3) about dogs and possums.

- Cause
- (180) "kinié owama kinie lopama kinié unguri pe-ke-mo//mo
today the.dogs and the.possums today a.talk be.in-PR-3SG-the
- Link Result
- ni-e-mili// kene suku-ndu w-a//"
say-IMP-HORT.1PL so inside-to come-QI.2PL
- 'We dogs and possums have something we must talk about today so you (possums) come inside!'

In (181) there is more of a sequence, than a cause-result, feel between the bases.

- Cause Link Result
- (181) "Lopa pali pu-pu/ to-0-mbo// kene t-a//"
possum all go-1 attack-FUT-1SG so attack-QI.2PL
- 'I will go (and) attack all (the) possums so you all attack (them)!'
- Cause Link Result
- (182) "Ga kal(o)-a-mbo// kene nu inie ola o-ngo/ molo-u//"
sweet.potato cook-IMP-HORT.1SG so you on.here up come-2/3 sit-QI.2SG
- 'I want to cook sweet potato so you come on up here and sit (down).'

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---|---|---------------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| | Periphery | Cause | | Link | Result |
| (183) | " <i>Ango</i> | <i>ango melte</i> | <i>li-pu/ o-mbo/ nosi-lio//</i> | <i>kene</i> | <i>yunge</i> |
| | brother | brother something | get-1 come-1 have-CUST.1SG | so | his(=my) |
| | <i>ki-mu</i> | <i>popo.to-ko/ te-ko/ uru.si-nde-i//.</i> " | | | |
| | hand-the | blow.on-2/3 do-2/3 heal-BEN-QI.2SG | | | |
| | 'Brother, brother!, I got something (and) coming (home) have (it) in my possession so blow on my hand to heal it for (me)!' | | | | |

Examples (184) to (185) are from a conversation text.

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|--|------|--------|
| | Cause | | Link | Result |
| (184) | <i>Owa me-po/ pu-pu/-lie maliepo owa-ne to-ru-mu// kangoma pea</i> | | | |
| | dog lead-1 go-1-CON bird.type dog-ACT kill-DPST-3SG the.boys with | | | |
| | <i>pu-ru-mulu//-kinie aku-ne to-ru-mu// kene kinié aku-ne</i> | | | |
| | go-DPST-1PL-when that-LOC kill-DPST-3SG so now that-LOC | | | |
| | <i>p(u)-a-mbili//, te andi molo-pa/ te-ke-mo//.</i> | | | |
| | go-IMP-HORT.1DL one there be.AN-3SG probable-PR-3SG | | | |
| | 'We took the dog (once) and the dog killed a maliepo (bird) when we went with the boys it killed (one) there so let us two go there now, there is probably one there.' | | | |

(185) is an example with the Cause tagmeme and Link occurring twice.

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|--|-------------------|--------------------|
| | Cause ₁ | | Link ₁ | Cause ₂ |
| (185) | <i>Alto-pa/ andi te owa-mo-ne to-0-mba// kene kinié era-na</i> | | | |
| | again-3SG there one dog-the-ACT attack-FUT-3SG so now grass-LOC | | | |
| | <i>mimi.te-ko naa mango-0-nge// kene mimi.te-ko/ kano-u//.</i> | | | |
| | properly-2/3 not fly-FUT-3PL so carefully-2SG look-QI.2SG | | | |
| | 'Because the dog will attack one (bird) there again (and) because (the birds) will not (be able to) fly (away) properly in (that long) grass watch closely!' | | | |

Just over half of the Imperative Cause-Result Sentences found in a conversation text (seven sentences of a total of thirteen) were Cause plus *kene* only, without Result. Examples (186) and (187) are two of those seven.

- | | | |
|-------|--|------|
| | Cause | Link |
| (186) | <i>Le-0-mba//-kinie owa walsi-0-mbo// kene</i> | |
| | be(on.the.ground)-FUT-3SG-when dog call-FUT-1SG so | |
| | 'When (the bird) settles (back on the ground) I will call the dog so (the dog can kill it).' | |

There is something different about the semantic feel of example (187). It is almost as though the Reason is given before the Cause, with the Link last. However, language speakers would not allow for a re-ordering of the tagmemes.

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| Cause | | Link |
| (187) <i>Kinié nu inie angili-e//; na windine</i> | | |
| now you here stand-QI.2SG I a.little.way.in.an.upstream.direction | | |
| | | |
| | | Link |
| | | <i>pu-pu/ kan(o)-a-mbo// kene</i> |
| | | go-1 see-IMP-HORT.1SG so |
| | | ‘Now you stand here!; I am going a little way upstream to see (if there's a bird there) so (you stand here).’ |

9.7.3.2 The conversation cause-result sentence

The Conversation Cause-Result Sentence is a binary construction consisting of an obligatory Cause, an obligatory Link *-na ~ -ne* ‘because’¹⁶, and an obligatory Result. The Conversation Cause-Result Sentence is one of a group of three Cause-Result Sentences. The other two are the Imperative and Narrative Cause-Result Sentences. The Conversation Cause-Result is so named because it occurs only in conversation or quotes.

The differences between both the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence and the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence and the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence are listed under the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence.

The features which the Imperative and the Conversation Cause-Result Sentences have in common are:

1. They are both used only in conversation and quotes.
2. The fillers of the bases of both types tend to be short; one or two clauses being most common.
3. The Cause tagmemes of both sentence types tend to use tenses other than distant past.

The Conversation Cause-Result Sentence differs from the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence in the following ways:

1. The link is different.
2. The Cause tagmeme of the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence hardly ever uses distant past tense, while the Cause tagmeme of the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence hardly ever uses any tense other than distant past.
3. The Conversation Cause-Result Sentence occurs only in conversation and quotes, while the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence occurs only in narrative type discourses.

¹⁶ see under 4.4.7 for a description of how this morpheme is used in the formation of the word *nambemune* ‘why’, which is now a fused form.

Table 9.24 The Conversation Cause-Result Sentence

+Cause	+Link	+Result
Independent Clause Coordinate Sentence Statement-Analysis S. Alternate Sentence	<i>-na ~ -ne</i> 'because'	Independent Clause Dependent Sentence Preparation Merged S.
minus imperative ± interrogative		minus imperative ± interrogative

Rules:

1. Any tense except imperative is allowed in the suffixation of the final verb of both the Cause and the Result, however distant past is rare.
2. Interrogative words, affixation, or intonation occur quite commonly.
3. Morphophonemic rule 1, the high-low vowel rule, applies to the choice of the allomorphic variants of the link morpheme.

Examples: It makes better sense in the English translation to put the link word first, or even sometimes, as in examples (188) and (189) the ordering Result-Link-Cause makes the best sense in the English, while still representing the sense of the source language faithfully.

Example (188) closes off a very short "report", and states why the speaker gave the report.

Cause				
(188)	<i>Olto ungu ni-ki-mbulu// -mu-nge</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>Ropete-ne</i>	<i>walsipe.pil(i)-ki-mu//</i>
	we.two talk say-PR-1DL-the-REF	me	Robert-ACT	ask-PR-3SG
	Link	Result		
	<i>ne</i>	<i>ni-ki-ru//</i>		
	because	say-PR-1SG		
	'I am saying (this) because Robert asked me (what) we two (my father and I) were speaking about.'			

Example (189) is interesting in that the Result tagmeme of (or perhaps even the whole of) the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence becomes in turn the Cause tagmeme of an Imperative Cause-Result Sentence. The whole construction is the last sentence of a quote.

	Cause		Link	Res.-cse-of-ICR
(189)	<i>Enono pule.te-0-ngi//</i>	<i>lie-0-mu//</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ni-ki-mulu//</i>
	you.yourselves work.sorcery-PST-2PL	be.obvious-PST-3SG	because	say-PR-1PL
	Link-of-ICR	Result-of-ICR		
	<i>kene</i>	<i>ni-e//"</i>	<i>ni-ri-ngi//</i>	
	so	say-QI.2PL	say-DPST-3PL	
	"'We are speaking (up) because it is obvious/apparent you yourselves did (the) act of sorcery, so speak (up)!" they said.'			

Examples (190) and (191) are both embedded in an Alternative Sentence (9.7.4). The whole construction is a question from a conversation based on a narrative about sickness. The free English for both examples is given following 191.

- Cause
- (190) *"Melte langi-ri melte keri-ri langi aku.si-ku/ no-le-mele//*
 something food-a something bad-a food like.that-2/3 eat-ASP-CUST.2PL
- Link Result
na te-le-mo//, molo
 because do-ASP-CUST.3SG or
- Cause Link Result
- (191) *mele nambolka-re no-le-mele// na eno kuru-mu*
 thing what-a eat-ASP-CUST.2PL because you.PL spirit-the
to-le-mo//-ye"
 strike-ASP-CUST.3SG-QU
 "What food or something or some bad food do you eat like that that causes it to do that, or what do you eat that causes the spirit to strike you / causes you to become sick?"

Example (192) is an explanatory comment, by the local medicine-man, also related to the same narrative about sickness. The structure is certainly Cause-Result, but the semantic feel is more like expectancy-reversal. This example is also interesting in that the Cause is expounded by an Imperative Cause-Result Sentence. I will present this example in its context, highlighting the Imperative Cause-Result link *kene* 'so'.

- Cause
- (192) *Kinié doketa yembo o-ngo/-lie "Kinié doketa*
 now modern.medical people come-2/3-CON now doctor
mol(o)-ko-molo//-kene misi o-mba/ te-pa/-lie"
 be.AN-PR-1PL-so Lutheran.mission come-3SG do-3SG-CON
- Link Result
- na-ndo "manie p(u)-a-ni// ni-ki-mili// ne "Nanga nanu*
 me-to down go-IMP-HORT.2SG say-PR-3.PL because my I.myself
kongono te-ri-ndu//-mu te-0-mbo// ni-lio//.
 work do-DPST-1SG-the do-FUT-1SG say-CUST.1S
 'Now (the) modern medical people have come and because they are saying to me "We doctors are now here and (the) Lutheran mission having come is working so, "You may go out of action!", I say "My work which I alone did I will (continue to) do".'

Example (193) is short and straight-forward, but unusual in that distant past tense occurs in the Cause.

- Cause Link Result
- (193) *Kolea sulu oroko lie-ri-mu// ne naa pu-ru-mbulu//.*
 place long long.way be-DPST-3SG because not go-DPST-1DL
 'Because (the) place was a long long way away we two didn't go.'

Examples (194) and (195) are from our field notes:

	Cause		Link		Result
(194)	<i>No</i>	<i>waka.le-ke-mo//</i>	<i>na</i>		<i>o-ko-ro//.</i>
	water	thirst-PR-3SG	because		come-PR-1SG
	'I've come because (I'm) thirsty.'				

	Cause		Link		Result
(195)	<i>Lapa</i>	<i>pu-0-mu//</i>	<i>ne</i>		<i>kola.te-ke-mo//.</i>
	her.father	go-PST-3SG	because		cry-PR-3SG
	'She is crying because her father has gone.'				

9.7.3.3 The narrative cause-result sentence

The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence is a binary construction, consisting of an obligatory Cause, an obligatory Link and an obligatory Result. Several different words expound the Link tagmeme, all with slightly different meanings, but the structure is the same.

The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence is one of a group of three Cause-Result Sentences. The other two are the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence and the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence.

The differences between the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence and the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence have been listed under the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence.

The features which differentiate both the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence and the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence from the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence have been given under the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence.

Other ways, not previously mentioned, in which the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence differs from both the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence and the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence are as follows:

1. Narrative Cause-Result Sentences tend to have long fillers in the bases, frequently embed in Sequence Sentences, and frequently have Sequence and other sentences embedded within their bases, whereas the other two are typically short, and embed far less frequently.
2. The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence can always transform to a Sequence Sentence without any change in structure except to change the link between the bases, though of course the meaning does change a little. The other two Cause-Result Sentences can only so transform sometimes.

However, the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence does differ from the Sequence Sentence in the following ways:

1. The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence is much more limited than the Sequence Sentence, in the tenses which can occur in the first base.
2. The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence is limited to two bases, but the Sequence Sentence has no such limit.
3. The Sequence Sentence is distributed in a wider range of paragraph and discourse types than the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence.

The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence is so named because it occurs most commonly in Narrative Paragraphs (10.4.2.1) and narrative type discourses, i.e. Narrative (11.5), Legend (11.3) and Bed-Time Story (11.4) discourses.

Table 9.25 The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence

+Cause	+Link	+Result
Independent Clause	<i>kulu</i> ‘because’ ¹⁷	Independent Clause
Dependent Sentence	<i>-mu-nge</i> ‘the-REF’	Dependent Sentence
Paraphrase Sentence	<i>aku-mu-nge</i> that-the-REF	Paraphrase Sentence
Sequence Sentence	<i>kanu-mu-nge</i> that-the-REF	Comparison Sentence Statement-Evaluation S.
only past tenses		any tenses

Rules:

1. Past tense morphology is obligatorily suffixed to the main verb of the Cause.
2. Any tense may suffix to the main verb of the Result, though past tenses are most common.
3. The ways the different links are used will be illustrated by the examples.
4. The *-mu* and *-nge* are clitics, singular definite article and referent respectively.
5. The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence will transform to the Sequence Sentence if *kinie* ‘when’ is used in place of *kulu* ‘because’, except on rare occasions when non-past tenses are used in Result.

Examples (196) to (203) feature the use of the link *kulu*.

Examples (196) to (198) all consist of, or are part of, the first sentences of Narrative Paragraphs (10.4.2.1), and all begin with the same paragraph introducer *Kanu-kinie* ‘And then’.

	Periphery	Cause		Link	Result		
(196)	<i>Kanu-kinie</i> and.then	<i>ungu-ri</i> talk-a	<i>bekim.te-pa/</i> answer-3SG	<i>naa ni-ri-mu//</i> not say-DPST-3SG	<i>kulu</i> because	<i>li-pe/</i> take-3SG	<i>me-mba/</i> carry-3SG
	<i>me-ndo</i> downstream-toward	<i>o-mba/</i> come-3SG	<i>ya</i> here	<i>o-mba/</i> come-3SG	<i>na</i> I	<i>aku-kinie</i> that-time	<i>sitoa ulke</i> store building
	<i>kere.pulu-na</i> entrance-LOC	<i>molo-ru-ndu//</i> be.AN-DPST-1SG-when	<i>kinie</i> me	<i>na</i> you	<i>"nu ungu-ri</i> talk-a	<i>ni-e-mbo//</i> say-IMP-HORT.1SG	
	<i>o-u//</i> come-QI.2SG	<i>ni-ri-mu//</i> say-DPST-3SG					

‘And then, because he didn't give (him) an answer he took (the item) (and) carrying (it) (and) coming in a downstream direction he came here (and) as I (at) that moment was at (the) store entrance he said to me "Come (here and) let me tell you something!"’

It is not really clear in examples (196) and (197) just how much of what follows the Link is in fact the Result of the Cause.

¹⁷ *kulu* is used only in the Kala dialect of Umbu-Ungu.

	Periphery	Cause		Link	Result
(197)	<i>Kanu-kinie</i>	<i>tata naa o-ru-mu//</i>		<i>kulu</i>	<i>yu pu-pe/ pe-pu-pe/</i>
	and.then	Dad not come-DPST-3SG		because	he go-3SG sleep-go-3SG
	<i>Mande-kinie</i>	<i>kongono te-pa/ wendo o-mba/ tata "pili-e-pili//"</i>			
	Monday-when	work do-3SG out come-3SG		Dad	hear-IMP-HORT.3SG
	<i>ni-mbe/ ni-ri-mu// lie-0-mu//</i>				
	say-3SG	say-DPST-3SG be.apparent-PST-3SG			

‘And then, because Dad didn’t come, going (off) (the man who was waiting for Dad) went (and) slept, (and) (on) Monday (he) worked (and) coming out (from where he works to where we are) deciding (that) Dad should hear (about the matter) apparently did tell (him) (about it).’

Example (198) is the second half of a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5) I will present it in that context.

(198)	<i>Kanu-kinie</i>	<i>Kaoa-ne li-pe/ ne mundu-pe/ kangulu-pe/ 'ka.si-0-mbo//</i>			
	and.then	K.ACT take-3SG nearby send-3SG embrace-3SG arrest-FUT-1SG			
		Cause			
	<i>ni-mbe/ te-0-mu//-kanu.kinie</i>	<i>lou kanu-mu kulu.to-pa/ manie-ndo</i>			
	say-3SG	do-PST-3SG-and.then	axe that-the	withdrew-3SG	down-toward
		Link	Result		
	<i>li-0-mu// kulu Kaoa-nga palambe aku-mu pule.to-mu//</i>				
	take-DPST-3SG	because	K.-POSS thigh	that-the	slashed-3SG

‘And then, Kaoa taking (the man) (and) forcing (him) away (from where he was attacking his wife) (and) getting his arms around (the man) having decided to arrest him (proceeded to) do (so) and then because (the man) withdrawing that axe took (it) downwards (from under his bark belt) that upper leg of Kaoa’s got slashed.’

Example (199) is an unusually short and non-complex example from a story about the whys and wherefores of spirit worship. The Cause is expounded by an Independent Clause, while the Result is expounded by a Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4).

	Cause		Link	Result
(199)	<i>Ga pe o-ru-mu//</i>		<i>kulu</i>	<i>kongi naa koyo-ru-mulu//, molo.</i>
	sweet.potato later	come-DPST-3SG	because	pig not sacrifice-DSPT-1PL no
	‘We did not sacrifice (a) pig, no, because the sweet potato grew (again) later.’			

Example (200) illustrates an unusual feature of how verbs of perception are used with the *kulu* link. Although the verb of perception always follows the link, the English translation must make it precede the link. Example (200) and (201) come from the same Legend Discourse about dogs and possums.

- | | Cause | Link | Result |
|-------|--|--|---|
| (200) | <i>no waka.lie-ri-mu//</i>
water thirst-DPST-3SG | <i>kulu pili-pe/-lie</i>
because perceive-3SG-CON | <i>no no-0-mba-ndo</i>
water drink-FUT-3SG-PUR |
| | <i>andi lkisi-pe/ o-mba/</i>
there run-3SG come-3SG | <i>no kelo-na manie pu-ru-mu//.</i>
water bank-LOC down go-DPST-3SG | |
| | ‘Because he felt thirsty he came running (and) went down to the bank of the creek to have a drink of water.’ | | |

- | | Cause | Link |
|-------|--|---|
| (201) | <i>owa-mo-ne no no-mba/ pili-pe/-lie</i>
dog-the-ACT water drink-3SG perceive-3SG-CON | <i>songo.te-ri-mu// kulu</i>
be.tasty-DPST-3SG because |
| | <i>kinié aku te-ri-ngi// lopa bulu.balo.ni-ri-mu// lopa kinie,</i>
now that do-DPST-3PL possum to.be.scattered-DPST-3SG possum with | |
| | <i>owama-ne aku te-ri-ngi//mele kinié yando yando lopa owama-ne</i>
the.dogs-ACT that do-DPST-3PL-like now to.here to.here possum the.dogs-ACT | |
| | <i>to-ko-mele//.</i>
kill-PR-3PL | |
| | ‘Because the dog having tasted (the) water (found) it was tasty, now, (the dogs) did that, (the) possums were scattered, now, like the dogs did that with the possums (so) now, ever since then, the dogs are killing possum.’ | |

Examples (202) and (203) incorporate the link *mu-nge* ‘in reference to the’. Both are from a short discourse spoken to my husband about initial impressions to his coming into the Kaugel area..

