

LANGUAGE



DATA

ASIAN-PACIFIC SERIES, NUMBER 4

GRAMMAR OF YESSAN - MAYO

Velma Foreman

LANGUAGE DATA

Asian-Pacific Series No. 4

(Also published as Language Data Microfiche AP 5)

GRAMMAR OF YESSAN-MAYO

by

Velma M. Foreman

Summer Institute of Linguistics
Santa Ana, California

LANGUAGE DATA is a serial publication of the Summer Institute of Linguistics with international headquarters at P.O. Box 1960, Santa Ana, California 92702. The series is intended as an outlet for data-oriented papers authored by members of the Institute. All volumes are issued as microfiche editions, while certain selected volumes are also printed in offset editions. A listing of available volumes will be sent on request.

Editor-in-chief:	Irvine Davis
Asian-Pacific Series:	Phyllis Healey David Thomas
African Series:	Pamela Bendor-Samuel
Amerindian Series:	Viola Waterhouse
Publisher:	Benjamin Elson

Published 1974

Printed by the S.I.L. Printing Department
Ukarumpa, E.H.D., Papua New Guinea

Copyright © 1974 by the
Summer Institute of Linguistics
Ukarumpa, E.H.D., Papua New Guinea

ISBN 0-88312-204-9

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS	1
SYMBOLIZATION	6
TYPOGRAPHICAL CONVENTIONS	9
INTRODUCTION	10
1 THEORY OF GRAMMAR	12
2 WORD	19
2.0 Introduction	19
2.1 Stems	19
2.2 Word Classes	22
3 PHRASE	44
3.0 Introduction	44
3.1 Reduplication	44
3.2 Phrase Periphery	47
3.3 Phrase Types	52
4 CLAUSE	105
4.0 Introduction	105
4.1 Independent Clause	105
4.2 Dependent Clause	113
4.3 Peripheral Tagmemes	116
4.4 Negation	117
4.5 Dubitation	118
4.6 Embedding	118
5 SENTENCE	120
5.0 Introduction	120
5.1 Sentence Periphery	128
5.2 Simple Sentence	132
5.3 Merged Sentence	133
5.4 Non-Merged Sentence	148

5.5	Embedding	193
6	PARAGRAPH	195
6.	Introduction	195
6.1	Sequence Paragraphs	198
6.2	Implication Paragraphs	202
6.3	Opposition Paragraphs	207
6.4	Amplification Paragraphs	216
6.5	Explanation Paragraphs	225
6.6	Quotation Paragraphs	235
6.7	Exhortation Paragraphs	247
7	DISCOURSE	255
7.0	Introduction	255
7.1	Narrative Discourse	257
7.2	Procedural Discourse	259
7.3	Expository Discourse	262
7.4	Hortatory Discourse	263
8	TEXT	265
8.0	Introduction	265
8.1	Narrative	265
8.2	Procedural	280
8.3	Expository	285
8.4	Hortatory	288
	APPENDIX - Surface Structure Encoding of Deep Structure Relations	295
	NOTES	301
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	302

ABBREVIATIONS

A	accompaniment
abil	abilitative
<u>accp.p</u>	accompaniment phrase
<u>ADD</u>	addition
<u>Add.S</u>	addition sentence
<u>ADD.PARA</u>	addition paragraph
adj	adjective
<u>adj.p</u>	adjective phrase
<u>adv.p</u>	adverb phrase
<u>ALT</u>	alternative
<u>alt.p</u>	alternative noun phrase
<u>Alt.S</u>	alternative sentence
<u>ALT.PARA</u>	alternative paragraph
<u>Amp.S</u>	amplification sentence
<u>AMP.PARA</u>	amplification paragraph
<u>ana.p</u>	analogic phrase
<u>APER</u>	aperture
<u>ap.np</u>	appositional noun phrase
assoc	associate marker
A.STEP	alternate step
B	base
BU	buildup
C	conjoining
CH	challenge
Cl	clause
CL.PR	climactic procedure
Cm	comment
CM	comment
cmpl	completive
<u>Cmpl.S</u>	completive sentence
<u>CON</u>	contrast
<u>co.np</u>	co-ordinate noun phrase
<u>CON.PARA</u>	contrast paragraph
<u>Con.S</u>	contrast sentence
<u>CONCL</u>	conclusion
<u>cont.</u>	continuative
<u>cont.vp</u>	continuous verb phrase
cot	contingent
<u>Coterm.Sim.S</u>	coterminous simultaneous sentence
Cp	complement
d	different
Dc	declarative
<u>def.tp</u>	definitive temporal phrase
<u>def.vp</u>	definitive verb phrase

dem.prn	demonstrative pronoun
Dep.Cl	dependent clause
Dep.Res.Cl	dependent result clause
Dep.Seq.Cl	dependent sequential clause
Desc/Descrip	descriptive
Descrip.S	descriptive sentence
DESC.PARA	descriptive paragraph
DIAL.PARA	dialogue paragraph
DigCtgCl	digital counting clause
<u>dist.nu.p</u>	distributive numeral phrase
<u>dist.prn.p</u>	distributive pronoun phrase
ditr	ditransitive
DS	deep structure
emp	emphasis
emp.prn	emphatic pronoun
es.np	emphatic subject noun phrase
Eval	evaluation
<u>Eval.S</u>	evaluation sentence
Eval.PARA	evaluation paragraph
excl	exclusive
<u>excl.p</u>	exclusive phrase
EXEC	execution
Exec.S	execution sentence
EXEC.PARA	execution paragraph
EXEM	exemplification
EXEM.PARA	exemplification paragraph
EXHORT	exhortation
EXHORT.PARA	exhortation paragraph
F	finis
FF.EXHORT	fulfilled exhortation
FaElBr	father's elder brother
FaMiBr	father's middle brother
FaYoBr	father's younger brother
FLSH	flashback
foc	focus
<u>foc.p</u>	focus phrase
fp	far past
<u>Fr.Res.S</u>	frustrated result sentence
ft	future
gen	general
<u>gnp</u>	general noun phrase
GR	greeting
G.ST	generic statement
G.SUM	generic summary
HORT.PARA	hortatory paragraph
I	instrument
ID	independent ditransitive
IDs	independent descriptive
IDENT	identification

IE	independent equative
Ig	interrogative
II	independent intransitive
imp	imperative
inan	inanimate
incpl	incompletive
Indep.Cl	independent clause
<u>indep.prn.p</u>	independent pronoun phrase
<u>inst.n</u>	instrument noun
<u>int.adj.p</u>	intensified adjective phrase
<u>INTENT</u>	intention
<u>intr.</u>	intransitive
<u>INTRO</u>	introduction
<u>IO</u>	indirect object
lp	imperative
IT	independent transitive clause
ITM	item
L	locative
Lk	linkage
loc	locative
<u>lp</u>	locative phrase
M	manner
MoElsi	mother's elder sister
MoMiSi	mother's middle sister
MoYoSi	mother's younger sister
n	noun
<u>na.np</u>	name noun phrase
<u>NARR.PARA</u>	narrative paragraph
<u>Neg.Parap.S</u>	negative paraphrase sentence
<u>NEG.PARAP.PARA</u>	negative paraphrase paragraph
np	near past
<u>np</u>	noun phrase
num	numeral
<u>nu.p</u>	numeral phrase
<u>n.temp</u>	temporal noun
O	object
obj	object
<u>obj.p</u>	objective phrase
P	predicate
PARA	paragraph
<u>Paral.S</u>	parallel sentence
<u>PARAL.PARA</u>	parallel paragraph
PARAP	paraphrase
<u>Parap.S</u>	paraphrase sentence
<u>PARAP.PARA</u>	paraphrase paragraph
<u>P-C Sim.S</u>	punctiliar-continuous simultaneous sentence
<u>pct</u>	present continuous tense
PERCEP	perception

<u>Percep.S</u>	perception sentence
<u>PERCEP.FR</u>	perception formula
<u>PERCEP.PARA</u>	perception paragraph
<u>PERCEV.EV</u>	perceived event
<u>per.n</u>	person noun
<u>poss.p</u>	possessive phrase
<u>pp</u>	person plural
<u>PR.F</u>	pre-finis
<u>Prj.Cmpl.S</u>	projected completive sentence
<u>Prj.Res.S</u>	projected result sentence
<u>prn</u>	pronoun
<u>prn.p</u>	pronoun phrase
<u>prn.mod.p</u>	pronoun modified phrase
<u>PRO</u>	proposal
<u>PROC</u>	procedure
<u>PROC.PARA</u>	procedural paragraph
<u>qnp</u>	qualified noun phrase
<u>Quot.S</u>	quotation sentence
<u>QUOT.PARA</u>	quotative paragraph
<u>QU</u>	quote
<u>qual</u>	qualified
<u>QU.FR</u>	quote formula
<u>REA</u>	reason
<u>Rea.S</u>	reason sentence
<u>REA.PARA</u>	reason paragraph
<u>REIN</u>	reinforcement
<u>rep</u>	repetitive
<u>REP</u>	repetition
<u>REP.PARA</u>	repetition paragraph
<u>RES</u>	result
<u>Res.S</u>	result sentence
<u>RES.PARA</u>	result paragraph
<u>rm</u>	reason marker
<u>rnp</u>	reduplicated noun phrase
<u>RR</u>	reading rule
<u>s</u>	same
<u>S</u>	subject
<u>S.AMP</u>	specific amplification
<u>s/d</u>	same or different
<u>sg/pl</u>	singular or plural
<u>Sim-Cmpl.S</u>	simultaneous completive sentence
<u>Sim.S</u>	simultaneous sentence
<u>sim.vp</u>	simultaneous verb phrase
<u>sm</u>	simultaneous marker
<u>SP</u>	speech
<u>sr.np</u>	serial noun phrase
<u>st</u>	stative
<u>ST</u>	statement

<u>sum.np</u>	summary noun phrase
<u>sup.p</u>	superlative phrase
T	time
TERM.PARA	terminal paragraph
Tn	tense
<u>tnu.p</u>	teens numeral phrase
<u>Tp</u>	topic
<u>tp</u>	temporal phrase
<u>tr</u>	transitive
vDTS	dependent transitive sequential verb
vDTC	dependent transitive contingent verb
vDTR	dependent transitive resultant verb
vDTSm	dependent transitive simultaneous verb
vDDS	dependent ditransitive sequential verb
vDDC	dependent ditransitive contingent verb
vDDR	dependent ditransitive resultant verb
vDDSm	dependent ditransitive simultaneous verb
vDIS	dependent intransitive sequential verb
vDIC	dependent intransitive contingent verb
vDIR	dependent intransitive resultant verb
vDISm	dependent intransitive simultaneous verb
vDDsS	dependent descriptive sequential verb
vDDsC	dependent descriptive contingent verb
vDDsR	dependent descriptive resultant verb
vDDsSm	dependent descriptive simultaneous verb
vITDc	independent transitive declarative verb
vITIg	independent transitive interrogative verb
vITIp	independent transitive imperative verb
vIDDc	independent ditransitive declarative verb
vIDIg	independent ditransitive interrogative verb
VIDIp	independent ditransitive imperative verb
vIIDc	independent intransitive declarative verb
vIIIg	independent intransitive interrogative verb
vIIIp	independent intransitive imperative verb
VIDsDc	independent descriptive declarative verb
VIDsIg	independent descriptive interrogative verb
VIDsIp	independent descriptive imperative verb
Voc	vocative
<u>vp</u>	verb phrase
WRN	warning

SYMBOLIZATION

1 SYMBOLIZATION USED IN BI-DIMENSIONAL ARRAYS

+	obligatory occurrence of specified item/items
±	optional occurrence of specified item/items
±.... [±]	one or the other, but not both, items occur
±()	items within parentheses have optional occurrence as a unit
() ²	items within parentheses can occur the specified number of times
n (superscript)	item repeated more than three times
n (subscript)	final item
n=	item repeated specified number of times
j....j (subscript)	manifestations of tagmemes are the same
j....k (subscript)	manifestations of tagmemes are different from each other
[]	the listed items should be chosen in parallel pairs
< >	a class of items of which the bracketed item is a member
{ }	choose one of the bracketed items
<u>(superscript)</u>	counter (i.e. counter remark)

2 SYMBOLIZATION USED FOR DEEP STRUCTURE RELATIONSHIPS

$y \in U$	term y is an element of set U
a,b,...g	terms of predicates, always written immediately to the right of the predication containing them
x,y	further predicate terms with a spacial or temporal function
a'	synonym or situational equivalent of term a
Eab	equational predication, "term a is b"
P,Q,R,S	predicates
P'	predication involving a synonym or situational equivalent of a lexical item with the same function in P
P''	predication involving an antonym or situational opposite of a lexical item with the same function in P
\bar{P}, \bar{Q}	negation of predicates P and Q
U	universal set, such as the set of all people or all places
∃P	existential predication "There is _____."

The following five symbols are used as temporal quantifiers of predicates:

<u>P</u>	P denoting a non-punctiliar activity or state
<u>P, Q</u>	P or Q denoting a punctiliar event
<u>P</u> \wedge <u>Q</u>	P event continues until Q occurs, Q being the cessation of the P event
<u>P</u> \wedge <u>Q</u>	overlapping, co-terminous, continuous actions or states in predicates P and Q
<u>P</u> \wedge <u>Q</u> \wedge <u>R</u>	P, Q, R events co-terminous and simultaneous

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

aP	P denoting an awareness relation to the following predicate
dP	P denoting a desiderative relation to the following predicate
iP	P denoting an intent relation to the following predicate
pP	P denoting a purpose relation to the following predicate
wP	P denoting a speech relation to the following predicate
gP	P involving a more generic term which contrasts with a corresponding and more specific term in sP
sP	P involving a more specific term which contrasts with a corresponding and more generic term in gP

The following two symbols are similar to the seven above, but relate to the preceding predicate instead:

eQ	Q denoting an evaluation relation to the preceding predicate
rQ	Q denoting a summary or resume relation to the preceding predicate
mP	P which is modified
P \forall g	P with universal quantifier of goal

The following four symbols have a relational function:

\supset	implies (if P, then Q)
\ddagger	one or the other but not both (exclusive disjunction)
\wedge	conjoins (P and Q)
\vee	one or the other or both

When more than one relational symbol occurs in a deep structure formula, the \supset always ranks lowest in order of grouping (ie. \supset is outranked by \wedge and \vee and \ddagger .)

() Expression enclosed in parentheses, which must be more than just a predicate term, is an unstated presupposition with respect to the remainder of the expression not so enclosed.

$P \wedge \begin{cases} P \\ Q \\ R \end{cases}$ The three expressions $P \wedge P$, $P \wedge Q$, and $P \wedge R$.

3 SYMBOLIZATION USED IN EXAMPLES

...	...	data precedes and follows that is not pertinent to the construction under discussion and is not included in example
,		rising (non-final) intonation
.		falling (final) intonation
-	(superscript)	level (non-final) intonation
=	(subscript)	double underlining indicates certain features which are in focus or are contrastive in the construction
()		information within the parentheses is understood or is specified somewhere else in the construction
*		representative list given
#		such a construction does not exist in the language

4 MISCELLANEOUS SYMBOLIZATION

ζ	phonologically defined allomorphs
∞	morphologically defined allomorphs
\rightarrow	one form goes to another form

TYPOGRAPHICAL CONVENTIONS

1. All capitals and underlining indicate syntagmèmes or tagmèmes on the DISCOURSE level.
2. All capitals without underlining indicates a syntagmeme or tagmeme on the PARAGRAPH level.
3. Capitalization of the initial letter with underlining indicates syntagmeme or tagmeme on the Sentence level.
4. Capitalization of the initial letter but without underlining indicates syntagmeme or tagmeme on the Clause level.
5. No capitalization of the initial letter with underlining indicates syntagmeme or tagmeme on the phrase level.
6. No special typographical device indicates syntagmeme or tagmeme on the word level.

INTRODUCTION

The Yessan-Mayo language is a language spoken by approximately 900 speakers living in the Ambunti Sub-district of the East Sepik District of Papua New Guinea. There are two dialects. The major dialect is spoken by more than 500 people who live in villages and hamlets situated on the north and south shores of the Sepik River, 20-30 miles upriver from Ambunti. People speaking the other dialect (called Yaw by the major dialect speakers) live in villages 13-18 miles north and west of the villages on the river.

Miss Helen Marten and I began linguistic research into the Yessan-Mayo language in May 1962 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. We lived five years in the village of Yessan, the largest of the Yessan-Mayo villages, and five years in the village of Mayo, the second largest village. Both of these villages represent the major dialect and this paper is based on data collected solely from this dialect. We have spent a total of 52 months in the village location and approximately 8 months have been spent in linguistic workshops at the Summer Institute of Linguistic's operational base at Ukarumpa.¹

During the first years of residence with the Yessan-Mayo people, we used a number of language helpers, both men and women. Since 1964, Robert Merkwusi, approximately 38 years of age, has been our main language helper. He has gathered text material (folk stories, legends, sermons, how-to-do-it stories, personal experience stories, etc) from a variety of people on the tape recorder and has transcribed these. This text material has been the basic source material for the analysis which is presented here.

A. Capell, *A Linguistics Survey Of The South-Western Pacific*, page 46, states that Yessan-Mayo may turn out to be related to some of the upper Sepik languages. Don Laycock, *Languages of the Lumi Sub-district (West Sepik District) New Guinea*, does classify Yessan-Mayo as a member of the Tama Family of the Upper Sepik Phylum. Tama, the word for 'man', is common to the other three languages classified as members of this family.

The analysis presented here covers word, phrase, sentence, paragraph and discourse levels and a fairly detailed description is given for each level except

discourse. The analysis of this level is quite sketchy. An adapted form of the tagmemic model based on the theory set forth by Kenneth L. Pike in his book, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*, is used to present the analysis.

In comparison to many New Guinea languages, the word level is quite simple with very little complexity. Very complex affixation of verbs is a common feature of New Guinea languages and yet there is a minimum of affixation in Yessan-Mayo. There is no affixation whatever for person or number. Clause level, also, is quite simple and straightforward. Phrase and sentence levels, however, are much more complex, and prolific in the contrastive types within the level. These two levels exhibit the really interesting features of the language - so much is said in Yessan-Mayo using phrase and sentence level constructions. Paragraph level is interesting in that it so closely parallels sentence level constructions and is often preferred over a sentence construction. (cf. Ch.5,0.1)

1 THEORY OF GRAMMAR

1.1 FORMAT

The analysis is presented using the following format for phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph and discourse levels: a bi-dimensional array of the internal structure of the construction under consideration, a prose elaboration of the bi-dimensional array, external distribution of the construction, and examples.

The bi-dimensional array for phrase level includes only the tagmemes and their preferred or normal ordering. Names of tagmemes are given, showing whether their presence in the construction is obligatory or optional, and the fillers which have been observed to date for each tagmeme are given. For the clause, sentence, paragraph and discourse levels, in addition to the above, the bi-dimensional array presents the deep structure relationship², the contrastive features of tense and subject, and reading rules. As noted above, the preferred or usual ordering of tagmemes is presented in the bi-dimensional array; however, if there are alternate orderings of the tagmemes, these are presented in the reading rules. The type of linkage device used is also given in the bi-dimensional arrays for paragraph and discourse. If pertinent, discourse bi-dimensional arrays also list fillers which NEVER occur in certain slots. The bi-dimensional array forms a succinct description or grammar for each type.

Bi-dimensional Array

Tagmemes - Slots			
-Fillers			
Deep Structure	DS±		
Tense	Tn:		
Subject	S:		
Reading Rules	RR:		

A commentary and illustrative material elaborate the bi-dimensional array and rules. In the examples, double underlining of the vernacular serves to focus attention on the distinguishing features of the particular type under consideration. Most examples given are drawn from Yessan-Mayo text material. A corpus of Yessan-Mayo text is given in Chapter 8.

1.2 CONTRASTIVE FEATURES

Contrastive features are those features which distinguish the various types within a level. The general rule of thumb which has been adhered to is that there must be at least two contrastive features in order to distinguish different types and levels. Contrastive features which distinguish distinctive types on all levels except word are: different kinds of tagmemes (ie. slot and manifestation of that slot), number of obligatory tagmemes and possible expansion of those tagmemes, number and potential expansion of optional tagmemes, tense restrictions, subject restrictions, linkage between tagmemes, and transformation potential. These all have to do with the internal structure of the construction. External distribution is also important and is the major criteria of classification of word classes. Chart A summarizes the contrastive features used within each level.

1.2.1 DIFFERENT KINDS OF TAGMEMES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO EACH OTHER is a very significant contrastive feature in distinguishing types on each level. The names of tagmemes reflect as much as possible the function and relationship that exists between the tagmemes in a given type so that this distinguishing feature is easily seen (ie. Phrase types - modifying, quantity, action; Clause types - Subject, Object, Location; Sentence types - Punctiliar Base, Contrast Base, Result Base; Paragraph types - BUILDUP, ALTERNATIVE, EVALUATION; Discourse types - EPISODES, POINT, PROCEDURE, etc.).

1.2.2 THE NUMBER AND POTENTIAL EXPANSION OF OBLIGATORY TAGMEMES is significant in that some types have more obligatory tagmemes than others. Most types on each level have at least two obligatory tagmemes. Also, in some types, the obligatory tagmemes have optional expansion possibilities (ie. +STEP in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH may occur any number of times, whereas STATEMENT in REASON PARAGRAPH may occur only once; Continuous Base in Simultaneous Sentence may occur up to two times, whereas Coterminous Base in Coterminous Simultaneous Sentence may occur only once.).

CHART A

Contrastive Features

Contrastive Features	Phrase	Clause	Sentence	Para-graph	Discourse
Kinds of tagmemes	x	x	x	x	x
Number of obligatory tagmemes	x	x	x	x	x
Number of optional tagmemes	x	x	x	x	x
Tense restrictions			x	x	x
Subject restrictions			x	x	x
Linkage devises	x limited		x	x	x
Transformation potential			x		

1.2.3 THE NUMBER AND POTENTIAL EXPANSION OF OPTIONAL TAGMEMES is also significant in that some types have no optional tagmemes, (ie. summary noun phrase), while others do (ie. general noun phrase). In some constructions, the optional tagmemes can potentially occur more than once (ie. in serial noun phrase ± head tagmeme may occur up to four times), and in other constructions they potentially occur only once (ie. name phrase).

1.2.4 TENSE RESTRICTIONS are particularly significant in sentence and paragraph constructions in the way that the tagmemes relate to each other (ie. in Projected Completive Sentence the Completive Base is always near past tense, and the Event Base is either future or present continuous tense; in EXEMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH, STATEMENT is present continuous tense and EXEMPLIFICATION is far past tense). Tense is also significant in distinguishing discourse types. NARRATIVE DISCOURSE generally uses past tense,

PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE generally uses present continuous tense. (cf. Ch.2, 2.2.3.2.2.3 for discussion of tense suffixation.)

1.2.5 In distinguishing some sentence and paragraph types, the CHANGE OF SUBJECT OR LACK OF CHANGE OF SUBJECT is significant. For example, P-C Simultaneous Sentence obligatorily has a different subject in each base. All Amplification type sentences obligatorily have the same subject in each base.

On the discourse level, subject is significant in that certain discourse types typically center on a certain person. For example, HORTATORY DISCOURSE is typically in second person; NARRATIVE DISCOURSE may be any person except second person.

1.2.6 There are four types of LINKAGE DEVICES - recapitulation, juxtaposition, conjunction, and intonation. The following chart shows the types of linkage used within each level:

CHART B
Types of Linkage

Linkage	Phrase	Clause	Sentence	Para-graph	Dis-course
Recapitulation (a) Tail-Head				x	x
(b) Other			x	x	x
Juxtaposition	x	x	x	x	x
Intonation			x	x	
Conjunctions	x limited		x	x	

1.2.6.1 Recapitulation of a tail-head type is chaining that links sentences within a paragraph (ie. NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS), and paragraphs within a discourse (ie. NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE). Within a paragraph, the final verb of the final clause of a sentence (or sometimes a synonym of that verb) is repeated in the first clause of the next sentence. Other clause level

tagmemes besides Predicate may also be repeated with the exception of Subject which is never repeated. The inclusion of a Subject tagmeme indicates a new paragraph. When a new non-focal (and usually non-human) subject or participant is introduced sentence initially, this is not considered to introduce a new paragraph. Very often this signals a COMMENT tagmeme in discourse or FLASHBACK tagmeme in paragraph (cf. Chapter 8, Sentence 52 of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE text). When Location occurs in the last clause of a sentence, there is a tendency for this to be included in the recapitulation. Within discourse, Subject and Predicate of the last clause of a paragraph are repeated in the next paragraph.

It is interesting to note that this type of recapitulation usually carries no new informational load, and in a sense is redundant outside of its linkage function. There are a few examples where new information is given. In these examples, an additional clause-level Location or Manner tagmeme is included in the recapitulation which gives new information not given in the preceding clause. This occurs only in linkage within discourse, NOT within paragraph linkage. (cf. Chapter 8, Yessan-Mayo Text, NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, 'Trip to distribute gospel recordings', sentences 49 and 50, 50 and 51, and 65 and 66).

When native speakers of the language write stories they tend not to include this linkage device in their written material, and when transcribing recorded material from a tape recorder, the native speaker reacts strongly against writing the recapitulation, even though it is recorded. On the other hand, when Yessan-Mayo speakers read written material (their own language or the trade language of Neo-Melanesian), they tend to read in the recapitulation even though it is not written!

In other sentence and paragraph types, recapitulation other than tail-head is significant. In all sentences and paragraphs of an amplification nature, for example, the second base is a partial, or in some types, a complete recapitulation of the first base, with new information given in an additional tagmeme or in a corresponding tagmeme (ie. Addition Sentence, ADDITION PARAGRAPH, Amplification Sentence, AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH).

1.2.6.2 Juxtaposition is a linking device used on all levels, linking a unit by mere proximation, with no recapitulation or conjunctions (ie. sentence and paragraphs in Implication categories).

1.2.6.3 Conjunctions are very rare in Yessan-Mayo and are used very infrequently. Conjunctions which are bound morphemes and which provide linkage within sentence are discussed in Chapter 1, 2.2.3.4. Free form conjunctions which provide linkage within phrase (alternative noun phrase only), sentence and paragraph are discussed in Chapter 1, 2.2.1.5.

1.2.6.4 Intonation is another linkage device used in sentences and paragraphs. Level intonation, symbolized by a raised line in this paper (not symbolized in the orthography) occurs as linkage in Merged Sentences. Rising intonation, symbolized by a comma, occurs as linkage in Non-Merged Sentences. Falling intonation, symbolized by a period, is a feature of Simple Sentence and acts as linkage within paragraphs. In each case, the intonation pattern occurs with the tense of the last verb of the first base of sentence or paragraph.

1.2.7 TRANSFORMATION potential is a contrastive feature peculiar to sentence level, although more investigation may prove that it is pertinent on other levels as well. The transformation potential investigated to date is that of transformation from positive to negative. Most sentence types have this potential but there are some sentence types which are obligatorily negative and which do not have the potential of being transformed to a non-negative construction. An example of this is Projected Result Sentence in which each Base is obligatorily manifested by a construction which contains the negative kap 'should not'.

1.3 MORPHOPHONEMICS

1.3.1 SUFFIX REDUCTION

Three types of reduction take place in Yessan-Mayo when stems occur with suffixes.

1.3.1.1 The initial consonant of suffix is lost when it is the same as the final consonant of stem.

Examples:

<u>an-ni</u> ³ I -obj	→	<u>ani</u>	'me'
<u>atar-ri</u> he -poss	→	<u>atari</u>	'his'
<u>Kwudin-nager</u> Kwudin-assoc	→	<u>Kwudinager</u>	'Kwudin and her associates'

One exception to this rule is stem final t co-occurring with future tense marker -ti. In this case there is no reduction but the allomorph -iti occurs with stems ending in consonant t. (cf. Ch.2, 2.2.3.2.2.3)

1.3.1.2 The initial vowel of suffix is lost when it is suffixed to a stem which ends in a vowel.

Examples:

<u>ha-ar</u> father-male gender	→	<u>har</u>	'father'
<u>nawa-at</u> mother-female gender	→	<u>nawat</u>	'mother'
<u>yi-im</u> go-fp	→	<u>yim</u>	'went'
<u>te-in</u> call-and	→	<u>ten</u>	'call and..'

1.3.1.3 The final vowel of -kV suffix is lost when affixed to stem ending in a vowel.

Examples:

<u>a-keyp-ti-ke</u> eat-cmpl-ft-cot	→	<u>akeyptik</u>	'when completely eaten...'
<u>tame-ki</u> man-focus	→	<u>tamek</u>	'man in focus'

An exception to this is discussed in Chapter 3, 2.3.2.

1.3.2 STEM REDUCTION

Reduction of final consonant of stem also occurs with possessive suffix (Ch.3, 3.9.1.1), and with vocative suffix (Ch.3, 2.3.1).

2 WORD

0 INTRODUCTION

Yessan-Mayo word is a construction in the grammatical hierarchy between stem level and phrase level. The word is composed of a single morpheme or of a stem (one morpheme or two forming a compound or derivational stem) and a limited number of affixes.

There is a contrast between dependent and independent words. Independent words are "minimum free forms"; that is, the smallest unit which can be isolated and cannot be further broken into free forms. They can themselves form a sentence. Dependent words are enclitic forms which cannot be isolated the same way that independent words are, but which are more free in distribution than affixes.

Some Yessan-Mayo words are not inflected (Particles 2.2.1) and other Yessan-Mayo words are constructions which consist, potentially, of two tagmemes, one of which is manifested by a root or stem and the other of which is manifested by a suffix (2.2.2 and 2.2.3).

Words typically manifest phrase-level (the most common distribution), clause-level, and sentence-level constructions.

1 STEMS

Most words in Yessan-Mayo are roots, a root being a single morpheme which carries the basic meaning of the word, which is the core or nucleus of the word. There are, however, a few compound and reduplicated stems and derivational stems.

1.1 REDUPLICATED STEMS

Complete reduplication of roots to form stems occurs with nouns, adjectives and verbs.

1.1.1 NOUNS

* <u>pigpig</u>	'bat species'
<u>kiykiy</u>	'bat species'
<u>mayamaya</u>	'tadpoles'
<u>beriberi</u>	'bug species'
<u>tiritiri</u>	'dragonfly'

<u>samsam</u>	'a novice'
<u>wulwul</u>	'bullroarer'
<u>perapera</u>	'large boil'
<u>baybay</u>	'whirlwind'
<u>girgir</u>	'shell species'
<u>rara</u>	'mosquito switch'

It is probable that the reduplication seen in the names of some birds, insects, frogs, etc. are imitative sounds or onomatopoeic forms.

<u>kwokwo</u>	'chicken'
<u>wayway</u>	'bird species'
<u>bwobwo</u>	'hornet species'
<u>tobtob</u>	'grasshopper species'
<u>kwaykway</u>	'frog species'

1.1.2 ADJECTIVES

* <u>gemgem</u>	'plenty, many'
<u>wiywiy</u>	'the whole of something'
<u>kwarakwara</u>	'medium size'

1.1.3 VERBS

* <u>biybiy</u>	'to tighten'
<u>brawbraw</u>	'to clap'
<u>gerger</u>	'to sink'
<u>harhar</u>	'to pant'
<u>lele</u>	'to chase'
<u>nignig</u>	'to shake, to shiver'
<u>polpol</u>	'to shake'
<u>sikelsikel</u>	'to itch'
<u>tekateka</u>	'to think a lot'
<u>riprip</u>	'to have an angry-looking face'

1.2 COMPOUNDS

Compound stems in Yessan-Mayo are comparatively few and occur only with nouns. Compound noun stems are a combination of noun + noun, or verb + noun.

1.2.1 NOUN + NOUN

* <u>ta</u>	+	<u>tame</u>	→	<u>tatame</u>	'people'
woman		man			
<u>wus</u>	+	<u>om</u>	→	<u>wusom</u>	'body'
skin		muscle			

<u>ker</u> fire	+	<u>mus</u> pain	→	<u>kermus</u>	'sweat, perspiration'
<u>peyk</u> river	+	<u>tame</u> man	→	<u>peyktame</u>	'enemy'
<u>kib</u> bat species	+	<u>kwasi</u> bat species	→	<u>kibkwasi</u>	'bat-generic term'
<u>siy</u> ant species	+	<u>sagele</u> bug species	→	<u>siysagele</u>	'insect-generic term'

1.2.2 VERB + NOUN

* <u>tas</u> take away	+	<u>biy</u> part of coconut tree	→	<u>tasbiy</u>	'dustpan'
<u>a</u> eat	+	<u>wes</u> thing	→	<u>awes</u>	'food'
<u>sa</u> die	+	<u>tame</u> man	→	<u>satame</u>	'dead man'
<u>tagwe</u> take away	+	<u>sa</u> cloth- like part of sago tree	→	<u>tagwesa</u>	'pot holder'

1.3 DERIVATIONAL STEMS

Derivational stems are rare and occur in noun and verb stems.

1.3.1 Derivational noun stems are affix + noun root, noun stem

<u>tatame</u> people	<u>mutatame</u>	'owners'
<u>ta</u> woman	<u>muta</u>	'owner (female)'
<u>tame</u> man	<u>mutame</u>	'owner (male)'

1.3.2 Derivational verb stems are affix + verb root.

<u>wayi</u> come up	<u>niniwayi</u>	'lift it up'
------------------------	-----------------	--------------

<u>war</u>	<u>niniwar</u>	'lift it down'
go down		
<u>yer</u>	<u>niniyer</u>	'lift it down'
come down		

2 WORD CLASSES

Word classes are distinguished by their external distribution in phrase, clause, and sentence-level tagmemes and by their internal structure (ie. number and particular set of affixes with which they can occur). Within a particular word class some words are grouped into sub-classes, again on the basis of external distribution and internal structure.

2.1 DEPENDENT WORD

Enclitics are dependent words (bound forms) which manifest relator tagmeme in relator-axis phrases and phrase peripheral tagmemes. This is a closed class of eleven members.

Enclitics which manifest relator of relator-axis phrase.

<u>-ri</u>	'possessive'
<u>-ni</u>	'object'
<u>-kini</u>	'with'
<u>-way</u>	'really'
<u>-kap</u>	'like'

Enclitics which manifest phrase periphery.

<u>-kem</u>	'emphatic'
<u>-ger</u>	'emphatic'
<u>-ket</u>	'emphatic'
<u>-wo</u>	'only'
<u>-ey</u>	'vocative'
<u>-ow</u>	'vocative'
<u>-ki</u>	'focus'

2.2 INDEPENDENT WORD

Independent words are a class of free forms.

2.2.1 PARTICLES

Most of these classes of words are not inflected and are either not expandable or have limited expansion (ie. numeral, temporal, pronoun).

2.2.1.1 RESPONSE WORDS

Response words manifest Response tagmeme of Outer Periphery of sentence.

<u>akeya</u>	'yes, certainly'
<u>ateker</u>	'certainly'
<u>yahow</u>	'no'

2.2.1.2 INTRODUCERS

Introducers manifest Introduction tagmeme of Outer Periphery of sentence.

<u>ow</u>	'oh'
<u>a</u>	'ah'

2.2.1.3 EXCLAMATIONS

Exclamations manifest the Exclamation tagmeme of Outer Periphery of sentence.

<u>oya</u>	'surprise'
<u>ay</u>	'surprise'

2.2.1.4 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections manifest phrase-level and sentence-level tagmemes as indicated below.

<u>sa</u>	'hey' manifests <u>attention</u> tagmeme of <u>attention phrase</u> .
<u>way</u>	'wait' manifests <u>Comment</u> tagmeme of Equative Clause.
<u>yaw</u>	'enough' manifests <u>Comment</u> tagmeme of Equative Clause and final <u>Base</u> of sentence.

yaw and way both co-occur with phrase periphery.

2.2.1.5 CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions manifest Conjoining tagmeme in phrase, sentence, and paragraph.

<u>o</u>	'or' manifests <u>conjoining</u> tagmeme of <u>alternative phrase</u> , <u>Alternative Sentence</u> , and <u>ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH</u> .
<u>opkap</u>	'because of that' manifests <u>CONJOINING</u> tagmeme of <u>RESULT PARAGRAPH</u> .

2.2.1.6 HESITATION

nagwo 'whatchamakalit'

This is a sort of pro-word substituting for a word you cannot think of. When substituting for a verb it takes on the affixation of verb.

2.2.1.7 NEGATIVES

Negatives are of two sub-classes. Negative 1 manifests negative tagmeme of verb phrase. Negative 2 manifests clause-level Negative tagmeme and Comment tagmeme of Equative Clause.

Negative 1

bi 'not'
kap 'should not'
mana 'cannot'

Negative 2

bwa 'not, have not, am not'

2.2.1.8 INTERROGATIVES

Interrogatives are a closed class of words which primarily manifest Interrogative tagmeme of Interrogative Clause. Sub-classes of interrogatives are distinguished on the basis of their distribution in various phrase-level tagmemes.

INTERROGATIVE 1 manifest only Interrogative tagmeme of Interrogative Clause.

makapki 'when'
maprike 'how'
birke 'what, what for'
bek 'how (rhetorical)'

INTERROGATIVE 2 manifests head tagmeme of possessive phrase-interrogative variant. ma 'where' and yika 'who' also occur with focus phrase periphery. yika 'who' also manifests axis of object phrase.

ma 'where'
mapsin 'how much, how many'
yika 'who'

INTERROGATIVE 3 manifests modifying tagmeme of interrogative noun phrase.

<u>map</u>	'what'
<u>be</u>	'what'
<u>yika</u>	'who'

yika 'who' may also manifest quantity tagmeme of individual pronoun phrase. In this phrase the characteristic of interrogativeness is lost.

<u>kem yika ap tupati...</u>	'Whichever one of you will buy
you who bird will buy	a plane ticket...'
pl	

Interrogatives are often used in a rhetorical sense; that is, it is a question designed to produce an effect and not to draw an answer. It more or less makes a negative statement.

When an interrogative is used with first person pronoun as subject, it is usually used in a rhetorical sense.

<u>an maprike ninti.</u>	'How can I do it? (ie. I can't do it.)'
I how will do	
<u>an mak yiti.</u>	'Where will I go? (ie. I'm not going
I where will go	anywhere./I don't have anywhere to go.)'
<u>an yikakini yiti.</u>	'Who will I go with? (ie. I don't have
I who with will go	anyone to go with.)'
<u>an bek yiti.</u>	'How will I go? (ie. I can't go - I
I how will go	don't have a canoe.)'

yika 'who' when occurring with a negative is usually rhetorical.

<u>yika bi titana.</u>	'Who is not here? (ie. No one is here.)'
who not here	
<u>rim yika bi yam.</u>	'Who did not come? (ie. No one came.)'
they who not came	
<u>yika kap potiti.</u>	'Who should not take it? (ie. No one
who should will	should take it.)'
not take	

2.2.1.9 NUMERALS

Numerals manifest tagmemes in numeral phrases, and quantity tagmeme of general noun phrase and pronoun modified phrase. Numerals are sub-classed on the basis of their distribution in numeral phrases.

NUMERAL 1 manifests quantity tagmeme in numeral phrases.

<u>wuri</u>	'one'
<u>pes</u>	'two'
<u>mur</u>	'three'
<u>eys</u>	'four'

NUMERAL 2 manifests counter tagmeme in numeral phrases.

<u>letlana</u>	'five'
<u>letpeys</u>	'ten'

2.2.1.10 ADVERBS

Adverbs manifest Manner tagmeme of clause and are sub-classed on the basis of their distribution in clause and phrase.

ADVERB 1 manifests Manner₁ tagmeme of clause.

<u>sini</u>	'again, more'
-------------	---------------

ADVERB 2 manifests Manner₂ tagmeme of clause.

<u>agataga</u>	'quickly'
<u>hayar</u>	'well'
<u>keba</u>	'right'
<u>yaye</u>	'loudly'
<u>kwob</u>	'strongly'

ADVERB 3 manifests head tagmeme of adverb phrases which manifest Manner₂ tagmeme of clause.

<u>sem</u>	'still'
<u>kir</u>	'also'
<u>aylen</u>	'slowly, softly, quietly'
<u>so</u>	'excessively'

2.2.1.11 TEMPORALS

Temporals manifest tagmemes of temporal phrases and Time tagmeme of clause. There are three sub-classes of temporals defined on the basis of their distribution in temporal phrases.

TEMPORAL 1 manifests definite time of definite time temporal phrase.

<u>yere</u>	'yesterday'	<u>yuwu</u>	'day before yesterday'
<u>gwopti/</u>	'today, now'	<u>mur</u>	'fourth day hence'
<u>gwotopti</u>		<u>karekap</u>	'fifth day hence'
<u>ware</u>	'tomorrow'	<u>urnagel</u>	'sixth day hence'

keresin 'seventh day hence' kiyi 'soon, a little later'
kiyi 'before, first' kwokwos 'next day'

TEMPORAL 2 manifests head of temporal phrases.

keyniy 'morning' yeykiy 'before'
kerwuw 'early morning' perpe 'afternoon'

TEMPORAL 3 manifests Time tagmeme of clause.

kiyisope 'a long time ago'
towri 'sometime'
opo 'right now'

2.2.1.12 PRONOUNS

Pronouns are a closed class of 23 members which substitute for nouns and are a means of pluralizing nouns (cf. summary noun phrase). Pronouns are expandable to a limited degree. They manifest Subject, Object and Topic tagmemes of clause, and various phrase-level tagmemes. Four sub-classes of pronouns are distinguished on the basis of their distribution.

NON-EMPHATIC PRONOUN exclusively manifests tagmemes in the following phrases: amplified noun phrase, summary noun phrase, pronoun modified phrase. Non-emphatic and emphatic pronouns both manifest tagmemes in the following phrases: serial noun, possessive, object, and accompaniment. Non-emphatic pronouns never occur in isolation.

CHART C

Non-emphatic Pronouns

Non-emphatic Pronoun	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st Person	<u>an</u>	<u>nis</u>	<u>nim</u>
2nd Person	<u>ni</u>	<u>kep</u>	<u>kem</u>
3rd Person			
Male	<u>ri</u>	<u>rip</u>	<u>rim</u>
Female	<u>ti</u>		

EMPHATIC PRONOUN may occur in isolation and exclusively manifests tagmemes in the following phrases: distributive pronoun, emphatic, and analogic. It also co-occurs with phrase periphery.

CHART 0

Emphatic Pronouns

Emphatic Pronoun	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st Person	<u>arin</u>	<u>nisis</u>	<u>nirim</u>
2nd Person	<u>nirin</u>	<u>kerip</u>	<u>kerim</u>
3rd Person			
Male	<u>atar</u>		
Female	<u>atat</u>	<u>atep</u>	<u>atem</u>

REFLEXIVE PRONOUN manifests Object tagmeme of clause.

kwarara 'self'

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS manifest Object tagmeme of clause and co-occur primarily with speech verbs and nin 'to do'. Demonstrative pronouns substitute for large units such as a whole body of reported speech. Demonstrative pronoun also manifests tagmemes in the distributive pronoun phrase and occurs with phrase periphery.

op 'this'
otop 'that'

2.2.2. WORD CLASSES WITH LIMITED INFLECTION

There are three classes of words (nouns, adjectives, and locatives) which have optional limited inflection - usually a small sub-class which takes one affix. Nouns are expandable on the phrase level to a great degree. Adjectives and locatives are expanded to a limited degree.

2.2.2.1 NOUNS

Nouns manifest head of general noun phrase as well as tagmemes in all other noun phrases, and in temporal, location, interrogative, numeral and relator-axis phrases.

There are two major divisions within nouns - animate and inanimate - distinguished on the basis of distribution and internal structure. These two major classes are further sub-divided as indicated under each class.

2.2.2.1.1 ANIMATE NOUNS

Animate nouns manifest tagmemes of the following noun phrases which inanimate nouns do not manifest: specified tagmeme of amplified noun phrase, enumeration tagmeme of animate variant of summary noun phrase, head tagmeme of person variant of serial noun phrase, head of attention noun phrase, and person tagmeme of emphatic noun phrase. Animate nouns never co-occur with nature intransitive verbs or motion intransitive verbs. Animate nouns further sub-divide into personal and non-personal, and personal nouns further sub-divide as indicated below.

PERSONAL NOUN

GENERAL PERSONAL NOUN manifests tagmemes in the following noun phrases: qualified noun phrase-person variant, specified tagmeme of amplified noun phrase-person variant, enumeration tagmeme of summary noun phrase-animate variant, head tagmemes of serial noun phrase-person variant.

<u>*yen</u>	'child, person'
<u>ta</u>	'woman'
<u>tame</u>	'man'
<u>waraga</u>	'ancestors'

KINSHIP PERSONAL NOUN manifests head tagmeme of general noun phrase-variant G, name noun phrase and kinship relationship noun phrase.

Kinship nouns have the following affixation:

a) Prefix. Older generation markers occur with certain kinship terms and indicate male and female gender.

<u>ha-</u>	'male older generation'
<u>na-</u>	'female older generation'

Both of these prefixes occur with the following kinship nouns:

<u>bar</u>	'middle'	<u>habar</u>	'uncle-FaMiBr'	<u>nabar</u>	'aunt-MoMiSi'
<u>laka</u>	'older'	<u>halaka</u>	'uncle-FaElBr'	<u>nalaka</u>	'aunt-MoElSi'
<u>moy</u>	'younger'	<u>hamoy</u>	'uncle-FaYoBr'	<u>namoy</u>	'aunt-MoYoSi'

This can also be seen in other words, not as a prefix but as part of the root.

<u>hanayen</u>	'older person'	<u>nawa</u>	'another's mother'
<u>hawunir</u>	'foster father'	<u>nawiy</u>	'own mother'

b) Suffixes. Two sets of suffixes occur with kinship nouns. They are mutually exclusive.

(1) Gender markers are affixed to certain kinship nouns to indicate male or female.

-ar ~ -r 'male gender' occurs with

<u>ha</u>	'father'
<u>masa</u>	'younger sibling of same sex'
<u>yen</u>	'child, person'
<u>laka</u>	'older sibling of same sex'

-at ~ -t 'female gender' occurs with nawa 'another's mother' and the other terms listed for male gender except ha 'father'.

(2) Associate marker -nager occurs with kinship nouns and with personal name nouns and common nouns which are clan totems and which actually stand for the people of that clan.

<u>nawiy<u>nager</u></u>	'mother and her associates'
<u>Kwudin<u>nager</u></u>	'Kwudin and her associates'
<u>sopen<u>nager</u></u>	'snake and his associates (members of the snake clan)'
<u>arikwon<u>nager</u></u>	'bush spirit and associates (members of the bush spirit's clan)'

PERSONAL NAME NOUNS manifest name tagmeme of name noun phrase and the Vocative tagmeme in Outer Periphery of sentence. Personal name nouns are never possessed except as they occur in name noun phrase. They may occur with -nager 'associates' as indicated above.

NON-PERSONAL NOUN includes all non-personal animate objects and manifests enumeration tagmeme of summary noun phrase.

<u>*wala</u>	'dog'
<u>por</u>	'pig'
<u>amiyen</u>	'fish'

2.2.2.1.2 INANIMATE NOUNS

Inanimate nouns manifest non-person and inanimate variants of amplified noun phrase, serial noun phrase, and summary noun phrase and head tagmemes of reduplicated noun phrase.

Inanimate nouns further sub-divide into temporal, location, and nature nouns on the basis of their occurrence in various phrases and clauses.

TEMPORAL NOUNS manifest tagmemes of temporal phrases and tagmemes of temporal variants of various noun phrases.

* <u>yabel</u>	'sun, day'	<u>worwu</u>	'wet season'
<u>ner</u>	'night'	<u>wiyk</u>	'week'
<u>liyp</u>	'moon, month'		European names for days of week
<u>nabe</u>	'dry season, year'		European names for months of year

LOCATION NOUNS manifest tagmemes of locative phrases and tagmemes of location variants of various noun phrases.

* <u>nak</u>	'sago'	<u>peyk</u>	'river'
<u>aka</u>	'house'	<u>wama</u>	'lake'
<u>kwom</u>	'village'	<u>now</u>	'garden'
<u>kwo</u>	'mountain'	<u>sel</u>	'ground'

Place name noun is a subset of location noun which manifests qualifier tagmeme of qualified noun phrase-location.

NATURE NOUNS co-occur with nature intransitive verbs in Intransitive Clause.

* <u>mow</u>	'rain'	<u>ey</u>	'dawn'
<u>ok</u>	'water'	<u>gwan</u>	'fog, mist'
<u>ker</u>	'fire'	<u>yabel</u>	'sun'

Although inanimate noun does not normally manifest enumeration tagmeme of summary noun phrase-animate variant, there are a few occasions when it does. The following inanimate nouns have been noted manifesting this tagmeme followed by pronoun manifesting summary tagmeme.

Inanimate nouns co-occurring with ti 'she'.

<u>liyp</u>	'moon'
<u>aka</u>	'house'
<u>toma</u>	'talk'

Inanimate nouns co-occurring with ri 'he'.

<u>yabel</u>	'sun'	<u>ok</u>	'water'
<u>me</u>	'tree'	<u>toma</u>	'talk'
<u>wama</u>	'lake'		

toma 'talk' co-occurs most frequently with 'she'.

2.2.2.2 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives manifest modifying and descriptive tagmemes of general noun phrase and tagmemes of adjective phrases. Except for adjective 6, all adjectives manifest descriptive tagmeme of general

noun phrase. Adjective 6 manifests modifying 2 tagmeme of general noun phrase. Adjectives are further classified as noted below.

ADJECTIVE 1 manifests only descriptive tagmeme of general noun phrase, and Comment tagmeme of Equative Clause.

* <u>namori</u>	'female-animal'	<u>nawe</u>	'female'
<u>tawra</u>	'male'	<u>ager</u>	'new'
<u>siba</u>	'old'	<u>kapolaw</u>	'short'
<u>bop</u>	'empty'	<u>kopa</u>	'rotten'

ADJECTIVE 2 optionally takes superlative markers.

-subwa 'very' occurs with the following adjectives:

<u>eysuw</u>	'little, small'
<u>sok</u>	'dry'
<u>bu/buhu</u>	'nothing'

-tama 'very' occurs with the following adjectives:

<u>periy</u>	'big'
<u>bokra</u>	'big'
<u>sikabe</u>	'huge'
<u>herkabe</u>	'huge'

ADJECTIVE 3 manifests head tagmeme of comparative noun phrase.

<u>lagwana</u>	'long'
<u>bara/barana</u>	'wide, broad'

ADJECTIVE 4 also manifests Manner tagmeme of clause.

<u>yenbwa</u>	'good'
<u>yaper</u>	'bad'
<u>kena</u>	'another, different'
<u>bu/buhu</u>	'nothing, for no purpose'

ADJECTIVE 5 manifests either modifying 2 or descriptive tagmemes of general noun phrase and also modifier tagmeme of pronoun modified phrase.

<u>nogwapa</u>	'many'
<u>ab/aboy/aboyey</u>	'all'

ADJECTIVE 6 manifests modifying 2 tagmeme of general noun phrase.

<u>agerbwa</u>	'another, other'
<u>rana</u>	'some'

ADJECTIVE 7 manifests head tagmemes of intensified adjective phrase. Thus class cuts across other adjective classes.

<u>periy</u>	'big'	<u>gisa</u>	'hard, stingy'
<u>sikabe</u>	'huge'	<u>agerbwa</u>	'another'
<u>kena</u>	'another, different'	<u>sikini</u>	'true'

2.2.2.3 LOCATIVES

Locatives are a small closed class of words which manifest tagmemes of locative phrases, modifying tagmeme of general noun phrase, and Location tagmeme in clause. Locatives also manifest Topic of Equative clause and act as a pronoun in this position. Locatives are sub-classed on the basis of their distribution in locative phrases.

LOCATIVE 1 manifests location tagmeme of specified location phrase, modifying tagmeme of directional location phrase, and direction tagmeme of sidal location phrase.

<u>gwa</u>	'right here, this'
<u>a</u>	'there-close, that'
<u>u</u>	'there-further away'
<u>o</u>	'down, low'
<u>e</u>	'there'

Optional suffixes occurring with locative 1 are as follows:

-r	'right here'	-k	'there-further away'
-t	'there-close'	-te	'that one-specific'
-p	'general-non-specific'		

LOCATIVE 2 manifests head tagmeme of directional location phrase and direction tagmeme of sidal location phrase.

<u>ya</u>	'upper, up'	<u>yale</u>	'downstream'
<u>wey</u>	'lower, down'	<u>yo</u>	'upstream'
<u>war</u>	'down'		

LOCATIVE 3 manifests direction tagmeme of sidal location phrase and position tagmeme of positional location phrase. Locative 3 is very restricted in its co-occurrence with other words. sib 'front' and ler 'back' co-occur only with aka 'house' and yokwe 'side' in the phrases already mentioned, and mama 'right' and giryi 'left' co-occur only with let 'hand' and yokwe 'side'.

<u>sib</u>	'front'	<u>mama</u>	'right'
<u>ler</u>	'back'	<u>giryi</u>	'left'

LOCATIVE 4 manifests position tagmeme of positional location

phrase.

<u>gan</u>	'beside'	<u>bar</u>	'middle'
<u>kul</u>	'underneath'	<u>puri</u>	'inside'
<u>eyli</u>	'on top'		

LOCATIVE 5 manifests distance tagmemes of intensified distance phrase and head tagmeme of qualified distance phrase.

<u>kay</u>	'far away'
<u>gene</u>	'far away' (further away than <u>kay</u>)
<u>meykini</u>	'close, nearby'

2.2.3 MULTIPLE INFLECTED WORD - VERBS

Verbs in Yessan-Mayo have the following characteristics: 1) they manifest Predicate tagmeme of clause, and 2) they have unique suffixation as described in 2.2.3.2)

2.2.3.1 VERB CLASSES

Verb stems are divided into four classes on the basis of their distribution in the various clause types. These four classes are transitive, ditransitive, intransitive and descriptive. A fifth class, definitive verb, cuts across the other classes.

2.2.3.1.1 TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs manifest the Predicate tagmeme of Transitive clause.

GENERAL TRANSITIVE.

<u>*meysingin</u>	'leave, stop'	<u>tit</u>	'stand'
<u>aki</u>	'fear'	<u>pani</u>	'accompany'
<u>a</u>	'eat'		

MOTION TRANSITIVE are a closed sub-class of transitive verbs which are transitive when co-occurring with animate noun as subject. Motion verbs are diagnostic to various Merged Sentences. Chart E gives a listing of the motion verbs.

