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THE SENTENCE IN WIK-MUNKAN:
A DESCRIPTION OF PROPOSITIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

by

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PREFACE

On hearing a paper of Professor Robin's (The Eleventh Congress of Linguistics: 'The Case of Grammar of Maximus Planudes'), in which he traced modern ideas of case grammar back to the thinking of a man in the twelfth century, I asked him two questions: (1) "Is there ever a new idea in linguistics?" and (2) "How can we recognize progress in linguistics if we see it?" On hearing the first question he paused a while and then said, "I think there sometimes is a new idea in linguistics." To the second question he replied after a similar hesitation, "Well, I think describing a previously undescribed language is really progress." I think that responses of this sort from a recognized authority in the history of linguistics are very significant. Much of apparent progress in linguistics consists of giving new labels to old viewpoints, or of working out new angles of essentially old points, or sometimes of amalgamating in a new synthesis older points of view. Also a great deal of the work of the modern linguist consists of assimilating points of view from the rhetorician, literary critic, or student of literature and restating these in a form consistent with the rest of the corpus of linguistic knowledge. This is not to deny, however, that there is an occasional 'new idea' in linguistics.

Professor Robin's second response surprised me considerably. On reflection, however, it fits. If we are seriously interested in understanding language, then there is no substitute for the study of particular languages. That such a language as Wik-Munkan will probably never be studied in the depth that English, French or German is being studied, is beside the point. Can we ever claim to know anything about language when most of our conclusions are based on in-depth studies of a mere handful of the world's languages and most of these languages from Western Europe? Each distinct linguistic culture area of the world and each language within it has something to contribute to the understanding of language.

In accordance with Professor Robin's second response we may consider then that the publication of this volume marks genuine progress in linguistics. That is not to say that the present volume is a definitive study of Wik-Munkan. In fact, in what language has a definitive study ever been published, regardless of the time invested in its study? This study is at least a far cry from the days when in the United States a graduate student would go out to spend two-and-a-half months of his summer vacation on an Indian Reservation and then proceed on the basis of the data gathered to write a 'grammar' of the language. Miss Sayers has stayed long enough with the Wik-Munkan to speak their language and to empathize considerably with the people and their culture.

Several things of interest arise in the present monograph. One of these is the collapsing of sentence and paragraph as a common structural level. A second item of interest is a very detailed and careful description of varieties of paraphrase. A third item of interest is the handling of the peculiar cycling structure found in Wik-Munkan and probably in many other Australian languages as well. Although I have freely edited Miss Sayers' manuscript, I have made no essential change in her solutions or presentation.

This monograph was first drafted at a Workshop under the auspices of the Office of Education (of the United States Government), Health, Education and Welfare Project (contract 0-9-097756-4409(014)) held on the Ukarumpa Base of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Papua New Guinea. As an advocate of the usefulness of grammatical hierarchy, i.e. description of grammar in terms of ascending levels (morpheme, stem, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, discourse) I arrived as principal investigator at this Workshop with a certain curiosity to know how these various grammatical levels, especially the higher levels, would function in the languages represented in the project. Three Australian aboriginal languages were represented in the workshop, and in all three the search for a distinction between the structural levels of sentence and paragraph proved to be a frustrating endeavour. This was not because of any inherent scepticism on the part of myself or the participants against finding such a threshold. In language after language of the project the assumption of such a threshold proved fruitful, especially in the chaining languages of the New Guinea highlands (compare previous monographs of Fore (Scott 1973) and Wojokeso (West 1973) published in *Pacific Linguistics*). But in spite of a predisposition to find sentence and paragraph as distinct levels, it seemed useless to posit such a distinction. We had met a similar situation before in the study of Mayan languages of Mesoamerica. In that family of languages it proved impractical to distinguish word from

phrase. What emerges from all of this is a theory of hierarchy in which, while we commonly expect to find certain levels in the great majority of the world's languages, we are prepared to accept hierarchical arrangements which have fewer levels in particular instances.

In languages where sentence and paragraph are distinguished, they are levels of organization in the surface structure in which the sentence is a more tight and more compact unit and the paragraph is the more diffuse unit which permits a seriatim treatment of items within it. In such languages we may, of course, find an occasional long sentence which has fully as much information as any paragraph and we may occasionally find a short paragraph which could easily have been expressed as one sentence. Their function in discourse is quite distinct. Most typically discourses are composed of paragraphs and of embedded discourses (which in turn are composed of paragraph) while paragraphs are composed of sentences. The presence of the two units in the surface organization of the language gives a stylistic choice which is available for marking features such as prominence and peak. It is important to note, however, that sentence and paragraph, in languages where they are distinguished, draw essentially on the same set of deep structures, namely those of the enlarged statement calculus as described in a series of two articles (Ballard, Conrad, and Longacre 1971a, 1971b).

In a language such as Wik-Munkan where sentence and paragraph are not distinct levels in the surface structure, the entire apparatus of the enlarged statement calculus is expressed on the one undifferentiated level. The present monograph attempts to describe what the various deep structures are in regard to each unit. The undifferentiated unit is here called sentence. It could as well have been called paragraph. But it does not matter. It seems desirable to have called the unit by one of the two familiar names rather than attempting some kind of bizarre or conflated new name.

As stated above, varieties of paraphrase are handled in the present monograph in considerable detail. It seems to be a universal characteristic of a language that there are ways in which essentially the same idea may be expressed two or more times in varied wording. This partly reflects the redundancy capacity of a language which is able to operate under conditions of considerable noise and distraction. It is simply a fact that in most situations if something is said only once, albeit very correctly, it will rarely get through to the hearer. Paraphrase, therefore, is described in terms of this attempt to repeat, reinforce and eventually communicate with the hearer. This means that paraphrase is not necessarily restricted to close equivalence. In

fact there is reason to believe that pure repetition of wording is not paraphrase, but often expresses some such idea as duration or continuance: *he went and he went and he went*, meaning '*he kept on going*' in New Guinea Highland's languages. Paraphrase, then, inevitably involves the use of synonyms and addition or loss of information is going from one sentence base to the other. Allowing, therefore, this looser and more pragmatic use of paraphrase, Miss Sayers has handled this part of the structure of Wik-Munkan with considerable detail and finesse.

A very un-Indoeuropean and interesting feature of Wik-Munkan is its penchant for cyclic structure. That is, where we would be content to say in the average Indoeuropean language, '*I went, but my wife stayed home*', Wik-Munkan says some thing on the order of, '*I went, but my wife stayed home, but I went anyway*', where the end of the paragraph recapitulates, echoes or repeats in some way the beginning. It is evident that the theory of paraphrase ties considerably into the description of the cyclic materials. The cyclic nature of Wik-Munkan in sentences is so marked that experimental literacy materials in which this is not employed have not been effective. That is, in Wik-Munkan, sentences are not understood if they are too short, and too short is defined as lacking the cyclic element.

Robert E. Longacre
Dallas, Texas
July, 1974

KEY TO SYMBOLS

+	obligatory
<u>+</u>	optional
n=3	tagmeme may be repeated up to a maximum of three times (etc.)
∅	zero morpheme
< >	set of which filler is one member
$\left[\begin{array}{ c } \hline \\ \hline \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{ c } \hline \\ \hline \end{array} \right]$	the same filler must be used in each slot unless specifically indicated otherwise
*	items occur in only a restricted number of examples
()	in examples, enclosed material is not part of syntagmeme being illustrated but provides context for understanding of examples
[]	in examples, enclosed material is embedded syntagmeme of the same type as its matrix syntagmeme
$\begin{array}{c} \underline{+} \quad \underline{+} \quad \underline{+} \\ + \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \end{array}$	at least one of the <u>+</u> 's thus connected must be read as +
$+ (\underline{+} \quad \underline{+})$	
$\left[\begin{array}{ c } \hline \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \\ \hline \end{array} \right]$	fillers listed below the dotted line occur within the fillers listed above the dotted line

TYPOGRAPHICAL CONVENTIONS

1. All capitals indicates syntagmeme of tagmeme on the DISCOURSE (this type) level.
2. All capitals indicates syntagmeme or tagmeme on the PARAGRAPH (this type) level.
3. Capitalization of the initial letter indicates syntagmeme or tagmeme on the Sentence (this type) level.
4. Capitalization of the initial letter indicates syntagmeme or tagmeme on the Clause level.

BI-DIMENSIONAL ARRAYS

Each sentence type is described two ways: (1) by a bi-dimensional array plus other information enclosed within the array; (2) by a descriptive statement in prose. Both (1) and (2) convey the same information. Readers uncomfortable with formal notations may likely prefer (2), while those interested in the generative capacity of a particular sentence type will likely prefer (1).

To illustrate how to interpret the bi-dimensional array, we give here the reading of the array for Antithetical Sentence found in Section 4.6:

The Antithetical Sentence consists of an obligatory Thesis Base slot filled by Transitive Clause, Sequence Sentence or Contrast Sentence followed by an optional Pivot slot filled by *puh* *but* which occurs here or within the Antithesis Base slot. This in turn is followed by an obligatory Antithesis Base slot filled by Intransitive Clause, Transitive Clause, Coordinate Sentence, Non-future Result Sentence, Sequence Sentence or *ya'* *no* (opposite value to Thesis Base).

FORMAT OF EXAMPLES

The slot names of tagmemes pertinent to the Sentence have been included in the examples but the fillers of these slots have not been named. When the filler is an embedded sentence it occurs in parenthesis, but the name of the embedded syntagme is not included. When the example under consideration is embedded in another sentence, or when an example contains Sentence Periphery, these non-pertinent parts of the example are separated from the part under consideration by parenthesis.

NOTES TO THE READER

Clause Types

Clause types in Wik-Munkan are verbal and non-verbal. The verbal clauses are Transitive, Intransitive, Di-transitive and Complement (stative verb). The non-verbal clause types are Existential, which is used in the sense of Equative; Stative and Possessive. The inventory of non-verbal clause types differs from Kilham's (1974:225) where she lists four types, Existential, Stative, Equative and Possessive.

The Negative ya'

The negative *ya'*, *ya'a no*, *not*, *opposite to fact* could in many of its occurrences be described as a negative pro-verb. A negative Base tagmeme may be expounded by *ya'*. When the free subject of the verb replaced by *ya'* occurs it is marked for nominative or ergative case according to the transitivity of the verb for which *ya'* substitutes.

Alternate Forms of Words

With few exceptions, words in Wik-Munkan have two phonetic forms when spoken in isolation, that is, with or without the final vowel *a*. The final vowel *a* at the end of a phonological phrase occurs in a

number of contrastive intonation patterns as described in Sayers (forthcoming b). When it occurs medially in a phonological phrase it is a juncture phoneme related to the internal rhythm of the phrase.

Many words therefore appear in two forms in this monograph, without any difference in meaning; e.g., *ya'* or *ya'a no*, *not, opposite to fact*; *ke'*, *ke'a* (verbal negative); *pam*, *pama man*.

The Conjunction puth

The conjunction *puth* can be described as a 'broad spectrum' conjunction having the range of meanings *and, but, because, if, so* and *for* when used in various constructions. It is often difficult to give an adequate single word translation of a particular occurrence.

The Bound Conjunction -a'

The bound conjunction *-a'* with high rising intonation occurs between phrase level, Clause level and Sentence level tagmemes. (1) On phrase level it occurs between nouns and in serial listing with the meaning *and*. (2) On clause level it occurs at the end of Sentence Topic and links this tagmeme to the remainder of the clause. (3) It occurs between clauses in sequential constructions meaning *and then*, and it also occurs at the end of a content-interrogative clause and anticipates the response (as a sequence).

Use of Loan Words

The English loan words used most frequently in Wik-Munkan (apart from words used for introduced items or concepts such as employment) are *if* and *or* and to a lesser degree *ought*. Their use is discussed in the descriptions of the relevant sentence types. These conjunctions are used frequently by younger speakers, less frequently by older speakers and not at all by the oldest speakers.

Case system

In the case system in Wik-Munkan, free subject pronouns are nominative-accusative. Nouns, demonstratives, interrogatives and modified noun phrases are nominative-ergative. Ergative case is symbolized *ts* (transitive subject) in examples.

Tense

The term 'tense' has been used in this monograph to cover both tense and aspect; in some situations, it also covers mood. Subjunctive mood is not specifically marked for tense, but it usually understood as past.

ABBREVIATIONS

Act	Action (Base)
Alt	Alternate
Ampl	Amplification
Ant	Antecedent
Antith	Antithetical
Apo	Apodosis
cj	conjunction
cl	clause
coll	collective
comp	complement clause
compl	completive action
Compl Act	Completive Action
Conc	Concession
Cond	Condition
conn	connective
Cons	Consequent
Cont	Contrast
cont	continuous
Cont Act	Continuous Action
Contra	Contrafactual
ct/hab	customary action
Cyc	Cyclic
dem	demonstrative
dist	distance
dl	dual
emo	emotive particle
emph	emphatic
excl	exclusive
Exhor	Exhortation
Expl	Explanation
fact	factative
Fing Act	Frustrating Action
Fr Conc	Frustrated Concession
F Res	Future Result
Fr Seg	Frustrated Sequence
Frd Act	Frustrated Action
ft	future tense
Gen	Generic
Gen Sp	Generic Specific
Hort	Hortatory
imper	imperative

incl	inclusive
Ind Qt	Indirect Quote Sentence
Ind Qst	Indirect Question Sentence
int	intensifier
intr cl	intransitive clause
Like Merg S	'Like' Merged Sentence
loc	locative
Merg S	Merged Sentence
Mist Th	Mistaken Thought
MQF	Merged Quote Formula
Narr	Narrative
Neg Ant	Negated Antonym Sentence
neg	negative
nom	nominalizer
NF Res	Non-Future Result
obj	object
o. bro	older brother
onam	onomatopoeic
Par	Parallel Sentence
Part	Participant Base
part	participle
Paraph	Paraphrase
past-part	past-participle
perf	perfect
pl	plural
pos	positive
poss	possessive
Pro	Protasis
Prop	Proposition
<u>Prop</u>	Counter Proposition
punct	punctiliar
purp	purposive
pt	past tense
P Clause	Phonological Clause
ques	question
Quot	Quotation
QF	Quotation Formula
Reas	Reason
recip	reciprocal
Red Ampl	Reduction Amplification
Red Recap	Reduction Recapitulation
ref	referent

Rem	Remark
$\overline{\text{Rem}}$	Counter Remark
Res	Result
Resp	Response
RQ	Rhetorical Question
S	Sentence
Seq	Sequential
Sim	Simile
Simu	Simultaneous
sj/sbj	subjunctive mood
subj	subject
sp	specifier
Sp	Specific
Sp ₁	Speech, (First Speech in a series etc)
s.t.d.	story telling device ('used to')
tag ques	tag question
Tag Ques	Tag Question
Term	Terminus
ts/tr	transitive subject (ergative case)
tr cl	transitive clause
vb	verbalizer
voc	vocative case

ORIENTATION

Wik-Munkan is an Australian Aboriginal language now mainly spoken at Aurukun on the Archer River on the West Coast of Cape York Peninsula, Queensland. There are approximately 750 people who speak Wik-Munkan either at Aurukun or in the surrounding area including Weipa, Coen, Edward River, cattle stations and in resettled areas within the Reserve. About 300 of these people call themselves Wik-Munkan and speak Wik-Munkan as their first language. The remainder belong to other tribes, but for many of them especially the younger generation, Wik-Munkan is their first language. The older people of these tribes either speak Wik-Munkan as a second language or understand it, but communicate to Wik-Munkans by speaking their own language (passive bilingualism).