- | | Cause | Link | Result |
|-------|---|---|--------|
| (202) | <i>"Nu kondoli kumbi.keremu le-mo//"</i>
you red face | <i>ni-mbu/ kano-po/ lsi-0-ndu//</i>
be-CUST.3SG say-1 see-1 take-PST-1SG | |
| | <i>-mu-nge ni-ri-ndu//.</i> | <i>"Kinié nanga kolea-na kuru awil-si wendo o-ko-mo//."</i> | |
| | -the-REF say-DPST-1S | now my place-LOC spirit big-a out come-PR-3S | |
| | ‘Because I found you did in fact have a white face I said (to myself) "Now an important spirit is come to my place."’ | | |

- | | Cause | Link |
|-------|---|--|
| (203) | <i>Nu koro o-ru-nu</i>
you before come-DPST-2SG | <i>kanu-mu ulke tako-ndo-ru-mulu// -mu-nge</i>
that-the house build-BEN-DPST-1PL -the-REF |
| | <i>kou.mone awili si-ri-nu</i>
money big give-DPST-2SG | <i>olio lsi-mulu//.</i>
we took.DPST-1PL |
| | ‘On account of (= Because of) that coming of yours before, and us building you a house, you gave us a lot of money (and) we took (it).’ | |

Example (204) incorporates the link *kanu-mu-nge* ‘in reference to that specific, though remote (in time or place), event.’ Example (204) is part of a very complex Sequence Sentence, with several

other sentences embedded also. The text is about fighting; the immediate context about allies and enemies.

	Cause		Link		Result
(204)	<i>nunge opa-mo alipim.te-ri-ndu//</i>		<i>kanu-mu-nge na</i>		<i>kol(o)-ko-ro// kene...</i>
	your fight-the help.DPST-1SG		that-the-REF I		die-PR-1SG so...
	‘Because I (speaking for his clan) helped with your fight I am dying, so...’				

The speaker then goes on to list those of his clan who have died in the fighting and requests compensation from his ally.

Example (205) incorporates the link *aku-mu-nge* ‘in reference to that specific (event)’. It is from a text about spirit worship.

	Cause		Link		Result
(205)	<i>Opule-ma yando o-ngo/ eno wanie¹⁸ kumbili.le-ko/</i>				
	clan.name-the.PL here-to come-2/3 they hat				be.first-2/3
			<i>pako-ri-ngi//</i>		<i>"ulu-ri naa te-ke-mele, molo."</i>
			put.on-DPST-3PL	<i>aku-mu-nge eno-ne</i>	that-the-REF they-ACT action-a not do-PR-3PL no
			<i>ni-ngu/ olio iri¹⁹ taki.teki to-0-ngi//.</i>		
			say-2/3 us scold constantly hit-PST-3PL		
	‘Because the Opule (clan men) put (their) head-covering on first they came here scolding us all the time saying: "You can't do anything (related to the spirit worship), no."’				

Examples (206) to (208) are all part of a rather long, though not overly involved, sentence from a text about the introduction of the payment of head tax, and the marking of borders in order to do so. It incorporates both *-mu-nge* and *aku-mu-nge*. The free English translation for all three examples will be presented following example (208).

¹⁸ *wanie* is a special type of head-covering worn only in relation to spirit worship.

¹⁹ *iri + to* is an Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1) meaning ‘to scold’. In this example the adverb *taki-teki* constantly comes between the adjunct *iri* and the verb *tongi*.

- | | Cause | | Link | | Result |
|-------|---|------------------|--|---|---|
| (206) | <i>Aku ni-ri-mu//</i>
that say-DPST-3SG | | <i>-mu-nge</i>
-the-REF | <i>wele-ke-ndo pu-pe/ no</i>
dir-at-to go-3SG water P. | <i>Pokorapulu</i> |
| | <i>owe.panji-pe/-lie</i>
mark.border-3SG-CON | | <i>ni-ri-mu-//muni</i>
PTR-DPST-3SG-PTR | <i>me-ndo yembo ou</i>
DIR-to people before | |
| | <i>takis.to-pa.lsi-mu//-kinie</i>
collect.tax.DPST-3S-when | | | | |
| | Cause | | | Link | Result |
| (207) | <i>"olio winjo</i>
we upstream | <i>Nu</i>
New | <i>Gini</i>
Guinea | <i>yembo" ni-ri-mu</i>
people say-DPST-3SG | <i>aku-mu-nge ou takis</i>
that-the-REF before tax |
| | <i>naa to-ru-mulu//</i>
not pay-DPST-1PL | | | | |
| | Cause | | Link | | Result |
| (208) | <i>we molo-ru-mulu//</i>
just be.AN-DPST-1PL | | <i>-mu-nge</i>
-the-REF | <i>"eno" ni-ngu/ "suku.ruku naa te-a-y(o)-a//".</i>
them say-2/3 tear.apart not do-IMP-POL-EXP | |
- ‘Because he (the patrol officer) said that (about Papua and New Guinea) he went to a particular spot across (country from here) and marked a border at Pokorapulu creek then collected taxes from (the) people downstream (from there - Papua) first then because he called us upstream (from there) "New Guinea people" we did not pay tax at first (but) because we just stayed (not paying taxes) they (the Kaugel people on the Papuan side) said: "Don't tear them away (from us)!"’

Note: Because the referent clitic *-nge* is homophonous with the possessive clitic, and one allomorph of the locative clitic, examples of the Narrative Cause Result Sentence which incorporate the referent clitic *-nge* in the Link, can be virtually identical in structure to the Embedding Phrase (7.8.2), the Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.3), and the Locative Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.2), when these phrases have sentences embedded in them. The difference can really only be picked up semantically, and by the fact that, in the case of the phrases, they are expounding tagmemes on the clause level, not the sentence or paragraph level. Because of this structural similarity I will present below one example of each of these phrase types, in context.

Example (209) is of an Embedding Phrase (7.8.2).

- (209) *Kapisi koyo-0-ngi//* *aku-mu-nge mare no-mbo/ molo-ru-mulu//.*
cabbage steam.cook-PST-3PL that-the-of some eat-1 stay-DPST-1PL
‘We were eating some of that cabbage they had steam cooked.’

Example (210) is of a Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.3).

- (210) *andi ye me-ngo/ pu-ku-mbili//-mu-nge malo pea pu-ku-mbili//.*
there man carry-2/3 go-PR-3DL-the-POSS son with go-PR-3DL
‘the son of the man whom they two there are carrying (past on a stretcher) is going with him.’

Example (211) is of a Locative Axis Relator Phrase (7.9.2).

- (211) *Ama ulke kolo-ru-mu// -mu-nge na me-ngo/, ulke nendi i-mu-nge*
 mum house die-DPST-3SG-the-LOC me bear-2/3 house nearby this-the-LOC
me-ri-ngi//.
 bear-DPST-3PL
 ‘They bore me in the house where Mum died, in this nearby house they bore me.’

9.7.4 The alternative sentence

The Alternative Sentence has two obligatory bases. When *molo* ‘or’ occurs linking these two bases a third base is an optional extra, with *molo* ‘or’ also linking the second and third bases, and with a third *molo* obligatorily following the third base. The Alternative Sentence often encodes an ‘either or’ or a ‘whether or not’ semantic feel.

Because *molo* ‘no’, which has the same form as *molo* ‘or’, can occur in the second base of the Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4), it makes these two sentence types similar. However, they differ in the following ways:

1. In the Alternative Sentence *molo* ‘or’ functions as a link between the bases, whereas in the Statement-Evaluation Sentence *molo* ‘no’ expounds the second base of the sentence.
2. In the Alternative Sentence a second base obligatorily follows at least the first occurrence of the link *molo* ‘or’, whereas when *molo* ‘no’ occurs in the Statement-Evaluation Sentence it is only optionally followed by another juxtaposed statement.
3. The two sentences are phonologically different.²⁰
4. The meaning of the morpheme *molo* is different in each type.
5. The two sentence types differ in meaning.

The way the dubitive clitic *-nje* (5.2.2) is used in the Alternative Sentence is unique. Usually it attaches to the end of any utterance to make what precedes it dubious or a query. As such it is never used twice in any sentence, and has no higher level grammatical function. However, when the dubitive clitic *-nje* occurs as the only link between the two bases of an Alternative Sentence it obligatorily occurs at the end of both bases.

The use of *-nje* as a link in the Alternative Sentence makes this sentence type similar to the Contrafactual Conditional Sentence (9.7.1.3), which also uses this clitic as a link. However these two sentences differ in the following ways:

1. In the Alternative Sentence, when the link *molo* ‘or’ is not present, the clitic *-nje* must occur after the second base if it occurs after the first, whereas in the Contrafactual Conditional Sentence it occurs only after the first base.
2. The use of Hypothetical Aspect is obligatory in the verb of the bases of the Contrafactual Sentence whereas it is only rarely used in the Alternative Sentence.
3. The Alternative Sentence also uses the link *molo* ‘or’, but the Contrafactual Conditional Sentence never uses this word as a link.

When there are two Alternatives linked by *molo* ‘or’ the Alternative sentence is only distinguishable from the Alternative paragraph (10.4.1.1) phonologically. In the case of the sentence the two bases are straight alternatives, uttered as a single phonological unit; in the case of

²⁰ *molo* ‘or’ is spoken in a mono-tone with virtually no stress and intonationally leads into the next base of the Alternative Sentence. On the other hand *molo* ‘no’, as used in the Statement-Evaluation Sentence, has strong word-initial stress, and obvious pause after it is spoken.

the paragraph a statement is made as a single phonological unit followed by a pause, and then an alternative possibility, introduced with *Molo* 'Or' is presented as the next sentence.

The Alternative Sentence has been found in a variety of texts, but is comparatively infrequently used. Examples are especially hard to find in non-embedded form.

Table 9.26 The Alternative Sentence

+Alternative ₁	±Link	+Alternative ₂	±(+Link	+Alternative ₃	+Link)
Independent Clause	<i>molo</i> 'or'	Independent Cl.	<i>molo</i> 'or'	Independent Cl.	<i>molo</i> 'or'
Equational Clause		Equational Cl.			
Dependent Sentence			<i>molo</i> 'not'		
Paraphrase Sentence		<i>pea</i> 'all' <i>we</i> 'just'			
<i>-ne</i> ~ <i>-nje</i>	'either'	<i>-ne</i> ~ <i>-nje</i>	'or'		
'whether'	'or not'				

Rules:

a) concerning *-ne* and *-nje*.

1. When *-ne* and/or *-nje* are used the construction can only be binary.
2. *-ne* and *-nje* are clitics, which suffix to the last word of the filler of the base.
3. *-ne* or *-nje* seem to be freely fluctuating in this construction, with a preference for *-ne*.
- 4a. The translations 'either' and 'or' only apply as a unit meaning 'either.....or', and only when *-ne* or *-nje* are attached to both bases and both bases are positive.
- 4b. The translations 'whether' and 'or not' only apply as a unit meaning 'whether.....or not', and only when *-ne* or *-nje* are attached to both bases; the first base being positive and the second negative.
5. When either *-ne* or *-nje* attaches to both bases *molo* is optional, and usually does not occur.
6. When *-ne* or *-nje* are only used on the first base then *molo* 'or' must link the two bases.
7. The combinations possible in using *-ne* and *-nje* are *-ne...-ne*, *-ne...-nje*, *-nje...-nje*, but NOT *-nje...-ne*.

b) other rules:

8. An Alternative Sentence can have either two or three Alternatives.
9. When there are only two Alternatives, one is typically positive and the other negative.
10. When more than two alternatives occur they will be either all positive or all negative, and EACH alternative is followed by *molo*, including the last.
11. When a single word manifests the second alternative, no further alternatives are permitted.
12. The use of *molo* 'not' as the second Alternative makes the sentence interrogative in meaning, however the interrogative clitic, *-ye*, does not attach to the Alternative Sentence except when it is in a quote.

When *-ne* or *-nje* occur in the examples they will be bolded for easy recognisability.

Example (212) is an example of an Alternative Sentence as a quote, with the interrogative clitic suffixed to it.

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|----------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | Alternative ₁ | | Link | Alternative ₂ |
| (212) | " <i>Aku.si-ku/ ulu te te-le-mele</i> | | <i>molo naa</i> | <i>te-le-mele//ye</i> " |
| | like.that-2/3 | action a | or | not do-ASP-CUST.3PL-QU |
| | <i>ni-ki-mu//.</i> | | | |
| | say-PR-3SG | | | |
| | ‘He is asking " <u>Do they do an activity like that or do they not?</u> "’ | | | |

Examples (213) to (215) have only a single word expounding Alternative₂.

(213) is the second half of a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5), all of which will be given for the sake of good sense.

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|--------------------------------|---------|--------------------------|
| | | Alternative ₁ | | Link |
| (213) | <i>Mote-mo to-le-mele//kinie</i> | <i>ungu-ri kepe ni-li-mo//</i> | | <i>molo</i> |
| | arrow-the | fire-ASP-CUST.3PL-when | sound-a | also say-ASP-CUST.3SG or |
| | Alternative ₂ | | | |
| | <i>molo</i> | | | |
| | not | | | |
| | ‘When they fire the <i>mote</i> -arrow <u>does it also make a noise or not</u> (when it strikes the victim)?’ | | | |

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|--------------------|--------|--------------------------|
| | Alternative ₁ | | Link | Alternative ₂ |
| (214) | " <i>Nu-ni kapola na li-ku.tapondo-0-ni//</i> | <i>molo molo</i> " | | <i>ni-0-mu//.</i> |
| | you-act able | me help-FUT-2SG | or not | say-PST-3SG |
| | ‘He says "Are you able to help me or not?"’ | | | |

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|---------------------------|------|--------------------------|
| | Alternative ₁ | | Link | Alternative ₂ |
| (215) | <i>Ungu mare alto-ko/ ni-0-ni//nje</i> | <i>molo pea.</i> | | |
| | talk some | again-2/3 say-PST-2SG-DUB | or | all |
| | ‘Have you got anything further to say or (is that) all?’ | | | |

Example (216) has *-nje* suffixed to the end of Alternative₂ in its usual use as a dubitative clitic, giving the whole construction an element of doubt or query.

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|--------------------------|------|----------------------------|
| | Alternative ₁ | | Link | Alternative ₂ |
| (216) | <i>pu-ku/ pote li-pu-li-mele//</i> | <i>molo we</i> | | <i>mo(lo)-le-mele//nje</i> |
| | go-2/3 | post get-go-ASP-CUST.3PL | or | just stay-ASP-CUST.3PL-DUB |
| | ‘Are they going to get posts or are they hanging about doing nothing perhaps.’ | | | |

Examples (217) and (218) use dubitative clitics on both Alternatives and manifest the Link *molo* as well.

Example (217) uses *-ne* and *-nje* according to rule 4a above. It is talking about the coming of bird season.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--|--|------|--|---------------------------------|
| | Alternative ₁ | | Link | | Alternative ₂ |
| (217) | <i>No waru-kundu paa o-ko-mo//-ne,</i> | | | | <i>molo konde popilie-kondo</i> |
| | water ravine-at very come-PR-3SG-either | | or | | bush tree.type-at |
| | <i>paa o-ko-mo//-nje</i> | | | | |
| | very come-PR-3SG-or | | | | |
| | ‘Either (the bird season) has really come at the ravine, or perhaps it has really come at the stand of popilie trees.’ | | | | |

Examples (218) to (220) use *-ne* or *-nje* according to rule 4b above.

Example (218) is embedded as the Result of an Event-Result Conditional Sentence. I will present the whole construction. It is from a text about expeditions to look for wild dogs on Mt. Giluwe.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---|--|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| | | | Alternative ₁ | | Link |
| (218) | <i>Ye kondoli-me-ne</i> | | <i>kano-0-ngi//-liemo</i> | | <i>kano-0-nge//-nje molo</i> |
| | man European-the.PL-ACT | | look-PST-3PL-if | | see-PST-3PL-either or |
| | Alternative ₂ | | | | |
| | <i>naa kano-0-nge//-nje, akumu naa pil(i)-ki-ru//.</i> | | | | |
| | not see-FUT-3PL-or that not know-PR-1SG | | | | |
| | ‘If the white men looked (for it) <u>whether they would see it or whether they would not see it</u> , that I don't know.’ | | | | |

Examples (219) to (221) use *-ne* and or *-nje* without *molo*.

Examples (219) and (220) are both from the same sentence, from a text about spirit worship in relation to gardening. The free English for both will be presented following (220).

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|---------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| | | Alternative ₁ | | Alternative ₂ |
| (219) | <i>ga</i> | <i>o-mba//-lie</i> | <i>pu-0-mbe//-ne</i> | <i>naa pu-0-mbe//-ne nimbu.pili-pu/</i> |
| | sweet.potato | come-3S-CON | go-FUT-3S-either | not go-FUT-3SG-or wonder-1 |
| | | Alternative ₁ | | Alternative ₂ |
| (220) | <i>amu</i> | <i>o-mba//-lie</i> | <i>to-0-mba//-ne</i> | <i>naa to-0-mba//-ne</i> |
| | pandanus.palm | come-3SG-CON | bear-FUT-3SG-either | not bear-FUT-3SG-or |
| | <i>nimbu.pili-pu/</i> | | | |
| | wonder.1 | | | |
| | ‘(Having made gardens and planted sweet potatoes and pandanus palms) we wonder whether the sweet potato growing will reproduce or will not reproduce, (and) we wonder whether the pandanus palms growing will bear (nuts) or whether they will not bear (nuts).’ | | | |

- Alternative₁
 (221) *Nanga amu pinere andumu wa no-0-ngi//ne*
 my pandanus.nut innards that steal eat-PST-3PL-either
 Alternative₂
nambe-0-ngi//nje.
 what.do-PST-3PL-or
 ‘That pandanus nut innards of mine have they stolen it or what have they done?’

Finally, example (222) has three Alternatives in a listing type construction. It is part of a Sequence Sentence from a text on reasons for worshipping spirits.

- | | | | |
|---|--|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Alternative ₁ | | Link ₁ | Alternative ₂ |
| (222) <i>yembo te, ambolango te kuru.to-le-mo//</i> ²¹ | | <i>molo ambo te</i> | |
| person a child | a become.sick-ASP-CUST.3SG | or woman a | |
| | Link ₂ Alternative ₃ | | Link ₃ |
| <i>ko(lo)-le-mele//</i> | <i>molo ye anda te kele-pa/ ko(lo)-le-mo//</i> | <i>molo</i> | |
| die-ASP-CUST.3PL | or man old a leave-3SG die-ASP-CUST.3SG | or | |
- ‘(something happens to) a person; a child gets sick or a woman dies or an old man leaving (this life) dies...’

9.7.5 The sequence sentence

The Sequence Sentence consists of an obligatory Base₁, one or two optional Base₂’s, and an obligatory Base₃. The bases are all obligatorily linked by one of the sequence connectives (4.4.9.2), or one of the two connective complexes (6.2.6). The Sequence Sentence is considered different from those other overt link sentences with which it might otherwise be considered suspect because the links are different and the Sequence Sentence can have more bases than any other similar structure is permitted to have.

The Sequence Sentence can occur virtually anywhere, in any type of discourse, but is most common in narratives, both history and fiction. It is the most common sentence type in Narrative Paragraphs (10.4.2.1). The longer Sequence Sentences tend to occur towards the end of a narrative as a type of summary sentence wherein the whole narrative is reviewed in one long sentence. Within the body of a story this sentence type will usually have only two or sometimes three bases.

There is a structural and semantic similarity between the Sequence Sentence and the Dependent Sentence (9.3.1). Structurally both of these sentences have many bases, compared to the more common two or three bases of other sentences. The major difference between the two is that the Dependent Sentence has same person (and tense) in every base, whereas, in the Sequence Sentence, person (and/or tense) change from base to base.

