PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR OF YELE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

James Henderson
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PREFACE

Yele (also referred to as Yela and Yeletnye) is spoken by about 3,300 people, the inhabitants of Rossel Island in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. It is non-Austronesian, sharing only 6 per cent of cognates with the nearest Austronesian language, Sudest. (See Henderson and Henderson 1974.) No close relatives of Yele have been identified.

This monograph describes the phonology and grammar of the language, highlighting the portmanteau orthography and portmanteau interaction of tense, mood and aspect in predications. The grammatical description is by prose statements, the analytical insights being drawn mainly from Tagmemics and Functional Grammar (Dik 1978).

A preliminary description of the Yele language was published in 1975 (Henderson 1975).

I wish to express my gratitude to the people of the Jinjo area of Rossel Island, particularly to Gregory Mépé, John Lamonga and Isidore Yidika, for their patience in teaching my wife and me their language, and in explaining the significance of the features of Yele grammar. I also wish to thank fellow members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics whose guidance made this analysis possible, particularly Joy Lloyd, Anna Kila, Robert Litteral, Ger Reesink and Carl Whitehead. I am also grateful to Professor Talmy Givón for his suggestions, derived from his broad experience.
ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

[item]_A  Absolutive
ADD        Addition
ASS        associative
C          continuous; consonant
CF         contra-factual
CI         continuous indicative
CLS        close to the speaker
[item]_COM Comment
CONS       Consequence
CONTRA     Contraexpectation
CT         certainty
D          definite situation
DEP        dependent
DST        distal tense
DU         dual
[item]_E    Ergative
[item]_F    Factitive
FOL        'followed' root
FUT        future
[item]_G    Goal
HAB        habitual
[item]_I    Instrument
IM         immediate
IMP        imperative
IND        indicative
INDEF      indefinite
IT         intransitive
IS         iser (e.g. PCT.IS = punctiliariser)
[item]_L    Locative case/role
[item]_M    Manner
MF         monofocal Subject (i.e. 1 or SG)
MOT        motion
NEG        negative
NON        not
NREL       Nasal Release
NR         near
O          Object
OP         Object person
P          person
PCT        punctiliar
PF         polyfocal Subject (i.e. other than 1 or SG)
PI         punctiliar indicative
PL         plural
PN         pronoun
PRES       present
PRX        proximal
PST        past tense
P->C       use of punctiliar root with continuous force
REM        remote past tense
S          sentence
[item]_S    Source
SB         Subject
SBC        Simultaneous Bilabial Closure
SG         singular
SP         Subject person
SPEC       specified
[item]_T    Time
T           transitive
TMA        Tense, Mood and Aspect
[item]_TOP Topic
VOC        Vocative
[item]_X    Experiencer
1          first person
2          second person
3          third person

Examples in phonetic script are enclosed in square brackets, with the stressed syllable underlined. All other examples are in the practical orthography which is becoming established amongst the Rossel people. Within the examples, the semantic functions (equivalent to roles or cases) of the participants in the predication are marked by subscript abbreviations, and the items so described are surrounded by square brackets. For example, [...]_A marks the Absolutive and [...]_E marks the Ergative. Where a morpheme is written
between <angle brackets>, this refers to a set of forms with the same function. For example, 
<ngê> represents the ergative marker used with transitive verbs. Singular subjects are 
marked with ngê, dual or plural subjects with y:oo.
MAP: ROSEL ISLAND, MILNE BAY PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA
CHAPTER 1

PHONEMES AND PORTMANTEAU ORTHOGRAPHY

There are eleven contrastively different vowels in Yele. Vowel length and nasalisation are also contrastive. Consonants have four points of articulation: bilabial, dental, post-alveolar and velar. They are articulated as stops, nasal continuants, non-nasal continuants and semivowels. The stops can also be prenasalised or uttered with nasal release. All but two of the non-bilabial consonants can be uttered with simultaneous bilabial closure. Palatalisation and labialisation are also contrastive, and even occur simultaneously when attached to bilabial stops and nasals. This mouthful of contrasts adds up to 38 different vowel sounds and 56 different consonantal sounds to listen for.

The analytical model used is traditional phonemics (Pike 1947), adjusted to allow secondary phonemes analogous to suprasegmentals or Firth's prosodies (Palmer 1970). The IPA set of phonetic characters is used in this description, and in words of more than one syllable the stressed syllable is underlined. [i] and [w] represent semivowels. No strictly phonemic transcriptions are used, because of the difficulty in symbolising simultaneous bilabial closure in a meaningful way. Semi-phonemic transcriptions are given in italics, using the practical alphabet that has arisen as a result of this study and which is now in use amongst the Rossel Island people.

1.1 VOWELS

Vowel length and nasalisation are both contrastive, along with the eleven basic vowel quality phonemes shown in Table 1.1.1. The italic symbols show how these phonemes are represented in the practical orthography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1.1.1: BASIC VOWEL PHONEMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low open</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The basic contrasts are illustrated in Tables 1.1.2 to 1.1.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1.1.2: BASIC VOWEL CONTRASTS IN BILABIAL ENVIRONMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[pi:] shoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pe:] basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pe:] a piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pe:ri:] four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pa:] walking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 1.1.3: BASIC VOWEL CONTRASTS IN VELAR ENVIRONMENT

| [ki:]  | give      | [ki:] | crab type | [ku:] | unripe   |
| [ke:]  | throw away| [ko:] | his arm   |       |          |
| [ke:]  | come up   | [kɔ:] | hand      | [ko:] | lime pot |
| [kaːri:] | woman’s name |       |           |       |          |
| [kaː]  | fan palm  | [kaː] | picture   |       |          |

The [æ] vowel does not occur in monosyllabic words, and carries a low functional load generally, but is frequent enough in polysyllabic words to justify maintaining the distinction between [a] and [æ]. See Table 1.1.4.

TABLE 1.1.4: BASIC VOWEL CONTRASTS IN DI-SYLLABIC WORDS

| [ŋgiːti]  | man’s name | [ŋgiŋo] | fear          | [ŋkumwë] | mosquito |
| [ŋgwebi]  | sorcerer   | [ŋgwe]  | clapping      | [ŋgwe]   |          |
| [ŋgete]   | dancing     | [ŋgæŋgo] | leaking       | [ŋgæŋgo] | seal up  |
| [ŋgæŋgo]  | man’s name  | [ŋgæŋgo] | clan name     |          |          |
| [ŋgaːŋgaː] | shark type  | [ŋgæŋgo] |              |          |          |

TABLE 1.1.5: BASIC VOWEL CONTRASTS IN DENTAL ENVIRONMENT

| [te] | scorpion        | [tẽ]  | place  | [tẽ]   |        |
| [ti] | fish            | [tæ]  |        | [tĩ]   | lime pot |
| [ta] | came            | [tã]  | bird type |       |          |

Where the vowel is nasalised, the close–open contrast is not maintained. The presence of nasalisation makes the vowel sound a little more high than it would otherwise be. The high central vowel [i] only occurs nasalised when it follows a nasal continuant.

TABLE 1.1.6: BASIC VOWEL CONTRASTS IN NASALISED ENVIRONMENT

| [kĩ:] | banana         | [mĩ] | father | [kũ:] | rootlets |
| [kẽ:] | cut bark off   | [pẽ:] | talk   | [kẽ:] | inside   |
| [kã:] | taro           | [kõ:] | post   |       |          |

TABLE 1.1.7: NASALISATION AND VOWEL QUALITY CONTRASTS IN POST-ALVEOLAR ENVIRONMENT

| [tĩ:] | stopper        | [tu:] | try    | [tũ:] |          |
| [ti:] | thorn          | [ti]  | end    | [tu:] | tree knot|
| [te:] | cooking-pot stones |       |        | [to:] | crack nuts|
| [tẽ:] | we are not     | [tẽ:] | septum | [tũ:] | immature fruit |
| [tẽ:] | yam type       | [tõ:] | tongue | [tõ:] | chase into net |
| [tẽː] | snail type     |       |        |       |          |
| [tañ:] | slime          | [tañ:] | moon   |       |          |
| [taː] | outrigger      | [taː] | it dried |       |          |

Nasalisation is also contrastive in long vowels following a nasal continuant, as illustrated in Table 1.1.8.
TABLE 1.1.8: CONTRASTIVE NASALISATION FOLLOWING A NASAL CONTINUANT

| [ni:]  | vine type     | [nu:]  | throat   |
| [nĩ:]  | whoever       | [nũ:]  | who?     |
| [ne:]  | canoe         | [mɔ:]  | seed type| husband |
| [nɛ:]  | went          | [mɔ:]  | muscle   | a cover  |
| [mɑ:]  | road          | [mɑ:]  | tomorrow |
| [mɔ:]  | Dad           | [mɔ:]  | low tide |

Nasalisation is symbolised in the practical orthography with a colon before the nasalised vowel, as in [pɔ:o] p:o 'home'.

Short non-close vowels following nasal continuants are nasalised, unless followed by a non-nasal syllable in the same word. Such nasalisation is not written in the practical orthography, as it is non-phonemic.

TABLE 1.1.9: ORTHOGRAPHIC MARKING OF NASALISATION

| [ŋɛmɛ:] ngeme | strolling      | [mɪ]  | mɪ | father      | [ŋɛmɔ:] ngomo | house |
| [ŋɛtɛ:] ngete | a spy          | [mɪtɪɔ] | mɪchɔ | cousin     | [ŋɛlɔ:] ngolo | weeding |

Contrastive vowel length is illustrated in Table 1.1.10.

TABLE 1.1.10: VOWEL LENGTH CONTRASTS

| [pi] | person     | [kɪ] | that      | [pu] | tree type |
| [pi:]| shoot      | [kɪ:]| crab type | [pu:]| hole      |
| [ɛ:] | fish       | [pɔ] | long thing| [pɔ] | tree type |
| [ɛ:] | needle     | [pɔ:]| verandah  | [pɔ:]| ask       |
| [ɔ:] | parrot type| [pɔ:]| verandah  | [tɔ] | vine type |
| [tɔ:]| betel nut  | [tɔ:]| chase into a net |
| [tɔ:]| came       | [tɔ] | bird type |
| [tɔ:]| bushknife  | [tɔ:]| high up |

Vowel length is represented in the practical orthography by doubling the vowel symbol, as in [kɔ:] kɔa picture.

The full set of contrastively different vowel sounds adds up to 38, made up as follows:

11 basic vowel-quality contrasts
8 of these forming further contrastive vowel qualities when nasalised
19 further vowel contrasts created by doubling all of the above in length
= 38

I have analysed these as 11 basic vowel phonemes, a nasalisation phoneme and length.

There is a gap in the distribution of the close vowels, in that non-nasalised [ɛ] and [a] rarely occur preceding [i] in the next syllable of the same morpheme, and non-nasalised [ɔ] rarely occurs preceding [u] in the next syllable of the same morpheme. The close counterparts [ɛ], [ɛ] and [ɔ] occur in these environments instead. The high vowel [i] does not affect the quality of the vowel in the syllable before it. Tables 1.1.11 and 1.1.12 illustrate the usual situation.
Table 1.1.11: The close–open contrast in disyllabic words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[kɛbe]</th>
<th>paddle</th>
<th>[pɔro]</th>
<th>rib</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[kebi]</td>
<td>crayfish type</td>
<td>[pɔru]</td>
<td>rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ka:li]</td>
<td>bear fruit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ka:bi]</td>
<td>bird type</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1.12: The close–open contrast followed by non-high vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[kemɛ]</th>
<th>mango</th>
<th>[kʷɔro]</th>
<th>forehead</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[kɛŋɛ]</td>
<td>fish type</td>
<td>[kʷɔŋɔ]</td>
<td>girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʃɛma]</td>
<td>distinguish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʃaŋa]</td>
<td>tree type</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minor variations in vowel quality are conditioned by the adjacent consonants, but the only one of note is the manifestation of *u* by [u] following [j] or a palatalised consonant.

\[
yi\quad [jì]\quad \text{leg}\quad pu\quad [pu]\quad \text{tree type}
\]
\[
yu\quad [ju]\quad \text{his leg}\quad pyu\quad [p^u]\quad \text{doer of something}
\]

When interpreting sequences of vowels such as [kie] 'bite', there are no sequences of low vowels such as *[e]a* on which to base an interpretation as a sequence of two vowel phonemes. All vowel sequences involve a high or mid close vowel, suggesting that palatalisation, labialisation or a semivowel is involved. Palatalisation and labialisation both contrast with sequences of a higher vowel followed by a lower vowel, as shown in Table 1.1.13.

Table 1.1.13: Palatalisation and labialisation contrasted with higher to lower vowel sequences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[p^e]</th>
<th>mother</th>
<th>[p^w^a:]</th>
<th>broke it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[pie]</td>
<td>lean against</td>
<td>[puα]</td>
<td>started it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sequences of a higher vowel followed by a lower vowel are interpreted as vowel-semivowel-vowel, to avoid a sequence of vowels. Thus two items of Table 1.1.13 are interpreted as follows:

\[
\text{[pie] \quad is interpreted as \quad piye \quad lean against}
\]
\[
\text{[puα] \quad is interpreted as \quad puwā \quad started it}
\]

By analogy, sequences of [i] followed by a lower vowel are interpreted as having [γ] between the [i] and the lower vowel:

\[
\text{[kīa] \quad is interpreted as \quad kīγha \quad ripe}
\]
\[
\text{[kʲe] \quad is interpreted as \quad kīghē \quad grandfather}
\]

This interpretation is supported by dialect variation. The eastern dialect word [kie] kīghē 'lizard type' corresponds in the western dialect with [kie] kīke. Further evidence for the interpretation was found by dictation testing. I asked the test subjects to dictate test words slowly so I could write them, breaking the words into syllables. Words such as [kie] 'bite'
were dictated as [ki – je] rather than as [ki – e] or [kie]. Furthermore, people who had been taught to write [i] as ī and [ɣ] as gh wrote words such as [kia] ‘ripe’ as kīgha, thus filling the gap in the distribution of [i] and [ɣ], in that [ɣ] never follows [i] in speech.

The remaining vowel sequences are [ɔi], [ei], [ei] and [ai]. These are interpreted as oy, ough, ey and ay respectively. For example, [ɣai] ‘fall’ is interpreted as ghay. Table 1.1.14 shows these sequences in contrast with plain vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1.1.14: VOWEL SEQUENCES IN CONTRAST WITH SINGLE VOWELS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[je] yé put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[jəi] yey arguing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[je] ye to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɣa] gha core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɣai] ghay fall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stress is predictable, falling first on two-syllable words, and first and third on four-syllable words. In four-syllable words, the first syllable is stressed slightly more than the third syllable.

[palə] tongs
[tobugara] crocodile

Reduplicated words longer than two syllables are phonologically two words, because voiceless allophones are found at the beginning of the reduplication, as are found word-initially. (See Table 1.1.15.) Although the longer reduplicated words are phonologically separate words, they function grammatically as single words, so they are written as single words in the practical orthography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1.1.15: ALLOPHONES USED AT THE REDUPLICATION POINT IN REDUPLICATED WORDS OF TWO AND FOUR SYLLABLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[pib] pipi pouring something &lt;- voiced medial allophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pibipib] pipipipi frayed &lt;- voiceless allophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tɔro] dódó teasing, tricking &lt;- voiced medial allophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʃɪntʃi] dingidiingi heavy &lt;- voiceless allophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kugul] kuku washing something &lt;- voiced medial allophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kudu] kudukudu tying something &lt;- voiceless allophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pib] pipi eating something &lt;- voiced medial allophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pibpi] pilipili slippery &lt;- voiceless allophone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In three-syllable words, the first syllable is stressed unless the second vowel is more open than the first or the word is vowel-initial.

[parara] type of sea urchin
[tiŋŋi] very many
[keŋk] sister-in-law

Five-syllable words do not occur, as nearly all roots are only one or two syllables. The few six-syllable words are reduplications of three-syllable words, and are phonologically similar to two three-syllable words.
1.2 CONSONANTS

There are four points of articulation: bilabial, dental, post-alveolar and velar. The basic manners of articulation are stops, nasal continuants, non-nasal continuants and two semivowels, as illustrated in Table 1.2.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1.2.1: BASIC CONSONANTAL PHONEMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vyāā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the Yele practical orthography was being devised, some equivalents were straightforward, such as p for the bilabial stop and k for the velar stop. Others required some care. For example, t was chosen to represent the dental phoneme and d to represent the post-alveolar phoneme, because some Rossel people were already writing these sounds this way, and because the post-alveolar stop is partially voiced word medially adjacent to a short vowel and so it is similar to d in English. The digraph th was rejected by the Rossel people as a representation for one of these phonemes, because the nearby Sudest language has [ð] in its inventory, and the Rossels did not want there to be any confusion with that sound. The dental and post-alveolar nasals posed a problem, as the English alphabet does not provide any equivalent in the nasals to t and d, so the acute accent used to mark close vowels was borrowed and pressed into service to mark the dental nasal. The velar nasal is represented by ng to match English usage. The velar fricative is represented on Goodenough Island by g, but gh was chosen for the Yele orthography to avoid confusion with the symbols used for a prenasalised velar stop uttered with simultaneous bilabial closure (mg).

The non-dental stops are partially voiced word medially when adjacent to a short vowel. For the post-alveolar stop, this results in a manifestation as [ɾ] in that environment.

- pêpê [pêpê]: lying down
- paapi [pa:bi]: pushing things aside
- paapaa [pa:paː]: pulling
- lete [leː]: dolphin
- padada [parara]: sea urchin type
- daadī [tːːː]: long
- pêêdî [pəːː]: pull
- pweekaa [pweːːkːaː]: lazy
- tāakkê [tːːːɡːaː]: turtle

There is a contrastive series of prenasalised stops, in which the speech power of the prenasalisation is much greater than that of the stop. Hence they are referred to as the
prenasalised series, rather than as a voiced series with accompanying prenasalisation. The contrasts are illustrated in Table 1.2.2.

| TABLE 1.2.2: CONTRASTIVE PRENASALISATION |
|--------------|-----------------|-------------|-------|----------|
| Bilabial     | Dental          | Post-alveolar | Velar |
| [pala]       | [t’a:] bushknife | [te:] yam type | [ka:] fan palm |
| pala         | taa             | dee         | kaa   |
| [mbala]      | [ŋda:] breadfruit | [nde:] drinking | [ŋga:] sago pulp |
| mbala        | ntaa            | ndee        | nkaa  |

Since the orthographic symbols *t* and *d* were already in use to symbolise the dental / post-alveolar contrast, and to give weight to the significance of the prenasalisation, the prenasalised stops are represented in the practical orthography by nasal–stop pairs. Thus *nt* and *nd* represent the dental and post-alveolar stops respectively when they are prenasalised. *mb* was chosen for the bilabial stop rather than *mp*, because of pressure from the English orthography. For the velar stop, *ngg* was first introduced, as is used in a number of Papua New Guinea languages, but Rossel people failed to notice the second *g* when reading and used not to write it, so the representation of [ŋg] was changed to *nk*. This was well accepted, and has proven easy to teach.

The post-alveolar and velar stops can also be uttered with nasal release, which is characterised by nasal plosion. Table 1.2.3 shows these two basic stops alone, with prenasalisation and with nasal release.

| TABLE 1.2.3 CONSONANTS WITH NASAL RELEASE |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|--------|
| Basic stop:                              | Post-alveolar   | Velar       |        |
|                                          | [ti:] thorn     | [kêbi] crayfish type |
|                                          | dii             | képi        |        |
| Pre-nasalised:                           |                 |             |        |
|                                          | [ndi] cicada    | [ŋgʷebi] sorcerer |
|                                          | ndi             | nkewépi     |        |
| Nasal release:                           |                 |             |        |
|                                          | [tni⁷ibtn⁷iba] sneezing | [ŋnebi] tree type |
|                                          | dnyipédnypé     | knépi       |        |

Nasal release is represented by *n* following the stop symbol.

A syllabic nasal occurs as part of the nasal release of a velar stop, but it is interpreted as the manifestation of a velar stop with nasal release followed by a [*i*] vowel, as this sequence is never manifested in speech. Rossel people find *kn* easier to read than *kn*.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kni} & \quad \text{[kni]} \quad \text{[kǐ]} \quad \text{some} \\
\text{kni} & \quad \text{[kni]} \quad \text{[kǐkŋ]} \quad \text{smelly}
\end{align*}
\]

Non-bilabial consonants can be uttered with another contrastive feature, simultaneous bilabial closure. Table 1.2.4 contrasts the basic consonants with their occurrence with simultaneous bilabial closure (SBC), and also with similar words containing only a bilabial consonant.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASIC STOP</th>
<th>DENTAL</th>
<th>POST-ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ta:]</td>
<td>bushknife</td>
<td>[ti:] end</td>
<td>[ka:] fan palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tpa:]</td>
<td>turn over</td>
<td>[dpi:] sleep</td>
<td>[kpa:] stealing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals:</td>
<td>[no:] breadfruit</td>
<td>[nɔnɔ:] skill</td>
<td>[ŋɔ:] immature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial:</td>
<td>[nɔ:] walking</td>
<td>[pi:] white ant</td>
<td>[pa:] walking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial:</td>
<td>[nɔ:] breadfruit</td>
<td>[nɔnɔ:] skill</td>
<td>[ŋɔ:] immature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial:</td>
<td>[nɔ:] walking</td>
<td>[pi:] white ant</td>
<td>[pa:] walking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other continuants:</td>
<td>[la:] trevally</td>
<td>[lɔ:] trevally</td>
<td>[ŋɔ:] immature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With SBC:</td>
<td>[ŋɔ:] breadfruit</td>
<td>[nɔnɔ:] skill</td>
<td>[ŋɔ:] immature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With SBC:</td>
<td>[ŋɔ:] walking</td>
<td>[pi:] white ant</td>
<td>[pa:] walking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With SBC:</td>
<td>[ŋɔ:] breadfruit</td>
<td>[nɔnɔ:] skill</td>
<td>[ŋɔ:] immature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With SBC:</td>
<td>[ŋɔ:] walking</td>
<td>[pi:] white ant</td>
<td>[pa:] walking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Simultaneous bilabial closure is marked in the practical orthography with a bilabial symbol of the same type, as shown in Table 1.2.4. For example, stops have p added, nasals have m added and l has v added.

Stops with prenasalisation or nasal release can also be uttered with simultaneous bilabial closure, as illustrated in Table 1.2.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRENASALISED:</th>
<th>DENTAL</th>
<th>POST-ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ŋɔ:]</td>
<td>[ndɔ:] size maybe</td>
<td>[ŋɔ:] sago pulp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- with SBC: [ŋɔmɔ:]</td>
<td>coconut pulp message</td>
<td>[ŋɔmɔ:]</td>
<td>constrict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal release:</td>
<td>[tnɔ:] a yoke</td>
<td>[kn:] your fault</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- with SBC: [ŋɔmɔ:]</td>
<td>coconut</td>
<td>[kn:] your fault</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Yele verbs use portmanteau morphemes to a great extent, expressing a number of parameters in a single morpheme rather than agglutinating separate morphemes for the different parameters. Consequently, a portmanteau orthography suggested itself, in which simultaneous bilabial closure is represented by changing the n that marks prenasalisation or nasal release to m. Thus prenasalised nd becomes md when uttered with simultaneous bilabial closure. Another change is made to a prenasalised velar stop when simultaneous bilabial closure is added – the stop symbol k changes to g. That is nk becomes mg. See the examples in Table 1.2.5.
Labialisation and palatalisation are both contrastive, as illustrated in Table 1.2.6. They even occur simultaneously with bilabial consonants, being manifested as palatisation with simultaneous lip rounding. Only bilabial and velar consonants occur labialised, but consonants of all positions can be palatalised. The dental stop does not occur palatalised as such, but as an affricate: [ʃ] fills the gap left by *[tʃ] and [ndʒ] fills that left by *[n̥dʒ].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Post-alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>coming up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[paː]</td>
<td>body</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>bear fruit</td>
<td>koko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pəə</td>
<td>təə</td>
<td>dəə</td>
<td>kə̞ɡə̞</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pəɑː]</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>felled tree</td>
<td>fault</td>
<td>kə̞ɡə̞lo̞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyəə</td>
<td>chəə</td>
<td>dyəəpe</td>
<td>kyolo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pəwəː]</td>
<td>broke</td>
<td></td>
<td>kə̞wə̞lo̞</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pywəə</td>
<td>pandanus</td>
<td></td>
<td>kwolo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɛ̃pəː]</td>
<td>turn over</td>
<td>work</td>
<td>trochus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tpəa</td>
<td>dpodo</td>
<td></td>
<td>kpo̞po</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɛ̃pəɑː]</td>
<td>clan name</td>
<td>restrain</td>
<td>[kə̞pə̞pə̞ ə̞]</td>
<td>purse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tpyaa</td>
<td>dpyoko</td>
<td></td>
<td>kpyopwo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[nəeː]</td>
<td>javelin</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>learning</td>
<td>[ŋelî]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbêe</td>
<td>ndêe</td>
<td>ndêî</td>
<td>nkêli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ŋbeː]</td>
<td>parrot fish</td>
<td>clan name</td>
<td>condemn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbyeêm</td>
<td>ndêe</td>
<td>ndyîko</td>
<td>[ŋgə̞webi]</td>
<td>sorcerer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ŋbeː]</td>
<td>old</td>
<td></td>
<td>nkwepi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbwee</td>
<td>njêé</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ŋbeː]</td>
<td>tree type</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbywee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mīməbə :</td>
<td>coconut pulp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtoo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mīməb’ə :</td>
<td>passage name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtyoo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɛ̃pɛ̃hə : rî]</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dmvə̞dî</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɛ̃pɛ̃hə :]</td>
<td>sewed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dmyə̞dî</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[maːli]</td>
<td>sea eagle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maaːî</td>
<td>[nêː]</td>
<td>went</td>
<td>[ŋolɔ]</td>
<td>weeding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məː]</td>
<td>nːee</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngolo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mya</td>
<td>myːeː</td>
<td>hear</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mweːbəa</td>
<td>sturgeonfish</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ŋwə̞lo]</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwə̞pə̞</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngwolo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mywə̞pə̞</td>
<td>ebony</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.2.6 continued...
Table 1.2.6 continued...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Post-alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[pʰə]</td>
<td>[tʰə]</td>
<td>[tʰe]</td>
<td>[kʰe]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pye</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>dŷe</td>
<td>kyêde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pʰə:]</td>
<td>[tʰə:]</td>
<td>[tʰe:]</td>
<td>[kʰe:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piye</td>
<td>tiye</td>
<td>diŷe</td>
<td>kiŷe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pʰə:]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[kʰa]</td>
<td>stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwâå</td>
<td></td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pʰə:]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ku:]</td>
<td>leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puwâ</td>
<td></td>
<td>kuwo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Labialisation and palatalisation also contrast with sequences of consonant and high vowel, as illustrated in Table 1.2.7.