The language is classified as belonging to the Pama-Nyungan Family, Pama-Maric Group, Middle Paman Sub-Group (O'Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin 1966:54). The list of languages classified as Middle-Paman subgroup has been refined by Sommer (1969:12-15). Wurm follows Sommer's classification and lists the following languages as members of the Middle-Paman Subgroup (1972:143): Wik-Munkan, Wik Muminh, Wik Mean, Wik Epa,

Wik Ngatara (Wik Alkan) - Wik Ngandjara (these latter two classified as dialects) and Bakanha.

Within Wik-Munkan there are a number of slight dialect differences between family groups from different localities. This paper is based for the most part on the Archer River Dialect.

This analysis is based on some 150 pages of text material which was recorded in periods between 1962-1970 while I was resident at Aurukun under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Many speakers were involved in the recording of these stories and dialogues. Some of this material was processed 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, sponsored by grant GS 1605 of the National Science Foundation.

This project was undertaken at the Summer Institute of Linguistics base at Ukarumpa in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea from June to October 1970. In 1972, while the writer was in Mexico, it was revised and extensively edited by Robert Longacre and almost brought to completion.

The final draft was completed at the Australian Aborigines Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Berrimah, Darwin, in February 1975.

ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography used in this monograph is the practical one used by the Wik-Munkan people in reading and writing.

<i>Series</i>	<i>Phonemes</i>	<i>Practical Orthography</i>
Bi-labial	p, m	p, m
Apico-dental (interdental)	<u>t</u> , <u>n</u>	th, nh*
Apico-alveolar (alveolar)	t, n, l, r	t, n, l, r
Lamino-palatal (alveo-palatal)	tʃ, ñ	ch, ny
Dorso-velar (velar)	k, ŋ	k, ng
Glottal	ʔ	'
Vibrant	ʀ	r
Semi-vowels	y, w	y, w
Vowels (short)	i, e, a, o, u	i, e, a, o, u
Vowels (long)	i:, e:, a:, o:, u:	ii, ee, aa, oo, uu
Word Stress, primary	'	'
Word Stress, secondary	˘	˘

Note: In this monograph stress has been written only when a word does not follow the normal stress pattern (see Sayers: forthcoming a and c), and where its absence could be confusing. For example, primary word stress is only written when it occurs other than on the initial syllable of a word and secondary stress is only written to mark future tense/imperative mood.

The use of *nh* in this monograph is not consistent; the distinction between *n* and *nh* has now been dropped from the practical orthography for the following reasons. (1) Younger speakers do not consistently make this distinction except in a few examples. (2) Ambiguous forms have caused no problems to readers and writers, who recognize words satisfactorily in context. (3) There is considerable dialect variation in some words from speaker to speaker. (4) Tension between speakers with different usages has been eliminated since the distinction between *n* and *nh* was dropped.

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I also want to express my sincere thanks to my co-worker Miss Christine Kilham for her constructive criticism of the analysis and for her editorial help on the preceding (first) draft.

Special thanks are also extended to my good friends and faithful language helpers, Mrs. Topsy Wolmby and Mrs. Winnie Koongotema of Aurukun who went with me to New Guinea and helped during the analysis and writing of the first draft. Others whose continued help over the years has been invaluable in many ways are Mrs. Hazel Chevathun, Mrs. Geraldine Kawangka, Mr. and Mrs. Ian Peinkinna and Mrs. Maud Yunkaporta.

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 SENTENCE AND PARAGRAPH

This analysis was commenced under the assumption that there would be two structural levels, PARAGRAPH and Sentence (See Longacre 1972). It was relatively easy to divide each text in the data into semantic units, marked by clear phonologically signalled borders and clear identification of time, location and participants. These semantic units were labelled PARAGRAPHS. It was also relatively easy to find within these semantic units the kind of propositional relationship expected in Sentences. As the analysis proceeded, however, it became increasingly difficult to define the borders of sentences within the posited paragraphs. That is, my original paragraphs were not easily described as linear strings of sentences but were frequently best described as layers of embedding of sentences. This is most clearly demonstrated in the cyclic constructions (See Sect. 11).

Once the initial breaks were made between paragraphs, most of the work was then done on the propositional relationships within the sentences. In many instances, as analysis proceeded, these sentences 'grew' till their borders coincided with the paragraph borders. The analysis, however, continued describing the internal propositional relationships rather than the semantic unity and border features of these semantic units.

Rather than set up a limited number of PARAGRAPH Types, such as ELABORATION and DIALOGUE, I decided to overlook these more likely problem areas and collapse the two levels into one. For this collapsed level I have retained the name of Sentence as this description is basically concerned with the interpropositional relationships typical of sentences (See Longacre 1970). The features which would otherwise be handled as onset features of PARAGRAPH (Kilham 1974) have been handled here as Sentence Periphery. The description is basically the same as Kilham's but the terminology is different; e.g. my 'Sentence

'Topic' is her 'fronting'. The same grammatical and phonological features are described in both. In this analysis I have considered there to be no overt grammatical markers of paragraph. I did not consider the identification of time, location or participant to be grammatical, and as a result I described this identification as Sentence Periphery, recognizing that phonologically and semantically it had the features of Paragraph. From a grammatical point of view (rather than a semantic one) the limited number of fillers of the noun phrase in this position could be considered a marker of onset of a grammatical paragraph. In this position it is of special interest that the boundaries of phonological clauses do not coincide with those of grammatical clauses. A grammatical clause in which a new topic, participant, or time horizon is introduced frequently refers to the introduced element by two or more phrases in apposition. Such a single grammatical clause corresponds to more than one phonological clause, e.g. as in the following examples:

1. Tariri'aniya', pam pii'an anmaniya',
Tariri-that-sp-cj man big that-pre-ref-sp-cj
 ngangka pe-péey thant,
heart cried-he them-to
That big important man Tariri hates them...
2. Pam nil Tariri'aniya', nil ngangk min ngul ya'a,
man he Tariri-sp-cj he heart good now not
That man Tariri, he was not happy...
3. Kinchanganiya' kinch karkananganiya',
day-time-in-sp-cj sun hot-with-that-sp-cj
 kinch kenyanang, than weep min wuntan.
sun above-in they sleep well sleep-they-ct
In the daytime when the sun is hot above us they sleep well.

When such an appositional element follows the verb (with its adjuncts, if any), grammatical and phonological clauses more often correspond. This post-verbal appositional element is handled in this paper as a deleted predicate construction, as the intonation pattern is the same whether the verb is repeated or not. Typically this type of expansion following the verb occurs other than in the initial clause of a semantic unit, and could be considered the grammatical feature of closure of a paragraph as in:

...nil ngangk pe-péey thant, Tariran.
he heart cried-he them-to -that (hated them)
 ...he hated them, that Tariri (hated them).

Kilham (1974) refers to such expansion as 'tagging'.

The main problem is regarding this semantic unit as a sentence is its length and complexity. However, this long complex unit has

There is high probability that this would be mis-read following a question mark after the Tag Question. The Reason Base would then be read as a new theme and the close link between the two clauses would be lost. In other words, punctuation which would be expected to mark sentence finality would be consistently mis-read. The conclusion I draw from this is that finality signalled by a full stop is only possible at the end of a semantic unit.

It is, however, possible to paraphrase many of the long sentences of oral Wik-Muncan into several short sentences, but this can only be achieved by changing the grammatical structure so that each is a typical semantic unit correctly linked to other semantic units. This is done by inserting adequate lexical repetition to give identification of participants, time or location and by making logical relationships quite explicit. These same methods can be used in composing written material to produce shorter more readable sentences.

In summary, in oral Wik-Muncan these semantic units which are easily identifiable and the propositional relationships which make up those semantic units exhibit such a phonological unity that for the most part it is awkward to handle them separately. This analysis is validated by the reaction of literate Wik-Munkans to their own language in writing.

0.2 INTONATION

Both stress and pitch are contrastive in Wik-Muncan. Detailed analysis is presented in Sayers: forthcoming b and forthcoming c, while a more summary presentation is given in Sayers: forthcoming a.

The grammatical units discussed in this paper have been analysed and described without reference to the detailed analysis of these suprasegmental features. Rather suprasegmental material has been handled here simply in terms of a Basic Intonation pattern and modifications thereof. The suprasegmental contrasts ignored in such a general treatment are not crucial to distinguishing the various sentence types of Wik-Muncan. After the grammatical analysis here presented was completed, more intensive work on the suprasegmental features led to the detailed analysis presented in the papers mentioned above.

The term 'Basic Intonation' as used throughout this monograph refers to a pattern where one word in a phonological clause receives a peak of prominence, called clause-stress. This clause-stress coincides with the word-stress of the word on which it occurs. From the beginning of the phonological clause up to the word with clause-stress, each syllable with word-stress becomes progressively higher. Following clause-stress, the pitch drops sharply until it reaches the final

syllable. The final syllable or the last half of the final syllable carries contrastive patterns of intonation.

0.3 SENTENCE PERIPHERY

There are a number of structures in Wik-Munkan which are considered Sentence Periphery. Their nature and distribution are not distinctive for the various sentence types described in this monograph. It therefore seems best to treat them once here, rather than to repeat the same information in each succeeding section. In Section 1, Simple Sentence, fillers of the Periphery slot are again listed, and included in the examples. Thereafter Sentence Periphery is ignored as not pertinent to the point of the description. Some of these peripheral items are similar to those described by Longacre (1970) as the outer periphery, and others are those described as the inner periphery. Also included in this section are some features which would more usually be found as introducers on the PARAGRAPH level, such as temporal words which show the time horizons.

The Outer Periphery includes Vocatives such as nouns, pronouns and kinship terms each marked for vocative case and relative distance of speaker to the one/s addressed. The case markers for nouns are -ang (voc close dist), -ow (voc mid dist), and -ay (voc far dist). The case markers for the dual and plural second person pronouns *nip you* (dl), and *niiy you* (pl) are -alang (voc close dist), -alay (voc mid dist) and -aloy (voc far dist).

The Response to these vocatives is the word *kow* which could be translated *I've heard you.* or *What do you want?* Occasionally the words *ee'a* and *yaa yes* may occur but these are usually immediately followed by a sentence of explanation such as:

yaa, ngay kan ngeeyang
yes I punct heard-I
Yes, I have heard you.

Exclamations are a further form which occur as the outer periphery of sentences. These include exclamations of disgust, fear, amazement and surprise such as *yakay, yakakáatey, yakaráy* and *yówerakam*, which could be translated *Ouch, Help, It hurts,* etc., and those used to correct oneself such as *apá* and *apéy*, which could be translated *I beg your pardon., That was wrong.,* or *I'll try again.*

The particle *yaa* which could be translated *yes* occurs to highlight change of topic, participant or focus. It occurs, for example, between a proposal and its execution (see Section 11).

The Inner Periphery consists of Sentence Topic which has Sentence Topic Intonation. When the Sentence Topic is a noun the Sentence is

usually only one Clause with intonation for the Sentence or Clause type expounding that tagmeme. The significant feature of the Sentence Topic construction is that whatever word or Phrase is Topic is a separate phonological clause from the rest of the grammatical clause, that is a one clause sentence would be composed of at least two phonological clauses. The Sentence Topic may be expounded by one, two or three phrases, each a separate phonological clause with Sentence Topic Intonation.

Sentence Topic Intonation is Basic intonation with overall higher pitch and obligatory high rising sequence intonation on the final intonation carrier -a'. Frequently the specifier -iy also occurs followed by the intonation carrier -a'; that is, iya'. The intonation on this phonological clause indicates it is obligatorily followed by another phonological clause which corresponds to the remainder of the one grammatical clause.

Time words which would be considered the time horizon of a new PARAGRAPH, if such a separate level had been recognized in Wik-Munkan, also occur as Inner Periphery of the sentence. These words also have Sentence Topic Intonation as described above. These words include the conjunction a' and the time words ngula' *and then*, anpalaniya' *after that*, anngulana' *and then*, amanama *after that*, an-ániyangan *at that same time* and kaa'áthamaniya' *at first*. This intonation also occurs on more specific time words such as ngaa'atingamaniya' *in the morning* and on time clauses such as kaap thonamangan wantaniya' *after one wet season*.

Tag Question is also part of the periphery of a Sentence. This is shown by the Tag Question Marker -aa? which has crescendo followed by decrescendo accompanied by falling pitch. This marker is suffixed to the last word of the Clause or Sentence to which it applies. The meaning conveyed by this intonation carrier may be translated as *that's true, or isn't it?*

Examples:

1. Tag Question: Inan kankanamaa?
this true-isn't-it
This is true, isn't it?
2. Occurring with Simile Sentence, embedded in Quotation Sentence
 Simile (Tag Question): ina ka' opara ngantam yimanangaa?
this like medicine ours same-manner-isn't-it

Reason (Proposition): min puth iniy opara niyantam
good because this-sp medicine yours-pl

pi' inaniya me'aka
ant-bed this-sp mosquitoes-purp

*This is like our medicine, isn't it, because its also good, this
 medicine of yours, this antbed for mosquitoes.*

FL 128-9

3. Text (Tag Question): inan wuut pii'anaa?
this really big-isn't it

Contrast: thon anangan ka' manyiy anman
other those like small-sp only

This one is big, isn't it, those others are only (like) small.

Conversation

4. Text (Tag Question): ngamp thamp, ngamp wunanampaa?
we-pl also we-pl staying-we-ct aren't-we

Ampl: ngamp inaniy wunanamp
we-pl here-sp staying-ct-we

We're also staying aren't we - we're staying here.

PY 099-101

1. SIMPLE SENTENCE

A simple or single clause sentence does not occur very frequently in the oral Wik-Muncan text material analysed in this monograph. However, such sentences are by no means rare; their percentage of occurrence in normal conversation is high.

When a Simple Sentence occurs as the filler of a Discourse level slot it includes features of the Sentence that do not occur in clauses - namely, features of both the inner and outer periphery. From the outer periphery it includes vocatives, responses and exclamations and from the inner periphery such features as time horizons and participant identification with accompanying Sentence Topic Intonation.

