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Volume 23

## KUNIMAIPA GRAMMAR

Morphophonemics To Discourse

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The workpaper in this volume express the author's knowledge at the time of writing. It does not necessarily provide a complete treatment of her topic. However, it is felt that this paper should be made available at this time.

Richard Loving,  
Editor

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## ABBREVIATIONS RELATING TO SURFACE GRAMMAR

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
Alt	Alternative
Amp	Amplification
Ant	Antithetical
App N P	Appositional Noun Phrase
B	Benefaction tagmeme
Be	Behavioral
C	Comment tagmeme
cert	certuitive
chs	change of subject following
Cl	Clause
Co Cl	Compound Clause
cont	continuative morpheme
Coord	Coordinate
C-R	Circumstance Result Sentence
cto	continuity and time overlap
d	dual
Dep	Dependent
des	desiderative
Desc	Descriptive
D Qu S	Direct Quotation Sentence
D T P	Demonstrative Temporal Phrase
E	Existential tagmeme
em	emphasizer
emph	emphatic
Equ	equational
Ex Cl	Existential Clause
excl	exclusive
Exp	Exposition



I/A	Instrument/Accompaniment tagmeme
Im,im	Imperative
imp	imperfect aspect
incl	inclusive
Ind	Indicative
IO	Indirect Object tagmeme
I P	Identical Predicate
int	intensifier
L	Location tagmeme
Loc	Location
M	Manner tagmeme
Narr	Narrative
Neg,neg	Negative
Neg Pos	Negative Positive
N-f	Non-finite clause
Nom	Nominalized
nom	nominalizer
N P	Noun Phrase
O	Object tagmeme
P	Predicate tagmeme
Pa	Paragraph
per	perfect aspect
pl	plural
poss	possessive
PP	Post-predicate
pre	present
pro	prohibitive
Pu	Purpose tagmeme
pur	purpose
qual	qualitative
Ques	Question
R	Referent tagmeme
re	reason

ref	reflexive
Rel	Relational
S	Sentence
s	singular
Se S	Series Sentence
sp	subject plural
Su	Subject tagmeme
sub	subject
ss	same subject following
SS	Simple Sentence
T	Time tagmeme
TC	Time Contrast
To	Topic tagmeme
vol	volitional
( )	in examples - does not belong to the construction being described
	in formulas - the section of the sentence optionally repeats
/	in top line of Sentence examples - indicates beginning and end of Bases with clause fillers
//	in top line of Sentence examples - indicates beginning and end of Bases with sentences embedded
[ ]	match across

## DEFINITION OF SYMBOLS RELATING TO DEEP GRAMMAR

$a \in U$	term $a$ is an element of set $U$
$a, b, c, d$	terms of predicates, normally noun phrases or their substitutes, always written to the right of the predicate containing them
$a'$	term which is a synonym or situational equivalent of term $a$
$P, Q, N,$ but not $U$ or $Y$	predications for which a value has been assigned to all the variables from appropriate domains to form an acceptable statement
$\bar{P}$	negation of predication $P$

$P'$	predication which is a synonym or situational equivalent of predication P
$P''$	predication which is an antonym or situational opposite of predication P
$\underline{P}$	predication p denoting a non-punctiliar activity or state
$\dot{P}$	predication P denoting a punctiliar event
$\underline{P} \text{ } \underline{\wedge} \text{ } Q.$	predication P denoting a non-punctiliar activity or state which continues so as to overlap with the time of a punctiliar event in predication Q
$P \wedge \underline{Q} \wedge R.$	predication P denoting a punctiliar activity or state which is included in the time of predication Q which also continues so as to overlap with the time of a punctiliar event in predication R
$P \supset Q$	if predication P, then predication Q
$Pa$	predication P with first term (actor) a
$Pab$	predication with first term (actor) a and second term (goal) b
$Pa \wedge Qb$	predication P with first term (actor) a and predication Q with first term (actor) b distinct from a. If no terms are specified in an expression, it is understood that the actors may be either the same or different.
$Pa \wedge Qa$	predication P with first term (actor) a and predication Q with same first term (actor) a
$P(a) \wedge Q(b)$	conjunction of identical predications with non-identical terms which have the same function in each of the predications
$P_{\beta}$	<p>apposition operator <math>\beta</math> applied to predication P, denoting the opposite sense of predication P, with P and every other predication (unmarked by <math>\beta</math>) in the same expression taking one of two values either a positive statement or its negation. For example. <math>(P_{\beta} \supset Q_{\beta}) \wedge P \wedge Q</math> means any one of four possibilities.</p> <p> <math>(\overline{P} \supset \overline{Q}) \wedge P \wedge Q</math>                      or                      <math>(\overline{P} \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge \overline{Q}</math>                      or  <math>(P \supset \overline{Q}) \wedge \overline{P} \wedge Q</math>                      or                      <math>(P \supset Q) \wedge \overline{P} \wedge \overline{Q}</math> </p>
$P(a)$	predication P involving term a which corresponds in function to any other term or terms enclosed in parentheses in the same expression
$P \vee Q$	predication P or predication Q or both

$P(U)$  predication  $P$  with universal set  $U$  as a term which has the same function as other terms in the expression which are enclosed in parentheses. i.e. in  $P(U) P(a)$ ,  $U$  has the same function in  $P$  as term  $a$  has in predication  $P$ .

Note that the following qualifiers or quantifiers occur as preposed subscripts to predicate symbols, and are not to be identified as terms of the respective predications, which occur postposed to the predication symbols.

$fP$  predication  $P$  which denotes a facility or ability relationship to the following predication

$gP$  a predication involving a more generic term which contrasts with a corresponding and more specific term in predication  $sP$

$iP$  predication  $P$  denoting an intent relationship with the following predication (or previous predication)

$sP$  predication  $P$  involving a more specific term which contrasts with a corresponding and more generic term in  $gP$

$wP$  predication  $P$  which denotes reported speech in the following predication, without any implication of whether or not the statement results in any corresponding action

$tP$  predication  $P$  which denotes a thinking or supposing relationship to the following predication

$U$  universal set such as the set of all people or all places

$( )$  expression enclosed in brackets, which must contain at least one predication, is an unstated presupposition with respect to the remainder of the expression not so enclosed

Predicates appearing in same formula joined by  $\circ$  or  $\vee$  are to be grouped together prior to conjoining with  $\wedge$ .

## 0. INTRODUCTION

There are seven levels of the Kunimaipa grammatical structure which have been investigated and described in this volume. These are stem, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph and discourse. "Kunimaipa Nominals", a description of nouns and some noun phrases, was published by the linguistic circle of Canberra in 1970.

This description is based on the tagmemic theory of linguistics as developed by Robert E. Longacre. Tagmemic formulas, in the form of bidimensional arrays, are generally used throughout the paper to present each construction as concisely as possible.

The data for this analysis were collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics from three villages in the Bubu Valley, from 1959 to 1976. Approximately 100 pages of text have been analysed with the help of a number of different language helpers.

The analysis of the Kunimaipa language was begun by Alan R. Pence, also of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Thus the first two chapters were written by him, and the initial analysis of the verb structure was done by him. The author would like to express her appreciation to him for this work and for encouragement from him in doing further analysis of the language.

The author wishes to acknowledge, with thanks, the help of a concordance made from language texts by an IBM 1410 computer sponsored by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Oklahoma Research Institute sponsored by grant GS - 270 of the National Science Foundation.

Appreciation is due also to Elizabeth Murane for her help in the analysis and writing up of this material, especially in the formulas which indicate the deep structure of the sentences.

## 1. MORPHOPHONEMICS

1.0 Introduction

The phonemes of Kunimaipa are: voiceless obstruents, p, s, t, k; voiced stopped obstruents, b (medial only), d, r, (retroflexed flap or trill), g (non-backed); voiced fricative obstruents, v, l (lateral), and h (backed velar); voiced nasals, m, n, and ng (velar); and vowels, i, e, a, o, and u. Stress occurs on the penultimate syllable in all the examples listed.

1.1 Morphophonemic rules

1.1.1 It is useful to give one general morphophonemic rule which applies in certain areas throughout the language.

Any stem or affix whose basic final vowel is a (such a will be symbolized throughout this paper as A in these forms), has three allomorphs which are conditioned phonemically by the quality of the vowel which occurs next in the construction. Allomorphs with final a occur word finally or preceding a syllable containing a; allomorphs with final o occur preceding a syllable containing o, u or ai; allomorphs with final e occur preceding a syllable containing e or i. This vowel harmony is illustrated by the verb stem sa 'go' which in the following examples has the shapes sa- ~ so- ~ se-:

sa-ha  
go-3s/per

'He went'

so-ho  
go-1s/per

'I went'

se-ngi  
go-2s/per

'You went'

This morphophonemic rule is consistent in all cases except before -ma (1s/imp), where the stem form with vowel o occurs.

so-ma  
go-1s/imp

'I will go'

An affix illustrating this same alternation is the object prefix na- (1,2s). In the examples which follow it has the forms na- ~ no- ~ ne-:

na-va  
1s-get

'Get me'

no-ura-ha  
2s-hit-3s/per

'He hit you'

ne-mee-ha  
1s-put-3pl/per

'They sent me'

na-vo-ho-pane  
2s-get-cont-3s/imp

'He will keep getting you'

The last example above illustrates further the need to label stem allomorphs ending in a as basic, and also shows a further refinement of the rule when applied to prefixes. In the example, the form of the stem va 'get' is actually vo, conditioned by a following o. However, since va is basic a, the form of the prefix is na in conformity with its basic rather than its altered form.

As well as certain verb stems and verb affixes this morphophonemic rule applies to the pronoun possessive suffix -ma, and the demonstrative word epa- 'this'.

paru-mo-tu  
they-poss-qual

'their things'

pi-me-si  
he-poss-qual

'his thing'

ne-ma-ta  
I-poss-qual

'my thing'

epa-ngade  
this-qual

'this fire'

epo-pu  
this-qual

'this person'

epe-ngi  
this-qual

'these things'

1.1.2 When two vowels of the same quality come together, the resulting vowel is lengthened but is written as a single vowel.

sa + -ame + -gi = sa-me-gi  
go cont 1pl/per go-cont-1pl/per  
'We are going'

nono + -oro = nono-ro  
road qual road-qual  
'road'

veteza + -ama = veteza-ma  
carelessly only carelessly-only  
'without care'

1.1.3 Word final vowels are usually not audible although they are written throughout this paper. They are audible in the following contexts:

- (1) A question - the final vowel is spoken with rising intonation
- (2) For emphasis - the final vowel is spoken with falling intonation
- (3) When a word is CV only
- (4) When the preceding consonant is r the tendency is to say the vowel, but in this context it is very lenis
- (5) When the following word begins with a vowel, the word final vowel occurs but is quite lenis

sa-ha?  
go-3s/per  
'Did he go?'

emo-ho!  
come-1s/per  
'I have come!'

sa!  
go  
'Go!'



abana-ri  
man-qual

'men'

ngeti   epo-vo  
 talk   this-qual

'this talk'

1.1.4 When inA 'eat' occurs word initially, the i is lost.

me-ina-ha  
3pl-eat-3s/per

'He ate them'

na-ha  
eat-3s/per

'He ate'

## 2. STEMS

2.0 Introduction

Stems usually consist of simple roots but there are compound and coordinate noun stems (described in Kunimaipa Nominals), compound location stems (described in 3.5.1.3 - location words), and derived and compound verb stems.

Verb stem groups are set up on the basis of morphophonemics.

2.1 Verb stem groups

Two main groupings of verb stems are made based on the alternation of stem allomorphs. Subgroupings within these two groups are based on the actual shapes of the forms.

2.1.1 Group A includes any stem whose (basic) final vowel is A (which follow the morphophonemic rule of Chapter 1). There are two subgroups of A, Aa and Ab. Members of Aa are simple roots with final A.

<u>demA</u>	'bind'
<u>edA</u>	'tear down'
<u>sA</u>	'go'
<u>tA</u>	'do'
<u>toutA</u>	'sit'
<u>angarA</u>	'clear away'
<u>arA</u>	'fly'
<u>-nA</u>	'give'
<u>-ngA</u>	'tell'

Subgroup Ab is a small group of derived stems each of which consist of root plus derivational morpheme -zA. This morpheme is obligatory in its occurrence word finally but optional in all occurrences word medially, and its occurrence or non-occurrence does not signal any meaning difference. Each stem in this group, then, has four forms; the verb reza 'break' has the forms reza ~ rezo ~ reze ~ re.

<u>meza</u>	'step'
<u>ngiza</u>	'spit, vomit'
<u>-ngiza</u>	'help'
<u>reza</u>	'break'
<u>riza</u>	'close'
<u>teza</u>	'take off'

<u>valezA</u>	'scorch'
<u>vizA</u>	'put'

The final vowel of group Aa stems could have been considered an allomorph of the stem formative morpheme -zA. However, this morpheme -zA is optional in its occurrence and the A of subgroup Aa is not, so this analysis has not been followed.

2.1.2 Group B is made up of those stems whose final vowel does not follow the morphophonemic rule of 1.1.1. There are three subgroups of B, Ba, Bb, and Bc.

Stem subgroup Ba is made up of roots which have final vowel e. This stem vowel is present in all constructions in which these roots occur.

<u>hare</u>	'come across'
<u>mee</u>	'put'
<u>ngede</u>	'plant'
<u>ngele</u>	'carry on shoulder'
<u>vete</u>	'throw away'

Stem subgroup Bb is made up of a derived stem consisting of the root he plus derivational morpheme -A giving hezA 'be'. The other members of this subgroup are compounds of various other roots with hezA (shortened to -ezA).

The derivational morpheme occurs only in constructions in which endocentered verb suffixes do not occur. The one exception to this is the imperative subject plural suffix -i which follows the derivational morpheme and never occurs without it.

<u>hezA</u>	'be'
<u>mezaezA</u>	'be covered'
<u>oraezA</u>	'be lying'
<u>rouvaezA</u>	'be standing'
<u>varengaezA</u>	'be put in'
<u>velaezA</u>	'be inside (bag)'
<u>vizaezA</u>	'be put'

Allomorphs of the stem hezA 'be' (and related compounds) are hezA (he- ~ ke-). Their occurrence is conditioned in the following manner: hezA occurs without endocentred verb affixes, he- occurs word initially and ke- occurs word medially.

hezA  
be

'is being'

he-ngi  
be-2s/per

'You were'

ha-ke-ha  
cert-be-3s/per

'He certainly was'

Stem subgroup Bc is made up of a compound stem consisting of a root whose vowel is a, coupled to derivational morpheme -zA. This morpheme occurs in constructions in which endocentred verb suffixes do not occur. The one exception to this is the imperative subject plural suffix -i which follows the derivational morpheme and never occurs without it. The only stem in this group is hazA 'speak'.

Allomorphs of this stem are hazA (ha- ~ hao-), (ka- ~ kao-). Their occurrence is conditioned in the following manner: hazA occurs alone, ha- and hao- occur word initially, and ka- and kao- occur word medially. hao- and kao- precede morphemes -ma, -paine, -tunA, and -vai. ha- and ka- occur elsewhere.

hazA!  
speak

'Speak!'

ha-ngi  
speak-2s/per

'You spoke'

hao-ma  
speak-1s/imp

'I will speak'

ha-ka-ha  
cert-speak-3s/per

'He certainly spoke'

ha-kao-ma  
cert-speak-1s/imp

'I will certainly speak'

## 2.2 Verb stem classes

There are four verb stem classes based on the occurrence of stems in verb constructions. These stem classes cross cut the stem groups previously described, with only group Bb and Class III being the same. These verb stem classes are described in Chapter 3.

### 3. WORDS

#### 3.0 Introduction

A word is a level of 'syntagmemes of a comparatively low hierarchical order, ranking below such syntagmemes as the Phrase and Clause, and above such syntagmemes as the stem'<sup>2</sup>.

Word classes are separated on the basis of:

- (1) Affixation or non-affixation
- (2) Type of affixation
- (3) The units they manifest in those higher level tagmemes Phrase, Clause and Sentence.

Some words occur in more than one class.

There are two suffixes which optionally occur on many of the different word classes. These are -ama 'only', and -hara 'just'.

Word classes which in most instances are not suffixed are:

Responses  
Exclamations  
Attention Particles  
Vocative Particles  
Conjunctions  
Names  
Particle

Word classes which are suffixed or non-suffixed according to which Phrase or Clause tagmeme they manifest are:

Adjectives  
Pronouns  
Interrogatives  
Nouns  
Verbs

Word classes which are obligatorily suffixed are:

Demonstratives  
Verbal nouns

Word classes which cannot be classified according to suffixation but which differ from other word types in their internal structure and in the Phrase and Clause level tagmemes that they manifest are:

Locationals

Temporals

Adverbs

Auxiliaries

### 3.1 Word classes which are usually not suffixed

#### 3.1.1 Responses

Responses are a small class of words which occur in the sentence periphery and as conversational replies.

<u>kara</u>	'okay'
<u>ee</u>	'yes'
<u>gu</u>	'yes'
<u>evo</u>	'no'
<u>ma</u>	'true'
<u>vataha</u>	'perhaps'
<u>vono</u>	'nothing, no'
<u>peiram</u>	'er...something'
<u>voai</u>	(reply to name being spoken)
<u>rotap</u>	'true'

The only response word which can be suffixed is vataha 'perhaps' which is optionally suffixed with -ama 'only'.

#### 3.1.2 Exclamations

Exclamations are a class of words which also occur in the sentence periphery. Some of these are:

<u>auma</u>	(surprise)
<u>au</u>	(mistake)
<u>maize</u>	(regret)
<u>aip</u>	(dislike)
<u>eir</u>	(fright)
<u>pe</u>	(so!)

## 3.1.3 Attention particles

Attention Particles occur only in spoken or reported speech.

<u>gui</u>	(call to come)
<u>ae</u>	(attention getter)
<u>siu</u>	(attention getter - close)

## 3.1.4 Vocative particles

Vocative Particles are titles of address and occur in the sentence periphery.

<u>engarim</u>	'hey, woman'
<u>erom</u>	'hey, man'
<u>engarohol</u>	'hey, children'
<u>guai</u>	'uncle'
<u>nanei</u>	'brother'

## 3.1.5 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are a limited class which occur as links in Phrases, Clauses and Sentences. These are:

<u>mete</u>	'and, but, then'
<u>ma</u>	'or, and'
<u>povoza</u>	'therefore'
<u>ong</u>	'but'

The following conjunction combinations are permitted:

<u>mete povoza</u>	'and therefore'
<u>ong povoza</u>	'but therefore'
<u>povoza mete</u>	'therefore then'
<u>ong mete ~ omete</u>	'but, then'

Only one conjunction occurs with a suffix and that is povoza 'therefore' which occurs with -hoho ~ -ho (emphasis).

These conjunctions primarily link Sentence and Paragraph tagmemes but mete, ma and povoza also link Phrase and Clause tagmemes.



### 3.1.6 Names

Names are a class of words which name persons, places, days and months.

- (i) Personal names do not take noun qualitative suffixes but optionally occur with syntactic relators. Personal names expound Clause level Subject, Object, Benefaction and Location, and either Item or Apposition of Apposition Noun Phrase.
- (ii) Place names occasionally occur with locative suffixes and manifest clause level location, and the Apposition and Location tagmemes of Location Phrases.
- (iii) Day names are all borrowed and are usually suffixed with noun qualitative suffixes -ta or -vo, followed by the locative suffix -ka. Day names manifest Clause level Time tagmeme as well as Time and Apposition tagmemes of Time Phrases.

made-ta-ka  
Monday-qual-at

'on Monday'

pode-ta-ka  
Thursday-qual-at

'on Thursday'

sade-vo-ka  
Sunday-qual-at

'on Sunday'

- (iv) Month names are all borrowed words, occur unsuffixed, and act the same as day names.

### 3.1.7 Particle

There is one particle which is used to introduce a quote. This word is never suffixed.

pata 'reply'

## 3.2 Word classes which are suffixed or non-suffixed depending on which tagmemes they manifest

### 3.2.1 Adjectives

All adjectives manifest:

- (a) The Modifier-Head tagmeme of a Descriptive Noun Phrase in which case they obligatorily take noun qualitative suffixes.
- (b) The Modifier tagmeme of a Descriptive Noun Phrase where they are obligatorily unsuffixed.
- (c) The Comment tagmeme of an Equational Clause.

<u>tina</u>	'good'
<u>goe</u>	'small'
<u>angavai</u>	'old, big'
<u>magei</u>	'new, unfinished'
<u>mapo</u>	'all'
<u>hori</u>	'bad'
<u>tohotoho</u>	'lightweight'

Adjectives are sub-divided according to their occurrence in higher level tagmemes.

Adjective<sub>1</sub> is a sub-set of adjectives which manifest the clause level Manner tagmeme. In this position adjectives optionally occur with either -ama 'only' or -hara 'just'.

<u>tina</u>	'good'
<u>hori</u>	'bad'
<u>keza</u>	'strong'
<u>aho</u>	'big'
<u>upai</u>	'nothing'
<u>vono</u>	'nothing'
<u>nenā</u>	'only'

One compound adjective occurs manifesting Manner and it is always suffixed with both -hara and -ama.

<u>tina-ra</u>	<u>tina-hara-ma</u>
good-and	good-just-only
'exceptionally good'	

Adjective<sub>2</sub> is a sub-set of adjectives which do not expound clause level Manner tagmeme but which manifest the Auxiliary tagmeme of an Auxiliary Verb Phrase. Suffixes -ama and -hara are optional here. Noun qualitative suffixes do not occur here.

<u>hangi</u>	'return'
<u>holo</u>	'dry'
<u>honongai</u>	'heavy'
<u>tohotoho</u>	'lightweight'
<u>hova</u>	'preparation'
<u>tek</u>	'short'

Adjectives<sub>3</sub> are a small sub-set of adjectives which realize the Auxiliary tagmeme of Auxiliary Verb Phrase but which also realize the Pro-predicate of the Stative Clause and the Comment tagmeme of the Equational Clause. These are:

<u>hodade</u>	'know'
<u>ununu</u>	'don't know'
<u>kuta</u>	'ignorant'
<u>kaey</u>	'dislike'
<u>zaita</u>	'desire'

### 3.2.2 Pronouns

This word class never occurs with noun qualitative suffixes attached directly to the pronoun stem, but has its own unique set of pronoun suffixes. Pronouns manifest:

- (a) The Subject, Object, Accompaniment/instrument, Location or Benefactive Clause tagmemes in which case appropriate syntactic relator suffixes occur.
- (b) The Head tagmeme of Accompaniment, Appositional and Intensifier Pronoun Phrases.
- (c) The Possessor tagmeme of a Possessive Noun Phrase.
- (d) Either Head tagmeme of a Coordinate Noun Phrase where the coordinator suffix -ra is attached to the pronoun.
- (e) The Apposition or Summary tagmeme of an Appositional Noun Phrase.
- (f) The Head tagmeme of an Accompaniment Noun Phrase.

There are seven pronouns:

	Singular	Plural
1	<u>ne</u>	<u>rei</u> (excl) <u>rari</u> (incl)
2	<u>ni</u>	<u>ari</u>
3	<u>pi</u>	<u>paru</u>

There are two orders of pronoun suffixes, both of which are optional.

Pronoun =	+ Nucleus	+ First Order	+ Second Order
	Any pronoun	- <u>pi</u> 'dual'	- <u>mA</u> 'poss'
		- <u>paro</u> 'all'	- <u>mam</u> 'volitional'
			- <u>mau</u> 'intensifier'

Rules:

- (1) First order suffixes occur only with plural pronouns.
- (2) rari-pi is a unique form meaning 'we three'(inclusive).
- (3) rei-pi 'we two' is either inclusive or exclusive depending on whether or not the verb following has the inclusive suffix -paine.
- (4) The suffixes occurring in each order are mutually exclusive.
- (5) When a pronoun with the intensifier suffix occurs as Clause level Subject, the Subject syntactic relator -ho always occurs with it.
- (6) The volitional suffix -mam usually occurs with the subject pronoun of a clause and when it occurs with an object pronoun it acts as an intensifier.

paru-pi-mam  
they-two-vol  
'they two of themselves'

rari-ma  
we(incl)-poss  
'our'

ne-mau-ho  
I-int-sub

'I myself'

rei-paro  
we(excl)-all

'we all'

### 3.2.3 Interrogative words

Interrogative words occur in the clause or phrase tagmeme appropriate to the question. There is an element which is partially consistent in all these words, but not consistent enough to be analysed as an interrogative stem.

#### (1) taira ~ tai

(a) 'what' acts as an auxiliary in the Auxiliary Verb Phrase. The suffixes -ama and -hara do not occur with it. Although it might appear that this is functioning as an object no noun qualitative suffixes are allowed and it functions in Clauses which already have an object.

tai    ta-ha  
what   do-3s/per

'What did he do?'

(b) 'how' functions as the Manner tagmeme of a predicated clause.

taira   ema-ha  
how    come-3s/per

'How did he come?'

#### (2) taira- 'which' functions as the Modifier or Modifier-Head tagmeme of a Descriptive Noun Phrase and in these positions is either obligatorily suffixed or obligatorily non-suffixed.

abana   taira-pu  
man    which-qual

'which man'

#### (3) tairaiza 'why/what for/about what' manifests the Clause level Benefaction tagmeme.

tairaiza      ha-ngi  
 about what    speak-2s/per  
 'About what did you speak'

- (4) taeka 'where' and taekananga 'from where' manifest Clause level Location tagmeme.

taeka    heza  
 where    be

'Where is he?'

taekananga    ema-ha  
 from where    come-3s/per

'Where did he come from?'

taekananga also manifests the Modifier-Head tagmeme of a Descriptive Noun Phrase but takes only animate noun qualitative suffixes -pu and -ri in that position.

taekananga-pu  
 from where-qual

'the one from where'

- (5) tairaraha 'when' manifests the Clause Time tagmeme.

tairaraha    eme-ngi  
 when          come-2s/per

'When did you come?'

- (6) taira taira is a compound meaning 'how many'. This is a rarely used expression which has been observed manifesting the Manner tagmeme of the clause.

krismas    taira taira    rava-ha  
 year        how many        become-3pl/per

'How many years have gone?'

### 3.2.4 Nouns

Nouns are a large class of words which optionally take six orders of suffixes (see Kunimaipa Nominals). All nouns manifest:

- (a) The Head tagmeme of a Descriptive Noun Phrase where they are obligatorily unsuffixed.
- (b) The Head tagmemes of other Noun Phrases. In these Noun

Phrases they are obligatorily suffixed with noun qualitative suffixes plus Phrase level linking suffixes.

- (c) Clause level Subject, Object, Accompaniment/instrument, Benefaction, Location and Topic tagmemes where they are obligatorily suffixed with noun qualitative suffixes plus suffixes appropriate to the Clause level tagmeme.
- (d) Clause level Comment tagmeme in which case noun suffixes are optional.

There are a few nouns which optionally occur without noun qualitative suffixes when manifesting Clause level tagmemes.

<u>abana</u>	'men'
<u>abanaro</u>	'young men'
<u>no nai nai</u>	'everything'
<u>mapo</u>	'all'

The noun ngariro 'children' is never suffixed and manifests only Clause level tagmemes.

There are three compound nouns which manifest only Clause level object.

<u>na-e</u>	<u>na-pu</u>	
one-qual	one-qual	
'each other'		
<u>na-pu</u>	<u>ni-ma</u>	
one-qual	you-poss	
'each one's'		
<u>na-pu</u>	<u>ni-ma</u>	<u>ne-ma</u>
one-qual	you-poss	I-poss
'each one's'		

Nouns<sub>1</sub> is a small sub-set of nouns which also manifest the Head tagmeme of Auxiliary Verb Phrase. Nouns<sub>1</sub> never occur with noun qualitative suffixes when manifesting the Head tagmeme of Auxiliary Verb Phrase.

<u>givogi</u>	'steal'
<u>gogo</u>	'work'
<u>mogavo</u>	'anger'
<u>dakavo</u>	'spectate'

gina

'hunger'

## 3.2.5 Verbs

Verbs occur with typical verb affixes and manifest:

- (a) The Head tagmeme of Verb Phrases where affixation in most cases is obligatory.
- (b) The Lateral tagmeme of Attributive Verb Phrase in which case verb suffixes are obligatorily absent and prefixes are optional.
- (c) The Causative tagmeme of Causative Verb Phrase where all suffixes are obligatorily absent but the negative prefix can occur there.
- (d) The Potential tagmeme of Imminent Verb Phrase. In this position only imperfect aspect suffixes occur.
- (e) The Negative Head of the Negative Verb Phrase.
- (f) The Predicate tagmeme of Clauses where affixation is in most cases obligatory

3.2.5.1 Verb Structure. Certain verb affixes maintain intra-clausal relationships whilst others maintain inter-clausal relationships and on this basis verb stems and their affixes are analysed as endocentred and exocentred. Philip Staalsen used these terms in 'Clause Relationships in Iatmul' submitted to *Pacific Linguistics*.

The Verb Endocentre is made up of a stem and those Affixes which determine its transitivity or non-transitivity plus those affixes which further separate verbs into indicative, imperative and negative Mood.

The Verb Exocentre contains those suffixes which act as syntactic relators in linking clauses into sentences.



Endocentre			Exocentre		
+Theme		+Nucleus	±Mode	+Mood	±Syntactic Relators
±Object	±Theme				
Transitive	±	verb stem class i	±	Final Vowel Intonation	-na -puho
					-hoho -ama
Ditransitive	+	verb stem class ii			-tine -ga
Intransitive	-	verb stem class iii	±		-ta -vai
Stative	-	verb stem class iv	-		-hoho

Chart of Verb Structure

3.2.5.1.1 Verb Endocentre = +Verb Theme  $\pm$ Mode  $\pm$ Mood

Verb Theme is transitive, ditransitive, intransitive or stative based on occurrence or non-occurrence of Object tagmeme and the behaviour of the following Mode tagmeme.

Transitive Verb Theme =

$\pm$ Object	+Verb Nucleus
<u>nA-</u>	verb stem
<u>mA-</u>	class i
<u>A-</u>	

Rules:

- (1) Class i verb stems are those which are transitive, i.e. they optionally occur with the object prefix. Not all of these stems occur with the object prefix however, but the distinction is not clear-cut classification but rather appears to be one of semantic relativity. That is in certain instances the speaker is doubtful that it is proper for the object tagmeme to occur, but in the right semantic context he would accept or reject it immediately.
- (2) The occurrence of the Object tagmeme fillers are illustrated in this chart:

	Singular	Plural
1	<u>nA-</u>	
2		<u>A-</u>
3	<u>mA-</u>	

- (3) In one instance the prefix does not follow the morphophonemic rules. With the stem tA 'do' the object prefixes take forms ne-, me-, e-.

Ditransitive Verb Theme =

+Object	+Nucleus
<u>nA-</u>	verb stem
<u>mA-</u>	class ii
<u>A-</u>	

## Rules:

- (1) Verb Stem Class ii are those which obligatorily take the object prefix. Members of this class are:

<u>-nA</u>	'give'
<u>-ngA</u>	'tell'
<u>-nangataA</u>	'sting with nettles'
<u>-ngairA</u>	'teach, show'
<u>-ngizA</u>	'help'
<u>-nge</u>	'put, provide'

## Intransitive Verb Theme =

+Verb Nucleus  
verb stem  
class iii

## Rules:

- (1) Verb Stem Class iii never occur with the object prefix.

## Stative Verb Theme =

+Verb Nucleus  
verb stem  
class iv

## Rules:

- (1) Verb Stem Class iv is identical with verb stem sub-group Bb.
- (2) When a member of this class is a compound of a transitive verb plus heza (see 2.1.2) the object prefix optionally occurs with it and thus it functions as transitive at clause level. However such a compound acts as a Stative Verb Theme in its relationship to all other verb affixes.
- (3) When a stative verb stem occurs without verb suffixes it is neutral as to person and number and has either a present continuative or imperative meaning.
- (4) Mode does not occur with the Stative Verb Theme.

Mode is manifested by three continuative morphemes:

-ama (present continuative) and -o (past continuative and remote past) occur with perfect aspect suffixes.

-ho ~ -o (future continuative) occur with imperfect aspect suffixes. -o usually occurs preceding -ke and -ka but -ho can occur there. -ho occurs elsewhere.

Mood is indicative, imperative or negative according to affixation. These are mutually exclusive and occur in combinations with any Theme.

Indicative Mood =

±Certuitive		±Aspect
<u>ha</u> -	+Theme ±Mode	person/aspect suffixes

Rules:

- (1) Certuitive tagmeme adds certainty or emphasis to an action.
- (2) Aspect is optional only with the Stative Verb Theme and obligatory with any other Verb Theme.
- (3) The Verb Exocentre occurs optionally with indicative Mood.
- (4) Two paradigmatic sets of affixes, perfect aspect and imperfect aspect, occur in the Aspect tagmeme, including 10 different suffixes. These morphemes are portmanteau and carry the various categories of subject, person, number and aspect.

Perfect aspect morphemes =

	Singular	Plural
1	- <u>oho</u>	
2	- <u>ngi</u>	- <u>gi</u>
3		- <u>ha</u>

The perfect aspect is used for any event which has already taken place or is taking place.

## Imperfect Aspect Morphemes =

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<u>-ma</u>	<u>-paine</u>	<u>-ka</u>
2	<u>-ke</u>		<u>-pike</u>
3	<u>-pane</u> ~ <u>-pa</u>		

Imperfect aspect indicates that which potentially will happen or which might happen. The form -paine is used only in the inclusive sense - one person talking to another and saying 'let us...'. When an any exclusive idea is intended, morpheme -ka is always used.

-pane and -pa alternate freely preceding the syntactic relator -na, when occurring in the Modifier-Head of a Descriptive Noun Phrase, and when manifesting Time and Location Nominalized Clauses, and when followed by the purpose suffix.

## Examples of indicative Verb Endocentres:

ta-ama-ha  
do-cont-3s/per  
'He is doing it'

ha-ma-no-ho-pane  
cert-3s-eat-cont-3s/imp  
'He will certainly be giving him'

so-ho-paine  
go-cont-1d/imp  
'Let us two be going'

he-ma  
be-1s/imp  
'I will wait'

## Imperative Mood =

	+Imperative	±Subject Plural
+Theme ±Mode	<u>-za</u> <u>-∅</u>	<u>-i</u>
	<u>-tune</u> ~ <u>-tuna</u> ~ <u>-tu</u> (prohibitive)	

## Rules:

- (1) -zA occurs following Mode and -Ø occurs elsewhere.
- (2) Only -ho manifests the Mode tagmeme in imperative constructions.
- (3) The Verb Exocentre does not occur with imperative constructions.
- (4) The final vowel of -tune is either e or a.

## Examples of Imperative Endocentres:

to-ho-za  
do-cont-imp  
'Keep doing it'

ma-no-tune  
3s-give-pro  
'Don't give it to him'

se-i  
go-sp  
'You all go'

heza  
be  
'Wait!'

## Negative Classifier =

+Negative		±Negative Aspect
<u>na-</u>	+Theme	<u>-tu</u>

## Rules:

- (1) Mode does not occur.
- (2) Verb exocentre in general does not occur with Negative Verb Endocentres. The two exceptions are -tine (contrafactual) and -ga (emphatic).
- (3) -tu indicates imperfect aspect. Negative constructions without this morpheme are perfect aspect.

## Examples of Negative Endocentre:

na-to-tu  
neg-do-imp  
'won't do it'

na-ma-na  
neg-3s-give  
'won't give him'

na-sa  
neg-go  
'didn't go'

na-ke-tu  
neg-be-imp  
'won't wait'

Question is indicated by the occurrence of the final vowel in either negative or indicative constructions, with rising intonation on that vowel. This is a question requiring a yes/no answer, not an interrogative type question. The Verb Exocentre does not follow Question tagmeme.

## Examples of Negative and Indicative Question Endocentre:

ta-pane?  
do-3pl/per  
'Will he do it?'

ma-ne-ngi?  
3pl-give-2s/per  
'Did you give it to him?'

se-ke?  
go-2s/imp  
'Will you go?'

na-keza?  
neg-be  
'Isn't he here?'

3.2.5.1.2 Verb Exocentre is manifested by those syntactic relator suffixes which link Clauses into Sentences. Absence of one of these relators indicates an independent clause with an independent verb in the predicate.

Dependent Verb Exocentre =

	+Anticipatory Subject	±Chronolizer
Indicative	- <u>na</u>	- <u>hoho</u>
Verb	- <u>puho</u>	- <u>ama</u>
Endocentre		

Rules:

- (1) -na indicates following clause has a different subject.  
-puho indicates following clause has the same subject.  
This following clause can enlarge or limit its subject without the subject being considered different. -hoho indicates strict chronological ordering of clauses. -ama indicates that the action of the following clause follows immediately.
- (2) Dependent Verb Exocentre follows indicative Mood.

Examples of Dependent Verb Exocentre:

ta-pane-na  
do-3s/imp-chs  
'When he does...'

ma-na-ha-puho  
3s-give-3pl/per-ss  
'They gave it to him and...'

sa-ha-na-ama  
go-3s/per-chs-only  
'Immediately after he went...'

Non-finite Verb Exocentre =

±Certuitive		+Non-finite	±Chronolizer
<u>ha-</u>	+Theme ±Mode	- <u>ta</u>	- <u>hoho</u>
		- <u>vai</u>	

Rules:

- (1) -ta means 'and', -vai means continuity of action and time overlap with the following predicate.
- (2) Mode is manifested by -ho and occurs preceding -ta only.



- (3) Non-finite Verb Exocentre occurs with Verb Theme only - Mood tagmeme does not occur.
- (4) -hoho (chronolizer) occurs only following -ta.
- (5) Certuative prefix ha- optionally occurs preceding the Theme.
- (6) Person, number and aspect are not indicated in this construction.

Examples of Non-finite Verb Exocentre:

ta-ta  
do-and

'Did and...'

ma-no-ho-ta  
3s-give-cont-and

'Giving to him and...'

vo-vai  
get-cto

'Getting...'

Contrafactual Verb Exocentre =

+Contrafactual

Indicative  
Verb  
Endocentre  
  
Negative  
Verb  
Endocentre

-tine

Rules:

- (1) -tine 'if' is a suffix which occurs on the indicative Verb Endocentre and Negative Verb Endocentre. Imperfect aspect is not allowed in either of the two Endocentres.
- (2) The resulting construction manifests the first tagmeme of a Contrafactual Sentence.

Examples of Contrafactual Verb Exocentre:

ta-ha-tine  
do-3s/per-if

'If he had done it...'

na-sa-tine  
neg-go-if

'If he hadn't gone...'

Emphatic Verb Exocentre =

	+Emphatic
Indicative or Negative	-ga
Verb Endocentre	
adjective	

Rules:

- (1) When this suffix occurs in an independent (sentence final) position it adds emphasis to the verb, or predicate-like tagmeme.
- (2) When it occurs in a dependent (non-sentence final) position it adds emphasis to the verb and also implies reason.

Examples of Emphatic Verb Exocentre:

sa-ha-ga  
go-3pl/per-em

'They have definitely gone.'

ma-no-ho-ga  
3s-give-1s/per-em

'I definitely gave it to him, so...'

### 3.3 Word classes which are obligatorily suffixed

#### 3.3.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are obligatorily suffixed with noun qualitative suffixes. Demonstratives occur:

- (a) In the Modifier-Head tagmeme of a Descriptive Noun Phrase.
- (b) As Clause level location or time tagmemes in which case they also are suffixed with the syntactic relator appropriate to the tagmeme.

- (c) As the Emphasis tagmeme of Demonstrative Location and Demonstrative Time Phrase.
- (d) Demonstratives never occur in the Clause Manner tagmeme or in the Auxiliary tagmeme of Auxiliary Verb Phrase.
- (e) Two Demonstratives occur in the Referent tagmeme of Quote Clauses. These are epata 'this here' and pota 'that'.

Words in this class are:

<u>epV-</u>	'this (seen)'
<u>po-</u>	'that (unseen)'
<u>oko-</u>	'that down there (seen)'
<u>aka-</u>	'that up there (seen)'
<u>na-</u>	'a certain...'

One Demonstrative Compound occurs:

<u>okopo-</u>	'this down <del>there</del> (unseen)'
---------------	---------------------------------------

### 3.3.2 Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns are verb stems which are nominalized by the noun qualitative suffix -vo. They manifest the Clause level Benefaction and Object tagmemes with appropriate syntactic relators. These words are not commonly used - nominalized verbs are much more frequent in occurrence.

<u>ta-vo</u>
<u>do-qual</u>
'doing'
<u>ma-na-vo</u>
<u>3s-give-qual</u>
'giving him'
<u>ha-vo-za</u>
<u>speak-qual-for</u>
'about speaking'

## 3.4 Word classes which cannot be classified according to suffixation

### 3.4.1 Locationals

Locationals are a class of words which manifest:

- (a) Clause level Location tagmeme.
- (b) Location Phrases tagmemes.
- (c) Modifier-Head of Descriptive Noun Phrase where they obligatorily take noun qualitative suffixes.

There are three sub-classes of Locationals. Sub-class 1 Locationals can be analysed as prefix, bound stem and suffix. Sub-class 2 are other Locationals which do not take prefixes and take only some of the Locational suffixes. Sub-class 3 are compounds of Locationals 1 and Locationals 2.

#### 3.4.1.1 Locationals<sub>1</sub> =

±Prefix	+Stem	+First Order	±Second Order	±Third Order
<u>o-</u> 'down'	<u>ko-</u> 'down'	<u>-ha</u> ~ <u>-ka</u> 'at'	<u>-ti</u> 'toward'	<u>-ama</u> 'only'
	<u>-ke</u>	<u>-hananga</u>	<u>-hananga</u>	<u>-hara</u> 'just'
<u>a-</u> 'up'	<u>ka-</u> 'up'	'from'	'from'	
		<u>-ine</u>		<u>-ga</u> (emphatic)
<u>e-</u> 'here'	<u>-ve</u> <u>pe-</u> 'here'	'at close'		
		<u>-ti</u> 'toward'		<u>-hoho</u>
	<u>-po-</u> 'there'	<u>-rume</u> ~ <u>-rome</u> 'side'		

#### Rules:

- (1) Either a prefix or a suffix must occur.
- (2) Prefix is obligatory preceding the suffix -ha.
- (3) The prefix intensifies the meaning.
- (4) Morphological conditioning of stem variants is as follows:

-ke occurs unaffixed with prefix a-  
ka- occurs with suffixes  
-ve occurs unaffixed with prefix e-  
pe- occurs with suffixes  
po- alternates with pe- preceding suffix -rume

- (5) Morphological conditioning of suffixes is as follows:

-rume occurs following ko- and po-

-rome occurs following pe-

Both occur following ka-

-ha and -ka alternate following epe-

- (6) The meaning of these Locationals is usually the sum of the parts but the following combinations are idiomatic.

kohati 'down inside'

kahati 'up inside'

- (7) Usage of these words is relative to the speaker's position and to context. koine 'down here' may refer to a few feet or several miles.
- (8) Second order suffix -ti occurs only following -ha and -rume and -hananga occurs following -ine, -rume and -ti.

o-ko-ine

down-down-close

'down here close'

a-ka-rume

up-up-side

'up across the other side'

ka-ti

up-toward

'up there'

e-pe-ka

here-here-at

'here'

e-po-rume

here-there-side

'this side there'

3.4.1.2 Locationals<sub>2</sub>. Some of these are obligatorily suffixed and some are not.

- (1) Only suffixes -ha 'at', -hananga 'from' and -ti 'toward' occur obligatorily.

- (2) -hananga 'from' also occurs in second order following -ti.
- (3) Third order suffixes as listed under Locationals<sub>1</sub> occur.

<u>hoto-ha</u>	'a long way'
<u>ingido-ha</u>	'outside'
<u>iri-ti</u>	'below'
<u>ngara-ha</u>	'above'
<u>de-ti</u>	'above'
<u>reva-ha</u>	'above'
<u>nakoe</u> <u>nakae</u>	'close'
<u>totoi</u>	'close'
<u>agare</u>	'a long way up'
<u>ogare</u>	'a long way down'

3.4.1.3 Locationals<sub>3</sub> are compounds of 2 or 3 nuclei which are stems or roots from Locationals<sub>1</sub> or Locationals<sub>2</sub>.

Locational<sub>3</sub> =

±Nucleus <sub>1</sub>	±Nucleus <sub>2</sub>	±Nucleus <sub>3</sub>	±Location suffixes
<u>oko-</u> 'down'	<u>de-</u> 'up'	<u>pe-</u> ~ <u>-ve</u>	<u>-ha</u> 'at'
<u>aka-</u> 'up'	<u>iri-</u> 'down'	'here'	<u>-rume</u> 'side'
<u>ka-</u> 'up'	<u>ngara-</u> 'above'	<u>aka-</u> 'up'	<u>-ine</u> 'at close'
<u>aga-</u> 'up'		<u>oko-</u> 'down'	<u>-ti</u> 'toward'
<u>oga-</u> 'down'		<u>po-</u> 'there'	
		<u>epat</u> 'this'	

Rules:

- (1) Note that some Nucleus<sub>1</sub> fillers are Locational<sub>1</sub> stems plus or minus prefix, and that oga- and aga- are from the Locationals<sub>2</sub> set.
- (2) Nucleus<sub>2</sub> contains three Locationals<sub>2</sub> stems.
- (3) Locationals<sub>1</sub> occur as Nucleus<sub>3</sub> and these act the same in these compounds in relation to suffixes as described under 3.4.1.1. The Demonstrative epat 'this' also occurs as Nucleus<sub>3</sub>.

- (4) All combinations do not occur in that the filler of Nucleus<sub>1</sub> and Nucleus<sub>3</sub> cannot be the same, i.e. aka-aka does not occur.
- (5) Nucleus 1, 2 and 3, 1 and 2, or 1 and 3 can co-occur.
- (6) Second and Third order suffixes do not occur.

o-ko-pe-ine  
down-down-here-close  
'close down here'

ka-de-a-ke  
up-up-up-up  
'up above there'

de-a-ka-ti  
up-up-up-toward  
'to up there'

og-iri-ti  
down-down-toward  
'to a long way down below'

iri-epata  
down-this  
'down below here'

### 3.4.2 Temporals

Temporals overlap with Locationals somewhat in that the suffixes -ka ~ -ha 'at' and -ti 'toward' occur and in that koti 'down' and kati 'up' occur in Temporal Phrases meaning 'before' and 'after'. All Temporals manifest:

- (1) Time Phrase tagmemes.
- (2) Clause level Time tagmeme.

<u>haopata</u>	'yesterday'
<u>vatamo</u>	'before'
<u>hapanezai</u>	'afternoon'
<u>zeirez mevai</u>	'morning'
<u>lop gitumo</u>	'midnight'
<u>mamoga</u>	'first'
<u>orah rezaha</u>	'all the time'

<u>tokaeti</u>	'later'
<u>zeirevai</u>	'tomorrow, the next day'
<u>gitaha</u>	'a little while later'
<u>gitahara</u>	'a little while before'
<u>hapoka</u>	'a while ago'
<u>naraha</u>	'a certain time'
<u>narahama</u>	'early in the morning'
<u>haopatama</u>	'midnight'
<u>tatiama</u>	'sometime'

Temporals<sub>1</sub> are a small sub-set of Temporals which occur in the Modifier-Head tagmeme of a Descriptive Noun Phrase in which case they obligatorily take noun qualitative suffixes.

<u>vatamo</u>	'before'
<u>mamoga</u>	'first'
<u>tokaeti</u>	'later'

### 3.4.3 Adverbs

Adverbs expound only the Clause level Manner tagmeme and optionally take suffixes -ama 'only' or -hara 'just'. No other affixation is permitted and in this class two words occur without these suffixes. These are:

<u>zuam</u>	'quickly'
<u>am</u> ~ <u>amun</u>	'also'

Most of the remaining words in this class occur with either -ama or -hara but not both.

<u>rahora-ama</u>	'almost only'
<u>maota-hara</u>	'again just'
<u>daedae-ama</u>	'carefully only'

### 3.4.4 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries occur only in the Auxiliary and Periphrastic Verb Phrases. They are divided into 3 groups. Auxiliaries<sub>1</sub> occurs optionally suffixed with -ama or -hara. Some of these<sub>1</sub> are reduplicated forms which have a meaning of repeated action.