Table 1.2.7: Labialisation and Palatalisation Contrasted with High Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Post-alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[pʰə]</td>
<td>[tʰə]</td>
<td>[tʰe]</td>
<td>[kʰe]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pye</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>dŷe</td>
<td>kyêde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pʰə:]</td>
<td>[tʰə:]</td>
<td>[tʰe:]</td>
<td>[kʰe:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piye</td>
<td>tiye</td>
<td>diŷe</td>
<td>kiŷe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pʰə:]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[kʰa]</td>
<td>stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwâå</td>
<td></td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pʰə:]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ku:]</td>
<td>leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puwâ</td>
<td></td>
<td>kuwo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sum total of all these contrastively different consonantal sounds is 56, counting the combinations of contrastive features which have been observed occurring together. Table 1.2.8 shows the frequencies of occurrence of each consonantal sound, expressed as a percentage of the 3,323 consonants found in a sample of 1,724 different Yele words.

Table 1.2.8: Frequencies of Consonantal Sounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>(+SBC)</th>
<th>Post-alveolar</th>
<th>(+SBC)</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>(+SBC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>[kʰ]</td>
<td>6.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.61</td>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>9.66</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ [y]</td>
<td>[pʰ]</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td>[tʰpʰ]</td>
<td>[tʰ̂]</td>
<td>[kʰ]</td>
<td>[kʰpʰ]</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ [w]</td>
<td>[pʰw]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[kʰw]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ [yw]</td>
<td>[pʰw]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasalised</td>
<td>[mb]</td>
<td>[nd]</td>
<td>[n̂mb]</td>
<td>[nd]</td>
<td>[n̂nd]</td>
<td>[ng]</td>
<td>[ŋ̂ng]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ [y]</td>
<td>[mby]</td>
<td>[ndʒ]</td>
<td>[n̂mby]</td>
<td>[ndʒ̂]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ [w]</td>
<td>[mbw]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ngw]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ [yw]</td>
<td>[mbyw]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.2.8 continued...
Table 1.2.8 continued...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1.2.8: FREQUENCIES OF CONSONANTAL SOUNDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NREL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ [ŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ [ŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ [w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ [w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ [ŋ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Combined with the 38 contrastively different vowel sounds outlined above, this gives a grand total of 94 contrastively different sounds in the language.

Traditional phonemic principles call for the interpretation of ‘ambivalent’ sequences of consonants, to decide whether they should be regarded as consonant clusters or complex consonants. Normally one would look for clusters of heterorganic consonants on which to base a cluster solution when interpreting prenasalised stops, stops with nasal release, palatalisation and labialisation, but there are no sequences of consonants that do not involve one or more of these features. Simultaneous bilabial closure involves two articulations, but they occur simultaneously, and act as a multiplier, covering the prenasalisation or nasal release of a stop as well as the stop itself. Clearly the ‘unambivalent cluster’ criterion must be relaxed, or the sum total of consonant phonemes could approach the possible maximum of 56!

The sequences [pŋ], [kŋ] and [mŋ] cited in Tables 1.2.6 and 1.2.7 above are heterorganic, even though they involve palatalisation. They provide the basis for recognising consonant–semivowel clusters. [ŋ] and [w] can then be regarded as allophones of y and w respectively. Turning now to prenasalisation and nasal release, it is observed that they constitute a reverse sequence, stop–nasal and nasal–stop, so those clusters are allowed on that basis.

Following traditional phonemic principles, the consonants with simultaneous bilabial closure would be set apart as separate phonemes, adding

\[ tp \quad dp \quad kp \]
\[ ňm \quad nm \quad ngm \text{ and } lv \]
to the thirteen basic phonemes illustrated in Table 1.2.1, making a total of 20 basic consonantal phonemes.

In this analysis a consonant would have the formula C¹(C²)S, where if C¹ and C² are both manifested, they are homorganic in the order nasal—stop or stop—nasal. The order stop—nasal only occurs with post-alveolar and velar consonants. With bilabial consonants, S can be manifested by y and w simultaneously.

Non-nasal continuants are a special case, with the formula C(y), where y occurs only with l and v.

1.3 SECONDARY PHONEMES

The founder of prosodic analysis, J.R. Firth (1948:4), rejected the “tendency to use one magic phoneme principle within a monosystemic hypothesis” and applied the term ‘prosody’ to a feature extending over more than one segment, such as the voicelessness of the [st] sequence in English. Grimes (1969:85-88) outlines the principle of regarding as a simultaneous prosody any features which pertain to a larger unit than a single segment. In the transformational mould, Goldsmith (1979) has proposed autosegmental phonology, in which phonological entities are effective in separate tiers. For example, tones would be in a separate tier from that covering the consonantal and vocalic segments of utterances. Other scholars have applied autosegmental phonology to further phenomena, such as complex segments, vowel harmony and nasalisation, as reported by Van der Hulst and Smith (1982). I have followed these departures from monosystemic analysis and set up a distinction between basic phonemes and secondary phonemes. My secondary phonemes are contrastive modifications which can be handled most economically in a second system, and which can extend over more than one segmental phoneme. They are analogous to the suprasegmentals of traditional Phonemics, to Firth’s and Grimes’ prosodies and to the tiers of autosegmental phonology. I use the term ‘secondary phoneme’ rather than ‘prosody’ as the latter term is the equivalent in Generative Phonology of the traditional term ‘suprasegmentals’ (Schane 1973:14). Granting a second system of phonemes opens the door for a simpler and more concise analysis, and leads naturally to an economical and effective arrangement of the material to be covered in the primer with which speakers of Yele can learn to read their own language (Henderson and Henderson 1978). The more basic phonemes are introduced first, and then the secondary phonemes quickly expand the readers’ capabilities.

Turning now to the secondary phonemes of the Yele language, the eleven basic vowel phonemes displayed in Table 1.1.1 are augmented by two secondary phonemes, length and nasalisation. Length is readily accepted as a suprasegmental phoneme along with pitch and stress in traditional Phonemics. Schane (1973:14f) lists these three as prosodies. Pike (1947:63) regards only these three as suprasegmentals under the premise that only “quantitative characteristics...may serve as suprasegmental phonemes”. He also refers in a bibliographical section to the work of many linguists, from those who regard various other features as suprasegmentals to those who deny any structurally relevant distinction between segmental and suprasegmental phonemes (Pike 1960/3:53). Thus length would be regarded by most linguists as a suprasegmental or as a prosody, so I automatically count it with the secondary phonemes in Yele. I also regard nasalisation as a secondary phoneme, as it can be applied to eight of the basic vowel phonemes, and it constitutes alone a causative morpheme:

- [ta ãi] it fell down
- [ta ɣii] he made it fall
[ta pʰi:] it came out
[ta pʰi:] he made it come out

The secondary phoneme of nasalisation removes the need for a series of eight nasalised vowels, and nasalisation is taught successfully in a single lesson in the Yele primer (Henderson and Henderson 1978:22-26).

If simultaneous bilabial closure can be regarded as a secondary phoneme of consonants analogous to length and nasalisation of vowels, then the seven simultaneous stops and continuants demonstrated in Table 1.2.4 can be represented as the corresponding non-bilabial consonants uttered with simultaneous bilabial closure. When prenasalised stops or those with nasal release are uttered with simultaneous bilabial closure, the bilabial closure affects both the stop and the nasal, as illustrated in Table 1.2.5.
CHAPTER 2

GRAMMAR

Unlike so many Papuan languages in Papua New Guinea, Yele does not have a switch reference system. Verbs move in a bewildering array of modes and tenses, doubled by an all-pervasive distinction in duration, and elaborated by the incorporation of deictics into the verb. Analysis proves difficult, because many of these distinctions are expressed in portmanteau morphemes, rather than by agglutination. Yele also shows the monofocal/polyfocal distinction found in some New Guinea Highland languages.

The order of terms in the clause is SOV. Within the predicate, a modified nominative–accusative system operates, but the items predicated in the clause follow ergative marking. The ergative marker used with singular Agents, ngé, is homophonous with the Instrument marker, as in a number of Huon Peninsula languages.

2.1 PREDICATION

Yele verbs move through a multidimensional array of:
- indicative, imperative and habitual moods, doubled by
- continuous and punctiliar aspect, and multiplied by
- six tenses:
  future, immediate future, present,
  immediate past, near past and remote past.

The verbs also agree with the person and number of the subject and object. The morphemes marking all these parameters are merged into portmanteau forms which defy simple analysis, and contribute to the reputation Yele has of being impossible to learn, whether by Papua New Guinean or by foreigner.

The morphemes appended to the verb root - prefixes and suffixes in many languages - are in Yele separated from the verb root on phonological grounds. Thus a predicate consists of a prenuclear component, verb root and postnuclear component, each written as a separate word. Many verb roots vary in form to express the mood, aspect and tense by using suppletive forms or reduplication. (Some irregular verbs have as many as five different roots. See §2.1.4 for the details.)

The verbal prenucleus also expresses the mood, aspect and tense, along with the person and number of the subject of the predication. (I am using the term ‘aspect’ in the ‘catch-all’ sense, so ‘aspect’ in this chapter includes more than duration. It also includes the items elaborated in §2.1.7, such as indefiniteness, commonality and repetition.) It is in the prenucleus that a number of deictics can be incorporated. (See §2.1.5 and §2.1.7).

With transitive verbs the postnucleus expresses the person and number of the object, but also reflects the mood, aspect and tense, and often monitors the person and number of the subject as well. (See §2.1.6).
With intransitive verbs, the postnucleus expresses the duration, mood and tense of the verb, and then the number of the subject. In imperatives, the postnucleus also monitors the person of the subject. (See Tables 2.1.6.1 and 2.1.6.2.)

The following examples illustrate the Ergative–Absolutive system operating in the clause. The Ergative referent is marked with <ngê>, while the Absolutive referent is unmarked.

(1)  
   a.  [Kaawa ngê]₄ dê m:uu té.  
       Kaawa  SG,E  PL.I.M.PST.3.SB see  T.PI.PRX.3PL.O.MF  
       Kaawa saw them.  
       (transitive, implicit object)
       Dad  SG,E  Kaawa  PI.I.M.PST.3.SB see  
       Dad saw Kaawa.  
       (transitive, explicit object)

(2)  
   Kaawa already PI.I.M.PST.3.SB fall.asleep  
   Kaawa has already fallen asleep.  
   (intransitive)

The Ergative–Absolutive system is also illustrated by the way in which indefinite status (in Chafe’s terms (1976:38-43)) is marked. The numeral ngmê ‘one’ is used to mark an indefinite item in Yele. When the subject of a transitive verb (the Ergative referent) is indefinite, ngmê is added to the noun phrase:

(3)  
   [U dpodo pyu ngmê ngê]₄ a ńuwo.  
   his work performer INDEF SG,E CLS took.REM  
   One of his workers brought it.

When the Absolutive referent of the clause is indefinite, this is signalled by prefixing ngmê- or a form derived from it to the predicate prenucleus. Example (4) illustrates this phenomenon, for an indefinite object, the saw blade:

(4)  
   [Saw nt:u]₄ ngmê-ní ńuwo.  
   saw body INDEF-PI.REM.1SG.SB took.REM  
   I took a (circular) saw blade.

If the (Absolutive) subject of an intransitive verb is indefinite, this also causes the predicate prenucleus to be marked with ngmê or a form derived from it:

(5)  
   Rossel person inside INDEF-CL.REM.3SG.SB working  
   There was a Rossel man working on board.

The morpheme ngmê and the forms derived from it are dealt with in more detail in §2.1.7.1.

2.1.1 DURATION

Bickerton has drawn attention to the primacy of duration in the development of language: ...
all the evidence suggests that punctual–nonpunctual was the first TMA distinction to be grammaticised, and accordingly, the form that marked the distinction would have been juxtaposed to the main verb. (1981:284)

In Yele, the duration of the event is the most important dichotomy affecting the predicate. It is an all-pervasive dichotomy, affecting the verb root that is selected in a particular
instance, and also the prenuclear and postnuclear components of the predicate used in that instance. The dichotomy is similar to Comrie’s perfective–imperfective dichotomy:

...perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation.
(1976:16)

It seems better in Yele, however, to retain the terms ‘punctiliar’ and ‘continuous’, to avoid any suggestion that Yele has a Perfect tense. Furthermore, Yele maintains the continuous–punctiliar distinction in the habitual mood as well as the indicative, but Comrie’s scheme appears to regard habituals as necessarily imperfective (1976:25, Table 1).

Examples (6) and (7) illustrate the effects of duration on Yele predcations.

    eg₄ CT-PI.PST.3.SB break T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF  
    They broke the egg (today).  (punctiliar transitive)

   b.  [Yi ndē]A kī pwa₃ ngmē.  
    their firewood CT pwa₃ break T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF  
    They were getting their firewood (today).  (continuous transitive)

    already CT-PI.PST.3.SB wash.FOL IT-PI.PRX.PL.SB  
    They have already washed (today.)  (punctiliar intransitive)

   b.  [Dpodo-mbi:y]elM kī dpo₃ tē.  
    work-adverbialiser CT work T.IND.PRX.PL.SB  
    They were working hard (today).  (continuous intransitive)

Most Yele verbs have both continuous and punctiliar roots, such as the verb ‘break’ in example (6), where pwa₃ is the continuous root, and pwa₃ is a punctiliar root. Example (6a) describes a momentary action, while example (6b) describes an activity with focus on its duration. Kpē₃ in (7a) is a punctiliar root, describing the complete action of washing. Its continuous equivalent is kuku.

(8)  [Dye ghi daadīl]T kī kuku tē.  
    time piece long CT wash.T.IND.PRX.PL.SB  
    They were swimming for a long time (today).  (continuous intransitive)

Since most verbs have both punctiliar and continuous roots, the speaker can choose to represent each event in a continuous or punctiliar form, as illustrated by the next two examples.

(9)  a.  D:a peēdī,  
    PI.PST.1SG.SB.CLS pull.PCT

   b.  nī vyee,  
    CT-PI.PST.1SG.SB hiting

    life PI.PST.1SG.SB.NEG. took.REM  
    I pulled (the big shark) in,  
    I was hitting it (with my bushknife),  
    but I didn’t kill it (lit. didn’t take its life).
Despite all the hitting with the bushknife (nǐ vyee in (9)), the shark resisted the fisherman's attempts to kill it. In contrast, quick death came with a single blow in vyā 'hit' in example (10):

(10) a. [Kê kn:ää ngē]I vyā,
pole butt I hit.REM
b. [mbwámē]A a chápwo,
neck CLS cut.REM
c. [mbodo]A a ngēëdī.
head CLS took.REM
He hit (his nephew) with the butt of the pole,
cut his neck,
and took up his head.

The continuous root of a verb is also used as a nominal item, to name the event. When used this way, the object affected by the event can be made explicit, but the Agent of the action cannot be specified. Examples (11) and (12) below illustrate the verb 'hit', whose punctiliar root is vy:a and whose continuous root is vyee. In example (12), vyee is used as a nominal item. (Examples (11) and (12) can be seen in their wider context in text (a) in §2.4, where they are sentences 9 and 10a respectively.)

(11) [U kuwō dini ghi ngē]T w-a-nyi vy:a,
its after time piece Time D-FUT-2SG.SB hit
After that you ram it (the copra).

(12) [U vyee tēdē]L [km:ii]A w-a-nyi ghodo, ...
hits hitting place coconut D-FUT-2SG.SB gather
You carry the copra to its ramming place...

In example (12), the object of vyee is expressed pronominally, so the third person singular possessive form is used. A noun as object is illustrated in example (13):

(13) [Mbwēmē pīpī tēdē]L n:aa lépī.
pig eating place CL.IM.FUT.1SG.SB going
I'm going to the pig feast.

Although most Yele verbs have both punctiliar and continuous roots, a small set of continuous intransitive verb roots have no punctiliar counterparts. The root dpodo 'working' in example (7b) is one such root. Some others are:

kmaapī dining
mbē crying
ng:aa listening

When the speaker wishes to portray such a continuous event with a punctiliar aspect, referring to the event in its entirety, he can punctiliarise it with mb:anē ‘do punctually’.

(14) [A ka]S dē ng:aa mb:anē.
1SG.DEP.PN to PI.IM.PST.3.SB listening PCT.IS
He obeyed me (lit. listened to me).

To portray the inception of a continuous event, the continuous verb root is used with the appropriate form of pwapī 'breaking'.
(15) [Mbē]ₐ a puwā.  
crying CLS broke.REM  
He started (lit. broke out) crying (before yesterday).

There is a small set of verbs of motion in which the punctiliar root is used to portray an event actually taking place at the moment of speech, or an event soon to take place. The fact that a punctiliar root is used in the domain of the continuous is marked by an anomalous set of predicate postnuclei:

- singular subject: knī (normally used with PI.PRX.DU.SB)
- dual subject: knopwo (normally used with PI.REM.DU.SB)
- plural subject: dniye (normally used with PI.REM.PL.SB)

The punctiliar roots most commonly used in a continuous way are kee ‘come/go up/in’ whose normal continuous equivalent is koko ‘coming/going up/in’, lōo ‘cross over’ (normal continuous equivalent lōōlōo) and pwiyü ‘come’, for which I have never heard a continuous equivalent. The following examples illustrate the fact that kee, lōo and pwiyü are essentially punctiliar roots:

boat morning PI.IM.PST.3.SB.CLS come.in  
The boat came in this morning.

today PI.IM.PST.3.SB cross.over IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB  
They went over the ridge today.

c. A pwiyü cho.  
CLS come IT.PCT.IMP.2DU.SB  
Come here (dual).

The following examples illustrate the use of these punctiliar roots with continuous force, marked by the anomalous predicate postnuclei.

(17) a. [Daa kēmakēma]ₐ nī-nī pwiyü knī.  
NEG delayed ‘basic’.1SG.SB-CLS come IT.P->C.SG.SB  
I’ll be coming (to you) soon.

b. [Nkēlī]ₐ kë-yedë kee knī.  
boat CT-3SG.SB.that.CLS come.in IT.P->C.SG.SB  
The boat is coming in.

c. [Kaawa mupwo-knī]ₐ kë-yedë pwiyü dniye.  
Kaawa ASS.son-some CT-3SG.SB.that.CLS come IT.P->C.SG.SB  
Kaawa and his family are coming.

2.1.2 MOOD

I am using the term ‘mood’ to refer to a fuzzy parameter along which Yele makes three structural distinctions, based on the type of speech act and the specificity of the action. These distinctions are marked in the verbal prenucleus and postnucleus, and even affect the verb root with some verbs. From the perspective of speech act, Yele makes only one major distinction, namely that between informational speech and commands. Questions use the same verb roots and exactly the same prenuclear and postnuclear components as do
statements. Imperatives differ markedly in form from statements and questions. (Yes–no questions differ from statements in intonation, and content questions contain a question word. Otherwise they are the same as statements.) Thus Yele distinguishes morphologically between informational speech and imperatival speech.

Within informational speech, Yele distinguishes between reference to specific events in the past, present or future, as opposed to habitual events that people perform. The reference to specific events is termed the indicative mood in this paper, while the reference to habitual events is the habitual mood. Table 2.1.2.1 shows these distinctions diagrammatically.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.1.2.1: Parameters along which Yele moods are distinguished</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>![Diagram showing mood distinctions]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The term 'imperative' is used for first person and third person forms as well as for second person forms, as imperatival forms with all three persons of subject share two features in common:

1. All imperatival forms with punctiliar events have a tense distinction between commands or suggestions to be carried out immediately and those to be deferred until a later time. (See §2.1.3 below.)

2. All immediate imperatival forms with punctiliar events have a zero pronominal. (See Table 2.1.5.2 below.)

The morphological differences between the moods are difficult to characterise, because of the portmanteau representation of a number of parameters at once. The following examples illustrate the differences. The details are presented in §2.1.4 and §2.1.5 below.

Continuous intransitive:

(18) a. [Dpodo-mbiy;e]M a dpodo té, work-adverbialiser PRES working IT.CI.PRX.PL.SB They are working hard. (indicative)

b. [Dpodo-mbiy;e]M a dpodo nyédi, work-adverbialiser C.HAB.PRX.3SB working C.HAB.PRX.PL.SB They work hard. (habitual)

c. [Dpodo-mbiy;e]M dny:oo dpodo, work-adverbialiser C.IMP.3PL.SB working They must work hard. (imperative)
Continuous transitive:

(19) a. [Yi ndê]ₐ a pwapî ngmê.
their firewood PRES breaking T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
They are getting their firewood. (indicative)

b. [Yi ndê]ₐ a pwapî ngôpu.
their firewood C.HAB.PRX.3.SB breaking T.C.HAB.PRX.3SG.O.PF
They get their firewood. (habitual)

c. [Yi ndê]ₐ dny:oo pwapî.
their firewood C.IMP.3PL.SB breaking
They must keep getting their firewood. (imperative)

Punctiliar intransitive:

(20) a. [Ngomo k:oo]ᵣₐ dê kee dmi.
house inside PI.1M.PST.3.SB go.in IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
They went into the house (today). (indicative)

b. [Nkéli]ₐ dpî kee dmi.
boat PCT.HAB.3.SB go.in IT.PCT.HAB.PL.SB
The boats go in. (habitual)

c. [Ngomo k:oo]ᵣₐ kee dniye.
house inside go.in IT.PCT.IMP.3PL.SB
They must go into the house. (imperative)

Punctiliar transitive:

food there PI.1M.PST.3.SB eat T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
They ate the food there (today). (indicative)

food there PCT.HAB.3.SB eat T.PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF
They eat the food there. (habitual)

c. [Nte]ᵣₐ ma y:ce.
food eat T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O,3PL.SB
They must eat the food. (imperative)

Examples 20 and 21 show that, for punctiliar verbs, the postnucleus of the habitual is identical to that of the indicative in the 'proximal' tenses. (See §2.1.3.) This is true for all person and number categories of subject and object.

2.1.3 TENSE

In the indicative mood, six tenses are distinguished for continuous events, but only four for punctiliar events. Punctiliar verb roots cannot be manifested in the immediate future and present tenses.

This section outlines the ways in which the tenses are distinguished. Sections 2.1.4 to 2.1.6 give further details.
(1) Future tense

In the indicative mood, future prenuclear components are prefixed with \textit{a-} ‘future’ and optionally with \textit{w-} ‘definite situation’. (See §2.1.7.5 also.)

(22) a. \textit{W-a-dnyi mbwolimbwolî.} \newline D-FUT-CI.DST.3PL.SB hiding \newline They (plural) will be hiding (tomorrow). \newline (continuous)

b. \textit{W-a mbwolî dmi.} \newline D-FUT hide IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB \newline They (plural) will hide (tomorrow). \newline (punctiliar)

The future tense with continuous events covers the period tomorrow and later, but with punctiliar events, it covers any time after the present moment. It is also used with a second person singular subject to express a general procedure that people follow.

(23) \textit{[Dyuul]}\textsubscript{A} \textit{a-nyi-nê pyidu té.} \newline heap FUT-PI.2SG.SB-CLS stand.up T.IND.PRX.3PL.O.MF \newline One gathers them (coconuts) into heaps. \newline (lit. You (singular) will stand up heaps.) \newline (text (b), clause 2c)

(2) Immediate future versus present tense

Immediate future and present forms with third person subjects usually cannot be distinguished:

(24) \textit{A mbwolimbwolî té.} \newline CI.PRES/IM.FUT.3.SB hiding IT.CI.PRX.PL.SB \newline They are/will soon be hiding. \newline (continuous)

Some people, however, mark continuous indicative present tense intransitive verbs with third person singular subjects by changing the postnucleus from the usual \textit{Ø} to \textit{nê} (25a). Similarly, equative statements are sometimes marked with \textit{nê} (25b).

(25) a. \textit{[Daa yoo ngmîdi]}\textsubscript{A} \textit{[y:i]}\textsubscript{L} \textit{a kwo} \newline NEG group one there CI.PRES.3.SB standing \newline \textit{nê}. \newline IT.CI.PRES.3SG.SB \newline There are many groups of people there. \newline (A characteristic Yele understatement – lit. Not one group is standing there.)

b. \textit{[Gregory]}\textsubscript{TOP} \textit{[ala nê]}\textsubscript{COM.} \newline Gregory here PRES \newline Gregory is here.

Punctiliar events do not occur with present or immediate future tense, as stated above.

With first and second person subjects, present and immediate future forms can be distinguished:

(26) a. \textit{N:aa mbwolîmbwolî.} \newline CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB hiding \newline I’ll be hiding soon. \newline (immediate future)
b. *A-ni mbwolimbwoli.
   CI.PRES-1SG.SB hiding
   I’m hiding (at this moment). (present)

Present tense forms are rare. The immediate future is frequently used for events that are actually happening as well as for events that will happen soon.