PERCEPTION VERBS are a closed sub-class of transitive verbs which manifest action 2 of do-hear phrase, and Predicate tagmeme of clauses which manifest Base 1 of Perception Non-Merged Sentence and Base 1 of Go-Do Merged Sentence.

<u>la</u>	'see'
<u>mat</u>	'hear'

CHART E
Motion Verbs

	General	Upward	Downward	Other Sideward	Cross Over
Toward Speaker	<u>ya</u>	<u>wayi</u>	<u>yer</u>	<u>wera</u>	
Away From Speaker	<u>yi</u>	<u>yaw</u>	<u>war</u>	<u>wur</u>	<u>wu</u>

2.2.3.1.2 DITRANSITIVE VERBS

Ditransitive verbs manifest Predicate tagmeme of Ditransitive clause and co-occur only with animate noun as subject.

<u>*pi</u>	'hit'	<u>pot</u>	'get'
<u>botkwu</u>	'beat, kill'	<u>keya</u>	'laugh'
<u>nowa</u>	'give'	<u>kira</u>	'cry'

SPEECH VERBS are a closed sub-class of ditransitive verb which manifests the following tagmemes of sentence and paragraph: Base 2 of Merged Indirect Quote Sentence, Quotation Formula Base of Quotation Sentence, Intention Base of Execution Sentence, QUOTE FORMULA of QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH, and INTENTION of EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH.

<u>we</u>	'say, talk'	<u>wemat</u>	'ask'
<u>te</u>	'call'	<u>gwungwun</u>	'insist'
<u>wusow</u>	'tell'		

2.2.3.1.3 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Intransitive verbs manifest Predicate tagmeme of Intransitive Clause.

GENERAL INTRANSITIVE.

<u>*si</u>	'sit'
<u>gay</u>	'land, park'
<u>tokna</u>	'sleep'

NATURE INTRANSITIVE verbs co-occur only with inanimate nature nouns manifesting Subject of clause.

<u>o</u>	'to smoke'	<u>ker o</u>	'fire is smoking'
<u>pas</u>	'shine'	<u>yabel pas</u>	'sun is shining'
<u>ti</u>	'to rain'	<u>mow ti</u>	'it is raining'
<u>gira</u>	'evaporate'	<u>ok gira</u>	'water is evaporating'

<u>bira</u>	'dawn'	<u>ey bira</u>	'dawn is dawning'
<u>kiti</u>	'foggy'	<u>gwan kiti</u>	'it is foggy'

MOTION INTRANSITIVE. Motion verbs (cf. 2.2.3.1.1) are intransitive when they co-occur with inanimate noun manifesting Subject tagmeme of clause. Nature inanimate nouns co-occur most frequently with motion intransitive verb.

<u>pere</u>	<u>Wuswarki</u>	<u>yibwa.</u>	'The canoe is going down the Sepik River.'
canoe	Sepik-at	going	
<u>poli</u>	<u>werabwa.</u>		'The wind is coming inside.'
wind	coming	inside	
<u>ok</u>	<u>ri</u>	<u>wayibwa.</u>	'The water is coming up.'
water	he	coming up	
<u>mowmariya</u>	<u>yabwa.</u>		'A storm is coming.'
storm	coming		

2.2.3.1.4 DESCRIPTIVE VERB

Only one verb, ti 'to be', is classified as descriptive and manifests Predicate tagmeme of Descriptive Clause. It is also diagnostic to Certainty and Frustrated Expectancy Merged Sentences.

2.2.3.1.5 DEFINITIVE VERB

Definitive verb is a limited class of verbs that cuts across the transitive and intransitive verb classification. Definitive verb manifests the grammatical head of definitive verb phrase.

<u>ya</u>	'come'	<u>ti</u>	'be'
<u>wayi</u>	'come up'	<u>te</u>	'call'
<u>pi</u>	'hit'	<u>nay</u>	'fight'
<u>pot</u>	'get'	<u>kut</u>	'cough'
<u>we</u>	'say'	<u>nin</u>	'do'
<u>a</u>	'eat'	<u>ta</u>	'bandage'

2.2.3.2 AFFIXATION

Affix classes are based on order of occurrence from the verb stem. There are two classes of prefixes and four classes of suffixes.

2.2.3.2.1 PREFIXES

There are two orders of prefixes: emphasis (first order) and time (second order). All members of a given class are mutually exclusive in occurrence. There are no co-occurrence restrictions between the two classes of prefixes, although there are co-occurrence restrictions between certain prefixes and suffixes. Prefixes occur

only with independent verbs (cf. 2.2.3.3) with some further restrictions as noted below.

2.2.3.2.1.1 EMPHASIS PREFIX consists of mi- 'verb focus' which puts the focus and emphasis on the action of the verb.

<u>an</u> <u>mi-a-ti</u> .	'I will <u>eat</u> '
l emp-eat-ft	
<u>ti</u> <u>mi-si-tana</u> .	'She is <u>sitting</u> '
she emp-sit-st	

2.2.3.2.1.2 TIME PREFIXES consist of the prefixes ha- 'imperative', api- 'first', and kiy- 'just'.

ha- 'imperative' occurs optionally only with imperative verbs, most commonly adjacent to stem but may occur preceding emphasis prefix.

<u>ni</u> <u>ha-yi</u> .	'You go!'
you imp-go	
<u>ha</u> - <u>la</u> .	'Look!'
imp-look	
<u>ni</u> <u>bi</u> <u>ha-yi-we</u> .	'You go!'
you not imp-go-np	

api- 'first' occurs only with the future tense suffix and with imperative verb.

<u>an</u> <u>api-la</u> .	'I will look first!'
I first-look	
<u>ni</u> <u>api-la-ti</u> .	'You look first.'
you first-look-ft	

kiy- 'just' occurs only with recent past tense suffix.

<u>ti</u> <u>kiy-a-ye</u> .	'She just ate.'
she just-eat-np	

2.2.3.2.2 SUFFIXES

There are three orders of suffixes: direction (first order), aspect (second order), and tense (third order). All members of a given class are mutually exclusive. Chart F is an inventory of verb suffixes.

2.2.3.2.2.1 DIRECTION PREFIXES consist of two suffixes: -ruw 'up direction', -kwun 'down direction'. There are no restrictions of co-occurrence with other classes of verb suffixes.

CHART F

Verb Suffixes

	Direction	Aspect	Tense
S T E M	<u>-ruw</u>	<u>-keyp</u>	<u>-bwa</u>
	<u>-kwun</u>	<u>-wey</u>	<u>-ye</u>
		<u>-men</u>	<u>-im</u>
		<u>-bi</u>	<u>-ti</u>
			<u>-tana</u>

-ruw indicates an upward direction of the action of the verb.

ni mati eys-ruw-ti. 'You hang up the bag.'
you bag hang-up-ft

me atek yay-ruw-ti. 'Lean the wood up there.'
wood there lean-up-ft

-kwun indicates a downward direction of the action of the verb.

liyt-kwun 'pull down'
pull-down

sir-kwun 'pour down'
pour-down

teyt-kwun 'step down on, excel'
step-down

a-kwun 'swallow'
eat-down

ni mati ras-kwun-ti. 'You put the bag down.'
you bag put-down-ft

2.2.3.2.2 ASPECT SUFFIXES consist of five suffixes which may be directly affixed to the stem or may follow direction suffixes. This class may be followed by any of the tense suffixes.

-keyp 'completive' indicates a completion of the action of the verb and carries something of the idea of 'completely' or 'altogether'.

ni a-keyp-ye. 'You have eaten it all./You
you eat-cmpl-np have finished eating.'

ni nin-keyp-ti-k, ni gwatek ya-ti.
you do-cmpl -ft-cot, you here come-ft

'When you have done it, you
come here.'

-wey 'incompletive' indicates that the action of the verb is not complete.

an la-wey-we. 'I didn't see it.'
I see-incmpl-np

an nin la-wey-we. 'I tried to do it but
I do see-incmpl-np couldn't.'

-men 'continuative' indicates that the action of the verb is carried over a period of time. When occurring with verbs occurring in Base 1 of Simultaneous Loose Sentences, -men functions as a simultaneous marker and is a distinctive feature of Simultaneous Sentences.

ni gwatek ti-men. 'You stay here.'
you here be-cont

an ey^suw yen ti-men-im, an otop nin-im.
I little child be-cont-fp,I that do-fp
'When I was a little child,I
did that.'

-bi 'repetitive' indicates that the action of the verb is repeated. The area of meaning also carries over into the habituative aspect.

ni wala awes nuwa-n a-bi-t. 'You repeatedly give food
you dog food give-and eat-rep-ft to the dog to eat.'

rim otop nin-bi-m. 'That's how they
they that do-rep-fp habitually did it.'

2.2.3.2.2.3 TENSE SUFFIXES consist of five tense suffixes.

-bwa 'present continuous' carries the idea of present continuative action, habitual action, and abilitative action.

an yi-bwa. 'I am going.'
I go-pct

an aka nin-bwa. 'I am building a house./I can
I house do-pct build houses.'

sope tame ta-bwa. 'Snakes bite.'
snake men bite-pct

tame a-bwa. 'Men eat that/It's edible.'
men eat-pct

-ye 'near past' indicates the completion of an action that has happened anytime today. The allomorphs -e~ye~we are phonologically determined as follows:

- e occurs following Vy (cf. Ch.1,3.3.1)
 -we occurs following yV and CVy
 -ye occurs elsewhere

<u>ker</u> <u>ey-e</u> . fire burn-np	'The fire burned.'
<u>an</u> <u>yi-we</u> . I go-np	'I went.'
<u>rip</u> <u>nay-we</u> they-2 fight-np	'Those two fought.'
<u>la-wey-we</u> see-incmpl-np	'didn't see'
<u>an</u> <u>a-ye</u> . I eat-np	'I ate.'
<u>yabel</u> <u>pas-ye</u> . sun shine-np	'The sun shone.'
<u>an</u> <u>a-keyp-ye</u> . I eat-cmpl-np	'I have eaten it all./I have finished eating.'
<u>an</u> <u>ras-ruw-ye</u> . I put-up-np	'I put it up.'

-im~m 'far past' indicates the completion of an action any time before today. (cf. Ch.1,3.3.2)

<u>yere</u> <u>an</u> <u>yi-m</u> . yesterday I go-fp	'I went yesterday.'
<u>kiyi</u> <u>an</u> <u>si-men-im</u> ,... before I sit-cont-fp	'Before while I sat,...'

-ti 'future' indicates an action which will take place in the future. The allomorphs -ti ~ -t are morphologically determined as follows:

- t occurs following -bi 'repetitive'
 -ti occurs elsewhere.

A further allomorph, -iti, is phonologically defined and occurs following verbs ending in t.

<u>nim</u> <u>otop</u> <u>nin-bi-t</u> . we that do-rep-ft	'We will do it that way habitually.'
<u>nim</u> <u>kap</u> <u>la-wey-ti</u> . we should see-incmpl-ft not	'We should find it.'
<u>rim</u> <u>ab</u> <u>yi-keyp-ti</u> . they all go-cmpl-ft	'They will all go.'

<u>an</u> <u>mat-iti</u> . I hear-ft	'I will hear.'
<u>ras-ruw-men-ti</u> put-up-cont-ft	'will be put up to stay'

-tana 'stative' indicates a state of being.

<u>nim a-keyp-tana</u> . we eat-cmpl-st	'We had eaten all.'
<u>an si-tana</u> . I sit-st	'I am seated.'
<u>at ras-kwun-tana</u> . that put-down-st	'That is put down.'
<u>ni mak yi-tana</u> . you where go-st	'Where have you been?'
<u>ti bi ya-tana</u> . she not come-st	'She has not come.'

2.2.3.3 INDEPENDENT VERBS

Independent verbs, declarative, interrogative, and imperative, manifest Predicate of Independent Declarative, Interrogative, and Imperative clauses respectively. These three verbs contrast in internal structure and external distribution. Internal structure for each of these verbs is shown below.

CHART G

Independent Verbs-Suffixes

Independent Verb Type	FORMULA			
	+Nucleus	±Direction	±Aspect	+Tense
Declarative	verb stem, transitive ditrans intrans descript	all direction suffixes	all aspect suffixes	all tense suffixes
Interrogative	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
Imperative	ditto	ditto	- <u>men</u>	- <u>ye</u>

CHART H

Independent Verbs-Prefixes

Independent Verb Type	FORMULA		
	±Time	±Emphasis	+Nucleus
Declarative	<u>api-</u> <u>kiy-</u>	<u>mi-</u>	verb stem, transitive ditrans intrans descrip
Interroga- tive		<u>mi-</u>	ditto
Imperative	<u>ha-</u>	<u>mi-</u>	ditto

DECLARATIVE VERB may take the full affixation possible for an independent verb with the exception of the prefix ha- 'imperative'.

INTERROGATIVE VERB does not occur with time prefixes but occurs with all other affixation. Interrogative verb does not occur with phrase periphery.

IMPERATIVE VERB is optionally prefixed with ha- 'imperative'. When prefixed with ha- the stem may be suffixed with -ye 'near past tense' and occurs as head of general noun phrase with bi 'not' manifesting negative tagmeme. This is a negative construction which in fact says that such and such has not been done, but in effect says 'do it', and is an imperative construction.

ni bi ha-yi-we. 'You haven't gone. (ie. You go!)'
you not imp-go-np

Declarative clause may also function in this manner. Subject of clause is usually second person pronoun but may be third person.

ni bi yi-we. 'You did not go. (ie. You go!)'
you not go-np

Only one aspect marker has been observed with imperative verb, -men 'continuative aspect'. Imperative verb does not occur with phrase periphery.

2.2.3.4 DEPENDENT VERB

Dependent verbs manifest Predicate of Dependent Clause. There are four dependent verbs, sequential, contingent, resultant, and simultaneous, which contrast in internal structure and distribution in clause.

CHART I

Dependent Verb

Dependent Verb Type	FORMULA				
	+Nucleus	±Direction	±Aspect	±Tense	+Dependency
Sequential	verb stem, transitive ditrans intrans descrip	all	all plus length	- <u>tana</u>	- <u>in</u>
Contingent	ditto	ditto	all	- <u>tana</u>	- <u>ke</u>
Resultant	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	- <u>kap</u>
Simultaneous	ditto				- <u>s</u>

Dependent verbs have the added suffixation of dependency markers which independent verbs do not have. No dependent verb has been observed with prefixes.

SEQUENTIAL DEPENDENT VERB occurs with only the stative tense affix -tana, and is obligatorily affixed with -in 'and' which denotes punctiliar action and which is always followed by another action. There are two phonologically defined allomorphs -in ~ -n (cf. Ch.1, 3.1.2). Sequential verb also takes a continuative aspect infix of length which occurs with no other verb. The vowel of the verb stem is lengthened and has been observed with only two verbs, yi 'go' and ya 'come'. This aspect indicates that the action of the verb is over a period of time. Sequential verb manifests Predicate tagmeme of Sequential Clause.

CONTINGENT VERB occurs with all tense suffixes except -tana 'stative' and is obligatorily suffixed with -ke ~ -k 'when'. Contingent verb manifests Predicate tagmeme of Contingent Clause.

RESULTANT VERB occurs obligatorily minus -tana 'stative tense' but occurs with all other tense suffixes. It is obligatorily suffixed with -kap 'so, because'. Resultant verb manifests Predicate tagmeme of Resultant Clause.

SIMULTANEOUS VERB occurs only with the dependency marker -s 'simultaneous action' which is obligatory. Simultaneous verb manifests Predicate tagmeme of Punctiliar-Continuous Simultaneous Clause.

3 PHRASE

0 INTRODUCTION

A Yessan-Mayo phrase has been defined as a construction in the grammatical hierarchy between word and clause level which is potentially composed of two or more words: a nuclear item or items (head) which are obligatory to the phrase, and various optional peripheral items which expand and modify the nuclear items.

Phrase constructions generally manifest tagmemes at clause level, although there is a great deal of recursion or embedding of phrase at phrase level.

1 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is a common feature of Yessan-Mayo phrases, occurring with all the major word classes (noun, pronoun, temporal, locative, interrogative, adjective, adverb, and verb). There are two types of reduplication: complete reduplication and changed reduplication.

Complete reduplication occurs with non-verbal forms and verbal forms and signifies intensity, plurality, diversity, and distribution. Changed reduplication occurs primarily with verbal forms but also with a limited number of non-verbal forms (adjective and adverb) and has a distributive aspect.

In complete reduplication, both words are identical and in changed reduplication the first syllable of the word undergoes certain changes in the reduplicated form as explained in 1.2.

1.1 COMPLETE REDUPLICATION

Complete reduplication occurs with noun, pronoun, temporal, locative, numeral, interrogative, adverb, adjective and verb phrases. Complete reduplication involves an identical reduplication of the first word of the phrase. Various semantic relationships are handled by complete reduplication.

(a) Distribution. Complete reduplication of numerals in distributive numeral phrase and of interrogatives in distributive interrogative phrase indicates distribution. Plurality is implicit in the phrase.

Numerals

pes 'two' pes pes 'both'

<u>wuri</u>	'one'	<u>wulari wulari</u>	'each one is one' (i.e. Each one costs 10¢./ They all cost 10¢./ Each one took one./ They all took one.)
-------------	-------	----------------------	---

Interrogatives

<u>mapsin</u>	'how much/ how many'	<u>mapsin mapsin</u>	'How much is each one?'
---------------	-------------------------	----------------------	-------------------------

(b) Diversity. Complete reduplication of noun in reduplicated noun phrase indicates diversity of the action of the verb and again plurality is implicit.

<u>mek</u>	'on the tree'	<u>mek mek</u>	'on the trees/on different trees/on many trees'
<u>kwomki</u>	'to the village'	<u>kwomki kwomki</u>	'to different villages/ to many villages'

(c) Intensification. Complete reduplication of adjectives in intensified adjective phrase and of adverbs in intensified adverb phrase indicates intensification or increased quantity.

Adjectives

<u>periy</u>	'big'	<u>periy periy</u>	'very big'
<u>gisa</u>	'hard'	<u>gisa gisa</u>	'very hard'

Adverbs

<u>kwokwos</u>	'next'	<u>kwokwos kwokwos</u>	'always'
<u>aylen</u>	'slowly'	<u>aylen aylen</u>	'very slowly'

(d) Emphasis. There is a complete reduplication of nouns in reduplicated noun phrase-manner variant, the exact semantic relationship of which has been difficult to define, but seems to indicate emphasis on something out of the ordinary. It occurs with a limited number of nouns.

<u>mow</u>	'rain'	<u>mow mow (-ki yawe)</u>	'(came in) the rain'
<u>kin</u>	'tail'	<u>kin kin (yiwe)</u>	'(went) back- wards'

1.2 CHANGED REDUPLICATION

Changed reduplication occurs primarily with verbs in distributive

verb phrase, but also occurs with adjective and adverb in distributive adjective and distributive adverb phrases respectively.

The reduplication follows a common pattern, whether occurring with verbal or non-verbal forms, as follows:

1. All but the initial syllable is completely reduplicated.
2. The initial syllable undergoes the following changes in the reduplicated form:
 - a) vowel is changed to a.
 - b) consonant is changed as indicated in Chart J.

CHART J

Reduplicated Phrase Changes

First Word Initial Syllable	Changes to	Second Word Initial Syllable
a		ta
ra	→	pa
ya		sa
nay	→	kay
say		kay
we	→	wa
ey		tay
ni		na
pi	→	a
ti		ta
ri		ra
lo		a
kwo	→	kwa
to		ka
so		sa
ku		ya
pu		a
su	→	sa
wu		wa
yu		ya

This changed reduplication gives a rhyming effect to the phrase.

In all cases, the reduplicated form is a nonsense utterance; that is, it has no meaning in isolation - it has meaning only in combination with the first word.

Where changed reduplication occurs with verbs, the first word is a verb stem which optionally occurs with aspect suffixation. When changed reduplication occurs with adjective and adverb, the first word is generally not meaningful in isolation, only in combination with the reduplication. There are a few instances where the first word is a proper stem as in 2.6.2 and 2.7.2, Variant A.

The semantic relationship handled by changed reduplication is that of distributiveness; that is, not just one action of the verb in one place, but repeated actions to varied objects and in varied places.

Verbs

<u>wemat</u>	'ask'	<u>wemat kamat</u>	'ask a variety of people at different places'
<u>nayla</u>	'attempt to fight'	<u>nayla kayla</u>	'attempt to fight various people at various places'

Adverbs

<u>wetuk waturk</u>	(webwa) saying		'(to ask) an alternative/ ask a couple different things'
<u>kwoya</u>	'sweetly'	<u>kwoya kwaya</u>	(laye) saw
			'(saw) each one sweetly. (i.e. each one was nice.)'

Adjectives

<u>tikililiy takililiy</u>	(toma) talk		'(talk) that changes from one subject to another'
<u>yenbwa</u>	'good'	<u>yenbwa kanbwa</u>	'each one was good'

2 PHRASE PERIPHERY

There are certain optional tagmemes which occur with phrases which are labelled phrase periphery in that they are not nuclear or diagnostic to any particular phrase type, and in fact, occur with a great variety of word classes, phrases, and clauses.

<u>Nucleus</u>	<u>±Emphasis</u>	<u>±Exclusive</u>	<u>±Vocative / Focus</u>
Word	<- <u>kem</u> >	- <u>wo</u>	<- <u>ey</u> >
Phrase			- <u>ki</u>
Clause			

The bi-dimensional array indicates the relation of the peripheral tagmemes to the nucleus and to each other. The nucleus in its minimum form is a noun and is expandable to phrase and clause and in some cases (with vocative periphery) to sentence, paragraph, and discourse.

There are three peripheral tagmemes, emphasis, exclusive, and vocative/focus, which occur in that order suffixed to the nucleus. Exclusive co-occurs with emphasis, and vocative/focus with exclusive. Vocative co-occurs with emphasis and exclusive, but focus does not co-occur with either emphasis or exclusive.

Nucleus plus periphery tagmemes manifest clause-level tagmemes primarily, with the exception of nucleus plus vocative periphery which generally does not manifest a higher-level tagmeme.

2.1 EMPHASIS PERIPHERY

<u>Nucleus</u>	<u>Emphasis</u>
interjection	<-kem>
emp.prn	
numeral	
loc ₁	
adj	
neg ₂	
<u>gnp</u>	
<u>ap.np</u>	
<u>r-a.p</u>	
<u>gvp</u>	

Nucleus is manifested by items as listed above. Emphasis is manifested by three emphasis markers, -kem, -ket, and -ker. -kem carries more emphasis than -ket and -ker. Negative 2 co-occurs only with -kem. Nucleus plus emphasis periphery manifests clause-level tagmemes, Subject, Object, and Comment.

Examples:

1. arin-kem 'I!'
I emp
2. mur-ket 'three!'
three-emp
3. ate-kem 'that!'
that-emp
4. kena-kem 'different!' (used as an ejaculation)
different-emp
5. bwa-kem 'don't have!'
not-emp

6. tame mur-ket 'three men!'
men three-emp
7. tame bi timenim kwom-kem 'a village where men didn't stay!'
man not stay village-emp
8. eysuway-kem 'really small!'
very small-emp
9. ariri-kem 'mine!'
my-emp
10. an bi tupam-ket. 'I did not buy!'
I not bought-emp
11. kena-ket 'different!'
different emp
12. yaw-ker 'enough!'
enough-emp

2.2 EXCLUSIVE PERIPHERY

<u>Nucleus</u>	<u>Exclusive</u>
noun	<u>-wo</u>
emp.prn	
dem.prn	
numeral	
adj	
<u>gnp</u>	
<u>qnp</u>	
<u>dis.prn.p</u>	
<u>r-a.p</u>	

Nucleus tagmeme is manifested by various words and phrases as noted above. Exclusive is manifested by -wo 'only'. Nucleus plus exclusive periphery manifests Subject, Object, Location, and Comment tagmemes of clause.

Examples:

1. akwul-wo 'only the house'
house-excl
2. arin-wo 'only I'
I - excl
3. otop-wo 'only that'
that-excl
4. wuri-wo 'only one'
one-excl

5. eysu-wo 'only a small (one)'
small-excl
6. yen wuri-wo 'only one child'
child one-excl
7. Wuswar bar-wo 'only the bank of the Sepik'
Sepik bank-excl
8. otop otop-wo 'the same'
that that-excl
9. pesket-wo 'only two!'
two-excl
10. ariri-wo 'only mine'
my-excl
11. ani-wo 'only me'
me-excl

2.3 VOCATIVE/FOCUS PERIPHERY

2.3.1 VOCATIVE

<u>Nucleus</u>	<u>Vocative</u>
Word	<-ey>
Phrase	
Clause	
Sentence	
Paragraph	
Discourse	

Nucleus is manifested by items noted in the bi-dimensional array. Vocative is manifested by vocative markers -ey and -ow. -ey is used more frequently than -ow. -ow is generally used when there is a fairly short calling distance between the speaker and the hearer. When the calling distance is longer, -ey is preferred.

Vocative marker is usually utterance final and therefore nucleus plus vocative periphery does not manifest a higher level slot. However, when a greeting plus vocative periphery occurs this may manifest Vocative of Sentence Periphery.

Kinship noun plus vocative may manifest Exclamation and Vocative tagmeme of Outer Periphery of sentence. When manifesting Exclamation tagmeme, it expresses amazement or sometimes pain. Nucleus plus vocative periphery is used only when someone is calling out, except for the kinship noun plus vocative mentioned above, which is exclamatory.

A morphophonemic change takes place when the final vowel of the utterance of nucleus is i or e. With the affixation of the vocative this final vowel is dropped. (Examples 1 and 4 below). Examples are not given for anything above Simple Sentence. Any type of utterance or discourse could manifest nucleus. It should also be noted that normal intonation patterns are lost when nucleus occurs with vocative periphery. A high-pitched register is maintained throughout the nucleus with a drop from high to low on the vocative periphery.

Examples:

1. sitati-ow sitatow 'goodbye'
greeting-voc
2. nawiy-ow nawiyow 'Mother!'
mother-voc
3. ari kwokwo-ey ari kwokwoey 'my chicken'
my chicken-voc
4. an yibwe-ey. an yibwey 'I am going.'
I going-voc

2.3.2 FOCUS

<u>Nucleus</u>	<u>Focus</u>
interrog adverb noun <u>gnp</u> <u>obj.p</u> <u>loc.p</u>	<u>-ki</u>

Nucleus is manifested by various words and phrases as noted in the bi-dimensional array. Vocative/focus is manifested by -ki ~ -k 'focus'. The allomorphs tend to be phonologically determined with -ki occurring contiguous to consonants and -k occurring contiguous to vowels. There are a few examples, however, where this consistently doesn't hold true (example 6 below), and there are examples where it fluctuates (example 2 below).

Examples:

1. wara 'tomorrow' wara-k 'focus on tomorrow'
2. aka 'house' aka-k/
aka-ki 'focus on house'
3. kenar 'small bag' kenar-ki 'focus on bag'
4. now 'garden' now-ki 'focus on garden'

5. tiy 'platform' tiy-ki 'focus on platform'
 6. piy 'spear' piy-k 'focus on spear'

Peripheral tagmemes of clause tend to be manifested by nucleus plus focus periphery more than nuclear tagmemes of clause are. Subject and Object tagmemes are rarely manifested by nucleus plus focus periphery. In fact, rarely are peripheral tagmemes of clause (Time, Location, Instrument, Manner) NOT manifested by nucleus plus focus periphery.

Examples:

1. An wara-k yiti. 'I will go tomorrow.'
 I tomorrow- will go
 foc
2. rip aka puri-k yin.. 'Those two went inside the house
 they house inside- go and and...'
 two foc
3. ni ma-k yiwe. 'Where did you go?'
 you where-foc went
4. an rini piy-k pim. 'I shot him with a spear'
 I him spear-foc shot
5. nim hayar-ki sitana. 'We are sitting (living) well.'
 we well-foc sit
6. yen-ki ti na-ki timenim. 'The child was at the sago.'
 child-foc she sago-foc was
7. ani sope-k tam. 'The snake bit me.'
 me snake-foc bit
8. tini-k sen yiti. 'Take it to her.'
 her-foc carry and go
9. por namori-ki pi meysinginin ri sini yam.
 pig female-foc hit stop and he again came
 '(He) stopped shooting the female
 pig and came again.'

3 PHRASE TYPES

Phrase types have been classified primarily on the basis of word classes which manifest nuclear tagmemes, in conjunction with the clause-level (or phrase-level) tagmemes which they manifest. For example, noun phrases have nouns manifesting nuclear tagmemes and primarily manifest Subject and Object tagmemes of clause. Many phrases manifest more than one phrase or clause-level tagmeme; however, each phrase has been classified as to its primary manifestation.

There are ten major phrase types as shown in Chart K.

CHART K
Phrase Types

Phrase Type	Nuclear Tagmeme Manifestation	Clause/Phrase Level Tagmemes Manifested by Phrase
<u>noun</u>	noun	Subject, Object - Clause level
<u>pronoun</u>	pronoun	Subject - Clause level
<u>temporal</u>	temporal	Time - Clause level
<u>locative</u>	locative	Location - Clause level
<u>interrogative</u>	interrogative	Interrogative - Clause level
<u>adverb</u>	adverb	Manner - Clause level
<u>adjective</u>	adjective	<u>general noun phrase tagmemes</u>
<u>numeral</u>	numeral	<u>general noun phrase tagmemes</u>
<u>relator-axis</u>	enclitics	<u>various phrase and clause-level tagmemes</u>
<u>verb</u>	verb	Predicate - Clause level

3.1 NOUN PHRASES

Noun phrases manifest Subject and Object tagmemes of clause primarily, but they also manifest Location and Time tagmemes. One phrase, attention phrase, skips a level and manifests a sentence-level tagmeme. There is a great deal of embedding or recursion of noun phrase within noun phrase. Some phrases (name, kinship relationship) receive no embedding; others (summary, serial), receive a great variety of embedding.

Noun phrases are of two major types - head-head relationship, and head-modification relationship. A third group is that which manifests sentence-level tagmemes. There are various contrastive types within each of these groups, distinguished on the basis of number of tagmemes, kind of tagmemes, manifesting classes of tagmemes, and manifestation in other constructions.

3.1.1 HEAD-MODIFYING NOUN PHRASES

There are nine contrastive head-modifying type noun phrases and many of these have sub-variants.

3.1.1.1 QUALIFIED NOUN PHRASE

<u>±Qualifier</u>	<u>+Head</u>
noun _j <u>qnp</u>	noun _k

Head tagmeme is obligatory and is manifested by noun that is different

from the noun of qualifier tagmeme. Qualifier tagmeme is optional and is manifested by noun or qualified noun phrase. Qualified noun phrase embeds in other phrases as well as manifesting clause-level tagmemes.

Co-occurrence variants are as follows:

1) QUALIFIED NOUN PHRASE-LOCATION manifests Location tagmeme of clause primarily. Head tagmeme is manifested by location noun. Qualifier is manifested by place name noun, a sub-set of location noun.

Examples:

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. <u>Sapiday</u> <u>kwom</u>
Sapiday village | 'Sapiday village' |
| 2. <u>Nakariy</u> <u>wama</u>
Nakariy lake | 'Nakariy Lake' |
| 3. <u>Gapek</u> <u>peyk</u>
Gapek river | 'Gapek River' |

2) QUALIFIED NOUN PHRASE-PERSON has head tagmeme manifested by person noun and kinship noun. Qualifier tagmeme is manifested by person noun, kinship noun, clan names, and location noun.

Examples:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <u>kar</u> <u>yen</u> 'old person'
old person | 5. <u>kwom</u> <u>tame</u> 'man from my
village man village' |
| 2. <u>tame</u> <u>yen</u> 'a man'
man person | 6. <u>pus</u> <u>yen</u> 'person of
clan person <u>pus</u> clan' |
| 3. <u>Mayo</u> <u>yen</u> 'person from
Mayo person Mayo' | 7. <u>yey</u> <u>waraga</u> 'recent
grand- ancestors ancestors'
parents |
| 4. <u>gara</u> <u>ta</u> 'woman from
name woman a river
for river tribe'
culture people | 8. <u>kar</u> <u>yen</u> <u>ta</u> 'old woman'
old person woman |

3) QUALIFIED NOUN PHRASE-GENERAL. Head tagmeme is manifested by general inanimate noun and general personal animate noun. Qualifier tagmeme is manifested by general inanimate noun, general personal animate noun, and non-personal animate noun.

Examples:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <u>aka</u> <u>rope</u> 'house thatch'
house thatch | 3. <u>nak</u> <u>ow</u> 'sago grub'
sago grub |
| 2. <u>tara</u> <u>taka</u> 'hair'
head hair | 4. <u>kwokwo</u> <u>yen</u> 'chicken egg/
chicken child baby chick' |

- 5. wiy yakwo 'work of skirt work making skirts'
- 6. let tara 'hand head thumb'
- 7. me taka wuskap 'green (i.e. like tree hair skin- the skin of like leaves')
- 8. yey waraga wiyaka 'ancestor's grand- ancestor salt salt' parents

3.1.1.2 NAME PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>±Name</u>
kinship noun group name noun	personal name noun

Head tagmeme is obligatory and is manifested by kinship noun or a group name noun (i.e. name of another tribe). Name tagmeme is optional and is manifested by personal name noun. Name phrase manifests noun phrase tagmemes as well as clause-level tagmemes.

Examples:

- 1. meym Kal 'Uncle Kal'
uncle Kal
- 2. hamoy Sipsikwun 'Uncle Sipsikwun'
uncle Sipsikwun
- 3. gara Kanmeriy 'the river person Kanmeriy'
river Kanmeriy
culture
people's name

3.1.1.3 GENERAL NOUN PHRASE

<u>Mod 2</u>	<u>Possessive</u>	<u>Mod 1</u>	<u>+Head</u>	<u>Descriptive</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
dem adj 5 loc 1	<u>poss.p-gen</u> <u>poss.p-loc</u> <u>poss.p-prn</u>	<u>ana.p</u> <u>accp.p-</u> <u>qual</u> loc 2 loc 5	noun n.temp <u>qnp</u> <u>ap.np</u> <u>na.np</u>	adj 1,2 adj 4	numeral <u>nu.p</u>

Head is the only obligatory tagmeme and is manifested by noun and qualified noun phrase primarily, but also by appositional noun phrase and name noun phrase. No example has been found in which all six tagmemes are manifested, the usual number of manifested tagmemes being two. Preferred ordering of tagmemes is given in the bi-dimensional array, although some tagmemes (possessive and descriptive) are free in their ordering and occur pre- or post-head. General noun phrase

embeds in other noun phrases and manifests clause-level tagmemes.

In the variants below, specific sub-filler groups are indicated only when necessary; i.e. if all fillers of a certain tagmeme are permitted in the combination, then the tagmeme is referred to only by name.

1) VARIANT A

±Mod 1 +Head:noun,qnp ±Quant

Examples:

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------------|
| 1. | <u>wulkap</u> <u>kwokwo</u> <u>wuri</u>
white chicken one | 'one, white chicken' |
| 2. | <u>ta</u> <u>wuri</u>
woman one | 'one woman' |
| 3. | <u>Marowa</u> <u>tame</u> <u>pes</u>
Marowa men two | 'two men from Marowa' |
| 4. | <u>kersapkap</u> <u>okw</u>
black water | 'ocean' |
| 5. | <u>ya</u> <u>ler</u> <u>wuri</u>
upper tooth one | 'one upper tooth' |
| 6. | <u>kerkini</u> <u>wes</u>
hot thing | 'something hot' |
| 7. | <u>kelpi</u> <u>nak</u> <u>nugwapa</u>
raw sago plenty | 'lots of raw sago' |
| 8. | <u>gene</u> <u>kwom</u>
far village | 'a faraway village' |

2) VARIANT B

±Poss +Head ±Descrip ±Quant

Examples:

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | <u>narimri</u> <u>kwobar</u> <u>periytame</u> <u>wuri</u>
our spirit huge one
house | 'our one big spirit house' |
| 2. | <u>aka</u> <u>eriwu</u> <u>aboye</u>
house door all | 'all the doors of the house' |
| 3. | <u>seyi</u> <u>namori</u> <u>pes</u>
possum female two
species | 'two female possums' |
| 4. | <u>ani</u> <u>ninbwe</u> <u>wes</u> <u>aboy</u>
me doing thing all | 'all the things being done to me' |
| 5. | <u>ariri</u> <u>ras</u> <u>petam</u> <u>amiyen</u>
my put thrown fish | 'my fish that was thrown up' |

Examples 4 and 5 are examples of appositional noun phrase (which involves an embedded clause) manifesting head tagmeme.

3) VARIANT C

±Mod 2:dem,adj 5 +Head:noun,qnp ±(±Descrip ±Quant)

Examples:

1. agerbwa tame wuri 'one other man'
another man one
2. ar wes 'that there thing'
that thing
there
3. rana kwom tame 'some village men'
some village men
4. agerbwa toma yaper 'other bad talk'
another talk bad

4) VARIANT D

±Mod 2:adj 5 ±Poss:poss.p-loc +Head ±Quant

Examples:

1. rana Wuswari tame 'some Sepik men'
some Sepik's men
2. agerbwa kwomri tame wuri 'one man from another village'
another village's man one
3. Marowari tame pes 'two men from Marowa'
Marowa's men two

5) VARIANT E

+Head ±Poss:poss.p-prn

Examples:

1. wus nimri 'our skin'
skin ours
2. towe riri 'his foot'
foot his

6) VARIANT F

±Mod 2:adj 5,loc 1 +Head:n.temp ±Quant

Examples:

1. liyp wuri 'one moth'
moon one

- | | | |
|----|--|------------------|
| 2. | <u>Sadey</u> <u>pes</u> | 'two weeks' |
| 3. | <u>yabel wuri</u>
sun one | 'one day' |
| 4. | <u>gwate wiyk</u>
this week | 'this week' |
| 5. | <u>agerbwa Sadey</u>
another Sunday | 'another Sunday' |

7) VARIANT G

±Poss:poss.p-prn +Head:na.np

Examples:

- | | | |
|----|---|---------------------|
| 1. | <u>ariri wakwore Merkwus</u>
my in-law Merkwus | 'my in-law Merkwus' |
| 2. | <u>ariri meym Kal</u>
my uncle Kal | 'my Uncle Kal' |

8) DEPENDENT GENERAL NOUN PHRASE

General noun phrase has a dependent form which includes certain of the modification tagmemes but not the head tagmeme. Occurrence of this phrase is dependent upon some reference to a potential manifestation of head tagmeme in the larger context.

Examples:

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | <u>+Possession</u>
(at <u>yikari wala</u>) <u>ariri.</u>
that whose dog mine | '(Whose dog is that?) Mine.' |
| 2. | <u>+Modifying 1</u>
(<u>ni nak potiye.</u>) <u>an kelpi potiye.</u>
you sago got I raw got sago.' | '(You got sago.) I got raw sago.' |
| 3. | <u>+Quantity</u>
(<u>niri yen mapsin.</u>) <u>mur.</u>
your children how three
many | '(How many children do you have?) Three.' |
| 4. | <u>+Description +Quantity</u>
<u>yenbwa wuriketwo (kaykira)</u>
good only one catch | '(Catch) only one good (one)' |
| 5. | <u>+Modifying 2</u>
<u>rana (rim yiwe)</u>
some they went | 'Some (of them went).' |

3.1.1.4 AMPLIFIED NOUN PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>±Specifier</u>
(a) pronoun <u>prn.mod.p</u> <u>gnp</u>	(a) person n loc noun <u>sum.np</u>
(b) inanimate n <u>sum.np</u> <u>gnp</u>	(b) <u>qnp</u> <u>gnp</u> <u>ap.np</u> <u>sr.np</u> <u>co.np</u>

Head tagmeme is obligatory. Specifier tagmeme is optional. Specifier tagmeme manifestation is an afterthought, usually accompanied by pause before and after, and serves to amplify or enumerate Head tagmeme. There are two co-occurrence variants.

1) AMPLIFIED NOUN PHRASE-PERSON

Head is manifested by (a) group in the bi-dimensional array. Pronoun is always non-singular. General noun phrase must also be non-singular and a person noun. Specifier tagmeme is manifested by (a) group in the bi-dimensional array. Tagmemes of phrases manifesting Specifier are always manifested by personal noun and pronouns.

Examples:

1. nis Sokopa rikini nis, 'we two, (I) with Sokopa we two,'
we 2 Sokopa he with we 2
2. rim tageri tame rim, 'they, the men from the landing
they landing men they place they,'
place's
3. rim yey waraga rim 'they, the ancestors they,'
they grand- ancestor they
parents
4. Marowa tame pes Kitibali agerbwa tame wuri rip,
Marowa men two Kitibali another man one they 2

'two men from Marowa, Kitibali and
one other man those two,'
5. nim yakla, 'we, young children,'
we young children
6. nis otop Ayla tikini, 'we two together, (I) with Helen,'
we together Helen she
2 with

2) AMPLIFIED NOUN PHRASE-NON-PERSON

Head is manifested by (b) group in the bi-dimensional array. Noun phrase tagmemes are always manifested by non-person nouns. Specifier tagmeme is manifested by (b) group in the bi-dimensional array. Noun phrase tagmemes are manifested by non-person noun. Occasionally, when general noun phrase manifests head tagmeme, specifier tagmeme permutes to a position between modifying l tagmeme and head tagmeme of general noun phrase (example 7 below).

Examples:

1. rope aka rope 'thatch, house thatch'
thatch house thatch
2. le tiri le 'eye, her eye'
eye her eye
3. amiyen ariri ras pitam amiyen 'fish, my fish thrown and put'
fish my put thrown fish
4. kel rimakel wuri buno wuri 'shells, one rimakel shell, one
shell shell one shell one
species species
one buno shell'
5. nimri kwom Mayo 'our village, Mayo'
our village Mayo
6. wara tawkini 'coconut shell dish, with a
coconut hole with
shell dish
hole'
7. yaper kiykini eylikini toma 'bad, with depth and with
bad depth surface- talk
with with
surface talk'

3.1.1.5 SUMMARY NOUN PHRASE

<u>+Enumeration</u>	<u>+Summary</u>
(a) animate n numeral <u>qnp</u> <u>gnp</u> <u>sr.np</u> <u>alt.np</u> <u>na.np</u>	(a) pronoun <u>dis.nu.p</u> <u>prn.mod.p</u>
(b) <u>sr.np</u> <u>ap.np</u> <u>co.np</u>	(b) adj 5 dem.prn <u>gnp</u>
(c) <u>es.np</u> <u>dem.prn</u>	(c) prn 1

array. Head tagmeme of general noun phrase is manifested by inanimate noun and modified by aboy 'all'. This variant manifests Object tagmeme of clause. When it manifests clause initial Object tagmeme for the sake of emphasis, summary tagmeme separates from enumeration tagmeme and moves to a position following Subject (example 1 below).

Examples:

1. Wuni nimni nuwam nak (nim) ab (akeypim).
Wuni us gave sago we all ate completely
'(We ate) all the sago the Wuni people gave us.'
2. aboy tokna wes pileyt sipun aboy wesbas
all sleep thing plate spoon all possessions
'all the blankets, plates, spoons, everything'
3. Kobawiykini Bolisowakini pesket
Kobawiy-with Bolisowa-with two
'Kobawiy and Bolisowa, the two'
4. nimri sowarim toma otop (an weya).
our walked talk that I said
'(I said) the story of our walk.'

c) SUMMARY NOUN PHRASE-ANIMATE EMPHATIC

Tagmemes are manifested by (c) groups in bi-dimensional array. This variant manifests Subject of clause.

Examples:

1. Yisas atar ri
Jesus he emphatic he
'Jesus'
2. atemwo rim
they only they
'only they'

3.1.1.6 APPOSITIONAL NOUN PHRASE

<u>+Apposition</u>	<u>+Head</u>
verbal clause <u>Do-Do Merged</u> <u>Sentence</u>	noun <u>qnp</u>

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Head tagmeme is manifested only by noun or qualified noun phrase. Apposition tagmeme is manifested only by verbal clause and Do-Do Merged Sentence. There are two variants

distinguished on the basis of manifestation of Head and distribution in clause. General variant manifests Subject, Object, Locative, Instrument, and Complement tagmeme of clause. Temporal Variant manifests Time tagmeme of clause.

1) POSITIONAL NOUN PHRASE-GENERAL

Head is manifested by non-temporal noun.

Example:

1. Wuni nimni nuwam nak
Wuni us gave sago
'the sago the Wuni people gave us'
2. baro ti wes
play play thing
'a thing to play with'
3. sin sowarim kwom
sit and walked village
'the village we sit and walk in (i.e. live in)'
4. awes kel hayar wusati yakwo
food shell well distribute work
'the work of distributing the food and money well'
5. yabwa tame
coming man
'the man who is coming'

2) POSITIONAL NOUN PHRASE-TEMPORAL

Head is manifested by temporal noun.

Example:

1. nim aka ninbim yabel
we house built day
'the day we built the house'
2. ok wayibwe woli
water coming up time
'the time the water comes up (i.e. the river rises)'

3.1.1.7 NEGATIVE QUANTIFIER PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Negative</u>
noun <u>grp</u> <u>grp</u>	<u>bwa</u> 'not'

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Head tagmeme is manifested by noun and general and qualified noun phrases. Negative tagmeme is manifested by bwa 'not, not have'. This phrase manifests Object and Comment tagmeme of clause.

Examples:

1. (rim) wiy tiru bwaker (peykbwa).
they skirt true not wear
'(They wear) skirts that are not real.'
2. kitiy bwa.
meat not have
'Didn't have meat'
3. (rim) kwom awes bwa.
they village food not have
'(They) didn't have village food.'

3.1.1.8 COMPARATIVE NOUN PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Comparative</u>
inan.noun <u>gnp</u>	<u>nawa</u> 'mother'

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Head tagmeme is manifested by inanimate noun and general noun phrase. Very often general noun phrase-dependent manifests head. Comparative tagmeme is manifested by nawa 'mother'. The deep structure relationship is that of comparativeness in the superlative degree. Comparative noun phrase manifests Subject, Object, and Comment tagmemes of clause.

Examples:

1. noma nawa
yaws mother
'the biggest yaws sore'
2. so nawa
star mother
'the largest, brightest star'
3. bara nawa
wide mother
'the widest'
4. me lagwana nawa
tree long mother
'the longest tree'

3.1.2 HEAD-HEAD NOUN PHRASES

There are five contrastive head-head noun phrases.

3.1.2.1 CO-ORDINATE NOUN PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Head</u>
<u>accp.p</u> _j	<u>accp.p</u> _k

Both head tagmemes are obligatory and are manifested by accompaniment phrase. The manifestation of axis in each phrase is different (j...k). Manifestations of axis tend to be parallel in structure. In one example (5, below), the first head was manifested by general noun phrase rather than accompaniment phrase. Co-ordinate noun phrase manifests various noun phrase tagmemes and Object, Subject tagmeme of clause.

Examples:

1. nakini workini
sago with axe with
'sago and axe'
2. nimri yey waraga rimkini kenari rimkini
our grand-parents ancestors they with Kenari they with
'our recent ancestors and Kenari people'
3. kwokwo yenkini nak nibukini
chicken child with sago rubbish with
'eggs and sago rubbish'
4. Kobawiykini Bolisowakini
Kobawiy with Bolisowa with
'Kobawiy and Bolisowa'
5. tame wuri ta tikini
man one woman she with
'one mand and a woman'

3.1.2.2 ALTERNATIVE NOUN PHRASE

<u>+Alternate 1</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Alternate 2</u>
noun _j <u>gnp</u> _j	<u>o</u> 'or'	noun _k <u>gnp</u> _k

All tagmemes are obligatory. Both alternate tagmemes are manifested

by noun and general noun phrase, with manifestation of alternate 1 being different from manifestation of alternate 2, but of the same class. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by o 'or'. The deep structure relationship is that of offering a choice of two alternatives. Alternative noun phrase manifests Subject, Object, and Location tagmemes of clause.

Examples:

1. muta o mutama
female owner or male owner
'the female owner or male owner'
2. mati o ow(-ki yuwati).
bag or pot-in put into
'(put it in) the bag or the pot.'
3. yen pes o yen mur
child two or child three
'two children or three children'

3.1.2.3 KINSHIP_RELATIONSHIP NOUN PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Head</u>
kinship noun j	kinship noun k

Both tagmemes are obligatory and each is manifested by kinship noun, j being different from k. There is one exception and that is where nowu 'friend' manifests both tagmemes. The combinations are fixed and in most cases indicate a kinship relationship. Kinship relationship noun phrase manifests noun phrase tagmemes which personal nouns manifest and Comment tagmeme of clause. One variant, nawiy apiy 'own mother and father', also manifests Exclamation tagmeme of Outer Periphery of sentence and is an exclamation of amazement.

Examples:

1. nara geysiy
brother sister
'brother and sister'
2. laka masa
older younger
'older and younger of same sex'
3. ta tame
woman man
'wife and husband'

4. nawa ha
mother father
'mother and father'
5. yen nawa
child mother
'child and mother'
6. yen ta
child woman
'children and women'
7. nawiy apiy
mother father
'own mother and father'
8. nowu nowu
friend friend
'friends' (i.e. we two are friends)

3.1.2.4 REDUPLICATED NOUN PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Head</u>
(a) <u>gnp</u> _j <u>foc.p-n</u> _j	(a) <u>gnp</u> _j <u>foc.p-n</u> _j
(b) inanimate noun _j <u>foc.p-n</u> _j <u>accp.p</u> _j	(b) inanimate noun _j <u>foc.p-n</u> _j <u>accp.p</u> _j
(c) <u>foc.p-n</u> _j <u>poss.p</u> _j	(c) <u>foc.p-n</u> _j <u>poss.p</u> _j
(d) <u>foc.p-n</u> _j	(d) <u>foc.p-n</u> _j

Both tagmemes are obligatory and are manifested by identical items. The deep structure relationship between the two tagmemes is primarily that of plurality and diversity; that is, the action of verb taking place in different places, usually, but not necessarily, at different times. Some examples (2) 1, below) indicate continuous action.

Variants are distinguished on the basis of classes of manifestation and distribution in other phrase and clause tagmemes.

1) REDUPLICATED NOUN PHRASE-LOCATION manifest Locative tagmeme of clause. Head of manifesting general noun phrase and focus periphery are manifested by location noun.

Examples:

1. (an) agerbwa kwom agerbwa kwom (bi yam).
I another village another village not came
'(I did not come) to the different villages.'
2. peyki peyki
river river
'different rivers'
3. (ap) mek mek (sim).
bird tree tree sat
'(the birds sat) on different trees/went from tree to tree!'
4. kwomki kwomki (sowarti).
village village will walk
'(Will walk) from village to village.'
5. girik girik (siti).
group group will sit
'(Will sit) by groups/in different groups.'

2) REDUPLICATED NOUN PHRASE-MANNER manifests Manner tagmeme of clause.

Head of manifesting accompaniment phrase and focus periphery are manifested by non-location inanimate noun.

Examples:

1. lek lek (tiye).
eye eye is
'staring, watching'
2. mow mow (yawe).
rain rain came
'(came) in the rain.'
3. kin kin (yiwe).
tail tail went
'(Went) backwards.'
4. lim lim (weye).
heavy heavy said
'(Talked) mumbling.'
5. (sibiya) yakini yakini (kwosti).
nettles arm with arm-with pick
'(Pick the nettles) branch by branch.'

3) REDUPLICATED NOUN PHRASE-POSSESSIVE manifests possessive tagmeme of general noun phrase (usually dependent variant), and Location tagmeme of clause. Head tagmeme of manifesting possessive phrase and nucleus of focus periphery are manifested by possessive phrase.

Examples:

1. kwomri kwomri
village's village's
'from different villages'
2. mari mari (sowarti).
where's where's will walk
'(Will walk) from where to where?'

4) TEMPORAL VARIANT manifests Time tagmeme of clause. Nucleus of manifesting focus periphery is manifested by time noun.

Example:

1. Sadeyki Sadeyki
Sunday Sunday
'each Sunday'

3.1.2.5 SERIAL NOUN PHRASE

	<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Head</u> ⁽⁴⁾
(a)	<u>prn</u> <u>per.n</u> <u>gnp</u> <u>sum.np</u>	(a)	(a)
(b)	<u>non-per noun</u> <u>gnp</u> <u>qnp</u> <u>ap.np</u>	(b)	(b)
(c)	<u>gnp</u>	(c)	(c)

Two head tagmemes are obligatory to the phrase. Optional head tagmeme may occur any number of times and has been observed occurring up to four times. Serial phrase manifests Subject, Object, and Time tagmemes of clause. Co-occurrence variants are as follows:

1) SERIAL NOUN PHRASE-PERSONAL

Tagmemes of this variant are manifested by (a) as in the bi-dimensional array. Tagmemes of manifesting noun phrases are manifested by personal noun. Any combination of (a) group may manifest head tagmemes.

Examples:

1. rim nim
they we
'they (and) we'

2. Biya atat arin Masta Hariy
Velma she I Mr. Harry
'Velma, I, Mr. Harry'
3. arin Biya Ayla Sokopa Giliyas Kangu
I Velma Helen Sokopa Giliyas Kangu
'I, Velma, Helen, Sokopa, Giliyas, Kangu'
4. Kitibali agerbwa tame wuri
Kitibali another man one
'Kitibali, one other man'
5. ta wuri tame wuri
woman one man one
'one woman, one man'

2) SERIAL NOUN PHRASE-NON-PERSON

Tagmemes of this variant are manifested by (b) group as in bi-dimensional array. Tagmemes of manifested noun phrases are manifested by non-person nouns. Any combination of (b) group may manifest head tagmemes.

Examples:

1. kwoy yam amiyen nak ow
yams banana fish sago grub
'yams, bananas, fish, sago grubs'
2. mena taya
betel nut coconut
'betel nut, coconut'
3. tokna wes pileyt sipun
sleep thing plate spoon
'blanket, plate, spoon'
4. rimakel wuri buno wuri
shell one shell species one
'one rimakel shell, one buno shell'

3) SERIAL NOUN PHRASE-TEMPORAL manifests Time tagmeme of clause. General noun phrase-variant F manifest head tagmemes.

Example:

1. ner wuri yabel wuri ner pes yabel pes
night one day one night two day two
'two days and two nights'

3.1.3 ATTENTION PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>±Attention</u>
kinship n per.name n	<u>sa</u>

Head tagmeme is obligatory and is manifested by kinship noun and personal name noun. Attention tagmeme is optional and is manifested by sa 'hey'. This phrase manifests Vocative tagmeme of sentence Outer Periphery.