<u>alipui</u>	'step over'
<u>der gup</u>	'conspire'



<u>etaet</u>	'awake'
<u>kupi</u>	'unseeing'
<u>dodo</u>	'shake, jiggle'
<u>emiem</u>	'pant'
<u>peiram</u>	'something'
<u>gilouv</u>	'pickaback'
<u>toto</u>	'kiss'
<u>ngai</u>	'dry, empty'
<u>ritou</u>	'pass'
<u>in valavi</u>	'mixed up'
<u>ale</u>	'light'
<u>put put</u>	'stitch'
<u>aro</u>	'dry bake'
<u>ou</u>	'open'
<u>geri</u>	'afraid'

Auxiliary<sub>2</sub> occurs only in the Head<sub>1</sub> tagmeme of Periphrastic Verb Phrase<sub>1</sub>. Only haza 'speak' occurs in the following Head<sub>2</sub> tagmeme. The suffix -hara 'just' occurs with these words which all indicate some kind of sound.

<u>vope</u>	'whistle'
<u>pipi</u>	'squeak'
<u>si</u>	'hiss'
<u>ngutu</u>	'grunt'
<u>koi</u>	'howl'
<u>hel</u>	'scream'
<u>au</u>	'bark'

Auxiliaries<sub>3</sub> occur in Periphrastic Verb Phrase<sub>2</sub> with haza 'speak' in the following tagmeme but the meaning of speak is lost and all meaning is carried by the Auxiliary<sub>3</sub> word, none of which have meanings related to sound. Only tepe 'tighten' occurs with -hara 'just'. The other members of this group take no suffixation.

<u>tepe</u>	'tighten'
<u>peg</u>	'jump'
<u>poza</u>	'climb'
<u>pak</u>	'take off'

<u>poru</u>	'run'
<u>gara</u>	'finish'

## 4. PHRASES

### 4.0 Introduction

A Phrase is a 'class of syntagmemes of a hierarchical order ranking above such syntagmemes as the word and stem and below such syntagmemes as the clause and sentence'.<sup>2</sup>

Kunimaipa Phrases show considerable variety of internal structure and obligatorily consist of two words (or optionally more) and manifest tagmemes in Phrases, Clauses and Sentence periphery. Phrases differ from Clauses and Sentences in their manner expansion and the tagmemes which occur.

Phrase types are separated because of different nuclear and peripheral tagmemes, different fillers of similar slots and different co-occurrence possibilities.

Most Noun Phrases have been described in 'Kunimaipa Nominals'. This section includes verb, location, time and pronoun phrases and three additional Noun Phrases.

### 4.1 Verb phrases

Verb Phrases manifest Clause level Predicate tagmeme. Following are descriptions of Attributive, Causative, Auxiliary, Periphrastic, Imminent and Negative Verb Phrases.

Verb Phrases are separated because of different nuclear tagmemes and different items manifesting these tagmemes. The Clause level Manner tagmeme is not included as part of the Verb Phrase because it frequently occurs in the first part of the clause, separate from the predicate which usually occurs clause final.

#### 4.1.1 Attributive

Attributive Verb Phrase consists of two obligatory tagmemes both of which are of equal importance. The Lateral tagmeme is optionally repeated up to four times.

Attributive Verb Phrase =

+Lateral <sup>n=1-4</sup>	+Head
verb theme	any verb
	Auxiliary Verb Phrase
	Periphrastic Verb Phrase

## Rules:

- (1) The actions of the two tagmemes are closely linked and sometimes are viewed as only one action. Because of this close linking some verb themes occurring in the attributive construction develop an idiomatic meaning different from the meaning which is deductible from their separate meanings.
- (2) No suffixation occurs on the fillers of the Lateral tagmeme. A large number of different themes occur in this position, however the most frequent one is va 'get'.
- (3) The filler of the Head tagmeme carries the suffixation for the whole construction.
- (4) An interesting example of the close union between parts of the Attributive Verb Phrase is found in the occurrence of the negative prefix on the first Lateral filler of the Phrase while the negative aspect suffix occurs on the Head tagmeme filler. This lends support to an alternate analysis which **considers** these constructions as consisting of compounded stems on the word level. Additional support comes with one syllable CV stems, these constructions follow phonological rules which normally apply to single phonological words. There are three problems pertaining to this alternate: (1) discontinuous examples of the construction have been observed in free text; (2) stems of syllable patterns other than CV pattern do not follow phonological rules which would make it possible to consider them single phonological words; (3) numerous examples have been found in which more than one Lateral tagmeme occurs, and it would seem unlikely to find compounding on such a grand scale.

va    sa-ha  
get    go-3s/per

'He took it.'

mena   vete-ha  
kill    leave-3s/per

'He killed and threw it away.'

meza   vizo-ma  
step    put-1s/imp

'I will bend it.'

sa    ema    to-o-ha  
go    come    do-cont-3pl/per

'They were coming and going.'

na-va      so-tu  
 neg-get    go-negasp  
 'Won't take it.'

hona      sa    hare                      ema    to-o-ha  
 go away    go    come across    come    do-cont-3s/per  
 'He kept on going back and forth.'

ha-va      sa-ama-ha  
 cert-get    go-cont-3pl/per  
 'They are certainly taking it.'

na-va      teza              vete-tu  
 neg-get    take off    leave-negasp  
 'Won't take off and discard it.'

#### 4.1.2 Causative

Causative Verb Phrase consists of three obligatory tagmemes. The Modifier tagmeme gives the main meaning to the phrase.

Causative Verb Phrase =

+Causative	+Modifier	+Head
<u>va</u> 'get'	adjective <sub>1</sub>	<u>vata</u> 'make'
<u>na</u> 'eat'	adjective <sub>2</sub>	
<u>mena</u> 'kill'	auxiliary	

Rules:

- (1) Causative slot indicates the method of causation and only three verb themes occur here. No suffixes occur but negative prefix can occur.
- (2) Modifier tagmeme indicates the state which is caused. Because of the semantics not all auxiliaries and adjectives occur. The following is a list of what has been observed.

<u>keza</u>	'strong'
<u>goe</u>	'small'
<u>hori</u>	'bad'
<u>tohotoho</u>	'lightweight'
<u>tina</u>	'good'
<u>aho</u>	'big'

<u>vono</u>	'nothing'
<u>honongai</u>	'heavy'
<u>hova</u>	'preparation'
<u>teki</u>	'short'
<u>rotap</u>	'true'
<u>ize</u>	'hidden'

- (3) Only vata 'make' manifests the Head tagmeme and this word carries the suffixation applying to the whole construction.

<u>va</u>	<u>vono</u>	<u>vata-ha</u>
get	nothing	make-3s/per

'He destroyed it.'

<u>na</u>	<u>vono</u>	<u>vata-ha</u>
eat	nothing	make-3pl/per

'They ate it all.'

<u>mena</u>	<u>vono</u>	<u>vata-ha</u>
kill	nothing	make-3s/per

'He annihilated them.'

<u>va</u>	<u>hova</u>	<u>vata-ha</u>
get	preparation	make-3s/per

'He made it ready.'

<u>na-va</u>	<u>ize</u>	<u>vato-tu</u>
neg-get	hidden	make-negasp

'He won't cause it to be hidden.'

<u>mena</u>	<u>vono</u>	<u>ha-vate-gi</u>
kill	nothing	cert-make-2pl/per

'You certainly annihilated them.'

#### 4.1.3 Auxiliary

Auxiliary Verb Phrase consists of an obligatory Auxiliary tagmeme followed by a Head tagmeme optionally separated by Location tagmeme.

Auxiliary Verb Phrase =

+Auxiliary	±Location	+Head
auxiliary <sub>1</sub>	<u>eve</u> 'here'	<u>ta</u> 'do'
adjective <sub>2</sub>	<u>oke</u> 'there'	<u>heza</u> 'be'
adjective <sub>3</sub>		<u>rava</u> 'become'
noun <sub>2</sub>		<u>vata</u> 'make'
interrogative		<u>oraeza</u> 'lies'
Possessive N.P.		<u>na</u> 'eat'
		<u>mena</u> 'kill'
		<u>teza</u> 'take off'
		<u>ema</u> 'come'

Rules:

- (1) Some of the words which manifest the Auxiliary do not occur with suffixes -ama 'only' and -hara 'just' but the majority of them do. Other suffixes do not occur.
- (2) Locationals eve 'here' and oke 'there' are the only Locationals which manifest Location tagmeme.
- (3) Auxiliary carries most of the meaning of the phrase and the Head carries all the suffixation.
- (4) The words which manifest the Auxiliary tagmeme typically occur with one particular verb in the Head, but some words occur with up to four different verbs with some change of meaning occurring. The verb which most commonly manifests the Head is ta 'do'.
- (5) A Possessive Noun Phrase manifesting the Auxiliary tagmeme always has zut 'likeness' manifesting the Possessed-Head tagmeme. This indicates verbal comparison.

dei dei    ta-ha  
shake      do-3s/per  
'He shook it.'

roko roko    ema-ha  
boil          come-3s/per  
'It boiled.'

ale      teza-ha  
light    open-3s/per

'It dawned.'

aro      to-ma  
bake    do-1s/imp

'I will bake it.'

kakama    ta-ha  
pain      do-3s/per

'It pained.'

dapa-hara    eve    mena-ha  
dance-just    here    hit-3s/per

'He only danced here.'

ngai      rava-ha  
dry      become-3s/per

'It dried.'

ngai      vata-ha  
dry      make-3pl/per

'They dried it.'

ngai      oraeza  
dry      lies

'It is empty.'

volopu-za    zut      na-ma-ha  
pig-poss    like    eat-cont-3s/per

'He eats like a pig.'

#### 4.1.4 Periphrastic

Periphrastic Verb Phrases have two obligatory Heads, the first one carries the meaning and the second one carries the inflection for the Phrase. Only haza 'speak' expounds the second Head and thus Periphrastic Phrases differ from the Auxiliary Verb Phrase where the range of fillers of the Head is wider. In addition the Periphrastic Phrase has two Heads and the Auxiliary Phrase has an Auxiliary and a Head.

Periphrastic Verb Phrase<sub>1</sub> is the means of indicating the kind of noise spoken.



Periphrastic Verb Phrase<sub>1</sub> =

+Head <sub>1</sub>	+Head <sub>2</sub>
auxiliary <sub>2</sub>	<u>haza</u> 'speak'

Rules:

- (1) Auxiliary<sub>2</sub> words indicate the kind of noise spoken.
- (2) Both tagmemes add meaning to the Phrase.
- (3) The only suffix which occurs on the Head<sub>1</sub> tagmeme filler is -hara 'just'.
- (4) Some auxiliaries<sub>2</sub> are optionally reduplicated. This indicates continuance of sound.

vope      hao-ma  
whistle    speak-1s/imp  
'I will whistle.'

ngut ngut    ha-ha  
grunt          speak-3s/per  
'He was grunting.'

si      ha-ama-ha  
hiss     speak-cont-3pl/per  
'They are hissing.'

Periphrastic Verb Phrase<sub>2</sub> =

+Head	+Head
auxiliary <sub>3</sub>	<u>haza</u> 'speak'

Rules:

- (1) All meaning is carried by the auxiliary in Head<sub>1</sub>.
- (2) The meaning of 'speak' is completely lost but this verb carries suffixation for the whole phrase.
- (3) Only one auxiliary<sub>3</sub> occurs with a suffix and that is tepe 'tighten' which occurs with -hara 'just'.

peg      haza  
jump     speak  
'Jump!'

poru    ha-ma-ha  
run    speak-cont-3s/per

'He is running.'

tepe-hara    ha-ngi  
tighten-just    speak-2s/per

'You pulled it too tight.'

pak    ha-ha  
take off    speak-3s/per

'It came off.'

#### 4.1.5 Imminent

Imminent Verb Phrase has two obligatory tagmemes optionally separated by the Emphasis tagmeme.

Imminent Verb Phrase =

+Imminent Head	±Emphasizer	+Head
verb	<u>eve</u> 'here'	
Attributive V.P.	<u>oke</u> 'there'	<u>ta</u> 'do'
Causative V.P.		
Auxiliary V.P.		
Periphrastic V.P.		

-za

Rules:

- (1) The verb or Phrase manifesting the Imminent Head is always imperfect aspect (non-negative) and carries all the meaning of the Phrase. The suffix -za follows the imperfect aspect suffix.
- (2) Only ta 'do' occurs as the Head and it is always perfect aspect.
- (3) The Subject/person and number of the two tagmemes must agree.
- (4) Only indicative Mood occurs in this phrase.
- (5) The Emphasizer slot, manifested by the locationals eve 'here' and oke 'there', occasionally occurs.

na-ngo-ma-za      to-ho  
2s-tell-1s/imp-pu   do-1s/per  
'I am about to tell you.'

mela-hara      ta-pa-za      ta-ha  
search-just   do-3pl/imp-pu   do-3pl/per  
'They are just about to search.'

va      sa-ka-za      eve      te-gi  
get   go-1pl/imp-pu   here   do-1pl/per  
'We are about to take it.'

vope      ha-pane-za      ta-ha  
whistle   speak-3s/imp-pu   do-3s/per  
'He is about to whistle.'

4.1.6 Negative

Negative Verb Phrase is:

- (i) a device for linking a negative statement to the following clause in a sentence. Since certain of the Verb Exocentre do not occur with the Negative Endocentre this phrase must be used to combine the Exocentre with the Negative Endocentre.
- (ii) a device for indicating the continuance of a negative action since the continuative does not go with a Negative Endocentre.

Negative Verb Phrase =

+Negative Head	+Head
verb	
Causative Verb Phrase	<u>ta</u> 'do'
Attributive Verb Phrase	
Auxiliary Verb Phrase	<u>heza</u> 'be'

Neg Verb  
Endocentre

Rules:

- (1) The filler of the Negative Head must be a negative form.
- (2) Only two verbs occur as the Head and these are always indicative Mood and thus can occur with the Verb Exocentre.

na-sa    ta-pane-na  
neg-go    do-3pl/imp-chs  
'If they will not go...'

na-na-nga    to-ho  
neg-2s-tell    do-1s/per  
'I didn't tell you,'

hate    na-vete    he-ha-puho  
ear    neg-throw    be-3pl/per-ss  
'They didn't hear and...'

gogo-vo    na-ta    ta-ma-ha  
work-qual    neg-do    do-cont-3pl/per  
'They are not working.'

4.2 Pronoun phrases

There are four Pronoun Phrases: Specifier, Accompaniment, Appositional and Intensive.

4.2.1 Specifier

Specifier Pronoun Phrase consists of a Head filled by a plural pronoun and a Specifier which adds detail by indicating who is included in the preceding pronoun.

Specifier Pronoun Phrase =

+Head	+Specifier
plural pronoun	noun
	Noun Phrase

Rules:

- (1) Pronoun suffixes do not occur with pronouns manifesting the Head tagmeme.
- (2) The Head tagmeme includes one or two more people than the Specifier tagmeme indicates.

paru    ngari-pu  
they    girl-qual  
'he and the girl'

rari      aban      epo-pu  
 we(incl)    man      this-qual

'you and I and this man'

rei      ne-ma      ngari-pu  
 we(excl)    I-poss      girl-qual

'my daughter and I'

#### 4.2.2 Accompaniment

Accompaniment Pronoun Phrase consists of two obligatory items. The Accompaniment tagmeme indicates who is included in the following pronoun. This phrase differs from Specifier Pronoun Phrase in the different positioning of the Head tagmeme, in the occurrence versus non-occurrence of the suffix -nanga 'with', and in the pronoun suffix restrictions of Specifier Pronoun Phrase which do not occur in Accompaniment Pronoun Phrase.

Accompaniment Pronoun Phrase =

+Accompaniment	+Head
noun	plural pronoun
Noun Phrase	
<u>-nanga</u>	

Rules:

- (1) Any filler of Accompaniment tagmeme must be suffixed with -nanga 'with'.
- (2) There are no pronoun suffix restrictions in the Head tagmeme.
- (3) Whilst the internal structure of Specifier and Accompaniment Pronoun Phrases differ, the meaning is the same and any Specifier Pronoun Phrase readily transforms into an Accompaniment Pronoun Phrase and vice versa. For example:

ne-ma      ro-pu-nanga      rei-pi  
 I-poss      boy-qual-with      we(excl)-two

'I with my son'

transforms into

rei      ne-ma      ro-pu  
 we(excl)    I-poss      boy-qual

'my son and I'

ab kame-pu-ra                      ngari-pu-nanga   paru-paro  
 brother-in-law-qual-and   girl-qual-with   they-all  
 'all of them, including the brother-in-law and the girl'

aban   epo-pu-nanga   rari-pi  
 man   this-qual-with   we(incl)-two  
 'you and I with this man'

#### 4.2.3 Appositional

Appositional Pronoun Phrase has two obligatory tagmemes, the Head and the Apposition both of which refer to the same person or persons.

Appositional Pronoun Phrase =

+Head	+Apposition
pronoun	noun
	Descriptive Noun Phrase
	Possessive Noun Phrase
	Coordinate Noun Phrase

Rules:

- (1) First order pronoun suffixes optionally occur with the pronoun.
- (2) Tagmeme order is reversible.

pi   ro-pu  
 he   boy-qual  
 'he, the boy'

paru   po-ri  
 they   this-qual  
 'they, those ones'

paru   Tomasi-ra   anga-pu-ra   ngaro-ngariv  
 they   Thomas-and   wife-qual-and   child-qual  
 'Thomas and his wife and two children, they'

rei   na-ri  
 we(excl)   certain-qual  
 'certain ones, we'

Ramanai Vanu paru-pi  
Ramanai Vanu they-two

'they two, Ramanai and Vanu'

#### 4.2.4 Intensifier

Intensifier Pronoun Phrase is manifested by a Head plus Intensifier.

Intensifier Pronoun Phrase =

+Head	+Intensifier
pronoun	pronoun
Specifier	
Pronoun Phrase	<u>-mau</u>

Rules:

- (1) Any pronoun manifesting the Intensifier tagmeme has the pronoun intensifier suffix -mau.
- (2) Both tagmemes agree in person and number.

ne ne-mau-ho  
I I-int-sub

'I myself'

paru ngari-pu paru-pi-mau  
they girl-qual they-two-int

'he and the girl themselves'

#### 4.3 Location phrases

There are three Location Phrases: Location, Apposition Location, and Demonstrative Location.

##### 4.3.1 Location

Location Phrase consists of two Location tagmemes.

Location Phrase =

+Location	+Location <sup>n=1-2</sup>
any Locational	any Locational
	App. Loc. Phrase

## Rules:

- (1) Locationals 1, 2 or 3 occur either Location tagmeme.
- (2) The two Location tagmemes must agree concerning up or down.
- (3) The only limitation on co-occurrence is that the same word does not occur in both tagmemes.
- (4) Locational<sub>2</sub> optionally repeats once.

agare      ake  
 up there    up  
 'along way up there'

ko-ine      epa-ta  
 down-close    this-qual  
 'down close here'

ko-ti      o-ko-ti      e-pe-ine  
 down-toward    down-down-toward    here-here-close  
 'close by down there'

## 4.3.2 Apposition

Apposition Location Phrase consists of Location plus Apposition.

Apposition Location Phrase =

+Location	+Apposition <sup>n=1-2</sup>
any Locational	Possessive N.P.
Location Phrase	Descriptive N.P.
	noun
	place name

## Rules:

- (1) A Possessive Noun Phrase manifesting Apposition has a locational as its possessed-Head. Any other filler of the Apposition must be suffixed with one of the following location suffixes: -ha ~ -ka 'at', -ti 'toward' or -hananga ~ kananga 'from'. The morphophonemic alternation of these suffixes is given in detail in 'Kunimaipa Nominals'.
- (2) The Location and Apposition always refer to the same place.
- (3) The Apposition is optionally repeated once.



ko-ine      have-vo-ka      sipi-za      riringa-si-ka  
 down-close    sea-qual-at    ship-poss    ladder-qual-at  
 'down there at the sea, at the ship's ladder'

de-aka-ti      ake      opesi-ta-ka  
 up-up-toward    up      office-qual-at  
 'up there at the office'

o-ke      tapu-e-ka  
 down-down    same-qual-at  
 'down there at the same place'

e-pe-ine      rei-ma      zei-make-za      nakae  
 here-here-close    we(excl)-poss    house-qual-poss    close  
 'here, close to our house'

#### 4.3.3 Demonstrative

Demonstrative Location Phrase is manifested by Location plus Emphasis.

Demonstrative Location Phrase =

+Location	+Emphasis
place name	
Possessive Noun Phrase	
Descriptive Noun Phrase	<u>poeka</u> 'that at'
Apposition Location Phrase	
Clause	
Series Sentence	

Rules:

- (1) Any phrase occurring as Location is suffixed with -ha ~ -ka 'at' or has a locational in the final tagmeme of the embedding Phrase. Clauses, and sentences occurring there are not suffixed in this way, nor do they have a locational in the final tagmeme.

ive-ri-za      totoi      po-e-ka  
 river-qual-poss    close    that-qual-at  
 'near the river, there'

veteza   heza   po-e-ka  
 lazy   by   that-qual-at

'where they are lazy'

lam   zei-make   dema-ha-na   heza   po-e-ka  
 sickness   house-qual   build-3pl/per-chs   be   that-qual-at

'there where they built the aid post'

paru-ma   ngarava-ta-ka   po-e-ka  
 they-poss   centre-qual-at   that-qual-at

'there, in their midst'

#### 4.4 Time phrases

There are two Time Phrases, Apposition Time Phrase and Demonstrative Time Phrase.

##### 4.4.1 Apposition

Apposition Time Phrase has two obligatory tagmemes, Time and Apposition.

Apposition Time Phrase =

+Time	+Apposition
temporal	time
Nominalized Location Clause	temporal
	day name
	date
Nominalized Time Clause	Nominalized Time Clause

Rules:

- (1) Time is manifested by any temporal.
- (2) Apposition is manifested by any day or month name, or date.
- (3) Time and Apposition both refer to the same time.

haopata   Februeri 18  
 yesterday   February 18

'yesterday the 18th of February'

zeirevai   Tude  
 tomorrow   Tuesday

'tomorrow Tuesday'

pi goe-ra-ha      anga-pu      nav-va-ra-ha  
 he small-qual-at wife-qual neg-get-qual-at  
 'when he was young, when he did not have a wife'

mamoga 1960  
first 1960  
 'before in 1960'

haopata      zeirez mevai  
 yesterday morning

#### 4.4.2 Demonstrative

Demonstrative Time Phrase is manifested by two obligatory tag-memes, Time and Emphasis.

Demonstrative Time Phrase =

+Time	+Emphasis
temporal	
day name	<u>poraha</u> 'that at'
Apposition Time Phrase	
Clause	
Series Sentence	

zeirevai      Tude      po-ra-ha  
 tomorrow Tuesday that-qual-at  
 'tomorrow Tuesday, at that time'

gipizo-tu      vono      rava-pane      po-ra-ha  
 food-qual nothing become-3s/imp that-qual-at  
 'when the food is finished, at that time'

abana-pu      Garaina      sa-ha      po-ra-ha  
 man-qual Garaina go-3s/per that-qual-at  
 'when the man went to Garaina, then'

#### 4.5 Noun phrases

There are three Noun Phrases described here, Included Clause Noun Phrase, Accompaniment Noun Phrase and **Resemblance** Noun Phrase.

##### 4.5.1 Included clause

Included Clause Noun Phrase has two obligatory tagmemes, Modifier and Head.

Included Clause Noun Phrase =

+Modifier	+Head
Clause	demonstrative
Series Sentence	noun
	Descriptive Noun Phrase

Rules:

- (1) The relationship between the two obligatory tagmemes is attributive but the internal structure differs from Descriptive Noun Phrase as described in Kunimaipa Nominals.
- (2) This Phrase type tends to be long because the potential for expansion of the Modifier tagmeme is great.
- (3) This Noun Phrase optionally manifests the Possessed-Head tagmeme of the Possessive Phrase or the Modifier-Head tagmeme of the Descriptive Noun Phrase.
- (4) Any Clause or Sentence manifesting the Modifier tagmeme is not nominalized.
- (5) Any filler of the Head tagmeme must have noun qualitative suffixes on its final word.

ngariro   ema-ta   ni-na   morega   ne-ta-ama-ha  
 children   come-and   you-io   false   2s-do-cont-3pl/per

po-vo  
 that-qual

'the trick that the children are coming and playing on you'

koeka-si   va-ta   he-ha   tapu-pu  
 hat-qual   get-and   be-3s/per   same-qual

'the same one who had the hat'

The following is an example of this Phrase type embedded in a Descriptive Noun Phrase.

Head: aban   Modified-Head: koeka-si-karo   ma-na-ha  
           man                                    hat-qual-two   3pl-give-3s/per

po-ngariv  
 that-two

'the two men who were given the two hats'

The following is an example of this Phrase type embedded in a Possessive Phrase.

Possessor: ne-ma      papa-pu-za  
                  I-poss    father-qual-poss

Possessed Head: na-nga-ha      ngeti-vo  
                          ls-tell-3s/per    story-qual

'the story that my father told me'

#### 4.5.2 Accompaniment

Accompaniment Noun Phrase has one obligatory tagmeme, the Head, followed by an optional tagmeme the Accompaniment. This Phrase type differs from Accompaniment Pronoun Phrase in that the fillers of both tagmemes differ and in that tagmeme order is reversed and in that the number of obligatory tagmemes is different.

Accompaniment Noun Phrase =

+Head	±Accompaniment
demonstrative	
noun	<u>honevo</u> 'together'
pronoun	<u>karara</u> 'together'
Noun Phrase	
	<u>-nanga</u>

Rules:

- (1) Any filler of the Head tagmeme is suffixed with -nanga 'with'.
- (2) honevo and karara 'together' have the same meaning in this Phrase although their meaning differs in other contexts.
- (3) This Phrase has accompaniment meaning, and never means instrument.

gipizo-nanga    honevo  
 food-with      together  
 'with the food'

po-vo-nanga      karara  
 that-qual-with    together  
 'with that thing'

abana-pu-nanga  
man-qual-with

'with the man'

ro   aho   na-pu-nanga   karara  
boy   big   certain-qual-with   with

'with a certain big boy'

#### 4.5.3 Resemblance

A Resemblance Noun Phrase has two obligatory tagmemes and is the means for indicating resemblance between two items.

Resemblance Noun Phrase =

+Resemblance	+Head
Possessive Noun Phrase	noun
	Descriptive Noun Phrase
<u>zuta</u>	adjective
<u>zuaita</u>	

Rules:

- (1) Any Possessive Noun Phrase which manifests Resemblance has zuta ~ zuaita 'likeness' as its Possessed-Head tagmeme. These two variations indicate dialect.
- (2) Resemblance Noun Phrase manifests only Clause level Subject or Object and does not embed in any other Noun Phrase.

ide-pu-za   zuta   vera-ngi  
bird-qual-poss   likeness   wing-qual

'wings like a bird's (wings)'

ivngere-ngi-za   zuta   botoro-ngi  
water gourd-qual-poss   likeness   bottle-qual

'bottles like water-gourds'

zi-mede-za   zuta   toko  
tree-qual-poss   likeness   straight

'straight like a tree'

ni-ma      agare      rava-vo-ka      sa-me-ngi-vo-za  
 you-poss   up there   ridge-qual-at   go-cont-2s/per-qual-poss

zuaita      ne-ma      nono-vo  
 likeness   I-poss   road-qual

' in the same way you are going around up there in the  
 mountains, this is my road... '

## 5. CLAUSES

5.0 Introduction

The Clause is "class of syntagmemes of a median hierarchical order ranking above such syntagmemes as the Phrase and word, and below such syntagmemes as the Sentence and discourse".<sup>2</sup>

The clause in Kunimaipa is the level above the phrase and below the sentence. A clause is defined as a grammatical unit which has one and only one predicate (or predicate like tagmeme) manifested by a verb or verb phrase. A clause fills slots on the sentence, clause and phrase levels.

The clause section describes contrastive clause structure and nuclear tagmemes, peripheral tagmemes (including nominalized clauses) and tagmeme order. Nominalized clauses are partially described in 'Kunimaipa Nominals'.

Basic contrastive clause types are transitive, ditransitive, intransitive, stative, equational and existential. This division is made on the basis of occurrence or non-occurrence of the Predicate, the occurrence in the Predicate of different verb endocentres, different nuclear tagmemes and different peripheral tagmemes. Transitive, Ditransitive and Intransitive Clauses are independent, dependent, or non-finite depending on their contrastive occurrence in tagmemes of the sentence, which is indicated by the occurrence of the Verb Exo-centre.

## Contrastive Clause Types

Transitive	±Periphery		±Object/ Indirect Object	+Transitive Predicate
Ditransitive	±Periphery	±Indirect Object	±Object	+Ditransitive Predicate
Intransitive	±Periphery			+Intransitive Predicate
Existential	±Limited Periphery	±Topic	±Existential	
Stative	±Periphery	+Subject	±Pro- predicate	
Equational	±Limited Periphery	+Topic	+Comment	
Pre-quote	±Limited Periphery		±Referent	+Predicate
Post-quote	No Periphery		±Referent	+Predicate



## 5.1 Clause structures

In the following clause descriptions only nuclear tagmemes will be indicated in the bidimensional arrays.

### 5.1.1 Transitive

Transitive Clause has 2 nuclear tagmemes, Predicate and Object, but only the Predicate is obligatory.

Transitive Clause =

±Object/Indirect Object	+Predicate
pronoun	transitive verb
noun	ditransitive verb
name	Verb Phrase
Noun Phrase	stative verb (transitive)

Rules:

- (1) Peripheral tagmemes which occur are Subject, Time, Location, Purpose, Reason, Instrument/Accompaniment, Manner, and Benefaction.
- (2) There are three ditransitive verbs which optionally take an object but do not occur with an indirect object and so manifest the Predicate of a Transitive Clause. These are:
 

<u>-ngizA</u>	'help'
<u>-ngatA</u>	'sting with nettles'
<u>-nge</u>	'put, provide'
- (3) The verb ta 'do' occurs with either an indirect object or an object but not both.
- (4) The verb hatete 'hear' occurs only with an indirect object.
- (5) A Verb Phrase in the Predicate must be transitive. This does not necessarily mean that the verb itself is transitive but that the additional phrase tagmemes add to the verb in such a way as to allow it to take an object.
- (6) Object or Indirect Object occur but do not co-occur. Indirect Object is always suffixed with -na (indirect object).
- (7) The verb ete 'see' occurs only with an indirect object.

- P: dema-ha  
build-3s/per  
 'He built.'
- Su: rei T: peteve O: koeka-si P: ve-gi  
we(excl) today hat-qual get-2pl/per  
 'Today we got a hat.'
- I/A: gipizo-nanga P: ngado-o-ha  
food-with cook-cont-3s/per  
 'She cooked it with the vegetables.'
- Su: anga-ngarivi Dorisi-ra Ileni paru-pi  
women-two Doris-and Elaine they-two
- L: Amerika-ta-kananga Pu: rei-pi Gazili  
America-qual-from we(excl)-two Gazili
- abana angara abo-za gogo-vo ta-pane-za  
people-poss work-qual do-3pl/imp-pur
- Pu: onga-pu-za ngeti-vo a-nga-pane-za ma  
God-qual-poss story-qual 1pl-tell-3pl/imp-pu and
- O: onga-pu-za ngeti-vo gara ha-pane  
God-qual-poss story-qual finish-3pl/imp
- 'The two women, Doris and Elaine, (came) from America to do the Gazili people's work and to tell us God's talk and they will finish God's talk.'

### 5.1.2 Ditransitive

Ditransitive Clause has three nuclear items, Predicate, Object and Indirect Object. Of these only Predicate is obligatory.

Ditransitive Clause =

±Indirect Object	±Object	+Predicate
pronoun	pronoun	ditransitive verb
noun	noun	Verb Phrase
name	name	
Noun Phrase	Noun Phrase	
	<u>-na</u>	

Rules:

- (1) Peripheral tagmemes are the same as for Transitive Clause.

- (2) Of the six verbs classified as ditransitive only the following three occur in Ditransitive Clause.

<u>-na</u>	'give'
<u>-nga</u>	'tell'
<u>-ngaira</u>	'show'

- (3) Any Verb Phrase manifesting Predicate must contain a ditransitive verb as listed above. Causative and Periphrastic Verb Phrases do not occur.
- (4) Indirect Object is always suffixed with -na (indirect object).

P: ma-nga-ha  
       3s-tell-3s/per  
       'He told him.'

T: tokaet    M: maot    IO: Ileni-ra    Dorisi-na  
       later        again        Elaine-and    Doris-io

O: epa-ta        P: ma-nga-ha  
       this-qual        3pl-tell-3s/per  
       'Later he told it to Doris and Elaine again.'

Su: ne    O: volo    na-pu        P: ura    a-no-ma  
       I        pig        certain-qual        hit    2pl-give-1s/imp  
       'I will kill a pig and give it to you.'

Su: Rauke-ra    Musania    paru-pi    Pu: ava-si-za  
       Ruake-and    Musania    they-two        garden-qual-poss  
       kiriza-vo        ta-pane-za        B: po-vo-za  
       payment-qual    do-3pl/imp-pur        this-qual-for

P: ma-na-ha  
       3s-give-3pl/per  
       'Rauke and Musania gave it to him as a payment for the garden work.'

IO: abana-pu-na    O: ngeti-vo        P: ma-nga-ha  
       man-qual-io        story-qual        3s-tell-3pl/per  
       'They told the man the story.'

### 5.1.3 Intransitive

Intransitive Clause has one nuclear tagmeme, the Predicate, which is obligatory. Object and Indirect Object never occur.

Intransitive Clause =

+Predicate  
intransitive verb  
stative verb  
Verb Phrase

Rules:

- (1) Peripheral items are the same as for Transitive Clause.
- (2) Any Verb Phrase in the Predicate must be intransitive, thus Causative Verb Phrase does not occur, and very few occurrences of Auxiliary Verb Phrase are intransitive.
- (3) Only stative verbs which are intransitive occur, i.e. compounds of transitive verb and stative verb do not occur.

Su: po-ngarivi P: loka-ha  
that-two enter-3pl/per  
'Those two went in.'

Pu: iti-have ve-ke-za L: ive-ri-ha  
firewood-qual get-2s/imp-pu river-qual-at  
P: se-ke  
go-2s/imp  
'You will go to the river to get firewood.'

T: haopata Su: ne L: Garaina P: so-ho  
yesterday I Garaina go-1s/per  
'Yesterday I went to Garaina.'

T: vatamo Su: rei-ma mimi-holo M: hori-ama  
before we(excl)-poss ancestor-qual bad-only  
P: he-ha  
be-3pl/per  
'Before our ancestors lived badly.'

#### 5.1.4 Existential

Existential Clause has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, Topic and Existential.

Existential Clause =

+Topic	+Existential
noun <sub>1</sub>	<u>oke</u> 'there'
noun <sub>2</sub>	<u>eve</u> 'here'
adjective	
Noun Phrase	
Nominalized Clause	

Rules:

- (1) Nouns<sub>1</sub> manifesting Topic tagmeme always occur with noun qualitative suffixes but with nouns<sub>2</sub> these suffixes are optional. However the occurrence or non-occurrence of noun suffixes usually indicates a change of focus. Noun suffixes usually show the item manifesting the state indicated by the particular noun whereas the lack of such suffixes indicates the state itself.
- (2) oke 'there' and eve 'here' are locationals which also manifest Clause level Location tagmeme.
- (3) The Possessed-Head of a Possessive Noun Phrase manifesting the Topic is optionally deleted.
- (4) The tagmeme order is optionally reversed but this is rare.
- (5) Nominalized Clause is either Location Nominalized Clause or a Manner Nominalized Clause.
- (6) An Existential Clause occasionally occurs as the Object in a clause which has a verb of saying or thinking in the Predicate.
- (7) Peripheral tagmemes which occur are Location, Time and Purpose. These occur preceding the Topic and only one optionally occurs.

To: morega-pu    E: oke  
       false-qual        there  
       'That person is a trickster.'

To: morega    E: oke  
       false        there  
       'That is false.'

To: gogo-vo      ta-ama-ha-e-ka      E: eve  
 work-qual      do-cont-3pl/per-qual-at      here  
 'This is where they are working.'

To: rei-ma      te-gi-ta      E: oke  
 we(excl)-poss      do-1pl/per-qual      there  
 'That is what we did.'

L: iri-oke      To: na-pu-ra      anga-ra      ngariro-za  
 down-down      certain-qual-and      wife-and      children-poss  
 E: oke  
 there  
 'down there is a certain one and his wife and children's'

### 5.1.5 Stative

Stative Clause has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, Subject and Pro-predicate.

Stative Clause =

+Subject	+Pro-predicate
pronoun	adjective <sub>3</sub>
noun	
Noun Phrase	

### Rules:

- (1) This clause type readily transforms to an Intransitive or Transitive clause by the addition of a Predicate in which case the Pro-predicate and Predicate function as an Auxiliary Verb Phrase.

Su: ne      PP: ununu  
I      ignorant  
 'I don't know.'

transforms to:

Su: ne      P: ununu      to-ho  
I      ignorant      do-1s/per  
 'I don't know.'

- (2) Tagmemes order is occasionally reversed.
- (3) Adjective<sub>3</sub> are never suffixed in this position.

- (4) Peripheral tagmemes which occur are Manner, Indirect Object, Benefaction, Object, Time, Purpose, and Location. These usually precede the Subject but also occur between the Subject and Pro-predicate, or following the Pro-predicate.

IO: Eurai-za    sau-pu-na    Su: ni    PP: hodade  
      Eurai-poss   sister-qual-io       you       know

'You know Eurai's sister.'

B: gog    po-vo-za    rotapu-vo-za    Su: ne  
      work   that-qual-poss   truth-qual-for       I

PP: ununu  
      ignorant

'I don't know about the truth of this work.'

B: anga    oko-pu-za    Su: ne    PP: kaeve  
      woman   that-qual-for       I       dislike

'I don't like that woman.'

O: abata-vo    Su: ne    PP: ununu  
      name-qual       I       ignorant

'I don't know the name.'

O: paru-ma    ngeti-vo    M: aviam    Su: ni    PP: hodade  
      they-poss   story-qual       little       you       know

'You know a little of their story.'

Su: pi    PP: zaita  
      he       desire

'He likes (it).'

#### 5.1.6 Equational

Equational Clause has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, Topic and Comment.

Equational Clause =

+Topic	+Comment
pronoun	noun
noun	adjective
adjective	Appositional Noun Phrase
Possessive Noun Phrase	Descriptive Noun Phrase
Descriptive Noun Phrase	

## Rules:

- (1) Any noun or adjective manifesting the Topic occurs with noun qualitative **suffixes**.
- (2) Peripheral tagmemes which occur are Location, Subject, and Benefaction. These usually precede the Topic but Location also occur between the Topic and Comment. Only one peripheral tagmeme occurs.
- (3) Some occurrences of this clause resemble an Appositional Noun Phrase but the absence of predicate in an Equational Clause and the difference of focus from Item and Apposition of the Noun Phrase to Topic and Comment of the Equational clause sets them apart.
- (4) Tagmeme order is reversible but rarely occurs that way.
- (5) In the Comment tagmeme nouns are always suffixed with noun qualitative suffixes and adjectives are usually suffixed. Adjective<sub>1</sub> and adjective<sub>2</sub> are optionally unsuffixed. Adjective<sub>3</sub> are always suffixed in this position.

To: raba-vo-za                      gogo-ta                      C: keza-ta  
      rubber-qual-poss                      work-qual                      strong-qual  
      'Rubber work is hard.'

To: ne-ma                      nono-pu                      C: pi                      tina-pu  
      I-poss                      mother-qual                      she                      good-qual  
      'My mother is a good one.'

To: aliza-si                      L: eve                      C: vono  
      light-qual                      here                      nothing  
      'There is no light here.'

Su: na-ri                      To: gogo-ta                      C: vono  
      certain-qual                      work-qual                      nothing  
      'Some have no work.'

B: abana-ri-za                      To: paru-ma                      gogo-vo                      C: aviama  
      man-qual-for                      they-poss                      work-qual                      little  
      'About men, their work is small.'



Su: abana po-pu B: pi-ma morega  
 man that-qual he-poss false  
ha-ma-ha-vo-za To: ngoni-ngi C: taira  
 speak-cont-3s/per-qual-for moon-qual what  
 'This man, for speaking falsely, how many months (will he get)?'

### 5.1.7 Pre-quote

Pre-quote Clause has one obligatory tagmeme, the Predicate and two optional tagmemes.

Pre-quote Clause =

±Subject	±Referent	+Predicate
pronoun	<u>pota</u> 'this'	Auxiliary V.P.
noun	<u>epata</u> 'this'	with saying or thinking verb
Noun Phrase		<u>pata</u> 'reply'

Rules:

- (1) Peripheral tagmemes, Location, Benefaction, Time, Object and Manner occur.
- (2) haza 'speak' most frequently expounds the Predicate.
- (3) Referent tagmeme does not occur with pata 'reply'.
- (4) If Pre-quote clause and Post-quote clause co-occur in a sentence, the same verb expounds both Predicates, and both Predicates must agree in aspect, person and number.
- (5) pata 'reply' is a particle and is not inflected as a verb.
- (6) This clause type is always independent and can be indicative, imperative, or negative.

R: po-ta P: ha-ha  
 that-qual speak-3s/per  
 'He said this.'

T: hapoka Su: paru R: epa-ta P: a-nga-ha  
 a while ago they this-qual 1pl-tell-3pl/per  
 'A few days ago they told us this.'

Su: pi P: pata  
       he       reply  
       'He replied.'

#### 5.1.8 Post-quote

Post-quote Clause is comprised of two tagmemes, the Predicate and Object.

Post-quote Clause =

±Referent	+Predicate
<u>pota</u> 'that'	verb of saying or thinking

Rules:

- (1) No peripheral tagmemes occur.
- (2) pata 'reply' does not occur.
- (3) haza 'speak' most frequently manifests the Predicate.
- (4) This clause type is usually independent but can be dependent or non-finite.

R: po-ta P: ha-ha  
       that-qual       speak-3s/per  
       'He said that.'

R: po-ta P: ma-nge-gi  
       that-qual       3s-tell-1pl/per  
       'We told him that.'

#### 5.2 Clause level peripheral tagmemes

Peripheral tagmemes are those which are not pertinent in determining clause type distinctions, but which are very common in occurrence. The following peripheral tagmemes are optional in all clauses except Existential, Stative and Equational where peripheral items are limited. They need to be described only once since their internal features are the same regardless of their distribution within various clause types. Some clause level peripheral tagmemes occur obligatorily with their typical tagmeme markers, others occur optionally with their typical tagmeme markers, and others occur obligatorily without such a marker. Occasionally mete 'and', 'but' occurs between clause tagmemes as a Discourse Level focus marker.

## 5.2.1 Subject

Subject tagmeme occurs optionally with its tagmeme marking suffix which is -ho.

Subject functions as the performer of an action or as subject of a Stative Clause. It is manifested by a pronoun, name, noun, interrogative or Noun Phrase. Any pronoun occurring here must agree with the subject person/aspect suffix of the following Predicate.

## 5.2.2 Manner

Manner tagmeme occurs without a slot marking suffix. This tagmeme indicates the way in which an action was carried out or to indicate the fact that the action was a repeat of a previous action. It is manifested by an adverb, interrogative, adjective<sub>1</sub> or Nominalized Manner Clause.

A Nominalized Manner Clause is an independent clause, or Series Sentence with indicative or negative Endocentre in the Predicate, nominalized by the qualitative suffix -ta. The clause or sentence is optionally perfect or imperfect aspect.

ta-me-gi-ta  
do-cont-lpl/per-qual

'what we are doing'

ta-pa-za-ta  
do-3s/imp-pur-qual

'what he will do'

The purpose suffix -za always occurs following imperfect aspect and before the qualitative suffix.

## 5.2.3 Purpose, reason and benefaction

Purpose, Reason and Benefaction tagmemes are obligatorily suffixed with -za. This suffix is homophonous with -za (possessive) but these clause tagmemes have no following Head tagmemes.

5.2.3.1 Purpose tagmeme indicates the purpose of the action of the predicate and is manifested by an independent clause, whose Predicate is imperfect aspect (indicative or negative Mood), suffixed with -za. This tagmeme optionally repeats up to 4 times, optionally linked by ma 'and/or'.

ivo-vo      ngoda-ka-za  
water-qual    wash-lpl/imp-pur

'for the purpose of washing'

gipizo-kapi    na-ino-tu-za  
 good-qual    neg-eat-negasp-pur  
 'for the purpose of not eating'

5.2.3.2 Reason tagmeme indicates the reason for the action of the Predicate and is shown by an independent clause whose predicate is perfect aspect, nominalized by the qualifier -vo, plus the suffix -za. Reason and Purpose do not co-occur.

ni    ure-ngi-vo-za  
 you    hit-2s/per-qual-re  
 'because you hit'

pi-ma    morega    ha-ama-ha-vo-za  
 he-poss    false    speak-cont-3s/per-qual-re  
 'because he is speaking falsely'

5.2.3.3 Benefaction tagmeme indicates the person or thing for whom, on behalf of whom, or about whom the action is done. It is realized by a possessive pronoun, an intensive pronoun, adjective<sub>3</sub> (kaeve), auxiliary<sub>1</sub>, a noun or a Noun Phrase, plus the suffix -za. The interrogative word tairaiza 'for what/why' also occur here. Benefaction co-occurs with Purpose or Reason. (The occurrence of kaeveza 'dislike' while functioning grammatically as benefaction has a meaning more of manner.)

ne-ma-za  
 I-poss-for  
 'for me'

itoulo-vo-za  
 smoke-qual-for  
 'about the smoke'

kaeve-za  
 dislike-for  
 'for dislike'

Benefaction tagmeme often occurs with adjective<sub>3</sub> when manifesting Pro-predicate of Stative Clause where one would expect an Object tagmeme.

#### 5.2.4 Instrument/accompaniment

The Instrument/Accompaniment tagmeme indicates the inanimate means by which an action is executed or the accompaniers of the subject. It is manifested by a name, noun, interrogative, pronoun or Noun Phrase, obligatorily suffixed with -nanga 'with', or by an Accompaniment Noun Phrase.

ro-pu-ra      ngari-pu-nanga  
 boy-qual-and   girl-qual-with  
 'with the boy and the girl'

#### 5.2.5 Location

Location tagmeme indicates the location of an action, person or thing and is manifested by a locational, interrogative, Location Phrase, place name, Nominalized Location Clause, or a pronoun, noun or Noun Phrase obligatorily suffixed with location syntactic relators -ha ~ -ka 'at', -ti 'toward' or -hananga ~ -kananga 'from', -haza ~ -kaza 'for being at'.

A Nominalized Location Clause is an independent clause, or Series Sentence with indicative or negative Verb Endocentre in the Predicate, nominalized by the qualitative suffix -e, plus the location syntactic relator -ka 'at'. Such a clause is perfect or imperfect aspect but if it is imperfect aspect the suffix -za precedes the qualitative suffix.

sa-ha-e-ka  
 go-3s/per-qual-at  
 'where he went'

sa-pane-za-e-ka  
 go-3pl/imp-pur-qual-at  
 'where they will go'

From an English speaker's point of view the Nominalized Location Clause is not always strictly location in meaning. It can refer to time and would usually be translated by a relative clause beginning with 'that'.

#### 5.2.6 Time

Time tagmeme indicates the time of an action and is manifested by a temporal, interrogative, date, day name, Noun Phrase, Time Phrase or Nominalized Time Clause.

A Nominalized Time Clause is an independent clause, or Sentence, with indicative or negative verb endocentre in the final predicate, nominalized by the qualitative suffix -ra, plus the syntactic relator -ha, which in this instance relates to time and not location. Such a clause is perfect or imperfect aspect but if it is imperfect aspect the suffix -za precedes the qualitative suffix.

sa-ha-ra-ha  
go-3s/per-qual-at

'when he went'

sa-pane-za-ra-ha  
go-3pl/imp-pur-qual-at

'when they will go'

### 5.3 Independent, dependent and non-finite clause distinctions

All clauses described with the exception of Existential, Stative, Equational and Pre-quote, are independent or dependent or non-finite depending on the occurrence or non-occurrence of the Verb Exocentre as described in Chapter 3.

