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1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.1 Phonemics and orthography

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

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

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

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

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

2.2 Morphophonemic rules

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

2.2.1 Rule 1: the high-low vowel rule

When there is a choice of two allomorphs of a suffixing morpheme, one having a higher vowel than the other, the allomorph with the higher vowel suffixed to stems ending in high vowels while
the allomorph with the lower vowel suffixes to stems ending in low vowels. In the Kaugel system high vowels are i and u, while a, e and o pattern as low vowels. For example, the third person future tense suffix is \(-mba \sim -mbe\). Stems ending in low vowels take the allomorph \(-mba\), while stems ending in high vowels take \(-mbe\).

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

(1) \(to-\text{mba}\)  
strike-FUT.3SG  
‘he will strike’

(2) \(pu-\text{mbe}\)  
go-FUT.3SG  
‘he will go’

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

(3) \(ye-\text{mo-\text{ne}}\)  
man-the.SG-ACT  
‘the man’

(4) \(kongi-\text{mu-\text{ni}}\)  
pig-the.SG-ACT  
‘the pig’

2.2.2 Rule 2: the front-back rule

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

(5) \(pu-\text{ru-\text{ndu}}\)  
go-DPST-1SG  
‘I went’

(6) \(si-\text{ri-\text{ndu}}\)  
give-DPST-1SG  
‘I gave’

(7) \(te-\text{ri-\text{ndu}}\)  
do-DPST-1SG  
‘I did’

(8) \(to-\text{ru-\text{ndu}}\)  
strike-DPST-1SG  
‘I struck’
2.2.2.1 Rule 2b

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

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

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

2.2.3 Rule 3: the complete vowel harmony rule

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

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

2.2.4 Rule 4 concerning stems ending in -IV

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

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

(13)  mo-lo-le-mo  
be/exist-ASP-CUST.3SG  
ˈhe exists’
Chapter 2: Morphophonemics

(14)  \[ \text{angili-li-mo} \rightarrow \text{angilimo} \]  
stand-ASP-CUST.3SG

‘he stands’

2.2.4.2 Rule 4b. When the combination \( lV \) plus \(-kV\) occurs across morpheme borders the first vowel is elided.

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

(15)  \[ \text{molo-}kV\text{-molo} \rightarrow \text{molkomolo} \]  
be/exist-PR-1PL

‘we are (here)’

(16)  \[ \text{angili-}kV\text{-mili} \rightarrow \text{angilkimili} \]  
stand-PR-3PL

‘they are standing’

Rule 4b also applies when the first and third person singular subjunctive marker \(-ka \sim -ke\) follow the aspect marker \(-le \sim -li\).

(17)  \[ \text{molo-}le\text{-}ka \rightarrow \text{molka}^1 \]  
be/exist-ASP-3SG

‘he might be’

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

(18)  \[ \text{bulu-}ku\text{-}ndu \rightarrow \text{bulkundu} \]  
back-at-toward

‘behind’

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

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

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

(19)  \[ \text{te-}pa \]  
do-DEP.3SG

‘he doing…’

\[^1\] It is worth noting here that when morphophonemic rule 4b comes into play it results in syllable breaks and morpheme breaks being out of phase with each other. That is, the morpheme breaks for molka "he might be" are mo-\( l-ka\), whereas the syllable breaks are mo.lka; while the morpheme breaks for bulkundu "behind" are bu-\( l-ku-ndu\), whereas the syllable breaks are bu.lku.ndu.
(20)  *me-mba*
     carry-DEP.3SG
     ‘she carrying...’
(21)  *to-kolo*
     hit-DEP.3DL
     ‘they.dual hitting...’
(22)  *ni-ngulu*
     say-DEP.3DL
     ‘they.dual saying...’

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

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

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

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

### 3.1 Derived stems

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

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

1. **ponji-li**
   - shorten-DER
   - ‘short’
2. **kondo-li**
   - get.hot-DER
   - ‘red’

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

3. **tango-li**
   - become.daylight-DER
   - ‘daytime’
4. **ipule-li**
   - become.night-DER
   - ‘night’

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

5. **anani ou naa to-li**
   - onion before not pick-DER
   - ‘not-yet-picked onions’

### 3.2 Compound verb stems

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

6. **te-pu-ru-ndu**
   - te-go-DPST-1SG
   - ‘I went and did (it)’
Chapter 3: Stems

(7) **pako-pu-ku-mu** → **pakopu**  
**pako + pu**  
*put on go PR-3SG*  
‘She is going to dress.’

(8) **tako-pu-nge** → **takopu**  
**tako + pu**  
*build go FUT.3PL*  
‘They will go (and) build (a house).’

(9) **molo-po-yo** → **molopu**  
**molo + pu**  
*be go IMP*  
‘Go and stay!’

### 3.3 Compound non-verb stems

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Root Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yémbo</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambolángo</td>
<td>ámbola</td>
<td>‘girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koláulke</td>
<td>kolà</td>
<td>‘tear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumbikeré</td>
<td>kúmbi</td>
<td>‘nose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walsé</td>
<td>wále</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wélela</td>
<td>wéle</td>
<td>‘across’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘person’</td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘child’</td>
<td>‘girl’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘funeral’</td>
<td>‘tear’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘face’</td>
<td>‘nose’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘one day’</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘across and up’</td>
<td>‘across’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. **WORDS**

4.1 **Introduction**

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

4.2 **Verb classes**

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

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

4.2.1 **Existential verbs (class 1)**

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

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

4.2.2 **Modifying verbs (class 2)**

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

4.2.2.1 **Post-head modifying verbs (class 2a)**

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

---

1 ‘tense’ is used somewhat loosely to cover tense, aspect, mood and mode which are all part of one system in Kaugel verb morphology.
2 ‘person’ means subject person throughout this paper; object person is not marked in Kaugel verbs or pronouns.
Chapter 4: Words

4.2.2 Pre-head modifying verbs (Class 2b)

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

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

4.2.3 Stative verbs (class 3)

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

4.2.4 Regular verbs (class 4)

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

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

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

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3 It should be noted that there are only about 100 one-word verbs in Kaugel. Other verbal concepts are expressed using Adjunct Verb Complexes (see 6.1) or Verb Phrases (see 7.1).
Chapter 4: Words

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

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

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

Verbs of perception/cognition are:

- **kano** ‘see’
- **pili** ‘hear’

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

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

Verbs of motion are:

- **pu** ‘go’
- **o** ‘come’
- **ando** ‘wander’

**Morphophonemic rules pertaining to verb stems:**

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

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

---

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

5 These stems are **nosi** ‘to put’, **kopisi** ‘to cut’, **le** ‘to be’ (inanimate), **kele** ‘to leave’, **lkisi** ‘to run’, **lakili** ‘to bag’, **angili** ‘to stand’, **pili** ‘to hear’ and **walisi** ‘to call’.
4.3 Verb suffixes

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

### 4.3.1 The benefactive suffix *-ndV*

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me-nde</td>
<td>‘to carry for’</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>‘to carry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolo-ndo</td>
<td>‘to die for’</td>
<td>kolo</td>
<td>‘to die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nosi-ndi</td>
<td>‘to put for’</td>
<td>nosi</td>
<td>‘to put’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mundu-ndu</td>
<td>‘to plant for’</td>
<td>mundu</td>
<td>‘to plant’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(1) *ambola avili-mu-ni ambola kelo-mo te-pa/ kola.te-nde-mu*
    girl big-the-ACT girl small-the do-3SG cry-BEN-PST.3SG
    ‘the big girl made the little girl cry by what she did’

(2) *owa-mo-ne kera mango-ndo-ko-mo*
    dog-the-ACT bird fly-BEN-PR-3SG
    ‘the dog is making the bird fly’

### 4.3.2 Dependent verb suffixation

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>±BEN</th>
<th>±SIM</th>
<th>+Person</th>
<th>±SEQ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SG PL DUAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-po</td>
<td>-po</td>
<td>-polo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ndV</td>
<td>-li</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-ko -kolo</td>
<td>-lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>-kolo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rules:**

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

### 4.3.3 Person suffixes of the dependent verb system

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

### 4.3.4 Independent verb suffixation

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


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem ±BEN</th>
<th>+Tense</th>
<th>+Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ndV -ru</td>
<td>distant past</td>
<td>1. -ndu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T -0</td>
<td>near past</td>
<td>2. -nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E -ndV</td>
<td></td>
<td>3. -mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kV -ro</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>1. -ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N -pa</td>
<td>present awareness</td>
<td>2. -no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S -0</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>3. -mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E -V</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. -mbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ndV -a</td>
<td>polite</td>
<td>2. -yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M -le</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
<td>1. -mbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P -E</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. -0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R -A</td>
<td>quoted</td>
<td>2. -u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T -I</td>
<td>hortative</td>
<td>1. -mbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V -E</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. -ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ndV -le</td>
<td>customary</td>
<td>3. -pili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S -A</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. -lio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P -S</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. -no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E -P</td>
<td></td>
<td>3. -mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>1. -ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C -T</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. -na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules and special notes concerning table 4.2:

1. Many of the suffixes on this chart have morphophonemically defined allomorphs. These have been omitted from the chart for the purpose of clarity of presentation. They will be presented as each suffix is discussed below.

2. Independent verb suffixes fall into three basic groupings: tense, imperative, and aspect. Within each of these there are several sub-types, each with its own system of person markers.

3. Because the person markers are different for each tense, they are in fact portmanteau morphemes as they partially indicate which tense or type of
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imperative or which aspect is involved in any given instance as well as which person and number.

4. Although each set of person markers evidences some differences there are also some general similarities to be noted (not applicable to polite and quoted imperative forms):

4a. second person singular is almost always nV.
4b. first person dual is always mbVlV.
4c. first person plural is always mVlV.
4d. non-first person dual is almost always ngVlV or mbVlV.
4e. the vowel of any given set of first person suffixes is usually constant, and is always a back vowel.
4f. the vowel of any given set of non-first person and non-singular suffixes is also usually constant, and is always a front vowel.

5. There is also a pattern in the stress which occurs on verbs, though this is not actually marked on the chart:

5a. For distant past tense and both present tenses stress always falls on the tense marker.
5b. For near past tense and all imperatives stress always falls on the final syllable of the stem. The one exception to this is that for second singular emphatic imperative the stress falls on the first syllable of the stem.
5c. For future tense, customary aspect and subjunctive mood stress always falls on the final syllable.

4.3.5 Tense suffixes

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

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

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

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

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

Present awareness tense is indicated by the suffix -pa ~ -pe ~ -mba ~ -mbe plus the present tense person markers. Choice of allomorphs here is governed by morphophonemic rules 1 and 5. Present awareness
indicates that the speaker has only just become aware of some event. It is restricted to use in conversation and quotes.

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

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

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

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

### 4.3.6 Person suffixes of the independent verb system

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

**Past tense person markers:** there are no allomorphic variations; they remain constant according to table 4.2. For example, -mbulu occurs in both verbs in (3), even though the preceding morpheme is different in each case.
Past tense person markers are the same for both distant past tense as in (3) and near past tense as in (4).

\[(3)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kano-rú-mbulu} & \quad \text{see-DPST-1DL} \\
\text{si-rí-mbulu} & \quad \text{give-DPST-1DL} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘we two saw’ \quad ‘we two gave’

\[(4)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kanó-0-mbulu} & \quad \text{see-PST-1DL} \\
\text{si-0-mbulu} & \quad \text{give-PST-1DL} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘we two saw’ \quad ‘we two gave’

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

\[(5)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kano-kó-ro} & \quad \text{see-PR-1SG} \\
\text{si-ki-ru} & \quad \text{give-PR-1SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘I am looking’ \quad ‘I am giving’

\[(6)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kano-pá-ro} & \quad \text{see-PA-1SG} \\
\text{si-pé-ro} & \quad \text{give-PA-1SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘I have just this moment seen’ \quad ‘I am just at this moment giving’

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

\[(7)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kano-0-ngé} & \quad \text{see-FUT-2/3PL} \\
\text{si-0-ngé} & \quad \text{give-FUT-2/3PL} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘you.all will see’ \quad ‘you.all will give’

\[(8)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kano-0-mbá} & \quad \text{see-FUT-3SG} \\
\text{si-0-mbé} & \quad \text{give-FUT-3SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘he will see’ \quad ‘he will give’

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

**Polite imperative** is typically used in greetings or when addressing social superiors or equals. It has only second person forms; singular, dual and plural, as illustrated in (9).
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(9) kanó-0-yo    kan-á-lío    kan-á-yo
    look-IMP-POL.2SG  look-IMP-POL.2DL  look-IMP-POL.2PL
    ‘Look!’     ‘Look!’     ‘Look!’

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

(10) kán-a-0     kan-á-me
    look-IMP-EMP.2SG  look-IMP-EMP.2PL
    ‘Look!’     ‘Look!’

(11) kan-á-molo    kan-á-mbo
    look-IMP-EMP.1PL  look-IMP-EMP.1SG
    ‘Let us look at once!’ ‘Let me look right now!’

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

(12) “kanó-0-u”    ni-ki-mu
    look-IMP-QI.2SG  say-PR-3SG
    ‘He is telling you to look’

“kan-á”    ni-‘ki-mu
    look-IMP-QI.2PL  say-PR-3SG
    ‘He is telling you all to look’

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

1. It is used as a very polite imperative where it is equivalent to the word ‘may’ in English. The first person forms especially are often used to indicate wish or desire giving a desiderative sense, as in (13).

(13) kan-á-mbo
    look-IMP-HORT.1SG
    ‘Let me look!/ ‘I want to look!’/ ‘May I look.’

2. It is used as a future imperative, i.e. for any command given to be carried out at some later time, as in (14).

(14) talou    o-ngo/    kan-á-ngi
    day.after.tomorrow  come-2PL  see-IMP-HORT.2PL
    ‘Come and see the day after tomorrow.’

3. It is also sometimes used as a near future tense.

4. Hortative imperative is also the only way in Kaugel to express an obligation. Hence, to give it more impact, Kaugel English and/or Tok Pisin speakers will use *mas* (must) plus hortative to express obligation, as in (15).
5. The hortative imperative forms also have some special uses on the sentence level; in the Existential Verb Sentence (9.5.5) as an historic past, and in the Unreal Antithetical Sentence (9.7.2.2) to indicate constrained desire. It also always occurs in the first base of the Imperative Merged Sentence (9.6.2.1).

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

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

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

(16)  
kerá kano-li-ó
birds see-ASP-CUST.1SG
‘I see birds (all the time)’ / ‘I know what birds are’

(17)  
kóngi si-li-moló
pigs give-ASP-CUST.1PL
‘We (customarily) give pigs’

(18)  
ená mulú-na angi-li-mó
sun sky-in stand.ASP-CUST.3SG
‘The sun stands in the sky’

(19)  
ámbo-mo pónie-na mo-le-ó
woman-the garden-in be.AN-ASP-CUST.3SG
‘The wife is in the garden’

(20)  
Suku kinié o-le-mó
Suku today come-ASP-CUST.3SG
‘Suku is coming today’

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

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

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

4.4 Non-verbs

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

4.4.1 Nouns

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

4.4.1.1 Common nouns

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

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

- owa  ‘dog’
- kongi  ‘pig’
- ga  ‘sweet potato’
- lopa  ‘possum’

6 Sequences of verbs in these two phrase types go together in much the same way as in what are called serial verbs in some other Papuan languages. However, because in such constructions Kaugel verbs are fully inflected, these sequences have been analysed as verb phrases rather than serial verbs.
Generic Nouns are a sub-class of common nouns based on distribution. In addition to the places where other common nouns occur, generic nouns also expound the Definer slot of the Proper Name Phrase (7.5.4), the Place Name slot of the Place Name Complex (6.2.2.3), and the Identifier slot of the Subordinating Phrase (7.8.1). Some generic nouns are:

- **kango** ‘boy’
- **ye** ‘man’
- **kolea** ‘place’
- **ponie** ‘garden’
- **ulu** ‘custom’
- **mele** ‘thing’

4.4.1.2 Kin terms

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

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

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

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

4.4.1.3 Proper names

Proper names, such as the names of people and places, do not occur in many of the places where common nouns occur. For instance they never occur as Head of the Modified Noun Phrase. They cannot be affixed by any article clitics. Thus they differ from common nouns. Being fillers of
different slots in phrases and complexes and the absence of suffixes also differentiate them from kin terms.

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

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

### 4.4.2 Pronouns

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

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

**Table 4.3 Pronoun Chart**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Regular</th>
<th>Reduplicated</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Regular</th>
<th>Reduplicated</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Regular</th>
<th>Reduplicated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>nanu</td>
<td>oltolo</td>
<td>olio</td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>elo</td>
<td>eno</td>
<td>eneno</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nunu</td>
<td>elo</td>
<td>elolo</td>
<td>Third</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td>yuyu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.4.3 Adjectives

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

#### 4.4.3.1 Adjectives of quality

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

- *peanga* ‘good’
- *komindi* ‘good’
- *keri* ‘bad’
4.4.3.2 Adjectives of colour

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

- kondoli ‘red’
- kanie ‘yellow’
- muku ‘blue’
- pombera ‘black/dark’
- kake ‘white/light’

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

(24) pombera to-le-mo
    black/dark hit-ASP-CUST.3SG
    ‘It is black/dark in colour’

(25) kake te-le-mo
    white do-ASP-CUST.3SG
    ‘It is white’

(26) kondili ni-li
    green say-DER
    ‘green’

4.4.3.3 Adjectives of size

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

- awili ‘big’
- kapo ‘fat’
- wallo ‘tiny’
- kelo ‘little’
- kanga ‘small’
- wallo-kolo ‘very tiny’
- capo-kongo ‘huge’
4.4.3.4 Adjectives of quantity

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

- *koltalo* ‘few’
- *pulumu* ‘many’
- *pali* ‘all’
- *awisili* ‘lots’
- *pokore* ‘couple’
- *mare* ‘some’

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

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

- *telu* ‘one’
- *talo* ‘two’
- *yepoko* ‘three’
- *kise* ‘four’
- *engaki* ‘eight’
- *rurepo* ‘twelve’
- *malapu* ‘sixteen’
- *supu* ‘twenty’
- *tokapu* ‘twenty four’

  *talo si-pe* two give-DEP.3sg
  ‘second’

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

---

7-8 These two words have been analysed as basically being article clitics (see section 5.1.1). However, because they also occur phrase finally in the Embedding Phrase (7.8.2) and in some Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9), where they function more like adjectives of quantity, they are also included here.
4.4.3.5 Adjective class 5

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

4.4.4 Adverbs

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

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

4.4.5 Spatials

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

4.4.5.1 Horizontal directionals

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

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

It is likely that these two latter words are historically a combination of a base deictic form *a* plus the *-ndi* ‘toward/nearby’ suffix mentioned above to form *andi*, and *a* plus *-njo* to form *anjo*.
‘there away from both speaker and addressee’. The form -njo is an allomorphic variant of the spatial clitic -ndo ‘toward’ (4.4.5.9). The main demonstrative is aku ‘that’ (4.4.6).

**4.4.5.2 Vertical directionals**

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

- **manie** ‘down’
- **ola** ‘up’

**4.4.5.3 Locationals**

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

- **suku** ‘inside’
- **alse** ‘edge’
- **ulsu** ‘outside’

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

**4.4.5.4 Temporal 1**

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

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

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

- **yukou-aka** ‘three days ago’
- **ambi-aka** ‘four days ago’

and etc.
4.4.5.5 Temporal 2

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

- **ipuleli** ‘night’
- **ipuleli-ou** ‘morning’ (night-before)
- **ipupene** ‘afternoon’
- **tangoli** ‘daytime’

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

4.4.5.6 Temporal 3

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

- **wale** ‘day’
- **koro** ‘week’
- **oli** ‘month’ (lunar)
- **ponie** ‘year’ (garden)

4.4.5.7 Temporal 4

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

- **ou** ‘before’
- **pe** ‘later’
- **talko** ‘recently’

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

4.4.5.8 Spatial augment

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

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

Table 4.4 Spatial clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-kV ‘at’</th>
<th>-ndo ‘toward’</th>
<th>-pa ‘further’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘toward a specific spot beyond us’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules and special features:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. -pa ‘further’ and -kV ‘at’ do not co-occur. The difference in meaning of the two suffixes is illustrated by (32) and (33).
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(32) **ne-ndo-pa**
    nearby-toward-further
    ‘toward a nearby location which is further away’ (than another location which has been specified in the context)

(33) **ne-ke-ndo**
    nearby-at-toward
    ‘toward somewhere nearby’

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

(34) **ne-ke-ndo** *koro*
    nearby-at-toward week
    ‘next week’

(35) **ne-ndo-pa** *koro*
    nearby-toward-further week
    ‘the week after next’

6. In clauses, **-pa** ‘further’ typically occurs on single words rather than phrases, or within the Repetitive Spatial Complex (6.2.3.4).

7. **-kV** ‘at’ never occurs as the only suffix, being obligatorily followed by **-ndo** ‘toward’, as in (27) to (29) and (33) and (34). **-kV** ‘at’ indicates a specific point of location or time.

(36) **wi-ki-ndu**
    upstream-at-toward/from
    ‘toward/from a specific location upstream from here’

(37) **manie-ko-ndo**
    down-at-toward
    ‘downwards’

(38) **ola-ko-ndo**
    up-at-towards
    ‘upwards’

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

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

---

9 Kaugel now has no way of expressing ‘motion away from’ or ablative case, though there are some faint signs that it once did have such a marker, **-ka**. One of the question words (3.2.7) is **teka** ‘from which place’ which is made up of the stem **te** ‘which’ plus **-ka**. Some clan names also retain a vestige of this **-ka** suffix, such as **Kepaka**, in which **kepa** is a type of possum who is the legendary forefather of the people of the **Kepaka** clan.
The suffix -pa ‘further’ has no allomorphic variant. When it occurs on one directional it indicates going further in that direction. When it occurs on two directionals with opposite meanings occurring continguously it indicates a change of direction from one to the other. -pa optionally occurs complex finally on the Repetitive Spatial Complex (6.2.3.4).

### 4.4.6 Demonstratives

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

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

- \( i \) ‘this’
- \( aku \) ‘that’ (seen)
- \( kanu \) ‘that’ (unseen)

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

- \( andu \) ‘that’ (previously referred to)
- \( kalio \) ‘that’ (spoken about)

### 4.4.7 Question words

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

The Kaugel question word system is a three base system. The stems of these three are \( te \) ‘which’, \( na \) ‘who’ and \( nambe \) ‘what’.

The \( te \) ‘which’ based question words consist of the stem \( te \) plus suffixes. The word meaning ‘to where’ is made up of \( te \) plus the locator clitic -na. The word for ‘which’ takes the singular definite article clitic -mo as its suffix. The word meaning ‘from where’ takes the now otherwise almost extinct ablative clitic\(^\text{10}\) -ka. And the word for ‘when’ takes as its suffix the word \( wale \) ‘day’.

- \( te-na \) ‘where?’
- \( te-mo \) ‘which one?’

\(^{10}\) see note 9 on page 30
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*te-ka*  
which-from  
‘from where?’

*te-wale*  
which-day  
‘when?’

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

*na-we*  
who-SG  
‘who? (singular)’

*na-mbele*  
who-DL  
‘who? (dual)’

*na-mele*  
who-PL  
‘who? (plural)’

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

*nambe-lka*  
what-?  
‘what?’ (thing)

*nambe*  
what  
‘what?’ (event)

*nambe-mu-ne*  
what-SG.ART-because  
‘why?’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ali-ni} & \quad \text{cold-AGENT} \\
\text{siripulu-ni} & \quad \text{hot-AGENT} \\
\text{engele-ne} & \quad \text{hunger-AGENT} \\
\text{umbune-ne} & \quad \text{heavy-AGENT}
\end{align*}
\]

4.4.9 Connectors

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

4.4.9.1 Conjunctions

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kinie} & \quad \text{‘and’ (typically joins things)} \\
\text{keme} & \quad \text{‘and’ (typically links personal names; obligatorily links lists of more than two personal names)} \\
\text{kepe} & \quad \text{‘and’ (typically links times and places)} \\
\text{molo} & \quad \text{‘or’ (indicates alternatives)}
\end{align*}
\]

4.4.9.2 Connectives

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kinie} & \quad \text{‘when’ occurs in the Sequence Sentence (9.7.5) and also in the Connective Complex (6.2.6)} \\
\text{nalo} & \quad \text{‘but’ occurs in the Real Antithetical Sentence (9.7.2.1) and also in the}
\end{align*}
\]
Chapter 4: Words

4.4.10 Other small closed classes

4.4.10.1 Augments

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

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

4.4.10.2 Response words

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

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

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

- apa/ama ‘wow!’
- amananana ‘WOW!’
- kembe ‘vulva’
- yokoli ‘menstrual blood’

4.4.10.4 Greetings

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

(46) molo-yo
    be.AN-IMP.2SG
    ‘you stay!’

(47) o-ko-no-ye
    come-PR-2SG-QU
    ‘have you come?’

4.4.10.5 Pause words

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

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

4.4.10.6 Verbal negative

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

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

4.4.10.7 Substantive negative

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

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

5.1 Phrase final clitics

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

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

Table 5.1 Phrase Final Clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Relator (case marker)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indefinite singular</td>
<td>-re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definite singular</td>
<td>-mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definite dual</td>
<td>-s elo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definite plural</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indef. pl. ‘some’</td>
<td>mare²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indef. pl. ‘few’</td>
<td>pokore²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agent singular</td>
<td>-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instrument dual</td>
<td>- nale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indirect object</td>
<td>-ndo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referent</td>
<td>-ndo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locator</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessor</td>
<td>- nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comparative</td>
<td>- mele</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

1. When both article and relator occur, the ordering is obligatorily that of the chart; i.e. article followed by relator.

2. The article clitics never occur on pronouns.

---

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

2 It is debatable whether the words mare ‘some’ and pokore ‘few’ are in fact article clitics or adjectives of quantity. However, because they always occur preceding the relator clitics, while adjectives of quantity such as pali ‘all’ occur following the relator clitics in the final slot of Axis-Relator phrases, these two words have been classed as indefinite plural article clitics even though they are written as free forms. Also, it would seem that mare is made up of -ma plural article clitic plus -re indefinite singular, thus making an indefinite plural, and that the -re of pokore is also probably the indefinite singular article clitic. This is reinforced by the fact that pokore occasionally occurs alone, or can be suffixed to a demonstrative (4.4.6) without the -re.
3. The agent clitic marks actor, instrument and resource tagmemes of the clause (8.6).

### 5.1.1 Article clitics

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

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

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

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

(1) **kewa kongi-ri**  
foreign pig-IART  
‘a foreign pig’

(2) **kondoli kapo-kongo-re**  
red big-magnifier-IART  
‘a huge red (person)’

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

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

(3) **ya pea pu-ku-mulu-mu**  
here with go-PR-1PL-SART  
‘the one here who is going with us’

(4) **Kerepiye pe-le-mo-mo**  
Kerepiye live-ASP-CUST.3S-SART  
‘the one who lives at Kerepiye’

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

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

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

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

(7) **kango kelo-ma**
boy small-PLART
‘the little boys’

(8) **apuro-ru-mulu-me**
sort.out-DPST-1PL-PLART
‘the ones we had sorted out’

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

(9) **ungu ni-0-mbolo ungu mare**
speech speak-FUT-1.DL speech some
‘some of what we will say’

(10) **yembo pu-ri-ngi pokore**
people go-DPST-3PL a.few
‘a few of the people who went’

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

5.1.2 Relator clitics

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

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

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

(11) **ya i-ki-ndu o-le-mele-ma-ne naa kano-le-mele**
here this.at-toward come-ASP-CUST.3PL-PLART-ACT not see-ASP-CUST.3PL
‘the ones who come here to this spot do not see...’
Chapter 5: Clitics

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

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

(13) *iri*-nele te-0-ngili
    scold-DL.INST do-NPST-3DL
    ‘they two were scolding each other’

(14) ambo ye-selo opa-*nale* te-ke-mbele
    woman man-DART fight-DL.INST do-PR-3DL
    ‘the (married) couple are fighting.’

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

(15) olio-*ndo* ni-ki-mu
    us-IO speak-PR-3S
    ‘he is speaking to us’

(16) na-*ndo* walsipe.pili-e-mu
    me-IO ask-NPST-3S
    ‘he asked me’

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

(17) oli*onga* kuru kayolemolo-*mo-nga* ni-ki-ru
    our spirit we.cook-SART-REF speak-PR-1S
    ‘I am speaking about our spirit worship’

(18) ama-*ndo* yando o-ngo kolo-0-mu niringi
    Mum-REF to.here come-2/3 die-NPST-3S say-DPST-3PL
    ‘They came here and told me about Mum that she had died.’

**Locator** clitic is *-na ~ -ne ~ -nga ~ -nge*. The first pair of allomorphs are used when the clitic is not preceded by the article; the latter pair when the clitic is preceded by the article. The choice of vowel is governed by morphophonemic rule 1. The locator clitic expounds the Relator of the
Chapter 5: Clitics

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

(19) no waru-ne
    water.course ravine-LOC
    ‘in the ravine’

(20) kongi koyo-ri-ngi kanu-ne
    pig steam-cook-DPST-3PL that-LOC
    ‘in that (place) where they steam-cooked pig’

(21) kou.kande-mo-nga
    cave-SART-LOC
    ‘in the cave’

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

(22) olio-nga
    us-POSS
    ‘ours’

(23) ye lupe-ma-nga
    man other-PLART-POSS
    ‘the other men’s’

(24) yu-nge
    he-POSS
    ‘his’

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

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

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

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

---

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

4 Because this clitic is identical in form to one set of allomorphs of the locator clitic, and because phrases using this clitic with a genitive type meaning are identical in structure to one type of locative phrase, this use of the -nga ~ -nge clitic could also be construed as an unusual use of the locator clitic.
comparative clitic has two syllables it is usually written as a free form\(^5\), just as mare ‘some’ and pokore ‘a few’, the plural indefinite article clitics, are.

\[(26)\] 
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{koya} & \text{mele} \\
\text{bamboo.knife} & \text{COMP} \\
\text{‘like a bamboo knife’}
\end{array}
\]

5.2 The utterance final clitics

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

**Table 5.2 Utterance Final Clitics**

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

Rules:

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

5.2.1 The inclusive clitic

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

\[(27)\] 
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{naa-la} & \text{pili-mo} \\
\text{not-also} & \text{know-ASP.CUST.3S} \\
\text{‘he doesn’t know either’}
\end{array}
\]

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

(28) \textit{na pu-ku-ru-la}  
\textit{I go-PR-1S-also}
‘I am going too.’

(29) \textit{kongi si-ri-mu-la sumoli si-ri-mu-la}  
pig give-DPST-3S-also shells give-DPST-3S-also
‘He gave pigs; he also gave shells.’

5.2.2 Mode and aspect clitics

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

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

(30) \textit{kongi-ye}  
pig-QU
‘is it a pig?’

(31) \textit{amine Tambuli pu-0-mu-ye}  
your.mother Tambul go-NPST-3S-QU
‘Has your mother gone to Tambul?’

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

(32) \textit{kuru-nje}  
ghost-DUB
‘perhaps it is a ghost’

(33) \textit{nambolka no-le-mo-nje na naa pil-ki-ru}  
what eat-ASP-CUST.3S-DUB I not know-PR-1S
‘I don't know what it might eat’

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

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

Its use is invariably derisive toward the addressee.

(34) \textit{kera-si}  
bird-OBV
‘it's obviously a bird’

**Assertative** clitic \textit{-mo} has no allomorphic variant. The assertative clitic is the speaker's way of asserting that what he is stating is beyond question. Because it is very similar in meaning to the definitive aspect clitic \textit{-ko}, and because of the potential confusion of the assertative aspect clitic
Chapter 5: Clitics

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

(35)  
\[ \text{kano-ko-ro-mo} \]
\[ \text{see-PR-1S-ASS} \]
‘I certainly can see it’

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

(36)  
\[ \text{pu-0-mu-ko} \]
\[ \text{go-NPST-3S-DEF} \]
‘he has definitely gone’

5.2.3  Emotive clitics

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

(37)  
\[ \text{na to-0-mu-a} \]
\[ \text{me hit-NPST-3S-EXP} \]
‘Ow! it hit me!’

(38)  
\[ \text{na li-e-mbo-a} \]
\[ \text{I get-IMP-HORT.1S-EXP} \]
‘Oh! I’d like to get (that)!’

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

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

(39)  
\[ \text{Juno-re molo-yo-re} \]
\[ \text{June-GREET stay.POL.IMP-2S-GREET} \]
‘June. You stay!’
6. COMPLEXES

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

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

6.1 Adjunct verb complex

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

Table 6.1 Adjunct Verb Complex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>±Negator</th>
<th>+Auxiliary</th>
<th>±Manner</th>
<th>+Head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naa ‘not’</td>
<td>adjunct</td>
<td>adverb</td>
<td>existential verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>adjective 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sem.Unit Vb.Ph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug.Ph.</td>
<td>adjective 1</td>
<td>Aug.Ph.</td>
<td>me ‘carry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective 2</td>
<td>Aug.Ph.</td>
<td></td>
<td>no ‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug.Ph.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ni ‘speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kolo ‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>si ‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>te ‘do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to ‘strike’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>le ‘to be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mondo ‘to put’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>li ‘take’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules and special features:

1. The Adjunct Verb Complex is almost always manifested by only its two obligatory elements.
2. By far the most common exponent of the Auxiliary is the adjunct.
3. The verbal negative naa, which is the most common optional element in any Adjunct Verb Complex, optionally occurs immediately preceding the adjunct or immediately preceding the verb with no apparent difference in meaning.

4. Not all common nouns can occur in the Auxiliary slot but the list is considered too long to present here.

5. Numerals occur in the Auxiliary slot, only in the formation of ordinal numbers.

6. About half of the verbs of Kaugel occur in the Head slot. The more common ones are listed. In this construction, the usual meaning of the verb is irrelevant; meaning is conveyed by the total construction, not the parts.

7. The Repetitive Verb Phrase (7.1.2) and the Semantic Unit Verb Phrase (7.3) do not often expound the Head slot of this complex.

8. The verb of the Head slot is very occasionally used as the only exponent of this construction when the adjunct is understood.

9. Certain fillers of the Auxiliary slot occur with a specific verb or pair of verbs filling the Head slot. (See below, under Stative Adjunct Verb Complexes, for an amplification of this rule).

10. Those elements expounding the Manner slot more commonly occur preceding the Auxiliary slot. When they do so Manner is considered to be a clause level tagmeme.

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

Examples of the Adjunct Verb Complex given below illustrate the occurrence of optional elements\(^1\). In these examples, where appropriate, dependent verbs will be marked by / and independent verbs by //.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aux</th>
<th>Manner</th>
<th>Neg</th>
<th>Head: Sem.Unit Vb.Ph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>konopu aku.si-ku naa li-ku/ mundo-yo//</td>
<td>mind like.that-2 not take-2 send-POL.2S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Don’t worry like that.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (2) has a Verb Phrase (7.3) modifying the Head tagmeme.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aux</th>
<th>Neg</th>
<th>Head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>songo naa te-ri-mu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasty not do-DPST-3S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘It was not tasty.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (3) has a Semantic Unit Verb Phrase (7.3) modifying the Head tagmeme.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aux</th>
<th>Neg</th>
<th>Vb.Ph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mindili tei/ naa te-le-mo//</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pain do not do-ASP-CUST.3S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘It doesn’t hurt.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) It was quite difficult to find even these examples in a concordance of 35,000 words of text material, thus emphasising that though the Manner tagmeme and the more unusual fillers of the Manner and Head slots can occur as part of this complex, they do not often do so.
Chapter 6: Complexes


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

Aux Manner: Aug.Ph  Head

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

Aux Manner  Head

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

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

6.1.1 Existential adjunct verb complexes (class 1)

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

(7) uru pe-le-mo
    sleep lie-ASP-CUST.3S
    ‘He is asleep.’

(8) mane mo-le-mo
    down be.AN-ASP-CUST.3S
    ‘He is sitting down.’

(9) ola angi-li-mo
    up stand-ASP-CUST.3S
    ‘He is standing up.’

6.1.2 Modifying adjunct verb complexes (class 2)

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

Post-head modifying adjunct verb complexes (class 2.1)

The one post-head modifying Adjunct Verb Complex immediately follows the verb which it modifies. It occurs only in the Aspect slot of the Completive Aspect Verb Phrase (7.2.1). Thus far only one complex of this class has been discovered. It is:
Pre-head modifying adjunct verb complexes (class 2.2)

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

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

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

6.1.3 Stative adjunct verb complexes (class 3)

The Stative Adjunct Verb Complex occurs mainly in the Predicate slot of the Stative Clause (8.1.2). It occasionally also fills the Head slot of the Aspect Verb Phrase (7.2) which latter then, in turn, obligatorily fills the Predicate slot of the Stative Clause. The verb expounding the Head slot of the Stative Adjunct Verb Complex is obligatorily affixed for third person singular and occurs most commonly in present or near past tense\(^2\). The Stative Adjunct Verb Complex represents a state of being or existence somewhat similar to passive voice. States like dry, damp, tight, loose, torn, broken, cold, hot, sorry, heavy, light, are expressed by this construction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stative Adjunct Verb Complex</th>
<th>Verb Affixation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ingi ni-mu</td>
<td>tight speak-PST.3S</td>
<td>‘it is tight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koma le-ke-mo</td>
<td>adj. be.IN-PR-3S</td>
<td>‘it is damp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sungu ni-mu</td>
<td>tear speak-PST.3S</td>
<td>‘it is torn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^2\) Near past tense, when used in this construction, indicates something which has happened in the past – not necessarily near past – the effects of which are still current.
Chapter 6: Complexes

(14)  
\textit{umbune te-ke-mo}  
heavy \textit{do-PR-3S}  
‘it is heavy’

(15)  
\textit{pe ni-ki-mu}  
light \textit{speak-PR-3S}  
‘it is light’

(16)  
\textit{siripulu to-ko-mo}  
hot \textit{strike-PR-3S}  
‘it is hot’

(17)  
\textit{ali te-ke-mo}  
cold \textit{do-PR-it}  
‘it is cold’

(18)  
\textit{gau ni-mu}  
adj. \textit{speak-PST.3S}  
‘it is solid’

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

(19)  
a. \textit{ingi ni-ki-mu}  
tight \textit{speak-PR-3S}  
‘it is tight’

b. \textit{ingi si-ki-ru}  
tight \textit{give-PR-1S}  
‘I am tightening (it)’

(20)  
a. \textit{(na) kondo te-ke-mo}  
(I) sorrow \textit{do-PR-3S}  
‘(I) am sorry for (someone)’

b. \textit{(na) kondo kol-ko-ro}  
(I) sorrow \textit{die-PR-1S}  
‘(I) have compassion on (someone)’

6.1.4 Regular adjunct verb complexes (class 4)

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

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

6.2.1 Double-headed noun complex

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Head1</th>
<th>+Head2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>generic</td>
<td>common noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kera</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lopa</td>
<td>furred.marsupial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unjo</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laime</td>
<td>cassowary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alsu</td>
<td>type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mano</td>
<td>type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mongo</td>
<td>lump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cassowary’</td>
<td>‘tree kangaroo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cyprus’</td>
<td>‘finger’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Table 6.2 Double-headed Noun Complex |
6.2.2 Proper name complexes

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

6.2.2.1 Clan name complex

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

Peraka Kaiku
Opule Takopuka

6.2.2.2 Kinship name complex

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

(21) Sua lapa
    Sua his.father
    ‘Sua's father’

(22) Pareka menu
    Pareka his.wife
    ‘Pareka's wife’

(23) Keapo anumu
    Keapo her.mother
    ‘Keapo's mother’
6.2.2.3 Place name complex

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

- **mulu Kiliwe**  
  mountain Kiliwe  
  ‘mount Giluwe’

- **no Kakoli**  
  watercourse Kakoli  
  ‘Kaugel river’

- **nomu Ekari**  
  body.of.water Ekari  
  ‘lake Ekari’

- **kolea Gallilli**  
  place Gallilli  
  ‘Galilee’

- **ponie Wapuneme**  
  garden Wapuneme  
  ‘Wapuneme garden’

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

- **kolea avili Mosipi**  
  place big Moresby  
  ‘the city of Port Moresby’

6.2.3 Repetitive complexes

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

6.2.3.1 Repetitive adjunct complex

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

- **(25) a. topele (to-ko-mo)**  
  ADJ. (strike-PR-3S)  
  ‘he is turning around’

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

6.2.3.2 Repetitive noun complex

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

(27) makapu makapu (te-ri-ni)  
circle circle (do-DPST-3PL)  
‘they went round and round in circles’

(28) pena pena (te-mu)  
outside outside (do-PST.3S)  
‘he put (them) right outside’

6.2.3.3 Repetitive adverb complex

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

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

6.2.3.4 Repetitive spatial complex

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

(29) wi-njo  wi-njo  
upstream-toward upstream-toward  
‘on and on in an upstream direction’

(30) wi-njo  wi-njo-pa  
upstream-toward upstream-toward-further  
‘on and still further on in an upstream direction’

(31) ya-ko-ndo  ya-ko-ndo  
here-at-toward here-at-toward  
‘from then until now’
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A slight variant of the repetitive spatial complex is observed in the repetitive form of the word \textit{alse 'edge} which is \textit{alse-lse 'very edge}.

\textbf{6.2.3.5 Repetitive augment complex}

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{we we (o-ndu)}
  \texttt{just just (come-PST.1S)}
  ‘I just came for no reason’
  \item \textit{paa paa}
  \texttt{very very}
  ‘very very’
  \item \textit{laye laye}
  \texttt{a.little a.little}
  ‘very little’
  \item \textit{we we angilie-ri-mu}
  \texttt{just just stand-DPST-3S}
  ‘he stood there naked’
\end{itemize}

\textbf{6.2.3.6 Repetitive adjective complex}

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{keri keri} \text{bad bad} \textquote{lots of bad things’}
  \item \textit{wallo wallo} \text{small small} \textquote{lots of small things’}
  \item \textit{lupe lupe} \text{other other} \textquote{various’}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{6.2.4 Spatial complexes}

Spatial complexes denote direction, location, or time.

\textbf{6.2.4.1 Direction complex}

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

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

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

(39) awi-suku-singi
mid-inside-LOC
‘in the middle’ (of a defined space or a crowd)

(40) awi-muli
mid-tree.top
‘in the middle’ (of the top of a tree)

6.2.4.3 Temporal complexes

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

Temporal 1 complex

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

(41) kongono telu
work one
‘Monday’

(42) kongono yepoko
work three
‘Wednesday’

(43) kongono pambu
work thumb
‘Friday’

(44) koro kelo
rest small
‘Saturday’

(45) koro awili
rest big
‘Sunday’
Chapter 6: Complexes

**Temporal 2 complex**

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

(46)  awi-ipulueli
mid-night
‘midnight’

(47)  awi-tangoli
mid-daytime
‘midday’

**'Before' temporal complex**

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

(48)  koro ou
already before
‘a long time ago’

(49)  koro-nga ou
already-at before
‘a long time ago’ (at a specific time)

(50)  ou pulu pulu
before root root
‘at first/at the beginning’

(51)  koro ou pulu pulu
already before root root
‘in the very beginning’

**6.2.5 Comparative complex**

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

(52)  laye awili
a.little big
‘middle-sized’

(53)  wallo kol-te
small dim-a
‘a tiny bit’

(54)  laye kol-te
a.little dim-a
‘a little while’
6.2.6 Connective complex

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

- *aku* *kinie* that when ‘and then’
- *kanu* *kinie* that when ‘and then’
- *pe kanu* later that ‘then later’

6.2.7 Emphatic pronoun complex

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

- *yu* he
- *nu* you
- *na* I
- *eno* they
- *yuyu* he.himself
- *nunu* you.yourself
- *nanu* I.myself
- *eneno* they.themselves

6.2.8 Post-position complex

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

(56) *yu mele mele* he like like ‘each one separately’
Chapter 7: Phrases

7. PHRASES

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

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

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

7.1 Verb phrases

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

7.1.1 Negative verb phrase

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

Table 7.1 Negative verb phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>±Stem</th>
<th>+Negator</th>
<th>+Head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>modified verb stem</td>
<td><em>nāa</em> 'not'</td>
<td>any fully inflected verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

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

---

1 which includes multi-syllable stems ending in i where the final i changes to e, and multi-syllable stems ending in u where the final u changes to o as explained under morphophonemic rules pertaining to verb stems under 4.2.4.
Chapter 7: Phrases

(1)  *naa angi-li-mo*
    not stand-ASP-CUST.3SG
    ‘it is not standing’

(2)  *pu naa pu-li-mo*
    go not go-ASP-CUST.3SG
    ‘he does not go’

(3)  *molou naa molo-nge*
    be.AN not be-FUT.3PL
    ‘they will not be there’

(4)  *piliei naa pil-i-molo*
    hear not hear-FUT.1PL
    ‘we will not hear’

7.1.2 Repetitive verb phrase

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

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

(5)  (*me-pa/) *pu-ru-mu// purumu// purumu// purumu// purumu//*
    (carry-3SG) go-ASP-3SG it.went it.went it.went it.went
    ‘it (carried him) on and on and on and on.’

(6)  (*api taka.li-pe/) *kopisi-pe/ kopisipe/ kopisipe/ kopisipe/*
    (salt finely-3SG) cut-3SG he.cutting he.cutting he.cutting
    ‘he went on and on and on (cutting the salt finely)’

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

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

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

(8)  (*kola.te-po/) *molo-po/ molopo/ molopo/ molopo/*
    (cry-1) be.AN-1 we.being we.being
    ‘we were crying and crying and crying’
7.2 Aspect verb phrases

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

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

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

Table 7.2 Aspect verb phrase

| ±Negator | +Head | +Aspect |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| \textit{naa} ‘not’ | verb classes 1 and 4 | verb class 2.1 |
| Adj.Vb.Com. classes 1 and 4 | Continuative Aspect Vb.Ph. | Repetitive Verb Phrase |

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

7.2.1 Complettive aspect verb phrase

The Complettive Aspect Verb Phrase has either the verb \textit{li} ‘to complete’, or the Adjunct Verb Complex \textit{pora si} ‘to finish’ expounding the Aspect tagmeme.

\[(9) \quad \text{(aku ungu) ni-mbe/ pora.si-ri-mu/} \\
\quad \text{(that talk) say-3SG finish-DPST-3SG} \\
\quad \text{‘he finished saying (that talk)’} \]
Chapter 7: Phrases

7.2.2 Cessative aspect verb phrase

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

(12) (lo) o-mba/ kelie-0-mu/
(rain) come-3SG cease-NPST-3SG
‘the rain has stopped coming’

(13) karaye.te-pa/ naa kelie-0-mu/
insist-3SG not cease-NPST.3SG
‘he did not leave off insisting’

(14) (yunge wale.pakoli) koro-po/ kel-ke-ro/-mo
(his shirt) search-1 cease PR-1SG-ASS
‘I am definitely giving up searching for (his shirt).’

7.2.3 Qualitative aspect verb phrase

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

Table 7.3 Qualitative aspect verb phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Head</th>
<th>+Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>te</strong></td>
<td><strong>kondo</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘do’</td>
<td>‘thoroughly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>molo</strong></td>
<td><strong>kenji</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘be’</td>
<td>‘badly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ni</strong></td>
<td><strong>wamo</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘speak’</td>
<td>‘properly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pili</strong></td>
<td><strong>sundu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hear’</td>
<td>‘inadequately’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kano</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘look/see’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:
1. The list of verbs in the Head slot may not be exhaustive but they are certainly the most common ones to occur in this phrase.
2. No other verbs may occur in the Aspect slot besides those listed. The first two are much more common than the other two. Each of the four is shown in the following examples:

(15) **pili-pu/ sundo-0-ndu/**
hear-1 inadequately-NPST.1SG
‘I didn't hear properly / didn't understand’
7.2.4 Durative aspect verb phrase

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

(19) pili-pe/ molo-ru-mu/

‘he was listening’

(20) kola te-po/ molo-po/ molopo/ molopo/
tear do-I be.AN-I we.being we.being

‘we were crying and crying and crying...’

(21) kola te-pa/ pu-pe/ molo-ru-mu/
tear do-3SG go-3SG be.AN-DPST-3SG

‘she continued to go on crying’

7.2.5 Continuative aspect verb phrase

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

(22) (ga mundu) te-ko/ pu-li-mele/

(sweet.potato mounds) do-3PL go-ASP-CUST.3PL

‘they habitually go on making (sweet potato mounds)’

The Continuative Aspect Verb of (23) is, in turn, expounding the Head of a Durative Aspect Verb Phrase.
7.2.6 Probabilitive aspect verb phrase

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

(24) (yu ulke-na suku) molo-pa/ te-ke-mo//
    (he house-in inside) be.AN-3SG do-PR-3SG
    ‘he is probably (in the house)’

(25) (yu) o-mba/ te-le-mo//
    (she) come-3SG do-ASP-CUST.3SG
    ‘she is probably coming / on her way’

(26) (ga) pe-pa/ te-ke-mo//
    (sweet potato) be.in-3SG do-PR-3SG
    ‘there is probably (sweet potato) in (the sweet potato mounds)’

(27) (yema naa mo-le-mele) pu-ku/ te-ngi//
    (the men not be.AN-ASP-CUST.3PL) go-3 do-NPST.3PL
    ‘(the men are not here) they have probably (already) gone (to Hagen).’