Examples:

1. nawiy sa
mother hey
'Hey, Mother'
2. meym sa
uncle hey
'Hey, Uncle'
3. Seyi sa
Seyi hey
'Hey, Seyi'

3.2 PRONOUN PHRASES

There are four contrastive pronoun phrases which have pronoun manifesting nuclear tagmemes. Pronoun phrases manifest Subject and Object tagmemes of clause. Pronoun phrases embed very infrequently in other phrases.

3.2.1 PRONOUN MODIFIED

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Modifier</u>
non-emph.prn.	numeral adj 5 <u>gnp</u> <u>dist.nu.p</u>

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Head tagmeme is manifested by non-emphatic pronoun. Modifier tagmeme is manifested by numeral, adjective 5, general noun phrase which has an obligatory quantity tagmeme, and distributive numeral phrase. The following co-occurrence restrictions operate between the two tagmemes:

<u>Head</u>	<u>Modifier</u>
singular prn	<u>wuri</u> 'one'
	<u>wiysaga</u> 'alone'
dual prn	<u>pes pes</u> 'both, each'
	<u>otop</u> 'together'
plural prn	<u>ab</u> 'all'
	<u>nugwapa</u> 'many'
	<u>otop</u> 'together'

Pronoun modified phrase manifests Subject tagmeme of clause.

Examples:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. <u>an wiysaga</u>
I alone
'I alone'</p> <p>2. <u>nis otop</u>
we two together
'we two together'</p> <p>3. <u>rip pes pes</u>
those two two two
'those two both'</p> | <p>4. <u>ti wuri</u>
she one
'she one'</p> <p>5. <u>rim ab</u>
they all
'they all'</p> <p>6. <u>rim nugwapa</u>
they many
'they many'</p> <p>7. <u>rim yen eys</u>
they person four
'they four people'</p> |
|---|--|

3.2.2 INDIVIDUAL PRONOUN PHRASE

<u>+Group</u>	<u>+Individual</u>
plural prn	<u>yika</u> 'who'
<u>poss.p-prn</u>	numeral

Both tagmemes are obligatory. When Group tagmeme is manifested by plural pronoun, individual tagmeme is manifested by yika 'who'. When group tagmeme is manifested by pronoun variant of possessive phrase, individual tagmeme is manifested by numeral. This phrase manifests Subject tagmeme of clause.

Examples:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <u>atemri wuri</u>
their one
'one of them'</p> | <p>2. <u>kem yika</u>
you-pl. who
'which of you'</p> |
|--|--|

3. rim yika
 they.pi who
 'which of them'

3.2.3 DISTRIBUTIVE PRONOUN PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Head</u>
emp.prn _j	emp.prn _j
dem.prn _j	dem.prn _j
<u>excl.p-prn_j</u>	<u>excl.p-prn_j</u>

Both tagmemes are obligatory and manifestations of both tagmemes are identical. The deep structure relationship is that of distributiveness; that is, the action of the verb being performed by each of the subjects. This phrase manifests Object tagmeme of clause.

Examples:

1. rim atem atem wakala naybim.
 they they they argue fought
 'They argued amongst themselves.'
2. nim otop otop ninim.
 we that that did
 'We each did that.'
3. rim otopwo otopwo ninim.
 they that.only that.only did
 'They each did the same thing.'

3.2.4 EMPHATIC SUBJECT PHRASE

<u>±Person</u>	<u>+Head</u>
person n	emphatic pronoun

Only head tagmeme is obligatory and is manifested by emphatic pronoun. Optional person tagmeme is manifested by person noun. This phrase manifests enumeration tagmeme of summary noun phrase and Comment tagmeme of clause.

Examples:

1. Yisas atar
 Jesus he
 'Jesus'
2. atemwo
 they.only
 'only they'

3.3 TEMPORAL PHRASE

means of reduplication. When temporal 2 occurs, intensification is in focus. When kwokwos 'next day' occurs, the focus is on distribution.

Examples:

1. kerwu kerwu
morning morning
 'very early morning'

2. kwokwos kwokwos
next.day next.day
 'every day'

3.4 LOCATIVE PHRASE

Locative phrases manifest only Location tagmeme of clause. Locatives and location nouns manifest tagmemes of locative phrases. There are six contrastive phrases, contrasting in classes of manifestation, relationship of tagmemes, and deep structure relationships. Various noun phrases, whose nuclear tagmemes are manifested by location noun, also manifest Location tagmeme of clause.

3.4.1 SPECIFIED LOCATIVE PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Location</u>
location n <u>qnp</u>	<u>atek</u>

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Head tagmeme is manifested by location noun and qualified noun phrase in which head tagmeme is manifested by location noun, and by location variant of this phrase. Location tagmeme is manifested by one member of locative 1, atek 'there, specified'.

Examples:

1. Mudiway atek
Mudiway there
 'to Mudiway there'

2. wun beg atek
tree.species crotch there
 'there at the crotch of
 the tree'

3.4.2 DIRECTIONAL LOCATIVE PHRASE

<u>+Modifying</u>	<u>+Head</u>
locative 1	locative 2

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Modifying tagmeme is manifested by locative 1. Head tagmeme is manifested by locative 2. The deep struc-

CHART L

Specified Temporal Phrase Co-occurrence Restrictions

<u>Head</u>	<u>Specific</u>	
	<u>Definite Time</u>	<u>Head</u>
temporal 1 _j temporal 2 _j	temporal 1 _j	temporal 2 _j

Temporal 1 of definite time must be the same as temporal 1 of head of specified temporal phrase. Temporal 2 of head must be the same as temporal 2 of head of specified temporal phrase. The deep structure relationship is that of specifying or amplifying in specific tagmeme the time stated in head tagmeme.

Examples:

1. kwokwos, Madey
next.day Monday
'next day, Monday'
2. kwokwos, Tudey
next.day Tuesday
'next day, Tuesday'
3. wara, wara keyniy
tomorrow tomorrow morning
'tomorrow, tomorrow morning'
4. yere, yere perpe
yesterday yesterday afternoon
'yesterday, yesterday afternoon'
5. perpe, gwotopti perpe
afternoon today afternoon
'afternoon, this afternoon'

3.3.3 INTENSIFIED TEMPORAL PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Head</u>
temporal 2 _j <u>kwokwos</u>	temporal 2 _j <u>kwokwos</u>

Both head tagmemes are obligatory and both manifested by the same word, temporal 2 or one member of temporal 1, kwokwos 'next day'. The deep structure relationship is that of intensification and distribution by

means of reduplication. When temporal 2 occurs, intensification is in focus. When kwokwos 'next day' occurs, the focus is on distribution.

Examples:

1. kerwu kerwu
morning morning
'very early morning'

2. kwokwos kwokwos
next.day next.day
'every day'

3.4 LOCATIVE PHRASE

Locative phrases manifest only Location tagmeme of clause. Locatives and location nouns manifest tagmemes of locative phrases. There are six contrastive phrases, contrasting in classes of manifestation, relationship of tagmemes, and deep structure relationships. Various noun phrases, whose nuclear tagmemes are manifested by location noun, also manifest Location tagmeme of clause.

3.4.1 SPECIFIED LOCATIVE PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Location</u>
location n <u>qnp</u>	<u>atek</u>

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Head tagmeme is manifested by location noun and qualified noun phrase in which head tagmeme is manifested by location noun, and by location variant of this phrase. Location tagmeme is manifested by one member of locative 1, atek 'there, specified'.

Examples:

1. Mudiway atek
Mudiway there
'to Mudiway there'

2. wun beg atek
tree.species crotch there
'there at the crotch of
the tree'

3.4.2 DIRECTIONAL LOCATIVE PHRASE

<u>+Modifying</u>	<u>+Head</u>
locative 1	locative 2

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Modifying tagmeme is manifested by locative 1. Head tagmeme is manifested by locative 2. The deep structure relationship is that of giving the specific position of a direction.

Examples:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <u>uk</u> <u>yale</u>
there.far downstream
'way downstream' | 3. <u>uk</u> <u>war</u>
there.far down
'way down there' |
| 2. <u>ur</u> <u>ya</u>
there.close up
'up there close' | 4. <u>o</u> <u>wey</u>
down.there down
'down below' |

3.4.3 SIDAL LOCATIVE PHRASE

<u>+Direction</u>	<u>+Head</u>
locative 1,2,3	<u>yokwe</u> 'side'

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Direction tagmeme is manifested by locative 1, locative 2, and locative 3. Head tagmeme is manifested only by yokwe 'side'.

Examples:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <u>ya</u> <u>yokwe</u>
up side
'upper side' | 5. <u>up</u> <u>yokwe</u>
that side
'that side' |
| 2. <u>wey</u> <u>yokwe</u>
down side
'lower side' | 6. <u>gwop</u> <u>yokwe</u>
this.here side
'this side' |
| 3. <u>yale</u> <u>yokwe</u>
downstream side
'downstream, east side' | 7. <u>sib</u> <u>yokwe</u>
front side
'front side (of house)' |
| 4. <u>yo</u> <u>yokwe</u>
upstream side
'upstream, west side' | 8. <u>ler</u> <u>yokwe</u>
back side
'back side (of house)' |

3.4.4 POSITIONAL LOCATIVE PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Position</u>
location n	locative 3,4

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Head tagmeme is manifested by location noun, but not place names. Position tagmeme is manifested by locative 3, and locative 4. The deep structure relationship is that of specifying a position in relation to the noun mentioned.

Examples:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <u>kerku</u> <u>gan</u>
fireplace beside
'beside the fireplace'</p> <p>2. <u>aka</u> <u>kul</u>
house under
'under the house'</p> <p>3. <u>tiy</u> <u>eyli</u>
platform top
'on top of the table'</p> <p>4. <u>aka</u> <u>puri</u>
house inside
'inside the house'</p> | <p>5. <u>aka</u> <u>ler</u>
house back
'back of the house'</p> <p>6. <u>aka</u> <u>sib</u>
house front
'front of the house'</p> <p>7. <u>pa</u> <u>puri</u>
stone inside
'cave'</p> <p>8. <u>let</u> <u>mama</u>
hand right
'right hand'</p> <p>9. <u>let</u> <u>giryi</u>
hand left
'left hand'</p> |
|--|--|

3.4.5 INTENSIFIED DISTANCE

<u>+Distance</u>	<u>+Distance</u>
$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{locative } 5_j \\ \text{locative } 4 \\ \text{bar 'middle'} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{locative } 5_j \\ \text{locative } 4 \\ \text{bar 'middle'} \end{array} \right]$

Both tagmemes are obligatory and both are manifested by identical items as in bi-dimensional array. Only one member of locative 4, bar 'middle', manifests these tagmemes. The deep structure relationship is that of intensifying a given distance.

Examples:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <u>gene</u> <u>gene</u>
far far
'very far'</p> <p>2. <u>kayki</u> <u>kayki</u>
far far
'very far'</p> | <p>3. <u>meykini</u> <u>meykini</u>
close close
'very close'</p> <p>4. <u>bar</u> <u>bar</u>
middle middle
'centre'</p> |
|---|---|

3.4.6 QUALIFIED DISTANCE PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Modifier</u>
locative 5	<u>ker</u> a 'a little'

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Head tagmeme is manifested by locative 5. Modifier tagmeme is manifested by kera 'a little'. The deep structure relationship is that of modifying a given distance.

Example:

1. kay kera
far a little
'not too far'

3.5 INTERROGATIVE PHRASE

Interrogative phrase manifests Interrogative tagmeme of clause, where it occurs in portmanteau relationship with Subject, Object, or Comment tagmemes. Interrogatives manifest at least one of the phrase tagmemes. There are two contrastive phrases.

3.5.1 INTERROGATIVE NOUN PHRASE

<u>+Modifier</u>	<u>+Head</u>
ig 3 <u>poss.p-ig</u>	noun

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Modifier tagmeme is manifested by interrogative 3 and possessive phrase-interrogative. Head tagmeme is manifested by noun.

Examples:

1. be wes.
what thing
'What thing?'
2. yika ta.
who woman
'What woman?'
3. (ri) mari tame.
he where's man
'Where is (he) from?'
4. yikari wes.
whose thing
'Whose thing?'
5. map yokwe.
what side
'What side?'

3.5.2 DISTRIBUTIVE INTERROGATIVE PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Head</u>
[<u>ig 2_j</u> <u>poss.p-ig_j</u>]	[<u>ig 2_j</u> <u>poss.p-ig_j</u>]

Both obligatory head tagmemes are manifested by interrogative 2 and possessive phrase-interrogative, which must be the same. The deep structure relationship is one of distribution.

Examples:

1. mapsin mapsin
how much how much
'How much is each one?'
2. (rim) mari mari
they where's where's
'Where is each one of them from?'
3. yikari yikari
whose whose
'Whose is each one (of these)?'

3.6 ADVERB PHRASE

Adverb phrase manifests Manner tagmeme of clause. Adverbs manifest tagmemes of adverb phrase. There are two contrastive phrases.

3.6.1 INTENSIFIED ADVERB PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Head</u>
adverb 2 _j	adverb 2 _j

Both obligatory head tagmemes are manifested by adverb 2 which must be the same. The deep structure relationship is that of intensification of the adverb by reduplication.

Examples:

1. sem sem
still still
'always, forever'
2. aylen aylen
slowly slowly
'very slowly'

3.7.1 INTENSIFIED ADJECTIVE PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Head</u>	<u>±(+Head</u>	<u>+Head)</u>
adjective 6 _j	adj 6 _j	adj 6 _j	adj 6 _j

The two obligatory head tagmemes are manifested by adjective 6, the adjective of each tagmeme being the same. These two head tagmemes may optionally reduplicate again. Only kera 'a little bit' and kena 'different' occur in this optional reduplicated tagmeme. The deep structure relationship is that of intensification of the stated adjective, although the relationship is more distributive with some adjectives (i.e. agerbwa 'another'). The deep structure relationship of the optional reduplication of head-head is that of distributiveness of the stated adjective.

Examples:

1. periy periy
big big
'very big'
2. gisa gisa
hard hard
'very hard'
3. sikini sikini
true true
'very true'
4. agerbwa agerbwa
another another
'each different'
5. kera kera
a.little a.little
'a very little bit'
6. kena kena
different different
'each different'
7. kera kera kera kera
little.bit little.bit little.bit little.bit
'each one a little bit'
8. kena kena kena kena
different different different different
'each one different'

3. eysuw taysuw
 small small
 'very small, too small'

3.7.3 QUALIFIED SIZE PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Modifier</u>
adjective 2 _j	adjective 2 _k

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Both head tagmeme and modifier tagmeme are manifested by adjective 2, but the two adjectives in the two tagmemes must be different. The deep structure relationship is that of qualifying a stated size.

Examples:

1. kwarekware kera
 medium.size little.bit
 'smaller than medium size but not small'
2. kwarekware bokra
 medium.size big
 'bigger than medium size but not big'
3. bokra kera
 big little.bit
 'not real big'
4. lagwana kera
 long little.bit
 'not real long'

3.8 NUMERAL PHRASE

Numeral phrase manifests various phrase and clause-level tagmemes. Numerals and certain specific nouns manifest numeral phrase tagmemes.

The Yessan-Mayo counting system is based on a man. There are six basic numerals 1-5, 10. From there, the system uses Digital Counting Clause and various phrases to count, using first the hands for numbers 6-10 (Digital Counting Clause), then the feet for numbers 11-19 (teens numeral phrase), and then men for the numbers 20 and upwards (addition numeral phrase).

3.8.1 TEENS NUMERAL PHRASE

<u>±Counter</u>	<u>+Plus</u>	<u>+Quantity</u>
<u>letpeys</u> 'ten'	<u>towe</u> 'foot'	numeral 1 <u>letlana</u> 'five' DigCtgCl

Plus and quantity tagmemes are both obligatory to the phrase. Counter tagmeme is optional, but usually occurs. Counter is manifested by letpeys 'ten'. Plus tagmeme is manifested by towe 'foot'. Quantity tagmeme is manifested by numeral 1, letlana 'five', and Digital Counting Clause. Teens phrase counts numbers from eleven to nineteen. It manifests quantity of general noun phrase and Comment tagmeme of clause.

Examples:

1. letpeys towe wuri
ten foot one
'eleven'
2. letpeys towe letlana
ten foot five
'fifteen'
3. letpeys towe letlana kelara wuri
ten foot five other.part one
'sixteen'
4. towe letlana kelara mur
foot five other.part three
'eighteen'

3.8.2 ADDITIONAL NUMERAL PHRASE

<u>+Counter A</u>	<u>+Quantity</u>	<u>+Counter B</u>	<u>±Addition</u>
<u>tame</u> 'man'	<u>poss.p-nu</u>	<u>ok</u> 'full count'	numeral <u>tnu.p</u> DigCtgCl

Counter and quantity tagmemes are obligatory. Addition tagmeme is optional. Counter A tagmeme is manifested by tame 'man', and Counter B tagmeme is manifested by ok 'full count'. Quantity tagmeme is manifested by possessive phrase-numeral. Addition tagmeme is manifested by

numeral, teens numeral phrase, and Digital Counting Clause. Addition phrase counts numbers from twenty upwards. It manifests quantity tag-meme of general noun phrase and Comment tagmeme of clause.

Examples:

1. tame wuriri ok
man one's full.count
'twenty'
2. tame pesri ok letlana
man two's full.count five
'forty-five'
3. tame pesri ok letlana kelara pes
man two's full.count five other.part two
'forty-seven'
4. tame pesri ok letpeys
man two's full.count ten
'fifty'
5. tame pesri ok letpeys towe letlana kelara wuri
man two's full.count ten foot five other.part one
'fifty-six'
6. tame muri ok pes
man three's full.count two
'sixty-two'

3.8.3 DISTRIBUTIVE NUMERAL PHRASE

+Quantity	+Quantity
[numeral _j poss.p-nu _j]	[numeral _j poss.p-nu _j]

Both quantity tagmemes are obligatory and are manifested by numerals and possessive phrase-numeral, each tagmeme having the same manifestation. The deep structure relationship is distributive. Distributive numeral phrase manifests quantity of general noun phrase, modifying tagmeme of modified pronoun phrase, and Comment of clause.

Examples:

1. pes pes
two two
'both, each of them (being 2)'

- 2. mur mur
three three
'all three, each of them (being 3)'
- 3. pesri pesri
two's two's
'two for each one'

3.9 RELATOR-AXIS PHRASES

Dependent Words (Chapter 2, 2.2) co-occur with a wide variety of word classes and phrases to form relator-axis phrases. These phrases manifest a wide variety of phrase and clause level tagmemes.

3.9.1 POSSESSIVE PHRASE

<u>+Axis</u>	<u>+Relator</u>
(a) ig	<u>-ri</u>
(b) num	
(c) prn	
(d) loc n	
(e) noun	
adj	
<u>qnp</u>	
<u>gnp</u>	

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Axis is manifested by various words and phrases as listed in bi-dimensional array. Relator is manifested by -ri ~ -r 'possessive'. When -ri occurs with pronouns the following rule operates:

When occurring with first and second singular pronouns, the final -n of pronoun stem is dropped.

an 'I' → ari 'my'
arin 'I' → ariri 'my'
nirin 'you' → niriri 'your'

Possessive phrase primarily manifests possessive tagmeme of general noun phrase, but various variants are distinguished on the basis of other phrase-level tagmemes which they manifest. Recursion of possessive phrase within possessive phrase is very common (possessive phrase-general, examples 4-6).

Possessive phrase has two deep structure relationships. One is ordinary possession.

Examples:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <u>ariri aka</u>
my house
'my house' | 2. <u>Biya tiri tara</u>
Velma her head
'Velma's head' |
|---|--|

The second is inclusion. The possessed item is semantically an included part of the possessor item. In most cases the possessor is non-person.

Examples:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <u>now selri wes</u>
garden ground's thing
'things of the earth' | 3. <u>kiyiri</u>
before's
'from before' |
| 2. <u>Ambuntiri tatame</u>
Ambunti's people
'people of Ambunti' | 4. <u>atemri wuri</u>
their one
'one of them' |

(1) POSSESSIVE PHRASE-INTERROGATIVE

Axis is manifested by (a) group of bi-dimensional array, interrogative 2. Possessive phrase-interrogative manifests modifying tagmeme of interrogative noun phrase.

Examples:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. <u>yikari</u>
whose
'Whose?' | 2. <u>mari tame</u>
where's man
'man from where?' |
|---------------------------------------|---|

(2) POSSESSIVE PHRASE-NUMERAL

Axis is manifested by (b) group of bi-dimensional array. Possessive phrase-numeral manifests quantity tagmeme of addition phrase, and quantity tagmeme of distributive numeral phrase.

Examples:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. <u>pesri</u>
two's
'two's' | 2. <u>pesri pesri</u>
two's two's
'two each' |
|-------------------------------------|--|

(3) POSSESSIVE PHRASE-PRONOUN

Axis is manifested by (c) group of bi-dimensional array. Possessive phrase-pronoun manifests group tagmeme of individual pronoun phrase, and possessive tagmeme of general noun phrase-variant G.

Examples:

- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <u>ariri</u> | 2. <u>atatri</u> | 3. <u>narimri</u> |
| my | hers | ours |
| 'my' | 'hers' | 'ours' |

(4) POSSESSIVE PHRASE-LOCATIVE

Axis is manifested by (d) group of bi-dimensional array. Posses-
sive phrase-locative manifests possessive tagmeme of general noun
phrase-variant D.

Examples:

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <u>kwomri</u> <u>tame</u> | 2. <u>Marowari</u> <u>tame</u> |
| village's man | Marowa's man |
| 'village man' | 'man from Marowa' |

(5) POSSESSIVE PHRASE-GENERAL

Axis is manifested by (e) group of bi-dimensional array.

Examples:

1. tameri wes
man's thing
'men's things'
2. kiyiri wes
before's thing
'old, from before'
3. agerbwa kwomri
another place's
'another place's'
4. Wuswari tame rimri
Sepik's men their
'belonging to men of the Sepik'
5. ariri tameri
my man's
'my husband's'
6. narimri Nukiniyri now selri wes
our New Guinea's garden ground's thing
'the things of our land of New Guinea'

3.9.2 OBJECTIVE PHRASE

<u>+Axis</u>	<u>+Relator</u>
animate n pronoun <u>yika</u> 'who' <u>gnp</u> <u>sum.np</u>	<u>-ni</u>

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Axis is manifested by words and phrases as listed above. Relator is manifested by -ni 'objective case'. -ni ~ -n occurs with pronoun, yika 'who', and summary noun phrase more often than with noun and general noun phrase. The deep structure relationship is that of noun or pronoun being direct or indirect object of the verb, or of the action being done for the noun or pronoun (benefactive).

Examples:

1. an-i
I-obj
'me, to me, for me'
2. Seyi-ni
Seyi-obj
'Seyi, to Seyi'
3. yika-ni
who-obj
'whom, to whom, for whom'
4. meym rim-ni
uncle they-obj
'uncles, them'
5. Aylakini Karolkini rip-ni
Helen.with Carol.with those.two-obj
'them, Helen and Carol'
6. agerbwa yen-i
another person-obj
'another person'

3.9.3 ACCOMPANIMENT PHRASE

<u>+Axis</u>	<u>+Relator</u>
pronoun noun nature noun	<u>-kini</u>

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Axis is manifested by items as noted above in bi-dimensional array. Relator is manifested by -kini 'with'. Various variants are distinguished on the basis of classes of manifestation, distribution in other phrases and clauses, and deep structure relationships.

(1) ACCOMPANIMENT PHRASE-ABILITATIVE manifests Subject of clause and has a deep structure relationship of ability to do something. Axis is manifested by pronoun.

Examples:

1. an-kini be weski potiti.
I-with what thing will.get
'What can I get?'
2. ri-kini tame tan sati.
he-with man bite.and will.die
'He can bite men and (they) will die.'
3. nis-kini yiti.
we.two-with will.go
'We two can go.'
4. nini ri-kini tati.
you he-with will bite
'He can bite you.'

(2) ACCOMPANIMENT PHRASE-ACCOMPANIMENT manifests specifier tagmeme of amplified noun phrase, head tagmemes of co-ordinate noun phrase, and Accompaniment and Comment tagmemes of clause. Axis is manifested by pronoun and noun.

Examples:

1. atem-kini
they-with
'with them'
2. kwakwol-kini
stick-with
'with a stick'
3. (ti) yen-kini.
she child-with
'(She) is pregnant.' '(She) has a child.'
4. (an) ta-kini (yiti).
I woman-with will.go
'(I will go) with my wife.'
5. (an) ta-kini.
I woman-with
'I have a wife.'

(3) ACCOMPANIMENT QUALITATIVE manifests modifying 1 tagmeme of general noun phrase. Axis is manifested by nature noun.

Examples:

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 1. <u>ker-kini</u>
fire-with
'hot' | 2. <u>ok-kini</u>
water-with
'wet' | 3. <u>lim-kini</u>
heavy-with
'heavy' |
|--|--|---|

3.9.4 SUPERLATIVE PHRASE

<u>+Axis</u>	<u>+Relator</u>
noun adj <u>int.adj.p</u>	<u>-way</u>

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Axis is manifested by items noted in bi-dimensional array. Relator is manifested by -way 'really'. Superlative phrase manifests descriptive tagmeme of general noun phrase, and Object and Comment tagmemes of clause.

Examples:

1. periytame-way
very.big-really
'really huge'
2. (ti) mo-way (weye).
she dislike-really said
'(She) really didn't want to do it.'
3. sikini sikini-way
true true-really
'really very true'
4. buhusubu-way
nothing-really
'really (have) nothing'

3.9.5 ANALOGIC PHRASE

<u>+Axis</u>	<u>+Relator</u>
prn noun <u>qnp</u> <u>poss.p</u> Indep.Clause	<u>-kap</u>

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Axis tagmeme is manifested by various words, phrases, and clauses as listed in bi-dimensional array. Relator tagmeme is manifested by -kap 'like'. Analogic phrase manifests modifying 1 tagmeme of general noun phrase and clause-level tagmemes Object and Comment.

Examples:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <u>wul-kap</u>
egret-like
'white' | 4. <u>arin-kap</u>
I-like
'like me' |
| 2. <u>ker sap-kap</u>
fire charcoal-like
'black' | 5. <u>ariri-kap</u>
my-like
'like mine' |
| 3. <u>me take wus-kap</u>
tree hair skin-like
'green' | 6. <u>narim ninim-kap kem otop ninti</u>
we did-like you that will.do
'You all do like we did.' |

3.10 VERB PHRASE

Yessan-Mayo verb phrases manifest Predicate tagmeme of clause. They may also embed in verb phrase tagmemes.

Verb phrase is a construction consisting of two or more verbs. All but the last verb in the construction are verb stems which are optionally (but infrequently) affixed for direction and aspect. If the phrase manifests Predicate tagmeme, the final verb in the construction is a dependent or independent verb capable of the full affixation possible for dependent and independent verb. If the phrase embeds in another verb phrase, the final verb is a verb stem with optional affixation of direction and aspect, but no tense affixation. Only the initial verb of verb phrase may have prefixes. Phrases are described hereafter in unembedded form.

When the statement is made in the description of phrase that any verb stem may occur, we mean, of course, any verb stem of the classes

mentioned that are semantically permissible. It would be impossible to enumerate all the semantic co-occurrence restrictions.

Verb phrases contrast in manifestations of tagmemes, deep structure relationships, and number of tagmemes.

As many as four verbs have been noted in a verb phrase construction. Verb phrases are generally binary (i.e. two tagmemes) with the exception of continuous verb phrase.

There are three classifications of verb phrases--general, reduplicated, and specific.

3.10.1 GENERAL VERB PHRASES

3.10.1.1 GENERAL VERB PHRASE

<u>±Negative</u>	<u>+Action</u>
<bi>	inflected verb <u>vp</u>

Action tagmeme is the only tagmeme that is obligatory. Negative tagmeme is manifested by negative 1. Action tagmeme is manifested by any verb stem or verb phrase. The deep structure relationship is that of negating the action of the verb.

Examples:

- ni kap war wiyti.
you should.not down.go wash.ft
'You shouldn't go down and wash.'
- nim wara bi yi yabwe.
we tomorrow not go coming
'Tomorrow we do not go and come.'

3.10.1.2 DO-DO VERB PHRASE

<u>+Action 1</u>	<u>+Action 2</u>
verb stem _j	inflected verb _k <u>sim.vp</u>

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Action 1 tagmeme is manifested by any verb stem, except descriptive and nature intransitive. Action 2 is also manifested by any verb stem except descriptive and nature intransitive, but the two verbs must be different. Simultaneous verb phrase

also manifests action 2 tagmeme. The deep structure relationship is that of a very close-knit sequence of actions. This phrase parallels Do-Do Merged Sentence.

Examples:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. <u>war</u> <u>wiyti</u>
go.down will.wash
'go down and wash'</p> <p>2. <u>tagwa</u> <u>lati</u>
take.away will.look
'take away and look'</p> <p>3. <u>rima</u> <u>litin</u>
push pull.and
'pushed and pulled'</p> <p>4. <u>nuwa</u> <u>petiti</u>
give will.send
'send something'
(away from speaker)</p> | <p>5. <u>we</u> <u>petiti</u>
say will.send
'send a message'</p> <p>6. <u>nuwa</u> <u>peti</u> <u>yati</u>
give send will.come
'send something to speaker'</p> <p>7. <u>rima</u> <u>peti</u> <u>wurim</u>
push send to.other.side
'push and send outside' 'push
it outside'</p> <p>8. <u>hak</u> <u>peti</u> <u>peti</u> <u>yati</u>
sweep send send will.come
'sweeping this way'</p> |
|---|--|

3.10.2 REDUPLICATED VERB PHRASE

Reduplicated verb phrases have the shared characteristic of reduplication; that is, manifestations of action tagmemes being the same.

3.10.2.1 CONTINUOUS VERB PHRASE

+Action 1	+Action 2 ²	+Action n
verb stem _j	verb stem _j	inflected verb _j

Action 1 and action n tagmemes are obligatory. Action 2 is optional and has been observed occurring up to two times. All manifestations of action tagmemes are the same. The deep structure relationship is one of continuation of the action in time and space. Continuous verb phrase parallels Merged Repetition Sentence.

Examples:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <u>yi</u> <u>yi</u> <u>yim</u>
go go went
'went, went, went'</p> <p>2. <u>si</u> <u>si</u> <u>sin</u>
sit sit sit.and
'sit, sit, sit and'</p> | <p>3. <u>sower</u> <u>sower</u> <u>sowerin</u>
walk walk walk.and
'walked, walked, walked and'</p> <p>4. (le) <u>bir</u> <u>birti</u>
eye close will.close
'flutter (the eyes)'</p> |
|---|---|

5. peti peti
send send
'send, send'

3.10.2.2 DISTRIBUTIVE VERB PHRASE

<u>+Action</u>	<u>+Distributive</u>
verb stem _j	inflected verb _j

Both action tagmeme and distributive tagmeme are obligatory and both are manifested by the same verb. Verbs which have been observed in this phrase are as follows: 'fight', 'ask', 'wave', 'turn', 'stir up trouble', 'tired', 'prevent', 'dislike', 'urge', 'try', 'say', 'look around'. The verb stem is reduplicated in distributive tagmeme with a change in the first syllable as described in Chapter 2, section 1. The deep structure relationship is one of repeated actions of the verb in various environments.

Examples:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. <u>wemat</u> <u>kamatiti</u>
ask will.ask
'ask around'</p> <p>2. <u>sayla</u> <u>kaylati</u>
try will.try
'try around'</p> <p>3. <u>soway</u> <u>sawayim</u>
prevent prevented
'prevent various people'</p> <p>4. <u>tisel</u> <u>taselti</u>
tired will.be.tired
'tired all over'</p> | <p>5. <u>pubot</u> <u>abotin</u>
turn.around turn.around.and
'turn head in different directions'</p> <p>6. <u>rager</u> <u>pagerti</u>
prevent will.prevent
'prevent a number of different people'</p> <p>7. <u>niri</u> <u>nariti</u>
look.around will.look.around
'look around at different things'</p> <p>8. <u>pibeyn</u> <u>abeynti</u>
wave will.wave
'wave around'</p> |
|---|--|

3.10.2.3 NON-ACCOMPLISHMENT VERB PHRASE

<u>+Head</u>	<u>+Head</u>
verb stem + one clause tagmeme _j	inflected verb + one clause tagmeme _j

Head tagmemes are obligatory. Each is manifested by the same item. It is uncertain whether this is really a phrase or two clauses, but because there is no affixation on the first verb and because reduplication is so characteristic of phrases, it has been included with phrases rather than clause, even though the construction obligatorily occurs with some clause-level tagmeme. Clause-level tagmemes that have been observed occurring are Object (Examples 1,2,3), Manner (Example 4), and Locative (Example 5). The deep structure relationship focuses primarily on the non-accomplishment of an action.

Examples:

1. op we op wem
this say this said
'disagree (everyone said something different)'
2. op habwe op habwebwe
this think this thinking
'worried, puzzled, confused (think different things)'
3. kena we kena wem
different say different said
'disagree'
4. yiwil mik yawil mikti
badly mark badly will.mark
'bad writing that goes every which way'
5. ak war yi ak war yim
there go.down go there go.down went
'went in a complete circle'

3.10.3 SPECIFIC VERB PHRASES

Specific verb phrases have the shared characteristic of one of the tagmemes being manifested by a specific verb. In all but one phrase (Section 3.10.4.7), the second tagmeme is the one manifested by the specific verb. There are eight contrastive specific verb phrases. Three of these, do-stop, simultaneous action, and do-hear parallel Merged Go-Stop, Merged Coterminous Simultaneous, and Merged Result Sentences respectively.

3.10.3.1 DO-STOP VERB PHRASE

<u>+Action 1</u>	<u>+Action 2</u>
verb stem (not descriptive nature intr motion intr)	inflected form of <u>meysingin</u> 'stop'

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Action 1 tagmeme may be manifested by any verb stem except descriptive, nature intransitive, and motion intransitive. Action 2 tagmeme is manifested only by meysingin 'stop'. The deep structure relationship is that of cessation of the first action.

Examples:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <u>la</u> <u>meysingin</u> ...
look stop.and
'stop looking and...' | 3. <u>kep</u> <u>pir</u> <u>meysingin</u> ...
string make stop.and
'stop making string and...' |
| 2. <u>ker</u> <u>lis</u> <u>meysingin</u> ...
fire stoke stop.and
'stop stoking the fire and...' | 4. <u>kwoy</u> <u>ber</u> <u>meysingin</u>
yams plant stopped
'stopped planting yams' |

3.10.3.2 DO-PUT VERB PHRASE

+ <u>Action 1</u>	+ <u>Action 2</u>
verb stem	inflected form of <u>ras</u> 'put'

Both action tagmemes are obligatory. Action 1 is manifested by any verb stem except descriptive, and nature and motion intransitive. Action 2 tagmeme is manifested only by ras 'put'. The deep structure relationship is one of the subject or object being left where it is after the action of action 1 has been accomplished.

Examples:

1. lege rasti
 take.off.head will.put
 'will take (net bag) off head and leave it where it's put'
2. kilay rasti
 slip will.put
 'will slip and stay where slipped'
3. sak rasti
 untie will.put
 'will untie and leave where untied'
4. sa rasim
 die put
 'died and left where died'
5. lik rasti
 take will.put
 'will take someone somewhere and leave them there'

3.10.3.3 COMPLETIVE VERB PHRASE

<u>+Action</u>	<u>+Completive</u>
verb stem	inflected form of <u>yuwa</u> 'put into'

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Action tagmeme is manifested by any verb stem except descriptive, and nature and motion intransitive. Completive tagmeme is manifested only by yuwa 'put into'. This is an idiomatic use of yuwa as it completely loses its primary meaning of 'put into'. The deep structure relationship is one of complete or thorough action of the verb to the object. If the verb is intransitive, the action was done by everyone. Plurality is implicit--object or subject is plural, or as a result of the thoroughness of the action, the object is in many pieces. ab/aboy/aboyey 'all' often co-occurs in the clause with this verb phrase.

Examples:

1. sak yuwati
untie will.put.into
'will untie (all)'
2. pa aboy lik yuwam
stone all take put.into
'took all the stones'
3. nak kwota yuwati
sago dish.out.onto.leaves will.put.into
'will dish out all the sago onto leaves'
4. kus yuwati
flood will.put.into
'will flood everywhere'
5. bas yuwati
curl will.put.into
'will all curl'
6. tara rurara yuwabwe
head headache putting.into
'very severe headache (i.e. aches all over)'
7. sa yuwam
die put.into
'everyone died'

3.10.3.4 SIMULTANEOUS ACTION VERB PHRASE

<u>+Action</u>	<u>+Motion</u>
verb stem <u>cont.vp</u>	inflected form of motion verb

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Action tagmeme is manifested by any verb stem except descriptive, nature and motion intransitive, and by continuous verb phrase. Motion tagmeme is manifested only by motion verbs. The deep structure relationship is that of the two actions being carried on at the same time (simultaneous) and, in most cases, of ending at the same time (coterminous).

Examples:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <u>temna yim</u>
go.ahead went
'went ahead'

2. <u>peti wurti</u>
send will.go.to.other.side
'will send inside'

3. <u>kwora wuti</u>
cross will.go.across
'will cross over' | 4. <u>ame warin...</u>
run go.down.and
'run down and...'

5. <u>rege weram</u>
cut came.to.this.side
'cut while going to this side'

6. <u>kiti wurim</u>
lock went.to.other.side
'locked as went to other side'

7. <u>peti peti yam</u>
send send came
'kept sending it this way' |
|---|---|

3.10.3.5 DIFFERENT DIRECTIONAL VERB PHRASE

<u>+Action 1</u>	<u>+Action 2</u>
[motion verb stem _j] <u>sim.vp_j</u>	[inflected form of motion verb _k] <u>sim.vp_k</u>

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Both tagmemes are manifested by motion verb or simultaneous verb phrase. Action 1 is always manifested by motion verb that moves away from speaker, and action 2 tagmeme is always manifested by motion verb that moves toward the speaker. The deep structure relationship is that of movement of the subject in different directions.

Examples:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <u>yi</u> <u>yati</u>
go will.come
'will go and come' | 2. <u>ame</u> <u>war</u> <u>ame</u> <u>wayim</u>
run go.down run went.up
'ran up and down' |
|--|--|

3.10.3.6 PERCEPTION VERB PHRASE

<u>+Action</u>	<u>+Perception</u>
verb stem	inflected form of perception verb <u>mat</u> 'hear' <u>la</u> 'see'

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Action is manifested by verb stems. Perception is manifested by perception verbs. The deep structure relationship is that of perceiving something by means of the action, that is, doing the action in order to know something.

Examples:

1. pi matiti
 hit will.hear
 'will hit in order to know something' (e.g. knock to see if someone is home; tap a watermelon to see if it is ripe or not)
2. te matim
 call heard
 'called to see if someone was there'
3. pi labwe
 hit seeing
 'hit in order to know something' (e.g. stick a fork in meat to see if it's cooked or not)
4. a lati
 eat will.see
 'taste' (e.g. eat to see if you like it or not)
5. nin lati
 do will.see
 'do something to see if you can do it or not'

3.10.3.7 SAY-DO VERB PHRASE

<u>+Action 1</u>	<u>+Action 2</u>
<u>we</u> 'say'	inflected ditr. or tr.verb

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Action 1 is always manifested by we 'say'. Action 2 is manifested by dependent or independent transitive or ditransitive verb. The deep structure relationship is that of action 1 resulting in action 2. Subjects for the two tagmemes are different.

Examples:

1. we ragerim
say prevented
'prevented by speech'
2. we kaykirati
say will.catch.hold
'will hold back by speech'
3. we potiye
say got
'got by speech'

3.10.3.8 DEFINITIVE VERB PHRASE

<u>+Lexical Head</u>	<u>+Grammatical Head</u>
noun	inflected form of definitive verb

Both tagmemes are obligatory. Lexical head is manifested by in-animate noun. These nouns occur with specific verbs (definitive verbs) which manifest grammatical head. The grammatical head carries the grammatical features (tense, aspect, etc.) for the construction and the lexical head carries the meaning of the phrase.

Examples:

ya 'come'

1. sibra yati
shame will.come
'will be ashamed'
2. sip yati
sharp.pain will.come
'will pain'
3. nigel yam
cold came
'was cold'
4. lim yawe
heaviness came
'was heavy'

5. legwusi yawe
 sleepiness came
 'was sleepy'

ti 'be'

6. tak titi
 darkness will.be
 'will darken'

8. ok bop titi
 water empty will.be
 'will be happy'

7. ey titi
 anger will.be
 'will be angry'

9. pap yaper tim
 liver bad was
 'was sad'

10. pap tiye
 liver was
 'desired'

wayi 'come up'

11. lo wayim
 yawn came.up
 'yawned'

12. kirat wayim
 burp came.up
 'burped'

pi 'hit'

13. wak piye
 neck hit
 'barked'

14. sama pim
 buttock hit
 'wagged tail'

pot 'take/get'

15. nar potim
 hug got
 'embraced'

16. kwom potim
 village took
 'arrived'

17. bisi potiti
 illegally will.take
 'will steal'

we 'say'

18. neys webwe
 mucus saying
 'sneezing'

19. wey wem
 instruction said
 'instructed'

a 'eat'

20. bisi am
 illegally ate
 'stole'

kut 'cough'

21. oku kutbwe
cough coughing
'coughing'

te 'call'

22. mapiy tebwe
specific.song calling
'singing this specific
type of song'

23. wusmagel tebwe
whistle calling
'whistling'

nay 'fight'

24. towe naybwe
foot fighting
'have lame leg'

25. let naybwe
hand fighting
'have lame arm'

26. ey nayim
anger fought
'argued'

nin 'do'

27. gwoli ninti
anger will.do
'will be angry'

29. toma ninti
talk will.do
'will take to court'

28. awes ninbwe
food doing
'cooking'

30. sik ninbwe
sick doing
'sick'

3.10.3.9 DESIDERATIVE VERB PHRASE

<u>+Action</u>	<u>+Desiderative</u>
verb stem	<u>def_vp</u>

Both tagmemes are obligatory to the construction. Action tagmeme is manifested by any verb stem. Desiderative tagmeme is manifested by the definitive verb phrase, pap ti 'desire'. The deep structure relationship is one of desire to do the event of action tagmeme. This verb phrase parallels Merged Desiderative Sentence.

Examples:

1. a pap tiye
eat liver was
'desired to eat'

2. yi pap tim
go liver was
'desired to go'

4 CLAUSE

0 INTRODUCTION

A Yessan-Mayo clause has been defined as a construction which occurs in the hierarchy between phrase level and sentence level. The construction consists of, or includes, one and only one predicate or predicate-like tagmeme, and various peripheral tagmemes. The clause construction typically, but not always, manifests sentence-level tagmemes. Morphemes and phrase-level constructions typically manifest clause-level tagmemes.

The definition requires one and only one predicate tagmeme in a clause construction. The predicate tagmeme may be manifested by a phrase-level construction which is composed of two or more verbs, but these do not indicate two predicate tagmemes in the clause construction.

Although embedding is not as extensive on clause level as it is on phrase level, it does occur (cf. Section 6). In such cases, the predicate of the embedded clause is not among the tagmemes of the clause construction under consideration.

The Equative Clause has an obligatory Comment tagmeme which is functionally equivalent to Predicate tagmeme although it is not manifested by verbs or verb phrases. Rather, it is typically manifested by noun, locative, adjective, etc.

Besides Predicate tagmeme, which is obligatory in a clause construction, there are some optional tagmemes (Subject, Indirect Object, Object, Complement, Topic, and Instrument) which are diagnostic because they show contrast in clause types and so are distinguishing features of clause types.

Various peripheral tagmemes also optionally expand the Predicate tagmeme. These are Manner, Time, and Location tagmemes.

Clauses are of two major types--Independent and Dependent. These contrast in the internal structure of the manifesting class of the Predicate tagmeme and in their distribution in sentence-level tagmemes.

1 INDEPENDENT CLAUSE

Independent Clauses manifest Base 2 of all sentences, Base 1 of all Intention Merged Sentences, and Base 1 of all Non-Merged Sentences, except Simultaneous, Completive, Sequence n, and Reason. Independent Clauses are of five basic contrastive types: Transitive, Ditransitive,

Intransitive, Descriptive, and Equative. These five basic types are further distinguishable as to Declarative, Interrogative, and Imperative Clauses. There is no Equative Imperative Clause, which gives a total of 14 clause types, as shown in Chart M. The clauses across the transitivity (horizontal) parameter of the chart are examined first and then the clauses of the mode (vertical) parameter.

1.1 TRANSITIVITY PARAMETER

Across the transitivity parameter, the five clause types contrast in the manifesting class of the predicate tagmeme, and in the optional diagnostic tagmemes which manifest each clause type.

1.1.1 TRANSITIVE CLAUSE

±Subject	±Object	±Accompaniment	±Instrument	+Predicate
noun pronoun <u>np</u> <u>prn.p</u> <u>accp.p-abil</u>	noun <u>np</u> <u>obj.p</u> <u>dist.prn.p</u> <u>ana.p</u>	<u>accp.p</u>	inst.noun	tr.verb <u>vp-tr</u>

Predicate tagmeme is the only obligatory tagmeme and is manifested by transitive verb and verb phrase where tagmemes are manifested by transitive verb. Optional tagmemes are manifested by items noted in the bi-dimensional array. Subject is usually animate but inanimate nature noun also occurs as Subject. Object tagmeme is either direct or indirect.

Example:

- (T, S, M, O, I, P)
yere nim sini rimni pereki yawim.
 yesterday we again them canoe went.up
 'Yesterday we all went up again to them by canoe.'
- (S, O, P)
an toma matiye.
 I talk heard
 'I heard the talk.'
- (S, O, P)
an tini kwotana.
 I her wait
 'I am waiting for her.'
- (S, A, O, P)
an tikini toma namriye.
 I her.with talk conversed
 'I talked with her.'

Chart M
Independent Clauses

	Independent Transitive (IT)	Independent Ditransitive (ID)	Independent Intransitive (II)	Independent Descriptive (IDs)	Independent Equative (IE)
Declarative (Dc)	$\pm S \pm O \pm A \pm I + P$ vITDc	$\pm S \pm IO \pm O \pm I + P$ vIDDC	$\pm S + P$ vIIDc	$\pm S \pm Cp + P$ vIDSDc	$\pm Tp + Cm$
Interrogative Information (Ig)	$+ Ig \pm S \pm O \pm A \pm I + P$ vITIg	$+ Ig \pm S \pm IO \pm O \pm I + P$ vIDIG	$+ Ig \pm S + P$ vIIIG	$+ Ig \pm S \pm Cp + P$ vIDSIg	$+ Ig \pm Tp + Cm$
Imperative (Ip)	$\pm S \pm O \pm I + P$ vITIp	$\pm S \pm IO \pm O \pm I + P$ vIDIp	$\pm S + P$ vIIIp	$\pm S \pm Cp + P$ vIDSIp	

5. (S, A, P)
ni agerbwa tamekini ey kap nayti
 you another man.with anger shouldn't fight
 'You shouldn't argue with other men.'
6. (S, O, P)
an tini akiye.
 I her feared
 'I was afraid of her.'
7. (S, O, A, P)
an tini wuskini akiye.
 I her skin.with feared
 'I was afraid of her and had the shivers.'
8. (O, S, L, P)
nimni yabel me Swagapki pim.
 us sun tree Swagap.at fought/hit
 'It became noon when we were at Swagap.'

There is a minor sub-type of Transitive Clause--Digital Counting Clause which is used in the counting system to count the numbers 6-9, and 16-19.

±Subject	+Object	+Predicate
<u>letlana</u>	<u>np</u>	<u>kera</u>

Object and Predicate tagmemes are obligatory. Subject is optional but usually occurs. Subject is manifested by letlana 'five'. Object is manifested by general noun phrase, head of phrase being manifested by kelara 'other side', and quantity tagmeme being manifested by numeral 1. Predicate tagmeme is manifested by kera 'hold'. Dependent Elliptical variant (2.5) of this clause is often used, where only Subject and Object tagmemes, or only Object tagmeme, is present in the clause construction. Examples 4-8 illustrate this. Digital Counting Clause manifests quantity tagmeme of general noun phrase.

Examples:

1. letlana kelara wuri keraye 'six'
 five other.side one held
2. letlana kelara pes keraye 'seven'
 five other.side two held
3. letlana kelara mur keraye 'eight'
 five other.side three held
4. letlana kelara eys keraye 'nine'
 five other.side four held

5. kelara mur keraye 'eight'
other.side three held
6. Biya atat letlana kelara wuri keram.
Velma she five other.side one held
'Velma (had) six.'
7. liyp letlana kelara wuri kerati titi.
moon five other.side one will.hold will.be
'(They) will be (there) six months.'
8. ..yin titi liyp letlana kelara wuri kerati.
go.and will.be moon five other.side one will.hold
'(They) will go and be (there) for six months.'

1.1.2 DITRANSITIVE CLAUSE

±Subject	±IO	±Object	±Instrument	+Predicate
animate noun pronoun <u>np</u> <u>prn.p</u>	<u>obj.p</u>	noun <u>np</u> <u>dist.prn.p</u> <u>ana.p</u> <u>sup.p</u>	inst.noun	ditr.verb <u>vp-ditr.</u>

Predicate tagmeme is obligatory and is manifested by ditransitive verb which is independent. Optional diagnostic tagmemes are manifested by items as noted in the bi-dimensional array. Ditransitive Clause has the potential of having either Object or Indirect Object, or both. Subject is always animate.

Examples:

1. (T, S, IO, O, P)
wara kep ani wala wuri botkwuti.
tomorrow you.two me dog one will.kill
'Tomorrow you two kill a dog for me.'
2. (S, IO, O, P)
ni ani wuri nuwati.
you me one will.give
'You give me one.'
3. (S, IO, O, P, P)
an rini awes nuwan am.
I him food give.and ate
'I gave him food to eat.'
4. (S, IO, O, P)
an rini por wuri piti.
I him pig one will.shoot
'I will shoot a pig for him.'

1.1.3 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

±Subject	+Predicate
noun pronoun <u>np</u> <u>prn.p</u>	intr.verb <u>vp-intr.</u>

Predicate tagmeme is obligatory and is manifested by intransitive verb and verb phrase whose tagmemes are manifested by intransitive verb. Subject tagmeme is optional and is manifested by items noted above in the array. Intransitive Clause has no potential for occurrence of Object or Indirect Object and these two tagmemes are obligatorily absent.

Examples:

1. (S, L, P)
ker akak obwe.
fire house.at smoking
'The fire is smoking in the house.'
2. (S, P)
yabel pasbwe.
sun shining
'The sun is shining.'
3. (S, L, P)
sope ti kiloki toknamenim.
snake she road.at slept
'The snake slept on the road.'
4. (S, L, P)
pere Wuswarki yibwe.
canoe Sepik.at going
'The canoe is going down the Sepik.'

1.1.4 DESCRIPTIVE CLAUSE

±Subject	±Complement	+Predicate
noun pronoun <u>np</u> <u>prn.p</u>	adjective <u>adj.p</u>	<u>ti</u> 'to be'

Predicate tagmeme is obligatory and is manifested by descriptive verb, ti 'to be'. Optional Complement tagmeme is manifested by adjective and adjective phrase. Optional Subject tagmeme is manifested by items noted in the array above. Subject is either animate or inanimate.

Examples:

1. (S, Cp, P)
mena teya mayetaye tim.
 betel.nut coconut mature were
 'The betel nut and coconut were mature.'
2. (S, Cp, P)
ri bokra tiye.
 he big is
 'He is big.'
3. (S, Cp, P)
pap yaper tim.
 liver bad was
 '(I) was unhappy.'

1.1.S EQUATIVE CLAUSE

±Topic	+Comment
noun	noun
pronoun	pronoun
locative	adjective
<u>gnp</u>	numeral
<u>ap.np</u>	locative
	<u>np</u>
	<u>adj.p</u>
	<u>nu.p</u>

Equative Clause is different from the other four types, in that there is no Predicate tagmeme such as the others have. The obligatory Comment tagmeme functions as a Predicate-like tagmeme and is manifested by items noted in the array above. Topic tagmeme is optional but is usually present in the clause. If it is not present in the clause construction, it is invariably present in the linguistic or situational context. Topic tagmeme is manifested by items noted above. General noun phrase-dependent variant frequently manifests Topic tagmeme. Manifestations of Topic and Comment tagmemes in a given construction are of different word classes.

Examples:

1. wuri yaper. 'One is bad.'
 one bad
2. at yenbwa. 'That is good.'
 that good
3. ri gwa. 'He is here.'
 he here

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>4. <u>gwar kwom yaper.</u>
this village bad
'This village is bad.'</p> <p>5. <u>gwar nisis.</u>
this here we two
'This here is we two.'</p> <p>6. <u>at gabwa.</u>
that ghost
'That's a ghost.'</p> | <p>7. <u>at yaw.</u>
that enough
'That's enough.'</p> <p>8. <u>an yaw.</u>
I enough
'I have had enough.'</p> <p>9. <u>Seyi ti por bokra.</u>
Seyi she pig big
'Seyi is a big pig.'</p> |
|--|--|

1.2 MODE PARAMETER

The vertical mode parameter of Chart M contrasts in internal structure of the verb manifesting Predicate tagmeme. There is contrast also in other diagnostic tagmemes, and in responses expected from the people in the situational context. Declarative Clause manifests sentence-level tagmemes as mentioned in 4.1.

1.2.1 DECLARATIVE CLAUSE

Declarative Clause is as for transitivity clauses, 1.1.1-1.1.5. Predicate tagmeme of Declarative Clause is manifested by declarative verb.

Declarative Clause could evoke two types of response--a comment on what was said, or no response or reaction at all.

For examples of Declarative Clause see 1.1.1-1.1.5.

1.2.2 INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE

Predicate tagmeme of Interrogative Clause is manifested by interrogative verb. Interrogative Clause has the obligatory presence of an Interrogative tagmeme. In a given clause, the Interrogative tagmeme is co-occurrent with one of the optional tagmemes (i.e. Subject, Time, Location, Object), both tagmemes being manifested simultaneously by the same construction. These optional tagmemes, when manifested by an interrogative, are said to be in portmanteau relationship with the Interrogative tagmeme. For example, in yika yawe 'Who came?', 'who' manifests the Interrogative tagmeme of the Interrogative Clause and it also manifests the Subject tagmeme which is in portmanteau relationship with the Interrogative tagmeme. Interrogative tagmeme is manifested by interrogatives, interrogative phrases, and possessive phrase-interrogative, and object phrase-interrogative.

Interrogative Clause would evoke an information answer to the question asked.