The independent - dependent - non-finite clause distinction is more relevant in Sentence structure than in the description of clause types. Independent clauses are Indicative, Negative or Imperative depending on which classifiers occur on the predicate. Non-predicate clauses are only indicative. Non-finite clauses manifest Compound Clause tagmemes and Dependent Clauses usually manifest Sequence Sentence tagmemes.

### 5.4 Clause level tagmeme order

Tagmeme order is very free and the language helper would allow almost any reversal or alteration in order. However, in text, the following tendencies have been noted:

- (a) Predicate is almost always clause final.
- (b) Subject, Indirect Object, Object precede the Predicate, usually in that order. The Subject and Object, and Indirect Object and Object order is reversible as long as this does not cause ambiguity. If the fillers of these slots are such that confusion would result than the order must be Subject and Object. The Subject and Indirect Object marker also occur to prevent ambiguity.
- (c) Time, Location, Instrument/accompaniment, Manner, Purpose, Reason and Benefaction appear to be free in their order. They occur pre-subject or intervene between Subject, Indirect Object, Object and Predicate.
- (d) Tagmemes occasionally occur post Predicate and have the falling intonation which typically occurs on the Predicate only. These can be afterthoughts but frequently occur post Predicate for emphasis. All tagmemes have been observed in this position.

## 5.5 Clause level expansion possibilities

Clauses are often just one or two tagmemes, the Predicate plus or minus one other. Three or four tagmemes are not infrequent. A few examples with five tagmemes have been seen.

## 5.6 Compound clauses

### 5.6.0 Introduction

"One of the analytical problems faced by those who have developed and used the tagmemic approach has been the identification of LEVELS within the syntactic hierarchy. One of the characteristic problem areas in this regard has been the levels above the clause".<sup>3</sup>

In Kunimaipa there are CHAINS<sup>4</sup> of non-finite clauses (see 5.3 and 3.2.6.1.2) followed by an independent clause the whole of which functions as a unit and which manifests Sentence level tagmemes in the same manner as a clause does. The expansion possibilities are too great to allow this unit to be described as a Verb Phrase and in considering whether or not it could be a sentence type it seemed unlikely that embedding would occur on such a grand scale. In every Sentence Base where a clause can occur this unit also occurs, and in any other tagmeme where a clause occurs, this unit also occurs. Wherever a clause embeds in another construction this unit also embeds. Although this unit is made up of a string of Non-finite Clauses and all clause level tagmemes can occur within these clauses, the occurrence of these tagmemes is less frequent than with other clauses, and the meaning of such clause level tagmemes often relates to more than one, and sometimes all, of the clauses in the unit.

The setting up of another level between Clause and Sentence has also been considered. This would have simplified the grammatical description but such a level would not demonstrate any of the complexity found on the other grammatical levels of Kunimaipa and for this reason has not been followed. Since this unit acts on higher levels and in all other constructions like a clause and because it is a closely linked unit, it is described here as a Compound Clause.

### 5.6.1 Compound clause structure

Any Non-finite Clause occurs in a Compound clause. The verb of a Non-finite Clause is a verb stem plus -ta 'and' or -vai time overlap. Person, aspect and number are not indicated. From one to six clauses commonly occur usually followed by one Independent Clause which carries the person/number/aspect verb suffixation for the whole construction.

This final clause is almost always a clause with a predicate but a few rare examples of a non-predicative clause occurring have been

observed.

Non-finite Clauses are commonly manifested by a predicate only but all clause level nuclear and peripheral tagmemes optionally occur within them. The Subject tagmeme, if present usually occurs in the first clause of the chain, and is also permitted to occur in an expanded or contracted form in subsequent clauses. Such an expansion or contraction of subject is indicated by a noun or pronoun in the Subject tagmeme (see Chapter 8.1.6 'Higher Levels of the Kunimaipa Grammatical Hierarchy'). A chain of Ditransitive Non-finite Clauses must agree in the object prefix in person and number with each other and with the final Independent Clause and manifests tagmemes on the Sentence level. Unlike other clauses Non-finite Clauses do not fill Sentence level tagmemes.

Generally a Compound Clause presents a series of actions by one participant (which optionally expands or contracts) occurring simultaneously or in chronological order without interruption. The same non-finite predicate can repeat a number of times indicating that the action was continued or repeated a number of times. A common example of this is the repetition of a motion verb with continuous mode up to six times to indicate a long distance or a long time involved.

Non-finite clause suffixes have been described in 3.2.6.1 and 5.3. The mode suffix -ho does not have to occur in all clauses in a chain but can occur in one or more. The occurrence of this suffix in one Non-finite Clause of the chain usually means that the remainder of the Compound Clause is included time-wise in that Non-finite Clause.

<u>haopata</u>	<u>pi</u>	<u>em ngai</u>	<u>so-ho-ta</u>	<u>agare</u>	<u>sa-ta</u>
yesterday	he	hunting	go-cont-and	up-there	go-and
<u>ema</u>	<u>napu</u>	<u>ura-ha</u>			
possum	one	hit-3/per			

'Yesterday, going hunting, he went up there and killed a possum.'

Occasionally a Non-finite Clause occurs after the dependent clause. This is a means of focusing on that clause in the same manner as clause level tagmemes are focused upon when they occur in the post predicate position.

There are two sub-types of Compound Clauses, Loose Knit and Close Knit.

A Loose Knit Compound Clause occurs with any verb in the Independent Clause of the Final Action, or with a non-predicative Independent Clause there. Chain tagmeme occurs from one to six times.



+Chain	n=1-6			+Final
+Sequence		±Chronolizer		Action
Non-finite Clause (with <u>-ta</u> 'and' or <u>-vai</u> time overlap)		<u>-hoho</u> <u>-ho</u> 'after'		Independent Clause Close Knit Compound Clause
Overlap	P.	^	<u>          </u>	Q
	<u>P</u>	^		Q.
Succession	P	^		Q
	<u>P</u>	^		Q
	P	^		<u>Q</u>
Efficient Cause	P ^ P	o		Q

Since the Compound Clause encodes a series or events which have varying time relationships it seems relevant to include the deep structure encoded by those events. The deep structure of Overlap  $P \underline{\quad\quad} Q.$  is only indicated by a Non-finite Clause with -vai plus an Independent Clause.

The motion verb sa- 'go' frequently occurs in a clause following one or more Non-finite Clauses with -vai, to emphasize the continuity of those events often without any actual movement involved at all.

Several examples of Non-finite Clauses with both -ta and -vai in the same chain have been seen. Two examples have been seen in which the object of the final Independent Clause occurs in the immediately preceding Non-finite Clause.

This Compound Clause type is not as closely knit as the Close Knit Compound Clause but time-wise the events happen simultaneously or in sequence with little time lapse between. Sometimes the verb ta- 'do' occurs after -vai in a Chain meaning the continuation of the previous ~~actions~~ of the chain. The occurrence of -hoho ~ -ho 'after' is not common and is a means of emphasizing the chronology of the two events between which it occurs. It never co-occurs with -vai.

Occasionally mete 'and' occurs between two clauses in this construction as some kind of Discourse level focus marker.

A non-predicative Independent Clause in the Final Action does not give any clue as to aspects so the whole unit is dependent on the context to indicate this. Person and number are optionally indicated by a pronoun.

Examples of Loose Knit Compound Clause:

hade-pu   uro-vai   abana-pu   meno-vai   to-vai   ema-ha  
 dog-qual   hit-cto   man-qual   hit-cto   do-cto   came-he/per  
 'He came hitting dogs and killing men.'

zeimake   dema-ta   ogare   oro-ho-ta   aban  
 house-qual   build-and   down-there   sleep-cont   men  
tairaraha   poeka   nonoroza   gogovo   to-ho-pane  
 when   that-at   road's   work   do-cont-they/imp

'When will the men build the house and while living down there be working on the road?'

The following example shows a non-predicative clause in the Final Action.

abana   Gunimai-pu   na-ri-nanga   ne   Lae   to-ho-ta  
 man   Kunimaipa   certain-qual-with I   Lae   do-cont-and  
ne-dede  
 I-know

'I was working in Lae with some Kunimaipa men and so I know.'

The following two examples show the typical occurrence of Loose Knit Compound Clauses manifesting Bases of Series Sentences. The sentence Bases are separated by //. The second Base in the first example is an example of both -ta and -vai occurring in the same Compound Clause.

helo-ho-ta   paru   helo-o-ha-na   // ete-vai  
 climb-son-and   they   climb-cont-they/per-chs   look-cto  
rei   maota   ema-ta   poza   ha-ta   zeitaka   ema-ta  
 we   again   come-and   go up-and   village-at   come-and  
gipizo   ne-gi-puh   // ru   rava-ta   rei   reima  
 food   eat-we/per-ss   full   become-and   we   our  
zeitakaza   voroura-ta   eme-gi-na...  
 place-at-for   turn-and   come-we/per-chs

'They climbed and while they were climbing we came again watching and went up to the village and arrived and ate and were satisfied and we returned to our own village and...'

64 a-nga-ta      65 a-nga-ta      66 a-nga-ta      mete  
 64 us-tell-and    65 us-tell-and    66 us-tell-and    and  
he-ta    devo    a-nga-ha-na      // he-gi  
be-and    day    us-tell-they/per-chs    be-we/per

'In 1964 they told us, and in 1965 they told us and in 1966 they told us and we waited and they told us the day and we waited.'

A Close Knit Compound Clause has a form of heza 'be' in the Existential, and Chain tagmeme occurs from one to three times.

+Chain <sup>n=1-3</sup>                      +Existential  
 Non-finite Clause              heza 'be'  
     (with -ta)

Overlap P \_\_\_\_\_ ^ \_\_\_\_\_ Q

This Compound Clause is a very closely knit unit and although with -ta one would expect sequential action, the meaning of heza 'be' causes the action or chain actions preceding it to be continuous, and overlapping with each other and with itself. Chain tagmeme occurs from one to four times and any form of hez 'be' occurs. The occurrence of the mode marker -ho in one of the Non-finite Clauses emphasizes the continuity of the actions. The expansion possibilities are more restricted than Loose Knit Compound Clauses. Fewer Clauses occur, and tagmemes other than Predicate are less frequent. Only location tagmeme occurs with hez 'be' in the Existential, but no examples of this have been seen in spontaneous text. mete 'and' and Non-finite Clauses with -vai do not occur.

The Close Knit Compound Clause embeds in the Loose Knit Compound Clause but the reverse does not happen.

Examples of Close Knit Compound Clause:

va    vete-ta    pata              varenga-ta    no-ho-ta  
get    throw-and    different    cook-and    eat-cont-and  
he-ha  
was-they/per

'They were putting (it) (in the pot) and were cooking it some different way and were eating it.'

hodade    rava-ta    he-ha  
knowledge    become-and    be-he/per

'His knowledge was increasing.'

touta-ta   no-ho-ta   ru   rava-ta   he-ha  
 sit-and   eat-cont-and   satisfied   become-and   be-they/per

'They were sitting and eating and becoming satisfied.'

The following two examples show Close Knit Compound Clauses embedding in Loose Knit Compound Clauses. The embedding is indicated by //.

paru   gipizo   va-ta   gataura-ta   varenga-ta // abanari  
 they   food   get-and   peel-and   cook-and   men-qual

ma-na-ta   he-ha  
 them-give-and   be-they/per

'They got the food, peeled and cooked it, and were giving it to the men.'

rei   sa-ta // avasi-ka   mena-ta   gi ura-ta   he-ka  
 we   go-and   garden-in   hit-and   clear-and   be-we/imp

'We will go and will be digging and clearing the garden.'

The following example shows a Close Knit Compound Clause manifesting the final Base of a Series Sentence. The Bases are indicated by //.

eme-pike-na   //   rari   no-ho-ta   he-ka  
 come-you/imp-chs   we   eat-cont-and   be-we/imp

'When you come we will be eating.'

## 6. SENTENCES

### 6.0 Introduction

This chapter is a description of Kunimaipa Sentences, the grammatical level which occurs above the clause and below the paragraph.<sup>5</sup>

Generally Kunimaipa Sentences have final falling intonation plus pause except for the yes-no interrogative which has final rising intonation. The final falling intonation is useful as a criteria for making sentence breaks particularly when the following sentence begins with a conjunction. Such a conjunction is considered to be linkage on the paragraph level. When a sentence embeds in another sentence that embedded sentence has intonation according to the sentence Base in which it is embedded.

All conjunctions included in this paper as sentence linkage are equally significant as paragraph linkage. These are ma 'or' and mete 'and, then' which also occur linking tagmemes within the phrase and clause, povoza 'therefore' which also links tagmemes within the clause, and ong 'but' which only occurs linking tagmemes on the sentence and paragraph level. Combinations of these conjunctions also occur and are described where relevant. The conjunction mete also occurs between sentence Bases where one would not normally expect it as a type of Discourse level focus marker.

Sentence tagmemes are characterized by morphemes, words, phrases, clauses and frequently by sentences which are embedded. Grammatically, the sentence is a combination of clauses and is held together by tense restrictions on the verbs, by conjunctions, and by other restrictions on the exponents of the Bases. The dependent-independent distinction in the morphology of the verb exocentre is important in holding together some sentence constructions.

Kunimaipa Sentences are either Complex, or Non-complex. They are described in that order in this chapter and each group is accompanied by a chart which highlights the differences between the sentence types. Each sentence description has a bidimensional array showing the nuclear tagmemes, their exponents and deep grammar categories, plus notes and examples. Sentence periphery which can occur with any sentence type is described separately.

Recursion is common but in each sentence description only those exponents actually observed have been listed except where otherwise stated. With additional data no doubt these lists would enlarge.

Deep grammar formulas are included in each bidimensional array under a double line. Unusual deep grammar is formularized lowest on the bidimensional array with a single line between it and the formulas of the more common categories. Abbreviations and deep grammar symbols

used are described in the front of the paper.

The definition of deep structure symbols and the concepts concerning deep structure used in this chapter have been based on the material in "The Deep and Surface Structure of Inter-Clausal Relations" by Ballard, Conrad and Longacre.

Sentences with Bases linked by predicate suffixation or an obligatory conjunction		Sentences with Bases linked by juxtaposition with or without an optional conjunction		Quotation Sentences
6.1.1.1.1	6.1.1.1.4	6.1.1.1.4	6.1.1.2.1	6.1.1.3.1
Series Sentence	Coordinate 1 Sentence	Coordinate 2 Sentence	Negative Positive Antithetical Sentence	Direct Quotation Sentence
+Base 1 <sup>n=1-13</sup> +Base 2	+Base 1 <sup>n=1-2</sup> +( <u>mete</u> +Base 2)	+Base 1+Base 2 <sup>n=1-7</sup>	+Negative+ <u>ong</u> +Positive	+Base 1+Quotation+Base 3
All fillers of Base 1 dependent	Aspect in each Base is the same	Predicates are always different	Subject and aspect is the same in both bases Negative positive combination obligatory	Any word, phrase, Clause, Sentence, PARAGRAPH or <u>DISCOURSE</u> occurs in Quotation
6.1.1.1.2	6.1.1.1.5	6.1.1.2.2	6.1.1.2.5	6.1.1.3.2
Contrafactual Sentence	Alternative Sentence	Listing Sentence <sup>n=1-2</sup>	Reason Sentence	Indirect Quotations
+Protasis+- <u>time/-zatine</u> +(*Apodosis+ <u>narab/nab</u> )	+Statement <sup>n=1-3</sup> +(* <u>ma</u> +Alternative)	+Base 1+Base 2	+Cause <sup>n=1-8</sup> + <u>povoza</u> +Effect	
Imperfect aspect does not occur Transforms to Circum- stance Result Sentence	Aspect in each Base is the same	Predicates are always the same	Predicate of Cause always imperfect aspect plus <u>heza/hezavoza</u>	
6.1.1.1.3	6.1.1.1.6	6.1.1.2.3		
Antithetical Sentence	Circumstance Result S	Amplification Sentence		
+Thesis+ <u>ong/ong mete</u> +Antithesis	+Circumstance <sup>n=1-3</sup> + <u>povoza/povozahoho</u> + <u>Result</u>	+Statement +Amplification		
Only one Base can be negated Antithesis often an antonym of Thesis	No aspect restrictions between Bases Base can be reversed	Predicate and subject is the same		

CHART 1 - COMPLEX SENTENCE TYPES

## 6.1 Complex sentences

### 6.1.1 Sentences with Bases linked by predicate suffixation or an obligatory conjunction

There are six sentences in this group, Series Sentence, and Contrafactual Sentence are linked by verb suffixation and Antithetical, Coordinate 1, Alternative and Circumstance Result Sentences are linked by an obligatory conjunction.

6.1.1.1 Series Sentence is manifested by Base 1-Series which is followed by an obligatory link. These two optionally repeat thirteen times and are followed by Base 2-Culmination which is never repeated. The optional Chronolizer can occur following any Base 1 plus Link.

+Base 1 <sup>n=1-13</sup>			+Base 2
+Series	+Link	+Chron- olizer	+Culmination
Independent Indicative Cl	- <u>na</u> chs	- <u>hoho</u> em	Independent Clause
Alternative S	- <u>puho</u> ss		Alternative S
Coordinate 1 S	- <u>ga</u> . emph	- <u>ama</u> 'just'	Direct Quotation S
Antithetical S			Antithetical S
Circumstance Result S			Coordinate 1 S
Amplification S			Circumstance Result S
Coordinate 2 S			Amplification S
Direct Quotation Sentence			
Reason S			Contrafactual S
Neg Pos Antithetical S			Neg Pos Antithetical S
Direct Quotation S			Listing S



## Succession

<u>P</u>	$\wedge$	<u>Q</u>
<u>P</u>	$\wedge$	<u>Q</u>
<u>P</u> v <u>P</u> $\wedge$ <u>Q</u> v <u>Q</u> ...	$\wedge$	<u>N</u> v <u>N</u>

## Overlap

<u>P</u>	$\wedge$	<u>Q</u>
<u>P</u> $\wedge$ <u>Q</u> $\wedge$ ...	$\wedge$	<u>N</u>
<u>P</u> $\wedge$ <u>Q</u>	$\wedge$	... $\wedge$ <u>N</u>
<u>P</u>	$\wedge$	<u>Q</u>
<u>P</u> $\wedge$ <u>Q</u>	$\wedge$	<u>N</u>
<u>P</u> v <u>P</u> $\wedge$ <u>Q</u> v <u>Q</u> $\wedge$ ...	$\wedge$	<u>N</u> v <u>N</u>

## Efficient Cause

<u>P</u> $\wedge$ <u>P</u>	$\supset$	<u>Q</u>
----------------------------	-----------	----------

## Notes:

1. The deep grammatical structures are succession, overlap, and very occasionally efficient cause and the combination possibilities of these in any one sentence are numerous. The events in a series sentence tend to be chronological even when the Chronolizer does not occur, but they can be overlapping. One grammatical way of indicating simultaneity is the occurrence of continuous mode in one Base followed by a Base without mode. This means that the event in the second Base occurs within the time span of the event in the first Base. The subject in both Bases is **always** different. This grammatical indication of simultaneity can occur at any point in a Series Sentence. When overlap is encoded the Chronolizer never occurs on the first Base. See examples 3 and 7.

2. Any clause in Base 1 must have a verbal predicate and any sentence in that slot must have a verbal predicate in its final Base.

3. The Link is manifested by either:

- na change of subject following
- puho same subject following
- ga emphatic (In this dependent position it means 'because' and gives a cause and effect meaning to the sentence.)

These suffixes occur on the predicate of any Independent Indicative Clause which manifests Base 1 following the person/aspect/number

suffix. They occur in the same way on the final predicate of any sentence embedded in Base 1 of a Series Sentence.

4. The Chronolizer is manifested by either:

- |                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| - <u>hoho</u> ~ <u>-ho</u> | emphasizer, <u>-ho</u> occurs with <u>-puho</u> and either occurs with <u>-na</u> . |
| - <u>ama</u>               | 'just, only'  |

Both these suffixes indicate strict chronological sequence, but -hoho indicates that the second action can be some time after the first whereas -ama indicates that the second action follows immediately. See examples 8, 9 and 10. The Chronolizer does not occur with -ga emphatic.

5. This sentence type allows for a great deal of expansion and thus is typically much longer than any other sentence type. Series Sentences typically link together into Narrative Paragraphs and Descriptive Paragraphs.

6. Aspect mode and mood co-occurrence restrictions are:

- a) Usually either perfect or imperfect aspect is maintained throughout the sentence, but efficient cause deep structure can be shown by perfect plus imperfect, or perfect plus present continuous.
- b) Mood morphemes which indicate continuity of action usually occur in all Bases if they occur, with the exception of its occurrence to indicate simultaneous action. Present continuous mode occurs consistently throughout Descriptive Discourse relating to present time and past continuous mode occurs consistently throughout Descriptive Discourse relating to earlier times, and throughout Legend Narrative Discourse.
- c) Negative mood can only occur in non-final Bases by means of a Negative Verb Phrase. It is also permitted to occur in the Culmination.
- d) Imperative mood follows either aspect and only occurs in the Culmination.

7. Intonation in each non-final Base is level or rising and final falling intonation occurs in Base 2. Occasionally a pre-Culmination Base 1 is included in the sentence final falling intonation pattern, or two Base 1 occur within one Base 1 intonation pattern.

## Examples: Series Sentence

1. Pa
- $\wedge$
- Qb
- $\wedge$
- RU
- $\wedge$
- Sc(cEU)
- $\wedge$
- Tc

/pota ha-ha-na / ngevo aho rava-ha-na / reiparo  
 this say-they.per-chs talk big became-it.per-chs we.all

ha-ta sa-ta ema to-ho-ta he-gi-puho / Funke vete-ha-puho  
 say-& go-and come do-cont-and be-we.per-ss name left-he.per-ss

Ara vete-ha-puho / sa-ha /  
 name left-he.per-ss go-he.per

'He said this and there was plenty of talk, and we were all going around talking about it and Funke left Alan and went away.'

2. Pa
- $\wedge$
- Qa
- $\wedge$
- Ra
- $\wedge$
- Sa
- $\wedge$
- Tb
- $\wedge$
- Va

/volop ure-gi-puho // rangiza-ta rite-gi-puho // zata  
 pig hit-we.per-ss burn-and divide-we.per-ss intestine

va maino vate-gi-puho / helengade vete-gi-puho //  
 get alone make-we.per-ss hot.stones throw-we.per-ss

ginevikapi va-ta ema-ha-na // veire-gi /  
 green.vegetable get-and come-they.per-chs bury-we.per

'We killed the pigs and burnt their hair and then butchered them and put the intestines in a separate place, and when they brought green vegetable we cooked it all in the ground oven.'

3. Pa
- $\wedge$
- Qb.

/veiro-o-gi-na / Ara ema-ta ete-ha /  
 bury-cont-we.per-chs Alan come-and look-he.per

'While we were cooking the ground oven Alan came and looked.'

4. P(a)
- $\wedge$
- Q(b)
- $\wedge$
- R(ab)

/topoura-ta pim raiti-ta ngada-pa-za ta-ha-na /  
 gather-and his light burn-it.imp-pur do-it.per-chs

Gavahata zeihananga vol napu Omu zeihananga vol napu va-ta  
 name place.from pig one name place.from pig one get-and

ema-ha-puho / paruparo dar ngai ahov vereva-ha /  
 come-they.per-ss they.all dance big appear-they.per

'They gathered and when they were about to start the generator others brought a pig from Gavahat and a pig from Omu and they all had a big dance.'

5. Pab  $\wedge$  Qab.  $\wedge$  Rab  $\wedge$  Sb

/a-va-ha-puho // peteve piho ivovo e-vete-ama-ha ma  
us-got-they.per-ss today he water us-throw-cont-he.per or

medevo a-na-ma-ha ma pota ta-ma-ha-na // reiparo  
flesh us-give-cont-he.per or this do-cont-he.per-chs we.all

atavatara e-vi-ama-ha-na / petev masak rave-gi  
cross us-put-cont-he.per-chs now quiet become-we.per

'They got us and now he is baptising us and giving us communion and he is making the cross relevant to us and so today we have become quiet.'

6. P  $\wedge$  P  $>$  Q

// nariho narati na-me ong karakaraham rava-ha-na  
some something.to neg-put but together.only become-they.per-chs

ete-ta pata, "evo oke ariparo karakaraha rave-gi  
look-and reply no there you.all together.at become-you.per

povoza nena oke."//  
therefore enough there

'No one scored but they tied so he looked and said, "This is no good! You have tied therefore no more play."'

7. Pa  $\wedge$  Qb  $\wedge$  Rc  $\wedge$  Sd  $\wedge$  Tb  $\wedge$  Vd  $\wedge$  We  $\wedge$  Xd  $\wedge$  Ya

/vereva uro-o-ha-na / zei re-ha-na /  
appear hit-cont-they.per-chs light break-it.per-chs

pirisi voiholora rota-voipu moningi vo-vai emo-ho-ta  
policemen.and doctor-boy money get-cto come-cont-and

ema-ta rei tapuekahara rei honekarama topoura-ta  
come-and we same.place.at.only we one.at.only gather-and

to-o-gi-puho / ale te-ha-na / sadevo touta-ka-za  
do-cont-we.per-ss light open-it.per-chs Sunday sit-we.imp-pur

te-gi-na / sadevoka parupima kakora va-ta sa-ha-na /  
do-we.per-chs Sunday.on they.two's cargo get-and go-they.per-chs

reiparo toute-gi-puho/ abanangarabo rapa-ta zeirevai pima  
 we.all sit-we.per-ss people break-and tomorrow his

madetaka era-pane /  
 Monday go.down-he.imp

'They appeared and danced and when it was light the policemen and the medical orderly collected the money and we at that same place were gathered and when it was light we were about to have church and (on Sunday) they took their cargo and we had church and the people left and tomorrow on Monday he will go.'

8. P ^ Q

/abupu oke ropu va sa-ha-na-hoho / angapu ingi  
 husband there boy get go-he.per-chs-after wife cry

ha-ha /  
 speak-she.per

'After her husband took the boy away the woman cried.'

9. P ^ Q

/sa-pane-na-ama / ve-pike-na / vono ta-p  
 go-he.imp-chs-only get-you.imp-chs finish-it.imp

'As soon as he has gone you will get it and there will be none left.'

10. P ^ Q

/epatak ha-ka-na-hoho // ni va sa-ta kapota  
 this.place.at speak-we.imp-chs-after you get go-and source

va ou vato-o-ke //  
 get openly make-cont-you.imp

'We will speak here and after that you will go make it clear (to the others).'

6.1.1.2 Contrafactual Sentence is a close knit construction which is made up of four obligatory tagmemes. The Protasis is realized by Base 1 which has the suffix -tine/-zatine on the final word of its filler, whether this be a verb, noun or adjective. The Apodosis is realized by Base 2 which is followed by the free root nab / narab / nak. The use of these three words varies according to dialect. This tagmeme optionally repeats twice.

Contrafactual Sentence =

+ Protasis		+ Apodosis	
		n=1-3	
+Base 1	+Contrafactual Marker 1	+Base 2	+Contrafactual Marker 2
Noun Phrase	- <u>tine</u> /	Independent Ind Cl	<u>nab</u> / <u>narab</u> / <u>nak</u>
adjective			
Nominalized Cl	- <u>zatine</u> 'if'	Series Sentence	'would'
Noun Phrase		Direct Quota- tion S	
Realization	$P_{\beta} \wedge (P_{\beta} \supset Q_{\beta}) \wedge (P \supset Q)$		

#### Notes:

1. Imperfect aspect and future continuous mode do not occur in the predicate of either Protasis or Apodosis and present continuous mode occurs only in the Protasis. A present continuous mode in the Protasis puts the whole sentence in the present time.

2. Any Independent Clause except Imperative manifests the Protasis and only Independent Indicative Clauses manifest the Apodosis. A negative statement in the Apodosis is only possible by means of a Negative Verb Phrase in the predicate of an Indicative Clause. The filler of Base 2 must contain a verbal predicate thus Stative, Equational and Existential Clauses, although independent, do not occur there. A negative statement in both Bases is permitted.

3. Any Contrafactual Sentence can transform to a past Circumstance Result Sentence by transformation of positive to negative and vice versa, elimination of -tine and narab and the addition of povoza 'therefore' between the Bases.

Example: (Compare example 1)

ni se-ngi povoza ne na-ema  
you go-you.per therefore I neg-come

'you went so I didn't come.'

4. Contrafactual Sentence is more limited in its embedding possibilities than most other sentence types. In a Series Sentence it only manifests the final Base but in a Coordinate 1 or Antithetical

Sentence it is linked to a following Base by the appropriate conjunction. Following this conjunction the Base is the reversal of the Protasis of the Contrafactual Sentence i.e. negative instead of positive and vice versa. When a Contrafactual Sentence embeds in a Coordinate 1 Sentence or an Antithetical Sentence the deep structure of the whole construction is always contrast.

5. Examples of Contrafactual Sentences are rare in text and this analysis is based mainly on elicited material and free speech.

6. The intonation in Base 1 is rising or level and in Base 2 is falling.

7. One example has been observed in text material and many examples heard in conversation of only the Apodosis occurring. In the example seen in the text the Apodosis manifests the first Base of an Antithetical Sentence and when the Apodosis occurs without the Protasis it means 'could have ...' rather than 'would have ...'. See example 11.

Examples: Contrafactual Sentence

1. /ni na-sa-tine/ emo-ho nab /  
you neg-go-if come-I.per would

'If you hadn't gone I would have come.'

2. /Ririhaona ne katevo na-ma-nga to-ho-zatine/ pi gogovo  
name.to I advice neg-her-tell do-I.per-if she work

horiama to-o-ha nab /  
bad.only do-cont-she.per would

'If I hadn't been advising Ririhaona she would have worked poorly.'

3. /gaziriholoha mena-ha-tine // mete eve rariparoma zeitaka  
gaziri.ones.at hit-they.per-if and here our place.at

eve he-ha-na hori meno-o-ha nab // mena-ta  
here be-they.per-chs bad hit-cont-they.per would hit-and

rariparoma moninga vo-o-ha nab / mena-ta zeinga  
our.all's money get-cont-they.per would hit-and houses

mangaro-o-ha nab / mena-ta angaholo givogi to-o-ha  
burn-cont-they.per would hit-and women steal do-cont-they.per

nab /  
would

'If they had attacked at the Gaziri place and they had all been there at our place, they would have killed them, they would have taken our valuables, they would have stolen the women and burned the houses.'

4. /en kaizasi oketine / vo-ho narab/  
knife there-if get-I.per would

'If the knife had been there I would have got it.'

5. /ropu zeitaka vono-tine/ na-ngo-ho narab/  
boy place.at none-if you-tell-I.per would

'If the boy had not been at the village I would have told you.'

6. /ni se-ngi-tine / ne na-sa to-ho nab /  
you go-you.per-if I neg-go do-I.per would

'If you had gone I would not have gone.'

7. //nema papapu sa-ta gogovo ta-ma-ha-tine / ne sa-ta to-ho  
my father go-and work do-cont-he.per-if I go-and do-I.per  
narab/  
would

'If my father were going and working I would go and work.'

8. (nema nonopu sa-ha-na ) / ne gogovo tina to-ho-tine //  
my mother go-she.per-chs I work well do-I.per-if

"tina te-ngi" na-nga-ha narab/ (mete ne gogovo tina  
well do-you.per me-tell-she.per would and I work well

na-ta )  
neg-do

'(When my mother went) if I had worked well she would have said,  
"You did well," (but I didn't work well).'

9. /ne avasi gano meno-ho-tine// nema nanepu sa-ta apai  
I garden bad dig-I.per-if my brother go-and father

ma-nga-ha-na ema-ta no-ura-ha nab //  
him-tell-he.per-chs come-and me-hit-he.per would

'If I had dug the garden badly my brother would have gone and told  
our father and he would have come and hit me.'



10. /aban tina he-za-pu-tine/ katevo ma-ngo-ho narab/  
man good be-pre-qual-if advice him-tell-I.per would

'If he were a good man I would give him advice.'

11. /menga me-ta-ha nab / (ong upai mara naenapu  
blessing them-do-he.per would but nothing hand each.other

va-ha parupimauho )  
get-they.per they.themselves

'They could have had the blessing (but they themselves just took each others' hands).'

6.1.1.3 Antithetical Sentence is expounded by a Thesis, Base 1, which contrasts with an Antithesis, Base 2. These are linked by the Adversative ong 'but' or ong mete 'but and'.

Antithetical Sentence=

+Base 1 Thesis	+Adversative	+Base 2 Antithesis
Independent C1	<u>ong</u> 'but'	Independent C1
Series S	<u>ong mete</u> 'but then'	Series S
Coordinate 1 S		Alternative S
Contrafactual S		Direct Quotation S
Alternative S		Coordinate 2 S
Negative S		

Contrast Pa	^	P''b
Pa	^	$\overline{P}b$
Pa	^	Qb
$\overline{P}ab$	^	Pab''
$\overline{P}(U - a)$	^	Pa ^ (a ∈ U)

Coupling Pa	$\wedge$	Qb
Frustration		
$(P \supset Q) \wedge (R \supset \bar{Q}) \wedge P$	$\wedge$	R
Paraphrase $\bar{P}a$	$\wedge$	P''a

## Notes:

1. The Antithesis is frequently expounded by an antonym of the Thesis.
2. Deep grammar is most commonly **contrast** but occasionally it is frustration or coupling.
3. The use of ong mete 'but then' seems to imply emphatic contrast or contrast between different aspects in the Bases.
4. Neither the Thesis or the Antithesis **ever repeat**.
5. A Negative Clause occurs in either the Thesis or the Antithesis but not both.
6. Rising, level or high-mid falling intonation occurs in the Thesis and high-low falling in the Antithesis.
7. The conjunction ong 'but' is used much less than any other conjunction, thus the Antithetical Sentence is not common in text material. Contrast is just as often expressed with a Coordinate 1 Sentence.
8. No aspect restrictions occur. Mode morphemes can consistently co-occur or they can occur in one Base only.

## Examples: Antithetical Sentence

1. Pa  $\wedge$  P''b

/ne vala ha-ta vereva-ta ne tinama emo-ho / ong  
I arose-and arrive-and I well.only come-I.per but  
  
paru garosi emaha nem modari kuta ta-ha /  
my.others. who.came.first ignorant do-they.per

'I got up and came as I should have but the others who came with me did wrong in **ignorance**.'

2. Pa  $\wedge$  Pb

(map topoura-ta he-gi-na) / ne emo-ho ong nari na-ema /  
all gather-and be-you.per-chs I come-I.per but some neg-come

'When you were gathering I came but some didn't come.'

- 3.
- $(P \supset Q) \wedge (R \supset \bar{Q}) \wedge P \wedge R$

/nonor menavo aban mena-pane / ong mete hel sesengingariv  
road cutting men cut-they.imp but and stone.cliff.two

to-ta na-ngairo-ho /  
do-and you-show-I.per

'The men will cut the road but there are those two cliffs that I showed you.'

- 4.
- $Pab \wedge Pab''$

//ne katevo pina na-mang to-ho-zatine pi gogovo horiama  
I advice her.to neg-tell do-I.per-if she work bad.only

to-o-ha nab // ong ne pina tina katevo ma-ngo-ho /  
do-cont-she.per would but I her.to well advice her-tell-I.per

'If I had not given her good advice she would work badly, but I did give her good advice.'

- 5.
- $(P \supset Q) \wedge (R \supset \bar{Q}) \wedge P \wedge R$

/ok mangairapanezari paru hodaderi eve heza/  
there they.who.will.be.teaching they knowing.ones here be

ong mete tairapu va-pane hat ta-ma-ha  
but then who get-he.imp want do-cont-he.per

'There are those here who can show them but who is wanting to get (the dynamite)?'

- 6.
- $\bar{P}(U - a) \wedge Pa \wedge (a \in U)$

(mete dumoholo kohati tatazaholoka me-ama-ha-puho  
and grubs inside hooks.on put-cont-they.per-ss

hahangikananga me-ama-ha-na ) / ogare sa halengangika  
head.from put-cont-they.per-chs down.there go nostrils.in

mapo na-vereva / ong avaim vereva-ma-ha-na /  
all neg-arrive but little arrive-cont-it.per-chs

(ete-ama-ha-puho )  
look-cont-they.per-ss

'And they put the grubs on the hooks, from the heads they put them and (the hook) does not all come out at the nostrils but just a little shows and they look and ...'

7.  $\bar{P}a \wedge P''a$ 

//nima hatetekezangi hatete-ta nima loporiha vi-ke-puho  
 your what.you.will.hear hear-and your inside.at put-you.imp-ss

he-tune// ong hatete-ke-puho nima anaraborabana nima nanei vosira  
 be-pro but hear-you.imp-ss your people your brothers.and

modapuza gogota te-ke-na pi anutuza abat ngetivo  
 another's work do-you.imp-chs he God's name story

hatete-pane//  
 hear-he.imp

'When you hear the stories you will hear, don't keep them to yourself but when you hear pray for and help your relatives and someone will hear about God.'

6.1.1.4 Coordinate 1 Sentence is characterized by at least two Bases linked by the Coordinating conjunction mete 'and'. Base 2 optionally repeats once.

Coordinate 1 Sentence =

+ Base 1	+(+Coordinating Link	+Base 2) <sup>n=1-2</sup>
Independent C1	<u>mete</u> 'and'	adjective
Contrafactual S		Series S
Amplification S		Direct Quotation S
Listing S		Alternative S
Coordinate 2 S		Neg Pos Antithetical S
Direct Quotation S		

**Coupling**

P	$\wedge$	Q
P'ax	$\wedge$	Pay... $\wedge$ Pan

## Expectancy Reversal

$(P \supset Q) \wedge P$	$\wedge$	$Q_{\beta}$
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## Mistaken idea

$(Q_3) \wedge tP$	$\wedge$	Q
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## Contrast

Pac	$\wedge$	Pbd
$\overline{P}a$	$\wedge$	Pb
$\overline{P}ax$	$\wedge$	Pay

## Succession

$\underline{P}$	$\wedge$	$\underline{Q}$
$\dot{P}$	$\wedge$	$\dot{Q}$

## Overlap

$\underline{P}$	$\wedge$	$\underline{Q}$
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## Paraphrase

$\overline{P}''a$	$\wedge$	Pa
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## Notes:

1. Deep grammar categories encoded are coupling, contrast, mistaken idea, expectancy reversal with occasional encoding of succession, overlap, or paraphrase.
2. The subjects can be the same or different in succeeding Bases.
3. Aspect in the predicates is the same, either perfect or imperfect. Mode optionally occurs in one or both Bases.
4. Base 1 is permitted to occur twice and usually has rising intonation but occasionally level or high-mid falling intonation occurs. Base 2 has high-low falling intonation.
5. One or more Bases can be negative or imperative mood.

6. The difference between Coordinate 1 Sentence and Coordinate 2 Sentence is:

- a) Obligatory presence versus obligatory absence of conjunction.
- b) They encode differently in the deep grammar.
- c) Expansion possibilities due to embedding of other sentence types is much greater in Coordinate 1 Sentence. Coordinate 2 tagmeme fillers are quite limited.

7. Adjectives which have been observed in Base 2 are vono 'nothing', magei 'immature', tina 'good' and hori 'bad'. It seems probable that other adjectives could occur. The possibility of predicate ellipsis occurring here was considered but the informant seemed reluctant to include a verb.

Examples: Coordinate 1 Sentence

1. P  $\wedge$  Q

/ni tep zeimakeza hodadevoza gogovo tinam to-ho-za //  
you paper house's knowledge's work well.only do-cont-im

mete tokaet tep zeimakeza hodadevo vono rava-pane-na zeitak  
and later paper house's knowledge finish-it.imp-chs place.at

voroura-ta ema-ta herisiza gogovo zeitaka to-ho-za //  
turn-and come-and body's work place.at do-cont-imp

'You be working well at school and later when school is finished you come back to the village and be doing our kind of work.'

2. Pa  $\wedge$  Qa

//gogota tina ta, tin to-o-ke // mete tep zeimakeza  
work well do well do-cont-you.imp and paper house's

hodadevo ve-ke-puho //  
knowledge get-you.imp-ss

'You do your work well, be doing well continuously and you will get understanding and ...'

3. Pa  $\wedge$  Qb

/ne nonoro sohoek emo-ho // mete ari ununu povoza  
I road where.I.went come-I.per and you ignorant therefore

to-o-gi-na mena-ha //  
do-cont-you.per-chs hit-they.per

'I came on the same road that I went on but you forgot and therefore they hit you.'

4.  $\bar{P}ax \wedge Pay$

/zeisika na-ema // mete eve amun na-ema ong naeka  
place.at neg-come and here also neg-come but somewhere

sa-ha //  
go-he.per

'He didn't come to the village or to here but he went somewhere else.'

5.  $P'ax \wedge Pay \wedge Paz$

/reima itihaveza so-o-gi / mete narah reima  
our firewood.for go-cont-we.per and sometimes our

nonoroza so-o-gi / mete reima ginevikapiza avasika  
road.for go-cont-we and our green.vegetable.for garden.at

gogovo to-o-gi /  
work do-cont-we.per

'We went for our firewood and sometimes we worked on the road and sometimes we worked in the garden so that we would have green vegetables.'

6.  $P \underline{\quad} \wedge \underline{\quad} Q$

/mete ogare tu dora vo-o-ha / mete wan dora fifti  
and down.there two.dollar get-cont-I.per and one.dollar.fifty

benitaka so-o-ha /  
bank.in go-cont-it.per

'And I was getting two dollars and I was putting one dollar fifty in the bank.'

7.  $P \wedge Q$

/pi poeka pi pota to-vai so-o-ha / mete tokaet pima  
he that.at he this do-cto go-cont-he.per and later his

nget moravo juda abanari pota ma-ngo-o-ha, /  
story.part judah men this them-tell-cont-he.per

'At that place he went around doing this and later he told this story to the Jews ...'

8.  $Pac \wedge Pbd$ 

/paruparo nimaza inini home-ama-ha // mete nari nima  
 they.all your.for plenty think-cont-they.per and some your

abatavoza home-ama-ha ma nima kezavoza  
 name.for think-cont-they.per or your strength.for

home-ama-ha-na //  
 think-cont-they.per-chs

'They are all thinking about you a lot but some are thinking about your name or about your strength ...'

9.  $(Q_\beta) \wedge tP \wedge Q$ 

//"tina" home-ta sa-ta ete-oho // mete hori/  
 good think-and go-and look-I.per and bad

'I thought it was good and went and looked but it was bad.'

10.  $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_\beta$ 

/ne teipiriangi vo-ma hata so-ho / mete vono/  
 I corn get-I.imp want go-I.per and none

'I went to get corn but there was none.'

11.  $\bar{P}a \wedge Pb$ 

//pi enasi na-va-tine ne vo-ho narab// mete pi enasi  
 he knife neg-get-if I get-I.per would and he knife

ha-va-ha /  
 certainly-get-he.per

'If he had not gotten the knife I would have, but he already had it.'

12.  $\bar{P}''a \wedge Pa$ 

/ab angovai Papua napu pi geri na-ta / mete am he-ta pima  
 man old Papua one he fear neg-do and just be-and his

vegingiama vari-ho-ta mete vegi tunouaivoam  
 betel.nut.only chew-cont-and and betel.nut mash-only

to-ho-ta mete am he-ha /  
 do-cont-and and just be-he.per



'The old Papuan man was not afraid, but he just chewed and mashed his betel nut and waited.'

6.1.1.5 Alternative Sentence is expounded by a Statement followed by as many as three Alternatives linked by the Pivot ma 'or'.

Alternative Sentence =

+Base 1 Statement	+(+Pivot	+Base 2) <sup>n=1-3</sup> Alternative
Independent Cl	<u>ma</u> 'or'	adjective
Listing S		interrogative
		Independent Cl
Coordinate 1 S		Amplification S
Direct Quotation S		Reason S
Coordinate 2 S		Direct Quotation S
Circumstance Result S		Listing S
		Coordinate 2 S

Coupling

P(a)	^	P(b)
Pa	^	Qa
P(a)	^	Q(b)

Alternation (with excluded middle)

Pa	v	$\overline{Pa}$
Pa	v	P''a

Alternation (without excluded middle)

Pax	v	Pay
Pa	v	Qa v Na
Pax	v	Pay v Paz
Pab	v	Pac v Pad

## Paraphrase

Pa	$\wedge$	Pab
Pa	$\wedge$	P'a
Pa	$\wedge$	$\overline{P''}a$

## Contrast

$\overline{P}(U - a)$	$\wedge$	$P(a) \wedge (a \in U)$
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## Notes:

1. The deep structures which encode are coupling, alternation (with excluded middle), alternation (without excluded middle), paraphrase and occasionally contrast.
2. The alternation occurs between the subject, object, location, object possessor, accompaniment or predicate.
3. Ellipsis of the predicate can occur when the predicates of Statement and Alternation/s is the same. The predicate may be stated in the Statement or final Alternation.
4. When the subject is not the focal point of the alternation it is mentioned in the first Base only. When the subject is understood from the context it is not mentioned in any of the Bases.
5. Either perfect or imperfect aspect is used and usually they do not co-occur.
6. A Negative Clause manifests one or all Bases.
7. Intonation is rising, level or high-mid falling in each non-final Base and high-low falling in Base 2. Pause usually occurs preceding ma, if it occurs at all.
8. Adjectives which are known to occur are vono 'nothing', magei 'Immature', tina 'good' and hori 'bad'. Any interrogative occurs in which case the predicate is permitted to ellipse.

## Examples: Alternative Sentence

1. Pa  $\wedge$  P'a

/ni ginaza ngome-ke / ma ni volopu vono / ma ni hadepu  
 you hunger.for die-you.imp or you pig none or you dog

vono / ma ni no nae nae vonoama he-ke /  
 none or you everything none.only be-you.imp

'You will be hungry, and you won't have any pigs or dogs and you will be without anything.'

## 2. Pa v Qa v Ra v Sa

/"ni adasi ngede"/ ma "avasi mangara"/ ma "avasi nonosi ura"/  
 you garden plant or garden burn or garden weeds hit

ma tairai /  
 or what

'"Dig the garden" or "Burn the garden" or "Clear the weeds" or what?'

## 3. Pab v Pac

/pim saupuz tinama koravo na-rava pi / ma pim vosipuza  
 his sister's well.only caretaker neg-become he or his brother's

tinama koravo na-rava /  
 well.only caretaker neg-become

'He didn't look after his sister or his brother well.'

4. Pab  $\wedge$  Qac

(mangepu vi-ka-puho) / aba hatangi va riza-ka / ma  
 feast put-we.imp-ss dead.man's.bones get close-we.imp or

aba ravevona ma-nga-ka /  
 bald.man.to him-tell-we.imp

'(We will hold the feast for the dead man's spirit and) we will wash his bones and appoint a leader (of the feast).'

## 5. Pab v Pac v Pad

/sinaviz mamogavoz gogovo to-o-ha / ma zarevoza gogovo  
 church first's work do-cont-they.per or number's work

to-o-ha / ma sande skuliza gogovo to-o-ha /  
do-cont-they.per or Sunday.school's work do-cont-they.per

'They learned about church work, or they had counting or they had Sunday school.'

6. Pax v Pay v Paz

/eve Gazili zeiha vono/ ma Zev zeiha vono/ ma Aivar zeiha vono/  
here Gazili place none or Zev place none or Aivar place none

'There are none in Gazili territory or in Zev territory or in Aivar territory.'

7. Pa ^ Pa'

/misisira masara map zei ahosi havaman  
white.woman.and white.man.and all place.big government

ahopunanga ema-ha / ma Lae kiap Nirinanga  
big.one.with come-they.per or Lae patrol.officer Neal.with

paruparo karar /  
they.all together

'All the white men and women came with the government leader, they came with the patrol officer from Lae whose name was Neal.'

8. Pa v Qa v Ra

/sa-ha / ma heza/ ma taira?/  
go-he.per or be or what

'Did he go or is he here or what is he doing?'