²¹ to become sick literally means ‘spirit strikes’

Table 9.27 The Sequence Sentence

+Base ₁	+Link	± (+Base ₂	+Link)	+Base ₃
Ind. Cl.	<i>kinie</i> ‘when’	Ind. Cl.	<i>kinie</i> ‘when’	Ind. Cl.
Dep. S.	<i>aku.kinie</i> ‘and then’	Dep. S.	<i>aku.kinie</i> ‘and then’	Dep. S.
Purp. S.	<i>kanu.kinie</i> ‘and then’	Purp. S.	<i>kanu.kinie</i> ‘and then’	Summary S.
Para. S.				Para. S.
Coord. S.				Coord. S.
Dec. S.				Quote S.
				Listing S.
				Narrative Cse-Res.S
minus imp.		minus imp.		any tense

Rules:

1. Each base must end with an independent verb, which can be suffixed for any tense, except that imperative can only occur sentence finally.
2. From base to base there will always be a change of person or tense or both.
3. When there is either some overlap in the time of the events, or the events immediately follow one another with no time lapse between them, the Link is typically expounded by *kinie* ‘when’.
4. When there is any time lapse between the events, the Link is typically expounded by *aku-kinie* or *kanu-kinie*.
5. The Link is always expounded by *aku-kinie* or *kanu-kinie* ‘and then’ following recapitulation of a clause at the beginning of a sentence.
6. The optional Base₂ and Link can occur either one or two times.

Examples (223) to (227) are examples which use *kinie* as the link.

	Base ₁		Link	Base ₃	
(223)	<i>Koro te o-mba/</i>	<i>pu-ru-mu//</i>	<i>kinie</i>	<i>koro te-nga</i>	<i>alto-ko/</i>
	week a	come-3SG	when	week a-different	again-2/3
	<i>no waru</i>	<i>kanu-ne mendo</i>	<i>pu-ri-ngili//.</i>		
	creek ravine	that-LOC	downstream	go-DPST-3DL	
	‘When one week had passed by, the next week they again went in a downstream direction to that ravine.’				

Example (224) has the semantic feel of a Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4), which is one of the juxtaposed sentences. However, because there is an overt sequence link between the bases, it is structurally a Sequence Sentence. As is often so when it is used following future tense, the conjunction *kinie* would translate better in this example as ‘if’.

	Base ₁		Link	Base ₃	
(224)	<i>Nu we pu-0-ni//</i>	<i>kinie</i>	<i>kapola</i>	<i>naa te-0-mba//.</i>	
	you just	go-FUT-2SG	when all.right	not do-FUT-3SG	
	‘When you go without eating pig it will not be right.’ / ‘If you went without eating pig that would not be right.’				

Example (225) is about a man going to the hospital to visit his sick mother.

- Base₁
- (225) *Na oleanga pu-pu/ kano-po/ "Nu nambe-ke-mo//-ye" ni-mbu/*
 I yesterday go-1 see-1SG you what.do-PR-3SG-QU say-1
- Link Base₃
- walsipu.pilie-0-ndu// kinie "Na kuru waengo.naa.ni-ki-mu//"*
 ask-PST-1SG when me sick not.get.better-PR-3SG
- ni-mbe/ molo-0-mu//*
 say-3SG be.AN-PST-3SG
- ‘Yesterday when I went (and) saw (her) (and) speaking (to her) asked (her) how things were with her, she was saying "I'm not recovering (from my) sick(ness)".’

- Base₁
- (226) *To-po/ kise to-po/ unguengili te to-po/ maya talo to-po/*
 kill-1 four kill-1 possum.type a kill-1 possum.type two kill-1
- tokopi engaki rurepo-ne to-ru-mulu// umbu lopa poko-ne,*
 tree.kangaroo eight twelve-with kill-DPST-1PL ordinary possum few-with
- Link Base₃
- malapu to-po/ nosi-pu/ molo-ru-mulu// kinie kondoli o-mba/*
 sixteen kill-1 put-1 be.AN-DPST-1PL when European come-3SG
- "Kinié koy(o)-a//"* *ni-ri-mu//.*
 now steam.cook-QI.2PL say-DPST-3SG
- ‘Killing (possums) we had killed four, we had killed one unguengili (possum and) we had killed two maya (possums), with twelve tree-kangaroos we had killed (and) with (the) few ‘regular’ possums (that made a total of) sixteen we had killed (and) were keeping when (the) European came (and) said "Steam cook (them) now!"’

Example (227) uses both *kinie* and *aku.kinie*. Note that the event of Base₂ would be an immediate reaction to the event of Base₁, then the event of Base₃ would follow in due course, but not immediately. It also illustrates the common use of *Aku.kinie* ‘And then’ sentence initially to tie sentences together into paragraphs. (Refer 10.1.2).

- Periphery Base₁ Link
- (227) *Aku.kinie ye te-ne ta.ni-mbe/ poro-le-mo// kinie*
 and.then man a-ACT disobey-3SG cut.hair-ASP-CUST.3SG when
- Base₂
- "kongi molo sumoli molo kou tene paono molo pape paono*
 pig or shell.type or money ten pound or five pound
- Link Base₃
- molo si//"* *ni-li-molo//* *aku.kinie si-li-mo//.*
 or give.QI.2SG say-ASP-CUST.1PL and.then give-ASP-CUST.3SG
- ‘And then, when a man disobeys (and) cuts his hair we say give (us) a pig or a gold-lipped pearl shell or money; ten or five pounds and then he gives (it).’

Examples (228) to (232) use *kanu.kinie* or *aku.kinie* as the link.

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------|
| | Base ₁ | Link | Base ₃ | | | |
| (228) | <i>Molo-ru-mu//</i> | <i>kanu.kinie</i> | <i>paka.to-pa/</i> | <i>li-pe/</i> | <i>mere</i> | <i>keku-ne suku</i> |
| | sit-DPST-3SG | and.then | push-3SG | take-3SG | downstream | ashes-LOC into |
| | <i>mundu-ru-mu//</i> | | | | | |
| | send-DPST-3SG | | | | | |
- ‘He (Kemboro) sat (where he had been told to sit) and then he (Yako) pushed him sending him right into the (hot) ashes (of the fire which was) in a downstream direction.’

The first base of examples (229) and (230) respectively, is recapitulation from the previous sentence. (229) comes from a Procedural Discourse about courting parties.

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Base ₁ | Link ₁ | Base ₃ |
| (229) | <i>angi-li-molo//</i> | <i>aku.kinie</i> | <i>nangape to-le-mele//</i> |
| | stand-ASP-CUST.1PL | and.then | door open-ASP-CUST.3PL |
- ‘We stand there and then they open the door.’

In examples (230) and (231) the verb *koyo* ‘to steam cook’ is used to mean spirit worship. That is, spirits are worshipped by the steam cooking of pigs or other animals.

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | Base ₁ | | Link | Base ₃ |
| (230) | <i>Pu-pe/</i> | <i>koyo-ndo-ru-mu//</i> | <i>aku.kinie</i> | <i>pe "olio kuru wango-ko-molo//"</i> |
| | go-3SG | steam.cook-BEN-DPST-3SG | and.then | later we spirit enter-PR-1PL |
| | <i>ni-ri-mulu//</i> | | | |
| | say-DPST-1PL | | | |
- ‘He (the officiating priest) went (and) sacrificed (pig) on our behalf and then afterwards we said "We are entering the spirit (worship enclosure)".’

Example (231) has recapitulation also, but because this is in the same person and tense as the verb of Base₁, it is dependent in form.

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|--|
| | Recap | | | Base ₁ |
| (231) | <i>Kongi</i> | <i>koyo-po-/-lie</i> | <i>ni-li-molo// -mone</i> | <i>ga mundu</i> |
| | pig | steam.cook-1-CON | PTR-ASP-CUST.1PL-PTR | sweet.potato mound |
| | | Link | Base ₃ | |
| | <i>te-le-molo//</i> | <i>aku.kinie</i> | <i>kele-pa/</i> | <i>ga mo(lo)-le-mo//</i> . ²² |
| | make-ASP-CUST.1PL | and.then | again-3SG | sweet.potato be.AN-ASP-3SG |
- ‘Having sacrificed pig we make sweet potato mounds and then sweet potato is there again.’

²² growing foods are animate in the Kaugel taxonomy.

Example (232) has a fairly long Dependent Sentence (9.3.1) expounding its second (and final) base. It is very common for the Dependent and Sequence sentences to function together, as semantically they are performing the same role; i.e. the sequential presentation of events. The Dependent Sentence is restricted to same subject and tense, while the Sequence Sentence is used where there is a change of subject person or tense. The Dependent Sentence in base₃ of (232) has a Quote Sentence (9.4.1) expounding its final base.

Base ₁	Link ₁	Base ₃
(232) <i>wele olando-pa me-li/</i>	<i>pu-ru-ndu//</i>	<i>kanu.kinie kango te awili mele</i>
across up-further carry-SIM	go-DPST-1SG and.then	boy a big like
<i>pu-ru-mulu// aku-mu-ni lkisi-pe/ manie-ndo o-mba/-lie</i>		<i>yu ou</i>
go-DPST-1PL that-the-ACT run-3SG down-to		come-3SG-SEQ he before
<i>we-la pu-ru-mu//mu-ni yunge wale anjo nosi-pe/ alto-pa/ manie-ndo</i>		
across-up go-DPST-3SG-the-ACT his bag there		put-3SG again-3SG down-to
<i>o-mba/-lie na nanga wale kanumu o-mba/ "li-pu/</i>		
come-3SG-SEQ I my bag that		come-3SG take-1
<i>me-nd-a-mbo//"</i>	<i>ni-ri-mu//.</i>	
carry-BEN-IMP-HORT.1SG	say-DPST-3SG	
‘I carried (it) up across (there) and then that fairly big boy who went with us came running down, having already gone up and put his bag down over there, he came down again and said about that bag of mine, “Let me carry if for you.”.’		

9.7.6 The comparison sentence

The Comparison Sentence is a binary construction joined with a link meaning ‘like’ or ‘like that’. Semantically, the bases occur in the order of the standard followed by what is being compared with it.

The Comparison Sentence is similar to other sentences which are also binary and have obligatory links. However, the Comparison Sentence differs from such other sentences in the following ways:

1. The links of this sentence are different from those of other sentences.
2. The two bases of the Comparison Sentences must express the same action(s) (not necessarily with the same verb stems), expressing only a difference in tense from Base₁ to Base₂ - this factor is unique to this sentence type.

So far only five examples of the Comparison Sentence have been found. All of these examples are embedded in other sentences, - three in Dependent Sentences (9.3.1).

Table 9.28 The Comparison Sentence

+Base ₁	+Link	+Base ₂
Independent Clause	<i>mele</i> ‘like’	Dependent Clause
Dependent Sentence	<i>aku.mele</i> ‘like that’	Independent Clause
Quote Sentence		Dependent Sentence
independent verb		independent or dependent verb same action - change of tense only

Rules:

1. Base₁ obligatorily concludes with an independent verb.
2. Base₂ can conclude with either a dependent verb or an independent verb.
3. The action(s) of Base₂ must be the same action(s) as that of Base₁ except (primarily) for a change of tense.

Examples (233) to (236) are all relatively short, while example (237) is very long, but all are embedded in longer sentences.

Examples (233) and (234) are both part of a Summary Sentence (9.3.3), which is Base₂ of a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5), which is, in turn, embedded in a Real Antithetical Sentence (9.7.2.1). The free English translation for both these examples will be presented following 234.

	Base ₁		Link	Base ₂
(233)	" <i>lo o-0-mba//</i> "	<i>ni-ri-ndu//</i>	<i>mele lo</i>	<i>laye-re lo o-mba/</i>
	rain come-FUT-3SG	say-DPST-1SG	like rain	little-a rain come-3SG

	Base ₁		Link	Base ₂
(234)	<i>pe "kupe"</i>	<i>ni-ri-ndu//</i>	<i>mele kupe</i>	<i>to-pa/ aku te-ri-mu//</i>
	then cloud	say-DPST-1SG	like cloud hit.3SG	that do-DPST-3SG

‘Like I said it would rain it rained a little, then like I said it would cloud over it clouded over it did that.’

	Base ₁		Link	Base ₂
(235)	<i>lopa kinie owa-ma-ne</i>	<i>aku te-ri-ngi//</i>	<i>mele kinié</i>	<i>yando yando</i>
	possum with dog-the.PL-ACT	that do-DPST-3PL	like now	to.here to.here
	<i>lopa owa-ma-ne</i>	<i>to-ko-mele//</i>		
	possum dog-the.PL-ACT	kill-PR-3PL		

‘Like the dogs did that to the possums (then) - i.e. killed them - so from then until now the dogs kill possums.’

	Base ₁		Link
(236)	<i>ambo li-mele</i>	<i>mele olio konana ni-ri-ngi</i>	<i>mele</i>
	woman take.ASP.CUST-3PL	how we song sing-DPST-3PL	like

	Base ₂
	<i>te-po kinié olio yama konana-ma i.si-pu ni-li-pu pu-ku-mulu</i>
	do-1 now we courting song-thePL like.this-1 sing-SIM-1 go-PR-1PL

‘Like they used to get women (to marry them) by singing (courting songs), that’s what we do now we are going singing courting songs like this.’

Example (237) is a long one from a text about spirit worship. The narrator gets to a certain point in his description then digresses to explain what the procedure is when some uninitiated person enters the spirit worship enclosure, and goes on to tell how this happened to him when he was a boy. The explanation of the procedure is the digression and is also the first base of the Comparison Sentence; the story of what happened to the narrator personally being the second base of the Comparison Sentence. Resumption of the main text following the giving of the background information is shown by repetition of the last verb on the event line prior to the digression.

- (237) *Pu-ru-mulu//aku.kinie telea i.siku/ talo li-ku/*
 go-DPST-1PL-and.then logs.cut.in.sections like.this two take-2/3
- Base₁
- mundo-ri-ngi// aku-na kango te o-mba/ ikindu pu-li-mo// aku-mu*
 send-DPST-3PL that-LOC boy a come-3SG this.side go-ASP-CUST.3SG that-the
- kongi bulu te kepe, kongi elka te kepe, melte si-ku/-lie*
 pig back a also pig back.section a also something give-2/3-CON
- ni-li-mele//-mone telea ikindu yando li-(li)-mele//.*
 PTR-ASP-CUST.3PL-PTR log.sections this.side to.here take-ASP-CUST.3PL
- Pe ikindu-nge te naa kano-pa/ o-mba ulke pu-li-mo//*
 then this.side-LOC a not see-3SG come-3SG house go-ASP-CUST.3SG
- aku.kinie kongi bulu te kepe, elka te kepe, melte si-ku/-lie*
 and.then pig back a also back.section a also something give-2/3-CON
- Link Base₂
- yando li-(li)-mele// aku-mele na telea pu-ru-mulu//,*
 to.here take-ASP-CUST.3PL that-like I log.sections go-DPST-1PL
- tata kinie telea pu-ru-mbulu// aku-ndu-nge*
 dad with log.sections go-DPST-1DL that-at-LOC
- mundupu.kele-po/-lie, ikindu telea ikindu-nge o-mbo/ mere pu-pu/*
 leave-1-CON this.side logs this.side-LOC come-1 downstream go-1
- molo-ru-ndu//kulu kel(e)-ko/ kongi bulu te lango-ko/ si-ku/-lie*
 be.AN-DPST-1SG-because leave-2/3 pig back a break.off-2/3 give-2/3-CON
- ni-ri-ngi//-muni nendo li-ri-ngi// aku ala.ye-mo-ne*
 PTR-DPST-3PL-PTR nearby take-DPST-3PL that priest-the-ACT
- "aku te-a// ni-ri-mu//.*
 that do-QI.2PL say-DPST-3SG

‘We went and then they laid out two sectioning-off-logs like this in that place, (Base₁) (if a) boy comes into this side (of the sectioned-off) area they hand over a pig back or a pig top-of-back, something (of that nature), then they withdraw him from this sectioned-off (area). So when a (boy), not seeing (it), comes into this area (and) goes (into the) house then, having given (over) a pig back or (pig) top-of-back, something (of that nature), they withdraw (him) (Link:) like that (Base₂:) - (when) we went (Dad and I and others) (when) I went with Dad (to the) sectioned-off (area) because, when leaving that place, I (inadvertently) passed into this, into this sectioned-off (area) (and) was in (there), they leaving (what they were doing) broke off a pig back (and) having given (it to the priest) they withdrew (me) that was what the priest told (them) to do.’

10. PARAGRAPHS

Paragraphs in Kaugel expound both Discourse and Paragraph level tagmemes. Each type of paragraph will be described, and some comments made on distribution. This will be followed by a bi-dimensional array to illustrate the paragraph type. Special rules or features of each paragraph will follow the array. Finally examples will be given. Preceding these descriptions two more general topics will be presented; how Kaugel paragraphs are held together, and features which signal a new paragraph, plus a brief comment on peripheral tagmemes.

10.1 Paragraph linkage

Kaugel paragraphs are held together by recapitulation between sentences, connectors, identical or similar sentence-final Predicates, lexical cohesion, tight or restricted structure, referents, Grammatical and Phonological Sentences being out of phase, sentence initial Predicates, same sentence type, and juxtaposition. Each of these is described below.

10.1.1 Recapitulation

Recapitulation is of various types. The final Predicate tagmeme of the previous sentence is optionally repeated exactly, example (9) Steps 1 and 2, repeated with a change from independent to dependent form, example (9) Goal and Step 1 - the most common - or, occasionally repeated with a tense change. The whole final clause of the previous sentence may be repeated, or sometimes just the verb of the Predicate, or, in the case of a transitive verb, the Object plus the Predicate, or, with a verb of motion, sometimes Location plus the Predicate.

A slightly different use of recapitulation is used to signal return to the main narrative after some type of background information has been inserted. In this case the Predicate or clause which is repeated is the last one before the parenthetical type information. Refer example (5) Build-Ups 2-4, where Build-Up 3 is background information, and example (8) Steps 6-8, where Step 7 is a previously omitted procedure.

It is very common in Kaugel to add a sequence marker following the sentence initial recapitulation. Sequence markers are *-lie* 'when', which occurs on dependent verbs, example (7), Steps 13 and 14 and *-kinie* 'when' and *aku-kinie* and *kanu-kinie* 'and then' on independent verbs, example (10).

Recapitulation occurs most commonly in the Expandable Paragraphs (10.4.2), i.e. the Procedural and Narrative Paragraphs. In Procedural Paragraphs almost every sentence begins with recapitulation of one type or another. One type of recapitulation exclusive to the Procedural Paragraph is to repeat the final verb of the previous sentence as the Head of a Durative Aspect Verb Phrase (7.2.4) by adding either the verb *o* 'to come' or *pu* 'to go' to indicate that this particular procedure continues for a time. In Narrative Paragraphs recapitulation almost always occurs between the first and second build-ups of the paragraph and at least one other time in each paragraph depending of the length of the paragraph.

10.1.2 Connectors

The conjunction *molo* 'or' occurring sentence initially holds the Alternate Paragraph (10.4.1.1) together. This conjunction also occurs sentence medially as a link in the Alternative Sentence (9.7.4), and is also used as a link in the Coordinate Noun Phrase (7.5.3). In translated material, native speakers often request the use of the connective *nalo* 'but' to join two parts of a paragraph

together into what would then be an Antithetical Paragraph (10.4.1.2). However, this type of paragraph has not as yet been discovered in natural text.