Examples:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. (Ig, S, IO, P)
 <u>ni yikani kwotana.</u>
 you whom wait
 'Whom are you waiting for?'</p> | <p>3. (Ig, S, T, P)
 <u>ker makapki om.</u>
 fire when smoke
 'When did the fire smoke?'</p> |
| <p>2. (Ig, S, Cp, P)
 <u>yika bokra tiye.</u>
 who big is
 'Who is big?'</p> | <p>4. (Ig, S, L, P)
 <u>ri mak yim.</u>
 he where went
 'Where did he go?'</p> |

1.2.3 IMPERATIVE CLAUSE

Predicate tagmeme of Imperative Clause is manifested by imperative verb. Other diagnostic tagmemes are as for Declarative Clause. Imperative Clause evokes an action response.

Examples:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. (S, T, P)
 <u>ni opo se.</u>
 you now hold
 'You hold it!'</p> | <p>2. (S, L, P)
 <u>ni gwatek timen</u>
 you here stay
 'You stay here!'</p> |
| <p>3. (S, P)
 <u>ni bi hayiwe.</u>
 you not went
 'Don't go!'</p> | |

2 DEPENDENT CLAUSE

Dependent Clauses have the same transitivity parameter as Independent Clauses, with the exception that there is no equative contrast. They have the same contrast in the predicate manifestation and in the diagnostic tagmemes. Dependent Clauses distinguish between Sequential, Contingent, Resultant, and Simultaneous Clauses down the vertical parameter. Sequential, Contingent, Resultant, and Simultaneous Clauses contrast in Predicate manifestation and in sentence-level distribution. (See Chart N.)

2.1 SEQUENTIAL DEPENDENT CLAUSE

Predicate tagmeme of Sequential Dependent Clause is manifested by dependent sequential verb. Sequential Dependent Clause manifests Base 1 of all Merged Temporal Sentences, except Overlap Sentence. In Non-merged Sentences, this clause exclusively and obligatorily manifests Base 1 and Base of Sequential Sentences, and Base 1 of Reason Sentence, and optionally manifests Base 1 of P-C Simultaneous Sentence, Frustrated Result Sentence, Negative Paraphrase Sentence, Addition Sentence, Paraphrase Sentence, Amplification Sentence, Parallel Sentence, Flashback Sentence, and Projected Result Sentence. Independent Clause also manifests Base 1 of these last mentioned sentences.

Chart N
Dependent Clause

	Dependent Transitive (DT)	Dependent Ditransitive (DD)	Dependent Intransitive (DI)	Dependent Descriptive (DDs)
Sequential (S)	$\pm S \pm O \pm I + P$ vDTS	$\pm S \pm IO \pm O \pm I + P$ vDDS	$\pm S + P$ vDIS	$\pm S \pm Cp + P$ vDDsS
Contingent (C)	$\pm S \pm O \pm I + P$ vDTC	$\pm S \pm IO \pm O \pm I + P$ vDDC	$\pm S + P$ vDIC	$\pm S \pm Cp + P$ vDDsC
Resultant (R)	$\pm S \pm O \pm I + P$ vDTR	$\pm S \pm IO \pm O \pm I + P$ vDDR	$\pm S + P$ vDIR	$\pm S \pm Cp + P$ vDDsR
Simultaneous (Sm)	$\pm S \pm O \pm I + P$ vDTSm	$\pm S \pm IO \pm O \pm I + P$ vDDSm	$\pm S + P$ vDISm	$\pm S \pm Cp + P$ vDDsSm

Examples:

- rip sini tob lik-in sen yi-n rini nuwabim.
they again cassowary took-and carry.and go-and him gave
'Those two got a cassowary again and carried it and went and gave it to him.'
- ...rim rini ey aboy pi-n, ri ayer pot-in, ri
they him lime all hit-and he bag got-and he
pileyk-in, ak tebwen riri akwulki wem.
shoulder-and then follow.and his home.to crossed
'...they put lime on him and he took the bag and he shouldered it and then followed and crossed over to his home.'
- ...siwey-in ti sini yerin mitoknabim.
unsuccessfully-and she again came.down slept
'(She) sat unsuccessfully (i.e. didn't get married) (so) she came back down and slept.'

2.2 CONTINGENT DEPENDENT CLAUSE

Predicate tagmeme of Contingent Dependent Clause is manifested by contingent dependent verb. Contingent Dependent Clause manifests Base 1 of Simultaneous-Completive Sentence, and Completive Sentence.

Examples:

1. yan an wantake kwetabim-ke, ak tem.
came.and I peppers picked-cot then called
'When I had come, and while I was picking betel peppers, (he) then called.'
2. ...sini ak yin lati takmenti-k, an potin...
again then go.and see held-cot I got.and
'..when I will go and see and while (the fish) are caught (on the hooks), I will get (them) and...'
3. nigel matbwa-k, ti tasbiy potin...
cold feel-cot she dustpan get.and
'When it is cold, she will get a dustpan and...'
4. me ak pim-ke, nis yam...
tree then hit-cot we.two came
'When it was noon, we two came...'
5. pim-ke, nim sini yerim.
hit-cot we again came.down
'When (she) got hit, we came back down.'

2.3 RESULTANT DEPENDENT CLAUSE

Predicate tagmeme of Resultant Dependent Clause is manifested by resultant dependent verb. This clause manifests Base 1 of Result Sentence.

Examples:

1. miati-kap, sen yim.
eat-res carry.and went
'(He) will eat (it) so that's why (he) took it.'
2. ri kapkini miati-kap sen yim...
he don't.know eat-res carry.and went
'I don't know if he took it to eat...'

2.4 SIMULTANEDUS DEPENDENT CLAUSE

Predicate tagmeme of Simultaneous Dependent Clause is manifested by simultaneous dependent verb. This clause manifests Base 1 of Merged Overlap Sentence.

Examples:

1. an kiluwki a-s yam.
I road.on eat-sm came
'I ate as I came.'
2. ...kweta-si yawe.
pick-sm came
'..picked it as (I) came.'
3. ...kiluwki mat-si wayiwe.
road.on hear-sm came.up
'..(we) heard while we were coming up.'

2.5 ELLIPTICAL CLAUSE

Another type of dependent clause is the Elliptical Clause which includes non-Predicate tagmemes but not Predicate tagmeme. The occurrence of this clause is dependent upon some reference to a potential manifestation of the Predicate tagmeme in the larger context. Elliptical Clause manifests only final Base of sentence.

Examples:

1. wara kep kwora
tomorrow you.two rat
'Tomorrow you two (kill me) a rat.'
2. wara kep yin wala panin yin ap.
tomorrow you.two go.and dog take.and go.and bird
'Tomorrow you two go and take a dog and go and (kill me) a bird.'
3. wara kep ani nak ob.
tomorrow you.two me sago grub
'Tomorrow you two (get) me sago grubs.'

3 PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES

In addition to the contrastive diagnostic tagmemes there are peripheral tagmemes which optionally occur in Dependent and Independent Clause constructions. These are Time, Manner 1, Manner 2, and Location.

Chart 0
Peripheral Tagmeme Manifestations
of Clause

Time	Manner 1	Manner 2	Location
temporal temporal noun <u>tp</u> <u>gnp-variant F</u> <u>ap.np-temporal</u> <u>sr.np-temporal</u> <u>rnp-temporal</u>	<u>sini</u> 'again'	adverb <u>adv.p</u>	locative locative noun <u>lp</u> <u>gnp-location</u> <u>rnp-location</u>

The relative ordering of the diagnostic and peripheral tagmemes for each of the clause types across the transitivity parameter of Chart M is given in Chart P.

Chart P
Relative Order of Clause Tagmemes

Transitive Clause	±T	±S	±O	±A	±M1	±M2	±I	±L	+P
Ditransitive Clause	±T	±S	±IO	±O	±M1	±M2	±I	±L	+P
Intransitive Clause	±T	±S			±M1	±M2		±L	+P
Descriptive Clause	±T	±S	±Cp		±M1	±M2		±L	+P
Equative Clause		±Tp							+Cm

Although the ordering given above is the most frequent ordering of the tagmemes, there is a certain amount of freedom in the ordering, particularly of peripheral tagmemes. Time tagmeme may shift from its most frequent position preceding Subject to a position following Subject. Time tagmeme may also occur up to two times. When it occurs a second time it usually occurs following Object. Manner 1 tagmeme may occur freely in any position except clause finally. Indirect Object may shift from its usual position preceding Object to a position following Object. Any tagmeme, except Predicate tagmeme, may shift to a clause-initial position for the sake of emphasis.

No peripheral tagmemes are listed for Equative Clause. No examples in text indicate that peripheral tagmemes occur with this clause. Perhaps Time could occur, but if it does, it occurs rarely.

Down the vertical parameter, Declarative Clause has the same ordering as that given above for the transitivity parameter. Interrogative Clause would have an obligatory Interrogative tagmeme clause initially. Peripheral tagmemes occur less frequently with Imperative Clause.

Although it is possible for all clause-level tagmemes to occur in one construction, this would probably occur only in elicited material. There are usually only one or two peripheral tagmemes in addition to the diagnostic tagmemes.

4 NEGATION

The negative counterparts for all formulas for Independent and Dependent Clauses can be obtained by multiplication of Dependent and Independent Clauses as follows: for the verb or verb phrase that manifests Predicate tagmeme, substitute general verb phrase (which would be +Negation tagmeme); for Independent Clauses, in clause-final position add an optional Negative tagmeme manifested by bwa 'not'.

Examples:

nim bi lam bwa-kem.
 we not saw not-emp
 'We didn't see.'

5 DUBITATION

The dubitative counterparts for all formulas for Dependent and Independent Clauses can be obtained by multiplication of all clauses as follows: add Dubitative tagmeme, usually directly following Subject tagmeme, but may precede Subject or follow Object. Dubitative tagmeme is manifested by kap/kapkini 'I don't know.'

Examples:

1. Tipmabag ni nuku kap potmenti, ani pes nuwan
 Tipmabag you mayflies don't.know get me few give.and
an...
 eat.and
 'Tipmabag, I don't know if you will get mayflies and will give me a few to eat and...'
2. ri kap buhu sika wusoti.
 he don't.know no.reason story will.tell
 'I don't know if he will just tell a story.'
3. ri kapkini miatikap sen yim.
 he don't.know eat.res carry.and went
 'I don't know if he took it to eat.'
4. ri kap mak yiwe.
 he don't.know where went
 'I don't know where he went.'

6 EMBEDDING

There are two types of clausal embedding. There is clause embedded within clause (recursion), and clause embedded within phrase (backlooping).

6.1 RECURSION is very infrequent, but does occasionally occur with clause manifesting Object tagmeme. Verb of embedded clause is optionally affixed for tense. Embedded clause usually occurs with a minimum of tagmemes which are usually diagnostic tagmemes.

Examples:

1. ni sa kap akiti.
 you die shouldn't fear
 'You shouldn't be afraid to die.'
2. wesbas pot mana habweti.
 possessions get don't think
 'Don't think about getting things.'

3. niri a sowerbwe yika lam,
 your food walking who saw
 'Who saw your food walking?'

6.2 BACKLOOPING is much more frequent than recursion. In backlooping, clause manifests phrase-level modifying tagmeme in appositional noun phrase.

Examples:

1. Wuni nimni nuwam nak owki yuwa ana.
 Wuni us gave sago pot.in is.put
 'The sago the Wuni people gave us is in the pot.'
2. niri kiyi weye toma sini kap weti.
 your before said talk again shouldn't say
 'You shouldn't say what you've already said.'
3. ...pileyk wes nim saylaweyim,...
 shouldered things we tried.unsuccessfully
 '...we were not successful (in carrying) the things carried on the shoulder...'

5 SENTENCE

0 INTRODUCTION

A Yessan-Mayo sentence has been defined as a construction which occurs in the grammatical hierarchy between the clause and paragraph levels. The construction consists of at least two phonological entities, except in the Simple Sentence which is one phonological entity. Lexical unity, specific linkage devices, tense suffixes, and subjects of the bases bind the phonological parts of the sentence into a whole.

Sentences are of two major types - Merged and Non-merged - which are discussed in detail in 3 and 4 of this chapter. There is also Simple Sentence which is extra-systematic, but which is basic to all other sentences in that it carries the final intonation and manifests final Base tagmeme of unembedded sentences. Chart Q shows the contrastive features of Merged and Non-merged Sentences.

CHART Q

Comparison of Contrastive Features
of Merged and Non-merged Sentences

	Manifestation of non-final <u>Base</u>	Conjoining Intonation	Manifestation of <u>Base_n</u>
<u>Merged</u>	Dep.Seq.Clause Dep.Sim.Clause Indep. Clause in future tense <u>Merged Sentence</u>	level	Independent Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u>
<u>Non-Merged</u>	Dependent Clause Independent Clause <u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Non-merged Sentence</u>	rising	Independent Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Non-merged Sentence</u>

Merged Sentences are what have been described in some other New Guinea languages as verb phrases or postulated as another level in the hierarchy between clause and sentence. It was felt that this construction in Yessan-Mayo was more simply described on the sentence level. At one stage in the analysis, this was tentatively analyzed as a verb phrase, but because of the following reasons, it is now described on the sentence level as Merged Sentence:

1) The features of dependent and independent verbs (tense of independent verbs, and dependency markers of dependent verbs) are also features of Non-merged Sentence. These features in Merged Sentence are accompanied by level intonation and in Non-merged Sentence are accompanied by rising intonation.

2) In most Merged Sentences, clause-level tagmemes optionally (but infrequently) occur in the manifestation of Base 2. In contrast to this, verb phrase is a construction which is composed of two or more verbs, the non-final verbs having no affixation of tense or dependency markers as Merged Sentence non-final do. With one exception (non-accomplishment verb phrase), no clause-level tagmemes have been observed with the final verb of the verb phrase.

Chart R compares the contrastive feature of Base manifestations of verb phrase and Merged Sentence.

CHART R

Comparison of Contrastive Features
of Verb Phrase and Merged Sentence

Construction	Manifestation of non-final tagmeme	Manifestation of final tagmeme
Verb phrase	verb stem verb phrase with no inflection of final verb	inflected form of verb
<u>Merged Sentence</u>	Dependent Clause Independent Clause <u>Merged Sentence</u>	Independent Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u>

There are fourteen Merged Sentences which are divided into two main categories - Temporal and Intention - on the basis of manifestation of initial tagmeme. The initial tagmeme of sentence in the Temporal category are manifested by Sequential and Simultaneous Dependent Clause. Initial tagmeme of Intention Sentences are manifested by Independent Clause which is always in the future tense. Temporal Sentences are all concerned with events in relation to time-sequence of events, continuation of event, two events occurring simultaneously, cessation of event, or event one resulting in event two. Intention Sentences express an intent or desire to do something or the purpose for doing it. There are eight Temporal Sentences and six Intention Sentences. Chart S shows Merged Sentences with their contrastive features.

CHART S

Merged Sentences

<u>TEMPORAL</u>	<u>INTENTION</u>
General Statements	
1. B1 is always manifested by Dep.Seq.C1 or Dep.Sim.C1. 2. <u>Conjoining tagmeme</u> is always manifested by level intonation. 3. Tense is always the same between the two <u>Base</u> tagmemes; that is, tense as indicated on the verb of B2. 4. Subject is the same in each <u>Base</u> except where noted differently below.	1. B1 is always manifested by <u>Indep.Declarative C1</u> . 2. <u>Conjoining tagmeme</u> is always manifested by level intonation. 3. Tense is always future in B1. B2 tense is the same as B1 (future) or different except where noted differently below. 4. Subject is the same in each <u>Base</u> except where noted differently below.
<u>Go-Do</u> = +B1 +C +B2 B1: { motion v perception v position v } B2: any verb except motion verb or 'stop'	<u>Purpose</u> = +B1 +C +B2 B1: any verb B2: { motion verb } 'to wave'
<u>Do-Do</u> = +B1 +C +B2 B1, B2: fixed combinations of verbs	<u>Desiderative</u> = +B1 +C +B2 B1: any verb B2: { 'to want to' 'to desire' } Tense of <u>B2</u> only past or future
<u>Do-Stop</u> = +B1 +C +B2 B1: any verb B2: 'stop'	<u>Immediacy</u> = +B1 +C +B2 B1: any verb B2: 'do' Tense is different
<u>Continuous Action</u> = +B1 +C +B2 B1: any verb except motion v B2: 'go'	<u>Certainty</u> = +B1 +C +B2 B1: any verb B2: 'to be' Tense is different
<u>Repetition</u> = +B1 +C +B2 +(+C +B) ³ B1: any verb B2: any verb B: any verb verb is the same in each <u>Base</u>	<u>Indirect Quote</u> = +B1 +C +B2 B1: any verb B2: speech verb Subject is same or different between B1 and B2.

Continued on p. 123

Chart S continued.

<u>Coterminous Simultaneous</u> = +B1 +C +B2 +(C +B3) B1: any verb B2,3: motion verb	<u>Frustrated Expectancy</u> = +B1 +C +B2 B1: any verb B2: 'be a little' Tense is different between B1 and B2.
<u>Overlap</u> = +B1 +C +B2 B1: any verb, Dep.Sim.C1 B2: motion verb	
<u>Result</u> = +B1 +C +B2 B1,2: fixed combinations of verbs Subject is different between B1 and B2.	

The Non-merged Sentence system includes twenty-five sentence types which for ease of description have been grouped and systematized as shown on Chart T. The horizontal parameter distinguishes seven types of relationships - simultaneous, sequential, implication, oppositional, amplification, explanatory, hypothetical, and quotation. The vertical parameter distinguishes between Tight, Balanced and Loose. These categories are fairly loose classifications which refer to the number of tagmemes, possible expansion of tagmemes, and the type of manifestation of tagmemes. Tight Sentences are usually restricted in the manifestation of the tagmemes (i.e. Negative Paraphrase Sentence obligatorily has a negative in one of the Base tagmemes: Evaluation Base of Evaluation Sentence has a very restricted list of fillers). Sentences in the Balanced category usually have only two tagmemes, with the restriction of fillers not as tight as with those sentences in the Tight category. Sentences in the Loose category can potentially have more than two tagmemes with no tight restrictions on the manifestations of the tagmemes. There are some exceptions to this; namely, Amplification Sentence, and Execution Sentence.

Intonation has already been mentioned in our discussion of sentence and has played a major role in the analysis of Merged and Non-merged Sentence, and paragraph. Chart U shows the intonation pattern which is a distinctive conjoining feature of each of these grammatical constructions.

CHART T

Non-Merged Sentences

	<u>SIMULTANEOUS</u>	<u>SEQUENCE</u>	<u>IMPLICATION</u>	<u>OPPOSITION</u>
TIGHT	Sentence Formula <u>Simultaneous</u> +B1 +C +B2	Seq. n +B1 +C ±(+B +C) +B _n	Reason +B1 +C +B2	Neg. Paraphrase +B1 +C +B2
	Conjoining C: <u>±</u> +-men	C: <u>±</u>	C: <u>±</u>	C: <u>±</u> + negation
	Subject Tense S: s/d T: same	S: s/d T: same tense of B _n close-knit sequence	S: different T: same	S: s/d T: same
BALANCED	Sentence Formula <u>P-C Simul.</u> +B1 +C +B2	<u>Completive</u> +B1 +C +B2	<u>Result</u> +B1 +C +B2	<u>Alternative</u> +B1 +C +B2 ±(+C +B3)
	Conjoining C: <u>±</u> +-men	C: <u>±</u> +-ke	C: <u>±</u> ±-kap	C: <u>±</u> +o
	Subject Tense S: different T: same	S: s/d T: same	S: s/d T: s/d	S: s/d T: same
LOOSE	Sentence Formula <u>Sim.-Comp.</u> (+B1 +C) ² +B2	<u>Seq. m</u> +B1 +C ±(+B +C)	<u>Frus. Result</u> (+B1 +C) ² +B2	<u>Contrast</u> +B1 +C +B2
	Conjoining C: <u>±</u> +-men +ke	C: <u>±</u>	C: <u>±</u>	C: <u>±</u>
	Subject Tense S: s/d T: same	S: s/d T: same loose-knit sequence	S: s/d T: same-past	S: s/d T: same two contrasts

continued on p.125

CHART T (continued)

<u>AMPLIFICATION</u>	<u>EXPLANATORY</u>	<u>HYPOTHETICAL</u>	<u>QUOTATION</u>	
<u>Addition</u> +B1 (+C +B2) ² C: <u>2</u> S:same T:same recap + new tagmeme	<u>Evaluation</u> +B1 +C +B2 C: <u>2</u> S:different T:different formulaic	<u>Proj.Comp.</u> (+B1 +C) +B2 C: <u>2</u> S:s/d T:different B1-past	<u>Quotation</u> +B1 +C +B2 C: <u>2</u> S:s/d T:s/d speech verb	TIGHT
<u>Paraphrase</u> +B1 +C +B2 C: <u>2</u> S: same T: same recap-partial no negation	<u>Parallel</u> +B1 +C +B2 C: <u>2</u> S:s/d T:same parall 1 structure uniformly positive or negative	<u>Proj.Result</u> +B1 +C +B2 ±(+C +B3) C: <u>2</u> S:s/d T:same-future Bases + <u>-kap</u> 'should not'	<u>Perception</u> +B1 +C +B2 C: <u>2</u> S:s/d T:s/d perception verb	BALANCED
<u>Amplification</u> +B1 +C +B2 C: <u>2</u> S:same T:same <u>otop</u> 'that'	<u>Flashback</u> +B1 +C +B2 +C +B3 C1: <u>2</u> C2: <u>2</u> S:different T:different	<u>Conditional</u> (+B1 +C) ² +B2 C: <u>2</u> S:s/d T:s/d B1-future/ stative	<u>Execution</u> +B1 +C +B2 C: <u>2</u> S:s/d T:same speech verb	LOOSE
	<u>Description</u> +B1 +C +B2 (+C +B3) C: <u>2</u> S:different T:same Equative C1			

CHART U

Intonation and Grammatical Constructions

Intonation Pattern	Grammatical Construction
level	<u>Merged Sentence</u>
rising	<u>Non-merged Sentence</u>
falling	Paragraph

Falling intonation is a feature of Simple Sentence and marks final boundaries of unembedded sentences and indicates that the sentence now fits into paragraph structure. There is slight pause following rising intonation and longer pause following falling intonation. There is no pause, or very slight pause, with level intonation.

Sentences typically manifest paragraph-level tagmemes, although there is considerable embedding (recursion) of sentence within sentence. Dependent and Independent Clause typically manifest non-final Base tagmemes of sentence. Sentence (except Simple Sentence) also manifests non-final Base tagmemes of Non-merged Sentence. Final Base tagmeme of sentence is manifested primarily by Simple Sentence which carries the final intonation of sentence. Other sentences besides Simple Sentence may embed in final Base tagmeme of Non-merged Sentence, but final Base tagmeme of embedded sentence is then manifested by Simple Sentence. Except for Merged Repetition Sentence, Dependent Clause never manifests final Base tagmeme and Independent Clause manifests final Base tagmeme only when sentence embeds in non-final Base tagmemes of another sentence.

0.1 SENTENCE AND PARAGRAPH

On comparing sentence and paragraph types in Yessan-Mayo it is immediately noticed that many of the relationships expressed on the sentence level are also expressed on the paragraph level. It appears that there is more focus on the relationship when it is expressed on the paragraph level and less focus when it is expressed on the sentence level. For many relationships, the paragraph is the preferred way to express it. It will be noticed that there are very few examples given for some sentence types and this is usually because that particular relationship is generally expressed on the paragraph level and few sentence examples are available. However, it has been felt wise to set up that particular sentence type because there is a corresponding paragraph type. A larger corpus of data would no doubt turn up more examples. Chart V presents a comparison of sentence and paragraph types. There is overlap in some areas between Merged

Sentence, Non-merged Sentence, and paragraph. However, it is interesting that there are areas where there is no overlap; that is, Merged Sentence only can express some relationships, Non-merged Sentence only can express other relationships, and paragraph only can express still other relationships.

CHART V

Comparison Sentence and Paragraph Types

<u>Merged Sentence</u>	<u>Non-merged Sentence</u>	Paragraph
---	<u>Amplification</u>	AMPLIFICATION
---	<u>Paraphrase</u>	PARAPHRASE
---	<u>Negative Paraphrase</u>	NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE
---	<u>Addition</u>	ADDITION
---	<u>Parallel</u>	PARALLEL
---	<u>Contrast</u>	CONTRAST
---	<u>Reason</u>	REASON
<u>Cause</u>	<u>Result</u>	RESULT
---	<u>Projected Result</u>	HORTATORY
---	<u>Frustrated Result</u>	---
---	<u>Alternative</u>	ALTERNATIVE
---	<u>Evaluation</u>	EVALUATION
---	<u>Description</u>	DESCRIPRION
<u>Go-Do, Do-Do, Do-Stop</u>	<u>Sequence n, m</u>	NARRATIVE, PROCEDURAL
---	<u>Flashback</u>	---
<u>Indirect Quote</u>	<u>Quotation</u>	QUOTATION
---	<u>Perception</u>	PERCEPTION
---	---	DIALOGUE
---	<u>Execution</u>	EXECUTION
<u>Repetition, Cont. Action</u>	---	REPETITION
---	---	EXEMPLIFICATION
---	---	EXHORTATION
---	---	TERMINAL
<u>Coterminous Sim.</u>	<u>Simultaneous</u>	---
<u>Overlap</u>	<u>P-C Simultaneous</u>	---
---	<u>Simultaneous-Completive</u>	---
---	<u>Completive</u>	---
---	<u>Projected Completive</u>	---
---	<u>Conditional</u>	---
---	<u>Simple</u>	---
<u>Purpose</u>	---	---
<u>Immediacy</u>	---	---
<u>Certainty</u>	---	---
<u>Desiderative</u>	---	---
<u>Frustrated Expectancy</u>	---	---

Chart V shows a large number of sentence and paragraph types. It is very possible that quite a few of these could be combined as sub-types. In some cases, it would appear on the surface as though there is only one structure. This is especially so with the Sequence-n and Sequence-m Sentences. Events in these sentences are uttered in chronological order. Actually, however, closer examination reveals that there are other than sequence deep structures encoded here, and grammatical features and devices can usually be found to correlate with and substantiate this deep structure relationship. At least two contrastive features have been noted for each type, although some of these may be a bit weak. However, whether these are labelled as sub-types or whether they are allowed to stand as full contrastive types, the construction is still there and needs to be recognized. It was felt that a clearer analysis was presented if these were separated as distinctive types rather than joined. There is a danger of sometimes becoming sloppy in analysis by lumping everything together and not recognizing the basic contrastive structures and relationships that are there.

1 SENTENCE PERIPHERY

1.1 OUTER PERIPHERY

There are certain tagmemes which occur in sentences which are labelled Sentence Periphery in that they are not nuclear or diagnostic to any particular sentence type and can in fact occur in all sentence types. These periphery tagmemes are all optional and generally precede the nucleus of the sentence, although Vocative and Conjunction can occur within the nucleus. Outer Periphery tagmemes are usually manifested by uninflected mono-morphemic words, although phrases do manifest Exclamatory and Vocative tagmemes.

<u>±Introduction</u>	<u>±Exclamation</u>	<u>±Vocative</u>	<u>±Conjunction</u>	<u>±Response</u>
introducers	exclamations <u>nawiy apiy</u> 'mother father'	personal name n kinship n <u>att.p</u> <u>np</u> with vocative periphery	<u>na</u> 'and' <u>orait</u> 'alright'	response words
RR: read no more than two tagmemes preceding nucleus				

1.1.1 INTRODUCTION PERIPHERY

Introduction tagmeme is manifested by o 'oh' and a 'ah' both of which introduce direct speech and occur only in the first sentence of direct speech.

Examples:

1. o Rapet nim gwatek tokna.
oh Robert we here sleep
'Oh, Robert, we will sleep here.'
2. o gwar Lumiy siteysinkem.
oh here Lumi station-emp
'Oh, this is Lumi!'
3. o yenbwakem
oh good-emp
'Oh, good!'
4. a Tukpot kep Ayla tikini namribwe...
ah Tukpot you-2 Helen she-with discussing...
'Ah, Tukpot, (when) you and Helen are discussing....'

1.1.2 Exclamation tagmeme is manifested by exclamation words and by nawiy apiy 'mother father!', a kinship relationship phrase. This is an exclamation of surprise. Exclamation occurs only with direct speech.

Examples:

1. ay at yikeri wes.
oh that whose thing
'Oh, whose is that!'
2. oya nisni yukwo tiye.
oh us-2 lie be
'Oh, (they) lied to us two.'
3. nawiy apiy ar yaper weskem ninye.
mother father that bad thing-emp did
'Good grief, (you) did that wrong!'

1.1.3 Vocative tagmeme is manifested by personal name noun, kinship noun, attention phrase, and noun phrase with vocative periphery. Vocative occurs only with direct speech and directly addresses the person to whom you are speaking.

Examples:

1. Wapakwo gwa yike yibwe.
Wapakwo here who going
'Wapakwo, who is that going just there?'
2. Masta ni ani tuw nuwa.
Master you me torch give
'Master, give me the torch.'
3. apiy ni mak yibwe.
father you where going
'Father, where are you going?'

4. nawiy sa ni gwatek ya.
mother hey you here come
'Hey mother, you come here.'
5. sitatow an sini yibwe.
goodbye I back going
'Goodbye, I'm going back.'
6. an habweye Papa Got an nini habweye.
I thought Father God I you thought
'I believe, Father God, I believe in you.'

1.1.4 Conjunction tagmeme is manifested by na 'and' and orait 'alright', accompanied by slight pause. This tagmeme separates distinct bases of a sentence. These two words which manifest Conjunction tagmeme are borrowings from Neo-Melanesian of both form and function, and are used quite extensively.

Examples:

1. Baday rim pere pes na Mayo yen rim pere pes...
Baday they canoe two and Mayo children they canoe two
'The Badays had two canoes and the Mayo children had two canoes.'
2. na an laweyin an Sokapri periyki potim.
and I couldn't find and I Sokap's paddle took
'And I couldn't find (my paddle so) I took Sokap's paddle.'
3. nim awes atek an na nim yin Kawyenbayki wurim
we food there ate and we go-and Kawyenbay-at went inside
na nimni mow teriy bokra yerim.
and us rain big big came down
'We ate food there and we went into Kawyenbay and we got caught in a big storm.'
4. yan na an wantake kwetabinke orait ak tem.
came and and I betel pepper picked while alright then called
'(I) came and while I was picking betel pepper, alright (he) then called.'
5. orait ta wuri ti sik ninye tiri tare saylawe...
alright woman one she sick did her head tried in vain...
'Alright, when a woman is sick, when her head aches...'

1.1.5 Response tagmeme is manifested by response words. Response tagmeme indicates a positive reply, agreement, or consent, or a negative reply. When a sentence with a Response tagmeme manifests a SPEECH 3 tagmeme in DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH, the sentence nucleus is often partially or completely deleted.

Examples:

1. yahow perapera bi yertane.
no boil not come down
'No, there is no boil.'
2. ateker tikini mas ripni mari mari sowerti.
yes she-with must those-two where where will walk
'Yes, where will she walk with those two?'
3. akeya.
certainly
'Certainly (I will do that).'
4. ni awes bwakem. yahow.
you food not-emp. no
'You don't have any food. No.'

1.2 INNER PERIPHERY

1.2.1 TOPIC MARGIN

Sentence Topic Margin bi-dimensional array illustrates the relationship of this periphery to the nucleus.

<u>±(+Topic Margin</u>	<u>+Conj)</u>	<u>+Base</u> (Nucleus)
noun <u>noun phrase</u>	rising inton- ation	<u>Sentence</u>

Sentence Topic Margin is optional to any sentence type, occurring sentence initially. It may occur with embedded sentences. Topic Margin is usually Subject in the following Base but may also be Object.

Examples:

1. Biya tiri tare, nim Kawyek yin yam tak tim,
Velma her head we Kawye-to go-and came dark was
kwokwes ey birabim Sadeki sisasim, tare take yerim...
next dawn broke Sunday cut head hair came down...
'Velma's hair - we went and came back from Kawye, it was dark, and the next day while it was dawning, on Sunday, (Helen) cut (Velma's) hair, the hair fell down...'
2. ..., sige, ti kip wuri matbwepak kip wus om kerati..
leftover she can one feel-because can skin muscle rub
'... the leftover (bark) - because she is feeling pain, she can rub it on the body...'

3. ...kep Ayla tikini namribwe toma, kep yuri
 you-two Helen she-with conversing talk you-two later
sini weti, kep toma yenbwe hayar weti.
 again will talk you-two talk good well will talk
 'The talk that you two discuss - later when you talk again,
 talk good talk.'
4. ti niba ab potkeypim, meysinginim, misis ripri
 she sorcery all took stopped ladies those two's
wes, rip kiy Yesyanki timenim, ripri wes
 things those-two before Yessan were those two's things
- Aliyas ri bisik potim,...
 Aliyas he illegally took
 'She took all the sorcery items, the two ladies things -
 while those two were at Yessan before, Aliyas stole their
 things...'

2 SIMPLE SENTENCE

<u>+Base</u>	<u>+Terminal</u>
any Independent Clause Elliptical Clause <u>Sentence Outer</u> <u>Periphery items</u>	falling intonation

Simple Sentence is a uni-base construction with an obligatory Base tagmeme and an obligatory Terminal tagmeme. Base tagmeme is manifested by any Independent Clause, Elliptical Clause, or Sentence Outer Periphery items. Terminal tagmeme is manifested by falling intonation. Simple Sentence manifests Base_n of unembedded sentences and Base_n of sentences which embed in Base_n of another sentence.

Examples:

1. Sokapa ri ak tem.
 Sokapa he then called
 'Sokapa then called.'
2. nogwope amowe nimni kenakem sowim.
 many mosquitoes us really ruined
 'Many mosquitoes really bit us up.'
3. toma ti ab atekem.
 talk she all there
 'That's all (in reference to telling a story).'

4. kitiy bwa.
meat not
'There is no meat'
5. nis ninbwe yakwo pes.
we-two doing work two
'We two have two kinds of work.'
6. peyki peyki.
at river at river
'(The crocodiles are in) all the rivers.'
7. yahow.
no
'No.'

3 MERGED SENTENCE

3.1 TEMPORAL SENTENCES

3.1.1 GO-DO SENTENCE

<u>+Base 1</u>	<u>+Conjoining</u>	<u>+Base 2</u>
Dep.Seq.Clause <u>Merged Sim.Sentence</u> + { motion verb perception verb } position verb	level intonation	Independent Clause Dep.Seq.Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u> any verb except motion verb and the verb 'stop'
DS: Pa \wedge Qa - very close sequence		
Tn: same S: same		

Go-Do Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Base 1 is manifested by Dependent Sequential Clause or Merged Coterminous Simultaneous Sentence, the Predicate of which is manifested only by motion verb, perception verb, or position verb. Base 2 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Clause, Dependent Sequential Clause, or Simple Sentence. Predicate of Base 2 manifestation is manifested by any verb except motion verb or the verb 'to stop'. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by level intonation. Tenses and Subjects for the two Bases are the same. The deep structure relationship is one of a very close sequence of chronological events.

Examples:

1. ...nim ak ya-n̄ belem.
we then came-and confused
'...we then came and were confused.'
2. ...tit-īn̄ laye...
stand-and saw
'...stood and saw...'
3. ...la-n̄ sabobwe...
see-and stripping
'...see and stripping (the bark)...'
4. nim temna yawin yi-n̄ lan...
we go ahead go up and go-and see-and
'We went ahead and went up and saw...'
5. rim ya-n̄ kiluwki tukin...
they came-and road-at set-and
'They came and were set on the road and...'
6. ...yin wur-īn̄ Nakariyki gayim.
go and go inside-and Nakariy at shored
'...(they) went inside and shored at Nakariy.'

3.1.2 DO-DO SENTENCE

<u>+Base 1</u>	<u>+Conjoining</u>	<u>+Base 2</u>
Dep.Seq.Clause	level intonation	Dep.Seq.Clause Independent Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u>
Fixed Combinations Verbs		
DS: Pa ^ Qa - close-knit sequence		
Tn: same		
S: same		

Do-Do Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Base 1 is manifested by Dependent Sequential Clause. Base 2 is manifested by Dependent Sequential Clause, Independent Declarative Clause and Simple Sentence. The Predicate of Bases are fixed combinations of verb pairs. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by level intonation. Tenses and subjects for the two Bases are the same. The deep structure relationship is one of a very close-knit sequence of chronological events. Most of these sequences of events occur in very particular or specialized real-life situations. Some of these might be considered idioms.

Examples:

1. ...we-ñ titiruwim...
? -and stood up
'...put ridge capping on a house...'
2. ...per-ññ hakwun...
dig-and sweep and
'...dig and take out the dirt (as when digging a deep hole)'
3. ...taga-ñ titiruwim...
put on roof-and stand up and
'...to roof a house...'
4. ...ti-ñ an...
dip-and eat and
'...dip (into a dish) and eat and...'
5. ...ti-ñ kwotayiwem.
dip-and portion out sago
'...(she) dipped and portioned out the sago.'
6. ...ti-ñ petewarim.
dip-and throw down
'...dug (with a shovel).'
7. ...gim-ññ tuknabwe.
lie next to-and sleeping
'...lying next to (the eggs).'

3.1.3 GO-STOP SENTENCE

<u>+Base 1</u>	<u>+Conjoining</u>	<u>+Base 2</u>
Dep.Seq.Clause any verb	level intonation	Dep.Seq.Clause Independent Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u> only verb 'stop'
DS: Pa _____ ^ Qa - Cessation		
Tn: same		
S: same		

Do-Stop Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Base 1 tagmeme is manifested by Dependent Sequential Clause. Base 2 tagmeme is manifested by Dependent Sequential Clause, Independent Clause, and Simple Sentence. Predicate of Base 1 is manifested by any verb. Predicate of Base 2 is manifested only by meysingin 'stop'. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by level intonation. Tenses and subjects for the two Bases are the same. The deep structure relationship is one of

the action of Base 1 ceasing or terminating. Base 1 event continues until Base 2 event occurs, Base 2 being the ceasing or stopping of the Base 1 event.

Examples:

1. ...hayar-īn meysinginin...
make good-and stop and
'...stopped making it good and ...'
2. ...tuk-īn meysinginin...
set-and stop and
'...stopped setting it and...'
3. ...peyk-īn meysinginin...
tie-and stop and
'...stopped tying and...'
4. ...a-n meysinginin...
eat-and stop and
'...stopped eating and...'
5. ...kera-n meysinginti.
rub-and stop-ft
'...will stop rubbing.'
6. ...nuwa-n meysinginti.
give-and stop
'...will stop giving.'
7. ...wur-īn meysinginbwe.
go inside-and stop
'...stop going inside.'

3.1.4 CONTINUOUS ACTION SENTENCE

+Base 1	+Conjoining	+Base 2
Dep.Seq.Clause any verb except motion verb	level intonation	Independent Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u> only <u>yi</u> 'go'
DS: <u>P</u>		
Tn: same		
S: same		

Continuous Action Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Base 1 tagmeme is manifested by Dependent Sequential Clause, the Predicate of which may be manifested by any verb except motion verb. Base 2

is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Simple Sentence. The Predicate of Base 2 is manifested only by yi 'go'. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by level intonation. Tenses and subjects for the two Bases are the same. The deep structure relationship is one of the action of Base 1 continuing on. Although 'go' manifests Base 2, this does not mean that the subject is actively going, but that the event of Base 1 is progressing or continuing.

Examples:

1. ...we-n̄ yibwe...
 say-and going
 '...keep on saying...'
2. ...tan-in̄ yiti...
 tie-and will go
 '...will keep on tying...'
3. ...nuwa-n̄ yiti...
 give-and will go
 '...will keep on giving...'
4. ni bas ras-in̄ yiti.
 you mark put-and will go
 'You keep on writing.'
5. ni bas ras la-n̄ yiti.
 you mark put see-and will go
 'You keep on reading.'
6. ni na-n̄ yiti.
 you knit-and will go
 'You keep on knitting.'

3.1.S REPETITION SENTENCE

+ <u>Base 1</u>	+ <u>Conj</u>	+ <u>Base 2</u>	+ <u>Conj</u>	±(+ <u>Base</u>)	+ <u>Conj</u> ³
Dep.Seq.Clause Independent Cl	level inton- ation	Dep.Seq.Clause Independent Cl	level inton- ation	Dep.Seq.Cl Indep.Cl	level inton- ation
any verb _j		any verb _j		any verb _j	
DS: <u>P</u>					
Tn: same					
S: same					

Repetition Sentence is a multi-base construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes and two obligatory Conjoining tagmemes. Up to three optional Base and Conjoining tagmemes can occur. Base tagmemes are manifested by Dependent Sequential Clause and Independent Declarative

Clause. Repetition Sentence always embeds in another sentence; therefore, Simple Sentence never manifests the final Base. Predicate tagmemes of Bases are manifested by any verb, but The verbs are the same in each Base. In one example, verbs were not the same, but were of the same sub-class of motion verbs. Conjoining tagmemes are manifested by level intonation. Usually the manifestations of Base tagmemes are the same in a given construction. However, when Dependent Sequential Clause manifests Base 1 tagmeme, then subsequent Base tagmemes may be manifested by Independent Clause. Once Independent Clause is manifested in any one of the Base tagmemes, however, then Independent Clause manifests all subsequent Base tagmemes. Tenses and subjects for all Bases are the same. The deep structure relationship is one of continued action over a period of time or over a distance in space.

Examples:

1. ...yi-n̄ yi-n̄ yi-n̄ yi-n̄ yi-n̄...
 go-and go-and go-and go-and go-and
 '...went for a long time...'
2. ...timen-ī̄m̄ timen-ī̄m̄...
 be-fp be-fp
 '...stayed and stayed for a long time...'
3. ...tokna-t̄ī̄ tokna-t̄ī̄ tokna-t̄ī̄...
 sleep-ft sleep-ft sleep-ft
 '...will sleep for a long time...'
4. nogwe-n̄ nogwe-m̄ nogwe-m̄...
 argue-and argued-fp argued-fp
 'Argued for a long time...'
5. ...kiti wur-ī̄n̄ kiti wur-ī̄n̄...
 lock go inside-and lock go inside-and
 '...went inside and locked (a door) a number of times...'
6. ...kep rege wur-ī̄n̄ rege wera-n̄...
 rattan cut go inside-and cut come outside-and
 'went in and out (of the bush) cutting rattan...'

3.1.6 COTERMINOUS SIMULTANEOUS SENTENCE

+Base 1	+Conjoining	+Base 2	±(+Conjoining)	+Base 3)
Dep.Seq.Clause any verb	level intonation	Dep.Seq.Cl Indep.Cl <u>Simple S</u> motion v	level intonation	Indep.Cl <u>Simple S</u> motion v
DS: P _____ ^ _____ Q _____ ^ _____ R - Overlap				
Tn: same S: same				

Coterminous Simultaneous Sentence is a multi-base construction with two obligatory Bases, an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme and an optional Conjoining and Base 3 tagmeme. Base 1 is manifested by Dependent Sequential Clause, the Predicate of which is manifested by any verb. Base 2 is manifested by Dependent Sequential Clause when Base 3 occurs, and Independent Clause and Simple Sentence when Base 3 does not occur. Base 3 is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Simple Sentence. Predicate of Base 2 and Base 3 manifestations is a motion verb. Conjoining tagmemes are manifested by level intonation. Tenses and subjects of all bases are the same. The deep structure relationship is one of the events of the bases being carried on simultaneously and of the events starting and terminating at the same time.

Examples:

1. mow ti-n̄ yabwe.
rain be-and coming
'The rain is coming.'
2. ...piya-n̄ yan...
paddle-and come.and
'...(he) came by paddling...'
3. ...temna-n̄ wem.
go.ahead-and crossed,over
'...crossed over ahead.'
4. ...ya-n̄ yerin...
come-and come.down.and
'...came down...'
5. ri ak se-n̄ ak wem.
he then carry-and then crossed,over.
'He then took (it) across.'

6. ...ame-n̄ ya-n̄ yerin...
 run-and come-and come,down,and
 '...came running down and...'
7. ...se-n̄ tiptuw we-n̄ wurim.
 carry-and behind follow-and went,inside
 '...(she) took (it) and following behind went inside.'

3.1.7 OVERLAP SENTENCE

+Base 1	+Conjoining	+Base 2
Dependent Simultaneous Clause any verb except motion verb	level intonation	Independent Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u> only motion verb
DS: P \wedge Q - Overlap		
Tn: same S: same		

Overlap Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Base 1 is manifested by Dependent Simultaneous Clause, the Predicate of which may be manifested by any verb except a motion verb. Base 2 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Simple Sentence. Base 2 Predicate is manifested only by motion verb. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by level intonation. Tenses and subjects are the same for the two Bases. The deep structure relationship is one of a punctiliar event in Base 1 occurring during the continuous action or state of Base 2.

Examples:

1. ...an kiluwki a-s̄ yam.
 I on.road eat-while came
 '...I ate as I came.'
2. ...kiluwki rege-s̄i yawe.
 on.road cut-while came
 '...I cut (rattan) as I came along the road.'
3. ...kay pot-s̄i yawe.
 pull get-while came
 '...pulled and got (it) as I came.'
4. ...nim la-s̄ yim.
 we see-while went
 '...we saw (him) while we were going.'

5. ...kiluwki mat-sī wayiwe.
 on.road hear-while came.up
 '(... (we) heard while we were coming up.'
6. ...kiluwki wusow-sī warbwe.
 on.road tell-while going.down
 '...tell while going down.'

3.1.8 CAUSE SENTENCE

+Base 1	+Conjoining	+Base 2
Dependent Sequential Clause ['bite' 'shoot' 'give' 'send' 'say']	level intonation	Independent Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u> ['die' 'die' 'eat' 'go' any verb]
DS: Pab \wedge Pab \supset Qb - Efficient Cause		
Tn: same		
S: different- $O_1 = S_2$		

Cause Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Base 1 tagmeme is manifested by Dependent Sequential Clause. Base 2 is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Simple Sentence. Predicate tagmemes are manifested by fixed combinations of pairs of verbs as indicated in the bi-dimensional array. To date only these pairs have been found. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by level intonation. Tense for the two Bases is the same. Subject of Base 1 is different from subject of Base 2. The object of Base 1 becomes the subject of Base 2. This is not shown overtly but is implicit. The deep structure relationship is one of event and result (efficient cause). The event of Base 2 is the result of the event of Base 1.

Examples:

1. nogwape rim ta-n̄ sabwe.
 many they bite-and dying
 '(They (the crocodiles)) bite many (people) and (the people who are bitten) die.'
2. ri rimni pi-n̄ sati.
 he them shoot-and will.die
 'He will shoot them and (they) will die.'

3. ri ani nukuw pesket nuwa-n̄ am.
 he me mayflys two gave-and ate
 'He gave me a few mayflys and (I) ate.'
4. an rini weras-īn̄ yim.
 I him sent-and went
 'I sent him and (he) went.'
5. ...we-n̄ wurti.
 say-and will.go.inside
 '...tell (him) to go inside.'
6. rimni we-n̄ yan duwim.
 them say-and come gather.together
 'Told them to come and gather together.'
7. ri rimni age we-n̄ siti.
 he them rest say-and will.sit
 'He told them to rest.'

3.2 INTENTION SENTENCES

3.2.1 PURPOSE SENTENCE

+ <u>Base 1</u>	+ <u>Conjoining</u>	+ <u>Base 2</u>
Independent Clause any verb	level intonation	Independent Clause <u>Merged Sim.Sentence</u> <u>Simple Sentence</u> only motion verb verb 'wave'
DS: $Pa \wedge Pa \supset pQa$ - Final Cause		
Tn: s/d S: same		

Purpose Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Base 1 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, the Predicate of which may be any verb. Base 2 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, Merged Simultaneous Sentence, and Simple Sentence. Predicate of Base 2 is manifested by motion verbs and the verb pibeyn 'wave'. It is expected that other verbs could occur here, but to date none have been found in text and elicitation has failed to turn up anything. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by level intonation. Base 1 is always future tense. Base 2 may be any tense. Subjects for the two bases are the same. The deep structure relationship is one of event (Base 1) and the reason or purpose for that event (Base 2) (final cause).

Examples:

1. ...yey ti ripni panin kay-tī wurbim...
grandmother she those.two took.and pull-ft went.inside
'...grandmother took those two inside to pull (rattan)...'
2. ...kep rege-tī pibeynim...
rattan cut-ft swung
'...(he) swung (the machete) to cut the rattan...'
3. ri wes nuwa-tī sen yawe.
he things give-ft carry.and came
'He brought things to give.'
4. an kwoy ber-tī yiwe.
I yams plant-ft went
'I went to plant yams.'
5. ni birke yi-tī yawe.
you why go-ft came
'Why did you come to go?'
6. an nini la-tī wayiwe.
I you see-ft came.up
'I came up to see you.'

3.2.2 DESIDERATIVE SENTENCE

+ <u>Base 1</u>	+ <u>Conjoining</u>	+ <u>Base 2</u>
Independent Clause any verb	level intonation	Independent Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u> only { <u>sel</u> 'to want to' <u>pap ti</u> 'to desire' }
DS: dPa ^ Qa - Desire		
Tn: s/d S: same		

Desiderative Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Base 1 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, the Predicate of which may be manifested by any verb. Base 2 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Simple Sentence. Predicate tagmeme of Base 2 is manifested by the verb sel 'to want to' and the verb phrase pap ti 'to desire' (literally 'to be with liver'). These two verbs occur only with past and future tense and with future tense only

when Desiderative Sentence is embedded in Conditional or Alternative Sentence. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by level intonation. Base 1 is always future tense. Base 2 is past or future - usually past. Subject for the two Bases is the same. The deep structure relationship is one of desire to do Base 1 event.

Examples:

1. an yi-ti selye.
I go-ft wanted.to
'I wanted to go.'
2. ri yi-ti selim, ri ak yim.
he go-ft wanted.to he then went
'He wanted to go, so he then went.'
3. an ok pay-ti pap tiye.
I water swim-ft liver was
'I desire to swim.'
4. nay-ti papwo tiye.
fight-ft liver.only was
'(He) wanted only to fight.'

3.2.3 IMMEDIACY SENTENCE

<u>+Base 1</u>	<u>+Conjoining</u>	<u>+Base 2</u>
Independent Clause <u>Merged Purpose S</u> any verb	level intonation	Independent Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u> only <u>nin</u> 'do,make'
DS: P		
Tn: different - ft → fp/pct		
S: same		

Immediacy Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Base 1 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Merged Purpose Sentence, the Predicate of which is manifested by any verb. Base 2 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Simple Sentence. Predicate tagmeme of Base 2 is manifested by nin 'do,make'. Tenses for the two Bases are not the same. Base 1 is always future tense. Base 2 is only far past and present continuous tense. Subject for the two Bases is the same. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by level intonation. The deep structure relationship is one of the event of Base 1 taking place in the very immediate future.

Examples:

1. gwopti sini an toma wuri we-ti ninbwe.
 today again I talk one say-ft doing
 'Today I am about to tell something again.'
2. ...yuri sini kitake kis-ti ninbwe...
 later again greens boil-ft doing
 '...later (they) are about to boil greens again...'
3. ...amiyen ti weran a-ti ninbwe...
 fish she come.inside.and eat-ft doing
 '...the fish comes inside and is about to eat'
4. ...ya-ti ninbim, nis wayliskemwo potin...
 come-ft did.while we.two wire.only took.and
 '...(we) were about to come, we took the wire and...'
5. ...Kawye wur-ti ninim, nimni mow periy ak yan...
 Kaywe go.inside-ft did us rain big then came.and
 '...we were about to go into Kawye, a big rain then came and'

3.2.4 CERTAINTY SENTENCE

+Base 1	+Conjoining	+Base 2
Independent Clause <u>Merged Purpose S</u> any verb	level intonation	Independent Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u> only <u>ti</u> 'to be'
DS: Pa∧ЭPa - Assertion or Abilitative		
Tn: different - ft → st		
S: same		

Certainty Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Base 1 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Merged Purpose Sentence, the Predicate of which is manifested by any verb. Base 2 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Simple Sentence. Predicate tagmeme of Base 2 is manifested only by ti 'to be' which is obligatorily affixed with the stative tense marker -tana. Predicate tagmeme is the only tagmeme of Base 2 manifestation that occurs. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by level intonation. Tense for the two bases is not the same. Base 1 is always future. Base 2 is always stative. Subject for the two Bases is the same. The deep structure relationship is one of certainty that the event of Base 1 will come to pass.

Examples:

1. kar tame kwom kira-ti ti-tane.
old man village cry-ft be-st
'The old men will definitely cry for the village.'
2. an toknati yi-ti ti-tane.
I sleep go-ft be-st
'I will definitely be going in order to sleep.'
3. nim yakwo bi yi-ti ti-tane.
we work not go-ft be-st
'We will definitely not go to work.'
4. yen satane nawe ha ta satane tame ri kip
child died mother father woman died man he can
akwulki ti-ti ti-tane.
home.at be-ft be-st
'The mother and father of the child who died, the husband of the woman who died will definitely stay at home.'
5. ri kip liyp mur eys ak potiye ri kip a yakwo op
he can moon three four then take he can eat work thus
nin-ti ti-tane.
do-ft be-st
'When three or four months have then passed, he can definitely work for food.'

3.2.5 INDIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE

+Base 1	+Conjoining	+Base 2
Independent Clause Merged Purpose S any verb	level intonation	Independent Clause Simple Sentence only speech verb
DS: wP ^ Q - Speech		
Tn: s/d		
S: s/d		

Indirect Quote Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Base 1 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Merged Purpose Sentence, the Predicate of which is manifested by any verb. Base 2 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Simple Sentence. Predicate tagmeme is manifested only by speech verbs. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by level intonation. Tenses for the two Bases may be the same or different. Base 1 is always future

tense. Subjects for the two Bases may be the same or different. The deep structure relationship is that of reporting speech indirectly.

Examples:

1. an kwoy berti yi-ti wen kerwuk kirapin yim.
 I yams plant go-ft said, and morning go.up, and went
 'I said I would go to plant yams and (I) got up in the morning and went.'
2. ...nim Alakayki wur-ti wem...
 we Alakay.to go.inside-ft said
 '...we said we would go into Alakay...'
3. rini nuwa-ti wem ri op wem.
 him give-ft said he thus said
 '(She) told him to give (it so) he said this.'
4. ti Bruknawiy kwomki la-ti wen yin gay-ti wem.
 she Bruknawiy village.to see-ft said, and go, and land-ft said
 'She said she would see Bruknawi village and (she) went and (she) said (she) would land.'
5. rim wiyake lis-ti wen...
 they salt cook-ft said, and
 'They said they would make salt and...'
6. gwatek ya-ti weye nim la-ti weyekem.
 here come-ft said we see-ft said
 '(We) said we would come here, we said we would see.'