(3) Immediate past and near past tenses

The prunuclear components of immediate past and near past predicates are in a reciprocal relationship with duration. The immediate past continuous prunuclei (27) are identical with the near past punctiliar prunuclei (28). The immediate past punctiliar prunuclei have a stop feature added to them (*dë in (29)), and the near past continuous prunuclei used with third person subjects also contain a stop feature (*dnyi in (30)):

(27) *Nmi mbwolimbwoli té.
   CI.IM.PST.1PL.SB hiding IT.CI.PRX.PL.SB
   We were hiding (earlier today). (continuous immediate past)

(28) *Nmi mbwolí dmi.
   PI.NR.PST.1PL.SB hide IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
   We hid (yesterday). (punctiliar near past)

(29) *Dé mbwolí dmi.
   PI.IM.PST.3SB hide IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
   They hid (earlier today). (punctiliar immediate past)

(30) *Dnyi mbwolimbwoli.
   CI.NR.PST.3PL.SB hiding
   They were hiding (yesterday). (continuous near past)

Near past tense is used for events that happened yesterday. Immediate past is used for events that happened ‘earlier today’, but also for punctiliar events that took place earlier than today, even into the far past, if the present effects of the events are in focus (Comrie’s ‘perfect’). In example (31) below, the fire was into the domain of the remote past by the time the news travelled right around Rossel, but the news is conveyed in the immediate past to show that its effects remain.

(31) a. [Pi yintómu y:oo]E ny:ee ngópu,
    person all PL.E hear T.PI.REM.3SG.O.PF
b. apë, [N:ââ Teepwe yî p:o,i]L
    they said N:ââ Teepwe their home
c. apë, [NdapîA ndê ngê]E dë
    they said shell.money fire SG.E PI.IM.PST.SG.SB eat
    Everyone heard that at N:ââ and Teepwe’s village fire had destroyed the shell money.

(4) Discourse function of immediate past tense

In a narrative set in the remote past, the immediate past is used for several punctiliar clauses at the climax of the narrative, if the emotive content of the story warrants it. (Many stories are told without any shift to the immediate past.) For example, in Gregory Mepé’s narrative of his trip to Port Moresby and years of work there, he switches to the immediate past at the point where he is met at the wharf and taken to the place where he is to live and
work. In Kadawa’s story of a trip to T:am for a bride-price ceremony, she switches to the immediate past for the distribution of the shell wealth, then back to the remote past again. This switch seems to mark the focus of the story. It is signalled by using a continuous future prenucleus with a punctiliar verb root and postnucleus.

(32) [Teeetee mbwémi kni y:oo]E—
uncle  ASS.brother some  PL.E

[kē]A  a-dî  chāpwo ngmē.  shell.money FUT-CL.FUT.3SG.SB  cut  T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
My uncles cut the (rope of) shell money.

Longacre (1972:135f) reports a similar tense shift marking the climaxes of legends in Fore and Waffa, Highland languages of Papua New Guinea.

(5) Remote past tense

The one tense remaining to be described here is the remote past – events that took place before yesterday.

(33) a.  Dnye  mbwolimbwoli.
CI.REM.3PL.SB  hiding
They were hiding (before yesterday).  (continuous remote past)

b.  Mbwoli dniye.
hide  IT.PL.REM.PL.SB
They hid (before yesterday).  (punctiliar remote past)

(6) System of tense relationships

The third person examples above that involve mbwolimbwoli ‘hiding’ are repeated without glosses in Table 2.1.3.1 to facilitate comparison.

| TABLE 2.1.3.1: INTRANSITIVE PREDICATES  
ILLUSTRATING THE INTERACTION OF DURATION AND TENSE |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>Punctiliar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>a-dnyi mbwolimbwoli 0</td>
<td>a-Ø  mbwoli dmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immediate future</td>
<td>a mbwolimbwoli té</td>
<td>non-existent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>a mbwolimbwoli té</td>
<td>non-existent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immediate past</td>
<td>Ø mbwolimbwoli té</td>
<td>dê  mbwoli dmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near past</td>
<td>dnyi mbwolimbwoli 0</td>
<td>Ø  mbwoli dmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remote past</td>
<td>dnye mbwolimbwoli 0</td>
<td>Ø  mbwoli dniye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that with continuous aspect, postnuclear té is used only with the three tenses closest to the speech act: present, immediate future and immediate past. Similarly, with punctiliar aspect, postnuclear dmi is used with the three tenses closest to the speech act: future, immediate past and near past. This pattern is also evident with transitive predicate postnuclei, so for each duration the three tenses closest to the speech act are termed ‘proximal’. Remote past differs clearly from the proximal tenses, not only in peripheral components of the predicate, but also in verb root selection, as shown in sections 2.1.4 to 2.1.6 below. The
remaining two tenses used with continuous aspect (future and near past) are termed ‘distal’. Their peripheral predicate components are identical except that the future is marked with a- ‘future’ to distinguish it from near past. Table 2.1.3.2 represents this division of tenses diagrammatically.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2.1.3.2: YELE TENSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONTINUOUS ASPECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-Remote remote past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-Remote-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUNCTILIAR ASPECT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) Transitive verb tense marking

Turning now to the equivalent transitive verb ‘hide something’, the punctiliar root is ngmo, while ngm:\å is used with continuous aspect. The transitive forms use the same prenuclei as the intransitive predicates do, but the postnuclei are different. While intransitive postnuclei divide first by duration then by mood and tense and finally by the number of the subject (see Table 2.1.6.1), transitive postnuclei divide first on the person of the object, then on duration, mood and tense and finally on the number of the object and the person and number of the subject. (See Table 2.1.6.2.) The postnuclei are discussed in detail in §2.1.6. Table 2.1.3.3 gives the transitive equivalents of the forms in Table 2.1.3.1, for instances with third person plural subject and third person singular object (such as ‘They will be hiding it’).

| TABLE 2.1.3.3: TRANSITIVE predicates  
ILLUSTRATING THE INTERACTION OF DURATION AND TENSE |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immediate future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immediate past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remote past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(8) Tenses in imperative mood

In the imperative mood, punctiliar verbs display two tenses, an imperative to be obeyed immediately and a deferred imperative, which is not to be obeyed until a later time. Continuous imperatives, however, show no distinctions in tense. Imperatives with second or third person subjects have a prenucleus of *dpî* if the action is not to be performed immediately, compared with zero prenucleus when the action is to be performed straight away.

(34) a. Kwidî.
wash.PCT.IMP.2SG.SB
Wash yourself. (immediate intransitive imperative)
b. Dpî kwidi.
deferral.2,3.SB wash(PCT.IMP.2SG.SB)
Wash yourself (later on). (deferred intransitive imperative)

(35) a. Mâ ngî.
eat T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O,2SG.SB
Eat it. (immediate transitive imperative)
b. Dpî ma ngî.
deferral.2,3.SB eat T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O,2SG.SB
Eat it (later on). (deferred transitive imperative)

First person imperatives are deferred with *paa* instead of the *dpî* used with second and third person imperatives.

(36) a. Lèe knî.
go.PCT.FOL IT.PCT.IMP.1DU.SB
Let’s go. (immediate intransitive invitation)
b. Paa lee knî.
deferral.1.SB go.PCT.FOL IT.PCT.IMP.1DU.SB
Let’s go (later on). (deferred intransitive invitation)

(9) Tenses in habitual mood

In the habitual mood, continuous verbs show a contrast between events that habitually take place at present (designated as proximal tense) and events which used to take place in the past but which do not take place at present (designated as distal tense). There are no future habituals in Yele. Punctiliar events have no distinctions of tense in the habitual mood. (See examples (20b) and (21b).

The predicate prenuclei used with continuous habitual events taking place at present (proximal tense – see (37b)) are identical to the prenuclei used with immediate future indicative events (a proximal tense – see (37a)), while the distal habitual prenuclei (38b) are derived largely from the distal indicative prenuclei (38a) with the addition of the suffix -mo ‘distal habitual’. The details are presented in §2.1.5.

CL.IM.FUT.1SG.SB going
I’m going (soon or now). (immediate future indicative)
b.  \[N:\text{aa} \quad \text{lēpī} \quad \text{yēdi}\].
C.HAB.PRX.1SG.SB going IT.C.HAB.PRX.SG.SB
I go (habitually).  (proximal habitual)

(38)  
a.  \[Nī \quad \text{lēpī}].
CI.DST.1SG.SB going
I was going (yesterday).  (distal indicative)

b.  \[Nī-mo \quad \text{lēpī}].
1SG.SB-C.HAB.DST. going
I used to go.  (distal habitual)

(10) Summary of tenses

Table 2.1.3.4 displays diagrammatically the tense contrasts maintained in each mood. A 0 indicates that that tense–mood combination does not occur, while a 1 indicates that it does. The horizontal lines show the distinctions that are made in Yele.

| TABLE 2.1.3.4: TENSE DISTINCTIONS MAINTAINED IN EACH MOOD |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----|-----|
| | Indicative | M O O D     | Habitant | Imperative |
| Tense            | C | PCT | C | PCT | C | PCT |
| future           | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| immediate future | 1 | 0 |    |    |    |    |
| present          | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |    |    |
| immediate past   | 1 | 1 |    |    | 0 | 0 |
| near past        | 1 | 1 |    |    |    |    |
| remote past      | 1 | 1 |    |    |    |    |

2.1.4 THE PREDICATE NUCLEUS

The predicate nucleus consists of the verb root and sometimes an incorporated noun.

(1) Noun incorporation

Noun incorporation is a flexible and ongoing process in Yele, and is used to refer to an action affecting a generic noun in the role of Patient or Goal. The noun incorporated must be non-specific, and the resulting predicate is intransitive and continuous. As Mithun (1984:849) has pointed out, the noun cannot co-occur with deictics or numerals. Noun incorporation in Yele matches her type 1.1 classification, composition by juxtaposition:

...a V and its direct object are simply juxtaposed to form an especially tight bond. The V and N remain separate words phonologically; but as in all compounding, the N loses its syntactic status as an argument of the sentence, and the VN unit functions as an intransitive predicate.

Example (39a) is typical of noun incorporation, while (39b) shows how the noun cannot be incorporated if specified in some way, in this instance by a possessive pronoun.

(39) a.  \[Nī-mo \quad \text{mbwaa} \quad \text{vy:ēmi}\].
CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB-MOT water filling
I'm going water-fetching.
b. [Yi mbwaa]A cha a vy:ēmī. their water C.IMP.2SG.SB.CLS CLS filling
Fetch their water.

Many verbs with incorporated nouns represent “activities recognized sufficiently often to be considered name-worthy in their own right” (Mithun 1984:848). Some examples are:

(40) a. tpīle ghēēghēē
thing washing
plate-washing

b. kpīdi ghēēghēē
clothing washing
clothes-washing

c. kmīi chap
coconut splitting
coconut-splitting

d. kāāmi dōdō
nut.sp. cracking
kāāmi-nut-cracking

e. te yāmuyāmu
fish following
fish-spearing

Others seem to be coined afresh by speakers as needed:

(41) Nmee-n:aa yi:pāā paapaa.
CL.REM.1PL.SB-MOT tree.log pulling
We were pulling logs.

bishop my to CT-mentioned.3.SB.CLS paper sending
The bishop keeps sending me letters.

Both examples (41) and (42) incidentally also illustrate the incorporation of compound nouns.

While noun incorporation usually involves transitive verb roots, there is a small set of intransitive verb roots which incorporate a Goal, along with the Goal marker, <ka>. Example (43) shows the root vyuwo ‘look’ with its goal not incorporated, and (44) shows two goals typically incorporated with this verb.

(43) [Lukwe ka]G nmye vyuwo té?
what G CL.IM.FUT.2PL.SB looking IT.CI.PRX.PL.SB
What are you (plural) looking for?

(44) a. A tp:ee ka vyuwo nyēdī.
C.HAB.PRX.3.SB child G looking IT.HAB.PRX.PL.SB
They look after children /do child-care.

b. Wumī kē:ndapī ka vyuwo yēdī.
C.HAB.PRX.3.SB.MOT shell.money G looking IT.HAB.PRX.SG.SB
He (the bridegroom) goes looking for shell money.
Example (45) below shows a verb with incorporated Goal, which does not occur in un-incorporated form. It names the traditional activity of cooking food in a ground oven, which has been replaced to quite some extent by cooking in store-bought pots. Perhaps in the past it could be un-incorporated.

(45) $K-a$ nté ka chaa té.
    CT-CI.PRES.3.SB food G cooking IT.CI.PRX.PL.SB
They are food-baking.

(2) Uniform verbs

As mentioned at the beginning of §2.1, many verbs express the mood, aspect and tense by using suppletive forms, but there is a small set of verbs, referred to as ‘uniform verbs’, which use the same root for all combinations of mood, aspect and tense. An example is mbêpê ‘run away / running’.

    boat CT-CI.PRES.3.SB running
    The boat is going along.

b. $[P:o]I$ mè mbêpê wo.
    home again run.away IT.PI.REM.SG.SB
    She ran back home (to her parents).

(3) Effect of duration on verb root selection

Apart from the few ‘uniform verbs’ mentioned above, the continuous–punctiliar dichotomy causes changes to the verb root used in any predication. Except for two existential verbs, continuous verbs use the same root for all combinations of mood, tense and participants in the predication. Punctiliar verbs, however, fall into several classes, where the mood, tense and the participants in the predication are intersecting parameters that affect the selection of the verb root. The following sections detail the effects these factors have.

(4) Regular verb root selection

The continuous roots of regular verbs are formed by reduplicating the punctiliar roots. Compare examples (47) to (50).

Intransitive punctiliar:

(47) a. $Dé$ mbwolî dmi.
    PL.IM.PST.3.SB hide IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
    They hid (today).

b. $Mbwolî$ dniye.
    hide IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
    They hid (before yesterday).

Intransitive continuous:

(48) a. $Kì$ mbwolîmbwolî té.
    CT hiding IT.CI.PRX.PL.SB
    They were hiding (today).

b. $Dnye$ mbwolîmbwolî.
    CI.REM.3.SB hiding
    They were hiding (before yesterday).
Transitive punctiliar:

(49) a. Dé dnyinè t:oo.
   PI.IM.PST.3.SB carry.PCT T.IND.PRX.3PL.O.PF
   They carried them (today).

b. Dnyinè tumo.
   carry.PCT T.PI.REM.3PL.O.PF
   They carried them (before yesterday).

Transitive continuous:

(50) a. Dnyinèdnyinè t:oo.
   carrying T.IND.PRX.3PL.O.PF
   They were carrying them (today).

b. Dnye dnyinèdnyinè dé.
   CI.REM.3PL.SB carrying T.CI.NON.PRX.3PL.O
   They were carrying them (before yesterday).

Some other examples of regular verbs forming the continuous root by reduplication of the punctiliar root are given in Table 2.1.4.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2.1.4.1: CONTINUOUS ROOT FORMATION IN REGULAR VERBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punctiliar root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>póó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yéé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chedè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d:uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kmongo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwadakwada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>póópóó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yééyéé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chedèchedè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d:uud:uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kmongokmongo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpakakpaka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) Near-regular verbs

A number of verbs are regular except that the continuous root is not simply a reduplication of the punctiliar root. See Table 2.1.4.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2.1.4.2: IRREGULAR CONTINUOUS ROOT FORMATION IN VERBS WITH ONLY ONE PUNCTILIAR ROOT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punctiliar root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kéé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyódu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>téédí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kééké</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyépi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teetee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) ‘Paranoid’ verbs

A class of punctiliar verbs can be termed ‘paranoid’, because they are sensitive to what follows them in the predicate. One root is used if the postnucleus is zero ((51a), (52a) and (53a)), but a different verb root (termed the ‘followed root’) is used where the postnucleus is non-zero ((51b), (52b) and (53b)).
(51) a.  
Dé  lē.  
PI.IM.PST.3.SB  go.PCT  
He went (today).

b.  
Dé  lee  dmi.  
PI.IM.PST.3.SB  go.FOL  IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB  
They went (today).

(52) a.  
Dé  kudu.  
PI.IM.PST.3.SB  wash.IT.PCT  
He washed (today).

b.  
Dé  kpēē  dmi.  
PI.IM.PST.3.SB  wash.IT.FOL  IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB  
They washed (today).

(53) a.  
my clothing  PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB  wash.T.PCT  
I washed my garment (today).

b.  
my clothing  PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB  wash.T.FOL  T.IND.PRX.PL.O.MF  
I washed my clothes (today).

(7) ‘Weak’ versus ‘Strong’ verbs

Another dichotomy affecting punctiliar verb root selection is between ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ verbs. The dichotomy is only relevant in the remote past tense. With remote past intransitive verbs with singular subject, strong verbs change to the strong root with zero postnucleus (54c), but weak verbs use the normal punctiliar root or the ‘followed root’ as appropriate (see ‘Paranoid’ verbs above) with a postnucleus of wo (55c):

Strong intransitive verb:

(54) a.  
Dé  pw:onu.  
PI.IM.PST.3.SB  die.PCT  
He died (today).

b.  
Dé  pw:oo  dmi.  
PI.IM.PST.3.SB  die.FOL  IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB  
They died (today).

c.  
Pwene.  
died.REM  
He died (before yesterday).

d.  
Pw:oo  dniye.  
die.FOL  IT.PI.REM.PL.SB  
They died (before yesterday).

Weak intransitive verb:

(55) a.  
Dé  kudu.  
PI.IM.PST.3.SB  wash.IT.PCT  
He washed (today).
b. Dé *kpee* dmi.
   PL.IM.PST.3.SB wash.IT.FOL IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
   They washed (today).

c. *Kpee* wo.
   wash.IT.FOL PI.REM.SG.SB
   He washed (before yesterday).

d. *Kpee* dnieye.
   wash.IT.FOL IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
   They washed (before yesterday).

With transitive verbs in the remote past tense where the object is third person singular and the subject is monofocal (i.e. first person or singular), strong verbs use the strong root with zero postnucleus (56c), but weak verbs use the normal punctiliar root or the ‘followed’ root as appropriate (see ‘Paranoid’ verbs above) with a postnucleus of ngê (57c).

**Strong transitive verb:**

(56) a. Dé *vy:a.*
   PL.IM.PST.3.SB hit.PCT
   He killed it (today).

b. Dé *vy:ta* té.
   PL.IM.PST.3.SB hit.FOL T.IND.PRX.3PL.O.MF
   He killed them (today).

c. *Vy:ga.*
   hit.REM
   He killed it (before yesterday).

**Weak transitive verb:**

(57) a. Dé *kâa.*
   PL.IM.PST.3.SB stand.up.T.PCT
   He stood it up (today).

b. Dé *kaa* té.
   PL.IM.PST.3.SB stand.up.FOL T.IND.PRX.3PL.O.MF
   He stood them up (today).

c. *Kaa* ngê.
   stand.up.FOL PI.REM.3SG.O.MF
   He stood it up (before yesterday).

(8) Interaction between duration and transitivity

While transitive verbs are generally distinct from intransitive verbs, and both can be either continuous or punctiliar, there is a small set of verbs in which there is an interaction between transitivity and duration. The verb ‘write/carve’ is a suitable example of the verbs in this set. The transitive verb d:ée ‘write something’ is completely regular, using the root d:ée for all punctiliar predications (58a), and the reduplicated form d:éed:ée for all continuous predications (58b). The intransitive verb ‘writing’, however, is also d:ée, but in this case the root is continuous (58c). As is to be expected, the intransitive form shows focus on the event, with no way of specifying the object being carved or written. There is no punctiliar intransitive verb ‘write’. 
(58) a.  

\[ \text{D:êtû tômu.} \]
write T.PL.REM.3PL.O.PF
They wrote them (before yesterday).

(punctiliar transitive)

b.  

\[ \text{Dnye d:ëd:ëd dé.} \]
CI.REM.3PL.SB writing T.CI.3PL.O
They were writing them (before yesterday).

(continuous transitive)

c.  

\[ \text{Dnye d:ëë.} \]
CI.REM.3PL.SB writing
They were writing (before yesterday).

(continuous intransitive)

(9) Existential verb root selection

As mentioned above, there are two existential verbs which have suppletive roots. They have the meanings ‘be sitting’ and ‘be standing’. The third existential verb, ‘be hanging’, has only one root, t:a. Existential predications in Yele must use one of these three verbs, which must agree with the class of the participant acting as subject of the predication (i.e. the entity whose existence is asserted). The classes are predominantly semantic: trees and mountains stand, people and shell coins sit while boats and roads hang. Of course the newcomer to Rossel Island finds some seeming anomalies, such as

(59)  

\[ [\text{Ngwolo dë}]_{A} \text{ daa kwo mo.} \]
your.eye dual CI.PRES.3.SB.NEG standing IT.CI.PRX.DU.SB
You must be blind! (lit. You haven’t got any eyes.)

(60)  

\[ [\text{Tuu}]_{A} \text{ a kwo.} \]
smell PRES standing
It has a smell.

Table 2.1.4.3 shows the factors which condition the root in each meaning set that will be selected.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2.1.4.3: EXISTENTIAL VERB ROOT SELECTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mood and tense:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of SB.:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL    pyede    wee    t:a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya    kwo    t:a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND.PRX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit    stand    hang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG,DU  tôô    kwo    t:a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) Punctiliar imperatives

Mood affects the selection of the verb root for some punctiliar verbs, in which the second person singular imperative consists of just a suppletive root, with zero postnucleus. (Compare (61a) and (61b), and (62a), (62b) and (62c).)
(61) a. Lili.
go.away.2SG.IMP  
Be off with you.

b. Lee  cho.  
go.FOL. PCT.IMP.2DU.SB.  
Be off with you (dual).

stand.up.2SG.IMP  
Stand it up.

b. Kaa  dé.  
stand.up.FOL. PCT.IMP.3DU.O,2SG.SB  
Stand them (dual) up.

c. Kaa  yó.  
stand.up.FOL. T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O,2PL.SB  
(you, plural) Stand it up.

(11) Summary of verb root variations

Table 2.1.4.4 brings together a sample of verbs to illustrate the kinds of changes that take place between one root and another. An equals sign (=) indicates that the root is identical with the root in the column to its left.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Continuous root</th>
<th>Punctiliar root</th>
<th>‘Followed’ root</th>
<th>Remote past root</th>
<th>Punctiliar imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fall</td>
<td>ghayghay</td>
<td>ghay</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attach to</td>
<td>kekekele</td>
<td>kali</td>
<td>kaa</td>
<td>loo</td>
<td>lili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>lépí</td>
<td>lé</td>
<td>lee</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>kwidi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash</td>
<td>kuku</td>
<td>kudu</td>
<td>kpéé</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>pwene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>pwopwo</td>
<td>pw:ono</td>
<td>pw:oo</td>
<td>gho</td>
<td>ghidi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go down</td>
<td>ghípíghípí</td>
<td>ghípí</td>
<td>ghépí</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>pyodo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>become _</td>
<td>pyodopyodo</td>
<td>pyódí</td>
<td>pyaa</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>pyédi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carry it</td>
<td>dnyinédnyinè</td>
<td>dnyinè</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see it</td>
<td>mumu</td>
<td>m:uu</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>módu</td>
<td>mwini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash it</td>
<td>ghëéghëéé</td>
<td>ghodo</td>
<td>ghëé</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat it</td>
<td>pipí</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>ndíi</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand up</td>
<td>kapi</td>
<td>káá</td>
<td>kaa</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>kédi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make be _</td>
<td>pyépi</td>
<td>pyódu</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit it</td>
<td>vyee</td>
<td>vya</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>vyá</td>
<td>vya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put it</td>
<td>t:emì</td>
<td>t:oo</td>
<td>t:ee</td>
<td>t:àngo</td>
<td>téní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blow it</td>
<td>wupí</td>
<td>wuú</td>
<td>wëë</td>
<td>wuwo</td>
<td>widi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(12) Roots for ‘give’

The verb ‘give’ is a special case, as the verb root used depends on the person of the recipient (Goal). Perhaps it should be regarded as two different verbs, ‘give to a third person’ and ‘give to a first or second person’. Table 2.1.4.5 outlines the different roots meaning ‘give’ that are used.
### Table 2.1.4.5: Verb Roots Meaning ‘Give’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Punctiliar</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Continuous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y:oo 'he gave it to him (yesterday)'</td>
<td>yemĩ ‘he was giving it to him (today)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y:ee dé ‘he gave them (DU) to him (yesterday)’</td>
<td>yemĩ dé ‘he was giving them (DU) to him (today)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y:àngo ‘he gave it to him (REM)’</td>
<td>doo yemĩ ‘he was giving it to him (REM)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y:ee doo ‘he gave them (DU) to him (REM)’</td>
<td>doo yemĩ dé ‘he was giving them (DU) to him (REM)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or 2</td>
<td>kē ‘he gave it to you or me (yesterday)’</td>
<td>kuwo ‘he was giving it to you or me (today)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kē dé ‘he gave them (DU) to you or me (yesterday)’</td>
<td>kuwo dé ‘he was giving them (DU) to you or me (today)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kpo ‘he gave it to you or me (REM)’</td>
<td>doo kuwo ‘he was giving it to you or me (REM)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kē doo ‘he gave them (DU) to you or me (REM)’</td>
<td>doo kuwo dé ‘he was giving them (DU) to you or me (REM)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.1.5 The Predicate Prenucleus

The main factors affecting the predicate prenucleus are:

- duration — continuous or punctiliar (see §2.1.1 above)
- mood — indicative, habitual or imperative (see §2.1.2)
- tense — six tenses in the indicative mood and two in each of habitual and imperative moods (see §2.1.3)
- person — first, second or third person subject
- number — singular, dual or plural subject

The interactions of these parameters are marked by portmanteau morphemes related to the pronouns, as presented in Tables 2.1.5.2 and 2.1.5.3 below, with following discussion. That discussion defers consideration of a number of other factors which affect the prenucleus, such as negation, contrafactual status, motion, included deixtics and reference to one of several objects. All these factors are such that they are only expressed in certain situations and so to simplify the description of the predicate prenucleus, the forms where these factors are not expressed will be used in this section. (These factors are described in detail in §2.1.7.)

The Yele free pronouns are presented in Table 2.1.5.1, for comparison with the prenuclei in Tables 2.1.5.2 and 2.1.5.3.

### Table 2.1.5.1: Free Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that there are no third person pronouns. The plural pronouns share *nm* (a postalveolar nasal continuant with simultaneous bilabial closure).