9. Pa v Pa

/adangi oraeza ma vono /  
sweet.potato be or nothing

'Is there any sweet potato or not?'

10. Pa ^ P'a

(ong ete-gi-na pei rotapuv na-rava ta-ha-na)  
but look-we.per-chs thing true neg-become do-it.per-chs

vete-gi / ma kos reza ma-ne-gi /  
leave-we.per or back break him-give-we.per

'But we looked and the good time did not come so we left and turned our backs to him.'

11.  $\overline{P}(U - a) \wedge P(a) \wedge (a \in U)$

/mapo vete-vai sa-ha / ma hone togu nataho nima abatavo  
all leave-cto go-they.per or one.group your name

ha-ma-ha / ma tai ta-ma-ha /  
speak-cont-they.per or what do-cont-they.per

'Everyone has left you, and only one group is speaking your name, or what are they doing?'

12. Pab v Pac v Pad

//ma enauholoza pat, "enauholo ok heza"// pota  
or enau.people.for reply enau.people there be this

hom me-o-gi // ma zevera gunimaip poriza pat  
think-cont-we.per or zev.and.gunimaip.these.ones.for reply

"ok heza"//  
there be

'And about the Enau people we said, "They are there," we thought this and about the Zev people and the Gunimaip people we said, "They are there."'

6.1.1.6 Circumstance Result Sentence is expounded by two obligatory Bases, Circumstance and Result, linked by the obligatory Result Conjunction. Circumstance tagmeme optionally repeats twice.

Circumstance Result Sentence =

+(+Base 1<sup>n=1-3</sup>  
Circumstance

+Result  
Conjunction)

+Base 2  
Result

temporal

povoza

Independent C1

Noun Phrase

povozahoho

Series S

Independent C1

'therefore'

Circumstance Result S

Alternative S

Reason S

Reason S

Amplification S

Direct Quotation S

Alternative S

Listing S

Antithetical S

Coordinate 2 S

Neg Pos Antithetical S

Series S

Direct Quotation S

Abilitative S

Listing S

Neg Pos Antithetical S

Efficient Cause

P  $\wedge$  P

o

Q

Notes:

1. There are no aspect restrictions between Bases. An imperfect aspect in Base 1 is frequently followed by perfect aspect in Base 2. This means that an expected future circumstance causes present or past action.
2. Any positive-negative combination occurs.
3. Intonation is either rising, or level or high-mid falling in the Circumstance and high-low falling in the Result.
4. The Bases can be reversed with Base 1 following Base 2 and povoza occurring sentence final. When this happens intonation is sentence final pattern in both Bases, and the sentence cannot embed in another sentence type. See example 9.
5. Circumstance can repeat up to three times. Result has been observed to repeat but this is considered to be embedding. In such a sentence the second Base **is** the Result of the first Base and the **the** third Base is the result of the **second** Base. Thus the second Base is both Result and Circumstance.
6. Circumstance Result Sentences most frequently occur in Behavioural Discourse.
7. The occurrence of -hoho emphasizer, with povoza is an emphatic form.

Examples: Circumstance Result Sentence

1. /to-ho-ta he-gi povoza / ni vereve-ngi povoza /  
do-cont-and be-we.per therefore you arrive-you.per therefore

masak guai rave-gi /  
tame quiet become-we.per

'We were doing (badly) therefore you arrived and therefore we are quiet.'

2. /garaina tivoza zeimake haitokoro teza-ha povoza / ngetivo  
place tea's house door open-they.per therefore story

ev /  
here

'They had the door opening for the tea factory in Garaina and so I have a story.'

3. /aban reima kade epata-hananga nari em vereva-pane  
men our up.there this.at-from some come arrive-they.imp

povoza // ogare sa-ta zeimake dema-ha-puho  
therefore down.there go-and house build-we.imp-ss

poekananga nonoro va onge vato-o-ka-na... //  
that.place.from road get straight make-cont-we.imp-chs

'Some men from up there will come therefore we will go and build a house and from there we will make the road, and ...'

4. (mangepu vi-ka-puho) // ab hatang va riza-ka ma ab ravevona  
feast put-we.imp-ss man's.bones wash-we.imp or bald.man.to

ma-nga-ka povoza // petev ariparo voira givog  
him-tell-we.imp therefore now you.all violence.and.stealing

to-tu /  
do-pro

'We will have a pig feast and display the dead man's bones and appoint a leader therefore for now you all must not do wrong things.'

5. // ongapu niho ete-ta heza niho koravo rava-ta heza  
Lord you.em look-and be you.em caretaking become-and be

povoza // ora-ka-za te-gi-puho ongapu nima kezavoza  
therefore sleep-we.imp-pur do-we.per-ss Lord your strength.for

home-ta nina na-nge-gi povoza // evete-tune peteve  
think-and you.to you-tell-we.per therefore us.throw-pro now

e-ngize-ke //  
us-help-you.imp

'Lord, you are watching, you are taking care of us, therefore when we are about to sleep, Lord, we think about your strength and we speak to you, therefore do not desert us, help us.'

6. /pi kezavonangapu povoza / tokaet rariparo va ourahari  
 he strength.with.one therefore later we.all get open.in.ones

a-vata-pane-za hata pi vereva-ha-puho.../  
us-make-he.imp-pur want he appear-he.per-ss

'He is one with strength therefore later, wanting to show us the light, he appeared ...'

7. /pota ha-ha povoza // paru hatete-vai so-o-ha-puho  
 this say-he.per therefore they hear-cto go-cont-they.per-ss

pat , "rotapu ma moreg ha-ma-ha vatah," pota  
 reply true or false speak-cont-he.per perhaps this

home-o-ha //  
 think-cont-they.per

'He said that so they were listening and said, "Perhaps he is speaking the truth or perhaps he is lying," that is what they thought.'

8. /pota te-pike povoza / nemaza home-vai so-ho-pike  
 this do-you.imp therefore my.for think-cto go-cont-you.imp

povoza / ari kaikai kezavonanga nema heza zeisika  
 therefore you same strength.with the.place.where.I.am

vereve-pike /  
 come-you.imp

'If you do this you will be thinking about me and so you together, with strength, will come to the place where I am.'

9. /sa-ta dimingi virepeke ara-ta va-ta em / utara  
 go-and clothes vine.on loose-and get-and come rain

pela-pane povoza /  
 rain-it.imp therefore

'Go and take the clothes off the line and bring them in because it will rain.'



10. /mete maheiraha povoza // kuta to-ma hezavoza katevo  
 and new.time therefore ignorant do-I.imp be-qual-for advice  
na-nga-ha //  
me-tell-he.per

'But (I was) young therefore, because I would have done ignorantly, he advised me.'

11. /gogo kezata povoza / nemau me-ngiza-ta to-vai  
 work strong therefore I.myself 'them-help-and do-cto  
sa-mo-ho  
go-cont-I.per

'It is hard work therefore I myself am helping them.'

6.1.2 Sentences with Bases linked by juxtaposition, with or without an optional conjunction permitted. Coordinate 2 Sentence, Listing Sentence and Amplification do not permit a conjunction between the Bases and Negative Positive Antithetical Sentence and Reason Sentence do permit an optional conjunction between the Bases.

6.1.2.1 Coordinate 2 Sentence consists of at least two juxtaposed Bases, but up to 8 Bases have been observed. There is no overt linkage.

Coordinate 2 Sentence =

+Base 1	+Base 2 <sup>n=1-7</sup>	± Summary
Independent C1	Independent C1	Independent C1
Listing S	Alternative S	
Alternative S		

Coupling

P	^	Q
Pa	^	$\bar{Q}b$
P ^ Q	^	...N
Succession P	^	Q
<u>P</u>	^	Q

## Contrast

Pa                      ^              P''b

## Notes:

1. Predicates are always different. Any mood, mode or aspect occurs but all Bases must match in all of these.
2. Deep grammar encodes as coupling and succession.
3. Subject is same or different.
4. Intonation is rising or high-mid falling in non-final Bases and usually there is little pause between Bases. The final Base has the usual sentence final high-low falling intonation.
5. Only one example with the Summary tagmeme has been seen, example 9. Because of the Summary tagmeme this looks more like a paragraph than a Sentence but each non-final Base has high-mid falling intonation which is a sentence medial intonation pattern.
6. Coordinate 2 Sentence appears to be closely related to Listing Sentence but the fact that the predicates are different in Coordinate 2 and the same in Listing Sentence plus the fact that the listing element which is present in Listing Sentence is not present in Coordinate 2 Sentence makes them different Sentence types.
7. Coordinate 2 Sentence and Coordinate 1 Sentence differences are listed under Coordinate 1 Sentence.
8. Possibility for embedding of other sentence types appears to be limited.

## Examples: Coordinate 2 Sentences

1. Pa ^ Qb

/angamai reimaza gipizo varenga-ha / reiparo vinga rave-gi /  
 mother our.for food cook-she.per we.all happy become-we.per

'Mother cooked our food and we were happy.'

2. P ^ Q

/pi ad kingi rua-ta pi enasira hever va-ta  
 she string.bag hang-and she knife.and.digging.stick get-and

adasika so-o-ha / gogovo ta-ha /  
 garden.at go-cont-she.per work do-she.per

'She put on her string bag and got her knife and digging stick and went to the garden and worked.'

3. Pa  $\wedge$  Qa

/ pi gipizoza tina ta-pane / tinama no-ho-pane /  
 she food.for well do-she.imp well.only eat-cont-she.imp

'She will work well for food and will be eating well.'

4. Pa  $\wedge$  Qa

(leven kirok ta-ha-na )/ rei von ta-ta eme-gi /  
 11 o'clock do-it.per-chs we finish-and come-we.per

apas leven rei gipizo sikerivo ve-gi /  
 11.30 we food scale get-we.per

'When it was eleven o'clock we finished and came and at 11.30 we got our food.'

5. Pa  $\wedge$  Qb  $\wedge$  Rb

/ povoza hodade goulongi oke rariparonanga ngod re-ta  
 therefore knowledge all there we.all.with fall break-and

he-pane / ivopu oke rariparoti oke na-verevo-tu / ivopuho  
 be-it.imp enemy there we.all.to there neg-arrive-imp enemy

maot purim e-ta-ta oke tititati na-so-tu /  
 again pull us-do-and there bush.to neg-go-imp

'Therefore we will understand all things and an enemy will not come to us, an enemy will not come and lead us astray into the bush again.'

6. Pa  $\wedge$  Qb

/ povoza peteve ete-ame-gi // zeisikaro pastori  
 therefore today look-cont-we.per place.all.at pastor

rava-ma-ha ma evenzelis rava-ma-ha ma  
 become-cont-they.per or evangelist become-cont-they.per or

tiksa rava-ma-ha //  
 teacher become-cont-they.per

'Therefore today we see and in all the places some are becoming pastors and some are becoming evangelists and some are becoming teachers.'

7. Pa  $\wedge$  Qa  $\wedge$  Rb

/ma hodadevoti vi-pane / hodadevoza nonorotiharama  
 or knowledge.to put-they.imp knowledge's road.to.only

ema-pane // gogovoza abanapuza iriha sa-pane ma herisiza  
 come-they.imp work's man's below go-they.imp or body's

gogovoza abanapuza iriha sa-pane // ngevo va vala ha-pane /  
 work man's below go-they.imp talk obey-they.imp

'Or they will get understanding, they will come along the road to knowledge and they will work under a work leader and they will obey.'

8. Pa  $\wedge$  P''b

/ne ununu-ga / pi hodade-ga /  
 I ignorant-emph he knowledge-emph

'I was ignorant but he knew.'

9. Pa  $\wedge$  Qa  $\wedge$  Ra  $\wedge$  Sa  $\wedge$  Ta  $\wedge$  sVa

(mete ruruai-ra turuturu ha-o-ha-na ) /reiparo  
 and luluai-and tultul speak-cont-they.per-chs we.all

ngevo elo-o-gi / ngevo vavai ha-o-gi / hat man man  
 talk cut-cont-we.per talk lie speak-cont-we.per disobedient

to-o-gi / ritou to-o-gi / volopu uro-o-gi /  
 do-cont-we.per pass do-cont-we.per pig hit-cont-we.per

abanapu meno-o-gi / abor hor vo-o-gi / dar ngai  
 man hit-cont-we.per dancers get-cont-we.per dancing

to-o-gi / pota to-ho-ta he-gi /  
 do-cont-we.per that do-cont-and be-we.per

'(And while the government men were speaking) we were disobeying, we were lying, we were being disobedient, we were ignoring them, we were killing pigs, we were killing men, we were getting dancers and we were dancing, that's what we were doing.'

6.1.2.2 Listing Sentence is characterized by at least two Bases with no overt linkage.

Listing Sentence =

+Base 1

+Base 2<sup>n=1-2</sup>

Independent C1

Independent C1

Series S

Direct Quotation S

Direct Quotation S

Coupling

$P(a)$	$\wedge$	$P(b)$
$Pab$	$\wedge$	$Pac \wedge Pan$
$Pax$	$\wedge$	$Pay$

Contrast

$Pa$	$\wedge$	$\overline{Pb}$
------	----------	-----------------

Notes:

1. The predicates are always the same and occasionally the predicate is only stated in the final Base.
2. Imperative mood does not occur and aspect and mode are the same in all Bases. Negative mood has not been observed but it seems possible that it could occur.
3. The subject is the same or different.
4. A non-predicative clause in one Base is matched with non-predicative clauses in the other Bases.
5. This sentence is a device for listing subjects, objects, locations or temporals.
6. Deep grammar encodes as coupling and contrast.
7. The differences between this sentence type and Coordinate 2 Sentences are listed under Coordinate 2 Sentence. One further factor in the separation of these sentences is that the predicate of one or more Bases can be deleted in Listing Sentence but this is not possible in Coordinate 2 Sentence.
8. Examples have not been found in large numbers. With additional data possibly the list of fillers in the bi-dimensional array would be greater.

**Examples: Listing Sentences**

1.  $Pax \wedge Pay$

/Gavahata zeihananga volo napu/ Omu zeihananga volo napu  
 place place.from pig one place place.from pig one

va-ta ema-ha-puho /  
 get-and come-they.per-ss

'They brought one pig from Gavahata and they brought one from Omu.'

2. Pa  $\wedge$  Pb  $\wedge$  Pc

/zei potakariho volopu ura-ta emo-o-ha /  
 place.that.at.ones pig hit-and come-cont-they.per

zei potakariho ide rumunepu ura-ta emo-o-ha //  
 place.that.at.ones cassowary hit-and come-cont-they.per

zei potakariho emaholo uro-o-hapuho zivoka  
 place.that.at.ones possums hit-cont-they.per-ss stick.on

demo-o-ha-na va-ta emo-o-ha //  
 bind-cont-they.per-chs get-and come-cont-they.per

'Those of one place kill a pig and bring it, those of another place kill a cassowary and bring it and those of yet another place kill possums and bind them on a stick and bring them.'

3. Pab  $\wedge$  Pac

/mete aban ro nangariv napu abana ro modari va vi-pane-za  
 and young.men.three young.men.others get put-they.imp-pur

volo mit narezaro va-ha / eutapak nap  
 pig meat two get-they.per tobacco.one

ziapotara ngetita va-ha-puho / (paru nonoroha  
 smoke.paper.and.matches get-they.per-ss they road.on

sa-ha )  
 go-they.per

'And three young men, in order to meet the other young men, got two tins of meat and they got tobacco, smoke paper and matches (and they went on the road).'

4. Pa  $\wedge$   $\overline{\text{Pb}}$

/peteve Gazili abanarangaraboza ngaravataka nari nimaza oke  
 now name people's midst.in some your.for there

rotapu ha-ta      ora-ma-ha                      / nari vetezama  
true    speak-and    sleep-cont-they.per    some    discarding.only

ora-ma-ha                      /  
sleep-cont-they.per

'Nowadays in the Gazili people's area, some are speaking the truth about you and sleeping and others are sleeping without doing this.'

5. Pab  $\wedge$  Pac

/ pomakeha reima zeirurume va-ta      emo-ho-pane                      / pomakeha  
that.in    our    cargo    get-and    come-cont-it.imp    that.in

reima anga      saungarivi va-ta      emo-ho-pane                      /  
our    woman    sister.two    get-and    come-cont-it.imp

'That (vehicle) will bring our cargo and it will bring our two sisters.'

6. Pab  $\wedge$  Pac

/ ne ivovo vo-ho-pu                      eve    / hodadevo vo-ho-pu                      eve /  
I    water    one.who.has.got    here    knowledge    one.who.has.got    here

'I am a baptized one, I am one with knowledge.'

7. Pa  $\wedge$  Pb

/ ni ongapuza ropu rava-ta      se-ke                      / ngaripu rava-ta  
you    God's    son    become-and    go-you.imp    daughter    become-and

se-ke                      /  
go-you.imp

'You will become God's son, you will become God's daughter.'

8. Pab  $\wedge$  Pac


( hono-o-ha-na                      ) / hat kapoeza posoenanga  
go.across-cont-they.per-chs    ear.for    nettles.with

vo-o-ha                      / hat kapoeza genaenanga vo-o-ha                      /  
get-cont-they.per    ear.for    nettles.with    get-cont-they.per

'(As they went across) they got their ears with the strong nettles, and they got their ears with the mild nettles.'

6.1.2.3 Amplification Sentence is characterized by two juxtaposed Bases only, the first of which is a Statement and the second of which is an Amplification which adds additional information or clarifies one point of that Statement.

Amplification Sentence =

+Base 1		+Base 2
Statement		Amplification
Independent Cl		Independent Cl
adjective		Listing S
		Alternative S
		Series S
		Coordinate 2 S
		Neg Pos Antithetical S
[Existential Cl]		[Existential Cl]
Paraphrase		
Pa	$\wedge$	P'a
Pa	$\wedge$	Pab
Pa	$\wedge$	Pax
	$\wedge$	sP
P(a)	$\wedge$	P(a')
Comparison		
Pa	<	Pa

Notes:

1. The subject is always the same and can be ellipsed in the Amplification. The predicate is the same or a synonym although in a few examples the predicate of the Amplification occurs in a different form because the amplification is in the predicate.

2. Mode, mood and aspect must match in both Bases.



3. The Statement is not necessarily completely repeated in the Amplification.
4. Deep grammar encodes as paraphrase.
5. Either subject, object, location, time or predicate of the Statement is amplified in the Amplification, and any of these excepting predicate may be **stated** as additional information in the Amplification.
6. Intonation is usually a falling contour on predicate of both Bases.
7. Only a non-predicative clause in Base 2 has been observed following a non-predicative clause in Base 1.

Examples: Amplification Sentence

1.  $Pa \wedge P'a$

(ngevo ha-o-ha-na) / modari to-o-ha / zuta  
word speak-cont-he.per-chs others do-cont-they.per likeness

to-o-ha tapazata /  
do-cont-they.per what.they.would.be.doing

'(When he sang out) the **others** did it, they practiced what they would be doing.'

2.  $\bar{P}a \wedge \bar{P}ax$

/mete pi karoma epata na-ema / Omuholora  
and he other.side this.at neg-come Omu.people.and

Rukuholora Havahataholo-za zeisika na-ema / (mete ev  
Ruku.people.and Havahata.people's place.at neg-come and here

amun na-ema )  
also neg-come

'He didn't come over there, he didn't come to the area belonging to the Omu people and the Ruku people and the Havahata people, (and he didn't come here either).'

3.  $Pa \wedge Pax$

/pota to-ho-ta he-gi / nono nasikaro nasikaro pota  
this do-cont-and be-we.per moon two two this

to-ho-ta he-gi /  
do-cont-and be-we.per

'This is what we were doing, for four months this is what we were doing.'

4. Pa  $\wedge$  P'a

/povoza va-ha / kezavo va-ha /  
therefore got-he.per strong get-he.per

'Therefore he got it, he got it strong.'

5. Pa  $\wedge$  Pa'

/morega morega ivovo va-ha-pu eve / pota herisika ivovo  
false false water one.who.got here this flesh.at water

va-ha-puho he-za-pu eve /  
one.who.got.and.is here

'Here is one who received baptism falsely, one who was baptised with fleshly motives.'

6. Pa  $\wedge$  Pax

/tuelpela tanekangi kohati oke oraeza / naravati sikis naravati  
twelve tanks inside there be one.side six one.side

sikis pota oke oraeza/  
six this there be

'There are twelve tanks inside there, on one side there are six and on the other side there are six.'

7. Pa  $\wedge$  Pax

/mete vono // eve Gazili zeiha vono ma Zev zeiha  
and nothing here name place.at nothing or name place.at

vono ma Aivar zeiha vono //  
nothing or name place.at nothing

'But there are none, here at the Gazili place there are none and at Zev place there are none, and at Aivar place there are none.'

8. gP  $\wedge$  sP

/povoza pi katevo na-ngo-o-ha / Ravei pi ne katevo  
therefore he advice me-tell-cont-he.per name he I advice

na-ngo-o-ha /  
me-tell-cont-he.per

'Therefore he was advising me, Ravei was advising me.'

9. Pa < Pa

/metea poekaza gogota epata heza// rabavoza gogota kezata gogo  
and this.at's work this be rubber's work strong work

modangi ritou ta-ta heza//  
other pass do-and be

'And there the work is this, rubber work is hard work, it is harder than any other work.'

6.1.2.4 Negative Positive Antithetical Sentence is characterized by Base 1 which is Negative, followed by Base 2 which is Positive, optionally linked by the Adversative ong 'but'.

Negative Positive Antithetical Sentence

+Base 1	+Adversative	+Base 2
Negative		Positive
Stative Cl		Stative Cl
Independent Neg Cl	<u>ong</u> 'but'	Independent Ind Cl
Imperative Cl (prohibitive)		Independent Cl (imperfect)
Coordinate 2 S		Imperative Cl (non-prohibitive)
Paraphrase $\bar{P}''a$	$\wedge$	Pa
Contrast $\bar{P}ax$	$\wedge$	Pax''

Notes:

1. The subject of the Negative and the Positive is the same.
2. ong is an optional link but it is far less likely to occur in free text in this sentence type than in an Antithetical Sentence. The occurrence of mete 'and' is rare in this sentence type.
3. Negative Positive Antithetical Sentence differs from Antithetical Sentence in:
  - a) Exponents are restricted in Negative Positive Antithetical Sentence but not in Antithetical Sentence.

b) They encode differently in the deep grammar.

c) Negative Positive Antithetical Sentence has the same subject in both Bases but Subject in Antithetical Sentence can be same or different.

4. A Sentence in Base 1 must have a final negative predicate or a negative predicate in both Bases. A prohibitive predicate in Base 1 is followed by a positive imperative predicate in Base 2. A Stative Clause in the Negative must have an adjective indicating a negative state, and is followed by a Stative Clause in the Positive which has an antonym of the adjective of the Negative.

5. Deep grammar is paraphrase and contrast. Contrast is an unusual encoding in the deep grammar and example 8 is the only one which has been observed. All other examples encode as Paraphrase.

6. All the Negative is not necessarily paraphrased in the Positive, i.e. a temporal in the Negative may not necessarily be repeated in the Positive.

7. The Positive may add information not included in Negative.

Examples: Negative Positive Antithetical Sentence

1. / zeira hama epesisi na-vereva / ogare parumatatiamā  
place this.at neg-arrive down.there their.at.only

he-ha /  
be-they.per

'They had not come to this place, they were at their own place.'

2. / rei ngevo na-ka / rei kila he-gi /  
we word neg-speak we quiet be-we.per

'We didn't speak, we were quiet.'

3. / gogotaza kaeve ravo-tu / ong ni tinama gogota  
work.for dislike become-pro but you well.only work

to-o-ke /  
do-cont-you.imp

'Do not dislike work, but work well.'

4. / pi poraha ongapu na-vete / pi papapunanga karara uli  
he that.time.at God neg-discard he father.with together tie

ta-ta he-ha /  
do-and be-he.per

'At that time he did not desert God, he was united with the father.'

5. //havevoza rarihananga napu oke sa-ta havevona et  
sea.for we.from someone there go-and sea.at eye

na-re // ununu he-gi /  
neg-break ignorant be-we.per

'Not one of us had been to see the sea, we were ignorant.'

6. mete tibivoza ngevona epeka hatete-ta kosi reza  
and conch.shell's word.at here.at hear-and back break

ma-no-tune / orah rezaha eve verevo-vai so-ho-ze-i /  
him-give-pro all.the.time here appear-cto go-cont-im-pl

'And you will hear the conch shell and don't turn your back, but be coming here all the time.'

7. (ongapu nima kezavoza home-ta nina na-nge-gi /  
God your strength.about think-and you.to you-tell-we.per

povoza ) / e-vete-tune / peteve e-ngize-ke /  
therefore us-discard-pro now us-help-you.imp

'(Lord, we think about your strength and are praying therefore) don't cast us aside, help us.'

8. Pax  $\wedge$  Pax''

/paru haopatam reima damimita reima izara  
they midnight our ancestor.dance our grandparent.and

nonora papaza iriepatahananga nata na-ura / iriepatahanangata  
mother.and father's down.there.from none neg-hit down.there.from

alizamo uro-o-ha /  
day.time hit-cont-they.per

'They did not dance our ancestors' dance, the one from down there, at night, but they danced it during the day.'

6.1.2.5 Reason Sentence has at least two Bases optionally linked by povoza 'therefore'.

Reason Sentence =

+Base 1 <sup>n=1-8</sup>	±Result	+Base 2
Reason	Conjunction	Result
Independent Cl	<u>povoza</u> 'therefore'	Independent Cl
Series S		Series S
Listing S		Direct Quot S
<u>hezavoza</u>		Amplification S
<u>heza</u>		Abilitative S
(imperfect aspect)		Neg Pos Antithetical S
(imperative mood)		
Efficient Cause		
$P \wedge P$	$\supset$	$Q$
Negative Purpose		
$(P_{\beta} \supset Q) \wedge P$	$\wedge$	$P \supset pQ_{\beta}$

Notes:

1. Non-predicative clauses do not occur in either Base.

2. The final predicate of the Reason is either independent mood with imperfect aspect or Imperative mood (prohibitive) followed by heza/hezavoza. These are permitted to co-occur in one sentence without any apparent difference in meaning. Imperfect aspect plus heza/hezavoza means 'because...' whereas the prohibitive suffix plus hezavoza (heza does not occur) means 'lest...'. Ellipsis of the heza in hezavoza frequently occurs. Thus ngodotuna hezavoza can be ngodotunavoza, and ngodapane hezavoza can be ngadapanezavoza. See examples 5 and 6.

3. The Reason of Reason Sentence does not actually happen, and it is undesirable that it should happen.

4. There are no aspect mood or mode restrictions in Base 2.

5. As many as eight occurrences of Base 1 optionally linked by ma 'or' have been seen. This is not considered to be an embedded Alternative Sentence because:

- a) ma is used as linkage in many areas of the grammar
- b) In an Alternative Sentence ma is obligatory
- c) Base 1 is unique in its grammatical structure and meaning.

6. povoza frequently does not occur.

7. The order of the Bases is reversible. If they are reversed so that Base 1 is sentence final, that sentence cannot embed in another sentence type.

8. Intonation is rising in Base 1 and falling in Base 2.

9. Reason Sentence differs from Circumstance Result Sentence in that:

- a) Obligatory conjunction versus optional conjunction
- b) Occurrence of hezavoza/heza as part of the predicate of Reason. This occurs in no other sentence type.

10. A Series in Reason must have imperfect aspect in the final predicate plus heza/hezavoza.

11. Imperfect aspect in the predicate of Reason encodes as Efficient Cause in the deep grammar (see examples 1-4) and prohibitive predicate in Reason tagmeme encodes as Negative Purpose in the deep grammar (see examples 5-8).

12. An Independent Indicative Clause with imperfect aspect in the predicate also occurs with hezag. This form is not dependent as clauses with heza and hezavoza are and it has no other sentence Base with it. It means 'Certainly it will ...'.

Examples: Reason Sentence

1. (mete maheiraha povoza ) ne kuta to-ma hezavoza / ne  
and new.time therefore I ignorant do-I.imp be
- gogota kuta to-ma heza / ma ne volopu manavoza  
work ignorant do-I.imp be or I pig about.giving.to.them
- kuta to-ma hezavoza / ta-ta mete ne upaiama he-ma  
ignorant do-I.imp be do-and and I nothing.only be-I.imp
- heza / volopu vono he-ma heza / ma ne avasi vonopu zora gopo  
be pig none be-I.imp be or I garden none-one yam.and.taro
- na-ngede-pu he-ma heza / ma gina ngomo-ma hezavoza  
not.planting.one be-I.imp be or hunger die-I.imp be

6. /susuvo ozouro-tuna-vo-za / rab mara nguvangi barenga-ta  
 milk capsize-pro-qual-for rubber branch runners put.in-and  
vi-ama-ha /  
 put-cont-they.per

'Lest the (rubber) milk capsize, they put sticks in it.'

7. /ema-ta itingadeka ngada-ta ngomo-tuna hezavoza// povoza  
 come-and fire.in burn-and die-pro be therefore

akaha tititaka pataeka menge-he-na he-ha //  
 up.there to.the.side different.place sent-I.per-chs be-they.per

'Lest they come into the fire and burn themselves and die I sent them over to a different place and there they stayed.'

8. /haopatamo e-meno-tuna hezavoza/ ma e-meno-tuna hezavoza/ haitokoro  
 midnight us-hit-pro be or us-hit-pro be door  
viza demo-o-gi-puho /  
 door bind-cont-we.per-ss

'At midnight, lest they kill us or lest they kill us we locked the door.'

### 6.1.3 Quotation Sentences

There are two quotation sentences, **Direct Quotation Sentence** and **Indirect Quotation Sentence**.

6.1.3.1 **Direct Quotation Sentence** is characterized by one obligatory tagmeme, the Quotation, and two optional tagmemes. Base 1 optionally precedes the Quotation, and Base 3 optionally follows the Quotation. It is not uncommon for Bases 1 and 3 to co-occur and this adds emphasis to the Quotation.

Direct Quotation Sentence =

±Base 1	+Base 2	±Base 3
	Quotation	
Pre-quote Clause	word, phrase	Post-quote Clause
Compound Clause	Clause,	
<u>Amplification S</u>	Sentence	



## Paragraph

## Discourse

## Reporting

W<sup>P</sup>

A

Q

## Notes:

1. Base 2 is characterized by a Quotation with no adaptation of the person or aspect to the viewpoint of the speaker.
2. Base 1 and 3 must agree in person, number, aspect, mood and mode. Any person or number is permitted to occur. Both Bases are normally perfect aspect but they can be negative mood to indicate that the **stated** Quotation was not actually spoken. **Imperative mood** also occurs in Base 1 to indicate what should or should not be spoken. Imperfect aspect occurs to indicate what might be said.
3. Occasionally in narrative text both Base 1 and 3 are omitted and the intonation and context indicate the fact of the Quotation and the speaker.
4. A Compound Clause manifesting Base 1 has a Pre-quote Clause in the Final Action. An Amplification Sentence manifesting Base 1 has a 'speak' or 'think' verb in both predicates.
5. A lengthy Direct Quotation Sentence often embeds in the final Base of another sentence and the following sentence commences with 'Having said this' or similar, but one or two word quotations in Direct Quotation Sentences have been observed with dependency markers on Base 3 which link it into a Series Sentence. A non-finite form of the Post-quote Clause links the Quote into the remainder of the Compound Clause.
6. Quotations in a quoted conversation can be linked by the use of 'having said this' plus change of subject following or they can be linked by pata 'reply' or they can be simply juxtaposed but this is less common. In data observed to date two Quotations are generally linked with pata but more extensive conversation quoting is done by means of 'having said this' or a combination of both.
7. Actions such as 'answer', 'question' etc. are expressed with an Auxiliary Verb Phrase in Base 1 which includes either haza 'speak' or -nga 'tell'.
8. A series of Quotations linked by ma 'or' is the means by which a number of quotations by one speaker can be expressed. These quotations could have been spoken at one point of time or over a period of time.

9. Sentence final falling intonation usually occurs in each Base, except when Base 3 has dependency **markers** linking it into a **Series** Sentence.

10. A quote that is untrue usually has the word morega 'false' in Base 1.

Examples: Direct Quotation Sentence

1. /at            a-ng-ha            / "ari ha-sa-ta            eme-gi"            /  
question us-tell-they.per    you certainly-go-and come-you.per

"Have you come back?" they asked us.'

2. "ee rei ha-sa-ta            eme-gi            "/  
yes we certainly-go-and come-we.per

"Yes, we have been and come back."

3. (ma-nge-gi-na            )/ pi pata ,/ "tinama            ete-ta            zu            te-i "  
him-tell-we.per-chs    he reply            well.only look-and like do-im

(pota ha-ha-na            )  
this say-ge.per-chs

'We told him this and he replied, "Watch well and do the same."  
Having said this ...'

4. (aerari            ema-ta            ngetivo a-nga-ha-puho            )/ "sa-ka            "/  
white.ones come-and story    us-tell-they.per-ss            go-we.imp

ha-ha-na ...            /  
say-they-per-chs

'(The white people came and told us a story) and "We will go"  
they said and ...'

5. (reima ngaravataka vereva-ha-puho            ) pota a-nga-ha            // "rari  
our            midst.at            arrive-he.per-ss            that us-tell-he.per            we
- tokaet angangarivih gipizo ne na-ta            emo-ma-na-hoho            verovoka  
later two.women.at food    I eat-and come-I.imp-chs-after midday

poraha            rariparo gogovo ta-ka            "/// pota a-nga-ha            /  
that.time we.all work            do-we.imp            that us-tell-he.per

'He arrived in **our-midst** and told us this, "Later at midday, after I have eaten with **the** two women, I will come and we will work", that is what he told us.'

6. /"povoza ari oke nema sikura abana oke rave-pike "/  
therefore you there my school men there become-you.imp

pota ha-ha /  
that say-he.per

'"Therefore you will become my pupils," he said.'

7. //misisip pot ha-ha misis aus sikitakapuhu  
white.woman that speak-she.per white.woman.at.the.hospital

na-nga-ha // "ari ogare aus sikitaka se-i "  
me-tell-she.per you down.there hospital.at go.im-pl

'The white woman said, the nurse at the hospital told me, "You go down there to the hospital."'

8. /pat // "upai oke ema-ta heza vatah , upai  
reply nothing there come-and be perhaps nothing

ta-ma-ha vatah "/// pota hao-tuna hezavoza povoza eve  
do-cont-she.per perhaps that say-pro lest therefore here

na-ngo-ho //  
you-tell-I.per

'... reply, "Perhaps she is here for no reason, perhaps she has come and is not doing anything." Lest you say that I have told you this.'

#### 6.1.3.2 Indirect Quotations

Indirect Quotations are always changed to reflect the focus of the reporter in regard to person. They can be expressed in one of two ways.

a) They most commonly occur as the purpose tagmeme of a clause which contains a speech word in the predicate. Quotations cannot be expressed in this way, but must be expressed as a Direct Quotation Sentence.

Example:

ne sa-ta era hora-ta zeipotaka vereva-ta volo mangepu  
I go-and go down-and place.that.at arrive-and pig feast

uro-ma-za ha-oho  
hit-I.imp-pur say-I.per

'I said that I would go to that place for the pig feast.'

b) A second mode of ~~expression~~ ~~has~~ been seen but examples are few. This mode is not unlike a ~~Direct~~ Quotation Sentence. The quotation, which has been changed to reflect the **focus** of the speaker is followed by 'this he said' or similar. The indirect quote can also embed in an Object-like tagmeme of a Pre-quote type clause. An effort to elicit further examples from an informant was unsuccessful indicating that this is an unusual way of expressing quotations.

#### Examples: Indirect Quotation

1. vereva-ta paruma raingi va to-ho-ta yia taira taira  
arrive-and their guns get do-cont-and year what what

vono rava-ha pota at ma-ngo-vai emo-o-ha  
finish-it.per this question them-ask-cto come-cont-he.per

'He came asking them how many years they had been policemen.'

2. Aiyura abana paru kuturuta aho rava-pane ha-ha-puho  
name men they night big become-it.imp say-they.per

'The men of Aiyura said that it will become dark.'

3. morega me-ta-mo-ho pi ha-ha-na ...  
false him-do-cont-I.per he speak-he.per-chs

'He said I was deceiving him and ...'

#### Mini-base Sentences

##### 6.2.1.1

##### Negative Sentence

+Base +vono

vono 'nothing' negates  
all of positive statement  
in Base

##### 6.2.1.2

##### Abilitative Sentence

+rekota +Base

perfect or imperfect  
aspect occurs

#### Quasi-clausal Sentences

##### 6.2.1.4

##### Simple Sentence

+Base

Clause ± periphery

## 6.2.1.3

## Frustrative Sentence

+Wish +nakWish is always imperfect **aspect**

## CHART 2 - NON-COMPLEX SENTENCE TYPES

6.2 Non-Complex sentences

Non-complex sentences are either Mini-base or Quasi-clausal.

## 6.2.1 Mini-base Sentences

Negative Sentence, Abilitative Sentence and Frustrative Sentence are in this group and each type has only one word in one of its Bases.

6.2.1.1 Negative Sentence is manifested by an Independent Indicative Clause or Series Sentence plus the adjective vono 'nothing' which negates whatever precedes it in the sentence.

Negative Sentence =

+Base 1

Positive Statement

+Base 2

Negation

Independent Ind Cl

vono 'nothing'

Series S

Resume

 $\overline{P}$  $\wedge$  $r\overline{Q}$ 

Notes:

1. Occasionally the suffix -za 'purpose' is added to an imperfect aspect predicate in Base 1.

2. Negative Sentence is not common text material.

3. Negative Clause or a sentence with negative predicates does not occur in Base 1.

4. It seems certain that other sentences could manifest Base 1 but none have been seen.

5. Negative Sentence only embeds in the final Base of another sentence.

6. There are no aspect or mode limitations in Base 1.

7. There is no pause between the Bases.

Examples: Negative Sentence

1. /ninanga ariparo nae napu uli ta-ta keza rava-ta he-ta  
 you.with you.all each.other knot do-and strong become-and be-and  
ta-ma-ha / vono /  
 do-cont-they.per nothing

'They are not one with you and they are not becoming strong.'

2. /pi karimake zuma ta-pane / vono /  
 he car buy do-he.imp nothing

'He will not buy a car.'

3. /ne Kainantu so-ma-za / vono /  
 I name go-I.imp-pur nothing

'I will not go to Kainantu.'

4. /pi ninanga aripi honevo hepikezata oke / vono /  
 he you.with you.two together what.you.will.be there nothing

'He will not be with you two there.'

5. (so-ma-puho )/ zuma to-ma / vono /  
 go-I.imp-ss buy do-I.imp nothing

'(When I go) I will not buy (it)!!'

6. //mete ne moda navonanga reko ha-ho-na kapota  
 and I other.talk.with read speak-I.per-chs interpretation

iza rava-ta heza// vono /  
 hidden become-and be nothing

'And I didn't read another language so the interpretation is not hidden.'

6.2.1.2 The Abilitative Sentence is manifested by the Abilitative rekota 'enough' plus a Clause or Sentence.

Abilitative Sentence =

+Abilitative

+Base

rekota

Independent Clause

Alternative S

Facility

fp

Λ

Q

Notes:

1. Perfect or imperfect aspect and indicative or negative mood occur.
2. Abilitative Sentence can be dependent and thus it can embed in **Series** Sentences although few examples have been seen. It has also been observed manifesting Result in a Circumstance Result Sentence.
3. Abilitative Sentence with imperfect aspect in the Base is a polite way to ask someone to do something.
4. Few examples have been seen in free text.
5. Rekota also occurs as an adverb meaning 'enough', but it never occurs clause initial whereas in the Abilitative Sentence rekota always occurs initially. A shorter form reko occurs as an auxiliary in an Auxiliary Verb Phrase.

Examples: Abilitative Sentence

1. /rekota/ ni sa-ta gogo povo te-ke? /  
 enough you go-and work this do-you.imp  
 'Are you able to go and do this work?'
2. (gogo kezavo eve povoza )/ rekota ne pota na-ta  
 work strong here therefore enough I this neg-do  
 '(It is hard work so) I am not able to do it.'
3. /rekota// pi sa-pane ma na-so-tu //  
 enough he go-he.imp or neg-go-imp  
 'Is he able to go or not.'

4. /rekota/ rei se-go /  
 enough we go-we.per

'We are able to go.'

5. (narizaro ngoda-pane heza povoza )/ rekota/ hao-ma-na /  
 everyone fall-they.imp be therefore enough speak-I.imp-chs

(hatete-pike-puho)  
 hear-you.imp-ss

'(Because many will fail), I am able to speak(so you listen).'

6.2.1.3 Frustrative Sentence is characterized by a Clause or Sentence plus the particle nak 'wish'.

Frustrative Sentence =

+Base 1

+Base 2

Independent Indicative Clause

nak

Series S

'wish'

(Imperfect aspect)

Frustration

iP  $\wedge$  Pa

$\wedge$

( $\overline{\text{Pa}}$ )

Notes:

1. Base 1 always has imperfect aspect in its final predicate.
2. Frustrative Sentence means, 'I wish I could ... (but I can't). Thus the deep grammar encodes as frustration.
3. Frustrative Sentence has not been observed in free text but it is common in everyday speech.
4. Frustrative Sentence cannot be made dependent and thus its embedding potential is limited. Possibly it could embed in Coordinate 1 Sentence or in an Antithetical Sentence.

Examples: Frustrative Sentence

1. /ne sa-ta volo mangepu ura-ta no-ma / nak/  
 I go-and pig feast hit-and eat-I.imp wish

'I wish I could go and celebrate the pig feast (but I can't).'



2. /pi Araboka ma Saiveriha sa-pane / nak /  
 he place or place go-he.imp wish

'He wishes he could go to Araboka or to Saiveriha.'

3. /nima gogovo ta-pane / nak /  
 your work do-he.imp wish

'He wishes he could do your work.'

4. /ne-ma na-ne-ke / nak /  
 mine me-give-you.imp wish

'I wish you would give it to me.'

5. /rei poeka sa-ta aerariza no nae nae map zum ta-ka / nak /  
 we that.at go-and white.one's everything do-we.imp wish

'We wish we could go there and buy the white peoples' things.'

6. //dei sa-ka-puho data ura-ta gipiz na-ka // nak /  
 we go-we.imp-ss dance hit-and food eat-we.imp wish

'We wish we could go and dance and eat the food.'

#### 6.2.1.4 Quasi-clausal Sentence

The only quasi-clausal sentence is Simple Sentence. Simple Sentence has only one Base filled by any Independent Clause with sentence final intonation. In speech deletion of part of the sentence is common, leaving a word or phrase only. Interrogative words, exclamations or conjunctions also occur with sentence final intonation in conversation.

Sentence periphery occur with Simple Sentence when that sentence is manifested by a Clause but not when it is manifested by something less than a Clause.

Examples:

1. /eroma / taeka se-ke-za eme-ngi /  
 hey man where go-you.imp-pur come-you.per

'Man! Where are you going?'

2. /peteve pisinivonanga reko ha-oho  
 now Pidgin.with read-I.per

'Just now I read in Pidgin.'

3. /rarima modarizaroza rari oke home na-me /  
 our other.ones' we there think neg.put

'We didn't think about our relatives.'

### 6.3 Sentence periphery

Sentence periphery includes five pre-nuclear tagmemes and two post-nuclear tagmemes.

Pre-nuclear periphery:-

±Vocative	±Exclamation	±Evaluation	±Conjunction	±Tail.head Recapitulation
Name	<u>ae, siu</u> 'hey!'	<u>tina</u> 'good'	<u>povoza</u> <u>ma</u>	Clause which partly or completely repeats final Base of preceding sentence.
Kinship term	<u>auma</u> 'surprise'	<u>evo</u> 'no'	<u>ong</u>	
N P	<u>peti</u> 'perhaps'	<u>ee, gu,</u> <u>egu</u> 'yes'	<u>mete</u> <u>ong mete</u>	
<u>eroma</u> 'man!'	<u>maize</u> 'oh oh'	<u>morega</u> 'false'	<u>ong povoza</u>	
<u>engarim</u> 'woman!'	<u>au</u> 'mistake'		<u>mete povoza</u>	
<u>apetai</u> 'one name'	<u>mai zakapi</u> 'sorry'			
	<u>pe</u> 'so'			
	<u>oir</u> 'fear'			

Notes:

- Vocative has been observed between Sentence Bases, and also following the nucleus. The order of Vocative and Exclamation is not fixed.
- Conjunctions included all those described as Sentence Base linkage. As Sentence Introducers they show relationship to previous Sentence in the Paragraph. Behavioural Discourse uses these Sentence Introducers consistently but in other discourse types it is more common for Recapitulation with or without mete 'and' to occur as linkage.
- The clause in Tail.head Recapitulation must have a predicate which is dependent or non-finite. Occasionally this tagmeme adds information not previously stated.

4. A reply to an Interrogative type question has its own unique Introducer, evo 'no', followed by the information requested. An Interrogative type question implies wrong doing thus the defensive evo which begins the reply. If the reply is 'I don't know' then evo is not used.

5. Vocative does not co-occur with Recapitulation and lexically it is not possible for it to co-occur with some exclamations. Generally Exclamation and Evaluation do not co-occur and they do not co-occur with Recapitulation. Evaluation can co-occur with Conjunction and the conjunction mete frequently occurs with Recapitulation.

6. Evaluation tagmeme occasionally occurs post-nuclear but it seems unlikely that all exponents of it could occur there.

Post-nuclear periphery=

±Uncertainty

±Exclamation

vatah  
'perhaps'

mai zakepi  
'sorry'

Notes:

1. The two Post-nuclear periphery do not co-occur.
2. Uncertainty is included in the sentence final falling intonation. Exclamation has a separate falling intonation contour.

Examples of Sentence Periphery. Periphery is indicated by / .

1. redevara                      mengovoza maupu ni / nenapu    abarahaza  
decoration.and spell's           owner you    only.one sky.on.for

'You, the owner of spells and beauty, you are the only one in the sky ...'

2. Apetai    / taeka so-paine  
name.sake    where go-we.dual.im

'Name sake, where will we go?'

3. ae / eroma / eve    ema  
hey    man           here    come

'Hey man, come here.'

4. /auma / rei potana eta na-re /  
surprise we this.at eye neg-break

'Great scott! We haven't **seen this.**'

5. /ne hamaraha Lae sa-ta gogovo to-ma / vatah /  
I ground.on Lae go-and work do-I.imp perhaps

'Perhaps I will walk to Lae and get **work.**'

6. Nanei / ema-ta ne-ngiza/  
older.brother come-and help-me

'Come and help me, brother.'

7. ("tairapu ema-ha" )/ "evo/ ne gogovo to-ma-za emo-ho" /  
who came-he.per no I work do-I.imp-pur come-I.per

'"Who are you?" "No, I am just coming to **work**".'

8. /tina/ ne zai to-ho /  
good I like do-I.per

'Good, I **like it.**'

9. /engarim/ mete taek so-o-ngi /  
woman, and where go-cont-you.per

'And woman, where have you been?'