Frequently a Simple Sentence is quite complex, as when a slot within the single clause constituting its non-peripheral (nuclear) portion is filled by an embedded sentence rather than by a word or phrase.

In contrast to these Simple Sentences with complexity due to embedding, there are many multi-clause sentences which correspond to single clause sentences in English. This occurs because there is a very limited amount of expansion allowed in a single clause, so expansion expressed in English by clause periphery such as time or location, is for a large part expressed by a separate clause. Amplification of the items in the clause nucleus may also occur as a separate clause, but more typically this expansion occurs with the verb deleted.

2. Nuc: Ina wik kath waa'ang
this story old tell-about-I
 kuutananganiy kee'antan,
umbilical cord(ceremony)-ts-that-sp perform-they-ct
 manyiy.
small-sp(children)
I'm telling you this story about performing the kuutan ceremony
for children.
3. Peri: Ngula' Nuc: komanh kucham
and then-cj young woman two
 angiya kan nhochampul.
there-stay-sp punct settled-they-dl-ct
And then those two young women settled down there to stay.
4. Nuc: Kan wantan nintang, piipa.
 punct leave-we you father
We leave you now father
5. Nuc: Kan olpamang.
 punct thin-become-I
I've become thin.
6. Peri: Kan-kánam, Nuc: kon pá-m-pāmak ke'am iiypul.
 truly ears man-man-for neg-intens went-they-dl
Truly, they never went looking for a man (flirting)!
7. Peri: (ST1)
 Nuc: Nil Maryaniya', mee'kám pichanta.
 she that-sp-cj eye juice came-out-to-her
(As for) Mary, she wept.
8. Peri: Ya-key, Nuc: ngay thokatiy unchanga.
 excl I smoke-lots smell-I
Oh dear, I smell smokey.
9. Peri: Ooy-wooy, Nuc: wanchínthan ko'anch weeman.
 poor thing old-lady-that blind becoming-she
Poor thing, the old lady is becoming blind.
10. Nuc: Ana ngencha-tháyan kúutan-kūnch alantan.
 that sacred kuutan-own to-him
That is sacred to that kuutan man.
11. Nuc: Anhanow!
 heavy-excl
It's really heavy.
12. Peri: (ST1)
 Nuc: Inaniy aaka', than yaraman thakan yalmathin.
 this-sp-place-cj they horses etc-that gather-they
This is the place where they gathered the horses etc. (cattle).

13. Peri: Ee'a' Nuc: ngay wukal pii'an ngul.
 yes (agreement) I money lots now
Yes, I have lots of money now.
14. Peri: (ST1)
 Nuc: Niliya', Peri: (ST1) puk manya pulantamaniya',
 she-st-cj child small theirs-dl-that-sp-cj
 nila picham poch.
 she shoulder sore
This little girl of theirs has a sore shoulder.
15. Nuc: Ngampa kan thompaka.
 we-pl-incl punct beach-to
Let's (go) now to the beach.
16. Nuc: Ngeen-ngeen yaa'ka'a'?
 how-many maybe
I wonder how many (she caught)?
17. Nuc: Ngay naakanaka.
 I that(reason)-for
I came for that reason.
18. Nuc: Ngay nungk kaawa.
 I yours east
I, your friend (am going) east.
19. Nuc: Pamangana!
 man-ts-that
It was a man (who did that)!
20. Nuc: Ke' waa'an ngayang!
 neg tell-about-you me
Don't tell about (blame) me!
21. Nuc: Kan apapa
 punct hush
Be quiet!
22. Nuc: Ngay thathangan nunang iikanakan
 I see-I-her her to-here-sp
 wampan may kiingkanak.
 coming-she food for the purpose of cooking
I can see her coming here to cook (her cake in my oven).
23. Nuc: Ana ka' maanya thathantan.
 that like ghost saw-they-ct
It was as if they saw a ghost.
24. Nuc: Ana nungantakam kee'athanak.
 that his-own-reflexive playing-for
That's his own to play with!

25. Nuc: Nanpal wee'ang eepa?
from-there who-ts creep-up-he
Who crept up from there (on a wallaby to spear it)?
26. Peri: (ST1) Peri: (ST1)
 Nuc: Kán-ngūlaniya' Taririaniya' nila
 punct-now-sp-cj Tariri-that-sp-cj he
 Jesusan wee'angan puth waa'inanta.
Jesus-that who-ts-that but tell-about-sj-to-him.
Well now, who would have told Tariri about Jesus?
27. Nuc: Kan-kánam Peri: -aa?
 true tag-quest
It's true isn't it?

2. JUXTAPOSED SENTENCES

These sentence types, alone among Wik-Muncan sentence types, are characterized both by lack of internal link or marker and also by being binary. They thus are distinguished from the Procedural Sentence (main subtype) which, although lacking links or markers, is multi-based rather than binary. Likewise, the sentences of this section are distinct from the other binary types, which contain internal links (between bases) or markers (in one or both bases). While some quotation sentences might also be characterized as lacking markers and having binary structure, the presence of the quotation formula in such constructions is itself a marker of sorts.

Sentences in this section are: the Paraphrase Sentence (with many subtypes), the Repetition Sentence, and the Explanation Sentence.

These various sentence types and subtypes are compared and contrasted in Diagram 1.

2.1 THE PARAPHRASE SENTENCE (MAIN SUBTYPE)

The purpose of this sentence type is to say the same thing twice - and possibly succeed in saying it better the second time. In this, the main subtype, the second verb is a synonym of the first and both verbs have the same tense and person referents. The introduction of new information in the second base or deletion of reference to old information (from base one) is apparently incidental and not focal.

JUXTAPOSED SENTENCES

	PARAPHRASE	AMPLIFICATION	NEGATED ANTONYM	GENERIC SPECIFIC	REDUCTION	REDUCTION AMPLIFICATION	REPETITION	EXPLANATION
Base Tagmemes	Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text and Paraphrase	Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text and Amplification	Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text neg/pos and Paraphrase pos/neg	Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text Generic and Amplification Specific	Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text and Reduction Paraphrase	Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text and Reduction Amplification	Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text and Repetition. Repetition may be repeated once.	Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text and Explanation
Markers	No Markers							
Same/Diff Referents	Same referents	Same referents	Same referents	Same referents. Text may have collective subject with individual subject/s in Amplification	Same referents	Same referents	Same referents	Same or Different referents
Pos/Neg	Pos/Pos	Pos/Pos	Pos/Neg or Neg/Pos	Pos/Pos or Neg/Neg	Pos/Pos	Pos/Pos or Neg/Neg	Pos/Pos	Pos/Pos or Neg/Pos
Verbs	Similar Verbs	Same verb	Verbs may be Antonyms or same or similar verbs with one negated.	Same or similar verbs	Similar Verbs	Same Verbs	Same Verbs	Different Verbs
Amount of Information	Optional new information in Paraphrase.	Obligatory new information in Amplification. Optional deletion of some old information in Amplification.	Same information in opposing terms. Optional new information in Paraphrase.	Obligatory Specific information in Amplification.	Repeat of some information in Reduction Paraphrase. Obligatory absence of new information.	Repeat of some information in Reduction Amplification. Obligatory absence of new information.	Repeat of same information. Obligatory absence of new information.	Obligatory new information about Text in Explanation.
Intonation	Basic Intonation Pattern with normal range in each base with highest clause-stress (sentence-stress) on First Base. Linkage is by mid step-down sequence intonation.							

The Paraphrase Sentence (main subtype) is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text	+ Paraphrase
Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Stative Cl Complement Cl	Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Stative Cl Complement Cl Indirect Quote Merged S
Similar verbs, same tense and person Same referents, same or different form Optional new information in Paraphrase Positive-Positive	
Basic intonation - normal range P Clause nucleus lower in Paraphrase than in Text Linked by sequence intonation	

The Paraphrase Sentence has two obligatory base tagmemes, Text and Paraphrase. Both bases may be expounded by Intransitive Clause, Transitive, Stative and Complement Clauses, and in addition, Paraphrase is expounded by Indirect Quote Merged Sentence.

In this sentence type most of the lexical material of Text is repeated in Paraphrase. Referents within the bases are the same, and may be manifested by identical lexical items (except the verbs which must be synonyms), synonyms or situational equivalents. When additional information is added in the Paraphrase, some of the original information in Text is optionally omitted in Paraphrase.

The tenses of the verbs must be the same. In the present data both bases are positive, but it is thought that, with more data, two negative bases could be found to occur as well.

In some examples (cf. #4) the bases of the Paraphrase Sentence (and in one example those of the Reduction (Paraphrase) Sentence) are preceded by a clause or phrase with the general meaning '*It was like this*'. At this point it is not clear whether these clauses and phrases should be considered to constitute an additional tagmeme of the Paraphrase

Sentence, and possibly of the general sentence periphery, or whether it should be considered to constitute a manner slot on the clause level.

The Paraphrase Sentence typically embeds in other sentence types as illustrated below.

The intonation pattern of this sentence type is that of two Phonological Clauses each with basic intonation. The first Phonological Clause has either form of sequence intonation and the second Phonological Clause has either form of final intonation. Clause stress occurs on the pre-verb clause level tagmeme, that is in the clause stress position of basic intonation. Clause stress of the Paraphrase tagmeme is slightly lower pitch than clause stress of Text.

Examples:

1. Text: Thon way ananiya' ngak mungkanana' pama' drivera'
other bad that-sp water drank-he man

ana kaa' nga'alangk alangan umpan Paraph: ngulngángk
dem nose glass that-with-tr cut-he forehead

anpalana' kaa'akam ikathan nga'alangkang.
from-there nose-up-to split-he glass-with

The bad driver who had drunk beer had his nose cut with the glass from the forehead right up to the nose.

In Contrast Sentence: WT

2. Text: ngan wey kenya ngul matan, Paraph: pipúthak
we emo high then climbed-we timbered-place-to

iiyan.
went-we

(Yes) then we went up to higher ground, we went up to the timbered place.

In Sequence Sentence: FL 56

3. (A' nilan ep Taririaniya') Text: a' thaw thant
cj he-that fact -that-sp cj said-he them-to

patham Paraph: nungantakam waa'.
really himself told-about-he

And then he really did it, and spoke to them, telling them about himself.

In Generic Specific (Paraphrase)
 Sentence: OPV 270-271

4. (A' nil yinamana wampa) Text: ngangk nunganta mina, kana
cj he like-this came-he heart his good punct
ween, Tariri alantan, Paraph: ngangka min wunant anman.
became-it that-one-to heart good was-to-him only

And then it was like this, Tariri's heart became good and he was happy.

In Explanation Sentence: WMV 193-195

5. Two examples in one sentence, both embedded, with second example embedded in a Future Result Sentence which is in turn embedded in an Indirect Quote Merged Sentence:

Text: ngan puth thawanan thant, Paraph: 'pechanan thant
we so say-we them-to shout-we them-to

Text: iiyayn wooyan anpalan Paraph: aak wantayn
go-they-ft road that-from place leave-they-ft

(truckan yipmam mo'ow).
-that so-that run-it-ft

*So we say to them, we call out to them to go away from the road,
to leave the road so that the truck can run.*

CT 24-27

6. (ngul aakakan kalanana') Text: kunchanaa wayk pulangam
then place-to carry-we pandanus-seq root-dye them-two
ngan kiingkanan Paraph: ngaka' wayka' kunchan karp
we cook-we-it water-and root-dye-and pandanus together
penchantan.
cook-they

*And then we carried it to the place where we cook the pandanus and
dye together, the water and the pandanus and the dye they cook
together.*

In Sequence Sentence: FL 197-198

7. (pulana mee'ngathapula piip ngamparamant in kenya)
they-dl eyes-shut-they-dl father ours-to here above
Text: a' ngangkana min wunpul, Paraph: ngangkan
cj heart-that good were-they-dl heart-that
thayanampul.
strong-vb-they-dl
*... those two prayed to our Father on high, so their hearts were
happy and they were strengthened.*

In Non-future Result Sentence:

WMV 179-180

8. Text: kanan akaramina Paraph: kuchekan manyan weemina,
punct withered-they head-that small became-they
... the heads were withered and had become small...

In Sequence Sentence: WMV 61-63

2.2 AMPLIFICATION (PARAPHRASE) SENTENCE

This important subtype differs from the main subtype in that here the two bases have the same verb in their predicates and the introduction of new information (as a further phrase in the second base, or as repetition and expansion of a phrase found in the first base) is apparently focal. Deletion of old information in the second base (relative to the first base) is apparently incidental.

The Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text	+ Amplification
<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl Complement Cl </div>	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl Complement Cl Sequence S Parallel S </div>
Identical verb with identical tense and person Same referents, same or different form Obligatory new information in Amplification Positive-Positive Intonation same as Paraphrase Sentence	

The Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes, Text and Amplification. Both Text and Amplification can be filled by Transitive, Intransitive and Complement Clauses and in addition to these, Amplification may be filled by Sequence Sentence, and Parallel Sentence.

Except for three instances (Examples 2, 12, and 19 where there is in Amplification slot either a clause embedded at clause level or an embedded sentence) the syntagmemes expounding the bases are the same. In even these three examples, however, the second matching construction occurs as part of a larger construction.

The same verb occurs in both bases with identical tense-person markers. Not only is there the same subject between bases but other referents are the same also, in same or different form. In the present data all examples are positive-positive, but again it is assumed that with more data, examples will be found with both bases negative.

In the Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence there is the obligatory addition of at least one new item of information. This new information in Amplification takes the form of (a) either a new clause level tagmeme, such as Instrument, Object, Manner or Time; (b) expansion of a clause level tagmeme already occurring in the clause filling Text; or (c) addition of a new clause which either embeds within the clause

brought forward from Base one or forms with that clause an embedded sentence.

In the examples, the following clause level tagmemes occur expanded in Amplification: Subject, Location, Predicate, Object, Direction and Source.

While all of the referents of the Text may be repeated in Amplification, there is usually deletion of some lexical information in Amplification. In a number of examples Object, Source, Location and Time are deleted while in others only the free form of the subject pronoun is deleted in the Amplification tagmeme.

While this subtype need not occur embedded (it may, e.g. expound EPISODE of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE) it embeds in many other sentence types.

The intonation pattern of Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence is the same as that of the Paraphrase Sentence.

Examples:

1. Text: ana than muunthantan ngul, Amplification: tie fastanga'
 dem they tie-they-ct then fast-with-cj
 staplesang muunthantan ...
 -with tied-they-ct
 ... then they tie them, they tie them with tie fasts and with staples...

In Sequence Sentence: MF

2. Text: pul um mo'apul Amplification: ngan
 they-dl straight ran-they-dl we-pl
 thathanana' pul uman mo'apul.
 saw-we-pl they-dl straight ran-they-dl
 ... they ran towards each other, we saw them run towards each other.