(1) The punctiliar predicate prenucleus

Table 2.1.5.2 presents the prenuclear forms used with punctiliar events. The forms used in the indicative mood with the near past and remote past tenses are regarded as basic. These differ from the free pronouns only in that the vowels are *i* following a palatalised consonant and *i* elsewhere, and that the second person dual form is not nasalised. From these, the future tense is formed by prefixing *a-* ‘future’. The immediate past indicative is formed from the basic forms by adding a stop feature. The second person singular form *chi* is the orthographic representation of */ti/, which is manifested as an alveopalatal grooved affricate /tʃ/. Punctiliar habitual prenuclei can be regarded as being formed from the indicative immediate past forms with simultaneous bilabial closure added.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Subject person</th>
<th>Number of subject</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>a-ni</em></td>
<td><em>a-nyi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(proximal)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>a-nyi</em></td>
<td><em>a-dpi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;------- a-Ø -------&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>immediate future</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>non-existent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>immediate past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(proximal)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>dī</em></td>
<td><em>dnye</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>chi</em></td>
<td><em>dpi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;------- dē -------&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>near past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(proximal)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
<td><em>dpi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;------- Ø ------&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>remote past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
<td><em>dpi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;------- Ø ------&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Habitual no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distinctions</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>dpi</em></td>
<td><em>dmye</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>dpyi</em></td>
<td><em>dpi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;------- d̆i -------&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>immediate</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>∅ throughout</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deferred</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;------- paa -------&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>&lt;------- d̆i -------&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) The continuous predicate prenucleus

Table 2.1.5.3 presents the prenuclear forms used with continuous events. The ‘basic’ punctiliar forms (near past indicatives) are used with immediate past continuous events. Near past indicative continuous forms are similar to these basic forms, except in the third person. Future continuous forms can be derived from the near past continuous forms by the addition of *a-* ‘future’, just as with punctiliar forms. Present tense continuous forms can also be derived from the ‘basic’ forms by the addition of *a-* ‘present continuous’, except that the first person dual and second person plural forms have *e* rather than *i*. Immediate future forms are further removed from the basic forms. Proximal habitual prenuclei are the same as immediate
future indicative forms. Distal habitual forms can be derived from the near past indicative forms by the addition of -mo ‘distal habitual’, except that the first person dual form is derived from the ‘basic’ counterpart rather than from the near past form, and the third person singular distal habitual is copied from the third person dual form. Continuous imperative prnuclei and remote past indicative prnuclei show less relationship to the ‘basic’ forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Subject person</th>
<th>Number of subject</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>a-ní</td>
<td>a-ny:oo</td>
<td>a-nmí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(distal)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>a-nyi</td>
<td>a-dpí</td>
<td>a-nmyi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>a-di</td>
<td>a-dpí</td>
<td>a-dmyi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>immediate future</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>n:aa</td>
<td>nye</td>
<td>nmo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(proximal)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>nye</td>
<td>dpo</td>
<td>nmye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;-------------------- a ------------------------&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>present</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>a-ní</td>
<td>a-nye</td>
<td>a-nmí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(proximal)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>a-nyi</td>
<td>a-dpí</td>
<td>a-nmye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;------------------- a-Θ ----------------------&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>immediate past</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>nyí</td>
<td>nmí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(proximal)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>nyí</td>
<td>dpí</td>
<td>nmyí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;------------------- Θ ----------------------&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>near past</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>ny:oo</td>
<td>nmí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(distal)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>nyí</td>
<td>dpí</td>
<td>nmyí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>dí</td>
<td>dpí</td>
<td>dnyí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>remote</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>noo</td>
<td>nyipu</td>
<td>nme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>past</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>nyoo</td>
<td>dpímo</td>
<td>nmyee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>doo</td>
<td>dpímo</td>
<td>dnye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>proximal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>n:aa</td>
<td>nye</td>
<td>nmo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>nye</td>
<td>dpo</td>
<td>nmye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;------------------- a ------------------------&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>distal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ní-mo</td>
<td>nyi-mo</td>
<td>nmí-mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(discontinued)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ní-mo</td>
<td>dpí-mo</td>
<td>nmyi-mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;------------------ dpí-mo ------------------&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>&lt;--------- Θ ---------&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>chi</td>
<td>choo</td>
<td>dmyinè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>choo</td>
<td>&lt;------- dny:oo -------&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.6 THE PREDICATE POSTNUCLEUS

In predicate postnuclei, transitivity is the primary dichotomy. Table 2.1.6.1 shows the postnuclei used with intransitive events. Note that intransitive postnuclei reflect first the duration of the event, then its mood and tense and finally the number of the subject. The person of the subject is monitored only in the postnucleus in imperatives.
The punctiliar indicative remote past postnuclei are wo for weak verbs and $\emptyset$ for strong verbs, as illustrated in examples (54c) and (55c) in §2.1.4. Note that the duration dichotomy is neutralised with first person imperatives, as illustrated in examples (63) and (64).

(63) \textit{Lee \ kmèle.}  
go.FOL IT.1PL.SB.IMP  
Let’s go.  

(64) \textit{Kuku \ kmèle.}  
washing IT.1PL.SB.IMP  
Let’s be washing.  

Transitive predicate postnuclei are displayed in Table 2.1.6.2. Note that they reflect first the person of the object, then the duration, mood and tense of the event. After that the person and number of the subject are monitored, as well as the number of the object.
### Table 2.1.6.2: Transitive Predicate Postnuclei

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SP = Subject Person</th>
<th>OP = Object Person</th>
<th>Number of Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n-edi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCT.IMP</td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>ny-edi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>nê-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>nyi-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,2 TMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.REM or C.HAB.PRX</td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>noo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>nyoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>nê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>ngi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.(IND. or HAB).NON.PRX &amp; C.IMP &gt; 2 or 3 SB.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 TMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND.PRX &amp; PCT.HAB</td>
<td>MF (i.e. 1/SG)</td>
<td>ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NF (i.e. other)</td>
<td>ngmé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.REM or C.HAB.PRX</td>
<td>MF (i.e. 1/SG)</td>
<td>ngé/ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NF (i.e. other)</td>
<td>ngópu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU, PL SB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Object</td>
<td></td>
<td>déme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td></td>
<td>dé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU, 2PL</td>
<td></td>
<td>dôô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>déne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>ngé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With first and second person objects, the similarity with the free pronouns (Table 2.1.5.1) can easily be seen. With the third person objects, dual and plural are nearly always marked with forms containing d and t respectively.

(1) Mono focal versus poly focal subject

Many of the forms show a consistent pattern where for any number of object, one form is used if the subject is first person or singular, and a different form is used with other subjects. The forms used with a third person object and indicative proximal events or with punctiliar habituals provide an example of this phenomenon. If the subject is first person or singular, the postnucleus is θ for a singular object, dē for a dual object or tō for a plural object. For subjects other than first person or singular, however, the corresponding forms are ngmē, d:oo and t:oo respectively. Deibler (1964:23) and Young (1964:47-49 and 1971:22-23) have termed these monofocal and poly focal forms in describing Gahuku and Bena-bena respectively, Papuan languages of the New Guinea Highlands. Table 2.1.6.3 highlights this phenomenon, showing how a third person plural object is affected by the person and number of the subject in ‘X ate them (yesterday)’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.1.6.3: Mono focal and Poly focal marking of third person plural objects of ma ‘eat’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the monofocal subjects require the 3PL Object marker té, but the poly focal subjects require t:oo.

Table 2.1.6.4 presents the interaction of tense, mood and aspect with subject forms and with the number of a third person object.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.1.6.4: Mono focal and Poly focal marking of third person objects of transitive verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The postnucleus n̄ḡ/θ used with monofocal subjects is analogous to the wo/θ postnuclei of remote past indicative intransitive verbs with a singular subject. Weak transitive verbs with a third person singular object and a monofocal subject have a postnucleus of n̄ḡe, whereas strong transitive verbs change to the remote past verb root with zero postnucleus. (See examples (56) and (57) in §2.1.4.)
Haiman (1979:898) has subjected Young’s analysis to resegmentation to highlight firstly the occurrence of a glottal stop in dual modal suffixes and secondly the identical marking of first person plural and second person singular. He points out that these two features are typical of a number of languages of the Eastern New Guinea Highlands Stock. It is interesting to note the identity of second and third person dual prenuclei in Yele in continuous non-proximal tenses (Table 2.1.5.3) and with punctiliar habitual forms (Table 2.1.5.2). This identity does not extend to the first person dual forms, however. Another point to note is that where languages of the Eastern New Guinea Highlands Stock have the same modal suffix for second person singular and first person plural, Yele has the same prenuclear component for second person singular and first person dual in continuous habituals, immediate past and immediate future indicatives (Table 2.1.5.3) and in punctiliar indicatives other than those in the immediate past tense (Table 2.1.5.2).

(2) Natural topic hierarchy

The effect of the natural topic hierarchy (see Dixon 1976:7f, 112-200) can be seen in Table 2.1.6.2, in that first and second person objects are important enough for the free pronouns to have a strong influence on the predicate postnuclei used with these objects. With third person objects, however, the person and number of the subject are increasingly important, until the point is reached in the last three lines of Table 2.1.6.2, where for third person singular objects of punctiliar imperatives, the person and number of the subject are almost completely distinguished.

2.1.7 SECONDARY FACTORS

That brings to a close the discussion of the basic structures in the predicate. There are a number of other factors which affect the predicate, all of which have been left unmanifested in §§ 2.1.4, 2.1.5 and 2.1.6, to keep the complexity of the presentation within manageable proportions. The following sections will deal with these factors in turn. Some forms of the morphemes that manifest these factors can be seen easily enough as affixes, but others are merged into the prenucleus, with confusing results. The factors are as follows, their basic forms being listed along with them.

- indefiniteness — ngmê- (§2.1.7.1)
- commonality — mye (§2.1.7.2)
- repetition — mê (§2.1.7.3)
- motion — n:aa (§2.1.7.4)
- deictic incorporation — various (§2.1.7.5)
- negation — daa (§2.1.7.6)
- contrafactual status — wo...pî (§2.1.7.7)

2.1.7.1 INDEFINITENESS

Where the Absolutive referent of a predication is indefinite, in Chafe’s terms (1976:38-43), this is signalled by prefixing <ngmê-> to the predicate prenucleus. The saw blade in example (65) illustrates an object which is indefinite:

(65) [Saw nt:ul] ngmê-nî  núwo.
saw body INDEF-PL.REM.1SG.SB took.REM
I took a (circular) saw blade.
If the subject of an intransitive verb is indefinite, this also causes the predicate prenucleus to be marked with `<ngmê>`.

(66) [N:uu]_A ngmê loo?
   who INDEF went
   Who went?

(67) [Yélî pi]_A [k:o]_L ngmê-doo dpodo.
   Rossel person inside INDEF-CI.REM.3SB working
   There was a Rossel man working on board.

The basic form of the morpheme is `ngmê-`, which is used where the prenucleus is zero (66), or where the prenucleus begins with a consonant ((65) and (67)).

Where the predicate prenucleus (as described so far) begins with `a-`, the `a` vowel is absorbed by the indefinite morpheme, changing it to `ngma-` in the process (68).

(68) [Lukwe]_A ngma-nyi mdoño?
   what INDEF.FUT-FUT.2SG.SB doing
   What will you be doing?

There is an interesting example of a question identical to (67) except that the indefinite morpheme is not used. Both questions occur in close proximity, in a narrative about Gregory Mêpê’s work experience in Port Moresby. He left Rossel, and worked on a coastal ship for a year, and then left the ship at Samarai. Gregory continues:

(69) a. [Father ngê]_E [y:i]_L kî-mî m:uu noo,
   Father SG.E there CT-MOT see T.PI.REM.1SG.O
   Father saw me there

b. a-ka-pê,
   me-to-3.said.REM
   and said to me,

c. [Lukwe]_A a-nyi mdoño?
   what PRES-CI.PRES.2SG.SB doing
   “What are you doing?”

(70) a. Kwo-no,
   to.him-I.said
   I said to him,

b. [Al:il]_L n:aa tôó.
   here CL.IM.FUT.1SG.SB sitting
   “I’m just here”.

c. Kwo-no,
   to.him-I.said
   I said to him,

d. [U ya]_A [a nga]_X a kwo,
   its desire my X.1SG PRES standing

e. [Rabaul]_L n:aa lépî.
   Rabaul CL.IM.FUT.1SG.SB go
   “I want to go to Rabaul”.
me-to-said.REM  
He said to me,

b. [Lukwe]A ngma-nyi mndon?  
what INDEF.FUT-CL.FUT.2SG.SB doing  
“What will you be doing there?”

In (69c), the priest assumes that Gregory is employed at Samarai, and asks what his employment is, which Gregory translates without using ngmê-. In (71b), his conception of Gregory’s intended action in Rabaul is less definite, so Gregory reports his question using ngmê-.

The verbal prefix <ngmê-> can be regarded as the incorporation of the indefinite morpheme ngmê used in noun phrases.

(72) [Mâå-we ngmê, u pi]TOP [Chima.]COM  
male-important INDEF his name Chima  
Once there was a man called Chima.

(73) a piyipe ngmê k:ii  
my friend INDEF with  
with a friend of mine

(74) [Ngmê knê y:oo]E dé m:uu ngmê.  
INDEF some PL.E PL.IM.PST.3.SB see T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF  
Some of them saw it (the leopard shark).

Is it purely coincidence that the predicate postnucleus used with a third person singular object with polyfocal subject (such as in example (74)) is ngmê? It is hardly a coincidence that the numeral ‘one’ used in counting is also ngmê.

ngmê — 1  
miyó — 2  
pyilé — 3  
páádi — 4 and so on.

(The numeral ‘one’ used in quantifying a noun phrase is a related form, ngmidt.)

(75) [Daa yoo ngmidt]A [y:il]  
NEG group one there CI.PRES.3.SB standing IT.CI.PRES.3SG.SB  
There are many groups of people there.

Example (75) also illustrates the preference Rossel people have for understatements. Literally it means ‘Not one group of people is standing there.’

2.1.7.2 COMMONALITY

Where a predication parallels a previous predication in some way, the morpheme mye ‘also’ is merged with the predicate prenucleus. In example (76), the Agent and the event are the same in both clauses, but the Patient differs.

my mailbag in.the.hand CI.REM.1SG.SB holding
saw body in.the.hand also-C1.REM.1SG.SB holding
I was holding my mailbag in (one) hand, and the saw blade in the other.

This morpheme can also be used with the force of English ‘still’, as in example (77).

(77) a. [U chinë]A ghay wo, [nt:ee,]L
    his nephew fall IT.PI.REM.3.SB lagoon

b. [kpiil]A di-mi módü...
    clam.type NEG-other saw

c. mé témë wo,
    again dive IT.PI.REM.SG.SB

d. mye-di-mi módü...
    also-NEG-other saw
    His nephew dived into the lagoon, but didn’t see the clam...
    he dived again, but still didn’t see it...

Examples (76) and (77) illustrate uses of mye- where it is prefixed to the predicate prenucleus without change. In a number of combinations of TMA and Subject Person, however, mye- is merged into the prenucleus to produce a new portmanteau morpheme, as illustrated in Table 2.1.7.2.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TMA and Subject person</th>
<th>basic form</th>
<th>+ mye ‘also’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PI.IM.PST.3.SB</td>
<td>dë lë 0</td>
<td>mya lë 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCT.HAB.3.SB</td>
<td>dëpi lë 0</td>
<td>myoo lë 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1.IM.PST.1SG.SB</td>
<td>ní lépi 0</td>
<td>my:aa lépi 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.HAB.PRX.1SG.SB</td>
<td>n:aa lépi yédi</td>
<td>myini lépi yédi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.7.3 Repetition

This section deals with the morpheme mé-, which can be glossed ‘again’. The basic meaning is that the predication marked with mé results in a previous state of affairs being reestablished, either in reality or conceptually. Thus in (77c) in the previous section, the nephew dived again into the lagoon looking for the clam. (Note that mé- ‘again’ is used, even though the diving is first narrated as ‘he fell into the lagoon’ in clause (a) and later as ‘he dived again’ in clause (c).)

The morpheme mé- is also used to indicate a return to a previous state, even though the event is not a repetition of a previous event.

(78) Mé-di kélé.
    again-PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB throw.away
    I threw it back again.

The author had caught only one leopard shark in his life, and threw it back only once, but it was returning to its previous location in the sea, so he used mé- in the predicate.

The morpheme mé- also has an extended meaning akin to ‘after all’ or ‘contrary to intention’, as illustrated in example (79).
Mépé SG.E dog neck again-PI.REM.3.SB.NEG.CLS cut
Mépé didn’t kill the dog after all.

2.1.7.4 MOTION

Events involving motion are marked in the predicate prenucleus with <n:aa> ‘go and...’

(80) A-nmî-n:aa lêcênkîlê.
FUT-CL.FUT.1PL.SB-MOT playing
We’ll go and play (football) (tomorrow).

The morpheme takes a number of forms, depending on the combination of tense and mood, and the person and number of the subject. These forms are displayed in Tables A-5 and A-6 in the appendix.

The simplest strategy used to indicate that motion is involved in the event is simply to suffix -n:aa to the predicate prenucleus. This strategy is used with the following categories of events:

A: punctiliar habitual or indicative immediate past with non third person Subject (compare (81a) and (81b))

B: punctiliar deferred imperative with first person Subject (82)

C: continuous indicative and habitual in non-proximal tense (83)

D: continuous imperatives with non first person Subject (84)

(81) a. [Nkêli kamî]A ki-dnye m:uu.
boat new CT-PL.IM.PST.1DU.SB see
We (dual) saw the new boat (today).

boat new CT-PL.IM.PST.1DU.SB-MOT see
We (dual) went and saw the new boat (today).

(82) [Nkêli kamî]A paa-n:aa m:uu ngmê.
boat new deferral-MOT see T.1DU.SB.IMP.3SG.O
Let’s (you and I) go and see the new boat.

(83) Nmee-n:aa yi:pââ paapaa.
CL.REM.1PL.SB-MOT tree.body pulling
We were going and hauling logs.

town 3SG.DEP.PN to.him C.IMP.2SG.SB-MOT showing
Go and show him the town.

Another strategy for marking motion is to take the unmarked predicate prenucleus and change its vowel to :uu. This strategy is used with:

E: punctiliar habitual or indicative immediate past with third person Subject
(a ‘flip-flop’ relationship for Subject person with category A above) (compare (85b) with (81b))
F: punctiliar deferred imperative with non-first person Subject
(a person ‘flip-flop’ with category B above) (compare (86b) with (87))

G: punctiliar indicative non-immediate past with non-third person Subject
(a tense flip-flop with A above and a person and tense flip-flop with E above)
(compare (87) with (81b) and with (85b))

H: continuous indicative immediate past with non-third person Subject
(a person and duration flip-flop with E above) (compare (88) with (85b))

(85) a. \[ Nkéli \ kamî \]_{A} \text{dé} \quad m:uu \ ngmê.
boat new PL.IM.PST.3.SB see T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
They saw the new boat (today). (motion not involved)

b. \[ Nkéli \ kamî \]_{A} \text{d:uu} \quad m:uu \ ngmê.
boat new PL.IM.PST.3.SB.MOT see T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
They went to see the new boat (today). (motion involved)

(86) a. \[ Nkéli \ kamî \]_{A} \text{dpî} \quad m:uu \ nyoo.
boat new deferred see T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O,2DU.SB
Have a look at the new boat (later on).

b. \[ Nkéli \ kamî \]_{A} \text{dp:uu} \quad m:uu
boat new deferred.PCT.IMP.2SB.MOT see
\quad nyoo.
T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O,2DU.SB
Go and see the new boat (later on).

(87) \[ Nkéli \ kamî \]_{A} \text{ny:uu} \quad módu.
boat new PI.REM.1DU.SB.MOT saw
We (dual) went and saw the new boat (before yesterday).

(88) \[ Maa \ p:uu \]_{L} \text{ki-ny:uu} \quad pîpî.
road on CT-Cl.IM.PST.1DU.SB.MOT eating
We (dual) were eating it as we went along (today).

The third strategy for signalling motion is used where the unmarked predicate prenucleus person marking is zero. Here <-\text{mî}> is used to indicate motion in the following TMA categories:

I: The basic form, -\text{mî}, is used with the third person forms of punctiliar indicative non-immediate past and continuous indicative immediate past events. (Compare (89a) and (89b) with (85b).)

J: The form -\text{nyi} is used with punctiliar imperatives intended for immediate execution. (Compare (90) with (86b).)

(89) a. \[ Nkéli \ kamî \]_{A} \text{mî} \quad m:uu \ ngmê.
boat new MOT see T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
They went and saw the new boat (yesterday).

b. \[ Nkéli \ kamî \]_{A} \text{w-a-mî} \quad m:uu \ ngmê.
boat new D-FUT-MOT see T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
They’ll go and see the new boat.
(90)  [Nkéli kamñ]A nyí m:uu nyoo.
    boat new MOT see  T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O.2DU.SB
    Go and see the new boat (straight away).

The fourth and final strategy for marking motion is used with:

K: continuous indicative immediate future and continuous proximal habitual forms. In
this case, for events with non-third person subjects, the forms used with unmarked
continuous distal habituals are used to indicate motion. With third person forms,
the prenucleus is wumñ.

(91)  Ni-mo  dpì.
    CL.IM.FUT.1SG.SB-MOT  sleeping
    I'm going (away) to sleep.

(92)  Wumñ  dpì mo.
    CL.IM.FUT.3.SB.MOT  sleeping  IT.CL.PRX.DU.SB
    They (dual) are going (away) to sleep.

(93)  [Ntñ]A  ni-mo  pìpì ngê.
    food  C.HAB.1SG-MOT  eating  T.C.HAB.PRX.3SG.O.MF
    I go and eat (my) food (habitually).

2.1.7.5 DEICTIC INCORPORATION

Yele has six deictics occurring in the noun phrase, as presented in Table 2.1.7.5.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deictic</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>discourse usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kì</td>
<td>in sight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wù</td>
<td>out of sight</td>
<td>anaphoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ala</td>
<td>close to the speaker</td>
<td>cataphoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>close to the hearer</td>
<td>anaphoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi</td>
<td>previously discussed</td>
<td>anaphoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>cataphoric</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (94) illustrates their use.

    that  boy.SPEC  Rossel  at  CT-PI.REM.1SG.SB  saw
    I saw that boy (currently in sight) at Rossel.

    b.  Wu  n:uu?
    that  who
    Who's that (outside, not in sight)?

c.  Ala  lukwe?
    this  what
    What is this (close to me)?

d.  Ye  lukwe,  angêne  té?
    that  what  where  fish
    What's with you then, where are all the fish?
Jim me me G then this(close) word its reason
Well then Jim, it seems to me because of this:

maybe person PL this-like

nuw:o mbé wo, ORIENTER of (c)
thinking PCT.IZ it.PL.REM.SG.SB
maybe people thought like this,

b. a-pé, ORIENTER of (c)
INDEF.G-3.said (implied speech introducer)

c. [U ngwo]X a-ngmé chipwi,
him X FUT-INDEF retaliate
It will pay him back with something

or fault on FUT-INDEF attach (ALTERNATE to (c))
or some fault (e.g. sickness or injury) will befall him

e. ndoo.apé,
maybe
maybe

f. dää apé, CONTRAST to (e)
not maybe (correction of doubt in (e))
no, not maybe,

ORIENTER of (h)

people this-like thinking PCT.IS it.PL.REM.PL.SB
people did think like this,

h. Mu kópu u l:ée.diy:o [nyi]TOP [u mo dyámé pi]COM. REASON
other word its reason you its different island person for
Because you are from a different country, prohibition

i. [tí:m:ee]TOP [u mo dyámé tp:ee]COM. REASON for prohibition
your.child its different island child
(ADDITION to (h))
and your son is from a different country,

j. yi kópu u l:ée.diy:o [u kwo]G —
mentioned word its reason him G
kwódu ngópu.
forbid T.PI.REM.3SG.O.PF
that’s the reason they forbade him.

RESULT of (h) and (i)

(96) a. Ndoo.apé wu kópu u dig:o.
maybe that(out.of.sight) word its reason
Maybe that is the reason,

RESULT of (95c), (d), (h) and (i)

b. daa apé,
not maybe
no, not maybe

CONTRAST to (a)
(correction of doubt in (a))

c. d:o wu kópu u dig:o.
I said that word its reason
I think that is the reason.

RESULT of (95c), (d), (h) and (i)
(AMPLIFICATION of (a))

As listed in Table 2.1.7.5.1, ala and mu have cataphoric reference when used in discourse, and wu and yi have anaphoric reference. Discussion with the speaker of this text, Raymond, confirmed that ala used in clause (95a) referred to the following REASONS in clauses (c) and (d), and that its use in clause (g) referred to the following REASONS in clauses (h) and (i). He also said that mu in clause (h) referred to the following REASONS in clauses (h) and (i). Mu seems to be used here rather than ala, because it introduces another following REASON, as mu is used as a deictic to refer to an ‘other’ entity. When asked about yi in clause (j), he said it referred to all the previous REASONS. Concerning wu in (96a) and (96c), he said it referred to the earlier pair of REASONS in (95c) and (95d). There is a parallel here between the real-world usage of wu to refer to an entity which is out of sight. The earlier pair of preceding REASONS is ‘out of sight’ compared with the later pair of preceding REASONS.

Five of these deictics have parallels in the predicate prenucleus with similar meanings. For example, the basic form of the certainty prefix is kí-, and its typical use is to indicate that the speaker was an eyewitness to an event. While kí- and its variants are used with non-future indicative events, future indicatives (that is events that have not been ‘seen’ yet) can be marked with w- ‘definiteness’ in the same position in the predicate prenucleus.

(1) Incorporating the deictic kí

The incorporation of the other deictics is described in detail below, but first let us examine kí- and w-. The basic form kí- merges into the predicate prenucleus. In the present tense of continuous events, it takes the form k-, and is used only with third person subjects.

(97) K-a dpí.
CT-CL.PRES.3.SB sleeping
He is asleep.

In the past tenses, the following morphophonemic changes take place:

kí + dē --> kēdē
kí + mmí --> kumí
kí + dpí --> kudú
kí + nmo --> kumo
kí remains unchanged elsewhere.
(98) Kudu
CT.PI.IM.PST.1PL.SB go.FOL IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
lee
dni.
We went (today).