Sequence markers - also called connectives (4.4.9.2) - link sentence bases together when they occur sentence medially, as in the Sequence Sentence (9.7.5). When they occur sentence initially they signal embedded paragraphs, chronologically or locationally out of order information which is being inserted as background or parenthetical material, and/or paragraph level tagmemes as in examples 10 and 16. In Narrative Paragraphs (10.4.2.1) and Speech Paragraphs (10.4.3.2) for example, some speakers tend to use sentence initial sequence markers to introduce almost every build-up of the paragraph. In Narrative Paragraphs in particular the use of sentence initial sequence markers appears to almost exactly correspond to the use of sentence initial recapitulation (10.1.1), and one or the other type of linkage will tend to dominate throughout a complete discourse. The word *pe* 'then/so' is also used as a connector to introduce new tagmemes within a clause, refer example (36).

10.1.3 Identical predicates

In the Parallel Paragraph (10.4.4.1) the final Predicate of each nuclear tagmeme (i.e. other than Setting, Terminus or Climax) will be expounded by a usually identical and occasionally synonymous verb or Adjunct Verb Complex or Verb Phrase. Refer examples (19) to (23).

10.1.4 Lexical cohesion

Several paragraph types are either fully or partly held together by lexical factors. In some cases the same theme holds the whole paragraph together, as is the case with the three Embedded Juxtaposed Paragraphs (10.4.4), and to a lesser extent in Listing (10.4.5.1) and Narrative Paragraphs (10.4.2.1). Speech Response Paragraphs (10.4.3) are held together as speech and response to that speech.

10.1.5 Structural restrictions

Tight restrictions in the structure of the paragraph, or the fillers of certain slots within a paragraph, are features of the Stereotyped Paragraphs (10.4.5), and, to some extent, the Alternate (10.4.1.1) and Frustration (10.4.3.3) paragraphs. These restrictions will be spelled out under the descriptions of these paragraph types and illustrated by examples.

10.1.6 Referents

One sentence may be bound to the preceding sentence by the use of a referent, usually sentence initially, to refer back to some element in the previous sentence. The use of the demonstrative *aku* 'that' to refer back to a place or person, and *aku.sipe* 'like that' or the verb *te* 'to do' to refer back to an action, or a combination of these are the most common types of reference.

10.1.7 Grammar and phonology out of phase

Grammatical sentences in Kaugel obligatorily end with an independent verb¹. Phonological sentences usually match the grammatical sentences. However, particularly in Narrative Paragraphs (10.4.2.1), the phonological sentence is occasionally permitted to end with a dependent verb as a way of holding the sentences together in a paragraph, refer example (5), Build-Ups 10-14.

¹ The only exception to this is when focus or afterthought are added sentence finally, but this is not very common and is frowned upon in written material.

It is also possible for a unit shorter than a sentence, viz. a sentence base, to expound paragraph level, or even at times discourse level, tagmemes. This is especially true of the tagmemes at the beginnings, and sometimes the end, of a paragraph or discourse. Refer examples (36) Climax, (11) and (13) Setting, and (9) Terminus.

10.1.8 Sentence initial predicate

Whenever the Predicate of a clause is the first item of a sentence, whether it is recapitulation from the previous sentence or not, this signals that the paragraph is continuing. Or, in other words, sentence initial Predicate never indicates a new paragraph.

10.1.9 Same sentence type

Particularly in the Hypothetical Paragraph (10.4.5.2), and to some extent in the Exhortation (10.4.5.3), Listing (10.4.5.1), Parallel (10.4.4.1) and Contrast (10.4.4.2) paragraphs, each nuclear tagmeme tends to be expounded by the same sentence type.

10.1.10 Juxtaposition

When no other feature can be observed as holding sentences together in paragraphs, but, on the other hand, there are no features indicating a new paragraph, juxtaposed sentences are considered to be part of the same paragraph. Lexical Cohesion (10.1.4) and Sentence Initial Predicate (10.1.8) often co-occur with juxtaposition.

10.2 New paragraphs

Various grammatical and lexical features occurring sentence initially have been observed marking new paragraphs in Kaugel discourse.

10.2.1 Grammatical features

A common grammatical feature indicating a new paragraph is the occurrence of Time or Location tagmemes. This is particularly likely to introduce a new paragraph when a change of time or location is indicated.

Sequence markers, *Kanu-kinie*, *Aku-kinie* ‘And then’, used in conjunction with one of the other grammatical or lexical features, may also signal a new paragraph. The most common combination is *Kanu-kinie, pe*, in which *pe* means ‘later’ and is uttered with rising, almost expectant intonation.

10.2.2 Lexical features

New paragraphs may also be signalled by the introduction of a new topic. This feature is particularly relevant in Epistolary Discourse (11.7).

Particularly in Expository Discourse (11.2), reiteration of the topic of the discourse may be used to signal a new paragraph.

Any one or two of these grammatical or lexical features may occur sentence initially at the beginning of a paragraph. However, with the probable exception of ‘introduction of a new topic’, any one of these features alone does not necessarily indicate a new paragraph.

Because of what has been observed in a related language, Wahgi, (Phillips 1970) concerning a combination of lexical, grammatical, and phonological features combining to mark paragraph

breaks, it is very likely that phonological features are also relevant to determining paragraph borders in Kaugel. However, except for the use of *pe* 'later' with rising intonation as described under (10.2.1), salient phonological features of Kaugel discourse have not yet been determined at this stage of the analysis so the determining of paragraph borders may not always be accurate.

In one text, an Expository Discourse, each paragraph was formally closed off in much the same way as Expository Discourse is closed off, which made it very easy to determine paragraph breaks in this particular text. According to Phillips (1970) this type of paragraph closure is very common in Wahgi discourses but this has not been found to be so in Kaugel discourses.

Where one of the features which are used to hold paragraphs together (as described under 10.1), co-occurs with one of the features which have been observed as marking new paragraphs, this combination of features is never considered to be marking a new paragraph. Such combinations are more likely to be marking a paragraph level tagmeme, or return to the main thread of the discourse following some embedded material.

10.3 Peripheral tagmemes

A Setting optionally precedes and a Terminus optionally follows the nucleus of any paragraph. However, these tagmemes are only rarely expounded by full sentences; it is much more common for one or several sentence bases to expound Setting or Terminus. Refer examples (9) and (11) to (14).

10.4 Paragraph types

There are twelve different types of paragraph so far discovered in Kaugel discourses². These are grouped together on the basis of similar features. NARRATIVE and PROCEDURE paragraphs exhibit the features of expandability and recapitulation (10.1.1). EXECUTION, SPEECH, and FRUSTRATION paragraphs are held together as speech and response to that speech. PARALLEL, CONTRAST, and EXPOSITION paragraphs are commonly embedded in larger paragraphs and their tagmemes are typically juxtaposed. The feature common to the LISTING, HYPOTHETICAL, and EXHORTATION paragraphs is their stereotyped structure. The tagmemes of the ALTERNATE and ANTITHETICAL paragraphs are joined by overt links.

On the following page these paragraph types are presented in chart form for ease of reference. Then each paragraph is presented, described and examples given.

² plus one more type which has been introduced by native speakers in written material.

Table 10.1 Paragraph Types

Overt-Link	Alternate + Statement + <i>molo</i> 'or' + Alternative	Antithetical + Statement + <i>nalo</i> 'but' + Adversative	
Expandability & Recapitulation	Narrative + Build-up 11-15 + Build-up _n	Procedure + Goal + Step 6-14	
Speech & Response	Execution + Proposal + Response	Speech + Initiating Speech ± Continuing Speech 1-4 + Resolving Speech	Frustration + Proposal + Frustration
Embedded- Juxtaposed	Parallel + Theme + Parallel 1 ± Parallel 2	Contrast + Theme + Contrast	Exposition + Theme + Exposition 1-3
Stereotyped	Listing + Cycle 3-5 ± Climax	Hypothetical + Hypothesis 1-5	Exhortation + Command 1-5 ± Explanation

10.4.1 Overt-link paragraphs

There are, potentially, two Overt-Link Paragraphs: these are the Alternate and Antithetical Paragraphs. The link for the Alternate Paragraph is *Molo* 'or', and for the Antithetical Paragraph *Nalo* 'but'; the links occurring sentence initially, linking the two parts of the paragraph.

10.4.1.1 Alternate paragraph

The Alternate Paragraph consists of an obligatory Statement and an obligatory Alternative linked by *Molo* 'Or' occurring sentence initially. The Alternate Paragraph has specific restrictions as to the fillers of the slots which thereby distinguishes it from the Alternative Sentence (9.7.4). This also explains why there is often unfavourable native speaker reaction to attempts to use this paragraph type in translated materials when the translator has failed to observe the restrictions.

Alternate Paragraphs have been observed embedded in Listing Paragraph (10.4.5.1), and Narrative Paragraph (10.4.2.1), and as the Closure of a Narrative Discourse (11.5). Any types of alternation other than exhibited in this paragraph are handled on phrase and sentence levels. Refer Alternative Sentence (9.7.4) and Coordinate Noun Phrase (7.5.3)

Table 10.2 The alternate paragraph

+STATEMENT	±LINK	+ALTERNATIVE
Factual Conditional Sentence Parallel Paragraph	<i>Molo</i> ‘Or’	Factual Conditional Sentence Contrast Paragraph
Future tense <i>liemo</i> ‘if’		Future tense <i>liemo</i> ‘if’

Rules and Special Features:

1. Always future tense, and usually Factual Conditional Sentences (9.7.1.2), occur in the Statement and Alternative slots.
2. Link is optional.

Example (1) expounds the Closure of a Personal Narrative Discourse (11.5). Both sentences in this example are Factual Conditional Sentences (9.7.1.2).

Example (1)

Statement: Factual Conditional Sentence

Alto-pa/ nondo-pa/ te-nga para.le-pa/ te-mu// liemo aku alto-pa/
again-3SG soon-3SG one-at recur-3SG do-PST.3SG if that again-3SG

Link Alternative: Factual Conditional Sentence

anji-mbe//. Molo wale-pokore mol-a-mbo// pe para.lie-mu//
stand.up-FUT.3SG or day-few be.AN-IMP.HORT-1SG later recur-PST.3SG
liemo aku alto-pa/ pe para.le-mba// aku-kinie anji-nge//.
if that again-3SG later recur-FUT.3SG and.then stand-up-FUT.3PL

‘If (my back problem) recurs again soon, they will perform that curing ceremony again. Or, if I am all right for a while then it recurs again later, when it recurs they will perform the curing ceremony (again).’

Example (2) expounds the Exposition of an Exposition Paragraph (10.4.4.3). The Statement is expounded by a Parallel Paragraph (10.4.4.1) in which all the sentences are in future tense. The Alternative is expounded by a Contrast Paragraph (10.4.4.2) which, in turn, has a Parallel Paragraph (10.4.4.1) expounding the Contrast tagmeme. All of the sentences in this Contrast Paragraph are in future tense, and two of them are Factual Conditional Sentences (9.7.1.2).

Example (2)

Statement: Parallel paragraph

Wanie-alipu pako-po/ aku te-po/-lie kondo-po/ molo-mbo// nu kano-ni//.
red.spirit.hat put.on-1 that do-1-SEQ well-1 be.AN-FUT.1SG you.SG see-FUT.2S

Ropeto nu kano-ni//. Pea molo-po/-lie te-molo// kano-ni//.
Robert you.SG see-FUT.2S with be.AN-1-SEQ do-FUT.1PL see-FUT.2S

Link Alternative: Contrast paragraph

Molo nu ponie ou pu-nu// liemo i pe naa kano-ni//.
or you.SG year before go-PST.2S if this later not see-FUT.2S

molo-nu// *liemo* *ou* *naa pu-ku/ molo-nu//* *liemo* *pea* *molo-po/-lie*
 be.AN-PST.2S if before not go-2 be.AN-PST.2S if with be.AN-1-SEQ
te-molo// -mo *nu* *pea* *kano-ni//.* *te-mbo//* *ulu-mu* *nu* *kano-ni//.*
 do-FUT.1PL-the you.SG also see-FUT.2S do-FUT.1S doing-the you.SG see-FUT.2S
 ‘You will see me put on a red spirit hat and doing that stay well (be blessed). Robert you
 will see. You being with us when we do it you will see it. Or, if you go before the time
 comes then later you will not see this thing. If you stay, if you don't go before then but stay,
 being with us you also will see the thing which we will do. You will see the thing which I
 will do.’

Example (3) expounds the Command tagmeme of an Exhortation Paragraph. This example has no overt link but there are actually two places in the paragraph where the *molo* ‘or’ could semantically occur. The Statement tagmeme is expounded by a Parallel Paragraph in which both sentences are Factual Conditional.

Example (3)

Statement: Parallel Paragraph

Pita, *nu* *penge poro-nu//* *liemo* *na* *kou* *pape* *paon* *si//.*
 Peter you.SG head shave-PST.2S if me money five pounds give.IMP.2S
pe *alto-po/* *walse* *kano-mbo//* *sike* *poro-nu* *liemo* *na* *kou*
 later again-1 one.day see-FUT.1SG truly shave-PST.2S if me money
pape *paon* *si-ni//.*
 five pound give-FUT.2S

At this point the link *molo* ‘or’ seems to be understood but is not expressed. Note that in the two Factual Conditional Sentences which expound the Alternative the positions of the ‘shaving’ and the ‘giving’ are reversed.

Alternative₁: Contrast Paragraph

Si-ni// *liemo* *poro-i//.* *Naa* *si-ni//* *liemo* *naa* *poro-i//.*
 give-FUT.2S if shave-IMP.2S not give-FUT.2S if not shave-IMP.2S

At this point the options reverse again so once more the link *molo* ‘or’ could be postulated but is not present.

Alternative₂: Factual Conditional Sentence

komu.sindi-ku/ *poro-nu//* *liemo* *na* *pape* *paon* *si-ni//.*
 forget-DEP.2S shave-PST.2S if me five pounds give-FUT.2S

‘Peter, if you cut your hair you must give me five pounds (\$10). If I see one day again later that you have really cut your hair you will give me \$10. (Or), If you will give (it to me) cut (your hair). If you will not give (it to me) you must not cut (your hair). (Or) If you forget (my instruction) and cut your hair you will give me \$10.’

10.4.1.2 Antithetical paragraph

As explained in the introduction to the Real Antithetical Sentence (9.7.2.1), the connective *nalo* occurs only rarely in the oral texts which we have collected, but is preferred by literate speakers in written material, especially non-familiar-subject or translated material. So, although we have no examples of naturally occurring Antithetical Paragraphs, we consider this a valid paragraph type so far as the written form of Kaugel is concerned.

Table 10.3 The Antithetical paragraph

+STATEMENT	+LINK	+ADVERSATIVE
Parallel Paragraph	<i>nalo</i> ‘but’	

Rules and special features:

1. Link, *nalo* ‘but’ is obligatory.

Notes:

1. In the only example we have, taken from the translated New Testament, there are actually two occurrences of both the Statement and the Link before the Adversative.
2. Also in this example, the second Link is expounded by an extra comment plus the word *nalo* ‘but’. The comment is *Aku sikela* ‘That is also true.’

Example (4)

Statement₁: Parallel Paragraph

Unjo ollipi peanga ponie-na angi-li-mo//-mo-nga kola mare
 Tree olive good garden-in it.stands-the-of branches some

Pulu.Ye-mo-ne lango-pa/ lte-pa/-lie, eno yembo lupe-ma
 God-ACT he.lopping.off he.discards-then you people the.other.PL

lama-na unjo ollipi keru angi-li-mo//-mo-nga kola-ma mele
 bush-in tree olive bad it.stands-the-of branches-ART like

molo-ri-ngi//-mu-nge kola mare lango-pa/ unjo ollipi peanga-mo-nga
 they.were-the-of branch some he.lopping.off tree olive good-the-in.with

li-pe/ waka-maka suku panje-ri-mu//-munge eno-ne
 he.taking mixed.together into he.put.in-because youPL-ACT

‘Unjo peanga-mo-nga kola manie-ndo-pa, olio olando-pa mo-le-molo//.’
 tree good-the-of branches further.down we further.up we.are

ni-ngu/ konopu-ni naa pili-e-ngi// Kola peanga-ma kinie
 say mind-INST not hear branches the.good and

unjo peanga-mo-nga langi no-ru-mu// langi-me eno-kinie pea
 tree good-the-of food he.ate the.foods youPL-with as.well

no-le-mele//-monga eno-ne ‘Unjo peanga-mo-nga kola manie-ndo-pa,
 you.eat-because youPL-ACT tree good-the-of branches further.down

olio ola-ndo-pa mo-le-molo//.’ ni-ngu/ konopu-mu-ni naa pili-e-ngi//
 we further.up we.are say mind-the-INST not hear

Aku.si-ku/ konopu lie-ri-ngi// liemo i-si-ku pili-e-ngi//
 like.that mind you.put if like.this listen/be.aware

‘Eno unjo kola-ma-ne unjo-mo-nga pulkinio-ma langi naa si-li-mele.
 youPL tree branches-ART-ACT tree-the-of roots food not they.give

Unjo-mo-nga pulkinio-ma-ne eno kola-ma langi si-li-mo//.’ konopu le-a-yo.
 tree-the-of roots-PL-ACT they branches-ART food it.gives mind put

Link Statement₂: Quote Sentence

Nalo pe eno Isirele yembo naa mo-le-mele//-ma-ne ni-nge//-ndo:
 but then youPL Israel people not you.are-the-ACT you.will.say

"*Pulu.Ye-mo-ne* 'Olio kola keri-me li-pu/ unjo peanga panje-mbo//.'
 God-the-ACT us branch bad-PL I.taking tree good let.me.put.in

ni-mbe/ unjo peanga-mo-nga kola mare lango-pa/ lte-ri-mu//. "
 he.saying tree good-the-of branch some he.lopping.off he.discarded.

Link₂

ni-nge//. *Aku sike-la. Nalo*
 youPL.will.say. that true-also but

Adversative:

unjo peanga-mo-nga kola lango-pa/ lte-ri-mu//
 tree good-the-of branch he.lopping.off he.discarded

aku-me-ne Pulu.Ye-mo-ne 'Eno noko-pili//.' ni-mbe/
 those-thePL-ACT God-the-ACT youPL let.him.look.after he.saying

li-pe.mundo-ru-mu// ye nomi Kirasi-mu 'Yu sike o-ru-mu//.'
 he.sent-the man neck Christ-the he truly he.came

ni-ngu/ tondolo mundu-ku/ naa pilie-ri-ngi//munge
 youPL.say strong youPL.send not you.hear-because

Pulu.Ye-mo yu-ni eno lango-pa/ lte-ri-mu//;
 God-the he-ACT them he.lopping.off he.discarded

eno unjo keri-mu-nge kola-ma eno-ne 'Yu sike o-ru-mu//.' ni-ngu/
 youPL tree bad-the-of branches youPL-ACT he truly he.came youPL.say

tondolo mundu-ku/ pi-li-mele//monga aku.si-ku/ angi-l-ku/ kondo-le-mele.
 strong youPL.send youPL.hear-because like.that youPL.standing youPL.well

Aku sike nalo 'Olio peanga.' ni-ngu/ eno-nga imbi
 that true but we good you-PL.saying your name

li-ku/ ola naa mundu-ku/ kara.pu-ku/ naa mol-a-ngi//.
 you.taking up not youPL.sending arrogant not youPL.be

Pipili.kol-ko.kongi-nji-ku/ mol-a-yo//. Pulu.Ye-mo-ne
 youPL.fearing.thoroughly youPL.stay God-the-ACT

unjo peanga-mo-nga kola-ma kondo.naa.kolo-pa/
 tree good-the-of the.branches he.not.having.compassion.on

we angili-e-pili// siye.naa.kolo-pa/
 just let.him.stand he.not.leaving

lango-pa/ lte-ri-mu//munge eno kepe aku.si-pe/ we angili-e-pili
 he.lopping.off he.discarded-because youPL as.well like.that just let.it.stand

siye.naa.kolo-mba// kene kara.pu-ku/ naa mol-a-yo//.
 he.will.not leave so.arrogant not youPL.be

'Don't reckon that because God lopped off and discarded some of the branches of the good olive tree that stands/grows in the garden, and took some of you other people who were like branches of the bad olive tree that stands/grows in the bush and put you into the good

olive tree together with (them) that you are more important than the branches of the good tree. Don't consider that because you are now eating, along with them, the food that the good branches eat that you are more important than they are. If you think like that then realise this, the branches do not give food to the roots of the tree. The roots of the tree give food to you branches.