7.2.7 Iterative aspect verb phrase

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

(28) (kolea) kano-poupou te-le-mele//
    (place) look-repeatedly do-ASP-CUST.3PL
    ‘They looked around (the place) constantly’

(29) (ga) si-poupou te-ri-ngi//
    (sweet potato) give-repeatedly do-DPST-3PL
    ‘they gave (sweet potato) again and again’

(30) (ena monga talo-nga unjo) lkene-poupou
    (sun lump two-GEN wood) carry.load.after.load-repeatedly (take-1 be.AN-1
    molo-pa molo-pa) te-ri-mbulu
    be.AN-1 be.AN-1) do-DPST-1DL
    ‘For two hours) we went on (getting and) carrying load after load (of wood)
    repeatedly.’
7.3 The semantic-unit verb phrase

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

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

Table 7.4 Semantic unit verb phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Head₁</th>
<th>±Negator</th>
<th>+Head₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>regular verbs</td>
<td>naa 'not'</td>
<td>regular verbs (class 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(class 4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>existential verbs (class 1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(31)  
kalɔ-pa/ l-si-mu/  
cook-3SG   take-DPST-3SG  
‘he generated’ (used in genealogies)

(32)  
ni-mbe/ panje-ri-mu/  
speak-3SG   put.in-DPST-3SG  
‘he promised’

(33)  
o-mbo/ pu-ru-ndu/  
come-1   go-DPST-1SG  
‘I passed by’

(34)  
te-pa/ li-e-pili/  
do-3SG   take-IMP-HORT.3SG  
‘let her adopt (the child)’

(35)  
no-mbo/ naa pi-li-o/  
eat-1   not perceive-ASP-CUST.1SG  
‘I have not tasted (it)’

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

(36)  
li-ku/ maku to-ri-ngi//  
take-3PL   ADJ   hit-DPST-3PL  
‘they gathered together’
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(37) *te-pa/ embambo si-ki-mu//
do-3SG ADJ give-PR-3SG
‘she is confusing (me)’

7.3.1 Modified semantic-unit verb phrase

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

Table 7.5 Modified semantic unit verb phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>±Negator</th>
<th>+Head₁</th>
<th>+Modifier</th>
<th>+Head₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naa ‘not’</td>
<td>kano ‘see’</td>
<td>peanga ‘good’</td>
<td>kano ‘see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pili ‘hear’</td>
<td>kaye ‘good’</td>
<td>pili ‘hear’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no ‘eat’</td>
<td>komindi ‘good’</td>
<td>ni ‘speak’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni ‘speak’</td>
<td>keri ‘bad’</td>
<td>panji ‘put.in’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

1. The Negator does not often occur in this phrase but when it does occur it optionally precedes either of the Head tagmemes.
2a. When *kano* ‘to see’ expounds Head₁, only *kano* ‘to see’ or *panji* ‘to put in’ expound Head₂.
2b. When *pili* ‘to hear’ expounds Head₁, only *pili* ‘to hear’ or *panji* ‘to put in’ expound Head₂.
2c. When *no* ‘to eat’ or *ni* ‘to speak’ expound Head₁, *kano* ‘to see’ or *pili* ‘to hear’ expound Head₂.

(38) *kano-po/ keri kano-ko-ro//
see-1 bad see-PR-1SG
‘I am displeased with what I see.’

(39) (ga) *no-ngo/ peanga pili-no//-ye*
(sweet.potato) eat-2 good perceive-CUST.2SG-QU
‘Do you like the taste of (sweet potato)?’

(40) *pili-pu/ keri panji-ki-ru//*
hear-1 bad put.in-PR-1SG
‘I am greatly displeased with what I hear.’

7.4 Non-verb phrases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.4.2 The summary phrase

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

The Summary Phrase is similar to the Subordinating Phrase (7.8.1) which has a summary function in the Embedding Phrase (7.8.2). However, whereas the Subordinating Phrase is
obligatory to the Embedding Phrase, the Summary Phrase is only optional to the Noun Phrases. Also, whereas the demonstrative can occur only once in the Summary Phrase, it optionally occurs twice in the Subordinating Phrase; i.e. at the beginning of the phrase as well as immediately preceding the phrase final article clitic. And whereas the only word which can precede the demonstrative in the Summary Phrase is *mele* ‘thing’, several other generic common nouns can occur in the Subordinating Phrase.

Table 7.6 Summary phrase

| ±mele ‘thing’² | ±demonstrative | +article clitic |

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

(45) mele aku-me
     thing that-the.PL
     ‘those things’

(46) kanu poko
     that few
     ‘those few’

7.5 Noun phrases

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

7.5.1 Modified noun phrase

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

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

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

² The word *mele* ‘thing’ does not often occur. When it does it can be easily confused with the comparative clitic *mele* ‘like’ which fills the Relator slot of the Comparative Axis-Relator Phrase, especially when this latter phrase ends with a demonstrative plus article clitic, which it optionally does. Only a careful study of the context can resolve this confusion.
Table 7.7 Modified noun phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Deictic₁</th>
<th>+Deictic₂</th>
<th>+Head</th>
<th>+Modifier₁</th>
<th>+Modifier₂</th>
<th>+Modifier₃</th>
<th>+Modifier₄</th>
<th>+Modifier₅</th>
<th>+Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dir.Com</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>adjective 1 (quality)</td>
<td>adjective 2 (colour)</td>
<td>adjective 3 (size)</td>
<td>adjective 4 (quantity)</td>
<td>adjective 5 lupe 'other' mele 'like'</td>
<td>Summary Ph.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Rules:
1. When Modifiers 1, 3, or 5 are expounded by the Repetitive Adjective Complex the Summary is obligatory.
2. When Modifier 4 is expounded by either pali ‘all’ or pea ‘all’, this tagmeme must come at the end of the phrase instead of in its usual position.
3. Only from one to four tagmemes usually occur in any given phrase.
4. No particular tagmeme is obligatory, but obviously at least one tagmeme must occur, most usually the Head.

Pre-Lim.1 Head Mod.3
(47) wele ola unjo kumure re awili
DIR up tree gum big
‘a big gum tree up in cross-river direction’

(48) lopa maya talo
possum type two
‘two maya possums’

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

Head Mod.4
(50) ka tondolo mare
vine strong some
‘some strong vine’

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

Mod.2 Summary
(51) kondoli -mu
red the.SG
‘the red one’

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

Head Mod.1
(53) wale pe.nili
bag light
‘light bag’

Head Mod.4 Summary
(54) mele keri keri -ma
thing bad bad the.PL
‘the many bad things’
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Head Summary
(55) sumoli kanu-poko-re
gold.lipped.pearl.shells those-few-a
‘those few gold lipped pearl shells’
Head Mod.3 Mod.4 Summary
(56) mindi wallo wallo mare kanu-me
meat tiny tiny some that-the.PL
‘those some tiny bits of meat’
Deictic2 Head
(57) kanu meme
that blood
‘that blood’
Head Mod.1 Summary
(58) ye waengono keri kanu-mu
man unmarried bad that-the.SG
‘that bad unmarried man’

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

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

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

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

7.5.2 Appositional noun phrase

The Appositional Noun Phrase is relatively rare in Kaugel but it does exist. It consists of an Item usually filled by one or two non-verb words, plus an Apposition filled by a phrase which serves to expand, amplify, or explain what occurs in the Item. Both the Item and Apposition are obligatory and are optionally followed by a Summary. The Summary is more uncommon on the Appositional Noun Phrase than on other noun phrases but it does occur sometimes. Phonologically there is always a pause between the Item and the Apposition tagmemes.
On the phrase level the Appositional Noun Phrase expounds the Axes of the Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9), and the Head of the Coordinate Noun Phrase (7.5.3). It also expounds the Subject and Object tagmemes of the clause.

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

**Table 7.8 Appositional noun phrase**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Item</th>
<th>+Apposition</th>
<th>±Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mod. Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Mod. Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Summary Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double-headed Noun Complex</td>
<td>Double-Headed Noun Complex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Phrase</td>
<td>Coord. Noun Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>Embedding Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper Name Phrase</td>
<td>Proper Name Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rules:**

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

**Example:**

(62) *oli* we *yembo-ma*

we ordinary people-the.PL

‘we, the ordinary people’

**Example:**

(63) *pea, ye pali*

everyone men all

‘everyone, all men’

**Example:**

(64) *olto, Kulli keme na keme*

we two Kulli and I and

‘we two, Kulli and I’

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

**Example:**

(65) *Yano Dupa, darapa.me-mba/ ando-ko-mo// ye-mo*

Yano Dupa drive-3SG wander-PR-3SG man-the

‘Dupa of Yano clan, the man who is driving (a car) around’

**Example:**

(66) *lopa te lopa.alsu te*

furred.marsupial a tree.kangaroo a

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

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

### 7.5.3 Coordinate noun phrase

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

**Table 7.9 Coordinate noun phrase**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Head</th>
<th>±Coord.</th>
<th>±(+Head ±Coord.)</th>
<th>±Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proper Name</td>
<td>keme ‘and’</td>
<td>Proper Name</td>
<td>keme ‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex</td>
<td></td>
<td>Complex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.N.Ph.</td>
<td>kinie ‘and’</td>
<td>Mod.N.Ph.</td>
<td>kinie ‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embed.Ph.</td>
<td>kepe ‘also’</td>
<td>Embed.Ph.</td>
<td>kepe ‘also’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App.N.Ph.</td>
<td>molo ‘or’</td>
<td>App.N.Ph.</td>
<td>molo ‘or’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poss.Phrase</td>
<td>kin term</td>
<td>Poss.Phrase</td>
<td>kin term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin term</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rules:**

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

Example (68) illustrates the maximum expansion of this phrase, having five Heads and five Coordinators.
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(68) kondoli-selo kinie, Komisi Sikimu kinie, Kaoa, Komisi Kaoa kinie, red-the.dual and Committee Sikimu and Kaoa, Committee Kaoa and Lame Pareka kinie kopulo-mo kinie clan Pareka and corporal-the and ‘the two europeans, and Committee Sikimu, and Kaoa, Committee Kaoa, and Pareka of Lame clan and the corporal…’

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

(70) Jiwa keme Ake keme olio Jiwa and Ake and we ‘Jiwa and Ake and I’

(71) ga yepoko molo kise molo pakera sweet.potato three or four or five ‘three or four or five sweet potatoes’

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

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

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

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

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

(75) ou ye-ma-ne kepe before men.the.PL-ACT also ‘The men (who lived) before also (followed these customs)’

(76) kera-ma kepe (aku-la) bird-the.PL also (that-too) ‘the birds also (do that too)’
Chapter 7: Phrases

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

7.5.4 Proper name phrase

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

Table 7.10 Proper name phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>+(±Deictic</th>
<th>±Area</th>
<th>±Definer</th>
<th>±Specifier</th>
<th>±Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dir.Com.</td>
<td>clan name</td>
<td>Db-Hd.N.Com.</td>
<td>personal name</td>
<td>Summary Ph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clan Name Complex</td>
<td>place name</td>
<td>generic-common noun</td>
<td>place name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place Name Complex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

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

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

Deictic Def. Specifier
(78) ne manie kango Garu
nearby down boy Garu
‘(the) boy Garu (who) is down there nearby’

Area Def. Specifier
(79) Yano ye Dupa
Yano man Dupa
‘Dupa a Yano clan man’
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Area Specifier

(80) Eka Mone
Eka Mone
‘Mone of Eka clan’

Deictic Area Def. Specifier

(81) wele ola Malkie kanjoli Silso
across up Mali councillor Siljo
‘Councillor Siljo from up over there at Malki village’

Deictic Area Definer

(82) wi ola no Warakinie penge
upstream up water Warakinie head
‘upstream, up (towards the) headwaters of Warakinie creek’

Def. Spec. Summary

(83) kuru Kopeaka kanu
spirit Kopeaka that
‘that spirit (named) Kopeaka’

7.6 Numeral phrases

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

7.6.1 Possessed numeral phrase

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{rurepo-nga telu} & \quad \text{‘one in the system of 12’} = 9 \\
  \text{rurepo-nga talo} & \quad \text{‘two in the system of 12’} = 10 \\
  \text{rurepo-nga yepoko} & \quad \text{‘three in the system of 12’} = 11 \\
  \text{malapu-nge telu} & \quad \text{‘one in the system of 16’} = 13 \\
  \text{malapu-nge talo} & \quad \text{‘two in the system of 16’} = 14 \\
  \text{malapu-nge yepoko} & \quad \text{‘three in the system of 16’} = 15
\end{align*}
\]

7.6.2 Double-headed numeral phrase

The Double-Headed Numeral Phrase consists of any two numeral words - not numeral phrases - which occur following one another in the regular counting system. They obligatorily occur in the order lower, then higher, number. The meaning of the phrase is an alternate way of expressing the
higher number, especially used when counting pigs at a pig exchange. (Numerals are presented in section 4.4.3.4. under adjectives of quantity)

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
telu & talo & \text{‘two’} \\
one & two & \\
engaki & rurepo & \text{‘twelve’} \\
eight & twelve & \\
rurepo & malapu & \text{‘sixteen’} \\
twelve & sixteen & \\
\end{array}
\]

### 7.6.3 Numeral phrase with embedding

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Head +Tail</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ki.mongo + numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numeral + goli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘finger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘more’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(84) ki.mongo telu talo goli
finger one two more
‘the fingers of one hand (excludes thumb) and two more’ (= 6)

(85) ki.mongo talo Yepoko goli
finger two three more
‘the fingers of two hands and three more’ (= 11)

### 7.7 Spatial phrases

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

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

### 7.7.1 Basic time phrase

The Basic Time Phrase consists of an optional Clarifier 1, plus a Head and a Clarifier 2, one of which is obligatory.
### Table 7.12 Basic time phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>±Clarifier₁</th>
<th>+(±Head)</th>
<th>±Clarifier₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>nekendo</strong> ‘next’</td>
<td>temporal 1</td>
<td>temporal 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nendepa</strong> ‘next but one’</td>
<td>Temporal 1 Com.</td>
<td>Temporal 2 Com.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **ou** ‘before’ | temporal 3 | numeral |
| **pe** ‘later’ | temporal 1 | Temporal 1 Com. |

**Rules:**

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

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

### 7.7.2 Appositional time phrase

The Appositional Time Phrase consists of a Specifier plus an Apposition. Both are obligatory. The Specifier is expounded only by Temporal 4, which are non-specific time words. Phonologically there is always a pause between the tagmemes.
Table 7.13 Appositional time phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Specifier</th>
<th>+Apposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ou</em> ‘before’</td>
<td>Basic Time Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pe</em> ‘later’</td>
<td>‘Before’ Temporal Complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>talko</em> ‘recently’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(90) *ou*, *koro-ou* *pulu-pulu*
    ‘before, in the beginning’
(91) *pe*, *kongono* *talo* *kinie*
    ‘later, on Tuesday’
(92) *talko*, *ou* *koro-ko-ndo*
    ‘recently, last week specifically (implied)’

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

7.7.3 Coordinate time phrase

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

Table 7.14 Coordinate time phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(+Head</th>
<th>(+Coordinator)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>temporal word</td>
<td><em>kepe</em> ‘and/even’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal Complex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(93) *kinié* *kepe*, *opale* *kepe*, *pe* *pe* *kepe*
    ‘today and tomorrow and later later and
    ‘today and tomorrow and from then on’
7.8 Subordinating clause phrases

The Subordinating Clause Phrases are a group of phrases which have to do with the subordination of clauses and sentences by embedding them within phrases. Such subordination can be accomplished by adding various elements to a clause, such as article clitics (5.1.1), demonstratives (4.4.6), pronouns (4.4.2) or even the verb to adjective derivator suffix (3.1). The Subordinating Clause Phrases can occur expounding both clause and phrase level tagmemes as will
be spelled out for each type. Specifically, some can expound the Axes of the Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9).

### 7.8.1 Subordinating phrase

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

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

**Table 7.15 Subordinating phrase**

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

**Rules:**

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identifier</th>
<th>Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>kolea</strong></td>
<td><strong>i-me</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place</td>
<td>this-the.PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘these places’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deictic</th>
<th>Identifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>kanu</strong></td>
<td><strong>ye-mo</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>man-the.SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘that man’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^3\) a type of relative clause
Chapter 7: Phrases

7.8.2 Embedding phrase

The Embedding Phrase consists of an Item filled by a clause\(^4\) or a sentence, plus an Embedder filled by the Subordinating Phrase described above. Both tagmemes are obligatory and are optionally followed by a Post-Position typically expounded by adjectives of quantity. The Embedding Phrase covers what otherwise might be called both nominalised clauses and relative clauses.

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

Table 7.16 Embedding phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Item</th>
<th>+Embedder</th>
<th>±Post-Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sentence</td>
<td>Subordinating Phrase</td>
<td>Post-Position Com. (yu-mele-mele)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ indicative</td>
<td></td>
<td>adjective 4 (quantitative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- interrogative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- imperative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- subjunctive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

1. The Post-Position indicates how many of the persons, places, or things in the body of the phrase are specifically involved in the verb of the clause of which this phrase will expound either Subject or Object. (104) to (108).

2. When the Post-Position occurs, the locator clitic optionally occurs phrase finally on the Subordinating Phrase expounding the Embedder; i.e. immediately preceding the Post-Position. (107) and (108)

3. The Post-Position Complex yu-mele-mele ‘each one’ and the quantitative adjective pali ‘all’ only occur in the Post-Position slot when the Embedding Phrase is expounding a clause level slot, not when it is expounding the Axis of an Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9).

4. The final verb of the sentence expounding the Item phrase must be either indicative or customary, not subjunctive, imperative or interrogative.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Embedder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(101) ambo kolo-ru-mu// kanu-mu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman die-DPST-3SG that-the.SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘that woman (who) died’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^4\) As clauses embedded in this phrase are always independent in form (see initial remarks in chapter 8), they are virtually Simple Sentences anyway (9.2).
In (102) and (103) the Subordinating Phrase filling the Embedder is expounded only by a generic common noun.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Embedder</th>
<th>Post-Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(108)</td>
<td>anda kolo-ri-ngi aku-me-nga pali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>old.men die-DPST-3PL that-the.PL-POSS all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘all (the heads) of those old men who had died’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(109) and (110) include the Deictic tagmeme in the Subordinating Phrase expounding the Embedder.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Embedder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ye mere manie Akena pu-ru-mu/ kanu ye-mo</td>
<td>man downstream down Hagen go-DPST-3SG that man-the.SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘that man who went down to Hagen’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Embedder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>olio ga me-ri-mulu/ kanu ga kanu-mu</td>
<td>we sweet.potato carry-DPST-1PL that s.p that-the-SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘that sweet potato we carried’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.8.3 Focus phrase

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

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

### Table 7.17 Focus phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Head</th>
<th>+Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sentence</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Emphatic Pronoun Com.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embedding Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ambo.wenepo kanu-kongo yu</td>
<td>‘that large young woman, she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(111)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silso yu</td>
<td>‘Siljo, he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(112)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye sukuna-mo yu</td>
<td>‘the middle-born man, he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(113)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In (114) and (115) the Head is expounded by an Embedding Phrase (7.8.2).

\[
\text{Head} \quad \text{Focus}
\]

(114) ye-mo-ne ambo mane.si-pe/ to-le-mo/ ye-mo yuyu
man-the-ACT women teach-3SG hit-ASP-CUST.3SG man-the he.himself
‘the man who teaching women beats them, he himself’

(115) to-ko/ bulu-balo.si-ku/ mundo-ri-ngi/ lopama eneno
hit-3PL scatter-3PL send-DPST-3PL possums they.themselves
‘the possums which they (the dogs) struck and sent scattering, they themselves’

### 7.8.4 Derived clause phrase

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

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

### Table 7.18 Derived clause phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Head</th>
<th>+Derivator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clause</td>
<td>-li verb to adjective derivator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb-stem only</td>
<td>±article clitic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rules:**

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

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

(116) (we) ungu naa ni-li (angilie-ri-ndu)
(just) word not speak-DER (stand-DPST-1SG)
‘(I just stood there) without speaking’
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(117) tepe naa kalo-li (pepa)
fire not burn-DER (he.lived)
‘(he lived) without fire’

(118) na oma te naa si-li (nambemona no-ngi-ye)
me fish a not give-DER (why eat-2PL-QU)
‘(Why did you all eat) without giving me a fish?’

(119) pipili naa kolo-li (kuru koyo-mbo)
fear not die-DER (spirit worship-FUT.1SG)
‘(I will worship the spirit) without fear’

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

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

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

(121) (amu) lou to-li (telu)
(pandanus.nut) axe hit-DER (one)
‘(one) cut down with an axe (pandanus nut)’

(122) (wale) pe.ni-li
(bag) light-DER
‘light (weight) (bag)’

(123) (ponie) kamu.kumu no te-li
(garden) permanently water do-DER
‘permanently wet (garden)’ (swamp garden)

(124) (ambola) pipili kolo-li
(girls) fear die-DER
‘frightened (girls)’

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

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

7.9 Axis-relator phrases

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

7.9.1 Nominal axis-relator phrase

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

Table 7.19 Nominal axis-relator phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axis</th>
<th>Relator</th>
<th>Post-Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Any Noun Phrase</td>
<td>agent clitic</td>
<td>pali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embedding Phrase</td>
<td>-ne ~ -ni</td>
<td>`all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus Phrase</td>
<td>indirect object clitic</td>
<td>yu mele mele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession Phrase</td>
<td>-ndo ~ -ndu</td>
<td>pea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin terms</td>
<td>nmele ~ nmele</td>
<td>ungu te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronouns</td>
<td><code>how' / </code>about'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstratives</td>
<td>nambolka `what'</td>
<td>referent clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nave `who.sg'</td>
<td>-ndo -ndu ~ -nga -nge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nambele `who.dual'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namele `who.pl'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

1. The agent clitic -ne ~ -ni occurs when the phrase is expounding Actor, Resource, or Instrument tagmemes of the clause. Morphophonemic rule 1 governs the choice of allomorph.

2. The indirect object enclitic -ndo ~ -ndu occurs when the phrase is expounding the Indirect Object tagmeme of the clause. Morphophonemic rule 1 governs the choice of allomorph. The indirect object clitic is used only in conjunction with the verbs ‘to speak’ and ‘ask’, never with the verbs ‘to give’ or ‘to tell’.

3. The referent clitic -ndo ~ -ndu ~ -nga ~ -nge and mele ‘how’ / ‘about’ occur only when the phrase is expounding the Referent tagmeme of the clause. The choice of vowel in each pair of suffixes of the referent clitic is governed by

---

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

6 mele is particularly used as the relator when this phrase occurs at the beginning or end of Procedural (11.1) or Expository (11.2) Discourse.
morphophonemic rule 1. The nd pair occur only on nouns, the ng pair typically on verbs.

4. The Post-Position indicates whether all or each of the items indicated in the Axis of the phrase are actually active in the verb of the clause into which the phrase fits.

5. When the Axis is expounded by a question word the Post-Position cannot occur.

6. The word ungu ‘talk’ can only occur in the Post-Position when the Relator is expounded by the referent clitic.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axis</th>
<th>Relator</th>
<th>Post Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(126) Takopoka Gini -ni</td>
<td>Takopoka Gini ACT</td>
<td>‘Gini of Takopoka clan...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(127) Yombi ye wele aku-me -ne yu.mele.mele</td>
<td>Yombi men across that-the.PL ACT each.one</td>
<td>‘Each one of those men from over there at Yombi’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(128) (nu) nawe -ne (tomu)</td>
<td>(you) who ACT (he.hit)</td>
<td>‘Who (hit you)?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(129) Kole yembo kinie kanjoli-mu -ni pali</td>
<td>Kole people and councillor-the ACT all</td>
<td>‘All the people of Kole including the councillor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(130) oli ena-selo -ne pea</td>
<td>moon sun-the_DL ACT both</td>
<td>‘both the sun and the moon...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(131) includes both Actor and Instrument tagmemes of the clause.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(131) olio -ne ki -ni</td>
<td>we ACT hand INST</td>
<td>‘we, with our hands’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(132) kolomongo telu-mu -ni</td>
<td>arrow one-the INST</td>
<td>‘with the one arrow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(133) to (136) are examples of the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase which expound the Indirect Object tagmeme of the clause.

Axis Relator
(133) Tata -ndo (aku.sipe nirimu) Dad IO (like.that he.spoke) ‘(He spoke like that) to Dad’

Axis Relator
(134) kango kelo aku-selo -ndo boys little that-the.DL IO ‘(I said) to those two little boys’

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

Axis Relator
(135) Pango pena angilie-mu-mu -ndu Pango outside stand-NPST-3SG-the.SG IO ‘(She said) to Pango who was standing outside’

Axis Relator
(136) na -ndo (walsipe.pilie-ri-mu) me IO (ask-DPST-3SG) ‘(He asked) to me’

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

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

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

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

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

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

Axis Relator Post-Position

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

Axis Relator

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

Axis Relator

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

7.9.2 Locative/spatial axis-relator phrase

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

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

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

**Table 7.20 Locative/spatial axis-relator phrase**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Axis</th>
<th>+Relator</th>
<th>±Post-Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>locator clitic -na ~ -ne ~ -nga ~ -nge</td>
<td>adjective (quantitative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embedding Phrase</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession Phrase</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstratives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal clause</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rules:**

1. Phrases expounding the Axis typically include the word kolea ‘place’ or some other element implying location such as a place or clan name.
2. Quantitative adjectives in the Post-Position slot indicate how many of the places indicated in the body of the phrase are actually places where the verb of the clause takes place. Locationals indicate the precise place where the action took place. Directionals indicate in what direction from the location the action took place.

3. Post-Position occurs much more commonly in this Axis-Relator Phrase than in any other.

4. The locative clitic may be variously translated as ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘to’ or ‘from’.

Axis Relator

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

Axis Relator Post-Position

(144) ya ulke nawe-nga -na
here house who-POSS LOC
‘from whose house here?’

Axis Relator Post-Position

(145) kongi penge koyo-ngi kanu -na ola
pig head steam.cook-NPST.3PL that LOC up
‘up to that (place where) they steam cooked the pig’s head’

Axis Relator Post-Position

(146) kuru ulke -na suku
spirit house LOC inside
‘inside the spirit house’

(147) is a "time" example.

Axis Relator Post-Position

(147) kise.sipe-mo -nga ipulueli
fourth-the.SG LOC night
‘night of the fourth day’

Axis Relator Post-Position

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

Axis Relator

(149) olionga kolea -na
our place LOC
‘to our place’

Axis Relator

(150) no.waru -na
ravine LOC
‘in the ravine’
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Axis    Relator    Post-Position
(151) ya i polo i -ne manie
here this platform this LOC down
‘down in here under this platform’

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

Axis
(152) mere kongono te-le-mele akena ollia ni-li-mele
downstream work do-ASP-CUST.3PL Hagen Hauliers speak-ASP-CUST.3PL

Relator Axis Relator Axis
aku -ne te-le-mele kolea aku -ne kako li-mele
that LOC do-ASP-CUST.3PL place that LOC cargo receive-ASP-CUST.3PL

Relator
aku -ne (pu-pu/ kano-ru-mbulu//)
that LOC (go-1 see-DPST-1DL)

‘(We went and looked) down there where they work at the firm called Hagen Hauliers, at that place where they work, at that place where they receive cargo.’

7.9.3 Possessive axis-relator phrase

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

Table 7.21 Possessive axis-relator phrase

| +Axis | +Relator |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Noun Phrase | possession clitic -nga |
| Focus Phrase | |
| Embedding Phrase | |
| pronoun | |

Rules:
1. Morphophonemic rule 1 governs the choice of allomorphs of the possession clitic -nga ~ -nge.
2. Pronouns are by far the most common words to be affixed with the possession clitic, making pronouns and the Focus Phrase (which obligatorily ends in a pronoun) the most common fillers of the Axis of the Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase.
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Axis Relator
(153) umbu ye-mo -nga
local man-the.SG POSS
‘belonging to the local man’

Axis Relator
(154) olio -nga
we POSS
‘our’

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

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

Axis Relator
(156) Sua lapa -nga
Sua his.father POSS
‘belonging to Sua’s father’

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

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

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

7.9.4 Possession phrase

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

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

---

7 Possession is not necessarily expressed even when implied in Kaugel. Possession is not overtly expressed with kin terms because possession is inherently included within each kin term as described under 4.4.1.2. The Kinship Complex described under 6.2.2.2. also does not express possession overtly. Also, when the possessed item is a body part the possessor clitic is optionally omitted. The possessor clitic is never used when the thing possessed is the word *imbi* ‘name’. I will present a few examples of these exceptions before presenting examples of the Possession Phrase itself.
Table 7.22 Possession phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keapo anumu</td>
<td>Keapo her.mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yako malo</td>
<td>Yako his.son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu ki</td>
<td>you hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yembo ki</td>
<td>person hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu imbi nawe</td>
<td>you name who</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of Possession Phrase:

1. ye-mo-nga amu
   - man-the-POSS pandanus.palm
   - ‘the man's pandanus palm’

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

1. na-nga tara-nga lapa
   - me-POSS dad-POSS his.father
   - ‘my father's father’

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

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

Table 7.23 Substantive negative phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>±Item</th>
<th>+Head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>molo ‘no/not’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>‘like this’/ ‘like that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lupe</td>
<td>‘other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molo</td>
<td>‘no’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘not different’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kondoli</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molo</td>
<td>‘no’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘not red’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aku</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molo</td>
<td>‘no’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘not that’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.sipe</td>
<td>‘like this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molo</td>
<td>‘no’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘not like this’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.9.6 Accompaniment phrase

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

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

Table 7.24 Accompaniment phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>±Head</th>
<th>+Accompaniment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>pea ‘including’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>kinie ‘with’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Accompaniment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(166)</td>
<td><em>yembo-ma kepe pea</em> <em>(ko-le-molo)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>people-the.PL also including <em>(die-ASP-CUST.1PL)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(the people also including (me) (we all die))</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Accompaniment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(167)</td>
<td><em>kango-ma pea</em> <em>(pu-ru-mulu)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>boy-the.PL including <em>(go-DPST-3SG)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(the boys, including (me) (went))</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Accompaniment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(168)</td>
<td><em>na pea</em> <em>(kote.te-molo)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I with <em>(bring.charges-FUT.3SG)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(They) including me, (we will take this matter to court)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accompaniment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(169)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Accompaniment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(170)</td>
<td><em>melte pea</em> <em>(naa panji-li-molo)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a.thing with <em>(not plant-ASP-CUST.1PL)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(we do not plant) anything else with (sweet potato runners)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Accompaniment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(171)</td>
<td><em>ga wale kinie</em> <em>(ulkendo purumu)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sweet.potato bag with <em>(home he.went)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(he went home) with a bag of sweet potato</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Head Accompaniment

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

Head Accompaniment

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 8.1 Equative clauses

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

#### 8.1.1 Commentative clause

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

The Commentative Clause may be either a statement or a question. A question is marked by the interrogative clitic (5.2.2) clause finally, or by a question word expounding the Comment.
### Table 8.1 Commentative clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>±Time</th>
<th>+Topic</th>
<th>+Comment</th>
<th>±Predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic time Ph.</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>existential verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>Substantive Negative Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>response word</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Possession Phrase</td>
<td>Possession Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Embedding Phrase</td>
<td>Poss. A-R. Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Db-Hd.N.Comment</td>
<td>question word</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Rules and Special Features:

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

1. **aku molo**
   - That not
   - ‘Not that’ (functioning as a response)

2. **owa oleanga to-0-nu kanu-mu nanga**
   - Dog yesterday hit-NPST-2SG that-the mine
   - ‘That dog you killed yesterday was mine.’

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

4. **lopa imbi-mu olkou**
   - Marsupial name-the wallaby
   - ‘The name of the marsupial is wallaby.’

5. **olionga aku.si-pe molo**
   - Ours like.that-3SG not
   - ‘Our custom is not like that.’
In example (6), hortative imperative is being used as historic past, as per note 5 under Hortative imperative on page 10 of Chapter 4 on Words.

8.1.2 Stative clause

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

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

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

Table 8.2 Stative clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>±Time</th>
<th>±Location</th>
<th>±Referent</th>
<th>±Stative Subject</th>
<th>+Predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>features:</td>
<td>+ clitic monga</td>
<td>3SG; usually present or past tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules and Special Features:

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

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1 For a discussion of Stative Clauses and their Active Clause pairs, see Active and Passive Verb Compound Pairs in Kaugel by June Head.
4. When Predicate is manifesting near past tense, this typically indicates something which has taken place in the past - not necessarily the immediate past - which is still currently relevant, as in (11) and (12).

5. The Referent tagmeme when occuring in this clause is marked by the second position allomorph of the referent clitic (5.1.2) and is always preceded by the article clitic (5.1.1).

6. The Referent tagmeme only occurs, and then only optionally, when any one of a small list of fillers expounds the Predicate (compare the Referent tagmeme of the Intransitive Active Clause, (8.2.2)). These fillers are:

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

**Stative Subject (noun) Predicate**

(8) kolea ali pulumu te-ke-mo//

place cold much do-PR-3SG

'It is very cold.'

(9) na penge no-ko-mo//

I head eat-PR-3SG

'I have a headache.'

(10) olio mini-wale pu-ku-mu//

we soul-bag go-PR-3SG

'We are distressed.'

**Stative Subject (noun) Predicate**

(11) wale sungu.ni-mu//

bag tear-NPST.3SG

'(The/My) bag is torn.'

(12) mulumbale koma.ie-mu/

cloth be-damp-NPST.3SG

'The cloth is damp.'

**Time (Basic T.Ph.) Stative Subject Predicate**

(13) oleanga ipulueli Okaramba kupe to-mu//

yesterday night Ukarumpa cloud hit-NPST.3SG

'It was foggy at Ukarumpa last night.'

**Referent (Nom.A-R.Ph.) Stative Subject (pronoun) Predicate**

(14) nu pu-nil// mu-ngge na kondo te-ke-mo//

you go-FUT.2SG the.SG-REF I sorrow DO-PR-3SG

'I am sad about your going.'
8.2 Active clauses

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

8.2.1 Transitive active clause

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

Actor, Indirect Object, Referent, Resource, and Instrument tagmemes are manifest always and only by Nominal Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9.1); the only exception being that the Comparative Axis-Relator Phrase can occasionally expound the Referent tagmeme. The relator clitic of the phrase signifies which clause level tagmeme is manifest and shows the relationship of that tagmeme to the verb manifesting the Predicate. Conversely, though, only the Actor of the clause is marked in the verb of the Predicate, and there it is marked in exactly the same way as the Subject of the Intransitive Active Clause\(^2\). The Object is not manifested by an Axis-Relator Phrase because the language has no object clitic\(^3\).

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

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

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

---

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

\(^3\) Information about the allomorphic variation of these clitics, as well as further factors governing their use is presented in Chapter 5.
# Table 8.3 Transitive active clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>±(Time)</th>
<th>±(Location)</th>
<th>±ACTOR</th>
<th>±INDIRECT OBJ</th>
<th>±REFERENT</th>
<th>OBJECT</th>
<th>±INSTRUMENT</th>
<th>±RESOURCE</th>
<th>±Manner)</th>
<th>±PREDICATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comparative Complex*</td>
<td>Place Name Complex</td>
<td>Comparatative Axis-Rel. Phrase</td>
<td>Sentence*</td>
<td>any Noun Phrase Complex*</td>
<td>Modifying Adjunct Verb Com.*</td>
<td>Regular Adjunct Verb Complex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetitive Adverb Complex*</td>
<td>Direction Complex</td>
<td>Repetitive Spatial Complex*</td>
<td>Embedding Complex*</td>
<td>Possession Phrase</td>
<td>Regular verbs</td>
<td>adverbs*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetitive Spatial Complex*</td>
<td>Repetitive Spatial Complex*</td>
<td>Derived-Clause Phrase</td>
<td>Repetitive Adverb Complex*</td>
<td>question words*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modifying verbs*</td>
<td>Modifying Adjunct Verb Complex*</td>
<td>Accompaniment Phrase</td>
<td>Comparative Axis-Rel. Phrase</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbs*</td>
<td>modifying verbs*</td>
<td>question word</td>
<td>question word</td>
<td>question word</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>question word*</td>
<td>modifying verbs*</td>
<td>demonstrative quote</td>
<td>demonstrative quote</td>
<td>clitic *-ne</td>
<td>clitic *-ndo</td>
<td>clitics *ndo and *mele</td>
<td>*typically short with only one or two bases</td>
<td>clitic *-ne</td>
<td>clitic *-ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Actor (Mod.N.Ph) Object (Mod.N.Ph) Predicate (regular verb)
(15) ye-mo-ne sumoli si-l-ke/\ //
man-the-ACT gold.lipped.pearl.shell give-ASP-SUBJ.3SG
‘The man might give a gold-lipped pearl shell.’

Object (Emb.Ph) Manner (adverb) Predicate (regular verb)
(16) si-ki-nu/-mu kapola li-ki-ru/-mu
give-PR-2SG-the okay take-PR-1SG-ASS
‘The (thing) you are giving (me) I am certainly taking okay (with pleasure)’

Manner (mod.vb) Predicate (regular vb)
(17) nambe-po/ te-a-mbo/
how-1 do- IMP-HORT.1SG
‘How shall I do it?’

Time (Basic Time Ph.) Object (Mod.N.Ph) Predicate
(18) orili.ou-ku-ndu pele to-po/
next.morning-at-toward battens hit-1
‘In the morning I cut roof battens.’

Time (Basic Time Ph.) Time (Basic Time Ph.)
(19) koro kelo kinie orili.ou koro awili kinie ipulueli.ou
rest small when next.morning rest big when morning
Pred: Completive Aspect Vb.Ph.
tako-po/ pora.si-ndu/
build-1 finish-NPST.1SG
‘On Saturday morning and on Sunday morning I finished building (my house).’

4 Included in (5.1.2) is information about the allomorphic variation of these clitics, as well as further factors governing their use.
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(20) ga ponie-na kinie kamaye ponie-na kinie
sweet potato garden-LOC and wild sugar cane garden-LOC and
kepe kolema nga pali
also places-the LOC all

nanga kongi koro-po kelie ndu
my pig search-1 leave-NPST.1SG

‘In the sweet potato garden and also in the pitpit garden I have searched unsuccessfully everywhere for my pig.’

(21) nanga kimbu kou ni to mu
my foot stone ACT hit-NPST.3SG

‘A stone cut my foot.’

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

(22) unjo aku pokone ele te le mel e
wood that several RES bow do ASP-CUST.3PL

‘They make bows out of those several (kinds of) wood’

(23) umbu yembo ma ndo walsi pu pilie ri ndu
local people the PL IO ask 1 hear DPST 1 SG

‘I asked (to) the local people.’

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

(24) ga mundu te le molo/-mo nga ni mbu/ pora si ki ru
sweet potato mound do ASP CUST 1 PL the REF speak 1 finish PR 1 SG

‘I am finishing speaking about how we make the sweet potato mound.’

(25) koya ne alumbelu kanu me kopisi li pe/ pu pe/ pu pe/ pupe/
bamboo knife INST tongue that the PL sever SIM 3 SG go 3 SG go 3 SG go 3 SG

‘He went on and on severing those tongues with a bamboo knife.’

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

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Referent (Nom.A-R.Ph.) Object (Quote) Predicate (reg.verb)

(26) wale-mo-ndo pingisye ni-le-mele/
string.bag-the-REF pingisye say-ASP-CUST.3PL
‘In referring to the string bag they say "pingisye".’

8.2.1.1 Benefactive clause

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

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

Benefittee (Poss.A-R.Ph.) Object (Mod.N.Ph.) Predicate (reg.verb)

(27) kondoli-mu-nge no kolo-ndo-po/
red-the.SG-POSS water draw-BEN-1
‘I am drawing water for the white (man)...’

Object (Mod.N.Ph.) Benefittee (Poss.A-R.Ph.) Predicate (reg.verb)

(28) lopa te tata-nga to-ndo-ndu
possum one dad-POSS hit-BEN-NPST.1SG
‘I killed a possum for Dad.’

Time (Tem.Com.) Object (Mod.N.Ph.) Predicate (reg.verb)

(29) koro awili kinie angi to-ndo-ri-ngi/
rest big when kunai.grass hit-BEN-DPST-3PL
‘On Sunday they cut kunai grass (for my house).’

8.2.1.2 Opening and closing quote clauses

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

The Opening Quote Clause

The Opening Quote Clause has only three tagmemes, all nuclear: Actor, Indirect Object, and Predicate. Only the Predicate is obligatory\(^5\). Also the list of fillers of the Predicate is restricted to verbs, verb complexes, or verb phrases which indicate speech such as ni ‘to speak’, ni plus si ‘to tell’, and walsi plus pili ‘to ask’. The final verb of the Opening Quote Clause is always suffixed for future tense plus the suffix -ndo ~ -ndu which is used in other contexts to indicate purpose or intention. The actor clitic -ne ~ -ni obligatorily occurs phrase finally in the Actor tagmeme.

\(^5\) Sometimes, either in conversation or cultural-story telling, the Opening Quote Clause is represented only by the Actor tagmeme and the Predicate is omitted. However, native speakers will not allow this short-cutting in written form, so the Predicate tagmeme is considered obligatory to this construction.
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(30) Yako-mele  yu-ni  Kemboro-ndo  ni-mbe//-ndo
Yako-like  he-ACT  Kemboro-IO  speak-FUT.3S-PUR
‘The one like Yako he said to Kemboro...’

(31) na-ne  ni-mbo//-ndo
I-ACT  speak-FUT.1SG-PUR
‘I said...’

(32) no  li-nde-li  Jono-ne  yembo-ma
water  take-BEN-DER  John-ACT  people-the
ni-mbe/  si-mbe//-ndo
speak-3SG  give-FUT.3SG-PUR
‘John the baptiser told the people...’

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

The Closing Quote Clause

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

(33) aku  ni-ri-ndu/
that  speak-DPST-1SG
‘I said that.’

(34) aku.si-pe/
like.that-3SG  ni-ri-mu/
speak-DPST-3SG
‘He spoke like that.’

8.2.2 Intransitive active clause

The Intransitive Active Clause has only two nuclear tagmemes, Subject and Predicate. Only the Predicate is obligatory. Peripheral tagmemes are Time, Location and Manner - as for the Transitive Active Clause - with the addition of a Referent tagmeme which only occurs and then optionally, when one of a short list of particular fillers expounds the Predicate. The subject of the clause is also marked in the verb of the Predicate thus rendering the Subject tagmeme optional to the clause structure. The Location tagmeme occurs far more commonly in the Intransitive Active Clause than in the Transitive; chiefly because the most common exponents of the Predicate are verbs of motion.
Except that the Predicate must always occur clause finally there is no fixed ordering of the tagmemes though the preferred order is as shown in the bi-dimensional array, with Location being the tagmeme most likely to move position.

Table 8.4 Intransitive active clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>±Time</th>
<th>±Location</th>
<th>±Referent</th>
<th>±Subject</th>
<th>±Manner</th>
<th>+Predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comp. Com.*</td>
<td>Place-Nm.Com.</td>
<td>Embedding Ph.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Modifying</td>
<td>Adjunct Vb.Com.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com.*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>quest.wrds*</td>
<td>Verb Com.*</td>
<td>existential verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modifying verbs*</td>
<td>Rep.Spatial Com*</td>
<td>Poss. Phrase</td>
<td>quest.wrds*</td>
<td>regular verbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbs*</td>
<td>Mod. Adjunct Vb.Com*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quest.word*</td>
<td>query.words*</td>
<td>quest.word*</td>
<td>quest.word*</td>
<td>kin term</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Special features:

*indicate time
*indicate loc. clitics -na, -ndo
*indicate manner

Rules and Special Features:

1. The peripheral tagmemes Time, Location, and Manner are optionally repeated once. The tagmeme and its repetition tend to occur contiguously.
2. The locator clitic -na (5.1.2) or the spatial clitic -ndo (4.4.5.9) are the relators of the Locative Axis-Relator Phrase which occurs in the Locative slot.
3. The Referent tagmeme when occurring in this clause is marked by the second position allomorph of the referent clitic (5.1.2) and is always preceded by the article clitic (5.1.1).
4. Verbs of existence or motion, or phrases or complexes with verbs of existence or motion expounding the Head slot, are the most common exponents of the Predicate.
5. The Referent tagmeme\(^6\) occurs only, and even then it is optional, when one of a small list of Adjunct Verb Complexes\(^7\) expounds the Predicate:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{siye kolo} & \quad \text{‘to be weary’} \\
\text{kondo kolo} & \quad \text{‘to be sorry’} \\
\text{umbune kolo} & \quad \text{‘to have a heavy heart’ / ‘to bear a heavy burden’} \\
\text{mini-wale mundu} & \quad \text{‘to be distressed/upset/amazed’} \\
\text{pipili kolo} & \quad \text{‘to be frightened’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^6\) Compare the Referent tagmeme of the Stative Clause (8.1.2).
\(^7\) For a discussion of how these Adjunct Verb Complexes and the similar Adjunct Verb Complexes which expound the Predicate of some Stative clauses occur in pairs see Active and Passive Verb Compound Pairs in Umbu-Ungu by the author of this paper.
Chapter 8: Clauses

Referent (Nom.A-R.Ph.) Subject (Mod.N.Ph.) Predicate (Adj.Vb.Com.)

(35) *kope aku-me-nga kango-ma pipili.kol-ko/*
cliff that-the.PL-REF boy-the.PL be.afraid-2
‘the boys being afraid of those cliffs...’

Time (BasicT.Ph.) Location (Loc.A-R.Ph.) Predicate (exist.verb)

(36) *walse na-nga ulke molo-po/*
one.day me- POSS house be.AN-1-SEQ
‘One day I was in my house when....’

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

Time (mod.vb) Subject (prn) Manner (mod.vb) Location (hor.dir) Pred (motion verb)

(37) *alto-po/ na lkisi-pu/ anjo pu-pu/*
again-1 I run-1 there go-1
‘I went running there again....’

Subject (Acc.Ph.) Predicate (motion verb)

(38) *mele pea pu-ru-mulu/*
things with go-DPST-1PL
‘We went with the things./ We went (taking) the things with us.’

Subject (Mod.N.Ph.) Predicate (Augmented Ph.)

(39) *ne kango kanu-mu we o-ru-mu/*
nearby boy that-the.SG just come-DPST-3SG
‘That boy there just came for nothing.’

Subject (Focus Ph.) Predicate (motion verb)

(40) *Bereme yu-yu o-ru-mu/*
Bereme he-himself come-DPST-3SG
‘Bereme himself came / Bereme came on his own.’

Time Location (Loc.A-R.Ph.) Pred (motion vb)

(41) *Pe Pupuroi-ni melu lie-ri-mu/*
then Pupuroi- ACT traps set-DPST-3SG that-the.PL-LOC near go-1
‘Then going near where Pupuroi had set those traps we...’


(42) *kera laime pipili.ko-li-o/*
bird cassowary be.afraid-ASP-CUST.1SG
‘I am afraid of cassowaries.’

8.2.2.1 Included motion clause

The Included Motion Clause is a sub-type of the Intransitive Active Clause and consists of only an optional Location plus an obligatory Predicate. This clause is so named because a verb of motion obligatorily expounds the Predicate and because it is included in the Transitive Active Clause, usually immediately preceding the Predicate. This clause also embeds in the Merged Clause (8.3). Because it is always included in a larger clause, the Included Motion Clause obligatorily ends with a dependent verb.
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The examples of the Included Motion Clause will be presented in the context of the main clause into which they embed, as it is not otherwise possible to see how this construction is used. The translation of the actual Included Motion Clause will be underlined in the free English. The Included Motion Clause even occasionally occurs between the elements of the Predicate, especially between the Auxiliary and Head of the Adjunct Verb Complex, as in (43).

Auxiliary Incl. Motion Cl. Head

(43) ala ando-po/ to-ru-ndu/
priestly wander.about-1 hit-DPST-1SG
‘I went about carrying out priestly functions.’

Note: ala to is an Adjunct Verb Complex meaning to carry out priestly duties/functions.

Object (Poss.Ph.) Incl.M.Cl. Pred (reg.verb)

(44) opa si-ri-mu ye-mo-nga sumoli o-mba/ ambolo-ru-mu/
fight give-DPST-3SG man-the.SG-POSS shell come-3SG take.hold.of-DPST-3SG
‘He came (and) took hold of the fight leader's gold lipped pearl shell.’

Example (45) illustrates how the actor clitic -ni pertains to the verb of the final Predicate rather than to the verb of motion in the Included Motion Clause.


(45) mondokolie mongo pulu kanu-ni o-mba/ kano-ru-mu/
mondokolie fruit owner that-ACT come-3SG look-DPST-3SG
‘That owner of the modokolie fruit came (and) looked...’


(46) opali ye kondoli keapo-mo-ne illekton te-molo/-mele
tomorrow man red govt.officer-the-ACT election do-FUT.1PL-about
Incl.Mot.Cl. Pred (SemUnitVbPh.)

ya-ndo o-mba/ ni-mbe/ si-mbe/
here-to come-3SG speak-3SG give-FUT.3SG
‘Tomorrow the white government officer will come here (and) tell us about the elections.’

8.3 Merged clauses

The Merged Clause consists of a series of Predicates which share tagmemes from various levels. These shared tagmemes include Object, and Locations, from the clause level, the verbal negative naa ‘not’ from the phrase level, and the benefactive suffix -ndV from the word level. Either one or two shared tagmemes occur in any given example of the Merged Clause. A shared clause level tagmeme occurs preceding the sequence of Predicates, of which there may be two, three, or more. The verbal negative occurs most often as part of the filler of the second Predicate which it is negating and is restricted to two Predicates. The benefactive suffix occurs on the verb of the second Predicate of the Merged Clause in which it occurs, and is also restricted to two Predicates. The Predicates of Merged Clauses are commonly, though not exclusively, transitive. Object is the more common shared clause level tagmeme.