Certainty is usually not marked with a second person subject form but when it is, it indicates a dogmatic assertion:

(99) Ki-chi
CT.PI.IM.PST.2SG.SB miss
kn:aadi.
You really blew it that time! (lit. You missed badly.)

Although <ki-> is frequently used in conversation, it is generally only used at the first opportunity in a monologue, quoted speech excepted, of course. Text (a) in §2.4 is a good example.

(2) Incorporating the deictic wu

The future counterpart of certainty (‘in sight’) is definiteness (w-), from wu ‘out of sight’. The morpheme w- is obligatory with negative future punctiliar indicative forms with a third person subject (100).

(100) [Ngêm Kaawa]A daa-w-a nît
Ngêm Kaawa NEG-D-FUT go.PCT IT.PI.PRX.DU.SB. nî.
Ngêm and Kaawa won’t be going.

The definite morpheme w- is nearly always used with future questions (101), but is not used with a negative future statement with a first or second person subject. (Compare (100) and (102).)

(101) [Naa têdê]L w-a-nyî nî?
feast place D-FUT-IND.FUT.2SG.SB go.PCT
Are you going to the feast?

(102) Kêle, daa-nî nî.
no NEG-IND.FUT.1SG.SB go.PCT
No, I’m not going.

In other future indicative forms (i.e. positive questions and statements), its use is optional. In fact, the meaning of w- is rather difficult to determine in future positive statements. In some texts it correlates fairly closely with duration, punctiliar events using w-, continuous events not using it. Compare (103a) with (103b).

(103) a. [Carpenter]L w-a-nyî kaâli,
carpenters D-FUT-PI.FUT.2SG.SB attach.to.PCT
Will you join the carpenters,

b. ó [garage]L a-nyî-n:aa dpodo?
or garage FUT-CL.FUT.2SG.SB-MOT working
or go and work in the garage?

Text (b) (a procedural text about copra making) in §2.4 illustrates the difficulty of determining the function of w-. As stated in §2.1.3 (just above example (23)), a second person singular subject form in future tense is used for procedures that people in general follow. The predicate prenucleus in this case is (w-)a-nyî. An adaptation of the free translation of that text follows, in which w-a-nyî is represented as w-you and a-nyî as Ø-you.
The duration of each verb is marked as PCT for punctiliar or C for continuous. (The vernacular text with glosses is given in full in §2.4.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adapted free translation of text (b)</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Usage of w-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Now I’m going to talk about making copra.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2 | a When θ-you begin  
   b θ-you gather the coconuts  
   c and θ-you heap them up. | PCT      | 0            |
| 3 | a After that w-you husk (them)  
   b w-you pluck the fibres off  
   c w-you break them open  
   d w-you gather them to the shed. | C, PCT   | 0, w         |
| 4 | a w-You put the coconuts face down,  
   b w-you light the fire under them  
   c θ-you first gather the firewood. | PCT      | 0, w         |

Sentences 5 to 8 explain what happens to the copra, so the generic human Agent is not involved, and w- is not applicable. The human Agent is involved again in 9a:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Usage of w-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>a After that w-you ram it.</td>
<td>PCT</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 10| a w-You take it to the ramming place,  
   b w-you sew up the bags,  
   c w-you put it (in the shed) well,  
   c moisture mustn’t get into it. | PCT, PCT | w, inapplicable |
| 11| a w-You take it to the wharf . . . | PCT | w |

Clauses 11b to 13a describe how the copra stays on the wharf until a boat comes, and then it is shipped to market. Again w- is inapplicable, as the generic human is not the Agent of these predcations.

Sentence 14 begins an evaluative paragraph in which the generic human is again involved:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Usage of w-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 14| a If θ-you dry it well  
   b a good price comes back  
   c into your account. | PCT, inapplicable | 0, inapplicable |
| 15| a If θ-you dry it badly,  
   b you’ll get a letter back,  
   c,d saying that your copra was bad,  
   e they’ll give a low price for it. | PCT, inapplicable | 0, inapplicable |
| 16| a If θ-you dry it well,  
   b a good price comes back  
   c wherever you have your account. | PCT, inapplicable | 0, inapplicable |
| 17| a If w-you dry it badly  
   b you are to blame. | PCT, inapplicable | w, inapplicable |
| 18| a w-You’d better look after it properly. | C | w, inapplicable |
| 19| Conclusion | | inapplicable |

At first sight the use of w-a-nyi or a-nyi in this text seems quite random, one form being used for several clauses, and then the other form for several clauses. But then a subtle difference emerges. Sentence 2 refers to any time in general when one would be making copra, and begins the sequence of operations involved, all without the w-. The switch to
using w- comes with sentence 3, which begins with *U kuwó dini ghi ngê* ‘after that’. The situation is a little more definite now – the processing has begun and should not be interrupted until it is completed. And so the clauses through to 5b all use w-a-nyi, but 5c uses a-nyi, apparently because it refers to some generic prior time at which the firewood should have been gathered. The definite situation marked with w- is resumed in 9a with further steps in the copra-making process, until the end of the process is reached in 11a, and the copra is in the shed on the wharf waiting for shipping to market.

Sentence 14 begins an evaluative paragraph which presents the consequences of processing copra well or badly, and this more general situation is indicated by the absence of w-. So far so good. But why is w- used in sentence 17? Sentence 17 is essentially the same condition and consequence as are found in 15, which does not have w-. It seems that here the w- is used as a prominence marker, to highlight the responsibility a man has to process his copra properly. And the w- is continued in sentence 18 to enforce the conclusion.

(3) Incorporating the deictic *ala*

The deictic *ala* ‘this’ (close to the speaker) has a parallel in *a* ‘close’, which occurs in the predicate prenuclues to mark motion towards the speaker or proximity to the speaker. Although the basic form is *a*, the morpheme takes a number of different forms, as presented in the matrices A-7 and A-8 in the appendix. In some cases, *a* ‘close’ is added unchanged to the ‘unmarked’ predicate prenuclues (104). (The added *a* is written as a separate word in the practical orthography to avoid confusion with a long vowel within a morpheme. Where *a* ‘close’ is added, there is a pitch glide from the unmarked prenuclues down to the *a*, but this does not occur with normal long vowels.)

(104) a. *[Måa]*₇ w-a  *kee*  dmi.
tomorrow D-FUT move.up IT.PL.PRX.PL.SB
They’ll go up tomorrow.

b. *[Måa]*₇ w-a  a  *kee*  dmi.
tomorrow D-FUT CLS move.up IT.PL.PRX.PL.SB
They’ll come up tomorrow.

(105)  *Doo*  a  *koko*.
CI.REM.3.SB  CLS moving.up
He was coming up. (remote past)

Where the unmarked predicate prenuclues is a short monosyllable, its vowel is lowered or replaced by *a* when *a* ‘close’ follows.

(106) a.  *Ki-dnyə*  *koko*.
CT-CI.REM.3.PL.SB moving.up
They were going up. (remote past)

b.  *Ki-dnyə*  a  *koko*.
CT-CI.REM.3.PL.SB.CLS CLS moving.up
They were coming up. (remote past)

On the paths at Rossel, the two sentences in (107) can be heard, where the vowel *i* is lowered to *a*, as a mother encourages her young child not to dawdle along. Example (107a) is used if the child is ahead of his mother on the path, while (107b) is used if he is following her.
(107) a.  
\[ \text{Chì mbèpè.} \]
\[ \text{C.IMP.2SG.SB running} \]
\[ \text{Keep running along (ahead of me).} \]

b.  
\[ \text{Cha a mbèpè.} \]
\[ \text{C.IMP.2SG.SB.CLS CLS running} \]
\[ \text{Keep running along (to keep up with me).} \]

When this vowel lowering takes place, \( \text{i} \) is lowered to \( \text{o} \). (Compare (108a) and (108c)).

(108) a.  
\[ \text{[Diyo]T dpì kwidi.} \]
\[ \text{later deferred wash(2SG.IMP)} \]
\[ \text{Have your wash later on.} \]

b.  
\[ \text{[Mbwa a paal]L dp:uu kwidi.} \]
\[ \text{water at deferred.MOT wash(2SG.IMP)} \]
\[ \text{Go and have your wash in the creek.} \]

c.  
\[ \text{[Mbwa a paal]L dp: o kwidi.} \]
\[ \text{water at deferred.CLS wash(2SG.IMP)} \]
\[ \text{Have your wash at the creek on your way back (here).} \]

Note that in (108c) the \( \text{a} \) has been absorbed into the prenucleus \( \text{dpo} \). The environments in which this absorption takes place can be discerned by comparing Table A-3 in the appendix with Table A-7, and A-4 with A-8.

Where the certainty marker \( \text{kì} \) occurs with a zero unmarked predicate prenucleus, adding a 'close' also changes the certainty marker to \( \text{ka} \).

(109) a.  
\[ \text{Kì loo.} \]
\[ \text{CT went.REM} \]
\[ \text{He went. (remote past) (Can be a euphemism for death.)} \]

b.  
\[ \text{Ka a loo.} \]
\[ \text{CT.CLS CLS went.REM} \]
\[ \text{He came. (remote past)} \]

An interesting case arises with punctiliar immediate past forms with first person singular or third person singular Subject, where the only difference between them is the nasalisation of the first person form.

(110) a.  
\[ \text{Da pèèdè.} \]
\[ \text{PI.1M.PST.3SG.SB.CLS pull.PCT} \]
\[ \text{He pulled it in (today).} \]

b.  
\[ \text{D:a pèèdè.} \]
\[ \text{PI.1M.PST.1SG.SB.CLS pull.PCT} \]
\[ \text{I pulled it in (today).} \]

The following derivation of these two forms suggests itself:

---

1 Or perhaps it is lowered to \( \text{ā} \). In the absence of vowel length, \( \text{o} \) and \( \text{ā} \) are very hard to distinguish.
A: continuous immediate future and continuous proximal habitual forms with non-third person subject (111). (With third person forms the prenucleus is *wunê (112).) (This is analogous to K in §2.1.7.4 above.)

B: continuous immediate past indicative and punctiliar indicative forms in which the last syllable of the unmarked prenucleus contains a palatalised nasal, either a nasal contaminant (113) or nasal release (114).

(111) a. [Daₐ kêmækêma]T nî-nê diyédîyê.
   NEG delayed basic.1SG.SB-CLS returning
   I’m coming back soon.

   b. [Awêde]T dpî-dê diyédîyê mo?
   today basic.2DU.SB-CLS returning IT.CI.PR.X.DU.SB
   Are you (dual) coming back today?

(112) [Awêde]T wunê diyédîyê té.
   today CI.IM.FUT.3.SB-CLS returning IT.CI.PR.X.PL.SB
   They are coming back today.

   tomorrow D-FUT-PLFUT.1DU.SB-CLS return IT.PI.PR.X.DU.SB
   We (dual) will come back tomorrow.

   b. [Antê]T nmyi-nê ŋuw:o tumo?
   when PI.REM.2PL.SB-CLS take.PCT T.PI.REM.PL.O.PF
   When did you (plural) bring them?

   morning CT-PI.IM.PST.1DU.SB-CLS return IT.PI.PR.X.DU.SB
   We (dual) came back this morning.

   b. [Awêde]T dmyi-nê ŋuw:o too?
   today PI.IM.PST.2PL.SB.CLS-CLS take.PCT T.IND.PR.X.PL.O.PF
   Did you (plural) bring them today?
Where the unmarked prenucleus is zero (see Tables 2.1.5.2 and 2.1.5.3) and the event is marked for repetition (midd) and for proximity to the speaker (a/né), the form the prenucleus takes is *média. The d seems to be interposed to prevent the méd- and the a coalescing to *ma.

(115) a. Méd-d-a diyé wo.
    again-separator-CLS return IT.PI.REM.SG.SB
    He returned (here).

b. W-a-méd-a diyé dni.
    D-FUT-again-separator-CLS return IT.PI.PRX.PL.SB
    They will come back (tomorrow or later).

A number of verbs are obligatorily marked ‘close’, even when motion does not seem to be involved.

(116) [Km:ii u daněmbum] méd-né nj:ii.
    coconut its story basic.1SG.SB-CLS tell
    I’m about to tell the story of copra making.

(117) [Lam] méd-né vyuwóvyuwó.
    lamp basic.1SG.SB-CLS lighting
    I’m about to light the lamp now.

Contrast (117) with blowing out the lamp:

(118) [Lam] méd-aa ntap.
    lamp CI.1M.FUT.1SG.SB extinguishing
    I’m about to blow out the lamp now.

(4) Incorporating the deictic mu

Another deictic which is incorporated in the predicate prenucleus is mu ‘other’. The verbal equivalent is mu- or mid-, and it means ‘in the other place’.

    other-again-PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB-CLS return my home
    I came back home again. (See §2.4, text (a), sentence 5.)

    other-again-Cl.REM.1SG.SB-MOT CLS digging
    I went back to the other place and was digging.

(5) Incorporating the deictic yi

The remaining deictic which is incorporated into the predicate prenucleus is yi ‘previously discussed’. When incorporated into the predicate, it accentuates reference to a previously introduced discourse participant, sometimes approximating the force of the English cleft sentence ‘He’s the one that...’

(120) a. [Gregory]TOP [ala nél]COM...
    Gregory here PRES

b. [wharf mbéméd]L a-ýi kwo.
    wharf on PRES-mentioned standing
    Gregory is here...he’s right here on the wharf.
For some combinations of TMA with Subject Person, yi- merges with the verbal prenucleus, producing a new portmanteau morpheme. Some of these are illustrated in Table 2.1.7.5.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TMA and SP</th>
<th>basic form</th>
<th>+ yi 'mentioned'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PI.near.PST.1SG.SB</td>
<td>nì lé 0</td>
<td>y:aa lé 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PI.near.PST.2PL.SB</td>
<td>nmyi lee dmi</td>
<td>vy:ee lee dmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PI.IM.PST.1PL.SB</td>
<td>dpì lee dmi</td>
<td>yudu lee dmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PI.REM.3PL.SB</td>
<td>0 lee dniye</td>
<td>y:oo lee dniye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.7.6 NEGATION

The basic form used in negation is daa 'not'.

(121)  
Daa a nuu u kōpu]A yi  d:uu ngé.  
not my throat its matter mentioned do  T.PI.REM.3SG.O.MF  
It was something I really dislike that he did.

(122)  
Daa n:ee.  
not go.REM  
He didn’t go (before yesterday).

For many combinations of TMA with subject person, daa merges with the verbal prenucleus, producing a new portmanteau morpheme. Some of these are illustrated in Table 2.1.7.6.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TMA and SP</th>
<th>positive form</th>
<th>negative form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PI.REM.1SG.SB</td>
<td>nì ndìi 0</td>
<td>dipì ndìi 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PI.REM.2SG.SB</td>
<td>nyì ndìi 0</td>
<td>dipì ndìi 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCT.HAB.3SG.SB</td>
<td>dpì ma 0</td>
<td>d:nudpì ma 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCT.HAB.1SG.SB</td>
<td>dpì ma 0</td>
<td>d:uuw:ee ma 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CI.REM.1SG.SB</td>
<td>noo pípì 0</td>
<td>dènno pípì 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CI.REM.3SG.SB</td>
<td>doo pípì 0</td>
<td>dèpwo pípì 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A tense change takes place when immediate past punctiliar events are negated. Instead of the usual punctiliar root, the corresponding remote past root is used, and the postnucleus uses forms normally used with the remote past tense. (See Tables 2.1.6.1 and 2.1.6.2).

Zero postnucleus:

(123) a.  
Dì  
PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB  ma.  
I ate it (today).  
(immediate past positive)

b.  
D:oo  
PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB.NEG  ndìi.  
I didn’t eat it (today).  
(immediate past negative)
c.  
\[\text{Nî ndî.} \]
\[\text{PI.REM.1SG.SH eat.REM} \]
I ate it (before yesterday).
(remote past positive)

d.  
\[\text{Dî ndî.} \]
\[\text{PI.REM.1SG.SH NEG eat.REM} \]
I didn’t eat it (before yesterday).
(remote past negative)

Non-zero postnucleus:

(124) a.  
\[\text{Dî ma té.} \]
\[\text{PI.IM.PST.1SG.SH eat.FOL T.IND.PRX.3PL.O.MF} \]
I ate them (today).
(immediate past positive)

b.  
\[\text{D:oo ma too.} \]
\[\text{PI.IM.PST.1SG.SH NEG eat.FOL T.PI.REM.3PL.O.MF} \]
I didn’t eat them (today).
(immediate past negative)

c.  
\[\text{Nî ma too.} \]
\[\text{PI.REM.1SG.SH eat.FOL T.PI.REM.3PL.O.MF} \]
I ate them (before yesterday).
(remote past positive)

d.  
\[\text{Dî ma too.} \]
\[\text{PI.REM.1SG.SH NEG eat.FOL T.PI.REM.3PL.O.MF} \]
I didn’t eat them (before yesterday).
(remote past negative)

When imperatives are negated, the postnuclei take the form of those used with indicative mood proximal tense verbs in the positive. (See Tables 2.1.6.1. and 2.1.6.2).

(125) a.  
\[\text{Vya ngî.} \]
\[\text{hit.FOL T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O.2SG.SH} \]
Hit it/him.

b.  
\[\text{Nangî vy:a.} \]
\[\text{PCT.IMP.NEG.2SG.SH hit} \]
Don’t hit it/him.

c.  
\[\text{Vya tôó.} \]
\[\text{hit.FOL T.PCT.IMP.3PL.O.2PL.SH} \]
Hit them. (second person plural subject)

d.  
\[\text{Kidmyengî vya tôó.} \]
\[\text{PCT.IMP.NEG.2PL.SH hit.FOL T.IND.PRX.3PL.O.PF} \]
Don’t hit them. (second person plural subject)

Punctiliar verbs which have a strong imperative root (see examples (61) and (62) and Table 2.1.4.4) do not use the strong root for negative imperatives.

(126) a.  
\[\text{[K:ii]L kédi.} \]
\[\text{there stand.up (2SG.IMP)} \]
Stand it there.
(strong positive imperative)

b.  
\[\text{[K:ii]L nangî kââ.} \]
\[\text{there PCT.IMP.NEG.2SG.SH stand.up} \]
Don’t stand it there.
(strong negative imperative)
It would seem that once an imperative is negated and its prenucleus specified, the rest of the verb is treated as a ‘basic’ or ‘simple’ indicative proximal verb. Thus negative imperative status is expressed only once in the verb phrase.

2.1.7.7 CONTRAFACTUAL STATUS

Contrafactual condition and consequence clause pairs have their contrafactual status marked in their verbal prenuclei. The protasis is marked with wo- or a related form, while the apodosis is marked with pt- or a form derived from it. The verb root and postnucleus are selected as for indicative mood.

(127) a. \[Pi\_A \ wo-da-ngmê \ loo,\]
    person CF-CLS-1INDEF come/go.REM
    If someone had come, (protasis)

b. \(pê-dê \ kââdï \ nyôpu,\)
    CF-CLS join T.PI.REM.1DU.O
    he could have reconciled us (dual), (apodosis)

c. \[M:aa \ ka|G \ [mbïi \ têdêï], \ p:aa \ n:ee.\]
    Dad to sickness place CF.PCT.REM.1SG.SB go.REM
    I could have gone to Dad on his sick bed. (apodosis)

As with other morphemes, the contrafactual markers often merge with other components of the verbal prenucleus to form new portmanteau morphemes. Some examples follow in Table 2.1.7.7.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2.1.7.7.1: PORTMANTEAU MANIFESTATIONS OF CONTRAFACTUAL MORPHEMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TMA and SP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCT.near.PST.3PL.SB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCT.near.PST.1SG.SB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCT.IM.PST.1PL.SB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.near.PST.1PL.SB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.IM.PST.2PL.SB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.8 ORDER OF ITEMS WITHIN THE CLAUSE

This section deals with the order of items in clauses manifesting verbal predications. §2.1.9 deals with non-verbal predications.

(1) Presence of explicit subjects and objects

Since the prenuclear and postnuclear components of the Yele verb mark the subject and object of the predication so fully, these referents are frequently not specified by nouns or noun phrases. Typically, they are made explicit where they enter a discourse, or where the referents change, and elsewhere are carried just by the markers in the verb. For example, text (a) in §2.4 introduces the author in the verbal prenucleus of clause 1, and thereafter his identity is carried by the verbal markers. He introduces his brother Nkal by name in clause 6a, and the quote formulae in their conversation keep track of the speakers. Nkal refers to fish with a noun in 6c. Third person objects are introduced with nouns in clause 10b ‘I didn’t see anyone’ and 11b ‘I chewed some betel nut’. The author refers to his father with a kin
term in 12c, and quotes his father’s use of his own name in 13b. His father also mentions fish with a noun, in 15b.

Where there is more than one third person referent on stage at a time in a discourse, the subjects and objects are made explicit more often, to ensure that the hearer can keep track of the referents of the clauses. (As is often the case, folk stories show less explicit reference to the participants, because everyone knows who does what in the story, and it is not necessary to be as explicit. Everyone knows, that is, except the linguist from another culture!). Text (d) in §2.4 provides an example of a text with more than one third person referent on stage at a time. It is by the same author as the fishing story referred to above. The topic of the text is a savage dog, which is introduced and named in clause 1a, then referred to with third person singular verb parts in clause 1b. The author disclaims responsibility in sentence 2, introducing himself with a pronoun, and using the word ‘dog’ in sentence 3. He names the culprit, his brother Nkal, with a noun, and uses the word ‘dog’ again in sentence 4. Nkal’s name is repeated in sentence 5, but this time the other third person referent is understood to be the dog, without specific reference. The dog is mentioned again specifically in the next sentence, number 6. It remains the topic of the rest of that paragraph, sentences 7 to 9, being referred to only pronominally. Sentence 10 begins a narrative episode, in which Mépé and his son Yidika are introduced by name. In this episode each sentence uses a noun to refer to one of these actors, as the initiative moves from one third person referent to another in quick succession. The result of the incident comes in sentence 17, but the dog is not mentioned specifically – it is just the third person singular referent of the verb. The text ends with a specific reference to a safe road for people to follow.

(2) Order of items in the clause

Apart from the subject and object of the clause, other items can be included at will when their semantic content is to be made explicit, up to a limit of five items in any one clause, including the predicate. The histogram in Table 2.1.8.1 shows the proportion of transitive and intransitive clauses having each number of items. The histogram is based on a sample of 667 clauses all from texts or conversation.

| Table 2.1.8.1: Number of items per clause, by clause type |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| % | Transitive | Intransitive  |
| 90 - 99 | . | . |
| 80 - 89 | x | x |
| 70 - 79 | x x | x x |
| 60 - 69 | x x x | x x x |
| 50 - 59 | x x x x | x x x x |
| 40 - 49 | x x x x x | x x x x x |
| 30 - 39 | x x x x x x | x x x x x x |
| 20 - 29 | x x x x x x x | x x x x x x x |
| 10 - 19 | x x x x x x x x | x x x x x x x x |
| 0 - 9 | x x x x x x x x x | x x x x x x x x x |
| items/clause | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| clauses/type | 347 | 320 |

The histogram shows the predominance of clauses with only one or two items, including the predicate.
The predominant order of items in verbal clauses is as follows:

±absolute Time ±Subject ±(Source/Goal/Instrument/Accompaniment) ±Object 
±(Location/Manner) ±(Source/Goal/Factive/Experiencer/Accompaniment) 
±relative Time ±Numeral component of Object +Predicate

Examples (128) and (129) illustrate this order in longer clauses.


When a third person object is specified by a numeral, the numeral is located just before the predicate:


Note that the numeral forces singular agreement. See also example (151) in §2.2.1.

Any of the items in the clause may be permuted to the position after the Predicate as an afterthought. This is more common in speech than in written material.

(131)  [Wo ngmê ngē]T [Njimi]A — day one Time Jim 
kî-nî  ñuwo,  [yâpwo têdê.]L CT-PI.REM.1SG.SB took.REM burn place One day I took Jim to the garden.

(132)  [Pwepe mbêmê]L a-nm:uu  yé dê, — support on FUT-basic.1PL.SB.MOT put T.IND.PRX.3DU.O.MF [nee pââ dê.]A canoe hull dual We’ll put the two canoe hulls on the supports.

Occasionally two such items are included as afterthoughts.

(133)  [Nee pââ dê yî chedê]L [pôódô miyo]A — canoe hull dual their beside rope two 
a-mî-nê  châpwo ngmê, — FUT-basic.3.SB.MOT-CLS cut T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF [mw:aandiye.]T [nee pââ chóó dê y:oo.]E morning canoe hull owner dual E The owners of the canoe hulls will go up there in the morning and cut two ropes.
2.1.9 NON-VERBAL PREDICATION

Non-verbal predication involves a Topic and a nominal or adjectival Comment about that Topic, linked together in an Equative clause. A Locative and a negative can also be present.

(134) \[ Tpile ngmê u pï ]TOP \[ dêê. ]COM
thing one its name writing
One thing is called ‘writing’.

(135) \[ A dan:êmbum ]TOP \[ wu ]L \[ u dî ]COM
my story there its end
That is the end of my story.

banana not scarce
There are plenty of bananas.

Non-verbal predication in past or future can not be distinguished from that in the present, since there is no verb to carry tense marking. Example (137) is the first sentence of a folk story, and so its reference can be seen to be in the remote past, but this is not marked formally in any way. Note the similarity to example (134) above.

(137) \[ Pî ngmê u pï ]TOP \[ Chîma. ]COM
person one his name Chima
There was once a man called Chima.

The Comment can be manifested by a question word.

(138) \[ Kî ]TOP \[ lukwe? ]COM
this what
What is this?

(139) \[ Kââmmbwa u nee pââ ]TOP \[ angêntoo? ]COM
Kââmmbwa his canoe hull how big
How big is Kââmmbwa’s canoe hull?

The Topic can be omitted in context.

(140) \[ Kudu ]CT.PL.IM.PST.1PL.SB \[ m:a. ][ Têđê. ]COM
eat small
We ate it. It was small.