In Sequence Sentence: WT 22

3. Text: Pam thon minananiya' car nungantama ya' weent
 man other good-one-that his int turned-it
 Amplification: mi-mi-mi weent...
 screeching turned-it
 One man, that good man, his car really turned around screeching as it turned...

WT 24

4. Text: wiya yot we'anan yuk thonamam pii'anam,
 some lots dig-we-pl tree one-from big-from
 Amplification: wiya kankánam yot we'anan.
 some truly lots dig-we-pl
 ... we dig lots, we really dig lots from one big tree.

In Sequence Sentence: FL 117

5. Text: A' uukanan Amplification: ochanganang uukanan.
cj *scraped-we-pl* mud-shell-with *scraped-we-pl*
We scraped it, we scraped it with a mudshell.
In Procedural Sentence: FL 123
6. Text: Than yuk yongkan umpantan Amplification: swing saw
they tree ironwood out-they-ct
alangan umpantan.
that-with cut-they-pl-ct
They cut the ironwood tree, they cut it with that swingsaw.
In Topic-switching Procedural
Sentence: MF 12
7. Text: kalan aakanak Amplification: fenceline aakanak
carries-it there-to *there-to*
kalan ...
carries-it
*... it carries it (logs) to there, it carried it there to the
fenceline...*
As second Base of Coordinate
Sentence: MF 14
8. Text: Tariri'ana, ana patham pam min ngul iiya,
Tariri-sp that really man good now went-he
Amplification: ngangka min ngul iiya.
heart good now went-he
Tariri was a really good man now, he was really changed now.
In Negated Antonym (Paraphrase)
Sentence: WMV 239-240
9. Text: kán-ngūl matan kenya wey Amplification: nguta-ngutang
punct-now went-up-we high emo *early-night*
ngul mat-matan.
then went-up-we-pt
... then we went up above when it was dark.
In Sequence Sentence: VR 74-75
10. Text: a' umpangan pikaniy Amplification: thayan manyang
cj *cut-I-sp fin-sp* *axe small-with*
umpangan pikan.
cut-I-that fin-that
*(So I went...) and I chopped that fin, I chopped it with a small
axe.*
In Sequence Sentence: VR 99-100
11. (Yaa) Text: pam thum nungantam alanganiya', Archie Smith
man-fire hers that-one-tr
alanganiya' minh púnthāmang mam
that-one-tr fish net-in caught-he

Amplification: yot, minh nga'a, thapangumpan thak
lots pro fish sharks also

mam, nyilingkuchan thak.
caught-he fresh-water-shark also

Yes, that one, her husband, Archie Smith, caught lots of fish in a net, fish, sharks and freshwater sharks too.

FL 15-16

12. (Yaa) Text: nil thee' Amplification: kuuyan wunyatha'
she threw-she line-that swang-she

thee'...
threw-she

Yes, she threw the line, she swang it and then threw it...

In Sequence Sentence: VR 54-56

13. Text: kaa'átham maka' Amplification: nhuathan
first squeezed-he-cj stringray-flesh-that

mak-mak.
squeezed-cont-he

(He tied up the fish), at first he squeezed it, he squeezed and squeezed the stingray flesh.

In Sequence Sentence: FL 29-31

14. (ee') Text: last yearan yim-yimanama' puk thonaman
-that same-way child one-that

yim-yimanam mata, Amplification: yuk natha
same-way climbed-up-she tree far

kenya mat, manpáanthang,
high climbed-she very-high

Yes, last year a child climbed a tree in the same way, she climbed very very high,...

In Sequence Sentence: CT 10, 10a

15. (ngan piiyan way-mína') Text: koyam ngul mo'an aakak
we bought-we bad-good-cj back then ran-we place-to

Amplification: aak nganan wun-wun, aakanakan mo'an.
place we stayed-cont-we there-to ran-we

(When) we had bought the things we went back to the place where we were staying, we went right back to that place.

In Sequence Sentence: WT 54-57

16. Text: aak nungantam anganiya, kan wunpa, Amplification:
place his there-sp punct put-he

kuchekan thum thinth wunp
heard-that fire close put-he

... he put the (heads) there in his place, he put them close to the fire,...

In Sequence Sentence: WMV 59-60

17. Text: Than yuk umpantan thaa'tháa' ngaa' thonthón
they tree chopped-they all-the-time night one-by-one
 Amplification: mango yuk inangan umpantan thanang,...
tree these out-they them
They are all the time cutting down trees, cutting down these mango trees,...
 Embedded in Generic Specific
 (Paraphrase) Sentence: YK 2-5
18. Text: Nilan thawa, Amplification: ngangkamanana thaw,
he-that said-he heart-from said-he
 Taririan...
Tariri-that
He Tariri said, speaking from his heart...
 In Direct Quote Sentence as
 Quotation Formula: WMV 120-121
19. Text: nilan mulatha, Amplification: bowanga arrowanga
he-that killed-he -with -with
mulath thanang, kekanga mulath thanang...
killed-he them spear-with killed-he them
... he killed with bows and arrows and he killed with spears...
 In Indirect Quote Sentence:
 WMV 214-216
20. Text: a' nil patham wamp puntha-paam-thampang
cj he really came-he plane-in
 Amplification: Michael wamp.
... and then he really came with the plane, Michael came.
 In Sequence Sentence: WT 18-20

2.3 NEGATED ANTONYM (PARAPHRASE) SENTENCE

This subtype differs from the main subtype in that here we have a pair of antonyms (or situational opposites) in the two bases, with negation of one member of the pair. This amounts to a type of paraphrase that probably succeeds more in saying the same thing twice (equivalence) than does the main subtype, which resorts to the use of synonyms. Here, as in the main subtype, addition of new information in the second base or deletion of old is apparently incidental.

The Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text _{neg/pos}	+ Paraphrase _{pos/neg}
Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl Stative Cl Explanation S Direct Quote S	Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl Stative Cl Complement Cl Existential Cl Direct Quote S
Verbs have same tense All other lexical referents constant A pair of antonyms or situational opposites in Text and Paraphrase Negation of the antonym in one base versus absence of negation in the other base	

The Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence is regarded as another subtype of the Paraphrase Sentence. It resembles, however, the main subtype more than the subtype just described. There are two obligatory tagmemes, Text and Paraphrase. Text and Paraphrase may be expounded by Transitive, Intransitive, Stative, and Complement Clauses, as well as by Direct Quote Sentence. In addition, Text may be expounded by Explanation Sentence and Paraphrase by Existential Clauses.

The Text may be positive with a negative Paraphrase or negative with a positive Paraphrase. The most frequently occurring order is negative-positive. The negative may be a negated antonym or a negated situational opposite. It is not necessarily the predicates of the clauses which fill the bases that contain the pair of antonyms or situational opposites; they may, for example, be the Object or Location, or Comment tagmeme of Stative Clauses. In that all other lexical referents remain constant, examples whose bases are filled by verbal clauses have the same tense and person.

In Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence the Paraphrase tagmeme has the function of both paraphrasing and of defining more sharply the lexical material of Text. The stating of what something is *not*, helps to show more clearly what it *is*. It is possible for new lexical information to occur in Paraphrase tagmeme, as in Example 5.

6. Text_{pos}: thon alangan ep Paraph_{neg}: ke'am mungk driver.
other that-tr fact neg-emph drank-he
... the other one was alright, that driver hadn't drunk.
 In Contrast Sentence: WT 41
7. Nil thawanana thanta pam al-alantana' Text_{neg}: yimananganiy ke'
he says-he them-to men those-to-cj like-this-sp neg
 yumpāna', thawan thant, Paraph_{pos}: 'niiy yimanangan ep
make-you-ft says-he them-to you like-this fact
 yumpāna'.
make-you-ft
He says to those men, to them, "Don't make it like this," he says
to them, "You should make it like this."
 MF 79-82
8. Text_{neg}: Thonam nila ya'a ke'an wun, Paraph_{pos}: ma'-mángkamant
one it no neg is everyone-for
 aathwuntan.
give-they
It is not only for one, they share it with everybody.
 GE 079
9. Text_{neg}: Aak keenkana wun ya'a Paraph_{pos}: ngul aak ina
place first was no now place this
 nyiinganam ngul.
recently now
At first this place wasn't like this, this place is just recently
like this.

PY 038

2.4 GENERIC-SPECIFIC (PARAPHRASE) SENTENCE

This is similar to the Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence described in 2.1. Here, however, new information is introduced not so much by the introduction of further lexical elements into the second base as by replacing generic lexical items in the first base with more specific lexical items in the second base. Again, introduction of new information is focal and deletion (of items brought forward from Base one) is incidental.

The Generic-Specific (Paraphrase) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text _{Generic}	+ Amplification _{Specific}
Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Stative Cl	Transitive Cl Stative Cl Contrast S Deleted Predicate Amplification S
Same or similar verbs with same tense Bases have same subject, or Text has collective subject Lexical material of Text made specific in Amplification Positive-Positive and Negative-Negative Bases may permute	

The Generic-Specific (Paraphrase) Sentence is composed of two obligatory tagmemes, Text_{generic} and Amplification_{specific}. Text may be expounded by Intransitive, Transitive and Stative Clauses. Amplification may presumably be expounded by these same clause types (except Intransitive Clause is not found in present data), and in addition by Contrast Sentence and Deleted Predicate Amplification Sentence.

In this subtype as in the previous, the lexical material that is in Text is paraphrased in Amplification tagmeme but the relationship between the lexical material of the two bases is generic-specific. When the verbs of the two bases are different, the nature of the action is more narrowly specified in the second base. When the verbs of the two bases are the same, the lexical material in one or more of the clause level tagmemes of the Text is made more specific in Amplification. Combinations of non-verbal clauses filling the bases also occur, as in Examples 6 and 7.

The verbs in both bases have the same tense and aspect. Usually both bases have the same subject, but sometimes, as in Examples 1 and 7 the subject of the Text is collective and covers all the subjects of the Contrast Sentence filling Amplification.

The only example which does not have two positive bases is Example 5, where the verb of the first base has a negative meaning and where the second base is overtly negative.

The order of the bases may permute, in that sometimes, as in Example 6, the specific information comes first.

Again while this subtype may occur unembedded (e.g. as STAGE of a PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE) it typically occurs embedded.

The Intonation of Generic-Specific (Paraphrase) Sentence is the same as that of the main subtype (2.1) and the amplification subtype (2.2). The intonation of each base is the same as the clause or sentence type expounding the base.

Examples:

1. Text_{generic} : Pók-pōkawang nyiinan Ampl_{specific}: Dora thonamantang
 separate sat-we one with

nyiin, Mrs. Pearsonatang, ngay thonamantang nyiinanq Mrs.
sat-she -with I one-with sat-I

Ramsayantang,
-with

We sat separate, Dora sat with one, Mrs. Pearson, and I sat with another, Mrs. Ramsay...

In Non-future Result Sentence: DM

2. Text_{generic}: ngay thaa'óyngk chintangan Ampl_{specific}: kunthúl
 I bait speared-I rifle-fish

chintangan, pii'an.
speared-I big

... and I speared bait, I speared a rifle fish, a big one.

In Sequence Sentence: VR 11-13

3. Text_{generic}: pam anangan wuntan Peretana, than work
 men those live-they Peret-that they

tha'iy iiyantan Ampl_{specific}: fence yumpantan,...
lots go-they-ct make-they-ct

(Yes), those men who live at Peret do a lot of work, they are making the fence...

In Non-future Result Sentence:

MF 16

4. Text_{generic}: puth Tariri'ang mulathiy nipang
 because -tr kill-he-sj you-dl-obj

Ampl_{specific}: man umpiy nipang.
 neck cut-he-sj you-dl-obj

... because Tariri will kill you, he will cut your throats.

In Reason Sentence: WMV 91-92

5. (yaa') Text_{generic}: anpalan puth tha'pál umppul
 yes from-that so foot-here did-they

Ampl_{specific}: ke'am ngul muunch-muunchpul punthang
 neg-emph then swim-they-dl-pt river-in

anganíy -- aak puth thangk ananiy, pulana winyang mo'apul
there-sp place because deep that-sp they-dl frightened-ran-they

pikuwantam puth.
crocodile-from because

Yes, so from that they never went again, they never swam again, for the place is deep, and they were frightened of the crocodile.

In Simple Resolved Dialogue Sentence

(as SP₃-non-verbal): FL 180-181

6. Ampl_{specific}: Ina minh mánpāthan mina
this fish sweet good
 Text_{generic}: ina aak min niiyantama,
this custom good yours-pl
This fish is sweet, it's good, this custom of yours,...
 In Quotation Sentence: FL 95-96
7. Text_{generic}: Nil wayk inaniya, yuka, pii'an ya'a
It root-dye this-sp tree big not
 Ampl_{specific}: wiya pii'pii'anam, wiya manyiy, penth.
some big-big-emph some small shoots
*This root dye, this tree, it's not (really) big, some are big, and
 some are small, they are shoots.*
 As STAGE of PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE:
 FL 115
8. Text_{generic}: inngulana ngay ngangk ngatham min wuna
recently I heart mine good was-it
 Ampl_{specific}: ngay Godant thee'angan.
I -to gave-I-it
... recently my heart became good, I gave it to God.
 In Contrast Sentence: WMV 220-221
9. Text_{generic}: Ngay inmana ngangk mina, Ampl_{specific}: ngay
I here-now heart good I
 kan thiichanga pam wanch kaangk wunānga,...
 punct *know-I men women love be-I-ft*
Now my heart is good, I know how to love my people,...
 In Quotation Sentence: WMV 223-224

2.5 REDUCTION (PARAPHRASE) SENTENCE

This subtype resembles the main subtype in employing synonyms of the verbs in the two bases. No new information is introduced in the second base; on the contrary there is extreme compression of the lexical content in the second base which typically contains only a verb. Presumably the second base here serves as a condensed summary of the first.

The Reduction (Paraphrase) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text	+ Reduction Paraphrase
Transitive Cl	Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl
Similar verbs, same tense, same person Less information in Reduction Paraphrase Positive-Positive	

In this subtype of Paraphrase Sentence there are less lexical items in the Reduction Paraphrase tagmeme than in Text. There is a marked reduction of the number of clause level tagmemes in Reduction Paraphrase tagmeme. In the examples following only the predicate occurs of the clauses which fill Reduction Paraphrase slot.

Examples:

1. Text: Yipaka, ngan kurkang ngula kaampān
wait we ashes-in later bury-we-ft
 minh inana Red Paraph: thenchāna.
fish this hide-we-ft
Wait, we'll bury the fish in the ashes, we'll hide it (in the ashes for cooking).

FL 55-56

2. Text: Ngay puth nungantaniya waa'anganta, Red Paraph:
I so her-to-sp told-I-her-to
thawanganta...
said-I-her-to
So I told her, I said to her...