3.2.6 FRUSTRATED EXPECTANCY SENTENCE

<u>+Base 1</u>	<u>+Conjoining</u>	<u>+Base 2</u>
Independent Clause any verb	level intonation	Independent Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u> only <u>keraket ti</u> 'be a little'
DS: $(Pa \supset Qa) \wedge Pa \wedge (\bar{Q}a)$ - Expectancy Reversal		
Tn: different - ft → past S: same		

Frustrated Expectancy Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Base 1 is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, the Predicate of which is manifested by any verb. Base 2 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Simple Sentence. Predicate of Base 2 is manifested only by keraket ti 'be a little'. Conjoining

tagmeme is manifested by level intonation. Tenses for the two Bases are not the same. Base 1 is always future tense. Base 2 is always past tense. Subjects for the two Bases is the same. The deep structure relationship is one of the event of Base 1 almost happening but not having yet happened, or of being frustrated.

Examples:

1. ti towe teyti-tī keraket tim.
she foot step-ft a.little.bit was
'She almost stepped on (the snake).'
2. nis nay-tī keraket tiye.
we.two fight-ft a.little.bit were
'We two almost fought.'
3. ner tak ti-tī keraket tiye.
night dark be-ft a.little.bit was
'It is almost dark.'
4. bom nimni pot-tī keraket tim.
bomb.us get-ft a.little.bit was
'We almost got hit by a bomb.'

4 NON-MERGED SENTENCE

4.1 SIMULTANEOUS SENTENCES

There are three Simultaneous Sentences - Simultaneous, Punctiliar-Continuous Simultaneous, and Simultaneous-Completive. The unifying feature of these sentences is the use of continuative and repetitive aspect markers with each of these sentences.

4.1.1 SIMULTANEOUS SENTENCE

There are two sub-types of Simultaneous Sentence - Continuous-Punctiliar and Coterminous.

4.1.1.1 CONTINUOUS-PUNCTILIAR SIMULTANEOUS SENTENCE

<u>(+Continuous Base</u>	<u>+Conjoining)²</u>	<u>+Punctiliar Base</u>
Independent Clause Merged Sentences <u>Coterm.Sim.S</u> + <-men>	rising intonation	Independent Clause Merged Sentences <u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Seq.n Sentence</u> <u>Seq.m Sentence</u> <u>P-C Sim.Sentence</u>
DS: <u>Pa</u> \wedge <u>Qa</u> ; <u>Pa</u> \wedge <u>Qb</u> - Continuous-Punctiliar Overlap		
Tn: same S: s/d		

Continuous-Punctiliar Simultaneous Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes - Continuous Base and Punctiliar Base. Continuous Base tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and various sentences. Punctiliar Base tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and by various sentences. Verbs of Continuous Base are obligatorily affixed with -men 'continuative aspect' or -bi 'repetitive aspect'. In two examples (9 and 10 below) Continuous Base plus Conjoining tagmemes have occurred twice but the construction is still binary in that each Continuous Base is in immediate constituent relation with the Punctiliar Base and the events encoded in the two Continuous Bases both co-occur with the event encoded in the Punctiliar Base. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses for the two Bases are the same, usually past. Subjects of all Bases may be the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of continuous-punctiliar action. The event of Punctiliar Base occurs at a point in time while the action or state of Continuous Base is going on. Perception Sentence also encodes this deep structure relationship.

Examples: Pa \wedge Qa

- ...ey bira-bi-m, nim sini yerin yawin nim
dawn break-rep-fp we again go.down.and went.up.and we
Alakayki wurim.
Alakay.to went.inside
'...while it was dawning, we came down again and went up
and went into Alakay.'
- ...tame ri sikwunin kira-bi-m, ri ken ak matkwunim.
man he sit.down.and cry-rep-fp he noise then heard.down
'...while the man was sitting down and crying, he then heard a
noise from down below.'

3. ...ti Wiywek ti-men-im, ti ak sam.
 she Wewak be-cont-fp she then died
 '...while she was in Wewak, she then died.'
- Pa ^ Qb
4. ...rim wes selki sen ya-bi-m, Misis rim
 they things road,by carry.and come-rep-fp ladies they
selki yam.
 road,by came
 '...while they carried the things by road, the ladies came
 by road.'
5. ...sin yam a-bi-m, nerki gare rim ak
 sit.and banana eat-rep-fp at.night river.people they then
potim.
 got
 '...while (those two) were sitting and eating bananas, the
 river people then captured them at night.'
6. patow yi-men-im, pap yaperker tim.
 ducks go-cont-fp liver bad was
 'While the ducks were gone, I felt bad.'
7. rip atek ti-men-im, Alakayri tame rim yakwo ninkeypin
 those.two there be-cont-fp Alakay's men they work did.cmpl.and
wes potin tiptuw wen yerim.
 things take.and follow crossed.and came,down
 'While those two were there, the Alakay men finished work and
 took the things and came down following (us).'
8. riri wo rini lek lek ti-men-im, riri ayer potin ak
 his spirit him eye eye be-cont-fp his bag take.and then
wem.
 crossed
 'While his (father's) spirit was watching, (Anis) took his
 net bag and then crossed over (to his home).'
9. sini nim yerim, yabel perpe yabel war-bi-m,
 again we came.down sun afternoon sun go.down-rep-fp
nim sini yan yerin yatana weran
 we again come.and come.down.and come come.inside.and
nim Wuswar yerin yam, nimni Wakpa kirpen yerin
 we Sepik come.down.and came us Wakpa stream came.down
ya-bi-m, ner ak tak tim.
 come-rep-fp night then dark was
 'We came down again, while the sun was going down in the
 afternoon, we came down and came inside and came down to the
 Sepik River, and while the Swagup stream came down to us,
 it got dark.'

10. an yakwo nin-bi-m, ti-men-im, rim kwom awes bwa...
 I work do-rep-fp be-cont-fp they village food not.have
 'While I was working, and while (I) was there, they didn't
 have any food...'

4.1.1.2 COTERMINOUS-SIMULTANEOUS SENTENCE

<u>+Coterminous Base 1</u>	<u>+Conjoining</u>	<u>+Coterminous Base 2</u>
<u>Independent Clause</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Seq.m Sentence</u> <u>Addition Sentence</u> + <-men>	rising intonation	<u>Independent Clause</u> <u>Merged Sentences</u> <u>Simple Sentence</u> +<-men>
DS: <u>Pa</u> ^ <u>Qa</u> ; <u>Pa</u> ^ <u>Qb</u> - Overlap <u>Pab</u> ^ <u>Qab</u> " - Contrast		
Tn: same S: s/d		

Coterminous Simultaneous Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes - Coterminous Base 1 and 2 - and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Coterminous Bases are manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and various sentences. Verbs of manifestations of both Base tagmemes are obligatorily affixed with -men 'continuous aspect' or -bi 'repetitive aspect' suffixes. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses of the two Bases is the same, usually past. Subjects of the two Bases may be the same or different. Two deep structures are encoded: 1) Coterminous events - the events of both Bases going on at the same time, 2) Contrast - when verbs of both Base tagmeme manifestations are affixed with -bi 'repetitive', the deep structure relationship of contrast is encoded.

Examples: Pa ^ Qa

1. an yakwo nin-bi-m, ti-men-im,...
 I work do-rep-fp be-cont-fp
 'While I was working, while (I) was there...'

Pa ^ Qb

2. ...nis Ayle tikini temna ya-bi-m, sope ti
 we.two Helen she.with ahead come-rep-fp snake she
kiluwki tokna-men-im.
 road.on sleep-cont-fp

- '...while Helen and I were coming ahead, the snake was sleeping on the road.'
3. ...ker mus ani opkap wiy-men-im, an Wikermuw gub
 fire pain me that.like wash-cont-fp I Wikermuw cane
piya-men-im.
paddle-cont-fp
 '...while I was being bathed in sweat, I was paddling at Wikermuw where there is cane.'
- Pab \wedge Qab"
4. mase rip tare a-bi-m, kin rasruw-bi-m.
 younger those.two head eat-rep-fp tail put.down-rep-fp
 'While the younger (brothers) ate the head, (they) put the tail down.'
5. kin a-bi-m, tare rasruw-bi-m.
 tail eat-rep-fp head put.down-rep-fp
 'While (they) ate the tail, (they) put the head down.'

4.1.2 PUNCTILIAR-CONTINUOUS SIMULTANEOUS SENTENCE

<u>+Punctiliar Base</u>	<u>+Conjoining</u>	<u>+Continuous Base</u>
Independent Clause Dep.Seq.Clause <u>Merged Sentences</u> verbs 'go' 'see' 'hear'	rising intonation	<u>Merged Sentences</u> <u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Seq.n Sentence</u> <u>Coterm.Sim.S</u> + <-men>
DS: <u>Pa</u> \wedge <u>Qb</u> - Punctiliar-Continuous Overlap <u>Pa</u> \wedge <u>Qa</u> - Continuous Overlap		
Tn: same S: different		

Punctiliar-Continuous Simultaneous Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes - Punctiliar Base and Continuous Base - and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Punctiliar Base tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, Dependent Sequential Clause and Merged Sentences. The Predicate tagmeme of manifestations of Punctiliar Base is manifested by the following verbs: la 'see', yi 'go', and mat 'hear'. Continuous Base is manifested by various sentences. Final verbs of Continuous Base manifestations are obligatorily affixed with -men 'continuative aspect' or -bi 'repetitive aspect'. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation.

Tenses in the two Bases are the same. In all examples to date, it is past tense only. Subjects in the two Bases are different. There are two deep structure relationships encoded: 1) Punctiliar continuous action. The event of Punctiliar Base occurs at a point in time during the continuous action or state of Continuous Base; 2) Continuous Overlap. The event of Punctiliar Base is continuous, but with punctiliar action relative to the action of Continuous Base. Perception Sentence also encodes this deep structure relationship.

Examples:

Pa ^ Qb

1. ri ken ak matkwun-im, atwey kwetenaker-bi-m.
 he noise then heard-fp down scratch-rep-fp
 'He then heard a noise down there while (she) was scratching.'
2. ti akin kin kin yi-m, sope ti kiluw kelarek
 she fear.and tail tail go-fp snake she road part
kera kera kera kera kera wur-bi-m.
 little little little little little go.inside-rep-fp
 'She was afraid and went backwards while the snake was going little by little to the side of the road.'
3. yawim yi-n, kabe lagwe wamak bar barki
 went.up go-and grass long lake.at middle middle.at t
si-men-im.
 sit-cont-fp
 '(We) went up and went while a long piece of grass was in the middle of the stream.'

Pa ^ Qb

4. ...nim las yi-m, Pata Yuw ri Waskuwki ti-men-im.
 we see go-fp Father Hugh he Waskuk.at be-cont-fp
 '...while we were going we saw Father Hugh while he was at Waskuk.'
5. ...nim las ya-n, Yesyanri kwomki ker ey-bi-m.
 we see come-and Yessan's village.at fire burn-rep-fp
 '...while we were coming we saw the fires burning at Yessan.'

4.1.3 SIMULTANEOUS-COMPLETIVE SENTENCE

(+ <u>Simultaneous-Completive Base</u>)	+ <u>Conjoining</u>) ²	+ <u>Event Base</u>
<u>Dependent Contingent Clause</u> <u>Merged Sentences</u> <u>Seq.n Sentence</u> <u>Seq.m Sentence</u> <u>Coterm.Sim.Sentence</u> + <-men>	rising intonation	<u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Merged Sentences</u> <u>Seq.n Sentence</u> <u>Seq.m Sentence</u> <u>Coter.Sim.S</u>
DS: P ____ ^ Q - Continuous-Punctiliar Overlap		
Tn: same S: different as far as simultaneous action s/d as far as completive action		

Simultaneous-Completive Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes - Simultaneous-Completive and Event - and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Simultaneous-Completive Base is manifested by Dependent Contingent Clause and various sentences. The final verb of this Base is obligatorily affixed with -men 'continuative aspect' or -bi 'repetitive aspect'. Also, the final Base of manifesting sentences is obligatorily a Dependent Contingent Clause. Although Simultaneous-Completive Base and Conjoining tagmemes can occur twice, the construction is still considered binary in that each Simultaneous-Completive Base is in immediate constituent relation with the Event Base and the events encoded in the two Simultaneous-Completive Bases both co-occur with the event encoded in the Event Base. Event Base tagmeme is manifested by various sentences. It is interesting to note that ak 'then' and sini 'again' occurred in about 75% of the manifestations of Event Base. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses in the two Bases is the same. Subjects of the two Bases are the same or different as far as the completive action is concerned, but it is different in the Bases as far as the simultaneous action is concerned. (Examples 1 and 2 show different subject as far as simultaneous and completive action is concerned. Examples 5 and 6 show different subject for simultaneous action, and same subject for completive action.) The deep structure relationship is one of complete-continuous-punctiliar action. The event of Event Base occurs at a point in time while the event of the last clause of manifesting sentence is happening and after all the other events of manifesting sentence of the first Base have happened. When Dependent Contingent Clause manifests the first Base, it is a recapitulation of the previous sentence and -ke of Dependent Contingent Clause refers back to the events of the previous sentence.

Examples:

1. nim kiyi temna yin yawin toma nin-bi-m-ke, Pata
 we first ahead go.and go.up.and talk do-rép-fp-cot Father
Yuw ri nimni ak yawim, lam.
 Hugh he us then went.up saw
 'When we had come ahead and come up and while we were
 recording, Father Hugh then went up and saw us.'
2. yan an wantake kweta-bi-m-ke, ak tem.
 came.and I betel.peppers pick-rép-fp-cot then called
 'When I had come, and while I was picking betel peppers,
 (he) then called.'
3. wurin lek lek ti-men-ti-k, ri ayer ak potiti.
 go.inside.and see see be-cont-ft-cot he bag then will.get
 'When (the spirit) will have gone inside and while he is
 watching, he (different subject) will then take the bag.'
4. ...sini ak yin lati, tak-men-ti-k, an potin
 again then go.and see.ft held-cont-ft-cot I get.and
yuwan sen yan...
 put.into.and carry.and come.and
 '...when I will then go again and see, and while (the fish)
 are held (on the hooks), I will take them and put them into
 something and will bring them and...'
5. ware ey biran sini yin lan tak-men-ti-k,
 tomorrow dawn break.and again go.and see.and held-cont-ft-cot
potin sen ak yati.
 get.and carry.and then will.come
 'When it dawns tomorrow and (I) go again and see and while
 (the fish) are caught, (I) will take them and then bring
 (them).'
6. op we-m-ke, ti-men-im-ke, rim sini Wiywekri
 thus say-fp-cot be-cont-fp-cot they again Wewak's
opiski sini begri moniy aboy potin...
 office.to again bank's money all get.and
 'When (they) had said that and while (they) were there, they
 took all the money from the Wewak bank again and...'
7. nim akem abim, atek ti-men-im-ke, nis yakwo ab
 we food ate there be-cont-fp-cot we.two work all
lege-m-ke, yati ninbim, nis wayliskemwow potin...
 finish-fp-cot come.ft did we.two wire.only got.and
 'When we had eaten and while we were there and when the work
 was all finished and while we were ready to come, we two took
 the wire and ...'

4.2 SEQUENCE SENTENCES

There are three sentences in this category - Sequence n Sentence, Completive Sentence, and Sequence m Sentence. The unifying feature of the sentences in this category is that of a chronological sequence of actions. Sequence n Sentence is a quite closely-knit sequence of actions, whereas Sequence m Sentence is a more loosely-knit sequence of actions. The sequence nature of Completive Sentence is that when the event of the first Base is completed, then the event of the second Base takes place - a chronological sequence.

4.2.1 SEQUENCE n SENTENCE

<u>+Base 1</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>±(+Base</u>	<u>+Conj)ⁿ</u>	<u>+Base_n</u>
<u>Dep.Seq.Clause</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Addition S</u> <u>Amplification S</u>	rising into- nation	<u>Dep.Seq.Clause</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Contrast S</u> <u>Amplification S</u>	rising into- nation	<u>Independent Cl</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Addition S</u>
DS: $P \wedge Q \wedge \dots N$ - Succession				
Tn: same - each <u>Base</u> takes tense of <u>Base_n</u> S: s/d				
RR: n = 6				

Sequence n Sentence is a multi-base construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes - Base 1 and Base_n - and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. A string of up to six optional Base and Conjoining tagmemes has been observed. Base 1 and Base_n tagmemes are manifested by Dependent Sequential Clause and various sentences, the final Base of which is manifested by Dependent Sequential Clause. Independent Declarative Clause and various sentences manifest Base_n. Sequence m Sentence never occurs in any of the Bases. (cf. S Embedding) Conjoining tagmemes are manifested by rising intonation. Tenses in all Bases is the same. Since Dependent Sequential Clause is not affixed with tense, these Bases take on the tense of the verb of Base_n. Subjects in all Bases may be the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of a chronological sequence of closely-knit and closely-linked events.

Examples:

1. nim rini opki nin-in, ayer nuwam.
we him this do-and bag gave
'We did that for him and gave (him) the bag.'

2. nuwa-n, an lis-in, pere meyk yuwam.
give-and I cook-and canoe hole put.into
'(He) gave (it to me) and I cooked it and put it into the canoe.'
3. nis otop yi-n, nis Pariwariy pus-in, yaw-in,
we.two together go-and we.two Pariwariy go.along-and go.up-and
an Kagwuri pere pot-in, an utki ya piyam.
I Kagwu's canoe get-and I there came paddled
'We two went together and we two came along Pariwariy and went up and I took Kagwu's canoe and I came paddling there.'
4. ...rim rini ey aboy pi-n, ri ayer pot-in, ri
they him lime all hit-and he bag get-and he
pileyk-in, ak tebwen riri akwulki wem.
carry.on.shoulder-and then follow.and his home.to crossed
'...they put lime on him and he took the bag and he carried it on his shoulder and then followed and crossed over to his house.'
5. kwe-n, titiruwin meysingin-in, ake eriwuw aboye
wall.in-and stand.up.and stop-and house door all
eriwuw mur ninim.
door three did
'(We)walled (the house) and stood it up and stopped that and made three doors for the house.'
6. pus yin tan-in, amiyen pot-in, sen yan-n nim
hooks go.and tie-and fish get-and carry.and come-and we
ak abwe.
then eat
'(We) go with the hooks and tie them and get fish and bring them and then we eat.'

4.2.2 COMPLETIVE SENTENCE

<u>(+Span Base</u>	<u>+Conj)</u> ²	<u>+Event Base</u>
Dependent Contingent Clause Merged Sentence <u>Sequence n Sentence</u> <u>Sequence m Sentence</u> <u>Addition Sentence</u>	rising intonation	<u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Sequence n Sentence</u> <u>Sequence m Sentence</u>
DS: <u>P ^ Q</u> - Succession		
Tn: s/d S: s/d		

Completive Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Span Base and Event Base, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Span and Conjoining tagmemes have been observed occurring up to two times. Span Base is manifested by Dependent Contingent Clause, and various sentences in which the final Base is manifested by Dependent Contingent Clause. Event Base tagmeme is manifested by various sentences. It is interesting to note that in about 75% of the examples, ak 'then' and sini 'again' occurs in the manifestation of Event Base. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses and Subjects for all Bases may be the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of temporal succession. The event of Span Base is completed before the event of Event Base takes place.

Examples:

1. ...wara ey bira-ti-k, sini ak yin lati.
tomorrow dawn break-ft-cot again then go.and will.see
'...tomorrow when it dawns, (I) will then go again and see.'
2. nigel mat-bwe-k, rim kitake kerbwe.
cold feel-pct-cot they greens pick
'When (the salt) is cold, they pick greens.'
3. me ak pi-m-ke, nis yam...
wood then hit-fp-cot we.two came
'When it was noon (i.e. when the bell was struck), we two came...'
4. pi-m-ke, nim sini yerim.
hit-fp-cot we then came.down
'When (she) got struck, we then came down.'
5. kiyiri tomawo kupa tiye toma ni wuriwo webwe,
'before's talk.only rotten is talk you one.only saying
we-bwe-k, an maprike bas rasti.
say-pct-cot I how mark put.ft
'When you keep saying the same thing, the thing you've said before, how can I write it.'
6. atem kilu bi rasin, yermenti-k nim Yaw laweti-k nim
they road not put.and come.down-cot we Yaw not.see-cot we
sini yerti.
again will.come.down
'If they all do not put a road and come down and if we all do not see the Yaw people, we all will come back down.'

4.2.3 SEQUENCE m SENTENCE

+Base 1	+Conj	±(+Base	+Conj) ³	+Base _n
Indep. Clause <u>Sentence</u>	rising intonation	Indep. Clause <u>Sentence</u>	rising intonation	<u>Sentence</u>
DS: P ^ Q ^ ... N - Succession				
Tn: same				
S: s/d				

Sequence m Sentence is a multi-base construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Base 1 and Base_n, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Optional Base and Conjoining tagmemes have been observed occurring up to three times. Base 1 and Base tagmemes are manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and any sentence except Simple Sentence. Simple Sentence occurs only in Base_n. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses of all Bases are the same. The verb of each Base is marked for tense and all the Bases agree. Subjects for all Bases may be the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of a sequence of events which are not as closely linked as those of Sequence n Sentence. The sequence is a chronological sequence of events.

Examples:

- nis yawin yin gayin tokna ey
we.2 went.up.and went.and beached.and slept.and dawn
birakwun-im, Tudey an yakwo ak potim.
break-fp Tuesday I work then took
'We two went up and came to shore and slept and it dawned,
Tuesday I then started to work.'
- ti ak sa-m, rim tini pertay-im, rim ab kera
she then die-fp they her buried-fp they all cry
mokin ya-m, tame ri utwur sikwun-im, kirabim...
mourned.and come-fp man he down sit-fp cry-while
'She then died, they buried her, they all came to mourn,
the man sat down there, and while he was crying...'
- le pilelen, ras-im, ti tiri yen op wematim. "..."
eye opened.and put-fp she her child thus asked
'(She) opened her eyes, she asked this about her child. "...'

4. ri sini amen ya-m, kwomri tame rimni we-m rim
 he then ran.and came-fp village's men them said-fp they
sipet sepel sen yi-m, rim sini sipet tin
 spade shovel carry.and come-fp they again spade dip.and
petiwar-im sini miyesem.
 throw-fp again took.out
 'He then came running, told the village men, they took
 spades and shovels, they dug again with the spades, (they)
 took it out again.'
5. an sini tanin-im, sini yan wayim.
 I again turned-fp again came.and came.up
 'I turned back, (I) came back up.'
6. ti wayin yan, kelele-bwe, ti sini wey warbwe.
 she came.up.and came.and nests-pct she again down went.down
 'She comes up and nests, she goes back down again.'
7. otop lisin, ri eyin, kutom-bwe, mutame o muta
 that cook.and he cook.and dies-pct owner.man or owner.woman
rip lowsi setane ray kirabwe o yaga biriri-bwe,
 those.2 tongs hold stir fire or knock off.ends-pct
ri ab eyin, eykeypin, sibuwo ti-bwe,
 he all cook.and cook.completely.and ashes.only be-pct
ker sa-bwe, muta ti lalarabagwe potin hak
 fire die-pct owner.woman she broom get.and sweep
petipetiyan wuriwoki wurin meysinginbwe.
 throw one.only.at go.into.and stops
 '(They) cook that and he (the fire) cooks and dies down,
 the owners hold the tongs, man, or woman, stir the fire
 or knock the ends off the firewood, he (the fire) is all
 cooked and there is only ashes, the fire dies, the woman
 gets a broom and sweeps it all into one place and stops
 doing that.'
8. aboy pus kep aboy pinis-ti, sen yin, perek
 all hook rope all finish-ft carry.and go.and canoe.by
piyan, sen wurin, mey barki
 paddle.and carry.and go.inside.and hole middle.at
sokwun-ti, amiyen yan aboy tak-ti-k...
 throw-ft fish come.and all held-ft-cot
 'All the fishline will be finished, (I) will take it and
 paddle by canoe and take it inside and throw it down into
 the middle (of the river), when the fish come and are
 held...'

4.3 IMPLICATION SENTENCES

Three sentences fall into this category--Reason, Result, and Frustrative Result Sentences. The unifying feature of these sentences is the deep structure relationship of implication; one action or event implies another action or event.

4.3.1 REASON SENTENCE

<u>+Statement Base</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Reason Base</u>
<u>Merged Sentence</u>	rising intonation	<u>Merged Sentence</u>
DS: $P \wedge P \supset Q$ - Efficient Cause		
Tn: same		
S: different		

Reason Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Statement and Reason, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Both bases are manifested by Merged Sentence. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses in the two Bases are the same. Subjects of the two Bases are different. The deep structure relationship is one of event and the reason for that event. Examples of this sentence are very rare--when a speaker of the language wants to express this kind of relationship, he usually uses a paragraph construction.

Examples:

1. ...an pere yan lawey-in, pere kiy piyan
I canoe came.and couldn't,find-and canoe first paddle.and
yim.
went
'...I came and couldn't find the canoe (because) the canoe
had already gone.'
2. an amen yan yer-in an pere ya-n,
I run.and come.and come.down-and I canoe come-and
lawey-in, pere kiy piyan yim.
don't.see-and canoe before paddle.and went
'I came running down and I came and couldn't find the
canoe (because) the canoe had already gone.'

4.3.2 RESULT SENTENCE

<u>+Statement Base</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Result Base</u>
Dep.Res.Clause Indep.Clause <u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Amp.Sentence</u> <u>Paral.Sentence</u>	rising intonation	Indep.Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Seq. m Sentence</u> <u>Paral.Sentence</u>
DS: $P \wedge P \supset Q$ - Efficient Cause aP \wedge Q - Awareness		
Tn: s/d S: s/d		

Result Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Statement and Result, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Statement Base is manifested by Dependent Resultant Clause, Independent Declarative Clause, and various sentences. Result Base is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, and various sentences. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation.

Tenses and Subjects of the two Bases may be the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of cause and result (Efficient Cause). Cause is given in Statement Base, and result is given in Result Base.

$P \wedge P \supset Q$ with reason marker -kap.

1. Yisas riri nimni nin-im-kap, kem otop ninbwe kem nogwape
Jesus his us do-fp-res you that doing you many
ta tame yen kem ok bop tibwe.
women men child you water empty are
'Because of what Jesus did for us, you do that, you men,
women and children are happy.'
2. mia-ti-kap, sen yim.
eat-ft-res carry.and went
'Because (he) will eat it, (he) took it.'
3. ...mat-bwe-kap, amo potiti aboy kwiyin meysingin nap
feel-pct-res knife get.ft all cut.and stop.and blood
ri aboy yati o...
he all come.ft or
'...because (she) is feeling (pain), (they) will get a

knife and cut it all and stop that and the blood will come or...'

4. ...sige ti kip wuri mat-bwe-kap, kip wusom kerati, tare
leftover she can one feel-pct-res can body rub-ft head
aboy keran meysinginti.
all rub.and stop.ft
'...because she is feeling (pain), she can rub the left-
over bark on her body and on her head and stop that.'

With no reason marker

5. ...nim mat-im, nim ok bop tim.
we hear-fp we water empty were
'...we heard (so) we are happy.'
6. an yi ya-bwe, an hokweysi.
I go come-pct I experienced
'I come and go (so) I am experienced.'
7. riri toma mat-bwe, an ey bi nayti.
his talk hear-pct I anger not fight.ft
'(I) hear his words, (so) I will not fight in anger.'
8. pato kamapim otop we-m, pap ari yebwa mat tim.
ducks came that say-fp liver my good hear was
'They said the ducks had come (so) I felt good.'
9. an pato pes utike ti-tane, an sini yitikem.
I ducks two over.there be-st I again go.ft
'I have two ducks over there, (so) I will go back.'

4.3.3 FRUSTRATIVE RESULT SENTENCE

<u>(+Frustration Base</u>	<u>+Conj)</u> ²	<u>+Result Base</u>
Dep.Seq.Clause Indep.Clause Merged Sentence { 'didn't want to' } { 'didn't succeed' }	rising intonation	Indep.Clause Merged Sentence Simple Sentence Seq. m Sentence Seq. n Sentence QUOT.PARA
DS: $\bar{P} \wedge \bar{P} \supset Q$ - Negated Efficient Cause		
Tn: same - past tense S: s/d		

Frustrative Result Sentence is basically a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes--Frustration and Result--and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Frustration and Conjoining tagmemes can occur twice, but the construction is still binary in that each Frustration Base is in immediate constituent relation with the Result Base and the events encoded in the Frustration Base are both the cause of the event of Result Base. Frustration Base tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, Dependent Sequential Clause, or Merged Sentence, the Predicate of which is manifested by a verb obligatorily suffixed with -wey 'incompletive' or by the verb soway 'say no'. Result Base tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, and by various sentences. It is also manifested by QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses of the two Bases are the same. To date, examples have shown only past tense. Subjects for the two Bases may be the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of cause and result. The cause in Frustration Base is one of negated efficient cause, and of frustrated or non-successful action with the result of Result Base.

Examples:

1. an la-wey-in, an Sokapari periyki potim.
I see-incpl and I Sokapa's paddle took
'I couldn't find (my paddle) and (so) I took Sokapa's paddle.'
2. yan la-wey-im, rim wes selki sen
come.and see-incpl-fp they things road.by carry.and
yabim...
came.while
'(We) came and didn't succeed (in going by canoe) (so)
while they carried the things by road...'
3. ...pileyk wes nim sayla-wey-im, nim linamen metisin
shouldered things we tried-incpl-fp we liniment medicine
potim nim aboy wes keran meysinginim...
took we all things rubbed.and stopped
'...we had not successfully carried the things on our
shoulders (so) we got liniment, rubbed it all over and
stopped that...'
4. ...si-wey-in, ti sini yerin mitoknabim.
sit-incpl-fp she again came.down.and slept
'(She) sat unsuccessfully (i.e. didn't get married), (so)
she came back down and slept.'
5. ti misoway-in, an Tipmabag rini sini wematim.
she emp.didn't.want.to-and I Tipmabag him again asked
'She didn't want to (give me food), (so) I again asked
Tipmabag.'

6. Siribuw basis la-wey-in rim ani soway-in,
 Siribu whirlpool see-incpl-and they me didnt.want.to-and
op wem. "..."
 thus said
 '(We) couldn't find (the ducks) at Siribu whirlpool area
 and they didn't want me (to keep looking), (so) they said
 this. "..."
7. ...ok wiy la-wey-in, ti kwom teyt la-wey-in,
 water wash try-incpl-and she village step try-incpl-and
ti wayin yan, akwul bi sim...
 she came.up.and came.and home not sat
 '...(she) didn't succeed in bathing and she didn't succeed
 in walking in the village and (so) she came up and didn't
 sit at home,...'

4.4 OPPOSITION SENTENCES

There are three sentences in this category--Negative Paraphrase, Contrast, and Alternative. Opposition is the unifying feature of these sentences; that is, negative versus positive in Negative Paraphrase, contrast one versus contrast two in Contrast Sentence, and one alternative versus another alternative in the Alternative Sentence.

4.4.1 NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE SENTENCE

+Statement Base	+Conj	+Negative Paraphrase Base
Dep.Seq.Clause Indep.Clause	rising intonation	Indep.Clause <u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Parallel Sentence</u>
DS: $\bar{P}''a \wedge Pa$; $Pa \wedge \bar{P}''a$ - Paraphrase		
Tn: same S: s/d		
RR: negation obligatory in one <u>Base</u>		

Negative Paraphrase Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Statement and Negative Paraphrase, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Statement Base is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Dependent Sequential Clause. Negative Paraphrase Base is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, and

various sentences. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses of the two Bases are the same. Subjects of the two Bases may be the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of paraphrase using negated antonyms. One of the Bases is, therefore, obligatorily negated.

Examples: $\bar{P}'a \wedge Pa$

1. an awes bi a-m, an buw sokweykem yim.
I food not eat-fp I nothing hungry went
'I didn't eat food, I went hungry.'
2. ti kip ap matkerake gimin toknabwekap ti kip bi
she can bird whatever nest.and sleeping.like she can not
tukna-ti, ti kip peyk meyki an sower sower
sleep-ft she can river hole.in eat.and walk walk
sowerin, ti sini wayin, nim op webwe. mogwor
walk.and she again come.up.and we thus saying crocodile
yen kelelebwe.
egg nesting
'She will not nest (with the eggs) like other birds sleep with eggs, she hunts food in the river and comes back up and we say this. "She is nesting with the eggs."'

(Note: gimin toknabwe and kelelebwe are antonyms--two different terms for sitting on eggs; first one used with birds; second with crocodiles.)
3. ti wanbas kap ti-ti, ti hayar titi, ti sikulwow
she stubborn shouldn't be-ft she good be.ft she school
siti.
sit.ft
'She shouldn't be stubborn, she should be well, she should be at school.'

$Pa \wedge \bar{P}'a$

4. ...Tiridey nim age si-m, nim yakwo bi ninim.
Wednesday we rest sit-fp we work not did
'...Wednesday we rested, we did not work.'

4.4.2 CONTRAST SENTENCE

<u>+Contrast 1</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Contrast 2</u>
<u>Indep. Clause</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u>	rising intonation	<u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Contrast Sentence</u> <u>Parallel Sentence</u>
DS: Pab \wedge Qa''b'' \ddagger P'cd Pax \wedge Qax'' \ddagger P̄ax'' Pa \wedge Qb		- Contrast
Tn: same		
S: s/d		

Contrast Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Contrast 1 and 2, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Contrast 1 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause or Merged Sentences. Contrast 2 tagmeme is manifested by various sentences. When Contrast Sentence is embedded in another Contrast Sentence (example 3), Contrast 2 tagmeme of embedded sentence is never manifested by Contrast Sentence. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses of the two Bases are the same. Subjects of the two Bases may be the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of contrast. The lexical items of two sets of tagmemes between the two Bases must contrast. The contrast may be between Subject, Object, Predicate, or Temporal tagmemes of the clause. Negated predicates and antonyms are used.

Examples: Pabc \wedge Pab''c''

- tame yen muk boka-ti, ta rimni mokwera kwiyti.
 man person breast cut-ft woman them tattoo cut.ft
 '(They) will cut the chests of the men, (they) will cut the
 stomach tattoos on women.'

Pab \wedge P'cd

- ...amiyen Biya atat letlane kelare mur kera-m, Ayla
 fish Velma she five part three hold-tp Helen
 wuriket potim.
 one got
 '...Velma held eight fish, Helen got one (fish).'

Pax ^ Pa"x"

3. Ayla tikini kerwuk nin-bwe, Biya tikini perpek
Helen she.with morning do-pct Velma she.with afternoon

ninbwe.
doing

'(I) work with Helen in the morning, (I) work with Velma in the afternoon.'

4. Madey nis otop Ayla tikini kerwuk nin-bwe,
Monday we.2 together Helen she.with morning do-pct

perpe ri agerbwe yakwo ninbwe, an Biya tikini
afternoon he another work doing I Velma she.with

yin ninbwe.
go.and doing

'On Monday we two work together with Helen in the morning, in the afternoon he does one kind of work, I go and work with Velma.'

Pax ^ Pa"x"

5. towri amowe tabi-m, towri amowe bi tabim.
sometimes mosquitoes bite-fp sometimes mosquitoes not bite
'Sometimes the mosquitoes bite, sometimes they do not bite.'

(towri in the two Bases represent two different times)

6. amowe worwuk tabi-m, nabe bi tabim.
mosquitoes wet.season bite-fp dry.season not bite
'The mosquitoes bite in the wet season, they do not bite in the dry season.'

Pa ^ Qb

7. ...sini ri agerbwe yakwo nin-bwe, an Biya atakini ninbwe.
then he another work do-pct I Velma she.with doing
'...then he does one kind of work, I work with Velma.'

8. ...perpe ri agerbwe yakwo nin-bwe, an Biya tikini
afternoon he another work do-pct I Velma she.with

yin ninbwe.
go.and doing

'...in the afternoon he does one kind of work, I go and work with Velma.'

9. ...rane pi-bwe, rane kwiwbwe...
same hit-pct some cut
'...some hit, some cut...'

4.4.3 ALTERNATIVE SENTENCE

<u>+Alternative 1</u> <u>Base</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Alternative 2</u> <u>Base</u>	<u>±(+Conj</u>	<u>+Alternative)²</u> <u>Base</u>
<u>Indep.Clause</u> <u>Merged</u> <u>Sentence</u> <u>Result</u> <u>Sentence</u>	<u>o 'or'</u> rising intonation	<u>Indep.Clause</u> <u>Simple</u> <u>Sentence</u> <u>Merged</u> <u>Sentence</u> <u>Result</u> <u>Sentence</u>	<u>to 'or'</u> rising intonation	<u>Simple</u> <u>Sentence</u> <u>Merged</u> <u>Sentence</u> <u>Seq. n</u> <u>Sentence</u>
DS: P v Q P v Q v R v S - Alternation				
Tn: same S: s/d				
RR: C A1 A2				

Alternative Sentence is a multi-base construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Alternative 1 and 2, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. There is an optional Conjoining and Alternative tagmeme which has been observed occurring up to two times. Alternative 1 and 2 tagmemes are manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and various sentences. Clause occurs in Alternative 2 tagmeme only if a third or fourth Alternative occurs, or if this sentence is embedded in another sentence. Alternative is manifested by various sentences. There is a tendency to parallelism of structure between the manifestations of the Bases. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation, plus o 'or'. o 'or' is optional in the second Conjoining tagmeme. The first Conjoining tagmeme may permute to sentence initial position. Tenses of all Bases are the same. Subjects of all Bases are the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of the bases offering a choice of two or more alternatives. Sometimes it is not so much a choice of two alternatives, as of two different situations that could arise because of circumstances. An interesting feature of the Alternative Sentence is its function to ask non-informational questions; that is, a question that basically requires a yes or no answer. In Yessan-Mayo there is an Interrogative Clause which seeks information through question words like 'how', 'why', 'when', etc. However, if one wants to ask a question that requires a simple yes or no answer there are two ways this can be done:

- (1) Declarative Clause can be used, which makes a simple statement. It is then up to the person addressed to confirm or refute that

statement.

Example:

Statement - ni sini yibwe.
you again going
'You are going back.'

Answer - an sini yibwe.
I again going
'Yes, I am going back.'

Answer - yahow an bi yiti.
no I not go.ft
'No, I will not go.'

(2) Alternative Sentence is used, using Alternative 1 + Conj + Alternative 2, or + Alternative 1 + Conj with Alternative 2 left unsaid, but understood.

Example:

ni yiti, o ni gwatek timen./ ni yiti o
you go.ft or you here stay you go.ft or
'Will you go or will you stay here.' / 'Will you go or (will you stay here)?'

Examples: Pa v Qa

1. top yaper kerok-bwe, o me take hakwun kiraywebwe...
grass bad pull-pct or tree hair sweep.and throw.away
'(She) pulls weeds or rakes and throws away the leaves...'
2. Tukpot ti now yakwo nin-bwe, o wes nanokwebwe...
Tukpot she garden work do-pct or things plants
'Tukpot works in the garden or plants things...'
3. ...lowsi setane ray kira-bwe, o yaga biriribwe.
tongs hold stirs fire-pct or burning.end knocks.off
'...(she) holds the tongs, stirs the fire up or knocks off the ends of the burning firewood.'
4. kiyiri towe pes nat-ye o towe murwo alawayewe...
before's time two pour-np or time three.only taste.unsuc
'When they have poured water through the old (salt) twice or when they have tasted it the third time without tasting salt...'

P v Q v R

5. ...ti yakwo maprike yi-ti o now maprike yi-ti, awes
she work how go-ft or garden how go-ft food
maprike ninti.
how do.ft
'...how will she go to work, or how will she go to the garden, (or) how will she cook food.'

6. rim kip tini sibiya sen yan, matbwe matbwekap,
 they can her nettles carry.and come.and feeling feeling.res
aboy sibiya pikeyp-in o amo potiti kip amo aboy kip
 all nettles hit-and or knife get.ft can knife all can
matbwekap amo aboy kwiyin meysingin, nap ri aboy
 feeling.res knife all cut.and stop.and blood he all
ya-ti, o boka wun kip sabon sowerin,
 come-ft or tree.type tree.type can strip.and walk.and
sen yan, oki tukin, nigri seykiti,
 carry.and' come.and water.in set.and medicine separate.ft
an meysingin, sige ti kip wuri matbwekap, kip
 eat.and stop.and leftovers she can one feeling.res can
wusom kerati, tare aboy keran meysinginti.
 body rub.ft head all rub.and stop.ft

'They can bring nettles for her and because she is feeling pain (they) will strike her with the nettles or (they) will get a knife and because she is feeling pain (they) will cut her with the knife and stop doing that and all the blood will come or (they) will strip bark from the boka and wun trees and bring it and put it in water and the medicine will separate, (she) will eat it and stop doing that and the leftover bark will be rubbed on her body and head because she is feeling pain.'

P v Q v R v S

7. o wala botkwu-ye, wala yen tay-we, o nim sope wuri
 or dog kill-np dog child birth-np or we snake one
botkwu-ye, o kib, nim op weye. "..."
 kill-np or bat we thus said
 'When we killed a dog, or a dog gives birth to pups, or when we kill a snake, or (when we kill) a bat, we say this. "...'

4.5 AMPLIFICATION SENTENCES

There are three sentences that are in this category--Addition, Paraphrase, and Amplification. The unifying feature of these sentences is that of amplification or expansion of a statement. Paraphrase Sentence is not so much an expansion or amplification of a statement as a re-statement of a statement which does expand it slightly sometimes.

4.5.1 ADDITION SENTENCE

<u>+Statement Base</u>	<u>(+Conj</u>	<u>+Addition Base)²</u>
<u>Dep.Seq.Clause</u> <u>Indep.Clause</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u>	rising intonation	<u>Indep.Clause</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Seq. n Sentence</u>
DS: Pa \wedge mPa \nexists mPa' Pa \wedge Pab Pa \wedge Pax \nexists Pay Pab \wedge Pab' Pa \wedge Pax \wedge Pay Pa \wedge mPa \wedge Pax		- Coupling
Tn: same S: same		

Addition Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Statement and Addition, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Conjoining and Addition Base together may occur twice. Statement Base is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, Dependent Sequential Clause, and Merged Sentences. Addition Base is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, and various sentences. There is complete or partial recapitulation of Statement Base in Addition Base, plus the addition of one new tagmeme which gives additional new information not given in Statement Base. The additional information may be added on any level (i.e. phrase, clause, Merged Sentence, Non-merged Sentence). There are no examples with negation in Addition Sentence. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses and Subjects of all Bases are the same. The deep structure relationship is one of giving new additional information in Addition Base that is not given in Statement Base.

Examples: Pa \wedge mPa

1. ...yan yerin, an amen yan yerim.
 came.and came.down.and I ran.and came.and came.down
 '...(1) came and came down, and I ran and came and came down.'
2. niri wo atemkini timenti, sem sem timenti...
 your spirit them.with be.ft always always be.ft
 'If your spirit stays with them, always stays...'

Pa \wedge mPa'

3. nim Kawyebayki yawin, nim arin Biya Ayla Masta Bil
 we Kawyebay.to went.up.and we I Velma Helen Master Bill
Pol Kapo nim otop botki yawim.
 Paul Kabo we together boat.by went.up
 'We went up to Kawyebay and we, I, Velma, Helen, Bill,
 Paul, Kabo, went up by boat together.'

Pa \wedge Pab

4. ...lisin teya sab yenibaw teya gwasila rim
 cook.and coconut husks coconut.part coconut rope they
otop lisbwe.
 that cook
 '...(they) cook, and they cook coconut husks, yenibaw
 part of a coconut, and coconut rope.'
5. ...sini we-bwe, wes sini webwe...
 again say-pct thing again say
 '...(you) say it again, (you) say something again...'

Pa \wedge Pax \ddagger Pay

6. nim yeykiy yaw-in, Kawyebayki yawin...
 we before went.up-and Kawyebay.to went.up
 'A few days ago we went up, and went up to Kawyebay and...'
7. ...ri sower-bwe, ri oki sowerbwe...
 he walk-pct he water.in walks
 '...he walks, he walks in the water...'
8. an ya-n, kiypik yan...
 I came-and later came.and
 'I came and came later and...'

Pab \wedge Pab'

9. ...nim wuri taki welen, apiy riri tak wuri nim welen...
 we one jaw decorated.and father's jaw one we decorate
 '...we decorated one jaw bone, and we decorated father's jaw-
 bone and...'

Pa \wedge Pax \wedge Pay

10. ta wuri ti yi-n peyki yi-n, nimni yin...
 woman one she go-and river.to go-and us go.and
 'The woman went, and went to the river, and went to us and...'

Pa \wedge mPa \wedge Pax

11. ya-n bokera pere tapel kanu nis ya-n Biyakak
 come-and big canoe double canoe we.2 come-and Biyaka.to
nis ak ya-n...
 we.2 then came-and
 '...(we two) came, and we two came by a big double canoe,
 and came to Biyaka and...'

4.5.2 PARAPHRASE SENTENCE

<u>+Statement Base</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Paraphrase Base</u>
Dep.Seq.Clause Indep.Clause	rising intonation	Indep.Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u>
DS: Pa \wedge P'a; $\bar{P}a \wedge \bar{P}'a$ - Identity/Equivalence		
Tn: same S: same		

Paraphrase Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Statement Base and Paraphrase Base, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Statement Base is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, and Dependent Sequential Clause. Paraphrase Base is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, and Simple Sentence. At least one tagmeme with its lexical context from Statement Base is recapitulated in Paraphrase Base. Both Bases, or neither, may contain a negated Predicate. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses and subjects for the two Bases are the same. The deep structure relationship is one of paraphrase. The same subject and the same event are involved in both Bases, but Paraphrase Base gives the same information as given in Statement Base in different words.

Examples: Pa \wedge P'a

1. ...nis Ayla tikini temnamen-im nis Ayla tikini
 we.2 Helen she.with went.ahead-fp we.2 Helen she.with
temna yabim...
ahead came
 '...while we two, Helen and I, had gone ahead, while we
 two, Helen and I had come ahead...'

2. ...an tini toma miwe-ti, toma wey weti.
 I her talk say-ft talk instructions say.ft
 '...I will talk to her, I will give her instructions.'
3. rip mas hayar siy-we, rip otop hayar an
 those.two must well sit-np those.two together well eat.and
sower.
walk
 'Those two must sit (together) good, those two (must) live together good.'

$\bar{P}a \wedge \bar{P}'a$

4. kiras bi ninbi-m, ey bi nogwebi-m...
 anger not do-fp anger not continue-fp
 '(He) did not get angry, he did not continue the anger...'
5. ni agerbwe tamekini ey kap nogwe-ti, agerbwe
 you another man.with anger should.not continue-ft another
tamekini ey kap nayti.
 man.with anger should.not fight.ft
 'You shouldn't continue anger with another man, you shouldn't fight with another man.'
6. ti tame kap meysingin-ti, ti kap agerbwe
 she man should.not leave.ft she should.not another
kenaket yiti.
 another go.ft
 'She shouldn't leave her husband, she shouldn't marry another (man).'

4.5.3 AMPLIFICATION SENTENCE

Amplification Sentences are of three sub-types--Generic-Specific Amplification, Specific-Generic Amplification, and Preview-Specific Amplification.

4.5.3.1 GENERIC-SPECIFIC AMPLIFICATION SENTENCE

<u>+Statement Base</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Specific Base</u>
Dep.Seq.Clause Indep.Clause	rising intonation	Indep.Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u>
DS: gPa \wedge sPa - Generic-Specific		
Tn: same		
S: same		

Generic-Specific Amplification Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory tagmemes, Statement Base and Specific Base, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Statement Base is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Dependent Sequential Clause. Specific Base is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, and Simple Sentence. There is partial recapitulation of Statement Base in Specific Base. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses and Subjects for the two Bases are the same. The deep structure relationship is one of making more specific one of the tagmemes of Statement Base. Amplification can be made using sentence, clause, or word.

Examples:

1. ...wes tar-bwe teya sab teya gwasila owpel
 things ready-pct coconut husks coconut rope sago.part
kwura ker rim tarbwe.
 tree.type fire they ready
 '...(they) get things ready, they get ready the coconut
 husks, the coconut rope, the owpel part of the sago tree,
 and the kwura firewood.'
2. ...rip nimni helpim-in, rip nimni wes panin
 those.2 us helped-tp those.2 us things took.and
sen weram.
 carry.and came.inside
 '...those two helped us, those two brought our things for
 us.'
3. nim rini opkap nin-in, ayer nuwam.
 we him this did-tp bag gave
 'We did this for him, (we) gave a bag.'
4. kiyi akeyp-in, nakwo a meysinginye...
 before ate.completely-and sago eat finished
 '(They) ate everything first, and finished eating sago...'
5. ri ab ey-in, eykeypin...
 he all cook-and cooked.completely.and
 'It all cooked and cooked completely and...'

4.5.3.2 SPECIFIC-GENERIC AMPLIFICATION SENTENCE

<u>+Specific Base</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Summary Base</u>
<u>Indep.Clause</u> <u>Alternative Sentence</u> <u>Descrip.Sentence</u>	rising intonation	<u>Indep.Clause</u> <u>Simple Sentence</u> containing <u>otop</u> 'that' <u>op</u> 'this'
DS: sPa \wedge gPa - Specific-Generic		
Tn: same S: same/different		

Specific Generic Amplification Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Specific and Summary, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Both Base tagmemes are manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and various sentences. The manifestation of Summary Base obligatorily has an Object tagmeme manifested by otop 'that' or op 'this'. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses of the two Bases are the same. Subjects of the two Bases may be the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of summarizing in Summary Base, in a generic way, what has been said in Specific Base.

Examples: sPa \wedge gPa

- Tukpot ti now yakwo nin-bwe, o wes nanokwe-bwe, ti
 Tukpot she garden work does-pct or things plant-pct she
otopkap yakwo ninbwe.
 that.like work does
 'Tukpot does garden work or plants things, she does work
 of that nature.'
- top yaper kerokbwe, o me take hakwun kiraywe-bwe,
 grass bad pulls or tree hair sweep.and throws-pct
ti otop ninbwe.
 she that does
 '(She) pulls weeds or rakes the leaves and throws them
 away, she does that.'
- towe riri bokra, herkabe, wus kin riri magel riri
 foot his big huge skin tail his back his
lagkini lagwenakap, opkap (titane).
 thorn.with long.like thus.like (is-st)
 'His feet are very big, his skin and tail and his back has

long thorn-like things, (he's) like that.'

4.5.3.3 PREVIEW AMPLIFICATION SENTENCE

<u>+Preview Base</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Specific Base</u>
Dep.Seq.Clause Indep.Clause	rising intonation	<u>Completive Sentence</u> <u>Descriptive Sentence</u> <u>Seq. n Sentence</u> NARR.PARA
DS: gPa \wedge sPa - Generic-Specific		
Tn: same		
S: same		

Preview Amplification Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Preview Base and Specific Base, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Preview Base is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause or Dependent Sequential Clause. Specific Base is manifested by various sentences and NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH. There is no recapitulation of Preview Base in Specific Base. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses and Subjects of the two Bases are the same. The deep structure relationship is one of generic preview being made more specific. An event is usually under consideration, but in one example, there is existence plus description.

Examples:

- nim yakwo nin-bwe, kwoy ley nim atek matik yuwan,
we work do-pct yam seeds we there bag put.into.and
ak kisin, yin now likin,
then carry.on.head.and go.and garden carry.and
yuwan, nim kwoy ak berbwe.
put.into.and we yams then plant
'We work, we put the yam seedlings into the net bags and then carry them on our heads and go and take them to the garden and then we plant the yams.'
- nis nin-im, yakwo nis ake taykwen legem, nis ake
we.2 do-fp work we.2 house raftered.and finish we.2 house
yen ab potin, legen, sini nis rope pim.
child all took.and finish.and then we.2 thatch made
'We two worked, we two raftered the house, finished that, we two made the ends of the house and finished that and then we two made the thatch shingles.' (Note: This par-

ticular example goes on for two paragraphs, telling how this house was made.)

3. si ake wuri nin-in, aboy meyk perin, hakwun, kwokwes
 feces house one do-and all hole dig.and sweep.and next
an ak meyk perin, hakwun, kwokwes yenin, an sag
 I then hole dig.and sweep.and next cover.and I post
yuwan, taykwen rope tagen titiruwin...
 put.into.and rafted.and thatch tied.and stood.up.and
 '(I) made a toilet and (I) dug the hole and swept out the dirt, and the next day I then dug the hole and swept out the dirt, and the next day I covered it with earth and put in the posts and rafted the roof and put on the shingles and stood them up and...'
4. nis ak yan seynis-in, urya Masta rini nis
 we.2 then came.and changed-and up Master him we.2
yerin, pere nuwam, seyn wemke, nis tapel
 came.down.and canoe gave answer said.when we double
kanu potin...
 canoe took.and
 'We two then came and changed and we came down to the Master from upriver and gave the canoe and when we had answered, we took the double canoe and...'
5. rim opkap, towe pes, wak lagwekini, tare gwanekini.
 they thus.like feet two neck long head crest.with
 'They are like this, two feet, a long neck, a head with a crest.'

4.6 EXPLANATORY SENTENCES

There are four sentences in this category--Flashback, Evaluation, Parallel, and Description. The unifying feature of these sentences is that the sentences present explanatory material. This is especially true of Flashback and Description Sentences. Evaluation Sentence adds an explanatory note of evaluation.

4.6.1 EVALUATION SENTENCE

<u>+Statement Base</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Evaluation Base</u>
Indep. Clause <u>Seq. m Sentence</u>	rising intonation	<u>Simple Sentence</u> (formulaic)
DS: Pa \wedge eQb - Evaluation		
Tn: different S: different		

Evaluation Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Statement and Evaluation, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Statement Base tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Sequence m Sentence. Evaluation Base is manifested by Simple Sentence and is formulaic: at yenbwe 'That's good' or at yaper 'That's bad'. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses for the two Bases are different. Statement may be any tense but stative, and Evaluation is always stative. Subject is different, also, in that the subject of Evaluation Base is always a demonstrative pronoun which represents not just the subject of Statement Base but also the whole action of Statement Base. The deep structure relationship is one of evaluation of an event, as to whether it is good or bad.