The Comment agrees with the Topic in number, being marked with \( dê \) or \( ëdë \) for dual and plural respectively.

(141) \[ Tp:oo ëdë ]TOP \[ ndii ëdë ]COM
his,son dual big dual
His two sons are big.

(142) \[ Km:ii bag ]TOP \[ dono ëdë ]COM
copra bag bad PL
The bags of copra were bad.

The negative \(<dâa>\) has different surface forms, depending on its environment, as displayed in Table 2.1.9.1.
TABLE 2.1.9.1: FORMS OF THE NEGATIVE USED IN EQUATIVE CLAUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>environment</th>
<th>number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>before <em>u</em></td>
<td>d:\oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>else</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
<td>d:a a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>d:i i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>before <em>u</em></td>
<td>d:oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>else</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
<td>d:aa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(143) [Kii]\_TOP [daa]NEG [gh\'ed\'e]COM
banana not scarce
There are plenty of bananas.

Rossel on not its place
There aren’t any at Rossel.

(145) [Ndoo ap\'e]\_M [d:aa]TOP-NEG [k:\'am:o]COM
maybe maybe not.1SG good.fisherman
Maybe I’m not a good fisherman.

2.2 TERMS PREDICATED

Discussion now turns to the terms within the clause that are related to the predicate. This section deals with the system of cases marked in the clause, and with the structure of phrases.

2.2.1 CASE RELATIONSHIPS

(1) Ergative and Absolutive

The Ergative–Absolutive system operating within the clause has been introduced in §2.1 (see examples 1 to 5). The modified Nominative–Accusative system operating within the verb has been described in §2.1.5 and §2.1.6. This agreement is illustrated again briefly in examples (146) and (150).

With transitive verb roots the verbal prenucleus agrees in person and number with the Ergative item, the subject of the clause. (See the tables in §2.1.5.) The postnucleus agrees primarily with the Absolutive item, the object of the clause, but it also monitors the subject to some degree. (See the tables in §2.1.6.) Examples (146a) to (146e) illustrate this agreement.

Kaawa with boat PL.IM.PST.1DU.SB-MOT see
Kaawa and I went and saw the boat. (1 dual Subject, singular Object)

b. [Kaawa ng\'e]\_E d\'e m:uu.
Kaawa SG.E PL.IM.PST.3.SB see
Kaawa saw it. (singular Subject, singular Object)
c. [Kawa ] mupwo-keni y:oo|e dë m:uu ngmë.
Kaawa ASS.son-PL PL.E PI.IM.PST.3.SB see T.PI.PRX.3SG.O.PF
Kaawa and family saw it.
(plural Subject, singular Object)

d. [Kawa ] ngë|e dë m:uu t:oo.
Kaawa SG.E PI.IM.PST.3.SB see T.PI.PRX.3PL.O.PF
Kaawa saw them.
(singular Subject, plural Object)

e. [Kawa ] mupwo-keni y:oo|e dë m:uu t:oo.
Kaawa ASS.son-PL PL.E PI.IM.PST.3.SB see T.PI.PRX.3PL.O.PF
Kaawa and family saw them.
(plural Subject, plural Object)

Note in examples (146b) and (146d) that the singular Subject of a transitive verb is marked with ngë. The non-singular form of the Ergative marker is y:oo, as in examples (146c) and (146e). In example (146a) the Ergative marking is overridden by the accompaniment morpheme, k:ii.

It is not required that the entity carrying the Ergative marker <ngë> be animate:

(147) [Nkëli ngë|e] da têêdî.
boat SG.E PI.IM.PST.3.SB.CLS carry.by.boat
The boat brought it.

(148) [Lò mbii ngë|e] dë niuw:o?
what sickness SG.E PI.IM.PST.3.SB take
What sickness did he die of? (lit. What sickness took him?)

(149) [Tëpë ngë|e] yinë dpi mbwili.
soil SG.E focus PCT.HAB.3.SB make.pregnant
It’s the soil that makes (the banana tree) bear fruit.

With intransitive verb roots the verbal prenucleus agrees in person and number with the subject of the clause. The postnucleus also agrees with the subject, but only in number. Examples (150a) and (150b) illustrate this agreement briefly. (See §2.1.5 and §2.1.6 for the details in full.)

(150) a. [Njâddi|I] nì dpi wó.
Jaru PI.REM.1SG.SB fall.asleep IT.PI.REM.SG.SB
I spent the night at Jaru.
(first person singular Subject)

b. [Lò y:il] nmyi dpi dnyë?
what place PI.REM.2PL.SB sleep IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
Where did you (plural) spend the night? (second person plural Subject)

When a non-singular third person Absolutive item is specified by a numeral or other quantitative word, it takes singular agreement in the verb.

(151) a. [Ng:ëmë pâddi]A w-a kaa ngmë.
lever four D-FUT stand T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
They will stand four levers there.
(transitive)

b. [Pi yintòmu]A w-a lè, [y:i]I person all D-FUT go there
Everyone will go.
(2) Source/Goal

The Source or Goal of a predication is marked with <ka>.

(152) \[M:\text{aa ka}]_G \text{yéni.}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{Dad G give.2SG.IMP}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{Give it to Dad.}\n
(153) \[\text{Peter ka}]_S \text{ ni pwila ngé.}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{Peter Source PI.REM.1SG.SB pay.for T.PI.REM.3SG.O.MF}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{I bought it from Peter.}\n
(154) \[M:\text{boo ka}]_G \text{ [u nkwo]}_T \text{n:aa} \hspace{1cm} \text{danémbum.}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{Mboo G its turn CL.IM.FUT.1SG.SB talking}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{It’s my turn now to address Mboo.}\n
Source/Goal has a locative use, when someone uses a person’s name as the destination to which he is going or the place he has come from.

(155) a. \[K\text{páputa ka}]_S \text{ d:a} \hspace{1cm} \text{ndé,}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{Kpáputa Source PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB.CLS come.from}\n
b. \[M\text{gâmiwe ka}]_G \text{ n:aa} \hspace{1cm} \text{lépi.}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{Mgâmiwe G CL.IM.FUT.1SG.SB going}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{I’ve just come from Kpáputa, and I’m going to see Mgâmiwe.}\n
There is a set of intransitive verbs which take as Goal objects that are affected by the action of the verb. These objects at first seem to be the objects of transitive verbs, but the use of ka to mark them and the verb morphology show that Yele regards them as the Goals of intransitive verbs instead.

(156) \[Tp\text{oo ka}]_G \text{ n:aa} \hspace{1cm} \text{vyuwo yédi.}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{his.son G C.HAB.PRX.1SG.SB looking IT.C.HAB.PRX.SG.SB}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{I look after his son.}\n
(157) \[L\text{ukwe ka}]_G \text{ nmye} \hspace{1cm} \text{vyuwo te?}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{what G CL.IM.FUT.2PL.SB looking IT.CI.PRX.PL.SB}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{What are you (plural) looking for?}\n
These verbs were mentioned at the start of §2.1.4 under noun incorporation, because when one of these verbs incorporates its Goal, the Goal marker ka is also incorporated. See examples (43) to (45).

A non-singular third person Source or Goal is marked with ye.

(158) \[M\text{boo u pye mǐ ye}]_G \text{ chi} \hspace{1cm} \text{vyuwo.}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{Mboo his mother father G C.IMP.2SG.SB looking}\n\hspace{1cm} \text{Be looking after Mboo’s mother and father.}\n
When the Source or Goal is expressed pronominally, the following forms are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.2.1.1: Pronominal forms of Source/Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singuler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sister SG.E injection three.times him to PLIMP.3.SB give  
Sister gave him an injection three times.

(160) [Ye]S namē ng:aa.  
to.them CIMP.2SG.SB.NEG listening  
Don’t listen to them.

good M to.them CIMP.2SG.SB looking  
Be looking after them well.

paper piece to.you again.CL. come.up  
You will receive a note.

(3) Cases marked with ngē

The Ergative marker ngē is also used to mark six other cases: Instrument, Experiencer, Factive, Time, Manner and Realm. Alternatively, it may be better to regard these as all being the same case, because they are all marked with ngē. In this paper, however, the five cases are distinguished, to make the semantic roles clearer in the discussion.

(a) Instrument

The Instrument with which an event is performed is marked with ngē.

(163) [Kê kn:ââ ngē]I vyâ, [u chinë]A  
pole butt Instrument kill.REM his nephew  
He killed his nephew with the butt of the pole.

(164) [Pêla ngē]I n:aa nté ch:eech:ee.  
tongs Instrument CLIMP.FUT.1SG.SB food cooking  
I’m cooking with the tongs.

(165) [Vyeeka ngē]E [rubber ngē]I dē vy:a.  
Vyeeka SG.E spear.gun Instrument PLIMP.PST.3.SB kill  
Vyeeka killed it with his spear gun.

Where the Instrument is expressed by a third person singular pronominal form, the variant ngwo is used instead of ngē, showing vowel approximation with the preceding dependent pronoun u.

(166) ... [ngmâm]A [u ngwo]I a-nyi pwila.  
your.wife it by FUT-PI.FUT.SB buy  
...and you’ll buy your wife with it. (clause 6e of text (c) in §2.4.)

Instruments can be expressed with intransitive verbs.

laughter by nearly PLREM.1PL.SB die IT.PLREM.PL:S
We nearly died from laughter.
(168) [Nkéli ngé] [ate]T nmo lee
boat by straightaway PI.REM.1PL.SB.CLS come/go
dniye.
IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
Then we came by boat.

(b) Experiencer

The Experiencer of an event is also marked with ngé.

Jim X water CI.PRES hanging
Jim is thirsty.

The Experiencer can be manifested pronominally, using the forms in Table 2.2.1.2.

|TABLE 2.2.1.2: PRONOMINAL FORMS OF EXPERIENCER|
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|person|singular|dual|plural|
|1|anga|nye|nmo|
|2|nga|dp.o|nmye|
|3|ngwo|<-------- y:e -------->|

eating its desire 3PL.X CI.PRES.3.SB.NEG standing
They don’t want to eat (because of grief).

diarrhoea me to PI.IM.PST.3.SB attach
I have got diarrhoea.

(c) Factitive case

The state something has attained or will attain is marked with ngé. No occurrence of y:oo marking plural states has been observed.

banana pregnant F PCT.HAB.3.SB become
The banana tree gets pregnant (and bears fruit).

Mgaalim SG.E his burn.place big F
pyódu too.
become T.PI.REM.3PL.O.MF
Mgaalim made his gardens big.

day long F CF sitting
The day would have been long.

his nephew head coconut F became.REM
His nephew’s head became a coconut.
(d) Time

When a noun phrase expresses the time of an event, it is marked with ngê.

(176)  yi dini ghi ngê
that time piece Time
at that time

(177)  [Wo ngmè ngê]T dpì d:uu ngi.
day one Time deferral(2,3.SB) try T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O.2SG.SB
Try it one day.

sago second.day feast Time PCT.HAB.3.SB cook
ngmè.
T.PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF
Two days before the feast they cook the sago.

As with the Instrument, the third person dependent pronoun u can be used in context to represent a time phrase, and then the form ngwo is used with it.

(179)  a.  W-a-nyi vyiłyvyił
D-FUT-2SG.SB heating.up

b.  [u ngwo]T w-a-nyi pîpî.
its Time D-FUT-2SG.SB eating
You heat it up, then you eat it.

The morpheme ngwo is also used to mark time referred to by two deictics, ala 'here' and yi 'previously mentioned'.

also-like here Time Ngêm CT.CI.PRES.3.SB learning
Ngêm is also learning now.

(181)  [Yi ngwo]T dp:uu mbè dmi.
mentioned Time PCT.HAB.3.SB.MOT cry IT.PCT.HAB.PL.SB
At that time they go and cry (for the person who had died).

Expressions which are inherently temporal are not marked with ngê.

second.day before morning canoe body dual
ki-nmo pêêdi doo.
CT-PI.REM.1PL.SB.CLS pull T.PI.REM.3DU.O.MF
The day before yesterday, in the morning, we pulled the two canoe hulls.

(183)  [D:ââ pyile]T [pââ y:i]L a-di-n:aa ya.
month three down there FUT-CL.FUT.3SG.SB-MOT sitting
He’ll be down there (i.e. away from Rossel) for three months.

(184)  [Diyo]T [u lama]L w-a yââ.
later his knowledge D-FUT sit.down
Later on he will know. (lit. Later on it will sit in his knowledge.)
(185)  [Antè]T w-a  lè?
    when  D-FUT go
When will he go?

(e) Manner

When the Manner in which an event is performed is to be expressed with an adjective, the adjective is marked with ngè.

(186)  [Numo  ka]G  [k:omo ngè]M —
    each.other to  false  M
a  yéy  nyédi.
C.HAB.3.SB accuse  IT.C.HAB.PRX.PL.SB
They accuse each other falsely.

    good  M  to.them  C.IMP.2SG.SB looking.after
Look after them well.

Other items indicating the manner in which an action is performed are not marked with ngè.

    properly to.them  C.IMP.2SG.SB looking.after
Look after them properly.

    Rossel people  lightning like
dpî  dpî  dmi.
PCT.HAB.3.SB sleep  IT.PCT.HAB.PL.SB
Rossel people go to sleep quickly.

    canoe hull  DU  their self running  IT.CI.PRX.DU.SB
The canoe hulls were running by themselves.

(191)  [Kyedekevæc]M  nmee  ghèpèghèpè  dè.
    slowly  CI.REM.1PL.SB lowering  T.CI.NON.PRX.3DU.O
We were lowering them slowly.

    later his knowledge that-like  FUT-CI.FUT.3.SB.also sit
Later he will know it like that also. (lit. Later it will be sitting in his knowledge also.)

(193)  [Pyolo]M  nmî  dpî  dniye,  [kèli  ghè.]L
    three.times PI.REM.1PL.SB sleep  IT.PI.REM.PL.SB between place
We slept three times (on the way) between (Samarai and Port Moresby).

(f) Realm

The Realm or area of endeaour of an activity is also marked with ngè.
[Njimi cha]A n:aa ngëëpî — Jim and.wife C.HAB.PRX.1SG.SB helping
doo,
—
T.C.HAB.PRX.3DU.O.MF

[Yëlî dnye u kpaa ngë]R, [u dëëdëë ngë.]R Rossel language its reading R its writing R
I help Jim and his wife with Rossel reading and writing.

[Chedëchedë]M nyi chedë ngë, — finishing PL.REM.1DU.SB finish T.PL.REM.3SG.O.MF

[tpënê ngë.]R
digging R
We completely finished it, the digging.

[U kuwol]T [pyâa yoo]A më mødô,
its after woman PL again saw.REM
më doo [u ntâa ngë]F pyodo, [kmaapî ngë.]R but not its size F became eating R
After that she saw the women (eating eel),
but she was not able to eat it.
(lit. After that she saw the women,
but she became not enough, the eating.)

There are no further cases marked with ngë.

(4) Reason

Reason can be expressed at clause level with u (l:ëë) dî:y:o ‘on account of’. A dependent
pronoun is obligatory, but the morpheme l:ëë is optional. Its use seems to be a matter of
idiosyncratic style.

[Kpaa ka têdë]L a yéy nyédi,— mortuary.feast place C.HAB.PRX.3.SB accuse IT.C.HAB.PRX.PL.SB

[yi pi-ni u l:ëë dî:y:o.]Reason
that person-SPEC him state on.account.of
At the mortuary feast they make accusations, on account of that person.

(5) Accompaniment

The viewpoint is different from English in that Yele uses the accompaniment slot to
specify more explicitly the subject of a clause, and the verb agrees in number and person
with the combined party, from the speaker’s point of view.

[Chëdëmgaa Myapw:e yi kii]A —
Chëdëmgaa Myapw:e them with

nmo lëpî nyédi.
C.HAB.PRX.1PL.SB going IT.C.HAB.PRX.PL.SB
I go with Chëdëmgaa and Myapw:e.
(199) [Nee pàà dèjE [a k:ii]E — canoe hull dual me with
dp:o péêdi dé.
PI.IM.PST.1PL.SB.CLS pull T.IND.PRX.3DU.O.MF
I joined in pulling the two canoe hulls.

(6) Location
Location in general is expressed without any marker. For verbs which do not imply motion, it is the location where the event takes place.

person many there CI.PRES sitting
There are many people there.

It is interesting that knowledge is expressed in Yele with the noun lama as a Location.

(201) [Ndèndè ngèjM [u lama]L dè-noo ya.
true M his knowledge NEG-CI.REM.1SG.SB sitting
He really didn’t know me. (lit. I really wasn’t sitting in his knowledge.)

Post Office my knowledge CI.PRES.3.SB.NEG standing
I don’t know where the Post Office is. (lit. The Post Office isn’t standing in my knowledge.)

With verbs that imply motion away from the current location, the Location expresses the destination, while with verb stems implying motion towards the current location, it expresses the point of departure.

(203) [Njinjípu]L dnye lee knì.
Njinjípu PI.IM.PST.1DU.SB go IT.PI.PRX.DU.SB
We (dual) went to Njinjípu.

(204) a. [Alotau]L da ndè,
Alotau PI.IM.PST.3.SB.CLS come.from
home CI.PRES going
He has come from Alotau,
and is going home.

Yele has a number of postpositions which are used to express the Location more explicitly:

(205) [Yì péé k:oo]L dpí ché ngmè.
their basket inside PCT.HAB.3.SB put T.PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF
They (habitually) put it in their baskets.

(206) [Pwepe mbêmè]L a-nm:uu yé dè.
support on FUT-basic.1PL.SB.MOT put T.IND.PRX.3DU.O.MF
We’ll go and put them (dual) on the supports.

The postpositions are discussed more fully in §2.2.3.
2.2.2 Noun Phrases

The Head of a noun phrase consists of one or more nouns. The Head can be preceded by a Possessor or a Specifier, and followed by a Modifier or a Quantifier.

(207)  
nee  
canoe  
the canoe  
(Head: single noun)

(208)  
née  páâ  
canoe  body  
the canoe hull  
(Head: compound noun)

(209)  
[Njimi Ghaapwe Kaawa nè]A —  
Jim  Ghaapwe Kaawa  I
[yâpwo tèdê]L kudu  
burn  place  CT.PL.IM.PST.1PL.SB  go  IT.PL.PRX.PL.SB
Jim, Chaapwe, Kaawa and I went to the garden.

Where a number of people are referred to in one phrase, as in example (209), the most important person is placed first, and the speaker places himself last.

As can be expected, there are pairs of words which have a required order of occurrence.

(210) a.  
u  tîdé  mbwó  yoo  
his  sister  brother  PL  
his brothers and sisters
b.  
Nïye  M':aa
Mum  Dad
Mum and Dad

A number of nouns can form the Head of the phrase, with distributive reference, where each item is associated with a different person.

(211)  
[Nmî p:aa pee p:aa pee]L nmî  
our  village  part  village  part  PI.REM.1PL.SB  go  IT.PI.REM.PL.SB
We went to our own parts of the village.

A small set of nouns concerning human status or relationships are pluralised with -ma. When more than one of these nouns are used in the same phrase, -ma is affixed only to the last of them.

(212) a.  
lémi  ch:am  
important.man  important.woman
important man and woman
b.  
Mw:âkkó  a  lémi  ch:am-ma,
greetings  my  important.man  important.woman-PL
Ladies and Gentlemen,

(213)  
yoo  yi  kpâm  ghee  ghee-ma  
people  their  wife  ASS.child  ASS.child-PL
everyone’s wives and children
(1) Possession

Possession is expressed using the appropriate dependent pronoun from the set displayed in Table 2.2.2.1. (They are termed ‘dependent pronouns’ rather than ‘possessive pronouns’, because they have other uses, such as for anaphoric reference in postpositional phrases.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.2.2.1: Dependent Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>person</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(214) a. a nee pââ
my canoe body
my canoe hull
(first person singular possessor)

b. [Dpî  tp:ee]TOP [angênê?]COM
your.DU child where
Where is your son?
(second person dual possessor)

The second person singular dependent pronominal form is a morphophonemic process, in which the initial consonant of the following noun or postposition is changed to the nasal continuant at the same point of articulation.

(215) a. N + kpâm --> ngmâm
your wife
your wife

b. N + nee --> nee
your canoe
your canoe

c. N + k:ii --> ng:ii
you with
with you accompanying

In the case of nouns beginning with l, second person possession makes no change to the noun.

(216) N + lama --> lama
your knowledge
your knowledge

Words beginning with w are treated as if they began with a velar consonant.

(217) N + w:ââ --> ngw:ââ
your dog
your dog

For third person possessors, the identity of the possessor can be made explicit if it is not provided adequately by the context.
(218)  Káámbwa u née pââ
Káámbwa his canoe body
Káámbwa's canoe hull (third person singular possession)

(2) Specifier

The Head noun of the phrase can be specified by a deictic, a question word or a comparative expression. When this happens, many nouns take on a 'specified' form, others remain unchanged, as in example (219).

(219) a. kópu
   word
   word

   b. yi kópu
      that word
      that word

Some of the nouns which show this specification do so by having -ni suffixed to them, as in example (220), while others change to a 'specified' form, as in examples (221) and (222).

(220) a. pi
   person

   b. yi pi-ni
      that person-SPEC
      that person

   c. ló pi-ni?
      which person-SPEC
      which person?

   d. M:aa ntee pi-ni
      Dad like person-SPEC
      a person like my father

When -ni is suffixed, some nouns change their form somewhat.

(221) a. nté --→ ló nti-ni?
   food which food-SPEC
   which food?

   b. te --→ ló té-ni?
   fish which fish-SPEC
   which fish?

   c. p:čê --→ yi p:čê-ni
   talk that talk-SPEC
   that message

Many nouns change their basic form when specified, without showing much resemblance to -ni.

(222) a. l:čê.ghi --→ ló-nté l:emi.ghi?
   custom what-like custom.SPEC
   what kind of customs?
b.  maa  -->  yi  máádi
    road  that  road.SPEC
    that  road

c.  pyââ  -->  yi  pyópu
    woman  that  woman.SPEC
    that  woman

d.  w:ââ  -->  kî  w:âm
    dog  that  dog.SPEC
    that  dog

(3) Modifier

The adjective modifying a noun follows the noun.

(223)  nee  pââ  ndîî
    canoe  body  big
    the  big  canoe  hull

With kin terms, a type of modification involves association with a relative, referred to by an associated kin term.

(224)  a  kpâm  ghee
    my  wife  ASS.child
    my  wife  and  child

(225)  Têminkaa  ghee-knî
    Têminkaa  ASS.child-some
    Têminkaa  and  her  children

(226)  Mgéédi  cha
    Mgéédi  ASS.wife
    Mgéédi  and  his  wife

Where the Head can be inferred from the context, the accompanying kin term can stand alone.

    ASS.wife  together  C.HAB.DST.3DU.SB-DST.HAB  arguing
    The  man  and  his  wife  were  arguing.

(4) Quantifier

The Head of a noun phrase can be quantified either by a number marker or by a numeric expression. The Quantifier follows the noun. Two number markers are used, dé for dual items and yoo for plural animate items.

(228)  [U  kpâm  dë  y:oo]E  [u  ngomo]A  kpêmi  ngópu.
    his  wife  DU  PL.E  his  house  open  T.PI.REM.3SG.O.PF
    His  two  wives  opened  his  house.

(229)  [Pyââ  yoo]A  mbêpé  wo.
    woman  PL  run  IT.PI.REM.SG.SB
    The  women  ran  away.
Note in example (229) that the quantifier yoo on the Absolutive item, the women, forces singular agreement in the verb.

The numeric expressions that can quantify a noun include numerals and quantitative adjectives such as yill ‘many’ and yintómu ‘all’.

(230) \[Wo \text{ limi}][\text{T}] \[ngomo \text{ k:oo}][\text{L}] \quad \text{day five house inside}
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{yédì.} \\
\text{C.HAB.PRX.3.SB} & \quad \text{sitting} \\
\text{IT.C.HAB.PRX.SG.SB} & \\
\text{It stays in the house for five days.}
\end{align*}

(231) \[kópu \text{ mu ngmìdi} \quad \text{word only one}
\quad \text{only one word/matter}

(232) \[\text{a. } [Njìmi \text{ mupwo-knì} \quad yì \text{ kpìdi}][\text{A}] \quad \text{kpèè dniye,}
\begin{align*}
\text{Jim} & \quad \text{ASS.dependent-some their clothing wash IT.PI.REM.PL.SB} \\
\text{Jim’s family’s clothes got wet,}
\end{align*}

\[\text{b. } [yì \text{ tpìle yi}][\text{A}] \quad \text{kpèè wo.}
\begin{align*}
\text{their thing many wash IT.PI.REM.SG.SB} \\
\text{their many things got wet.}
\end{align*}

Note again that the quantified Absolutive item in (232b) forces singular agreement in the verb.

2.2.3 POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Postpositional phrases are used to specify a locational concept in detail. Some such phrases have extended meanings to express temporal setting or relative time. (See examples (238) and (239) below.) Some postpositions require a dependent pronoun between the noun and the postposition (233), while others do not (234).

(233) \[D:àà \quad u \text{ pwo}][\text{L}] \quad \text{Moon him above}
\begin{align*}
atè & \quad \text{yi} \\
\text{straightaway} & \quad \text{PI.REM.3.SB.mentioned} \\
\text{shine} & \quad \text{T.PI.REM.3SG.O.MF} \\
\text{Then he (Sun) shone on Moon.}
\end{align*}

(234) \[Pwepe \text{ mbëmë}][\text{L}] \quad a-nm:uu \quad \text{yè dé.}
\begin{align*}
\text{support on} & \quad \text{FUT-PI.FUT.1PL.SB.MOT} \\
\text{put} & \quad \text{T.IND.PRX.3DU.O.MF} \\
\text{We will go and put them on the supports.}
\end{align*}

When the noun can be inferred from the context, some relators allow it to be represented by only a dependent pronoun.