As Quotation Formula of Quotation
 Sentence: FL 164-165

3. (Yim-yimanamaniy ngana) Text: ngak thon-thón pantham
like-this-sp we water one-by-one wells
paath-paathin, Red Paraph: we'in
tried-they-pt dug-they-pt
It was like this for us--one by one they tried for wells, they dug...

In Sequence Sentence: DW 1, 2

2.6 REDUCTION AMPLIFICATION (PARAPHRASE) SENTENCE

This subtype resembles the important subtype of 2.1 in that we here also have the same verb rather than synonyms. Here however, rather than introducing anything new in the second base it has fewer lexical items than the first base. Perhaps the purpose of this subtype is to

achieve emotional poignancy by the highlighted and stripped-down repetition (cf. Example 3).

The Reduction Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text	+ Reduction Amplification
Intransitive Cl	Intransitive Cl
Identical verb with identical tense-person Less information in Reduction Amplification (and obligatory lack of new information) Positive-Positive or Negative-Negative	

The essential difference between the Amplification subtype and this subtype, Reduction Amplification, is the obligatory absence of new lexical information in the Reduction Amplification tagmeme of the latter which has, in fact, less lexical material in its second base. Admittedly, in the Amplification subtype there is usually deletion of some of the lexical information given in the Amplification tagmeme versus that given originally in the Text. Here, however, the reduction of the lexical information takes a more specific form, i.e. there is one less clause level tagmeme (e.g. Object or Location) in Reduction Amplification tagmeme than occurs in Text, and/or there is less information in a clause level tagmeme found in the second base than there is in the corresponding clause level tagmeme found in the first base, e.g. Indirect Object in Examples 2 and 3.

The fact that Example 1 has two negative bases is a good reason for thinking that two negative bases would be possible for the Amplification subtype and in some other subtypes as well.

Reduction Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence has been found embedded in Reason Sentence and as Quotation Formula of Quotation Sentence. The latter is of possible interest in that presumably in introducing a quotation it is awkward to have a verb of speech accompanied by many noun phrases and adjuncts; the clause is therefore repeated in simpler form. In that Reduction (Paraphrase) Sentence also embeds as Quotation Formula, we may have here a partial rationale for the development of these two subtypes.

Examples:

1. Text: Nil kaangk ke' pam kemp pachama, Red Ampl: nil
 he likes neg men flesh white-nom he
kaangk ke'...
likes not
He doesn't like white people, he doesn't like them...
 As Text of Reason Sentence OPV
2. Text: Pam wanch wiy alantan thaw, Shapra people
 men women some those-to said-he
 Red Ampl: wiy alantan thaw...
 some those-to said-he
And he said to those people, the Shapras, he said to them...
 As Quotation Formula of
 Quotation Sentence: OPV 17-18
3. Text: Ngula, nilanan thuucha mán-māngkang koy-koyuw, pam
 then he-that crept-he back-loc behind man
 pii'an thon alantan - pam pli'an nilanly iiya,
 big another that-one man big he-that-sp went-he
 Red Ampl: alantan thuuch.
 that-one crept-he
*After that he crept behind the important man--he was a chief--
 he crept behind him.*
 WMV 14

2.7 REPETITION SENTENCE

This sentence type contrasts with the Paraphrase Sentence in all its subtypes in that here we have repetition with minimum or no variation - and hence no real paraphrase. By the same feature, repetition without variation, this sentence type is easily distinguished as a formal pattern from the Paraphrase Sentence. Probably the thrust of this sentence type is emphasis.

The Repetition Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text

+ Repetitionⁿ⁼²

Transitive Cl	Transitive Cl
Same verb Same referents Repeat of same lexical material No new information Positive-Positive	

While the Repetition Base does not necessarily involve exact repetition of the Text without variation, the variation is minimal and involves neither loss nor gain of information. Thus, in Examples 2 and 3 below the repetition involves only a change of word order - giving the sentence a chiasmic structure. In Example 1 the first base contains a pronoun which is not repeated in the second base but which is surely understood there. The pronoun might, in fact, be construed as a common feature of the entire sentence.

Examples:

1. Text: a' pula matches wantapul, Repetition: matches
 cj they-dl left-they-dl
 wantapul (thawan pulanta, nip matches puuy-puuy
 left-they-dl said-we them-dl-to you-dl further-away
 nip ey?)
 you-dl quest
 ... and those two left the matches behind, they left the matches
 behind and we asked them, "Did you two leave the matches there
 far away?"

In Sequence Sentence: MW 002

2. (Ngan iiyan) Text: thanang angam wantan
 we-pl went-we them there-stay left-we
 Repetition: wantan thanang angaman (nyiin-nyiin minh nga'ak).
 left-we them there-stay sat-cont fish-for
 We went and we left them there, we left them there, and we sat
 down to fish.

In Sequence Sentence

3. Text: ...pathan ya'angam Repetition: ya'angam pathan
 bit-he no-avail no-avail bit-he
 Repetition: ya'angam pathan...
 no-avail bit-he
 ... he bit to no avail, and he bit and he bit to no avail...

In Implicit Frustration Sentence:

MR 098

2.8 EXPLANATION SENTENCE

This sentence type, while a juxtaposed type like the previous two, has too much formal variation between its bases to qualify as a Paraphrase Sentence - or, of course, as a Repetition Sentence. The purpose of the second base is to explain some noun phrase or other referent in the first base.

The Explanation Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text	+ Explanation
Intransitive Cl	Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl Existential Cl
Stative Cl Deleted Predicate Amplification S	Contrast S
Different verbs and other referents do not remain constant New information (Explanation about one clause level tagmeme in the Text) Positive-Positive or Negative-Positive	

Examples:

- Text: Hullo_{wim} thawan thant Expl: wiya miyal_{wim}mantan
said-we them-to some well-they-pt

wiya ya'ngul.
some finished (not well)

We said hullo to them, some of them were well and some were not.

MB
- Text: Thana wuntana iitha tha'iyangan
they live-they-pl thick-scrub lots-in

wuthanang Expl₁: aaka nampiya Peru Expl₂: niliya,
thick-in place name-sp it-sp

aak inaniya South America'ang.
place this-sp -in

They live in the thick bush, in the thick scrub, the place is called Peru and this place is in South America.

WMV 8-10
- Text: wiya ep Expl: kuupamin wey
some fact(alright) happy-they emo

Text: wiyiya kaangk ke' Expl: popam angman nyiinin.
some-sp like neg silently there sat-they

... some were alright - they were happy; others didn't like it - they just sat there silently.

KL 015

DIAGRAM 11

TEMPORAL AND COORDINATING SENTENCES

	SEQUENCE	COMPLETIVE ACTION	INVERTED SEQUENCE	PROCEDURAL	TOPIC SWITCHING PROCEDURAL	SIMULTANEOUS	COORDINATE
Base Tagmemes	Two obligatory and one optional tagmeme. +Antecedent +Consequent +Comment. Consequent tagmeme may be repeated up to eight times.	Two obligatory Base tagmemes. +Continued Action +Completive Action. Completive Action tagmeme may be repeated once.	Two obligatory tagmemes. +Consequent Action +Antecedent Action.	One obligatory Base tagmeme and one optional tagmeme. +Action +Comment. Action tagmeme may be repeated up to seven times.	Two obligatory Base tagmemes and one optional tagmeme. +Initial Participant Base +Additional Participant Base +Comment. Additional Participant Base may be repeated up to nine times.	Two obligatory Base tagmemes. +Action +Simultaneous Action.	Two obligatory Base tagmemes and one optional Base tagmeme. +Action +Coordinate Action. +Coordinate Action.
Markers	Optional -a' or a' between bases. Optional ngul, ngulan then, now and napananiya' after that in second and subsequent bases.	Reduplication of verb and/or continuous action marker -ās in Continued Action base. Either sequence marker -a' or a' may occur or they may co-occur. At least one sequence marker is obligatory. Optional occurrence of kan (punctiliar) and ngul then or anggul and there then in second base. kan and ngul may co-occur.	Optional -a' between bases. Optional ngul then, later in first base. Obligatory kanan completive in second base.	Optional a' between bases. Optional kanan completive within repeated base tagmemes.	Optional a' between bases. Optional yaa yes introducing specific participants in Additional participant base.	Optional -a' between bases. Optional an-ānyangan at that time in second base. When kanan or kanan completive occur in first base an-ānyangan at that time is obligatory and ngul then optional in the second base, which then means close sequence.	Optional a' between bases.
Tense	Past-Past, Customary-Future, Future-Future, Past-Future.	Past-Past, Continuous Action in first base shown by re-duplication of verb stem and/or continuous action marker -ās.	Past-Past, Subjunctive-Subjunctive.	Customary-Customary	Past-Past, Customary-Customary.	Past-Past, Future-Future, Customary-Customary, Imperative-Future, Past Continuous-Past (punctiliar), Future (punctiliar)-Future.	Past-Past, Future-Future.
Same/Different Subjects	Same or different subjects.	Same subject.	Same subject.	Same subject.	Different subjects.	Same or different subjects.	Same subject.
Positive/Negative	Pos/Pos	Pos/Pos	Pos/Pos	Pos/Pos	Pos/Pos	Pos/Pos	Pos/Pos or Neg/Neg
Encodes	Logical sequence of events.	Logical sequence of events to completion.	Sequence of events, but with consequent action proceeding antecedent action.	Logical sequence of procedures.	Various participants in successive focus in cultural procedures.	Simultaneous actions of same or different duration.	Events related with time not in focus.
Intonation	Basic Intonation of Bases. With same subject, mid step-down sequence sub-type intonation may occur. Otherwise -a' sequence intonation occurs between bases.	High pitch with narrow range modification of Basic Intonation followed by intonation carrier -ās on first base. Low pitch modification of Basic Intonation on Completive Action Base.	Bases linked with either sub-type of sequence intonation. Highest clause-stress on completive marker in second base (first chronological action).	Bases linked with either sub-type of sequence intonation. Sentence Topic Intonation may occur on time horizons or participants.	Bases linked by mid step-down sub-type sequence intonation. Sentence Topic Intonation occurs on introduction of all new participants.	High pitch with narrower range modification of Basic Intonation on Action Base. Simultaneous action has lower pitch and normal range Basic Intonation.	Basic Intonation of each base with mid step-down sequence intonation between bases. The conjunction a' also optionally occurs between bases.



The Sequence Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Antecedent Base + (± Cj + Consequent Base)n=8 ± Comment

Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Reciprocal Cl Direct Quote S Repetition S Deleted Predicate Parallel S Coordinate S Simultaneous S Completive Action S	-a' and/or a'	Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Amplification S Direct Quote S Repetition S Indirect Quote Merged S Future Result S Deleted Predicate Quotation S Deleted Predicate Paraphrase S Negated Antonym S	Deleted Predicate Reason S
Temporal progression of events Normally same tense Same or different subject Usually Positive-Positive Sequence intonation			

The Sequence Sentence is composed of two obligatory bases, Antecedent Base and Consequent Base. Antecedent Base may be repeated. The bases are optionally joined by the conjunction -a' and/or a'. The Antecedent Base may be expounded by Intransitive, Transitive and Reciprocal Clauses, and by Direct Quote, Repetition, Deleted Predicate Parallel, Coordinate, Simultaneous, and Completive Action (Sequence) Sentences. The Consequent Base may be expounded by Intransitive and Transitive Clauses and by Amplification (Paraphrase), Quotation, Repetition, Indirect Quote Merged, Future Result, Deleted Predicate Quotation, Deleted Predicate Paraphrase, and Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentences.

The particles *ngul*, *ngulan* *now*, *then*, optionally occur in any base but the first. However, there are two examples of *ngul* in the first base where it refers back to the preceding Sequence Sentence and is therefore a constituent of the whole sentence - rather than of the first base as such. The occurrence of this particle is frequent in conversation but is relatively rare in text material. *Nanpalaniya' after that* also occurs in the second base of many examples where it may co-occur with *ngulan then*, *kanan* 'punctiliar', and *kanam* 'completive' which optionally occur in the Antecedent Base. (There is one example of *kan* in second base - Example 15). One example (28) with a Completive Action Sentence expounding Base 1 and *yip-yipak yet* in the exponent of Base 2 expounds Span-Span temporal sequence. Still another example (29) encodes Span-Event - the deep structure which is more usually encoded in a Completive Action (Sequence) Sentence.

The conjunction *a'* occurs most frequently when there is a marked change of focus, (cf. Coordinate Sentences). Where all or some bases following each other have the same subject it is common for the free subject to occur in the first base only, (see Example 14) if at all. There are exceptions, however, and in two examples (12 and 13) the free subject occurs in the second base and not the first base.

The tense of each base is normally the same and can be either past-past, future-future, or customary-cumulative. When the first base is a command this is lexically future and the second base is then future. The exception to same tense combination is the combination past-future, occurring in one example (25). This combination has the general meaning '*this has happened/we have done this and now this will happen/we will do that*'. The bases may have same or different subject, and are all positive.

The Consequent Base may be multiply repeated, as in Example 27 where Consequent Base occurs eight times in a Sequence Sentence which has a total of ten bases.

The Sequence Sentence normally expounds discourse-level tagmemes; it may occur, however, embedded in Direct Quote Sentence.

The bases of Sequence Sentence are joined by obligatory sequence intonation. The bases have basic intonation. The final base has final intonation. The sequence intonation with mid step down occurs with bases with same subject, while the intonation of high step up with *-a'* and occurs with bases with both same and different subjects.

Examples:

1. Ant Base: Yaa, ngay iiyanga' Cons Base: hookana, thaa' minh
yes I went-I-cj -that mouth pro
 nga' anpalana thapathang, Cons Base: thaa'oyngk wunpang.
fish from-that took-off-I bait put-I
Yes, I went and I took the hook from the mouth of the fish and I
put the bait on.

VR 83-5

2. Ant Base: Yaa, ngay iiyanga' Cons Base: thaa' umpangan,
yes I went-I-cj mouth cut-I
 chaawarang umpang, Cons Base: a' wichangan hookanan.
knife-with cut-I cj pulled-out-I -that
Yes, I went and I cut the mouth (of the fish), I cut it with a big
knife, and I pulled out the hook.

VR 89-92

3. Ant Base: Pal iiyān Cons Base: in thapathāna.
here come-imper here take-off-imper
Come here and take this off.

VR 81-82

4. Ant Base: Ngan paanthaniya' Cons Base: an kinch ken ngul
we camped-we-cj dem sun high then
 ekan.
got-up-we
We slept and then we got up when the sun was high.

VR 119-20

5. Ant Base: Yaa, ngay iiyanga' Cons Base: thawangant, 'pal
yes I went-I-cj said-I-to-her here
 kan iiyāna', ngan inan kan kathan minhana'.
punct come-you-ft we here punct tied-we fish
I went and said to her, "You come here (to where) we have tied up
fish".