## 6.4 Examples of embedding

1. mete paruparoma hodadevo ununuama  
and they.all's knowledge ignorant.only be-pre-chs  
paruparo hodad povo va in va laiv ta-ta  
they.all knowledge this.mixed.up  
ta-ma-ha  
do-cont-they.per  
povoza ongapu peteve kuturu epatak ni paruparo hori aban-  
therefore God now night this you they.all bad men  
ununu manata tamahariza peteve me-ngiza-ta  
who.forget now them-help-and  
hodadevonanga koravo rave-ke-na  
knowledge.with caretaker become-you.imp-chs  
paruparoma loporihā ongapu nima abarahaza keza mimahoho -  
they.all's inside.at God your sky.at's strong your  
era hora-pane-puho  
come.down-it.imp-ss  
maot paruparoma lopori va voroura-pane  
again they.all's inside get turn-it.imp  
ma paruparoma herisi va maot voroura-pane  
or they.all's flesh get again turn-it.imp  
ma va tina vata-pane-na  
or get well make-it.imp-chs  
maot paruparo nima abat ngetivo rava-pane  
again they.all your name story become-they.imp  
ma taita home-ta  
or what think-and  
ongapu nina vare na-ngo-ho  
God you.to openly you-tell-l.per

2. ongapu nioho ete-ta  
God you look-and  
he-za be-pre  
he-za be-pre  
hioho koravo rava-ta  
you caretaker become-and  
he-za be-pre  
povoza ora-ka-za te-gi-puho  
therefore sleep-we.imp-pur do-we.imp-ss  
ongapu nima kezavoza home-ta  
God name strength.about think-and  
nina na-nge-gi Compound C1  
you.to you-tell-we.per  
povoza e-vete-tune  
therefore us-discard-neg.im  
peteve e-ngize-ke Negative  
now us-help-you.imp Positive

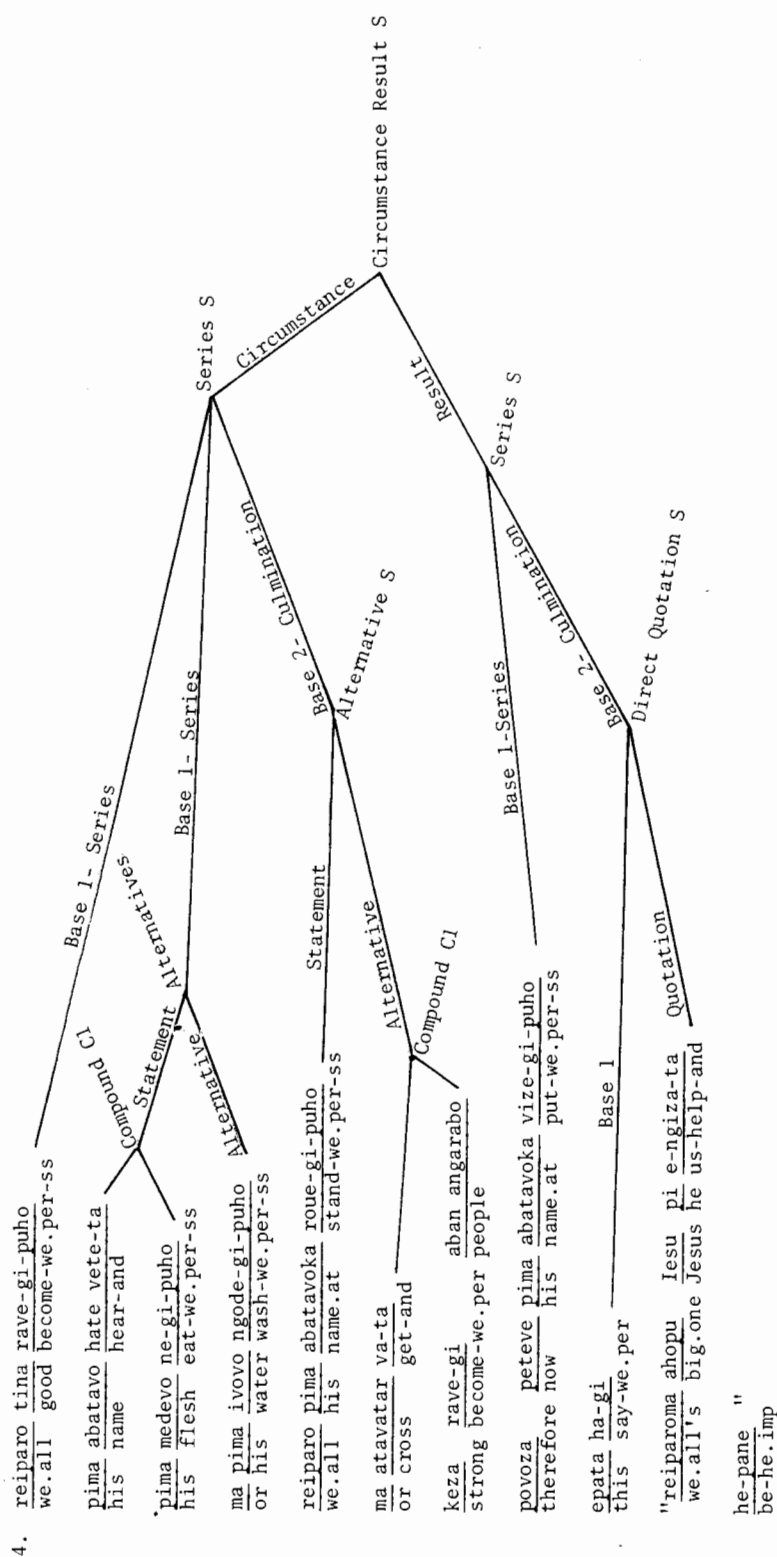
Base 1  
Base 2  
Compound C1  
Base 1- Series  
Base 2- Culmination  
Compound C1  
Series S  
Circumstance  
Circumstance Result S  
Circumstance Result S

'Lord you are watching, you are taking care of us, therefore when we are about to sleep, Lord, we think about your strength and we speak to you, therefore do not desert us but rather help us.'

3. nema nonopu sa-ha-na  
my mother go-she.per-chs  
ne gogovo tina to-ho-tine  
I work well do-I.per-if  
"tina te-nge na-nga-ha nab  
well do-you.per me-tell-she.per would  
mete ne gogovo tina na-ta  
and I work well neg-do

Base 1- Series  
Protasis  
Apodosis  
Base 1  
Base 2- Culmination  
Coordinate 1 S  
Series S

'When my mother went, if I had worked well she would have said, "You did well", but I did not work well.'



'We people all became good and listened to his name, took communion, were baptised and stood strong for him and did the hard things and became strong, therefore now speaking his name we say, "Our leader, Jesus, will be helping us".

## 6.5 Summary of mapping of Deep Structures on Surface Structures

The sentence types listed on the right indicate the various surface structure encodings of each deep structure. An example of each of these is not necessarily included in this chapter.

### I Conjoining

#### 1. Coupling

$P_a \wedge Q_a$	Alternative
$P \wedge Q$	Coordinate 2
	Coordinate 1
$P(a) \wedge P(b)$	Coordinate 1
	Listing
	Alternative
$P'ax \wedge Pay \wedge \dots Pan$	Coordinate 1
$P \wedge Q \wedge \dots N$	Coordinate 2
$P(a) \wedge Q(b)$	Alternative
	Antithetical
$Pax \wedge Pay \wedge P'az$	Coordinate 1
	Listing
$Pab \wedge Pac \wedge Pan$	Listing
$Pa \wedge \bar{Q}b$	Coordinate 2

#### 2. Contrast

$Pa \wedge Qb$	Antithetical
$Pa \wedge P''b$	Coordinate 2
	Antithetical
$Pa \wedge \bar{P}b$	Listing
	Antithetical
$\bar{P}ax \wedge Pay$	Coordinate 1
$\bar{P}ax \wedge Pax''$	Negative Positive Antithetical
$Pac \wedge Pbd$	Coordinate 1
$\bar{P}ab \wedge Pab''$	Antithetical
$\bar{P}a \wedge Pb$	Coordinate 1
$\bar{P}(U - a) \wedge Pa \wedge (a \in U)$	Antithetical
$\bar{P}(\dot{U} - a) \wedge P(a) \wedge (a \in U)$	Alternative



## 3. Comparison

$Pa < Pa$	Amplification
-----------	---------------

## II Paraphrase

## 1. Affirmation

## (1) Identity Equivalence

$Pa \wedge P'a$	Alternative Amplification
-----------------	------------------------------

$Pa \wedge Pa'$	Amplification
-----------------	---------------

$\overline{Pa} \wedge P''a$	Antithetical
-----------------------------	--------------

## (2) Generic-Specific

$gP \wedge sP$	Amplification
----------------	---------------

## (3) Facility

$fP \wedge Q$	Abilitative
---------------	-------------

## (4) Statement-Specification

$Pa \wedge Pab$	Alternative Amplification
-----------------	------------------------------

$Pa \wedge Pax$	Amplification
-----------------	---------------

## 2. Negated Antonym

$\overline{P}''a \wedge Pa$	Negative Positive Antithetical Coordinate 1
-----------------------------	--

$Pa \wedge \overline{P}''a$	Alternative
-----------------------------	-------------

## III Temporal

## 1. Overlap

## (1) Coterminus

$\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$	Series Coordinate 1
--------------------------------------	------------------------

$\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q} \wedge \underline{R}$	Series
---	--------

## (2) Continuous-Punctiliar

$\underline{P} \wedge Q. \wedge \dots \wedge N.$	Series
--	--------

## (3) Punctiliar-Continuous

$P. \wedge \underline{Q}$	Series
---------------------------	--------

(4) Punctiliar-Continuous-Punctiliar and Succession  
Combination

$\underline{P} \wedge Q \wedge \dots \underline{N}$  Series

$P \wedge \underline{P} \wedge Q \wedge \dots \underline{N}$  Series

2. Succession

(1) Span-event

$\underline{P} \wedge Q$  Series  
Coordinate 2

(2) Event-event

$\underline{P} \wedge Q$  Series  
Coordinate 1

$\underline{P} \wedge Q \wedge \dots \underline{N}$  Series  
Coordinate 2

(3) Event-span

$\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$  Series

(4) Span-span

$\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$  Coordinate 1

(5) Span-event Combination

$\underline{P} \vee \underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q} \vee Q \wedge \dots \wedge \underline{N} \vee \underline{N}$  Series

IV Implication

1. Realization

(1) Contrafactual

$P_{\beta} \wedge (P_{\beta} \supset Q_{\beta}) \wedge (P \supset Q)$  Contrafactual

2. Frustration

(1) Expectancy Reversal

$(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_{\beta}$  Coordinate 1

(2) Conflicting Premises

$(P \supset Q) \wedge (R \supset \overline{Q}) \wedge P \wedge R$  Antithetical

(3) Mistaken Idea

$(Q_{\beta}) \wedge tP \wedge Q$  Coordinate 1

### 3. Causation

#### (1) Efficient Cause

$$P \wedge P \supset Q$$

Circumstance Result  
Reason  
Series

#### (2) Intent

$$iPa \wedge Pa \wedge (\overline{Pa})$$

Frustrative

### 4. Negative Purpose

$$(P_{\beta} \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge P \supset pQ_{\beta}$$

Reason

## V Alternation

### 1. With excluded middle (exclusive disjunction)

#### (1) By antonym

$$Pa \vee P''a$$

Alternative

#### (2) By negation

$$\underline{Pa} \vee \overline{Pa}$$

Alternative

### 2. Without excluded middle (inclusive disjunction)

$$Pax \vee Pay \vee Paz$$

Alternative

$$Pa \vee Qa \vee Na$$

Alternative

$$Pab \vee Pac \vee Pad$$

Alternative

## VI Reporting

### 1. Speech

$$wP \wedge Q$$

Direct Quotation  
Indirect Quotation

### 2. Resume

$$\overline{P} \wedge r\overline{Q}$$

Negative

## 7. PARAGRAPHS

### 7.0 Introduction

A Kunimaipa paragraph is defined as a construction in the grammatical hierarchy between Sentence and Discourse level and its nucleus consists of at least two grammatical sentences.

On the lower levels of the grammatical hierarchy different types of constructions are described solely on the basis of distinct grammatical features. With the paragraphs, however, while there are grammatical features, they are less common and not always as easily recognised, and so this analysis and description depends on the lexical and phonological features which also occur.

A general description of the type of linkage which occurs within the paragraph is given first. Then paragraph types and the pertinent features of each are described, accompanied by a bidimensional array which shows in a precise manner the tagmemes which occur. Items which could be considered as periphery and described once for all paragraphs, are included, where relevant, as part of the particular paragraph because they tend to be expounded by different items with different paragraph types.

Features which have been considered in analysing and describing paragraphs are the distribution of the paragraph in discourse, optional versus obligatory tagmemes, the fillers which manifest each tagmeme, the way in which the tagmemes are held together in the paragraph, deep structure relationships, and the potential for expansion within the paragraph.

Paragraphs most typically manifest discourse tagmemes but they also embed in other paragraphs and occasionally manifest sentence Bases.

Sentences and paragraphs are often distinguished from each other by the intonation contours which occur. Typically sentences have a high-low final falling intonation contour. Thus a rising or high-mid falling intonation at the end of a clause (or embedded sentence) followed by a conjunction indicates that the conjunction is functioning as sentence linkage, whereas a high-low falling contour at the end of a clause or sentence followed by a conjunction indicates that the conjunction is functioning as paragraph linkage.

This description of paragraphs is tentative and it is expected that study of further data would refine the analysis and enlarge the lists of tagmeme exponents.

### 7.1 Linkage within the Paragraph

Paragraphs in general match Discourse level tagmemes, so lexical and grammatical items marking new tagmemes on the discourse level also

indicate a new paragraph. Paragraphs are held together by recapitulation, conjunctions, juxtaposition or by paragraph and sentence overlap. (See d), below). Other factors which are relevant in holding paragraphs together are repetition of the same predicate, aspect, and mode, the latter two because they either remain the same throughout the paragraph or else change in a systematic way which is typical of that particular paragraph.

- a) Recapitulation is of the final verb of the previous sentence or of all or part of the final clause of the previous sentence. Occasionally additional information is added in the recapitulation. Whichever variety of recapitulation occurs the recapitulating verb occurs in a non-finite or dependent form.

Recapitulation occurs most commonly in Narrative Discourse as a factor in holding the paragraph together, but it also occurs in all other discourse types.

- b) Conjunctions are those which also occur as internal sentence linkage. When they occur in the periphery preceding the sentence nucleus they join that sentence to the previous sentence. It is not unusual for two or three different conjunctions to link sentences in the same paragraph. Factors which are relevant in separating sentences which are linked by conjunctions from paragraphs which are linked in the same way are described under the appropriate paragraph type.
- c) Juxtaposed sentences are considered to be in the same paragraph if the predicate in both sentences is the same, if the sentences link logically as part of the same topic, or if there is another cohesive factor present and no marker indicating a new paragraph.
- d) It is not unusual for the linkage which occurs in Series Sentences to also act as linkage for paragraphs which are part of the sequence of events. When this occurs the first tagmeme of the paragraph manifests the final Base of one Series Sentence and subsequent tagmemes of the paragraph manifest the first Base of the following Series Sentence, without recapitulation occurring. The linkage between the paragraph tagmemes is whatever is typical of the particular paragraph. This is a cohesive factor in Narrative Discourse (see 8.1.8) and only short paragraphs do this. Longer paragraphs tend to have the first tagmeme in the final Base of a Series Sentence but the following tagmeme or tagmemes of the paragraph do not link as part of the following Series Sentence. Instead there is a sentence break at the end of the paragraph and the following sentence begins with Tail-head recapitulation from the end of the paragraph.

- e) A temporal in each tagmeme of the Time Contrast Paragraph is a cohesive factor in holding the paragraph together.

Embedding of one paragraph within another is common in which case the embedded paragraph is linked by whatever is typical of that paragraph type, and the larger paragraph is held together in the way that is typical for that paragraph type.

COMPLEX		NON-COMPLEX		
7.2.1.1.1 Narrative Pa	7.2.1.1.3 Descriptive Pa	7.2.2.1 Relational Pa	7.2.2.3 Identical Predicate Pa	7.2.2.5 Exposition Pa
+Setting +Build-up <sup>n=1-25</sup> +Terminus Tail-head recapitulation Aspect consistent	+Setting +Topic <sup>n=1-5</sup> +Step +Result +Reason +Terminus Tail-head recapitulation Mode occurs	+Statement +Link +Statement <sup>n=1-7</sup> Conjunctions	+Idea 1 +Idea 2 +(Idea 3) <sup>n=1-4</sup> Juxtaposed and conjunction Same verb Frequent questions	+Text +Emphasis +Exposition Juxtaposed Limited tagmeme fillers
7.2.1.1.2 Behavioural Pa	7.2.2.2 Time Contrast Pa	7.2.2.4 Coordinate Pa	7.2.2.6 Dialogue Pa	
+Setting +Exhortation +Present Condition +Warning-result +Evaluation +Teaching +Terminus Juxtaposed and conjunction	+Time 1 +Time 2 Juxtaposed and conjunction Temporal in each tagmeme	+Coordinate 1 +Coordinate 2 +(Coordinate 3) <sup>n=1-3</sup> Juxtaposed	+Initiating Unit +Dialogue Unit +Resolving Unit +Final Comment Recapitulation, juxtaposition or conjunction Limited tagmeme fillers	

CHART 111 - PARAGRAPH TYPES

## 7.2 Paragraph Types

Paragraphs in Kunimaipa fall into two categories, those which are complex and which manifest Discourse level tagmemes, and those which are non-complex and which generally embed in other paragraphs. Narrative, Behavioural and Descriptive Paragraphs are complex, and are potentially very long. Relational, Time Contrast, Identical Predicate, Coordinate, Exposition and Dialogue Paragraphs are simpler in structure and are usually short and embed in other paragraphs.

### 7.2.1 Complex Paragraph Types

Setting and Terminus optionally occur and tagmemes are expounded equally by paragraphs and sentences. These three paragraphs do not usually embed in each other.

#### 7.2.1.1 Narrative Paragraph

The Narrative Paragraph tends to be very long and predominantly manifests Episodes in Narrative Discourse but it also occurs in other discourse types. Linkage is only by Tail-head recapitulation and the order of events is generally chronological. Non-chronological ordering of events is described in Chapter 8.1.5.

There are three tagmemes which occur in Narrative Paragraphs. Setting and Terminus are optional but nuclear in that they are expounded in different ways to Setting and Terminus in other paragraph types. Build-up is obligatory and also nuclear and has been observed to occur from one to 25 times. Commonly ten or eleven occur. Build-up is frequently manifested by a Series Sentence the first Base of which has the recapitulation which links that sentence to the preceding one in the paragraph. Series Sentences are often long but speakers vary in how long they choose to make sentences. Recapitulation never occurs at the beginning of a Narrative Paragraph.

Build-ups are often manifested by Direct Quotation Sentences which fit into the sequence of events. This Direct Quotation Sentence can contain a request which is carried out after the recapitulation in the following Build-up by different actor. A Direct Quotation Sentence can also be followed by a reply and if both occur within one Series Sentence or in successive Build-ups linked by recapitulation they are not considered to be a Dialogue Paragraph but are part of the Narrative Paragraph.

Occasionally the conjunction mete 'and' precedes the recapitulation link between two sentences and is considered to be a type of discourse level focus marker.

Deep structure is only succession.



## Narrative Paragraph

±Setting	+(Build-up) <sup>n=1-25</sup>	±Terminus
temporal	Simple Sentence	SS
Simple S	Series Sentence	
Neg Pos Anti S	Id Pred Pa	
	Relational Pa	
	Descriptive Pa	

Setting tagmeme is usually a Simple Sentence but is sometimes manifested by the first Base of the first sentence of the paragraph. This tagmeme frequently sets the time for the paragraph by a statement such as 'Next day when it got light', 'When it got dark' or 'When I hurt my leg'. A temporal manifesting Setting manifests Time tagmeme in the first clause and always occurs clause initial. The conjunction mete 'and' optionally precedes the setting.

The Terminus tagmeme is a Simple Sentence or the final Base of the final tagmeme of the final Build-up. It usually says, 'we slept'.

Aspect and mode occurrences are described under Narrative Discourse, chapter 8.1.0 and 8.1.1.

Examples: Narrative Paragraph

## 1. Setting: Clause

ale    tehana  
light broke.it.chs

## BU 1: Series Sentence

zeirez mevai tibivo menahana    reiparo mangevora dasi  
morning            shell   hit.he.chs   we.all   prayer.and   song

hagipuhō    hegi.  
spoke.we.ss   be.we

## BU 2: Series Sentence

heta    paru hehana            ne nema nanepura angapunanga akaha  
be.and   they were.they.chs   I   brother.and   wife.with   up.there

Homena soho.  
Homena went.I

## BU 3: Series Sentence

sata guzungi vegipuhō maota zeitaka.  
go.and pandanus.nuts got.we.ss again place.at

## BU 4: Series Sentence

emata hegipuhō emata hegina ravahana  
come.and were.we.ss came.and were.we.chs became.it.chs

## Terminus: Clause

oregi.  
slept.we

'When it got light in the morning, he blew the conch shell and we all gathered for devotions and then sat around. We sat around and they stayed (at the village) and I went up to Homena with my brother and his wife. We went and got pandanus nuts and then came back to the village. We came and waited and it got dark and we slept.'

2. The following example has two statements about time sentence medial which indicates that speakers are free to initiate a new paragraph if they wish when there is a time change but they are not obliged to.

## Setting: Clause

zeirevai ale tehana  
tomorrow light broke.it.chs

## BU 1: Clause

reiparo segi.  
we.all went.we

## BU 2: Simple Sentence

Regirei ravara sohota okoha Gubur verevata  
Regirei ridge go.cont.and down.there Gubur arrive.and  
era horegi.  
went.down.we

## BU 3: Series Sentence

era horegina poekarizaro mapo hasohana  
went.down.we.chs those.at.that.place all cert.went.they.chs  
reiparo sata horegina abanapuza abatavo Etavai pi  
we.all go.and went.down.we.chs man's name Etavai he

heha.  
was.he

BU 4: Series Sentence with Direct Quotation Sentences in two of its Bases.

reiparo horegina                      pota haha,    "Taira tuavo sepike?  
we.all went.down.we.chs this said.he what shame go.will.you

hepikena                      ne volo napu ura anomana                      ariparo  
be.will.you.chs I pig one hit you.give.will.I.chs you.all

nepikepuhoho                      zeirevai sepike"                      hahana                      "gu"  
eat.will.you.ss.after tomorrow go.will.you said.he.chs yes

mangata                      reiparo hegi.  
him.told.and we.all were.we

BU 5: Series Sentence

hegina                      hapanevezai ravahana                      volopu emahana  
were.we.chs afternoon became.it.chs pig came.it.chs

reiparo volopu ura anaha.  
we.all pig hit us.gave.he

BU 6: Series Sentence

ura anahana                      varengata nohota                      hegina                      kuturu  
hit us.gave.he.chs cooked.and ate.cont.and were.we.chs night

ravahana                      reiparo siangi                      varenga rezata kuturutaka  
became.it.chs we.all headdress put.on.and night.at

data urogi.  
dance hit.cont.we

BU 7: Series Sentence

urohota                      hegina                      ale tehana                      zeirevai  
hit.cont.and were.we.chs light broke.it.and tomorrow

valahata segi.  
got.up.and went.we

BU 8: Simple Sentence

sata helata                      Zairap zeihahoe virasi                      tata poekahoe  
go.and climb.and Zairap place.at decorate do.and there.at

alizama dapu menegi.  
day.time dance hit.we

## BU 9: Series Sentence

dapu menegipuh uogina hapanezai ravahana  
dance hit.we.ss hit.cont.we.chs afternoon became.it.chs

tita sa hegina ngol giv vaha.  
leave.and go were.we.chs food got.they

## BU 10: Series Sentence

ngol giv vahana rei nohota  
food got.they.chs we eat.cont.and

## Terminus: Clause

orata hegi.  
sleep.and were.we

'The next day when it got light we all went. We went to Regirei and went on and came to Gubur and went down there. We went down and the people there had all gone so when we went down there was only a man called Etavai there. We all went down and he said, "Why should you be embarrassed and leave? Stay and I will kill a pig and give it to you and after you've eaten, tomorrow, you can go", he said, and "Yes" (we) told him and we stayed. We stayed and when it was afternoon the pig came and he killed and gave it to us. Having killed and given it to us, we cooked and ate it and when it got dark we put on our headdresses and danced. While we were dancing it got light and that day we got up and went. We went and climbed up to Zairap and put on our decorations and there we danced in the day time. We danced and when it was afternoon we left off and waited and they gave us food. Having given us food we ate and slept.'

3. This example shows several examples of a request being given in a Direct Quotation Sentence which manifests the final Base of a Series Sentence in one Build-up. This request is carried out in the following Build-up, after the recapitulation.

## Setting: Clause

nema engasinanga tohopuho  
my leg.with did.I.ss

## BU 1: Series Sentence

sata ogare aus sikitaka hehona misisipu pota  
go.and down.there hospital.at was.I.chs white.woman this

haha misis aus sikitakapuho nangaha "ari agare  
said.she white.woman.nurse.sub me.told.she you up.there

aus sikitaka sei .  
hospital.at go.pl

## BU 2: Series Sentence

pota hahana rei mapo valahagipuho aus sikitaka segi.  
this said.he.chs we all got.up.we.ss hospital.at went.we

## BU 3: Series Sentence

aus sikitaka segina aus sikitaka angava popuho reima  
hospital.at went.we.chs hospital.at.woman that.sub our

tepae vahapuho eteta haha "toutei".  
paper go.she.ss look.and said.she sit.pl

## BU 4: Series Sentence

pota hahana rei toutata hegi rei ngevo naka  
this said.she.chs we sit.and were.we we talk no.speak

rei kila hegi.  
we quiet were.we

'When I hurt my leg I went down to the hospital and waited and the white woman said, the white woman at the hospital told me, "You go up to the hospital". She said this and we all got up and went up to the hospital. We went to the hospital and the woman there took our papers and looked at them and said, "Sit down". She said this and we sat down, we didn't speak, we sat quietly.

## 4. Setting: Negative Positive Antithetical Sentence

mete zeirevai rei skurutaka naloka rei ama ingidohama  
and tomorrow we school.at no.enter we just outside.only

hegi.  
stayed.we

## BU 1: Series Sentence

hegina Gubehananga ngari ang moda napu emaha.  
were.we.chs Gube.from another.young.woman came.she

## BU 2: Series Sentence

hegina            Wantoatihananga nangarivi napu emaha.  
 were.we.chs    Wantoat.from       two                    came.they

## BU 3: Series Sentence with Relational Paragraph

hegina  
 were.we.chs

Statement: Simple Sentence

sande   povo   vono   taha.  
 Sunday   that   none   did.it

Link:

mete

Statement: Simple Sentence

mandetaka kap   tata   skurutaka lokegi.  
 Monday.at   begin   do.and   school       entered.we

## BU 4: Descriptive Paragraph

Setting: Simple Sentence

reima   skuru   pota   lokogi.  
 our       school   this   entered.cont.we

Step 1: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Coordinate 1 Sentence

8 kirok   lokogi                    mete garosi angamainanga  
 8 o'clock   entered.cont.we   and   first   mother.with

Matiuza   gogovo   togi.  
 Matthew's   work   did.cont.we

Link:

mete  
 and

Statement: Series Sentence

9.30   vono   tata   mete misis Begman sohana  
 9.30   none   do.and   and   Mrs. Bergman   went.cont.she.chs

mete tisa Heninipinanga Aposoloza gogovo  
and teacher Heninipi.with Acts.for work

togi Poloza ngetivo povoza gogovo.  
did.cont.we Paul's story that.for work

Link:

mete  
and

Statement: Simple Sentence

10.30 rei verevata gitapu varaingaregi.  
10.30 we came.out.and sun warmed.we

Link:

mete  
and

Statement: Alternative Sentence

maota lokata sinaviza mamogavoza gogovo togi  
again enter.and church first.for work did.cont.we

ma zarevoza gogovo togi ma sande skuruza  
or number.for work did.cont.we or Sunday school's

gogovo togi.  
work did.cont.we

Link:

mete  
and

Statement: Simple Sentence

12 kirok skuruta vono tata verevegi.  
12 o'clock school none do.and came.out.we

Step 2: Series Sentence

verevata mete gipizo nogi mete hegina 1.30  
came.out.and and food ate.cont.we and were.we.chs 1.30

tohana mete reima itihaveza sogi mete  
did.cont.it.chs and our wood.for went.cont.we and

naraha reima nonoroha gogo tovai sogi mete  
 sometimes our road.at work doing went.cont.we and

naraha reima ginevikapiza avasika gogovo  
 sometimes our green.vegetable.for garden.at work

togi.  
 did.cont.we

Terminus: Amplification Sentence

pota tohota hegi ngoni nasikaro nasikaro lopotaka  
 this do.cont.and were.we moon two two inside.at

pota togi.  
 this did.cont.we

'The next day we didn't start school, we just stayed outside. While we waited a girl came from Gube. While we waited two girls came from Wantoat. We waited around and Sunday was over. On Monday we started school. This is what we did at school. At 8 o'clock we went in and first mother taught us Matthew's gospel. At 9.30 that finished and Mrs. Bergman left and the teacher called Heninipi taught us the Acts of the Apostles, Paul's story, that work (we did). And at 10.30 we came out and got warm in the sun. And then we went in again and had Church history or arithmetic or learned about how to teach Sunday School. And at 12 o'clock school finished and we came out. We came out and ate and sat around and at 1.30 we went for firewood or sometimes we worked on the road or sometimes we planted green vegetables in the garden. That is what we were doing, for nearly four months that is what we were doing.'

##### 5. Setting: Simple Sentence

vatamo ne epekananga rei Haviara Raea segi.  
 before I here.from we Havia.and Raea went.we

BU 1: Simple Sentence

sohota Morobe sata Morobe verevata  
 went.cont.and Morobe go.and Morobe arrive.and

Mairarira Paranisinanga reiparo hegi.  
 Mairari.and.Paranisi.with we.all were.we



## BU 2: Descriptive Paragraph

## Step 1: Series Sentence

reiparo heta mete vakasika sohota mete pisiholo  
 we.all were.and and canoe.at go.cont.and and fish

ez ngomohana mete reiparo vata kohati  
 shot died.cont.they.chs and we.all get.and inside

zi loporiha vivai sohota hegi.  
 tree inside.at putting go.cont.and were.we

## Step 2: Series Sentence

mete sohota heta sata he nonorama urovai  
 and go.cont.and were.and go.and taro road.only hitting

sohota heta mete maota emata emakaza  
 go.cont.and were.and and again come.and come.will.for

mete maota emata reima vakasi zimedeka nganeza vizata  
 and again come.and our canoe tree.at tie put.and

sogina hehaeka emata maota va vilata  
 went.cont.we.chs were.they.where come.and again untie.and

vata mete emogi reima itira reima zezera  
 get.and and came.cont.we our wood.and our hay.and

ginevi vata poeka vizata mete emogi.  
 green.vegetable get.and there put.and and came.cont.we

## Step 3: Simple Sentence

mete emohota maota Morobe emata zeitak sua  
 and come.cont.and again Morobe come.and place.at land

tata mete teza ngodata mete poeka hegi.  
 do.and and got.down.and and there were.we

## BU 3: Series Sentence

mete pota tata mete hehopuho mete engasi rouoho.  
 and this do.and and were.I.ss and leg pierced.I

## BU 4: Simple Sentence

engasi rouata mete ne sata Morobe aus sikitaka mete  
 leg pierce.and and I go.and Morobe aid.post.at and

heta mete marasinivo vohota heho pohavo.  
was.and and medicine got.cont.and was.I always

## BU 5: Series Sentence

heta tohona eng posi tina ravahana mete  
was.and did.I.chs leg that good became.it.chs and

polis boi napuho mete nemaza hahana mete sata mete rei  
one.policeman and my.for spoke.he.chs and go.and and we

kahati rei Raea sata mete mete opesimakeha kiapenanga koto  
inside we Raea go.and and and office.at kiap.with court

haogi.  
spoke.we

## BU 6: Series Sentence

rei koto hagipuho mete kaeve ravata mete verevata  
we court spoke.we.ss and dislike become.and and arrive.and

emegi zeitakaza.  
came.we place.at.for

## Terminus: Simple Sentence

emata mete heta mete vono ravata emegi.  
come.and and were.and and none become.and came.we

'A long time ago Havia and Raea and I left here. We left to go to Morobe and went and arrived at Morobe and stayed with Mairari and Paranisi. While we were there we were going in the canoe and catching fish and putting them inside a tree and going on further. Going on we dug taro gardens and later when we were ready to come back we came back to where the canoe was tied and got the firewood and hay and green vegetables that we had left there and untied the canoe and came. Coming we were coming to Morobe and to the village and landing living there. We were doing that and I hurt my leg. I hurt my leg so I went to the aid post and stayed there for a long time getting medicine. I stayed and eventually my leg got better and then one of the policemen spoke about (marrying) me so we went, Raea and I went into the office and had a court session with the patrol officer. We had the court session and then we got sick of (that place) came home to our village. We went down there (to Morobe) and stayed and when (the time) was finished we came (home).'

## 6. BU 1: Series Sentence

hegina gitapu ogarehananga verevata pozahahana  
 were.we.chs sun down.there.from appear.and climbed.it.chs

etegi tina gitapuza verevamahata verevahana.  
 looked.we good what.sun.is.appearing appeared.it.chs

## BU 2: Series Sentence

eteta hegina pozahahota pozahaohapuho  
 look.and were.we.chs climb.cont.and climbed.cont.it.ss

pimau tai taha.  
 it.itself what did.it

## BU 3: Series Sentence

tahana ngonisi hareta gitapu akaeka metaha.  
 did.it.chs moon came.across.and sun cover it.did.it

## BU 4: Series Sentence with a Coordinate Paragraph

tahana  
 did.it.chs

## Coordinate 1: Clause

gitapu pozahata lokaha.  
 sun climb.and entered.it

## Coordinate 2: Series Sentence

teri iritizara ouraha hehana eteta hegina  
 part below open was.it.chs look.and were.we.chs

helohota mapo kuturu manahana zeira hamata  
 climb.cont.and all darkness it.gave.it.chs ground

maota maoko ale tehaeka maota kuturu  
 again newly.where.it.had.got.light again darkness

manaha.  
 it.gave.it

## BU 5: Series Sentence

tahana eteta hegina maota helohota agare  
 did.it.chs look.and were.we.chs again climb.cont.and up.there

teri detizamara verevah.  
part above appeared.it

BU 6: Series Sentence

teri detizamara verevahana etegi.  
part above appeared.it.chs looked.we

BU 7: Series Sentence

etegina gitapu sohota maota onge ravahapuhu  
looked.we.chs sun go.cont.and again straight became.it.ss

hezana ake eteamegi gitapuna.  
be.chs up.there look.cont.we sun.to

'While we waited the sun appeared down there and climbed, it appeared where it usually does and we watched it. While we were watching it climbed and climbed and then what did it do? Whatever it did, the moon came across and covered the sun. This happened and the sun climbed and went behind (the moon). A small part showed below still but while we watched it disappeared and everything was dark, the ground where the dawn had not long come was dark again. This happened and we watched and it still climbed and then above (the moon) a small section (of the sun) appeared, and we watched it. We watched and the sun kept climbing and became normal again and it is up there and we are watching it.'

7. Setting: Clause

zeirevai ale tehana  
tomorrow light broke.it.chs

BU 1: Series Sentence

reiparo epeine vetegipuhu emohota Gubur era emata  
we.all this.side left.we.ss come.cont.and Gubur come.down.and

Guburuahananga paru epata emahana rei Musaniara  
Gubur.from they this came.they.chs we Musania.and

Kopiara Sararapura Isaiara Ravariara reiparo  
Kopia.and Sararapu.and Isaia Ravaria.and we.all

Haniavaiazasi sata kahati Hahav zeiha segipuhu  
Haniavaiazasi go.and inside Hahav place.at went.we.ss

Terminus: Clause

Hamunia abupunanga reiparo orata hegi.  
Hamunia.and.husband.with we.all sleep.and were.we

'The next day when it got light we left this side and came to Gubur and from there they came on this side but Musania and Kopia and Sararapu and Isaia and Ravaria and I went to Haniavaizasi and then along to Hahav village and we all stayed overnight with Hamunia and her husband.'

#### 7.2.1.2 Behavioural Paragraph

Behavioural Paragraph manifests Behavioural Discourse tagmemes and is a great deal more complex than other paragraph types. It has eight tagmemes all of which are optional, but at least two must occur to constitute a paragraph. Most of these tagmemes are permitted to occur more than once and tagmeme order is not fixed.

The tagmemes which occur are Setting, Exhortation, Present Condition, Reason, Warning-result, Evaluation, Teaching and Terminus and these are linked together by juxtaposition, or by an optional conjunction. Tagmeme change is indicated by aspect, mode and mood occurrences and restrictions and the changes in these items is a cohesive factor in the paragraph. Other paragraph types tend to be consistent in the use of aspect and mode but Behavioural Paragraph switches according to pattern constantly.

Whilst many sentences and paragraphs manifest the tagmemes of Behavioural Paragraph, Relational Paragraph and Circumstance Result Sentence most commonly occur.

#### Behavioural Paragraph

±Setting	±Exhortation	±Present Condition	±Warning result	±Evalu- ation	±Teaching	±Terminus
SS	SS	SS	Alt S	<u>rotapu</u> 'true'	SS	SS
Se S	Se S	D Qu S	Se S	SS	Ant S	
	Alt S	Coord 1 S	D Qu S	Coord Pa	Alt S	
	D Qu S	Alt S	C-R S		Exp Pa	
	Amp S	Rel Pa	Rel Pa		Coord Pa	
	Coord 1 S	Coord Pa	Coord Pa		Rel Pa	
	Coord 2 S	Exp Pa	Exp Pa			
	Coord Pa	Desc Pa				
	Rel Pa					

Setting tagmeme is brief, does not repeat, and is expounded by a Simple Sentence or Series Sentence which says, 'I am going to tell you this', 'I have this to say so listen', or similar. This tagmeme can also set the time which is related to a following Exhortation. Occasionally the setting is collapsed into the first Base of the first Sentence of the paragraph.

Exhortation tagmeme can include a reason for or result of the exhortation as part of the sentence or paragraph which expounds it. A Simple Sentence is usually imperative mood but can be imperfect aspect. Imperfect aspect is a polite form for giving a command or request. Longer constructions manifesting this tagmeme are imperfect aspect throughout except for any sentence final Base which optionally is imperative mood. Future continuative mode is optional with either imperfect aspect or imperative mood. Exhortation has been observed to occur from one to four times in a paragraph, and usually is linked only by juxtaposition to any preceding tagmeme, but optionally povoza 'therefore', ong 'but', mete 'and' or povoza mete 'therefore then' occur as linkage. Only one occurrence of Behavioural Paragraph without an Exhortation has been seen. All the other tagmemes in a Behavioural Paragraph are centered around the Exhortation.

Present Condition tagmeme gives the poor behaviour or general state of things which has provoked the speaker to give the accompanying Exhortation. This tagmeme most commonly occurs preceding or following Exhortation and has been observed twice in one paragraph. Perfect aspect and present continuous mode occur throughout. Linkage is most commonly by conjunction mete 'and' but occasionally it is juxtaposed to the preceding tagmeme. Present Condition recurred in one example after the Terminus and it was then followed by a second Terminus.

Warning-result tagmeme is a means of promising good results for obedience to the Exhortation and or a warning of what will happen if the Exhortation is not heeded. Aspect is always imperfect and future continuative mode is permitted to occur. This tagmeme is usually juxtaposed to the preceding tagmeme but ma 'or' and ong 'but' optionally occur. Two occurrences of Warning-result in the same paragraph have been observed, but one is more usual.

Evaluation does not occur frequently and is a comment or opinion of the speaker about what he is saying. Those observed have been linked by juxtaposition to the preceding tagmeme.

Teaching tagmeme is a statement about something that the hearers may not know and which may help them to understand why they should obey the exhortation. This tagmeme has not been observed to occur more than once.

Terminus says 'About those things I have spoken' or similar. It has been observed to occur more than once only when a Present Condition occurred after the first Terminus.

Examples: Behavioural Paragraph

1. Setting: Clause

ni abupu vekepuho  
you husband get.you.will.ss

Exhortation: Coordinate 2 Sentence

ni gogotaza kaeve ravotu gogotaza kaeve  
you work.for dislike don't.become work.for dislike  
  
ravotu.  
don't.become

Link: ong  
but

Warning-result: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Circumstance Result Sentence

ni tinama gogota toke ni abupu vata  
you well.only work do.cont.will.you you husband get.and  
  
tinama heke.  
well.only be.will.you

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Circumstance Result Sentence

ni gogota kaeve ravekepuho veteza  
you work dislike become.will.you.ss discardingly  
  
toke povoza ni abupu vekena  
do.cont.will.you therefore you husband get.will.you.chs  
  
mete abupu nimaza kaeve ravohopane.  
and husband your.for dislike become.cont.will.he

'When you get a husband don't be lazy, don't be lazy. But if you continue working well, then when you get a husband life will be good. But if you dislike work, if you are careless then when you are married your husband will be getting sick of you.'

## 2. Exhortation: Simple Sentence

hatetei.  
listen.im.pl

Warning-result: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Circumstance Result Sentence

hatetekepuho      lopori vorourapanena      gogota  
listen.will.you.ss    inside    turn.will.it.chs    work

teke      povoza      tina Ongapu nengizapanena  
do.will.you    therefore    good    God      you.help.will.he.chs

gogota tekena      ou      ravapane.  
work    do.will.you.chs    open    become.will.it

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Circumstance Result Sentence

Ongapuza kaevevonanga ni    nima hekeza veteza  
God.for    dislike.with    you    your    be.for    discarding

nimovoama      va    valahata      tokezavoza  
your.thing.only    get    get.up.and    what.you.will.be.doing.for

ginavo rariaparoti orah rezah      verevovai sohopane  
hunger    we.all.to    all.the.time    appearing    go.cont.will.it

Link: povoza      mete  
therefore    then

Present Condition: Clause

ne Ongapuza gogovoza zeitati    heta  
I    God's      work.for    place.to    be.and

Terminus: Clause

povoza      oke      vare      angoho.  
about.that    there    openly    you.told.I

'Listen. And if you listen and change your behaviour and work then God will help you well and you will work and (the good time) will appear. But if you, with dislike and carelessness toward God, obey only your own desires, we will always be hungry.'



## 3. Exhortation: Series Sentence

mete navo epata haomana hatetei.  
and something this speak.will.I.chs listen.pl

Present Condition: Exposition Paragraph

Text: Series Sentence

mete vonaiz ni lakivo vata emamengipuhu ni  
and why you lucky get.and come.cont.you.ss you

kohati zeitaka viamengipuhu ni lakivo tohota  
inside place.at put.cont.you.ss you lucky do.cont.and

verevata ngetivo hata navete ma pinanga toutata  
appear.and talk ear no.throw or her.with sit.and

ngetivo naka ma pinanga gogovo nata?  
talk no.speak or her.with work no.do

Link: ong  
but

Exposition: Identical Predicate Paragraph

Idea 1: Simple Sentence

ni lakivoka kohati toutata heza.  
you lucky.at inside sit.and be

Idea 2: Simple Sentence

orah rezah ni lakivokananga lakivoka heza.  
all.the.time you lucky.from lucky.at be

Text: Simple Sentence

povoza mete lakivo pei tairaiza gogovo tamegi?  
about.that and lucky what.thing work do.cont.you

Link: povoza  
therefore

Exhortation: Coordinate Paragraph

Coordinate 1: Simple Sentence

hata vete.  
ear throw

## Coordinate 2: Simple Sentence

maota lakivo totune.  
again lucky don't.do

## Present Condition: Relational Paragraph

## Statement: Circumstance Result Sentence

angarabanapu kezavo vonopu abanapuhoho kezavonangapu  
person.one strong none.one man.em strong.with.one

povoza mete angarabanapu emata niha ema toutahana  
therefore then person.one come.and you.at come sit.he.chs

navoza vono ma neha kaeveza mehona ak  
something.for none or I.at dislike.for put.I.chs up.there

ariparoha emaha vono.  
you.all.at came.it none

Link: ong  
but

## Statement: Simple Sentence

nima naemavoza ma nima hez hez nimovoha honongai  
your no.come.for or your be be your.at heavy

tamahavoza ma asi rep tamengivoza emata  
do.cont.it.for or disobedient do.cont.it.for come.and

oke ninanga hez.  
there you.with be

Link: povoza  
therefore

## Exhortation: Simple Sentence

maota peteve lakivo totun,  
again now lucky don't.do

## Exhortation: Series Sentence

lakivo gizoh vatepikepuh lokata pinanga mangevo  
lucky discontinue.will.you.ss enter.and her.with prayer

hazei ma pinanga ngetivo hazei ma pinanga Ongapuza  
speak.pl or her.with talk speak.pl or her.with God.about

hazei.  
speak.pl

Link: ma  
or

Warning-result: Series Sentence

Ongapuza gogota pinanga ariparo naenapu uli tata  
God's work her.with you.all each.other tie do.and

tepikena tinavo verevapa,  
do.will.you.chs good.time appear.will.it

Link: ong  
but

Exhortation: Alternative Sentence

pi ama vetetune ma pi zei manotune.  
she only don't.leave or she place her.give.don't

Terminus: Simple Sentence

povoza ngetivo oke nangoho.  
about.that talk there you.told.I

Present Condition: Simple Sentence

mete lakivokarama nena povo orah rezah ariparoma  
and lucky.at.only only that.thing all.the.time your.all

emamegieka ariparoma samegieka ari Moimo  
where.you.are.coming your.all where.you.are.going you name

abanariza samegieka emamegieka ariparo  
men's where.you.are.going where.you.are.coming you.all

orah rezah lakivonanga tovai samegi.  
all.the.time lucky.with doing go.cont.you

Terminus: Simple Sentence

povoza oke nangoho.  
about.that there you.tell.I

'I will tell you this thing and you listen. Why are you bringing gambling inside your village and are participating in it and don't listen to the talk or sit with her and speak or work with her? But you are controlled by gambling. All the time you

are gambling. And about that, what thing are you working towards? Therefore listen. Don't gamble any more. There are weak people and strong people and if a person comes and visits you there is no problem and I am not disliking you. But in that you are not participating and your way of living is heavy and you are disobedient (my dislike) is coming to you. Therefore don't gamble any more. Discontinue gambling and go in and pray with her and talk to her and speak about God with her. And if you link up with her in doing God's work the good time will come. But don't leave her and don't ignore her. About that I have given you this talk. But you are only gambling, when you come and when you go, everywhere and all the time you are just gambling. So about that I have told you.'