(235) \[Ndyuw:e][\text{A}] \quad [u \text{ maknopwo}][\text{L}] \quad w-a-nyi \quad \text{kpè.}
\begin{align*}
\text{fire} & \quad \text{it under} \\
\text{D-FUT-2SG.SB} & \quad \text{light} \\
\text{You light a fire under it (the copra).} & \quad \text{(text (b), clause 4b)}
\end{align*}

When the item related to the rest of the clause by the postposition is to be expressed pronominally, a dependent pronoun from the set displayed in Table 2.2.2.1 is used.
to.him-said me on its turn please shine.IMP
He said to him, “Now you shine on me”.

See also nyo kada in example (239b).

A sample of Yele postpositions follows:

vy:o amongst, in the midst of
mênê inside, into, enclosed/surrounded by
yedê in/on
chedê beside (of inanimate things)
nkîgh:ê beside, near
paa to, at
mbêmê on, on top of
maknopwo underneath
p:uu at, concerning, on the subject of, about
kada/kuwo in front of/behind
k:oo into, inside

The last relator, k:oo, is interesting in that it cannot take any dependent pronoun between a singular noun and the postposition, and for anaphoric reference when the noun is left implicit, the postposition is used alone.

(237) [Teete mbwémi-knî yi k:î]gL —
uncle ASS.brother-some them with

[k:oo]gL nmî wo dniye.

into PL.REM.1PL.SB get.in IT.PL.REM.PL.SB
With my uncle and his brothers we got into it (the boat).

As mentioned above, some locative postpositions take on a temporal force in certain situations.

(238) a. [Nko vy:o]gL n:aa lêpi.
bush amongst CL.IM.FUT.1SG.SB going
I’m going up into the bush (rain forest). (locational use of vy:o)

b. [Mgîdí vy:o]gL n:aa lêpi.
darkness amongst CL.IM.FUT.1SG.SB going
I’m going at night. (temporal use of vy:o)

(239) a. [A kada]gL k̩ê-dê ghê knî.
1SG.DEP.PN before CT-PI.IM.PST.3.SB stand IT.PI.PRX.DU.SB
They (dual) are ahead of me (on the track). (locational use of kada)

b. [Dpênê]gL ngmê-dê vya ngmê, —
eel INDEF-PI.IM.PST.3.SB hit.FOL T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF

[nyi kada]gT,
us before (temporal use of kada)

(c. [nipî]gM [m:uu]gL dpî vy:a.
together more PI.IM.PST.1PL.SB hit
They killed an eel before we (dual) arrived, and together we killed another one.
2.2.4 Word class derivation

Yele has several mechanisms for deriving a word of one class from a word of another class.

Adverbs can be derived from verbs or adjectives by the addition of -mbiy:e.

\[
\begin{align*}
dpodo & \rightarrow \ dodo- \text{mbiy:e} \\
\text{work} & \quad \text{work-adverbialiser} \\
\text{strongly} & \\
d:umu & \rightarrow \ d:ud:u- \text{mbiy:e} \\
\text{full} & \quad \text{full-adverbialiser} \\
\text{fully} & 
\end{align*}
\]

(D:ud:u is a partial reduplication of d:umu ‘full’.)

A class of words meaning ‘for the nth time’ is derived from the ordinal numerals by the addition of -mbó.

\[
\begin{align*}
pyrolo & \rightarrow \ pyolo- \text{mbó} \\
\text{three.times} & \quad \text{for the third time} \\
podo & \rightarrow \ podo- \text{mbó} \\
\text{four.times} & \quad \text{for the fourth time} 
\end{align*}
\]

Adjectives can be nominalised by suffixing with -ni ‘specifier’ to form a word meaning ‘the...one’.

\[
\begin{align*}
ndi: & \rightarrow \ ndi:hi- \text{ni} \\
\text{big} & \quad \text{big-SPEC} \\
\text{the big one} & \\
tédi: & \rightarrow \ tédi:ni- \text{ni} \\
\text{small} & \quad \text{small-SPEC} \\
\text{the small one} & 
\end{align*}
\]

Although the doer of an action is usually expressed by the addition of a separate word, pyu, some words form contractions to indicate the person associated with an item.

\[
\begin{align*}
dpodo & \rightarrow \ dpodo \ pyu \\
\text{work} & \quad \text{work performer} \\
\text{worker} & \\
l:é: & \rightarrow \ l:é: \ pyu \\
\text{fight} & \quad \text{fight performer} \\
\text{fighter} & \\
tπii & \rightarrow \ tπii-πi \\
\text{steer} & \quad \text{steer-performer} \\
\text{steersman} & \\
kπaa & \rightarrow \ kπáa-πi \\
\text{steal} & \quad \text{steal-performer} \\
\text{thief} & 
\end{align*}
\]
2.3 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PREDICATIONS

Predications can be linked by co-ordination or by subordination, depending on the semantic relationship between them. The semantic relations are taken from Beekman et. al. (1981).

2.3.1 CO-ORDINATION

Time-sequenced discourses such as narrative and procedural are rich in co-ordinated sentences, where the semantic relationship is ADDITION. The clauses are juxtaposed, with no overt linkage.

(240) a. \([Dpênê]_A \text{ ngmê-dê} \quad \text{vy}a \quad \text{ngmê}, \quad \text{v} \quad \text{INDEF-PI.1M.PST.3.SB} \quad \text{hit.FOL} \quad \text{T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF}\]
   \[\text{[nyi kada]}_T, \quad \text{us before}\]

b. \([nipi]_M \quad [m:uu]_A \quad \text{dpî} \quad \text{vy}:a, \quad \text{v} \quad \text{PI.1M.PST.1PL.SB} \quad \text{hit}\]
   \[[dpênê \ pââ \ ndii.]_A \quad \text{eel body big}\]
   They had killed an eel before we (dual) arrived,
   and together we killed another one,
   a very big one.

(241) a. \([Nyââ, \ pyââ \ knî]_A \quad \text{dnye} \quad \text{yumu}, \quad \text{vy} \quad \text{woman some/PL} \quad \text{CI.REM.3PL.SB} \quad \text{laughing}\]

b. \([Hughie]_A \quad \text{doo} \quad \text{yumu,} \quad \text{vy} \quad \text{CI.REM.3SG.SB} \quad \text{laughing}\]

ADDITION to (a)

(242) a. \([Dmââði \ u \ pye \ mî \ y:oo]_E \quad \text{girl} \quad \text{her mother father} \quad \text{PL.E}\]
   \[[kê \ d:umu]_A \quad \text{dpo} \quad \text{ngî \ ngmê}, \quad \text{vy} \quad \text{money string} \quad \text{PCT.HAB.3.SB.CLS} \quad \text{take} \quad \text{T.PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF}\]

ADDITION to (b)
b. [yi] péé k:oo]L dpî ché ngmê, ADDITION to (a) their basket in PCT.HAB.3.SB put T.PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF

c. dpî ñuw:o ngmê, ADDITION to (b) PCT.HAB.3.SB take T.PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF

d. yi tp:ee u pywu. EQUIVALENT of kë d:umu in (a) their child her price

The girls’s mother and father take the string of kë money
and put it in their basket
and take it away.
It is the (bride) price of their child.

Further examples of co-ordinate sentences may be found in sentences 10 and 11 of text (a) and in sentences 4 and 5 of text (b) in §2.4.

2.3.2 SUBORDINATION

The categories of subordination distinguished in Yele are Time, Logical relationships and Relative Clauses.

2.3.2.1 TIME CLAUSES

By far the most frequent form of TIME clause contains dini ghi n:ii ngê ‘at the time when’.


time piece which Time person

ngmê-dpî pw:ou, TIME of (b)

INDEF-PCT.HAB.3.SB die

b. [u kpaakpua]A a-nyi dôó.
his mortuary feast FUT-2SG.SB do
When someone dies
you have a mortuary feast for him.


time piece which Time work finished F

dpî pyódu,

PCT.HAB.3.SB become

thing its size F PCT.HAB.3.SB become
When the work is finished
there are enough things (for the feast).

The first two sentences of text (b) in §2.4 provide examples of subordination, of a SPECIFIC clause and of a TIME clause respectively.

An intended future action is expressed with daa kêmakêma ‘soon’, as in example (245).
(245) a. [Da₂₃ kɛnako₂mɛma]ₜ [pːɑɑ yːi]₇ nǐ lɛpi, TIME of (b) not hardly down there CI.IM.PST.1SG.SB going
b. dːê, I.said.IM.PST
c. [Mːua]ₐ k-a kāː. CONTENT of (b) Dad CT-PRES calling
   I was about to go down
   when I heard (lit. said) my father call out.

The meaning ‘before’ is expressed with ghɛlì.

(246) a. [Ghɛlì]ₗ M dₐₘ pwene, TIME of (b) prematurely not die.REM
b. [u kɛe yoo]ₐ [u ngwo]ₚₗ mːuu too. his grandchild PL its time see T.PL.REM.3PL.O.MF
Before he died (lit. not prematurely having died),
    he saw his grandchildren.

2.3.2.2 LOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Each of the logical relationships distinguished in Yele will be discussed in turn, using the terminology of Beekman et. al. (1981: 95-107). All relationships can be expressed by the juxtaposition of clauses without any marking of the semantic relationship involved. In fact, it is rare to have the semantic relationship signalled in the surface structure.

The texts in §2.4 have been chosen to illustrate as many of these relationships as possible, so frequently reference will be made to examples in the texts, rather than including the examples in this section.

(1) CONTRAST

"The relation of CONTRAST occurs between two communication units when there are at least two points of difference between them and one point of similarity. One of the points of difference involves an opposition" (Beekman et. al.: p.100). A simple example of contrast where the clauses are juxtaposed without indicating the semantic relationship is:

(247) a. [Da₃][NEG [a wːɑː]ₚₗ COM not my dog
b. [Nkal u wːɑː]ₚₗ COM Nkal his dog
   It’s not my dog.
   It’s Nkal’s dog.

The two points of difference are: (a) not my, and (b) 0 Nkal’s. The point of similarity is wːɑː ‘dog’. These two clauses are sentences 3 and 4 of text (d) in §2.4.

A similar example of CONTRAST is between the two clauses of sentence 5 in text (c) in §2.4, where the Topic is constant in both clauses, and the two differences are in the Time and Comment positions.
A possible example of the CONTRAST relationship, where the contrast is with an implied expectation, is:

(248) a. [A p:aa pee]_{L} dì lè. my village part P1.IM.PST.1SG.SB go
b. [pi]_{A} d:oo mòdu. person P1.IM.PST.1SG.SB.NEG see.REM
I went home,
but I didn’t see anyone.

This sentence, however, may only illustrate the ADDITION relationship, with the second clause simply giving the next event in the narrative.

The CONTRAST relationship can be made explicit with the conjunction ngmènè ‘but’ as in the following examples.

(249) a. [Kpëmi k:ii ntee té-ni,]_{COM} shark appearance like fish-SPEC
b. ngmènè [daa]_{NEG} [nté,]_{COM} but not food
It’s a kind of fish that looks like a shark,
but you can’t eat it.

(250) a. [Yì danèmbum]_{TOP} [ala-nté,]_{COM} that story this-like
b. ngmènè [kópu mu ngmìdi,]_{COM} but thing only one
contrasted with (a)
c. [Chìma u chinè tpuu u pi]_{A} — Chima his nephew youngest his name
[a lama]_{L} kÌ-da kuwo. my knowledge CT-P1.IM.PST.3.SB.CLS leave
Well that’s how the story goes,
but there’s just one thing,
I’ve forgotten Chima’s youngest nephew’s name.

(2) REASON–RESULT

The REASON clause usually precedes the RESULT clause, often without being marked in the surface structure. For example:

(251) a. [Dnyiñtè]_{M} a w:ce ngópu, badly CLS understand T.P1.REM.3SG.O.PF
b. [pyàà yoo]_{A} mbèpè wo. woman PL run IT.P1.REM.SG.SB
They didn’t understand,
so the women ran away.

Similar examples are at text (a), sentences 1-5 and text (d), sentences 10-12, where the final sentence is the result of the preceding sentences listed in each case.
The relationship can be made explicit with *u l:ée diy:o* ‘on account of’ in the REASON clause as in text (c), sentence 2, but this seems an unusual construction.

Where events in the past are the REASON for a current and continuing RESULT, the RESULT clause is marked with *awède* ‘today’. The following example is from text (d), sentences 16 and 17.

(252) a. *[Mépé ngē]* _E* [w:åå mbwámē]_ _A* — 
   Mépé SG.E dog neck 
   mé-dépé châpwo. REASON for (b) 
   again-PI.REM.3SG.SB.NEG cut 

b. *[Awède]* _T* k-a kwo, *[Doongē]* _L_. 
   today CT-CL.PRES.3.SB stands Doongē 
   Mépé didn’t cut its throat, 
   so it is still there at Doongē.

(3) MEANS–RESULT

The MEANS–RESULT relationship is similar to the REASON–RESULT relationship, but MEANS implies that someone intends the RESULT to take place. Example (253) is from text (d), sentences 15 and 16.

(253) a. *[W:åå]* _A* mi mbēpē wo, — 
   dog PI.REM.3.SB.MOT run IT.PI.REM.SG.SB 
   [chii mënē.]* _L_ MEANS of (b) 
   bush in 

b. *[Mépé ngē]* _E* [w:åå mbwámē] _A* — 
   Mépé SG.E dog neck 
   mé-dépé châpwo. 
   again-PI.REM.3.SB.NEG cut 
   The dog ran into the bush, 
   so Mépé wasn’t able to cut its throat.

Another example shows the use of *awède* ‘today’ to mark a continuing state arising from an origin story.

(254) a. *[Km:ii]* _A* [ntémwintémwi] _L_ dy:åå ngē, MEANS of (b) 
   coconut everywhere sent T.PI.REM.3SG.O.MF 

b. *[awède]* _T* [km:ii]TOP [ala dyámē mbêmē wopewope] _L_ — 
   today coconut this island on everywhere 
   [daa] _NEG* [ghédé.]* _COM not scarce 
   He sent coconuts to every place, 
   so now there are plenty of coconuts all over the island.

(4) MEANS–PURPOSE

MEANS–PURPOSE is similar to MEANS–RESULT, but the event with the PURPOSE relationship is intended, not necessarily realised. In Yele the PURPOSE clause is expressed as an imperative.

b. mu kópu dí:y:o [mbwêmê ngê]E [tp:oo]A — later word on.account.of pig SG.E child daa-paa ma téne. PURPOSE of (a) not-deferred.CF.PCT.IMP eat T.PCT.IMP.3PL.O.3.SB Hens are kept in a cage so that the pig will not eat the chickens.

Since a negative habitual carries the force of a negative imperative, PURPOSE can also be expressed with a negative habitual, as in (256b). (This example is taken from text (b), sentences 10 c and d.)


b. [nkúwo]A [u mênê]L d:u:u-dpí kee. PURPOSE of (a) cold its inside NEG-PCT.HAB.3.SB go.in You put it well, so that moisture will not get inside it.

(5) CONDITION–CONSEQUENCE

This relationship is frequently not marked. For example:

(257) a. [Mb:aamb:aa ngê]M a-nyi vyoko, CONDITION of (b) good M FUT-2SG.SB dry


Another example is at text (b), sentence 6.

The CONDITION clause can optionally be marked with <kno-momê> ‘if’, which replaces the predicate postnucleus.

(258) a. [Kì nti-ni]A w-a-nyi ma kno-momê, CONDITION of (b) this food-SPEC D-FUT-2SG.SB eat SG.O-if

b. w-a-nyi pw:ono. CONSEQUENCE of (a) D-FUT-2SG.SB die If you eat this food you will die.

<kno-momê> varies with person and number, as illustrated in Table 2.3.2.2.1.
### Table 2.3.2.2.1: Some Forms of <kno-momê> ‘If’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person and Number</th>
<th>Common Form</th>
<th>Form of &lt;kno-momê&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Third singular</td>
<td>Øngmê</td>
<td>kno-momê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First plural</td>
<td>nmo</td>
<td>nmo-momê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third plural</td>
<td>té</td>
<td>to-momê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contrary-to-fact conditionals use the contrafactual morphemes described in §2.1.7.7. See example (127).

(6) CONCESSION–CONTRAEXPECTATION

This relationship can be unmarked, the clauses being simply juxtaposed. See Sentence 10 in the text (a) in §2.4. The relationship can be made explicit by marking the CONCESSION clause with k:omo tpile ‘no matter’ and the CONTRAEXPECTATION clause with ngmênê ‘but’.

(259) a.  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{K:omo } & \text{ tpile } \text{ [mgêdî]_TOP } [\text{ndîîi}]_\text{COM} \\
\text{false } & \text{ thing dark } \text{ big}
\end{align*}
\]

CONCESSION to (b)

b.  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngmênê } & \text{ dî-nî } \text{ nkîngê}.
\end{align*}
\]

CONTRAEXPECTATION to (a)

but not-CI.PRES.1SG.SB be.afraid

No matter if it is pitch dark,

I am not afraid.

(7) GROUNDS–CONCLUSION

This relationship does not need to be overtly marked.

(260) a.  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[Tpiî]_TOP } & \text{ [pââ } \text{ ndîîi}]_\text{COM} \\
\text{rain } & \text{ body big}
\end{align*}
\]

GROUNDs of (b)

b.  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[T:ââ } \text{ ngê]_E } & \text{ w-a } \text{ t:âmo } \text{ ngi.}
\end{align*}
\]

CONCLUSION of (1)

flood SG.E D-FUT steal T.2SG.O

It’s been raining heavily.

You’ll be carried away by the flood.

Other examples may be found at text (a), sentence 17, text (b), sentences 17 and 18, and text (c), sentences 5 to 10.

When the GROUNDS follows the conclusion, the GROUNDS clause is marked with mu kópu u diy:o ‘because’. For example:

(261) a.  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[Nkwépî]_A } & \text{ ngmà } \text{ kwo, } \text{ — sorcerer } \text{ INDEF.CI.PRES.3.SB } \text{ standing}
\end{align*}
\]

[ala p:aa pec:]_L

this village part

CONCLUSION to (b)

b.  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mu } & \text{ kópu } \text{ u } \text{ diy:o } [\text{tpyêmî]_A } \text{ — that word its account.of firefly }
\end{align*}
\]

dè  

gh:ëdëdë.

GROUNDs of (a)

PI.IM.PST.3.SB stand

There’s a sorcerer in this part of the village,

because the firefly flew upwards.
2.3.2.3 RELATIVE CLAUSES

When a clause fills the Locative slot of another clause, the relative clause is marked with kwéli ‘wherever’.

(262) a. [Kwéli]L dpì kn:àadi ngmè, LOCATION of (b)
wherever PCT.HAB.3.SB miss T.IND.PRX.3SG.O.PF
there C.HAB.1SG.SB helping T.C.HAB.PRX.3DU.O.MF
Wherever they make mistakes
I help them.

Other examples are in sentences 14 and 16 of text (b) in §2.4.

When the subject or object of a clause is manifested by a relative clause, the relative clause is marked by n:ii ‘who/whom/which’.

long.ago whom hit.FOL T.PL.REM.3PL.O.PF
b. [t:a ngè]F pyaa dniye.
parrot F become IT.PL.REM.PL.SB
The people that they killed long ago
have become parrots.

slipway man-SPEC who SG.E PRES watching
b. [yì pi-ní u pi]TOP [Mr Frost]COM.
that man-SPEC his name Mr Frost
The man who is in charge of the slipway,
his name is Mr Frost.

When the time of an event is manifested by an embedded clause, the phrase dini ghi n:ii ngè ‘at the time when’ is used in the embedded clause.

time piece which at work
[machedè ngè]F dpì pyódu, TIME of (b)
finished F PCT.HAB.3.SB become
thing its size F PCT.HAB.3.SB become
When the work is finished,
there are enough things (for the feast).

2.3.2.4 NOMINALISATION

A further degree of subordination of one predication to another is shown in the nominalisation of a verb, in which the continuous root is used as a noun. An object affected by the nominalised predication can be expressed, but the Agent of the action cannot be expressed.
(266) \([\text{Pi} \; \text{pipi} \; \text{A} \; \text{wunê} \; \text{T} \; \text{kî yê ngôpu}].\)  
person eating long.ago CT stop T.PI.REM.3SG.O.PF  
They stopped eating people a long time ago.

Examples (12) and (13) in §2.1.1 further illustrate this nominal use of continuous verb roots.

2.3.3 QUOTATIONS

All quotations are direct. There is no indirect speech. Every utterance by the one person is introduced by a quote formula which specifies when the words were spoken, and the person and number of the speaker and of the hearer. Typically, each succeeding clause in the quotation is introduced by a contracted quote formula that gives the person and number of the speaker and of the person spoken to, and the tense.

(267) a. \([\text{Hughie ngê} \; \text{E} \; \text{ye-pê}].\)  
Hughie  SG.E to.them-3.said.REM  

b. \(\text{N:aa pyaa yâmuyâmu}.\)  
Cl.IM.FUT.1SG.SB crocodile hunting  
CONTENT of (a)

c. \([\text{Pyàâ knî y:oo} \; \text{E} \; \text{a-pê}].\)  
woman some PL.E INDEF.G-3.said.REM  
ADDITION to (a)

d. \([\text{Hughie} \; \text{A} \; \text{a pyàâ yâmuyâmu}].\)  
Hugh  PRES woman hunting  
CONTENT of (c)

e. \(\text{Kêle, [dnyite]\; M\; a w:ee ngôpu,}\)  
no not.properly CLS understand T.PI.REM.3SG.O.PF  
REASON for (f)

f. \([\text{pyàâ yoo} \; \text{A} \; \text{mbêpê wo}].\)  
woman PL run IT.PI.REM.SG.SB  
ADDITION to (c)

g. \([\text{Hughie ngê} \; \text{E} \; \text{ye-pê}].\)  
Hughie  SG.E to.them-3.said.REM  
ADDITION to (f)

h. \(\text{Nuku mbêpê}.\)  
PCT.IMP.2SG.SB run  
CONTENT of (g)

i. \(\text{Ye-pê}.\)  
to.them-3.said.REM  
ADDITION to (g)

j. \(\text{N:aa tûpukada yâmuyâmu}.\)  
Cl.IM.FUT.1SG.SB crocodile hunting  
Hugh said to them,  
"I'm hunting crocodiles".  
The women thought,  
"Hughie is looking for women".  
But the women didn't understand properly,  
so they ran away.  
Hugh said to them,  
"Don't run away.  
I'm after crocodiles." (He used the word for crocodile in the other dialect.)
This example also illustrates implied speech in the women’s restatement of Hughie’s purpose in being there. (There is another example of implied speech in sentence 12 of text (a) in §2.4.)

Example (268) illustrates the quote formula used with third person singular participants.

(268) a. [John]Α [captain ka]G mì póó wo,
   John captain to MOT ask IT.PL.REM.SG.SB

b. kwo, ADDITION to (a)
to.him

c. [Gregory]TOP [angênê?]COM
   Gregory where

   CONTENT of (b)
d. Kwo, ADDITION to (b)
to.him

   e. [Pī]Α [al:i]L ngma kwo, —
      person here INDEF.CI.PRES.3.SB standing

      [Gregory.]Α
      Gregory

      CONTENT of (d)
      and AMPLIFICATION of (c)
   f. kwo, ADDITION to (d)
to.him

   g. [Samarai]L da ndê.
      Samarai PL.IM.PST.3.SB.CLS come.from

      CONTENT of (f)
      and COMMENT on Gregory in (e)
   h. Kwo, ADDITION to (f)
to.him

   i. [U pyinê]Α d:a ngmêê. CONTENT of (h)
      his presence PL.IM.PST.1SG.SB.CLS look.for

      and AMPLIFICATION of (c)

      John asked the captain,
      “Where is Gregory?”
      He (John) said,
      “There’s someone here called Gregory,
      who has come from Samarai.
      I’m looking for him”.

Another example of dialogue is at text (a), sentences 6 and 7 in §2.4. In sentence 8 of that text the two following clauses in the quotation are not preceded by the contracted quote formula, a-ka-dê ‘he said to me’. It is obvious that the quotation continues, because of the second person verb parts. This text was originally written, not spoken, and there is a tendency in written material not to use the quote formulae as frequently as in spoken discourse.

Quoted speech is common in narrative, but rare in procedural, hortatory or explanatory discourse types. Text (d) in §2.4 is explanatory, and contains quoted speech in an embedded narrative episode (sentences 10 to 16).
Table 2.3.3.1 illustrates some of the quote formulae used before each quoted clause in speech.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hearer</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>TMA</th>
<th>Formula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>PI.IM.PST</td>
<td>a-ka-dë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>PI.IM.PST</td>
<td>kwo-d:o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>PI.IM.PST</td>
<td>ye-dë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>PI.REM</td>
<td>a-ka-pë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>PI.IM.PST</td>
<td>kwo-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>PI.IM.PST</td>
<td>ye-pë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>C.HAB</td>
<td>a-kópu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>C.HAB</td>
<td>kwo-nîmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
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<td>C.HAB</td>
<td>yi-pu</td>
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<td>3SG</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>a-kipi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>yi-pi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where speech about a person is reported to that person, the third person verb forms used remain intact, but any non-verbal referent to the person to whom the speech is reported is adjusted to match the reporting communication situation. For example, if Mgédidi says to his son

(269)  
[Kaawa]A a  pwiyé we  
Kaawa  CLS come  IT.PCT.IMP.3SG.SB  
Ask Kaawa to come here (lit. Let Kaawa come here)

his son will go to Kaawa and say to him

(270)  a.  [M:aa ngê]E apu,  
  Dad  SG.E is.saying

  b.  [Nyi]A a  pwiyé we.  
       you.SG  CLS come  IT.PCT.IMP.3SG.SB  
       Dad is asking you to come (lit. Dad is saying, "Let you come").

Similarly, a command to bring something would be reported as

(271)  [Nyi  ngê]E dpo  núw:o  ngê.  
       you.SG  SG.E deferral.CLS bring  T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O.2SG.SB  
       You are to bring it. (lit. Let you bring it later.)

This lack of agreement can even extend to the use of a first person subject pronoun with a third person verb.