The series of Predicates sharing several tagmemes was analysed as a merged clause rather than a merged sentence for the following reasons:
1. All sentences, even those embedded in other sentences or clauses or phrases, obligatorily end with an independent verb. The Merged Clause, however, optionally ends in either a dependent or independent verb.

2. The tagmemes shared by the Predicates of the Merged Clause are always clause level or lower, never sentence level.

3. Another quite different construction has been analysed as Merged Sentence (9.6).

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Object} & \text{Pred (reg.vb)} & \text{Pred (reg.vb)} & \text{Pred (reg.vb)} \\
\text{ga} & \text{aku-ku/} & \text{koyo-ko/} & \text{no-ri-ngi/} \\
\text{sweet.potato} & \text{dig-3PL} & \text{steam.cook-3PL} & \text{eat-DPST-3PL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘They dug up and cooked and ate sweet potato.’

(48) is very similar to (47) except that it also has an Included Motion Clause (8.2.2.1) embedded in it.

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Object} & \text{Pred (Inc.Mot.Cl.)} & \text{Pred} & \text{Pred} \\
\text{ga} & \text{aku-ku/} & \text{iko-ndo me-ngo/} & \text{pu-ku/} & \text{koyo-ko/} & \text{no-ri-ngi/} \\
\text{sweet.potato} & \text{dig-3PL} & \text{home-to carry-3PL} & \text{go-3PL} & \text{steam.cook-3PL} & \text{eat-DPST-3PL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘They dug up sweet potatoes, took them home, steam cooked them and ate them.’

(49) is an example of shared Location.

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Actor} & \text{Loc (Axis-Rel.Ph.)} & \text{Object} & \text{Pred (reg.vb)} & \text{Pred (motion vb)} \\
\text{olio} & \text{konde lama-nzo lopa koro-li-pu/} & \text{pu-pu/} \\
\text{we} & \text{bush bush-to possum search-SIM-1} & \text{go-1} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘We went to the bush searching for possums...’

(50) is an example of shared benefactive suffix and shared Object.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Object} & \text{Predicate} & \text{Predicate} \\
\text{ga} & \text{aku-ku/} & \text{kalo-ndo-yo/} \\
\text{sweet.potato} & \text{dig.up-2SG} & \text{cook-BEN-2SG.IMP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Dig up and cook some sweet potato for (me)’

What may be termed a sub-type of the Merged Clause is the "split-tagmeme" Merged Clause. This construction consists of a partly expressed Object or Location tagmeme followed by its Predicate, then the remainder of the Object or Location tagmeme followed by a repeat of the Predicate. It is very likely that if recorded texts were edited these constructions would be regularized. Examples (51), (52) and (53) are of this sub-type. (51) and (52) exhibit split object, while (53) has a split location.
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Object (split) Pred (reg.vb) Object (split) Pred (DurativeAspectVbPh.)

(51) ka te-ko/ awili-mele te-ko/ molo-ngi/
rope make-3PL big-like make-3PL be.AN-NPST.3PL
‘They were making fairly big rope.’

Object (split) Pred (reg.vb) Object (split) Pred (Contin.AspectVbPh.)

(52) muru aku-l-ku/ loyoko-mele aku-l-ku/ pu-li-mele/
hole/pit dig-SIM-3PL steam.cooking.pit-like dig-SIM-3PL go-ASP-CUST.3PL
‘They go on digging a pit like a steam cooking pit.’

In (53) the shared tagmemes are "split" Location and verbal negative. In the "split" Location
tagmeme the post-position of the Locative Axis-Relator Phrase expounding the Location occurs
following the first Predicate.

Loc (split) Predicate Loc (split) Predicate

(53) kuru kopiaka-mo-nga me-ngo/ suku naa pu-li-mele/
spirit kopiaka-the-LOC lead-3PL inside not go-ASP-CUST.3PL
‘They do not take (people who eat pandanus fruit) inside the place where they worship
the kopiaka spirit.’

8.4 Coordinate clauses

There are two ways in which clauses of equal rank can be joined into larger constructions. One
is a series of dependent clauses as in Dependent Sentences (9.3). The other is by combining
independent clauses into Juxta-posed Sentences (9.5)

8.5 Subordinate clauses

Subordinate Clauses\(^8\) are of two main kinds; dependent and embedded. There are also two
main kinds of embedded clauses; those which embed into phrases and those which embed as or
within clause level tagmemes.

8.5.1 Dependent clauses

The very name, Dependent Clause, indicates that these clauses are dependent upon, and
therefore subordinate to, Independent Clauses. Refer to the introductory remarks in chapter 8 for a
discussion of the Dependent Clause, and to examples of the Dependent Sentences (9.3) to see how
dependent clauses function. For description and examples of another type of dependent clause refer
to the Included Motion Clause (8.2.2.1)

8.5.2 Clauses embedding in phrases

The Embedding Phrase (7.8.2), the Focus Phrase (7.8.3), and the Derived Clause Phrase (7.8.4)
are the three phrases into which clauses or sentences\(^9\) embed. The Embedding phrase may then
expound tagmemes on the clause level; namely Subject, Object, or Topic, or may further embed

\(^8\) There is also a sense in which sentence level connectives subordinate clauses/sentences within the larger sentence. For
description and examples of such constructions see section 9.7.

\(^9\) Any clause, or sequence of clauses, embedded in the Embedding Phrase or the Focus Phrase obligatorily ends with an
independent verb, which technically makes them sentences.
into other phrases such as the Focus Phrase or the Axis-Relator Phrases (7.9). The Focus Phrase expounds the Subject tagmeme of the clause. The Derived Clause Phrase typically expounds the Manner tagmeme of the clause, though it has also been observed once expounding Object. The Embedding Phrase covers what could be called Relative Clause and also Nominalised Clause.

8.5.3 Clauses embedding as or within clause level tagmemes

8.5.3.1 Clauses embedding as object of verbs of perception

A clause or sentence may embed, with no change in structure whatever, as the Object of a verb of perception. Such an embedded clause/sentence will always end with an independent verb.

Object (Emb.Cl.) Pred (verb of perception)

(54) *nanga* kongi to-mu/* kano-ndu/*
my pig kill-PST.3SG see-NPST.1SG
‘I saw him kill my pig.’

Object (Emb.Cl.) Pred (verb of perception)

(55) *yu Akena pu-mu/* konopu.le-ke-ro
she Hagen go-NPST.3SG think-PR-1SG
‘I think she went to Hagen.’

Object (Emb.Clause/Sentence)

(56) *Tunde* kinie ele yema o-ngo/* opa llo te-nge/* ni-ki-mili/*
Tuesday on bow men come-3PL fight law do-FUT.3PL say-PR-3PL
Pred: DurativeAspectVerbPhrase (with perception verb as head)
*pili-pu/* mo-le-mbolo
hear/know-1 be.AN-ASP-CUST.1DL
‘We two are aware (that) they say (that) the police are coming on Tuesday to enforce the law (in regard to the) fight.’

Time (mod.vb) Object (Summary Sentence) Pred (verb of perception)

(57) *kel-ko/* nu maratini mare kano-ko/-lie (o-ngo/* ni-ki-mili/*)
again-2SG you medicine some see-3PL-SEQ (come-3PL say-PR-3PL)
‘Once again they saw and (came and told me) (that) you have some medicine and are applying ointment.’

(58) unmarked clause as locative.

(58) *Mandi* kongi-ri to-ko-mele/* p-a-mbo/*
Mendi pig-a kill-PR-3PL go-IMP-HORT.1SG
‘Let me go (to where) they are killing a pig (at) Mendi’

(59) *amu* tana.o-mu/* li-po-ndu/*
pandanu.nut fall.down-NPST.3SG get-go-NPST.1S
‘I went and got the fallen pandanus nut.’

---

10 Very occasionally, a totally unmarked clause will embed as the object of some other verb, and once only an unmarked clause was observed functioning as a Locative. Examples (58) and (59) will illustrate this. However, all such constructions would be regularised in written form.
8.5.3.2 Clause embedding as subject of existential verb

Clauses in which the Predicate is expounded by a Stative Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1.3) may embed in an Intransitive Active Clause of which the Predicate is expounded by an existential verb (4.2.1). In such constructions the verb of the Adjunct Verb Complex must be suffixed for third person singular hortative.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Subject (Embedded Clause)} & \text{Predicate} \\
(60) & Ene \text{ konopu pe.ni-pili// mol-a-ngi//} \\
& \text{you.PL mind be.at.peace-HORT.3SG be.AN-IMP-3PL.HORT} \\
& \text{‘Stay with your hearts at peace.’}
\end{array}
\]

(61) also includes an example of a nominalised clause (Embedding Phrase) as the Subject of the clause.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Subject} & \text{Loc} & \text{Embedded Clause} & \text{Predicate} \\
(61) & Bosele ni-ki-nu-mu ya pipi ingi.ni-pili// le-mo// \\
& \text{bottle say-PR-2SG-the here lid stuck-HORT.3SG be.IN-3SG} \\
& \text{‘The bottle you are speaking of, it’s here with its lid stuck.’}
\end{array}
\]

8.6 Clause level tagmemes

The slots of the clause level are Time, Location, Topic, Comment, Referent, Stative-Subject, Actor, Indirect-Object, Object, Instrument, Resource, Benefittee, Subject, Manner, and Predicate. A description of each slot with potential fillers, plus any restrictions as to distribution, will now be presented:

8.6.1 Time

The Time tagmeme optionally occurs in any clause type, usually clause initially. The Time tagmeme may be expounded by any Temporal Phrase (7.2.5), any complex which indicates time such as *taki-teki ‘often’* and *laye-kolte ‘a little while’*, adverbs which indicate time such as *koronga ‘already’,* modifying verbs such as *nondo ‘soon’,* and the question word *tewale ‘when?’*.

It should be noted that the time element in a sentence is often a separate independent clause to which is attached the sequence connective *kinie ‘when’* or one of the Connective Complexes such as *kanu-kinie ‘and then’*. As such they function as bases of the Sequence Sentence (9.7.5).

It should also be noted that even when a Time tagmeme occurs in a specific clause it is quite often the time setting for a much larger unit than just the clause in which it occurs. In other words, the Time tagmeme is often more salient to a whole paragraph or even a whole discourse, rather than just to the clause in which it occurs. This will be covered more specifically in the Paragraph and Discourse chapters.

8.6.2 Location

The Location tagmeme optionally occurs in any clause type except the Commentative Clause. It usually occurs following the Time tagmeme although it has no fixed position, being the most moveable of the clause level tagmemes. The Location tagmeme may be expounded by the Locative Axis-Relator Phrase, any complex which indicates location or direction such as *mulu-kiliwe ‘mount*
Giluwe’ or ne manie ‘down there nearby’, a Modifying Adjunct Verb Complex like kumbi le ‘in front’, modifying verbs like akili ‘behind’, and the question word tena ‘where?’.

The clitics which indicate location are the locator clitic -na ~ -ne ~ -nga ~ -nge (5.1.2) and the spatial clitic -ndo ~ -ndu (4.4.5.9).

As with the Time tagmeme, even when a Location tagmeme occurs in a specific clause it is quite often the location setting for a much larger unit than just the clause in which it occurs.

8.6.3 Topic

The Topic tagmeme occurs only in the Commentative Clause, where it is obligatory. It always occurs immediately preceding the Comment tagmeme, which is also obligatory to this clause type. Fillers of the Topic tagmeme, which are usually short, are any Noun Phrase (7.5), the Embedding Phrase (7.8.2), the Possession Phrase (7.9.4), a pronoun (4.4.2), or a demonstrative (4.4.6).

8.6.4 Comment

The Comment tagmeme occurs only in the Commentative Clause where it is obligatory. It always immediately follows the Topic tagmeme. Fillers of the Comment tagmeme, which are usually short, are any Noun Phrase (7.5), the Possession Phrase (7.9.4), the Substantive Negative Phrase (7.9.5), a pronoun (4.4.2), or question words such as nave ‘who (singular)?’, namele ‘who (plural)?’.

8.6.5 Referent

The Referent tagmeme optionally occurs in any clause other than the Commentative Clause. In the Stative and Intransitive Active Clauses the Referent tagmeme occurs only if certain Adjunct Verb Complexes manifest the Predicate and even then it is optional. (A list of these particular Verb Complexes is given in the rules for each clause type). The Referent in these two clause types is usually indicating someone or something one is concerned about, sorry for, frightened of, weary of, etc.

In the Transitive Active Clause the Referent tagmeme tends to occur when the Predicate is expounded by a verb word, complex, or phrase indicating speech. The Referent in this clause is usually indicating someone or something spoken about.

The Referent clitic -ndo ~ -ndu ~ -nga ~ -nge (5.1.2) is the marker for the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase which is the main exponent of the Referent tagmeme. The first position allomorphs -ndo ~ -ndu are usually used to mark the Referent tagmeme of the Transitive Active Clause, whereas only the second position allomorphs -nga ~ -nge have been observed in examples of the Referent tagmeme in Stative and Intransitive Active Clauses, where the referent clitic is always preceded by one of the article clitics (5.1.1).

The only other exponent of the Referent tagmeme is the Comparative Axis-Relator Phrase, the relator of which is -mele ‘like/about’. This phrase has only been observed in the Transitive Active Clause.

8.6.6 Stative subject

The Stative Subject tagmeme is exclusive to the Stative Clause where it immediately precedes the Predicate. The Stative Subject is seen as the recipient of an action or force over which he has no conscious control. The Stative Subject is most commonly expounded by a pronoun, though sometimes a noun or occasionally a question word occurs.

When a question word expounds the Stative Subject it often occurs between the elements of the Predicate rather than preceding it.
In (62) `nawe ‘who?’ is expounding the Stative Subject while `penge no ‘to have a headache’ expounds the Predicate.

(62) penge nawe no-ko-mo
head who.SG eat-PR-3SG
‘Who has a headache?’

8.6.7 Actor

The Actor is the person who performs the action of the verb in the Transitive Active Clause. The Actor tagmeme does not occur in any other clause. It is differentiated from the Subject of the Intransitive Active Clause by the agent/ergative clitic `-ne ~ -ni` which is the relator of the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase. However Actor is marked in the verb in the same way in which subject is marked. This phrase is the only exponent of the Actor tagmeme. Where there is absolutely no possibility of confusion as to the actor the agent/ergative clitic may be omitted. However, the lower the actor is in animacy the more likely the agent/ergative clitic is to occur.

The Actor tagmeme is commonly used in a discourse to indicate the actor of the first action of a new participant immediately after he is introduced. So even though an Actor tagmeme occurs in a specific clause, the sphere of action is not necessarily limited to that clause. The Actor tagmeme tends to occur near the beginning of a sentence or even a paragraph and is not likely to reoccur unless there is a change of actor.

8.6.8 Indirect object

The Indirect Object occurs only in the Transitive Active Clause and the Quote Sentences (9.4.1). It occurs most often in the Opening Quote Clause (8.2.1.2), which is a sub-type of the Transitive Active Clause.

The only filler of the Indirect Object slot is the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase, the relator of which is the clitic `-ndo ~ -ndu` (5.1.2). The clitic is obligatorily present when the Predicate of the clause is expounded by the verb `ni ‘to speak’ or the Semantic Unit Verb Phrase `walsi plus pili ‘to ask’`. However it is obligatorily omitted when the Predicate of the clause is expounded by the verb `si ‘to give’, or the verb phrase `ni plus si ‘to tell’`. This apparent omission may be because the language sees the person(s) given to or told more as objects than indirect objects, object being an unmarked case.

8.6.9 Object

The Object tagmeme occurs only in the Transitive Active Clause and is the most common tagmeme of that clause other than the Predicate. It is the only nuclear non-Predicate tagmeme of the Transitive Active Clause which is not expounded by the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase. The Object tagmeme is often shared by several clauses. When such clauses are expounded only by a Predicate this series of Object plus several Predicates is called a Merged Clause (8.3). Object is unmarked, both within the tagmeme and verbal affixation.

The Object of a clause can be separated from its Predicate by an Included Motion Clause (8.2.2.1). (63) is a very common example of this.

(63) no o-ngo/ kol-a//
water come-2SG draw-IMP.2SG
‘Come and draw water!’
The Object slot has a long list of fillers (virtually the same as those which fill the Axis of the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.1)). They are Independent Clause, Sentence, any Noun Phrase, the Embedding Phrase, the Possession Phrase, the Derived Clause Phrase, the Accompaniment Phrase, the Comparative Axis-Relator Phrase, a quote, a pronoun, a kin-term, a demonstrative, or a question word such as *nambolka* ‘what thing?’.

A sentence expounding the Object tagmeme is typically short and usually a Simple Sentence or a Dependent-Verb Sentence of two or three bases. This only happens when the verb expounding the Predicate is a verb of perception, as described and illustrated under 8.5.3.1.

### 8.6.10 Instrument

The Instrument tagmeme occurs only in the Transitive Active Clause and is not very common. The Instrument is the thing used to carry out the action of the Predicate. The only filler of the Instrument slot is the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase and the clitic expounding the Relator is -ne ~ -ni as for Actor and Resource tagmemes.\(^{11}\)

The main difference between the Actor and Instrument tagmemes is that the Actor is a person and the Instrument is a thing. Actor and Instrument can co-occur.

### 8.6.11 Resource

The Resource tagmeme occurs only in the Transitive Active Clause and is the least common of all the tagmemes of that clause. It occurs only when the verb *te* ‘to do/make’, or a verb complex or phrase containing that verb, expounds the Predicate slot, and even then it is optional. The Resource is the thing or substance out of which the Object of the verb of the Predicate is made. The only filler of the Resource slot is the Nominal Axis-Relator Phrase and the clitic expounding the Relator is -ne ~ -ni, as for Actor and Instrument tagmemes.

Combinations of Actor, Instrument, and Resource tagmemes can be elicited but they do not normally co-occur.

### 8.6.12 Benefittee

The Benefittee tagmeme occurs only in the Benefactive Clause which is a restricted sub-type of the Transitive Active Clause. The Benefittee is the person who benefits from the action of the Predicate. The benefitting action is marked in the Predicate by the presence of the benefactive suffix on the final verb of that Predicate.

The only filler of the Benefittee slot is the Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase which occurs nowhere else on the clause level.

### 8.6.13 Subject

The Subject occurs only in the Intransitive Active Clause and is the person who performs the action of that clause. Although the Subject is expressed in a specific clause, his sphere of action is not necessarily limited to that clause but quite often carries right on through a full sentence, a paragraph, or even a first-person Narrative Discourse without being re-stated. The Subject tagmeme is unmarked, though subject is marked in the verb in the same way as Actor of the Transitive Active Clause is marked.

The fillers of the Subject slot are similar to the fillers of the Object slot of the Transitive Active Clause except that neither an Independent Clause nor a sentence ever expound the Subject. The

---

\(^{11}\) Because the same clitic marks all three tagmemes, this clitic could be termed agent clitic.
fillers are any Noun Phrase, the Embedding Phrase, the Focus Phrase, the Accompaniment Phrase, the Possession Phrase, a demonstrative, a pronoun, a kin term, or a question word such as *nawe* ‘who?’.

### 8.6.14 Manner

The Manner tagmeme optionally occurs in both types of Active Clause (8.2). Manner indicates how or in what way the action of the Predicate is carried out. The Manner tagmeme almost always immediately precedes the Predicate to which it is very closely linked.

As many of the adverbial concepts of Kaugel are expressed by verbs or verb complexes, Manner has a similar list of fillers to the Predicate; the fillers being adverbs, modifying verbs, the Modifying Adjunct Verb Complex, the Repetitive Adverb Complex, and the question word *nambemuna* ‘why?’. ‘How?’ is also a common filler of the Manner slot but this takes the form of a modifying verb.

Some of the fillers of the Manner slot overlap not only with fillers of the Predicate slot but also with those of the Time (8.6.1) and Location (8.6.2) slots. This is because, as already stated, many adverbial concepts are expressed by verbs in Kaugel and may be adverbs of time, adverbs of place, or adverbs of manner.

The Manner tagmeme usually immediately precedes the Predicate of a clause but may also occur between the elements of the Predicate, especially between the Auxiliary and Head of the Adjunct Verb Complexes. The Manner and Predicate tagmemes can also share the verbal negative *naa* in the same way as a sequence of two Predicates does (see Merged Clause 8.3). Example (64) illustrates this.

```
Manner       Predicate
(64)        lkisi-pe/   naa pu-ru-mu//
quickly-3SG not   go-DPST-3SG
‘He did not go quickly.’
```

Some examples of the Manner tagmeme occur between the elements of the Predicate. In each of the following examples the Manner occurs between the auxiliary and the head of the Adjunct Verb Complex which expounds the Predicate.

```
Auxiliary  Manner  Neg  Head (Sem.UnitVb.Ph.)
(65)    konopu  aku.si-ku/  naa  li-ku/  mundo-yo//
mind     like.that-2SG not take-2SG send-IMP.2SG
‘Don't worry like that!’

Auxiliary  Manner  Head
(66)    ali    paa  pulumu te-ke-mo//
cold    very much do-PR-3SG
‘It is very cold.’
```

### 8.6.15 Predicate

The Predicate tagmeme is obligatory to all clause types except the Commentative Clause in which it occurs only rarely. The Predicate indicates either action or existence. It always occurs clause finally. The Predicate tagmeme is expounded by a verb, a Verb Complex, or a Verb Phrase.
9. SENTENCES

9.1 Introduction

Sentences in Kaugel may be defined as a clause or a sequence of clauses which constitute a complete utterance. They range from simple to very complex structures. Embedding of sentence within sentence is the main feature which contributes to the complexity of the Kaugel sentences. A previous paper (Head 1973) focuses on this embedding feature, but in this present paper I simply bring it to the attention of the reader as it may help in the understanding of some examples, particularly when the last base of one sentence becomes the first base of the next. Kaugel sentences are of five types, each with various sub-types. There are three sentence types which feature dependent clauses, three which feature Quote clauses, five juxtaposed sentence types, four types of merged sentence, and fifteen sentence types with overt links; four of which are sub-classified as tight binary sentences. The simple sentence, falling, as it does, outside all of these types, is regarded as extra-systemic. This is a total of 31 different sentence types.

For each group of sentences I will present the features they have in common as well as how they differ from each other. For each type of sentence I will present a description of its structure, ways in which it is similar to and/or differs from other similar sentences, information on its distribution in other constructions, and a bi-dimensional array or chart of its form with any special features at the foot of the chart and relevant rules immediately following it. Then examples will be given to illustrate the sentence type described and charted. Where an example of a sentence is given in the context of a larger sentence into which it embeds, the appropriate part of the free English translation will be underlined. Ends of clauses, whether main, subordinate or embedded, will be marked by // for an independent clause, and by / for a dependent clause. Information added to the free English translation to help it make better sense will be presented in brackets.

9.1.1 Sentence Periphery

There are two types of sentence periphery; that which precedes the sentence proper and that which follows. The elements which occur as preceding sentence periphery include exclamations; sentence, paragraph or discourse topics; elements which are used to link sentences into paragraphs, or to introduce new paragraphs; the words for ‘yes’ and ‘no’; and vocative of address kin terms. Sentence topic is most often encoded as a Noun Phrase or a clause followed by the referent clitic or a demonstrative affixed by the referent clitic (5.1.2). The periphery item following a sentence is after-thought; something which would normally have occurred as part of the sentence proper but which has been thought of afterwards by the speaker. After-thought may be just a Noun Phrase which would have expounded a tagmeme of the sentence proper, or even sometimes a full clause of additional explanatory or clarificatory information. Because Sentence Periphery can occur in any sentence, Sentence Periphery will not be included in the bi-dimensional arrays.

9.2 Simple Sentence

A Simple Sentence consists of only one base manifest by an independent clause (see chapter 8, introductory remarks). The feature which differentiates a Simple Sentence from an independent clause is that the Simple Sentence can be uttered in isolation, with appropriate intonation contour.
Table 9.1 Simple Sentence

+Base

any independent Clause

The minimal manifestation of a clause is the predicate. However, when a clause is a Simple Sentence it is very rarely manifested by just a predicate, and all examples of Simple Sentence manifest just by a predicate have been found in conversation. Here are three of them.

In examples (1) to (3) the Simple Sentence is expounded by just one word. In (1) the word shown is expounding the Comment tagmeme of a Commentative Clause (8.1.1):

Base

(1) Komindi
good
‘(It is) good’

Examples (2) and (3) are the predicates of active clauses:

Base

(2) Kano-ndu
see-1S.PST
‘I saw (it).’

Base

(3) Walsi-e!
call-EMP.2S
‘Call (him)!’

Other more expanded examples:

Example (4) is expounded by a Commentative Clause (8.1.1).

Base

(4) I ulke kolo-mo nanga/.
this house ground.impression-the mine
‘This place with the mark of where a house once stood (is) mine.’

Examples (5) and (6) are expounded by independent active clauses (8.2).

Base

(5) Kolea koronga tango-0-mu/.
place already daylight-PST-3S
‘Day has already broken.’
Chapter 9: Sentences

Base

(6)  *Na-ne talko waembono-te to-ru-ndu/.*

I-ACT two.days.ago bird.type-a shoot-DPST-1S

‘Two days ago I shot a waembono (bird).’

Example (7) has preceding periphery, in the form of a demonstrative indicating the topic of the sentence.

Periphery Base

(7)  *Kanu nambolka ni-0-mbo/.*

that what say-FUT-1S

‘What will I say (about) that?’

Example (8) has preceding periphery, which is a more typical form of sentence topic than in (7). An after-thought periphery also follows the sentence base. In the periphery preceding the base there is an embedded Simple Sentence.

Periphery Base

(8)  *Kuru, kuru ambo.kuru koyo-le-molo// aku-mu-ngespirit spirit ambo-kuru sacrifice.to-ASP-1PL that-the-REF

Base Periphery

koyo-ru-mulu,// ou
sacrifice.to-DPST-1PL before

‘Concerning the (fact) that we sacrifice to the ambo-kuru spirit, we sacrificed to (it) some time back.’

Example (9) is a comparatively complex "Simple" Sentence. There is a sentence topic as introductory periphery, and embedding within embedding in the object of the main Simple Sentence. The Base of the sentence is expounded by a Transitive Active Clause (8.2.1) consisting of an object and a predicate. The verb expounding the predicate is ‘to tell’. Within the object of that verb is embedded a second Transitive Active Clause consisting of an object and a predicate. The verb expounding the predicate of this embedded clause is ‘to hear’. That verb in turn has an embedded Paraphrase Sentence (9.5.2) functioning as object.

Periphery Base

(9)  *Aku olio wi kalopa.l-si-mu//, kalopa.l-si-mu// ni-ngu/that us upstream generate-DPST-3S generate-DPST-3S say-3PL

ye anda-ma-ne ni-li-mele// pili-li-o//
men old-the.PL-ACT say-ASP-3PL.CUST hear-ASP-1S.CUST

aku mele nimbu.si-ki-ru//
that like tell-PR-1S

‘I am telling you like that what I hear the old men say, about him generating us back then.’
9.3 Dependent Base Sentences

There are three Dependent-Base Sentences - that is, sentences which have dependent-verb non-final bases. They are the Dependent Sentence, the Simultaneous Action Sentence, and the Summary Sentence.

9.3.1 The Dependent Sentence

The Dependent Sentence consists of a sequence of up to 23 Bases expounded by dependent clauses (see chapter 8, introductory remarks) and one final Base expounded by an independent clause. Between each Base an optional Connector occurs, expounded by the dependent verb sequence connector -lie (4.3.2).

The ways in which the Dependent Sentence differs from the Simultaneous Action Sentence have been given under the Simultaneous Action Sentence (9.3.2). The ways in which the Dependent Sentence differs from the Listing Sentence, when the Listing Sentence has dependent verbs in its bases, are given under the Listing Sentence (9.5.3).

It should be remembered, when studying examples of the Dependent Sentence, that not every word which is verbal in form is in itself manifesting the predicate of a clause. Some "verbs" function as adverbs or mood/aspect indicators (4.4.4) and (7.2). Some verbs team together into one semantic unit with varying degrees of bleaching of their original meaning (7.3). Many verbal - and adverbial - concepts are expressed by a combination of adjunct plus verb (6.1). Some series of verbs share tagmemes, thus forming Merged Clauses (8.3). Finally, repetition of an identical verb form is considered to be manifesting the predicate of one clause rather than a sequence of clauses.

The Dependent Sentence is used so commonly that it could be considered the back-bone of the language. The Dependent Sentence can occur in the bases of almost any sentence type except that it cannot occur in any of the four Merged Sentences (9.6). It also occurs commonly in paragraphs and can expound almost any tagmeme of any paragraph type except that it cannot occur in the Alternate (10.4.1.1), Frustration (10.4.3.3), Contrast (10.4.4.2) or Hypothetical (10.4.5.2) Paragraphs.

Semantically, the Dependent Sentence can be viewed as fulfilling the functions of what have been described elsewhere as Coordinate (9.5.1) and Sequence (9.7.5) Sentences, except that with the Dependent Sentence the same person and tense¹ must apply throughout the whole sentence.

Table 9.2 The Dependent Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Base₁</th>
<th>±CON</th>
<th>±(+Base₂</th>
<th>±CON)</th>
<th>+Base₃</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Clause</td>
<td>-lie</td>
<td>Dependent Clause</td>
<td>-lie</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reason Merged S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Purpose Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Simultaneous Action S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Features: same person and number throughout independent verb

¹ ‘Tense’ throughout this chapter is to be understood as any tense, mood or aspect which can be marked in the nucleus of the verb (4.3).
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Rules:

1. The dependent clause person-number must agree with that of the final base independent verb person-number, except that occasionally a difference of number is permitted provided there is an overlap of subject-actors.

2. A maximum of 24 bases are allowable, but 2, 3, 4 and up to about 10 are more common.

3. The connector is optional, but a maximum of two are used in any one sentence.

The functions of the sequence connector -lie are as follows:

3.1 When a sentence begins with recapitulation and the final verb of that recapitulation is dependent in form -lie is almost always suffixed to that verb, thus separating the recapitulation from the new information.

3.2 When one (group of) dependent clause(s) is to be disassociated, in time location or type of event, from the next (group of) (dependent) clause(s) -lie can be used to highlight this disassociation. This principle of disassociation also means that a group of clauses preceding the connector is held together as a unit distinct from what follows the connector.

3.3 -lie can be used to signal that an embedded sentence follows.

3.4 When the ‘person-tense reminder’ is used -lie virtually obligatorily precedes it.

4. Because the dependent verb morphology is so simple, the language employs a person-tense reminder which may be used anywhere in a dependent sequence, though not more than once in any sentence, and to varying degrees in a discourse by different speakers. The person-tense reminder consists of the verb stem ni ‘to speak’ suffixed with independent verb morphology in the person and tense of the sentence of which it is a part plus the suffixes -mo-ne / -mu-ni which is possibly the singular definite article plus actor clitics. Morphophonemic rule 1 (the high-low vowel rule) pertains to the choice of allomorphs.

Examples (10) to (13) have no connectors.

```
Base1          Base2          Base3
(10)  "Sike" konopu.le-ko/ lopa anda sukundu o-ngo o-ngo/
       true think-2/3 possum one.and.all inside come-2/3 come-2/3
       wele  manie te-nga maku.to-ri-ngi/.
       across down a-LOC gather-DPST-3PL

‘Thinking (that it was) true every last possum came streaming in (and) gathered at a place down across from there.’
```

In example (11) Base1 is filled by a Quote Sentence.

---

2 Imperative mood is not permitted
Chapter 9: Sentences

Base_1
(11) "Ama!, nambolka melte-ne te-ke-mo/" ni-mbe/
Wow!, what thing-INST do-PR-3S say-3S

Base_2
winji-pa pu.pe/ no-ru-mu/.
upstream-further go.3S drink-DPST-3S

‘Saying "Wow!, what's doing (this)" he went further upstream (and) drank.’

Example (12) has five bases. Base_1 is a Merged Clause (8.3).

Base_1
(12) Lopa kanuma li-pe/ talape.tondo-pa/ kambu.li-pe/
possum those take-3S make.a.line-3S count-3S

Base_2
ulke te tako-pa/ aku-na mo.mundu-pe/ olo pali nosi-pe/
house a build-3S that-in line.up.game-3S innards all put-3S

Base_3
pe-po/ lie-ri-mulu/.
sleep-1 lie-DPST-1PL.

‘Taking those possums (and) lining (them) up he counted (them) (and) building a
shelter he lined up (the game) in that, putting (them) innards and all, (and) we
(including him) slept soundly.’

In example (13) the object of the Merged Clause expounding Base_1 is an Embedding Phrase
(7.8.2).

Base_1
(13) Oma rais me-ri-mu/ akuma ya-ndo nosi-pu/ kele-po/
fish rice carry-DPST-3S those here-to put-1 leave-1

Base_2
Base_3
ga me-po/ mele wale kinie pu-ru-mulu/.
sweet.potato carry-1 thing bag with go-DPST-3PL.

‘Leaving behind those fish (and) rice (which) he (had) brought, carrying sweet potatoes
(of our own instead) we went (off) with (the patrol-officer's) bag of things.’

Example (14) has thirteen bases, with quite a bit of embedding. This includes a Listing
Sentence (9.5.3) embedded in Base_2-4, a general-specific Paraphrase Sentence (9.5.2) in Base_2-8, a
Decision Sentence (9.4.2) in Base_2-10 which in turn has a Listing Sentence manifesting its second
Base. Merged Clauses (8.3) expound bases 2-2, 2-7, and 2-9. The connector -lie occurs following
Base_1 according to rule 3.1. above, regarding recapitulation.
Examples (15) to (21) incorporate the connector -lie.

In example (15) Base₁ is an example of -lie used following recapitulation, as per 3.1. above. This particular style of Dependent Sentence is very typical of the Procedure Paragraph (10.4.2.2).

\[
\text{Base}_1 \quad \text{Base}_{2.1} \\
(15) \quad \text{Mundu} \quad \text{wende-po/-lie} \quad \text{mundu} \quad \text{te-le-molo} \\
\text{sweet.potato.mound} \quad \text{open.up-1-CON} \quad \text{sweet.potato.mound} \quad \text{make-ASP-1PL.CUST}
\]

‘We open up the sweet potato mounds then we make (new) mounds.’

In example (16) the -lie is used as per rules 3.1. and 3.2. above. The sentence is the final one in a procedural discourse on making string bags. The first clause recapitulates the last step of the procedure then the second clause speaks of an event unrelated to bag making and differing in both time and location from the previous event, with the final clause bringing the two together by delineating the use to be made of the bag.

\[
\text{Base}_1 \quad \text{Base}_2 \quad \text{Base}_3 \\
(14) \quad \text{Ga-mbo} \quad \text{panji-pu/-lie} \quad \text{wende-po} \\
\text{sweet.potato-runners} \quad \text{plant-1-CON} \quad \text{open.up.mounds-1}
\]

When we have planted (the) sweet potato runners we open up (the mounds), that sweet potato we dig up (and) distributing (it) we carry (the) pig's for (it); that pig's (sweet potato) we bag separately for (it) (and) the people's we bag separately for (them) (and) taking (it) we enter into (the) house; breaking off sweet potato leaves we bag (them) (and) take (them) (and) give (them to the) pig, one at each we put (them) at each of the pig's snouts; those people's we cook for (them) (and) remove-from-cooking for (them) (and) so that they may eat we give (the men (theirs) and give the women (theirs) (and) we eat (and) sleep.’

‘When we have planted (the) sweet potato runners we open up (the mounds), that sweet potato we dig up (and) distributing (it) we carry (the) pig's for (it); that pig's (sweet potato) we bag separately for (it) (and) the people's we bag separately for (them) (and) taking (it) we enter into (the) house; breaking off sweet potato leaves we bag (them) (and) take (them) (and) give (them to the) pig, one at each we put (them) at each of the pig's snouts; those people's we cook for (them) (and) remove-from-cooking for (them) (and) so that they may eat we give (the men (theirs) and give the women (theirs) (and) we eat (and) sleep.’
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(16) Kolo.to-po/-lie kango-re me-mbo/-lie
do.the.finishing.ridge.around.the.top.of.a.bag-1-CON boy-a bear-1-CON

‘Having put the finishing edge around the top of the string bag and having given birth to a son then I bag (him).’

In example (17) the -lie is used as per rule 3.2. above; that is the -lie attached to the first clause indicates that the following events take place at a different time and location.

(17) Opali kinie talou-selo molo-po/-lie yuko pu-pu/
tomorrow and two.days.hence-both stay-1-CON three.days.hence go-1

In examples (18) and (19) the connector -lie is being used in the way described under 3.3. above, that is indicating that an embedded sentence follows. In (18) the Predicate of Base1 is expounded by an Imperfective Aspect Verb Phrase (7.2.4) The embedded sentence expounding Base3 is a Simultaneous Action Sentence (9.3.2) with a Repetitive Verb Phrase (7.1.2) expounding its second predicate.

(18) Pe koya nosi-pe/ molo-po/-lie koya-ne alumbelu
then bamboo.knife put-3S be.AN-3S-CON bamboo.knife-INST tongue
kanuma kopis-li-pe/-lie pu-pe/ pu-pe/ pu-pe/ pu-pe ulsu pu-ru-mu/.
those sever-SIM-3S-CON go-3S go-3S go-3S go-3S go-out.of go-DPST-3S

‘Then, having in his possession a bamboo knife, with (the) bamboo knife he went on severing those tongues (which the children, standing with their eyes shut, had stuck out) until he reached the end of the line.’

In (19) the embedded sentence in Base3, indicated by the connector -lie on Base1, is a Purpose Sentence (9.7.1.1).

(19) Na engele-ne kolo-po/-lie ga aku-pu/ koyo-0-mbo/-ndo
I hunger-INST die-1-CON sweet.potato dig.up-1 steam.cook-FUT-1S-PUR
wend o-0-ndu/.
out.of come-PST-1S

‘Because I was "dying" of hunger I got out of (the bag I had been tied up in) in order to dig up and steam-cook sweet potato.’
Examples (20) and (21) show the use of the person-tense reminder (PTR) marker as per rules 3.4. and 4. above. Example (20) is actually expounding the first base of a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5).

Base₁

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kongi</th>
<th>koyo-po/-lie</th>
<th>ni-li-molo/-mone</th>
<th>ga</th>
<th>mundu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>steam.cook-1-CON</td>
<td>PTR-ASP-1PL.CUST-PTR</td>
<td>sweet.potato mound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Base₁

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>te-le-molo//</th>
<th>aku.kinie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>make-ASP-1PL.CUST</td>
<td>and.then</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Having steam-cooked pig (as an offering to the spirits) we make sweet potato mounds and then...’

Base₁ of example (21) is expounded by a Merged Clause (8.3) in which the first predicate is expounded by a Repetitive Verb Phrase (7.1.2) in which only the verb part of an Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1) is actually repeated.

Base₁

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inie.to-ko/</th>
<th>to-ko/</th>
<th>to-ko/</th>
<th>me-ngo/-lie</th>
<th>ni-ri-ngili//muni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pick-2/3 REP</td>
<td>REP carry-2/3-CON PTR-DPST-3DL//-PTR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Base₃

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>winjo lkondo elo lkise-ri-ngili//.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>upstream home they.2 run-DPST-3DL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They two picked (and) picked (and) picked then carrying (the fruit) they ran home in an upstream direction.’

Finally, example (22), has an interesting overlap of persons between the bases as per the second half of rule 1. Base₃ is expounded by an Intention Merged Sentence (9.6.2.3).

Base₁

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aku.si-pu</th>
<th>li-pu</th>
<th>Yako kinie opa.te-ko/ Kondoli to-0-mba// te-ri-mu//.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Like.that-1 take-1 Y. with fight-2/3 European strike-FUT-3SG do-DPST-3SG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘We (including Yako) having taken (the varying amounts of pay the patrol officer offered us) like that Yako fought with the European and attempted to hit him.’

The man named Yako is included in the subject of each clause, even though overtly the subject markers are different in each case.

Other examples of Dependent Sentence will occur further on in the chapter, embedded in examples of other sentence types.

### 9.3.2 Simultaneous Action Sentence

The Simultaneous Action Sentence consists of two obligatory bases, obligatorily linked by the simultaneous action suffix -li, which occurs as the second order suffix on the verb of Base₁. The verb of Base₂ must be a motion verb. The Simultaneous Action Sentence is used to indicate that the action(s) of the first base is occurring at the same time as the (motion) action of the second base.
The Simultaneous Action Sentence shares some features with the Dependent Sentence. Both sentence types must have the same person and tense in all bases, and in both types all main clauses other than the final clause must be dependent clauses. However, the Simultaneous Action Sentence contrasts with the Dependent Sentence in the following ways:

1. The simultaneous action suffix -li, which is obligatory in the Simultaneous Action Sentence, is mutually exclusive with the connector -lie which is an optional link in the Dependent Sentence, and the person-number-tense reminder which occurs in the Dependent Sentence cannot occur in the Simultaneous Action Sentence.

2. The verb of the final base of a Simultaneous Action Sentence must be a motion verb, but there is no such restriction on the choice of verbs in the Dependent Sentence.

3. The Simultaneous Action Sentence is only binary, whereas the Dependent Sentence is multi-based.

The Simultaneous Action Sentence and the Intention Merged Sentence (9.6.2.3) are similar in that they are both binary and can both take a motion verb in the second base. However, they differ in the following ways:

1. The simultaneous action suffix -li, which is obligatory in the Simultaneous Action Sentence, cannot occur in the Intention Merged Sentence.

2. An independent verb suffixed for future tense is obligatory in the first base of the Intention Merged Sentence, whereas only a dependent verb can occur in the first base of the Simultaneous Action Sentence.

The Simultaneous Action Sentence typically embeds within Dependent Sentences. It also occurs in the Narrative Paragraph (10.4.2.1).

Table 9.3 The Simultaneous Action Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(+Base₁)</th>
<th>+Simultaneous</th>
<th>+Base₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Clause</td>
<td>-li ‘simultaneous action suffix’</td>
<td>Dependent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

1. Base₁ must end with a dependent verb.

2. The second order³ simultaneous action suffix -li must occur on the dependent verb of Base₁. Morphophonemic rules 4. and 5. (see 2.2.4 and 2.2.5) affect the use of the simultaneous action suffix -li.

3. The predicate of the clause manifesting Base₂ must be expounded by a motion verb, or motion verb phrase.

4. When the Simultaneous Action Sentence embeds in any base of a Dependent Sentence, other than the final one, the second base verb will be a dependent verb.

5. The person, number and tense of the two bases must agree.

Although the obligatory presence of the simultaneous action suffix -li has been highlighted in the bi-dimensional array, it will actually be shown in the examples, in capitals, as part of the verb of Base₁.

³ The first-order suffix is the optional benefactive suffix. Subject person suffixes follow the simultaneous action suffix.
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Base$_1$ Base$_2$

(23) \textit{Keko-ponie winjo kiwiki to-\textsc{LI-}pu/ p(\textsc{u})-a-mbolo//ye.}

K. upstream bird.type shoot-SIM-1 go-IMP-1 DL.EMP.QU

‘How about we two go upstream (to) Keko-ponie killing kiwiki (birds)?’

In example (24) the Simultaneous Action Sentence is embedded as the last base of a Dependent Sentence. The full Dependent Sentence is presented in the example, as the object tagmeme of the first base of the Dependent Sentence is relevant to the whole construction.

Base$_1$ Base$_2$

(24) \textit{Wi ulke ele kinie akume li-pu/ me-\textsc{LI-}pu/ p(\textsc{u})-a-mbolo//}

upstream house bow and those get-1 carry-SIM-1 go-IMP-1 DL.EMP

Periphery

\textit{anjo}

there

‘Let us two get those (things) including (the) bow (and arrows) (which are in the) house upstream (from here and) \textit{carrying (them) let's go, to there} (where we've been discussing)!’

Periphery

Base$_1$

(25) \textit{Palinoli-Palime-ne me-ri-mu/ akumu-nge ye sukunamo yu kera}

P.-ACT bear-DPST-3S that-REF man middle.born he bird

Base$_2$

\textit{to-\textsc{LI-}pe/ inie wele pu-ru-mu//.}

shoot-SIM-3S in.here across go-DPST-3S

‘Concerning that (which) Palinoli-Palime bore, \textit{the middle-born man, he went (in a) cross-stream direction to this (here place) shooting bird(s).}’

In example (26) the Simultaneous Action Sentence expounds the first base of a two base Dependent Sentence. Base$_1$ is expounded by a Merged Clause (8.3).

Base$_1$ Base$_2$

(26) \textit{Aku no-\textsc{L(I)-}ku/ me-\textsc{L(I)-}ku/ o-ngo/ Tongomako Lkie Wapie aku}

that eat-SIM-2/3 carry-SIM-2/3 come-2/3 T. L. W. that

\textit{olko.to-ko-mele//.}

cut.down-PR-3PL

‘Eating carrying as they come those (pandanus nuts which they cut down at previously mentioned places) they are cutting down those (nuts) (at) Tongomako, Lkie, (and) Wapie.’

In example (27) a Simultaneous Action Sentence is embedded in an Embedding (Noun) Phrase (7.8.2) as object of a clause.
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(27) Terepi andi ola aku "rere" ni-LI-pe/ ando-ko-mo// aku-mu mindi
bird.type there up that bird.call say-SIM-3S fly.about-PR-3S that-the only
‘...only that Terepi (bird) flying around up there near you calling "rere".’

Example (28), which is embedded in a Dependent Sentence, has a Semantic Unit Verb Phrase (7.3) expounding the predicate of Base2.

(28) Kupu.mopune kanu kongo pu-pe/-lie ni-ri-mu-muni
beautiful.unmarried.woman that immense go-3S-CON PTR-DPST-3S-PTR
nendi pangi te-nga lawea ni-LI-pe/o-mba/winjo pu-ru-mu/.
nearby hill a-LOC song say-SIM-3S come-3S upstream go-DPST-3S
‘That immensely beautiful unmarried woman went along and, travelling in an upstream direction, passed over a nearby hill singing as she went.’

In example (29) the verb me- ‘to carry’ occurs in the predicate of Base1, suffixed only with the simultaneous action suffix without any person suffix. This is the only verb which can occur in this way. Once again the previous clause in the larger sentence provides other arguments of the clause; subject and object in this case - compare (24).

(29) Ye-ne kondolime li-ku/me-LI/ pu-ku/-lie
man-act the.reds take-2/3 carry-SIM go-2/3-CON
‘The men having taken the Europeans went off leading (them on a guided tour up the mountain) then...’

(30) is another example in which the events of the Simultaneous Action Sentence itself don’t make much sense without the larger sentence of which it is a part. Also, in this example, the verb pu ‘to go’ filling the Head of the Repetitive Verb Phrase (7.1.2) which expounds Base2 is not functioning in its lexical sense as a motion verb but in its aspectual sense to indicate durative aspect; see the Imperfective Aspect Verb Phrase (7.2.4).

(30) Kanumu "wakaye.le-0-mbo/" ni-mbe/ te-LI-pe/ pu-ru-mu// purumu//
that glue.up-fut-1S.FUT say-SIM-3S go-DPST-3S go-DPST-3S
purumu// purumu// purumu// kapola naa te-ri-mu/.
go-DPST-3S go-DPST-3S go-DPST-3S all.right not do-DPST-3S
‘Deciding that he would glue up that (broken sugar cane) with resin he worked at (it) (and) at (it) (and) at (it) (and) at (it) (and) at (it) (and) at (it) (but) it didn’t mend.’

Because of this aspectual relationship which occurs between the two bases in some examples of the Simultaneous Action Sentence, and because of the dependence on the larger sentence for some clausal arguments, and because only limited directional or locational information can occur between the two verbs of this construction, it could be that this is a verb phrase type, or some type of merged clause, and not a sentence type at all. However, because in all other verb phrase types
(7.1), nothing, except the verbal negator, can occur between the verbs, this construction has been analysed as a sequence of clauses; i.e. a sentence type.

### 9.3.3 The Summary Sentence

The Summary Sentence consists of an obligatory Action, and an obligatory Summary manifest by a single clause, which usually consists of only a predicate, in which the verb *te* ‘to do’ is obligatory and is used as a pro-verb.

In that the dependent morphology is obligatory to the first base of the Summary Sentence the Summary Sentence is similar to the Dependent Sentence (9.3.1). However, the two sentence types differ in the following ways:

1. The Summary Sentence is only binary whereas the Dependent Sentence is multi-based.
2. The Summary Sentence must end with the verb *te* ‘to do’ whereas the Dependent Sentence can end with any verb.

In that the Summary Sentence is a binary sentence with dependent verb morphology obligatorily occurring on the verb of the first clause it is similar to the Simultaneous Action Sentence (9.3.2). However, these two sentence types differ in the following ways:

1. The simultaneous action suffix *-li* must occur on the verb in the first clause of the Simultaneous Action Sentence but it cannot occur in the Summary Sentence.
2. Only the verb *te* ‘to do’ can manifest the predicate of Base$_2$ of the Summary Sentence, while only a motion verb can manifest the predicate of Base$_2$ of the Simultaneous Action Sentence.

The Summary Sentence and the Intention Merged Sentence (9.6.2.3) are similar in that they are both binary and can both have the verb *te* ‘to do’ in the second base. However, they differ in the following ways:

1. An independent verb suffixed for future tense is obligatory in the first base of the Intention Merged Sentence, whereas only a dependent verb can occur in the first base of the Summary Sentence.
2. Only a single Independent Clause can expound the first base of the Intention Merged Sentence, whereas both Listing and Dependent Sentences can expound the first base of the Summary Sentence.
3. Semantically, the way the *te* verb is used in each sentence type is entirely different.