FL 22-25

6. Ant Base: Yaa, thonangan ngul kathan Cons Base: mak
yes another then tied-we squeezed
 minhaniya' Cons Base: kichan ngul pipa' Cons Base: a'
fish-cj bark then broke-her-cj cj
 kuayang kath, Billyangan kich anan minh thampangan.
string-with tied-he -tr bark that fish too
Then we tied up another fish, squeezed it, and Billy broke the bark,
and tied the fish and the bark together.

FL 26-30

7. Ant Base: Kurkan we'arathangant Cons Base: a' kurkang
ashes scattered-I-for-him cj ashes-in
kaampan minhan.
buried-we fish
I scattered the ashes for him and we buried the fish in the ashes.
FL 63-4
8. Ant Base: Ngan kenya matana'
we high went-up-we-cj Cons Base: ngay pi'
I ant bed
anangan piikangant Cons Base: a' pek ukathan.
those hit-I-for-her cj down took-down-we
*We went up high, I hit those antbeds for her and we carried them
down.*
FL 65
9. Ant Base: Landroveran mo'an koyam Cons Base: kalan,
runs-it behind carries-it
aakanak, fenceline aakanak kalan, Cons Base: keekathan.
there-to there-to carries-it drops-it
*The landrover goes behind and carries it to there, to the fence-
line, and drops it.*
MF 14
10. Yaa, Ant Base: ngay puth putham thee'angant Cons Base:
yes I so again threw-I-for-her
a' minh thonam ngul wich.
cj fish one then caught-she
Yes, so I threw (it) again for her and then she caught a fish.
VR 65-66
11. Ant Base: Nama menchan aniya' may menchan anan
yams cooked that-sp food cooked that
aathwuntana' Cons Base: nanpalaniya' erp ngulan
offer-they-recv-cj after-that-sp raw then
thee'antan thant.
give-they them-to
*They offer each other the cooked food, the cooked yams, and after
that they hand out the uncooked food.*
PN 63-4
12. Ant Base: Kanan yuk-way-mfn pungala Cons Base: ngal
punct things washed-we we-dl
nungant iiyal, moom ngalantamant.
her-to went-we boss ours-to
When we had washed the (dishes) we went to our boss.
(Conversation)

13. Ant Base: Palam ngulan iiyala Cons Base: ngal yuurpam
here then went-we we-dl straight
 kayak wenk-wenkai.
 -for searched-we-ct-pt
When we had come back we went straight to look for the key.
 (Conversation)
14. (Puth thanan thawantan) Ant Base: ma' ko'alam anganya
for they say-they day three there-sp
 minchalamana yamang ekana, Cons Base: mee' ikana,
ghost somewhere gets-up eye opens
 Cons Base: makarana thayanmana, Cons Base: iiyan ngul yuupa.
sinews hard-vb goes-he then restless
For they say, "On the third day, the ghost gets up somewhere close,
he opens his eyes, his sinews get hard, and then he moves around."
 In Quotation Sentence: PE 29-32
15. Ant Base: Kanan muunchantana' Cons Base: mayan kan aathantan.
punct wash-they-cj *food punct offer-they*
When they are washed, they give them food.
 PN 55-56
16. Ant Base: A' pula matches wantapul, matches wantapul
cj they-two *left-they-two left-they-two*
 Cons Base: thawan pulanta, "nip matches puuy-puuy nip
said-we those-dl-to you-dl far-far you-dl
 ey?"
 ques
And those two left their matches behind, they left them behind,
and we asked them, "Are your matches over there?"
 MW
17. Ant Base: Ngan iiyan, Cons Base: thanang angam wantan, wantan
we went-we them there left-we left-we
 thanang angaman Cons Base: nyiin-nyiin, minh nga'ak.
them there sat-ct-we pro fish-for
We went, and we left them there, we left them there, and we sat
down to fish.
 MW 062
18. Ant Base: Ngan piiyan way-m'ina Cons Base: koyam ngul
we brought-we things back then
 mo'an aakak, aak nganan wun-wun, aakanak mo'an.
went-we place-to place we live-we there-to went-we
We bought things and we went back to the place, where we live,
right to that place.
 WT 27

19. Ant Base: Nil yinamana ongakamana, Cons Base: piikan.
he likewise lengthens-he hits-he
He in the same way lengthens it and hits it.
 MF 17
20. (Yaa) Ant Base: than pam al-alangana' pe'an thapathantana'
yes they men those-pl-tr skin take-off-they-hab
 yukana' Cons Base: mee'pepan umpantan.
trees-cj eye-sharp make-they-hab
Yes, those men take the bark off the logs and then they make sharp points.
 MF 27
21. Ant Base: Pam thonamangan yuk maayana' Cons Base: pii'an
man one-tr-that log picks-up-he-cj minds-he
 nung min-min Cons Base: a' kuchek alangana' piikan, yuk
his well then head that hits-he log
 ananiy, yongk ananiy.
that ironwood that
One man picks up a log, he minds it carefully, and then he hits the head of the log, of that ironwood.
 MF 16
22. Ant Base: Nil wampow naakanakan, Cons Base: thawān
she come-she-ft there-to say-ft
 nungant wik kuchowara pal.
her-to word send-she-ft-to-me here
When she comes there tell her to send me a message here (at home).
 (Informant's report of phone message)
23. Ant Base: Thumaniya' thipan angman Cons Base: puth-puthaman
fire-sp burnt-down there again-again
 wunpanan thuman Cons Base: mulam penchan waykaniy
put-we-ct firewood fully cooked dye-that-sp
 kunchanang pulan, karp.
pandanus-cj they-dl together
When the fire is burned down, we put firewood on again and again (until) the pandanus and dye are cooked, both together, properly.
 FL 120
24. Ant Base: Ana puth paman uthamana, or wanch nathiy
dem then man dies-he or woman maybe
 or puk weya aawuchan wantanampa, Cons Base: iianampa
or child emo house leave-we-ct go-we-ct
 kámpantāngan wunamp.
relatives-accomp stay-we
When a man dies, or maybe a woman or child, we leave the house. We go and we stay with our relatives.
 OR 5-8

25. (Piip ngantam in kenya) Ant Base: ngan ina aak
father ours here above we this song
 thakan pathan, mee'wuthanman thak wik nungkaram
etc sang-we prayed-we etc words yours
 anman minam ngeeyan Cons Base: ana konangam pii'an.
only well heard-we dem ears-in hold-we-ft
Our Father in heaven, we are here, we have sung, prayed and heard
your good word, and we will remember them.

PR 2

26. Ant Base: Ngay puk manyaman iiyanga, ngay inan thathang,
I child small went-I I this saw-I
 Cons Base: ngay konangam pii'anga.
I ear-in held-I
When I was a child I saw this and I've remembered it.

PN 4-5

27. Ant Base: A' kán-ngūl aniya' Tariri aniya iiy aak thonakana,
cj compl dem that went place another-to
 Cons Base: pam anangan thatha, Cons Base: pekwinana,
men those saw fought-ref-they
 Cons Base: pamana kuchéka mamanang ump, mana mamanang ump,
men head taking cut neck taking cut
 Cons Base: koyama kal aak nungantamak Cons Base: aak
back took place his-to place
 nungantam anganiya, kan wunpa, kuchékan thum thinth wunp
his there punct put head fire close put-he
 Cons Base: kanan akaramina', kuchékan manyan weenina,
punct dried-they head small became-they
 Cons Base: ana mutha thu-thú' thant, kuchékaniy mana
dem tails poking the other to-them head-sp neck
 mamanang, Cons: man-úch inpalan ngoonch, kuchék ananiy!
taking beads from here entered heads those
 Comment: ke'ama, puth wee'angan waa'in Godaniya, wikaniy
neg for who-ts told-they-pt God-sp word-sp
Then Tariri went to another place and he saw these men, they
fought, he cut the men's heads off, he cut them off at the neck
and carried them back to his own place, he put them down in his
place, he put the heads close to the fire. When they became
dried up they became small and he joined them up one behind the
other, he made a necklace and put his head into it. He shouldn't
(have done this) but who had told him God's words.

WMV 53-66

28. Ant Base: A' kana kalan, kalanaa, kungénch kan wantan,
cj punct rowed-we rowed-we-ct corner punct left-we
 Cons Base: yip-yipak kal-kalan yipak, kecha.
yet rowed-we yet far
Then we rowed and we rowed and we rowed, we left the corner and
we were still rowing yet for a long way.

MW 019

29. Ant Base: Uukanan, uukanan, uukanana' Cons Base: $\frac{a'}{cj}$
scraped-we scraped-we scraped-we-cj
 angan thee'anan kunchanang angan, karp pul puth
there threw-we pandanus-on there together they-two for
 anganiy penchanpul.
there cook-they-dl
We scraped and we scraped and we scraped and then we threw (it)
on the pandanus because those two there cook together.

FL 124

3.2 COMPLETIVE ACTION (SEQUENCE) SENTENCE

In this subtype of the Sequence Sentence the first base encodes a span and the second and third bases subsequent events.

The Completive Action (Sequence) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Continued Action + Cj + Completive Actionⁿ⁼²

Transitive Cl Paraphrase S with optional full reduplication of the verb or locative and -aa continuous action marker on verb	<i>a' and</i>	Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl Non-future Result S Direct Quote S <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> with optional occurrence of kan and/or <ngul> within clause or sentence
Same tense Same subject First base encodes a span; further bases encode successive events Positive-Positive Intonation (on fully reduplicated verbs): Sequence intonation between each Phonological Clause followed by low pitch on Completive Action tagmeme (otherwise): High pitch narrow range on first base with continued action intonation -aa followed by low pitch on Completive Action tagmeme		

The **Completive Action (Sequence) Sentence** is a subtype of **Sequence Sentence**. Both base tagmemes are obligatory, and an additional **Completive Action** tagmeme may occur. The **Conjunction a'** occurs only rarely (Example 5). The **Continued Action** tagmeme, which is expounded by **Transitive Clause** and **Paraphrase Sentence**, may be characterized by full reduplication of the verb or the locative; it must have the continuous action marker **-aa** on the verb. In an example of **Deleted Predicate Completive Action Sentences** (see section 11.3) the locative word is repeated, the verb is deleted, and the **-aa** occurs on the last locative word. In Examples 2 and 4, partial reduplication of the verb co-occurs with the continuous action marker **-aa**. **-aa** is not only a continuous action marker but an intonation carrier. The relative length of the intonation carrier **-aa** indicates the relative length of the motion being described, i.e. the longer the continuous action marker is held, the longer the motion or action.

The **Completive Action** tagmeme may be expounded by **Transitive and Intransitive Clauses**, and by **Non-future Result Sentence** and **Direct Quote Sentence**. Kan 'punctiliar' and <ngul> *then* optionally occur within the clause or sentence filling the **Completive Action** tagmeme. The verb of the **Completive Action** tagmeme is usually the logical sequel or completion of the event of the **Continued Action** tagmeme.

Both bases have the same subject and tense (past-past). In all examples found, both bases are positive. The linear ordering of the tagmemes is fixed and is the same as the chronological order of the events.

The **Completive Action (Sequence) Sentence** occurs embedded in the **Sequence Sentence** (main subtype) and in the **Simultaneous Sentence**.

The intonation of the **Completive Action (Sequence) Sentence** depends largely on the verb filling the **Continued Action** tagmeme. When this verb or locative is reduplicated in full, sequence intonation occurs between the reduplicated verbs (mid step down with no **-a'** intonation morpheme). Each reduplication of the verb is a separate phonological clause with clause stress. Otherwise the verb which has the **Continuous Action** marker **-aa**, is a phonological clause with modified basic intonation. The overall pitch is high stepping up from low and fast preceding clause stress. Clause stress occurs on the verb which is high and has narrow range intonation, carrying on level and frequently laryngealized on the intonation carrying morpheme **-aa**.

The intonation pattern of the **Completive Action** tagmeme is lower than that of the **Continued Action** tagmeme. It is basic intonation with normal to low pitch and normal range. Clause stress is considerably lower than on the verb/s of the **Continued Action** tagmeme.

In the Inverted Sequence Sentence the linear order of bases is opposite to the chronological order of events. This is made clear by the obligatory occurrence of *kanan* 'punctiliar' or *kanaman* 'completive' within the Intransitive or Transitive Clause expounding Antecedent Action Base. *ngul* then optionally occurs within the Consequent Action Base, which may be expounded by Intransitive and Transitive Clauses and Purposive (Future Result) Sentence. As in the Sequence Sentence the bases may be optionally linked by the conjunction '-a'. Both bases are obligatory.

In the examples, both bases have the same subject and the verbs have the same tense. Both bases are positive.

In this sentence type the punctiliar marker *kanan* or the completive marker *kanaman* has the highest pitch of the whole sentence. The first base is a phonological clause with basic intonation. Clause stress is on the verb when it occurs following the free form pronoun, or on the word preceding the verb when this word is other than the free form subject pronoun. In the second phonological clause apart from clause stress occurring on the completive marker or the punctiliar marker the intonation pattern is basic.

Examples:

Example 1 was heard in conversation and Examples 2-6 were elicited.

1. Cons Act: *Nip iiyuwa'* Ant Act: *dishes kaa'atham*
you-dl went-you first
kanan *punguw.*
punct washed-you
You two went after you had washed the dishes.
2. Cons Act: *ngay minh nga'ak iiyang ngul*
I fish for went-I later (then)
 Ant Act: *kanan kulich pungang.*
finished clothes washed-I
I went fishing after I had washed the clothes.
3. Cons Act: *ngay churchak iiyang* Ant Act: *kanan may mungkang.*
I -for went-I finished food eat-I
I went to church after I had eaten breakfast.
4. Cons Act: *ngay kalang baskets a' mats handcraft aakanakan*
I carried-I cj place-that-to
 Ant Act: *ngay kanaman weep wunang kinch-kénya.*
I finished sleep lie-I sun high
I took baskets and mats to handcraft after I had a sleep at lunch-time.

5. Cons Act: ngan iiyan ngul store'ak Ant Act: kanaman
 we went-we then -to finished
 ngan pungan curtains.
 we washing-we
We went to the store after we had washed the curtains.
6. Cons Act: nil iiy ngul wik ngeeyanak Ant Act: kanan
 he went-he then words hear-to finished
 nil wamp aakak workaman.
 he came-he place-to work-from
He went to a meeting after he came home from work.

3.4 PROCEDURAL SENTENCE

This sentence type describes a series of customary activities in chronological succession. It corresponds to a PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH in many languages. It contrasts with the Sequence Sentence in being a same-subject string and in lacking the conjunction and markers of the Sequence Sentence.