Examples:

- wanbas ti-ti, at yaper.
stubborn be-ft that bad
'If (she's) stubborn, that's bad.'
- rini ta meysingin ri wiysage yiwe, tikini sini wiysage
him woman leave.and he alone went she.with again alone
yi-we, at yaper.
go-np that bad
'The wife left him and he is alone, she is alone again,
that's bad.'
- nim sikul si-bwe, at yenbwe.
we school sit-pct that good
'If we go to school, that's good.'

4.6.2 PARALLEL SENTENCE

<u>+Item 1 Base</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Item 2 Base</u>
Indep.Clause	rising intonation	Indep.Clause <u>Simple Sentence</u>
DS: $Pa \wedge Qa$ } - Coupling $Pa \wedge Pb$ } $Pa \wedge Pa \supset Qa$ - Result		
Tn: same S: s/d		
RR: Uniformly negative or positive		

Parallel Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Item 1 and Item 2, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Item 1 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause. Item 2 tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, or Simple Sentence. There is parallel structure between the manifestations of the two Bases, with the manifestations having an equal number of corresponding tagmemes, but with a change of head word in the fillers in one of the corresponding tagmemes. Manifestations of Base tagmemes are both positive or both negative. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses for the two Bases are the same. Subjects for the two Bases are the same or different, depending on which lexical items in the structure are held constant. Two deep structure relationships are encoded--coupling and result.

Coupling ($Pa \wedge Qa/Pa \wedge Pb$) may indicate one type of action with two different actors ($Pa \wedge Pb$), or two different actions with one actor ($Pa \wedge Qa$).

Result ($Pa \wedge Pa \supset Qa$) involves the same actor and two different actions. Item 1 presents the cause, and Item 2 presents the result.

Examples: $Pa \wedge Qa$

1. rim ok hayar wiy-bwe, rim kerap hayar welebwe.
 they water well wash-pct they decorations well decorate
 'They wash well, they dress up well.'
2. ...Tukpot nirin yet ya-ti, nirin yet bas rasti.
 Tukpot you yet come-ft you yet mark put.ft
 '...Tukpot, you yourself will come, you yourself will write.'

3. ...ti hayar ti-ti ti sikulwo siti.
 she well be-ft she school.only sit.ft
 '...she will be good, she will go only to school.'

Pa \wedge Pb

4. ri wiysage yi-we tikini sini wiysage yiwe...
 he alone go-np she.with again alone go
 'He went alone, she went alone again...'

Pa \wedge Pa \supset Qa

5. ...an hayar matbi-t, an hayar bas rasbi-t.
 I good hear-ft I good mark put-ft
 '...I will hear it good (therefore) I will write it good.'

4.6.3 FLASHBACK SENTENCE

+Event Base	+Conj 1	+Flashback Base	+Conj 2	+Recap Base
Indep.Clause <u>Merged Sentence</u>	rising intonation	<u>Seq. n Sentence</u> <u>Result Sentence</u>	rising intonation	<u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Seq. n Sentence</u> recap of <u>Event Base</u>
DS: P \wedge Q - Coupling				
Tn: same - past S: s/d				

Flashback Sentence is a three-base construction with three obligatory Base tagmemes, Event, Flashback, and Recap, and two obligatory Conjoining tagmemes. Event Base tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause or Merged Sentence, both of which in present examples are recapitulations of the last clause of preceding sentence in the paragraph, which provides linkage within the paragraph. Flashback Base and Recap Base tagmemes are manifested by various sentences. The lexical material in Recap Base is a restatement (either partial, complete, or a synonym substitute) of the last clause of Event Base. In all examples, ak 'then' manifests a clause-level tagmeme of the sentence of this Base. Conjoining tagmemes are manifested by rising intonation. Tenses of the three Bases are the same, that is, past tense. Subjects of the first two Bases are the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one where the event in Flashback Base occurs previous to the event of Event Base. The Flashback event is presented and leads into the restatement in Recap Base of the event of Event Base.

Examples:

1. yi-m, rim rini ey aboy pin, yaw, ri ayer potin, ri
 go-fp they him lime all hit.and enough he bag took.and he
pileyk-in, ak tabwen riri akwulki wem.
 shouldered-and then followed.and his home.to crossed.over
 '(He) went, they threw lime at him and that was enough, he
 took the net bag and he shouldered it and then he followed
 and crossed over to his home.'

2. nim yerin, Wayiwaski tokna-m, pileyk wes nim
 we came.down.and Wayiwas.at sleep-fp shoulder things we
saylaweyim, nim linamen metisin potim, nim aboy
 tried.unsuccessfully we liniment medicine took we all
wes keran meysingin-im, nim ak toknam.
 things rub.and stop-fp we then slept
 'We came down and slept at Wayiwas, we had not successful-
 ly carried the things on our shoulders (so) we got lini-
 ment, we rubbed it all over and finished doing that, we
 then slept.'

4.6.4 DESCRIPTION SENTENCE

+Description 1	+Conj	+Description 2	±(+ Conj	+Description 3)
Equative Clause	rising intonation	Equative Clause	rising intonation	Equative Clause
DS: Eab \wedge Ecd Eab \wedge Ecd \wedge Efg - Descriptive Coupling				
Tn: same S: different				

Description Sentence is a multi-base construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Description 1 and 2, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. A second Conjoining tagmeme and Description 3 tagmeme are optional. Description tagmemes are manifested only by Equational Clause. Conjoining tagmemes are manifested by rising intonation. Tenses of all Bases are the same. Subjects of all Bases are different. All Bases of Description Sentence allude to items from the same domain. The deep structure relationship is that of describing the parts of something. All descriptions, although not necessarily related to each other, relate to the main topic of the paragraph or discourse.

Examples: Eab \wedge Ecd

1. tomas lagwenawe, ri tame tati ler riri ler ler
mouth long.very he man bite.ft teeth his teeth teeth
bokraway.
big.very
 'The mouth is very long, his teeth that he bites men with
 are very big.'
2. towe riri bokra herkabe, wus kin riri magel riri lagkini
feet his big huge skin tail his back his thorn.with
lagwenakap (opkap).
long.like thus.like
 'His feet are huge, the skin of his tail and his back is
 like long thorns, ((he's) like that).'

Eab \wedge Ecd \wedge Efg

3. ...towe pes, wak lagwekini tare gwanekini.
feet two neck long.with head crest.with
 '...(The cassowary's) feet are two, (his) neck is long, and
 (his) head has a crest.'

4.7 HYPOTHETICAL SENTENCES

There are three sentences in this category, Projected Complete Sentence, Conditional Sentence, and Projected Result Sentence. The unifying feature of these sentences is that each sentence encodes a hypothetical situation, or a situation that does or could happen, but which hasn't happened yet. Another unifying feature is that none of these sentences occur in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH. Projected Complete Sentence occurs in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH, Conditional Sentence occurs in PROCEDURAL and HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS (plus a few others), and Projected Result Sentence occurs in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS. These sentences never occur with far past tense. There are no corresponding structures for this category on the paragraph level.

4.7.1 PROJECTED COMPLETIVE SENTENCE

<u>+Span Base</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Event Base</u>
<u>Indep. Clause</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Seq. n Sentence</u> <u>Alt. Sentence</u>	rising intonation	<u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Seq. n Sentence</u> <u>Seq. m Sentence</u> <u>Projected Completive Sentence</u>
DS: $P \wedge Q$ - Succession		
Tn: different - np → ft/pct S: s/d		

Projected Completive Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Span and Event, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Span Base tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and various sentences. Event Base tagmeme is manifested by various sentences. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses in the two Bases are different. Span Base is always near past tense; Event Base is either future or present continuous tense. Subjects of the two Bases are the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of temporal succession. The event of Span Base must be completed before the event of Event Base can occur. Completive Sentence can also encode this relationship. Informant reaction is that it is an arbitrary choice of the speaker and one of style.

Examples:

- ner tak ti-ye, ri atek peyki sowerbwe.
 night dark be-np he there river.in walks
 'When it's dark, he (crocodile) walks in the river.'
- yen sele-ye, ti kip nawe ti panin peyk meyki
 eggs hatch-np she can mother she take.and river hole.in
 yuwa.
 put.into
 'When the eggs have hatched, the mother takes them (baby crocodiles) and puts them into the river.'
- ...toma wuriwo kiyiri bas ras-ye, an sini bas rasbwe.
 talk one.only before's mark put-np I again mark put
 '...when (I) have written words that were said before, I write again.'

4. awes nin-ye, rim aboy mokwera kwiyin, wayin sibwe,
food do-np they all tattoo cut.and come.up.and sit
rim awes abwe.
they food eat
 'When the food is cooked, they all cut the tattoos and
 come up and sit, they eat food.'
5. ...watiworki neys kwuta-ye, ti yen atek tayti.
swamp.at nest make-np she eggs there lay.ft
 '...When (she) has made a nest in the swamp, she will lay the
 the eggs there.'
6. tiye, ti-ye, ti kip sini yabwe.
be be-np she can again come
 'When she has been away for awhile, she comes again.'

4.7.2 CONDITIONAL SENTENCE

+ <u>Condition Base</u>	+ <u>Conj</u>	+ <u>Realization Base</u>
<u>Indep. Clause</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u> <u>Projected Completive Sentence</u>	rising intonation	<u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Parallel Sentence</u> <u>Alt. Sentence</u> <u>Seq. n Sentence</u> <u>Projected Completive Sentence</u>
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{DS: } P \supset Q \\ P \vee g \supset Q \\ P a \supset P' a \\ \bar{P} a \supset P a x \end{array} \right\} - \text{Hypotheticality}$		
$\begin{array}{l} \text{Tn: } s/d \text{ ft} \longrightarrow \text{ft} \\ \quad \quad \quad \searrow \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{st} \longrightarrow \text{pct} \\ \text{S: } s/d \end{array}$		

Conditional Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Condition and Realization, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Condition Base is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and various sentences. Realization Base is manifested by various sentences. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses of the two Bases are the same or different. The combinations which can occur are as follows:

<u>Condition Base</u>		<u>Realization Base</u>
future	→	future
future	→	present continuous
stative	→	present continuous

Subjects of the two Bases are the same or different. There are three deep structure relationships encoded in Conditional Sentence:

1. $P \supset Q$ - This is a hypothetical situation where the event of Condition Base implies the event of Realization Base.
2. $P_{\forall g} \supset Q$ - This is also a hypothetical situation where the event of Condition Base with a universal quantifier of goal implies the event of Realization Base.
3. $Pa \supset P'a; \bar{P}a \supset \bar{P}al$ - This is a hypothetical situation where the event of Condition Base is qualified or modified in Realization Base. Subject, Predicate, and tenses of the two Bases are the same. Tense is future.

Examples: $P \supset Q$

1. ow kupa bi ti-tane, rim rowek tasin, ak yin
pot rotten not be-st they bark sweep.and then go.and
rasbwe.
put
 'If (they) do not have an old clay pot, they sweep (the salt) into a piece of bark and then go and put it.'
2. ni nimni la-ti, nim hayar otopow ninti.
you us see-ft we well that.only do.ft
 'If you help us, we will do only good.'
3. ta sa-ti, rane tame gabwe kirkir ninbwe.
woman die-ft some men effigy also make
 'If a woman dies, some men will also make an effigy.'
4. ...ti ow kupa ti-tane, ti ow kupak yuwabwe.
she pot rotten be-st she pot rotten.in put.into
 '...if she has an old clay pot, she will put it into the old clay pot.'

$P_{\forall g} \supset Q$

5. opkap matkerake gwoli nin-ti, atar yet nimni helpimti.
that.rm whatever anger do-ft he yet us help.ft
 'Because of that, whatever anger we will have, he will help us.'
6. yuri nim matkerake nin-ti, atar yet nimni lukawtimti,
later we whatever do-ft he yet us look.after.ft
helpimti.
help.ft

'Later, whatever we do, he will look after us and help us.'

Pa ⊃ P'a

- 7. toma ni we-ti ni wuriwo weti.
talk you say-ft you one.only say.ft
'If you talk, say only one thing.'
- B. toma we-ti, toma yenbwawo.
talk say-ft talk good.only
'If you talk, (say) only good talk.'
- 9. kep yuri sini we-ti, kep toma yenbwa hayar weti.
you.2 later again say-ft you.2 talk good well say.ft
'Later, if you two talk again, you two say good talk well.'

$\bar{P}a \supset Pa1$

- 10. ti ok bi wiy-ti ti wasipiyk okwo wiyti.
she water not wash-ft she spring water.only wash.ft
'If she hasn't washed, she should wash only in the spring water.'

4.7.3 PROJECTED RESULT SENTENCE

<u>+Statement Base</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Result Base</u>
Dep.Seq.Clause	rising intonation	<u>Simple Sentence</u>
Indep.Clause		<u>Prj.Result Sentence</u>
<u>Merged Sentence</u>		
with <u>kap</u>		with <u>kap</u>
DS: $(P \supset Q) \wedge \bar{R} \wedge \bar{Q} \supset \bar{P}$		- Warning
DS: $(P \supset Q \supset R) \wedge \bar{R} \wedge \bar{R} \supset Q \supset \bar{P}$		
Tn: same - future		
S: s/d		

Projected Result Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Statement Base and Result Base, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Statement Base is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, Dependent Sequential Clause, or Merged Sentence. Result Base is manifested by Simple Sentence or Projected Result Sentence. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Base tagmeme manifestations obligatorily contain kap 'should not'. Tenses of both Bases are the same; that is, future. Subjects of the Bases are the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of warning, where cause and result are projected into the

future and are negative in form. Base 2 is a result of Base 1, Base 3 is a result of Base 2.

Examples:

1. ti Wuswar ok kap war wiy-ti, tini mogworki
 she Sepik water shouldn't go.down wash-ft her crocodile
kap potiti.
 shouldn't take.ft
 'She shouldn't go down and wash in the Sepik River (because) she shouldn't be taken by a crocodile.'
2. tini mogworki kap pot-in, ti kap sati.
 her crocodile shouldn't get-and she shouldn't die.ft
 'She shouldn't be taken by a crocodile (because) she shouldn't die.'
3. tini Wuni awes kap nuwan a-ti, ti niba
 her Washkuk food shouldn't give.and eat-ft she sorcery
kap potiti, ti kap sati.
 shouldn't get.ft she shouldn't die.ft
 'The Washkuk people shouldn't give her food to eat (because) she shouldn't get sorcery (because) she shouldn't die.'

4.B QUOTATION SENTENCES

There are three sentences in this category: Quotation, Perception, and Execution. The unifying feature of these sentences is that of reporting. Quotation Sentence reports direct speech. This sentence is very rare, as this relationship is usually expressed on the paragraph level. Perception Sentence reports what is seen, heard, or known. Execution Sentence reports action that was taken because of what was said. All these sentences are characterized by the use of speech or perception verbs.

4.8.1 QUOTATION SENTENCE

<u>+Quotation Formula Base</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Quote Base</u>
Indep.Clause with speech verb	rising intonation	<u>Simple Sentence</u> PARAGRAPH
DS: wP ^ Q - Reporting		
Tn: s/d S: s/d		

Quotation Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Quotation Formula and Quote, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Quotation Formula Base tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, the Predicate of which is manifested by a speech verb. Quote Base is manifested by Simple Sentence and PARAGRAPH. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses and Subjects of the two Bases are the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of reporting direct speech.

Examples:

1. te-m, "pato wuswarki yibwe."
 call-fp duck Sepik going
 '(He) called, "The ducks are going down the Sepik."
 (This example goes on into a paragraph with more direct speech.)
2. ti migwungwun-im, "nirin sikini potim."
 she insisted-fp you truly took
 'She insisted, "You truly took it."'

4.8.2 PERCEPTION SENTENCE

<u>+Perception Formula Base</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Perceived Event Base</u>
Dep. Seq. Clause Indep. Clause with perception verb	rising intonation	<u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Seq. n Sentence</u> <u>Merged Sentence</u>
DS: aPab \wedge Qb } aPab \wedge Qb } - Awareness		
Tn: s/d S: different		

Perception Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Perception Formula and Perceived Event, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Perception Formula Base tagmeme is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause and Dependent Sequential Clause, the Predicates of which are manifested by perception verb, usually 'to see'. Perceived Event Base tagmeme is manifested by various sentences. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses for the two Bases are the same or different. Subjects of the two Bases are different. The deep structure relationship is that of reporting what is seen, known, or heard. Also encoded is punctiliar-continuous simultaneous action.

Examples: aPab ^ Qb

1. kep la-bwe, riri ha ey bi naybweket.
you.2 see-pct his father anger not fight-pct
'You two see that his father does not fight.'
2. tob nim la-bwe, rim bolki tin yatane, rim
cassowary we see-pct they bush.in be.and come they
mowki tim.
rain.in are
'We see cassowaries that they are in the bush and they are wild.'

aPab ^ Qb

3. ...an pere piyan yan la-n, Sokapa ri Waropiy
I canoe paddle.and come.and see-and Sokapa he Waropiy
pu-bi-m.
come.along-while-fp
'...I paddled the canoe and came and saw Sokapa while he was coming along at Waropiy.'
4. ...nim las yi-m Pata Yuw ri Waskuwki ti-men-im.
we see go-fp Father Hugh he Washku.at be-con-fp
'...while we were going we saw Father Hugh while he was at Wasku.'
5. ...nim Yaw la-m, Alakayri tame rim weran kiluwki
we Yaw see-fp Alakay's men they came.inside.and road.at
rope sey-bi-m.
thatch cut-while-fp
'...we saw the Yaw people, the men from Alakay, while they came to the road and were cutting the thatch.'
6. ...nim las ya-n, Yesyanri kwomki ker ey-bi-m.
we see come-and Yessan's village.at fire burn-while-fp
'...while we were coming, we saw the fires burning at Yessan.'

4.8.3 EXECUTION SENTENCE

<u>+Intention Base</u>	<u>+Conj</u>	<u>+Execution Base</u>
Dep.Seq.Clause Indep.Clause <u>Merged Sentence</u> with speech verb	rising intonation	<u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Seq. m Sentence</u> <u>G-S Amp.Sentence</u> <u>Seq. n Sentence</u>
DS: $iP \wedge P \supset Q$ - Efficient Cause (Intent) WP $\wedge Q$ - Reporting		
Tn: same S: s/d		

Execution Sentence is a binary construction with two obligatory Base tagmemes, Intention and Execution, and an obligatory Conjoining tagmeme. Intention Base is manifested by Independent Declarative Clause, Dependent Sequential Clause, and Indirect Quote Merged Sentence. Predicate tagmeme of these manifestations is a speech verb. Execution Base tagmeme is manifested by various sentences. Conjoining tagmeme is manifested by rising intonation. Tenses of the two Bases are the same. Subjects of the two Bases are the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of reporting and the consequent action taken because of what was said. The reporting is either an indirect quote stating intention to do something, or else just reporting that something was said, but not reporting exactly what was said, and the consequent action taken. What is actually encoded here is a cause and result relationship.

Examples:

1. an kwoy berti we-n, kerwuk kirapin yim.
I yams plant.ft say-and morning got.up.and went
'I said I was going to plant yams and (I) got up in the morning and went (to plant).'
2. nim Alakayki wurti we-m, yim, nim lam.
we Alakay.to go.inside-ft say-fp went we saw
'We said we would go into Alakay, (we) went, we saw.'
3. ...ti we-n, ak potibwe.
she say-and then takes
'...she says and then takes.'
4. rim wiyake listi we-n, wes tarbwe, teya sab
they salt cook say-and things ready coconut husks

teya gwasila owpel kwura ker rim tarbwe.
 coconut rope sago.part tree.type fire they ready
 'They say that they are going to make salt and they ready
 the things; they ready the coconut husks, the coconut
 rope, parts of the sago tree, and the kwura firewood.'

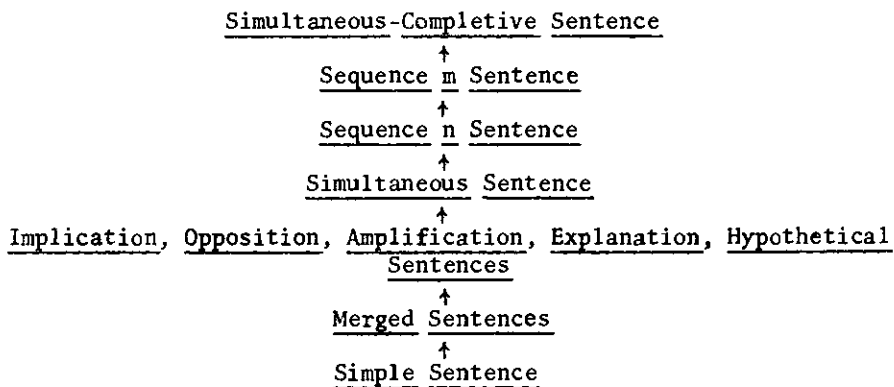
5. ...kwomri tame rimni we-m rim sipeyt sepel sen
 village's men them say-fp they spades shovels carry-and
yim...
 went
 '...(he) told the village men, they took spades and
 shovels...'

6. ...rimni we-n ariri meym Kal atari toski nisni nuwam.
 them say-fp my uncle Kal his torch us.2 gave
 '...(we two) said to him and my Uncle Kal gave us his torch.'

S. EMBEDDING

Embedding (recursion) is very common in Yessan-Mayo and occurs with most sentence types.

Merged Sentences embed heavily in Non-merged Sentences and there is some embedding of Merged Sentence within Merged Sentence (i.e. Merged Simultaneous embeds in Go-Do; Repetition embeds in Simultaneous; Purpose embeds in Certainty). Within Non-merged Sentences there is heavy embedding and some types of sentences are especially open to receive embedding (i.e. Sequence n, Sequence m, Simultaneous-Completive Sentences). A lot of research has not been done into this matter, but it appears that there are at least 7 major layers of embedding as shown in the following diagram:



The third layer from the bottom includes a lot, and more research needs to be done to see whether in fact all these are in this layering, or if some of them might be higher up the ladder.

A problem was encountered with Sequence n and Sequence m Sentences to know which was embedded in which. The hypothesis, at first based on intuitive feeling, was that given string

Cl-n, Cl-m, Cl-n, Cl-m.

the deep structure relationship was

Cl-n, Cl-m, Cl-n, Cl-m.

and not

*Cl-n, Cl-m, Cl-n, Cl-m.

Or, given the string

Cl-m, Cl-n, Cl-m, Cl-m.

the deep structure relationship was

Cl-m, Cl-n, Cl-m, Cl-m.

and not

*Cl-m, Cl-n, Cl-m, Cl-m.

The following supports that -n embeds in -m, and not vice versa.

1. Cl-n construction does not carry tense and is, therefore, incomplete in itself and cannot stand alone. Cl-m does carry tense. Cl-n "attaches" itself to and takes on the tense of the next subsequent Cl-m or Cl-m.
2. In real life, on the average, Cl-n constructions are more closely-knit processes of immediate sequence, and Cl-m constructions are non-processes, or more loosely-knit processes with delayed sequence.
3. Cl-m is involved in many more contrastive construction types than is Cl-n.
4. Cl-m occurs as manifestation of paragraph tagmemes, whereas Cl-n never does.

6 PARAGRAPH

0 INTRODUCTION

0.1 GENERAL

A Yessan-Mayo paragraph has been defined as a construction at a level in the grammatical hierarchy between sentence and discourse. The construction consists of at least two phonological entities (two exceptions--TERMINAL PARAGRAPH and EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH) each characterized by final, falling intonation and pause. Lexical unity and specific linkage devices (conjunctions, tense and subject restrictions) bind the phonological parts of the paragraph into a whole (Chapter 1, Section 1.2, Contrastive Features).

The deep structure formulas for paragraphs are not always to be equated with those for sentences, in that the former describe the overall relationships within the paragraph and of necessity occasionally ignore some of the inter-clausal sentence relations which are described in Chapter 5, Sentence.

0.2 PARAGRAPH SYSTEM

Twenty-two paragraph types have been distinguished which for ease of description have been grouped and systematized as shown in Chart W. The horizontal parameter distinguishes between paragraphs which show a sequence relationship, an implication relationship, an opposition relationship, an amplification relationship, an explanation relationship, a reporting relationship, and an exhortation relationship. The vertical parameter distinguishes between tight, balanced and loose. These categories are fairly loose, general classifications which refer to the number of tagmemes and the type of manifestation of tagmemes. Tight paragraphs are usually restricted in the manifestations of the tagmemes (i.e. EVALUATION of EVALUATION PARAGRAPH has a very restricted list of fillers; non-initial tagmemes of REPETITION PARAGRAPH are restricted to complete repetition of initial base.) Paragraphs in the balanced category usually only have two tagmemes, with the restriction of fillers not as tight as those paragraphs in the tight category. Paragraphs in the loose category can potentially have more than two tagmemes with no tight restrictions on the manifestations of the tagmemes. This classification does not hold true in every case. For example, none of the paragraphs which show a sequence relationship were balanced (i.e. had only two tagmemes), so PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH was arbitrarily chosen to fill this category. PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH is actually quite a loose construction.

CHART W
Paragraph Types

	SEQUENCE	IMPLICATION	OPPOSITION
TIGHT	Paragraph Formula Tense Subject REPETITION +ST +REP ² Tn:same S: same complete repetition		NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE +ST +ADD Tn:s/d S: same +negation
BALANCED	Paragraph Formula Tense Subject PROCEDURAL +STEP ⁿ ±A.STEP ±CL.PR ±CM Tn:same-pct S: s/d partial recapitulation	REASON +ST +REA Tn:s/d S: s/d	ALTERNATIVE +ALT 1 +C +ALT 2 C: <u>o rane</u> <u>o towri</u> Tn:same S: s/d
LOOSE	Paragraph Formula Tense Subject NARRATIVE +BU ⁿ ±FLSH Tn:same-past S: s/d partial recapitulation	RESULT +ST ±C +RES C: <u>opkap</u> Tn:s/d S: s/d	CONTRAST +CON 1 +CON 2 ±CON 3 Tn:s/d S: s/d 2 contrasts
	Paragraph Formula Subject Tense		

continued on p.197

CHART W (continued)

AMPLIFICATION	EXPLANATION	QUOTATION	EXHORTATION
ADDITION +ST +ACC Tn:same S: same total repetition 1 new tagmeme	EVALUATION +ST +(±EVAL 1 ±EVAL 2) Tn:different S: different EVALUATION is formulaic	QUOTATIVE ±QU.FR +QU Tn:s/d S: s/d speech verb	EXHORTATION ±IDENT ±INTENT ±EXHORT Tn:different,IDENT- st,INTENT-ft, EXHORT-no tense S: different formulaic
PARAPHRASE +ST +PARAP ±ST.REP Tn:different S: same total repetition	PARALLEL +IT 1 +IT 2 Tn:same S: s/d parallel	PERCEPTION +PERCEP.FR +PERCEV.EV Tn:same S: different perception verb	TERMINAL ±PR.F ±F ±GR ±FF.EXHORT ±FF.INTENT ±F Tn:same - near past S: different formulaic
AMPLIFICATION ±G.ST +S.AMP ±G.SUM Tn:same S: s/d partial repetition	EXEMPLIFICATION +ST +EXEM Tn:different S: s/d ft → past st → past	EXECUTION +PRO +EXEC Tn:different S: s/d ft → past st speech verb	HORTATORY +CH ±REIN ±WRN Tn:s/d - pct/ft S: s/d
	DESCRIPTION ±TO +DES 1 ±DES 2 ±DES 3 Tn:same S: same	DIALOGUE ±SP 0 +SP 1 +(SP 2 SP 3) Tn:s/d S: s/d speech verb repartee	

1 SEQUENCE PARAGRAPHS

1.1 REPETITION PARAGRAPH

+STATEMENT	+REPETITION ²
<u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Seq. m Sentence</u>	<u>Simple Sentence</u>
DS: Pab \wedge Pab' \wedge Pab'- Equivalence Pax \wedge Pay -Parallel	
Tn: same S: same Lk: juxtaposition	

REPETITION PARAGRAPH is a multi-base construction with two obligatory tagmemes, STATEMENT and REPETITION. REPETITION tagmeme has been observed to occur up to two times. STATEMENT is manifested by Simple Sentence and Sequence m Sentence and REPETITION tagmemes are manifested by Simple Sentence only. REPETITION tagmeme is a complete repetition of Simple Sentence of STATEMENT or of the last clause of Sequence m Sentence of STATEMENT. Tenses and subjects of the two tagmemes are the same. The deep structure relationship is that of repetition of the event of STATEMENT. The action is repeated maybe two or three times. It is not continued or prolonged action over a period of time or over distance in space as it is in the Merged Repetition Sentence.

Examples:

1. STATEMENT: Sequence m Sentence

an bas raswbwe, toma wuriwo kiyiri bas rasye, an sini
I mark putting talk one.only before's mark put I again

bas raswbwe.
mark putting

'I write, when I have written the talk from before, I write (it) again.'

REPETITION: Simple Sentence

an sini bas raswbwe.
I again mark putting
'I write it again.'

REPETITION: Simple Sentence

sini bas raswbwe.
again mark putting
'(I) write it again.'

2. STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

opi yokwe materi mate wuri.
 other side bag's bag one
 '(There is) one bag on that bag's side.'

REPETITION: Simple Sentence

opi yokwe materi mate wuri.
 other side bag's bag one
 '(There is) one bag on that bag's side.' (i.e. There is one bag
 on each side.)

1.2 PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH

±SETTING	+STEP 1	+(±STEP ⁿ)	±ALT.STEP	±CL.STEP)	±COMMENT
<u>Simple S</u> <u>Prj.Cmpl.S</u>	<u>S.S</u> <u>Seq. n S</u> <u>Prj.Cmpl.S</u> <u>Add.S</u> <u>Amp.S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u>	<u>Seq. n S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u> <u>Prj.Cmpl.S</u> <u>Cmpl.S</u> <u>Amp.S</u> <u>Cond.S</u>	<u>Alt.S</u>	<u>Seq. n S</u>	
QUOT.PARA	ADD.PARA AMP.PARA	QUOT.PARA AMP.PARA EXEC.PARA CON. PARA	ALT.PARA		PARAL.PARA
DS: P ^ Q ... ^ N - Succession					
Tn: same - pct S: s/d Lk: recapitulation					
RR: n = 3					

PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH is a multi-base construction. STEP 1 tagmeme is obligatory and at least one other tagmeme must occur. STEPⁿ is a string of STEP tagmemes which has been observed occurring up to three times. STEP tagmemes may precede and follow CLIMACTIC STEP. When it follows, it is anti-climactic. SETTING is an optional tagmeme initiating the paragraph and is manifested by various sentences and paragraphs. STEP 1 and STEP tagmemes are manifested by various sentences and paragraphs. Completive and Projected Completive Sentences are common manifestations of these tagmemes. ALTERNATE STEP is manifested only by Alternative Sentence or ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH. CLIMACTIC STEP is manifested by Sequence n Sentence in which one of

its tagmemes is manifested by yaw 'enough'. CLIMACTIC STEP signals that the preceding STEP is the final step in the procedure. Whatever follows is anti-climactic. The manifestations of STEP tagmemes are characterized by the very frequent use of ak 'then' and meysingin 'to stop'. These words may occur in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS but they occur much less frequently. meysingin in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH very often means 'to leave' rather than 'to stop'. Tenses of the tagmemes are usually the same, present continuous. However, in one example, the paragraph starts out in far past tense but soon goes into the present continuous tense. This particular story was told by a woman who may have been nervous because of the tape recorder, etc. Subjects of the BASES are usually the same, although they may be different. Usually no specific dramatis persona is in focus, but the second person plural pronoun, nim, is used. Here and elsewhere, recapitulation linkage consists of the repetition of the final part of the last sentence in the preceding tagmeme of the paragraph at the beginning of the filler of the new tagmeme. The deep structure relationship is one of a chronological sequence of events in relationship to how things are done. Within a sequence, alternative ways of doing something are often presented.

Refer to Chapter 8, Section 2. PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE 'How to Hunt Pigs', for examples of PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH.

1.3 NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

±SETTING	+BUILDUP 1	+(±BUILDUP ⁿ)	±FLASHBACK)
<u>Simple S</u>	<u>Seq. n S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u> <u>Simple S</u> <u>Cmpl.S</u> QUOT.PARA EXEC.PARA PERC.PARA CON .PARA	<u>Seq. n S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u> EXEC.PARA QUOT.PARA DIA.PARA ADD.PARA PARAP.PARA RESULT PARA CON .PARA	<u>Simple Sentence</u> <u>Flashback S</u> REASON PARA NARR.PARA ADD.PARA
These items never occur:	<u>Prj.Cmpl.S</u> <u>Alt.S</u> <u>Cond.S</u> ALT.PARA EXHOR.PARA EVAL.PARA DESC.PARA TERM.PARA	<u>Simple S</u> <u>Prj.Cmpl.S</u> <u>Alt.S</u> <u>Cond.S</u> ALT.PARA EXHOR.PARA EVAL.PARA DESC.PARA TERM.PARA	
DS: P ^ Q ^ ... ^ N - Succession			
Tn: same - past S: s/d Lk: recapitulation RR: n = 4			

NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH is a multi-base construction. BUILDUP 1 tagmeme is obligatory, and at least one other tagmeme must occur. Various sentences and paragraphs manifest tagmemes as noted in the bi-dimensional array. Also shown in the bi-dimensional array are sentences and paragraphs which never occur. BUILDUP 1 is not manifested by Simple Sentence if SETTING occurs. FLASHBACK is manifested usually by Simultaneous Sentence or Flashback Sentence. It is interesting to note that in all examples to date, when FLASHBACK occurs, the last verb of BUILDUP_n is a motion verb. In one example where FLASHBACK occurred initially in the paragraph, the last verb of BUILDUP_n

was a Merged Go-Do Sentence, which includes a motion verb. Tenses of the tagmemes are the same, usually past tense. On rare occasions they may be future (cf. Chapter 8, Section 1.1 NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, 'Trip to Distribute Gospel Recordings', EPISODE 15, 16, 17.) Subjects of the tagmemes are the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of chronological sequence of events which have already happened (or, on rare occasion, which will happen). Provision is made in FLASHBACK for a non-chronological comment on a previous event.

Refer to Chapter 8, Section 1. NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, 'Trip to Distribute Gospel Recordings', and 'Fishing Trip', for examples of NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH.

2 IMPLICATION PARAGRAPHS

There are two paragraphs which are in this category, REASON and RESULT. There is no paragraph that fits into the tight category. The unifying feature of these paragraphs is the feature of implication by juxtaposition linkage alone. Although RESULT PARAGRAPH may use a conjunction to link its bases, the conjunction is more often NOT used than used.'

2.1 REASON PARAGRAPH

+STATEMENT	+REASON
<u>Simple S</u>	<u>Simple S</u>
PARAL.PARA	<u>Paral.S</u>
PARAP.PARA	CON .PARA
QUOT.PARA	RESULT.PARA
DS: $P \wedge P \supset Q$ - Efficient Cause	
Tn: s/d	
S: s/d	
Lk: juxtaposition	

REASON PARAGRAPH is a binary construction with two obligatory tagmemes - STATEMENT and REASON. These tagmemes are manifested by various sentences and paragraphs. Tenses and Subjects of the two tagmemes are the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of event and the reason or cause for that event.

Examples:

1. STATEMENT: Simple Sentence
nim sini warti.
 we again go.down.will
 'We will go back down.'

REASON: Simple Sentence

gub kabe sim.
cane grass sat

'There is cane and grass blocking the way.'

2. STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

rane misis mastakini yakwo ninbwe ta tame atem rimni
some ladies masters.with work doing women men they them

wus yenbwe labwe.
skin good seeing

'Some (people) who work for European men and women see that the skin of those people is good.'

REASON: Parallel Sentence

rim ok hayar wiybwe, rim kerap hayar welebwe.
they water well washing they ornaments well decorating

'They wash well, they dress up well.'

3. STATEMENT: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

O Rapet nim gwatek tokna.
Oh Robert we here sleep

'Oh, Robert, let's sleep here.'

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

nim bulki toknati.
we bush.at sleep.will

'We will sleep in the bush.'

REASON: Simple Sentence

kuw let towe mus mus sowye.
thigh hand feet pain pain ruined

'(My) legs and arms really ache.'

4. STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

ari pap atek kwoye matim.
my liver there alright heard

'I felt good there.'

REASON: CONTRAST PARAGRAPH

CONTRAST 1: Result Sentence

pato yimenim, pap yaperker tim.
duck were.gone liver bad was

'The ducks were gone (so) I felt bad.'

CONTRAST 2: Result Sentence

pato kamapim atep wem, o pap ari yenbwa mat tim.
duck came that said oh liver my good heard was

'They said the ducks had come (so) I felt good.'

S. STATEMENT: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH

QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence
 ni kap op weti.
 you shouldn't this say.will
 'You shouldn't say this.'

QUOTE: Simple Sentence
 arini tomaker webwe.
 me talk saying
 '(He) has words with me (i.e. He's angry with me).'

REASON: Simple Sentence
 an buw tomakerwo webwe.
 I no.reason talk only saying
 'I am talking for no purpose (i.e. I'm not angry).'

2.2 RESULT PARAGRAPH

+STATEMENT	±CONJ	+RESULT
<u>Simple S</u>	<u>opkap</u>	<u>Simple S</u>
<u>Cond. S</u>	<u>olsem</u>	<u>Cond.S</u>
ADD.PARA		<u>Fr.Res.S</u>
PARAP.PARA		AMP.PARA
NEG.PARAP.PARA		PARAL.PARA
PARAL.PARA		RESULT PARA
AMP.PARA		
RESULT PARA		
DS: $P \wedge P \supset Q$ - Efficient Cause		
Tn: s/d		
S: s/d		
Lk: conjunction, juxtaposition		

RESULT PARAGRAPH is a two-base construction with two obligatory tagmemes, STATEMENT and RESULT. CONJOINING tagmeme is optional. STATEMENT and RESULT tagmemes are manifested by various sentences and paragraphs. CONJOINING tagmeme is manifested by opkap 'because of that', and olsem 'because of that', a borrowing from Neo-Melanesian. The preferred style is to not use the CONJOINING tagmeme. Tenses and Subjects of the BASE tagmemes are the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of event and the result of that event.

1. STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

ri ta tini ok bop tiye.
 he woman her water empty was
 'He was sorry for her.'

RESULT: Simple Sentence

ri atek akwulki tiye.
 he there home.at was
 '(So) he stayed there at home.'

2. STATEMENT: ADDITION PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

kar tame nigel yati.
 old men cold come.will
 'The old men will be cold.'

ADDITION: Simple Sentence

ri kenakem.
 he very
 'He (will be) very (cold).'

RESULT: Simple Sentence

kwom kirati titane.
 village cry.will be
 'They will definitely cry for the village (i.e. be homesick).'

3. STATEMENT: NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Result Sentence

an yi yabwe, an hokwesi.
 I go coming I experienced
 'I come and go, (therefore) I am experienced.'

NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

an samsam bwa.
 I novice not
 'I am not a novice.'

RESULT: Simple Sentence

an hayar toknabwe.
 I well sleeping
 'I sleep well.'

4. STATEMENT: Parallel Sentence

nim toknabwe, nim awes potbwe.
 we sleeping we food getting
 'We sleep, we get food.'

RESULT: PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

ITEM 1: Simple Sentence

nim hayar titane.
 we well are
 'We are well.'

ITEM 2: Simple Sentence

nim yakwo hayar ninbwe.
 we work well doing
 'We work well.'

5. STATEMENT: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Sequence m Sentence

nim yam, titane, Sokapa ri saylaweyim.
 we came are Sokapa he tried.unsuccessfully
 'We came, are (here), Sokapa tried unsuccessfully (to get
 ysed to the cold).'

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

nigel kenakem yam.
 cold much came
 'He was very cold.'

RESULT: RESULT PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

ITEM ONE: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

GENERIC STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

misis rip rini wun tokna wes nuwam.
 ladies those.2 him put.on.and sleep things gave
 'The two ladies gave him things you wear and sleep in
 (i.e. pyjamas).'

SPECIFIC STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

tirawsis lagwe sot lagwe towa sokes kena.
 trousers long shirt long foot socks another
 '(The two ladies gave him) long trousers, a long-sleeved
 shirt, and different kind of socks.'

GENERIC SUMMARY: Simple Sentence

otop nuwam.
 that gave
 '(They) gave that.'

ITEM TWO: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

SPECIFIC STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

pilaget eys.
 blanket four
 '(They gave) four blankets.'

GENERIC SUMMARY: Simple Sentence

otop nuwam.
that gave
'(They) gave that.'

RESULT: RESULT PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

ri otop toknabwe.
he that sleeping
'He sleeps with that (ie. the blankets, etc.).'

RESULT: Simple Sentence

ri hayar toknabwe.
he well sleeping
'He sleeps well.'

6. STATEMENT: RESULT PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

ri api atari seynis
he father his change
'He is Father's substitute.'

RESULT: Conditional Sentence

opkap matkerake gwoli ninti atar yet nimni
because.of.that whatever anger do.will he yet us
helipinti.
help.will
'Because of that, whatever anger we will have, he will help us.'

RESULT: Amplification Sentence

olsem nim rini opkap ninim, ayer nuwam.
because.of.that we him thus did bag gave
'Because of that, we did that for him, (we) gave him the bag.'

3 OPPOSITION PARAGRAPHS

There are three paragraphs which are in this category: NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE, ALTERNATIVE, and CONTRAST. Opposition is the unifying feature of these paragraphs; that is, negative versus positive in NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE, one alternative versus another alternative in the ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH, and contrast one versus contrast two in CONTRAST PARAGRAPH. This opposition is linked by juxtaposition and conjunction.

3.1 NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

+STATEMENT	+NEG.PARAP
<u>Simple S</u>	<u>Simple S</u>
<u>Result S</u>	<u>Seq. n S</u>
<u>Seq. n S</u>	
PARAL.PARA	
DS: $Pa \wedge \bar{P}''a$ Negative $\bar{P}''a \wedge Pa$ Paraphrase	
Tn: s/d S: same Lk: juxtaposition	
RR: negation obligatory in one of the tagmemes	

NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH is a binary construction with two obligatory tagmemes, STATEMENT and NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE. NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE tagmeme may occur preceding or following STATEMENT. Various sentences and paragraphs manifest these two tagmemes. There is a carry-over of at least one tagmeme (usually Subject) from STATEMENT to NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE. Tenses of the two tagmemes are the same or different. Subjects of the two tagmemes are always the same. The deep structure relationship is one of paraphrase. By use of a negated antonym the manifestation of STATEMENT is paraphrased in NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE.

1. STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

nim now hakwuri siye.
 we garden holiday sat
 'We have a garden holiday.'

NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

nim kip now bi yititane.
 we can garden not go.will.certainly
 'We cannot go to the garden.'

2. STATEMENT: Result Sentence

an yi yabwe an hokwesi.
 I go coming I experienced
 'I come and go (therefore) I am experienced.'

NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

an samsam bwa.

I novice not

'I am not a novice.'

3. STATEMENT: PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

ITEM 1: Simple Sentence

nim yakwo bi yititane.

we work not go.will.certainly

'We will definitely not go to work.'

ITEM 2: Simple Sentence

a bi yititane.

food not go.will.certainly

'(We) will definitely not go for food.'

NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

nim atek akwulwoki tiye.

we there home.only.at be

'We will stay only at home.'

4. NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

ti kwomki kwomki kap sowerti.

she village.to village.to shouldn't walk.will

'She shouldn't walk around the villages.'

STATEMENT: Sequence m Sentence

ti sikul siti, ti yan atatiri timent i akek ti atek
she school sit.ft she come.and her stay.ft house she there

siti, ti toknati, ti sikulwo sibat.

sit.ft she sleep.ft she school.only sit.ft

'She will go to school, she will come and sit at the house
where she stays, she will sleep, she will go to school.'

3.2 ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH

+ALTERNATIVE 1	+CONJ	+ALTERNATIVE 2
<u>Seq. n S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u> <u>Amp.S</u> <u>Cond.S</u> PARAP.PARA	<u>o rane</u> <u>o towri</u> <u>o</u>	<u>Seq. n S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u> <u>Amp.S</u> <u>Cond.S</u>
DS: Pa ‡ Qa Pa ‡ Qb Pa ‡ P̄b		
Tn: same S: same when <u>o towri</u> 'or sometimes' is used diff. when <u>o rane</u> 'or some' is used Lk: conjunction		

ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH is a binary construction with three obligatory tagmemes: ALTERNATIVE 1 and 2, and CONJOINING. ALTERNATIVE tagmemes are manifested by various sentences. ALTERNATIVE 1 (in one example) is manifested by a PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH. The manifestations of each of the ALTERNATIVE tagmemes is the same; that is, if Sequence n Sentence manifests ALTERNATIVE 1, then Sequence n Sentence manifests ALTERNATIVE 2. In examples 3 and 4 it would appear as though this were not so, in that in both examples ALTERNATIVE 1 is manifested by Conditional Sentence and in both examples ALTERNATIVE 2 is manifested by another sentence type. However, the Condition Base applies not only to ALTERNATIVE 1, but also to ALTERNATIVE 2 and the Realization Base manifestation of ALTERNATIVE 1 does match the manifestation of ALTERNATIVE 2. CONJOINING tagmeme is manifested by o rane 'or some', o towri 'or sometimes', and o 'or'. Tenses of the two ALTERNATIVE tagmemes are the same. Subjects are the same when o towri 'or sometimes' occurs and are different when o rane 'or some' occurs. The lexical forms of the subjects are usually the same (example 1, rim 'they'; example 4, tame 'men') but it is implicit that two different groups are meant. The deep structure relationship is one of offering a choice of two alternatives as in examples 2,3, and 4. Sometimes, it is not so much a choice of two alternatives, but of two different situations that could arise because of the circumstances, as in example 1.

Pa ‡ Qa

1. ALTERNATIVE 1: Sequence m Sentence

rim ak pibwe, rim yaper piye, rim tobwelaweybwe.
 they then shooting they bad shot they follow.unsuccessfully
 'They then shoot (the pig), when they shoot bad, they follow
 (the pig) unsuccessfully (i.e. they don't find it).'

ALTERNATIVE 2: ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH - Pa ‡ Qa

ALTERNATIVE 1: Sequence m Sentence

o yenbwa pibwe, rim tobwen yin, por san
 or good shooting they follow.and go.and pig die.and

toknamenbwe, rim ak potbwe.
 sleeping they then taking

'Or (they) shoot good, they follow and go, and the pig is
 lying dead, and they then take (it).'

ALTERNATIVE 2: Sequence m Sentence

o rane buwmi kelpi timenbwe, ri eyki simenbwe, rim yin
 or some nothing alive being he angry sitting they go.and

labwe, eyki nayin ak piragerbwe.

seeing angry fight.and then shooting.again

'Or while some of the pigs are alive, he is angry, they go
 and see (this), (they) fight being angry and then shoot
 (it) again.'

2. ALTERNATIVE 1: Sequence n Sentence

me take welelen, rim peykin, kitiy op tebwe.
 tree hair tie.in.bunch.and they tie.and meat thus calling
 '(They) tie a bunch of leaves together and thus call.'

ALTERNATIVE 2: Sequence n Sentence

o towri rim mena ayerki yuwan, mena
 or sometimes they betelnut bag put.into.and betelnut

likin, rim ak op tebwe.

pull.and they then thus calling

'Or sometimes they put betelnut into a small net bag and pull
 the betelnut and they then thus call.'

Pa ‡ Qb

3. ALTERNATIVE 1: Conditional Sentence

toma bi kwotaye, rim kiyiri nibirapeten, na rim sini
 flavour not salty they before's throw.away.and andthey again

agerbwe sini rasbwe.

another again putting

'If (the salt) is not salty, they throw away the old (salt)
 and they put more (salt).'

ALTERNATIVE 2: Sequence n Sentence

o rane rim kiyi agerbwe kiyk rasbwe sige
 or some they before another deep putting what.has.been.used.before

elik rasin, rim ok ak sirin, rim sini ak potin,
 top put.and they water then pour.and they again then take.and

ak kisbwe.
 then boil

'Or some people put what was on the bottom before on top, and they then pour water (over it) and they then take it again and then boil (greens).'

Pa ‡ P̄b

4. ALTERNATIVE 1: Conditional Sentence

ta sati, o rane tame rim gabwe kirkir ninbwe.
 woman die.will or some men they effigy also making

'If a woman dies, some men make an effigy.'

ALTERNATIVE 2: Simple Sentence

o rane tame bi ninbwe.
 or some men not doing

'Or some men don't make (an effigy).'

3.3 CONTRAST PARAGRAPH

+CONTRAST 1	+CONTRAST 2	±CONTRAST 3
<u>Simple S</u> <u>Result S</u> <u>Cond.S</u> <u>Prj.Cmpl.S</u> <u>Seq. n S</u> <u>Coterm.Sim.S</u> REASON PARA CON .PARA	<u>Simple S</u> <u>Result S</u> <u>Cond.S</u> <u>Prj.Cmpl.S</u> <u>Seq. n S</u> <u>Coterm.Sim.S</u> EVAL.PARA RESULT PARA QUOT.PARA	<u>Simple S</u>
$ \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{DS: } Pa \wedge P''b \\ Pa \wedge \bar{P}b \\ Pax \wedge Qay \\ \bar{P}ax \wedge Pay \end{array} \right\} - \text{Contrast} $		
Tn: s/d - tends to be same S: s/d Lk: juxtaposition		

CONTRAST PARAGRAPH is a multi-base construction with two obligatory tagmemes--CONTRAST 1 and 2. CONTRAST 3 is an optional tagmeme, which occurs rarely in present texts. CONTRAST 1 and 2 tagmemes are manifested by various sentences and paragraphs. CONTRAST 3 has only been manifested by Simple Sentence in examples so far. When sentences manifest CONTRAST tagmemes, the sentences are the same type in each CONTRAST tagmeme; that is, if Result Sentence manifests CONTRAST 1, Result Sentence also manifests CONTRAST 2. Sometimes it would appear as though this were not so (examples 1,3). However, when, for example, Projected Completive or Conditional Sentence manifest CONTRAST 1 the Projected Completive or Condition Base applies not only to CONTRAST 1 but also to CONTRAST 2, and the Event and Realization Base manifestations do in fact match CONTRAST 2 manifestation. When paragraphs manifest one of the CONTRAST tagmemes, there still tends to be parallel structure between the two tagmemes, although there are a couple of examples where this is not true. For example, if Sequence n Sentence manifests CONTRAST 1 and EVALUATION PARAGRAPH manifests CONTRAST 2, STATEMENT of EVALUATION PARAGRAPH is manifested by Sequence n Sentence. There is repetition of at least one tagmeme of CONTRAST 1 in CONTRAST 2. In a few examples, there is repetition of just the tense affix. Tenses of the tagmemes tend to be the same. There are a few examples

where tense is different. Subjects of the tagmemes are the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of contrast. There must be contrast in two areas; that is, the lexical items of two parallel sets of tagmemes between the fillers of CONTRAST tagmemes must contrast. This is done by the use of antonyms and negation of one predicate. The contrast may be between Subject, Object, Predicate, Temporal, or Location tagmemes of the filler clause. The most common deep structure is Pa \wedge P''b.

Pa \wedge P''b

1. CONTRAST 1: Projected Completive Sentence

Sadey wuri potiye, rane ta tame kip ak yititane.
 Sunday one taken some women men can then go.ft.certainly
 'When one week has passed, some people can then go.'

CONTRAST 2: Simple Sentence

yen satane nawe ha ta satane tame ri kip akwulki
 child died mother father woman died man he can home.at
 tititane.
 be.ft.certainly
 'The mother and father of the dead child, the husband of the
 dead woman stay at home.'

2. CONTRAST 1: CONTRAST PARAGRAPH

CONTRAST 1: Projected Completive Sentence

Sadey wuri potiye, rane ta tame kip ak yititane.
 Sunday one take some women men can then go.ft.certainly
 'When one week has passed, some people will then go.'

CONTRAST 2: Simple Sentence

yen satane nawe ha ta satane tame ri kip akwulki
 child died mother father woman died man he can home.at
 tititane.
 be.ft.certainly
 'The mother and father of the dead child, the husband of the
 the dead woman stay at home.'

CONTRAST 2: Projected Completive Sentence

liyp mur eys ak potiye, ri kip a yakwo op
 moon three four then take he can eat work this
 nintitane.
 do.ft.certainly

'When three or four moons have passed, he can work for food.'
 (Note that the actor in CONTRAST 2 is a substitute of the
 actors of CONTRAST 1, not identical.)

Pa \wedge P \bar{b} 3. CONTRAST 1: Conditional Sentence

sini kep op ninti, Ayla ti bi yati, orait Tukpot
 again you.2 this do.ft Helen she not come.ft Tukpot

nirin yet yati, nirin yet bas rasti.
 you yourself come.ft you yourself marks put.will

'If you do this again, if Helen doesn't come, Tukpot, you will come, you will write.'

CONTRAST 2: REASON PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

an bi bas rasti.
 I not make put.ft
 'I will not write.'

REASON: Simple Sentence

yakwo bokra.
 work big
 'That's a big job.'

Pax \wedge P''ax4. CONTRAST 1: Conditional Sentence

...ti ow kupa titane, ti ow kupa yuwabwe.
 she pot rotten has she pot rotten put.into

'...if she has an old pot, she puts (it) into the old pot.'

CONTRAST 2: Conditional Sentence

ow kupa bi titane, rim rowek tasin, ak yin rasbwe.
 pot rotten not have they bark.in sweep.and then go.and put

'If there is no old pot, they sweep (it) into a piece of bark and then go and put it.'

Pax \wedge P''ax''5. CONTRAST 1: Result Sentence

pato yimenim, pap yaperker tim.
 duck were.gone liver bad was

'The ducks were gone (so) I felt bad.'

CONTRAST 2: Result Sentence

pato kamapim atep wem, o pap ari yenbwa mat tim.
 duck came that said oh liver my good heard was

'They said the ducks had come (so) I felt good.'

6. CONTRAST 1: Result Sentence

sini nim yenbwa weski toknabwe, nimri nap hayar titane.
 again we good thing.in sleeping our blood good is

'Now we sleep in a good thing (mosquito nets) (so) our blood is good.'

CONTRAST 2: Result Sentence

kiyi nimri nap amowe rim tasikbim, nim tamekini
 before our blood mosquito they sucked we men.with
seysakbim.
 were.thin

'Before the mosquitoes sucked our blood (so) we were thin.'

Pax ^ Pay7. CONTRAST 1: Simple Sentence

nimri yin tibwe eymiy rimni an bi lam.
 our go.and be place them I not saw

'I didn't see them at the place where we went and stayed.'