In a larger sentence it is sometimes impossible to tell, even semantically, and almost always structurally, how much of what precedes Summary is manifesting Action.

As is so with the Simultaneous Action Sentence presented above (9.3.2), the Summary Sentence more typically occurs embedded in other sentence types rather than expounding paragraph level tagmemes. It most commonly embeds in the Dependent Sentence and has also been observed expounding the Cycle of a Listing Paragraph.
Table 9.4 Summary Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Action</th>
<th>+Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Clause</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listing Sentence</td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ dependent verb</td>
<td>te ‘to do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minus Quote Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:
1. The filler of Action obligatorily ends with a dependent verb.
2. Action cannot be expounded by any of the Quote type sentences (9.4).
3. Summary is essentially manifest by the verb te ‘to do’ which is used anaphorically to summarise the preceding action(s).
   (Compare its use as the execution pro-verb of the Decision Sentence (9.4.2) where it is used cataphorically to refer to actions which will take place to bring the decision into effect).
4. The word ulu ‘event’ or ‘custom’, or some minimal noun phrase with ulu as its head occasionally occurs in the Summary along with the verb te.

Example (31) consists of two Summary Sentences occurring in one Dependent Sentence, the first one actually embedding as a Quote in the first base of the larger Dependent Sentence. The Action of (31) is manifest by a dependent Listing Sentence.

Example (32) has a two-base Listing Sentence (9.5.3) manifesting action.
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Action

     pick-2/3  take-2/3 mouth-mouth  pick-2/3  take-2/3 bag-bag

Summary

ter-ri-ngili//.
do-DPST-3DL

‘They ‘went-through-the-actions’ of picking (the fruit) (and) stuffing (it) in (their)
mouths (and) picking (the fruit) (and) stuffing (it) in (their) bags continuously-without-
pausing-for-anything.’

In (32) kere-kere (literally ‘mouth-mouth’) ‘stuff repeatedly into mouth’ and wale-wale
(literally bag-bag) ‘stuff repeatedly into bag’ are each the first word of an Adjunct Verb Complex
(6.1) which normally takes the verb te ‘to do’, but in this case the verb te has been left off and
presented at the close of BOTH. Thus te in this instance is not just a summary of the actions but
also an essential part of the verb complex at the end of each base of the Listing Sentence
manifesting the Action. Both actions should be viewed as happening concurrently.

In example (33) the Action is once again expounded by a Listing Sentence - in which the verbs
are synonyms. In examples (34) and (35) the Summary is manifested by more than just the verb te,
as per rule 4. above.

Action

(33)  Olio-ne sumoli ambolo-po/ aema kongi koyo-po/ si-pu/
     we-ACT gold.lipped.pearl.shell hold-1 and.um pig steam.cook-1 give-1

Summary

ulu  akuma te-le-molo//.
custom those do-ASP-1PL.CUST

‘We hold (up-and-hand-over) gold-lipped-pearl-shell(s) and-um we steam cook (and)
give (him) pig - we do those customs.’

Example (34) is in a text speaking of how a particular spirit has the power to bring either plenty
or famine.

Action

(34)  Pe  kele-pa/ engele le-pa/ ulu-ri te-le-mo//.
     Later  leave/cease-3S  hunger  cause-3S  doing-a  do-ASP-3S.CUST

Later leaving off (causing us to have a time of plenty) it causes a time of hunger it
does that.’

Finally, in example (35) we have a relatively long Paraphrase Sentence (9.5.2) expounding the
Action.
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9.4 Speech Sentences

There are three sentences which have as a common feature that they all grammatically consist of at least a Quote plus the verb *ni* ‘to speak’. The three are the Quote Sentence, the Decision Sentence, and the Naming Sentence. Because all three sentences have these similarities, the reasons for considering them to be different types will be presented below. Various semantic uses of the verb *ni* ‘to speak’ will be illustrated by the examples, especially examples of the Decision sentence.

9.4.1 The quote sentence

The Quote Sentence consists of an optional Opening Quote Formula, an obligatory Quote, and an obligatory Closing Quote Formula. It is the way the Kaugel language encodes all direct speech.

The Quote Sentence differs from the Decision Sentence in the following ways:

1. The tense of the final verb of the Quote of the Quote Sentence is unlimited, whereas in the Decision Sentence it is limited to either future or hortative tense affixation.
2. The verb *ni* ‘to speak’ which follows the Quote of the Quote Sentence is usually independent in form, whereas the verb *ni* ‘to speak’ which is used as the LINK in the Decision Sentence must always be a dependent verb.

The Quote Sentence differs from the Naming Sentence in the following ways:

1. The Quote Sentence is always only one quote followed by *ni* ‘to speak’, whereas the Naming Sentence is always a split quote, with each half of the quote followed by *ni* ‘to speak’, and the first occurrence of *ni* obligatorily being a dependent verb.
2. The Naming Sentence is a very stylised structure which occurs only in origin legends, whereas the Quote Sentence occurs in virtually any type of discourse.
3. The final speech verb in the Naming Sentence, when independent in form, must be in distant past tense. There is no such restriction in the Quote Sentence.

The Quote Sentence and the Purpose Sentence have in common that they both obligatorily incorporate the purpose clitic *-ndo ~ -ndu*, but the two sentence types differ in the following ways:

1. The main verb of the Opening Quote Formula of the Quote Sentence can only be either the verb stem *ni* ‘to say’ or some verb stem implying speech, whereas the Purpose of the Purpose Sentence is not so limited.
2. The Opening Quote Formula of the Quote Sentence can only be followed by a Quote and the Closing Quote Formula, whereas the Purpose Sentence is not so limited in what follows the Link.

**Table 9.5 The Quote Sentence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opening Quote Formula</th>
<th>Quote</th>
<th>Closing Quote Formula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase + actor clitic</td>
<td>any speech</td>
<td>± demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase + indirect object clitic</td>
<td>+ ni ‘to speak’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni ‘to speak’ + purpose clitic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

verb of speech must occur in Future tense

**Rules re Opening Quote Formula:**
1. When an Actor occurs it is almost always suffixed by the -ne ~ -ni actor clitic.
2. When an Indirect Object occurs it is almost always suffixed by the -ndo ~ -ndu indirect object clitic.
3. The verb ni ‘to speak’ is obligatorily suffixed for future tense plus the appropriate person, obligatorily followed by the purpose clitic -ndo ~ -ndu.
4. Any verb which implies speech (e.g. ‘to chant’) can stand in place of ni ‘to speak’, though ni is far and away the most common.
5. Morphophonemic rule 1 - the high-low vowel rule - pertains to the choice of allomorphs under rules 1, 2, and 3.

**Rules re Quote:**
1. When a first person singular subject or a second person singular subject are expressed by a pronoun within the Quote, they usually take third person singular form, see (43) and (52) below, though this rule tends to be resisted in written form.
2. There is a special set of imperative suffix forms used only within quotes (refer to Table 2 in chapter 4 on Words and (37) and (38) below).

**Rules re Closing Quote Formula:**
1. The optional demonstrative aku ‘that’ precedes ni ‘to speak’, and acts here as a summary or emphasis of what has just been said.
2. When the demonstrative aku ‘that’ occurs the verb ni ‘to speak’ which follows is dependent in form rather than independent.
3. Here ni ‘to speak’ has no restriction as to tense such as there is in the Opening Quote Formula.

---

4 The demonstrative aku ‘that’ could be construed as turning a direct quote into an indirect quote. However, because there is absolutely no change in the form of a quote when it is followed by aku, and because aku occurs in this position so rarely, and because the ni verb when following aku is always dependent in form, and because of native speaker reaction to want to edit examples of this construction, it is postulated that what is taking place is actually elision of the verb ni ‘to speak’ plus sentence final intonation immediately following the quote, and that the aku plus ni verb, see (36) below, is actually a form of recapitulation (10.1.1) leading on to the next event. We have seen no clear unquestionable instance of indirect quote in Kaugel.
In the presentation of examples Opening Quote Formula will be represented as Op-Q-F and Closing Quote Formula will be represented as Cl-Q-F.

Examples (36) to (38) are a series of quotes from a conversation between two brothers in one Bedtime Story Discourse (11.4).

Example (37) follows on immediately from (36). The total sentence is a Dependent Sentence (9.3.1), the first word of which, Kemboro-ndo, appears to be functioning as Indirect Object to both the action which precedes the Quote and also the Quote itself. Note the use of the quoted imperative form in both (37) and (38); see rule 7 above.

Example (38) follows on immediately from (37). Once again the Quote Sentence is embedded in a Dependent Sentence, this time as the penu ltimate base. The Quote itself is a Coordinate Sentence (9.5.1).

Example (39) comes from later in the same text where the one like Yako has just returned and the one like Kemboro is giving a report of what happened while he was away.
Example (40) is one of the rare examples of the demonstrative *aku* ‘that’ occurring in the Closing Quote Formula. The Quote Sentence in this example is embedded in a Dependent Sentence.

(40) *Api akumu panji-pe/ kopo-nido-pa/-lie ni-ri-mu-muni*

salt that put.in-3SG hold.in.mouth-BEN-3SG-CON PTR-DPST-3SG-PTR

Quote

"*Api kopo-nido-ko-ro//-la nu naa no-u!*

salt hold.in.mouth-BEN-PR-1SG-also you.SG not eat-QI.2SG

Cl-Q-F

*aku ni-mbe/ kele-pa/ pu-ru-mu/.*

that say-3SG again-3SG go-DPST-3SG

‘He put that salt in his mouth held it there for me and (said to me) "I am holding the salt in my mouth for you too, don’t you eat/swallow (it)!"’ saying that he went again.’

Finally, examples (41) to (43) form a conversational exchange in which three Quote Sentences are joined in one Sequence Sentence (9.7.5) by the sequence connector *kinie* ‘when’. The story is told by a man about his mother who was very ill. The first quote is spoken by the near relatives, the second by the son, and the third by the mother herself.

(41) *Lie-ri-mu//-kanu.kinie pe paa tepa.embambo.si-pe/ te-ri-mu//-kulu

lie.prostrate-DPST-3S-and.then later verily confuse-3SG do-DPST-3S-because

Quote

"*Me-mbo/ Tambuli p(u)a-mili// ni-ri-ngi//-kinie

carry-1 Tambul go-IMP-1PL.HORT say-DPST-3PL-when"

Op-Q-F

(42) *Na-ne ni-0-mbo//-ndo "Kongi walo te akumu si-e-mbo//

I-ACT say-FUT-1SG-PUR pig young a that give-IMP-1SG.HORT

Cl-Q-F

koyo-ko/ no-ngo/ wi-njo pu-0// ni-ri-ndu//-kinie

steam.cook-2/3 eat-2/3 upstream-toward go-QI.2SG say-DPST-I-when

Quote

(43) "*yu manie le-lio//-mo ‘yembo nawe no-pili//

she(I) down lie-1SG.CUST-ASS person who eat-3SG.HORT

koyo-nd(o)-a-mbo/" ni-ngu/ ni-ki-nu//-ye Konde molo-po/

steam.cook-BEN-IMP-HORT.1SG say-2/3 say-PR-2SG-QU alive be.AN-1

wend o-mbo/ te-0-ndu//-lieno aku.kinie o-mbo/ koyo-po/

out come-1 do-PST-1SG-if and.then come-1 steam.cook-1

no-0-mbo//. Yu manie le-po//-lie yemboma-nga n(o)-a-ngi//

eat-FUT-1SG she-(I) down lie-1-CON people-for eat-IMP-3PL.HORT

Cl-Q-F

naa koyo-ndo-0-mbo//, molo." ni-mbe/ karaye.te-ri-mu//.

not steam.cook-BEN-FUT-1SG no say-3SG be.stubborn-DPST-3SG
‘She was lying there prostrate (with illness) and then after a time because they were at their wit’s end (over her illness) they said: "Let’s take her (to the hospital at) Tambul!" then when I said (to her): "Let me give you that piglet, you can cook and eat it then go to (Tambul which is in an) upstream direction from here she (said): "I am definitely lying here helpless (so) who are you saying will eat (this pig) you want to steam.cook for them? If I get well and come out (of hospital) okay then I will come and steam cook and eat (the pig). (But) while I am lying here helpless I am not going to cook (it) for other people to eat, no way." she said stubbornly.’

9.4.2 The decision sentence

The Decision Sentence consists of an obligatory Decision, an obligatory Link *ni* ‘to speak’ in dependent-verb form, and an obligatory Execution. Semantically the Decision Sentence encodes the desire or decision to take a certain course of action, followed by the execution of the action. This structure is also sometimes used to encode cause.

The ways in which the Decision Sentence is similar to, yet different from, the Quote Sentence have been given in the introduction to the Quote Sentence. The features which the Decision Sentence and the Naming Sentence have in common are also presented in the introduction to the Quote Sentence. The Decision Sentence and the Naming Sentence differ in the following ways:

1. The final verb of the (first-base) quote of the Decision Sentence is obligatorily suffixed with either future or hortative tense, whereas the first-base quote of the Naming Sentence is not so limited.
2. The second base of the Naming Sentence is obligatorily filled by a quote, the filler of which is of such a nature as to be considered the ‘second half’ of the sentence filling the quote of the first base, whereas the action(s) filling the second base of a Decision Sentence rarely includes speech at all, and certainly not continued speech.

Although the first base plus the *ni* ‘to speak’ link of the Decision Sentence structurally suggests actual speech, the words are not normally actually spoken, though there are instances when it is feasible semantically to allow for it to be actual speech. Semantically, the structure encodes a decision or desire to do something, the execution of which is expressed as the filler of the second base.

Although the Decision Sentence can semantically encode purpose, it does not readily transform to the structure of the Purpose Sentence (9.7.1.1). The main difference, semantically, between the two sentence types is plus control - the Decision Sentence - and minus control - the Purpose Sentence - which is a dichotomy relevant to other areas of the language also.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9.6 The Decision Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independent Clause</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative Merged Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listing Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>future or hortative</th>
<th>dependent</th>
<th>any tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Rules:
1. Only future or hortative tense can suffix to the independent verb ending the filler of Decision.
2. Any tense can suffix to the final verb of the filler of Execution.
3. The Link verb *ni* ‘to speak’ must be dependent in form.

In example (44) the speaker explains the reason why he came back and shut the door.

```
Decision       Link Execution
(44) ‘Ali naa kol(o)-a-ngi/// ni-mbu/ o-mbo/ anji-ki-ru//.
cold not die-IMP-2PL.HORT say-1 come-1 stand.up-PR-1SG*
‘So that you won’t ‘die-of-cold’ I’m coming (back and) shutting (the door).’
(*in context = ‘shut the door’)
```

Example (45) has a Coordinate Sentence of expectancy reversal manifesting Execution. The first word, *kanumu* ‘that’ stands for the sugar-cane which ‘broke’ in the previous sentence. Example (45) is embedded in a Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4).

```
Decision       Link Execution
(45) Kanumu ‘wakaye.le-0-mbo///’ ni-mbe/ te-li-pe/ pu-ru-mu//
that stick.up.with.wakaye.gum-FUT-1SG say-3 SG do-SIM-3SG go-DPST-3SG
purumu purumu purumu// kapola naa te-ri-mu//.
go-DPST-3SG go-DPST-3SG go-DPST-3SG all.right not do-DPST-3SG
‘Deciding (that) he would stick that (broken sugar-cane) up with wakaye (gum); he worked at (it) (and) at (it) (and) at (it) (and) at (it) (and) at (it) (but) to no avail.’
```

Example (46) encodes a decision to do something so that something feared will not happen; that is it is a "lest" construction. Although the subject is third singular in both the Decision and the Execution they are two different people.

```
Decision       Link Execution
(46) ‘Po elkema kano-0-mba///’ ni-mbe/ li-pe/ le.muru-na manie
sugar.cane spittings see-FUT-3SG say-3 SG take-3SG toilet.hole-LOC down
mundo-ru-mu//.
throw-DPST-3SG
‘Lest (his brother) see the sugar-cane spittings he took (them) (and) threw (them) down into (the) toilet hole.’
```

In example (47) I will present the larger Sequence Sentence in which the Decision Sentence is embedded.
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Decision

(47) Ye.anda kanumu loye kanumu ‘boro-po/
old.man that steam.cooking.pit that open.steam.cooking.pit-1

Link Execution

no-0-mbo/’ ni-mbe/ boro-ru-mu/-kanu.kinie ne ola
eat-FUT-1SG say-3SG open.steam.cooking.pit-DPST-3SG-and.then there top

‘That old man, deciding to open that steam cooking pit (and) eat (what was in it) he
opened it and then there on top in (the hole) was that old woman.’

Example (48) is the first base of a Coordinate Sentence (9.5.1) in a story about dogs and
possums. This is an instance where the "quote" part of the Decision could have been actually
spoken, though it also carries the meaning of desire or intent.

Decision Link Execution

and.then dog a- ACT he word a say-IMP-1SG say-3SG up stand-DPST-3SG
‘And then a dog stood up to speak.’

Example (49) encodes cause.

Decision Link Execution

(49) Lapa-ne kanu kango-mo ‘kola.te-pili/’ ni-mbe/ ko.si-ri-mu/.
father-ACT that boy-the cry-HORT.3SG say-3SG mock.DPST-3SG
‘The father mocked that (naughty) boy to make him cry.’

9.4.3 The naming sentence

The Naming Sentence consists of an obligatory Reason Quote, plus an obligatory Naming
Quote Formula1, ni ‘to speak’ in dependent-verb form, plus an obligatory Naming Quote, plus an
obligatory Naming Quote Formula2 ni ‘to speak’.

The Naming Sentence is used when naming a person for some (characteristic) action or
happening. The first base speaks of the action for which the person is to be named, the second base
gives the actual name by which he or she is to be known and this name reflects something of the
action or characteristic referred to in the first base.

The reasons why the Naming Sentence is considered different from the Quote Sentence are
given in the introduction to the Quote Sentence.

The reasons why the Naming Sentence is considered different from the Decision Sentence are
given in the introduction to the Decision Sentence.

While it is true that the Naming Sentence manifests much the same features as a Dependent
Sentence it is considered not to be a true Dependent Sentence for the following reasons:

1. The Naming Sentence consists only of the four tagmemes noted above,
whereas the Dependent Sentence is comparatively unlimited in the number of
bases which can manifest it.
2. Only quotes can fill the main two bases of the Naming Sentence whereas the Dependent Sentence is virtually unlimited in what can manifest its bases.

3. The only link-like tagmeme which the Naming Sentence has must be expounded by a verb with the stem ni ‘to say’, whereas the Dependent Sentence uses no such link.

The Naming Sentence typically occurs in origin stories, which are a type of Legend Discourse (11.3).

Table 9.7 The Naming Sentence

| Reason Quote | Naming Quote Formula₁ | Naming Quote Formula₂ | Naming Quote
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>ni ‘to say’</td>
<td>a name</td>
<td>ni ‘to say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement-Evaluation S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>± imbi si ‘to name’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrafactual Conditional S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>± kene ‘because’</td>
<td>dependent verb</td>
<td>dependent or independent verb + DPST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

1. The verb ni ‘to say’, when manifesting Naming Quote Formula₁, can only occur as a dependent verb.
2. The verb ni ‘to say’, when manifesting Naming Quote Formula₂, can be either dependent or independent in form. When independent, it obligatorily takes distant past tense suffixation.
3. The verb ni ‘to say’, when manifesting Naming Quote Formula₂, is optionally followed by imbi si ‘to name’.
4. The verbs ni ‘to say’ in Naming Quote Formula₁ and 2 must agree with each other in person, number and tense.
5. The filler of Reason Quote plus the filler of Naming Quote Formula, semantically combine as a cause-result type structure. This is sometimes made overtly clear by the use of kene ‘therefore’ as the last word of the filler of Reason Quote.

(compare the use of kene in the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence (9.7.3.1)).

In the examples abbreviations will be used for the four tagmemes, in the order given, as follows: Reason-Q, N-Q-F₁, Naming-Q, and N-Q-F₂.

The four examples (50) to (53) occur fairly close together in the one text. (50) and (51) are two versions in one sentence of the naming of the last-born of three brothers, while (52) and (53) are the naming of the firstborn of the three after the actions of the second-born. (53) is virtually a re-statement of (52), but each has unique extra features not in the other so both are presented. The immediate context of each example will be included because it helps to supply the semantic feel of what is going on.

Examples (50) and (51) together form a Paraphrase Sentence (9.5.2).

(50) Iri.to-ru-mul-aku.kinie ye sumbu akumu mere manie scold-DPST-3SG-and.then man short.unmarried that downstream down
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\( kumbie \) opu.si-pe/ no-mba/ mere manie molo-ru-mu//kulu
field.rat trap-3SG eat-3SG downstream down be-DPST-3SG-because

Reason-Q

"Nu opu maniekondo pe-ko/ te-ko-no// le-mo-kene"
you trap underneath live-2/3 do-PR-2SG be.apparent-CUST.3SG-therefore

N-Q-F\(_1\) Naming-Q N-Q-F\(_2\)

\( ni-ngu/ \) "Opu-le" ni-ri-ngi//,
say-2/3 trap-fact say-DPST-3PL

Reason-Q N-Q-F\(_1\)

(51) "Opu maniekondo pe-ri-nu//ri le-mo" ni-ngu/
trap underneath live-DPST-2SG-a be.apparent-CUST.3SG say-2/3

Naming-Q N-Q-F\(_2\) Afterthought
"Opu-le" ni-ri-ngi//, "Kumili-Opu-le"
Trap-apparently say-DPST-3PL bush.name-trap-apparently

‘She scolded (him); and then because that short man trapped (and) ate field-rat(s)
downstream from here (and) stayed down (at) mere-direction they said "Apparently
you do sleep under a trap therefore (let your name be) ‘Trap-apparently’", saying
"Apparently you are a slept-under-a-trap (person) (let your name be) ‘Trap-apparently’
they said, "Trap-apparently-of-Kumili bush’.’

Periphery Reason-Q

(52) Aku te-ri-mu// akumu-nge Takopuka-mo-ne "I ye-mo-ne yu
that do-DPST-3SG that-REF T.-the-ACT this man-the-ACT he(you)

N-Q-F\(_1\) Naming-Q

\( tako-ko/ nosi-ku/ kel(e)-ko/ pu-ku-nu\!/ ni-mbe/-lie
build-2/3 put-2/3 leave-2/3 go-PR-2SG say-3SG-CON he(you) build-go-from
N Q F\(_2\)

\( ni-ri-mu\!//.
say-DPST-3SG

‘Concerning that which he (Peraka, the middle-born) did, Takopuka having said (of
Peraka) (that) he (was) "this man, you (who) are building (and) putting (and) leaving
(behind and) going" he said "you come from Takopuka’.’

Example (52) reads as though Takopuka is both the namer and the named. Example (53) is
virtually a re-statement, making it clear that it was the father, Palinoli-Palime, who named his first-
born son Takopuka.
Example (54) speaks of the naming of a place rather than a person or clan.

Example (55) uses an idiomatic way to refer to the birth process as the underlying reason for the name given to the child, which in turn became a clan name. This idiom is usually only used of a woman giving birth, but here a man is the speaker.

9.5 The juxtaposed sentences

There are five sentences whose main common feature is that their bases are always juxtaposed, with no overt links. They are the Coordinate Sentence, the Paraphrase Sentence, the Listing Sentence, the Statement-Evaluation Sentence, and the Existential Verb Sentence. Juxtaposed Sentences typically have two bases, commonly ending with independent verbs. The Statement-Evaluation Sentence and the Existential Verb Sentence are obligatorily limited to two bases, the Coordinate and Paraphrase Sentences may have as many as three bases, while the Listing Sentence may have up to six bases.

The Merged Sentences (9.6) are also juxtaposed sentences, but the reasons for considering them different from the set of five juxtaposed sentences here presented are given in the introduction to section 9.6.
### 9.5.1 The coordinate sentence

The Coordinate Sentence consists of two or sometimes three bases which are juxtaposed. All bases must end with independent verbs. The bases are held together phonologically in that they lack sentence-final intonation and pause, and semantically in that many times there is an obvious relationship such as ‘and’, ‘but’, ‘when’, ‘because’, etc. Many of these relationships can be overtly indicated in the language, but often the speaker chooses otherwise. In written material, especially with culturally unfamiliar content, overt links between bases are preferred; see section 9.7.

The Coordinate Sentence differs from both the Paraphrase Sentence and the Listing Sentence in the following ways:

1. In the Coordinate Sentence there must be a change of tense or person or both tense and person between the bases, whereas in the Paraphrase Sentence any change of tense or person is unusual, and in the Listing Sentence no change of person or tense is permitted.
2. In both the Paraphrase Sentence and the Listing Sentence the stem of the final verbs of the fillers of the bases must be either identical or synonymous, whereas the final verbs of the fillers of the Coordinate Sentence are only optionally the same, and will usually be different.

There is virtually no restriction on the distribution of the Coordinate Sentence, which can occur in almost any type of paragraph, and also embeds freely into other types of sentences.

#### Table 9.8 The Coordinate Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base 1</th>
<th>Base 2</th>
<th>Base 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase Sentence</td>
<td>Paraphrase Sentence</td>
<td>Statement-Evaluation S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneous Action S.</td>
<td>Factual Conditional S.</td>
<td>Factual Conditional S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision Sentence</td>
<td>Decision Sentence</td>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal Merged Sentence</td>
<td>Goal Merged Sentence</td>
<td>Imperative Cause-Result S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasoning Merged S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rules and special features:**

1. Each base must end with an independent verb.
2. There will always be a change of tense or subject, and usually both, from one base to the next. (see (62) for what could be an exception to this rule).
3. Base 2, which is optional, appears to be very limited in filler types. It could be that this is so, but it is probably because three-base Coordinate Sentences occur quite infrequently, and thus there are few examples of Base 2.
4. When Base 1 is filled by a Factual Condition Sentence, Base 2 will not occur, and Base 3 is also filled by a Factual Conditional Sentence (9.7.1.2). In such examples the relationship between the two bases is one of alternative; i.e. Base 1 ‘or’ Base 3. ((64) is an example of this feature.)
In examples (56) and (57) the subject is the same in each base, though there is a change of tense. The semantic ‘feel’ between the two bases is coordinate; ‘and’.

Example (56) is the first base of an Imperative Cause-Result Sentence (9.7.3.1).

Base₁ Base₃
(56) Ena koronga to-0-mu// olto wi kepo-na li-0-mbe/-kene
sun already hit-PST-3SG us.tow upstream hill-LOC get-FUT-3SG-therefore
‘(The) sun (has) already risen to full strength, (and) will catch us on the hill up there
so...’

In example (57) there is an unusual, though not unique, use of the benefactive suffix as a causative.

Base₁ Base₃
(57) Owa koronga pu-0-mu// kera wi mango-ndo-ko-mo//
dog already go-PST-3SG bird upstream fly-CAUSE-PR-3SG
‘(The) dog (has) already gone in an upstream direction (and) is causing (the) bird(s) to
fly.’

Examples (58) to (61) all have a semantic feel of reason-result; ‘so’.

Example (58) is the closing sentence of a Quote. Base₁ is expounded by a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5) and Base₃ by a Dependent Sentence. The connector -lie at the end of the first clause has an ‘if’ feel. It is also interesting to note in this example that wi ‘upstream’ is being used in a temporal, rather than a locative, sense.

Base₁
(58) "We pu-ku/-lie wi kolo-0-ni/-kinie alto-ko// ‘Ya kongi-mu
just go-2/3-CON upstream die-FUT-2SG-SEQ again-2/3 here pig-the
molo-pili// kele-po pu-0-ndu// i konopu.lie-0-ni//
be.AN-HORT leave-1 go-PST-1SG this think-FUT-2SG
Base₃
koyo-ko/ no-ngo/ pu-0//"
steam.cook-2/3 eat-2/3 go-QI
‘"If you just go (without our fulfilling our obligation to you) then later when you die
you will think again about this pig you went off and left here alive (and, as a spirit,
take it out on us), so steam cook, eat (it) (and then) go!’”

Example (59) is a two-base example, with a Goal Merged Sentence (9.6.2.2) manifesting the first base and a Dependent Sentence manifesting the last base. There is an actual though not overt change of subject, but no change of tense, between the bases.
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**Base\(_1\)  Base\(_3\)**

(59)  \(\text{Ps \ te-0-mb/ te-ri-mu/ winji-pa pu-pe/ no-ru-mu/}.\)

very be.tasty-FUT-3SG do-DPST-3SG upstream-further go-3SG eat-DPST-3SG

‘(The water) was getting very tasty (so) he went further upstream (and) drank.’

In Example (60) the first base is expounded by a Paraphrase Sentence (9.5.2), and the last by an Independent Clause.

**Base\(_1\)**

(60)  \(\text{Yu kou te naa si-ri-mu/ paono talo mindi si-ri-mu/}.\)

him money a not give-DPST-3SG pound two only give-DPST-3SG

**Base\(_3\)**

\(\text{opa.te-ri-ngili/}.\)

fight-DPST-2DL

‘He didn't give him one money (i.e. he gave him one less than he gave everyone else), he only gave (him) two pounds ($4.00) (so) they fought.’

In example (61) the tense is the same in both bases while the subject is different. Base\(_1\) is expounded by a Simple Sentence, and Base\(_3\) by a Dependent Sentence.

**Base\(_1\)**  **Base\(_3\)**

(61)  \(\text{Lo siri mindi to-0-mu/ na naa puru-pu o-0-ndu/}.\)

rain drizzle only hit-PST-3SG I not rain.wet-1 come-PST-1SG

‘The rain was only sprinkling (so) I came without getting rain wet.’

Example (62) is unusual in that both bases have the same overt tense and subject person, however the actual time is different, indicated by temporal phrases in each base.

**Base\(_1\)**  **Base\(_3\)**

(62)  \(\text{La.ye.kolte ou mol(o)-a-mbo/ pe.mele p(u)-a-mbo/}.\)

a.little.while first stay-IMP-HORT.1SG after.a.while go-IMP-HORT.1SG

‘Let me stay a little while first, (then) a bit later let me go.’

(63) is an example of a three-base Coordinate Sentence.

**Base\(_1\)**  **Base\(_2\)**

(63)  \(\text{Nu-ni kepe te me-0-ni/ te yando si-yo/}.\)

you-ACT also one carry-FUT-2SG one here give-POL.2SG

**Base\(_3\)**

\(\text{kera-mo t(o)-a-mbo/}.\)

bird.the shoot-IMP-HORT.1SG

‘You also will carry one, give one here to (me), let me shoot the bird!’
Example (64) has a Factual Conditional Sentence (9.7.1.2) in both bases as per rule 4 above. As explained above the semantic ‘feel’ between the two bases is one of alternative; ‘or’. The Sentence in Base₁ is positive, the one in Base₃ is virtually the same in the negative.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Base₁} & \quad \text{Base₃} \\
\text{(64)} & \quad pu-0-nu//liemo p(u)-a-ni// naa pu-0-nu//liemo naa p(u)-a-ni//,
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{go-PST-2SG-if} & \quad \text{go-IMP-2SG not} \quad \text{go-PST-2SG-if} \quad \text{not go-IMP-2SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘If you are going go, if you are not going don't go!’

9.5.2 The paraphrase sentence

The Paraphrase Sentence consists of two or sometimes three bases which are juxtaposed. The Predicate of all bases is usually identical. The semantic relationship between the bases is usually one of clarification or expansion in the second and third bases of information given in the first base. The Paraphrase Sentence performs much the same function as the Exposition Paragraph (10.4.4.3); that is the giving of some information then clarifying or expounding on that information, but the structure is different.

The differences between both the Paraphrase Sentence and the Listing Sentence and the Coordinate Sentence have been given under the Coordinate Sentence. Another difference between the Paraphrase Sentence and the Coordinate Sentence is that fillers of the bases of Paraphrase Sentence are usually just clauses, whereas fillers in the Coordinate Sentence are normally quite complex.

The Paraphrase Sentence and the Listing Sentence are similar, not only in the fact that their bases are juxtaposed but also in that the verbs of the bases are often the same in both sentence types. However, they differ in the following ways:

1. The final verbs of the bases of the Listing Sentence must be either all suffixed with dependent verb morphology or all suffixed with independent verb morphology, whereas the Paraphrase Sentence can have dependent verb morphology suffixed to the verb of one base and independent to the verb of the other.

2. The Paraphrase Sentence is limited to a maximum of three bases, whereas the Listing Sentence can have more than three bases.

3. The Listing Sentence has an optional Summary, whereas the Paraphrase Sentence does not have a summary.

4. The two sentence types also differ semantically. Whereas the semantic purpose of the Paraphrase Sentence is to give extra information about one event, the Listing Sentence presents a series of related events.

The Paraphrase Sentence typically embeds in other types of sentences.
Table 9.9 The Paraphrase Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Base₁</th>
<th>±Base₂</th>
<th>+Base₃</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equational Clause</td>
<td>Equational Clause</td>
<td>Equational Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Cl. ±Link</td>
<td>Dependent Clause</td>
<td>Dependent Cl. ±Link</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Cl. ±Link</td>
<td>Independent Cl. ±Link</td>
<td>Independent Cl. ±Link</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence S. ±Link</td>
<td>Sequence S. ±Link</td>
<td>Sequence S. ±Link</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Dependent S. ±Link</td>
<td>Dependent S. ±Link</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merged Clause</td>
<td>Merged Clause</td>
<td>Merged Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinate S. ±Link</td>
<td>Coordinate S. ±Link</td>
<td>Coordinate S. ±Link</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

same verb stem  same verb stem  same verb stem

Rules and special features:

1. The stems of the final verb in the three bases are usually identical, however a synonym or a pro-verb is also permitted in Base₂ and Base₃.
2. The suffixation on the verbs in all bases is usually identical, however, when the verb of the first base is suffixed with dependent morphology the verb of the final base is optionally suffixed with independent morphology.
3. When an Equational Clause manifests the final base, an Equational Clause obligatorily manifests the first base - the reverse is usual (rules 1. and 2) but not obligatory.
4. The link of a larger sentence, into which the Paraphrase Sentence is embedded, can be picked up as part of the filler of Base₁, and if so would usually be repeated at end of the sentence.

In all of the examples, the stem of the verb which occurs in all bases of the sentence will be bolded so as to be easily recognised. When the form of the verb is identical the whole word, or series of words expounding the Predicate, as in example (73), will be bolded.

Example (65) is embedded in a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5) in a story about a wicked man an old couple put into a bag and tied up so that he could not molest their children. When the old couple went away, the man in the bag, by promising to tell the children a story, persuaded them to let him out. Some of this context will be presented with the example to give it sense.

(65) Kanu-kinie ambou-anda kanu-selo elo pu-ri-ngili//
and.then old.woman-old.man that-DL.ART they.two go-DPST-3DL

Ambolango kanume molo-ri-ngi//kanu.kinie wale-na pe-pa/-lie
children those stay-DPST-3PL-and.then bag-LOC be.in-3SG-CON

Wale kulupi-ne pe-pa/-lie nimbendo "..." nirimu.//
and.then bag parcel-LOC be.in-3SG.CON quote.intro introducer ... he.said

Wendo li-ri-ngi//.
out take-DPST-3PL

‘Then, when that old couple (had) gone (and) those children were there (with the tied-up wrapped-up man), he being in the string bag, parcelled up in the string bag said (to the children): "(Let me out of here so I can tell you a story!)" (and so) they took (him) out.’
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Examples (66) and (67) are both from the same origin story, spoken as the narrator is rounding off his story and emphasising some pertinent points. Both (66) and (67) are embedded, at different points, in the same Sequence Sentence (9.7.5).

Base1    Base3
(66) Ou imbi-mu Peraka mendepolo imbi-mu ou Peraka mendepolo before name-the P. only name-the before P. only
‘Before the name (was) just Peraka, the name before (was) just Peraka;’

Base1     Base3
(67) yu "Takopuka" ni-mbe/ imbi si-ri-mu/, Palinoli-Palime-ne "Takopuka" he Takopuka say-3SG name give-DPST-3SG P-P.-ACT T.
ni-mbe/ imbi si-ri-mu//.
say-3SG name give-DPST-3SG
‘Saying "Takopuka" he named (him), Palinoli-Palime named him Takopuka.’

Example (68) is the first base of a Coordinate Sentence. Both (68) and (69) have a dependent verb in the first base, with the same verb in independent form in the final base, as per rule 2 above.

Base1    Base3
(68) Na me-ngo/ ulke i-mu-nge me-ri-ngi// pe i ulke-mo-nga me bear-2/3 house this-the-LOC bear-DPST-3PL later this house-the-LOC ama kolo-ru-mu//.
mum die-DPST-3SG
‘They bore me, they bore (me) in this very house, (and) later mum died in this house.’

Example (69) is unusual in that the second base is expounded by a Coordinate Sentence, the first base of which is a Dependent Sentence. However, the final verb of both bases is the same; dependent in Base1 and independent in Base3.

Base1    Base3
(69) Meku.to-po/ maratene si-ki-mu/ akume no-mbo/ olo-na naa vomit-i medicine give-PR-3SG those eat-1 stomach-LOC not panji-ki-ru/ meku.to-ko-ro/.
keep.in-PR-1SG vomit-PR-1SG
‘I vomit; eating those medicines he is giving (me) I "am not keeping (them) down", I am vomiting.’

Example (70) is unusual in having just a verb stem closing off the filler of Base1. The same verb, in independent form closes off the filler of the final base. As with examples (66) and (67) the narrator is rounding off an origin story by emphasising some salient points. The first base focuses upon the object of the verb, and the final base on its subject.
Example (71) is a long and somewhat involved three-base Paraphrase Sentence, which is part of a longer Dependent Sentence. Each base ends with the same dependent verb plus connector, plus the person tense reminder.

'A bad man having found (and) taken (her); when he was wandering around on the bank of the creek collecting drift-wood having seen (and) taken the (woman) complete with stretcher, …’
1. The Listing Sentence fillers maintain a regular pattern, with regular and minimal filler change in one clause-level tagmem, and
2. The verb stem(s) of the filler of the bases of the Listing Sentence either remain the same or are only substitutable by synonyms.

The Listing Sentence most commonly embeds into other sentences; particularly Coordinate, Paraphrase and Dependent.

Table 9.10 The Listing Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Listing Base₁</th>
<th>±Listing Base₂</th>
<th>+Listing Base₃</th>
<th>±Summary Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Clause</td>
<td>Dependent Clause</td>
<td>Dependent Clause</td>
<td>Simultaneous-Action S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Decision Sentence</td>
<td>Purpose Sentence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

same verb stem and verb morphology throughout (even in Summary)

Rules:
1. The same verb stem, or very occasionally a synonym verb stem, must occur in each base.
2. Verb morphology on the final verb of each base remains constant.
3. Fillers of all bases tend to be non-complex sentences.
4. Fillers of Listing Bases in any one example tend to be very similar both in structure and content.
5. There is only one example with a Summary Base (76).
6. Listing Base₂ is optional, but can occur up to three times in one sentence.

In the examples Listing Base will be abbreviated to Lst-Bs.

Example (72) is a two base example of the Listing Sentence, which is in turn the second base of a Paraphrase Sentence.

\[\text{Lst-Bs}_1\]
\[
\text{Tawe-manga pu-pu/ ka to-le-molo/}; \ ka kumbuku-me
\]
\[
\text{bush-area go-1 vine hit-ASP-1PL.CUST vine vine.type-PL.ART}
\]

\[\text{Lst-Bs}_3\]
\[
\text{to-le-molo/}; \ \text{kele-ma to-le-molo/}.
\]
\[
\text{hit-ASP-1PL.CUST vine.type-PL.ART hit-ASP-1PL.CUST}
\]

‘Going to (the) bush area we pull off vine(s); we pull off kumbuku vines, we pull off kele vines.’

Example (73) is another two base example with equational clauses filling each base.
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Example (74) is another two base example, winding up a legend about how dogs and possums became enemies. (In itself this Listing Sentence is very simple, but it is actually the last base of a very complex sentence within which many other sentences are embedded.)

Example (75) is once again a two base sentence. In this case the verbs of the two bases are different, but they are both state-of-being verbs. I will present the whole of the Sequence Sentence into which this example embeds to give the sense.

Example (76) is the maximum-base Listing Sentence found. It is presented here in its context as the first base of a Coordinate Sentence which has an antithetical sense. The man in the story is trying to discover what calamity has occurred to cause his itch.
In example (77) the Listing Sentence is the second base of a Paraphrase Sentence, (which, in turn is part of a larger Dependent Sentence. The Dependent Sentence is the second base of a Coordinate Sentence.) Because of this embedding, all the fillers of this example end with dependent verbs.

The word expounding the Periphery of example (78) is the topic of the two listing bases which follow. Both bases are expounded by Decision Sentences (9.4.2).
9.5.4 Statement-evaluation sentence

The Statement-Evaluation Sentence consists of an obligatory Statement followed by an obligatory Evaluation. Statement can be manifest by a clause or a sentence. Evaluation has a limited list of fillers with meanings such as ‘it is good’, ‘it is bad’, ‘it seems as though’.

One of the features of the Statement-Evaluation Sentence is the way in which the verb *le* ‘to be inanimate’ is used in the Evaluation slot, to indicate that what has been stated is apparently so or is assumed to be so. So, for the purposes of this sentence type *le* will be translated as ‘to be a apparent’.

Both the Statement-Evaluation Sentence and the Existential Verb Sentence (9.5.5) differ from the other juxtaposed sentences in that they are always and only binary.

The Statement-Evaluation Sentence also differs from all other juxtaposed sentence types, by virtue of the limited list of fillers which may expound the final base.

### Table 9.11 The Statement-Evaluation Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commentative Clause</td>
<td><em>molo</em> ‘no’ / ‘not’⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td><em>kanumu/akumu</em> ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td><em>le</em> ‘to be apparent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose Sentence</td>
<td><em>keri.le</em> ‘to be bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose Merged Sentence</td>
<td><em>kapola.naa.te</em> ‘to not be good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>imu komindi</em> ‘this (is) good’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ independent verb all verbs limited to third-person singular, and *le* to customary, present-awareness, and near-past tenses

Rules and special features:

1. When Statement is expounded by a positive statement, and *molo* ‘not’ is manifesting Evaluation, then *molo* negates what precedes it, in the same semantic sense in which the verbal negative *nau* is normally used to negate active and stative clauses.

2. When verbal negative *nau* is present in the filler of Statement, and *molo* ‘not’ is manifesting Evaluation, then the Statement is already negative and *molo* serves only to emphasize that negation, not to make it positive as it would in English.

3. All verbs occurring in the Evaluation are limited to third person singular forms, while *le* ‘to be apparent’ or ‘to look as though’ is limited as to tense, occurring only in customary, present-awareness, and near-past.

There are other possible fillers of Evaluation but the more common ones are presented in the bi-dimensional array.

Examples (79) to (82) feature *molo* ‘not’ in Evaluation.

---

⁵ A discussion of the problems associated with homophous forms of *molo* meaning ‘no’, ‘not’, or ‘or’, as well as being the stem of the verb ‘to be animate’ is to be found in the introduction to the Alternative Sentence. In the Statement-Evaluation Sentence *molo* carries the meaning of ‘no’ or ‘not’.

⁶ There is a phonological difference between *molo* used as per rules 1. versus 2. above. In written form, *molo* used as per rule 2. will be preceded by a comma to indicate this, versus no comma preceding *molo* as described in rule 1.
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Periphery Statement Evaluation

(79) Aku, Kondoli ulu-ri molo.
that European custom-a no
‘(Concerning) that, (that is) Europeans, (we have) no custom.’

Periphery Statement Evaluation

(80) Aku kongi naa koyo-ru-mulu/, molo.
that pig not steam.cook-DPST-3PL no
‘(Concerning) that (spirit) we didn't steam.cook pig (in worship to him), no.’

Statement Evaluation

(81) we no-le-mele// molo.
without.good.reason eat-ASP-CUST.3PL no
‘They don't eat (pig) without good reason.’

Example (82) is unusual in that the natural transverse of the Statement-Evaluation is actually stated, giving a Paraphrase Sentence, or double Evaluation effect.

Statement Evaluation

(82) Ou yema-ne kepe aku ulu-ri molo, ulu-ri naa te-ri-mu/.
before men-ACT also that custom-a no custom-a not do-DPST-3SG
‘The men of bygone days also (did not have) a custom (of) that (nature), (they) didn't do anything (like that).’

Example (83) has two of the possible evaluating statements combined into one Evaluation.

Statement Evaluation

(83) We ando-0-ni// kapola naa te-0-mba// le-pa-mo//.
just travel.about-FUT-2SG good not do-FUT-3SG to.be.apparent-PA-3SG
‘I have just now decided/reached the conclusion that it really wouldn’t be fair for you to just travel around (with this group of visitors without any remuneration).’

Example (84) is the Resolving Speech of a Speech Paragraph (10.4.3.2).

Statement

(84) "Nu nambemune aku.si-ku te-ke-no//-ye "Nu ‘Te-i’ ni-0-nu// you why like.that-2/3 do-PR-2SG-QU you do-QI say-PST-2SG
Evaluation kanumu.
that
‘Why are you doing like that?. You said (to) do (it) - that (is why).’

Statement Evaluation

(85) Ungu awisili ni-mbu/ mol-ko-molo// keri le-ke-mo.
talk lots say-1 stay-PR-1PL bad be-PR-3SG
‘It's bad (that) we are continually talking a lot.’
Chapter 9: Sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(86) Yembo ponenge kolea lipu.ora.si-ki-mulu ni-e-mbo//, imu komindi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person visitor place show-PR-1PL say-IMP-HORT.1SG this good</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Let me talk about us showing a visitor around, this (would be) good.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (87) and (88) fill the penultimate and final bases of a three base Coordinate Sentence with a semantic feel of expectancy reversal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(87) Kale wale engaki li-0-mu// aku-poko kapola naa te-ke-mo//</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>needle times eight take-PST-3SG that-few good not do-PR-3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘He injected (me) eight times, (but) those few (things) are not doing any good, it looks as though I will not get well.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.5.5 The existential verb sentence

The Existential Verb Sentence is a binary juxtaposed sentence with typically only an Independent Clause expounding the first base or Setting, and an Independent Clause or a Dependent Sentence expounding the second base or Event. The Independent Clause expounding Setting must end with an existential verb (4.2.1), which must be in hortative imperative tense (Table 4.2). The first base or Setting sets a time frame for the Event with the two overlapping in time, usually, though not necessarily, past time. The time overlap between Setting and Event is usually not total; the Event occurring somewhere within the time frame of the Setting.

The Existential Verb Sentence differs from all other juxtaposed sentences by virtue of the three features pertaining to the first base which have been delineated in the above paragraph. These same three features also make the Existential Verb Sentence similar to the Merged Sentences which follow (9.6) However, the Existential Verb Sentence differs from the Merged Sentences in the following ways:

1. The second base of all merged sentences is obligatorily manifest only by a predicate, whereas the fillers of the second base of the Existential Verb Sentence are not so limited.
2. There is no restriction on the final verb of the second base of the Existential Verb Sentence, but there are tight restrictions on both tense and person, as well as sometimes the type of verb, in the second base of merged sentences.
3. In the Existential Verb Sentence there is always an overlap of time between the bases, whereas, in the Merged Sentences, the events of the two bases typically occur one after the other, with future tense marking which event will be the last.

The Existential Verb Sentence occurs most commonly in narrative type discourses.

7 The Adjunct Verb Complex *waengo ni* ‘to get well’ is a Stative Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1.3) which can only occur in third person singular.
### Table 9.12 The Existential Verb Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independent Clause</strong></td>
<td><strong>Independent Clause</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dependent Sentence</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>existential verb + hortative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rules and special features:**

1. The Independent Clause in Setting obligatorily ends with an existential verb.
2. The existential verb in Setting is obligatorily suffixed for hortative tense.\(^8\)

Examples (89) and (90), having only a predicate expounding Event, are virtually identical in structure to some Merged Sentences (9.6), but the time relationship between the bases is different, as per rule 3 above. In example (89) the pig stays at the same time as the speaker leaves, but if this were a merged sentence, the action of the second base would have to take place before that of the first base.

**Setting**  
**Event**

(89)  
*Kongi-mu molo-pili// kele-po/ pu-0-ndu//.*  
pig-the be. AN-3SG.HORT leave-1 go-PST-1SG  
‘I left the pig (behind)’

Examples (90) and (91) are somewhat unusual in that the whole construction is in future time, as indicated by the verb of the Event. In (90) the soap will be in the water while the washing takes place.

**Setting**  
**Event**

(90)  
*Sopo pe-pili// kulumiye.to-0-mbo//.*  
soap be.in-3SG.HORT wash-FUT-1SG  
‘I will wash (it) with soap in the water.’

**Setting**  
**Event**

(91)  
*Supuleme ponie pu-pu/ mol(o)-a-mbili// mulu.pili-pu/ no  
S. garden go-1 be.AN-IMP-HORT. IDL rest.1 water  
no-0-mbo//.*  
drink-FUT-1SG  
‘While we two are at Supuleme garden I will rest (and) have a drink of water.’

Example (92) is an account of a sickness which two men had. Having described the symptoms the speaker goes on to say:

\[^8\] In many examples of this sentence type, especially those using *molo* ‘to.be.animate’ as the verb of Setting the hortative tense is used in an historic past sense. This will be illustrated by the examples.
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Setting   Event
(92)   Aku-ne mol(o)-a-mbili\//  oli te kolo-ru-mu\.  
that-loc be.AN-IMP-HORT.1DL moon a die-DPST-3SG  
‘While we two continued in that (condition) a month died (passed).’