But

then you who are not Israel people will say, "God lopped off and discarded some of the branches of the good tree in order to put some of us bad branches into the tree".

That's true but,

it was because those branches of the good tree did not believe that God sent the chief man Christ (and that) he truly came to be in charge of them, that God lopped them off and discarded them; you branches of the bad tree stand well, as you do, because you do believe that he came. That's true but don't be arrogantly thinking how good you are and lift up your own name. Stay thoroughly fearful. Because God did not have compassion on the branches of the good tree and let them just be, (but) lopped them off and discarded them, he will, like that, also not just leave you be, so don't be arrogant.'

10.4.2 Expandable paragraphs

The Expandable Paragraphs, the tagmemes of which are almost always linked by recapitulation (10.1.1), are the Narrative and Procedure Paragraphs. Although each has only one main tagmeme they are both capable of almost unlimited expansion. Chronological ordering plays an important part in both types, and each has a device for handling information which is not presented chronologically. Because they are very time oriented paragraphs, the sentence types which occur most commonly in the Expandable Paragraphs are the Sequence (9.7.5) and Dependent (9.3.1) Sentences.

Related to this is the heavy use of the sequence markers in these two paragraph types: in the Narrative Paragraph the sequence connectives (10.1.2) *kanu-kinie* and *aku-kinie* 'and then' occur sentence initially and are typically used to introduce new tagmemes, particularly embedded paragraphs or background information. In the Procedural Paragraph each new step in the Procedure is typically signified by the *-lie* sequence marker which occurs on dependent verbs, sentence medially, following recapitulation of the previous step.

10.4.2.1 Narrative paragraph

The Narrative Paragraph consists of a series of Build-Ups, as many as 16 being observed in one paragraph. These Build-Ups may be expounded by either sentences or paragraphs. Many types of paragraph embed into the Narrative Paragraph including the Parallel, Contrast, Execution, Speech, Alternative, and possibly Listing paragraphs. Narrative Paragraphs do not embed in other types of paragraphs. Narrative paragraphs occur in all types of discourse other than Procedural and Hortatory.

The Narrative Paragraph has many similarities to the Procedural Paragraph but also the following differences:

1. The sentences of the Procedure Paragraph are typically shorter than those of the Narrative Paragraph.
2. The way new tagmemes are introduced in the two types of paragraph is similar but different as already explained under 10.4.2.
3. The method of inserting background or collateral information differs for each type as will be explained for each type.
4. Their distribution is different. Narrative Paragraphs never occur in Procedural Discourse, whereas the Procedure Paragraph occurs hardly anywhere else but in Procedural Discourse.

Recapitulation of the various kinds described at the start of this chapter (10.1.1) commonly link the tagmemes of the Narrative Paragraph. Recapitulation is almost obligatory between the first and second Build-Ups of the paragraph and obligatorily occurs at least one other time depending on the length of the paragraph. Lexical cohesion (10.1.4), sentence initial predicates (10.1.8), juxtaposition (10.1.10) and the use of sentence initial referents (10.1.6) also serve to hold the Build-Ups of Narrative Paragraphs together.

Sentence initial sequence connectives (10.1.2) are commonly used to mark new Build-Ups within the paragraph, particularly when a build-up is expounded by an embedded paragraph. Change of time, change of location, new topic or a combination of these, often used along with a sentence initial sequence connective, commonly mark new Narrative Paragraphs within a discourse.

Narrative Paragraphs are usually related in chronological order. Occasionally the narrator inserts an event which is out of chronological order - either a flash forward or a flash back in time - or inserts an event which took place at another location but overlapping in time with an event just related. After the insertion, to indicate that this has been collateral or background information, the speaker recapitulates the event which preceded the insertion. Along with this recapitulation, both the inserted material and the return to the main story are optionally signalled by the use of a sequence marker sentence initially.

Table 10.4 Narrative Paragraph

+BUILD-UP ₁	BUILD-UP _n
Simple Sentence	same as for build-up ₁ with possible addition of Listing Paragraph
Dependent Sentence	
Coordinate Sentence	
Paraphrase Sentence	
Sequence Sentence	
Parallel Paragraph	
Alternative Paragraph	
Contrast Paragraph	
Execution Paragraph	
Speech Paragraph	
Quote Sentence	
Cause-Result Sentence	
Antithetical Sentence	
Purpose Sentence	
Decision Sentence	
Exposition Paragraph	

Note: It is very likely that every type of Kaugel Sentence can occur in the Narrative Paragraph. The array reflects what has been observed thus far.

Note: In order to somehow reflect the Build-Up breaks in the free English in example (5), I will begin the translation of each Build-Up on a new line.

Example (5)

Build-up 1: Execution Paragraph (10.4.3.1) in which the proposal is filled by a Speech Paragraph

Initiating Speech

Pe Yako mele-mo yu "Mandi kongi-ri to-ko-mele// p-a-mbo!"
then Y. like.the he M. a.pig they.are.killing let.me.go
ni-ri-mu//
he.said

Continuing Speech

Kemboro-ndo po ponie te li-pe.ora.si-pe/ "po mako-ko.molou!"
to.K. sugar garden one he.showing sugar you.stay.tying.up
ni-ri-mu//.
he.said

Resolving Speech

"Po te elke.to-mba// wakaye le-ndei!!" ni-mbe/ wakaye li-pe/
sugar one it.will.break resin put-for he.saying resin he.taking
si-pe/ pu-ru-mu//.
he.giving he.went

Execution

Kemboro mele kanumu po mako-pa/ molorumu//.
K. like that sugar tying.up he.stayed

Build-up 2: Simple Sentence

po telu-ri tali te ou elke.to-ru-mu//.
sugar one-a immature one before it.broke

Build-up 3: Decision Sentence with a Statement Evaluation Sentence expounding its second base

"kanumu wakaye le-mbo/" ni-mbe/ te-li-pe/ purumu purumu purumu
that resin I.will.put he.saying do-SIM-3S/ he.went he.went he.went
purumu purumu// kapola naa te-ri-mu//.
he.went he.went okay not it.did

Build-up 4: Dependent Sentence

pe li-pe/ kanumu yu no-ru-mu//.
then he.taking that he he.ate

Build-up n: Decision Sentence

nomba/-lie "po elke-ma kano-mba/" lipe/ le muru-na
having.eaten-SEQ sugar the.pieces he.will.see" he.taking excreta hole-in
manie mundo-ru-mu//.
down he.threw

‘Then the man like Yako said "I am going to Mendi where they are killing a pig." Showing Kemboro a sugar cane garden he said to him "You stay here staking and tying up sugar cane!" Then he said "If a piece of sugar cane breaks put resin on it!" and gave him some resin and went. That man like Kemboro stayed there staking and tying up sugar cane.

Before he was finished an immature piece of sugar cane broke.

Deciding to put resin on it he went on and on and on and on and on trying to mend it but it didn't work.

Then he took it and ate it.

Having eaten it he threw the sugar cane rubbish down the toilet hole so that he (his brother) would not see it.’

Example (6) has several interesting features: lots of recapitulation, including recapitulation across embedded material; grammatical and phonological sentences out of phase so that phonological sentences are ending with dependent verbs; and, related to this, phonological sentences beginning with Time and Location tagmemes which often signal new paragraphs but do not seem to be doing so in this case because they occur immediately following the phonological-sentence-final dependent verbs. This paragraph actually constitutes a complete Personal Narrative Discourse (11.5).

There were two possible ways of setting up the Build-Ups of this particular paragraph. One was to hold rigidly to the grammatical sentence and only postulate new Build-Ups at these points. The alternative, which was chosen for this description, was to assume that markers such as new Time and Location, and change of topic, which usually mark new paragraphs were, in this case, marking new tagmemes within the paragraph. It is felt that they cannot be postulated as marking new paragraphs because grammatically they are occurring sentence medially. Refer to Build-Ups 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 of this example.

Example (6)

Setting: Intransitive Active Clause

ye terende kinie ya Yano Dopa darapa kongono te-ke-mo//
 man Wednesday on here Y. D. driver work he.is.doing
ye-mo o-mba/
 man.the he.coming

Build-up 1: Execution paragraph: Proposal

na-ndo "Pambili!" "Manie-ndo pambili!" ni-ri-mu//.
 me.to let.us.two.go down.to let.us.two.go he.said

Response: Decision Sentence

na ambo "mele mare te-pa! kou-mone mare nosipe/ ulu mare
 me woman things some do-go money some she.putting doings some
te-pa!" ni-ki-mu// ni-mbu/ kano-mbo// ni-mbu/ kanjoli-mu kinie
 do-go she.is.saying I.saying I.will.see I.saying the.councillor and
Masie kinie pu-ru-mulu//
 Masie and we.went

Build-up 2: Dependent Sentence

Pu-pu/ na mere Tokopa pu-pu/ pe-ri-ndu//.
 we.going I downstream Togoba I.going I.stayed/slept

Build-up 3: Decision Sentence (This is treated as background information by the speaker because it is what other members of the party did, not himself)

ye-ma we-lto pu-ku/ "no pame.te-po/ no-molo//
 the.men off they.going water(beer) we.buying we.will.drink
pu-ku-mulu/" ni-ngu/ pu-ri-ngi//.
 we.are.going they.saying they.went

Build-up 4: Parallel Paragraph (Recapitulation from build-up 2 indicates that build-up 3 is background material)

na pu-pu/ Tokopa pu-pu/ pe-po/ wele orili-ou we-lto Karu kinie
 I I.going Togoba I.going I.sleeping next morning off Karu and
taraka-na pu-ru-mbulu//. Pu-pu/ wele Akena pu-ru-mbulu//.
 tractor.in we.two.went. we.two.going off Hagen we.two.went.

(For next three sentences speaker tells of activities of other members of the party before recapitulating back into the main flow of his own activities)

Build-up 5: Statement-Evaluation Sentence

ye-ma we-ndo te-nga naa o-ri-ngi// molo.
the.men out.of a.LOC not they.came no

Build-up 6: (continuing background material) Dependent Sentence

pu-ku/ no no-ngo/ kanjoli-mu keme Masie keme
they.going water(beer) they.drinking the.councillor and Masie and
meku.to-ko/ wele aku manga anjo pu-ku/ pe-ri-ngi//.
they.vomiting off that area away they.going they.slept

Build-up 7: (concluding background material) Coordinate Sentence

no no-ngo/ kekelepe.to-ko/ anjo pe-ri-ngi// liemu
water(beer) they.drinking they.being.crazy away they.slept apparently
naa o-ri-ngi//.
not they.came

Build-up 8: (begins with recapitulation from build-up 4): Sequence Sentence with Dependent Sentence in first base

pu-pu/ koro-polo/ mere kongono te-le-mele// akena
we.two.going we.two.searching downstream work they.do Hagen
ollia ni-li-mele// aku-ne. te-le-mele// kolea-na aku-ne kako
Hauliers they.say that-LOC they.do place.in that-LOC cargo
li-mele// kolea aku-ne pu-pu/ kano-ru-mbulu// kinie
they.will.get place that-in we.going we.two.searched when
bosukuru aku-mu o-mba/ molo-ru-mu//.
boss that.the he.coming he.stayed

Build-up 9: Speech Paragraph: Initiating Speech: Dependent Sentence

molo-pa/ olto-ndo "Elo nambe-na o-ngili/" ni-ri-mu//.
he.being us.2.to you.2 why you.2.came he.said

Continuing Speech: Quote Sentence (Quote is a Cause-Result Sentence)

"tena, ye kanjoli kepe Masie keme o-mu// kanumu naa we-ndo
where, man councillor and Masie and he.came that not out.of
o-ko-mele// na koro-li-pu/ o-ko-mbolo/" ni-ri-mbulu//.
they.are.coming because we.searching we.two.are.coming we.two.said

Resolving Speech: Quote Sentence in which there are several sentences spoken by same speaker

"aku-ne no no-ngo/ wele manga uru.pe-ko/ mo-le-mele//
that-LOC beer they.drinking off area they.sleeping they.are
meku.to-mu//. kanjoli-mu uru.pe-ko/ mo-le-mele// naa o-ngi//.
he.vomited the.councillor they.sleeping they.are not they.came
kinié kongono-na naa o-nge/" i ni-ri-mu//.
today work.to not they.will.come this he.said

Build-up 10: Dependent Sentence in which actually the last line of Build-Up 9 is embedded, however this seems the neatest way to handle it, because, for the next five build-ups, grammatical and phonological sentences are out of phase. For example this Dependent Sentence ends with a dependent verb which is then followed sentence initially by a Time and a Location slot which latter together would normally constitute a new paragraph. However, because of the sentence final dependent verb this has been postulated as hanging the sentences together in the same paragraph.

(i ni-ri-mu//) pili-pu/ ya-ndo o-mbo/ na Ropete-nga pas si-ri-mu//
 this he.said we.hearing back I.coming I Robert's letter he.gave
me-mbo/ pu-pu/ wele posopise-na postim.te-po/
 I.carrying I.going across at.post.office I.posting

Build-up 11: Paraphrase Sentence which ends with dependent verb

pe ya-ndo o-mbo/ Tokopa pe-po/ kapa baeme.te-po/ me-mbo/
 then back I.coming Togoba I.sleeping iron I.buying I.carrying
pirimu kepe mele-ma paeme.te-po/ me-mbo/ Tokopa pe-po/
 nails and the.things I.buying I.carrying Togoba I.sleeping

Build-up 12: Paraphrase Sentence ending with dependent verb

orili-ou ponde kinie wi-njo o-mbo/ wi Tomba o-mbo/
 in.morning Thursday on upstream I.coming upstream Tomba I.coming
molo-po/
 I.staying

Build-up 13: Paraphrase Sentence ending with dependent verb

kamu.sumbi.si-pu/ ya-ndo-pa o-mbo/ mele-ma akune nosi-pu/ kapa
 I.straight.on further.back I.coming the.things there I.putting iron
kinie pirimu kinie na kamu.sumbi.sipu/ ya-ndo-pa o-mbo/
 and nails and I I.straight.on further.back I.coming
ya o-mbo/ pe-po/
 here I.coming I.sleeping

Build-up 14: Dependent Sentence beginning with a new time slot which could possibly be indicating new paragraph if it were not for the dependent verb closing off the previous sentence (embedded Paraphrase Sentence)

Sarere alto-po/ manie-ndo pu-pu/ mere manie pu-pu/ mele-ma
 Saturday I.again to.down I.going downstream down I.going the.things
li-pu/ mimi.te-po/ nosi-pu/ pu-pu/ pe-po/
 I.getting I.straightening I.putting I.going I.sleeping

Build-up 15: Parallel Paragraph

oleanga sande kinie ola-ndo o-ndu//. o-mbo/ ya o-ndu//.
 yesterday Sunday on up-to I.came I.coming here I.came

Build-up 16: Dependent Sentence with an embedded Quote Sentence

ya o-mbo/-lie Kulli-ndo "nanga mele-ma mere aulke pulu-ne
 here I.coming-SEQ to.Kuli my the.things downstream road side.on
nosi-pu/ kele-po/ o-ndu//. wa.li-nge// nambe.e-a-mbo-ye" ni-ndu//
 I.putting I.leaving I.came they.will.steal what.will.I.do I.said

Build-up n: Purpose Sentence

kinié li-mbe// me-ndo pu-ku-mu//
 today he.will.get downstream he.is.going

‘On Wednesday, a man here, Dopa of Yano clan, the driver-man came and said to me "Let's go down (to Hagen)".

Knowing my wife wanted me to go and buy some things and that she had put money aside for them I decided to go and see and the councillor and Masie and I went (with Dopa).

We went along and I went and slept down there at Togoba. (leprosarium near Hagen where his brother-in-law, Karu, worked as a tractor driver)

The (other) men went off to buy beer.

I went and slept at Togoba then next morning Karu and I set off in the tractor. We went off to Hagen.

The (other) men didn't turn up.

Having gone and drunk beer, the councillor and Masie had vomited and had gone over there and slept.

Apparently they had drunk beer, got drunk, and slept over there (so) they did not come (to meet us).

Going searching for them we went over to the place where they work, to that place called Hagen Hauliers, we went there and looked at that place where they collect cargo then the boss turned up for work.

Being there he said to us "What have you two come for?" We said "Where! (idiomatic denial of any implied accusation). The councillor and Masie and that one they came with haven't turned up so we are coming searching for them." (we said) "Having drunk beer there they are over there sleeping. He vomited. They, including the councillor are sleeping so they have not come. They will not come to work today," he said.

Hearing what he said I came back and carrying the letter Robert had given me I went over to the post office and posting it

then coming back this way I slept at Togoba. Having bought some iron and nails and things and carrying them, going and sleeping at Togoba....

Thursday morning I coming upstream (toward home), I coming stayed at Tomba....

coming straight on further this way, leaving the things there, the iron and the nails, coming straight on further back this way, coming and sleeping

(on) Saturday I went down again I went down and got the things, I straightened them up and put them and slept there

then yesterday, on Sunday, I came up (back to the village). Coming I came here.

When I came here I said to Kulli "I have left my things down there beside the road. What will I do if someone steals them?"

Today he is going down there to get them.’

Example (7) is a shorter example of a Narrative Paragraph.

Example (7)

Build-up 1: Simple Sentence beginning with new Time tagmeme to mark paragraph beginning

orili-ou-ku-ndu ipulueli-ou kokea kalo-ru-ndu//
 in.the.next.morning morning rafters I.fastened

Build-up 2: Dependent Sentence with Quote Sentence in last base

kalo-po/ kango kelo aku-selo-ndo "pele t-a-le" ni-ri-ndu//.
 I.fastening boys little those.DL.to battens cut! I.said

Build-up 3: Dependent Sentence

na o-mbo/ pele to-po-ru-ndu//.
 I I.coming battens I.went.and.cut

Build-up 4: Dependent Sentence

to-po/ pele lie-ri-mulu//.
I.cutting battens we.put.in.place

Build-up n: Dependent Sentence

pele le-po pora si-pu/ pe-po lie-ri-mulu//.
battens we.finishing.putting we.fell.sound.asleep

‘In the morning I fastened on the rafters.
Having fastened them I said to those two little boys "Cut battens!"
I went off and cut battens.
I having cut battens we put them in place.
Having finished putting the battens in place we fell sound asleep.’

10.4.2.2 Procedure paragraph

The Procedure Paragraph consists of only one obligatory element, the Step tagmeme, which must occur at least 6 times and has been observed as many as 14 times.

Procedure Paragraph is the only obligatory element of the Procedural Discourse (11.1). Procedure Paragraphs may also occur in Expository Discourse (11.2). Procedure Paragraphs are almost always in customary aspect throughout, though one example of a Procedure Paragraph in an Expository Discourse was all in distant past tense. Procedure Paragraphs are almost always in first person plural, sometimes non-first plural. Subject person is typically indicated only by verb suffixes, only rarely is there an overt personal pronoun.