#### 4. Setting: Simple Sentence

mete pora                      haoma.  
and this.thing speak.will.I

Present Condition: Descriptive Paragraph

##### Step 1: Coordinate 2 Sentence

garosi rari Ongapuza ununu hamanata heta    sera haovai  
first we    God.for    forget.and            be.and    cross    speaking  
  
samegi            ngai    haovai    samegi.  
go.cont.we    anger    speaking    go.cont.we

##### Step 2: Antithetical Sentence

tovai sohota                      heta    mete tokati povoza            home  
doing    go.cont.and    be.and    and    later    about.that    think  
  
name    ong zuama    Ongapuna mange    mangamegi  
no.put    but    quickly    God.to    prayer    him.tell.cont.we  
  
nai                      anapaneza.  
something    us.give.will.for

##### Step 3: Coordinate 1 Sentence

nai                      anapanez                      Ongapuna zuama    mange  
something    us.give.will.for    God.to    quickly    prayer  
  
mangamegi                      mete garosi rarima sera haovai    segi  
him.tell.cont.we    and    first    our    cross    speaking    went.we  
  
pongiza                      rari hodade nata    ma home  
those.things.about    we    know    no.do    or    think

namekama                      zuama    mangamegi                      povoza  
 where.no.put.only    quickly    him.tell.cont.we    therefore

Link: mete  
       and

Teaching: Antithetical Sentence

'giza moda naropo vono giza houloropokaro vono ong rarim  
 other.lips                      none two.lips                      none but our

gizaropo nenaropo    Ongapuna vinga    mangoka                      Ongapuza  
 lips                      only.lips    God.to    praise    him.tell.cont.we    God's

abatavo haokaza                      ma pima ngetivo haokaza  
 name                      speak.cont.well.for    or his    talk                      speak.cont.will.for

giza nenaropo anahana                      hezaek  
 only.lips                      us.gave.he.chs    where.be

Link: mete  
       and

Present Condition: Series Sentence

giza tapuroponangama gogo modavo hamaraha gogovo ma hamaraha  
 same.lips.with.only    work.other    ground.on work    or ground.on

hez hezavo                      haovai    angarabo modariza    sera haovai  
 state.of.being    speaking    people    others.for cross    speaking

naenari                      menovai ivovora havara ravovai tohota                      heta  
 each.other    hitting    enemies                      becoming    do.cont.and be.and

maotama                      nima heringinangama havoe tata    emata    pat,  
 again.only    your    body.with                      turn    do.and    come.and    reply

"Ongapu ne nima asita    tamohopu                      eve."  
 God    I    your    service    one.who.does    here

Evaluation: Simple Sentence

rekota naengizotu.  
 enough    no.help.imp

Warning-result: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Direct Quotation Sentence

povoza                      pi pota angapane,                      "Ni vatamo pota  
 about.that    he this    you.tell.will.he    you before this

tengi mete nima hori povoza ni home 'name. ong ni  
 did.you and your bad that.for you think no.put but you

maota emata nen at nangengi. povoza garosi  
 again come.and me.to question me.told.you therefore first

nima hori povo vete."  
 your bad that throw

Link: mete  
 and

Statement: Simple Sentence

povo tai tata vetekeza oke nangapane.  
 that what do.and throw.will.for there you.tell.will.he

Exhortation: Simple Sentence

povo garosi zakep teke nima horivoza  
 that first sorry do.will.you your bad.for

Warning-result: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Series Sentence

tata vetekepuhoho mete Ongapuhaza sekena  
 do.and throw.will.you.ss.em and God.at.for go.will.you.chs

nengizapan ma nanapaneza angahana heza.  
 you.help.will.he or you.give.will.for us.told.he.chs be

Link: povoza  
 therefore

Statement: Coordinate Paragraph

Coordinate 1: Simple Sentence

hez hez rarimovo tinama koravo ravata  
 our.state.of.being well.only care become.and

hepike,  
 be.will.you

Coordinate 2: Simple Sentence

naenari ngevo elaelavo vono.  
 each.other talk cutting none

## Coordinate 3: Coordinate 2 Sentence

naenari    ngevo va valahazavo oke    Iesu Kristoza  
 each.other talk obeying there Jesus Christ's

ngevo oke    va valahapane.  
 talk there obey.will.they

Link: povoza    mete  
 therefore then

## Exhortation: Simple Sentence

naenariza    hez hezavo    tina koravo ravata    hek.  
 each.other's state.of.being well care become.and be.will.we

'I will tell you this. To begin with we forget God and speak crossly and angrily. We go doing that and later we don't think about that but quickly we pray to God for something. We quickly pray to God for something but about our cross speaking we don't remember, therefore we pray quickly. But we have no other lips and with the only lips we have we ought to be praising God, speaking his name, telling his story, with the lips that he has given us. But with the same lips other work, ground work, the way of life on the ground, about these things we speak, we speak crossly to each other, we fight and become enemies and then you turn again and come and say, "God, I am your servant." He won't help you. About that he will tell you, "Before you did this, but you don't think about that bad thing. But you come again and ask me. Therefore first go and throw away your bad ways." And he will tell you how to throw away your bad ways. So first repent of your bad ways. If you repent and come to God he will help you and he has said he will give to you. So we will take good care of our way of living. There will be no sharp talking. They who obey each other will be obeying the talk of Jesus Christ. Therefore then let us take good care of each other's way of life.'

## 7.2.1.3 Descriptive Paragraph

The Descriptive Paragraph is usually long and manifests Descriptive Discourse tagmemes. It has also been observed manifesting a Build-up in Narrative Discourse. Linkage is by Tail-head recapitulation, between Steps and by conjunction between Result and Reason.

There are three tagmemes which occur in Descriptive Paragraphs. Setting and Terminus are optional but nuclear in that they are expounded in their own unique way in Descriptive Paragraphs. Step is obligatory and also nuclear, and has been observed to occur from one to five times. Commonly three or four occur. Step is frequently manifested by a Series Sentence, the first Base of which has the recapitulation which links that sentence to the preceding one in the

paragraph. Series Sentences in Descriptive Paragraphs do not tend to be as long as Series Sentences in Narrative Paragraphs. Recapitulation never occurs at the beginning of a Descriptive Paragraph.

Mode markers occur consistently throughout Descriptive Paragraph.

Occasionally the conjunction mete 'and' precedes the recapitulation link between two sentences and is considered to be a type of discourse level focus marker.

### Descriptive Paragraph

±Setting	±Topic	+(Step) <sup>n=1-5</sup>	±Result	±Reason	±Terminus
SS	Purpose	SS	Narr Pa	Narr Pa	Series S
Coordinate Pa	tagmeme	Series S			Amp S
		Reason S			
		Coordinate 1 S			
		Coordinate 2 S			
		Antithetical S			
		Relational Pa			
		Identical			
		Predicate Pa			
		Coordinate Pa			

Setting tagmeme is usually a Simple Sentence but sometimes the first Base of the first sentence of the paragraph functions as Setting. This tagmeme does not usually set the time for the paragraph because time is not in focus in a Descriptive Paragraph. This tagmeme usually says 'This is what we do/were doing'. 'This is what we say', 'This work is hard'. Occasionally a time setting is given in the Setting.

Topic tagmeme optionally follows the Setting and is a clause or sentence with a predicate which is imperfect aspect and which has the suffix -za 'for, about' on it. This tagmeme relates to and gives the topic for the whole paragraph. An example of Topic tagmeme is given here because the paragraphs in which it has been observed are too long to include in the example sections.

Setting: Simple Sentence

mete pota tamegi.  
and this do.cont.we



Topic: abanapu puloriha sapaneza  
 man bush.to go.will.he.for

Step 1: Direct Quotation Sentence

pota homeamaha 'ne peteve rumuneholoza ngai aroma".  
 this think.and.he I today cassowary.for hunt take.off.will.I

'This is what we do. When a man wants to go to the bush, he thinks, "Today I will hunt cassowary".'

Result and Reason tagmemes have been observed only in a paragraph describing a procedure. It seems likely, however, that they could occur with any Descriptive Paragraph. These tagmemes give the result of doing the Step correctly and the reason why the Step is done. See example 4.

Terminus, if it is a clause, is linked grammatically by the anticipatory subject marker to the sentence Base which precedes it. This tagmeme refers to what has been said or to what is to be said in the following paragraph. See example 2 for an example of the latter.

Descriptive Paragraph and Narrative Paragraph are similar but are separate paragraph types on the bases of the following:

- a) Setting and Terminus tagmemes expounded differently
- b) Occurrence of Topic tagmeme in Descriptive Paragraph versus non-occurrence in Narrative Paragraph
- c) Essential person orientation in Narrative Paragraph versus a thematic orientation in Descriptive Paragraph
- d) Occurrence of mode throughout Descriptive Paragraph whereas mode is not generally a feature of Narrative Paragraphs
- e) Narrative is potentially more expandable than is Descriptive.

Examples: Descriptive Paragraph

1. Setting: First Base of Circumstance Result Sentence

mete mageiraha povoza  
 and new.time therefore

Step 1: Reason Sentence

ne kuta toma hezavoza ne gogota kuta toma  
 I ignorant will.do.I be I work ignorant will.do.I

heza ma ne volopu manavoza kuta toma hezavoza  
be or I pig for.giving ignorant will.do.I be

tata mete ne upaiama hema heza volopu vono hema ma  
do.and and I nothing be.I.will be pig none will.be.I or

ne avasi vonopu zora go nangedepu hema heza ma  
I garden nothing.one yams no.plant.one will.be.I be or

ne avasi nangedepu heta gina ngomoma hezavoza  
I garden no.plant.one be.and hungry die.will.I be

povoza pi katevo nangoha Ravei pi katevo  
therefore he advice me.told.cont.he name he advice

nangoha.  
me.told.cont.he

## Step 2: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Series Sentence

tohana mete ne gogota tinama tovai soho.  
did.cont.he.chs and I work well.only doing went.I

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Circumstance Result Sentence

ne ganoama toho povoza pi pat "epei  
I bad.only did.cont.I therefore he reply this.thing

horiamama oke tengi povoza tinama ta".  
bad.only there did.you therefore well.only do

## Step 3: Series Sentence

pota haohana ne tinama tovai soho.  
this said.cont.he.chs I well.only doing went.cont.I

## Step 4: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Circumstance Result Sentence

tinama tovai soho povozahoho mete ne hodade  
well.only doing went.cont.I therefore then I knowledge

ravoho.  
became.cont.I

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Simple Sentence

Kokoirā Ririgao vatata mete ne mapo hodade  
name.and name bore.and and I all knowledge  
ravohoe oke.  
that.I.became there

Step 5: Series Sentence

hodade ravata mete ne nemauho nema avasi ngedeta  
knowledge became.and and I myself my garden plant.and  
adakapi velata vata emata varengata tezata  
sweet.potato did.and get.and come.and cook.and put.out.and  
nata ma va sata voloholo adakapi helengade  
eat.and or get go.and pigs sweet.potato hot.stones  
veteta veirata tezata manata tohona  
throw.and cover.and take.out.and them.give.and did.cont.I.chs  
mete Ravei eteta pat, "mete ni gogovo oke hodade  
and name look.and reply and you work there knowledge  
ravengi povoza mete nima hodade ravengi povoza  
became.you therefore then your knowledge became.you for.that  
hodadevonanga tohoza".  
knowledge.with do.cont.im

Terminus: Series Sentence

hahana mete ne pota tovai soho tamaho  
said.he.chs and I that doing went.cont.I do.cont.I

'And because I was new, because I would be ignorant, because I would be ignorant about my work or about feeding the pigs, and because I would be lazy, without pigs, or without a garden, because I would not plant yams or would not plant my garden and be hungry, therefore he advised me, Ravei advised me. He did that and I was doing my work well. But if I did badly then he said, "This you did badly therefore do well." He said that and I was working well. I was working well therefore then I gained understanding. And I gave birth to Kokoi and Ririgao and my knowledge was complete there. I gained knowledge and I myself planted my garden and dug the sweet potato and brought and cooked it and served it out and ate or took it and cooked on hot stones the sweet potato for the

pigs, and took it out and gave it to them and Ravei watched and said, "You understand your work well so with the knowledge you have gained keep doing." He said that and that is what I am doing.'

## 2. Setting: Simple Sentence

mete zi keohaveza gogota ahovo.  
and plank's work big

### Step 1: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Coordinate 2 Sentence

mete puloriha reiparo samegi zimede uramegi  
and bush.in we.all go.cont.we tree hit.cont.we

zu tamegi ngaramegi veramegi mete  
measure do.cont.we cut.cont.we split.cont.we and

vitohota heza.  
shape.cont.and be

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Simple Sentence

git napu reiparo zihaveza gogovo tata vitamegi  
sun one we.all plank's work do.and shape.cont.we

### Step 2: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Series Sentence

vitohota hezana vitohota hezana vitohota hezana mete  
shape.and be.chs shape.and be.chs shape.and be.chs and

zei ravamahana veteta viamegipuh  
place become.cont.it.chs discard.and put.cont.we.ss

emamegi.  
come.cont.we

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Simple Sentence

emata oramegi.  
come.and sleep.cont.we

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Circumstance Result Sentence

mete zeirevai maota sata oraeza povoza mete zeirevai  
and tomorrow again go.and be therefore then tomorrow  
  
maota sata reiparo vitamegi.  
again go.and we.all shape.cont.we

Step 3: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Series Sentence

vitata va vono vatamegipuh mete vizata emamegi.  
shape.and make.nothing.cont.we.ss and put.and come.cont.we

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Series Sentence

zeitaka ngari angaholona mangata lainivo tata  
place.at young.women.to them.tell.and line do.and  
  
mete zihaveza meamegina samaha.  
and planks.for send.cont.we.chs go.cont.they

Step 4: Series Sentence

paru samahapuho mete paru ut urata paruma gagangika  
they go.cont.they.ss and they bundle.and their head.on  
  
kopeta emamaha.  
bring.and come.cont.they

Step 5: Simple Sentence

vata emata viamaha.  
get.and come.and put.cont.they

'Making planks is hard work. We go to the bush, cut down a tree, measure it, cut it into lengths, split it and shape it. For one day we all are doing plank work and making planks. We shape them and keep at it and when it gets late we leave it and come home. We come and sleep. The next day we go again and if there are any left we work at shaping them again. We shape and finish and leave them and come. And at the village we line up the young women and instruct them and send them, and they go. They go and

they bundle them up and carry them in on their heads. They bring them and put them.'

### 3. Setting: Simple Sentence

mete itoulovoza pota tamegi rei.  
and smoke.for this do.cont.we we

#### Step 1: Series Sentence

itoulovo mangarokana mete kohati zeimakehama pi  
smoke light.cont.we.will.chs and inside house.in it

sata ema sata ema tohopanena abanarangarabo  
go.and come go.and come do.cont.it.will.chs people

toutata hepazari ingi hahotunavoz mete sata  
sit.and be.will.ones cry speak.cont.lest and go.and

gud vizota tiamegipuhu mete vata emata ul  
kunai pull.cont.we.ss and get.and come.and tie

tamegipuh mete itingade mangaramegina ngadata itoulovo  
do.cont.we.ss and fire light.cont.we.chs burn.and smoke

garosizavoama verevamahana mete gud vizotananga urata  
first.one.only appear.cont.it.chs and kunai.with hit.and

va tok vatamegi itoulovo.  
make.go.up.cont.we smoke

#### Step 2: Series Sentence

urata va tok vatamegina mete itoulovo tok helamaha.  
hit.and make.go.up.cont.we.chs and smoke up climb.cont.it

#### Step 3: Coordinate 1 Sentence

tok helamahana mete gud viz pota vetez navete  
up climb.cont.it.chs and kunai.that discarding no.throw

ong mete revah aroposik meamegi.  
but and above roof.in put.cont.we

#### Step 4: Series Sentence

aroposik meamegina heza.  
roof.in put.cont.we.chs be

Result: Narrative Paragraph

Setting: Clause

mete itingade mangaramegina  
and fire light.cont.we.chs

Build-up 1: Series Sentence

mete itingade tinama revaha itoulovo helamaha  
and fire will.only above smoke climb.cont.it

tokovoti.  
ridge.to

Build-up 2: Series Sentence

tamahana mete zeirurumera abandarangarabo heza pota  
do.cont.it.chs and goods.and people be that

tina heza.  
good be

Reason: Narrative Paragraph

Build-up 1: Circumstance Result Sentence

mete pota natotu povoza mete itingade  
and this will.not.do therefore then fire

mangaramegina mete itoulovo kohati ze giruvokama  
light.cont.we.chs then smoke inside place room.at.only

sata ema tamahana mete abandarangarabo ingi  
go.and come do.cont.it.chs and people cry

hamaha itoulovo etangik lokamaha ma  
speak.cont.they smoke eye.in enter.cont.it or

agolasika lokamah.  
mouth.in enter.cont.it

Build-up 2: Series Sentence

ravata helangika lokamahana abandarangarabo  
become.and nostril.in enter.cont.it.chs people

zei giruvoka paru ingi hamaha.  
place room.at they cry speak.cont.they

'And about the smoke this is what we do. When we (first) light the fire, because the smoke will fill the house and the people who will be sitting there will cry, we go and pull out some kunai and bring it and make a bundle and when we light the fire and it burns, and the first smoke comes, then with the kunai bundle we chase it and make the smoke go up. We chase it and make it go up and the smoke climbs. The smoke climbs but we don't just discard that kunai but we poke it into the roof. We poke it into the roof and it stays there. So when we are lighting the fire the smoke goes up to the house ridge. It does and where the goods and the people are is comfortable. But if we don't do this, then when we light the fire, the smoke fills the room and the people cry and the smoke goes into their eyes and into their mouths. It goes into their nostrils and the people in the room are crying.'

#### 4. Setting: Coordinate Paragraph

Coordinate 1: Simple Sentence

vatamo pota haoha aerariza.  
before this said.cont.they white.ones.about

Coordinate 2: Simple Sentence

paru abana mamoga emata aerarinanga gogovo tata  
they men first come.and white.ones.with work do.and  
honepu honepu emata gogovo toha poraha.  
one one come.and work did.cont.they at.that.time

Step 1: Simple Sentence

mete paru zeirurumana eteoha.  
and they goods.at looked.cont.they

Step 2: Series Sentence

zeirurumana eteohana aerari vata emata  
goods.at looked.cont.they.chs white.ones get.and come.and  
vizata tohana me havevoka sipingiho vata ema  
put.and did.cont.they.chs or sea.at ship get.and come  
zeiruruma va pozahata rouohana  
goods get climb.and stood.cont.they.chs  
teohapuh mete paru pota haoha "kara  
took.out.cont.they.ss and they this said.cont.they ok



reima ngomamahariho                      matut tata    reimaza  
our    those.who.have.died    make    do.and    us.for

meamahana                      emamaha                      vatah                      tamahana                      mete  
send.cont.they.chs    come.cont.it    perhaps    do.cont.they    and

paru aerari                      paru va    nem nem    tamaha"                      pota  
they white.ones    they get    greedy    do.cont.they    this

haoh.                      "napu nimopu nemopu    ngomata samaha                      mete  
said.cont.they    each.one's.one                      die.and    go.cont.be    and

zeitaka hezariza                      hometa                      pima tetepu    ma pima saupu  
place.at    ones.who.are.for    think.and    his    sister or his    sister

ma ngaripu    ma pima ropu    ma pima nanei vosiraza    hometa  
or daughter or his    son    or his    brothers.for    think.and

tepae menata                      viamahapuho                      va nged vamahana  
paper write.and    put.cont.they.ss    make.stick.cont.they.chs

vamaha                      poek    aer korav ravata heza poriho    tepangi va  
get.cont.they    there    those.white.caretakers                      papers    get

kelamaha.                      tepangi va    kelata    veteamahapuh                      mete  
tear.cont.they    papers    get    tear.and    throw.cont.they.chs    and

paruma ravamaha."  
theirs    become.cont.they

Terminus: Series Sentence

pota haohana                      ne hateteoho.  
this said.cont.they.chs    I    heard.cont.I

'Before they said this about the white people. When the first ones came one by one they were working with the white people. They looked at all their goods. They looked at the goods and the white people brought and put them, and the ships brought them on the sea and waited while they were unloaded and they said this. "Really, our departed ones make these things and send them to us and they are coming perhaps. They do this but the white people are greedy." That is what they said. "Each one's dead one thinks of the village people, he thinks of his older sister, or his younger sister, or his daughter, or his son, or he thinks of his brothers and writes the papers and sticks them on (the goods) and they come, but the white people take them when they come. Those who are caretakers tear the labels off and throw them away and keep the things for themselves." That is what they are saying and I heard it.'

## 7.2.2 Non-complex Parahraphs

None of these have been observed with a Setting or a Terminus. The tagmemes are more often expounded with Sentences than with other parahraphs.

## 7.2.2.1 Relational Paragraph

Relational Paragraph does not tend to be very long and because it so frequently embeds in other paragraphs, it occurs in all discourse types.

Linkage is by conjunction and although events expressed in a Relational Paragraph can be chronological, it is not the chronology or lack of chronology that is in focus but rather the relationships indicated by the conjunctions which is in focus. Any combination of conjunctions occur in this type of paragraph, depending on what the speaker wishes to express. The same conjunction can also occur a number of times.

The conjunctions are ong 'but', ma 'or', mete 'and' 'then' and povoza 'therefore'. The combinations ong mete 'but then', povoza mete 'therefore then' and ong povoza 'but therefore' also occur. These are the same conjunctions as those which link clauses into sentences and it is the intonation contours which separate sentences from paragraphs, as well as the fact that paragraphs are potentially longer.

Deep structure encoded in two or more Statements is contrast, coupling, efficient cause, result, alternation and less commonly, succession. Succession is only encoded by the conjunction mete 'and'. A combination of these can be encoded in the same paragraph.

## Relational Paragraph

+Statement	+(+Link	+Statement) <sup>n=1-7</sup>
SS	conjunction	SS
Alternative S		Series Sentence
Antithetical S		Antithetical Sentence
Series S		Coordinate 1 Sentence
Coordinate 1 S		Coordinate 2 Sentence
Exposition Pa		Alternative Sentence
Coordinate Pa		Circumstance Result S
		Contrafactual Sentence
		Exposition Paragraph

Setting and Terminus tagmemes have not been observed with a Relational Paragraph possibly because this paragraph type so commonly embeds in other paragraph types.

Link plus Statement have been observed to repeat from one to seven times.

Examples: Relational Paragraph

1. Statement: Simple Sentence

ne tinama      emoho.  
I well.only came.I

Link: ong  
but

Statement: Simple Sentence

paru garosi emaha nema modari kuta      taha.  
they my.others.who.came.first ignorant did.they

'I came well. But the others who came first didn't know what to do.'

2. Statement: Coordinate Paragraph

Coordinate 1: Simple Sentence

nema nonovoka eve.  
my road.at here

Coordinate 2: Simple Sentence

nima agare      ravavoka samengivoza zuaita      nema  
your up.there ridge.on what.you.are.going.likeness my  
nonovoka.  
road.at

Link: povoza      mete  
therefore then

Statement: Series Sentence

oke samahana      ne dede.  
there go.cont.it.chs I understand

Link: povoza  
therefore

Statement: Simple Sentence

ne eve nema vegingiana variamoho.  
I here my betel.nut.just chew.cont.I

'This is my road. In the same way as you travel up there in the mountains this is my road. Therefore when it goes (the sea is rough) I understand. Therefore I am just chewing my betel nut.'

3. Statement: Simple Sentence

mete hoval ngaripunanga reipi varus vata mete  
and Guhu-Samane girl.with we.two plane get.and and  
emata reipi Garaina ngodegi.  
come.and we.two Garaina landed.we

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Simple Sentence

poraha ne lam kozavo tata emoho.  
at.that.time I sick strong do.and came.I

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Coordinate 1 Sentence

kogare Garaina ne lam zeitak nasa mete ne  
down.there Garaina I aid.post neg.go and I  
Ilenir Doris heza hata emoho.  
Elaine.and.Doris be think came.I

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Series Sentence

parupi nema lamavo nengizahana tina ravoho.  
they.two my sickness me.help.they.chs well became.I

'And the Guhu-Samane girl and I got the plane and came and landed at Garaina. And at that time I was very sick. But I did not go to the Garaina aid post, I remembered that Elaine and Doris were there. And when they treated me I got better.'

## 4. Statement: Simple Sentence

mete darima hez hezavoho darima hez hezavo tina heza vono.  
and our way.of.life our way.of.life good be none

Link: ong  
but

## Statement: Circumstance Result Sentence

Iesu Kristo darima Amipuhu orah rezah engizata tinavo  
Jesus Christ our Lord always us.help.and good.thing  
anovai emamaha povoza aliza tinasi anaha  
us.giving come.cont.he therefore day good us.give.he  
peteve.  
now

Link: mete  
and

## Statement: Series Sentence

pima ngetivo naenapu mangakazavoza garosi pi  
his talk each.other for.telling first he  
engizapanepuhu rari va toh toh avatapan me darima haitokoro  
us.help.will.ss we will.make.light.he or our door  
tepazavoza gom manata mange mangaka.  
for.opening bow him.give.and beseech him.tell.will.we

'Our way of living is not good. But Jesus Christ our Lord is always helping us and giving us good thing, so we have a nice day today. And so that he will help us and make it easy for us, and so that he will show us the way and help us to share his good news with each other, we will bow our heads and pray.'

## 5. Statement: Series Sentence

mete ahovokaro napu nima main main napu nimopuza hatangika  
and crowd each.one alone one your.one's bones.at  
ma napu nimopuza ravevoka ma napu nimopu ngomohana  
or one your.one's bald.head.at or one your die.he.chs  
hatai vata em viohana hehaeka pota tovai soha.  
bone where.they.brought.and.put.them that doing went.cont.they

Link: ma  
or

Statement: Simple Sentence

haovai soha.  
saying went.cont.they

Link: ma  
or

Statement: Simple Sentence

tovai soha.  
doing went.cont.they

'And if you, being one of the crowd had relative's bones, or one of your relatives was a leader, or if one of your relatives dies and they brought his bones, that is what they were doing or that is what they were saying.'

6. Statement: Alternative Sentence

pota haoha ma haohana ne hateteoho.  
this said.he or said.he.chs I heard.I

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Coordinate 1 Sentence

mete "ngeti povo rotapuvo vatah" pota haoha mete  
and talk that true perhaps that said.cont.they and

nari amun hamaha taput pota oke.  
some also say.cont.they same that there

Link: ma  
or

Statement: Simple Sentence

homeamaha.  
think.cont.they

Link: ong mete  
but then

Statement: Coordinate 2 Sentence

petevehoho kapota epata hodade ravegi aerapu pi pima  
now.em source this know became.we white.man he his

pimei vatama tata hodade ravahaga.  
his.thing before do.and know became.he.emph

Link: povoza mete  
therefore then

Statement: Series Sentence

pi pimauho pimotu matut tamahapuho pi pimotu  
he himself.sub his.things make do.cont.he.ss he his.things

vata emamaha.  
get.and come.cont.he

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Alternative Sentence

modari vapaneza peteve moningi verevahana moninginanga  
others for.getting now money came.it.chs money.with

mete zuma tata rari duri vamegi ma  
and buy do.and we dark.ones get.cont.we or

aer modari vamaha.  
other.white.people get.cont.they

Link: ong mete  
but then

Statement: Simple Sentence

povoza gogota tamahariho no naira nai potu  
about.that work the.ones.who.do.sub all.these.things

matut tamaha.  
make do.cont.they

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Coordinate 2 Sentence

aerariho emata zeitakaroti toutovai emamaha  
white.ones.sub come.and to.all.places sitting come.cont.they

rarima hamarezaroti emata toutovai emamaha rari  
our ground.to come.and sitting come.cont.they we

Papua Niu Giniza hamaraha emata toutamaha.  
Papua New Guinea's ground.at come.and sit.cont.they

'This is what they were saying, they were saying it and I heard. "That talk is true perhaps", that is what they were saying. And some are still saying it, the same thing. Or they are thinking it. But now we understand the real source, the white man from before worked and gained understanding about his things. Therefore he himself is making his own things and is bringing his own things. And so others can buy them money has come and we dark people are getting them, or other white people are getting them. And about that, those who are working are making all these things. And the white people have come to all the places, to our ground they have come, to Papua New Guinea they have come.'

#### 7.2.2.2 Time Contrast Paragraph

Time Contrast Paragraph is limited to two obligatory tagmemes so is not very long. All the examples seen have been embedded in other paragraphs. Occurrence of this paragraph appears, by looking at present data, to be limited to Descriptive Discourse only.

Time 1 and Time 2 are the two nuclear and obligatory tagmemes and cohesion between them is maintained by the occurrence of a temporal in each, and it is these temporals which indicate the contrast in the paragraph. An optional Link which is conjunction can also occur but more usually the tagmemes are simply juxtaposed.

#### Time Contrast Paragraph

+Time 1	+Link	+Time 2
SS	<u>mete</u> 'and'	SS
Alternative S	<u>ong</u> 'but'	Coordinate 2 S
Circumstance Res S		Circumstance Result S
		Alternative S
Relational Pa		Relational Paragraph
		Coordinate Paragraph



Temporals which have been observed in the Time tagmemes are haopata 'yesterday', peteve 'today', mamoga 'first', and vatamo 'before'. There is no set order in which the time is given, that is the earlier time can be manifested in Time 1 or in Time 2, but a contrast of time must occur between the two tagmemes. In example 2 the temporal occurs nominalized so it means 'before ones'.

Link does not usually occur but it has been observed manifested by the conjunctions mete 'and' and ma 'or'. More data would probably show that other conjunctions could also occur as Link.

Examples: Time Contrast Paragraph

1. Time 1: Simple Sentence

haopata monira zeirurumaza ngetivo reko hagi.  
yesterday money.and goods.about talk read spoke.we

Time 2: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

peteve rarima loporizaroha hezata Zems kapota  
now our inside.at be.what name source  
  
angahana hezaeka reko hata naenari  
what.he.told.us.and.still.is read speak.and each.other  
  
mangaka.  
tell.will.we

Link: povoza  
therefore

Statement: Series Sentence

rarima ngetivo etegieka ma hahona hatetegieka  
our talk that.we.see or what.I.spoke.and.you.heard  
  
hateteta hepikena reko haoma.  
hear.and be.you.will.chs read speak.will.I

'Yesterday I read about money and goods. Today what James had written about our insides and the source of what we do we will read together. Therefore, the talk that you are looking at or that you heard me announce, while you listen, I will read it.'

## 2. Time 1: Circumstance Result Sentence

mete peteve rari hodade ravegi povoza mete rari pat  
and now we know become.we therefore then we reply

"varusi" pota hamegi.  
plane this say.cont.we

Link: mete  
and

## Time 2: Circumstance Result Sentence

paru vatamori ununu heha povoza "sipiranom"  
they before.ones ignorant were.they therefore plane

pota haoha.  
this said.cont.they

'Today we understand so we say "valu". But the ones before  
were ignorant so they said "sipiranom".'

## 3. Time 1: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

mete peteve monisi aho rari vamegi.  
and today money big we get.cont.we

Link: ma  
or

Statement: Simple Sentence

zuma tamegi.  
buy do.cont.we

Link: ong  
but

## Time 2: Alternative Sentence

mamoga rei moni avisiparama manata mete dimie  
first we money.little them.give.and and cloth

vogi ma ngetita vogi ma pei ulagivo pota  
got.cont.we or matches got.cont.we or thing.smell this

haha sopuraza pongi vogi.  
said.they soap.about these.things got.cont.we

'Now we have a lot of money. And we pay (a lot). But before we just gave them a tiny amount of money and got cloth, or matches or smell thing, that is what they called soap. These things we got.'

#### 4. Time 1: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

peteve masaholonanga rariparo tina ngetivo hamegi.  
now white.ones.with we.all well talk speak.cont.we

Link: ma  
or

Statement: Simple Sentence

rariparo tina toutamegi.  
we.all well sit.cont.we

Link: ma  
or

Statement: Simple Sentence

gipizo naenapu manata namegi.  
food each.other the.give.and eat.cont.we

Link: ong  
but

#### Time 2: Coordinate Paragraph

Coordinate 1: Simple Sentence

mamoga rei varezata sogiri oke.  
first we were.ones.who.ran.away there

Coordinate 2: Simple Sentence

pituholo hata paruma abatavo rei pituholo hata  
demon say.and their name we demon say.and

varezata sogi.  
fled.and.went.cont.we

'Now we talk easily with the white men. Or we all sit together well. Or we give each other food and eat. But before we were ones who ran away. We said 'demons', we called their name 'demons', and ran away.'

### 7.2.2.3 Identical Predicate Paragraph

Identical Predicate Paragraph usually embeds in other paragraphs so it occurs in all discourse types. Linkage is frequently by juxtaposition only and internal cohesion is maintained by the repetition of the same predicate in each Idea. Chronology of events is not in focus at all, rather this paragraph type is a means of adding further information relating to the same event by means of repetition of the predicate.

The actor in each Idea is always the same, and the predicates always refer to the same event, thus aspect and mode are the same throughout the paragraph.

Deep structure is paraphrase of the amplification type.

Numerous examples of this paragraph have not been seen.

#### Identical Predicate Paragraph

+Idea 1	+Link	+Idea 2	± (Idea 3) <sup>n=1-4</sup>
SS	conjunction	SS	Same as Idea 2
Series Sentence	<u>mete</u> 'and'	Series S	Direct Quotation S
	<u>ma</u> 'or'	Coord 2 S	
		T C Pa	
		Coord Pa	
		Rel Pa	

This paragraph type is not usually long, two or three Idea tagmemes are usual, but in one example six occurred (see example 5).

Link tagmeme is not common and does not occur as much in two or three tagmeme paragraphs (only one has been observed) as in longer paragraphs. Only mete 'and' and ma 'or' have been seen manifesting this tagmeme.

Identical Predicate Paragraph is similar to Amplification Sentence but Predicate tagmeme does not have to occur in all Bases of an Amplification Sentence whereas in an Identical Predicate Paragraph the predicate is obligatory and a means of holding the paragraph together. An optional Link also occurs in the paragraph which does not occur in the sentence. Another factor in separating the sentence from the paragraph is that the paragraph is potentially much more expandable and thus can have a greater amount of information added after the first Idea.

## Examples: Identical Predicate Paragraph

## 1. Idea 1: Simple Sentence

karabus tata   va   saha.  
jail   do.and   get   went.he

## Idea 2: Narrative Paragraph

## BU 1: Simple Sentence

abana menahapu   va   abana viriripu   dema karabus  
man   who.was.killed   get   man   living.one   bind jail  
taha.  
did.he

## BU 2: Simple Sentence

tata   va   saha.  
do.and   get   went.he

'He restrained and took him. He got the dead man, he bound up the living man. Having done that he took them.'

## 2. Idea 1: Simple Sentence

oro ho.  
slept.I

## Idea 2: Simple Sentence

mete oke   honovai 4 deis   oro ho.  
and   there   going   4.days   slept.I

'I slept. Travelling around there I slept 4 nights.'

## 3. Idea 1: Simple Sentence

mete rei havevoza revaha   orata   hegi.  
and   we   on.the.sea   slept.and   were.we

## Idea 2: Series Sentence

reima raisikapi   varengata nohota   kuruholoho  
our   rice   cook.and   eat.cont.and   stewards.sub

anahana   sata   varengata nohota   orata  
us.gave.they.chs   go.and   cook.and   eat.cont.and   sleep.and

hegi.  
were.we

'And we slept in the boat. The stewards gave us rice and we cooked and ate it and then slept.'

4. Idea 1: Series Sentence

mete masaholo emohana rei varezata ama  
and white.men came.cont.they.chs we fled.and just

sogi.  
went.cont.we

Idea 2: Coordinate 2 Sentence

rei masaholoza herisiza keza et nare varezata rei  
we white.men's flesh.for strong no.look fled.and we

sogi.  
went.cont.we

Idea 3: Time Contrast Paragraph

Time 1: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

peteve masaholonanga rariparo tina ngetivo  
now white.men.with we.all well talk

hamegi.  
speak.cont.we

Link: ma  
or

Statement: Simple Sentence

rariparo tina toutamegi.  
we.all good sit.cont.we

Link: ma  
or

Statement: Simple Sentence

gipizo naenap manata namegi.  
food each.other give.and eat.cont.we

Time 2: Coordinate Paragraph

Coordinate 1: Simple Sentence

ong mamoga rei varezata sogiri                      oke.  
but first we fled.and went.cont.ones there

Coordinate 2: Simple Sentence

pituholo hata              paruma abatavo rei pituholo hata  
demons said.and their name we demons say.and  
  
varezat sogi.  
fled.and went.cont.we

'And when the white men came we fled. We didn't look at what he was like properly, we just fled. Today we talk well with the white men or we sit well with them or we exchange food and eat with them. But before we were ones who fled, saying "demons", we called their name "demons" and fled.'

5. Idea 1: Simple Sentence

popu angavaipuza iriha gom manata                      hehapu  
that.one old.one's below bow him.give.and was.he.one  
  
popuhoh ngetira vaingetina vohamengovo  
that.one.em the.talk.and.advice.and.spells.that.he.had  
  
mangoha.  
him.told.cont.he

Idea 2: Simple Sentence

volo mangepu vizata tapazavo                      mangoha.  
pig feast put.and what.he.would.do him.told.cont.he

Link: ma  
or

Idea 3: Simple Sentence

volo mangepuza virepeza                      mangoha.  
pig feast's vine.about him.told.cont.he

Link: ma  
or

Idea 4: Series Sentence

tupumake demapanepuho              virepe tiza mangarapanezavo  
house build.will.he.ss vine that.he.would.use  
  
mangoha.  
him.told.cont.he

Link: ma  
or

Idea 5: Simple Sentence

tupumake demapanez abanangarabo verihaza vatapaneza  
house build.will.about people pull make.will.for  
mangoha.  
him.told.cont.he

Link: ma  
or

Idea 6: Direct Quotation Sentence

volo mangepu vipaneza tupumake demapaneza "verihaza"  
pig feast put.will.for house build.will.for pull  
vatata porinanga pota tekepuho tohoza" pota  
make.and these.ones.with this do.will.you.ss do.cont.im this  
mangoha.  
him.told.cont.he

'And that one was bowing before the elder man's feet and (the elder man) was telling him the talk and advice and spells. He was telling him about putting on a pig feast. He was telling him about the vine for the pig feast. He was telling him about building a house and getting vine for it. He was telling him about building a house and getting the people to help him. He was telling about putting on a pig feast and building the houses for it, "Get those people and with them be doing it", he was telling him.'

6. Idea 1: Simple Sentence

ni lakivoka kohati toutat heza.  
you lucky.at inside sit.and be

Idea 2: Simple Sentence

orah rezah ni lakivokananga lakivoka heza.  
always you lucky.from lucky.at be

'But you are controlled by gambling. All the time you are gambling.'

7. Idea 1: Simple Sentence



homevo rekota va gizoh navatotu.  
thinking enough no.make.discontinue.imp

Idea 2: Simple Sentence

rariho rarima kezavonanga homevo va gizoh navatotu.  
we.sub our strength.with thinking no.make.discontinue.imp

'We are not able to disconinue our way of thinking. With our own strength we are not able to discontinue our own way of thinking.'

8. Idea 1: Simple Sentence

ne dede.  
I know

Idea 2: Simple Sentence

abana Gunimaipa narinanga ne Lae tohota ne dede.  
men Kunimaipa some.with I Lae do.cont.and I know

'I know. I worked with Kunimaipa men in Lae so I know.'

7.2.2.4 Coordinate Paragraph

Coordinate Paragraph does not tend to be very long and because it so frequently embeds in other paragraphs, it occurs in all discourse types.

Linkage is only by juxtaposition. The nucleus of the paragraph is the Coordinate tagmeme which must occur twice and has been observed to occur five times. Two or three Coordinate tagmemes are normal.

There are no aspect, mood or mode restrictions.

Deep structure encoded is succession, overlap and paraphrase (amplification).

Coordinate Paragraph

+Coordinate 1	+Coordinate 2	±(Coordinate 3) <sup>n=1-3</sup>
SS	SS	SS
Series Sentence	Circumstance Result S	Antithetical S
Circumstance Result Sentence	Narrative Pa	Coordinate 2 S
Coordinate 1 S		Exposition Pa

Coordinate Paragraph and Identical Predicate Paragraph differ from each other in the following ways:

- a) Identical Predicate Paragraph must have the same predicate or predicate-like tagmeme in all tagmemes whereas a Coordinate can have any predicate or predicate-like tagmeme, or it can have a predicate in one tagmeme and a predicate-like tagmeme in another.
- b) Deep structure differs. Only paraphrase is encoded by Identical Predicate Paragraph but Coordinate Paragraph is broader in its scope and encodes succession, overlap and paraphrase.
- c) Identical Predicate Paragraph has the same actor in all tagmemes but Coordinate Paragraph can have same or different actor in its tagmemes.

Examples: Coordinate Paragraph

1. Coordinate 1: Simple Sentence

abana ongapu ngaipu ravata heta mete pima engara mar  
man leader warrior become.and be.and and his helpers

pima gizaropona hatetevai soha.  
his lips.to listening went.cont.they

Coordinate 2: Simple Sentence

volo mangepu vizavora abanapu menavo pulahapovo  
pig feast putting.and man killing bull.roarer

ritata aba hatai varizavora aba ravevo mena rezavora  
divide.and man bones washing.and man bald hit breaking.and

no nai nai poraza honepuho haoha.  
all.these.things one.sub spoke.cont.he

'When a man became a leader, a warrior, his men were listening to his words. That (leader) spoke about all these things: putting on a pig feast, or about killing a man, or about throwing the bull-roarer or about washing dead men's bones or about declaring the pig feast leader.'

2. Coordinate 1: Series Sentence

gam rezata vegina mete stoamake vono ravah.  
divide.and got.we.chs and store none became.it

## Coordinate 2: Simple Sentence

peteve lama zeita heza okopeka Garaina lama zeita Andrusiza  
 now aid.post be down.there Garaina aid.post Anulus

koravo ravata hezaeka oke.  
 care become.and be.where there

## Coordinate 3: Simple Sentence

demegina hehaeka oke.  
 built.we.chs was.where there

'We got (all the things) and the store finished. It was where Anulus is taking care of (the sick people). We built it and that is where it was.'

## 3. Coordinate 1: Simple Sentence

nema nonovo eve.  
 my road here

## Coordinate 2: Simple Sentence

nima agare ravavoka samengivoza zuaita nema nonovoka.  
 your up.there ridge.at go.cont.you.for likeness my road.at

'This is my road. Like you are travelling up there in the mountains, this is my road.'

## 4. Coordinate 1: Circumstance Result Sentence

o Iesu Kristo reima amipu no nai naituza kezavo ni  
 oh Jesus Christ our Lord everything's strength you

povoza peteve nima iriha emegipuh rari reza varengata  
 therefore now your underneath come.we.ss knee kneel.and

epata hata mange nangei.  
 this say.and prayer you.tell.we

## Coordinate 2: Narrative Paragraph

## BU 1: Simple Sentence

aliza epesi aliza tinasi anengi  
 day this day good us.give.you

## BU 2: Series Sentence

tengina reiparoma herisi ma reiparoma loporizaro ma  
 did.you.chs our body or our inside or

no nair nai mapotu ale tehana povoza vinga  
 everything light broke.it.chs therefore praise  
nangegi.  
 you.tell.we

'Oh, Jesus Christ our Lord, you are the source of everything therefore we come and kneel before you and say this prayer. This is a good day you have given us. Having given us the day dawned on our bodies and on our souls and on everything about so that we praise you.'

#### 5. Coordinate 1: Coordinate 1 Sentence

pi hatetepane mapo ngetingi rari angaraborabanaza hamegita  
 he hear.will.he all talks we that.we.people.say

Ongapu hateteta heza.  
 God hear.and be

#### Coordinate 2: Circumstance Result Sentence

haopata pima herisiza angoho pima herisika rari sa  
 yesterday his body.about you.told.I his body.at we go

ema tamegi povoza mete pi oke mapo oke hateteta  
 come do.cont.we therefore then he there all there hear.and

heza rarima hamegita.  
 be our what.we.say

#### Coordinate 3: Antithetical Sentence

pi anapaza homeamaha ong pi eteamaha.  
 he us.give.for think.cont.he but he look.cont.he

#### Coordinate 4: Circumstance Result Sentence

rariparoma loporizaroha tina vono povoza oke hateteta  
 our.all inside.at good none therefore there hear.and

ama gatata heza.  
 just wait.and be

#### Coordinate 5: Exposition Paragraph

Text: interrogative

tairaiza?  
 why

## Exposition: Series Sentence

rarima homevo sohota maota ong ravapanenahoho  
 our thinking go.cont.and again but become.will.it.chs.em

ma home pongi rarima hori povoza zakepi takapuho  
 or thought these our bad.that.for sorry do.will.we.ss

hori povo vetekanahoho Ongapu anapaneza  
 bad.that throw.will.we.chs.em God us.give.will.for

koravo ravata heza ma hateteta heza.  
 care become.and be or hear.and be

'He will hear, everything that we people are saying he listens to. Yesterday I told you what he is like, that in his strength we come and go therefore then he is listening to everything that we say. He wants to give to us but he is watching. Our insides are not good therefore he just listens and waits. Why? For our thinking to become straight again and for us to repent of these thoughts, these bad things and to throw them away, and so that he can give to us he is caring for us and listening (to us).'

## 6. Coordinate 1: Simple Sentence

hata vete.  
 ear throw

## Coordinate 2: Simple Sentence

maota lakivo totune.  
 again lucky don't.do

'Listen. Don't gamble any more.'

## 7. Coordinate 1: Simple Sentence

heza heza rarimovo tinama koravo ravata hepike.  
 our.state.of.being good.only care become.and be.will.you

## Coordinate 2: Simple Sentence

naenari ngevo elaelavo vono.  
 each.other talk cutting none

## Coordinate 3: Coordinate 2 Sentence

naenari ngevo va valahazavo oke Iesu Kristoza ngevo  
 each.other talk obeying there Jesus Christ's talk

oke va valahapane.  
there obey.will.they

'We will take good care of our way of living. There will be no sharp talking. They who obey each other will be obeying the talk of Jesus Christ.'

8. Coordinate 1: Simple Sentence

vatamo pota haoha aerariza.  
before this said.cont.they white.ones.about

Coordinate 2: Simple Sentence

paru abana mamoga emata aerarinanga gogovo tata  
they men first come.and white.ones.with work do.and

honepu honepu emata gogovo toha.  
one one come.and work did.cont.they

'Before they said this about the white people. When the first ones came one by one and they were working with the white people.'

9. Coordinate 1: Simple Sentence

mamoga rei varezata sogiri oke.  
first we were.ones.who.fled there

Coordinate 2: Simple Sentence

pituholo hata paruma abatavo rei pituholo hata  
demon said.and their name we demon said.and

varezata sogi.  
fled.and went.cont.we

'Before we were ones who ran away. We said 'demons', we called their name 'demons', and ran away.'

10. Coordinate 1: Question

voropu nima ngaripuza koravo hepane?  
who your daughter's care be.will.he

Coordinate 2: Question

voropu nima ropuza koravo hepane?  
who your son's care be.will.he

'Who will look after your daughter? Who will look after your son?'

### 7.2.2.5 Exposition Paragraph

Exposition Paragraph consists of two nuclear and obligatory tagmemes, Text and Exposition, and an optional tagmeme, Emphasis which occurs following the Text.

This paragraph type is a means of enlarging on the theme which is given in the Text, of teaching, by giving a question in the Text and the answer in the Exposition, or of giving a rebuke by a question concerning certain behaviour in the Text and an answer which enlarges further on that behaviour.

This paragraph typically embeds in other paragraphs. Setting and Terminus have not been observed.

Linkage between the tagmemes is only by juxtaposition and internal cohesion of the paragraph is maintained by the lexical link between the tagmemes.

#### Exposition Paragraph

+Text	+Emphasis	+Exposition
Interrogative	SS	SS
Question	Amplification S	Series Sentence
SS	Identical Predicate Paragraph	Coordinate 1 S
Series Sentence		Identical Predicate Paragraph
Coordinate Pa		Relational Pa

Text tagmeme is obligatory and is most commonly a question which arrests the attention of the hearers or gives them a rebuke. The speaker always gives his own answer to the question.

Emphasis tagmeme is optional and says 'That is what he said' or 'Think about that' or similar.

Exposition tagmeme enlarges in some way upon the Text, either by an answer to the question asked or by explaining further the statement made in the Text.

Generally tagmemes do not repeat but example 9 shows a repeat of Emphasis and Exposition.

Examples: Coordinate Paragraph

1. Text: Coordinate Paragraph

## Coordinate 1: Question

voropu nima ngaripuza koravo hepene?  
 who your daughter's care be.will.he

## Coordinate 2: Question

voropu nima ropuza koravo hepene?  
 who your son's care be.will.he

## Exposition: Simple Sentence

ne kaeveza oke urata eve soho.  
 I dislike there hit.and here go.I

'Who is going to look after your daughter? Who is going to look after your son? I don't want to do it and I hit them and now I am going.'

## 2. Text: Question

mete paru gogo tairata tovai emamaha?  
 and they work what doing come.cont.they

## Emphasis: Simple Sentence

pota home.  
 this think

## Exposition: Simple Sentence

S.I.L. gogo tamahavo no nai nai herisizatuza ma loporiza  
 work.that.they.do everything body.things.for or inside's

gogotaza karara tovai emamaha  
 work.for together doing come.cont.they

'And what work are they doing? Think about that. S.I.L. work both to help the body and the soul.'

## 3. Text: Series Sentence

mete krismasangi totoi ravamahana rei avangi  
 and Christmases close become.cont.they.chs we gardens

menamegi.  
 dig.cont.we



Exposition: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Series Sentence

krismasa navoka ngedeamegina hezana novai  
Christmas one.at plant.cont.we.chs be.and eating

sohota hezana sohota hezana vono ravamaha.  
go.cont.and be.and go.cont.and be.and none become.cont.it

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Series Sentence

maota krismasa modavo totoi ravamahana mete  
again Christmas another close become.cont.it.chs and

maota modasi va ngedekaza menamegipuho mete  
again another get plant.will.for dig.cont.we.ss and

modasi ngedevai mete aho ravamahana nameg.  
another planting and big become.cont.it.chs eat.cont.we

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Series Sentence

sohota krismasavo totoi rava mengeamahana  
go.cont.and Christmas close become put.cont.we.chs

eteta mete maota ava modasi ngedeamegipuho mete  
look.and and again garden another plant.cont.we.ss and

ngedevai mete krismasavoka samegi.  
planting and Christmas.at go.cont.we

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Series Sentence

emata heta sohota mete maota totoi  
come.and be.and go.cont.and and again close

ravamahana eteta mete avasi menamegi.  
become.cont.it.chs look.and and garden dig.cont.we

'When Christmas gets close we plant our gardens. One Christmas we are planting and waiting and then we eat for a long time (until the produce) finishes. And when another Christmas gets close we dig another garden for planting and plant it and when it is ripe we eat it. And time passes and when Christmas gets close again we see it and plant another garden and Christmas passes and we wait and when it gets close again we see and dig another garden.'