Setting   Event
(93)   Pita none.teli mol(o)-a-mbo\//  te-ri-ngi\/.  
Peter be.like be.AN-IMP-HORT.1SG do-DPST-3PL  
‘They did (it) when I was about Peter’s age.’

Example (94) has a slightly different semantic sense, much like (89).

Periphery Setting
(94)   Kanu.kinie alto-po\// ye mare akili.ri-ngi\//  akume  
and.then again-1 men some come.behind-DPST-3PL those  
Event
mol(o)-a-ngi\//  olio ola-ndo-pa pu-ru-mulu\.  
be.AN-IMP-HORT.3PL we up-toward-further go-DPST-1PL  
‘And then once again leaving behind those few men who were coming behind us we went on further up toward (the top of the mountain).’

In (95) the verb *molo* is being used to indicate imperfective aspect (7.2.4) on the verb *pu* ‘to go’.

Periphery Setting
(95)   Kanu.kinie ye kanu-mu pu-pe\// molo-pili\//  koro te o-\-mbal\/.  
and.then man that-the go-3SG be.AN-HORT.3SG week a come-3SG  
pu-ru-mu\.  
go-DPST-3SG  
‘And then while that man was on his way (to that place) a week went by.’

Periphery Setting
(96)   Kanu.kinie kuli-ne kowa te lie-pili\//  naa kano-pa/-lie  
and.then grassland-LOC tunnel a be.IN-HORT.3SG not see-3SG-CON  
yu aye.te-li-pe\//  pu-ru-mu\.  
he hunt-sim-3SG go-DPST-3SG  
‘And then not seeing there was a tunnel there on the grassland he went hunting (there).’

Example (97) is from a true story about expeditions up Mt. Giluwe looking for the wild dog that used to live there. In this example the Setting seems to be embedded into the main clause, almost as just a time tagmeme. Note the use of the word *w* ‘upstream’ in a time sense.
9.6 Merged sentences

The Merged Sentences are a group of sentences with the following features in common:

1. They are always and only binary.
2. There is never any overt link between the bases.
3. There is always only an independent clause in base one.
4. Base two contains only a predicate.
5. The two bases are bound to each other phonologically.
6. There is a close association between the actions of the two bases.
7. There are often restrictions on the verb stems in the second base.
8. Tense is very restricted, especially in first base.
9. Future time is expressed by either future or hortative imperative tense in at least one of the two bases of the sentence.

Merged Sentences, because their bases are juxtaposed with no overt link between them, are, in a sense, a sub-type of Juxtaposed sentences (9.5), but because of the person and tense restrictions and minimal fillers of bases, they are handled as a separate group.

There are four Merged Sentences: the Reasoning, Imperative, Goal and Intention Merged Sentences. These four fall into two groups according to which base expresses future time as per feature 9 above. Reasoning Merged Sentence is the only one of the group which does not express future time in the first base. The other three types of merged sentence express future time in first base resulting in a result-event construction.

A discussion of the differences and similarities between some types of Merged Sentences and some types of Tight Binary Sentences (9.7.1), especially those whose first base ends with future tense, may be found in the introduction to section 9.7.1.

9.6.1 The reasoning merged sentence

The Reasoning Merged Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases are obligatory. The two bases are bound together phonologically and by their tenses, and there is no overt link morpheme. Customary tense is obligatory in first base and future tense is obligatory in second base. The semantic ‘feel’ of this sentence type is ‘because something customarily happens it will happen now’.

The Reasoning Merged Sentence differs from the Result-Event Merged Sentences (9.6.2) in the following ways:

1. The Reasoning Merged Sentence obligatorily has customary tense in the first base, and no other Merged Sentence can have customary tense in first base.
2. The Reasoning Merged Sentence obligatorily takes future tense in the second base, whereas of the other Merged Sentences only some optionally and infrequently use future tense in second base.
3. In chronological ordering of the actions the Reasoning Merged Sentence is an Event-Result Sentence, whereas all the other Merged Sentences are Result-Event Sentences.

4. Fitting to its title, the Reasoning Merged Sentence can transform to a Cause-Result Sentence, whereas the other Merged Sentences cannot, but rather they are all of a Purpose or Decision Sentence nature.

The Reasoning Merged Sentence occurs most commonly in conversation.

Table 9.13 The Reasoning Merged Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base 1</th>
<th>Base 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>Independent Predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same verb stem</td>
<td>same verb stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same person</td>
<td>same person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ customary tense</td>
<td>+ future tense</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:
1. The filler of the second base is obligatorily only a predicate.
2. Both bases obligatorily manifest the same main-verb stem.
3. Both bases obligatorily manifest the same subject person.
4. Customary tense is obligatorily affixed to the main verb of Base 1 and future tense to the main verb of Base 2.

Example (98) will be presented in its context. It is the second base of a two base Dependent Sentence (9.3.1), which is in turn the second base of a two base Sequence Sentence (9.7.5).

(98) is talking about a pet dog.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base 1</th>
<th>Base 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ope.to-0-mbo//-kinie pili-pe/-lie we o-0-mo// o-0-mba-ko. whistle-FUT-1SG-when hear-3SG-CON just come-ASP-3SG.CUST come-FUT-3SG-DEF</td>
<td>‘When I whistle (the dog) hears, and (because) he habitually just comes he will definitely come.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (99) and (100) are talking about the habits of birds in different places.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base 1</th>
<th>Base 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yakondo yando o-0-mo// o-0-mba//. towards.here back come-ASP-3SG.CUST come-FUT-3SG</td>
<td>‘(The bird) habitually comes back this way (so this is the direction) it will come.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (100) will be presented in its context. It is the first base of a Coordinate Sentence (9.5.1), which is in turn the second base of a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5).
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(100) Keko ponie pu-0-mbolo//-kinie mango-le-mele// mango-0-nge//
K. garden go-FUT-1DL-when fly-ASP-3PL.CUST fly-FUT-3PL
naa to-0-mbolo//-k(o)-a
not hit-FUT-1DL-DEF-EXP

‘When we go (to) Keko-garden (as) (the birds) are in the habit of flying (off) (so) they
will fly (away) (and) we definitely won't shoot (any).’

Finally, example (101), which is unusual in that the second base of the sentence becomes the
first base of a Goal Merged Sentence (9.6.2.2). This example is speaking about rain.

(101) o-le-mo// o-0-mba// o-ko-mo//.
come-ASP-3SG.CUST come-FUT-3SG come-PR-3SG

‘It always rains (so) it will rain (and) here it comes.’

9.6.2 The result-event merged sentences

The Result-Event Merged Sentences are so grouped because they all have future time as the
common feature of the first base (expressed by future or hortative). The significance of this use of
future tense is to indicate that the event so marked can only occur after the event of the second base
has been completed. That is, the use of future tense does not represent the actual time of the event,
but rather it signifies the chronological relationship between the two events.

The three Result-Event Merged Sentences are the Imperative Merged Sentence, the Goal
Merged Sentence, and the Intention Merged Sentence.

The ways in which the Result-Event Merged Sentences differ from the Reasoning Merged
Sentence have already been presented in the discussion on the Reasoning Merged Sentence.

9.6.2.1 The imperative merged sentence

The Imperative Merged Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases are obligatory.
The two bases are bound together phonologically and by their tenses, and there is no overt link
morpheme. The semantic ‘feel’ of the Imperative Merged Sentence is one of reasoned imperative.

The Imperative Merged Sentence differs from all other Merged Sentences in the following
ways:

1. Hortative\(^9\) tense is obligatorily suffixed to the final verb of the first base,
   whereas it cannot occur in first base of other Merged Sentences.

2. Imperative tense is obligatorily suffixed to the main verb of the second base,
   whereas it cannot occur in the second base of the other Merged Sentences.

The Imperative Merged Sentence occurs only in conversation, or within quotes.

\(^9\) Hortative is part of the imperative suffixation system on verbs; refer to Table 4.2.
Table 9.14 The Imperative Merged Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Base₁</th>
<th>+Base₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>Predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ hortative</td>
<td>any imperative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:
1. The Base₁ verb is obligatorily suffixed with hortative.
2. The Base₂ verb is obligatorily suffixed with any imperative.

Examples: The abbreviation EMP, used frequently in the following examples, stands for emphatic imperative; refer to Table 4.2 for a full chart of all imperative forms.

In examples (102) and (103) the actor of Base₂ is one of the actors of Base₁.

Base₁ Base₂
(102) P(u)-a-mbili// wa.\.
go-IMP-1DL.HORT come.2SG.EMP
‘Come, let's go!’

Base₁ Base₂
(103) Kinié p(u)-a-mbili// wele\a kan(o)-a.\.
now go-IMP-1DL.HORT quickly see-2SG.EMP
‘Find (what you're after) quickly (and) let's go now!’

In examples (104) to (106) the subject of both bases is the same, which is quite common. In example (104) the imperative form, hortative, is also the same.

Base₁ Base₂
(104) Kan(o)-a-mbo// p(u)-a-mbo.\.
see-IMP-1SG.HORT go-IMP-1SG.HORT
‘Let me go (and) see (how things are there)!’ / ‘I must go (and) see (how things are there)!’

In example (105) and (106) the subject person is the same in both bases, but the imperative form differs; hortative in first base, and emphatic imperative in second base in both cases.

Base₁ Base₂
(105) N(o)-a-ni// wa.\.
eat-IMP-2SG.HORT come.2SG.EMP
‘You may come (and) eat’
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Example (106) is part of a quote. I will present the whole context, including the Dependent Sentence into which the Quote Sentence embeds.

(106) *Yalipu kango langi kalo-pa/ panji-pe/ o-mba/ na-nndo "Langi kalo-po/
Y. boy food cook-3SG put.3SG come-3SG me-to food cook-1

Base1 Base2
panji-pu/ o-ko-ro n(o)-a-mbili// p(u)-a-mbolo// ni-ri-mu//
put-1 come-PR-1SG eat-1MP-1DL.HORT go-1MP-1DL.EMP say-1DPST-3SG
pu-ru-mbulu/.
go-1DPST-1DL

‘The Ialibu boy put food on to cook (then) came (and) said to me "I have put food on to cook (and) come (to get you so) let's go (and) eat!" (so) we went.’

In examples (107) to (110) the subjects of the two bases are entirely different.

Base1 Base2
(107) *lie-pili/// kele-a/.
be-IN-3SG.HORT leave-2 SG.EMP
‘Leave it (alone), let it be!’

In example (108) the benefactive suffix -ndo is used in something of a causative sense; compare example (57).

Base1 Base2
(108) o-pili/// to-ndo(a)-a/.
come-3SG.HORT hit-BEN-2SG.EMP
‘Hit (him) for (me) (so that) he'll come’ / ‘Hit (him) to make him come (to me)!’

Example (109) has a Merged Clause (8.3) expounding Base2.

Base1 Base2
(109) *lie-pili/// li-ku/ maku.to-ko/ nosi-e//.
be-IN-3SG.HORT take-2 SG gather.together-2 SG put-2 SG.EMP
‘Gather (them) together, put (them), (and) let (them) be!’

Base1 Base2
(110) kan(o)-a-mbo// si-e/.
look-1MP-HORT.1SG give-EMP.2SG
‘Give (it) to (me), I wan't to look (at it)!

9.6.2.2 The goal merged sentence

The Goal Merged Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases are obligatory. The two bases are bound together phonologically, by the use of the same verb stem in both bases, and
by their tenses. There is no overt link between the bases. The semantic ‘feel’ of the Goal Merged Sentence is of progression toward a goal.

The differences between the Goal Merged Sentence and the Imperative Merged Sentence have been noted in the discussion on the latter.

The Goal Merged Sentence, and the Intention Merged Sentence have these features in common:

1. The verbs of both bases will always be affixed for the same subject person.
2. Future tense is obligatory in first base.
3. Any tense other than imperative can occur in second base.
4. The verbs *te* ‘to do’ and *pu* ‘to go’ are the two verbs which occur most commonly in the second base of both sentence types.

However the Goal Merged Sentence differs from the Intention Merged Sentence in the following ways:

1. In the Goal Merged Sentence the verb stems must be the same in both bases, whereas in the Intention Merged Sentence the verb stems of each base are almost always different from each other.
2. In the Intention Merged Sentence *te* ‘to do’, *pu* ‘to go’, or *o* ‘to come’ obligatorily occur as the verb of the second base, whereas in the Goal Merged Sentence these verbs can only occur in the second base when they also occur in the first base.

### Table 9.15 The Goal Merged Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Base₁</th>
<th>+Base₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>Predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same verb + future tense</td>
<td>same verb minus imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same person</td>
<td>same person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

1. 1a. Both bases are obligatorily manifested by the same main verb, though not necessarily in the same form.
   1b. When the first base manifests an Adunct Verb Complex (6.1), only the final verb of the complex carries on into Base₂ (111).
2. The final verb of Base₁ is obligatorily suffixed with future tense.
3. The verb of Base₂ may be suffixed for any tense except imperative. It takes either the tense of the context, or embeds into a Dependent Sentence by suffixing dependent verb morphology (115).

![Example of Goal Merged Sentence](image)

Example (112) was elicited:
9.6.2.3 The intention merged sentence

The Intention Merged Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases are obligatory. There is no overt link morpheme, instead, the two bases are held together phonologically, by the occurrence of future tense in the first base, and by the use of specific verbs in the second base. The semantic ‘feel’ of the Intention Merged Sentence is that of preparing to do, intending to do, purposing to do, or being about to do, some action.

The ways in which the Intention Merged Sentence differs from the Imperative Merged Sentence are given under the Imperative Merged Sentence; and the ways in which the Intention Merged Sentence is similar to, yet differs from, the Goal Merged Sentence are given under the Goal Merged Sentence.

Table 9.16 The Intention Merged Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base1</th>
<th>Base2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>Predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>any verb</td>
<td>te ‘to do’ or motion verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ future tense</td>
<td>minus imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same person</td>
<td>same person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:
1. Any verb can occur in the predicate of Base₁ but it must be suffixed for future tense.
2. Base₂ is obligatorily only filled by te ‘to do’, o ‘to come’, or pu ‘to go’¹⁰ which verbs may be suffixed by anything except imperative tense.

3. The verb of both bases is suffixed obligatorily with the same subject person.

Examples (116) to (120) all have the verb te ‘to do’ in second base.

Example (116) represents the type of statement which is common in every-day conversation.

Base₁   Base₂
(116)  Pu-0-mbo// te-ke-ro//. 
go-FUT-1SG  do-PR-1SG 
‘I'm getting ready to go.’ / ‘I'm preparing to go.’ / ‘I'm about to go.’

Example (117) is embedded in a Dependent Sentence which is, in turn, embedded in a Narrative Cause-Result Sentence (9.7.3.3). Only a little of this context will be given with the example.

Base₁   Base₂
(117) ye komo-mo-nga menu-ni ga kalo-pa// si-0-mbe// te-pa// 
man first-born-the-POSS wife-ACT sweet.potato cook-3SG give-FUT-3SG do-3SG 
‘as the wife of the first-born man was about to give (him) the sweet potato she had cooked ...’

Example (118) is the first base of a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5).

Base₁   Base₂
(118) Wendo o-0-mbo// te-0-ndu//-kinie 
out come-FUT-1SG do-PST-1SG-when 
‘When I was about to come out ...’

Example (119) is the last base of a Dependent Sentence which gives an account of an argument between a local man and an expatriate patrol officer.

Base₁   Base₂
(119) Kondoli to-0-mba// te-ri-mu//. 
red.man hit-FUT-3SG do-DPST-3SG 
‘he made as if to hit the patrol officer’

Base₁   Base₂
(120) Oleanga Akena kinié pu-0-mbe// te-0-mu//. 
yesterday A. today go-FUT-3SG do-PST-3SG 
‘Yesterday he was intending to go to Hagen today.’

¹⁰ When the second base of the Intention Merged Sentence is expounded by te ‘to do’, the semantic ‘feel’ is one of preparing to do, intending to do, or being about to do, some action. When the second base is expounded by one of the motion verbs, the semantic ‘feel’ is one of more definite purpose.
Examples (121) to (125) all have a motion verb in second base. Example (121) is a type common in everyday usage.

Base₁   Base₂
(121) No no-0-mbo// o-ko-ro//.
water drink-FUT-1SG come-PR-1SG
‘I’ve come for a drink of water.’

Base₁   Base₂
(122) Oleanga kongi li-0-mbe// pu-0-mu//.
yesterday pig get-FUT-3SG go-PST-3SG
‘He went to get (his) pig yesterday.’

Base₁   Base₂
(123) Rambai kano-0-mbo// pu-0-ndu//.
R. see-FUT-1SG go-PST-1SG
‘I've been to see Rambai.’ / ‘I went to see Rambai.’

Base₁   Base₂
(124) Palinoli pe-0-mbolo// pu-0-mbolo//
P sleep-FUT-1DL go-FUT-1DL
‘We two will go to Palinoli to sleep.’

In example (125) the overt subject person markers are different, but the speaker is included as subject of both bases.

Base₁   Base₂
(125) P(u)-a-mbili// o-ko-ro
go-IMP-1DL.HORT come-PR-1SG
‘I am coming so we can both go.’ / ‘I'm coming, let's go’

9.7 The overt-link sentences

The Overt-Link Sentences are the final and the largest group of sentences. Each of these sentences has an overt link, either a word or an clitic, which links the bases of the sentence. Each base is expounded by an Independent Clause or a sentence whose final verb is independent. Within this group of sentences are several sub-types; the Tight Binary Sentences, the Antithetical Sentences, the Cause Result Sentences, then the Alternative, Sequence, and Comparison Sentences.

Many of the Overt-Link sentences are similar structurally and semantically to examples of the Coordinate Sentence (9.5.1). The only real structural difference being the presence or absence of an overt link. That is, in the Coordinate Sentence the bases are simply juxtaposed, whereas in the Overt-Link sentences there is an overt link. In written material, especially material with culturally unfamiliar content, native speakers overwhelmingly prefer to insert the overt link, though juxtaposition of sentence bases is very common in their own oral tradition stories.
9.7.1 The tight binary sentences

The Tight Binary Sentences are a group of four sentences which share the following features:

1. They are always and only binary.
2. Both bases are typically manifest by short, simple constructions.
3. They have tense restrictions.

In all the above ways the Tight Binary Sentences are similar to the Merged Sentences (9.6). The Tight Binary Sentences differ from the Merged Sentences in the following ways:

1. All Tight Binary Sentences obligatorily manifest an overt link, while no Merged Sentence has an overt link; their bases simply being juxtaposed.
2. The Merged Sentences are all restricted to having only a Predicate expounding second base, whereas the Tight Binary Sentences have no such restriction.

The Tight Binary Sentences are the Purpose Sentence, the Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence, the Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence, and the Contrafactual Conditional Sentence.

The first three sentences of the group have more in common with each other than they have with the fourth sentence, so they will be discussed as a grouping before they are discussed separately.

The Purpose Sentence and the Factual Conditional Sentences are a group of three sentences which share the common feature that the tense restrictions in the first base are of peculiar significance, in much the same way as in the Merged Sentences (9.6). The tenses of the first base do not represent the actual time of the event, but rather they signify the chronological relationship of the first base with the second, regardless of the tense of the second base. Thus future tense, as used in the first base of the Purpose and Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentences, indicates that this action can only occur, or be completed, after the action of the second base has been fulfilled. Near past tense in the first base, as in the Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence, signals that this action must happen before the action of the second base can happen.

9.7.1.1 The purpose sentence

The Purpose Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases are obligatory, with an obligatory link, -ndo ~ -ndu11 ‘for the purpose of’. The first base must be in future tense, signifying that this event will take place after the event of the second base, though there can sometimes be some time overlap between the bases. Purpose Sentences are typically quite short.

The Purpose Sentence and the Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence have in common that future tense is obligatory in the final verb of the first base. However, they differ in the following ways:

1. The overt link is different for each sentence type.
2. Whereas the Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence accepts any tense in the second base, there are restrictions on the tenses which may occur in the second base of the Purpose Sentence.

The Purpose Sentence is similar to the Decision Sentence in that both are binary and both can have future tense in first base. However, they differ in the following ways:

1. The Decision Sentence also commonly has hortative tense in first base, whereas the Purpose Sentence never does.

11 The Purpose Sentence link -ndo ~ -ndu is homophonous with the reference clitic meaning ‘concerning’ or ‘about’ as well as with the indirect object clitic (see 5.1.2), and the direction ‘toward’ clitic (see 4.4.5.9). Whether there is one underlying meaning which ties these four together is an, as yet, unresolved question.
2. In the Decision Sentence first base is optionally negative, but this is not an option for the Purpose Sentence.
3. The links joining the bases of the two sentence types are different.
4. The Purpose Sentence typically has the same subject person in each base, but the Decision Sentence often has different subject persons in its bases.

The Purpose Sentence is semantically similar to the Intention Merged Sentence (9.6.2.3) and the Decision Sentence (9.4.2), which both also express a type of purpose. The main semantic difference is that the Decision Sentence and the Intention Merged Sentence always express plus-control purpose, or pre-meditated purpose, while the Purpose Sentence could often be described as minus-control purpose. The examples will illustrate this. Another difference between these two sentences is that the Decision Sentence can encode negative purpose, ‘lest’, ‘so that it won’t’, whereas the Purpose Sentence always encodes only positive purpose.

Another way of viewing the Purpose Sentence is something happening in anticipation of something else happening. Many of the situations in which the Purpose Sentence is used are situations in which a conscious decision cannot be logically involved, and also when something is done as a matter of customary course for the purpose of accomplishing something else. Examples (131) - (133) illustrate this. On the other hand the Decision Sentence always encodes an action carried out on the basis of a definite and conscious decision; refer examples (44) - (47).

The Purpose Sentence typically, though not exclusively, embeds into other sentences.

Table 9.17 The Purpose Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Purpose</th>
<th>+Link</th>
<th>+Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>-ndo ~ -ndu ‘for the purpose of’ or ‘in order to’ or ‘in anticipation of’</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merged Clause</td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Simultaneous Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Simultaneous Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merged Sentence</td>
<td>Simultaneous Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>only future</td>
<td>minus imperative and hypothetical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:
1. All tagmemes are obligatory.
2. The Purpose must end with future tense.
3. The Action can be in any tense except imperative or hypothetical.
4. Dependent Sentences expounding Purpose or Action are limited to two or three clauses.
5. Purpose and Action tend to have the same subject, though this is not obligatory.
6. Morphophonemic rule 1, the high low vowel rule, applies to the choice of allomorphs of the link.

The link, which actually occurs suffixed as a clitic to the final verb of the Purpose, will be shown in examples as part of the Purpose. It will be **bolded** so as to be easily recognisable.

Examples (126) to (130) all have same subject in both bases. In examples (126) to (128) the type of purpose encoded is more that of controlled purpose, semantically similar to the Decision
Sentence (9.4.2). In examples (126) and (127) the Action must be completed before the Purpose can be realised.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(126)</td>
<td>ga maren aku-pu/ koyo-0-mbo/-ndo wendo o-0-ndu/. sweet.potato some dig.1 steam.cook-FUT-1SG-PUR out come-PST-1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I came out in order to dig (up and) steam cook some sweet potato.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(127)</td>
<td>Owa to-0-mbo/-ndo undu.si-ki-ru/. dog kill-FUT-1SG-PUR lie.in.wait-PR-1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I am lying in wait for the purpose of killing the dog.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (128) to (130), which all have motion verbs in the Purpose, have a semantic sense of doing something on the way to something else. Here there is a definite overlap in time between the two bases, yet the Purpose cannot be completed until the Action is carried out.

Example (128) has Simultaneous Action Sentences filling both Purpose and Action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(128)</td>
<td>Kinié aku-na yema aye.te-l-ku/ pu-0-ngel/-ndo owa me-l-ku/ now that-LOC the.men hunt-SIM-3PL go-FUT-3PL-PUR dog lead-SIM-3PL pu-li-me/-kinie go-ASP-CUST.3PL-when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Now, when the men go there for the purpose of hunting (possums) they take dog(s) along.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (129) is embedded in a Dependent Sentence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(129)</td>
<td>winjo pu-0-ngel/-ndo mondokolie mongo-mo kinie upstream go-FUT-3DL-PUR tree.type fruit.the and koya.mote-mo kinie manie mundu-ku/ bamboo.knife-the and down send-3DL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘as they went off in an upstream direction (the two birds) dropped the mondokolie fruit and the bamboo knife’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (130) has o-mbo/ si-li-pu/ pu-0-mbo/. K.-toward go-FUT-1SG come-FUT-1SG-PUR come-1 give-SIM-1 go-FUT-1SG.

‘As I come by on my way to Kiripia I will come and give it to you as I go.’

In examples (131) to (133) the actual subjects of the bases differ, and there is a corresponding difference in the semantic feel of the construction from examples (126) to (130) where the subjects of each base are the same. Semantically, in examples (131) to (132), the Action is a spontaneous reaction to an anticipated event which is encoded in the Purpose.
Chapter 9: Sentences

9.7.1.2 The factual conditional sentences

There are two Factual Conditional Sentences, both of which are binary, with both bases obligatory. They each have the same obligatory link - liemo ‘if’. Also, both may embed into Alternate Sentences, whereas neither can embed into Antithetical Sentences. However, they are distinct from each other on three counts:

1. The tense in the first base is different for each type of Factual Conditional Sentence.
2. The Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence can transform into the Purpose Sentence simply by changing the link from liemo ‘if’ to -ndo ‘purpose’ whereas the Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence will not so transform.
3. The Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence will transform to a Sequence Sentence, by replacing liemo ‘if’ with kinie ‘when’, and changing the tense of the first base to agree with that of the second. The context of the resulting sentence often forces the translation ‘if’ for the new construction too.

The Event-Result is by far the more common of the two Factual Conditional Sentences. Because of the phonological feature of the language that back vowels word finally in unstressed syllables following nasals are usually dropped, the link liemo ‘if’ cannot be phonologically distinguished from liemu ‘it is apparent’ which occurs in the Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4). Even though the native speakers insist that these forms differ, so we should write them differently, it could easily be construed that the meaning of liemo in this sentence type is actually something like ‘X being apparently so then Y’.

9.7.1.2.1 The result-event factual conditional sentence

The Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases and the link liemo ‘if’ are obligatory. Future tense is obligatory in the first base, indicating that the event so marked cannot occur until after the event of the second base.

The similarities and differences between the Result-Event and the Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentences are discussed above under (9.7.1.2).

The similarities and differences between the Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence and the Purpose Sentence are discussed above in the introduction to the Purpose Sentence (9.7.1.1).

Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentences typically occur in pairs as alternatives, sometimes as an Alternative Sentence (9.7.4), sometimes as an Alternate Paragraph (10.4.1.1).
Table 9.18 The Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Protasis</th>
<th>+Link</th>
<th>+Apodosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>liemo ‘if’</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Future minus hypothetical

Rules:
1. All three tagmemes are obligatory.
2. The filler of the Protasis must end with future.
3. Any tense except hypothetical is permitted in the filler of the Apodosis.
4. The Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence can be transformed into the Purpose Sentence simply by changing the link (from liemo ‘if’ to -ndo ‘purpose’).

Examples (134) and (135) occur contiguously in the same text, forming an Alternative Paragraph. The customary tense used in the Apodosis of both examples is a little difficult to translate.

Protasis Link Apodosis
(134) Konde pu-0-mbe// liemo aku opali talou-selo
new go-FUT-3SG if that tomorrow two.days.hence-the.DL
kinié ipulueli kinie we uru.pe-le-mo/.
now night and just sleep-ASP-CUST.3SG
‘If she is going to get well then she (will) just sleep tomorrow and the next day and tonight.’

Protasis Link Apodosis
(135) Kolo-0-mba// liemo aku.kinie tepa.embambo.si-li-mo// andi yembo
die-FUT-3SG if and.then bewilder-ASP-CUST.3SG there person
te mendo ni-ngu o-0-nge/.
a downstream say-2/3 come-FUT-3PL
‘If she’s going to die then it perplexes (us) (and) a person from there will come down to tell (us).’

Examples (136) and (137) together form an Alternative Sentence.
Chapter 9: Sentences

9.7.1.2.2 The event-result factual conditional sentence

The Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases and the link *liemo* ‘if’ are obligatory. Near past tense is obligatory in the first base, indicating that the event of the first base precedes the result of the second base in time.

The similarities and differences between the Event-Result and the Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentences are discussed above under 9.7.1.2.

The Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence is much more common than its counterpart the Result-Event Factual Conditional Sentence.

As it is a common way to encode the giving of instructions, the most common place for the Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence to occur is in the Exhortation Paragraph (10.4.5.3) and/or in Hortatory Discourse (11.6).

### Table 9.19 The Event-Result Factual Conditional Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protasis</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Apodosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>liemo ‘if’</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near past</td>
<td>minus past tenses and hypothetical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

1. All three tagmemes are obligatory.
2. The filler of the Protasis must end with near past.
3. Neither of the past tenses nor hypothetical are permitted in the filler of the Apodosis.

Examples (138) and (139) come from the same Hortatory Discourse (11.6).

(138) *Komu.sindi-ku/ poro-0-nu/ liemo na pape paono si-0-ni/.*

forget-2SG cut.hair-PST-2SG if me five pound give-FUT-2SG

‘If you forget (and) cut (your hair) you will (must) give me five pounds (= K10).’
Example (140) and (141) are spoken in the context of bird-hunting. The Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1), expounding the Afterthought of (140), is adverbial and would normally have preceded the verb *ni* ‘to speak’.

Example (140) and (141) are spoken in the context of bird-hunting. The Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1), expounding the Afterthought of (140), is adverbial and would normally have preceded the verb *ni* ‘to speak’.

Examples (143) to (146) occur together in pairs, each pair as two sides of an Alternative Sentence (9.7.4).

---

12 The Kaugel people sometimes communicate using ‘whistle talk’, i.e. whistling the intonation of a word or short phrase, often a greeting, or a question.
Chapter 9: Sentences

Protasis    Link    Apodosis
(144)  
\[ \text{wale poko-re mol(o)-a-mbo// pe para.lie-0-mul// liemo aku alto-pa/} \]
\[ \text{day few-a stay-IMP-HORT.1SG later reveal-PST-3SG if that again-3SG} \]
\[ \text{para.le-0-mba//aku.kinie anji-0-ngel//} \]
\[ \text{reveal-FUT-3SG-and.then stand-FUT-3PL} \]

‘If the problem shows up somewhere (in my body) again soon then he will give (me) (the sugarcane treatment) again; or if I stay (free of the problem for) a few days (and) later it shows up again then when it shows up again they will give (me the sugarcane treatment again).’

Protasis    Link    Apodosis
(145)  
\[ \text{Ga ou no-0-ngili// liemo pilesi o-ngo/ si-0-ngel//;} \]
\[ \text{sweet.potato before eat-PST-3DL if plate come-2/3 give-FUT-3DL} \]
\[ \text{molo} \]
or

Protasis    Link    Apodosis
(146)  
\[ \text{ou naa no-0-ngili// liemo o-ngo/ naa si-0-ngel//.} \]
\[ \text{before not eat-PST-3DL if come-2/3 not give-FUT-3DL} \]

‘If they have already eaten they will come (and) give (us) (the) plate(s); (or) if they have not yet eaten they will not come (and) give (us the plates yet).’

Examples (147) and (148) form, semantically, the same kind of construction, but in this instance there is no \textit{molo} ‘or’ linking the two. As they are just juxtaposed this is structurally a Coordinate Sentence (9.5.1). Free English translation of both examples follows (148).

Protasis    Link    Apodosis
(147)  
\[ \text{Lo o-0-mul// liemo naa pu-0-mbo//;} \]
\[ \text{rain come-PST-3SG if not go-FUT-1SG} \]

Protasis    Link    Apodosis
(148)  
\[ \text{naa o-0-mul// liemo pu-0-mbo//.} \]
\[ \text{not come-PST-3SG if go-FUT-1SG} \]

‘If it rains I won't go; if it doesn't (rain) I'll go.’

Finally, example (149) is a combination of the two Factual Conditional Sentences in one sentence. These two have been combined by the Apodosis of the first becoming the Protasis of the second. The two occur in the order of Event-Result followed by Result-Event, actually collapsed into Event-Result-Event.

Protasis\textsubscript{1} Link     Apodosis\textsubscript{2}
(149)  
\[ \text{Pe alto-pa/ walse kano-0-mbo// sike poro-0-nu// liemo} \]
\[ \text{later again-3SG one.day see-FUT-1SG true cut.hair-PST-2SG if} \]
\[ \text{Apodosis\textsubscript{1},Protasis\textsubscript{2}} \]
\[ \text{pape paono si-0-ni// liemo poro-i//.} \]
\[ \text{five pound give-FUT-2SG if cut.hair-POL.IMP.2SG} \]

‘If later one day I see you have really cut (your) hair again you will (must) give me five pounds (K10) (; if you give me five pounds) you (may) cut (your) hair.’
9.7.1.3 The contrafactual conditional sentence

The Contrafactual Conditional Sentence is a binary construction in which both bases are obligatory\(^{13}\). The two bases are linked together by means of hypothetical tense in both bases and the dubitive clitic \(-nj\) occurring at the end of the first base as the overt link. Almost all examples have hypothetical affixation on the main verb of both bases, but future has occasionally been found in the first base. The sense of the sentence is typically that of something which would have happened had the situation been different, and is usually, though not always, set in past time.

The Contrafactual Conditional Sentence only rarely embeds into other sentences, though it can embed into Antithetical sentences (9.7.2), and into Coordinate sentences (9.5.1) with an antithetical ‘feel’. Unlike the Factual Conditional Sentences it cannot embed into any alternative construction. It occurs most commonly expounding the Hypothetical Circumstance tagmeme at the end of Legend Discourses (11.3).

Table 9.20 The Contrafactual Conditional Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Protasis</th>
<th>+Link</th>
<th>+Apodosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>we ‘for no reason’</td>
<td>(-nj) hypothetical</td>
<td>(pap) ‘correct’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td></td>
<td>(kom) ‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Summary Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative Cause-Result S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Listing Sentence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

1. The final verb of the Protasis must be suffixed with hypothetical or, occasionally, future tense.
2. The final verb of the Apodosis is always hypothetical.
3. The Link is usually the dubitive clitic \(-nj\) ‘perhaps’. Occasionally the assertative clitic \(-mo\sim-mu\) can occur instead.\(^{14}\)

The link, which actually occurs suffixed as a clitic to the final verb of the Protasis, will be shown in examples as part of the Protasis. It will be **bolded** so as to be easily recognisable.

Examples (150) to (153) all have a present or immediate future time orientation. Examples (150) to (152) will be presented in their context to illustrate how this sentence is used in antithetical constructions.

Example (150) is the second half of a Coordinate Sentence (9.5.1), the first half of which is a Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4). The whole thing is a quote.

\(^{13}\) Although both bases are considered to be obligatory, sometimes, in conversation, only one base is expressed, as a type of rhetorical question, when the other base is clearly understood from the situational context.

\(^{14}\) The one example using \(-mo\) also has \(-mo\) suffixed to the Apodosis (161).
"We ando-0-ni// kapola naa te-0-mba le-pa-mo//; just go.about-FUT-2SG satisfactory not do-FUT-3SG be.obvious-PA-3SG

Protasis Apodosis
Kou.mone kolte li-li-na//-nje papu." ni-ri-mu//.
money a.little get-ASP-HYP.2SG-DUB proper say-DPST-3SG

"It's obvious that, for you to roam about (with us) without remuneration, would not be good. (But, on the other hand,) if you were to receive a small (payment of) money (it would be) proper" he said.'

In both (151) and (152) the contrary to fact situation is given as the first half of a Coordinate Sentence, with the actual situation as the second half, with a total meaning of expectancy reversal.

"Ya nu o-ngo// nunge kondoli kolea-re-nga
introductory.exclamation you come-2/3 your European place-a-LOC

Apodosis
mo(lo)-le-na//-nje nu kondoli awilime-ne noko-ko/
stay-ASP-HYP.2SG-DUB you European the.bigs-ACT look.after-2/3
polisi-poya-ma-ne noko-ko/ te-le-mola//. Umbu kolea-na elo
the.police.boys-ACT look.after-2/3 do-ASP-HYP.3PL local place-LOC you.2
ambo ye talo mindi o-ngo/ mol(o)-ko-mbele//-mo;
woman man two only come-2/3 stay-PR-2DL-ASS
yu komisimu-ni yu-ni noko-po/ mo(lo)-lio//-mo-ne
he=I the.committee-ACT he=I-ACT look.after-1 stay-CUST.1SG-the-ACT
nu o-mbo/ walsipu.pil(i)-ki-ru//.
"youSG come-1 ask-PR-1SG

"Ah, if you had come (and) stayed at a European place of yours the European leaders and the police would have looked after you. (But the fact is) you+2, just a married couple came (and) are staying in (this) local place, (and) I the committee who is looking after you have come asking you (to clarify this situation).’
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Protasis Apodosis

(153) "Nu kongi te pea koyo-le-na/-nje na te si-l-ke//
you pig one with steam.cook-ASP-HYP.1SG-DUB I one give-ASP-HYP.1SG
aku-mu-ni te pea si-l-ke/.
that-the-INST one with give-ASP-HYP.1SG
‘If you would give/cook another pig as well, along with that one (which) I would give I
would give another.’

Examples (154) to (159) illustrate the more typical use of this sentence type; to express what
could have been different in the past had the circumstances been different. For these examples I
will present only the illustrative sentence, excluding the context.

Protasis

(154) Aku te-ri-ndu//kene "pu-pu/ kano-p(u)-a-mbili/"
i-l(i)-ke//-nje
that do-DPST-1SG-so go-I see-go-IMP-HORT.1DL say-ASP-HYP.1SG-DUB

Apodosis
kano-pu-li-mbola//.
see-go-ASP-HYP.1DL
‘I did that so if I had said "let's go (and) see" we would have gone (and) seen.’

The Apodosis of example (155) is a question, which is also a common use of this construction.

Periphery Protasis Apodosis

(155) Nola nu to-l-ka15//-nje nu nambe-le-na//.?
N. you fall-ASP-HYP.3SG-DUB you what.do-ASP-HYP.2SG
‘Nola, if you had fallen (off the swing) what would you have done?’ (in fact she only
almost did)

Protasis

(156) Nu wale pokore pea ya mo(lo)-le-mbola//-nje
you day a.few with here stay-ASP-HYP.1DL-DUB

Apodosis
to-pu-li-mbola//-mo.
shoot-go-ASP-HYP.1DL-ASS
‘If you had been staying here with (me) several more days we two would definitely
have gone shooting (up there).’

Example (157) illustrates the use of we ‘just / for no good reason’ in the Protasis.

15 The verb to ‘to fall’, being a stative verb (4.2.3), can only occur in third person singular.
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Protasis   Apodosis
(157) \textit{We-nje naa to-le-mela//; lopa oa-selo telu-na}\n\textit{just-DUB not attack-ASP-HYP.3PL possum dog-the.DL one-LOC}\n\textit{pe-le-mbela//; lîve-ASP-HYP.3DL}\n“If (there had been) no reason they would not have attacked (them), the possum and the dog would (still) be living together.’

Examples (158) to (160) all occur contiguously in a Listing Sentence (9.5.3). In this case the link \textit{-nje} is only attached to the Protasis of the first of the three embedded sentences. The free translation is given following (160).

Protasis   Apodosis
(158) \textit{Kiliwe.Pelkepo aku-mu-ni no-l(e)-ka/-nje aku olio-ne naa}\n\textit{K.P. that-the- ACT eat-ASP-HYP.3SG-DUB that we- ACT not}\n\textit{no-le-mela// lopa olio naa no-le-mela//; kera kepe olio}\neat-ASP-HYP.1PL possum we not eat-ASP-HYP.1PL bird also we\n\textit{naa-la no-le-mela//; not-too eat-ASP-HYP.1PL}
‘If perchance Kiliwe-Pelkepo had (made a habit of) eating (possum), then we wouldn't be eating (it), we wouldn't be eating possum; neither would we be eating bird(s); if he had completely eaten (them) we would also not be eating cassowary bird, (if) he had completely eaten (them) we wouldn't be eating (them).’

Finally, in example (161) the more uncommon (in this sentence type) assertive clitic \textit{-mo} occurs on the Protasis instead of the dubitive clitic. The assertive clitic is also suffixed to the Apodosis.

Protasis   Apodosis
(161) \textit{“Lopi.te-l(e)-ka/-mo naa kano-po/ li-l(i)-ke/-mo”}\nhide-ASP-HYP.3SG-ASS not see-1 take-ASP-HYP.1SG-ASS\n‘If she had definitely hidden (the baby) I definitely wouldn't have seen (and) taken (it).’

9.7.2 The antithetical sentences

There are two Antithetical Sentences in Kaugel. They are both always and only binary, with an obligatory link. The two types are the Real Antithetical Sentence and the Unreal Antithetical Sentence.
Antithetical constructions are very rarely found in traditional oral material, because expectancy-reversal is rarely overtly expressed. In 39,000 words of (concordance) text only nine examples of the more common Real Antithetical Sentence and only one example of the much less common Unreal Antithetical Sentence were found. However, in translated written material Antithetical Sentences, especially the Real Antithetical Sentence, are much more commonly used by the native speakers, presumably because of the unfamiliar content.

The Real Antithetical Sentence and the Unreal Antithetical Sentence differ in the following ways:

1. They have different links from each other.
2. Hortative is obligatorily suffixed to the final verb of the Thesis of the Unreal Antithetical Sentence, but cannot occur in this position in the Real Antithetical Sentence.
3. The Unreal Antithetical Sentence is always short with usually only an Independent Clause filling the Thesis and usually only two (as a Coordinate Sentence), and never more than three clauses, filling the Antithesis, whereas there is virtually no restriction on the length of the Real Antithetical Sentence.
4. On the higher level, the Real Antithetical Sentence can occur in any type of discourse, whereas the Unreal Antithetical Sentence can only occur in conversation or within a quote.

9.7.2.1 The real antithetical sentence

The Real Antithetical Sentence consists of an obligatory Thesis, an obligatory Link *nalo* ‘but’, and an obligatory Antithesis.

The similarities and differences between the Real Antithetical Sentence and the Unreal Antithetical Sentence are given above under 9.7.2.

Table 9.21 The Real Antithetical Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Thesis</th>
<th>+Link</th>
<th>+Antithesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td><em>nalo</em> ‘but’</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equational Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Narrative Cause-Result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement-Evaluation S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

1. Any tense other than hortative can be suffixed to the main verb of the Thesis.
2. Any tense can be suffixed to the main verb of the Antithesis.

Examples (162) to (166) all come from one narrative discourse about climbing the 14,000' mountain behind our village. (163) and (164) are consecutive sentences, and (165) and (166) are the next consecutive sentence. In (163) it is interesting to note the use of *wi* ‘upstream’ in a time sense as well as the more common locative sense.
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Thesis Link Antithesis

(162) *kolea sulu-na, nalo koyeka pu-pu/ Londewaru pe-ri-mulu//.
place long-LOC but without resting go-1 L. sleep-DPST-1PL
‘It was a long way to go, but going on without resting we slept (at) Londewaru.’

Thesis

(163) *Ou Kondoli keapo naa o-ru-mu//-kinie wi ou
before European patrol.officer not come-DPST-3S-when upstream before
*molo-ri-ngi//-kinie ou nanga lapali ou molo-ri-ngi//-kinie
be.AN-DPST-3.PL-when before my fathers before be.AN-DPST-3PL-when

Link Antithesis

*yembo ena te-ri-mu//-ne pu-ru-mulu// nalo yembo poporome
people sun do-DPST-3SG-because go-DPST-1PL but people wind
*o-mba//lie ni-ri-mu//muni, lo o-mba/ ni-ri-mu//-muni
come-3SG-CON PTR-DPST-3SG.PTR rain come-3SG PTR-DPST-3SG-PTR
*yembo no-mba/ aku-manga kol-ko/ lie-ri-ngi//-mu yembo ombelema
people eat-3SG that-area die-2/3 be.IN-DPST-3SG-ASS people the.bones
*we wi aku-manga kuli-manga le-mo//.
just upstream that-area swamp-area be.IN-CUST.3SG

‘Before the European patrol officer came, when they were still staying upstream from
here, before when my (fore-)fathers were still alive, we people, went up (the mountain)
because the sun was shining, but (the) wind came (and) rain came (and) struck (the)
people (and) dying (their corpses) were at that place, (and) the people's bones are (still)
just lying up there in that area in the swampy grassland area.’

Examples (164) to (165) will be given in their context to provide the sense and setting for the
Antithetical Sentences.

(164) *Kinié Kondoli keapo o-ko-mol//-kinie mindi kinié ena te-pa/
now European patrol.officer come-PR-3SG-since only now sun do-3SG

Thesis

*na naa no-ko-mol//. Ya pu-li-molo//-kinie ena
me(=we.locals) not eat-PR-3SG here go-ASP-CUST.1PL-when sun

Link Antithesis

*te-le-mo// nalo lo o-mba//la te-le-mo//-mo.
do-ASP-CUST.3SG but rain come-3SG-too do-ASP-CUST.3SG-ASS

‘Now, only since the European-government-officer is come, now the sun shines (and
the wind and rain) don't strike us-locals. When we go (up the mountain from) here the
sun shines but it definitely also rains.’
(165) Ya Kondoli keapo, ya Kondoli kanumu "kiniê" talko here European patrol officer here European that today two.days ago

Thesis Link Antithesis
pu-pu/-lie "Pu-0-mbolo/ nalo lo-re o-0-mba/ go-1-CON go-FUT-1DL but rain-a come-FUT-3SG cloud-act come-3SG wi kou-mu aki.to-0-mba//".

upstream stone-the cover-FUT-3SG (note: wi koumu = ‘the mountain peak’)

'(The) European government officer, that European (who was here that is), when we (two) went (up the mountain) two-days-ago (I said) "Today we two will go (up to the peak) but it will rain (and) cloud will come cover the peak."

Thesis Link Antithesis
(166) Ena te-0-mbala// nalo pu-0-mbolo//kinie, pu-pu/ kano-0-mbolo//kinie sun do-FUT-3SG but go-FUT-1DL-when go-1 see-FUT-1DL-when 

"lo o-0-mbala//" ni-ri-ndu// mele lo laye-re lo o-mba/ "pe kupe" rain come-FUT-3SG say-DPST-1SG like rain little-a rain come-3SG later cloud ni-ri-ndu// mele kupe to-pa/ aku te-ri-mu/.

say-DPST-1SG like cloud hit-3SG that do-DPST-3SG

'The sun will shine but like I said "When we two go, as we go we two will see it will rain" it did rain a bit, (and) like I said "Later (it will) cloud (over)" it did that.'

Example (167) is from a Procedural Discourse (11.1) about making sweet potato gardens.

Periphery Thesis
(167) Aku.kinie ga-mo-nga melte, ga-mbo-re kepe and.then sweet.potato-the-REF something sweet.potato-cutting-a also ga walo-re kepe melte pea naa panji-li-molo// sweet.potato small.a also something with not plant-ASP-CUST.1PL

Link Antithesis
nalo we ga-mbo panji-pu/, lango-po pu-pu/ mundu-ne but just sweet.potato-cutting plant-1 pick.off.1 go-1 mound-LOC

mundu te-po/ ga-mbo panji-pu/ panji-li-molo mound make-1 sweet.potato-cutting plant-1 plant-ASP-CUST.1PL

‘And then concerning the sweet potato, we don't plant something (such as) a small sweet potato or anything with a sweet potato runner, but we plant just sweet potato runner(s), picking (them) off we go (and) making mound(s) we plant sweet potato runner(s) in (the) mound(s).’

Examples (168) to (172) are selected from our field notes, compiled in natural conversation sessions.

Thesis Link Antithesis
(168) Na simburumbu.to-0-ndu// nalo yu ungu-ri naa ni-0-mu//.
I touch-PST-1SG but she talk-a not say-PST-3SG

‘I touched her but she didn't respond.’
### Chapter 9: Sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thesis</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Antithesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(169) <em>Nu kano-0-ni/</em>-kinie pipili.ko-le-na/</td>
<td><em>nalo kano-ko-no</em>/</td>
<td>you look-FUT-2SG-when be.ashamed-ASP-HYP.2SG but look-PRE-2SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘When you see (naked people) you should be ashamed, but (here) you are looking (at pictures of naked people) (and are not ashamed).’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (170) is in response to the question "Are you getting the clothes clean?".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thesis</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Antithesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(170) <em>Manda nalo i kalaro-mo ingi.ni-ki-mu/</em> wendo naa o-ko-mo*/</td>
<td></td>
<td>okay but this dirt-the stuck.on-PR-3SG out not come-PR-3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘(I’m doing) all right, but this dirtiness is stuck on (and) won’t come out.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (171) answers the question "Is the water all right for washing these items? ".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thesis</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Antithesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(171) <em>No manda molo nalo lupe konde kolo-po/</em> li-pu/ kulumiye.t(o)-a-mbo*/</td>
<td></td>
<td>water suitable not but other fresh draw.1 get-I wash-Imp-Hort.1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘(The) water (is) not suitable, but let me draw (and) get other fresh (water) (and) wash (them).’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (172) and (173) were both spoken in the context of being taken to task for not sweeping the floor properly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thesis</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Antithesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(172) <em>Oleanga ando-po/</em> koro-0-ndu/* nalo nu molo-0-nu/* naa</td>
<td></td>
<td>yesterday wander.abt-I search-PST-1SG but you be.AN-PST-2SG not kano-0-ndu/* see-PST-1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I wandered about searching (for dirt) yesterday, but you were sitting (there) (so) I didn’t see (it).’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(note: both dirt and water are considered to be animate in Kaugel taxonomy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thesis</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Antithesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(173) <em>puri.me-0-ndu/</em> nalo mo(lo)-le-mo/*-nje</td>
<td></td>
<td>sweep-PST-1SG but be.AN-ASP-Cust.3SG-Dub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I did sweep but perhaps there is (still some dirt there).’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 9.7.2.2 The unreal antithetical sentence

The Unreal Antithetical Sentence consists of an obligatory Thesis, an obligatory Link *mangali* ‘but’, and an obligatory Antithesis. Semantically the Thesis of the Unreal Antithetical Sentence encodes desire or obligation to do something, while the Antithesis encodes the excuse or reason for not carrying out the desire or obligation.
The similarities and differences between the Unreal Antithetical Sentence and the Real Antithetical Sentence are given above under 9.7.2.