Sentences in the Procedure Paragraph are typically short with one or two new procedures introduced in each sentence following recapitulation of the previous procedure. Recapitulation begins almost every sentence. One type of recapitulation, unique to the Procedure Paragraph, is to recapitulate the final Predicate or clause of the previous sentence then add the verb *o* ‘to come’ or *pu* ‘to go’ thus turning it into a Durative Aspect Verb Phrase (7.2.4) which serves to indicate that this procedure is a process rather than a one time event.

The procedures of the Procedure Paragraph are usually presented in chronological order. If one procedure is omitted from its proper order it will then be presented in a sentence of its own, then that procedure will be recapitulated before reiterating the one which was initially presented out of order. Refer steps 1, 2 and 3 and 9, 10 and 11 of example (7). In one procedural text a speaker completely omitted an important procedure from the Procedure Paragraph. So to fit this procedure in she then began a new paragraph taking it up at the point where she had omitted the procedure then repeating all the following procedures before closing off the discourse.

Each new procedure in the Procedure Paragraph is typically introduced sentence medially following a grammatical signal such as a sequence marker³, a Time tagmeme, or both. The actual procedures, of which there may be as many as 30 in one paragraph, do not always coincide with the Step tagmeme. As many as 17 procedures have been observed included in a sentence expounding one Step. These longer Steps, including several procedures, tend to occur toward the end of a paragraph, refer example (10).

³ Sequence markers include the Sequence Sentence (9.7.5) links which follow independent verbs: *kinie* ‘then’, *kanu-kinie* ‘and then’, and *aku-kinie* ‘and then’, and the Dependent Sentence sequence connector *-lie* meaning ‘and’ or ‘then’, and *-lie* used in combination with the person,tense reminder marker which takes the form of the verb *ni* ‘to speak’ plus certain clitics.

Table 10.5 Procedure Paragraph

+STEP

Dependent Sentence
Sequence Sentence
Simple Sentence
Paraphrase Sentence
Parallel Paragraph

Rules and Special Features:

1. The most common filler of the Step tagmeme is the Dependent Sentence, in which the sequence marker *-lie* occurs very commonly, separating off the recapitulation of the previous procedure and the introduction of the next one.
2. Step can occur from 6 to 14 times.

Procedure Paragraph examples:

Example (8) is the second paragraph in a Procedural Discourse on house building. The new paragraph is marked by a Time tagmeme plus a new procedure being introduced in a separate sentence, rather than following the recapitulation of the previous procedure.

Example (8)**Step 1:** Simple Sentence

kinié kokea to-le-molo//.
now rafters we.hit/cut

Step 2: Dependent Sentence (with embedded Paraphrase Sentence)

kokea to-po/ pora.si-pu/ o-mbo/ nosi-pu/-lie o-mbo/
rafters we.cutting we.finishing we.coming we.putting-SEQ we.coming
ya ulke maku.to-po/ nosi-pu/-lie ma aku-li-molo//.
here house we.gathering we.putting-SEQ earth we.dig

Step 3: Simple Sentence (This procedure should have come before the last procedure of Step 2. So note that now this procedure will be presented alone, then Step 4 will recapitulate both this step and the following one which has already been presented out of order in Step 2)

Ola kamaye pulsike to-le-molo//.
up wild.sugar.cane type we.cut

Step 4: Dependent Sentence

kamaye pulsike to-po/ nosi-pu/-lie ma aku-li-molo//.
pitpit type we.cutting we.putting-SEQ earth we.dig (c.f.final base of Step 1)

Step 5: Dependent Sentence

ma aku-pu/ nosi-pu/-lie kolta.le-molo//.
earth we.digging we.putting-SEQ we.level.the.surface

Step 6: Dependent Sentence

Kolta.le-po/ mundu-pu/-lie pote mondo-le-molo//.
we.level.the.surface we.throw-SEQ posts we.plant

Step 7: Dependent Sentence

pote mondo-po-lie uwe li-molo//.
posts we.planting-SEQ ditch we.take/dig

Step 8: Dependent Sentence

uwe li-pu/ ola mundu-pu/-lie kokea ka-le-molo//.
ditch we.taking/digging up we.throwing-SEQ rafters we.fasten

Step 9: Dependent Sentence

kokea li-pu/ kalo-po/ panji-pu/-lie pele le-molo//.
rafters we.taking we.fastening we.putting.in.place-SEQ battens we.put

Step 10: Dependent Sentence

pele le-po/-lie tako-le-molo//
battens we.putting-SEQ we.roof

Step 11: Simple Sentence (This procedure should have come before the last procedure of Step 10. It is now handled exactly as in Steps 3 & 4)

angi to-le-molo//
kunai.grass we.cut

Step 12: Dependent Sentence

angi to-po/-lie tako-le-molo//
kunai.grass we.cutting-SEQ we.roof

Step 13: Dependent Sentence

tako-po/-lie pora.si-li-molo//.
we.roofing-SEQ we.finish

Step 14: Dependent Sentence

Pora.si-pu/-lie kengele to-le-molo//.
we.finishing-SEQ plaited.walling we.weave

Step 15: Dependent Sentence (Note that this final step contains more than one new procedure)

kengele to-po/-lie kalo-po/-lie
pitpit.walling we.weaving-SEQ we.cooking-SEQ

tepe.kelume te-po/ kalo-po/ pe-le-molo//.
fire.place we.making we.lighting we.live

'Now we cut rafters.

Having finished cutting the rafters we come and put them, we come and gathering them together put them in the house, then we dig the earth.

We cut the pitpit.

Having cut the pitpit and putting it aside we then dig the earth.

Having dug the earth and putting it aside we then level out the site.

Having leveled out the site and thrown (the dirt aside) we plant the posts.

Having planted the posts we dig a ditch/trench (right around the outside of the house so that water can't get in).

Having dug the ditch we throw up (the dirt) then we fasten on the rafters.

Having got the rafters, fastened them and put them in place we put on the battens.

Having put on the battens we roof (the house).

We cut kunai grass.

Having cut kunai grass we roof (the house).

Having roofed it we finish it off (cut the grass level around the bottom edge).

Having finished it off we weave the pitpit walling.
 Having woven the walling we fasten it on then making a fire place we light a fire and live (in the house).’

Example (9) is from a text on making sweet potato gardens.

Example (9)

Step 1: Paraphrase Sentence

ga era poro-le-molo//
 sweet.potato grass we.pull.out

ou pulu-pulu ga era poro-le-molo//.
 first sweet.potato grass we.pull.out

Step 2: Dependent Sentence

era poro-po/-lie mundu wende-le-molo//
 grass we.pulling.out-SEQ sweet.potato.mounds we.undo/open.up

Step 3: Dependent Sentence

mundu wende-po/-lie mundu te-le-molo//.
 sweet.potato.mounds we.opening-SEQ mounds we.make

Step 4: Dependent Sentence

te-po/-lie ga kanu-ne takarako mo-le-mo//.
 we.make-SEQ sweet.potato in.those grass.type it.grows

Step 5: Sequence Sentence (with a dependent Paraphrase Sentence in first base)

takarako molo-pa/-lie pe takarako mo-le-mo/ kinie
 grass.type it.growing-SEQ then grass.type it.is/grows when
alto-po/ takarako te-le-molo//.
 we.again grass.type we.do(clear-off/weed)

Step 6: Dependent Sentence

takarako te-po/-lie kulkulu era te-le-molo//.
 grass.type we.clearing-SEQ around.edge grass we.weed

Step 7: Dependent Sentence

kulkulu era te-po/-lie kele-po/ aku-li-molo//.
 around.edge grass we.clearing-SEQ we.leave we.dig

Step 8: Simple Sentence (inserting omitted procedure)

ma to-le-molo//.
 earth we.loosen

Step 9: Dependent Sentence

ma to-po/-lie kele-po/ aku-li-molo//.
 earth we.loosening-SEQ we.leave we.dig

Step 10: Dependent Sentence

peku-meku.to-po/ wende-le-molo//.
 we.randomly we.undo/open up(sweet potato mounds)

Step 11: Dependent Sentence: (Step 11 is actually a repeat of Step 3, as the speaker has just realised she left out an important procedure very early in the piece and must now work it back in where it fits)

wende-po/-lie *alto-po/* *kamu* *kele-po/* *mundu* *te-le-molo//.*
 we.opening-SEQ we.again finally we.again sweet.potato.mounds we.make

Step 12: Purpose Sentence (Step 12 is actually a repeat of Step 2. It is almost as though the speaker is beginning again; as she tries to work in this omitted procedure)

mundu *te-molo//* *era* *poro-le-molo//.*
 mounds in.order.to.make grass we.pull.up

Step 13: Dependent Sentence (Step 13 introduces the early procedure previously omitted; i.e. the actual planting of the sweet potato vines which produce the sweet potato)

era *poro-po/-lie* *alto-po/* *ga-mbo* *panji-li-molo//.*
 grass we.pulling.up-SEQ we.again sweet.potato.cuttings we.plant

‘We pull up grass (to be put into the sweet potato mounds as mulch); first of all we pull up grass.

Having pulled up the grass we open up (the old) sweet potato mounds.

Having opened up (the old) mounds we make (new) mounds.

[There are three steps involved in making the new mounds which she has not spelled out: laying the pulled up grass in the old, opened up mounds, shovelling a layer of earth over the grass, pushing sweet potato vine cuttings into the earth]

When we have done (that) grass grows in those sweet potato (mounds).

The grass grows then when it grows we clear the grass off again.

Having cleared the grass (that grows on the mounds) we clear the grass from around the edges (of the mounds). Having cleared the grass from around the edges then we dig (in the mounds for sweet potatoes).

We loosen up the earth (around the sweet potato plants to help them grow well).

Having levelled off the earth we dig again.

Having rooted out (any old sweet potato left over from the last gardening) we open up (the mounds).

Having opened up (the mounds) then again we finally remake the mounds.

To make mounds we clear off the grass.

Having cleared off the grass then we plant sweet potato cuttings again.’

Example (10) is interesting in that the Steps are mostly expounded by Sequence Sentences rather than the more common Dependent Sentence (more common in this paragraph type that is). This is largely because there are two groups of people interacting so the subject changes all the time and the Dependent Sentence (9.3.1) is a same-subject sentence. Example (10) is from a one paragraph Procedural Discourse (11.1).

Example (10)

Goal (of discourse): Decision Sentence

konana *ni-molo//* *ni-mbu/* *pu-li-molo//.*
 songs we.will.sing we.saying we.go

Step 1: Dependent Sentence

pu-pu/ ulke kere-pulu-ne angi-li-molo//.
 we.going house in.the.doorway we.stand

Step 2: Sequence Sentence

angi-li-molo// aku-kinie nangape to-le-mele//.
 we.stand and.then door they.open

Step 3: Sequence Sentence

nangape to-le-mele// kinie lkondo pu-pu/ molo-po/
 door they.open when into.house we.going we.sitting
konana ni-li-molo//.
 song we.sing

Step 4: Sequence Sentence

konana ni-li-molo// kinie ambo-mo wendo o-le-mo//.
 song we.sing then the.woman out she.comes

Step 5: Dependent Sentence

o-mba/ mo-le-mo//.
 she.coming she.sits

Step 6: Decision Sentence

konana pu-pu/ molo-po/ ni-li-molo// ni-mbu/ ye talo
 song we.going we.staying we.sing we.saying men two
te wi-ki-ndu te mere-ke-ndo pu-pe/ mo-le-mo//.
 one upstream.side.on one on.downstream.side he.going he.sits

Step 7: Dependent Sentence

talo mol-ko ni-li-mbele//
 two they.sitting they.two.sing

Step 8: Dependent Sentence

pe pu-ku/ talo-la mol-ko/ ni-li-mbele//.
 then they.going two.also they.sitting they.two.sing

Step 9: Dependent Sentence with embedded Sequence Sentence

pe ni-mbu/ pora si-pu/ ungu lupe-ma ni-mbu/
 then we.finishing.singing talk the.others we.saying
molo-po/ konana ni-mbu/ molo-po/-lie ni-li-molo// -mo-ne
 we.sitting song we.singing we.sitting-SEQ PTR

Terminus (of discourse)

pe kolea tango-le-mo// kinie lkondo o-mbo/ uru.pe-le-molo//.
 later place it.daylights when home we.coming we.sleep

‘We go to sing.

We go and stand in the doorway of a house.

We stand (there) and then they open the door.

When they open the door we go into the house sit down and sing.

When we sing the woman comes out.

She comes and sits down.

Two men go and sit one on either side of her to sing. Two sit and sing.

Then they go and two more sit and sing.

Then when we have finished singing we sit talking about other things and we sit and sing and later when it is daylight we come home and sleep.’

For further examples refer to Procedural Discourse.

10.4.3 Speech Response paragraphs

There are three Kaugel paragraphs which are held together by the feature of speech plus response to that speech. These are the EXECUTION, FRUSTRATION and SPEECH paragraphs. Similarities and differences will be spelled out under the description of each type.

10.4.3.1 Execution paragraph

The Execution Paragraph consists of a Proposal and a Response, both of which are obligatory.

Execution Paragraphs commonly embed in Narrative Paragraphs, though not exclusively so. Execution Paragraphs have been observed in Narrative, Legend, and Bed-Time Story Discourses.

Table 10.6 Execution Paragraph

+PROPOSAL	+RESPONSE
Quote Sentence Speech Paragraph Imperative Cause-Result Sentence Parallel Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph (?) Dependent Sentence Base ₁ of Sequence Sentence Decision Sentence Simple Sentence Coordinate Sentence Sequence Sentence
Features: + speech + imperative	- speech

Rules and Special Features:

1. Proposal must be verbal.
2. Proposal must be in Imperative mood.
3. The Quote Sentence filling Proposal is usually the final base of some long sentence such as Dependent or Sequence sentence.
4. Response must be non-verbal.

Example (11)

Setting & Proposal: Speech Paragraph consisting of a Sequence Sentence and a Quote Sentence which is the Proposal proper

Kanu.kinie *Sua* *anumu-ni* "Nu *kongono te-ni//* *molo nambe-ni//*
and.then Sua mother.ACT you.SG work you.will.do or what.will.you.do

ni-mu// *kinie* "koro.awili kinie *kongono* *naa* *te-mbo//*" *ni-ndu.//*
she.said when Sunday on work not I.will.do I.said

Proposal proper

Kanu.kinie "P-a-mbili o-u!" ni-mu//.
and.then let.us.two.go come she.said

Response

Kanu.kinie pu-mbulu.
and.then we.two.went

‘And then when Sua’s mother said "Will you work (today) or what will you do?" I said "I will not work on Sunday." And then she said "Come, let’s go together!" And then we two went.’

Example (12)

Setting & Proposal: Speech P. consisting of a Sequence Sentence and a Quote Sentence which is the Proposal proper.

Wele.olandopa me-li.pu-ru-ndu// kanu.kinie
further.up.(the.mountain) carrying.as.I.went and.then

kango te awili mele pu-ru-mulu// aku-mu-ni
boy one big like we.went that.one-ACT

lkisi-pe/ maniendo o-mba/-lie yu ou
he.running down he.came-SEQ he before

we-la pu-ru-mu// -mu-ni yunge wale
up.(the.mountain) the.one.who.went-ACT his bag

anjo nosi-pe/ alto-pa/ maniendo omba/-lie
there he.putting he.again down he.coming-SEQ

na nanga wale kanumu o-mba/
me my bag that he.coming

Proposal proper:

"li-pu/ me-nda-mbo//" *ni-ri-mu//.*
"I.taking let.me.carry.for he.said

"Kapola me-nde-i" *ni-ri-ndu//.*
okay carry.(it).for.(me) I.said

Response: Simple Sentence:

Pe li-pe/ me-nde-ri-mu.
then taking.(it) he.carried.(it).for.(me)

‘I carried it further up the mountain and then a fairly big boy who went with us he came running down, one who had already been up there and put his bag there came running back down and said

"Let me carry your bag for you!" "Okay, carry it for (me)" I said. Then he took it and carried it for (me).’

Example (13)

Setting

Oriliou-kundu
next.morning-in

Proposal: Parallel Paragraph:

Kango kelo-ma-ndo "W-a" ni-ri-ndu//. "angi to-nd-a!" ni-ri-ndu//.
 boy to.the.little.boys come! I.said kunai.grass cut.for.(me) I.said

Response: Sequence S:

o-ri-ngi// kinie angi to-ndo-ri-ngi//.
 they.came when kunai.grass they.cut.for.(me)

'In the morning I said to the little boys
 "Come!" I said. "Cut kunai-grass for (me)!" I said.
 When they came they cut kunai-grass for (me).'

Example (14)

Setting & Proposal: One Dependent Sentence with a Narrative Cause-Result Sentence embedded in its second base, and a Quote Sentence, which is the Proposal proper, expounding its third and final base.

Owa kanumu yunge no-mba/ pili-pe/-lie songo.te-ri-mu// kulu
 dog that his he.drinking he.felt-SEQ it.was.tasty because

owa kanumu yunge nomba/ pilipe/-lie
 dog that his he.drinking he.tasted-SEQ

Proposal proper:

owa-ma-ndo "Owa-ma kinie lopa-ma kinie ungu-ri pekemo//-mo
 to.the.dogs the.dogs and the.possums and talk.a there.is-the

ni-e-mili// kene sukundu wa!" ni-ri-mu//.
 let.us.speak so inside come he.said

Response: Dependent Sentence

Sike konopu.leko/ lopa-anda sukundu ongo/
 true they.thinking all.the.possums inside they.coming

ongo wele manie tenga maku to-ri-ngi//.
 they.coming there down in.one.LOC they.gathered

'Because that dog found his drink to be tasty, when that dog had had his taste he said to the dogs (and possums):

"The dogs and possums have something to discuss so come inside!"

Thinking he spoke the truth (was sincere) all the possums came in and gathered together down there in one place.'

10.4.3.2 Speech paragraph

The Speech Paragraph consists of from two to eight speeches which usually form a dialogue. Each Speech is typically expounded by a Quote Sentence. The verb closing each Quote is independent and sentence final. Series of quotes or a dialogue are also optionally embedded in Sequence Sentences and Dependent Sentences. There are no overt links between the Speech tagmemes of the Speech Paragraph.

Speech Paragraphs have been observed in Personal Narrative and Bed-Time Story Discourses (11.5. and 11.4). So far none has been observed in Legends though they would be expected to occur in this discourse type. Speech Paragraphs embed in Narrative Paragraphs, and have twice been observed expounding the Proposal of an Execution Paragraph.

The Speech Paragraph differs from the Execution Paragraph in the following ways:

1. The initiating speech of the Execution Paragraph must be in imperative mood, but the initiating speech of the Speech Paragraph is not in imperative mood.
2. The Response to the speech in the Execution Paragraph is never verbal, while the response to speech in the Speech Paragraph is always verbal.
3. The Speech Paragraph (three tagmemes, one of which can be repeated), is more expandable than the Execution Paragraph (two tagmemes, no repeats).

Table 10.7 Speech Paragraph

+INITIATING SPEECH	±CONTINUING SPEECH	+RESOLVING SPEECH
Quote Sentence Parallel Paragraph	Quote Sentence Dependent Sentence Sequence Sentence	Quote Sentence Sequence Sentence
Features: + speech	+ speech	+ speech

Rules and Special Features:

1. Quote Sentence is the most common filler of all tagmemes.
2. Continuing speech can occur up to 4 times.

Note It is expected that when more data is analysed the elements which expound the Speech tagmemes will be found to be the same for each tagmeme. The array as presented reflects what has been discovered thus far.