(272)  a.  [M:aa ngê]E apu,  
  Dad  SG.E is.saying

       I  SG.E deferral send  T.PCT.IMP.3SG.O.3SG.SB  
       Dad told me to send him. (lit. Dad is saying, "Let I send him (on his way"").
2.3.4 MODALITIES

This section deals with those items traditionally called ‘modalities’, such as desire, possibility and permission. Yele uses two items here, *u yi* ‘its desire’ and *u ntåå* ‘enough/its size’.

(273) a. \[ U yi \_A \ [nga]_X \ a \ kwo \] (desire) its desire 2SG.X PRES standing

\[ [Bishop]_A \ w-a-nyi \ ngmáno, \]
bishop D-FUT-PI.FUT.2SG.SB accompany

\[ [p:uu]_L \ a-nyi-n:aa \ dpodo? \]
for FUT-CL.FUT.2SG.SB-MOT working Do you want to accompany the bishop and work for him there?

When *yi* ‘desire’ is followed by the first person singular experiencer marker *a nga*, vowel harmony forces *yi* to become *ya*.

(274) a. \[ U ya \_A \ [anga]_X \ a \ kwo, \] (desire) its desire 1SG.X PRES standing

\[ [Rabaul]_L \ n:aa \ lëpì. \]
Rabaul CI.1M.FUT.1SG.SB going I want to go to Rabaul.

A request to do something is handled with an appropriate imperative in the second clause.

(275) a. \[ U yi \_A \ [nye]_X \ a \ kwo, \] (desire) its desire 1DU.X PRES standing

\[ [måå]_T \ dpì \ lìli, \]
tomorrow deferral.2,3.SB go.away.2SG.IMP Mbywoo

\[ [y:i]_L \ dp:umo \ kee. \]
there deferred.PCT.IMP.2SG.SB.MOT.CLS go.up We (dual) want you to go to Mbywoo tomorrow and go up there.

An invitation with some coercive force uses the normal first person imperative, but precedes it with a desiderative clause.

(276) a. \[ U ya \_A \ [anga]_X \ a \ kwo, \] (desire) its desire 1SG.X PRES standing

\[ mi \ lee \ kmèle. \]
other go.PCT IT.PCT.IMP.1PL.SB I want us to go to the other place now.

Possibility is expressed with *u ntåå* ‘enough/its size’.

(277) a. \[ Saw nt:u \_A \ [Mr Frost ka]_G \ ñuw:ce, \]
saw body Mr Frost G take.2SG.IMP
b. *u ntâà w-a ńepwi.*
   enough D-FUT sharpen
   Take the saw blade to Mr Frost,
   he will be able to sharpen it.

A request for permission is also expressed with *u ntâà.*

(278) a. *U ntâà a-nî lê?*
   enough FUT-PI.FUT.1SG.SB go

b. *Nyâà, u ntâà.*
   yes enough
   May I go?
   Yes, you may.

The only way to express necessity is by saying it is not possible not to do the action.

(279) a. *Chi dpodo.*
   C.IMP.2SG.SB working

b. *Doo u ntâà daa-nyi lime.*
   not enough not-CI.FUT.2SG.SB resting
   Keep working.
   You mustn’t rest.

2.4 TEXTS

The texts have been laid out in clauses. The terms in UPPERCASE are the semantic relationships of the clauses to others, and are the same terms as are used by Beekman et. al. (1981). Each text is preceded by a chart of the Juncture, Cohesive and Prominence features of the text, on which the paragraph division is based. In these charts, the word ‘sentence’ is represented by ‘S’.

(a) A narrative about going fishing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Juncture</th>
<th>Cohesion</th>
<th>Prominence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discourse</td>
<td>awêde sets time</td>
<td><em>te</em> in S1, S6, S7, S15, S16 and S17</td>
<td>first person throughout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kidi le sets cast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A danêmbum wu u di</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>closure in S16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Episode 1  | Awêde sets time S1 | *lê* going in S1 |
| S1-5       | kidi le sets cast S1 | *nee tp:o:oo* in S1 |
|            | te yâmûyâmu sets theme S1 | “sandwich” |

| Daantê wow! S2 |
| Yópu ndii S3 |
| big wind |

| diyé returning S5 |

| continued... |
continued...

| Episode 2  | Nkal | enter new actor | same participants and location throughout dialogue throughout |
| S6-9      |      | new location    |                                                             |
| Episode 3 |      | location moves away from Nkal | narrative without any dialogue |
| S10-11    |      |                 |                                                             |
| Episode 4 |      | new time in S12 | dialogue throughout between father and author |
| S12-17    | M:aa | enter new actor |                                                             |
| Closure   |      | A danêmbum wu u dì. closure S18 |                                                             |
| S18       |      |                 |                                                             |

THE TEXT – A narrative about going fishing

(Episode 1)

1. [Awède]_T kì-dì lè, [te yàmuyàmu têdê]_L today CT-PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB go fish hunting place
   [a nee tp:oo ngê]_L. my canoe small I
2. Daa-nté. not-like CIRCUMSTANCE of 1
3. [Yópu]_TOP [pàa ndi]_COM wind body big CIRCUMSTANCE of 1
4 a. [Nee]_TOP [têdê]_COM canoe body big CIRCUMSTANCE of 1
   b. [daa]_NEG [yópu u ntâa]_COM not wind its size CIRCUMSTANCE of 1
5. Mu-mê-d:a diyé, [a p:o]_L other-again-PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB.CLS return my home and RESULT of 1-4

(Episode 2)

6 a. [Nkal ngê]_E a-ka-dé, Nkal SG.E me-to-3.said.IM.PST ADDITION to 1
   b. A! [Ye]_TOP [lukwe?]_COM exclamation that (near hearer) what CONTENT of a (emotive opening)
   c. A-dê, indef.G-3.said.IM.PST ADDITION to a
   d. [Angènè]_L [te?]_TOP where fish CONTENT of c (question arising from 1a)
7 a. Kwo-d:o, to.him-I said.IM.PST ADDITION to 6c
   b. Daa tôó. CI.PRES.3.SB.NEG sitting CONTENT of a (answer to 6d)
8. a. A-ka-dê,  
   me-to-3.said.IM.PST

      okay other.CI.FUT.3.SB sit

   c. [Tpiïl]TOP [pâa ndêi.]COM  
      rain body big

      flood SG.E D-FUT steal T.PI.FUT.2SG.O

9. a. Kwo-d:o,  
    to.him-I said.IM.PST

   b. li! N:aa lêpî, [a p:aa pee]L.  
      okay CI.IM.FUT.1SG.SB going my village part
      and CONCLUSION to 8d

(Episode 3)

     my village part PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB go

      person PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB.NEG see.REM

11. a. [Ngomo k:o]L dî kee,  
     house inside PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB go.in

   b. [mbwo]A dî kpo.  
      betel.nut PI.IM.PST.1SG.SB chew

(Episode 4)

12. a. [Daâ kêmakêma]T [p:ââ y:i]L nî lêpî,  
     not hardly down there CI.IM.PST.1SG.SB going

   b. dê,  
     I said.IM.PST

     Dad CT-PRES calling

13. a. A-ka-dê,  
    me-to-3.said.IM.PST

   b. Mw:aamywey!  
      Mw:aamywu.VOC

14. a. Kwo-d:o,  
    to.him-I said.IM.PST

   b. Õ!  
      exclamation

15. a. A-ka-dê,  
    me-to-3.said.IM.PST

   b. [Angênê]L [te?]TOP  
      where fish

   ADDITION to 7

   CONTENT of a  
   (response to 7b)

   CONTENT of a  
   (remark, GROUNDS of d)

   CONTENT of a  
   (CONCLUSION to c)

   ADDITION to 8a

   CONTENT of a

   and CONCLUSION to 8d

   ADDITION to 9

   ADDITION to a  
   (possibly CONTRA to a)

   ADDITION to 10b

   ADDITION to a

   TIME of b

   ADDITION to 11b

   CONTENT of b

   ADDITION to 12

   CONTENT of a  
   (address)

   ADDITION to 13

   CONTENT of a  
   (response to call)

   ADDITION to 14

   CONTENT of a  
   (question arising from 1a)
16 a. Kwo-di:ø, to.him-I said.IM.PST

b. Daa tôô. CI.PRES.3.SB.NEG sitting

maybe maybe I'm not good.fisherman

(Closure)

18 [A danêmbum]TOP [wu]L [u dî.]COM
my story this its end

(Conclusion of whole discourse)

FREE TRANSLATION – A narrative about going fishing

(The numbers match the vernacular sentences.)

1. I went fishing today, in my small canoe. 2. Wow! 3. The wind was very strong, 4. and my canoe is only small, not big enough for a wind like that! 5. So I headed back home.


10. I went home, to my part of the village, but I didn’t see anyone. 11. I went up inside my house and chewed some betel nut.


18. That’s the end of my story.

(b) A procedural discourse – how to make copra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Juncture</th>
<th>Cohesion</th>
<th>Prominence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discourse</td>
<td>topic sentence: Km:ii u danêmbum nínê nj:ii — ngmanyi km:ii chap</td>
<td>km:ii referred to throughout 2nd or 3rd person habituals throughout</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>closure: Wu u dî, awède. S19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>topic sentence S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td>time setting</td>
<td>time-linked events: S2-5, 10-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2-13</td>
<td>break from time sequence to description of good drying</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>embedded descriptive/explanatory paragraph</td>
<td>S6-8</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

continued...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Explanatory paragraph</th>
<th>slightly higher pitch to start</th>
<th>consequences of drying copra well or badly</th>
<th>contrast and repetition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S14-18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conclusion</strong></td>
<td><strong>Wu u dĩ</strong> That’s the end.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**THE TEXT – A procedural discourse – how to make copra**

(Introduction – topic sentence)

1 a. [Ala ngwo]ₜ [km:ii u danêmbum]ₐ nî-nê  nyi:ii, this time copra its story CI.basic.1SG.SB-CLS telling

b. [dini ghi ngê]ₜ ngma-nyi km:ii chap. SPECIFIC of a time piece at INDEF.FUT-FUT.2SG.SB coconut split

(Step 1)

2 a. [Km:ii chap kn:âã]ₐ [dini ghi ngê]ₜ a-nyi chaa. TIME of b coconut splitting base time piece at FUT-2SG.SB split

b. [km:ii]ₐ a-nyi-nê wuwó, coconuts FUT-2SG.SB-CLS gather

c. [dyuu]ₐ a-nyi-nê pyidu té. ADDITION to b FUT-2SG.SB-CLS raise T.PI.PR.X.3PL.O.MF

3 a. [U kuwó dini ghi ngê]ₜ w-a-nyi nmi, its after time piece at D-FUT-2SG.SB husk

b. w-a-nyi ngâã, D-FUT-2SG.SB weed

c. w-a-nyi pwâã, D-FUT-2SG.SB break

d. w-a-nyi ghodo, [km:ii ngomo k:oo]ₗ gather copra house inside D-FUT-2SG.SB

4 a. [Km:ii]ₐ w-a-nyi dono, coconuts D-FUT-2SG.SB put.face.down

b. [ndyuw:e]ₐ [u makanpwo]ₗ w-a-nyi kpê, fire its under D-FUT-2SG.SB light

c. [ndê]ₐ [mwiye]ₜ a-nyi ghodo. ADDITION (flashback) to b firewood first FUT-2SG.SB gather

5 a. A vyokovyoko yédi, ADDITION to 4 C.HAB.PR.X.3.SB drying IT.C.HAB.PR.X.3.SB

b. [wo limi]ₜ [ngomo k:oo]ₗ a ya yédi, ADDITION to b day five house inside C.HAB.PR.X.3.SB sit IT.C.HAB.PR.X.3.SB

c. [ndyuw:e]ₐ [u makanpwo]ₗ a kwo yédi. ADDITION to b fire its under C.HAB.PR.X.3.SB standing IT.C.HAB.PR.X.3.SB
6 a. [Mb:aamb:aa ngè]M dpì vyoko, CONDITION of b good M PCT.HAB.3.SB dry

b. [iīi]A [yì mènè]L daa ya yèdì. CONSEQUENCE of a juice their inside C.HAB.3SG.SB.NEG stay IT.C.HAB.PR.X.SG.SB


good M oil
ye-dè-n:aa kuwo. CONSEQUENCE of 6a mentioned-PCT.HAB.3.SB-MOT leave

8 Ka, [yi km:ii-ni u vyokovskyoko]TOP [mb:aamb:aa]COM SUMMARY of okay that copra-SPEC its drying good 6 and 7

9 [U kuwuò dini ghi ngè]T w-a-nyi vy:a. ADDITION to 5c its after time piece at D-FUT-2SG.SB hit

10 a. [U vyee tèdè]L [km:ii]A w-a-nyi ghodo. ADDITION (flashback) its hitting place copra D-FUT-2SG.SB gather to 9

b. [bag komo]A w-a-nyi dinya té, ADDITION (sequence) bag mouth D-FUT-2SG.SB sew T.PI.PR.X.3PL.O.MF to 9

c. [mb:aamb:aa ngè]M w-a-nyi yè, ADDITION to b good M D-FUT-2SG.SB put

d. [nkùwo]A [u mènè]L d:uu-dpì kee. PURPOSE of c cold its inside NEG-PCT.HAB.3.SB go.in

11 a. W-a-ny:uu tèdè, [wop mbêmè]L —
D-FUT-2SG.SB.MOT take wharf on
[ngomo tp:oo k:oo]L house small inside

b. [y:ì]L wumì ya yèdì, ADDITION to a there C.HAB.PR.X.3.SB.MOT sit IT.C.HAB.SG.SB


12 a. [Nkèlì]A dpì kee,
boat PCT.HAB.3.SB come.up

b. [nkèlì k:oo dpodo pyu knì y:oo]E —
boat in work -performer some P.L.E
[nkèlì k:oo]L dpì ché ngmè. ADDITION to a boat in PCT.HAB.3.SB put PCT.HAB.3SG.O.PF

13 a. Dpì lè, [Samaraì]L
PCT.HAB.3SG.SB go, Samaraì

ADDITION to 12
b. *yed:oo [Cora Marketing Board.]*_{L}\text{thence C.M.B.} \quad \text{ADDITION to a}

(Evaluative paragraph)

14 a. [Mb:aamb:aa ngē]_{M} a-nyi \text{ vyoko,} \quad \text{CONDITION of b}
good \text{ M FUT-2SG.SB dry}

b. [u pywuu]_{A} [mb:aamb:aa ngē]_{M} dpo \text{ d:ii, CONSEQUENCE}
it's price good \text{ M PCT.HAB.3.SB.CLS throw of a}

15 a. [Dnyi:ne]_{M} a-nyi \text{ vyoko,} \quad \text{CONDITION of b}
badly \text{ FUT-2SG.SB dry}

b. [pweepwee pee]_{A} [nga]_{G} modo kee, \quad \text{CONSEQUENCE of a and CONTRAST with 14}
paper piece to.you again.CLS come.up

16 a. [Mb:aamb:aa ngē]_{M} a-nyi \text{ vyoko,} \quad \text{CONDITION of b}
good \text{ M FUT-2SG.SB dry}

b. [u pywuu]_{A} [mb:aamb:aa ngē]_{M} — \quad \text{CONSEQUENCE of a and EQUIVALENT of 14}
its price good \text{ M}
dpî d:ii, PCT.HAB.3.SB throw

(Conclusion)

19 Nyâa, [wu]_{L} [u dî,]_{COM} [awēde.]*_{T} \quad \text{yes this its end today}
FREE TRANSLATION – A procedural discourse – how to make copra

1. Now I’m going to talk about making copra.

2. To begin with, you gather the coconuts and put them in heaps. 3. After that you husk them, you pluck the fibres off them, you break them open and take them to the copra house. 4. You put them face down and light the fire underneath, after first gathering the firewood. 5. It dries for five days in the copra house, with the fire going underneath all the time. 6. If it dries well, the water won’t stay in it, 7. the moisture comes out, leaving the oil inside properly. 8. So that copra is dried properly. 9. After that you ram it. 10. You gather the copra to the ramming place. You sew up the bags and put the copra well, so that it doesn’t get moist again. 11. You take it to the wharf and leave it in the shed there, waiting for the boat. 12. When the boat comes the crew load it aboard. 13. It goes to Samarai, and from there to the Copra Marketing Board.

14. If you dry it well, you’ll get a good price for it, wherever you have your account, Burns Philp or Steamships Trading Company. 15. If you don’t dry it properly, you’ll get a note to say the bags of copra were bad, and you’ll get a small price for it, wherever you have your account. 16. If you dry it well, it will fetch a good price, wherever you work. 17. If you don’t dry it properly, you’ve only got yourself to blame, 18. so you should look after it well. 19. Well, that’s all for today.

(e) A speech at a wedding

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<th>Unit</th>
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<th>Cohesion</th>
<th>Prominence</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discourse</td>
<td>pre-amble –</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n:aa danënbum</td>
<td></td>
<td>advice to Mboo S5-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sets topic –</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mboo awède</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kèdè yéé S2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>introduces Mboo, the person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>addressed, S2</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>closure:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a danënbum wu u dì S12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>sets the scene – address to</td>
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<tr>
<td>S1-4</td>
<td>the groom at a wedding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>names the groom – Mboo, and</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>refers to him in the 3rd person</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Body</td>
<td>change to 2nd person address to</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>S5-11</td>
<td>groom</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>conclusion formula</td>
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<tr>
<td>S12</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

THE TEXT – A speech at a wedding

(Introduction)

1 a. [Mboo ka]G [u nkwo]T n:aa danënbum, Mboo to its turn Cl.1M.FUT.1SG.SB talking
b. \( \text{danèmbum} \text{pee tp:oo}_{A} \text{n:aa} \text{y:emî.} \) EQUIVALENT of a speech piece small CT.IM.FUT.1SG.SB giving

2 a. \( \text{Daa lukwe dîy:o,} \) CONTRAST to b not what purpose

b. \( \text{Mboo}_{A} \text{[awède]}_{T} \text{kè-dè} \text{yèé,} \) - Mboo today CT-PI.IM.PST.3.SB marry

\( [\text{yèéyèé u lèè dîy:o,}]_{\text{Reason}} \) marriage its reason account.of

3 a. \( \text{[Ala dyáme mbêmê]_{L} [lémi} \text{ch:am}_{A} \) — this island on big.man big.woman

\( \text{a tôó mo,} \) \( \text{CI.PRES.3.SB sit} \) \( \text{IT.CI.PRX.DU.SB} \)

b. \( \text{[kè.ndap]}_{A} \text{a dpodo mo.} \) EQUIVALENT of a two.kinds.of.money CI.PRES.3.SB work IT.CI.PRX.DU.SB (metaphor)

4 a. \( \text{[Yi danèmbum]}_{A} \text{[u kwo]G} \text{yì-nì} \text{y:emî.} \) AMPLIFICATION their story his to mentioned-1SG.SB give of 1

(Exhortation)

5 a. \( \text{[Ma, m:ii.tuwo,]_{T} [nyì]}_{\text{TOP}} \text{[pi} \text{mgèm.]}_{\text{COM}} \) CONTRAST to b yesterday day.before you person single

b. \( \text{[awède]}_{T} \text{[nyì]}_{\text{TOP}} \text{[yèé.]}_{\text{COM}} \) GROUNDS of 6 today you married.man

6 a. \( \text{[Mgéédi kà} \text{G kidi-ngè} \text{pwepe,} \) Mgéédi to IMP.NEG.2SG.SB-PCT answer.back

b. \( \text{[nt:eemwe]}_{A} \text{[nga]}_{G} \text{choo} \text{tpapè,} \) \( \text{IDENTIFICATION of nt:eemwe in c} \) whatever to.you C.IMP.3SG.SB saying
c. \( \text{[nt:eemwe]}_{\text{TOP}} \text{[ndè} \text{pèè.kòpu,]}_{\text{COM}} \) GROUNDS of a everything true talk/word
d. \( \text{[kè.ndap]}_{A} \text{yìnè dè} \text{dòó,ghìdì kwolo,} \) GROUNDS of a money he.it.is PL.IM.PST.3.SB call cause
e. \( \text{[ngmàm]}_{A} \text{[u ngwo]}_{l} \text{a-nyi} \text{pwila.} \) COMMENT on kè.ndap in d your.wife its with FUT-2SG.SB pay.for

7 a. \( \text{[Mb:aamb:aa ngè]}_{M} \text{chi vyuwo,} \text{Mgàmìwe cha,} \) — good M C.IMP.2SG.SB look.after Mgàmìwe ASS.wife

\( \text{Mgéédi, Wààdî cha,} \text{Mw:aamywu cha,} \text{ADDITION to 6a} \) Mgéédi Wààdî ASS.wife Mw:aamywu ASS.wife

b. \( \text{[mb:aamb:aa ngè]}_{M} \text{[ye]s chi ng:aa,} \) ADDITION to a good M to.them C.IMP.2SG.SB listen
c. \( \text{[ngmàm u pywu]}_{A} \text{[yi pî:y:a]_{L}} \text{a tôó.} \) GROUNDS of b your.wife her price their basket.in CI.PRES.3.SB sits
8 a. [Y:o:oE [nga]X a pywupwi ngmē, GROUNDS of b PL.E on.you CI.PRES.3.SB paying.for T.CI.PR.X.3SG.O.PF
b. [don]A kidi-ngmē d:uu, ADDITION to 7b bad PCT.IMP.2SG.SB.NEG-INDEF do/try
c. [yi nēnē vyi kamī yi]A a kwo, — tree flower bunch new many CI.PRES.3.SB stand [dyāmē mbēmē]I, CIRCUMSTANCE of d island on
[dyāmē mbēmē]I, (metaphor about pretty girls)
d. kidi-ngmē vy:oo. SPECIFIC of b PCT.IMP.2SG.SB.NEG-INDEF bring.down
9 a. [Awēde]T chi yēé, GROUNDS of 10 today PL.IM.PST.2SG.SB marry
c. [kē]A [yi p:u]I, kidi-ngē yē. CONCLUSION to 9 hand their on PCT.IMP.2SG.SB.NEG-PCT put
10 a. [Kwooo] mb:aa mē yi]A a m:ii. CIRCUMSTANCE of b girl good again many CI.PRES.3.SB go/about
b. [kē]A [yi p:u]I, kidi-ngē yē. CONCLUSION to 9 hand their on PCT.IMP.2SG.SB.NEG-PCT put
11 a. [Miyip] knē yi vy:oI [awēde]T — your.friend some their amongst today cha a yēm. AMPLIFICATION of 9a C.IMP.2SG.SB CLS setting.off
b. [awēde]T [yēé vy:o]I — today married.man amongst chi ghē. AMPLIFICATION of 9a PL.IM.PST.2SG.SB stand

(Conclusion)
12 [Wu kōpa dyuu, a danēmbum]TOP [wu]I [u dī.] COM that word heap my speech there its end

FREE TRANSLATION - A speech at a wedding

1. I’m going to address Mboo, and make just a short speech, 2. and this is why, because Mboo has married today. 3. The important couple (metaphor for both kinds of shell money) are on this island, both kinds of shell money are at work. 4. It’s about them that I’m going to talk to him.

5. Up until now you’ve been single, but now you’re a married man. 6. Don’t answer back to (your father) Mgéeđi, because whatever he says to you is true talk. He it was who brought all this money together that you are paying for your bride with. 7. Look after your relatives well, Mgāmwe and his wife, (your father) Mgéeđi, Wāādī and his wife and Myw:amywu and his wife, and do what they say, because they’re paying the price for your bride. 8. Yes, they’ll buy her for you, so don’t do anything bad, such as bringing down any of the girls (referred to as bunches of flowers). 9. Well, you’ve married today, and we’ve given Ntuwō
to you as your wife, 10. so don’t touch the girls – there are plenty of them around. 11. You’ve left your friends today and joined the married men.

12. Well, that’s the end of my speech.

(d) An expository discourse about a savage dog

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THE TEXT – An expository discourse about a savage dog

(Expository paragraph 1)

1. a. [Kiye wːâː u  الماضي COM biting dog its name Peetuuki] TOP [Peetuuki] [CT-CL.PRES.3.SB standing Doongê]

   b. k-a kwo, [Doongê] L

2. [Nè] TOP [kuu.] COM I not.responsible

3. [Daa] NEG [a wːâː.] COM not my dog

4. [Nkal u u wːâː.] COM Nkal his dog

5. [Nkal ngê] E yinè kaa ngê. Nkal E he.it.is PI.REM.3.SB raise

6. [Wːâː] TOP [dono.] COM dog bad

LOCATION of a

ADDITION to 1a

AMPLIFICATION of 2

CONTRAST to 3

AMPLIFICATION of 4

ADDITION to 2
7. [Pi yii] TOP [u te] COM person many its fish ADDITION to 6
8. [U nuu u pi] A daa tō. its throat its person CI.PRES.3.SB.NEG sits ADDITION to 7

(Narrative episode)

mī kiye ngē.
PL.REM.3.SB.MOT bite T.PL.REM.3SG.O.MF

11. [Daa-ntc.] COM not-like COMMENT on kiye in 10

Mēpē bad F became RESULT of 10 and 11

13. a. Apē. he.said ADDITION to 12
b. [W:āā mbwâmē] A nī-nē chāpwo. dog neck CI.1M.FUT.1SG.SB-CLS cut CONTENT of a (retaliation threat)

14. a. [Nkāl ngē] E kwo, Nkāl SG.E said.to.him CONTENT to 13
b. Up:o okay (acquiescence)


(Expository paragraph)

17. [Awēde] T k-a kwo, [Doongē] L today CT-CLPRES.3.SB stands Doongē RESULT of 15 and 16

18. [Pi maa] A daa t:a. person road NEG hanging RESULT of 17

(Conclusion)

19. [A dañembum u dī] COM my story its end
FREE TRANSLATION – An expository discourse about a savage dog

1. The savage dog is called ‘Peetuuki’, and he lives at Doongè. 2. It’s nothing to do with me. 3. It’s not my dog. 4. It’s Nkal’s dog. 5. He raised it. 6. It’s a bad dog. 7. It bites everyone. 8-9. It doesn’t like anyone.


17. So now it’s still there at Doongè, 18. so there’s not a safe road through there.

19. That’s the end of my story.

2.5 APPENDIX

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