The Unreal Antithetical Sentence occurs only in conversation and quotes.

**Table 9.22 The Unreal Antithetical Sentence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Thesis</th>
<th>+Link</th>
<th>+Antithesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>mangali ‘but’</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merged Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rules:**

1. The main verb of the Thesis must be in hortative tense, but its meaning in this context is more desiderative or hypothetical.
2. The final verb of the Antithesis can take any tense other than distant past.
3. The Unreal Antithetical Sentence transforms to a Real Antithetical Sentence by ending the Thesis with hypothetical tense and changing the link form mangali to nalo. This transform does not change the essential meaning of the sentence.

Example (174) is the one and only example of an Unreal Antithetical Sentence to be found in our 39,000 word corpus of (concordance) text. It comes from a Bed-Time Story Discourse (11.4).

The bachelor has just told the beautiful woman that he’s going, but she responds:

(174) "Molo, p(u)-a-ni// mangali opali p(u)-a-ni//, no go-IMP-HORT.2SG but tomorrow go-IMP-HORT.2SG kinié mol(o)-a-mbili"//. today stay-IMP-HORT.1DL

"‘No, you may go but let you go tomorrow, stay here with me today!’"

Example (175) was elicited:

(175) P(u)-a-mbo// mangali siye-te-ke-mo// naa pu-0-mbo//. go-IMP-HORT.1SG but be.lazy/can't.be.bothered-PR-3SG not go-FUT-1SG

‘I should go.’ / ‘I would go.’ / ‘I would like to go but (because) I can't be bothered I won't go.’

Example (176) is similar to (175) but comes from natural conversation.
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Thesis Link Antithesis

(176) *Pea p(u)-a-mbili// mangali na siye.te-ke-mo// naa pu-ku-ru//*
with go-IMP-HORT.1DL but I/me lazy/tired-PR-3SG not go-PR-1SG
‘I would go with (you) but I’m (feeling) tired (and so) I’m not going.’

Examples (177) and (178) were also recorded in natural conversation situations.

Thesis Link Antithesis

(177) *Na andi w-a-mbo// mangali boku lo puru-0-mbe//*
I to.there come-IMP-HORT.1SG but book rain wet-FUT-3SG
na naa o-ko-ro//, nu yando w-a/.
I not come-PR-1SG you to.here come-EMP.2SG
‘I would come to (you) there (outside where it is raining) but (the) book (I’m carrying)
would get rain-wet (and so) I am not coming, you come to (me) here!’

Thesis Link Antithesis

(178) *Poko-ne te-a-mbo// mangali poko Kepa li-0-mu// lie-0-mu*
fork-INST do-IMP-HORT.1SG but fork K. take-PST-3S be.apparent-PST-3S
ki-ni te-a-mbo//.
hand-INST do-IMP-1SG
‘I would do (it) with (the) fork, but Kepa has apparently taken (the) fork (so) let me do
(it) with (my) hand(s).’

Thesis Link Antithesis

(179) *Pea p(u)-a-mili// mangali karo si.ni-0-mu//.*
with go-IMP-HORT.1PL but car crowded-PST-3SG
‘(You) could come with us but the car is full (so you can’t).’

9.7.3 The cause-result sentences

The Cause-Result Sentences are a group of three sentences which are usually binary with an
obligatory link. They all maintain the order of Cause followed by Link followed by Result.

These three sentences are the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence, the Conversation Cause-
Result Sentence, and the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence.

9.7.3.1 The imperative cause-result sentence

The Imperative Cause-Result Sentence consists of an obligatory Cause, an obligatory link, *kene*
‘so’ and an optional Result. The Imperative Cause-Result Sentence is so named because the Result
tagmeme always manifests imperative tense.

The Imperative Cause-Result Sentence differs from the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence
and the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence in the following ways:

1. The link is different.
2. Imperative tense suffixation on the final verb of the filler of the Result is
obligatory for the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence, but cannot occur at all
with the other two Cause-Result sentences.
3. The Result is optional in the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence but obligatory
in the other two Cause-Result sentences.
4. The Cause plus Link can be optionally repeated in the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence but cannot be repeated in the other two Cause-Result sentences.

The Imperative Cause-Result Sentence only occurs in conversation and quotes. The fillers of the bases tend to be short, with more than two clauses uncommon as a filler of a base.

Table 9.23 The Imperative Cause-Result Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(+Cause)</th>
<th>+Link</th>
<th>±Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>kene ‘so’</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement-Evaluation S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Imperative Merged S.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:
1. The Result tagmeme is about fifty percent optional in conversation, and is obligatory in quotes.
2. Imperative is obligatorily suffixed to the verb of the Result filler.
3. Any tense can occur suffixed to the final verb of the Cause filler, but past tense is unusual.
4. The Link kene is optional, but can occur up to two times.

Examples (180) and (181) come from the climax of a Legend Discourse (11.3) about dogs and possums.

(180) "kinié owama kinie lopama kinié unguri pe-ke-mo//-mo
today the.dogs and the.possums today a.talk be.in-PR-3SG-the

kene ni-e-mili//
say-IMP-HORT.1PL

suha w-a//
so inside-to come-QI.2PL

‘We dogs and possums have something we must talk about today so you (possums) come inside!’

(181) "Lopa pali pu-pu// to-0-mbo// kene t-a//
ppossom all go-1 attack-FUT-1SG so attack-QI.2PL

‘I will go (and) attack all (the) possums so you all attack (them)’

(182) "Ga kal(o)-a-mbo// kene nu inie ola o-ngo// molo-u//
sweet.potato cook-IMP-HORT.1SG so you on.here up come-2/3 sit-QI.2SG

‘I want to cook sweet potato so you come on up here and sit (down).’
Periphery Cause Link Result

(183) "Ango ango melte li-pu/ o-mbo/ nosi-lio// kene yunge
brother brother something get-1 come-1 have-CUST.1SG so his(=my)
ki-mu popo.to-ko/ te-ko/uru.si-nde-i/"
hand-the blow.on-2/3 do-2/3 heal-BEN-QI.2SG
‘Brother, brother!, I got something (and) coming (home) have (it) in my possession so
blow on my hand to heal it for (me)’

Examples (184) to (185) are from a conversation text.

Cause
(184) Owa me-po/ pu-pu/-lie maliepo owa-ne to-ru-mu/ kangoma pea
dog lead-I go-1-CON bird.type dog-ACT kill-DPST-3SG the.boys with

 Link Result
 pu-ru-mulu//kinie aku-ne to-ru-mu// kene kinie aku-ne
go-DPST-1PL-when that-LOC kill-DPST-3SG so now that-LOC
p(u)-a-mbili/, te andi molo-pa/ te-ke-mo/,
go-IMP-HORT.1DL one there be.AN-3SG probable-PR-3SG
‘We took the dog (once) and the dog killed a maliepo (bird) when we went with the
boys it killed (one) there so let us two go there now, there is probably one there.’

(185) is an example with the Cause tagmeme and Link occurring twice.

Cause1 Link1 Cause2
(185) Alto-pa/ andi te owa-mo-ne to-0-mba// kene kinié era-na
again-3SG there one dog-the-ACT attack-FUT-3SG so now grass-LOC

 Link2 Result
 mimi.te-ko naa mango-0-nge// kene mimi.te-ko/ kano-u/,
properly-2/3 not fly-FUT-3PL so carefully-2SG look-QI.2SG
‘Because the dog will attack one (bird) there again (and) because (the birds) will not
(be able to) fly (away) properly in (that long) grass watch closely!’

Just over half of the Imperative Cause-Result Sentences found in a conversation text (seven
sentences of a total of thirteen) were Cause plus kene only, without Result. Examples (186) and
(187) are two of those seven.

Cause Link
(186) Le-0-mba//kinie owa walsi-0-mbo// kene
be(on.the.ground)-FUT-3SG-when dog call-FUT-1SG so
‘When (the bird) settles (back on the ground) I will call the dog so (the dog can kill
it).’
There is something different about the semantic feel of example (187). It is almost as though the Reason is given before the Cause, with the Link last. However, language speakers would not allow for a re-ordering of the tagmemes.

**(187)**

\[ \text{Kinié nu inie angili-e///; na windine} \]

now you here stand-QI.2SG I a.little.way.in.an.upstream.direction

\[ \text{pu-pu// kan(o)-a-mbo/// kene} \]

go-1 see-IMP-HORT.1SG so

‘Now you stand here!; I am going a little way upstream to see (if there's a bird there) so (you stand here).’

### 9.7.3.2 The conversation cause-result sentence

The Conversation Cause-Result Sentence is a binary construction consisting of an obligatory Cause, an obligatory Link -*na ~ ne* ‘because’, and an obligatory Result. The Conversation Cause-Result Sentence is one of a group of three Cause-Result Sentences. The other two are the Imperative and Narrative Cause-Result Sentences. The Conversation Cause-Result is so named because it occurs only in conversation or quotes.

The differences between both the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence and the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence and the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence are listed under the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence.

The features which the Imperative and the Conversation Cause-Result Sentences have in common are:

1. They are both used only in conversation and quotes.
2. The fillers of the bases of both types tend to be short; one or two clauses being most common.
3. The Cause tagmemes of both sentence types tend to use tenses other than distant past.

The Conversation Cause-Result Sentence differs from the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence in the following ways:

1. The link is different.
2. The Cause tagmeme of the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence hardly ever uses distant past tense, while the Cause tagmeme of the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence hardly ever uses any tense other than distant past.
3. The Conversation Cause-Result Sentence occurs only in conversation and quotes, while the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence occurs only in narrative type discourses.

---

16 See under 4.4.7 for a description of how this morpheme is used in the formation of the word *nambemune* ‘why’, which is now a fused form.
Table 9.24 The Conversation Cause-Result Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>+Cause</th>
<th>+Link</th>
<th>+Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>-na ~ -ne ‘because’</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement-Analysis S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Preparation Merged S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternate Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minus imperative</td>
<td>minus imperative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>± interrogative</td>
<td>± interrogative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:
1. Any tense except imperative is allowed in the suffixation of the final verb of both the Cause and the Result, however distant past is rare.
2. Interrogative words, affixation, or intonation occur quite commonly.
3. Morphophonemic rule 1, the high-low vowel rule, applies to the choice of the allomorphic variants of the link morpheme.

Examples: It makes better sense in the English translation to put the link word first, or even sometimes, as in examples (188) and (189) the ordering Result-Link-Cause makes the best sense in the English, while still representing the sense of the source language faithfully.

Example (188) closes off a very short "report", and states why the speaker gave the report.

Cause
(188) *Olto ungu ni-ki-mbulu/-mu-nge na Ropete-ne walsipe.pil(i)-ki-mu/**
we.two talk say-PR-1DL-the-REF me Robert-ACT ask-PR-3SG

Link Result
ne ni-ki-ru/**.
because say-PR-1SG
‘I am saying (this) because Robert asked me (what) we two (my father and I) were speaking about.’

Example (189) is interesting in that the Result tagmeme of (or perhaps even the whole of) the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence becomes in turn the Cause tagmeme of an Imperative Cause-Result Sentence. The whole construction is the last sentence of a quote.

Cause
(189) *Enono pule.te-0-ngi//=lie-0-mu//= ne ni-ki-mulu/**
you.yourselves work.sorcery-PST-2PL be.obvious-PST-3SG because say-PR-1PL

Link of-ICR Result of-ICR
kene ni-e/** ni-ri-ngi//=
so say-QL.2PL say-DPST-3PL
‘"We are speaking (up) because it is obvious/apparent you yourselves did (the) act of sorcery, so speak (up)!’ they said.’
Examples (190) and (191) are both embedded in an Alternative Sentence (9.7.4). The whole construction is a question from a conversation based on a narrative about sickness. The free English for both examples is given following 191.

**Cause**

(190) "*Melte langi-ri melte keri-ri langi aku.si-ku/ no-le-mele//* something food-a something bad-a food like.that-2/3 eat-ASP-CUST.2PL

**Link**

na te-le-moi/, molo

**Result**

because do-ASP-CUST.3SG or

(191) *mele nambolka-re no-le-mele// na eno kuru-mu* thing what-a eat-ASP-CUST.2PL because you.PL spirit-the
to-le-mo//ye" strike-ASP-CUST.3SG-QU

"What food or something or some bad food do you eat like that that causes it to do that, or what do you eat that causes the spirit to strike you / causes you to become sick?"

Example (192) is an explanatory comment, by the local medicine-man, also related to the same narrative about sickness. The structure is certainly Cause-Result, but the semantic feel is more like expectancy-reversal. This example is also interesting in that the Cause is expounded by an Imperative Cause-Result Sentence. I will present this example in its context, highlighting the Imperative Cause-Result link *kene* 'so'.

**Cause**

(192) *Kinié doketa yembo o-ngo/-lie "Kinié doketa now modern.medical people come-2/3-CON now doctor mol(o)-ko-molo//kene misi o-mba// te-pa/-lie" be.AN-PR-1PL-so Lutheran.mission come-3SG do-3SG-CON*

**Link**

na-ndo "manie p(u)-a-ni//" ni-ki-mili// ne "Nanga nanu me-to down go-IMP-HORT.2SG say-PR-3.PL because my I.myself kongono te-ri-ndu//mu te-0-mbo//" ni-lio//.

**Result**

work do-DPST-1SG-the do-FUT-1SG say-CUST.1S

‘Now (the) modern medical people have come and because they are saying to me "We doctors are now here and (the) Lutheran mission having come is working so, "You may go out of action!". I say "My work which I alone did I will (continue to) do".’

Example (193) is short and straight-forward, but unusual in that distant past tense occurs in the Cause.

**Cause**

(193) *Kolea sulu oroko lie-ri-mu// ne naa pu-ru-mbulu/>. place long long.way be-DPST-3SG because not go-DPST-1DL*

‘Because (the) place was a long long way away we two didn't go.’
Examples (194) and (195) are from our field notes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(194) No waka. ke-mo/</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>o-ko-ro/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>thirst-PR-3SG</td>
<td>because come-PR-1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I've come because (I'm) thirsty.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(195) Lapa pu-0-mu/</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>kola. te-ke-mo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>her.father</td>
<td>go-PST-3SG</td>
<td>because cry-PR-3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘She is crying because her father has gone.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 9.7.3.3 The narrative cause-result sentence

The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence is a binary construction, consisting of an obligatory Cause, an obligatory Link and an obligatory Result. Several different words expound the Link tagmeme, all with slightly different meanings, but the structure is the same.

The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence is one of a group of three Cause-Result Sentences. The other two are the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence and the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence.

The differences between the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence and the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence have been listed under the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence.

The features which differentiate both the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence and the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence from the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence have been given under the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence.

Other ways, not previously mentioned, in which the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence differs from both the Imperative Cause-Result Sentence and the Conversation Cause-Result Sentence are as follows:

1. Narrative Cause-Result Sentences tend to have long fillers in the bases, frequently embed in Sequence Sentences, and frequently have Sequence and other sentences embedded within their bases, whereas the other two are typically short, and embed far less frequently.
2. The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence can always transform to a Sequence Sentence without any change in structure except to change the link between the bases, though of course the meaning does change a little. The other two Cause-Result Sentences can only so transform sometimes.

However, the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence does differ from the Sequence Sentence in the following ways:

1. The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence is much more limited than the Sequence Sentence, in the tenses which can occur in the first base.
2. The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence is limited to two bases, but the Sequence Sentence has no such limit.
3. The Sequence Sentence is distributed in a wider range of paragraph and discourse types than the Narrative Cause-Result Sentence.
The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence is so named because it occurs most commonly in Narrative Paragraphs (10.4.2.1) and narrative type discourses, i.e. Narrative (11.5), Legend (11.3) and Bed-Time Story (11.4) discourses.

Table 9.25 The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>( kulu ) ‘because’[^{17}]</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>(-mu-nge) ‘the-REF’</td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase Sentence</td>
<td>( aku-mu-nge) that-the-REF</td>
<td>Paraphrase Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
<td>( kanu-mu-nge) that-the-REF</td>
<td>Comparison Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Statement-Evaluation S.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[^{17}\]\textit{kulu} is used only in the Kala dialect of Umbu-Ungu.

Rules:
1. Past tense morphology is obligatorily suffixed to the main verb of the Cause.
2. Any tense may suffix to the main verb of the Result, though past tenses are most common.
3. The ways the different links are used will be illustrated by the examples.
4. The \(-mu\) and \(-nge\) are clitics, singular definite article and referent respectively.
5. The Narrative Cause-Result Sentence will transform to the Sequence Sentence if \textit{kinie} ‘when’ is used in place of \textit{kulu} ‘because’, except on rare occasions when non-past tenses are used in Result.

Examples (196) to (203) feature the use of the link \textit{kulu}.

Examples (196) to (198) all consist of, or are part of, the first sentences of Narrative Paragraphs (10.4.2.1), and all begin with the same paragraph introducer \textit{Kanu-kinie} ‘And then’.

(196) \textit{Kanu-kinie ungu-ri bekim.te-pa/ naa ni-ri-mu/ kulu li-pe/ me-mba/ and.then talk-a answer-3SG not say-DPST-3SG because take-3SG carry-3SG me-ndo o-\text{mba}/ ya o-\text{mba}/ na aku-kinie sitoa ulke downstream-toward come-3SG here come-3SG I that-time store building kere.pulu-na molo-ru-ndu/-kinie na "nu ungu-ri ni-\text{e-mbo}/ entrance-LOC be.AN-DPST-1SG-when me you talk-a say-IMP-HORT.1SG o-u/" ni-ri-mu/}. come-OL.2SG say-DPST-3SG

‘And then, because he didn’t give (him) an answer he took (the item) (and) carrying (it) (and) coming in a downstream direction he came here (and) as I (at) that moment was at (the) store entrance he said to me "Come (here and) let me tell you something!“’

It is not really clear in examples (196) and (197) just how much of what follows the Link is in fact the Result of the Cause.
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Periphery Cause Link Result
(197) Kanu-kinie tata naa o-ru-mu// kulu yu pu-pe/ pe-pu-pe/ and.then Dad not come-DPST-3SG because he go-3SG sleep-go-3SG Mande-kinie kongono te-pa/ wendo o-mba/ tata "pili-e-pili//" Monday-when work do-3SG out come-3SG Dad hear-IMP-HORT.3SG ni-mbe/ ni-ri-mu/ lie-0-mu/. say-3SG say-DPST-3SG be.apparent-PST-3SG 'And then, because Dad didn't come, going (off) (the man who was waiting for Dad) went (and) slept, (and) (on) Monday (he) worked (and) coming out (from where he works to where we are) deciding (that) Dad should hear (about the matter) apparently did tell (him) (about it).'

Example (198) is the second half of a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5) I will present it in that context.

(198) Kanu-kinie Kaoa-ne li-pe/ ne mundu-pe/ kangulu-pe/ 'ka.si-0-mbo//' and.then K.ACT take-3SG nearby send-3SG embrace-3SG arrest-FUT-1SG Cause ni-mbe/ te-0-mu//-kanu.kinnie lou kanu-mu kulu.to-pa/ manie-ndo say-3SG do-PST-3SG-and.then axe that-the withdrew-3SG down-toward Result li-0-mu// kulu Kaoa-nga palambe aku-mu pule.to-mu//. take-DPST-3SG because K.-POSS thigh that-the slashed-3SG ‘And then, Kaoa taking (the man) (and) forcing (him) away (from where he was attacking his wife) (and) getting his arms around (the man) having decided to arrest him (proceeded to) do (so) and then because (the man) withdrawing that axe took (it) downwards (from under his bark belt) that upper leg of Kaoa's got slashed.’

Example (199) is an unusually short and non-complex example from a story about the whys and wherefores of spirit worship. The Cause is expounded by an Independent Clause, while the Result is expounded by a Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4).

Cause Link Result
(199) Ga pe o-ru-mu// kulu kongi naa koyo-ru-mulu//, molo. sweet.potato later come-DPST-3SG because pig not sacrifice-DSPT-1PL no ‘We did not sacrifice (a) pig, no, because the sweet potato grew (again) later.’

Example (200) illustrates an unusual feature of how verbs of perception are used with the kulu link. Although the verb of perception always follows the link, the English translation must make it precede the link. Example (200) and (201) come from the same Legend Discourse about dogs and possums.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (200) no waka.lie-ri-mu/ // kulu pili-pe/-lie no no-0-mba-ndo | // | //
| water thirst-DPST-3SG because perceive-3SG-CON water drink-FUT-3SG-PUR | andi lisi-pe/ // o-mba/ no kelo-na manie pu-ru-mu//. | //
| there run-3SG come-3SG water bank-LOC down go-DPST-3SG | ‘Because he felt thirsty he came running (and) went down to the bank of the creek to have a drink of water.’ |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(201) owa-mo-ne no no-mba/ pili-pe/-lie songo.te-ri-mu// kulu</td>
<td>dog-the-ACT water drink-3SG perceive-3SG-CON be.tasty-DPST-3SG because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinié aku te-ri-ngi// lopa bulu.balo.ni-ri-mu// lopa kinié,</td>
<td>now that do-DPST-3PL possum to.be.scattered-DPST-3SG possum with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owama-ne aku te-ri-ngi// mele kinié yando yando lopa owama-ne</td>
<td>the.dogs-ACT that do-DPST-3PL-like now to.here to.here possum the.dogs-ACT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to-ko-mele//.</td>
<td>kill-PR-3PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Because the dog having tasted (the) water (found) it was tasty, now, (the dogs) did that, (the) possums were scattered, now, like the dogs did that with the possums (so) now, ever since then, the dogs are killing possum.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (202) and (203) incorporate the link *mu-nge* ‘in reference to the’. Both are from a short discourse spoken to my husband about initial impressions to his coming into the Kaugel area..

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(202) &quot;Nu kondoli kumbi.keremu le-mo/&quot; ni-mbu/ kano-po/ lsi-0-ndu//</td>
<td>you red face be-CUST.3SG say-1 see-1 take-PST-1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mu-nge ni-ri-ndu/&gt;. &quot;Kinié nanga kolea-na kuru avil-si wendo o-ko-mo/&gt;.&quot;</td>
<td>-the-REF say-DPST-1S now my place-LOC spirit big-a out come-PR-3S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Because I found you did in fact have a white face I said (to myself) ”Now an important spirit is come to my place.”’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(203) Nu koro o-ru-nu kanu-mu ulke tako-ndo-ru-mulu// -mu-nge</td>
<td>you before come-DPST-2SG that-the house build-BEN-DPST-1PL -the-REF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Result</td>
<td>kou.mone avili si-ri-nu olio lsi-mulu/&gt;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>money big give-DPST-2SG we took.DPST-1PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘On account of (= Because of) that coming of yours before, and us building you a house, you gave us a lot of money (and) we took (it).’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (204) incorporates the link *kanu-mu-nge* ‘in reference to that specific, though remote (in time or place), event.’ Example (204) is part of a very complex Sequence Sentence, with several
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other sentences embedded also. The text is about fighting; the immediate context about allies and enemies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>munge opa-mo alipim.te-ri-ndu/ kanu-mu-nge na kol(o)-ko-ro// kene...</td>
<td>your fight-the help.DPST-1SG that-the-REF I die-PR-1SG so...</td>
<td>‘Because I (speaking for his clan) helped with your fight I am dying, so...’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The speaker then goes on to list those of his clan who have died in the fighting and requests compensation from his ally.

Example (205) incorporates the link aku-mu-nge ‘in reference to that specific (event)’. It is from a text about spirit worship.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opule-ma yando o-ngo/ eno wanie18 kumbili.le-ko/ clan.name-the.PL here-to come-2/3 they hat be.first-2/3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pako-ri-ngi// aku-mu-nge eno-ne &quot;ulu-ri naa te-ke-mele, molo.&quot; put.on-DPST-3PL that-the-REF they-ACT action-a not do-PR-3PL no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-ngu/ olio iri19 taki.teki to-0-ngi// say-2/3 us scold constantly hit-PST-3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Because the Opule (clan men) put (their) head-covering on first they came here scolding us all the time saying: "You can't do anything (related to the spirit worship), no.”’

Examples (206) to (208) are all part of a rather long, though not overly involved, sentence from a text about the introduction of the payment of head tax, and the marking of borders in order to do so. It incorporates both -mu-nge and aku-mu-nge. The free English translation for all three examples will be presented following example (208).

18 wanie is a special type of head-covering worn only in relation to spirit worship.

19 iri + to is an Adjunct Verb Complex (6.1) meaning ‘to scold’. In this example the adverb taki-teki constantly comes between the adjunct iri and the verb tongi.
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(206) *Aku ni-ri-mu/-mu-nge wele-ke-ndo pu-pe no Pokorapulu*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that say-DPST-3SG</td>
<td>-the-REF dir-at-to</td>
<td>go-3SG water P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owe.panji-pee/-lie ni-ri-mu//-muni me-ndo yembo ou</td>
<td>mark.border-3SG-CON PTR-DPST-3SG-PTR</td>
<td>DIR-to people before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takis.to-pa.lsi-uu/-kinie</td>
<td>collect.tax.DPST-3S-when</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(207) "*olio winjo Nu Gini yembo ni-ri-mu aku-mu-nge ou takis we upstream New Guinea people say-DPST-3SG that-the-REF before tax naa to-ru-mulu/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not pay-DPST-1PL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(208) *we molo-ru-mulu/-mu-nge "eno" ni-ngu/ "suku.ruku naa te-a-y(o)-a//".*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>just be.AN-DPST-1PL -the-REF them say-2/3 tear.apart not do-IMP-POL-EXP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because he (the patrol officer) said that (about Papua and New Guinea) he went to a particular spot across (country from here) and marked a border at Pokorapulu creek then collected taxes from (the) people downstream (from there - Papua) first then because he called us upstream (from there) "New Guinea people" we did not pay tax at first (but) because we just stayed (not paying taxes) they (the Kaugel people on the Papuan side) said: "Don't tear them away (from us)!"

Note: Because the referent clitic -nge is homophonous with the possessive clitic, and one allomorph of the locative clitic, examples of the Narrative Cause Result Sentence which incorporate the referent clitic -nge in the Link, can be virtually identical in structure to the Embedding Phrase (7.8.2), the Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.3), and the Locative Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.2), when these phrases have sentences embedded in them. The difference can really only be picked up semantically, and by the fact that, in the case of the phrases, they are expounding tagmemes on the clause level, not the sentence or paragraph level. Because of this structural similarity I will present below one example of each of these phrase types, in context.

Example (209) is of an Embedding Phrase (7.8.2).

(209) *Kapisi koyo-0-ngi// aku-mu-nge mare no-mbo/ molo-ru-mulu/.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cabbage steam.cook-PST-3PL that-the-of some eat-1 stay-DPST-1PL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘We were eating some of that cabbage they had steam cooked.’

Example (210) is of a Possessive Axis-Relator Phrase (7.9.3).

(210) *andi ye me-ngo/ pu-ku-mbili/-mu-nge malo pea pu-ku-mbili/.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>there man carry-2/3 go-PR-3DL-the-POSS son with go-PR-3DL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘the son of the man whom they two there are carrying (past on a stretcher) is going with him.’

Example (211) is of a Locative Axis Relator Phrase (7.9.2).
Chapter 9: Sentences

(211) Ama ulke kolo-ru-mu/-mu-nge na me-ngo, ulke nendi i-mu-nge
mum house die-DPST-3SG-the-LOC me bear-2/3 house nearby this-the-LOC
me-ri-ngi/. bear-DPST-3PL
‘They bore me in the house where Mum died, in this nearby house they bore me.’

9.7.4 The alternative sentence

The Alternative Sentence has two obligatory bases. When molo ‘or’ occurs linking these two bases a third base is an optional extra, with molo ‘or’ also linking the second and third bases, and with a third molo obligatorily following the third base. The Alternative Sentence often encodes an ‘either or’ or a ‘whether or not’ semantic feel.

Because molo ‘no’, which has the same form as molo ‘or’, can occur in the second base of the Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4), it makes these two sentence types similar. However, they differ in the following ways:

1. In the Alternative Sentence molo ‘or’ functions as a link between the bases, whereas in the Statement-Evaluation Sentence molo ‘no’ expounds the second base of the sentence.
2. In the Alternative Sentence a second base obligatorily follows at least the first occurrence of the link molo ‘or’, whereas when molo ‘no’ occurs in the Statement-Evaluation Sentence it is only optionally followed by another juxtaposed statement.
3. The two sentences are phonologically different.20
4. The meaning of the morpheme molo is different in each type.
5. The two sentence types differ in meaning.

The way the dubitive clitic -nje (5.2.2) is used in the Alternative Sentence is unique. Usually it attaches to the end of any utterance to make what precedes it dubious or a query. As such it is never used twice in any sentence, and has no higher level grammatical function. However, when the dubitive clitic -nje occurs as the only link between the two bases of an Alternative Sentence it obligatorily occurs at the end of both bases.

The use of -nje as a link in the Alternative Sentence makes this sentence type similar to the Contrafactual Conditional Sentence (9.7.1.3), which also uses this clitic as a link. However these two sentences differ in the following ways:

1. In the Alternative Sentence, when the link molo ‘or’ is not present, the clitic -nje must occur after the second base if it occurs after the first, whereas in the Contrafactual Conditional Sentence it occurs only after the first base.
2. The use of Hypothetical Aspect is obligatory in the verb of the bases of the Contrafactual Sentence whereas it is only rarely used in the Alternative Sentence.
3. The Alternative Sentence also uses the link molo ‘or’, but the Contrafactual Conditional Sentence never uses this word as a link.

When there are two Alternatives linked by molo ‘or’ the Alternative sentence is only distinguishable from the Alternative paragraph (10.4.1.1) phonologically. In the case of the sentence the two bases are straight alternatives, uttered as a single phonological unit; in the case of

---

20 molo ‘or’ is spoken in a mono-tone with virtually no stress and intonationally leads into the next base of the Alternative Sentence. On the other hand molo ‘no’, as used in the Statement-Evaluation Sentence, has strong word-initial stress, and obvious pause after it is spoken.
the paragraph a statement is made as a single phonological unit followed by a pause, and then an
alternative possibility, introduced with _Molo_ ‘Or’ is presented as the next sentence.

The Alternative Sentence has been found in a variety of texts, but is comparatively infrequently
used. Examples are especially hard to find in non-embedded form.

### Table 9.26 The Alternative Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>+Alternative₁</th>
<th>±Link</th>
<th>+Alternative₂</th>
<th>±(+Link)</th>
<th>+Alternative₃</th>
<th>+Link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td><em>molo</em> ‘or’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equational Clause</td>
<td><em>molo</em> ‘or’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td><em>molo</em> ‘not’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase Sentence</td>
<td><em>pea</em> ‘all’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>we</em> ‘just’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ne ~ -nje</td>
<td>‘either’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘or’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘whether’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘or not’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Rules:

**a) concerning -ne and -nje.**

1. When _-ne_ and/or _-nje_ are used the construction can only be binary.
2. _-ne_ and _-nje_ are clitics, which suffix to the last word of the filler of the base.
3. _-ne_ or _-nje_ seem to be freely fluctuating in this construction, with a preference for _-ne_.
4a. The translations ‘either’ and ‘or’ only apply as a unit meaning ‘either.....or’,
    and only when _-ne_ or _-nje_ are attached to both bases and both bases are positive.
4b. The translations ‘whether’ and ‘or not’ only apply as a unit meaning
    ‘whether…..or not’, and only when _-ne_ or _-nje_ are attached to both bases; the
    first base being positive and the second negative.
5. When either _-ne_ or _-nje_ attaches to both bases _molo_ is optional, and usually
does not occur.
6. When _-ne_ or _-nje_ are only used on the first base then _molo_ ‘or’ must link the
two bases.
7. The combinations possible in using _-ne_ and _-nje_ are _-ne…-ne, -ne… -nje,
    _nje… -nje_, but NOT _-nje… -ne_.

**b) other rules:**

8. An Alternative Sentence can have either two or three Alternatives.
9. When there are only two Alternatives, one is typically positive and the other negative.
10. When more than two alternatives occur they will be either all positive or all negative, and EACH alternative is followed by _molo_, including the last.
11. When a single word manifests the second alternative, no further alternatives are permitted.
12. The use of _molo_ ‘not’ as the second Alternative makes the sentence
    interrogative in meaning, however the interrogative clitic, _-ye_, does not attach
to the Alternative Sentence except when it is in a quote.

When _-ne_ or _-nje_ occur in the examples they will be bolded for easy recognisability.
Example (212) is an example of an Alternative Sentence as a quote, with the interrogative clitic suffixed to it.

```
Alternative1 Link Alternative2
(212) "Aku.si-ku/ ulu te te-le-mele molo naa te-le-mele/-ye"
like.that-2/3 action a do-ASP-CUST.3PL or not do-ASP-CUST.3PL-QU
ni-ki-mu/.
say-PR-3SG

‘He is asking "Do they do an activity like that or do they not?"’
```

Examples (213) to (215) have only a single word expounding Alternative2.

(213) is the second half of a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5), all of which will be given for the sake of good sense.

```
Alternative1 Link
(213) Mote-mo to-le-mele//kinie ungu-ri kepe ni-li-mo// molo
arrow-the fire-ASP-CUST.3PL-when sound-a also say-ASP-CUST.3SG or
molo not

‘When they fire the mote-arrow does it also make a noise or not (when it strikes the victim)?’
```

```
Alternative1 Link Alternative2
(214) "Nu-ni kapola na li-ku.tapondo-0-ni// molo molo"
you-act able me help- FUT-2SG or not say-PST-3SG
ni-0-mu/.

‘He says "Are you able to help me or not?"’
```

```
Alternative1 Link Alternative2
(215) Ungu mare alto-ko/ ni-0-ni//-njie molo pea.
talk some again-2/3 say-PST-2SG-DUB or all

‘Have you got anything further to say or (is that) all?’
```

Example (216) has -njie suffixed to the end of Alternative2 in its usual use as a dubitive clitic, giving the whole construction an element of doubt or query.

```
Alternative1 Link Alternative2
(216) pu-ku/ pote li-pu-li-mele// molo we mo(lo)-le-mele//-njie
go-2/3 post get-go-ASP-CUST.3PL or just stay-ASP-CUST.3PL-DUB

‘Are they going to get posts or are they hanging about doing nothing perhaps.’
```

Examples (217) and (218) use dubitive clitics on both Alternatives and manifest the Link molo as well.
Chapter 9: Sentences

Example (217) uses -ne and -nje according to rule 4a above. It is talking about the coming of bird season.

Alternative₁ Link Alternative₂
(217) No waru-kundu paa o-ko-mo//-ne, molo konde popilie-kondo
water ravine-at very come-PR-3SG-either or bush tree.type-at
paa o-ko-mo//-nje
very come-PR-3SG-or
‘Either (the bird season) has really come at the ravine, or perhaps it has really come at the stand of popilie trees.’

Examples (218) to (220) use -ne or -nje according to rule 4b above.

Example (218) is embedded as the Result of an Event-Result Conditional Sentence. I will present the whole construction. It is from a text about expeditions to look for wild dogs on Mt. Giluwe.

Alternative₁ Link
(218) Ye kondoli-me-ne kano-0-ngi//-liemo kano-0-ngel//-nje molo
man European-the.PL-ACT look-PST-3PL-if see-PST-3PL-either or
Alternative₂
naa kano-0-ngel//-nje, akumu naa pil(i)-ki-ru//.
not see-FUT-3PL-or that not know-PR-1SG
‘If the white men looked (for it) whether they would see it or whether they would not see it, that I don’t know.’

Examples (219) to (221) use -ne and or -nje without molo.

Examples (219) and (220) are both from the same sentence, from a text about spirit worship in relation to gardening. The free English for both will be presented following (220).

Alternative₁ Alternative₂
(219) ga o-mba//-lie pu-0-mbe//-ne naa pu-0-mbe//-ne nimbu.pili-pu/,
sweet.potato come-3S-CON go-FUT-3S-either not go-FUT-3SG-or wonder-1
Alternative₁ Alternative₂
(220) amu o-mba//-lie to-0-mba//-ne naa to-0-mba//-ne nimbu.pili-pu/
pandanus.palm come-3SG-CON bear-FUT-3SG-either not bear-FUT-3SG-or wonder-1
‘(Having made gardens and planted sweet potatoes and pandanus palms) we wonder whether the sweet potato growing will reproduce or will not reproduce, (and) we wonder whether the pandanus palms growing will bear (nuts) or whether they will not bear (nuts).’
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Alternative₁

(221) Nanga amu pinere andumu wa no-0-ngi//-ne
my pandanus.nut innards that steal eat-PST-3PL-either

Alternative₂

nambe-0-ngi//-nje.
what.do-PST-3PL-or

‘That pandanus nut innards of mine have they stolen it or what have they done?’

Finally, example (222) has three Alternatives in a listing type construction. It is part of a Sequence Sentence from a text on reasons for worshipping spirits.

Alternative₁  Link₁  Alternative₂

(222) yembo te, ambolango te kurutolo-le-mo//21  molo ambo te
person a child a become.sick-ASP-CUST.3SG or woman a

Link₂  Alternative₃  Link₃

ko(lo)-le-mele//  molo ye anda te kele-pa/  ko(lo)-le-mo//  molo
die-ASP-CUST.3PL or man old a leave-3 SG die-ASP-CUST.3SG or

‘(something happens to) a person; a child gets sick or a woman dies or an old man leaving (this life) dies...’

9.7.5 The sequence sentence

The Sequence Sentence consists of an obligatory Base₁, one or two optional Base₂’s, and an obligatory Base₃. The bases are all obligatorily linked by one of the sequence connectives (4.4.9.2), or one of the two connective complexes (6.2.6). The Sequence Sentence is considered different from those other overt link sentences with which it might otherwise be considered suspect because the links are different and the Sequence Sentence can have more bases than any other similar structure is permitted to have.

The Sequence Sentence can occur virtually anywhere, in any type of discourse, but is most common in narratives, both history and fiction. It is the most common sentence type in Narrative Paragraphs (10.4.2.1). The longer Sequence Sentences tend to occur towards the end of a narrative as a type of summary sentence wherein the whole narrative is reviewed in one long sentence. Within the body of a story this sentence type will usually have only two or sometimes three bases.

There is a structural and semantic similarity between the Sequence Sentence and the Dependent Sentence (9.3.1). Structurally both of these sentences have many bases, compared to the more common two or three bases of other sentences. The major difference between the two is that the Dependent Sentence has same person (and tense) in every base, whereas, in the Sequence Sentence, person (and/or tense) change from base to base.

21 to become sick literally means ‘spirit strikes’
Chapter 9: Sentences

Table 9.27 The Sequence Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Base₁</th>
<th>+Link</th>
<th>± (+Base₂)</th>
<th>+Link</th>
<th>+Base₃</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ind. Cl.</td>
<td><em>kinie</em> ‘when’</td>
<td>Ind. Cl.</td>
<td><em>kinie</em> ‘when’</td>
<td>Ind. Cl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep. S.</td>
<td><em>aku</em>.<em>kinie</em> ‘and then’</td>
<td>Dep. S.</td>
<td><em>aku</em>.<em>kinie</em> ‘and then’</td>
<td>Dep. S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purp. S.</td>
<td><em>kanu</em>.<em>kinie</em> ‘and then’</td>
<td>Purp. S.</td>
<td><em>kanu</em>.<em>kinie</em> ‘and then’</td>
<td>Summary S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para. S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coord. S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coord. S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minus imp.</td>
<td>minus imp.</td>
<td></td>
<td>any tense</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

1. Each base must end with an independent verb, which can be suffixed for any tense, except that imperative can only occur sentence finally.
2. From base to base there will always be a change of person or tense or both.
3. When there is either some overlap in the time of the events, or the events immediately follow one another with no time lapse between them, the Link is typically expounded by *kinie* ‘when’.
4. When there is any time lapse between the events, the Link is typically expounded by *aku-kinie* or *kanu-kinie*.
5. The Link is always expounded by *aku-kinie* or *kanu-kinie* ‘and then’ following recapitulation of a clause at the beginning of a sentence.
6. The optional Base₂ and Link can occur either one or two times.

Examples (223) to (227) are examples which use *kinie* as the link.

Example (223) has the semantic feel of a Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4), which is one of the juxtaposed sentences. However, because there is an overt sequence link between the bases, it is structurally a Sequence Sentence. As is often so when it is used following future tense, the conjunction *kinie* would translate better in this example as ‘if’.

Example (224) has the semantic feel of a Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4), which is one of the juxtaposed sentences. However, because there is an overt sequence link between the bases, it is structurally a Sequence Sentence. As is often so when it is used following future tense, the conjunction *kinie* would translate better in this example as ‘if’.

Example (224) has the semantic feel of a Statement-Evaluation Sentence (9.5.4), which is one of the juxtaposed sentences. However, because there is an overt sequence link between the bases, it is structurally a Sequence Sentence. As is often so when it is used following future tense, the conjunction *kinie* would translate better in this example as ‘if’.
Example (225) is about a man going to the hospital to visit his sick mother.

Base$_1$

(225) *Na* *oleanga pu-pu/ kano-po/ "Nu nambe-ke-mo//-ye" ni-mbu/
I yesterday go-1 see-1SG you what.do-PR-3SG-QU say-1

Link Base$_3$

*walsipu.pilie-0-ndu/* *kinie* *"Na* kuru waengo.naa.ni-ki-mu/*"
ask-PST-1SG when me sick not.get.better-PR-3SG

ni-mbe/ *molo-0-mu* /
say-3SG be.AN-PST-3SG

‘Yesterday when I went (and) saw (her) (and) speaking (to her) asked (her) how things were with her, she was saying 'I'm not recovering (from my) sick(ness)’.’

Base$_1$

(226) *To-po/ kise to-po/ unguengili te to-po/ maya talo to-po/*
kill-1 four kill-1 possum.type a kill-1 possum.type two kill-1
tokopi engaki rurepo-ne to-ru-mulu// umbu lopa poko-ne,
tree.kangaroo eight twelve-with kill-DPST-1PL ordinary possum few-with

Link Base$_3$

*malapu to-po/ nosi-pu/ molo-ru-mulu/* *kinie kondoli o-mba/
sixteen kill-1 put-1 be.AN-DPST-1PL when European come-3 SG

*Kinié koy(o)-a/* ni-ri-mu/.
now steam.cook-QI.2PL say-DPST-3SG

‘Killing (possums) we had killed four, we had killed one unguengili (possum and) we had killed two maya (possums), with twelve tree-kangaroos we had killed (and) with (the) few ‘regular’ possums (that made a total of) sixteen we had killed (and) were keeping when (the) European came (and) said "Steam cook (them) now!’’”

Example (227) uses both *kinie* and *aku.kinie*. Note that the event of Base$_2$ would be an immediate reaction to the event of Base$_1$, then the event of Base$_3$ would follow in due course, but not immediately. It also illustrates the common use of *Aku.kinie* ‘And then’ sentence initially to tie sentences together into paragraphs. (Refer 10.1.2).

Periphery Base$_1$

(227) *Aku.kinie ye te-ne ta.ni-mbe/ poro-le-mo/* kinie
and.then man a-ACT disobey-3SG cut.hair-ASP-CUST.3SG when

Base$_2$

*kongi molo sumoli* molo *kou* tene paono molo pape paono
pig or shell.type or money ten pound or five pound

Link Base$_3$

*molo si/* ni-li-molo/* *aku.kinie si-li-mo*/*.
or give.QI.2SG say-ASP-CUST.1PL and.then give-ASP-CUST.3SG

‘And then, when a man disobeys (and) cuts his hair we say give (us) a pig or a gold-lipped pearl shell or money; ten or five pounds and then he gives (it).’
Examples (228) to (232) use kanu.kinie or aku.kinie as the link.

Base₁ Link Base₃
(228) **Molo-ru-mu// kanu.kinie paka.to-pa/ li-pe/ mere keku-ne suku**
   sit-DPST-3SG and.then push-3SG take-3SG downstream ashes-LOC into
   **mundu-ru-mu//.**
   send-DPST-3SG

‘He (Kemboro) sat (where he had been told to sit) and then he (Yako) pushed him
sending him right into the (hot) ashes (of the fire which was) in a downstream
direction.’

The first base of examples (229) and (230) respectively, is recapitulation from the previous
sentence. (229) comes from a Procedural Discourse about courting parties.

Base₁ Link₁ Base₃
(229) **angi-li-molo// aku.kinie nangape to-le-mele//.**
   stand-ASP-CUST.1PL and.then door open-ASP-CUST.3PL

‘We stand there and then they open the door.’

In examples (230) and (231) the verb *koyo* ‘to steam cook’ is used to mean spirit worship. That
is, spirits are worshipped by the steam cooking of pigs or other animals.

Base₁ Link Base₃
(230) **Pu-pe/ koyo-ndo-ru-mu// aku.kinie pe "olio kuru wango-ko-molo//"**
   go-3SG steam.cook-BEN-DPST-3SG and.then later we spirit enter-PR-1PL
   **ni-ri-mulu//.**
   say-DPST-1PL

‘He (the officiating priest) went (and) sacrificed (pig) on our behalf and then
afterwards we said "We are entering the spirit (worship enclosure)".’

Example (231) has recapitulation also, but because this is in the same person and tense as the
verb of Base₁, it is dependent in form.

Recap Base₁
(231) **Kongi koyo-po/-lie ni-li-molo//-mone ga mundu**
   pig steam.cook-1- CON PTR-ASP-CUST.1PL-PTR sweet.potato mound
   **Link Base₃**
   **te-le-molo// aku.kinie kele-pa/ ga mo(lo)-le-mo//.**
   make-ASP-CUST.1PL and.then again-3SG sweet.potato be.AN-ASP-3SG

‘Having sacrificed pig we make sweet potato mounds and then sweet potato is there
again.’

22 growing foods are animate in the Kaugel taxonomy.
Example (232) has a fairly long Dependent Sentence (9.3.1) expounding its second (and final) base. It is very common for the Dependent and Sequence sentences to function together, as semantically they are performing the same role; i.e. the sequential presentation of events. The Dependent Sentence is restricted to same subject and tense, while the Sequence Sentence is used where there is a change of subject person or tense. The Dependent Sentence in base\textsubscript{3} of (232) has a Quote Sentence (9.4.1) expounding its final base.

\begin{tabular}{l l l}
\textbf{Base\textsubscript{1}} & \textbf{Link\textsubscript{1}} & \textbf{Base\textsubscript{3}} \\
(232) & wele olando-pa me-li/ pu-ru-ndu// kanu.kinie kango te avili mele & across up-further carry-SIM go-DPST-1SG and.then boy a big like \\
& pu-ru-mulu// aku-mu-ni lkisi-pe/ manie-ndo o-mba/-lie yu ou & go-DPST-1PL that-the-ACT run-3SG down-to come-3SG-SEQ he before \\
& we-la pu-ru-mul/-mu-ni yunge wale anjo nosi-pe/ alto-pa/ manie-ndo & across-up go-DPST-3SG-the-ACT his bag there put-3SG again-3SG down-to \\
& o-mba/-lie na nanga wale kanumu o-mba/ "li-pu/ & come-3SG-SEQ I my bag that come-3SG take-1 \\
& me-nd-a-mbo//" & ni-ri-mu//: \\
& carry-BEN-IMP-HORT.1SG & say-DPST-3SG \\
\end{tabular}

‘I carried (it) up across (there) and then that fairly big boy who went with us came running down, having already gone up and put his bag down over there, he came down again and said about that bag of mine, “Let me carry it for you.”.’

\textbf{9.7.6 The comparison sentence}

The Comparison Sentence is a binary construction joined with a link meaning ‘like’ or ‘like that’. Semantically, the bases occur in the order of the standard followed by what is being compared with it.

The Comparison Sentence is similar to other sentences which are also binary and have obligatory links. However, the Comparison Sentence differs from such other sentences in the following ways:

1. The links of this sentence are different from those of other sentences.
2. The two bases of the Comparison Sentences must express the same action(s) (not necessarily with the same verb stems), expressing only a difference in tense from Base\textsubscript{1} to Base\textsubscript{2} - this factor is unique to this sentence type.

So far only five examples of the Comparison Sentence have been found. All of these examples are embedded in other sentences, - three in Dependent Sentences (9.3.1).
Table 9.28 The Comparison Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Base₁</th>
<th>+Link</th>
<th>+Base₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
<td>mele ‘like’</td>
<td>Dependent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>aku.mele ‘like that’</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independent verb</td>
<td>independent or dependent verb</td>
<td>same action - change of tense only</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

1. Base₁ obligatorily concludes with an independent verb.
2. Base₂ can conclude with either a dependent verb or an independent verb.
3. The action(s) of Base₂ must be the same action(s) as that of Base₁ except (primarily) for a change of tense.