Example (15)

Setting: (Setting and Initiating Speech together form one Dependent Sentence)

Aku.kinie oleanga o-mbo/ pu-pu/ ni-ndu// -mu-ni
and.then yesterday I.coming I.went PTR

Initiating speech:

"Nanga lopa kanumu nambe-e-ringi-ye" ni-ndu//.
my possum that what.did.you.PL.do? I.said

Resolving speech:

Eno "No-ru-mulu// kanumu" ni-ngi//.
they we.ate.(it) that they.said

‘And then, yesterday, coming (from my house) I went (to them) and said
"What did you do with that possum of mine?"
They said "We ate it, that's what."’

Example (16)**Initiating speech:**

Kanu.kinie "Imu nambe-e-mu-ye" ni-ri-mu//.
and.then this what.happened? he.said

Continuing speech:

Kemboro-ne nimbe//-ndo "elke.to-ru-mu//-ne na yu li-pu/ no-ru-ndu/" ni-ri-mu//.
 Kemboro.ACT said: it.broke-because I it I.took I.ate he.said

Resolving speech:

"Nambemona li-ku/ no-ru-nu//-ye" ni-ri-mu//.
 why you.took you.ate-QU he.said

‘And then he said "What happened to this?"

Kemboro said "Because it broke I took it and ate it." "Why did you take and eat it?" he said.’

Example (17)

Initiating speech: Parallel Paragraph expounded by a Quote Sentence and a Dependent Sentence with a Quote Sentence expounding its second and final base

Kanu-kinie "Lo o-mba// ungu akumu welea ni-e-molo/" ni-ningi//.
 and.then rain it.will.come talk that quickly let.us.say they.said

Sumoli apurunge// tengi// akuma siye.kol-ko/
 pearl.shells they.will.distribute they.did those they.leaving

"Ungu akumu welea niemolo/" ningi//.
 talk that quickly let.us.say they.said

Continuing speech 1: All one Quote Sentence but with two sentences within the Quote. Note close-quote-formula at end of second sentence

kanu-kinie "kinié olio-ne we ungu nimbu/ suku-ruku te-molo//
 and.then now we.ACT just talk we.say shorten we.will.do

mele molo." (same speakers continuing): "komisinimenga kanjolimenga
 like no of.the.committees of.the.councillors

akuma-ne molko/ ningu/ kaye teangi/" nimulu//.
 those-ACT they.being they.say good let.them.do we.said

Continuing speech 2: A Sequence Sentence comprising two actual speech units

kanu-kinie "ye nawe omba/ inie suku-singi molopa/ nimbe//-ye"
 and.then man who he.coming in.here in.the.middle he.being he.will.speak-QU

ningi// kinie Kawa-ne ola angilipe/ "Ya Piyawa
 they.said when Kawa.ACT up he.standing here Piyawa

kinie olto nimbolo// lepamo/" nimu//.
 and we.two we.two.will.speak it.looks.like he.said

Continuation speech 3: Sequence Sentence comprising three actual speech units

"Aku kapola ongo/ molkolo niele/"
 that okay you.coming you.two.being you.two.speak

nimu// kanu-kinie Kawa-ndo "Ou nini//-ye"
 he.said and.then Kawa.to first you.will.speak-QU"

Kanjoli-mu-ni Piyawa-ndo "Ou nini//-ye" nimu//.
 councillor.the-ACT Piyawa-to first you.will.speak-QU he.said

Continuation speech 4: Quote Sentence

Kanu-kinie Kawa-ne nimbendo
 and.then Kawa-ACT he.said

"*Yu-ni ou nimbo//*" *nimu//*.
 he-ACT first I.will.speak he.said

Resolving speech: Quote Sentence

"*Kapola ni!//*" *ningi//*.
 okay speak! they.said

‘And then they said "It's going to rain so let's say that talk quickly!" Leaving those gold-lipped pearl shells they were preparing to distribute they said "Let's say that talk quickly!"

And then we said "Now this is not the sort of talk which we can just shorten. It will be good for (some) of those committee men and councillors to speak."

And then when they said "Which man will come and stand in the centre and speak?" Kawa stood up and said "It looks as though Piyawa and I will speak."

"That's okay, you two come and speak" he said and then he said to Kawa "Will you speak first" the Councillor said to Piyawa "Will you speak first?"

And then Kawa said "I will speak first."

"Okay, speak!" they said.’

10.4.3.3 Frustration paragraph

The Frustration Paragraph consists of a Proposal and a Frustration, both of which are obligatory.

The Frustration paragraph is similar to the Execution Paragraph but they differ in the following ways:

1. The Quote Sentence which expounds the Frustration tagmeme is obligatorily manifest by the Unreal Antithetical Sentence, while this sentence type never occurs in the Execution Paragraph.
2. Whereas the Response of the Execution Paragraph is never verbal, the Frustration of the Frustration Paragraph is always verbal.

The Frustration Paragraph is also similar to the Speech Paragraph but differs from it in the following ways:

1. The fillers of the tagmemes of the Frustration Paragraph are more restricted than those which expound the tagmemes of the Speech Paragraph.
2. The Speech Paragraph is more expandable than the Frustration Paragraph.

Table 10.8 Frustration Paragraph

+PROPOSAL	+FRUSTRATION
Quote Sentence	Quote Sentence
Features: hortative imperative	Unreal Antithetical Sentence

Rules and Special Features:

1. The Proposal must be in hortatory imperative.
2. The Quote of the Frustration must contain an Unreal Antithetical Sentence (9.7.2.2).

Only one written example of the Frustration Paragraph has been observed in some 40,000 words of analysed text material, though this paragraph type is common in conversation. Example (18) is from a Bed-Time Story Discourse (11.4).

Example (18)

Proposal: Quote S:

ye sumbu kanumu "p-a-mbo/" ni-ri-mu//.
 man bachelor that let.me.go! he.said

Frustration: Quote S:

"molo. p-a-ni// mangali opale p-a-ni// kinié mol-a-mbili//.
 no you.may.go but tomorrow you.may.go today let.us.two.stay
yunge ponie mare era pe-le-mo// te-nde-po/ mol-a-mbili// ni-ri-mu//.
 his garden some grass it.is.in we.two.doing.for let.us.two.stay she.said

‘That bachelor said "Let me go!"

"No. You may go but you may go tomorrow; let's stay together today. Let's stay and weed some of his garden for him today!" she said.’

(19) is an example from a conversation between the author's husband and a native Kaugel speaker, as recorded by the author.

Example (19)

Proposal: Quote Sentence

Ropete-ne Nawea-ndo "Okoramba-ndo pea pamili/!" nirimu//.
 Robert-ACT Nawea-to Ukarumpa-to with let.us.go he.said

Frustration: Quote Sentence

Nawea-ne "pea pamili mangali na pumbondo pipili.tekemo//." nirimu//.
 Nawea-ACT with let's.go but I to.go I.am.afraid he.said

‘Ropete said to Nawea "Come to Ukarumpa with us!"

Nawea said "I would go with you but I am afraid to go.”

10.4.4 Embedded-Juxtaposed paragraphs

This is a set of three paragraph types; the Parallel, Contrast and Exposition paragraphs.

These paragraphs typically embed in other paragraphs expounding paragraph level tagmemes. The Exposition Paragraph has been observed expounding discourse level tagmemes though it much more commonly embeds in other paragraphs, particularly Procedure and Narrative paragraphs (10.4.2). However, the Parallel and Contrast Paragraphs have never been observed expounding discourse level tagmemes, only paragraph level.

The second feature that these three paragraph types share is that the sentences of these paragraphs are only rarely joined by recapitulation or referents as is common in the Narrative and Procedure paragraphs. Sentences in the Parallel, Contrast and Exposition paragraphs are typically juxtaposed, the whole paragraph being held together lexically by centering around one theme which is presented first in each paragraph type. For this reason the first tagmeme of each of these paragraph types will be termed Theme.

However, each paragraph type handles this Theme in a different way. In the Parallel Paragraph the Theme is re-presented in an identical or very similar way. In the Contrast Paragraph the contrasting or opposite view of the Theme is presented following the Theme. In the Exposition Paragraph the Theme is expounded or enlarged upon.

Particularly in the Parallel and Contrast Paragraphs the sentences are typically short and it is common to have the same sentence type expounding each tagmeme within any one example.

10.4.4.1 Parallel paragraph

The Parallel Paragraph consists of a Theme and a Parallel theme, both of which are obligatory. The Parallel tagmeme is optionally, though not often, repeated. Parallel Paragraph is probably the most common paragraph type in all of Kaugel discourse, with the possible exception of Narrative Paragraph. Parallel Paragraphs usually embed in other paragraphs, most commonly in Narrative Paragraphs, but have also been observed in Exposition, Procedure, Listing and Speech Paragraphs.

The Parallel Paragraph is similar structurally, and virtually identical semantically, to the Paraphrase Sentence (9.5.2), which is a Juxtaposed Base Sentence (9.5). The main difference between the two constructions is that the tagmemes of the Paraphrase Sentence are typically expounded by dependent clauses or sentences, while those of the Parallel Paragraph are commonly expounded by independent clauses or sentences.

Table 10.9 Parallel paragraph

+THEME	+PARALLEL ₁	±PARALLEL ₂
Simple Sentence	Simple Sentence	Simple Sentence
Quote Sentence	Quote Sentence	Quote Sentence
Statement-Evaluation Sentence	Statement-Evaluation Sentence	
Dependent Sentence	Dependent Sentence	
Sequence Sentence	Sequence Sentence	
	Paraphrase Sentence	

Rules and Special Features:

1. The ideas expressed in each sentence must be parallel. This is typically formally signified by the use of identical or synonymous verbs in the final Predicate of each sentence.
2. It is common, though not obligatory, to have the same sentence type expounding each tagmeme.
3. Sentences are usually short.

Note It is expected that other sentence types can occur in this paragraph. The array reflects those discovered thus far which are the more common types.

Example (20)

Theme: Dependent Sentence

nosi-pu / maku to-po/ pora ni-li-mo//.
 we.putting we.gathering it.is.finished

Parallel: Simple Sentence

kinié pote pora nilimo//.
now posts it.is.finished

‘Our putting (the posts and) gathering them together is finished. Now the posts are finished.’

Example (21)

Theme: Simple Sentence

aku-kinie awili te-ko/ naa to-ri-ngi//.
and.then big they.doing not they.cut

Parallel: Simple Sentence

walo-kolo-ma to-ri-ngi//.
very.little they-cut

‘And then they didn’t cut very much.
They cut very little.’

Example (22)

Theme: Simple Sentence

yembo i-kundu i-kundu pali yembo pali o-le-mele//.
people here-to here-to all people all they.come

Parallel₁: Simple Sentence

yembo pali o-le-mele//.
people all they.come

Parallel₂: Simple Sentence

aku.kinie yembo suku-ndu suku-ndu o-le-mele//.
and.then people to.inside to.inside they.come

‘All the people come here from every direction.
All the people come.
And then the people come together.’

Example (23)

Theme: Dependent Sentence

Akumu kolea tenga ameme te-po/ te-po/-lie
that place in.one stack we.doing we.doing-SEQ

unjo akumu sulu-pu/ kalo-po/ pora si-li-molo//.
wood that we.splitting we.burning we.finish

Parallel: Coordinate Sentence

unjo telumu su-li-molo// pe ka-le-molo//.
wood the.one we split then we burn

‘We stack that (wood) in one place then we split and finish burning that wood. We split the one piece of wood then we burn (it).’

Example (24)

Theme: Quote Sentence

Kango kelo-ma-ndo "wa!" ni-ri-ndu//.
 boy to.the.little come I.said

Parallel: Quote Sentence

"angi to-nda!" ni-ri-ndu//.
 kunai.grass cut.for I.said

‘To the little boys "Come!" I said.
 Cut kunai grass for (me)!" I said.’

Example (25)

Theme: Simple Sentence

aku pe na naa pu-mbo//.
 that then I not I.will.go

Parallel: Paraphrase Sentence

nanga kango-ma "molo" nimbo// "naa pa!" nimbo//.
 my boys no I.will.say not go I.will.say

‘So then I will not go.
 I will not let my sons go either.’

10.4.4.2 Contrast paragraph

The Contrast Paragraph consists of an obligatory Theme and an obligatory Contrast. The contrast between the bases may be temporal, positive negative, or lexical antonyms.

The Contrast Paragraph differs from the Parallel Paragraph in the following ways:

1. The Contrast Paragraph is always and only binary whereas the Parallel Paragraph has three possible tagmemes.
2. The Parallel Paragraph can embed into the Contrast Paragraph.
3. The semantic relationship between the tagmemes of the Contrast Paragraph is contrastive rather than complementary.

Table 10.10 Contrast paragraph

+THEME	+CONTRAST
Comparison Sentence	Comparison Sentence
Antithetical Sentence	Antithetical Sentence
Conditional Sentence	Parallel Paragraph
Simple Sentence	Simple Sentence
Sequence Sentence	Sequence Sentence
Coordinate Sentence	Coordinate Sentence
	Referent Sentence

Rules and Special Features:

1. Sentences are usually short, though they tend to be longer and more involved when the contrast between the tagmemes is temporal.
2. It is common, though not obligatory, to have the same sentence type expounding each tagmeme.

(26) and (27) are examples of temporal - before and now - contrast.

Example (26)

Theme: Simple Sentence

aku lopa naa no-ru-mu//.
that possums not he.ate

Contrast: Simple Sentence

kinié olio-ne lopa no-ko-molo//.
now we-ACT possums we.are.eating

‘He did not eat possums.
(So) now we are eating possums.’

Example (27)

Theme: Simple Sentence

ou umbu api Enga-ko-ndo ka-le-mele// aku api panje-ri-mu//.
before local salt from.Enga they.cook that salt they.put.in

Contrast: Sequence Sentence

kinié kusa okomo// wele api naa nokomele//.
now salt it.is.come since salt not they.eat

‘Previously they used to put into (their food) the local salt from Enga territory that they (produced by) burning.
Now, since foreign salt is come they do not eat native salt.’

It is interesting to note, though it has nothing whatsoever to do with paragraph structure, that in examples (28) to (31) the first person singular pronoun, and/or singular verb suffixes, are used to stand for the whole clan, or more specifically, all the males of the clan.

(28) illustrates a contrast of lexical antonyms.

Example (28)

Theme: Simple Sentence

kango anda-mo akilie-ri-mu//.
boy all-the.SG he.was.at.the.back

Contrast: Simple Sentence

ye kumbi lie-ri-ndu//.
men nose I.put

‘All the boys were at the back.
We men in front.’

(29) is another example of temporal - before and now - contrast.

Example (29)

Theme: Real Antithetical Sentence, with embedded Sequence, Dependent, and Narrative Cause-Result Sentences:

ou kondoli keapo naa o-ru-mu// kinie wi ou molo-ri-ngi//
 before red kiap not he-came when upstream before they.were

kinie ou nanga lapali ou moloringi// kinie yembo ena te-ri-mu//
 when before my fathers before they.were when people sun it.shone

kulu purumulu// nalo yembo poporome o-mba/-lie ni-ri-mu-mu-ni
 because we.went but people wind it.coming-SEQ PTR

lo-kopu lo o-mba/ ni-ri-mu-mu-ni yembo no-mba/ aku-me-nga
 hail rain it.coming PTR people it.eating of.those

kol-ko/ lie-ri-ngi//-mu ombele-ma we wi akumanga
 they.dying they.lie.the the.bones just upstream in.those.places

kuli-manga lemo//.
 on.the.grasslands it.is

Contrast: Sequence Sentence

kinié kondoli keapo o-ko-mo// kinie ena te-pa/ na naa no-ko-mo//.
 now red kiap he.is.come since sun it.shining me not it.is.eating

‘Before the European patrol officer came, in the days of my/our forefathers people would go (up the mountain) when the sun was shining but the wind and hail and rain would come and those things killed (some) of them and their bones are just lying up there on the plateau. Now that the patrol officer has come the sun shines (so the wind, rain and hail) doesn't hurt me/us.’

(30) is an example of a negative positive contrast.

Example (30)

Theme: Factual Conditional Sentence

nu ponie ou pu-nu// liemo I pe naa kanoni//.
 you.S year before you.go if this then not you.will.see

Contrast: Parallel Paragraph

molonu// liemo ou naa puku/ molonu// liemo
 you.stay if before not you.go you.stay if

pea molopo/-lie temolo//-mo nu pea kanoni//.
 with you.staying-SEQ we.will.do-the you.SG also you.will.see

tembo// ulumu nu kanoni//.
 I.will.do the.custom you.SG you.will.see

‘If you go the year before then you will not see this. If you stay, if you do not go beforehand (but) stay, being with us you also will see what we will do. You will see the thing I will do.’

10.4.4.3 Exposition paragraph

The Exposition Paragraph consists of an obligatory Theme and an obligatory Exposition which may occur from one to three times. The purpose of the Exposition tagmeme is to take salient features from the Theme and expound and enlarge upon them.

Exposition Paragraph typically embeds into larger paragraphs, especially in Personal Narrative, Legend, Expository, and Procedural Discourses. When an Exposition Paragraph does expound a discourse level tagmeme it is usually either at the beginning of a discourse in the Stage tagmeme, or at the end as Closure or Summary.

The Exposition Paragraph is similar to the Parallel and Contrast Paragraphs but differs from them in the following ways:

1. It is more expandable; i.e. there may be as many as three Expositions of the Theme in an Exposition Paragraph, but only one Contrast in the Contrast and only two Parallels in the Parallel Paragraph.
2. The Exposition Paragraph may expound discourse level tagmemes, the Parallel and Contrast Paragraphs never do.

Table 10.11 Exposition Paragraph

+THEME	+EXPOSITION
Sequence Sentence	Dependent Sentence
Evaluation Sentence	Coordinate Sentence
Dependent Sentence	Comparison Sentence
Base ₁ Coordinate Sentence	Simple Sentence
Simple Sentence	Sequence Sentence
Antithetical Sentence	Cause-Result Sentence
Parallel Paragraph	Evaluation Sentence
	Parallel Paragraph
	Alternate Paragraph

Rules:

1. Exposition can occur from 1 to 3 times.

Example (31) is embedded in a Procedure Paragraph. A particular procedure, which is the final base of a Dependent Sentence expounding a Step in the Procedure Paragraph, becomes the Theme for the Exposition Paragraph. The purpose of this example is to explain to the hearer - an outsider - a little more explicitly, what this procedure entails.

Example (31)

Theme: (final base of Dependent Sentence)

unjo l-si-mulu//.
wood we.got

Exposition₁: Dependent Sentence

Unjo li-pu/-lie Komola yu-yu l-si-mu//.
wood we.getting-SEQ Komola he-himself he.got

Exposition₂: Parallel Paragraph made up of two Simple Sentences

nanga na-nu l-si-ndu
mine I.myself I.got

unjo Takopoka-nga na-nu l-si-ndu
 wood Takopoka's I.myself I.got

‘We got wood.
 We getting wood, Komola clan got his (their) own.
 I myself got mine. I got Takopoka clans wood myself.’