The Procedural Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Activityⁿ⁼⁷

+ Comment

Intransitive C1 Transitive C1 Direct Quote S Reason S Future Result S Sequence S Simultaneous S Paraphrase S Sequence Rhetorical Question S Parallel S	Complement C1 Explanatory S
Same tense, different verbs Same subject Temporal progression Each new time horizon optionally introduced by sentence topic intonation (e.g. Activity 2 of Example 4 and Activity 1 and 2 of Example 6)	

The Procedural Sentence is composed of two bases: Activity tagmeme which occurs from one to seven times, and an optional Comment tagmeme. The Comment tagmeme may permute to between Activity tagmemes (Example 4).

The tense is the same in all the verbs, but the verbs themselves are different. A time horizon may go with more than one Activity Base (e.g. Example 4). The subject is the same for all Activity Bases, and all Activity Bases are positive.

The actor initially may have sentence topic intonation and thereafter each time horizon optionally has this intonation (See Sentence Periphery). Each time horizon with sentence topic intonation has clause stress at about the same height of pitch. Clauses referring to subsequent activities within the same Activity Base do not have either sentence topic intonation or rising sequence intonation. Nevertheless, such clauses are separate Phonological Clauses with intervening mid step down sequence intonation.

Examples:

1. Activity₁: Aawuch ngulan thapathantana' pam
house then open-they-ct-cj man
 múuy-kūnchang ananiya' wanch múuy-kūnchangiya'
cousin-real-ts that-sp-cj women cousin-real-ts-cj
 munthang mamwuntan Comment: ngamp puth
charcoal-with rub-they-ct-recip we-pl cj
 waa'anamp kayalpan mamana, mamwunampaniy puth.
call-we kayalpan rub-we rub-we-pl-recip-sp because
When they open the house the men cousins and the women cousins rub
themselves with charcoal; we call this (the) kayalpan (rub)
because we rub each other.

OR 30-33

2. Activity₁: Pam kuutananganiya' wur ekan
man kuutan-sp-cj quickly gets-up-he
 Activity₂: nyiin patham kuutananganiy wampan
sits-he really kuutan (baby) comes-he
 Activity₃: aawalangan thee'an nun
underarm-sweat-with throws-he him
 Activity₄: punga pathan nun thinka pathan nun
knee bites-he him small-of-back bites-he him
 Activity₅: wu'an nun mín-mīn emowant
blows-he him well grow-he-ft-to-him
 yipmam wench ke'anhang Comment: aak ngamparamaniy puth.
so-that sores without place ours-sp because
The kuutan man gets up quickly; he really sits and the kuutan (baby)
comes to him; he rubs him with underarm sweat; he bites his knees,
he bites the small of his back; he blows on him so that he will
grow up well for him without any sores, for that's our custom.

KU 51-60

3. Activity₁: Kan kalan nun, pam mantayanang puk manyaniy
 punct carries-he him man old-ts child-sp
 Activity₂: kee'athan nuna Activity₃: thanathan nun aakang
 plays-he him stands-up-he him ground-on
 Activity₄: pungka pathan nun a' thinka pathan nun
 knees bites-he him cj back bites-he him
 yipam ilyow thayanmowant kamp mo'owant erkam
 so-that go-he-ft strong-he-ft-him-to fast run-he-ft-to-him fast
 Activity₅: kalan nun Activity₆: pal-puuy
 carries-he him here-and-there
 weentathan nun, puk manyaniy Activity₇: pathan nun.
 turns-around-he him child-sp bites-he him
*The old man carries the baby; he plays with him; he stands him on
 the ground; he bites him on the knees and he bites him on the
 back so that he will go for him, so that he will be strong for
 him and so that he will run for him fast; he carries him; he turns
 him around here and there and he bites him.*

KU 28-38

4. Activity₁: Kuutananganiya' puk many kuutan nungantamaniya'
 cord-that-sp-cj child cord his-that-sp-cj
 manangan thapathan nungantam kuutan alangan nungantang
 neck-on-that take-off-he his-from cord that-ts (man) his-on
 ngul manang kalan Activity₂: a' ngaa'atingamaniya'
 then neck-on carries-he cj morning-in-that-sp-cj
 nguchant ngul Activity₃: pathan nun
 early-goes-he-him-to then bites-he him
 Activity₄: thathan nun if minam emanan wench ke'anghang
 sees-he him well grows-he sores without
 thathan nun Comment: "yaa, minam emanara ey"
 sees-he him yes well grows-he-me-for ques
 kuutan kunchan thawan, pamaniy Activity₅: eman
 cord real-that says-he man-that grows-he
 nunganta' kaap thonamangan wantaniya, kan patham
 him-to-cj wet season one-that leaves-he-sp punct really
 iiyan, otang anman kuutan angan.
 goes-he short only cord-child there
*The man kuutan takes the cord from the baby kuutan's neck and wears
 it around his own; in the morning he goes early to him; he bites
 him; he sees him if he has grown well for him without any sores,
 the man sees him the baby; he grows for him for one wet season,
 he just toddles for him, the kuutan baby.*

KU 60-71

5. Activity₁: Dance kan kee'antan
 punct dance-they-ct
Then they dance.

OR

6. Activity₁: kan kee'antan, nil wanchínthananiya'
 punct dance-they-ct she old-lady-that-sp-cj
 wuungk pii'anán pathantan, ngak kan thanathantan
 dance big-that sing-they-ct water punct stand-they-ct
 kinchangam anana, wiyanan ngul pentantan ngeen
 day-time-in that some-that then come-out-they-ct what
 thampanganiya, dance thampanganiya Activity₂: kanan
 with-that-sp with-that-sp compl
 ngak thanathantaniya' danceaniy kan pentathantan
 water stand-they-ct-sp-cj -that-sp punct bring-out-they-ct
 Activity₃: than nan-nániyangan patham muunchantan, othamang
 they at-that-time really wash-they-ct children-ts
 kuunchanga kaath-píi'anang muunchathantan thanang múuy-kūnch
 siblings-ts mother-big-ts wash-they-ct them cousins-real
 anan pam wanch muuyanchin anangan, muunchathantan thanang
 that man woman cousins-pl those wash-they-ct them
 maakiy aymiy thakan
 man-bereaved-of-child woman-bereaved-of-child etc
 muunchathantan thanang kayalpan anan Activity₄: thum
 wash-they-ct them kayalpan that (when) fire
 munthan pentow kempam ananiya pach ananiya
 charcoal come-out-it-ft flesh-from that-sp white-that-sp
 anan kan iiyantan ana ya'-ngul Comment: wik ke'anhang
 that punct go-they-ct that finished now word without
 ke' iiy-iiyantan ngul, wik athamáyan ngul thawayn.
 neg go-they-ct-cont then word loudly then speak-they-ft
*They dance, the old ladies, they really sing a big dance and they
 stand the water for us in the daytime; some of them come out what
 with? with a dance; when they have stood the water up they really
 bring the dance out; at that same time they really wash the child-
 ren, the brothers and sisters, the big mother, they wash them the
 cousins, those men and women cousins, they wash them, and the men
 and women bereaved of children, they wash them too - that is
 Kayalpan - when the charcoal comes off the flesh and it's white
 then they go, it's finished then; without speaking they don't go
 now, they speak loudly now.*

OR 40-57

3.5 TOPIC-SWITCHING PROCEDURAL SENTENCE

This sentence type, like the former, describes a series of customary activities in chronological succession. Here, however, the focus is not on the chronological succession itself, but on switching the participant or item featured as topic in first one base, then the next. Same or different subjects are permitted. The new topic in each successive base is set off by features of affixation and intonation.

The Topic-switching Procedural Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Initial Participant Base	+ Additional Participant Base ⁿ⁼⁹	+ Comment
Simple S Sequence S Amplification Rhetorical Question S	Simple S Sequence S Future Result Rhetorical Question S Reason S Future Result S 'Or' Alternative S	Transitive C1 Intransitive C1 Coordinate S
Obligatory Sentence Topic in exponent of each base		
<p>Different verbs, same tense New referent in the Sentence Topic of each successive base Usual structure of Sentence Topic:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Obligatory conjunction -a' plus Sentence Topic intonation occurs on noun phrase introducing all new referents - both Initial Participant Base and Additional Participant Base b) Beside the conjunction -a' there is frequent use of specifier suffix -iy on noun phrase which introduces each referent <p>In the poorly attested Contemporary Procedural variant (Example 6) of this sentence type Sentence Topic is not obligatory</p>		

The Topic-switching Procedural Sentence is composed of three tagmemes: an obligatory Initial Participant Base, an obligatory Additional Participant Base, and an optional Comment tagmeme. The second tagmeme may occur from one to nine times.

The tense is the same with all verbs but the verbs are different. At least one referent is different in each successive Participant Base: the new referent may be subject, object, etc., and is encoded in the Sentence Topic of the sentence which expounds Participant Base.

Sentence Topic here has the structure described in Section 1 and summarized above in the bidimensional array.

This sentence type commonly encodes cultural activities where vari-participants and items come into successive focus. As is seen in

Examples 1-5 below its structure is quite regular. There is a slight irregularity in Example 4 where the putative Sentence Topic is non-initial in Base 2 and has final low falling intonation.

Example 6 is typical of a variant which is sometimes overheard. In this Contemporary Procedural (variant) the obligatory requirements of the main type - in regard to occurrence of Sentence Topic in each base - are relaxed. The participants are not highlighted but are referred to in a more general way, e.g. by use of pronouns.

Examples:

1. Part₁: A' koyam ngul iiya, pam wanch nungantamana
 cj back then went-he men women his
 thaa'aath thanang Part₂: Dorisang pula Loretangana'
 taught-he them -cj they-dl -cj-cj
 koyam iiypul, Indian people alantan.
 back went-they-dl those-to
 And then he went back to his own people and taught them, and Doris
 and Loretta went back to those Indian people.
 WMV 233-235
2. Part₁: kuutananganiya' um-kenya wun nungant pamaniy,
 kuutan-man-cj chest-up lies-he to-him man-sp
 Part₂: puk manyaniya' mantayanang kalan nun,
 child-cj old-man-ts carries-he him
 Part₃: kaath kunchaniya' kóy-kōyiw iiyan, yūk-way-mín thampang,
 mother-real-one-cj behind goes-she things with
 Part₄: nil kém-kūnchana' or nath wey wanch mantayan nath
 she grandmother-cj or maybe emo woman old maybe
 wun nungantang thinth, alangan puntha-paam thampang
 lives-she her-with close that-one-ts bird-wing with
 iiyan nyeenyan kentan nungantam, ana puth nyeenyan
 goes-she flies sends-away-she him-from that because flies-that
 ke' wampan puth yuk-wáya, puntha-paamangan penyan nunang
 neg come-it because thing-bad bird's-wing-with fans-she him
 káath-kūncha' puk manyan.
 mother-real-cj child small
 The kuutan man lies chest up for him (the baby); the old man carries
 the baby; the mother comes along behind with the things; the
 grandmother, or maybe an old woman who lives nearby comes with a
 bird's wing (fan) to send the flies away from him because flies
 musn't come because they are bad, she fans him and the mother
 with the bird's wing.

3. Part₁: Puk manyaniya' pichathantan nun, morphanga'
child-cj paint-they-pl-ct him white-clay-with-cj
 wu'ang, Part₂: kuchekaniya' olka
red ochre-with head-sp-cj feather-headdress
 wunpantan nungant, or pach man uchang wampan
put-they-pl-ct him-on or flowers throat beads-with comes-he
 wiya man uungkamang wunpan puk many alantanan,
some throat pearl-shell-necklet put-ct-he child that
 Part₃: kuutan nungantamaniya' manang kathantan,
cord his-sp-cj neck-on tied-they-ct
 Part₄: kuutananiya' womang makantan, Part₅: puukuwa'
cord-sp-cj wax-in stick-they-ct red berries-cj
 pakang makantan kenyangkaniy womanganiy, ách-ūmpanana,
wax-in stick-they-ct above-in-sp wax-in-sp looks-nice
 Comment: puk manyan ách-ūmpan nunang, wampan nungant
child looks-nice him comes-he him-to

kuutan anganiy.
 kuutan there-sp

They paint the child with red and white ochre and on his head they put a feather headdress or flowers, some come with beads around their necks and others have a pearl shell necklet put on them; they tie his umbilical cord covered in wax around his neck, it has red berries stuck in the wax to make it look nice; the child looking nice is brought there to the kuutan man.

KU 12-20

4. Part₁: Kootranganiya' pach wunpantan man uchang
head-on-sp-cj flowers put-they-ct neck beads-with
 man uungkamang Part₂: pipang mamwuntan,
neck pearl-shell-necklet-with mud-with rub-they-recip
 morpanga' wu'ang Comment: wanch anangan
white-ochre-with-cj red-ochre-with women those
 ách-ūmpan thanang.
nice-looks them

They put flowers on their heads and beads and pearl shell necklets on their necks; they rub each other with red and white ochre, it makes those women look nice.

PN 51

5. Part₁: Than wiyanaya' ana ngeen yumpantan, dance yumpantan
they some-sp-cj that what make-they-ct make-they-ct
 Part₂: wiyanganiya' may kiingkantan Part₃: wiyanganiya'
some-ts-sp-cj food cook-they-ct some-ts-sp-cj
 kampan kunchaniya' ana patham aawuchanan pach
relatives real-sp-cj that really house (for) flowers
 thuthantana kangk thak thuthantan
pull-they-ct-cj bushes etc pull-they-ct

Comment: aawuchan ach-umpow pam mulantamaniya aawuchan.
house-that look-nice-it-ft man dead-poss-sp house-that
And what do some of them do? They make a dance, others cook food
and others, the real relatives they pull flowers and bushes etc.
to make the house look nice, the dead man's house.