Examples (233) to (236) are all relatively short, while example (237) is very long, but all are embedded in longer sentences.

Examples (233) and (234) are both part of a Summary Sentence (9.3.3), which is Base₂ of a Sequence Sentence (9.7.5), which is, in turn, embedded in a Real Antithetical Sentence (9.7.2.1). The free English translation for both these examples will be presented following 234.

(233) "lo o-0-mba//" ni-ri-ndu// mele lo laye-re lo o-mba/ rain come-FUT-3SG say-DPST-1SG like rain little-a rain come-3SG

(234) pe "kupe" ni-ri-ndu// mele kupe to-pa/ aku te-ri-mu//. then cloud say-DPST-1SG like cloud hit.3SG that do-DPST-3SG

‘Like I said it would rain it rained a little, then like I said it would cloud over it clouded over it did that.’

(235) lopa kinie owa-ma-ne aku te-ri-ngi// mele kinié yando yando possum with dog-the.PL-ACT that do-DPST-3PL like now to.here to.here lopa owa-ma-ne to-ko-mele//. possum dog-the.PL-ACT kill-PR-3PL

‘Like the dogs did that to the possums (then) - i.e. killed them - so from then until now the dogs kill possums.’

(236) ambo li-mele mele olio konana ni-ri-ngi mele woman take.ASP.CUST-3PL how we song sing-DPST-3PL like

Base₂ te-po kinié olio yama konana-ma i.si-pu ni-li-pu pu-ku-mulu do-1 now we courting song-thePL like.this-1 sing-SIM-1 go-PR-1PL

‘Like they used to get women (to marry them) by singing (courting songs), that’s what we do now we are going singing courting songs like this.’
Example (237) is a long one from a text about spirit worship. The narrator gets to a certain point in his description then digresses to explain what the procedure is when some uninitiated person enters the spirit worship enclosure, and goes on to tell how this happened to him when he was a boy. The explanation of the procedure is the digression and is also the first base of the Comparison Sentence; the story of what happened to the narrator personally being the second base of the Comparison Sentence. Resumption of the main text following the giving of the background information is shown by repetition of the last verb on the event line prior to the digression.

(237) "Pu-ru-mulu//aku.kinie telea i.siku talo li-ku/ go-DPST-1PL-and.then logs.cut.in.sections like.this two take-2/3
Base1
mundo-ri-ngi// aku-na kango te o-mba/ ikindu pu-li-mo// aku-mu send-DPST-3PL that-LOC boy a come-3SG this.side go-ASP-CUST.3SG that-the
kongi bulu te kepe, kongi elka te kepe, melte si-ku/-lie pig back a also pig back.section a also something give-2/3-CON
ni-li-mele//mone telea ikindu yando li-(li)-mele//.
PTR-ASP-CUST.3PL-PTR log.sections this.side to.here take-ASP-CUST.3PL
Pe ikindu-ngie te naa kano-pa/ o-mba ulke pu-li-mo// then this.side-LOC a not see-3SG come-3SG house go-ASP-CUST.3SG
aku.kinie kongi bulu te kepe, elka te kepe, melte si-ku/-lie and.then pig back a also pig back.section a also something give-2/3-CON
Link Base2
yando li-(li)-mele// aku-mele na telea pu-ru-mulu//, to.here take-ASP-CUST.3PL that-like I log.sections go-DPST-1PL

tata kinie telea pu-ru-mbulu// aku-ndu-ngie dad with log.sections go-DPST-1DL that-at-LOC
mundupu.kele-po/-lie, ikindu telea ikindu-ngie o-mbo/ mere pu-pu/ leave-1-CON this.side logs this.side-LOC come-1 downstream go-1
molo-ru-ndu//-kulu ke(e)-ko/ kongi bulu te lango-ko/ si-ku/-lie be.AN-DPST-1SG-because leave-2/3 pig back a break.off-2/3 give-2/3-CON
ni-ri-ngi//-muni nendo li-ri-ngi// aku ala.ye-mo-ne PTR-DPST-3PL-PTR nearby take-DPST-3PL that priest-the-ACT
"aku te-a/" ni-ri-mu//.
that do-Q1.2PL say-DPST-3SG

'We went and then they laid out two sectioning-off-logs like this in that place, (Base1) (if a) boy comes into this side (of the sectioned-off) area they hand over a pig back or a pig top-of-back, something (of that nature), then they withdrew him from this sectioned-off (area). So when a (boy), not seeing (it), comes into this area (and) goes (into the) house then, having given (over) a pig back or (pig) top-of-back, something (of that nature), they withdraw (him) (Link:) like that (Base2:) -(when) we went (Dad and I and others) (when) I went with Dad (to the) sectioned-off (area) because, when leaving that place, I (inadvertently) passed into this, into this sectioned-off (area) (and) was in (there), they leaving (what they were doing) broke off a pig back (and) having given (it to the priest) they withdrew (me) that was what the priest told (them) to do.'
10. PARAGRAPHS

Paragraphs in Kaugel expound both Discourse and Paragraph level tagmemes. Each type of paragraph will be described, and some comments made on distribution. This will be followed by a bi-dimensional array to illustrate the paragraph type. Special rules or features of each paragraph will follow the array. Finally examples will be given. Preceding these descriptions two more general topics will be presented; how Kaugel paragraphs are held together, and features which signal a new paragraph, plus a brief comment on peripheral tagmemes.

10.1 Paragraph linkage

Kaugel paragraphs are held together by recapitulation between sentences, connectors, identical or similar sentence-final Predicates, lexical cohesion, tight or restricted structure, referents, Grammatical and Phonological Sentences being out of phase, sentence initial Predicates, same sentence type, and juxtaposition. Each of these is described below.

10.1.1 Recapitulation

Recapitulation is of various types. The final Predicate tagmeme of the previous sentence is optionally repeated exactly, example (9) Steps 1 and 2, repeated with a change from independent to dependent form, example (9) Goal and Step 1 - the most common - or, occasionally repeated with a tense change. The whole final clause of the previous sentence may be repeated, or sometimes just the verb of the Predicate, or, in the case of a transitive verb, the Object plus the Predicate, or, with a verb of motion, sometimes Location plus the Predicate.

A slightly different use of recapitulation is used to signal return to the main narrative after some type of background information has been inserted. In this case the Predicate or clause which is repeated is the last one before the parenthetical type information. Refer example (5) Build-Ups 2-4, where Build-Up 3 is background information, and example (8) Steps 6-8, where Step 7 is a previously omitted procedure.

It is very common in Kaugel to add a sequence marker following the sentence initial recapitulation. Sequence markers are -lie ‘when’, which occurs on dependent verbs, example (7), Steps 13 and 14 and -kinie ‘when’ and aku-kinie and kanu-kinie ‘and then’ on independent verbs, example (10).

Recapitulation occurs most commonly in the Expandable Paragraphs (10.4.2), i.e. the Procedural and Narrative Paragraphs. In Procedural Paragraphs almost every sentence begins with recapitulation of one type or another. One type of recapitulation exclusive to the Procedural Paragraph is to repeat the final verb of the previous sentence as the Head of a Durative Aspect Verb Phrase (7.2.4) by adding either the verb o ‘to come’ or pu ‘to go’ to indicate that this particular procedure continues for a time. In Narrative Paragraphs recapitulation almost always occurs between the first and second build-ups of the paragraph and at least one other time in each paragraph depending of the length of the paragraph.

10.1.2 Connectors

The conjunction molo ‘or’ occurring sentence initially holds the Alternate Paragraph (10.4.1.1) together. This conjunction also occurs sentence medially as a link in the Alternative Sentence (9.7.4), and is also used as a link in the Coordinate Noun Phrase (7.5.3). In translated material, native speakers often request the use of the connective nalo ‘but’ to join two parts of a paragraph.
together into what would then be an Antithetical Paragraph (10.4.1.2). However, this type of paragraph has not as yet been discovered in natural text.

Sequence markers - also called connectives (4.4.9.2) - link sentence bases together when they occur sentence medially, as in the Sequence Sentence (9.7.5). When they occur sentence initially they signal embedded paragraphs, chronologically or locationally out of order information which is being inserted as background or parenthetic material, and/or paragraph level tagmemes as in examples 10 and 16. In Narrative Paragraphs (10.4.2.1) and Speech Paragraphs (10.4.3.2) for example, some speakers tend to use sentence initial sequence markers to introduce almost every build-up of the paragraph. In Narrative Paragraphs in particular the use of sentence initial sequence markers appears to almost exactly correspond to the use of sentence initial recapitulation (10.1.1), and one or the other type of linkage will tend to dominate throughout a complete discourse. The word *pe* ‘then/so’ is also used as a connector to introduce new tagmemes within a clause, refer example (36).

10.1.3 Identical predicates

In the Parallel Paragraph (10.4.4.1) the final Predicate of each nuclear tagmeme (i.e. other than Setting, Terminus or Climax) will be expounded by a usually identical and occasionally synonymous verb or Adjunct Verb Complex or Verb Phrase. Refer examples (19) to (23).

10.1.4 Lexical cohesion

Several paragraph types are either fully or partly held together by lexical factors. In some cases the same theme holds the whole paragraph together, as is the case with the three Embedded Juxtaposed Paragraphs (10.4.4), and to a lesser extent in Listing (10.4.5.1) and Narrative Paragraphs (10.4.2.1). Speech Response Paragraphs (10.4.3) are held together as speech and response to that speech.

10.1.5 Structural restrictions

Tight restrictions in the structure of the paragraph, or the fillers of certain slots within a paragraph, are features of the Stereotyped Paragraphs (10.4.5), and, to some extent, the Alternate (10.4.1.1) and Frustration (10.4.3.3) paragraphs. These restrictions will be spelled out under the descriptions of these paragraph types and illustrated by examples.

10.1.6 Referents

One sentence may be bound to the preceding sentence by the use of a referent, usually sentence initially, to refer back to some element in the previous sentence. The use of the demonstrative *aku* ‘that’ to refer back to a place or person, and *aku.sipe* ‘like that’ or the verb *te* ‘to do’ to refer back to an action, or a combination of these are the most common types of reference.

10.1.7 Grammar and phonology out of phase

Grammatical sentences in Kaugel obligatorily end with an independent verb\(^1\). Phonological sentences usually match the grammatical sentences. However, particularly in Narrative Paragraphs (10.4.2.1), the phonological sentence is occasionally permitted to end with a dependent verb as a way of holding the sentences together in a paragraph, refer example (5), Build-Ups 10-14.

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\(^1\) The only exception to this is when focus or afterthought are added sentence finally, but this is not very common and is frowned upon in written material.
Chapter 10: Paragraphs

It is also possible for a unit shorter than a sentence, viz. a sentence base, to expound paragraph level, or even at times discourse level, tagmemes. This is especially true of the tagmemes at the beginnings, and sometimes the end, of a paragraph or discourse. Refer examples (36) Climax, (11) and (13) Setting, and (9) Terminus.

10.1.8 Sentence initial predicate

Whenever the Predicate of a clause is the first item of a sentence, whether it is recapitulation from the previous sentence or not, this signals that the paragraph is continuing. Or, in other words, sentence initial Predicate never indicates a new paragraph.

10.1.9 Same sentence type

Particularly in the Hypothetical Paragraph (10.4.5.2), and to some extent in the Exhortation (10.4.5.3), Listing (10.4.5.1), Parallel (10.4.4.1) and Contrast (10.4.4.2) paragraphs, each nuclear tagmeme tends to be expounded by the same sentence type.

10.1.10 Juxtaposition

When no other feature can be observed as holding sentences together in paragraphs, but, on the other hand, there are no features indicating a new paragraph, juxtaposed sentences are considered to be part of the same paragraph. Lexical Cohesion (10.1.4) and Sentence Initial Predicate (10.1.8) often co-occur with juxtaposition.

10.2 New paragraphs

Various grammatical and lexical features occurring sentence initially have been observed marking new paragraphs in Kaugel discourse.

10.2.1 Grammatical features

A common grammatical feature indicating a new paragraph is the occurrence of Time or Location tagmemes. This is particularly likely to introduce a new paragraph when a change of time or location is indicated.

Sequence markers, Kanu-kinie, Aku-kinie ‘And then’, used in conjunction with one of the other grammatical or lexical features, may also signal a new paragraph. The most common combination is Kanu-kinie, pe, in which pe means ‘later’ and is uttered with rising, almost expectant intonation.

10.2.2 Lexical features

New paragraphs may also be signalled by the introduction of a new topic. This feature is particularly relevant in Epistolary Discourse (11.7).

Particularly in Expository Discourse (11.2), reiteration of the topic of the discourse may be used to signal a new paragraph.

Any one or two of these grammatical or lexical features may occur sentence initially at the beginning of a paragraph. However, with the probable exception of ‘introduction of a new topic’, any one of these features alone does not necessarily indicate a new paragraph.

Because of what has been observed in a related language, Wahgi, (Phillips 1970) concerning a combination of lexical, grammatical, and phonological features combining to mark paragraph
breaks, it is very likely that phonological features are also relevant to determining paragraph borders in Kaugel. However, except for the use of *pe* ‘later’ with rising intonation as described under (10.2.1), salient phonological features of Kaugel discourse have not yet been determined at this stage of the analysis so the determining of paragraph borders may not always be accurate.

In one text, an Expository Discourse, each paragraph was formally closed off in much the same way as Expository Discourse is closed off, which made it very easy to determine paragraph breaks in this particular text. According to Phillips (1970) this type of paragraph closure is very common in Wahgi discourses but this has not been found to be so in Kaugel discourses.

Where one of the features which are used to hold paragraphs together (as described under 10.1), co-occurs with one of the features which have been observed as marking new paragraphs, this combination of features is never considered to be marking a new paragraph. Such combinations are more likely to be marking a paragraph level tagmeme, or return to the main thread of the discourse following some embedded material.

### 10.3 Peripheral tagmemes

A Setting optionally precedes and a Terminus optionally follows the nucleus of any paragraph. However, these tagmemes are only rarely expounded by full sentences; it is much more common for one or several sentence bases to expound Setting or Terminus. Refer examples (9) and (11) to (14).

### 10.4 Paragraph types

There are twelve different types of paragraph so far discovered in Kaugel discourses\(^2\). These are grouped together on the basis of similar features. NARRATIVE and PROCEDURE paragraphs exhibit the features of expandability and recapitulation (10.1.1). EXECUTION, SPEECH, and FRUSTRATION paragraphs are held together as speech and response to that speech. PARALLEL, CONTRAST, and EXPOSITION paragraphs are commonly embedded in larger paragraphs and their tagmemes are typically juxtaposed. The feature common to the LISTING, HYPOTHETICAL, and EXHORTATION paragraphs is their stereotyped structure. The tagmemes of the ALTERNATE and ANTITHETICAL paragraphs are joined by overt links.

On the following page these paragraph types are presented in chart form for ease of reference. Then each paragraph is presented, described and examples given.

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\(^2\) plus one more type which has been introduced by native speakers in written material.
10.4.1 Overt-link paragraphs

There are, potentially, two Overt-Link Paragraphs: these are the Alternate and Antithetical Paragraphs. The link for the Alternate Paragraph is *Molo* ‘or’, and for the Antithetical Paragraph *Nalo* ‘but’; the links occurring sentence initially, linking the two parts of the paragraph.

**10.4.1.1 Alternate paragraph**

The Alternate Paragraph consists of an obligatory Statement and an obligatory Alternative linked by *Molo* ‘or’ occurring sentence initially. The Alternate Paragraph has specific restrictions as to the fillers of the slots which thereby distinguishes it from the Alternative Sentence (9.7.4). This also explains why there is often unfavourable native speaker reaction to attempts to use this paragraph type in translated materials when the translator has failed to observe the restrictions.

Alternate Paragraphs have been observed embedded in Listing Paragraph (10.4.5.1), and Narrative Paragraph (10.4.2.1), and as the Closure of a Narrative Discourse (11.5). Any types of alternation other than exhibited in this paragraph are handled on phrase and sentence levels. Refer Alternative Sentence (9.7.4) and Coordinate Noun Phrase (7.5.3)
Table 10.2 The alternate paragraph

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+STATEMENT</th>
<th>±LINK</th>
<th>+ALTERNATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factual Conditional Sentence</td>
<td><em>Molo</em> ‘Or’</td>
<td>Factual Conditional Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel Paragraph</td>
<td></td>
<td>Contrast Paragraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future tense</td>
<td></td>
<td>Future tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>liemo</em> ‘if’</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>liemo</em> ‘if’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules and Special Features:

1. Always future tense, and usually Factual Conditional Sentences (9.7.1.2), occur in the Statement and Alternative slots.
2. Link is optional.

Example (1) expounds the Closure of a Personal Narrative Discourse (11.5). Both sentences in this example are Factual Conditional Sentences (9.7.1.2).

Example (1)

Statement: Factual Conditional Sentence

*Alto-pa/* *nondo-pa* / *te-nga para.le-pa* / *te-mu* / *liemo aku alto-pa*/
again-3SG soon-3SG one-at recur-3SG do-PST.3SG if that again-3SG

Link Alternative: Factual Conditional Sentence

*anji-mbe* /.

If (my back problem) recurs again soon, they will perform that curing ceremony again. Or, if I am all right for a while then it recurs again later, when it recurs they will perform the curing ceremony (again).

Example (2) expounds the Exposition of an Exposition Paragraph (10.4.4.3). The Statement is expounded by a Parallel Paragraph (10.4.4.1) in which all the sentences are in future tense. The Alternative is expounded by a Contrast Paragraph (10.4.4.2) which, in turn, has a Parallel Paragraph (10.4.4.1) expounding the Contrast tagmeme. All of the sentences in this Contrast Paragraph are in future tense, and two of them are Factual Conditional Sentences (9.7.1.2).

Example (2)

Statement: Parallel paragraph

*Wanie-alipu pako-po* / *aku te-po/-lie kondo-po/molo-mbo* / *nu kano-ni* /.
red.spirit.hat put.on-1 that do-1-SEQ well-1 be.AN-FUT.1SG you.SG see-FUT.2S

*Ropeto nu kano-ni* /.

Robert you.SG see-FUT.2S with be.AN-1-SEQ do-FUT.1PL see-FUT.2S

Link Alternative: Contrast paragraph

*Molo nu ponie ou pu-nu* / *liemo i pe naa kano-ni* /.
or you.SG year before go-PST.2S if this later not see-FUT.2S
You will see me put on a red spirit hat and doing that stay well (be blessed). Robert you will see. You being with us when we do it you will see it. Or, if you go before the time comes then later you will not see this thing. If you stay, if you don't go before then but stay, being with us you also will see the thing which we will do. You will see the thing which I will do.'

Example (3) expounds the Command tagmeme of an Exhortation Paragraph. This example has no overt link but there are actually two places in the paragraph where the molo ‘or’ could semantically occur. The Statement tagmeme is expounded by a Parallel Paragraph in which both sentences are Factual Conditional.

**Example (3)**

**Statement:** Parallel Paragraph

\[
Pita, nu penge poro-nu// lie mo na kou pape paon si//.
\]

Peter you.SG head shave-PST.2S if me money five pounds give.IMP.2S

pe alto-po/ walse kano-mbo// sike poro-nu liemo na kou

later again-1 one.day see-FUT.1SG truly shave-PST.2S if me money

pape paon si-ni//.

five pound give-FUT.2S

At this point the link molo ‘or’ seems to be understood but is not expressed. Note that in the two Factual Conditional Sentences which expound the Alternative the positions of the ‘shaving’ and the ‘giving’ are reversed.

**Alternative:** Contrast Paragraph

\[
Si-ni// liemo poro-i//. Naa si-ni// liemo naa poro-i//.
give-FUT.2S if shave-IMP.2S not give-FUT.2S if not shave-IMP.2S
\]

At this point the options reverse again so once more the link molo ‘or’ could be postulated but is not present.

**Alternative:** Factual Conditional Sentence

\[
komu.sindi-ku/ poro-nu// liemo na pape paon si-ni//.
\]

forget-DEP.2S shave-PST.2S if me five pounds give-FUT.2S

‘Peter, if you cut your hair you must give me five pounds ($10). If I see one day again later that you have really cut your hair you will give me $10. (Or), If you will give (it to me) cut (your hair). If you will not give (it to me) you must not cut (your hair). (Or) If you forget (my instruction) and cut your hair you will give me $10.’

10.4.1.2 Antithetical paragraph

As explained in the introduction to the Real Antithetical Sentence (9.7.2.1), the connective nalo occurs only rarely in the oral texts which we have collected, but is preferred by literate speakers in written material, especially non-familiar-subject or translated material. So, although we have no examples of naturally occurring Antithetical Paragraphs, we consider this a valid paragraph type so far as the written form of Kaugel is concerned.
Table 10.3 The Antithetical paragraph

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATEMENT</th>
<th>LINK</th>
<th>ADVERSATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parallel Paragraph</td>
<td><em>nalo</em> ‘but’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules and special features:

1. Link, *nalo* ‘but’ is obligatory.

Notes:

1. In the only example we have, taken from the translated New Testament, there are actually two occurrences of both the Statement and the Link before the Adversative.
2. Also in this example, the second Link is expounded by an extra comment plus the word *nalo* ‘but’. The comment is *Aku sikela* ‘That is also true.’

Example (4)

**Statement 1:** Parallel Paragraph

*Unjo ollipi peanga ponie-na angi-li-mo//-mo-nga kola mare*

Tree olive good garden-in it.stands-the-of branches some

*Pulu.Ye-mo-ne lango-pa/ lte-pa/-lie, eno yembo lupe-ma*

God-ACT he.lopping.off he.discards.then you people the.other.PL

*lama-na unjo ollipi keri angi-li-mo//-mo-nga kola-ma mele*

bush-in tree olive bad it.stands-the-of branches-ART like

*molo-ri-ngi//-mu-ng e kola mare lango-pa/ unjo ollipi peanga-mo-nga*

they.were.the-of branch some he.lopping.off tree olive good.the-in.with

*li-pe/ waka-maka suku panje-ri-mu//-mungen eno-ne*

he.taking mixed.together into he.put.in.because youPL-ACT

‘*Unjo peanga-mo-nga kola manie-ndo-pa, olio olando-pa mo-le-molo//.*’

tree good-the-of branches further.down we further.up we.are

*ni-ngu/ konopu-ni naa pilie-e-ngi// Kola peanga-ma kinie*

say mind-INST not hear branches the.good and

*unjo peanga-mo-nga langi no-ru-mu// langi-me eno-kinie pea*

tree good.the-of food he.ate the.foods youPL-with as.well

*no-le-melo//-monga eno-ne* ‘*Unjo peanga-mo-nga kola manie-ndo-pa, you.eat.because youPL-ACT tree good.the-of branches further.down*

*olio ola-ndo-pa mo-le-molo// ni-ngu/ konopu-mu-ni naa pilie-e-ngi//*

we further.up we.are say mind-the-INST not hear

*Aku.si-ku/ konopu lie-ri-ngi// liemo i-si-ku pilie-e-ngi//*

like.that mind you.put if like.this listen/be.aware

‘*Eno unjo kola-ma-ne unjo-mo-nga pulkinio-ma langi naa si-li-me le.*’

youPL tree branches-ART-ACT tree.the-of roots food not they.give

*Unjo-mo-nga pulkinio-ma-ne eno kola-ma langi si-li-mo// konopu le-a-yo. tree-the-of roots-PL-ACT they branches-ART food it.gives mind put*

**Link**

**Statement 2:** Quote Sentence

*Nalo pe eno Isirele yembo naa mo-le-melo//-ma-ne ni-ng e//-ndo:*

but then youPL Israel people not you.are-the-ACT you.will.say
'Don’t reckon that because God lopped off and discarded some of the branches of the good olive tree that stands/grows in the garden, and took some of you other people who were like branches of the bad olive tree that stands/grows in the bush and put you into the good
olive tree together with (them) that you are more important than the branches of the good
tree. Don’t consider that because you are now eating, along with them, the food that the
good branches eat that you are more important than they are. If you think like that then
realise this, the branches do not give food to the roots of the tree. The roots of the tree give
food to you branches.

But
then you who are not Israel people will say, “God lopped off and discarded some of the
branches of the good tree in order to put some of us bad branches into the tree”.

That’s true but,
it was because those branches of the good tree did not believe that God sent the chief man
Christ (and that) he truly came to be in charge of them, that God lopped them off and
discarded them; you branches of the bad tree stand well, as you do, because you do believe
that he came. That’s true but don’t be arrogantly thinking how good you are and lift up
your own name. Stay thoroughly fearful. Because God did not have compassion on the
branches of the good tree and let them just be, (but) lopped them off and discarded them,
he will, like that, also not just leave you be, so don’t be arrogant.’

10.4.2 Expandable paragraphs

The Expandable Paragraphs, the tagmemes of which are almost always linked by recapitulation
(10.1.1), are the Narrative and Procedure Paragraphs. Although each has only one main tagmeme
they are both capable of almost unlimited expansion. Chronological ordering plays an important
part in both types, and each has a device for handling information which is not presented
chronologically. Because they are very time oriented paragraphs, the sentence types which occur
most commonly in the Expandable Paragraphs are the Sequence (9.7.5) and Dependent (9.3.1)
Sentences.

Related to this is the heavy use of the sequence markers in these two paragraph types: in the
Narrative Paragraph the sequence connectives (10.1.2) kanu-kinie and aku-kinie ‘and then’ occur
sentence initially and are typically used to introduce new tagmemes, particularly embedded
paragraphs or background information. In the Procedural Paragraph each new step in the Procedure
is typically signified by the -lie sequence marker which occurs on dependent verbs, sentence
medially, following recapitulation of the previous step.

10.4.2.1 Narrative paragraph

The Narrative Paragraph consists of a series of Build-Ups, as many as 16 being observed in
one paragraph. These Build-Ups may be expounded by either sentences or paragraphs. Many types
of paragraph embed into the Narrative Paragraph including the Parallel, Contrast, Execution,
Speech, Alternative, and possibly Listing paragraphs. Narrative Paragraphs do not embed in other
types of paragraphs. Narrative paragraphs occur in all types of discourse other than Procedural and
Hortatory.

The Narrative Paragraph has many similarities to the Procedural Paragraph but also the
following differences:

1. The sentences of the Procedure Paragraph are typically shorter than those of
the Narrative Paragraph.

2. The way new tagmemes are introduced in the two types of paragraph is similar
but different as already explained under 10.4.2.

3. The method of inserting background or collateral information differs for each
type as will be explained for each type.

4. Their distribution is different. Narrative Paragraphs never occur in Procedural
Discourse, whereas the Procedure Paragraph occurs hardly anywhere else but
in Procedural Discourse.
Recapitulation of the various kinds described at the start of this chapter (10.1.1) commonly link the tagmemes of the Narrative Paragraph. Recapitulation is almost obligatory between the first and second Build-Ups of the paragraph and obligatorily occurs at least one other time depending on the length of the paragraph. Lexical cohesion (10.1.4), sentence initial predicates (10.1.8), juxtaposition (10.1.10) and the use of sentence initial referents (10.1.6) also serve to hold the Build-Ups of Narrative Paragraphs together.

Sentence initial sequence connectives (10.1.2) are commonly used to mark new Build-Ups within the paragraph, particularly when a build-up is expounded by an embedded paragraph. Change of time, change of location, new topic or a combination of these, often used along with a sentence initial sequence connective, commonly mark new Narrative Paragraphs within a discourse.

Narrative Paragraphs are usually related in chronological order. Occasionally the narrator inserts an event which is out of chronological order - either a flash forward or a flash back in time - or inserts an event which took place at another location but overlapping in time with an event just related. After the insertion, to indicate that this has been collateral or background information, the speaker recapitulates the event which preceded the insertion. Along with this recapitulation, both the inserted material and the return to the main story are optionally signalled by the use of a sequence marker sentence initially.

Table 10.4 Narrative Paragraph

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUILD-UP₁</th>
<th>BUILD-UP₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple Sentence</td>
<td>same as for build-up₁ with possible addition of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Listing Paragraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel Paragraph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative Paragraph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast Paragraph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Execution Paragraph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech Paragraph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cause-Result Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antithetical Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposition Paragraph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: It is very likely that every type of Kaugel Sentence can occur in the Narrative Paragraph. The array reflects what has been observed thus far.

Note: In order to somehow reflect the Build-Up breaks in the free English in example (5), I will begin the translation of each Build-Up on a new line.

Example (5)

**Build-up 1**: Execution Paragraph (10.4.3.1) in which the proposal is filled by a Speech Paragraph
Then the man like Yako said "I am going to Mendi where they are killing a pig."

Showing Kemboro a sugar cane garden he said to him "You stay here staking and tying up sugar cane!" Then he said "If a piece of sugar cane breaks put resin on it!" and gave him some resin and went. That man like Kemboro stayed there staking and tying up sugar cane. Before he was finished an immature piece of sugar cane broke. Deciding to put resin on it he went on and on and on and on and on trying to mend it but it didn't work. Then he took it and ate it. Having eaten it he threw the sugar cane rubbish down the toilet hole so that he (his brother) would not see it.'
Example (6) has several interesting features: lots of recapitulation, including recapitulation across embedded material; grammatical and phonological sentences out of phase so that phonological sentences are ending with dependent verbs; and, related to this, phonological sentences beginning with Time and Location tagmemes which often signal new paragraphs but do not seem to be doing so in this case because they occur immediately following the phonological-sentence-final dependent verbs. This paragraph actually constitutes a complete Personal Narrative Discourse (11.5).

There were two possible ways of setting up the Build-Ups of this particular paragraph. One was to hold rigidly to the grammatical sentence and only postulate new Build-Ups at these points. The alternative, which was chosen for this description, was to assume that markers such as new Time and Location, and change of topic, which usually mark new paragraphs were, in this case, marking new tagmemes within the paragraph. It is felt that they cannot be postulated as marking new paragraphs because grammatically they are occurring sentence medially. Refer to Build-Ups 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 of this example.

Example (6)

Setting: Intransitive Active Clause

\[
ye\text{ }\text{terende}\text{ }\text{kinie}\text{ }\text{ya}\text{ }Yano\text{ }Dopa\text{ }\text{darapa}\text{ }kongono\text{ }\text{te-ke-mo}//\\
\text{man}\text{ }\text{Wednesday}\text{ }\text{on}\text{ }\text{here}\text{ }Y\text{.\text{\text{D.\text{}}}}\text{\text{driver}}\text{\text{work}}\text{\text{he.is.doing}}\\
ye-mo\text{ }\text{o-mba}//\\
\text{man.the}\text{ }\text{he.coming}
\]

Build-up 1: Execution paragraph: Proposal

\[
na\text{ }\text{ndo}\text{ }"\text{Pambili!}"	ext{ }"\text{Manie-ndo}\text{ }\text{pambili!}"	ext{ }\text{ni-ri-mu}//.\\
\text{me.to}\text{ }\text{let.us.two.go}\text{ }\text{down.to}\text{ }\text{let.us.two.go}\text{ }\text{he.said}
\]

Response: Decision Sentence

\[
na\text{ }\text{ambo}\text{ }"\text{mele}\text{ }\text{mare}\text{ }\text{te-pa}/!\text{ }\text{kou-mone}\text{ }\text{mare}\text{ }\text{nosipe/}\text{ }\text{ulu}\text{ }\text{mare}\text{ }\text{me}\text{ }\text{woman}\text{ }\text{things}\text{ }\text{some}\text{ }\text{do-go}\text{ }\text{money}\text{ }\text{some}\text{ }\text{she.putting}\text{ }\text{doings}\text{ }\text{some}\text{ }\text{te-pa}/!\text{ }\text{ni-ki-mu}//\text{ }\text{ni-mbu/}\text{ }\text{kano-mbo}//\text{ }\text{ni-mbu/}\text{ }\text{kanjoli-mu}\text{ }\text{kinie}\text{ }\text{do-go}\text{ }\text{she.is.saying}\text{ }\text{I.saying}\text{ }\text{I.will.see}\text{ }\text{I.saying}\text{ }\text{the.councillor}\text{ }\text{and}\text{ }\text{Masie}\text{ }\text{kinie}\text{ }\text{pu-ru-mulu//}\text{ }\text{Masie}\text{ }\text{and}\text{ }\text{we.went}
\]

Build-up 2: Dependent Sentence

\[
\text{Pu-pu/}\text{ }\text{na}\text{ }\text{mere}\text{ }\text{Tokopa}\text{ }\text{pu-pu/}\text{ }\text{pe-ri-ndu//}.\\
\text{we.going}\text{ }\text{I}\text{ }\text{downstream}\text{ }\text{Togoba}\text{ }\text{I.going}\text{ }\text{I.stayed/slept}
\]

Build-up 3: Decision Sentence (This is treated as background information by the speaker because it is what other members of the party did, not himself)

\[
ye-ma\text{ }\text{we-lto}\text{ }\text{pu-ku/}"\text{no}\text{ }\text{pame.te-po/}\text{ }\text{no-molo}//\text{ }\text{the.men}\text{ }\text{off}\text{ }\text{they.going}\text{ }\text{water(beer)}\text{ }\text{we.buying}\text{ }\text{we.will.drink}\text{ }\text{pu-ku-mulu//}"\text{ }\text{ni-ngu/}\text{ }\text{pu-ri-ngi//}.\\
\text{we.are.going}\text{ }\text{they.saying}\text{ }\text{they.went}
\]

Build-up 4: Parallel Paragraph (Recapitulation from build-up 2 indicates that build-up 3 is background material)

\[
\text{na}\text{ }\text{pu-pu/}\text{ }\text{Tokopa}\text{ }\text{pu-pu/}\text{ }\text{pe-po/}\text{ }\text{wele}\text{ }\text{orili-ou}\text{ }\text{we-lto}\text{ }\text{Karu}\text{ }\text{kinie}\text{ }\text{I}\text{ }\text{I.going}\text{ }\text{Togoba}\text{ }\text{I.going}\text{ }\text{I.sleeping}\text{ }\text{next}\text{ }\text{morning}\text{ }\text{off}\text{ }\text{Karu}\text{ }\text{and}\text{ }\text{taraka-na}\text{ }\text{pu-ru-mbulu//}.\text{ }\text{Pu-pu/}\text{ }\text{wele}\text{ }\text{Akena}\text{ }\text{pu-ru-mbulu//}.\text{tractor.in}\text{ }\text{we.two.went.}\text{ we.two.going}\text{ }\text{off}\text{ }\text{Hagen}\text{ }\text{we.two.went.}
\]
(For next three sentences speaker tells of activities of other members of the party before recapitulating back into the main flow of his own activities)

**Build-up 5:** Statement-Evaluation Sentence

```
ye-ma  we-ndo  te-nga  naa  o-ri-ngi//  molo.
the.men  out.of  a.LOC  not  they.came  no
```

**Build-up 6:** (continuing background material) Dependent Sentence

```
pu-ku/  no  no-ngo/  kanjoli-mu  keme  Masie  keme
they.going  water(beer)  they.drinking  the.councillor  and  Masie  and
meku.to-ko/  wele  aku  manga  anjo  pu-ku/  pe-ri-ngi//.
they.vomiting  off  that  area  away  they.going  they.slept
```

**Build-up 7:** (concluding background material) Coordinate Sentence

```
no  no-ngo/  kekelepe.to-ko/  anjo  pe-ri-ngi//  liemu
water(beer)  they.drinking  they.being.crazy  away  they.slept  apparently
naa  o-ri-ngi//.
not  they.came
```

**Build-up 8:** (begins with recapitulation from build-up 4): Sequence Sentence with Dependent Sentence in first base

```
pu-pu/  koro-polo/  mere  kongono  te-le-mele//  akena
we.two.going  we.two.searching  downstream  work  they.do  Hagen
ollia  ni-li-mele//  aku-ne.  te-le-mele//  kolea-na  aku-ne  kako
Hauliers  they.say  that-LOC  they.do  place.in  that-LOC  cargo
li-mele//  kolea  aku-ne  pu-pu/  kano-ru-mbulu//  kinie
they.will.get  place  that-in  we.going  we.two.searched  when
bosukuru  aku-mu  o-mba/  molo-ru-mu//.
boss  that.the  he.coming  he.stayed
```

**Build-up 9:** Speech Paragraph: Initiating Speech: Dependent Sentence

```
molo-pa/  olto-ndo  "Elo  nambe-na  o-ngili//"  ni-ri-mu//.
he.being  us.2.to  you.2  why  you.2.came  he.said
```

Continuing Speech: Quote Sentence (Quote is a Cause-Result Sentence)

```
"tena,  ye  kanjoli  kepe  Masie  keme  o-mu//  kanumu  naa  we-ndo
where,  man  councillor  and  Masie  and  he.came  that  not  out.of
o-ko-mele//  na  koro-li-pu/  o-ko-mbolo//"  ni-ri-mbulu//.
they.are.coming  because  we.searching  we.two.are.coming  we.two.said
```

Resolving Speech: Quote Sentence in which there are several sentences spoken by same speaker

```
"aku-ne  no  no-ngo/  wele  manga  uru.pe-ko/  mo-le-mele//
that-LOC  beer  they.drinking  off  area  they.sleeping  they.are
meku.to-mu//.  kanjoli-mu  uru.pe-ko/  mo-le-mele//  naa  o-ngi//.
he.vomited  the.councillor  they.sleeping  they.are  not  they.came
kiniê  kongono-na  naa  o-nge//"  i  ni-ri-mu//.
today  work.to  not  they.will.come  this  he.said
```
**Build-up 10:** Dependent Sentence in which actually the last line of Build-Up 9 is embedded, however this seems the neatest way to handle it, because, for the next five build-ups, grammatical and phonological sentences are out of phase. For example this Dependent Sentence ends with a dependent verb which is then followed sentence initially by a Time and a Location slot which latter together would normally constitute a new paragraph. However, because of the sentence final dependent verb this has been postulated as hanging the sentences together in the same paragraph.

(i ni-ri-mu/) pili-pu/ ya-ndo o-mbo/ na Ropete-nga pas si-ri-mu/
this he.said we.hearing back I.coming I Robert's letter he.gave
me-mbo/ pu-pu/ wele posopise-na postim.te-po/
I.carrying I.going across at.post.office I.posting

**Build-up 11:** Paraphrase Sentence which ends with dependent verb

pe ya-ndo o-mbo/ Tokopa pe-po/ kapa baeme.te-po/ me-mbo/
then back I.coming Togoba I.sleeping iron I.buying I.carrying
pirimu kepe mele-ma paeme.te-po/ me-mbo/ Tokopa pe-po/
nails and the.things I.buying I.carrying Togoba I.sleeping

**Build-up 12:** Paraphrase Sentence ending with dependent verb

orili-ou ponde kinie wi-njo o-mbo/ wi Tomba o-mbo/
in.morning Thursday on upstream I.coming upstream Tomba I.coming
molo-po/
I.staying

**Build-up 13:** Paraphrase Sentence ending with dependent verb

kamu.sumbi.si-pu/ ya-ndo-pa o-mbo/ mele-ma akune nosi-pu/ kapa
I.straight.on further.back I.coming the.things there I.putting iron
kinie pirimu kinie na kamu.sumbi.sipu/ ya-ndo-pa o-mbo/
and nails and I I.straight.on further.back I.coming
ya o-mbo/ pe-po/
here I.coming I.sleeping

**Build-up 14:** Dependent Sentence beginning with a new time slot which could possibly be indicating new paragraph if it were not for the dependent verb closing off the previous sentence (embedded Paraphrase Sentence)

Sarere alto-po/ manie-ndo pu-pu/ mere manie pu-pu/ mele-ma
Saturday I.again to.down I.going downstream down I.going the.things
li-pu/ mimi.te-po/ nosi-pu/ pu-pu/ pe-po/
I.getting I.straightening I.putting I.going I.sleeping

**Build-up 15:** Parallel Paragraph

oleanga sande kinie ola-ndo o-ndu//. o-mbo/ ya o-ndu//.
yesterday Sunday on up-to I.came I.coming here I.came

**Build-up 16:** Dependent Sentence with an embedded Quote Sentence

ya o-mbo/-lie Kulli-ndo "nanga mele-ma mere aulke pulu-ne
here I.coming-SEQ to.Kuli my the.things downstream road side.on
nosi-pu/ kele-po/ o-ndu//. wa.li-nge// nambe.e-a-mbo-ye" ni-ndu//
I.putting I.leaving I.came they.will.steal what.will.I.do I.said

**Build-up n:** Purpose Sentence
On Wednesday, a man here, Dopa of Yano clan, the driver-man came and said to me "Let's go down (to Hagen)". Knowing my wife wanted me to go and buy some things and that she had put money aside for them I decided to go and see the councillor and Masie and I went (with Dopa). We went along and I went and slept down there at Togoba. (leprosarium near Hagen where his brother-in-law, Karu, worked as a tractor driver)

The (other) men went off to buy beer. I went and slept at Togoba then next morning Karu and I set off in the tractor. We went off to Hagen.

The (other) men didn't turn up. Having gone and drunk beer, the councillor and Masie had vomited and had gone over there and slept.

Apparently they had drunk beer, got drunk, and slept over there (so) they did not come (to meet us).

Going searching for them we went over to the place where they work, to that place called Hagen Hauliers, we went there and looked at that place where they collect cargo then the boss turned up for work.

Being there he said to us "What have you two come for?" We said "Where! (idiomatic denial of any implied accusation). The councillor and Masie and that one they came with haven't turned up so we are coming searching for them." (we said) "Having drunk beer there they are over there sleeping. He vomited. They, including the councillor are sleeping so they have not come. They will not come to work today," he said.

Hearing what he said I came back and carrying the letter Robert had given me I went over to the post office and posting it .... then coming back this way I slept at Togoba. Having bought some iron and nails and things and carrying them, going and sleeping at Togoba....

Thursday morning I coming upstream (toward home), I coming stayed at Tomba.... coming straight on further this way, leaving the things there, the iron and the nails, coming straight on further back this way, coming and sleeping ....

(on) Saturday I went down again I went down and got the things, I straightened them up and put them and slept there then yesterday, on Sunday, I came up (back to the village). Coming I came here. When I came here I said to Kulli "I have left my things down there beside the road. What will I do if someone steals them?"

Today he is going down there to get them.'

Example (7) is a shorter example of a Narrative Paragraph.

Example (7)

Build-up 1: Simple Sentence beginning with new Time tagmeme to mark paragraph beginning

orili-ou-ku-ndu ipulueli-ou kokea kalo-ru-ndu//
in.the.next.morning morning rafters I.fastened

Build-up 2: Dependent Sentence with Quote Sentence in last base

kalo-po/ kango kelo aku-selo-ndo "pele t-a-le" ni-ri-ndu//.
I.fastening boys little those.DL.to battens cut! I.said

Build-up 3: Dependent Sentence

na o-mbo/ pele to-po-ru-ndu//.
I I.coming battens I.went.and.cut
**Build-up 4**: Dependent Sentence

*to-po/ pele lie-ri-mulu//.*

I. cutting battens we put in place

**Build-up n**: Dependent Sentence

*pele le-po pora si-pu/ pe-po lie-ri-mulu//.*

battens we finishing putting we fell sound asleep

‘In the morning I fastened on the rafters.

Having fastened them I said to those two little boys "Cut battens!"

I went off and cut battens.

I having cut battens we put them in place.

Having finished putting the battens in place we fell sound asleep.’

### 10.4.2.2 Procedure paragraph

The Procedure Paragraph consists of only one obligatory element, the Step tagmeme, which must occur at least 6 times and has been observed as many as 14 times.

Procedure Paragraph is the only obligatory element of the Procedural Discourse (11.1). Procedure Paragraphs may also occur in Expository Discourse (11.2). Procedure Paragraphs are almost always in customary aspect throughout, though one example of a Procedure Paragraph in an Expository Discourse was all in distant past tense. Procedure Paragraphs are almost always in first person plural, sometimes non-first plural. Subject person is typically indicated only by verb suffixes, only rarely is there an overt personal pronoun.

Sentences in the Procedure Paragraph are typically short with one or two new procedures introduced in each sentence following recapitulation of the previous procedure. Recapitulation begins almost every sentence. One type of recapitulation, unique to the Procedure Paragraph, is to recapitulate the final Predicate or clause of the previous sentence then add the verb o ‘to come’ or *pu ‘to go’ thus turning it into a Durative Aspect Verb Phrase (7.2.4) which serves to indicate that this procedure is a process rather than a one time event.

The procedures of the Procedure Paragraph are usually presented in chronological order. If one procedure is omitted from its proper order it will then be presented in a sentence of its own, then that procedure will be recapitulated before reiterating the one which was initially presented out of order. Refer steps 1, 2 and 3 and 9, 10 and 11 of example (7). In one procedural text a speaker completely omitted an important procedure from the Procedure Paragraph. So to fit this procedure in she then began a new paragraph taking it up at the point where she had omitted the procedure then repeating all the following procedures before closing off the discourse.

Each new procedure in the Procedure Paragraph is typically introduced sentence medially following a grammatical signal such as a sequence marker\(^3\), a Time tagmeme, or both. The actual procedures, of which there may be as many as 30 in one paragraph, do not always coincide with the Step tagmeme. As many as 17 procedures have been observed included in a sentence expounding one Step. These longer Steps, including several procedures, tend to occur toward the end of a paragraph, refer example (10).

---

\(^3\) Sequence markers include the Sequence Sentence (9.7.5) links which follow independent verbs: *kinie ‘then’, *kanu-kinie ‘and then’, and *aku-kinie ‘and then’, and the Dependent Sentence sequence connector *-lie meaning ‘and’ or ‘then’, and *-lie used in combination with the person,tense reminder marker which takes the form of the verb *ni ‘to speak’ plus certain clitics.
### Table 10.5 Procedure Paragraph

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEP</th>
<th>Dependent Sentence</th>
<th>Sequence Sentence</th>
<th>Simple Sentence</th>
<th>Paraphrase Sentence</th>
<th>Parallel Paragraph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Rules and Special Features:**

1. The most common filler of the Step tagmeme is the Dependent Sentence, in which the sequence marker -lie occurs very commonly, separating off the recapitulation of the previous procedure and the introduction of the next one.

2. Step can occur from 6 to 14 times.

**Procedure Paragraph examples:**

Example (8) is the second paragraph in a Procedural Discourse on house building. The new paragraph is marked by a Time tagmeme plus a new procedure being introduced in a separate sentence, rather than following the recapitulation of the previous procedure.

**Example (8)**

**Step 1:** Simple Sentence

*kinie kokea to-le-molo*.

**Step 2:** Dependent Sentence (with embedded Paraphrase Sentence)

*kokea to-po/ pora.si-pu/ o-mbo/ nosi-pu/-lie o-mbo/*  
rafters we.cutting we.finishing we.coming we.putting-SEQ we.coming  
y’a ulke maku.to-po/ nosi-pu/-lie ma aku-li-molo/*

**Step 3:** Simple Sentence (This procedure should have come before the last procedure of Step 2. So note that now this procedure will be presented alone, then Step 4 will recapitulate both this step and the following one which has already been presented out of order in Step 2)

*Ola kamaye pulsike to-le-molo*.

**Step 4:** Dependent Sentence

*kamaye pulsike to-po/ nosi-pu/-lie ma aku-li-molo/*

pitpit type we.cutting we.putting-SEQ earth we.dig (c.f.final base of Step 1)

**Step 5:** Dependent Sentence

*ma aku-pu/ nosi-pu/-lie kolta.le-molo/*

earth we.digging we.putting-SEQ we.level.the.surface

**Step 6:** Dependent Sentence

*Kolta.le-po/ mundu-pu/-lie pote mondo-le-molo/*

we.level.the.surface we.throw-SEQ posts we.plant
Step 7: Dependent Sentence

\[
pote \; mondo-po/-lie \; uwe \; li-molo/\;.
\]

posts we.planting-SEQ ditch we.take/dig

Step 8: Dependent Sentence

\[
uwe \; li-pu/\; \; ola \; mundu-pu/-lie \; kokea \; ka-le-molo/\;.
\]
ditch we.taking/digging up we.throwing-SEQ rafters we.fasten

Step 9: Dependent Sentence

\[
kokea \; li-pu/\; \; kalo-po/\; \; panji-pu/-lie \; pele \; le-molo/\;.
\]
rafters we.taking we.fastening we.putting.in.place-SEQ battens we.put

Step 10: Dependent Sentence

\[
pele \; le-po/-lie \; tako-le-molo/\;.
\]
battens we.putting-SEQ we.roof

Step 11: Simple Sentence (This procedure should have come before the last procedure of Step 10. It is now handled exactly as in Steps 3 & 4)

\[
angi \; to-le-molo/\;.
\]
kunai.grass we.cut

Step 12: Dependent Sentence

\[
angi \; to-po/-lie \; tako-le-molo/\;.
\]
kunai.grass we.cutting-SEQ we.roof

Step 13: Dependent Sentence

\[
tako-po/-lie \; pora.si-li-molo/\;.
\]
we.roofing-SEQ we.finish

Step 14: Dependent Sentence

\[
Pora.si-pu/-lie \; kengele \; to-le-molo/\;.
\]
we.finishing-SEQ plaited.walling we.weave

Step 15: Dependent Sentence (Note that this final step contains more than one new procedure)

\[
kengele \; to-po/-lie \; kalo-po/-lie
\]
pitpit.walling we.weaving-SEQ we.cooking-SEQ
\[
tepe.kelume \; te-po/\; \; kalo-po/\; \; pe-le-molo/\;.
\]
fire.place we.making we.lighting we.live

‘Now we cut rafters.
Having finished cutting the rafters we come and put them, we come and gathering them together put them in the house, then we dig the earth.
We cut the pitpit.
Having cut the pitpit and putting it aside we then dig the earth.
Having dug the earth and putting it aside we then level out the site.
Having leveled out the site and thrown (the dirt aside) we plant the posts.
Having planted the posts we dig a ditch/trench (right around the outside of the house so that water can't get in).
Having dug the ditch we throw up (the dirt) then we fasten on the rafters.
Having got the rafters, fastened them and put them in place we put on the battens.
Having put on the battens we roof (the house).
We cut kunai grass.
Having cut kunai grass we roof (the house).
Having roofed it we finish it off (cut the grass level around the bottom edge).
Having finished it off we weave the pitpit walling. Having woven the walling we fasten it on then making a fire place we light a fire and live (in the house).’