CONTRAST 2: Completive Sentence

narim Kainantuk yinke, an ak lam.
 we Kainantu.to went.when I then saw

'When we went to Kainantu, I saw (them) then.'

4 AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPHS

There are three paragraph types in this category: ADDITION, PARAPHRASE, and AMPLIFICATION. The unifying feature is that of amplification or expansion of a statement. PARAPHRASE is not so much an expansion of a statement as a re-statement, which does slightly expand the statement sometimes. Total or partial repetition is another-unifying feature of these paragraphs.

4.1 ADDITION PARAGRAPH

+STATEMENT	+ADDITION
<u>Sim. Cmpl. S</u>	<u>Simple S</u>
<u>Simple S</u>	<u>Cond. S</u>
<u>Seq. m S</u>	<u>Seq. m S</u>
<u>Alt. S</u>	<u>Reason S</u>
<u>Prj. Cmpl. S</u>	
<u>Amp. S</u>	
<u>Percep. S</u>	
AMP.PARA	
ALT.PARA	
DS: $P(a) \wedge P(a')$ $Pa \wedge Pax$ $Pax \wedge PaU \wedge (x \in U)$	
Tn: same S: same Lk: juxtaposition	

ADDITION PARAGRAPH is a binary construction with two obligatory tagmemes, STATEMENT and ADDITION. Various sentences and paragraphs manifest STATEMENT. Simple Sentence is the most frequent manifestation. When sentences with more than one Base tagmeme manifest STATEMENT, only the last clause of the sentence is pertinent to STATEMENT. In examples where paragraph manifests STATEMENT, the first BASE of the paragraph is what is pertinent to STATEMENT. Simple, Conditional, and Sequence m Sentence have been observed so far manifesting ADDITION, Simple Sentence being the most frequent manifestation. In ADDITION tagmeme there is total repetition of the pertinent part of STATEMENT, plus an additional tagmeme which presents some new information. (In many examples, the repetition of STATEMENT in ADDITION is elliptical.) For example, if a phrase manifests a clause level tagmeme, one of the phrase level tagmemes will be dropped. In Example 2, 'there at Alakay' manifests the Location tagmeme in STATEMENT. In ADDITION, 'at Alakay' is dropped and only 'there' manifests Location. The new additional tagmeme of ADDITION may be a sentence-, clause-, or phrase-level tagmeme. In sentence, it has been observed to be Condition Base and Base of Sequence m Sentence; in clause, it has been Time, Location and Manner; and in phrase, it has been subject, object, or manner modification. Tenses and subjects of the two tagmemes are the same. The deep

structure relationship is one of amplification by giving a further point of information in ADDITION which is not given in STATEMENT. In some instances, a term in the first predication is replaced by a synonym with the same function in the second predication, ($P(a) \wedge P(a')$). The function varies; for example, it is actor in Example 1, location in Example 2, and goal in Example 3. In other instances an entirely new function is added in the second predication; for example, time in Example 4, and means or instrument in Example 5.

$P(a) \wedge P(a')$

1. STATEMENT: Simultaneous-Completive Sentence

yan, an wantake kwetabimke, orait ak tem.
 came.and I betel.pepper picked.while.when then called
 '(I) came and while I was picking betel peppers, (he) then called.'

ADDITION: Simple Sentence

Sokapa ri ak tem.
Sokapa he then called
 'Sokapa then called.'

2. STATEMENT: Sequence m Sentence

...nim lam, nim sini toma atek Alaykayki potim.
 we saw we again talk there Alakay.at took
 '...we saw, we recorded the talk again there at Alakay.'

ADDITION: Simple Sentence

rimri toma nim atek sini potim.
 their talk we there again took
 'We recorded their talk there again.'

3. STATEMENT: Amplification Sentence

...nim kerap welabwe, nim wan atek tabwe.
 we ornaments decorate we ear there wear
 '...we dress up, we wear earrings.'

ADDITION: Simple Sentence

tob rikay.
 cassowary part
 '(We wear earrings) of cassowary rikay.'

Pa \wedge Pax

4. STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

ti op wem.
 she thus said
 'She said this.'

ADDITION: Sequence m Sentence

tame sabim, ti op wem.
 man died she thus said
 'When men died, she said this.'

5. STATEMENT: Simple Sentencekep hayar mat.

you.2 well hear

'You two hear well.'

ADDITION: Simple Sentencekep wan hayar mat.

you.2 ear well hear

'You two hear well with your ears.'

6. STATEMENT: Simple Sentencenogwape amowe nimni kenakem sowim.

many mosquitoes us really ruined

'Many mosquitoes really bit us up.'

ADDITION: Simple Sentencerukukwiw peyk kopak.

Rukukwiw river rotten.at

'(Many mosquitoes really bit us) at Rukukwiw Lake.'

Pax \wedge PaU \wedge (x \in U)7. STATEMENT: Projected Completive Sentencener tak tiye, ri atek peyki sowerbwe.

night dark is he there river.at walking

'When it's dark, he walks there in the river.'

ADDITION: Simple Sentencepeyki peyki.

river.at river.at

'(He walks there) in all the rivers.'

4.2 PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

+STATEMENT	+PARAPHRASE	±STATEMENT REPETITION
<u>Simple S</u>	<u>Simple S</u>	<u>Simple S</u>
<u>Descrip.S</u>	<u>Seq. m S</u>	
<u>Seq. m S</u>	PARAL.PARA	
<u>Sim.S</u>	ADD.PARA	
<u>Alt.S</u>		
PARAL.PARA		
DS: P(a) \wedge P(a') - Identity-Equivalence Paraphrase		
Tn: same		
S: same		
Lk: juxtaposition		

PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH is a multi-base construction with two obligatory tagmemes, STATEMENT and PARAPHRASE, and one optional tagmeme, STATEMENT REPETITION. STATEMENT and PARAPHRASE tagmemes are manifested by various sentences and paragraphs. STATEMENT REPETITION has been observed in only one example and was a total repetition of f STATEMENT. PARAPHRASE tagmeme has a carryover of at least two tagmemes with their lexical content from STATEMENT. The manifestation of PARAPHRASE tagmeme is sometimes elliptical. This is especially so when the use of synonyms is employed between STATEMENT and PARAPHRASE. The manifestations are uniformly negative or positive. Tenses and subjects in all tagmemes are the same. The deep structure relationship is one of paraphrase. There is an extensive use of synonyms. Generally speaking no new information is given in PARAPHRASE.

1. STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

kiyi weye toma kupa sini kap weti.
 before said talk rotten again shouldn't say.will
 '(You) shouldn't say again what you said before.'

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

towek towek kap weti.
 time time shouldn't say.will
 '(You) shouldn't say it time and again.'

2. STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

...kem nogwape ta tame yen kem ok bop tibwe.
 you many women men children you water empty are
 'You, many men, women and children, are happy.'

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

kem matikwasbwe.
 you are.happy
 'You are happy.'

3. STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

o Rapet nim gwatek tokna.
 oh Robert we here sleep
 'Oh, Robert, let's sleep here.'

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

nim bulki toknati.
 we bush.at sleep.will
 'We will sleep in the bush.'

4. STATEMENT: PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

bulri wes, o kitiy rimri haneyen, o bokra, tob.
 bush's thing or meat their leader or big cassowary
 'The leader or the big one of the things of the bush or of
 meat is the cassowary.'

PARALLEL: Simple Sentence

por.

pig

'The pig (is also the leader or the big one of the things of the bush or of the meat).'

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

otop haneyen o bokra titane.

together leader or big is

'Together (they) are the leader or big one.'

Examples of PARAPHRASE manifested by an elliptical sentence.

5. STATEMENT: Descriptive Sentence

tomas lagwenawe, ri tame tati ler riri ler, o ler
mouth very.long he man bite.ft teeth his teeth or teeth

bokeraway.

very.big

'(The crocodile's) mouth is very long, the teeth that he bites men with are very big.'

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

herkabe.

huge

'(The teeth that he bites men with are) huge.'

6. STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

nogwape tame o peykri o Wuswari tame o wen yabwe,
many men or river's or Sepik's men or cross.and coming

nogwape tame mogwor rim tan sabwe.

many men crocodile they bite.and dying

'The crocodiles bite many people, the river people, the Sepik people, the people who cross the river, and (they) die.'

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

ager.

many

'(The crocodiles bite) many (and they die).'

4.3 AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

\pm GEN. STATEMENT	+(+SPEC. STAT.	\pm GEN. SUMMARY) ²
<u>Simple S</u> <u>Con. S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u> <u>Cond. S</u> <u>Exec. S</u> <u>Seq. n S</u> ALT. PARA	<u>Con. S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u> <u>Seq. n S</u> <u>Percep. S</u> <u>Cond. S</u> <u>Simple S</u> NEG. PARAP. PARA PARAP. PARA AMP. PARA REP. PARA RESULT PARA CON. PARA ALT. PARA	<u>Simple S</u> (formulaic)
DS: $gPa \wedge sPa$ $gPa \wedge sPa \wedge gPa$ $sPa \wedge gPa$	} -	Generic-Specific Paraphrase
Tn: same		
S: same		
Lk: juxtaposition		
RR: read at least 2 tagmemes		

AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH is a multi-base construction. SPECIFIC STATEMENT tagmeme is obligatory and at least one of the others must occur. GENERIC STATEMENT is most commonly manifested by various sentences, although in one example, ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH occurred. SPECIFIC STATEMENT is manifested by various sentences and paragraphs. GENERIC SUMMARY is manifested by Simple Sentence which is characterized by the presence of otop 'that' and op 'this'. There is partial repetition (at least one tagmeme, and usually two) of GENERIC STATEMENT in SPECIFIC STATEMENT. There are examples in both SPECIFIC STATEMENT and GENERIC SUMMARY where the repetition is elliptical and only the pertinent material occurs. Tenses and subjects of all tagmemes are the same. The deep structure relationship is one of giving specific information in SPECIFIC STATEMENT. If GENERIC STATEMENT occurs, SPECIFIC STATEMENT makes more specific one of the tagmemes of GENERIC STATEMENT. If GENERIC SUMMARY occurs, it makes a summary statement of the specific material of SPECIFIC STATEMENT.

gPa ^ sPa

1. GENERIC STATEMENT: Contrast Sentence

towri amowe tabim, towri amowe bi tabim.
 sometimes mosquitoes bit sometimes mosquitoes not bite

'Sometimes the mosquitoes bit, sometimes the mosquitoes didn't bite.'

SPECIFIC STATEMENT: Contrast Sentence

amowe worwuk tabim, nabe bi tabim.
 mosquitoes wet.season bit dry.season not bite

'The mosquitoes bit in the wet season, didn't bite in the dry season.'

2. GENERIC STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

mate pes.
 bag two

'There are two bags.'

SPECIFIC STATEMENT: REPETITION PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

opi yokwe materi mate wuri.
 that side bag's bag one

'There is one bag on that bag's side.'

REPETITION: Simple Sentence

opi yokwe materi mate wuri.
 that side bag's bag one

'There is one bag on that bag's side.'

3. GENERIC STATEMENT: Sequence n Sentence

an kwoy berti wen, kerwuk kirapin yim.
 I yams plant.ft said.and morning got.up.and went

'I said I would plant yams and I got up in the morning and went.'

SPECIFIC STATEMENT: Negative Paraphrase Sentence

an awes bi am, an buw sokweykem yim.
 I food not ate I nothing hungry went

'I didn't eat food, I went hungry.'

gPa ^ sPa ^ gPa

4. GENERIC STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

nis ninbwe yakwo pes.
 we.2 doing work two

'We two do two kinds of work.'

SPECIFIC STATEMENT: Contrast Sentence

AyIa tikini kerwuk ninbwe, Biya tikini perpek ninbwe.
 Helen she.with morning doing Velma she.with afternoon doing

'(We two) work with Helen in the morning, work with Velma in the afternoon.'

GENERIC SUMMARY: Simple Sentence

nis otopkap ninbwe.
 we.2 that.like doing
 'We two work like that.'

5. GENERIC STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

wiyake rim otop ninbwe.
 salt they that doing
 'They make salt.'

SPECIFIC STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

rim nogwape ta tame rim otopwo ninbwe.
 they many women men they that.only doing
 'They, many people, make only that salt.'

GENERAL SUMMARY: Simple Sentence

rim otopkap wiyake rim otop ninbwe.
 they that.like salt they that doing
 'They make salt like that.'

sPa ^ gPa

6. SPECIFIC STATEMENT: Description Sentence

towe riri bokra, herkabe, wus kin riri magel riri lagkini
 feet his big huge skin tail his back his thorn.with
lagwenakap opkap.
 long.like that.like
 'His feet (a crocodile's) are big, huge, the skin of his tail
 and his back is like big, long thorns.'

GENERIC SUMMARY: Simple Sentence

ri opker titane.
 he that is
 'He is that.'

7. SPECIFIC STATEMENT: Projected Completive Sentence

awes ninye, rim aboy mokwera kwiyin, wayin sibwe, rim
 food made they all tattoo cut.and come.up.and sitting they
awes abwe.
 food eating
 'When they have cooked food, they will cut all the tattoos
 and come up and sit, they will eat the food.'

GENERIC SUMMARY: Simple Sentence

opker titane.
 that is
 'It is that way.'

S EXPLANATION PARAGRAPHS

There are four paragraph types which are in this category: EVALUATION, PARALLEL, EXEMPLIFICATION, and DESCRIPTION. The unifying feature of these paragraphs is that of presenting explanatory material. This is especially true of EXEMPLIFICATION and DESCRIPTION PARAGRAPHS. EVALUATION adds an explanatory note of evaluation. PARALLEL PARAGRAPH in some cases is explanatory, in other cases it isn't. Juxtaposition is a feature of linkage of all the paragraphs. PARALLEL has repetition in later BASES.

5.1 EVALUATION PARAGRAPH

+STATEMENT	+(±EVALUATION 1	±EVALUATION 2)
<u>Simple S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u> <u>Neg. Parap. S</u> <u>Result S</u> <u>Eval. S</u> REP.PARA PARAP.PARA CON.PARA	<u>Simple S</u> (formulaic)	<u>Simple S</u> (formulaic)
DS: $P \wedge eQ$ -Evaluation		
Tn: different S: different Lk: juxtaposition		
RR: read at least 2 tagmemes - SE, SEE, ES		

EVALUATION is a multi-base construction. STATEMENT is obligatory and one of the other tagmemes must occur. There is one example where EVALUATION precedes STATEMENT. Either one of the EVALUATION tagmemes may occur or both. STATEMENT tagmeme is manifested by various sentences and paragraphs. EVALUATION 1 tagmeme is manifested by Simple Sentence (Equational Clause) as follows: at yenbwa 'That's good.', at yenbwa wes toma 'That's a good thing/talk.', at yaper 'That's bad.', and various modifications of these. EVALUATION 2 tagmeme is manifested by Simple Sentence as follows: yaperway 'Very bad.', yenbwayway 'Very good.', sikiniway 'Very true.', an toma bi weti 'I won't say anything about that (i.e. that's good, okay, etc.).' Tenses are different in STATEMENT and EVALUATION tagmemes. STATEMENT may be any tense except stative, and EVALUATION is always stative. Subjects of the tagmemes are different, also, in that the subject of EVALUATION is always a demonstrative pronoun which represents not just the subject

of STATEMENT but also the whole action of STATEMENT. The deep structure relationship is one of evaluating the event(s) of STATEMENT as to whether they are good, bad, true, or false. EVALUATION 2 is more emphatic than EVALUATION 1.

1. STATEMENT: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

kiji weye toma kupa sini kap weti.
before said talk rotten again shouldn't say.will
'(You) shouldn't say again what you said before.'

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

towek towek kap weti.
time time shouldn't say.will
'(You) shouldn't say it time and again.'

EVALUATION: Simple Sentence

et yaper.
that bad
'That's bad.'

2. STATEMENT: Evaluation Sentence

rini ta meysingin, ri wiysage yiwe, tikini sini wiysage
him woman leave.and he alone went she.with again alone

yiwe, at yaper.
went that bad

'The wife left him and he is alone, she is alone again,
that's bad.'

EVALUATION: Simple Sentence

at yaper.
that bad
'That's bad.'

3. STATEMENT: PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

ITEM 1: Conditional Sentence

toma ni weti, ni wuriwo weti.
talk you say.will you one.only say.will
'If you talk, you say only one thing.'

ITEM 2: Conditional Sentence

sini agerbwe toma, agerbwe agerbwe toma wen yiti.
again another talk another another talk say.and go.will
'If (you talk) again, keep saying something else.'

EVALUATION: Simple Sentence

at yenbwa.
that good
'That's good.'

4. STATEMENT: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Result Sentence

...nim Got riri toma matbwe, rane tame nim matim, nim ok
 we God his talk hearing some men we heard we water

bop tim.
 empty were

'...we hear God's message, some people heard, (therefore)
 we are happy.'

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

nim bateyatim.
 we happy
 'We are happy.'

EVALUATION: Simple Sentence

at toma yenbwa.
 that talk good
 'That's good talk.'

5. STATEMENT: Contrast Sentence

sini, nim yabel nim amowe naybwe, ner nim kwoye mat
 then we sun we mosquitoes fight night we alright hear

toknabwe.
 sleeping

'Now, we fight the mosquitoes in the daytime, at night we
 sleep good.'

EVALUATION: Simple Sentence

ar yenbwa wes.
 that good thing
 'That's a good thing.'

EVALUATION: Simple Sentence

sikiniway.
 true.very
 '(That's) very true.'

5.2 PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

+ITEM 1	+ITEM 2
<u>Simple S</u> <u>Cond.S</u> <u>Amp.S</u> <u>Parap.S</u> AMP.PARA PARAP.PARA	<u>Simple S</u> <u>Cond.S</u> <u>Amp.S</u> AMP.PARA
DS: Pa \wedge Qa } Pab \wedge Pac } - Parallel Pa \wedge Pb } Coupling $\bar{P}ab \wedge \bar{P}ac$ }	
Tn: same S: same/different Lk: juxtaposition	

PARALLEL PARAGRAPH is a binary construction with two obligatory tagmemes, ITEM 1, and 2. These two tagmemes are manifested by various sentences and paragraphs. There is parallel structure between the manifestations of the two ITEM tagmemes. When PARAGRAPH manifests ITEM 1 and sentence manifests ITEM 2, ITEM 2 manifestation parallels the last sentence type of the manifestation of paragraph (Example 5). The same is true when paragraph manifests ITEM 2 and sentence manifest ITEM 1 (Example 4). One corresponding lexical item is different in each ITEM. This lexical difference may be in Predicate, Subject, or Object tagmemes of Clause. Manifestations of tagmemes are uniformly negative or positive. Tenses of the tagmemes are the same. Subjects of the two tagmemes are the same or different, depending on which lexical items in the structure are held constant. The deep structure relationship is one of coupling, with the variations noted in the bi-dimensional array.

Pa \wedge Qa

1. ITEM 1: Simple Sentence

nim hayar titane.

we well are

'We are well.'

ITEM 2: Simple Sentence

nim yakwo hayar ninbwe.

we work well doing

'We work well.'

2. ITEM 1: Amplification Sentence

Tukpot ti now yakwo ninbwe, wes nanowkwebwe, ti ti
Tukpot she garden work doing things planting she she

otopak yakwo ninbwe
 that.like work doing

'Tukpot does garden work, plants things, does work like that.'

ITEM 2: Amplification Sentence

top yaper kirokbwe, me take hakwun kiraywebwe, ti
grass bad gets.rid.of tree hair sweep.and carries.away she

otop ninbwe.
 that doing

'(She) pulls weeds, sweeps up the leaves and carries them away, she does that.'

Pab ^ Pac

3. ITEM 1: Conditional Sentence

ta sati, nim atatiri nowuki bihayninin, ak nuwati.
woman die.will we her friend follow.and then give.will
 'If a woman dies, we give (the bag) to her friend.'

ITEM 2: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

GENERIC STATEMENT: Conditional Sentence

tame yen sati, otopwo
man person die.will that.only
 'If a man dies, (we do) only that.'

SPECIFIC AMPLIFICATION: Sequence n Sentence

atari nowu bihayninin, rini ak nuwati.
his friend follow.and him then give.will
 '(We) give it to his friend.'

4. ITEM 1: Simple Sentence

nim yakwo bi yititane.
we work not go.will.certainly
 'We will certainly not go to work.'

ITEM 2: Simple Sentence

a bi yititane.
food not go.will.certainly
 '(We) will certainly not go for food.'

Pa ^ Pb

5. ITEM 1: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

...kem nogwape tatame yen kem ok bop tibwe.
you many women.men children you water empty are
 '...you many men, women and children, are happy.'

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

kem matikwasbwe.

you happy

'You are happy.'

ITEM 2: Simple Sentence

nim tuw.

we too

'We too (are happy).'

S.3 EXEMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

+STATEMENT	+EXAMPLE
CONTRAST PARA AMP.PARA	RESULT PARA AMP.PARA
DS: Pa \wedge Pa' - Coupling Pabc \wedge Pabd	
Tn: different - st/ft \rightarrow fp S: same/different Lk: juxtaposition	

EXEMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH is a binary construction with two obligatory tagmemes, STATEMENT and EXAMPLE, both manifested only by paragraphs in present examples. There is a carryover of some of the lexical material from STATEMENT to EXAMPLE. Tenses of the tagmemes are different. STATEMENT is either stative or future tense. EXAMPLE is always far past tense. Subjects of the tagmemes are the same or different. The significance of the construction is that of illustrating in EXAMPLE a point made in STATEMENT. To date, EXEMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPHS have only been found in EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE.

1. STATEMENT: CONTRAST PARAGRAPH

CONTRAST 1: RESULT PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: ADDITION PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

kar tame nigel yati.

old men cold come.will

'The old men will be cold.'

ADDITION: Simple Sentence

ri kenakem.

he very

'He (will be) very (cold).'

RESULT: Simple Sentence

kwom kirati titane.

village cry.will be

'(He) will certainly be homesick.'

CONTRAST 2: RESULT PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

nim yakla nimri wus kerkini.

we young our skin fire.with

'We younger ones have hot skin.'

RESULT: Simple Sentence

nim kebase timenbwe.

we alright being

'We are alright.'

EXAMPLE: RESULT PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Sequence m Sentence

nim yam titane, Sokapa ri saylaweyim.

we came are Sokapa he tried.unsuccessfully

'We came and are (here), Sokapa tried unsuccessfully.'

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

nigel kenakem yam.

cold much came

'He was very cold.'

RESULT: RESULT PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

ITEM ONE: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

GENERIC STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

misis rip rini wun tokna wes nuwam.

ladies those.2 him put.on.and sleep things gave

'The two ladies gave him things you wear and sleep in (i.e. pyjamas).'

SPECIFIC STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

tirawsis lagwe sot lagwe towa sokes kena.

trousers long shirt long foot socks another

'(The two ladies gave him) long trousers, a long-sleeved shirt, and different kind of socks.'

GENERIC SUMMARY: Simple Sentence

otop nuwam.

that gave

'(They) gave that.'

ITEM TWO: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

SPECIFIC STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

pilaget eys.

blanket four

'(They gave) four blankets.'

GENERIC SUMMARY: Simple Sentence

otop nuwam.
that gave

'(They) gave that.'

RESULT: RESULT PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

ri otop toknabwe.
he that sleeping

'He sleeps with that (ie. the blankets, etc.).'

RESULT: Simple Sentence

ri hayar toknabwe.
he well sleeping

'He sleeps well.'

2. STATEMENT: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

GENERIC STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

yey warege atemri lo biyhaynimtane.
grandparents ancestors their law follow

'(We) follow the ancestor's ways.'

SPECIFIC AMPLIFICATION: Conditional Sentence

nim tak nuwati, tak agerbwe yeni nuwati,
we jaw.bone give.will jaw.bone another person give.will

ya agerbwe yeni welen nuwati.
arm.bone another person decorate.and give.will

'If we give a jaw bone, (we) give the jaw bone to one person, (we) decorate the arm bone for another person and give (it) (to him).'

GENERIC SUMMARY: Simple Sentence

nimri lo opker titane.
our law that is

'That is our way.'

EXAMPLE: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

GENERIC STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

yeykiy nim otopker ninim.
a.short.time.ago we that did

'We did that a short time ago.'

SPECIFIC AMPLIFICATION: Sequence m Sentence

ya bwa, nim wuriri tak welen, api riri
arm.bone not.have we one's chin decorated.and father his

tak nim welen, Anis rini nuwan, ri
jaw.bone we decorated.and Anis him gave.and he

sen ak yerim.
carried.and then came.down

'(We) didn't have an arm bone, we decorated a jaw bone, we decorated father's jaw bone, and gave it to Anis and he took it down.'

5.4 DESCRIPTION PARAGRAPH

±TOPIC	+DESCRIP.1	±DESCRIP.2	±DESCRIP.3
<u>Simple S</u> <u>Exec.S</u>	<u>Simple S</u> <u>Percep.S</u> AMP.PARA	<u>Simple S</u> <u>Descrip.S</u> AMP.PARA PROC.PARA REASON PARA	<u>Simple S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u>
DS: $P \wedge P \supset Q$ - Efficient Cause $Pa \wedge Pa'$ - Identity-Equivalence $Pa \wedge Qa$ - Coupling			
Tn: same S: same Lk: juxtaposition			
RR: read at least 2 tagmemes, but not more than 3			

DESCRIPTION PARAGRAPH is a multi-base construction. DESCRIPTION 1 tagmeme is obligatory and at least one other tagmeme must occur. Not more than three tagmemes have been observed in one construction. Where TOPIC is not explicit, it is in portmanteau relationship with first clause of DESCRIPTION 1. TOPIC and DESCRIPTION 3 are manifested by various sentences. DESCRIPTION 1 and 2 are manifested by various sentences and paragraphs. Tenses and subjects for all tagmemes are the same. The significance of the construction is that of describing a topic. Although the descriptions do not always relate to each other, they do relate to the main topic under discussion. DESCRIPTION PARAGRAPH has only been found in EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE.

$P \wedge P \supset Q$

I. TOPIC: Simple Sentence
wiy sikini bwaker peykbwe.
 skirt true not wear
 '(They) wear false skirts.'

DESCRIPTION 1: RESULT PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence
lekariyk waybwe.
front.part comes.up
 'The front part comes up.'

RESULT: Sequence m Sentence

op tibwe, kulaw ab buhwukem mitimenbwe.
 that is thighs all nothing is
 'It's like that, the thighs are all bare.'

Pa ^ Pa'

2. DESCRIPTION 1: Simple Sentence

narimri Nuwkiniy nowselri wes tob.
 our New.Guinea country's thing cassowary
 'The cassowary belongs to New Guinea.'

DESCRIPTION 2: REASON PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: ADDITION PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

bulri wes o kitiy rimri haneyen o bokra tob.
 bush's thing or meat their leader or big cassowary
 'The leader or the big one of the things of the bush or of
 meat is the cassowary.'

ADDITION: Simple Sentence

por.
pig
 'The pig (is also the leader or the big one of the things
 of the bush or of meat).'

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

otop haneyen o bokra titane.
 together leader or big are
 'Together they are the leader or the big one.'

REASON: CONTRAST PARAGRAPH

CONTRAST 1: Simple Sentence

nogwape kitiy rim heysuw.
 much meat they small
 'Most of the game is small.'

CONTRAST 2: Simple Sentence

tob, por, rip bokra kitiy.
 cassowary pig those.2 big meat
 'The cassowary and pig are big game.'

Pa ^ Qa

3. DESCRIPTION 1: Description Sentence

kwomri kanaka ta rim ok bi wiybwe, rim yaper tim,
 village's native women they water not wash they bad are

wus rimri ker sapkap.
 skin their fire charcoal.like

'The native women of the villages don't wash, they are bad,

their skin is black (i.e. dirty).'

DESCRIPTION 2: PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH

STEP 1: Description Sentence

ok bi wiybwe, wiy peykbwe, birawn peypaki pikaywe
water not wash skirt wear brown paper tear.up

pikaywetane.

tear.up

'(They) don't wash, they wear skirts, they tear up brown paper (to make the skirts).'

STEP 2: Sequence n Sentence

koltak bultanin, yaw.
cold.tar mix.and enough

'(They) mix (the brown paper) with tar and that's it.'

STEP 3: Simple Sentence

potin, rim ak peykbwe.
take.and they then wear

'(They) get (the skirts) and then they wear them.'

4. DESCRIPTION 1: Perception Sentence

tob nim labwe rim bolki tin yatane, rim mowki
cassowary we see they bush.in are.and come they rain.in

tim.

are

'We see that cassowaries are in the bush and that they are wild.'

DESCRIPTION 2: Description Sentence

rim opkap na towe pes, na wak lagwekini, na tare
they that.like and feet two and neck long and head

gwanekini.

crest.with

'They are like that, they have two feet, a long neck, and the head has a crest.'

DESCRIPTION 3: Sequence m Sentence

rim otop titane, na heysuw rim yen taybwe, na selbwe,
they that are and small they eggs laying and hatching

rim heysuw subwe.

they small very

'They are that, the small ones lay eggs, (they) hatch, they are very small.'

6 QUOTATION PARAGRAPHS

Four paragraph types are in this category of quotation: QUOTATIVE, PERCEPTION, EXECUTION, and DIALOGUE. The unifying feature of these

paragraphs is that of direct speech and the reporting of this direct speech, or in the case of PERCEPTION PARAGRAPH, reporting what was seen or heard.

6.1 QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH

±QUOTE FORMULA	+QUOTE
<u>Simple S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u> <u>Seq. n S</u> ADD.PARA with speech verb	any <u>Sentence</u> any <u>PARAGRAPH</u> any <u>DISCOURSE</u>
DS: wP ^ Q - Reporting	
Tn: s/d S: s/d Lk: juxtaposition	

QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH is a binary construction with one obligatory tagmeme, QUOTE, and an optional tagmeme, QUOTE FORMULA. QUOTE FORMULA is obligatory when QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH manifests SPEECH 1 of DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. It is optional when manifesting SPEECH 2 or 3 of DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. QUOTE FORMULA sometimes shifts to a post-quote position, especially when QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH manifests a SPEECH 0 in the DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH which follows a SPEECH 3. Very often when QUOTE FORMULA does not occur, the first sentence of QUOTE has a sentence periphery Introduction tagmeme that lets you know that this is direct speech. QUOTE FORMULA is manifested by various sentences and paragraphs, the last BASE of which contains a speech verb. Speech verbs which have been observed to date introducing direct speech are: we 'talk/say', wusow 'tell', wemat 'ask', te 'call', and gwungwun 'insist'. Usually op 'thus' precedes the speech verb. QUOTE tagmeme is manifested by any sentence, paragraph or discourse. Tenses and subjects of the two tagmemes are the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of reporting what has been said in the form of direct speech.

1. QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence

...an wem.
 I said
 'I said.'

QUOTE: Simple Sentence

Masta nim sini miyawbwe.
 Master we again going up
 "'Master, we are going back up.'"

2. QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence
an Tipmabag rini sini wematim.
 I Tipmabag him again asked
 'I asked Tipmabag again.'

QUOTE: Conditional Sentence
Tipmabag ni nuwkuw kap potmenti, ani pes nuwan
Tipmabag you mayflies don't.know get.will me two give.and
an, an si temow pin an ak yiti.
eat.and I intestines brace make.and I then will.go

"Tipmabag, if you have some mayflies (I don't know if you do or not), give me a few and I will eat (them) and fortify myself, and then I will go."

3. QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence
 ...Misis rip op wem.
 ladies those.2 thus said
 '...the two ladies said this.'

QUOTE: REASON PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence
nim sini warti.
 we again go.down.will
 "We will go back down."

REASON: RESULT PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence
gub kabe sim.
 cane grass sat
 "There is cane and grass (blocking the road)."

RESULT: Simple Sentence
nim kiluw maprike yiti.
 we road how go.will
 "How can we go on the road?" (i.e. We cannot go.)

4. QUOTE FORMULA: ADDITION PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence
ta ti op wem.
 woman she this said
 'The woman said this.'

ADDITION: Simple Sentence
akwulri ta op wem.
 home's woman this said
 'The woman from home said this.'

QUOTE: Simple Sentence
ay at yikeri wes.
 oh that whose thing
 "Oh, whose is that?"

5. QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence

nim op webwe.
 we thus say
 'We say this.'

QUOTE: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

wiyake yenbwa.
 salt good
 "'The salt is good.'"

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

wiyake toma kwotaye.
 salt salty
 "'The salt is salty.'"

6.2 PERCEPTION PARAGRAPH

+PERCEPTION FORMULA	+PERCEIVED EVENT
<u>Simple S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u> with perception verb	<u>Simple S</u>
DS: aP ^ Q - Awareness	
Tn: same S: different Lk: juxtaposition	

PERCEPTION PARAGRAPH is a binary construction with two obligatory tagmemes, PERCEPTION FORMULA and PERCEIVED EVENT. PERCEPTION FORMULA tagmeme is manifested by sentences whose final Base contains la 'to see' or mat 'to hear/to know'. PERCEIVED EVENT is manifested only by Simple Sentence in present data. It is expected that many more sentence types could manifest this tagmeme. Tenses of the two tagmemes are the same, only past tense in present examples. Subjects of the two tagmemes are different. The significance of the construction is that of reporting what has been seen, heard, or known. When the verb of PERCEIVED EVENT is affixed with continuative or repetitive/habitual suffixes, PERCEPTION PARAGRAPH also encodes punctiliar-simultaneous action (Example 1).

1. PERCEPTION FORMULA: Sequence m Sentence

...nim lam.
 we saw
 '...we saw.'

PERCEIVED EVENT: Simple Sentence

wama peyk gub kabe simenim.
lake river cane grass sat

'There was cane and grass in the river and lake.'

2. PERCEPTION FORMULA: Simple Sentence

nim matim.

we heard

'We heard.'

PERCEIVED EVENT: Simple Sentence

ri kiyi yim.

he before went

'He already went.'

6.3 EXECUTION PARAGRAPH

+PROPOSAL	+EXECUTION
<u>Merged Indir.Quote S</u> QUOTATIVE PARA DIALOGUE PARA with speech verb	<u>Simple S</u> <u>Seq. n S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u> <u>Alt. S</u> PROC. PARA REASON PARA
DS: wPab \wedge wPab \supset Rb } wPa \wedge wPa \supset Ra }	- Efficient Cause
Tn: different - st/ft \rightarrow past between direct speech and execution same - past \rightarrow past between quote formula and execution S: same or different Lk: juxtaposition	

EXECUTION PARAGRAPH is a binary construction with two obligatory tagmemes, PROPOSAL and EXECUTION. PROPOSAL is manifested by Merged Indirect Quote Sentence, or QUOTATIVE or DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS, all of which contain speech verbs in their final Base. PROPOSAL may contain a command, a proposal, a question, or just a remark or comment. EXECUTION tagmeme is manifested by various sentences and paragraphs. When PROPOSAL is a command or proposal, the lexical content of the quotation is usually repeated in EXECUTION. Tenses of the two tagmemes are different in reference to the direct speech of PROPOSAL and to EXECUTION. The direct speech of PROPOSAL is future or stative tense, or command form (which shows no tense), and EXECU-

TION is always past tense. If you compare QUOTE FORMULA of PROPOSAL with EXECUTION, the tenses are the same; that is, past tense. Subjects of the two tagmemes are the same or different. The deep structure relationship is one of efficient cause through the medium of reporting what was said and the consequent action that was taken because of what was said.

wPab \wedge wPab \supset Rb

1. PROPOSAL: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH

QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence
an Tipmabag rini sini wematim.
 I Tipmabag him again asked
 'I asked Tipmabag again.'

QUOTE: Conditional Sentence
Tipmabag ni nuwkuw kap potmenti, ani pes nuwan
Tipmabag you mayflies don't.know get.ft me two give.and
an, an si temow pin, an ak yiti.
 I eat.and insides brace make.and I then go.will
 "'Tipmabag, if you have some mayflies (I don't know if you do or not), give me a few and I will eat and fortify myself and then I will go.'"

EXECUTION: Simple Sentence
ri ani nuwkuw pesket nuwam.
 he me mayflies two gave
 'He gave me a few mayflies.'

wPa \wedge wPa \supset Ra

2. PROPOSAL: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH

QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence
 ...op wem.
 thus said
 '...(those two) said this.'

QUOTE: Simple Sentence
o nis Madiway haws sik yuwan yiti.
 oh we.2 Mudiway house sick put.into.and go.will
 "'Oh, we two will take (her) to the aid post at Mudiway.'"

EXECUTION: Sequence n Sentence
rip yuwan potin, yerin, wurin,
those.2 put.into.and took.and went.down.and went.inside.and
Madiway haws siki wurin,...
Mudiway house sick went.inside.and
 'Those two took (her) and went down and went into Mudiway and went into the aid post and...'

3. PROPOSAL: Merged Indirect Quote Sentence

...yin gayti wem.
 go.and land.will said
 '...(she) said she would go and land.'

EXECUTION: Sequence m Sentence

yin gaybwe,...
 go.and landing
 '(She) is going and landing...'

4. PROPOSAL: DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH

SPEECH 1: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH

QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence

...an Wapakwo tini ak wematim.
 I Wapakwo her then asked
 '...I then asked Wapakwo.'

QUOTE: Simple Sentence

Wapakwo gwa yike yibwe.
 Wapakwo here who going
 "'Wapakwo, who is going here?'"

SPEECH 3: Simple Sentence

halake Sokapa yibwe.
 uncle Sokapa going
 "'Uncle Sokapa is going.'"

EXECUTION: Simple Sentence

orait an biyhayninim.
 okay I followed
 'Okay, I followed (him).'

6.4 DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH

(± SPEECH 0	[+SPEECH 1	+ (± SPEECH 2	± SPEECH 3)] ³
QUOT.PARA (remark)	QUOT.PARA (remark) (proposal) (question)	QUOT.PARA (<u>remark</u>) (<u>proposal</u>) (<u>question</u>)	QUOT.PARA (evaluation) (response) (answer)
DS: reporting repartee			
Tn: s/d S: s/d Lk: juxtaposition			
RR: read at least two tagmemes			

DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH is a multi-base construction with two obligatory tagmemes: SPEECH 1, and either SPEECH 2 or SPEECH 3 or both must occur. SPEECH 0 is peripheral and optional. It may precede the dialogue nucleus [SP 1, SP 2, SP 3] or follow it. Up to three exchanges of dialogue have been observed. All tagmemes are manifested by QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH.

Lexically, SPEECH 1 is a proposal (command, request, plan, suggestion, which demands some kind of action), a question (yes or no question, or request for information), or a remark (which calls for evaluation). SPEECH 2 is lexically a counter-proposal, counter-question, or counter-remark and continues a dialogue. SPEECH 3 is lexically a response, answer, or evaluation and resolves a dialogue, so that any dialogue containing a SPEECH 3 is a resolved dialogue, and any dialogue not containing a SPEECH 3 is an unresolved dialogue. SPEECH 0 is lexically a remark.

Each lexical variant of SPEECH 1 and of SPEECH 2 is matched by a corresponding lexical variant of SPEECH 3.

SPEECH 1	SPEECH 2	SPEECH 3
proposal	<u>proposal</u>	response
question	<u>question</u>	answer
remark	remark	evaluation

When a SPEECH 3 variant occurs, it must match the variant of the immediately preceding SPEECH 1 or SPEECH 2. When a SPEECH 2 occurs following SPEECH 1, any variant of SPEECH 2 may occur; it need not match the variant of SPEECH 1.

There are three sub-types of DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH:

- (1) SIMPLE DIALOGUE is dialogue which contains a SPEECH 1 and a SPEECH 3.
- (2) COMPLEX DIALOGUE is dialogue which contains a SPEECH 2.
- (3) COMPOUND DIALOGUE is dialogue which contains two or more exchanges, the exchanges being manifested by RESOLVED SIMPLE PARAGRAPH or by RESOLVED or UNRESOLVED COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH.

Tenses and Subjects of the tagmemes are the same or different. The deep structure relationship is that of reporting repartee between two individuals.

SIMPLE RESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH:

1. SPEECH 1: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH (Remark)

QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence

...op wem.
 this said
 '...(we) said this.'

QUOTE: PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

ITEM 1: Simple Sentence

o Misis rip Taolliyori kwomki yiti ninbwe.
 oh ladies those.2 Taliyo's village.to go.will doing
 "'Oh, the two ladies are about to go to Taliyo's village.'"

ITEM 2: Simple Sentence

sikuwl yiti ninbwe.
 school go.will doing
 "'(The two ladies) are about to go to school.'"

SPEECH 3: EVALUATION PARAGRAPH (Evaluation)

EVALUATION: Simple Sentence

o yenbwakem.
 oh good
 "'Oh, good.'"

STATEMENT: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

GENERAL STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

nim otop yiti.
 we together go.will
 "'We'll go together.'"

SPECIFIC STATEMENT: Amplification Sentence

nim otop yiti misis rip nisni Taliyo
 we together go.will ladies those.2 us Taliyo

yuwan sini kwomki likiti.
 put.into.and again village.to transport.will
 "'We will go together, the two ladies will take us back to Taliyo village.'"

2. SPEECH 1: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH (Question)

QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentencean Wapakwo tini ak wematim.

I Wapakwo her then asked

'I then asked Wapakwo.'

QUOTE: Simple SentenceWapakwo gwa yike yibwe.

Wapakwo here who going

'"Wapakwo, who is going here?'"

SPEECH 3: Simple Sentence (Answer)halake Sokapa yibwe.

uncle Sokapa going

'"Uncle Sokapa is going.'"

3. SPEECH 1: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH (Question)

QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence...an Apalatawe tini wematim.

I Apalatawe her asked

'...I asked Apalatawe.'

QUOTE: Simple Sentenceni awes bwakem.

you food not.have

'"You don't have any food.'"

SPEECH 3: Simple Sentence (Answer)yahow.

no

'"No.'"

SPEECH 0: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH (Remark)

QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentencean op wem.

I thus said

'I said this.'

QUOTE: RESULT PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentencean pato pes utike titane.

I duck two up.there are

'"I have two ducks up there.'"

RESULT: Simple Sentencean sini yitikem.

I again go.will

'"I will go back.'"

COMPLEX UNRESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH:

4. SPEECH 1: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH (Proposal)

QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence

...Ayla ti op wem.
 Helen she thus said
 '...Helen said this.'

QUOTE: REASON PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

o Rapet nim gwatek tokna.
 oh Robert we here sleep
 "'Oh, Robert, let's sleep here.'"

PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

nim bulki toknati.
 we bush.in sleep.will
 "'We will sleep in the bush.'"

REASON: Simple Sentence

kuw lat towe mus mus sowye.
 thigh hand foot pain pain ruined
 "'(My) thighs, hands, and feet really ache.'"

SPEECH 2: Conditional Sentence (Question)

o nim bulki toknati, nimni sope tati, o ner mow
 oh we bush.at sleep.ft us snake bite.ft or night rain

titi, nim mow tin ok abwe.
 rain.ft we rain dip.and water eat

"'Oh, if we sleep in the bush will a snake bite us or will it rain in the night or will we dip the rain water and drink?'"

COMPOUND UNRESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH:

5. EXCHANGE 1: COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH

SPEECH 1: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH (Remark)

QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence

...op wem.
 thus said
 '...(she) said this.'

QUOTE: Simple Sentence

nirin potim.
 you took
 "'You took (it).'"

SPEECH 2: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH (Remark)

QUOTE FORMULA: Result Sentence

ri niw wem, op wem.
 he dislike said thus said
 'He disagreed, (so he) said this.'

QUOTE: Simple Sentence

an bi potane.
 I not take
 "'I haven't taken (it).'"

EXCHANGE 2: COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH

SPEECH 1: Quotative Sentence (Remark)

ti migwungwunim, nirin sikini potim.
 she insisted you truly took
 'She insisted, "You truly took (it)."'

SPEECH 2: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH (Remark)

QUOTE FORMULA: Result Sentence

rini nuwati wem, ri op wem.
 to.him give said he thus said
 '(She) told him to give (it) (so) he said this.'

QUOTE: Simple Sentence

wes an kiyi ab wurin bi yarbim.
 things I before all went.into not available
 "'I distributed the things before and they are not available.'"

COMPOUND RESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH

6. EXCHANGE 1: SIMPLE RESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH

SPEECH 1: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH (Question)

QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence

ti tiri yen op wematim.
 she her child thus asked
 'She asked this about her child.'

QUOTE: Simple Sentence

yen ari ma.
 child my where
 "'Where is my child.'"

SPEECH 3: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH (Answer)

QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence

rim op wem.
 they thus said
 'They said this.'

QUOTE: Simple Sentence
yen niri sam.
 child yours died
 "Your child died."

EXCHANGE 2: SIMPLE RESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH

SPEECH 1: Simple Sentence (Question)
makapki sam.
 when died
 "When did (she) die?"

SPEECH 3: Simple Sentence (Answer)
o opo sabwe.
 oh now dying
 "Oh, she has just died."

EXCHANGE 3: SIMPLE RESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH

SPEECH 1: Simple Sentence (Question)
rim mak rasye.
 they where put
 "Where did they put (her)?"

SPEECH 3: Sequence n Sentence (Answer)
o dokta atar potin, bokiski neylin, ayski rasye.
 oh doctor he took.and box.in nailed.and ice.on put
 "Oh, the doctor took (her) and nailed (her) in a box and put
 (her) in an icebox."

7 EXHORTATION PARAGRAPHS

There are three paragraphs which are in this category: EXHORTATION, TERMINAL, and HORTATORY. The unifying feature of the paragraphs in this category is that each paragraph has some sort of exhortation. EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH exhorts people to listen to what is about to be said. HORTATORY PARAGRAPH exhorts specific people to do, or not to do, something. TERMINAL PARAGRAPH may have a FULFILLED EXHORTATION tagmeme. The linkage is juxtaposition in all three of these paragraphs. Most paragraph types are composed of two phonological entities. The two exceptions to this are in this category; namely, TERMINAL and EXHORTATION. Both of these paragraphs may be only one phonological unit, one tagmeme.

7.1 EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH

There are two sub-types of EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH: APERTURE EXHORTATION and HORTATORY EXHORTATION.

7.1.1 APERTURE EXHORTATION

±IDENTIFICATION	+INTENTION	±EXHORTATION
<u>Simple Sentence</u> (formulaic)	<u>Simple S</u> (formulaic) speech verb	<u>Simple S</u> (formulaic)
DS: Eab \wedge iPa \wedge Qc iPa \wedge Qb iPa		- Coupling
Tn: different - stative \rightarrow future \rightarrow command S: different - 1st p. \rightarrow 1st p. \rightarrow 2nd p. Lk: juxtaposition		
RR: read one or two tagmemes		

APERTURE EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH is a multi-base construction with one obligatory tagmeme, INTENTION. IDENTIFICATION and EXHORTATION are optional. The manifestations of all tagmemes are formulaic. IDENTIFICATION tagmeme is manifested by Simple Sentence which is an Equative Clause, the Topic of which is manifested by an 'I', and the Comment is manifested by a personal name noun. INTENTION tagmeme is manifested by Simple Sentence, the Subject of the clause being manifested by an 'I', the Object being manifested by toma 'talk' (which is often modified to tell what kind of talk) or sika 'story', and Predicate being manifested by a speech verb we 'to say/talk', or wusow 'to tell'. EXHORTATION tagmeme is manifested by Simple Sentence, 'you hear', which is in the command form. Tenses of the tagmemes are different. IDENTIFICATION is always stative, INTENTION is always future, and EXHORTATION is always in the command form, which is tenseless. Subjects of the tagmemes are different. Subject is always 1st person singular in IDENTIFICATION and INTENTION, and 2nd person (usually plural) in EXHORTATION. The meaning of the construction is one of introducing or opening a discourse by letting the listener know who the narrator is, what he is going to say, and exhorting the listener to listen to what is about to be said.

APERTURE EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH manifests only the APERTURE tagmeme of discourse. It is felt that IDENTIFICATION tagmeme occurs only in materials where the speaker knows that he is speaking into a tape recorder, and only then by more sophisticated informants.

Eab ^ iPa

1. IDENTIFICATION: Simple Sentencean Merkwusi.

I Merkwusi

'I am Merkwusi.'

INTENTION: Simple Sentencenimri yim patriol an sika wusowti.

our went patrol I story tell.will

'I will tell the story of the patrol we went on.'

iPa ^ Qb

2. INTENTION: Simple Sentencenim Alakayki yim toma an weti ninbwe.

we Alakay.to went talk I say.will doing

'I am about to tell the story of our trip to Alakay.'

EXHORTATION: Simple Sentencekem mat.

you hear

'You listen!'

3. INTENTION: Sequence m Sentencenis Sokapa rikini nis yam, Ukarumpak yan titane, nis
we.2 Sokapa he.with we.2 came Ukarumpa.to came.and are we.2ninbwe yakwo an kemni wusowbwe.

doing work I you telling

'We two, Sokapa and I, came to Ukarumpa, came and are (here),
I am telling you the work that we two do (here).'EXHORTATION: Simple Sentencekem mat.

you hear

'You listen!'

iPa

4. INTENTION: Simple Sentencegwopti sini an toma wuri weti ninbwe.

today again I talk one say.will doing

'Now I am about to tell something again.'

7.1.2 HORTATORY EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH

+ (±INTENTION)	±EXHORTATION)
<u>Simple S</u> (formulaic) speech verb	<u>Simple S</u> (formulaic) ADD.PARA
DS: Pab \wedge Qb - Coupling Pab Qb	
Tn: different - pct \rightarrow command S: different - 1st p. \rightarrow 2nd p. Lk: juxtaposition	
RR: read one or two tagmemes	

HORTATORY EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH is a binary construction with two tagmemes, INTENTION and EXHORTATION, either one or both of which can occur. The manifestations of both tagmemes are formulaic. INTENTION tagmeme is manifested by Simple Sentence. Clause of Simple Sentence has the following manifestations: Subject is manifested by a 1st person pronoun, Indirect Object is manifested by 2nd person objective pronoun, Object is manifested by toma 'story', Predicate is manifested by a speech verb, we 'to say/talk', or wey we 'to instruct'. Predicate is never manifested by wusow 'to tell'. EXHORTATION is manifested by Simple Sentence, 'you hear', which is in the command form, or by ADDITION PARAGRAPH, the STATEMENT of which is manifested by 'you hear'. Tenses of the two tagmemes are different. INTENTION is present-continuous tense and EXHORTATION is in the command form, which is tenseless. Subjects of the two tagmemes are also different. INTENTION is 1st person, EXHORTATION is second person. The meaning of the construction is that of telling the listener what you are telling them, and exhorting them to listen.

HORTATORY EXHORTATION occurs most commonly in HORTATORY DISCOURSE but can occur in EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE also.

Qb

1. EXHORTATION: ADDITION PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence
kep hayar mat.
 you.2 well hear
 'You two hear well.'

ADDITION: Simple Sentence

kep wan hayar mat.

you.2 ear well hear

'You two hear well with your ears.'

Pab ^ Qb

2. INTENTION: Simple Sentence

an kepni webwe.

I you saying

'I am talking to you two.'

EXHORTATION: Simple Sentence

kep otop hayar mat.

you.2 that well hear

'You two hear that well.'

Pab

3. INTENTION: Simple Sentence

an nini toma wey webwe.

I you talk instruction saying

'I am giving her instructions.'

7.2 TERMINAL PARAGRAPH

±PRE-FINIS	+FINIS 1	±GREETING	±FULFILLED EXHORT.	±FULFILLED INTENTION	±FINIS 2
<u>yaw</u>	<u>Simple S</u>	<u>Simple S</u>	<u>Simple S</u>	<u>Simple S</u>	<u>Simple S</u>
← formulaic →					
DS: $\exists Pa$ $Eab \wedge \exists Pa$ $\exists Pa \wedge \exists Pb \wedge Qba \wedge Rca \wedge \exists Pa$			} - Equivalence		
Tn: same - near past S: different Lk: juxtaposition					
RR: read one to five tagmemes - Pr.F, F; F, GR, FF.EX, FF.In, F; F					

TERMINAL PARAGRAPH is a multi-base construction with only one obligatory tagmeme, FINIS 1. The following combinations of tagmemes have been observed: FINIS; PRE-FINIS, FINIS; FINIS, GREETING, FULFILLED EXHORTATION, FULFILLED INTENTION, FINIS. The manifestations of all tagmemes are formulaic. PRE-FINIS is manifested by yaw 'enough'.

FINIS is manifested by Simple Sentence. The Equative Clause of Simple Sentence has the following manifestations: Topic is manifested by ab 'all' or some modification of this (i.e. 'all the talk', 'all the talk of our patrol', etc.), and Comment is manifested by ateke 'there'. GREETING is manifested by Simple Sentence. The Equative Clause of Simple Sentence has the following manifestations: Topic is manifested by noun phrase which is a clan totem, and Comment is manifested by ateke 'there'. FULFILLED EXHORTATION is manifested by Simple Sentence 'you have heard my talk'. FULFILLED INTENTION is manifested by Simple Sentence, 'I have said the talk'. FULFILLED EXHORTATION and FULFILLED INTENTION are a re-echo of EXHORTATION and INTENTION tagmemes of EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH which manifests the APERTURE tagmeme in discourse. Tense is near past in FULFILLED EXHORTATION and FULFILLED INTENTION tagmemes. It is stative in other tagmemes. Subject is 1st person in FULFILLED INTENTION, 2nd person in FULFILLED EXHORTATION, and is not relevant in the other tagmemes. The meaning of the construction is one of bringing a discourse to a close, and encodes Existence, Existence-Predication, and Equation-Existence (which in this case is a kind of Equivalence Paraphrase). TERMINAL PARAGRAPH manifests only FINIS tagmeme of a discourse.

EPa

1. FINIS: Simple Sentence
ab ateke.
 all there
 'It's all there.'
2. FINIS: Simple Sentence
ari webwe toma ab ate.
 my saying talk all there
 'All that I've said is there.'

Eab \wedge EPa

3. PRE-FINIS: Simple Sentence
yaw.
 enough
 'That's enough.'

FINIS: Simple Sentence
toma ti ab ateket.
 talk she all there
 'The talk is all there.'

EPa \wedge EPb \wedge Qba \wedge Rca \wedge EPa

4. FINIS: Simple Sentence
toma ab ateke.
 talk all there
 'The talk is all there.'

GREETING: Simple Sentence
sopenager rim ateker.
 snake they there
 'Good afternoon.' (Greeting to members of the snake clan.)