(32) occurs at the end of an Expository Discourse (11.2) expounding the Closure tagmeme:

Example (32)

Theme: Sequence Sentence

alto-pa/ kalopera to-pa/.ako-ru-mu// kinie "kuru kanu-mu-ni-la
 again-it frost it.drove.(us).out when spirit that.the-ACT-also
te-ke-mo// " ni-mbu/ aku kuru-mu-la ambolo-ru-mulu//.
 it.is.doing we.saying that the.spirit-also we.held.on.to

Exposition₁: Simple Sentence with embedding:

I kolea-mo kalopera to-pa/ kuli tepe mele
 this place-the frost it.striking grass fire like
no-le-mo// -mo kolea yamo peanga-re naa le-mo//.
 it.eats-the place here.the a.good not it.was

Exposition₂: Cause-Result Sentence

kuru aku-mu-ni ako-ru-mu// -ne ga koyo-ru-mulu//.
 spirit that.the.ACT it.drove.out-because sweet.potato we.steam.cooked

‘When frost drove us out again, realising it was that spirit doing this also we prepared to worship that spirit.
 When the frost hit this place this here place was like as though a grass fire had burned it, there wasn't a good place here.
 Because that spirit drove us out we steam cooked sweet potato (in worship of the spirit).’

(33), like (31) is also expounding a Step of a Procedure Paragraph.

Example (33)

Theme: Simple Sentence

we panji-li-molo//.
 just we.put.it.in

Exposition₁: Statement-Evaluation Sentence

aku-kinie ga-mu-nge melte ga-mbo-re kepe ga
 and.then of.the.sweet.potato a.thing a.sweet.potato.cutting even sweet potato
walo-re kepe melte pea naa panji-li-molo// molo
 young-a even a.thing with not we.put.in/plant no

Exposition₂: Dependent Sentence

we ga-mbo panji-pu/ lango-po/ pu-pu/ mundu-ne
 just s.p.cuttings we.putting.in we.breaking.off we.going in.the.mound
mundu te-po/ ga-mbo panji-pu/ panji-li-molo//.
 mound we.making s.p.cuttings we.putting.in we.put.in/plant

‘We just put it in.

And then we do not plant something from the sweet potato, (such as) a young sweet potato or something with a sweet potato cutting, no!

Just putting in sweet potato cuttings, we go on breaking them off (and) making the sweet potato mounds we plant the sweet potato cuttings in the mounds.’

(34) expounds the Cycle3 tagmeme of a Listing Paragraph (10.4.5.1) which occurs at the end of a Legend Discourse (11.3).

Example (34)

Theme: Simple Sentence (with embedding):

lopa ma-na manie-ndo purumu// akumu
possum ground-into down-into it.went that.one

lopa komulu-mu kinié mana.manie pelemo//.
possum echidna-the now down.underground it.lives

Exposition₁: Sequence Sentence

ma aku-ku/ mundu-ku/ tolemele// mana.manie
earth they.digging they.sending they.strike down.underground

manie-ndo purumu// akumu to-ko/ nosi-li-mele// kinie
down-to it.went that.one they.hitting they put when

laye weke-ndo kanolemele// kinie ma kengea.lepa/-lie
a.little away-to they.look when earth it.burrow-SEQ

alto-pa/ sukundu-la pulimo// aku telemo//.
it.again inside-also it.goes that it.does

‘That possum which went down under the ground, the echidna, now lives down in the ground. That is the one which when they dig down (to) kill it it goes further down, when they shoot and put it down/aside then turn away for a moment it digs down and goes inside (the ground) again; it does that.’

10.4.5 Stereotyped paragraphs

There are three types of paragraph which are either highly structured or have stringent restrictions on the fillers of the slots. These are the LISTING, HYPOTHETICAL, and EXHORTATION paragraphs. They are also quite limited in their distribution as will be described for each type.

10.4.5.1 Listing paragraph

The Listing Paragraph consists of an obligatory Cycle which is repeated from two to four times, rounded off by an optional Climax. The Cycles and Climax are optionally, though rarely, repeated.

The Listing paragraph lists similar or identical actions carried out by either the same or different actors.

The Listing Paragraph seems to have developed in Kaugel speech as an aid to memorization, as it has only been observed in types of discourse which are traditionally passed on from one to another in oral form; viz. Legend, Expository and Bed-Time-Story Discourses.

Listing Paragraphs do not embed in other paragraph types.

Table 10.12 Listing Paragraph

+CYCLE	±CLIMAX
Coordinate Sentence	Sequence Sentence
Sequence Sentence	Base ₂ of Coordinate Sentence
Simple Sentence	Comment Clause
Dependent Sentence	Coordinate Sentence
Summary Sentence	
Base ₁ of Sequence Sentence	
Parallel Paragraph	
Paraphrase Sentence	
Exposition Paragraph	

Rules and Special Features:

1. It is common, though not obligatory, to have the same or similar sentence type in each Cycle.
2. There can be three to five cycles in each listing paragraph and up to two climaxes.

Example (35)**Cycle 1: Dependent Sentence**

mare *pungu-pungu.ni-ngu/* *o-ngo/* *unjomanga*
 some jumping.with.fright they.coming up.the.trees

o-ngo/ *ola pu-ri-ngi//.*
 they.coming.up they.went

Cycle 2: Parallel Paragraph

lopa *te* *"paa* *pungu-pungu.nikiru//"* *nimbe/-lie*
 possum one very I.am.frightened he.saying-SEQ

mana manie *pu-ru-mu//.* *kulu.to-pa* *manie-ndo purumu//.*
 down.underground he.went he.burrowing to.down he.went

mana manie *pu-ru-mu//.*
 down.underground he.went

Cycle 3: Dependent Sentence

lopa *te* *"we* *pungu-pungu nikiru//"* *ni-mbe/-lie*
 possum one just I.am.scared he.saying-SEQ

o-mba/ *manie undi* *pulune* *talopa lie-ri-mu//.*
 he.coming down grass base he.fled.for.refuge

Cycle 4: Dependent Sentence

lopa *te* *pungu-pungu ni-mbe/-lie* *unjo-na* *o-mba/* *ola-ndo* *pu-ru-mu//.*
 possum one he.jumping.with.fright tree.in he.coming up.at he.went

'Some jumping with fright came and climbed up trees.

One possum said "I'm scared" and went underground. Burrowing down he went. He went underground.

One possum said "I'm scared" and fled for refuge down at the base of the undi bush.

One possum was startled and climbed up a tree.'

Example (36) could be postulated as a repetition of (35), as allowed for in the array, and the one sentence between the two Listings could be called Climax, as in (37). However, because (36) begins like a new paragraph and also expounds a different discourse level tagmeme it has been postulated as a separate paragraph. But there is no doubt that semantically these two paragraphs hang together as two sides of the one coin as it were.

Example (36)**Setting:**

pe kinié
later now

Cycle 1: Coordinate S. sentence

kinié lopa unjo-na ola-ndo pu-ru-mu// ola lopa kepa maya
now possum tree.in to.up he.went up possum type type

unjo-na ola pelemele// aku ola-ndo pu-ru-mu-mu//.
tree.in up they.live that up.to it.went.the

Cycle 2: Simple Sentence

manie andokomo//-mo lopa kulume kinie pelio-selo manie pu-ru-mu//.
down it.wanders-the possum type and type-both down it.went

Cycle 3: Exposition Paragraph

lopa ma-na manie-ndo pu-ru-mu// akumu lopa komulu-mu kinié
possum ground.in down.to it.went that.one possum type-the now

ma-na.manie pe-le-mo//. ma aku-ku/ mundu-ku/ to-le-mele//
down.underground it.lives earth they.digging they.sending they.strike

ma-na.manie manie-ndo pu-ru-mu// akumu to-ko/ nosi-le-mele//
down.underground down.to it.went that.the they.striking they.putting

kinie laye we-ke-ndo kanolemele// kinie ma kengea.le-pa-lie
when a little to.away they.look when earth he.digging-SEQ

alto-pa/ sukundu-la pu-li-mo// aku te-le-mo//.
he.again inside-also he.goes that he.does

‘Now, at this later time, now the possum which went up a tree; the kepa possum and the maya possum live up in trees; that's the one that went up.

The one which wanders about down (on the ground); the kulume and pelio possums went down.

That possum which went down under the ground, the echidna, now lives down in the ground.

That is the one which when they dig down (to) kill it it goes further down, when they shoot and put it down/aside then turn away for a moment it digs down and goes inside (the ground) again; it does that.’

Example (37) is from a Legend about origins.

Example (37)**Cycle 1: Dependent Sentence**

pe mere apo te pu-pe/ mere Tomba mo-le-mo//.
then downstream half one he.going downstream Tomba he.stays

Cycle 2: Dependent Sentence

pe apo te pu-pe/ Mandi mo-le-mo//la.
 then half one he.going Mendi he.stays-also

Cycle 3: Dependent Sentence

pe apo te pu-pe/ wi Mendi
 then half one he.going upstream Mendi

a-njo-ko-ndo aku-na mo-le-mo//la.
 to.over.there in.that he.stays-also

Cycle 4: Dependent Sentence

pe apo te pu-pe/ mere Tona mo-le-mo//la
 then half one he.going downstream Tona he.stays-also

Cycle 5: Dependent Sentence

pe apo te pu-pe/ mere Yalipu kimbu aulke-bariti
 then half one he.going downstream Yalibu foot main.road

mere o-ko-mo// kanu-ku-ndu-nga mo-le-mo//.
 downstream it.comes in.that.specific.place he.stays

Climax: Dependent Sentence (the last base of this sentence is the first cycle of the second half of the paragraph)

Peraka Panimbe ni-mbe/ aku mo-le-mo// akumu na ye kinie
 Peraka Panimbe he.saying that he.stays that.one I man with

Peraka akumu manji-pe/ etepela kanjoli akumu kalo-pa.li
 Peraka that.one he.alone eight councils that he.generated

ya Palinoli-Palime-ne kalopa.lsimu/ aku-mu-nge moke.tepa/
 here Palinoli-Palime-ACT he.generated of.those he.sharing

2nd Cycle 1: Simple S.

i anjo pumbe//ma anjo pu-ru-mu//.
 this away.from he.will.go-the.PL away.from he.went

2nd Cycle 2: Simple Sentence

i mere-manie-ndo pumbe//ma maniendo purumu//.
 this to.downstream he.will.go-the.PL to.down he.went

2nd Cycle 3: Simple Sentence

i mendo pumbe//ma mendo purumu//.
 this downstream he.will.go-the.PL downstream he.went

‘Then one group went downstream and lives at Tomba.

Then one group went and lives at Mendi, too.

Then one group went and lives in that place the other side of Mendi.

Then one group went and lives at Tona also.

Then one group went and lives in that place down near the foot of Mt. Ialibu where the main road runs.

That (clan) called Peraka Panimbe - I am a man of the Peraka clan - that one he alone generated eight council wards and of those ones which Palinoli-Palime generated/bore here he shared them out/they spread out:

this one who was going far away from here he went far away.

This one who was going a long way downstream went a long way downstream.

This one who was going nearby downstream he went to a nearby place downstream.’

10.4.5.2 Hypothetical paragraph

The Hypothetical Paragraph has only one tagmeme, an obligatory Hypothesis tagmeme which occurs from one to five times. This paragraph occurs only in the Hypothetical Circumstance slot of the Legend Discourse.

Table 10.13 Hypothetical Paragraph

+HYPOTHESIS
Contra-factual Conditional Sentence Simple Sentence
Feature: subjunctive aspect

Rules and Special Features:

1. The final verb of every sentence is obligatorily suffixed for subjunctive mood.
2. Hypothesis occurs from one to five times.

Example (38)

Hypothesis 1: Contra-factual Conditional Sentence

<i>olio</i>	<i>yu-ni</i>	<i>no-l-ka//</i>	<i>demele</i>	<i>kolea</i>	<i>Kiliwe</i>	<i>Pelkepo</i>
we	he-ACT	eat-ASP-SUBJ.3SG	what's.his.name	place	Giluwe	Pelkepo
<i>aku-mu-ni</i>	<i>yu-ni</i>	<i>no-l-ka-nje//</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>olio-ne</i>	<i>naa</i>	<i>no-le-mela//.</i>
that.one-ACT	he-ACT	eat-ASP-SUBJ.3SG-DUB	that	we-ACT	not	eat-ASP-SUBJ.1PL

Hypothesis 2: Simple Sentence

<i>lopa</i>	<i>olio</i>	<i>naa</i>	<i>no-le-mela//.</i>
possum	we	not	we.would.eat

Hypothesis 3: Simple Sentence

<i>kera</i>	<i>kepe</i>	<i>olio</i>	<i>naa-la</i>	<i>no-le-mela//.</i>
birds	even	we	not-also	we.would.eat

Hypothesis 4: Contra-factual Conditional Sentence

<i>yu-ni</i>	<i>no-mba/</i>	<i>pora.si-l-ke//</i>	<i>kera laime</i>	<i>kepe</i>	<i>olio</i>	<i>naa-la</i>	<i>no-le-mela//.</i>
he-ACT	he.eating	he.finish.SUBJ	bird cassowary	even	we	not.also	we.would eat

Hypothesis 5: Contra-factual Conditional Sentence

<i>no-mba/</i>	<i>pora.si-l-ke//</i>	<i>olio</i>	<i>naa</i>	<i>no-le-mela//.</i>
he.eating	he.finished SUBJ	we	not	we.would.eat

'If he had eaten, what's his name?, Pelkepo of Mt. Giluwe, if that one had eaten (all the game) we would not (now) eat that.

We would not eat possums.

We would not even eat birds either.

If he had finished eating (everything) we would not even eat cassowary either.

If he had finished eating (everything) we would not eat (any).'

Example (39)**Setting:** Comparison Sentence

lopa kinie owa-ma-ne aku te-ri-ngi mele
 possum with dogs-ACT that they.did like

kinie ya-ndo ya-ndo lopa owa-ma-ne to-ko-mele//.
 now ever.since ever.since possum dogs-ACT they.attack

Hypothesis: Contra-factual Conditional Sentence

we-nje naa to-le-mela//
 just-DUB not attack-ASP-SUBJ.3PL

lopa owa-selo telu-na pe-le-mbela//.
 possum dog.both one.in live-ASP-SUBJ.3DL

‘As the dogs did that with the possums now the dogs have been attacking possums ever since. If perhaps for some reason they had not attacked them the possums and the dogs might still be living together.’

10.4.5.3 Exhortation paragraph

The Exhortation Paragraph consists of an obligatory Command plus an optional Explanation. As many as nine Commands may occur and the Explanation is optionally inserted after any Command. To indicate that the Explanation is inserted information rather than a part of the exhortation, the speaker recapitulates the final instruction of the previous Command before continuing with the exhortation.

The Exhortation Paragraph is almost exclusive to the Hortatory Discourse (11.6) but has also been observed in Narrative, Expository and Bed-Time-Story Discourses.

Table 10.14 Exhortation Paragraph

+COMMAND	±EXPLANATION
Dependent Sentence	Conditional Sentence
Sequence Sentence	Merged Sentence
Conditional Sentence	Imperative Cause-Result Sentence
Imperative Cause-Result Sentence	
Coordinate Sentence	
Simple Sentence	
Quote Sentence	
Features: quoted imperative or future tense	future tense
<i>liemo</i> ‘if’	- <i>ko</i> definitive clitic
<i>kene</i> ‘therefore/so’	- <i>a</i> expressive clitic

Rules and Special Features:

1. The final verb of the Command tagmeme is usually suffixed for quoted imperative, which in all other paragraph types must be followed by the verb *ni* ‘to speak’.
2. The final verb of the Command tagmeme, is optionally, though not usually, affixed for future tense.

3. The Explanation tagmeme optionally follows any Command tagmeme but has not been observed more than twice in any one paragraph.
4. The final verb of the Explanation tagmeme is obligatorily affixed for future tense plus the *-ko* definitive and *-a* expressive clitics, collapsed into one as *-ka*.
5. Up to 9 Command tagmemes may occur.

Example (40)

Setting: Quote Sentence

kinie ya Pita-nga penge-mo-nga "molo" ni-ki-ru//.
 now here Peter's hair.concerning no I.am.saying

Command 1: Factual Conditional Sentence

alto-ko/ ta.ni-ngu/ poro-ngili// liemo
 you.two.again you.two.spurning you.two.cut if
kou pape paone si-nge// li-mbo//
 stone five pound you.will.give I.will.take

‘Here and now I forbid you to cut Peter's hair.

If you spurning my instruction cut it again you will give me and I will get five pounds. (K10)’

Example (41)

Setting: A Sequence Sentence which is the first base of a Dependent Sentence

nu opa.te-nge// kinie nu opa.te-ko/ naa kano-li
 you.S they.will.fight when you.S fighting not seeing
akumu pu-ku/-lie nini//muni
 that you.going-SEQ PTR

Command 1: Dependent Sentence

opa.tenge// kumbi-kere aku-ne pu-ku/-lie kune komu-ne mol-ko/-lie
 they.will.fight face in.that you.going-SEQ shield ear-in you.staying-SEQ
ni-ni//mu-ni mera o-mba// mele wamo-ko/ kano-ko/-lie
 PTR arrow it.will.come like you.carefully look.you-SEQ
mera o-mba//mo mera kumbi-mu mindi kanou!
 arrow it.will.come-the arrow nose-the only look

Explanation 1: Factual Conditional Sentence

mera kambe-mo kano-nu// liemo aku ou omba/
 arrow the.shaft you.look if that before it.coming
nunge kangi-ne mera mo-le-mo//k-a
 your flesh-in arrow it.is-DEF-EXP

Command 2: Dependent Sentence

mera kumbi-mu kano-ko/-lie nini//muni mera o-mba// akumu
 arrow the.nose you.seeing-SEQ PTR arrow it.will.come that.one
we li-ku.lte-l-ku/ nunge kumbi-kere mindi we li-ku.ora.siku/
 just you.dodging.SIM your face only just you.showing
we mera li-ku.lte-l-ku andou!//.
 just arrow you.dodging.SIM move.about

Command 3: Dependent Sentence

mera bul-ku-ndu o-mba/ pu-mbe// akumu
 arrow toward.back it.coming it.will.go that.one
pu-ku/ naa akuo!//.
 you.going not dig.out

Command 4: Dependent Sentence

paa sumbi.si-ku/ kumbi-kere-kendo o-mba// akumu aku-ku/
 very you.straight toward.face it.will.come that you.digging
me-l-ku/ opa.te-l-ku/ anjo-anjo pu!//.
 you.carrying.SIM you.fighting.SIM away.away go

Command 5: Simple Sentence (with embedded Dependent Sentence in the Object)

mera wele pulue pe-pa/-lie to-mba// akumu mindi kanou!//.
 arrow other.side enemy he.being.in-SEQ he.will.shoot that.one only watch

Explanation 2: Reasoning Merged Sentence

kumbi-kere sundu-mongo to-mba// akumu
 face directly he.will.shoot that.one
yuyu o-mba/ pu-li-mo// pu-mbe//k-a
 it.itself it.coming it.goes it.will.go-DEF.EXP

Command 6: Dependent Sentence

Pulue akumu mindi kano-ko/-lie pulue pe-pa/
 enemy that.one only you.watching-SEQ enemy he.being.in
to-mba// akumu mindi li-ku.lte-l-ku pu!//.
 he.will.shoot that.one only you.dodging.SIM go

‘When you go to a fight, you not having seen a fight before,
 when you go there to the front of where they are fighting stay behind a shield and looking
 carefully as the arrows come watch only the head of the arrows!
 If you watch the shaft of the arrow it will come before you are ready and the arrow will most
 definitely pierce your flesh.
 Watching the point of the arrow just dodging around where that arrow is coming just show
 only your face and just keep moving about dodging the arrows!
 If an arrow passes behind your back don't go and dig that out!
 Immediately dig up and carry along the one that lands right in front of you and keep moving
 away fighting as you go!
 Watch only that arrow the enemy being at the side shoots!
 That one that he shoots straight at you always goes straight past and definitely will go straight
 past.
 Watching only that enemy, go on dodging only that enemy who shoots from the side!’