Example (9) is from a text on making sweet potato gardens.

**Example (9)**

**Step 1:** Paraphrase Sentence

\[ ga \ \text{era} \ \text{poro-le-molo//} \]

sweet.potato grass we.pull.out

\[ ou \ \text{pulu-pulu ga} \ \text{era} \ \text{poro-le-molo//}. \]

first sweet.potato grass we.pull.out

**Step 2:** Dependent Sentence

\[ \text{era} \ \text{poro-po/-lie} \ \text{mundu} \ \text{wende-le-molo//} \]

grass we.pulling.out-SEQ sweet.potato.mounds we.undo/open.up

**Step 3:** Dependent Sentence

\[ \text{mundu} \ \text{wende-po/-lie} \ \text{mundu} \ \text{te-le-molo//}. \]

sweet.potato.mounds we.opening-SEQ mounds we.make

**Step 4:** Dependent Sentence

\[ \text{te-po/-lie} \ \text{ga} \ \text{kanu-ne} \ \text{takarako} \ \text{mo-le-mo//}. \]

we.make-SEQ sweet.potato in.those grass.type it.grows

**Step 5:** Sequence Sentence (with a dependent Paraphrase Sentence in first base)

\[ \text{takarako molo-pa/-lie} \ \text{pe} \ \text{takarako} \ \text{mo-le-mo/} \ \text{kinie} \]

grass.type it.growing-SEQ then grass.type it.is/grows when

\[ \text{alto-po/} \ \text{takarako} \ \text{te-le-molo//}. \]

we.again grass.type we.do(clear-off/weed)

**Step 6:** Dependent Sentence

\[ \text{takarako} \ \text{te-po/-lie} \ \text{kulkulu} \ \text{era} \ \text{te-le-molo//}. \]

grass.type we.clearing-SEQ around.edge grass we.weed

**Step 7:** Dependent Sentence

\[ \text{kulkulu} \ \text{era} \ \text{te-po/-lie} \ \text{kele-po/} \ \text{aku-li-molo//}. \]

around.edge grass we.clearing-SEQ we.leave we.dig

**Step 8:** Simple Sentence (inserting omitted procedure)

\[ \text{ma} \ \text{to-le-molo//}. \]

earth we.loosen

**Step 9:** Dependent Sentence

\[ \text{ma} \ \text{to-po/-lie} \ \text{kele-po/} \ \text{aku-li-molo//}. \]

earth we.loosening-SEQ we.leave we.dig

**Step 10:** Dependent Sentence

\[ \text{peku-meku.to-po/} \ \text{wende-le-molo//}. \]

we.randomly we.undo/open up(sweet potato mounds)
Step 11: Dependent Sentence: (Step 11 is actually a repeat of Step 3, as the speaker has just realised she left out an important procedure very early in the piece and must now work it back in where it fits)

*wende-po/-lie* *alto-po/ kamu kele-po/ mundu te-le-molo//.

We open up (the old) sweet potato mounds. Finally we again make sweet potato mounds.

Step 12: Purpose Sentence (Step 12 is actually a repeat of Step 2. It is almost as though the speaker is beginning again; as she tries to work in this omitted procedure)

*mundu te-molo// era poro-le-molo//.*

We again make mounds. In order to make grass, we pull it up.

Step 13: Dependent Sentence (Step 13 introduces the early procedure previously omitted; i.e. the actual planting of the sweet potato vines which produce the sweet potato)

*era poro-po/-lie alto-po/ ga-mbo panji-li-molo//.*

We pull up grass (to be put into the sweet potato mounds as mulch); first of all we pull up grass. Having pulled up the grass we open up (the old) sweet potato mounds. Having opened up (the old) mounds we make (new) mounds.

[There are three steps involved in making the new mounds which she has not spelled out: laying the pulled up grass in the old, opened up mounds, shovelling a layer of earth over the grass, pushing sweet potato vine cuttings into the earth]

When we have done (that) grass grows in those sweet potato (mounds). The grass grows then when it grows we clear the grass off again. Having cleared the grass (that grows on the mounds) we clear the grass from around the edges (of the mounds). Having cleared the grass from around the edges then we dig (in the mounds for sweet potatoes). We loosen up the earth (around the sweet potato plants to help them grow well). Having levelled off the earth we dig again. Having rooted out (any old sweet potato left over from the last gardening) we open up (the mounds). Having opened up (the mounds) then again we finally remake the mounds. To make mounds we clear off the grass. Having cleared off the grass then we plant sweet potato cuttings again.’

Example (10) is interesting in that the Steps are mostly expounded by Sequence Sentences rather than the more common Dependent Sentence (more common in this paragraph type that is). This is largely because there are two groups of people interacting so the subject changes all the time and the Dependent Sentence (9.3.1) is a same-subject sentence. Example (10) is from a one paragraph Procedural Discourse (11.1).

**Example (10)**

**Goal** (of discourse): Decision Sentence

*konana ni-molo// ni-mbu/ pu-li-molo//.*

We will sing. We are saying we go.

**Step 1**: Dependent Sentence
We go to sing.
We go and stand in the doorway of a house.
We stand (there) and then they open the door.
When they open the door we go into the house sit down and sing.
When we sing the woman comes out.
She comes and sits down.
Two men go and sit one on either side of her to sing. Two sit and sing.
Then they go and two more sit and sing.
Then when we have finished singing we sit talking about other things and we sit and sing and later when it is daylight we come home and sleep.

For further examples refer to Procedural Discourse.

**10.4.3 Speech Response paragraphs**

There are three Kaugel paragraphs which are held together by the feature of speech plus response to that speech. These are the EXECUTION, FRUSTRATION and SPEECH paragraphs. Similarities and differences will be spelled out under the description of each type.

**10.4.3.1 Execution paragraph**

The Execution Paragraph consists of a Proposal and a Response, both of which are obligatory.

Execution Paragraphs commonly embed in Narrative Paragraphs, though not exclusively so. Execution Paragraphs have been observed in Narrative, Legend, and Bed-Time Story Discourses.

**Table 10.6 Execution Paragraph**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+PROPOSAL</th>
<th>+RESPONSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
<td>Narrative Paragraph (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech Paragraph</td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative Cause-Result Sentence</td>
<td>Base₁ of Sequence Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel Paragraph</td>
<td>Decision Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simple Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Features:
- + speech
- imperative
- - speech

Rules and Special Features:
1. Proposal must be verbal.
2. Proposal must be in Imperative mood.
3. The Quote Sentence filling Proposal is usually the final base of some long sentence such as Dependent or Sequence sentence.
4. Response must be non-verbal.

**Example (11)**

**Setting & Proposal**: Speech Paragraph consisting of a Sequence Sentence and a Quote Sentence which is the Proposal proper

*Kanu.kinie Sua anumu-ni "Nu kongono te-ni// molo nambe-ni//" and.then Sua mother.ACT you.SG work you.will.do or what.will.you.do ni-mu// kinie "koro.avili kinie kongono naa te-mboi/" ni-ndu./. she.said when Sunday on work not I.will.do I.said*

**Proposal proper**
Chapter 10: Paragraphs

Kanu.kinie "P-a-.mbili  o-u!" ni-mu/.
and.then  let.us.two.go  come  she.said

Response
Kanu.kinie pu-mbulu.
and.then  we.two.went

'And then when Sua's mother said "Will you work (today) or what will you do?" I said "I will
not work on Sunday." And then she said
"Come, let's go together!"
And then we two went.'

Example (12)

Setting & Proposal: Speech P. consisting of a Sequence Sentence and a Quote Sentence which
is the Proposal proper.

Wele.oilandopa me-li.pu-ru-ndu// kanu.kinie
further.up.(the.mountain) carrying.as.I.went and.then
kango te avili mele pu-ru-mulu// aku-mu-ni
boy one big like we.went that.one-ACT
Ikisi-pe/ maniendo o-mba/-lie yu ou
he.running down he.came-SEQ he before
we-la pu-ru-mulu//mu-ni yunge wale
up.(the.mountain) the.one.who.went-ACT his bag
anjo nosi-pe/ alto-pa/ maniendo omba/-lie
there he.putting he.again down he.coming-SEQ
na nanga wale kanumu o-mba/
me my bag that he.coming

Proposal proper:
"li-pu/ me-nda-mbo/" ni-ri-mu/.
"I.taking  let.me.carry.for  he.said
"Kapola  me-nde-i" ni-ri-ndu/.
okay  carry.(it).for.(me)  I.said

Response: Simple Sentence:

pe  li-pe/  me-nde-ri-mu.
then  taking.(it)  he.carried.(it).for.(me)

'I carried it further up the mountain and then a fairly big boy who went with us he came
running down, one who had already been up there and put his bag there came running back
down and said
"Let me carry your bag for you!" "Okay, carry it for (me)" I said.
Then he took it and carried it for (me).'

Example (13)

Setting
Oriliou-kundu
next.morning-in

Proposal: Parallel Paragraph:
In the morning I said to the little boys  
"Come!" I said. "Cut kunai-grass for (me)!" I said. 
When they came they cut kunai-grass for (me)."

Proposition proper:
"Owa-ma-ndo  "Owa-ma kinie lopa-ma kinie ungu-ri pekemo//-mo to.the.dogs the.dogs and the.possums and talk.a there.is-the ni-e-mili// kene sukundu wa!" ni-ri-mu//. let.us.speak so inside come he.said

Response: Dependent Sentence
Sike konopu.leko/ lopa-anda sukundu ongo/ true they.thinking all.the.possums inside they.coming ongo wele manie tenga maku to-ri-ngi//. they.coming there down in.one.LOC they.gathered

'Because that dog found his drink to be tasty, when that dog had had his taste he said to the dogs (and possums):
"The dogs and possums have something to discuss so come inside!"
Thinking he spoke the truth (was sincere) all the possums came in and gathered together down there in one place.'

10.4.3.2 Speech paragraph

The Speech Paragraph consists of from two to eight speeches which usually form a dialogue. Each Speech is typically expounded by a Quote Sentence. The verb closing each Quote is independent and sentence final. Series of quotes or a dialogue are also optionally embedded in Sequence Sentences and Dependent Sentences. There are no overt links between the Speech tagmemes of the Speech Paragraph.

Speech Paragraphs have been observed in Personal Narrative and Bed-Time Story Discourses (11.5. and 11.4). So far none has been observed in Legends though they would be expected to occur in this discourse type. Speech Paragraphs embed in Narrative Paragraphs, and have twice been observed expounding the Proposal of an Execution Paragraph.

The Speech Paragraph differs from the Execution Paragraph in the following ways:
1. The initiating speech of the Execution Paragraph must be in imperative mood, but the initiating speech of the Speech Paragraph is not in imperative mood.
2. The Response to the speech in the Execution Paragraph is never verbal, while the response to speech in the Speech Paragraph is always verbal.
3. The Speech Paragraph (three tagmemes, one of which can be repeated), is more expandable than the Execution Paragraph (two tagmemes, no repeats).

Table 10.7 Speech Paragraph

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+INITIATING SPEECH</th>
<th>±CONTINUING SPEECH</th>
<th>+RESOLVING SPEECH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel Paragraph</td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Features:
+ speech + speech + speech

Rules and Special Features:
1. Quote Sentence is the most common filler of all tagmemes.
2. Continuing speech can occur up to 4 times.

Note: It is expected that when more data is analysed the elements which expound the Speech tagmemes will be found to be the same for each tagmeme. The array as presented reflects what has been discovered thus far.

Example (15)

Setting: (Setting and Initiating Speech together form one Dependent Sentence)

Aku.kinie oleanga o-mbo/ pu-pu/ ni-ndu//-mu-ni
and.then yesterday I.coming I.went PTR

Initiating speech:
"Nanga lopa kanumu nambe-e-ringi-ye" ni-ndu/. my possum that what.did.you.PL.do? I.said

Resolving speech:
Eno "No-ru-mulu/ kanumu" ni-ngi/.
they we.ate.(it) that they.said

‘And then, yesterday, coming (from my house) I went (to them) and said
"What did you do with that possum of mine?"
They said "We ate it, that's what."'

Example (16)

Initiating speech:
Kanu.kinie "Imu nambe-e-mu-ye" ni-ri-mu/.
and.then this what.happened? he.said

Continuing speech:
Kemboro-nda nimbe//-ndo "elke.to-ru-mu//-ne na yu li-pu/ no-ru-ndu//" ni-ri-mu//.
Kemboro.ACT said: it.broke-because I it I.ate he.said

Resolving speech:
"Nambemona li-ku/ no-ru-nu//-ye ni-ri-mu//.
why you.took you.ate- QU he.said
‘And then he said "What happened to this?"
Kemboro said "Because it broke I took it and ate it." "Why did you take and eat it?" he said.’

Example (17)

Initiating speech: Parallel Paragraph expounded by a Quote Sentence and a Dependent Sentence with a Quote Sentence expounding its second and final base
Kanu-kine "Lo o-mba// ungu akumu welea ni-e-molo//" ni-ngi//.
and.then rain it.will.come talk that quickly let.us say they.said
Sumoli apurunge// tengi// akuma siye.kol-kol//
pearl.shells they.will.distribute they.did those they.leaving
"Ungu akumu welea niemolo//" ningi//.
talk that quickly let.us.say they.said

Continuing speech 1: All one Quote Sentence but with two sentences within the Quote. Note close-quote-formula at end of second sentence
kanu-kine "kinié olio-ne we ungu nimbu/ suku-ruku te-molo//
and.then now we.ACT just talk we.say shorten we.will.do
mele molo." (same speakers continuing): "komisinimenga kanjolimenga
like no of.the.committees of.the.councillors
akuma-ne molko/ ningu/ kaye teangi//" nimulu//.
those-ACT they.being they.say good let.them.do we.said

Continuing speech 2: A Sequence Sentence comprising two actual speech units
kanu-kine "ye nawe omba/ inie suku-singi molopa/ nimbe//-ye"
and.then man who he.coming in.here in.the.middle he.being he.will.speak-QU
ningi// kine Kawa-ne ola angilipe/ "Ya Piyawa
they.said when Kawa.ACT up he.standing here Piyawa
kinie olto nimbolo//
lepamo//" nimu//.
and we.two we.two.will.speak it.looks.like he.said

Continuation speech 3: Sequence Sentence comprising three actual speech units
"Aku kapola ongo/ molkolo niele//"
that okay you.coming you.two.being you.two.speak
nimu// kanu-kine Kawa-ndo "Ou nini//-ye"
he.said and.then Kawa.to first you.will.speak-QU
Kanjoli-mu-ni Piyawa-ndo "Ou nini//-ye" nimu//.
councillor.the-ACT Piyawa-to first you.will.speak-QU he.said

Continuation speech 4: Quote Sentence
Kanu-kine Kawa-ne nimbendo
and.then Kawa-ACT he.said
"Yu-ni ou nimbo//" nimu//.
he>ACT first I.will.speak he.said

Resolving speech: Quote Sentence
"Kapola ni!//" ningi//.
okay speak! they.said

‘And then they said "It's going to rain so let's say that talk quickly!" Leaving those gold-lipped pearl shells they were preparing to distribute they said "Let's say that talk quickly!"
And then we said "Now this is not the sort of talk which we can just shorten. It will be good for (some) of those committee men and councillors to speak."
And then when they said "Which man will come and stand in the centre and speak?" Kawa stood up and said "It looks as though Piyawa and I will speak."
"That's okay, you two come and speak" he said and then he said to Kawa "Will you speak first" the Councillor said to Piyawa "Will you speak first?"
And then Kawa said "I will speak first."
"Okay, speak!" they said.

10.4.3.3 Frustration paragraph

The Frustration Paragraph consists of a Proposal and a Frustration, both of which are obligatory.

The Frustration paragraph is similar to the Execution Paragraph but they differ in the following ways:

1. The Quote Sentence which expounds the Frustration tagmeme is obligatorily manifest by the Unreal Antithetical Sentence, while this sentence type never occurs in the Execution Paragraph.
2. Whereas the Response of the Execution Paragraph is never verbal, the Frustration of the Frustration Paragraph is always verbal.

The Frustration Paragraph is also similar to the Speech Paragraph but differs from it in the following ways:

1. The fillers of the tagmemes of the Frustration Paragraph are more restricted than those which expound the tagmemes of the Speech Paragraph.
2. The Speech Paragraph is more expandable than the Frustration Paragraph.

Table 10.8 Frustration Paragraph

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+PROPOSAL</th>
<th>+FRUSTRATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features: hortative imperative</td>
<td>Unreal Antithetical Sentence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules and Special Features:

1. The Proposal must be in hortatory imperative.
2. The Quote of the Frustration must contain an Unreal Antithetical Sentence (9.7.2.2).
Only one written example of the Frustration Paragraph has been observed in some 40,000 words of analysed text material, though this paragraph type is common in conversation. Example (18) is from a Bed-Time Story Discourse (11.4).

**Example (18)**

**Proposal:** Quote S:

\[\text{"ye sumbu kanumu } "p\text{-a-mbo/}" \text{ ni-ri-mu/.}\]

\[\text{man bachelor that let.me.go! he.said}\]

**Frustration:** Quote S:

\[\text{"molo. } \text{p-a-ni// mangali opale } p\text{-a-ni// kini\text{\`e mol-a-mbili//.}\}

\[\text{no you.may.go but tomorrow you.may.go today let.us.two.stay}\]

\[\text{yunge ponie mare era pe-le-mo// te-nde-po/ mol-a-mbili// ni-ri-mu/.}\]

\[\text{his garden some grass it.is.in we.two.doing.for let.us.two.stay she.said}\]

‘That bachelor said "Let me go!"'

‘No. You may go but you may go tomorrow; let's stay together today. Let's stay and weed some of his garden for him today!’ she said.’

(19) is an example from a conversation between the author's husband and a native Kaugel speaker, as recorded by the author.

**Example (19)**

**Proposal:** Quote Sentence

\[\text{"Ropete-ne Nawea-ndo } "\text{Okoramba-ndo pea pamili/!" nirimu//.}\]

\[\text{Robert-ACT Nawea-to Ukarumpa-to with let.us.go he.said}\]

**Frustration:** Quote Sentence

\[\text{Nawea-ne } "\text{pea pamili mangali na pumbondo pipili.tekemo//." nirimu/.}\]

\[\text{Nawea-ACT with let's.go but I to.go I.am.afraid he.said}\]

‘Ropete said to Nawea "Come to Ukarumpa with us!"

Nawea said "I would go with you but I am afraid to go."

**10.4.4 Embedded-Juxtaposed paragraphs**

This is a set of three paragraph types; the Parallel, Contrast and Exposition paragraphs.

These paragraphs typically embed in other paragraphs expounding paragraph level tagmemes. The Exposition Paragraph has been observed expounding discourse level tagmemes though it much more commonly embeds in other paragraphs, particularly Procedure and Narrative paragraphs (10.4.2). However, the Parallel and Contrast Paragraphs have never been observed expounding discourse level tagmemes, only paragraph level.

The second feature that these three paragraph types share is that the sentences of these paragraphs are only rarely joined by recapitulation or referents as is common in the Narrative and Procedure paragraphs. Sentences in the Parallel, Contrast and Exposition paragraphs are typically juxtaposed, the whole paragraph being held together lexically by centering around one theme which is presented first in each paragraph type. For this reason the first tagmeme of each of these paragraph types will be termed Theme.
However, each paragraph type handles this Theme in a different way. In the Parallel Paragraph the Theme is re-presented in an identical or very similar way. In the Contrast Paragraph the contrasting or opposite view of the Theme is presented following the Theme. In the Exposition Paragraph the Theme is expounded or enlarged upon.

Particularly in the Parallel and Contrast Paragraphs the sentences are typically short and it is common to have the same sentence type expounding each tagmeme within any one example.

### 10.4.4.1 Parallel paragraph

The Parallel Paragraph consists of a Theme and a Parallel theme, both of which are obligatory. The Parallel tagmeme is optionally, though not often, repeated. Parallel Paragraph is probably the most common paragraph type in all of Kaugel discourse, with the possible exception of Narrative Paragraph. Parallel Paragraphs usually embed in other paragraphs, most commonly in Narrative Paragraphs, but have also been observed in Exposition, Procedure, Listing and Speech Paragraphs.

The Parallel Paragraph is similar structurally, and virtually identical semantically, to the Paraphrase Sentence (9.5.2), which is a Juxtaposed Base Sentence (9.5). The main difference between the two constructions is that the tagmemes of the Paraphrase Sentence are typically expounded by dependent clauses or sentences, while those of the Parallel Paragraph are commonly expounded by independent clauses or sentences.

### Table 10.9 Parallel paragraph

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+THEME</th>
<th>+PARALLEL₁</th>
<th>+PARALLEL₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple Sentence</td>
<td>Simple Sentence</td>
<td>Simple Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement-Evaluation Sentence</td>
<td>Statement-Evaluation Sentence</td>
<td>Statement-Evaluation Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
<td>Paraphrase Sentence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rules and Special Features:**

1. The ideas expressed in each sentence must be parallel. This is typically formally signified by the use of identical or synonymous verbs in the final Predicate of each sentence.

2. It is common, though not obligatory, to have the same sentence type expounding each tagmeme.

3. Sentences are usually short.

**Note** It is expected that other sentence types can occur in this paragraph. The array reflects those discovered thus far which are the more common types.

**Example (20)**

**Theme:** Dependent Sentence

\[nosi-\text{pu} / maku to-\text{po} / \text{pora ni-li-mo} / .\]

we.putting we.gathering it.is.finished

**Parallel:** Simple Sentence
Example (21)

**Theme:** Simple Sentence

*daki* *klinie* *awili* *te-ko/* *naa* *to-ri-ngi/*.

and.then big they.doing not they.cut

**Parallel:** Simple Sentence

*dalo-kolo-ma* *to-ri-ngi/*.

very.little they-cut

‘And then they didn't cut very much.
They cut very little.’

Example (22)

**Theme:** Simple Sentence

*dalo* *i-kundi* *i-kundi* *pali* *dalo* *pali* *o-le-mele/*.

people here-to here-to all people all they.come

**Parallel**1: Simple Sentence

*dalo* *pali* *o-le-mele/*.

people all they.come

**Parallel**2: Simple Sentence

*daki* *klinie* *dalo* *suku-ndu* *suku-ndu* *o-le-mele/*.

and.then people to.inside to.inside they.come

‘All the people come here from every direction.
All the people come.
And then the people come together.’

Example (23)

**Theme:** Dependent Sentence

*Akumu* *kolea* *tenga* *ameme* *te-po/* *te-po/*-lie

that place in.one stack we.doing we.doing-SEQ

*dunjo* *akumu* *sulu-pu/* *kalo-pu/* *pora* *si-li-molo/*.

wood that we.splitting we.burning we.finish

**Parallel**: Coordinate Sentence

*dunjo* *telumu* *su-li-molo/* *pe* *ka-le-molo/*.

wood the.one we split then we burn

‘We stack that (wood) in one place then we split and finish burning that wood. We split the one piece of wood then we burn (it).’
Chapter 10: Paragraphs

Example (24)

**Theme:** Quote Sentence

*Kango* kelo-*ma-ndo* "wa!" *ni-ri-ndu//.

Boy to.the.little come I.said

**Parallel:** Quote Sentence

"*angi* to-*nda!" *ni-ri-ndu//.

Kunai grass cut.for I.said

‘To the little boys "Come!" I said.
Cut kunai grass for (me)!” I said.’

Example (25)

**Theme:** Simple Sentence

*aku* pe *na* naa *pu-mbo//.

That then I not I.will.go

**Parallel:** Paraphrase Sentence

*nanga* *kango-*ma* "*molo*" *nimbo//* "*naa pa!*" *nimbo//.

My boys no I.will.say not go I.will.say

‘So then I will not go.
I will not let my sons go either.’

10.4.4.2 Contrast paragraph

The Contrast Paragraph consists of an obligatory Theme and an obligatory Contrast. The contrast between the bases may be temporal, positive negative, or lexical antonyms.

The Contrast Paragraph differs from the Parallel Paragraph in the following ways:

1. The Contrast Paragraph is always and only binary whereas the Parallel Paragraph has three possible tagmemes.
2. The Parallel Paragraph can embed into the Contrast Paragraph.
3. The semantic relationship between the tagmemes of the Contrast Paragraph is contrastive rather than complementary.

Table 10.10 Contrast paragraph

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+THEME</th>
<th>+CONTRAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comparison Sentence</td>
<td>Comparison Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antithetical Sentence</td>
<td>Antithetical Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional Sentence</td>
<td>Parallel Paragraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple Sentence</td>
<td>Simple Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referent Sentence</td>
<td>Referent Sentence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 10: Paragraphs

Rules and Special Features:

1. Sentences are usually short, though they tend to be longer and more involved when the contrast between the tagmemes is temporal.
2. It is common, though not obligatory, to have the same sentence type expounding each tagmeme.

(26) and (27) are examples of temporal - before and now - contrast.

Example (26)

**Theme:** Simple Sentence

\[ \text{aku lopa naa no-ru-mu//.} \]
that possums not he.ate

**Contrast:** Simple Sentence

\[ \text{kinié olio-ne lopa no-ko-molo//.} \]
now we-ACT possums we.are.eating

‘He did not eat possums.
(So) now we are eating possums.’

Example (27)

**Theme:** Simple Sentence

\[ \text{ou umbu api Enga-ko-nádo ka-le-mele// aku api panje-ri-mu//.} \]
before local salt from.Enga they.cook that salt they.put.in

**Contrast:** Sequence Sentence

\[ \text{kinié kusa okomo// wele api naa nokomele//.} \]
now salt it.is.come since salt not they.eat

‘Previously they used to put into (their food) the local salt from Enga territory that they (produced by) burning.
Now, since foreign salt is come they do not eat native salt.’

It is interesting to note, though it has nothing whatsoever to do with paragraph structure, that in examples (28) to (31) the first person singular pronoun, and/or singular verb suffixes, are used to stand for the whole clan, or more specifically, all the males of the clan.

(28) illustrates a contrast of lexical antonyms.

Example (28)

**Theme:** Simple Sentence

\[ \text{kango anda-mo akilie-ri-mu//.} \]
boy all-the.SG he.was.at.the.back

**Contrast:** Simple Sentence

\[ \text{ye kumbi lie-ri-ndu//.} \]
men nose I.put

‘All the boys were at the back.
We men in front.’
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(29) is another example of temporal - before and now - contrast.

Example (29)

Theme: Real Antithetical Sentence, with embedded Sequence, Dependent, and Narrative Cause-Result Sentences:

\[ ou \text{kondoli keapo naa o-ru-mu// kinie wi ou molo-ri-ngi//} \]
before red kiap not he-came when upstream before they.were

\[ kinie ou nanga lapali ou moloringi// kinie yembo ena te-ri-mu// \]
when before my fathers before they.were when people sun it.shone

\[ kulu purumulu// nalo yembo poporome o-mba/-lie ni-ri-mu-mu-ni \]
because we.went but people wind it.coming-SEQ PTR

\[ lo-kopu lo o-mba/ ni-ri-mu-mu-ni yembo no-mba/ aku-me-nga \]
hail rain it.coming PTR people it.eating of.those

\[ kol-ko/ lie-ri-ngi//-mu ombele-ma we wi akumanga \]
they.dying they.lie.the the. bones just upstream in.those.places

\[ kuli-manga lemo//. \]
on.the.grasslands it.is

Contrast: Sequence Sentence

\[ kinié kondoli keapo o-ko-mo// kinie ena te-pa/ na naa no-ko-mo//. \]
now red kiap he.is.come since sun it.shining me not it.is.eating

‘Before the European patrol officer came, in the days of my/our forefathers people would go (up the mountain) when the sun was shining but the wind and hail and rain would come and those things killed (some) of them and their bones are just lying up there on the plateau. Now that the patrol officer has come the sun shines (so the wind, rain and hail) doesn't hurt me/us.’

(30) is an example of a negative positive contrast.

Example (30)

Theme: Factual Conditional Sentence

\[ nu ponie ou pu-mu// liemo I pe naa kanoni//. \]
you.S year before you.go if this then not you.will see

Contrast: Parallel Paragraph

\[ molonu// liemo ou naa puku/ molonu// liemo \]
you.stay if before not you.go you.stay if

\[ pea molopo/-lie temolo//mo nu pea kanoni//. \]
with you.staying-SEQ we.will.do the you.SG also you.will see

\[ tembo// ulumu nu kanoni//. \]
I.will.do the.custom you.SG you.will see

‘If you go the year before then you will not see this. If you stay, if you do not go beforehand (but) stay, being with us you also will see what we will do. You will see the thing I will do.’
10.4.4.3 Exposition paragraph

The Exposition Paragraph consists of an obligatory Theme and an obligatory Exposition which may occur from one to three times. The purpose of the Exposition tagmeme is to take salient features from the Theme and expound and enlarge upon them.

Exposition Paragraph typically embeds into larger paragraphs, especially in Personal Narrative, Legend, Expository, and Procedural Discourses. When an Exposition Paragraph does expound a discourse level tagmeme it is usually either at the beginning of a discourse in the Stage tagmeme, or at the end as Closure or Summary.

The Exposition Paragraph is similar to the Parallel and Contrast Paragraphs but differs from them in the following ways:

1. It is more expandable; i.e. there may be as many as three Expositions of the Theme in an Exposition Paragraph, but only one Contrast in the Contrast and only two Parallels in the Parallel Paragraph.
2. The Exposition Paragraph may expound discourse level tagmemes, the Parallel and Contrast Paragraphs never do.

Table 10.11 Exposition Paragraph

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+THEME</th>
<th>+EXPOSITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation Sentence</td>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Comparison Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base; Coordinate Sentence</td>
<td>Simple Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple Sentence</td>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antithetical Sentence</td>
<td>Cause-Result Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel Paragraph</td>
<td>Evaluation Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parallel Paragraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alternate Paragraph</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules:

1. Exposition can occur from 1 to 3 times.

Example (31) is embedded in a Procedure Paragraph. A particular procedure, which is the final base of a Dependent Sentence expounding a Step in the Procedure Paragraph, becomes the Theme for the Exposition Paragraph. The purpose of this example is to explain to the hearer - an outsider - a little more explicitly, what this procedure entails.

Example (31)

**Theme:** (final base of Dependent Sentence)

\[\text{unjo} \quad t-si-mulu/\].  
wood we.got

**Exposition:** Dependent Sentence

\[\text{Unjo} \quad li-pu/-lie \quad \text{Komola} \quad yu-yu \quad t-si-mu/\].  
wood we.getting-SEQ Komola he-himself he.got

**Exposition:** Parallel Paragraph made up of two Simple Sentences

\[\text{nanga} \quad na-nu \quad t-si-ndu\]  
mine I.myself I.got
unjo Takopoka-nga na-nu l-si-ndu
wood Takopoka's I.myself I.got

'We got wood.
We getting wood, Komola clan got his (their) own.
I myself got mine. I got Takopoka clans wood myself.'

(32) occurs at the end of an Expository Discourse (11.2) expounding the Closure tagmeme:

Example (32)

**Theme:** Sequence Sentence

\[
\begin{align*}
to-pa/ & \text{kalopera} \quad to-pa/ & \text{ako-ru-mu} / \quad \text{kinie} & \quad \text{"kurū kanu-mu-ni-la} \\
gain-it \text{frost} & \text{it.drove.(us).out} \text{when spirit that.the-ACT-also} \\
te-ke-mo/ & \quad \text{ni-mbu/ aku kuru-mu-la ambolo-ru-mulu//}. \\
\text{it.is.doing} \text{we.saying that the.spirit-also we.held.on.to}
\end{align*}
\]

**Exposition:** Simple Sentence with embedding:

\[
\begin{align*}
I & \quad \text{kolea-mo kalopera to-pa/} \quad \text{kuli tepe mele} \\
\text{this place-the frost} & \text{it.striking grass fire like} \\
no-le-mo/ & \quad \text{mo kolea yamo peanga-re naa le-mo//}. \\
\text{it.eats-the place here.the a.good not it.was}
\end{align*}
\]

**Exposition:** Cause-Result Sentence

\[
\begin{align*}
kuru & \quad \text{aku-mu-ni} \quad \text{ako-ru-mu//ne} \quad \text{ga} \quad \text{koyo-ru-mulu//}. \\
spirit that.the.ACT & \text{it.drove.out-because sweet.potato we.steam.cooked}
\end{align*}
\]

'When frost drove us out again, realising it was that spirit doing this also we prepared to worship that spirit.
When the frost hit this place this here place was like as though a grass fire had burned it, there wasn't a good place here.
Because that spirit drove us out we steam cooked sweet potato (in worship of the spirit).'

(33), like (31) is also expounding a Step of a Procedure Paragraph.

Example (33)

**Theme:** Simple Sentence

\[
\begin{align*}
we & \quad \text{panji-li-molo//}. \\
\text{just} & \quad \text{we.put.it.in}
\end{align*}
\]

**Exposition:** Statement-Evaluation Sentence

\[
\begin{align*}
aku-kinie & \quad \text{ga-mu-nge} \quad \text{melte ga-mbo-re} \quad \text{kepe ga} \\
\text{and.then of.the.sweet.potato} & \text{a.thing a.sweet.potato.cutting even sweet potato} \\
walo-re & \quad \text{kepe melte pea naa panji-li-molo// molo} \\
\text{young-a even a.thing with not we.put.in/plant no}
\end{align*}
\]

**Exposition:** Dependent Sentence

\[
\begin{align*}
we & \quad \text{ga-mbo panji-pu/ lango-po/ pu-pu/ mundu-ne} \\
\text{just s.p.cuttings we.putting.in} & \text{we.breaking.off we.going in.the.mound} \\
mundu & \quad \text{te-po/ ga-mbo panji-pu/ panji-li-molo//}. \\
\text{mound we.making s.p.cuttings we.putting.in} & \text{we.put.in/plant}
\end{align*}
\]

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‘We just put it in.
And then we do not plant something from the sweet potato, (such as) a young sweet potato or
something with a sweet potato cutting, no!
Just putting in sweet potato cuttings, we go on breaking them off (and) making the sweet potato
mounds we plant the sweet potato cuttings in the mounds.’

(34) expounds the Cycle3 tagmeme of a Listing Paragraph (10.4.5.1) which occurs at the end
of a Legend Discourse (11.3).

**Example (34)**

**Theme:** Simple Sentence (with embedding):

```
lopa ma-na manie-ndo purumu// akumu
possum ground-into down-into it.went that.one
```

```
lopa komulu-mu kinié mana.manie pelemo//.
possum echidna-the now down.underground it.lives
```

**Exposition:** Sequence Sentence

```
ma aku-ku/ mundu-ku/ tolemele// mana.manie
earth they.digging they.sending they.strike down.underground
```

```
manie-ndo purumu// akumu to-ko/ nosi-li-me// kinie
down-to it.went that.one they.hitting they put when
```

```
laye weke-ndo kanolemele// kinie ma kengea.lepa/-lie
a.little away-to they.look when earth it.burrow
alto-pa/ sukundu-la pulimo// aku telemo//.
it.again inside-also it.goes that it.does
```

‘That possum which went down under the ground, the echidna, now lives down in the ground.
That is the one which when they dig down (to) kill it it goes further down, when they shoot and
put it down/aside then turn away for a moment it digs down and goes inside (the ground) again;
it does that.’

**10.4.5 Stereotyped paragraphs**

There are three types of paragraph which are either highly structured or have stringent
restrictions on the fillers of the slots. These are the **LISTING**, **HYPOTHETICAL**, and **EXHORTATION** paragraphs. They are also quite limited in their distribution as will be described for each type.

**10.4.5.1 Listing paragraph**

The Listing Paragraph consists of an obligatory Cycle which is repeated from two to four
times, rounded off by an optional Climax. The Cycles and Climax are optionally, though rarely,
repeated.

The Listing paragraph lists similar or identical actions carried out by either the same or
different actors.

The Listing Paragraph seems to have developed in Kaugel speech as an aid to memorization, as
it has only been observed in types of discourse which are traditionally passed on from one to
another in oral form; viz. Legend, Expository and Bed-Time-Story Discourses.

Listing Paragraphs do not embed in other paragraph types.
Table 10.12 Listing Paragraph

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+CYCLE</th>
<th>±CLIMAX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
<td>Base 2 of Coordinate Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple Sentence</td>
<td>Comment Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base 2 of Sequence Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel Paragraph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposition Paragraph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rules and Special Features:

1. It is common, though not obligatory, to have the same or similar sentence type in each Cycle.
2. There can be three to five cycles in each listing paragraph and up to two climaxes.

Example (35)

**Cycle 1:** Dependent Sentence

- *mare pungu-pungu nangu* / o-ngo/ unjomanga
  - some jumping with fright they coming up the trees
- o-ngo/ ola pu-ri-ngi//.
  - they coming up they went

**Cycle 2:** Parallel Paragraph

- *lopa te "paa pungu-pungu nikiru/" nimbe/-lie*
  - possum one very I am frightened he saying SEQ
- mana manie pu-ru-mu//. kuluto-pa manie-ndo purumu//.
  - down underground he went he burrowing to down he went
- mana manie pu-ru-mu//.
  - down underground he went

**Cycle 3:** Dependent Sentence

- *lopa te "we pungu-pungu nikiru/" ni-mbe/-lie*
  - possum one just I am scared he saying SEQ
- o-mba/ manie undi pulune talopa lie-ri-mu//.
  - he came down grass base he fled for refuge

**Cycle 4:** Dependent Sentence

- *lopa te pungu-pungu ni-mbe/-lie unjo-na o-mba/ ola-ndo pu-ru-mu//.
  - possum one he jumping with fright tree in he coming up at he went

'Some jumping with fright came and climbed up trees. One possum said "I'm scared" and went underground. Burrowing down he went. He went underground. One possum said "I'm scared" and fled for refuge down at the base of the undi bush. One possum was startled and climbed up a tree.'
Example (36) could be postulated as a repetition of (35), as allowed for in the array, and the one sentence between the two Listings could be called Climax, as in (37). However, because (36) begins like a new paragraph and also expounds a different discourse level tagmeme it has been postulated as a separate paragraph. But there is no doubt that semantically these two paragraphs hang together as two sides of the one coin as it were.

Example (36)

**Setting:**

pe kinié
later now

**Cycle 1: Coordinate Sentence**

kinié lopa unjo-na ola-ndo pu-ru-mu// ola lopa kepa maya
now possum tree.in to.up he.went up possum type type
unjo-na ola pelemele// aku ola-ndo pu-ru-mu-mu//.
tree.in up they.live that up.to it.went.the

**Cycle 2: Simple Sentence**

manie andokomo//mo lopa kulume kinie pelio-selo manie pu-ru-mu//.
down it.wanders-the possum type and type-both down it.went

**Cycle 3: Exposition Paragraph**

lopa ma-na manie-ndo pu-ru-mu// akumu lopa komulu-mu kinié
possum ground.in down.to it.went that.one possum type-the now
ma-na.manie pe-le-mo//. ma aku-ku/ mundu-ku/ to-le-mele//
down.underground it.lives earth they.digging they.sending they.strike
ma-na.manie manie-ndo pu-ru-mu// akumu to-ko/ nosi-le-mele//
down.underground down.to it.went that.the they.striking they.putting
kinie laye we-ke-ndo kanolemele// kinie ma kengea.le-pa-lie
when a little to.away they.look when earth he.digging-SEQ
alto-pa/ sukundu-la pu-li-mo// aku te-le-mo//.
he.again inside-also he.goes that he.does

‘Now, at this later time, now the possum which went up a tree; the kepa possum and the maya possum live up in trees; that's the one that went up.
The one which wanders about down (on the ground); the kulume and pelio possums went down.
That possum which went down under the ground, the echidna, now lives down in the ground.
That is the one which when they dig down (to) kill it it goes further down, when they shoot and put it down/aside then turn away for a moment it digs down and goes inside (the ground) again; it does that.’

Example (37) is from a Legend about origins.

Example (37)

**Cycle 1: Dependent Sentence**

pe mere apo te pu-pe/ mere Tomba mo-le-mo//.
then downstream half one he.going downstream Tomba he.stays
Then one group went downstream and lives at Tomba.
Then one group went and lives at Mendi, too.
Then one group went and lives in that place the other side of Mendi.
Then one group went and lives at Tona also.
Then one group went and lives in that place down near the foot of Mt. Ialibu where the main road runs.

That (clan) called Peraka Panimbe - I am a man of the Peraka clan - that one he alone generated eight council wards and of those ones which Palinoli-Palime generated/bore here he shared them out/they spread out:

‘Then one who was going far away from here he went far away.
This one who was going a long way downstream went a long way downstream.
This one who was going nearby downstream he went to a nearby place downstream.’
10.4.5.2 Hypothetical paragraph

The Hypothetical Paragraph has only one tagmeme, an obligatory Hypothesis tagmeme which occurs from one to five times. This paragraph occurs only in the Hypothetical Circumstance slot of the Legend Discourse.

### Table 10.13 Hypothetical Paragraph

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+HYPOTHESIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contra-factual Conditional Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple Sentence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feature: subjunctive aspect

Rules and Special Features:

1. The final verb of every sentence is obligatorily suffixed for subjunctive mood.
2. Hypothesis occurs from one to five times.

### Example (38)

**Hypothesis 1**: Contra-factual Conditional Sentence

```
olio yu-ni no-l-ka//
demele
we he-ACT eat-ASP-SUBJ.3SG what's.his.name place Giluwe Pelkepo
aku-mu-ni yu-ni no-l-ka-nje//
aku olio-ne naa no-le-mela//.
that.one-ACT he-ACT eat-ASP-SUBJ-3SG-DUB that we-ACT not eat-ASP-SUBJ.1PL
```

**Hypothesis 2**: Simple Sentence

```
lopa olio naa no-le-mela//.
possum we not we.would.eat
```

**Hypothesis 3**: Simple Sentence

```
kera kepe olio naa-la no-le-mela//.
birds even we not.also we.would.eat
```

**Hypothesis 4**: Contra-factual Conditional Sentence

```
yu-ni no-mba/ pora.si-l-ke// kera laime kepe olio naa-la no-le-mela//.
he-ACT he.eating he.finish.SUBJ bird cassowary even we not.also we.would eat
```

**Hypothesis 5**: Contra-factual Conditional Sentence

```
no-mba/ pora.si-l-ke// olio naa no-le-mela//.
he.eating he.finished SUBJ we not we.would.eat
```

‘If he had eaten, what's his name?, Pelkepo of Mt. Giluwe, if that one had eaten (all the game) we would not (now) eat that. We would not eat possums. We would not even eat birds either. If he had finished eating (everything) we would not even eat cassowary either. If he had finished eating (everything) we would not eat (any).’
Example (39)

**Setting:** Comparison Sentence

lopa  kinie  owa-ma-ne  aku  te-ri-ngi  mele
possum  with  dogs-ACT  that  they.did  like

kinie  ya-ndo  ya-ndo  lopa  owa-ma-ne  to-ko-mele//.
now  ever.since  ever.since  possum  dogs-ACT  they.attack

**Hypothesis:** Contra-factual Conditional Sentence

we-nje  naa  to-le-mela//
just-DUB  not  attack-ASP-SUBJ.3PL

lopa  owa-selo  telu-na  pe-le-mbela//.
possum  dog.both  one.in  live-ASP-SUBJ.3DL

‘As the dogs did that with the possums now the dogs have been attacking possums ever since. If perhaps for some reason they had not attacked them the possums and the dogs might still be living together.’

10.4.5.3 **Exhortation paragraph**

The Exhortation Paragraph consists of an obligatory Command plus an optional Explanation. As many as nine Commands may occur and the Explanation is optionally inserted after any Command. To indicate that the Explanation is inserted information rather than a part of the exhortation, the speaker recapitulates the final instruction of the previous Command before continuing with the exhortation.

The Exhortation Paragraph is almost exclusive to the Hortatory Discourse (11.6) but has also been observed in Narrative, Expository and Bed-Time-Story Discourses.

**Table 10.14 Exhortation Paragraph**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMAND</th>
<th>EXPLANATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Sentence</td>
<td>Conditional Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence Sentence</td>
<td>Merged Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional Sentence</td>
<td>Imperative Cause-Result Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative Cause-Result Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinate Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quote Sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Features: quoted imperative or future tense  future tense
liemo  ‘if’  -ko  definitive clitic
kene  ‘therefore/so’  -a  expressive clitic

Rules and Special Features:

1. The final verb of the Command tagmeme is usually suffixed for quoted imperative, which in all other paragraph types must be followed by the verb ni ‘to speak’.
2. The final verb of the Command tagmeme, is optionally, though not usually, affixed for future tense.
3. The Explanation tagmeme optionally follows any Command tagmeme but has not been observed more than twice in any one paragraph.

4. The final verb of the Explanation tagmeme is obligatorily affixed for future tense plus the -ko definitive and -a expressive clitics, collapsed into one as -ka.

5. Up to 9 Command tagmemes may occur.

Example (40)

Setting: Quote Sentence

kinie ya Pita-nga penge-mo-nga "molo" ni-ki-ru//.
now here Peter's hair.concerning no I.am.saying

Command 1: Factual Conditional Sentence

alto-ko/ ta.ni-ngu/ poro-ngili// liemo
you.two.again you.two.spurning you.two.cut if

kou pape paone si-nge// li-mbo//
stone five pound you.will.give I.will.take

‘Here and now I forbid you to cut Peter's hair.
If you spurning my instruction cut it again you will give me and I will get five pounds. (K10)’

Example (41)

Setting: A Sequence Sentence which is the first base of a Dependent Sentence

nu opa.te-nge// kinie nu opa.te-ko/ naa kano-li
you.S they.will.fight when you.S fighting not seeing

akumu pu-ku/-lie nini//muni
that you.going-SEQ PTR

Command 1: Dependent Sentence

opa.tenge// kumbi-kere aku-ne pu-ku/-lie kune komu-ne mol-ko/-lie
they.will.fight face in.that you.going-SEQ shield ear-in you.staying-SEQ

ni-ni/-mu-ni mera o-mba// mele wamo-ko/ kano-ko/-lie
PTR arrow it.will.come like you.carefully look.you-SEQ

mera o-mba//-mo mera kumbi-mu mindi kanou!
arrow it.will.come-the arrow nose-the only look

Explanation 1: Factual Conditional Sentence

mera kambe-mo kano-nu// liemo aku ou omba/
arow the.shaft you.look if that before it.coming

nunge kangi-ne mera mo-le-mo//-k-a
your flesh-in arrow it.is-DEF-EXP

Command 2: Dependent Sentence

mera kumbi-mu kano-ko/-lie nini//muni mera o-mba// akumu
arrow the.nose you.seeing-SEQ PTR arrow it.will.come that.one

we li-ku.ite-l-ku/ nunge kumbi-kere mindi we li-ku.ora.siku/
just you.dodging.SIM your face only just you.showing

we mera li-ku.ite-l-ku andout!!//.
just arrow you.dodging.SIM move.about
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**Command 3**: Dependent Sentence

*mera bul-ku-ndu o-mba/ pu-mbe// akumu*
arrow toward.back it.coming it.will.go that.one

*pu-ku/ naa akuo!!//*
you.going not dig.out

**Command 4**: Dependent Sentence

*paa sumbi.si-ku/ kumbi-kere-kendo o-mba// akumu aku-ku/
very you.straight toward.face it.will.come that you.digging

*me-l-ku/ opa.te-l-ku/ anjo-anjo pu!!//*
you.carrying.SIM you.fighting.SIM away.away go

**Command 5**: Simple Sentence (with embedded Dependent Sentence in the Object)

*mera wele pulue pe-pa/-lie to-mba// akumu mindi kanou!!//.
arrow other.side enemy he.being.in-SEQ he.will.shoot that.one only watch

**Explanation 2**: Reasoning Merged Sentence

*kumbi-kere sundu-mongo to-mba// akumu*
face directly he.will.shoot that.one

*yuyu o-mba/ pu-li-mo// pu-mbe//-k-a*
it.itself it.coming it.goes it.will.go-DEF.EXP

**Command 6**: Dependent Sentence

*Pulue akumu mindi kano-ko/-lie pulue pe-pa/
enemy that.one only you.watching-SEQ enemy he.being.in

to-mba// akumu mindi li-ku.te-l-ku pu!!//.
he.will.shoot that.one only you.dodging.SIM go

‘When you go to a fight, you not having seen a fight before,
when you go there to the front of where they are fighting stay behind a shield and looking
carefully as the arrows come watch only the head of the arrows!
If you watch the shaft of the arrow it will come before you are ready and the arrow will most
definitely pierce your flesh.
Watching the point of the arrow just dodging around where that arrow is coming just show
only your face and just keep moving about dodging the arrows!
If an arrow passes behind your back don't go and dig that out!
Immediately dig up and carry along the one that lands right in front of you and keep moving
away fighting as you go!
Watch only that arrow the enemy being at the side shoots!
That one that he shoots straight at you always goes straight past and definitely will go straight
past.
Watching only that enemy, go on dodging only that enemy who shoots from the side!’

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