FULFILLED EXHORTATION: Simple Sentence
kem ari toma matiye.
 you my talk heard
 'You have heard my talk.'

FULFILLED INTENTION: Simple Sentence
nimri sowerim toma otop an weye.
 our walked talk that I said
 'I have told the story of our patrol.'

FINIS: Simple Sentence
ab ateke.
 all there
 'It's all there.'

7.3 HORTATORY PARAGRAPH

±EXHORTATION	±PLEA	+CHALLENGE	±REINFORCEMENT ³	±WARNING
EXHORT.PARA	<u>Simple S</u> formulaic	<u>Simple S</u> <u>Cond.S</u> <u>Cmpl.S</u> <u>Prj.Cmpl.S</u> AMP.PARA ALT.PARA REASON PARA RESULT PARA	NEG.PARAP.PARA CON.PARA EVAL.PARA	CON.PARA
DS: $Pab \wedge Qb \wedge Q'b$ $Pab \wedge Qcb$ } - Coupling				
Tn: s/d - present continuous or future S: s/d Lk: juxtaposition				
RR: read at least two tagmemes but not more than four				

HORTATORY PARAGRAPH is a multi-base construction. CHALLENGE tagmeme is obligatory, and one of the other tagmemes must occur. No more than four tagmemes have been observed in one paragraph. REINFORCEMENT may occur three times. EXHORTATION tagmeme is manifested only by

HORTATORY EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH. PLEA is manifested only by Simple Sentence which is a greeting and is formulaic. CHALLENGE is manifested by various sentences and paragraphs. The more common manifestation is sentence. REINFORCEMENT is manifested by various paragraphs. NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH, employing the negative kap 'should not', is the most frequent manifestation. There is recapitulation of at least one tagmeme with its lexical content from CHALLENGE to REINFORCEMENT. WARNING in present examples is manifested only by CONTRAST PARAGRAPH. Tenses of the tagmemes are the same or different. CHALLENGE and REINFORCEMENT may be either present-continuous or future tense. WARNING is future. Subjects of the tagmemes are same or different. CHALLENGE is always 2nd person. REINFORCEMENT may be 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person. WARNING, in present examples, is 2nd person. The meaning of the construction is that of challenging someone to change their behavior or to do something; or through a rebuke, telling them what they should or should not do.

Please refer to Chapter 8.4 HORTATORY DISCOURSE, for examples of HORTATORY PARAGRAPH. $Pab \wedge Qb \wedge Rb$ is illustrated in the fourth paragraph. $Pab \wedge Qcb$ is illustrated in the fifth paragraph.

7 DISCOURSE

0 INTRODUCTION

0.1 GENERAL

Discourse in Yessan-Mayo has not been studied in any great depth and what follows is more or less a sketch of what has been noted to date on the discourse level. The analysis presented here is, therefore, very tentative and it is expected that more research and study of more varied types of text material will result in a more detailed analysis of discourse types already posited, and will perhaps show up more contrastive discourse types, or sub-types of those already posited. For example, legends have not been looked at in any great detail, and it is possible that this may emerge as a sub-type of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE or as a separate type entirely.

Discourse in Yessan-Mayo has been defined as a unit in the grammatical hierarchy above the paragraph. Paragraphs typically manifest discourse-level tagmemes, but sentence, phrase, and word may also manifest certain discourse-level tagmemes.

To date, four contrastive discourse types have been distinguished: NARRATIVE, PROCEDURAL, EXPOSITORY and HORTATORY. Chart X compares these four types and shows their contrastive features. NARRATIVE DISCOURSE is used to tell legends, history, or recent happenings. They are generally related in chronological order. PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is used to describe how to make things or how to do something. Again, these are generally told in chronological order. EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE is used to expound a subject with very little, if any, reference to chronological sequence of events. HORTATORY DISCOURSE is used to give instructions on how to live and attempts to influence or change conduct.

0.2 DISCOURSE SYSTEM

The four discourse types which have been distinguished have been grouped as shown in Chart X. The horizontal parameter distinguishes between accomplished time or non-focal time and projected time. NARRATIVE DISCOURSE is in accomplished time (past tense), except in one example where the narrator continued narrating events on into the future (NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, Trip to Distribute Gospel Recordings, EPISODES 15, 16, 17). Time is not focal in EXPOSITORY. In PROCEDURAL and HORTATORY DISCOURSE, projected time (future, present continuous) is focal. In NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE there is a chronological sequence of events or procedures. Person orientation is important. NARRATIVE DISCOURSE has specific dramatis personae and is told in 1st, or 3rd person. Focus is not on the actor in PROCEDURAL

DISCOURSE, and the story is usually told from the standpoint of general, non-specified 'we', 'they', or 'a woman'. In HORTATORY DISCOURSE the discourse is addressed to a 2nd person subject. EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE is subject-matter oriented.

CHART X: DISCOURSE TYPES

	Accomplished time/ Time not focal	Projected Time
+ Sequence in time	<u>NARRATIVE</u>	<u>PROCEDURAL</u>
	Specific dramatis personae - 1st or 3rd person sg/pl Past tense	No specific dramatis personae - 1st person plural 3rd person sg/pl Present-continuous, future tense
- Sequence in time	<u>EXPOSITORY</u>	<u>HORTATORY</u>
	Subject matter oriented Stative, present- continuous tense	2nd person, sg/dual/pl Future tense - command forms

Some tagmemes are common to all discourse types. APERTURE is optional for all discourse types. It is usually discourse initial when it occurs, although in one text it occurred following STAGE in NARRATIVE DISCOURSE. It is manifested only by APERTURE EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH. APERTURE introduces the narrator who tells his audience what he is going to talk about and commands them to pay close attention to what he is going to say. FINIS is obligatory for NARRATIVE DISCOURSE and optional for the others. FINIS is always final in the discourse except in HORTATORY DISCOURSE where it can be followed by THEME RECAPITULATION. It is always manifested by TERMINAL PARAGRAPH. FINIS closes a discourse.

Discourse examples are not given in the vernacular but are listed by number, showing the manifestations of the discourse tagmemes for each discourse.

1 NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

<u>±APERTURE</u>	<u>±STAGE</u>	<u>+EPISODESⁿ</u>	<u>±COMMENT</u>	<u>+FINIS</u>
<u>Simple S</u> EXHORT.PARA	<u>Simple S</u> AMP.PARA	<u>Seq. n S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u> NARR.PARA EXEC.PARA	ADD.PARA AMP.PARA	TERM.PARA
Never occur:		<u>Alt.S</u> <u>Prj.Cmpl.S</u> <u>Prj.Res.S</u> <u>Cond.S</u> <u>Descrip.S</u> <u>Eval.S</u> EXEM.PARA ALT.PARA EVAL.PARA DESCRIP.PARA HORT.PARA EXHORT.PARA TERM.PARA		
Tn: past S: 1st/3rd person Lk: juxtaposition, recapitulation				
RR: n = up to 17				

NARRATIVE DISCOURSE is a multi-base construction which must have at least one EPISODE and a FINIS tagmeme. All other tagmemes are optional and as many as 17 EPISODES have been observed in one discourse. STAGE is manifested by Simple Sentence or AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH. Simple Sentence is the more frequent manifestation. STAGE functions to let the listener know the main participants, time, or location of the story. STAGE may be in portmanteau relationship with SETTING of NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH. EPISODES are manifested by various sentences and paragraphs. There are also various sentences and paragraphs which never manifest EPISODE tagmeme. EPISODES are linked together by tail-head recapitulation. COMMENT tagmeme can occur after any EPISODE tagmeme and makes it possible for the narrator to comment on something that has been mentioned in the last EPISODE. APERTURE and FINIS are discussed in Section 0.2 of this Chapter.

2 PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

<u>±APER</u>	<u>±INTRO</u>	<u>±TITLE</u>	<u>+PROCⁿ</u>	<u>±CLIMAC- TIC PROC</u>	<u>±PROC_n</u>	<u>±CONCL</u>	<u>±FINIS</u>
<u>Simple</u> <u>S</u> EXHORT. PARA	<u>Simple</u> <u>S</u> <u>Prj. Cmpl.</u> <u>S</u> QUOT. PARA DESCRIP. PARA	<u>noun</u> <u>phrase</u>	<u>Simple S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u> <u>Seq. n S</u> PROC. PARA ALT. PARA ADD. PARA AMP. PARA	<u>Seq. n S</u> <u>Seq. m S</u>	<u>Cmpl.</u> <u>S</u> PROC. PARA	PROC. PARA PARAL. PARA PARAP. PARA	TERM. PARA
Never occur:			EXEM. PARA NARR. PARA HORT. PARA TERM. PARA EXHORT. PARA DESCRIP. PARA				
Tn: pct, ft S: 1st pp/3rd p Lk: recapitulation, juxtaposition							
RR: n = up to 6							

PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is a multi-base construction which obligatorily has at least one PROCEDURE tagmeme. Up to six PROCEDURE tagmemes have been observed in one discourse. INTRODUCTION tagmeme is very often manifested by Simple Sentence 'We do this.' or 'We do such and such.' It is also manifested by Projected Completive Sentence and QUOTATIVE and DESCRIPTION PARAGRAPHS. INTRODUCTION is often in portmanteau relationship with SETTING of first PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH manifesting PROCEDURE. INTRODUCTION serves to introduce the theme or topic. It very often gives the reason or background for the procedure under

discussion. TITLE tagmeme is manifested only by noun phrase. PROCEDURE tagmemes are manifested by various sentences and paragraphs. There are also various sentences which never manifest PROCEDURE tagmemes and these are given in the bi-dimensional array. CLIMACTIC PROCEDURE is manifested by various sentences, one tagmeme of which is manifested by yaw 'enough'. This signals that what immediately preceded yaw was the final procedure of the process. Whatever follows is anti-climactic. CONCLUSION tagmeme is manifested to date only by PROCEDURAL, PARAPHRASE, and PARALLEL PARAGRAPHS. APERTURE and FINIS tagmemes are discussed on page 256.

Examples: PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

Tagmemes	Discourse 1	Discourse 2	Discourse 3	Discourse 4	Discourse 5	Discourse 6
<u>APERTURE</u>			<u>Simple S</u>		<u>Simple S</u>	
<u>TITLE</u>	<u>np</u>				<u>np</u>	
<u>INTRO</u>		<u>Simple S</u>	QUOT.PARA	<u>Simple S</u>	<u>Alt.S</u>	DESC. PARA
<u>PROC. 1</u>	PROC.PARA	PROC.PARA	PROC.PARA	PROC.PARA	<u>Prj.Cmpl. S</u>	PROC.PARA
<u>PROC. 2</u>	PROC.PARA	<u>Simple S</u>	AMP.PARA		PROC.PARA	PROC.PARA
<u>PROC. 3</u>	PROC.PARA	PROC.PARA				
<u>PROC. 4</u>	PROC.PARA	<u>Seq. m S</u>				
<u>PROC. 5</u>	PROC.PARA	ALT.PARA				
<u>PROC. 6</u>		ADD.PARA				
<u>CL.PR</u>		<u>Seq. n S</u>		<u>Seq. m S</u>	<u>Simple S</u>	
<u>PROC. n</u>		PROC.PARA		<u>Cmpl.S</u>		
<u>CONCL.</u>	AMP.PARA				PARAL. PARA	
<u>FINIS</u>	TERM.PARA	TERM.PARA	TERM.PARA		TERM.PARA	

3 EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE

<u>±APER</u>	<u>±INTRO</u>	<u>+POINTⁿ</u>	<u>±CONCL</u>	<u>±FINIS</u>
<u>Simple S</u> EXHORT. PARA	<u>Simple S</u> DESC.PARA CON..PARA AMP.PARA	DESC.PARA CON .PARA REA.PARA RES.PARA EXEM.PARA AMP.PARA EXEC.PARA PROC.PARA PARAL.PARA	AMP .PARA HORT.PARA	TERM.PARA
Tn: present continuous, stative S: same Lk: juxtaposition				
RR: n = up to 6				

EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE is a multi-base construction which has at least one POINT tagmeme. The rest of the tagmemes are optional. All can occur in one discourse. As many as six POINT tagmemes have been observed in one discourse. INTRODUCTION tagmeme is manifested by Simple Sentence and various paragraph types. INTRODUCTION serves to introduce the topic under discussion. POINT tagmemes are manifested by various paragraphs. CONCLUSION is manifested by two paragraph types in present data: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH and HORTATORY PARAGRAPH. CONCLUSION serves to summarize the theme of the discourse and in one example was a recapitulation of INTRODUCTION. APERTURE and FINIS tagmemes are discussed in Section 0.2 of this Chapter.

Examples: EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE

Tagmemes	Discourse 1	Discourse 2	Discourse 3	Discourse 4	Discourse 5	Discourse 6
<u>APERTURE</u>			EXHORT. PARA	<u>Simple S</u>		
<u>INTRO</u>	AMP.PARA			CONT.PARA		
<u>POINT 1</u>	DESC.PARA	DESC.PARA	AMP.PARA	EXEM.PARA	DESC.PARA	AMP.PARA
<u>POINT 2</u>	AMP.PARA	DESC.PARA	AMP.PARA	RES.PARA	DESC.PARA	REA.PARA
<u>POINT 3</u>		DESC.PARA	AMP.PARA	RES.PARA	REA.PARA	
<u>POINT 4</u>		PROC.PARA	PARAL. PARA			
<u>POINT 5</u>		AMP.PARA				
<u>POINT 6</u>		EXEC. PARA				
<u>CONCL</u>			AMP.PARA	HORT.PARA		
<u>FINIS</u>			TERM.PARA	TERM.PARA	TERM.PARA	

4 HORTATORY DISCOURSE

<u>±APERTURE</u>	<u>+POINTⁿ</u>	<u>±THEME REINFORCEMENT²</u>	<u>±FINIS</u>
EXHORT.PARA	HORT.PARA	<u>Simple S</u>	TERM.PARA
Tn: future S: same - 2nd person Lk: juxtaposition			
RR: n = up to 7			

HORTATORY DISCOURSE is a multi-base construction in which POINT tagmeme is obligatory. Up to seven POINT tagmemes have been observed occurring in one HORTATORY DISCOURSE. THEME REINFORCEMENT can occur twice, and may occur preceding or following FINIS. POINT tagmeme in present data is manifested only by HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS. THEME REINFORCEMENT is manifested only by Simple Sentence in present data.

THEME REINFORCEMENT reiterates the theme of the discourse and is a partial or full recapitulation of CHALLENGE of first HORTATORY PARAGRAPH of POINT 1. APERTURE and FINIS are discussed in Section 0.2 of this Chapter.

Examples: HORTATORY DISCOURSE

Tagmemes	Discourse 1	Discourse 2
<u>APERTURE</u>		EXHORT.PARA
<u>POINT 1</u>	HORT.PARA	HORT.PARA
<u>POINT 2</u>	HORT.PARA	HORT.PARA
<u>POINT 3 - 7</u>	HORT.PARA	
<u>THEME REIN.</u>	<u>Simple S</u>	
<u>FINIS</u>	TERM.PARA	TERM.PARA
<u>THEME REIN.</u>	<u>Simple S</u>	

8 TEXT

0 INTRODUCTION

Text material is given to illustrate each discourse type discussed in Chapter 7; that is, NARRATIVE, PROCEDURAL, EXPOSITORY, and HORTATORY DISCOURSE. The text material also serves to illustrate, in a better way than the fragmentary examples do perhaps, the analysis given on the other levels.

Each text is broken down into discourse and paragraph tagmemes, giving slot names and fillers. The paragraphs and sentences of each text are numbered consecutively in the left hand column.

1.1 NARRATIVE DISCOURSE: 'Fishing Trip'

This NARRATIVE DISCOURSE has a STAGE which is in portmanteau relationship with SETTING of NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH, 3 EPISODES, a COMMENT, and a FINIS.

PARA S

1 EPISODE 1: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

1 SETTING: Simple Sentence

nim yere, yere perpe, nim yere Biya
we yesterday yesterday afternoon we yesterday Velma

Ayla arin nim botki yawim.
Helen I we boat.by went.up

Yesterday afternoon we, Velma, Helen, and I, went up by boat.

2 BUILDUP 1: Sequence m Sentence

botki yawim, nim lam, tiliy lam, yin yarin,
boat.by went.up we lamp Tilley lamp went.and lit.and

tukwun, nim pus ak seytim.
set.down.and we fish.line then threw

(We) went up by boat, we went and lit the Tilley lamp and set it down and then we cast the fishlines.

2 EPISODE 2: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

2.1 BUILDUP 1: CONTRAST PARAGRAPH

3 CONTRAST 1: Sequence m Sentence

nim pus seytim, amiyen Biya atat letlane kelare
we fish.line threw fish Velma she five part

mur keram, Ayla ti wuriket potim.
 three held Helen she one got

We cast the fishlines, Velma got eight fish, Helen got one.

4 CONTRAST 2: Simple Sentence

an kwarekware bokera tare wuri potim.
 I medium.size big head one got

I got one fairly big one.

5 BUILDUP 2: Sequence m Sentence

potim, Ayla tini amiyen piy let tarek pim.
 got Helen her fish fin hand head shot

(We) got, a fish fin speared Helen on her thumb.

6 BUILDUP 3: Completive Sentence

pinke nim sini yerim.
 shot.when we again came.down

When (she) was speared, we came back down.

7 EPISODE 3: Sequence m Sentence

sini nim yerim, yan gayim.
 again we came.down came.and landed

We came down again, came and landed.

3 COMMENT: ADDITION PARAGRAPH

8 STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

nogwape amowe nimni kenakem sowim.
 many mosquitoes us really ruined

Many mosquitoes really bit us up.

9 ADDITION: Simple Sentence

Ruwkukwiy peyk kopak.
 Rukukwi river rotten.at

(Many mosquitoes really bit us up) at Rukukwi Lake.

4 FINIS: TERMINAL PARAGRAPH

10 FINIS: Simple Sentence

toma ab atekem.
 talk all there

The talk is all there.

1.2. NARRATIVE DISCOURSE: 'Trip to Distribute Gospel Recordings'

This NARRATIVE DISCOURSE consists of an APERTURE, 17 EPISODES, a COMMENT, and a FINIS.

PARA S

1 APERTURE: EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH1 IDENTIFICATION: Simple Sentence

an Merkwusi.

I Merkwusi

I am Merkwusi.

2 INTENTION: Simple Sentence

nimri yim patriol an sika wusowti.

our went patrol I story will.tell

I will tell the story of the patrol we took.

2 EPISODE 1: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH3 BUILDUP 1: Sequence m Sentence

na nim Ukarumpak nim yam, Sadey pes nim buk Mak
and we Ukarumpa.from we came Sunday two we book Mark

ninim.

made

We came from Ukarumpa, it took us two weeks to make the Book of Mark.

4 BUILDUP 2: Sequence m Sentence

buk Mak ninim, kerwu Tudey nim yawim, Kawyebayki
book Mark made morning Tuesday we went.up Kawyebay.at

toknam.

slept

(We) did the Book of Mark, Tuesday morning we went up, (we) slept at Kawyebay.

3 EPISODE 2: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

3.1 BUILDUP 1: PERCEPTION PARAGRAPH

5 PERCEPTION FORMULA: Sequence m Sentence

Kawyebayki nim toknam, nim rimni rekot masin nuwam,
Kawyebay.at we slept we them record machine gave

rim tupam, sini nim Tiridey kerwu nim yawim, nim
they bought then we Wednesday morning we went.up we

Alakayki wurti wem, yim, nim lam.
 Alakay.to go.inside.will said went we saw

We slept at Kawyebay, we gave them the record player, they bought (it), then on Wednesday morning we went up, we said we would go into Alakay, (we) went, we saw.

3.2 PERCEIVED EVENT: RESULT PARAGRAPH

6 STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

wama teykibi gub kabe simenim.
 stream mouth cane grass sat

Grass and cane were blocking the mouth of the stream.

3.3 RESULT: EXECUTION PARAGRAPH

3.4 PROPOSAL: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH

7 QUOTE FORMULA: Frustrative Result Sentence

nim rimalaweyim Misi rip op wem.
 we push.unsuccessfully ladies those.2 thus said

We pushed (against the grass) without success, (so) the two ladies said this.

3.5 QUOTE: REASON PARAGRAPH

8 STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

nim sini warti.
 we again go.down.will

"We will go back down."

3.6 REASON: RESULT PARAGRAPH

9 STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

gub kabe sim.
 cane grass sat

"There is cane and grass."

10 RESULT: Simple Sentence

nim kiluw maprike yiti.
 we road how will.go

"How can we go on the road?"

11 EXECUTION: Sequence m Sentence

nim sini yerim, nim Kelapet rini Waskuwki
 we again came.down we Kelapet him Washkuk

lik rasin.
 transport put

We came back down, we gave Kelapet a ride to Washkuk.

12 BUILDUP 2: Sequence m Sentence

Waskuwki lik rasim, nim rini rekot pileya nuwam,
 Washkuk.to transport put we him record player gave
ri sen atar Alakayki sen wurim.
 he carried.and he Alakay.to carried.and went.inside

(We) transported (him) to Washkuk, we gave him the record player, he carried (it) and he took it into Alakay.

4 EPISODE 3: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

13 BUILDUP 1: Sequence n Sentence

nim sini yerin, nim yan Yesyan-ki gayim.
 we again came.down.and we came.and Yessan-at landed

We came down again, and we came and landed at Yessan.

14 BUILDUP 2: Sequence m Sentence

Yesyanki gayim, nim rimni nuwam, rim tupam, rim tupam
 Yessan.at landed we them gave they bought they bought

meysinginim, na sini nim yerin yan, nim
 stopped and again we came.down.and came.and we

yan kwomki gayin, nim toknam, Podey
 came.and village.at landed.and we slept Thursday

nim age sim, na Piraydey nim sini arin na Biya Ayla
 we rest sat and Friday we again I and Velma Helen

Sokapa Giliyas Kagwu na nim sini otop nim sini
 Sokapa Giliyas Kangwu and we again together we again

warin, Wuswarki yale yim, nim Matiwayki
 went.down.and Sepik downstream went we Mudiway.to

yawim.
 went.up

(We) landed at Yessan, we gave them (a record player), they bought (it), they stopped buying it, we came back down and came and landed at the village and we slept, Thursday we rested, Friday we, Velma, I, Helen, Sokapa, Giliyas, Kagwu, went back down together and we went down the Sepik, we went up to Mudiway.

4.1 BUILDUP 3: RESULT PARAGRAPH

15 STATEMENT: Sequence m Sentence

yawim, yin, kabe lagwe wamak bar barki simenim.
 went.up went.and grass long stream middle.at sat

(We) went up, went and a long piece of grass was in the middle of the stream.

RESULT: Sequence m Sentence

nim rima litin, yin sokwunim, nim sini
we pushed pulled.and went.and threw.down we again

moto kirapimim yawim.
motor started went.up

*We pushed and pulled and went and put (the motor) down,
we started the motor again, (we) went up.*

16 BUILDUP 4: Sequence n Sentence

yawin, yin, nim yin, wurin,
went.up.and went.and we went.and went.inside.and

Nakariki gayim.
Nakari.at landed

*(We) went up and went and we went inside and landed at
Nakari.*

17 BUILDUP 5: Sequence m Sentence

Nakari gayim, nim atek toknam.
Nakari landed we there slept

(We) landed at Nakari, we slept there.

S EPISODE 4: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

18 BUILDUP 1: Sequence m Sentence

atek nim toknam, ey birakwunim, Sararey nim Marowak
there we slept dawn dawned Saturday we Marowa

potim.
took

*We slept there, it dawned, we arrived at Marowa on
Saturday.*

19 BUILDUP 2: Sequence m Sentence

Marowak potin na nim atek toknan, ey biram, Sadey
Marowa took.and and we there slept.and dawn dawned Sunday

nim wurin, yawim, Asawur age sin, nim
we went.inside.and went.up Asawur rest sat.and we

kirapim, nim yawim, wurin Warisay o Kwaratuk
got.up we went.up went.inside.and Warisay or Kwaratuk

kwomki toknam.
village.at slept

*(We) arrived at Marowa, and we slept there and it dawned,
Sunday we went inside and went up, rested at Asawur, and
we got up, we went up, (we) went into Kwaratuk and slept
(there).*

20 BUILDUP 3: Sequence m Sentence

toknan, ey biram, Madey nim rimni ar wes nuwan,
slept.and dawn dawned Monday we them that thing gave.and
nim sini yerim.
we again came.down

*(We) slept and it dawned, Monday we gave them the thing
and we came back down.*

6 EPISODE 5: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

21 BUILDUP 1: Sequence m Sentence

sini nim yerim, yan, nim Asawurki yan tim,
again we came.down came.and we Asawur.at came.and were
na nim rimni nuwam, rim sini tupam, nim yerin
and we them gave they then bought we came.down.and
Marowak sin busow ak am.
Marowa.at sat.and food then ate

*We came back down, and came, we came to Asawur and were
(there), we gave them (a record player), they then bought
(it), we came down and sat at Marowa and then ate.*

22 BUILDUP 2: Sequence n Sentence

busow an, nim sini atek nim kirapin, nim sini
food ate.and we again there we got.up.and we again
yan weram.
came.and came.inside

*(We) ate food and we got up again there and we came inside
again.*

23 BUILDUP 3: Sequence n Sentence

weran, yan, Marowari tame pes Kitibali
came.inside.and came.and Marowa's men two Kitibali
agerbwe tame wuri rip nimni helpimim, rip nimni
another man one those.2 us helped those.2 us
wes panin sen weram.
things took.and carried.and came.inside

*(We) came inside and came and two men from Marowa,
Kitibali and another man, helped us, they carried (our)
things for us.*

24 BUILDUP 4: Sequence m Sentence

weram, yan, Marowak atemri mak Nakari atemri
came.inside came.and Marowa their mark Nakari their

mak meykinik timenimke, nim sope wuri nis Ayle
 mark close be.while.when we snake one we.two Helen
tikini temnamenim, nis Ayle tikini temna yabim,
 she.with ahead.while we.2 Helen she.with ahead came.while
sope ti kiluwki toknamenim.
 snake she road.on slept

(We) came inside and when (we) had come inside and while we were close to the Marowa-Nakari boundary, while Helen and I came on ahead, a snake was sleeping on the road.

25 EPISODE 6: Sequence m Sentence

Ayle ti kiy tosim, arin nis tosim, an yuri lam.
 Helen she first jumped I we.2 jumped I later saw

Helen jumped first, we both jumped, I saw (it) after (I had jumped).

26 EPISODE 7: Sequence n Sentence

Biya ti yan, Biya ti towe teyti keraket tim.
 Velma she came.and Velma she foot step a.little was

Velma came and Velma almost stepped (on the snake).

7 EPISODE 8: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

27 BUILDUP 1: Simple Sentence

sope mipikilamenim.
 snake reared.up

The snake reared up.

7.1 BUILDUP 2: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

28 STATEMENT: Sequence n Sentence

pikilamenin, an lan, an Biya tini yaye wem.
 reared.up.and I saw.and I Velma her loud said

(It) reared up and I saw (that) and I yelled at Velma.

29 PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

an tini toma kwobki wem.
 I her talk harsh said

I talked harshly to her.

3D BUILDUP 3: Sequence m Sentence

toma kwobki wem, ti akin, kin kin yim.
 talk harsh said she feared.and tail tail went

(I) talked harshly, she feared and went backwards.

8 EPISODE 9: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH31 BUILDUP 1: Sequence m Sentence

ti akin, kin kin yim, sope ti kiluw kelarek
 she feared.and tail tail went snake she road side

kera kera kera kera wurbim.
 little little little little went.inside.while

She feared and went backwards while the snake went to the side of the road little by little.

32 BUILDUP 2: Sequence m Sentence

wurbim, Marowa tame wuri ri yan, wes
 went.inside.while Marowa man one he came.and things

rasruwin, ri akis ariri akis Biya ti semenim ri
 put.down.and he axe my axe Velma she held.while he

potin, me pakwol wuri teyin, ri sope tini me
 took.and tree stick one cut.and he snake her tree

pakwol botkwuwim.
 stick killed

While (it) went inside, one of the Marowa men came and put the things down and while Velma was holding my axe he took (it) and cut a stick and he killed the snake with the stick.

33 BUILDUP 3: Sequence m Sentence

me pakwol botkwuwim, niniwayin, potin, me towek
 tree stick killed lifted.up.and took.and tree foot.at

wakruwim.
 hung.up

(He) killed (it) with a stick, lifted it up and took it and hung it up on a branch.

34 BUILDUP 4: Sequence m Sentence

me towek wakruwim, nim ak yam.
 tree foot.at hung.up we then came

(He) hung it up on a branch, we then came.

9 COMMENT: PERCEPTION PARAGRAPH35 PERCEPTION FORMULA: Sequence m Sentence

nim ak yam, na an bi latane.
 we then came and I not see

We then came, I didn't see.

9.1 PERCEIVED EVENT: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH36 STATEMENT: Alternative Sentence

ri kapkini mi atikap sen yim, o ri
 he don't.know emp to.eat carried.and went or he
kap buwhuw sika wusowti, o map sen
 don't.know for.nothing story will.tell or why carried
yim.
 went

I don't know if he took it to eat or I don't know if he took it to tell a story or (I don't know) why he took it.

9.2 PARAPHRASE: ADDITION PARAGRAPH

37 STATEMENT: Perception Sentence

ri sen yimkap, an bi latane.
 he carried.and went.reason I not see

I didn't see why he took it.

38 ADDITION: Reason Sentence

mi atikap sen yim.
 emp eat.reason carried.and went

(He) took it to eat.

10 EPISODE 10: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

39 BUILDUP 1: Sequence n Sentence

nim atek yin, age sim.
 we there went.and rest sat

We went there and rested.

10.1 BUILDUP 2: EXECUTION PARAGRAPH

10.2 PROPOSAL: DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH

10.3 SPEECH 1: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH

40 QUOTE FORMULA: Sequence m Sentence

age sim, atemri wolik yam, age simke, Ayla
 rest sat their boundary.at came rest sat.when Helen

ti op wem.
 she thus said

When we had come and rested, rested at their boundary, Helen said this.

10.4 QUOTE: REASON PARAGRAPH

10.5 STATEMENT: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

41 STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

o Rapet nim gwatek tokna.
 oh Robert we here sleep

Oh, Robert, let's sleep here.

- 42 PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence
nim bulki toknati.
 we bush.at will.sleep
We will sleep in the bush.
- 43 REASON: Simple Sentence
kuw let towe mus mus sowye.
 thigh hand feet pain pain ruined
The thighs, hands and feet really pain.
- 10.6 SPEECH 2: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH
- 44 QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence
an op wem.
 I thus said
I said this.
- 45 QUOTE: Alternative Sentence
o nim bulki toknati, na nimni sope tati,
 oh we bush.at will.sleep andus snake bite.will
o ner mow titi, nimni mow tin ok
 or night rain rain.will us rain dip.and water
abwe.
 eat
*"Oh, if we sleep in the bush will a snake bite us
 or will it rain at night, will we get rain and
 drink it?"*
- 46 EXECUTION: Sequence n Sentence
nim a yin, warin, Nakariki toknam.
 we there went.and went.down.and Nakari.at slept
We went down there and slept at Nakari.
- 47 EPISODE 11: Sequence m Sentence
nim sini wayin, yan, Nakari potin, nim age
 we again came.up.and came.and Nakari took.and we rest
sin, nim teya ok an, meysinginim, Nakari
 sat.and we coconut water ate.and stopped Nakari
meysinginim, yerin, Wayiwaski toknam.
 left came.down.and Wayiwas.at slept
*We came up again and arrived at Nakari and we rested and
 we stopped drinking coconut milk and (we) left Nakari, (we)
 came down and slept at Wayiwas.*

11 EPISODE 12: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH48 FLASHBACK: Flashback Sentence

nim yerin, Wayiwaski toknam, peleyk wes nim
 we came.down.and Wayiwas.at slept shouldered things we
saylaweyim, nim linamen metisin potim, nim aboy
 tried.unsuccessfully we liniment medicine got we all
wes keran, meysinginim, nim ak toknam.
 Things rubbed.and stopped we then slept.

We came down and slept at Wayiwas, we carried the things on our shoulders unsuccessfully (i.e. our shoulders ached because of carrying), we got liniment, we rubbed (it) on everything and stopped that, we then slept.

49 BUILDUP I: Sequence m Sentence

toknam, ey biram, ayt kilok nim sini kirapim.
 slept dawn dawned eight o'clock we again got.up

(We) slept, it dawned, we got up again at eight o'clock.

12 EPISODE 13: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH12.1 BUILDUP 1: ADDITION PARAGRAPH50 STATEMENT: Sequence m Sentence

nim sini atek mikirapim, nim yerin, pere
 we again there got.up we came.down.and canoe
wes yuwam, rim wes hayarbim, na an ki
 things put.into they things readied.while and I first
temnan yan, an pere ok sin, na an
 ahead.and came.and I canoe water bailed.and and I
bensiyn yuwam, rim sini yan, nim wurin,
 gasoline put.into they again came.and we went.into.and
miyerim.
 came.down

We got up there again, we came down and put things into the canoe, while they got things ready, I came ahead first and I bailed water out of the canoe and I put in the gasoline, they came again and we went into and came down.

51 ADDITION: Reason Sentence

nim periyki yerim, Nakari wama ri ok pelim
 we paddle.by came.down Nakari stream he water dry
girayiwem, bi yuwam.
 evaporated not put.into

We came down by paddle (because) the Nakari stream had dried up, (we) couldn't put (the motor) into (the water).

52 FLASHBACK: Simultaneous Sentence

kabe simeninim, nim yan, periyki yerbim, na
grass sat.while we came.and paddle.by came.down.while and

nimni nig amowe kenakem sowim.
us mosquito.type mosquitoes really ruined

While the grass was (blocking the stream), while we came down paddling, the mosquitoes really bit us up.

53 BUILDUP 2: Sequence m Sentence

nig amowe tati yan, nim yan
mosquito.type mosquito bite.will came we came.and

yerim, Gapek peyk yerin potim.
came.down Gape.at river came.down.and took

The mosquitoes came to bite (us), we came down, (we) arrived at the Gape River.

54 BUILDUP 3: Sequence m Sentence

Gapek peyk yerin potim, nim moto kirapim, nim
Gape river came.down.and took we motor started we

moto ak yam.
motor then came

(We) came down and arrived at the Gape River, we started the motor, we then came by motor.

13 EPISODE 14: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

55 BUILDUP 1: Sequence m Sentence

nim yan, nim yan yerim, kabe nim sini
we came.and we came.and came.down grass we again

yan yerin rimam.
came.and came.down.and pushed

We came and we came down, we came down to the grass again and pushed.

56 BUILDUP 2: Sequence m Sentence

kabe sini yerin, riman, moto sini sokwunim,
grass again came.down.and pushed and motor again threw.down

sini moto kirapim, nim yan yerin, Wuswar
again motor started we came.and came.down.and Sepik

sokwunim.
threw.down

(We) came down to the grass again and pushed and put the motor down (into the water), started the motor again, we came down and came to the Sepik (River).

57 BUILDUP 3: Sequence m Sentence

Wuswar sokwunim, yaw, wayim, hap pas tuwki nim
Sepik threw.down enough came.up half past two.at we

nimri kwom Mayo ak gayim.
our village Mayo then landed

(We) came down to the Sepik, enough, (we) came up, then at half past two we landed at our village of Mayo.

13.1 BUILDUP 4: CONTRAST PARAGRAPH

13.2 CONTRAST 1: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

58 STATEMENT: Sequence m Sentence

gayim, nim age sim, na Tiridey nim age sim, nim
landed we rest sat Wednesday we rest sat we

yakwo bi ninim.
work not did

(We) landed, we rested, Wednesday we rested, we didn't work.

59 PARAPHRASE: Sequence m Sentence

Tiridey nim buwmi tim, toknam.
Wednesday we nothing were slept

Wednesday we didn't do anything, (we) slept.

60 CONTRAST 2: Simple Sentence

Fodey Piraydey nim nimri yakwo kera kera
Thursday Friday we our work a.little a.little

ninim.
did

Thursday and Friday we did a little work.

61 EPISODE 1S: Sequence m Sentence

Sararey Sadey rip wes tarem, na Madey rip
Saturday Sunday those.2 things ready and Monday those.2

sini warti, Ambuntiki warti.
again go.down.will Ambunti.to go.down.will

On Saturday and Sunday those two will get their things ready, on Monday those two will go back down to Ambunti.

14 EPISODE 16: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHBUILDUP 1: Sequence m Sentence

rip Ambunti warti, toknati, na ey
 those.two Ambunti go.down.will sleep.will and dawn

birati dey rip balus potin, Ukarumpak yiti.
 dawn.will day those.2 plane get.and Ukarumpa.to go.will

*Those two will go down to Ambunti, will sleep, on the day
 it dawns, those two will get a plane and go to Ukarumpa.*

14.1 BUILDUP 2: ADDITION PARAGRAPH63 STATEMENT: Sequence m Sentence

Ukarumpak yiti, rip yin titi, liyp letlane
 Ukarumpa.to go.will those.2 go.and be.will moon five

kelare wuri kerati.
 part one hold.will

*(Those 2) will go to Ukarumpa, they will go and be
 (there) for six months.*

64 ADDITION: Simple Sentence

rip atek titi.
 those.2 there be.will

Those two will be there.

65 BUILDUP 3: Sequence m Sentence

titi, liyp letlane kelare wuri kerati titi, sini
 be.will moon five part one hold.will be.will again

rip yati.
 those.2 come.will

*(Those 2) will be (there), will be (there) for six months,
 those two will come back.*

66 EPISODE 17: Sequence m Sentence

rip Mayo sini yati na nim yakwo sini ak ninti.
 those.2 Mayo again come.will and we work again then do.will

Those two will come back to Mayo, we will work again then.

15 FINIS: TERMINAL PARAGRAPH67 FINIS: Simple Sentence

toma ab ateke.
 talk all there

The talk is all there.

- 68 GREETING: Simple Sentence
sopenager rim ateker.
snake they there
Good afternoon. (Greeting to those of the snake clan.)
- 69 FULFILLED EXHORTATION: Simple Sentence
kem ari toma matiye.
you my talk heard
You have heard my talk.
- 70 FULFILLED INTENTION: Simple Sentence
nimri sowerim toma otop an weye.
our walked talk that I said
I have told the story of our patrol.
- 71 FINIS: Simple Sentence
ab ateke.
all there
(It's) all there.

2 PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE: 'How to Hunt Pigs'

This PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE consists of an INTRODUCTION (which is in portmanteau relationship with SETTING of first paragraph), 6 PROCEDURES, a CLIMACTIC PROCEDURE, a CLOSING PROCEDURE, and a FINIS.

PARA 5

1 PROCEDURE 1: PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH

1 SETTING: Simple Sentence

ok wayibwe woli nim por lelebwe.
water coming.up time we pig chasing

We chase pigs at the time the water comes up.

1.1 STEP 1: ADDITION PARAGRAPH

2 STATEMENT: Sequence in Sentence

por lelebwe, na eysi tame o lele yen rim ab
pig chasing and watch men or chase persons they all

piy sebwe, na omu nakwo pileykbwe, yin, rim
spear holding and boiled sago shouldering go.and they

wuriwowki sin, rim kitiy op tebwe.
one.only.at sit.and they meat thus calling

(We) chase pigs, the men who watch or the men who chase, they all hold spears, shoulder the boiled sago, go and they sit at one place and they thus call for meat.

1.2 ADDITION: ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH

3 ALTERNATIVE 1: Sequence n Sentence

me take welelen, rim peykin, kitiy op
tree hair tie.in.bunch.and they tie.and meat thus
tebwe.
calling

(They) tie a bunch of leaves together and thus call.

4 ALTERNATIVE 2: Sequence n Sentence

o towri rim mena ayerki yuwan,
or sometimes they betelnut bag put.into.and
mena likin, rim ak op tebwe.
betelnut pull.and they then thus calling

Or sometimes they put betelnut into a small net bag and pull the betelnut and they then thus call.

5 STEP 2: Sequence n Sentence

op ten, rim mipenbwe.
thus call.and they chewing.betelnut

(They) thus call and they chew the betelnut.

1.3 STEP 3: CONTRAST PARAGRAPH

6 CONTRAST 1: Sequence n Sentence

penin, orait eysi tame rim yin, por rimri reyk
chew.and alright watch men they go.and pig their trail
lan, ake keran, ak sibwe.
see.and house build.and then sitting

(They) chew and the men who watch go and see the pigs trail and (they) build a house and then sit.

1.4 CONTRAST 2: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

7 GENERIC STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

lele yen rim kwo let mur ey rim atek
chase persons they mountain hand three four they there
warin,
go.down.and

The men who chase go down three or four of the mountain spurs and

1.5 SPECIFIC AMPLIFICATION: CONTRAST PARAGRAPH

CONTRAST 1: Simple Sentence

kin yibwe yen ri kin takiyakger yibwe.
 tail going person he tail end going

the person who goes at the end, he goes at the tail end (of the line).

1.6 CONTRAST 2: QUOTATIVE PARAGRAPH

8 QUOTE FORMULA: Simple Sentence

tare yibwe tame rim op webwe.
 head going man they this saying

They say this about the man who goes at the head (of the line).

9 QUOTE: Simple Sentence

ri tare takiyakger yibwe.
 he head end going

"He is going at the head end."

10 CONTRAST 3: Simple Sentence

orait rim nogwape bar barwoki tibwe.
 okay they many middle middle.only.at are

Many are in the middle.

11 PROCEDURE 2: Simple Sentence

rim nogwape bar barwowki tit yuwan, rim
 they many middle middle.only.at stand put.into.and they
ak kwobwe.
 then waiting

Many stand in the middle and they then wait.

2 PROCEDURE 3: PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH12 STEP 1: Sequence n Sentence

eysi tame rim por ake keran, ak te potbwe.
 watch men they pig house build.and then call taking

The men who watch build a pig house and get them to come by calling.

13 STEP 2: Completive Sentence

te potbwek rim ak lelebwe.
 call taking.when they then chasing

When (they) get by calling, they then chase.

14 PROCEDURE 4: Sequence m Sentence

rim ak lelebwe, yibwe, now wariyek por ak
they then chasing going garden old.at pig then

tuknamenbwe, rim otop wurin, tagwekwunbwe, orait
sleeping they together go.inside.and taking.down okay

rim amekirin yin, o tame simenbwe, ri eyki
they run.low.and go.and or man sitting he angry

yibwek, rim ak pibwe.
going.when they then shooting

They then chase, go, a pig is then sleeping in an old garden, they go inside and take down (the fence?), they run and go or a man is sitting, when he goes being angry, they then shoot (the pig).

3 PROCEDURE 5: ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH15 ALTERNATIVE 1: Sequence m Sentence

rim ak pibwe, rim yaper piye, rim
they then shooting they bag shot they

tobwelaweybwe.
follow.unsuccessfully

They then shoot (it), when they shoot bad, they follow it unsuccessfully (i.e. they don't find the pig that was shot).

3.1 ALTERNATIVE 2: ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH16 ALTERNATIVE 1: Sequence m Sentence

o yenbwa pibwe, rim tobwen, yin, por san
or good shooting they follow.and go.and pig.die.and

toknamenbwe, rim ak potbwe.
sleeping they then getting

Or (they) shoot good, they follow and go and the pig is lying dead and they then take (it).

17 ALTERNATIVE 2: Sequence m Sentence

o rane buwmi kelpi timenbwe, ri eyki simenbwe, rim
or some nothing alive being he angry sitting they

yin labwe, eyki nayin, ak piragerbwe.
go.and seeing angry fight.and then shooting.again

Or some of the pigs are alive, he is angry, they go and see (this), (they) fight being angry and then shoot (it) again.

4 PROCEDURE 6: ADDITION PARAGRAPH18 STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

na rim ak sen yabwe.
and they then carry.and coming
Then they bring it.

19 ADDITION: Alternative Sentence

rim sen yan, o rim akwulki sen yan,
they carry.and come.and or they home carry.and come.and

o rim akwulki sen yan mow webwe, rim
or they home carry.and come.and dislike saying they

bolki kwibwe, o om nogwape yen ta rimni
bush.at cutting or muscle many children women them

sen yabwe, o mer magel ya rim kerki lisin,
carry.and coming or ribs back bone they fire cook.and

o pap rim lisin, rim nakwo atek abwe.
or liver they cook.and they boiled.sago there eating

They bring it and they bring it home, or if they say they don't want to bring it home, they cut it up in the bush, or the meat they take to the women and children, the ribs, backbone, and bones they cook, or they cook the liver and they eat (it with) boiled sago there.

20 CLIMACTIC PROCEDURE: Sequence n Sentence

rim nakwo a meysinginin, yaw.
they boiled.sago eat stop.and enough

They stop eating boiled sago and that's enough.

5 PROCEDURE_n: PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH21 STEP 1: Sequence n Sentence

rim kitiy om kwanpin, sen rim akwul ak
they pork muscle portion.and carry.and they home then

sen yabwe.
carry.and coming

They portion out the pork and carry (it) and then bring it home.

22 STEP 2: Sequence n Sentence

sen yan, yen ta rimni ak nuwabwe.
carry.and come.and children women them then giving

(They) bring (it) and then give (it) to the women and children.

6 FINIS: TERMINAL PARAGRAPH23 FINIS: Simple Sentence

por lelebwe woli ti ab ateke.
 pig chasing way she all there

The way of chasing pigs is all there.

3 EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE: 'Ukarumpa Work'

This EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE consists of an APERTURE, 4 POINTS, a CONCLUSION, and a FINIS.

PARA 5

1 APERTURE: EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH1 INTENTION: Sequence m Sentence

nis Sokapa rikini nis yam, Ukarumpak yan titane,
 we.2 Sokapa he.with we.2 came Ukarumpa.to came.and are

nis ninbwe yakwo an kemni wusowbwe.
 we.2 doing work I you telling

*We two, Sokapa and (I), came to Ukarumpa and are (here),
 (and) I am telling about the work that we two do.*

2 EXHORTATION: Simple Sentence

kem mat.
 you hear

You all hear.

2 POINT 1: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH2.1 SPECIFIC AMPLIFICATION: CONTRAST PARAGRAPH3 CONTRAST 1: Simple Sentence

kerwu nis Ayla atatkini yakwo otop ninbwe.
 morning we.2 Helen she.with work together doing

In the morning we two work together with Helen.

4 CONTRAST 2: Sequence m Sentence

me pibwe, perpe nis tayprayta yakwo yin ninbwe.
 wood hitting p.m. we.2 typewriter work go-and doing

*It's noon, (and) in the afternoon we two go and do
 typewriter work.*

5 GENERIC SUMMARY: Simple Sentence

Tudey nis otop ninbwe.
 Tuesday we.2 that doing

We do that on Tuesday.

3 POINT 2: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

3.1 SPECIFIC AMPLIFICATION: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

6 GENERIC STATEMENT: Contrast Sentence

Madey nis otop Ayla tikini kerwuk ninbwe,
Monday we.2 together Helen she.with morning working

perpe ri agerbwe yakwo ninbwe, an Biya tikini
afternoon he another work working I Velma she.with

yin ninbwe.
go.and working

*On Monday we two work together with Helen in the morning,
in the afternoon he does other work (and) I go and work
with Velma.*

7 SPECIFIC AMPLIFICATION: Simple Sentence

toma teyprikotari toma an bas rasbwe.
talk tape.recorder's talk I mark putting

I write the tape recorder talk.

GENERIC SUMMARY: Simple Sentence

8 nis otopkap yakwo ninbwe.
we.2 that.like work working

We two work like that.

4 POINT 3: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

4.1 SPECIFIC AMPLIFICATION: PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH

9 STEP 1: Simple Sentence

nis Tudey Poday Piraydey nis tayprayta yakwo
we.2 Tuesday Thursday Friday we.2 typewriter work

kirkir yibwe.
also going

*On Tuesday, Thursday and Friday we also go to typewriter
work.*

10 STEP 2: Sequence in Sentence

yin ninbwe, yan, sini ri agerbwe yakwo ninbwe,
go.and doing come.and again he another work doing

an Biya atatkini ninbwe.
I Velma she.with doing

*(We 2) go and work, (we) come and then he does other
work (and) I work with Velma.*

- 11 GENERIC SUMMARY: Simple Sentence
 nis otopkap yakwowo ninbwe.
 we.2 that.like work.only doing
 We two do only that kind of work.
- 5 POINT 4: PARALLEL PARAGRAPH
- 12 ITEM 1: Amplification Sentence
 Tukpot ti now yakwe ninbwe, wes nanowkwebwe, ti
 Tukpot she garden work doing things planting she
 otopkap yakwo ninbwe.
 that.like work doing
 Tukpot does garden work, plants things, does work like that.
- 13 ITEM 2: Amplification Sentence
 top yaper kirokbwe me take hakwun kiraywebwe
 grass bad cleaning.up tree hair sweep.and carrying.away
 ti otop ninbwe.
 she that doing
 (She) pulls weeds, sweeps up the leaves and carries them away, she does that.
- 6 CONCLUSION: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH
- 14 GENERIC STATEMENT: Simple Sentence
 nis ninbwe yakwo pes.
 we.2 doing work two
 The work that we do is of two kinds.
- 15 SPECIFIC AMPLIFICATION: Contrast Sentence
 Ayla tikini kerwuk ninbwe, Biya tikini perpek
 Helen she.with morning doing Velma she.with afternoon
 ninbwe.
 doing
 (We two) work with Helen in the morning, work with Velma in the afternoon.
- 16 GENERIC SUMMARY: Simple Sentence
 nis otopkap ninbwe.
 we.2 that.like doing
 We two do it like that.

7 FINIS: TERMINAL PARAGRAPH17 FINIS: Simple Sentence

at toma yakwo ti ab ateke.
that talk work she all there

That's all the talk about the work.

4 HORTATORY DISCOURSE: 'Recording Stories'

This HORTATORY DISCOURSE consists of 7 POINTS, 2 THEME REINFORCEMENTS, and a FINIS.

PARA S

1 POINT 1: HORTATORY PARAGRAPH1 CHALLENGE: Conditional Sentence

a Tukpot kep Ayla tikini namribwe, toma kep yuri
ah Tukpot you.2 Helen she.with talking talk you.2 later

kep sini weti, kep toma yenbwa hayar weti.
you.2 again say.will you.2 talk good well say.will

*Ah, Tukpot, about the talk you and Helen talk, later if
you two talk again, you two talk good talk well.*

1.1 REINFORCEMENT: NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH2 NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

weti toma toma pes mur eys kap weti.
say.will talk talk two three four shouldn't say.will

*About the talk (you two) will say, (you two) shouldn't
say three or four (things).*

3 STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

toma wuriwo.
talk one.only

(You two should say) only one thing.

1.2 REINFORCEMENT: NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH4 STATEMENT: Sequence m Sentence

hayar weti, ni meysinginti, agerbwe potiti.
well say.will you stop.will another get.will

(You) say (it) well, you stop (that), say something else.

1.3 NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE: EVALUATION PARAGRAPH

1.4 STATEMENT: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

5 STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

kiyi weye toma kopa sini kap weti.
before said talk rotten again shouldn't say.will

(You) shouldn't say again what you said before.

6 PARAPHRASE: Simple Sentence

towek towek kap weti.
time time shouldn't say.will

(You) shouldn't say it time and again.

7 EVALUATION: Simple Sentence

et yaper.
that bad

That's bad.

1.5 REINFORCEMENT: EVALUATION PARAGRAPH

1.6 STATEMENT: PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

8 ITEM 1: Conditional Sentence

toma ni weti, ni wuriwo weti.
talk you say.will you one.only say.will

If you talk, you say only one thing.

9 ITEM 2: Conditional Sentence

sini, agerbwe toma agerbwe agerbwe toma wen
again another talk another another talk say.and

yiti.
go.will

(If you talk) again, keep saying something else.

10 EVALUATION: Simple Sentence

at yenbwe.
that good

That's good.

2 POINT 2: HORTATORY PARAGRAPH

11 CHALLENGE: Projected Completive Sentence

kiyiri tomawo kupa tiye toma ni wuriwo webwe
before's talk.only rotten be talk you one.only saying

webwek, an maprike bas rasti.
saying.when I how mark put.will

When you say again and again the one thing you've said before, how can I write it?

2.1 REINFORCEMENT: EVALUATION PARAGRAPH

2.2 STATEMENT: REPETITION PARAGRAPH

12 STATEMENT: Sequence m Sentence

an bas rasbwe, toma wuriwo kiyiri bas rasye, an
I mark putting talk one.only before's mark put I

sini bas rasbwe.
again mark putting

I write, when I have written the talk from before, I write (it) again.

13 REPETITION: Simple Sentence

an sini bas rasbwe.
I again mark putting

I write it again.

14 REPETITION: Simple Sentence

sini bas rasbwe.
again mark putting

(I) write it again.

15 EVALUATION 1: Simple Sentence

at yaper.
that bad

That's bad.

16 EVALUATION 2: Simple Sentence

yaperway.
very bad

Very bad.

3 POINT 3: HORTATORY PARAGRAPH

17 CHALLENGE: Simple Sentence

kep arini yakwo nuwabwe.
you.2 me work giving

You two are giving me work.

3.1 WARNING: CONTRAST PARAGRAPH

18 CONTRAST 1: Conditional Sentence

sini kep op ninti, Ayla ti bi yati, orait
again you.2 thus do.will Helen she not come.will okay

Tukpot nirin yet yati, nirin-yet bas
 Tukpot you yourself come.will you yourself mark
 rasti.
 put.will

If you do this again, if Helen doesn't come, Tukpot, you will come, you will write.

3.2 CONTRAST 2: REASON PARAGRAPH

19 STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

an bi bas rasti.
 I not mark put.will

I will not write.

20 REASON: Simple Sentence

yakwo bokra.
 work big

That's a big job.

4 POINT 4: HORTATORY PARAGRAPH

4.1 EXHORTATION: EXHORTATION PARAGRAPH

21 INTENTION: Simple Sentence

an kepni webwe.
 I you.2 saying

I am talking to you two.

22 EXHORTATION: Simple Sentence

kep otop hayar mat.
 you.2 that well hear

You two hear that well.

23 CHALLENGE: Conditional Sentence

toma weti, toma yenbwawo.
 talk say.will talk good.only

If (you) talk, (talk) only good talk.

4.2 REINFORCEMENT: EVALUATION PARAGRAPH

4.3 STATEMENT: NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

24 STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

yaper kiykini eylikini toma kap weti.
 bad deep.with surface.with talk shouldn't say.will

You shouldn't say bad talk that is both deep and surface.