4. Text: Series Sentence

ari Moimoi abanari vonaiz Ileni emata ariparoti  
you Moimo men why Elaine come.and you.all.to

toutahana mete vonaiz ariparo pota tamegi?  
sit.she.chs and why you.all this do.cont.you

Exposition: Simple Sentence

abana honengarivi mete pinanga gogovo tamaha.  
man two and her.with work do.cont.they

'You men of Moimo, why, when Elaine is with you, why do you do this? Only a few men are working with her.'

5. Text: Question

mete pei tairai zaga rariparo homevo  
and what.thing.for.emph we.all thinking

va gizoh vataka?  
make.discontinue.will.we

Exposition: Identical Predicate

Idea 1: Simple Sentence

homevo rekota va gizoh navatotu.  
thinking enough no.make.discontinue.imp

Idea 2: Simple Sentence

rariho rarima kezavonanga homevo  
we.sub our strength.with thinking

va gizoh navatotu.  
no.make.discontinue.imp

'And what thing will help us to discontinue our way of thinking? We are not able to discontinue our way of thinking. We with our own strength are not able to discontinue our way of thinking.'

6. Text: Simple Sentence

vetezama vetezama tokazavoza ngeti tapuvo  
discardingly discardingly do.cont.will.for talk same

hahateta mete maota kosimarati veteta takazavoza  
cert.hear.and and again back.to throw.and do.will.for

tokati maota heri tairasi rari ravaka?  
later again body what we become.will.we

Exposition: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Coordinate 2 Sentence

heri modasi rari naravotu rarima herisi nena Ongapu  
body another we no.become.imp our body only God

rari anahana heza.  
we us.gave.he.chs be

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Negative Positive Antithetical Sentence

tokati maota verevakaza vozavoka heri modasi rari  
later again appear.will.for time.at body another we

naravotu nena tapusiamama oke verevaka.  
no.become.imp only same.only there appear.will.we

'If we live carelessly or hear this talk and turn our back on it, what bodies will we have later? We won't have another body, this is the only body God has given us. And later when we rise again we won't have different bodies, we will have the same ones.'

7. Text: Simple Sentence

abana Voriza napu emaha.  
man name one came.he

Exposition: Coordinate 1 Sentence

abana Vorizopu reipimaza dede mete reipi pimaza va sata  
man name our.for knew and we.two him.for get go.and

ema tegi.  
come did.we

'A Weli man came. This Weli man knew us but we were confused about him.'

8. Text: Simple Sentence

pasindiaholo 9 ravaha.  
passengers 9 became.they

Exposition: Simple Sentence

nari Masaragun era horapazari    nari Otomata era horapazari  
some name go.down.will.ones    some name go.down.will.ones

nari Urapases era horapanezari reiparo emegi.  
some name go.down.will.ones we.all came.we

'There were nine passengers. Some were going to Masaragun, some were going to Otomata, and some were going to Urapases and we all left.'

9. Text: Question

sera hata naenapu menamegi povo taekananga  
cross say.and each.other that.we.fight where.from

verevamah?  
appear.cont.it

Emphasis: Simple Sentence

pota epeka at angaha.  
this here question us.told.he

Exposition: Simple Sentence

sera hata naenapu menamegi povo rarima  
cross speak.and each.other that.we.fight our

loporizarohananga verevamaha.  
inside.from appear.cont.it

Emphasis: Amplification Sentence

maota oke ou. vataka oke angaha deti at  
again there open make.and there us.told.he above question

angaha mete maota iriha ou vatata oke angaha  
us.told.he and again below open make.and there us.told.he

Exposition: Simple Sentence

sera hata naenapu menamegi povo loporizarohananga  
cross speak each.other that.we.fight inside.from

verevamaha.  
appear.cont.it

'Where does our habit of speaking crossly to each other come from? That is what we ask here. Our habit of speaking crossly to each other comes from our insides. That is what he asks at the beginning, he asks us and again below he asks us. Our habit of speaking crossly to each other comes from our insides.'

#### 7.2.2.6 Dialogue Paragraph

Dialogue Paragraph consists of two obligatory tagmemes, the Initiating Unit and the Resolving Unit both of which are manifested by Direct Quotation Sentences. An optional tagmeme, the Continuing Unit is permitted to occur between these obligatory units and another optional tagmeme, Final Comment is permitted to occur after the Resolving Unit of the Paragraph. No repetition of these tagmemes is permitted.

Direct Quotation Sentences can also manifest the Bases of a Series Sentence and this is described in 7.3.1.1 Narrative Paragraph. This is a more commonly used means of reporting dialogue than the Dialogue Paragraph and so the structure of Dialogue Paragraph is not complex. Thus there are two methods of reporting dialogue in Kunimaipa and a combination of the two is also permitted and is the means used for reporting lengthy dialogue. (See example 5).

Linkage in a Dialogue Paragraph is either by Tail-head recapitulation or simply juxtaposition. Recapitulation even occurs when there is no Post-quote Clause at the end of the Direct Quotation Sentence to recapitulate in which case it is considered that the Pre-quote Clause is the basis of the recapitulation. It is not unusual for the actual quotations only to occur and to be linked by juxtaposition. A few examples of mete 'and' occurring to link tagmemes have also been observed.

Dialogue Paragraph usually embeds in other Paragraphs, especially in Narrative Paragraphs. It has not been observed manifesting Discourse level tagmemes. Setting and Terminus have not been observed with Dialogue Paragraph.

+Initiating Unit	+Dialogue Unit	+Resolving Unit	+Final Comment
Direct Quotation S	Series S	Direct Quotation S	Direct Quotation S
		Series S	_____

The Dialogue Unit is manifested by a Series Sentence with only Direct Quotation Sentences as its Bases. This is a means of continuing the dialogue if lengthy.

In a Dialogue Paragraph if the word pota 'this' occurs between quotations, in a formulaic quote clause marked with anticipatory subject markers on haza 'speak', it indicates a Pre-quote Clause and not a Post-quote Clause. Such a sentence break indicates tagmemes of a Dialogue Paragraph and not quotations manifesting the Bases of a Series Sentence.

Examples: Dialogue Paragraph

1. Initiating Unit: Direct Quotation Sentence

"Aripi Mospihananga emata zeitaza mela tamegi  
you.two Moresby.from came.and place.for search do.cont.we  
rarimeriza."  
our.ones

Final Comment: Direct Quotation Sentence which has a non-finite form in the Post-quote Clause

"kara eve emepiken nonor angairoma" hata ...  
ok here come.will.you.chs road you.show.will.I said.and

"'Where have you come from?' he said. 'We have come from Moresby and are looking for the place where our relatives live.' 'Ok, come here and I will show you the road,' he said and ..."

2. Initiating Unit: Direct Quotation Sentence

at angah, "ari hasata emegi?"  
question us.asked.he you cert.go.and come.you

Resolving Unit: Direct Quotation Sentence

"ee, rei hasata emegi. rei segipuh agare helata  
yes we cert.go.and come.we we went.we.ss up.there climb.and  
maota vorourata emegi."  
again turn.and come.we

Final Comment: "tina tegi."  
well did.you

'He asked us, "Have you been and come back?" "Yes we have been and come back. We went up there and then came back again." "You did well."

## 3. Initiating Unit: Direct Quotation Sentence

haha, "aripi taekangariv?" haha.  
said.he you.two where.from.two said.he

Resolving Unit and Final Comment encoded as one Series Sentence

"reipi Gunimaipangarivi eve" hagina "ne dede. abana  
we.two Kunimaipa.two here said.we.chs I know men

Gunimaipa narinanga ne Lae tohota ne dede. nema  
Kunimaipa some.with I Lae do.cont.and I know my

kandereholo va vatata reiparo tamegi. kara pozahata  
relatives get make.and we.all do.cont.we ok climb.up.and

kuia topikena sak" haha.  
ride do.will.you.chs go.will.we said.he

'He said, "Where are you two from?" he said. "We are two Kunimaipa men" we said and "I know. I worked with Kunimaipa men in Lae so I know. I found my relatives and I am working here with them. Ok, climb up and take a seat and we will go" he said.'

## 4. Initiating Unit: Direct Quotation Sentence

mete kiape epata haha "tokati paruparoma monisi elaka"  
and kiap this said.he later their money cut.will.we

pota haha.  
this said.he

Resolving Unit: Direct Quotation Sentence

"vata hela vatakana rekot ravapane".  
get.and climb make.will.we.chs enough become.will.it

'Then the patrol officer said this, "Later we will lower the wages" that he said. (And the reply was) "We can put their wages up and there will be enough money."'

## 5. Initiating Unit: Direct Quotation Sentence

pota mangaha, "mete agare Bubu iverihaza horipu  
this him.told.he and up.there Bubu river.at.for bad.one

eve."  
here

Continuing Unit: Series Sentence with dialogue continued in its Bases

pota mangahanaho Raeana "ni anga epopu  
this him.told.he.chs.after name.to you woman this.one

marasikama vata heza? ma peteve mekena oke  
hand.at.only get.and be or now send.will.you.chs there

sapaneza tamaharinanga sapane  
go.will.for ones.who.are.going.with go.will.she

Hoaleholonanga "hahana "evo patarinanga oke  
Guhu-Samane.with said.he.chs no different.ones.with there

nameotu ne ong reipimauhoho saka "hahana  
no.send.imp I but we.two.ourselves.em go.will.we said.he.chs

"povoza pe ni marasikama vata heza."  
therefore so you hand.at.only get.and be

Resolving Unit: Direct Quotation Sentence

pota hahana mete Raea pata, "oke reipi honevoame  
this said.he.chs and name reply there we.two together

toka".  
do.cont.will.we

'He told him this, "But this one is a bad one from the Bubu river." When he said this to Raea "Are you going to look after this woman? Or do you want to send her home with Guhu-Samanes who are going?" he said and "No, they are not friends, I won't send her. But we two ourselves will go" he said and "So therefore you look after her." He said this and Raea replied "We two will be going there together."

6. Initiating Unit: Direct Quotation Sentence

mete neho epata haoho "taira hangi? mete abana pongariv  
and I.sub this said.I what said.you and man these.two

emata kansoroha kapahavera ngiriholo vahapuh  
come.and council.at roofing.iron.and nails get.they.ss

abana zeimake demaha napu eve heza. mete parupi kansorona  
man house built.he one here be and they.two council

vare mangahapuhu sa demahazatine parupi moningi  
open them.told.they.ss go build.they.if they.two money



manaha narab taira homeamegi?"  
 them.give.they would what think.cont.you

Resolving Unit: Direct Quotation Sentence

mete Aten epat haha "rotapu."  
 and Hutton this said.he true

'Then I myself said this, "What are you saying? But these two men came to the council and got roofing iron and nails and the man who built the house is here. And if they had told the council and gone and done the building they would have paid them. What do you think?" And Mr. Hutton replied, "That's true."'

#### 7.2.2.7 Execution Paragraph

Execution Paragraph consists of an obligatory Proposal which is only manifested by a Direct Quotation Sentence followed by an obligatory Response in which no quotation is permitted. Setting and Terminus have not been observed with this paragraph type.

Execution Paragraph

+Proposal

+Response

Direct Quotation Sentence

SS

Relational Paragraph

Three examples only of this paragraph have been observed and in each the Proposal manifests the final Base of a Series Sentence and the Response manifests the initial Base of the following Series Sentence without recapitulation. If recapitulation occurs the Proposal and Response are encoded as part of the Narrative Paragraph (see 7.2.1.1) and not as an Execution Paragraph.

The Proposal always contains a command or request in the quotation which occurs and this command/request is carried out in the Response.

Examples: Execution Paragraph

#### 1. Proposal: Direct Quotation Sentence

angava misisipuhu hangaha "ni engasinangapuhu ni  
 white.woman.sub me.told.she you one.with.leg.sub you  
varama sa".  
 slowly go

Response: Simple Sentence

ne sa horohona ...  
I go go.down.I.chs

'The white woman said to me, "You have a bad leg so go slowly."  
 I went and ...'

## 2. Proposal: Direct Quotation Sentence

mete "kara sa orata heza 10 kirok emeke"  
and ok go sleep.and be 10.o'clock come.will.you

nangaha "10 kirok ema zeirevai naraha 10 kirok"  
me.told.he 10.o'clock come morning 10.o'clock

Response: Relational Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

ne sata orata heho 4 mail.  
I go.and sleep.and was.I 4.mile

Link: mete  
and

Statement: Simple Sentence

vas vata mete zeirevai naraha 10 kirok ebare  
bus get.and and morning 10.o'clock down.there

emohona ...  
came.I.chs

'And "Ok go and sleep and at 10 o'clock come back" he said,  
 "In the morning at 10 o'clock come, 10 o'clock". I went and  
 slept at 4 mile. And in the morning got a bus and at 10 o'clock  
 came back down there and ...'

## 3. Proposal: Direct Quotation Sentence

haha "ni valahata sa".  
said.he you get.up.and go

Response: Simple Sentence

ne valahata verevata ne tinama emoho.  
I got.up.and came.out.and I well.only came.I

'He said, "You get up and leave". I got up and came out and  
I came the right way.'

## 8. DISCOURSE TYPES

### 8.0 Introduction

This chapter is a description of discourses in Kunimaipa and 62 discourses of varying lengths have been observed for discourse structure and conclusions presented here are tentative. It is expected that further study would show a greater number of tagmemes, a more specialized function for some tagmemes and a greater variety of exponents of the tagmemes.

There are four discourse types in Kunimaipa, Narrative, Behavioural, Descriptive and Epistolary. There are two categories of Narrative Discourse, Contemporary and Legend.

Each discourse type is presented with a bidimensional array which shows in as precise a manner as possible, the tagmemes that occur. Each discourse type has pertinent features of aspect, mood, mode and person and these are described preceding the bidimensional array. Lexical and grammatical items which mark different discourse tagmemes and features of linkage within the paragraph are described following the bidimensional array. The description of Narrative Discourse includes interaction of participants in the discourse, and how background information is included.

(See CHART IV, page 221.)

### 8.1 Narrative Discourse

#### 8.1.0 Introduction

Narrative Discourse typically has perfect aspect and events are in chronological order. Sentences are often long, composed of many clauses and having other sentences and paragraphs embedded in them. Linkage within paragraphs is by recapitulation of the verb, a synonym of that verb, or a pro-verb. (See 8.1.5) New paragraphs are introduced by change of time, by lack of recapitulation accompanied by change of topic or by pota 'this' plus pro-verb. The word mete 'and' frequently occurs paragraph initial along with one of the above but when occurring alone it does not indicate a new paragraph.

Time change is indicated by a change of aspect from perfect to imperfect, by a temporal such as zeirevai 'tomorrow', tokaeti 'later', zeirez mevai 'morning', by a clause such as 'having dawned', 'having finished', or by a combination of 2 of these. A less common way of indicating time change is by use of a motion verb preceded by a non-finite form of the verb 'to be' or 'to do', optionally accompanied by a time word. The motion verb does not indicate movement of participants but the whole construction indicates passage of time. Time change indicating a new paragraph must occur sentence initial in the first sentence of the new paragraph and usually has a slight pause after it. Only mete 'and' optionally precedes it.

	Narrative	Behavioural	Descriptive	Epistolary
Tagmemes	Narrative Pa	Behavioural Pa	Descriptive Pa	Any Paragraph
Linkage	Tail-head recapitulation	Relational Pa		
Orientation	Events and people	Conjunctions	Lack of recapitulation	'And another talk'
Person	First and Third	Thematic and people	Thematic and things	Unlimited
Aspect	Usually perfect	First and Second	First and Third	Any
Mode	Contemporary-none	Imperfect	Perfect	Either
	Legend-remote past	Future continuous	Past or present continuous	Any
Mood	Indicative	Indicative, imperative	Indicative	Indicative
Constituents	Long sentences	Real and hypothetical examples	'This is the way it is/was'	Salutation
	Long paragraphs	Reference to present conditions		Signature

CHART IV - DISCOURSE TYPES AND TENDENCIES NOTED.

When a speaker does not wish to indicate a new Episode (or other new tagmeme) a new time will occur within the sentence nucleus. When this occurs the sentence will be linked to the previous sentence by the usual intra-paragraph recapitulation.

urohota hegina      ale   tehana      zeirevai valahata   segi.  
hit.and were.we.chs light broke.it.chs next.day got.up.and went.we

'We were dancing and the day dawned and we left.'

The mood throughout Narrative Discourse is always indicative. A negative statement is made by means of a Negative Verb Phrase in which case mood remains indicative, or by means of a sentence type which can have a negative statement in one Base, the overall mood however remains indicative. The only exception is in a quote when any aspect, mood, mode or person can occur.

Aspect in Narrative Discourse is usually perfect. It is not unusual for other discourse types to embed in contemporary Narrative Discourse.

There are 2 types of Narrative Discourse: Contemporary Narrative and Legend Narrative, and the nuclear tagmemes of these 2 types are described separately followed by a description of the peripheral tagmemes which occur with both types. Nuclear tagmemes are those which are characteristic of a given discourse and which set it apart from other discourse types. Peripheral tagmemes are those which do not serve to distinguish different kinds of narrative except as they occur or never occur with a given discourse type.

#### 8.1.1 Contemporary Narrative Discourse

Contemporary Narrative Discourse usually does not indicate mode although present continuous mode can occur to indicate events which continue at the time of the narration, and remote past mode can occur if the events occurred a long time ago. Whilst aspect is usually perfect it can change to imperfect to indicate projected events. Such projected events can be definite plans or musings about what might happen and most commonly occur at the end of a discourse but it has also been observed medially.

Contemporary Narrative Discourse is either first or third person and the speaker must be either a participant in or an observer of the Episodes of the discourse. Twenty-one tape recorded Contemporary Narrative Discourses were observed in writing this description.

The nucleus of a Contemporary Narrative discourse is manifested by 1 obligatory tagmeme, Episode, and one optional tagmeme, Stage. Episode tagmeme forms the main body of the discourse. Stage tagmeme precedes Episode and is optional but nuclear to both types of Narrative Discourse because it does not occur in other discourse types.

The optional Stage tagmeme precedes the Episode tagmeme. It sets the time, introduces the main participant/s, gives the location for the narrative, and/or gives necessary background information. Stage tagmeme is manifested by a sentence or sometimes is linked grammatically by verb suffixation as part of the Narrative Paragraph which manifests the first Episode. Fifty per cent of the texts studied have a Stage tagmeme. Following is an example of Stage tagmeme included as part of the first Episode of a discourse:

nema papapu Sauar, nema nonopu Etai, non modapu Savai, nema  
my father Sauar my mother Etai mother other Savai my  
  
non napu Zaurai heta nema papapu volo mangepu  
mother one Zaurai be.and my father pig.festival  
  
biohapuh  
he.was.putting.ss

'My father, Sauar and my mother Etai, and my aunts Savai and Zaurai were (there) and when my father put on a pig festival ...'

Episode tagmeme is obligatory and minimally it occurs once and maximally nine times. First person narratives are often short and contain only one Episode. Each Episode is manifested by a Narrative Paragraph which begins with a Setting tagmeme indicating a change of time or location. There is no recapitulation linking Narrative Paragraphs.

Following is a bidimenisonal array showing Contemporary Narrative Discourse tagmemes and their fillers.

±Title	±Stage	±Instruc- tion	+Episode <sup>n=1-9</sup>	±Sum- mary	±Closure	±Finis
SS	temporal	Se S (im)	Narr Pa	SS	SS	Ex C1
	D T P		Desc Pa		Coord 2 S	<u>nena</u>
	Dep C1				Se S	
	N-f C1				C-R S	
	Dep CoC1				Coord Pa	
	SS					
	Se S					

See 9.1 for an example of Contemporary Narrative Discourse.

### 8.1.2 Legend Narrative Discourse

Legends are passed from generation to generation and speakers endeavour to keep the wording exact. Because these legends are told and retold, detail that everyone knows has often been omitted and time/location factors and participant movement are not easy for an outsider to follow. Legends vary from area to area. There may be great similarity but a legend from one village will not be accepted in another because the wording and/or events are not 'right'.

Legends are usually remote past mode and two optional tagmemes occur which do not occur with Contemporary Narrative or any other discourse type. These are Present Result and Formulaic Closure and in the Present Result tagmeme the mode changes from remote past to present continuous. It is on the basis of the two optional tagmemes plus presence versus absence of mode and the occurrence of only third person that Legends and Contemporary Narrative are considered to be different types.

As with any narrative the mood throughout is indicative and only third person occurs because the speaker is never a participant in or an observer of the events of a Legend. Aspect is always perfect.

Tendencies in 16 tape recorded Legends were noted and are described here.

The nucleus of a Legend Narrative Discourse is manifest by four tagmemes. Episode tagmeme is obligatory and Stage, Present Result and Formulaic Closure tagmemes are optional.

Stage tagmeme is the same grammatically as for Contemporary Narrative but lexically somewhat different and occurs much more frequently in Legends. Of the 16 Legends studied 14 have a Stage tagmeme in which the main participant/s are introduced. In one Legend a tree is in focus until near the end so this is introduced in the Stage. Time is not in focus at the beginning of a Legend so it is not usually mentioned in the Stage. Occasionally the location is mentioned in the Stage but usually location is not relevant either.

Episode tagmeme is obligatory and follows Stage tagmeme and from one to 15 Episodes have been observed, each one manifested by a Narrative Paragraph with no recapitulation linking them.

Formulaic Closure occurs in four of the discourses studied and is a variation of:

<u>heta</u>	<u>navo</u>	<u>taha</u>	<u>bataha</u>
be.and	something	he.did	perhaps

'And so he lived and we don't know what else he did.'

The only variation observed is a different form of 'be' and the identification of the participant by name or pronoun. In all examples this tagmeme is part of the final Episode because it is linked grammatically by the verb suffixation on the preceding predicate. Formulaic Closure has not been observed to co-occur with Closure or Present Result but lexically these 3 tagmemes differ too much for them to be considered one tagmeme. Study of further data would show if these tagmemes could co-occur or not.

Present Result tagmeme indicates a present existing state or observable phenomena which has resulted from the events of the Legend and therefore mode changes to Present Continuous. This tagmeme follows the final Episode. Five of the Legends studied have this tagmeme and in two of them it is linked grammatically to the final Episode in the same way as Formulaic Closure is linked. In one discourse this tagmeme occurs both before and after the Episodes of the Legend. The occurrence before the Episode tagmemes serves to identify the location of part of the Legend but grammatically it remains a Present Episode tagmeme. The occurrence after the Episodes indicates the continued present existence of the main participant of the discourse.

Following is a bidimensional array showing Legend Narrative Discourse tagmemes and their fillers.

*Title	*Stage	*Instruc- tion	+Epi <sup>n=1-15</sup> sode	*Sum- mary	*Form. Clos.	*Present Episode	*Clos.	*Finis
SS	Dep Cl	Co Cl	Narr Pa	AppNP	Clause	Co Cl	SS	<u>nena</u>
	SS	(im)				SS		
	Coord					Se S		
	Pa					Narr Pa		
	Desc Pa					Coord Pa		

See 9.2 for an example of Legend Narrative Discourse.

8.1.3 Peripheral Tagmemes

Five optional peripheral tabmemes occur in both types of Narrative Discourse. Title, Instruction, Summary, Closure and Finis.

Title when it occurs, begins the discourse, preceding the Stage, and is a variation of

ngetivo haomaza eve toho.  
story I.to.speak here do.I

'I am about to tell a story.'



This tagmeme is frequently modified by a clause (which optionally is nominalized) or phrase which modifies 'story' and gives the topic of the discourse.

deiparomo    Gazili abanariza tegita    ngetivo haoma  
we.all.poss    Gazili men.poss    we.did.what    story    I.will.speak

'I will tell the story of what we Gazili men did.'

A synonym of 'speak' or 'story' is permitted. Title frequently co-occurs with Stage but several examples have been observed of Title and Stage being fused so that the participant/s, time, and location are given in the clause modifying 'story' in the Title. Speakers have not been known to include their name in the Title. This tagmeme does not link grammatically with a following tagmeme.

Instruction tagmeme occurs before or after the Episodes of the discourse and consists of a command to listen to the story. It is not necessarily given in command form but can be given politely as 'I will speak and you will listen', or 'so that you can listen I am about to speak'. This tagmeme has not been observed to co-occur with Introduction, but has been observed following both Title and Stage and in one example all three occur.

Summary tagmeme has been observed twice, once in Contemporary and once in Legend Narrative. It occurs before Closure and Finis and adds information such as the name of a participant not previously named, or it reiterates the names of the main participants in the story. Due to so few examples the lexical possibilities of this tagmeme are not known.

Closure tagmeme precedes the Finis tagmeme and consists of some form of 'about these things I have talked' or 'this story I have told'. In a few examples a word or phrase to sum up the general topic of the discourse is included. This tagmeme occurs much less frequently in Legend than in Contemporary Narrative and does not link grammatically with preceding or following tagmemes.

Finis tagmeme is formulaic although some variation is allowed. The word nena 'that is all' must occur. The most common formula is

nena    oke    haoho.  
that.is.all    there    I.spoke

'That is all I have to say.'

A synonym of 'spoke' can occur. This tagmeme has not been observed to co-occur with Closure in Legends but it frequently does in Contemporary Narrative. It does not link grammatically with a preceding tagmeme.

Other formulas optionally occur as Finis in Legends. These are the obsolete forms nidoi nadoi, top topai mirimir, or giton roeitaition rapit, none of which has any current meaning except to signal the end of the Legend.

Closure and Finis have been observed to fuse in which case the word nena 'that is all' occurs with povoza 'about that'

povoza      ngetivo nena      oke.  
about.that story      that.is.all there

'That is all there (is) about these things.'

It is not unusual for three or four optional tagmemes to occur in a discourse and two examples of five occurring have been observed. It is unusual for a Narrative Discourse to begin without Title or Stage, or to finish without either Closure or Finis but it can happen.

In the data studied to present the order of Summary, post-Episode Instruction and Formulaic Closure is not clear. No doubt study of further data would indicate a definite order for these or make restrictions clear.

#### 8.1.4 Linkage

All Narrative Discourse makes extensive use of tail-head recapitulation within the paragraph. This is a recapitulation of all or part of the final clause of the preceding sentence. Frequently only the verb is recapitulated (or a synonym of it) but other tagmemes can also be recapitulated and occasionally new information is added in the recapitulation. A pro-verb can also be used as linkage within the paragraph. This is a recapitulation of the preceding verb by ta- 'do' in a non-finite or dependent form. A dependent form agrees in person with the preceding verb. Tagmemes which occur with the preceding verb are not recapitulated with a pro-verb.

#### 8.1.5 Chronology of events in Narrative Discourse

The basic unit of Narrative Discourse is the Series Sentence, the means by which events are expressed in chronological order. Many Sentence and Paragraph types embed in a Series Sentence and in this way the discourse is held together (see 8.1.8), as Series Sentences link into Narrative Paragraphs and Narrative Paragraphs group into Narrative Discourse. Because the Series Sentence is the basic unit of Narrative Discourse the following comments on the chronology of events in Narrative Discourse relate grammatically to the Series Sentence. Other sentence types do not have time in focus as the Series Sentence does.

Whilst it is true that events in Narrative Discourse are usually chronological there are times when events stated in sequence are not chronological. One example of this is the Simultaneous Sentence which

indicates grammatically overlapping of events (see Chapter 6.1.1.2). Another example of non-chronological events is flashback information which adds events which occurred prior to that point of time in the Narrative, at which the Narrative has arrived. This kind of flashback is permitted to be added at any point in a narrative. It can be brief or quite lengthy, and is accompanied by one or more of the following grammatical signals:

1. Following the flashback, the repetition of the predicate/s preceding it can occur. The predicate preceding the flashback can be non-finite, dependent or independent and the repeating predicate can be the same form or a different form. The repeating predicate can be a synonym. The certuitive prefix ha- can occur on the first predicate of the flashback to emphasize that this event/s happened previously.

era            horegina            hasohana            sata  
go.down went.down.we.chs cert.went.they.chs go.and

horegina ...  
went.down.we.chs

'(We) went down and they had already gone ...'

All flashbacks signalled in this way observed thus far have involved different actor/s from the clause preceding the flashback. This means that the clause preceding the flashback, if it has a dependent predicate, is marked for change-of-subject-following.

The final predicate of the flashback has a dependent verb marked for change-of-subject-following to bring the participants involved before the flashback back into focus. This kind of flashback is optionally up to eight or nine clauses long but one example has been seen of a whole separate narrative given as a flashback and signalled grammatically by repetition of the preceding predicates.

2. An adjective indicating time such as maoko 'newly', magei 'newly' can occur. This adjective is part of the preceding clause or part of a nominalized time clause which is the first tagmeme in the flashback. In the examples observed there is no formal closure to the flashback. The end of the paragraph is the end of the flashback and the new paragraph has a new time setting.

In the following example the timing of the flashback is established in the first tagmeme of the flashback and there is no change of participants from this nominalized time clause to the remainder of the flashback.

mete magei      verevaharaha...  
and   new            arrived.they.when

'But when they had just arrived ...'

In the following example, the timing of the flashback is established in the clause preceding the flashback and there is a change of participants from that clause to the following flashback.

mete maoko poto tahana...  
and   new      that did.they.chs

'But when they had just begun ...'

3. A time word such as vatamo 'before', mamoga 'first', at the beginning of the flashback. As with 2. there is no formal closure to the flashback. A flashback indicated by an adjective or a time word is typically longer than one indicated as under 1.

(deiparo hegina)      mete abana napu pi vatamo...  
we.all   were.we.chs   and   man      one   he   before

'We were and there was a man who had ...'

4. Repetition of a previously spoken event, to bring the narrative back to that point of time. The flashback is then stated followed by the restating of the events following that point of time. Only one example of this has been observed and it seems to be a way of adding information about events that were forgotten at the precise point when they occurred.

A few examples have been seen of events partially or completely overlapping timewise encoded in a Series Sentence which usually expresses events chronologically. In each example observed the word mete 'and' occurs at the beginning of the clause expressing the overlapping event, i.e., the second event, and the change-of-subject-following suffix occurs on the predicate of the clause expressing the first event. These grammatical features occur, however, when there is no overlap so there are no real grammatical signals when this kind of overlap occurs, instead the clues are lexical.

(mehon)      emahan      Tolavizohananga mete maota sat  
sent.I.chs   came.he.chs   from.Tolavizo   and   again   go.and

'(I sent him) and he went from Tolavizo and I came and ...'

Another means of expressing simultaneous events is the Identical Predicate Paragraph which has the same predicate referring to the

same event repeated a number of times with additional information added about the accompanying events preceding each repeat of the predicate.

Occasionally one event in a narrative occurs out of order timewise. This can be one event removed or several events removed from where one would have expected it, and can occur sentence final or medial. The speaker makes it clear that it is out of order by using falling intonation plus pause. The preceding event links with the following event as far as anticipatory subject markers are concerned and the out-of-order event, if dependent, has the anticipatory subject marker which would have occurred had it not been out of order. This is a systematic way of focusing on the time or some other factor of the out-of-order event. The clause description of Kunimaipa shows the same thing at that level, with clause level tagmemes expressed after the predicate as a means of focusing on them. (See Chapter 5.4). The suffix *-hoho* 'after' can occur on the out-of-order event to emphasize the time element further. If this out-of-order event occurs sentence final the next sentence recapitulates the sentence terminus and not the out-of-order event.

#### 8.1.6 Participants in Narrative Discourse

##### 8.1.6.0 Introduction

Introduction and movement of participants is as important in Kunimaipa narrative as the chronology of the event line. The following section seeks to answer such questions as: How are participants introduced into the narrative? How are they identified thereafter? How are they removed and reintroduced? How are the main participants identified? How are the lesser participants identified? What are props and background and how are they identified?

There is a basic distinction between participants and props. Participants are usually the human agents involved in the actions, and props the non-human. In Legend Narratives animals often assume the importance of participants and interact with other human participants. Inanimate objects can also assume the importance of participants. In one narrative about an eclipse of the sun, the sun and the moon act as participants with the main event of the discourse revolving around them.

Thus a participant is distinguished from a prop or background information by its level of involvement in the narrative. A participant interacts with other participants throughout the discourse whereas a prop does not interact with participants and normally is named only once. A participant may be a group acting as a single unit or an individual.

Participants and props are further distinguished by the particular means of introduction into the narrative.

In several narratives observed the same participant unit is in focus throughout with other participants involved in a minor way. The main focus of such a narrative is on events and places rather than interaction of participants.

#### 8.1.6.1 Introduction of Participants and Props into Narrative Discourse

The participants in a narrative discourse are indicated by a Noun Phrase, a name, noun, pronoun, by person/aspect suffix on the verb or by a clause such as 'Bauai was there'. The subject marker -ho frequently marks a participant when he appears on the scene for the first time. The use of a Noun Phrase to introduce a participant is a means of giving some detail about that person or of listing a number of people who will act as a unit in the following events.

The first participant is usually introduced in the Stage tagmeme or at the beginning of the first Episode. Occasionally the first participant is identified in a nominalized clause in the Title tagmeme (See 8.1.3). This means that that participant is the main participant and will be involved in the events throughout the narrative. In the narrative mentioned previously about an eclipse of the sun, the sun and moon are introduced as participants in the Title of the discourse. In a first person narrative the narrator is not necessarily the main participant and he never gives his name but just introduces himself as ne 'I', or omits the pronoun and uses only the person.aspect verb suffix. If he is not the main participant he goes on to introduce those who are. In Legends the main participants are usually introduced in the Stage by a statement such as 'Makoi and her grandchildren lived'.

In the Contemporary Narratives studied the time setting is given before the first participant and the location after.

paraidetaka rei Saiveriha      segi.  
Friday.on      we      Saiveriha.to      went.we

'On Friday we went to Saiveriha.'

A new participant in the narrative is usually indicated by a change-of-subject-following marker on the verb and then the new participant is introduced. This new participant occupies the subject tagmeme of the clause.

... pozahagina      Pomeia      Gazilipu ...  
climbed.we.chs      Pomeia      Gazili.one

'... we climbed and Pomeia a Gazili man ...'

Occasionally a participant is introduced as object in a clause (which is marked for change-of-subject-following) and becomes the subject (free or otherwise) in the following clause and interacts with the

other participants from that point on.

hareta aban Vaitaizari mehana Guarikananga  
came.across.and men Vaitai.poss.ones sent.they.chs Guari.from

sata ...  
sent.and

'... (they) went across and sent Vaitai's relative and they came from Guari ...'

It is not uncommon for a participant not to be identified at all but to be just indicated by the person.aspect suffix on the verb. When this happens it seems that what that participant did was far more in focus than who he was. Such a participant is usually on the scene briefly and removed again by a change-of-subject-following suffix. (See 8.1.6.3).

... hegina reima tepangi elata anaha.  
were.we.chs our tickets cut.and gave.us.he

'... we waited and he gave us our tickets.'

Participants who have previously been part of a group can be brought into focus by being introduced as new participants.

There are less commonly used ways of introducing new participants without the change-of-subject-following marker. These are:

1. At the beginning of a paragraph in which case there is a time change from the previous paragraph.

mete tokaeti paru Inglisiholohananga mas napu masta  
and later they from.English.people master one master

Rovis pi ...  
Roberts he

'And later an English man named Roberts ...'

2. The second Base of a Coordinate Paragraph i.e. mete 'and' occurs followed by introduction of the new participant.

... Lae ngodegi mete poeka Kokoiira angapura ropu heha.  
Lae we.landed and there Kokoi.and wife.and son were

'... we landed at Lae and Kokoi and his wife and son were there.'

3. Following a non-finite verb in which case the new participants are introduced in the object tagmeme. They are not in focus and the previous participant unit simply enlarges to include the new participants as the narrative moves along.

... Bosade ngodata poeka ngari ang nangarivi napu  
 Bosade landed.and there girl woman two one

va vizata ...  
 get put.and

'... landed at Bosade and met three young women ...'

A few examples have been seen of a new participant introduced in the Subject tagmeme following a non-finite verb where one would expect a dependent verb with a change-of-subject-following marker. In each case the participants are on the scene briefly and then removed again by a change-of-subject-following marker. Possibly this is one way of introducing participants who are not in focus and who are to be removed again quickly.

4. By means of a quote. This is a way of introducing a participant who is the centre of attention at that point.

"oke nima volo angapu emaha" haohana ...  
 there your pig woman came.she said.they.chs

"'Here comes your pig-woman," they said and ...'

5. Participants who are briefly involved in the events of the narrative and who are not in focus can be introduced in the Accompaniment tagmeme of the clause.

ne nema nanepura angapuranga akaha Homena  
 I my older.brother.and wife.with up.there Homena

soho.  
 went.I

'I went up to Homena with my brother and his wife.'

The Accompaniment tagmeme is useful also in introducing a participant who has been involved throughout the narrative but was not mentioned previously by the narrator.

ro nema vantokipunanga mete deipi sata ...  
 boy my relative.with and we.two go.and

'with my young relative, we two went and ...'



Props are usually indicated by the Object tagmeme of the clause, occasionally they occur as subject or they can be introduced by a quote. Props typically are mentioned once but if the same prop is involved with different groups of participants it will be mentioned in relation to each different group. A prop can be in focus in one part of a narrative with the events directed toward that prop. When this happens the prop is named a number of times and the tendency is to indicate participants only by a person/aspect suffix on the verb. If a non-human item is in focus throughout the major part of a narrative it has assumed the role of a participant in that narrative.

#### 8.1.6.2 Interaction of Participants

Once a participant has been introduced he interacts with other participants on the scene of the narrative. He does not necessarily take a major part in the action but he remains on the scene until removed. Normally no more than two participants are on the scene at a time in which case it is not difficult to maintain identification by use of change-of-subject-following marker, without the use of names, noun or phrase as identification. It seems to be a matter of style however. Usually a participant is identified when he comes on to the scene, when he is removed, or when he is reintroduced but some speakers choose to identify participants more often, particularly by the use of pronouns, and if there are more than two participants interacting then specific identification is necessary more often. If any ambiguity is possible the narrator uses definite identification such as name, pronoun, etc. At times the very event described by the verb aids identification of the participant involved.

#### 8.1.6.3 Removal of Participants

If there are no more than two participants usually both remain on the scene all the time with the identification of each clear because of anticipatory subject markers on the verbs. Once a third participant is introduced, however, it is necessary to identify participants more often, to remove one from the scene, or to expand one of the previous participants to include the newcomer (see 8.1.6.4).

Essentially all that is necessary to remove a participant is a change-of-subject-following suffix on the predicate. The scene then continues with a previously identified participant in focus or with the introduction of a new participant. The line of events also serves to emphasize that a participant has been removed. A participant who is briefly on the scene and identified only by person/aspect suffix on the verb is removed in this way. Sometimes it seems that the narrator does not know the identity of those involved so briefly in the narrative. A participant who has had a more prominent place on the scene usually is removed as simply as this also. Occasionally he is removed by means of a motion verb. A participant removed thus moves away from the scene of action and the motion verb must be marked for change-of-subject-following.

paru garosi emahana      ne heho.  
 they first came.they.chs I was.I

'They left first but I waited.'

A motion verb also is used to move the main participants on to a different scene of action thus removing any participant not involved in the going. In this case the change-of-subject-following suffix optionally occurs on the motion verb.

Another way of removing a participant from the scene is by use of the verb 'be' in relation to one participant. Thus the participant being removed stays behind as the scene of the narrative moves on.

heta      paru hehana      ne akaha      Homena soho.  
 were.and they were.they.chs I up.there Homena went.I

'Then they stayed and I went up there to Homena.'

It is possible to have such a large time gap between paragraphs that the participants of the preceding paragraph are automatically 'removed' and new ones introduced in the new paragraph.

A participant who is introduced, removed and reintroduced later in the narrative is introduced as a new participant. That is, a change-of-subject-following suffix occurs on the previous predicate and the reintroduced participant is identified by name, noun or Noun Phrase. The means of identification is not necessarily the same as the first time he was introduced.

#### 8.1.6.4 Expansion and Contraction of Participants

Related to the question of movement of participants on or off the scene of the narrative is that of expanding the participant unit to include a new participant and contraction of the participant unit when one or more members of that group are temporarily or permanently separated. This differs from two separate participants each maintaining his separate identity.

In expanding or contracting a participant unit change-of-subject-following suffix usually does not occur on the verb of the preceding clause as the expanded participant unit still contains the original participants and the contracted participant unit is part of the previous participant unit. The verb in the clause preceding an expansion or contraction of the participant unit is a non-finite form or a dependent form with a same-subject-following suffix. The expanded or contracted subject is identified in the following ways:

1. By the person/aspect suffix on the verb. This can be ambiguous because of the portmanteau properties of these suffixes and because they are non-specific. It can be clear that the

participant unit is expanded or contracted but not clear who is included or excluded. The meaning of the verb may or may not help to clarify the ambiguity. In the following example it is not clear who the contracted participant is and apparently it was not important enough to the narrator to specify.

va ou vatahapuho volo napu uraha.  
get open make.they.ss pig one killed.he

'They settled the matter and then he killed a pig.'

2. If the narrator chooses to he can make the identity of the contracted or expanded subject quite clear by the use of names, a Noun Phrase, noun or pronoun. The first of the following examples shows a contracted participant following a non-finite verb, and the second shows an expanded participant following a dependent verb marked for same-subject-following.

deipi emata pozahatama nema uantokipuhama  
we.two came.and climbed.and.only my relative.only

eteha.  
looked.he

'We came and as we were climbing (the hill) my relative saw him.'

Hahav zeiha segipuho Hamunia abupunanga reiparo  
Hahav place.at went.we.ss Hamunia husband.with we.all

orata hegi.  
slept.and were.we

'We came to Hahav and there, with Hamunia and her husband we all slept.'

If two separate participant units are isolated from the original group a change-of-subject-following suffix occurs on the verb of the predicate associated with both the separated participant units. However, preceding these two separated participant units the verb is not marked for change-of-subject-following but indicates same-subject-following or is a non-finite form.

lokata ngaro 4 ivovo vahana nonor papa modarizaro  
went.in.and children 4 water got.they.chs parents others

medevo nahana  
flesh ate.they.chs

'We all went in and 4 children were baptised and some adults took communion.'

After contraction or expansion of a participant unit, when the narrator wants to switch back to the original group, or, in the case of a contracted participant, to the other part of the original participant unit, he must signal this by the change-of-subject-following suffix on the final verb associated with the contracted or expanded participant unit. This switch back can be further indicated by identification by a name, Noun Phrase, noun or pronoun of the original participant unit.

nge povo va vono vategipuhu nehoe volo modapu urohona  
 talk that get nothing make.we.ss I.myself pig another killed.I.chs  
veiregipuhu ...  
 cooked.we.ss

'We finished the talk and then I killed another pig and we cooked (it) ...'

Sometimes when a participant unit is contracted or expanded the change-of-subject-following marker is used on the preceding verb. Possibly in such cases the narrator is focusing on the non-expanded participant by not including him as part of the participant group even though in fact he is. Only two examples of this have been seen.

#### 8.1.7 Background Information

Speakers relating a narrative often include information which is not part of the sequence of events or movement of participants. If this information were omitted the narrative would be just as clear but the inclusion of it adds interest to the narrative. Such information is referred to here as background information and it can include the state of mind of one of the participants, an event that could have happened but didn't, an existing state of some kind, or the name and other details of a participant, prop or place. These various kinds of background information have been observed expressed in the following ways:

1. The state of mind of one or more of the participants is expressed by a Stative clause, a Coordinate 1 Sentence or a Coordinate 2 Sentence. These can manifest one base of a Sentence or a Colon or can occur not linked in this way to what precedes or follows.

(ngodata) ne ununug pi hodadeg.  
 fell.and I ignorant he knowing

'We landed and I didn't know (about that place) but he knew.'

2. An event that could have happened but didn't has been observed manifested by:

- a) the Apodosis of a Contrafactual Sentence manifesting the second base of a Coordinate 2 Sentence. It is supposed that an event which could have happened could also be manifested by a Contrafactual Sentence. In the following example it will be noted that the first base of the Coordinate 2 Sentence indicates an existing state as described under 3. and it is this existing state which could have caused the following event to happen.

(lokat)            reiparom   ahoaho   tepata   oraeza,   mengo  
 entered.and    our       blessing   book   is       spell  
 metaha           nab       ong ...  
 they.to.did.he   could   but

'(We) went in and we have the liturgy, they could have had a proper wedding but ...'

- b) A Series Sentence with two Bases, both potential aspect.

mete   tai   tapanepuho       taira   paruparo   hodade  
 and   what   will.do.they.ss   what   they.all   understand  
 ravapane.  
 will.become.they

'But what could they do, how could they understand?'

3. An existing state. Those observed have been a state which was related to the following event or which resulted from the preceding event/s. This kind of background information is expressed by an independent clause or a Coordinate 2 Sentence.

(...   guaiv   nenata   mamoga       voha)            mete   abata  
          salt   only   beginning   were.getting.they   and   name  
 povo   reiparoti   keza       revaha.  
 that   to.us       strong   became.it

'... and at first they were only getting salt so we really got to know it well.'

4. The name and other details about participants, props and places are usually expressed as an Appositional Noun Phrase in the appropriate clause level tagmeme. This type of Noun Phrase allows more expansion than any other phrase type and a lot of detail can be included. (See 'Kunimaipa Nominals', by

Alan Pence, Elaine Geary and Doris Bjorkman.) There are times though when this information is encoded as a sentence or independent clause manifesting one Base of a Series Sentence.

(... mete rei sipiha segi.) mete Simbang  
and we ship.in went.we and Simbang

mengamaha paruho. (sohota ...)  
it.are.telling.they they.sub were.going.and

'... and we went on the ship, the one they call the Simbang. (We) went and ...'

#### 8.1.8 Cohesion in Narrative Discourse

The principle method of relating events and holding narrative discourse together in Kunimaipa is the use of Series Sentences, the Bases of which can have clauses, sentences or paragraphs embedded in them, all of which is held together by occurrence of the same aspect, the continuing occurrence of anticipatory subject markers, and the head-tail recapitulation which usually occurs at the beginning of each Series Sentence.

The following are two examples from a narrative discourse showing embedding of paragraph within paragraph, paragraph within sentence and sentence within sentence all held together as described above.

STAGE: First Base of Series Sentence

nema engasinanga tohopuho  
my leg.with did.I.ss

EPISODE 1: Narrative Paragraph

BU 1: Continuation of Series Sentence with embedding as indicated below

sata ogare girinika hehona  
went.and down.there clinic was.I.chs

Execution paragraph:

Proposal: Direct Quotation Sentence with Amplification  
Sentence embedded in the first Base

misisipu pota haha, misis aus sikitakapuho  
white.woman this said.she nurse.at.the.hospital

nanaha "ari ogare aus sikitak sei."  
told.me.she you down.there hospital go

## Non-verbal Response: Series Sentence

hahana rei mapo valahagipuhu aus sikitak segi.  
 said.she.chs we all got.up.we.ss hospital went.we

'When I hurt my leg I went to the clinic and the nurse who worked there said to me, "You go down to the hospital." So we all got up and went to the hospital.'

BU 2: Series Sentence with embedding as indicated below

ne hehona  
 I was.I.chs

## Execution Paragraph:

## Proposal: Direct Quotation Sentence

angav misisipuhu nanaha, "ni engasinangapuhu  
 old.white.woman told.me.she you leg.with.one  
ni varama sa."  
 you slowly go

## Response: First Base of Series Sentence

ne sa horohona  
 I go go.down.I.chs

Execution Paragraph manifesting second Base of Series Sentence

## Proposal: Direct Quotation Sentence

abav masapu nanaha, "ni epeka nima engasi  
 old.white.man told.me.he you here your leg  
vikepuhu ora."  
 put.you.ss lie

Non-verbal Response: Series Sentence, the second Base of which, as well as being the Non-verbal Response, is also the first Base of a Coordinate 2 Sentence.

hahana ne helata kangaraha tevorivok  
 said.he.chs I climbed.and up.there table.on  
nema engangi vihopuh oroho,  
 my legs put.I.ss lay.I

Second Base of Coordinate 2 Sentence which is the first Base of Series Sentence.

pi kain            sata            nena etehapaho ...  
he over.there went.and me.at looked.he.ss

'I waited and the nurse said to me, "You have a bad leg so go slowly." So I went over and the technician said to me, "Lie down here." So I climbed up on the table and lay down and he went over and took the X-ray...'

## 8.2 Behavioural Discourse

### 8.2.0 Introduction

Whereas Narrative Discourse focuses on events and participants and is time oriented, the focus of Behavioural Discourse is thematic, with logical arguments presented to support that theme. Time orientation is not relevant. The purpose of Behavioural Discourse is to influence human behaviour through a series of commands and rebukes which contrast with the reason given for such commands and results promised for improved behaviour.

Behavioural Discourse is characterized by imperative mood, imperfect aspect, first person dual and plural, and second person singular and plural. Conditional statements and real and hypothetical examples are also typical of this discourse type.

New paragraphs which manifest a new tagmeme are indicated basically by a change of topic optionally accompanied by a conjunction and/or one other new tagmeme marking device (see 8.2.3). Conjunctions occur far more commonly in Behavioural Discourse than in any other discourse. They serve to hold paragraphs together in the discourse and hold sentences together to form paragraphs and the difference in their function is indicated intonationally. Head-tail recapitulation occurs also to hold sentences together but is not common.

### 8.2.1 Tagmemes observed

The nucleus of a Behavioural Discourse is the obligatory Point tagmeme which occurs from 8 to 14 times in the data studies. The obligatory Introduction tagmeme and optional Instruction, Reading and Address tagmemes precede the nucleus. Following the nucleus three optional tagmemes, Conclusion, Appeal and Finis occur.

The following bi-dimensional array shows these tagmemes and how they are manifested.



±Title	±Instruction	±Stage	±Description <sup>n=1-5</sup>	±Closure	±Summary	±Finis
SS	SS	temporal	Des Pa	SS	Be Pa	<u>nena</u>
	Series S	Clause	Narr Pa	I P Pa	Se S	
		SS			I P Pa	
		Nom Se S			T C Pa	
		Alt S				
		Coord Pa				
		Rel Pa				

The Introduction tagmeme occurred in all data studied and is a summary of the proposed discourse. It usually gives some indication of the subject matter but can be as brief as 'I have this talk to tell you.' In one discourse the Introduction was repeated after the Reading.

Instruction tagmeme requests the audience to listen and can preclude the Introduction, or occur before and/or after the Reading.

Reading tagmeme is a Scripture reading which occurs only with sermons.

Address tagmeme is a Noun Phrase indicating the intended audience.

Both Conclusion and Appeal were observed only once, in the same discourse, and were linked by the conjunction povoza 'therefore'. Imperative mood occurred more frequently in the Appeal making it a more intense exhortation.

Finis is formulaic and is usually nena 'that's all', but nena darima ngetivo 'that is all of our talk' and similar clauses also occur occasionally.

The audience response after such a discourse is often tina 'good' which does not necessarily indicate that they are pleased with what has been said.

#### 8.2.2 Person, aspect, mood and mode in Behavioural Discourse

Whilst imperative mood is a feature of Behavioural Discourse, imperfect aspect, the polite way of phrasing commands, is more commonly used. Thus the exhortation is given by promises of good results for obedience and dire results for non-obedience rather than by demanding compliance by using constant imperatives. Future continuative mode can occur with imperative mood or potential aspect to indicate continuing action which should result from the exhortation expressed.

A present state which is the reason for the exhortation being given is indicated by perfect aspect, usually accompanied by present continuous mode but not always. Conditional statements which indicate results promised for obedience or non-obedience are expressed with imperfect aspect, and first or second person. Hypothetical examples which illustrate the point being made are expressed with imperfect aspect, and the person which suits the example. Real examples occur as Narrative Paragraphs, i.e. with perfect, optional mode and any person. Second person does not occur in Narrative Paragraphs manifesting Narrative Discourse but can occur in such a paragraph in a Behavioural Discourse.

First person dual or plural inclusive is common in this discourse type in which case the speaker is including himself also as a recipient of the exhortation. The use of the first person dual is an affectionate way of exhorting the audience to better behaviour. Second person singular and plural are also used although the singular is more common. This use of the singular when addressing a group of people brings pressure to bear on each individual present to act in a responsible way as a result of the exhortations given in the discourse. A Behavioural Discourse directed at one person only uses second person singular. Imperative mood is only second person so first person is always accompanied by imperfect aspect. A speaker does not use only one person in a discourse but switches from first to second, and from singular to dual and plural. This could be a way of relieving the monotony and keeping the attention of the audience.

As can be seen by the above description of person, aspect, mood and mode, these things have a constant interplay as the speaker reasons, exhorts, explains the results of disobedience and makes promises dependent on obedience.

### 8.2.3 New tagmeme indicators

New tagmemes are indicated by the following lexical and grammatical features which are listed according to their usage, most frequent to least frequent:

1. Change of topic. The change of topic from one Point to the next can be quite different or it can be just a subtle change of focus, but it always occurs. There is sometimes no grammatical indication of the new tagmeme and the lexicon gives the only clue. In the discourses studied this change of topic is always accompanied by a change in person and in some cases by a change of aspect, mood or mode. Since this is not the only time these changes can occur it cannot be considered an overt signal of a new tagmeme.
2. The conjunction mete 'and' commences 65% of the Point tagmemes studied. Other conjunctions function only as paragraph linkage in the discourse studied.

3. A Vocative. This is usually addressed to a group and is a Noun Phrase such as 'you Moimo people'.
4. A statement such as, 'Now I'm going to tell you this'. A similar statement such as 'That's what I told you' also occurs at the end of the Point tagmeme and indicates a new Point is about to begin.
5. In a sermon reference back to the Scripture reading or the re-reading of a section indicates a new Point.

Two of these features are permitted to co-occur. The conjunction can co-occur with any of the features listed and it can be preceded by such a long pause that there is no doubt that it is a new tagmeme. Vocative can also co-occur with the other features except 5. More than two of these have not been observed to co-occur.

#### 8.2.4 Questions in Behavioural Discourse

Interrogative type questions are a commonly used teaching device in this discourse type and are a means of keeping the attention of the audience. No rhetorical questions have been observed in the discourses studied but since they do occur in the language it seems certain that they could occur in a Behavioural Discourse.

The questions observed are encoded in Question Paragraphs with one example seen of a question manifesting the Text tagmeme of an Expository Paragraph. Question Paragraphs have not been observed in any other discourse type.

#### 8.2.5 Paragraph Linkage

Linkage within the paragraph in Behavioural Discourse is predominantly by use of the conjunctions mete 'and'/'then', onge 'but', povoza 'therefore' and ma 'or'. The combinations povoza mete, onge poveza and onge mete also occur in which case mete means 'then'. These conjunctions occur in the prenuclear periphery of the sentence which is being linked to the preceding sentence or embedded paragraph. These same conjunctions also link clauses into sentences and the intonation pattern gives the clue in separating sentences from paragraphs. (See Chapters 6 and 7 where these intonational differences are explained.)

A homophonous form of povoza, a demonstrative meaning 'about that' also occurs. It usually has a different function grammatically and is not confused with povoza 'therefore', but occasionally links sentences into paragraphs in the same manner as povoza 'therefore' does. When this happens the lexicon gives a clue about whether it is the conjunction or demonstrative occurring, as well as pause which tends to follow povoza 'therefore' and to precede povoza 'about that'. The form mete poveza 'and about that' also occurs and always functions as paragraph linkage.

Recapitulation also occurs as paragraph linkage particularly in real examples which are given in narrative style, but it also occurs occasionally in other parts of the discourse.

See 9.3 for an example of Behavioural Discourse.

### 8.3 Descriptive Discourse

#### 8.3.0 Introduction

Descriptive Discourse in Kunimaipa includes explanations, descriptions of the state of how things are or were, and descriptions of procedures, past or present.

Teaching regarding behaviour is done by means of Behavioural Discourse. It is probable that a discourse that is more clearly procedural, with imperative mood and second person, could only be recorded when accompanied by a demonstration of the procedure. Such a discourse would be incomplete because the accompanying demonstration would speak for itself and a complete description of the procedure would not be necessary.

Descriptive Discourse has similarities to Narrative Discourse but mode and aspect differ in their occurrence, linkage between paragraphs differs and the tagmemes and their fillers differ.

#### 8.3.1 Tagmemes observed in Descriptive Discourse

A Descriptive Discourse is characterized by mode, past continuous and present continuous, which occurs with all verbs except non-finite forms with which it is optional. Person is first or third (and refers specifically to the group who are being described) in all discourses studied and typically only perfect aspect occurs. The exceptions to these rules come only at the beginning and end of a discourse where Title, Instruction, Summary, Closure and Finis are permitted to have imperfect aspect and no mode.

Mood is indicative with an occasional negative but no imperatives occur in the discourses studied. This discourse type is usually plural number and describes groups of people but it can be singular to describe one specific person, his way of living or his activities if they differ from what is commonly done.

The Description tagmeme is the only obligatory tagmeme in Descriptive Discourse, and is typically manifested by a Narrative or Descriptive paragraph. Fourteen discourses have been observed in writing this description. In these the following peripheral tagmemes occurred: Title, Stage, and Instruction were pre-nuclear and Summary, Closure and Finis occurred post-nuclear. The Summary tagmeme is of particular interest as it gives impressions or evaluations relating to the preceding discourse, or an exhortation to better behaviour as a result of hearing the discourse.

## Descriptive Discourse

±Title	±Instruction	±Stage	+Description <sup>n=1-5</sup>	±Closure	±Summary	±Finis
SS	Se S	temporal Clause	Descriptive Pa	SS	Exp Pa	<u>nena</u> 'that's all'
Nom Se S			Narrative Pa	1P Pa	1P Pa	
Alt S					Se S	
Coord Pa					TC P	
Rel Pa						

Description tagmeme is the nucleus and the only obligatory part of the discourse. It is most commonly manifested by a Descriptive Paragraph but occasionally a Narrative Paragraph occurs. Some of the discourses studied have only one Descriptive Paragraph manifesting the Description, but this tagmeme optionally occurs 5 times.

Title is manifested by a Simple Sentence which often has the word 'story' or a synonym of it and a nominalized clause indicating which story is to be told. The verb 'speak' which usually occurs is imperfect aspect. An Equational Clause with 'story' but without a predicate is permitted to occur. In one discourse the Title has a Descriptive Paragraph nominalized and modifying 'story'.

One example of Instruction tagmeme has been observed co-occurring with Stage tagmeme. It stated 'You listen while I speak.'

Stage tagmeme serves a variety of purposes. Although time is not in focus in a Descriptive Discourse as it is in a Narrative Discourse, the speaker has the option, in the Stage tagmeme, of setting the time and/or location for the discourse. This can be a clause which manifests the first Base of the beginning sentence of the Procedure and which optionally has a time word such as vatamo 'before' in it. In one discourse on gardening the whole time cycle which operates yearly is given by means of a Coordinate Paragraph in the Stage tagmeme. In another discourse time and location are set by a Series Sentence which is nominalized and as such manifests the Time tagmeme of the Pre-quote Clause which begins the first Procedure.

Summary tagmeme follows the Description and gives the speaker the opportunity to give his own thoughts, impressions, evaluations particularly if the description is of something that is new, something that he has seen away from home. Summary tagmeme does not only apply to new things observed however, and in a discourse on gardening the speaker sums up with an Exposition Paragraph beginning 'Women's work is very hard'. Only one example has been seen of a Behavioural Paragraph as the Summary. In this case the speaker was describing the way of living in another place and then exhorted his hearers to

listen, mend their ways and live likewise. In one discourse the Summary tagmeme laments the fact that certain ways of the past have been abandoned.

Four of the discourses observed have a Closure tagmeme which is semiformulaic and says something like 'About that I have told this story.' 'Story' is optionally modified by a nominalized clause which allows short summary of the story that has been told.

It is unusual for any discourse to end without Finis which is nena 'that's all' or nena haoho 'that's all I said'. At the end of one discourse Closure and Finis tagmemes fuse into tamahata ngetivo nena ok haoho 'About the story of what they are doing, that is all I have to say'.

Descriptive Discourse divides into two general groups on the basis of which mode marker occurs. Past ways which have been abandoned or are carried on in a modified way are recounted with past continuous mode and the word vatamo 'before' usually occurs in the Stage tagmeme. Descriptions of things which continue at the present time have present continuous mode and are either a description of a village activity which is known to all and does not need to be described in detail, or activities which have been observed elsewhere and which are being reported back to those who have not observed them. The latter Descriptive Discourses are much more detailed and descriptive. They can also begin as a Narrative Discourse which gives details of how the speaker came to see the activities reported, and periodically can revert to Narrative Discourse temporarily to give further such background. One of the discourses studied was a combination of past continuous and present continuous mode as the speaker compared the past with the present.

A few examples have been seen of future continuous mode occurring with imperfect aspect to indicate wishful thinking, a hope for a future imagined way of life to become a reality.

Linkage within the paragraph is by tail-head recapitulation, juxtaposition or a conjunction. Paragraph breaks are indicated in the following ways:-

- a) Lack of recapitulation accompanied by some other indication.
- b) Occurrence of mete 'and, then' or ong mete 'but then'. This by itself does not indicate a new tagmeme.
- c) Occurrence of 'that is about one thing that we did', 'I am telling the story of what we do', 'that is how we get them', 'this is the way it is' as the Terminus of a Descriptive Paragraph. A temporal or a Purpose tagmeme is used in one of these sentences to indicate whether it refers to what has

already been said or to what is about to be said.

- d) Occurrence of 'that is what we do/did' or 'and something else ...' as the Setting of a Descriptive Paragraph optionally followed by the Topic tagmeme. These refer to what is to follow.
- e) A statement such as 'this work is very hard' or 'I am working very hard' in the Setting of the Descriptive Paragraph.
- f) Change of participants involved in the procedures.
- g) Change from non-occurrence of mode to the occurrence of mode. This has only been observed in Narrative Discourses which have Descriptive Paragraphs embedded in them.
- h) Change from one mode to another. The speaker can switch from a past description to a present, or to a hoped for future state. This change of mode can be accompanied by a time word such as 'now'.
- i) The occurrence of Topic tagmeme without Setting.
- j) Statement indicating time change in the Setting of the paragraph.

Two or more of these tagmeme markers can co-occur and the conjunction mete 'and then' frequently begins a new tagmeme.

See 9.4 for an example of Descriptive Discourse.

## 8.4 Epistolary Discourse

### 8.4.0 Introduction

Written material at present available in Kunimaipa includes newspaper articles, narrative accounts written for books, and letters written to the investigator and her co-workers. Written narratives have been observed to differ from spoken narratives in the occurrence of many more conjunctions linking sentences into paragraphs instead of the tail-head recapitulation of spoken style, but a formal study of other possible differences has not been undertaken. Twelve letters have been studied in writing this description of Epistolary Discourse and they differ from other discourse types studied in that Salutation and Signature are unique, and in the fact that any paragraph type can occur in the body of the letter. Theoretically discourses could also occur in letters.

It is obvious from the study of Kunimaipa letters that they are quite influenced by the formal schooling which children have been receiving for a number of years.

In all the letters examined Salutation, Message, Finis and Signature occurred and Message occurred from one to five times. Optionally Heading, Greeting, Aperture, Instruction, Blessing, Closure, and Post-script tagmemes also occur.

8.4.1 Tagmemes observed in Epistolary Discourse

Epistolary Discourse

+Heading	+Salutation	+Greeting	+Aperture	+Instruction	+Message <sup>n=1-5</sup>
date	vocative	SS	exclama- tion	Imperative	question
name	Coord Phrase	Ant S			Circumstance Result S
address		Exp Pa			Coord 2 S Be Pa Narr Pa Exp Pa Rel Pa

+Blessing	+Closure	+Finis	+Signature	+Post-script <sup>n=1-2</sup>
Se S	SS	<u>nena</u>	SS	Se S
Alterna- tive S	Se S			Relational Pa Narrative Pa

Heading tagmeme has the date and sender's name and address, usually in that order, but a couple of times the date came after the address. Most of the writers who put this tagmeme at the beginning of their letter put their name and address but not all put the date.

The Salutation occurred in all letters. Most of these had dia 'dear' followed by the name or names of recipients and few also had engarim 'woman' following the name. The use and spelling of the names was interesting. Some used given name only, some used given name and surname together. Some spelled as the names are said, others used English spelling. A few of the letter writers also put Miss with the names.



Some remark directed toward the recipient of the letter is made in Greeting tagmeme. Those observed were 'Are you well?', 'I think of you as I write this letter', 'thank you', 'I got the letter you sent', 'I don't have any talk but am just thinking of telling you this', and 'I am praying for you'. Aperture tagmeme occurred less commonly in the letters studied and is an attention getting exclamation. Those observed are ae 'hey', kara 'ok' and mai zakep 'sorry'.

Also less common in occurrence was the Instruction tagmeme commanding the recipient to read the letter.

In the body of the letter from one to five Messages were written and it seems probable that any paragraph could occur there although the bidimensional array shows only those actually observed. The body of the letters contained news of births, deaths, village events, requests for information, help or material items, and explanations of certain circumstances.

Following Message tagmeme the Blessing tagmeme occurred in which the writer assured the recipients of God's blessing and help.

The Closure tagmeme closes the letter in some way. The following statements have been observed, 'Truly that is all I have to say', 'Therefore I am sending this news', 'We are all well', 'Send me a reply', and 'Goodnight you two', or similar statements.

Finis is just nena 'that is all'. This occurred at the end of every letter and one writer also used it at the end of each item of news throughout the letter.

Signature tagmeme also occurred at the end of every letter and is ne 'I' plus the name or names of the writer. Most put two names and some put an initial for one of their names. Two writers include 'your friend' after ne, and one writer adds his address again in two of the letters written by him, even though it also was at the top of the page.

Post-scripts were only added in three letters, two of which were written by the same person. On one of these Post-scripts he adds the date, Finis and Signature again, and on the other he adds Finis and Closure. One Post-script adds further news and adds one further detail to a request made in the letter. The Post-script added by the other writer adds two further items of news with the repeat of Finis after the first item.

Tagmeme order is fairly fixed as described but Finis can precede Closure. In one letter Signature occurs directly after the Salutation, but no other occurrence of post-Message tagmemes occurring pre-Message was observed. Linkage within the paragraph varies with the different paragraphs used in the letters. Paragraphs are more clearly indicated

than with any other discourse type and the following Message tagmeme boundary markers have been observed.

- a) Change of topic. Other discourse types do not change the topic so completely between tagmemes but in letters anything is allowable.
- b) A sentence such as 'And here is my talk', 'And here is my talk for you to tell ...', 'Now I will tell you this', 'Here is another talk'.
- c) The conjunctions mete 'and' or ma 'or' occur at the beginning of most new paragraphs.
- d) Exclamations such as 'sorry', 'ok' and 'hey', as well as the vocative 'woman' occur at the beginning of new paragraphs in a few examples.
- e) Some Message tagmemes end with nena 'that is all' and possibly it indicates that the writer views each Message as a discourse rather than a paragraph.

The only one of the above markers which is obligatory is the change of topic but b) occurs very frequently. It is interesting to note that most of the writers made formal paragraph breaks in their writing where the grammatical paragraph breaks come.

See 9.5 for an example of Epistolary Discourse.

## 9. TEXTS

### 9.1 Contemporary Narrative Discourse

#### The Story of our Dancing Trip

This Contemporary Narrative Discourse consists of a Title, 9 Episodes, Summary and Finis.

Title: reiparo Gazili abanariza tegita ngetivo haoma.  
we.all Gazili men's what.we.did story speak.will.I

'I will tell the story of what we Gazili men did.'

## Episode 1: Narrative Paragraph

BU 1: reiparo sogipuho epekananga valahata Valeravo  
 we.all went.cont.we.ss here.from got.up.and Valeravo

sata honata dapu menegi.  
 go.and go.across.and dance hit.we

BU 2: dapu menata data urogipuho  
 dance hit.and dance hit.cont.we.ss

Terminus: orata hegi.  
 sleep.and were.we

'When we all left we got up and went from here to Valeravo and went across there and danced. We danced and then we slept.'

## Episode 2: Narrative Paragraph

Setting: zeirevai ale tehana  
 tomorrow light broke.it.chs

BU 1: reiparo segi.  
 we.all went.we

BU 2: Regirei ravara sohota sohota okoha Gubur  
 Regirei ridge go.cont.and go.cont.and down.there Gubur  
verevata era horegi.  
 arrive.and went.down.we

BU 3: era horegina poekarizaro mapo hasohana  
 went.down.we.chs the.ones.there all cert.went.cont.they.chs  
reiparo sata horegina abanapuza abatavo Etavai  
 we.all go.and went.down.we.chs man's name Etavai  
pi heha.  
 he was.he

BU 4: reiparo horegina pota haha "taira tuavo  
 we.all went.down.we.chs this said.he what shame  
sepike? hepikena ne volo napu ura  
 go.will.you be.will.you.chs I pig one hit  
anomana ariparo nepikepuhoho  
 you.give.will.I.chs you.all eat.will.you.ss.after

zeirevaizaho sepike" hahana "gu" mangata  
 tomorrow go.will.you said.he.chs yes him.told.and  
reiparo hegi.  
 we.all were.we

BU 5: hegina hapanezai ravahana volopu emahana  
 were.we.chs afternoon became.it.chs pig came.it.chs  
reiparo volopu ura anaha.  
 we.all pig hit us.gave.he

BU 6: ura anahana varengata nohota hegina  
 hit us.gave.he.chs cook.and eat.cont.and were.we.chs  
kuturu ravahana reiparo siangi varenga rezata  
 dark became.it.chs we.all headdress put.on.and  
kuturutaka data urogi.  
 night.at dance hit.cont.we

BU 7: urohota hegina ale tehana zeirevai  
 hit.cont.and were.we.chs light broke.it.chs tomorrow  
valahata segi.  
 got.up.and went.we

BU 8: sata helata Zairap zeihahoe virasivo tata poekahoe  
 go.and climb.and Zairap place.at decorate do.and there  
alizamo dapu menegi.  
 day.time dance hit.we

BU 9: dapu menegipuhu urogina hapanezai ravahana  
 dance hit.we.ss hit.cont.we.chs afternoon became.it.chs  
tita sa hegina ngol giv vaha.  
 left.and go were.we.chs food got.they

BU 10: ngol giv vahana reipi nohota  
 food got.they.chs we eat.cont.and

Terminus: orata hegi.  
 sleep.and were.we

'The next day when it got light we left. We went along Regirei ridge and went on down there to Gubur. We went down but all the people had left so when we went down there was only the man called Etavai there. We went down and he said, "Why will you go away embarrassed? Stay and I will kill a pig and give it to you and

tomorrow after you have eaten you will go," he said and we replied "Yes," and we stayed. We stayed and in the afternoon the pig came and he killed it and gave it to us. He killed and gave to us and we were cooking and eating it and it got dark and we put on our headdresses and danced. While we were dancing it got light and we got up and went. We went and climbed up to Zairap village and put on our decorations and danced there in the day time. We danced until the afternoon and then left off and waited and they got food. They got the food and we were eating and then we slept.'

### Episode 3: Narrative Paragraph

Setting: kutur rava mengehana  
dark become put.it.chs

BU 1: maota verevata siangi varenga rezata verevata  
again came.out.and headdress put.on.and came.out.and  
urogina zeirevai volo mangepu uraha.  
hit.cont.we.chs tomorrow pig feast hit.they

BU 2: voloholo teza meta urahapuhoro ritata volongi eve  
pigs put.out.and hit.they.ss divide.and pig.meat here  
vihana reiparo veirata nogipuhoro  
put.they.chs we.all cooked.on.hot.stones.and ate.cont.we.ss

Terminus: orata hegi.  
sleep.and were.we

'When it got dark we came and put our headdresses on and came out and danced and the next day they had the pig feast. They brought the pigs out and killed and divided them and set out each group's meat and we all cooked it on hot stones and were eating and then we slept.'

### Episode 4: Narrative Paragraph

Setting: zeirevai ale tehana  
tomorrow light broke.it.chs

BU 1: valahata sata honata Guarikananga Haiv ravara  
got.up.and go.and go.across.and Guari.from Haiv ridge  
segi.  
went.we

BU 2: Haiv ravara sata okoha Vomei verevata segi.  
Haiv ridge go.and down.there Vomei arrive.and went.we

BU 3: Vomeikananga sata honata akaine zei nataza  
 Vomei.from go.and go.across.and up.there certain.place's

abatavo Horava hamaha poeka sata honata  
 name Horava say.cont.they there go.and go.across.and

reiparo dapu menakaza tegina abana poekapuho  
 we.all dance hit.will.for did.we.chs man there.one.sub

pota haha "abana maupu ngeti kapota hapazapu  
 this said.he man owner beginning.talk speak.will.he.one

samaha povoza peteve ariparo sa orata hezei"  
 go.cont.he therefore now you.all go sleep.and be.pl

hahana reiparo sata izeira vita orata  
 said.he.chs we.all go.and bush.house put.and sleep.and

hegi.  
 were.we

BU 4: orata hegina abana poekapu emahana zeirevai  
 sleep.and were.we.chs man there.one came.he.chs tomorrow

ale tehanahoho reiparo abana ahori data visineta  
 light broke.it.chs.after we.all men leaders dance

uraha.  
 hit.they

BU 5: urohana ngol giv vahana reiparo nohota  
 hit.cont.they.chs food got.they.chs we.all eat.cont.and

hegina kutura ravahana maota reiparo data siata  
 were.we.chs dark became.it.chs again we.all dance

uregi. rei Hazomangihananga iriti reimata uregina paru  
 hit.we we Hazomangi.from below our.one hit.we.chs they

Hazomangihananga deti parumata uraha.  
 Hazomangi.from above their.one hit.they

BU 6: reiparo urogina ale tehana voloholo  
 we.all hit.cont.we.chs light broke.it.chs pigs

urahana veirata nohota  
 hit.they.chs cooked.on.hot.stones.and eat.cont.and

Terminus: orata hegi.  
 sleep.and were.we

'The next day when it got light we got up and went across from Guari to Haiv ridge. We went to Haiv ridge and then went down and arrived at Vomei. From Vomei we went across and up to a certain place called Horava and there we all were about to dance and one of the men there said, "The leader who is to welcome you is away so for now you all go and sleep" he said and we all went and built makeshift houses and slept. While we were sleeping the man came back and when it got light the important men danced the visinet dance. While they were dancing they got the food and we all ate and it got dark and we all danced the siat dance. We danced below the Hazomangi river and they danced above the Hazomangi river. We were all dancing when it got light and they killed the pigs and we cooked them on the hot stones and ate and slept.'

#### Episode 5: Narrative Paragraph

Setting: zeirevai ale tehana  
tomorrow light broke.it.chs

BU 1: sata honata akaha Gudviz mangepu hamahaeka  
go.and go.across.and up.there Gudviz feast that.they.say

poeka sata honata reiparo sata izeira vigi.  
there go.and go.across.and we.all go.and bush.house put.we

BU 2: izeira vita hegina zeirevai ale tehana  
bush.house put.and were.we.chs tomorrow light broke.it.chs

era dapu menakaza hagina pota haha  
go.down dance hit.will.for spoke.we.chs this said.they

"gatata hezei zeirevaizatakahoho emata dapu  
wait.and be.pl tomorrow.at.em come.and dance

menepikega". pota hahana  
hit.will.you.emph this said.they.chs

Terminus: reiparo maota orata hegi.  
we.all again sleep.and were.we

'The next day when it got light we went across up there to the place they call Gudviz Mangep and there we all went and built bush houses. We built the bush houses and waited and the next day when it got light and we said we were about to dance they said, "Wait, for tomorrow is the time to come and dance". They said this and we all slept another night.'

## Episode 6: Narrative Paragraph

Setting: zeirevai ale tehana  
tomorrow light broke.it.chs

BU 1: reiparo emata erata kohati mange ahopuka  
we.all come.and come.down.and inside big.pig.feast.in  
emata dapu menegi.  
come.and dance hit.we

BU 2: dapu menata hegina kuturu ravahana maota siata  
dance hit.and were.we.chs dark became.it.chs again dance  
uogina ale tehana voloholo teza meta  
hit.cont.we.chs light broke.it.chs pigs put.and  
uraha.  
hit.they

BU 3: urata ritahapuho reiparo verevata rainiripa  
hit.and divided.they.ss we.all came.out.and line.up  
tegina napu nima volor ravahara etohota hezama  
did.we.chs each.one's pig.half us.do.cont.and be.only  
garahata garahahana reiparo emata  
finish.and finish.they.chs we.all come.and  
veirohota  
cook.on.hot.stones.and

Terminus: orata hegi.  
sleep.and were.we

'The next day when it got light we all came down to the big pig feast and danced. We were dancing and it got dark and then we danced the siat dance and when it got light they brought out the pigs and killed them. They killed and divided them and gave each one his half and when they finished we all cooked it on hot stones and slept.'

## Episode 7: Narrative Paragraph

Setting: zeirevai ale tehana  
tomorrow light broke.it.chs

BU 1: reiparo epeine vetegipuhu emohota Gubur  
we.all this.side left.we.ss come.cont.and Gubur



era emata      Guburuahananga paru epata emahana      rei  
 come.down.and Gubur.from      they this came.they.chs we  
Musaniara   Kopiara   Sararapura   Isaiara   Ravariara  
 Musania.and Kopia.and Sararapu.and Isaia.and Ravaria.and  
reiparo Haniavaizasi sata   kahati Hahav zeiha   segipuho  
 we.all Haniavaizasi go.and inside Hahav place.at went.we.ss

Terminus: Hamunia abupunanga   reiparo orata   hegi.  
               Hamunia husband.with we.all sleep.and were.we

'The next day when it got light we all left this side, and coming came down to Gubur and from Gubur the others came this side and Musania and Kopia and Sararapu and Isaia and Ravaria and I went to Haniavaizasi and then to Hahav village and we stayed with Hamunia and her husband and we all slept.'

#### Episode 8: Narrative Paragraph

Setting: zeirevai ale   tehana  
               tomorrow light broke.it.chs

BU 1: rei Musania sohota      ogare      Hamunia abupuza  
        we Musania go.cont.and down.there Hamunia husband's

avasika   sa zota tigipuho   vata   emata   pozahata  
 garden.at go yam pull.we.ss get.and come.and climb.and

varengata nohota  
 cook.and eat.cont.and

Terminus: orata      hegi.  
               sleep.and were.we

'The next day when it got light Musania and I went down to Hamunia and her husband's garden and dug yams and brought and cooked them and ate and slept.'

#### Episode 9: Narrative Paragraph

Setting: zeirevai ale   tehana  
               tomorrow light broke.it.chs

BU 1: reiparo emata      guzu      taengi elegipuho holo tepong  
        we.all come.and pandanus leaves cut.we.ss rain.cover

tata   reiparo emata      pozahata   heleropoka  
 do.and we.all come.and climb.and large.rock.to

pozahagina      ririra hare      varengahana  
climbed.we.chs rain came.across put.in.it.chs

holo teponginanga emata      Giminita verevata  
rain.cover.with come.and Giminita arrive.and

era emegina      elahana      poeka hadavoka emata  
came.down.we.chs cut.it.chs there wind.at come.and

holo tepongi vetegipuhu reiparo ema veteta      kati zeitaka  
rain.cover left.we.ss we.all come left.and up place.at

emegi.  
came.we

BU 2: emata      hareta      Musania deti Urenitaka  
came.and came.across.and Musania above Urenita.at

hehaekaza      reipi emohota      ne mehona  
where.he.had.been.for we.two come.cont.and I sent.I.chs

emahana      Tolavizhanang mete maota sata      nemataka      heho.  
came.he.chs Tolaviz.from and again go.and my.place.at was.I

'The next day when it got light we all came and cut pandanus leaves and made rain covers and we came and climbed up to the big rock and rain came and we came with our rain covers and arrived at Giminita and came down and the rain stopped and we came there into the wind and threw away the rain covers and we all came up there to a village. We came across and Musania went back to Urenita and we two came and I left him at Tolaviz. He went and I came on to my own village.'

Summary: mete abana okoha      volo mangepu vita      hahana  
and man down.there pig feast put.and spoke.he.chs

reiparo sogi      popuza      abatavo Enaumara.  
we.all went.cont.we that.one's name Enaumara

'And the name of the man down there who put on the pig feast and called for us to go was Enaumara.'

Finis: nena.  
that.is.all

'The end.'

## 9.2 Legend Narrative Discourse

Girisipai and her Granddaughters

This Legend Narrative Discourse consists of a Title, Stage, one Episode and Finis.

Title: Girisipaira ngari izaholoza ngetivo eve haomaza  
Girisipai.and granddaughter's story here speak.will.I.for  
toho.  
do.I

Stage: Girisipaira ngari izaholo paruparo hehapuho  
Girisipai.and granddaughters they.all were.they.ss  
aliza nasika  
day.one.at

Episode: Narrative Paragraph

BU 1: meta mangaha "ariparoho sepikupuho  
send.and them.told.she you.all.sub go.will.you.ss  
avasika gipizo velata emepikena rari  
garden.at food dig.and come.will.you.chs we  
nohota heka" hahapuho ngari izaholo  
eat.cont.and be.will.we said.she.ss granddaughters  
mehana sata avasika unenisi velapaza hemara  
sent.she.chs go.and garden.at yam dig.will.for taro  
velapaza ma hopoi velapaza ma adakapi  
dig.will.for or yam dig.will.for or sweet.potato  
velapaza ma ginevikapi velapaza tahapuho  
dig.will.for or green.vegetable dig.will.for do.they.ss  
vata emaha.  
get.and came.they

BU 2: vata emahapuho hapi namovasi va varengahapuho va  
get.and came.they.ss pot clay get put.in.they.ss get  
varengaha.  
put.in.they

BU 3: varengahana ngadohana ngari izaholona  
put.in.they.chs cooked.cont.it.chs granddaughters.to

mangaha            "ariparoho    iveriha    sepikepuho    rarima  
 them.told.she    you.all.sub    river.to    go.will.you.ss    our

anumai    natu    vata            emei."    mangahana            ngari izaholo  
 meat    some    get.and    come.pl    them.told.she.chs    granddaughters

sahapuho            aloaloholo    vapaza            ma koraiholo  
 went.they.ss    insects            get.will.for    or    insects

vapaza            ma vepu    vapaza            tahapuho            vata  
 get.will.for    or    frog    get.will.for    did.they.ss    get.and

emaha.  
 came.they

BU 4: vata    emata    varengahana            gipizonanga    honevo  
 get.and    come.and    put.in.they.chs    good.with    together

ngadoha.  
 cooked.cont.it

BU 5: ngadohana            angavapuho    mangaha            "sata    ivovo  
 cooked.cont.it.chs    old.one.sub    them.told.she    go.and    water

holata    emepikena            nganaivovo    meka  
 fill.and    come.will.you.chs    water            pour.will.we

rarimakapiha."    hahana            ngari izaholo    sohana  
 our.food.on    said.she.chs    granddaughters    went.cont.they.chs

ngari iza goepu            sata    ize    ravata            eteta  
 smallest.granddaughter    go.and    hide    become.and    look.and

heha.  
 was.she

BU 6: eteta    hehana            angavapu    gipizokapiza    tokota  
 look.and    was.she.chs    old.woman    food's            lid

vata    za gulugulu vatora    meha.  
 get.and    faeces            put.she

BU 7: za gulugulu voloro    mehana            hapisika    era horaha  
 faeces            put.she.chs    pot.in    went.down.it

anumaira    gipizoza    revareva.  
 meat.and    food's            on.top

BU 8: tahana            etehapuho            hehana            teteholo  
 did.she.chs    looked.she.ss    was.she.chs    sisters

emahana            mangaha            "angavapu rarimakapiha  
came.they.chs    them.told.she    old.woman    our.food.in

za vоторо harahana            eteoho." mangahana  
faeces            passed.she.chs    looked.I    them.told.she.chs

ngari izaholo paru angava izapuna            sera mangaha  
granddaughters    they old.grandmother.to    cross    her.told.they

"angava hodopusisihara epopu            ganoama tengivo  
old.white.haired.one    this.one    bad.only    what.you.did

harekepuho            reima gipizoha".  
excrete.will.you.ss    our    food.in

BU 9: pota mangahana            angavapu valahata ngai  
this her.told.they.chs    old.woman    got.up.and    angry

tahapuho            vi varasi verihata ngari izaholo urapane  
did.she.ss    vine            pull.and    granddaughters    hit.will.she

hata            tahana            ngari izaholo varezata saha.  
thinking    did.she.chs    granddaughters    fled.and    went.they

Finis: ngetivo nena            oke            haoho.  
story            enough    there    spoke.I

'I am going to tell the story of Girisipai and her granddaughters. Girisipai and her granddaughters were living and one day she sent them and said, "You all go to the garden and dig food and when you bring it we will be eating." she said and sent the granddaughters and they went to the garden for yams and taro and sweet potato and green vegetable and they got them and brought them (home). They brought them and put them in a clay pot and while the food was cooking she told her granddaughters "you all go to the river and get us some meat." she said and the granddaughters went for insects and frogs and brought them (home). They brought them and put them in with the food and they cooked together. While they were cooking the old woman told them, "Go and get some more water to add to our food." she said but when the granddaughters went the smallest one stayed hidden and watched. She watched and the old woman took the lid off the pot and passed faeces into the food. She did and it went down with the food. This happened and the child watched and when her sisters came she said "The old woman passed faeces into our food, I saw her." she said and the granddaughters spoke crossly to the grandmother and told her, "You old white haired woman, why did you mess up our food?" When they said this the old woman got up very angry and got a switch and went to hit her granddaughters but they ran away. That is all of my story I have to say.'

## 9.3 Behavioural Discourse

You Should Listen to this Talk

This Behavioural Discourse has a Title, one Point and a Finis.

Title: ne kapo epata vare vatata haha pota haoma.  
I this.part open make.and spoke.they this speak.will.I

Point: Behavioural Paragraph

Present Condition:

mete ne Sil abanangarabo gogovo tamoho poeka ne sata  
and I SIL people work do.cont.I there I go.and

Ukarumpa Ileni reipi tohota mete ne kapo epata homeho.  
Ukarumpa Elaine we.two do.cont.and and I part.this thought.I

ma kapo epata ou ravahana ne poeka hodade ravoho  
or this.part open became.it.chs I there know became.I

povoza oke vare angoho.  
about.that there open you.tell.I

Exhortation:

hatetei.  
listen.pl

Warning-Result:

hatetekepuho lopori vorourapanena gogota teke  
listen.will.you.ss inside turn.will.it.chs work do.will.you

povoza tina Ongapu nengizapanena gogota  
therefore good God you.help.will.he.chs work

tekena ou ravapane. mete Ongapuza  
do.will.you.chs open become.will.it and God's

kaevevonanga ni nima hekeza veteza nimovoama  
dislike.with you your be.will.for discardingly your.thing.only

va valahata tokezavoza ginavo rariparoti orah rezah  
obey.and that.you.will.be.doing hunger us.to always

verevovai sohopan.  
appearing go.cont.will.it

## Present Condition:

povoza      mete ne Ongapuza   gogovoza   zeitati   heta   povoza  
 about.that   and   I   God's   work.for   place.to   be.and   therefore

oke      vare angoho.  
 there   open   you.told.I

Finis: nena.  
           that.is.all

'I will tell you this small talk that they revealed. In that I am working with the S.I.L. people I came to Ukarumpa and Elaine and I are working and I thought about his talk. Actually this talk was revealed to me and about that I am telling you. Listen. If you listen and change your behaviour and work then God will help you well and you will work and (the good time) will appear. But if you dislike God and just think about yourself and obey your own likes and dislikes famine will always be in our area. About that then I who am doing God's work in the village am telling you. That is all.'

9.4 Descriptive Discourse

How They Used to Put on Pig Feasts

This Descriptive Discourse has a Title, Stage, 3 Descriptions and a Finis.

Title: volo mangepuza   ngetivo.  
           pig   feasts's   story

Stage: vatamo   reimeri   eteohana                      abanapu   eteohana  
           before   our.ones   looked.cont.they.chs   man            looked.cont.he.chs

Description 1: Descriptive Paragraph

Step 1:

pima   volora   gipizo   veleiza   tohana                      pima  
 his   pig.and   food   plenty   did.cont.they.chs   his

nanera   vosira   pimeri   mangata                      volo   mangepu   vizoha.  
 brothers.his.ones   them.told.and   pig   feast   put.cont.they

Step 2:

volo   mangepu   vizata   haohana                      moda   pori   emata  
 pig   feast   put.and   spoke.cont.he.chs   those.others   come.and

verevahana paruparo zei tupu toha ma  
arrived.they.chs they.all feast.houses did.cont.they or

zihave verata anihovo varengoha.  
planks split.and posts put.in.cont.they

Step 3:

varengata garahata sata emaholo puloriha urata emata  
put.in.and finish.and go.and possums bush.at hit.and come.and

volo angapu manoha.  
pig woman her.gave.they

## Description 2: Descriptive Paragraph

Setting:

garosi pota tata  
first this do.and

Step 1:

garahata maota tokaeti ara urata mete ngetivo  
finish.and again later ready hit.and and story

mangohana zei okoti epatari aban  
them.told.cont.they.chs people.at.the.places.all.around men

patatakari mangohana idera pata va  
different.place.ones them.told.cont.they.chs decorations get

vizata va onge vatata emata hareta  
put.and make.straight.and come.and come.across.and

zei potaka ema verevata dara ngai toha.  
that.place.at come arrive.and dance did.cont.they

Step 2:

dara ngai tohana menata mangarata garosi emata  
dance did.cont.they.chs hit.and light.and first come.and

mezohana va sata zeingika mengeoha.  
step.cont.they.chs get go.and places.at them.put.cont.they

napu nimopu nemopu au vatogipuho va sata  
each.one's.one promise make.cont.we.ss get go.and



zeingika mengeohana hehana mete haopatama  
 places.at put.cont.they.chs were.they.chs and midnight.only

data mezoha.  
 dance stepped.cont.they

### Description 3: Descriptive Paragraph

#### Setting:

ale teohana  
 light broke.cont.it.chs

#### Step 1:

va sata mengeohana hehaeka volongi  
 get go.and them.put.cont.they.chs where.they.were pig.meat

manohapuhu peirama tohana maota  
 them.gave.cont.they.ss something did.cont.they.chs again

vorourata maota parumatakaro soh.  
 turn.and again their.places went.cont.they

Finis: nena oke haho.  
 enough there spoke.I

'The story of pig feasts. Before, when our grandparents looked, or a man looked, and his pigs and food had become a lot he told all his relatives and they put on a pig feast. To put on a pig feast they spoke and the others came and they built the houses, or made the planks and put in the posts. They put in the posts and finished and went to the bush for possums and brought them to the woman in charge.

First they did that and finished and later they got everything ready and sent word to all the villages and they got their decorations and everything ready and came across to the main village and when they arrived they danced. They danced when they first came and then were taken to their houses, each one was given a place and there they stayed and at midnight they danced.

When it dawned they took meat to all of the places where they stayed and gave it to them and they ate and then left again and went back to their villages. That is all I have to say.'

### 9.5 Epistolary Discourse

A letter from Ririgao

This Epistolary Discourse consists of a Salutation, Aperture Greeting, 4 Messages, Blessing, Closure, Finis and a Signature.

Salutation: dear E. Geary Joan Co.  
dear E Geary Joan Coleman

'Dear Elaine and Joan,'

Aperture: ae  
hey

'Hey,'

Greeting: Exposition Paragraph

Text:

aripi peteve tairapunanga honevo oke heza?  
you.two now who.with together there be

Exposition:

pima hangivo ne homeho. aripi Iesu Kristo darima  
its answer I thought.I you.two Jesus Christ our

nonoronanga ari heza.  
road.with you be

'Who is with you two? The answer is this, I think. You two are with Jesus Christ on His road.'

Message 1: Exposition Paragraph

Text:

mete engaringarivi Iesu Kristoza abatavoka ne ngetivo  
and women.two Jesus Christ's name.at I talk

aviama angoma.  
little you.tell.will.I

Exposition: Relational Paragraph

Statement:

Iesu engizata hehana rei Dori Sande honevo Sou Koti  
Jesus help.and was.he.chs we Dori week one Sou Koti

Manipai Ouva mangairata va von vategina saha.  
Manipai Ouva teach.and made.finish.we.chs went.they

Link: mete  
and

Statement:

dimi mumugaholo mapo zuma tahana vono taha.  
blouses all buy did.they.chs none did.they

Link: mete  
and

Statement:

ki orogitu amuni va vono vataha.  
bags.that.we.made also made.finish.they

Link: mete  
and

Statement:

monisi taira verevaha? ne hodade nata Dori hodade.  
money what became.it I know no.do Dori know

'In the name of Jesus Christ I will tell you two women this little story. Jesus helped us and Doris and I taught Sou and Koti and Manipai and Ouva for one week and when we finished they went. And they bought all the blouses and there are none left. And the bags we made are all gone too. And how much money was collected? I don't know but Doris does.'

Message 2: Relational Paragraph

Statement:

mai zakepi engaringarivi Sande alizasi ne Dori veteta  
sorry women.two Sunday I Dori left.and

Saurere soh.  
Saurere went.I

Link: mete  
and

Statement:

ne zeitaka 2 uik hema mete pi Kipu sata hepane.  
I place.at two.weeks be.will.I and she Kipu go.and be.will. she

Link: mete  
and

Statement:

tokaeti maota emoma.  
later again come.will.I

'Sorry, two women, on Sunday I left Doris and went to Saurere. I will be in my village for 2 weeks and she will go to Kipu and stay. And later I will come back again.'

Message 3:

mete ae Kokoi Ravei oke haemaha ma taira? at  
and hey Kokoi Ravei there cert.came.he or what question

angoho.  
you.tell.I

'Hey, has Kokoi Ravei already arrived there or not? I am asking you.'

Message 4: Exposition Paragraph

Text:

mete eve dimi mumugaholoza ngetivo maota angoma.  
and here blouses talk again you.will.tell.I

Exposition: Behavioural Paragraph

Exhortation:

Marilyn ngetivo mangei.  
Marilyn talk her.tell.pl

Present Condition:

paru ahoama zai taha povoza va vono vataha.  
they plenty like did.they therefore made.finish.they

Exhortation:

pota mangei.  
this her.tell.pl

Exhortation:

mete dimi modari zuama mepikena emapa.  
and blouses.more quickly send.will.you.chs come.will.they

'And now I want to tell you some more about the blouses. Tell this news to Marilyn. They really like the blouses, that is why they are all gone. Tell her. And send some more blouses quickly.'

Closure: mete nema ngetivo nena oke.  
and my talk enough there

'That is all I have to say.'

Blessing: Ongapu arinanga hepa ma reinanga hepa.  
God you.with be.will.he or we.with be.will.he

'God will be with you and with us.'

Finis: nena rotapu  
enough true

'Truly that is all.'

Signature: ne S Ravei  
I S Ravei

'I am S Ravei.'

## Footnotes

1. Kunimaipa is a New Guinea non-Austronesian language of the Goilalan language family spoken by an estimated 8,000 people occupying a large area between Garaina in the Morobe Province and Tapini in the Central Province. The Gazili dialect, about which this analysis is written, is spoken in the Bubu valley near Garaina.
2. "Grammatical Discovery Procedures", Robert E. Longacre.
3. "Levels and Chaining in Telefol", Phyllis Healey.
4. The term CHAIN has been taken from Joy McCarthy, 1965.
5. The research and writing of the Sentence section of this paper have been carried out under the auspices of the Office of Education (of the United States Government), Health, Education, and Welfare Contract No. OEC-9-097756-4409)014). This contract was undertaken and directed in New Guinea during 1970 by Dr. Robert E. Longacre.