OR 34-39

6. Part₁: Than yuk yongk umpantan, keekathantan swing-saw
they tree ironwood chop-they-ct fell-they-ct
 alangan umpantan yukan ompam umpan, Part₂: yaa, than
that-with cut-they-ct tree-that half cuts-it yes they
 pam al-alangana' pe'an thapathantana' yuk ana
men those-ts-cj skin peeled-off-they-ct-cj tree that
 mee'pepan yumpantana, Part₃: Landrover mo'an koyam maayan
sharp-point made-they-ct runs-it back picks-up-it
 kalan aakanak fenceline aakanak kalan,
carries-it that-place-to that-place-to carries-it
 keekathan, Part₄: tractor kul-kulam mo'an, pam thum ngatharamang
drops-it behind runs-it man fire mine-ts
 mo'athan tractoran, ngeen yuk anangan piikow thanang
drives-he -that what logs those hit-it-ft them
 Part₅: Pam thonamangan yuk maayana' pi'an nung min-min
man one-ts log picks-up-he-cj minds-he it well
 a' kuchek alangan piikan yukaniya yongkanan, nil
cj head on-that-one hits-he log-that ironwood-that he
 yinaman ongkamana' piikan, Part₆: a' ngeen
in-that-manner lengthens-it-cj hits-he cj what
 angaman waman, strainer angaman
there-that-place comes-it there-that-place
 Part₇: pam wiyiy thana' kuchamang puliya tractor kul-kulam
man some they-cj two-ts they-dl-sp behind
 kalanpul, barbed-wireana mo'athanpulaa plain wire
take-they-dl -that run-it-they-dl-ct-cj
 mo'athanpul Part₈: pam wiyian iiyantan koy-koyuwana'
ran-it-they-dl-ct man others go-they-pl-ct behind
 ana than muunthantan ngul tie fastanga staplesang muunthantan,
that they tie-they-ct then -with staples-with tie-they-ct
 pungantan, Part₉: nil pam nil-nīlam kōy-kōyuwan iiyana'
hit-they-ct he man himself behind goes-he-cj
 ana nil droppers anangan wunpan thanang, Part₁₀: ngay wey
that he those puts-he them I emo
 keenk iiyang nganwey Samang iiyana markim punganan thant
first go-I we-emo -cj go-we-ct do-we them-for
 keenk aawara we'anana thant yaa'an thonakam thaa'thanpanam
first hole dig-we-ct them-for just only partly-done
 thathayn yipam, Comment: workan nanpal erkam
see-they-ft so-that that-from quickly
 minch-minchan thant.
finishes-it them-for

They cut ironwood trees, they fell it, they cut it with a swing saw, the log is cut in half; yes, those men take off the bark, they make the log sharp pointed; the Landrover goes behind and picks it up and carries it to that place, the fence-line place and drops it; the tractor goes behind the landrover - my husband drives the tractor - What for? to hit those logs; one man picks up those logs and minds them well and he hits the head of the ironwood log, like this he lengthens and hits them; and what comes to there? the strainer comes to there; two other men they come behind with the tractor and they run out the barbed wire and the plain wire; some other men come behind and they tie them, they tie them with tie fasts and with staples and hit them; one man goes behind by himself and he puts those droppers on; I go first, Sam and I go first and mark for them, we dig holes for them, we just do it partly so that they can see and from this the work finishes quickly for them.

MF 23-54

3.6 SIMULTANEOUS SENTENCE

This is a binary structure which exists to encode deep structure overlap, i.e. activities, states, or events at least parts of which are underway at the same time. This sentence may, however, also encode elliptical constructions with a motion verb in the first base: *We went to X [and while there] so-and-so happened*; and some instances of chronological succession. In the latter case the surface structure of simultaneity imposed on deep structure succession gives a resultant meaning of *close sequence*.

The Simultaneous Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Action	+ Cj	+ Simultaneous Action
Transitive C1 Intransitive C1 Completive Action S	-a'	Transitive C1 Intransitive C1 Di-transitive C1 Reciprocal C1 Parallel S Purposive S Simultaneous S
		----- an-aniyangan <i>at that time</i>

Same tense (but may have past-future in second/variant)
 Same or different subject
 Actions overlapping, either both continuous, or one
 continuous and one punctiliar
 Positive-Positive / Negative-Positive (one example)
 The variant (1) with a motion verb in the first base,
 and an-aniyangan *at that time* in the second base
 means: *We went to X [and while there] so-and-so
 happened*
 Variant (2) with kan punctiliar in first base and
 an-aniyangan (ngul) means *close sequence*
 Basic intonation is modified in Action Base and has
 higher pitch and narrower range, and optionally ends
 with -a' and sequence intonation. The Simultaneous
 Action Base is lower pitched and normal range.

The Simultaneous Sentence is composed of two obligatory base tag-memes, Action and Simultaneous Action which are optionally linked by -a'. Action may be expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses and Completive Action Sentence. Simultaneous Action may be expounded by Transitive, Intransitive, Di-transitive and Reciprocal Clauses, and by Parallel, Purposive and Simultaneous Sentences. an-aniyangan *at that time* optionally occurs in the second base as summarized in the apparatus.

Except for the second variant described below, the tense combinations found in our present data are past-past, customary-customary, and imperative-future (imperative is regarded as lexically future). Bases may have same or different subject. Both bases are positive in all but one of the extant examples.

Both bases are obligatory, and no repeated bases have been found. In two examples (5 and 11) two Simultaneous Sentences occur together, both embedded in the one sentence (Reason Sentence and Contrast Sentence respectively).

While the actions of the two bases are simultaneous, either both actions may continue on together, or one action may be punctiliar and the other continuous. When one action is punctiliar, it may occur first in the sentence as in Example 11b, or second, as in Examples 6 and 7. When both bases of the Simultaneous Sentence have the same subject, one base may be transformed to a present participle construction.

Sometimes examples are ambiguous, in that it is difficult to

ascertain whether they are Sequence or Simultaneous Sentences. One such example is Example 3. As the Kuutan ceremony referred to in the second base is completed before the cord is cut, it is difficult to know whether the lexical material of the first base *when children are born* refers to the first part of the birth (birth of the baby) of the whole birth (birth of the baby and delivery of placenta (kuutan)). If the speaker means the first part of the birth, then this would be a Sequence Sentence. If they mean the birth as a whole, then the actions of the bases are simultaneous, and the example is a Simultaneous Sentence. Informant reaction also reflects some uncertainty, in that they will allow any of the particles *an-aniyangan at that time*, or *namanama after that* or *anngulan and then* to be optionally inserted between the bases in this example.

Variants of this sentence type have already been indicated. Notice first of all that while *an-aniyangan at that time* is rare in the main subtype which encodes overlap it is nevertheless natural and unforced in such usage. Thus, in Example 13 *an-aniyangan* occurs in a sentence which encodes two coterminous (or at least extended) activities. In Examples 14-16, however, the structure is clearly elliptical. The motion verb of the first base indicates an event which takes place before the event recorded in the second base. Nevertheless these examples seem to indicate that it is during the period of time when the subject is at the location reached as indicated in the motion verb, that the event of the second base took place. This seems like a not inappropriate extension of the simultaneous surface pattern. In this subtype the same tense requirement is preserved as in the main subtype.

The second variant, seen in Examples 17 and 18, is more aberrant. Here the punctiliar marker in the first base (and *ngul* in the second base of 17) clearly indicate succession. On the other hand, *an-aniyangan* seems elsewhere to mark a time horizon or simultaneity. Here, apparently, an overall meaning of *close sequence* results. A differing analytical option would be to make such sentences as 17 and 18 a variant of the Sequence Sentence. However, in view of the fact that in some other languages of the world simultaneous surface patterns are extended to cover close sequence as well, I assign this variant to the Simultaneous Sentence. One price of this assignment is that we now must say that the same-tense rule does not hold in the variant.

The Simultaneous Sentence occurs embedded in Reason Sentence, Contrast Sentence and Sequence Sentence. Also encoding as simultaneous are participial constructions such as:

ngay ma'púnth thuthanang iiyang.
I arms swinging went-I

I went along swinging my arms.

In this construction same subject is obligatory.

The intonation pattern of the Action Base is the same as that of the Protasis Base of the Conditional Sentence. This intonation pattern is a modification of basic intonation in that it is higher pitch and narrower range than basic intonation and optionally ends with the morpheme -a' and its accompanying sequence intonation. The intonational pattern of the Simultaneous Action tagmeme is lower pitch and normal range. It is the intonation pattern of the clause or sentence type expounding the tagmeme.

Examples:

1. Action: Pam wiyiy thana' kuchamang puliya, tractoran kul-kulam
men some they-cj two-tr they-dl -that behind
 kalanpul Simu Action: barbed wire ana mo'athanpula, plain
take-they-ct dem run-tr-they-ct
 wire mo'athanpul.
run-tr-they-ct
Some of those men, those two, they take the tractor behind, they
run the barbed wire, and they run the plain wire.
 MF 40-42
2. Action: Ninta ngayang ma' thatha' Simu Action: ngay
you me hand watch-imper-cj I
 nungk mee'nathānga.
you show-I-ft
You watch my hands and I will show you.
 FL
3. Action: Barbara'ang ke'an thathowanya' Simu Action: ngay
ts neg look-she-ft-me-cj I
 mulathāng ku' waak nungantam.
kill-I-ft cat hers
When Barbara is not looking, I'll kill her cat.
4. Action: Puk manyam mee'penchantanana,
children small born-they-ct
 Simu Action: kuutanan waa'antan pam alantan.
umbilical-cord call-they man that-one-to
When children are born, they call the cord to that man.
 KU 3
5. Action: Ngan kaa'áthamiya' kich uwan, Simu Action: nil
we first bark found-we she
 anman iiy ngantang.
there went-she us-accom
She accompanied us when we went to find bark first.

6. Action: Nip nganyang thath-thathuwanya, Simu Action: ngay
 you-dl me saw-ct-you-dl-past-me I
 wik kuchanakan iiyang Action: nip puth thaa' angan
 words send-for want-I you-dl and door there
 nyiin-nyiiuwa, Simu Action: wooyan thath-thathuw.
 sat-ct-you-dl-pt road watched-you-pt-ct
*You two saw me when I was going to send a message, because you
 were sitting at the door watching the road.*
 (Conversation) Two Simultaneous S
 embedded in Text and Reason tag-
 memes of Reason S
7. Action: Ngan mo'mo'an wooyanangana' Simu Action: car
 we ran-ct-we-pt road-on-cj
 kucham pul um.
 two they-two straight-on
When we were going along the road, two cars came together.
 WT 19
8. Action: Muunch-muunchapul thoniya' Simu Action: nil
 swam-they-dl-ct-pt day-cj it
 pikuwa wo'woyan angman chupa thanp.
 crocodile other-side there onam jumped-he
*When they two were swimming one day, he the crocodile jumped into
 the water on the other side.*
 FL
9. Action: Ngay puk manyaman iiyanga, Simu Action: ngay
 I child small went-I I
 inan thathang - ngay konangam pii'anga,...
 this saw-I I ear-in held-I
When I was a child I saw this and I've remembered it...
 In Sequence S: PN 4, 5
10. Action: Kananiya' workak pankantan, Simu Action: ngan
 punct -to go-out-they-ct we
 angaman nyiinan may kiingkanan, thant keenk.
 there sit-we food cook-we-ct them-for first
*And when that's finished, they go to work, while we stay there
 and cook food, for them first.*
 MP 4
11. (Yaa') Action: ngaya kath-kathanga', Simu Action: nil angaman
 I made-ct-I-pt-cj she there
 nyiinara thinth ngatharang.
 sat-she-to-me close me-accom
Yes, while I made (pandanus articles) she sat close to me there.
 FL 136-7

12. Action: Nganthana pench-pencha' Simu Action: ngan yipak
light burn-ct-pt-it-cj we yet
 mee'athama', Action: nganth uthamana' Simu Action: ngan
awake-cj light died-it-cj we
 yipaka nyiin-nyinn yoon, thengk-thengkan.
yet sat-ct-pt-we outside laughed-we-ct-pt
While the light was burning we were still awake, when the light
went out, we still sat outside, laughing.

In Contrast S: VR 114-5

Sentences with an-aniyangan:

13. Action: Ngampa may anan mungk-mungkampa, Simu Action: pul
we food that ate-we-pt-cont they
an-ánTyangan piik-piikuwpul.
at that time hit-recv-they-two-cont
While we were eating our food, those two were hitting each other.
14. Action: Ngan thompang ukan Yaanang'ak
we beach went-down-we -to
 Simu Action: an-ánTyangan ngan thathan pikuw pach.
at-that-time we saw-we crocodile white
At the time we went down to the beach Yaanang we saw a white
crocodile.
15. Action: Ngay keenkanam weenam pii'anak iiyang Simu Action:
I long ago lake big-to went-I
an-ánTyangan ngay minh punchiy yot wich-wichang kuuyang.
at-that-time I animal turtle lots caught-I line-with
A long time ago I went to big lake, at that time I caught lots of
turtles with a line.
16. Action: Ngan keenkanam may atak iyan Simu Action:
we long-time-ago food honey-for went-we
an-ánTyangan thathan minh achamp ko'alam ngakak ukin.
at-that-time saw-we animal emu three water-for went-down-they
A long time ago we went for honey, at that time we saw three emus
go down for water.
17. Action: May kanan mungkāmpa' Simu Action: an-ánTyangan
food punct finish-we-ft at-that-time
ngul minchathān parcel puth kathān kuuyang.
then finish-you-ft cj tie-you-ft string-with
When we have finished eating, at that time you will finish wrap-
ping the parcel with string.

Conversation

18. Action: May menchanang ana, kanam pencha,
food ripe-with dem punct ripened
 Simu Action: an-ánTyangan mungkāmp.
at-that-time eat-we-ft
When the food is ripened, at that time we eat it.

3.7 COORDINATE SENTENCES

This sentence type is a multi-based same subject string which reports events or activities in the same semantic domain. Various co-occurrence restrictions make this construction in Wik-Munkan more restricted than are coordinate sentences in many languages.

The Coordinate Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Action	+ Coordinate Action	+ Cj	+ Coordinate ⁿ⁼² Action
Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl Paraphrase S Cyclic Coordinate S	Intransitive Cl	a'	Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl
Verbs have same tense Same subject Temporal relations not in focus Bases all positive or all negative Sequence intonation between bases; final base with final intonation			

The Coordinate Sentence is composed of an Action Base, and up to two Coordinate Action Bases (although it is suspected that more could occur). The first and third bases are obligatory; the second is optional. The Action Base may be expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses, and Paraphrase and Cyclic Coordinate Sentences. The final Coordinate Action Base is expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clause. The non-final Coordinate Action Base is expounded by Intransitive Clause only in our present examples.

The final Coordinate Action Base is optionally linked to the preceding base by the conjunction a'. The conjunction a' occurs more frequently when there is definite change of focus, such as shift to a different rather than to a similar action and introduction of a different (non-subject) referent.

The verbs have the same tense in all bases. The examples found have either all past tense or all future tense in all bases. All bases have the same subject. The bases are either all negative or all positive.

As described earlier in the paper, temporal succession of events is not in focus in Coordinate Sentences.

The Coordinate Sentence occurs embedded in Sequence Sentence, and Cyclic Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence.

The bases are joined by obligatory sequence intonation. The final base has final intonation.

Examples:

1. (Piip ngantam in kenya ngan ina) Action: aak thakan pathan
father ours here high we here sing-we-past-etc

Coord Action: mee'wuthanman thak, Coord Action: wik nungkaram
eye-shut-we also words yours

anman minam ngeeyan (ana konangam pii'ān).
only well heard-we dem ear-in hold-we-ft

Our Father in heaven, we are here, we have sung, etc., prayed, etc., and heard your good word, and we will remember them.

In Sequence S: PR 2

2. (Inpalaniya' thuukana wantāmp) Action: ke' ngul mee'wuthanmāmpa
from now snake leave-we-ft neg will pray-we-ft

mee' ke' ngathāmp Coord Action: Pungkang ke' nyiināmpa
eyes neg shut-we-ft knee-with neg sit-we-ft

(wantāmp thuuk pii'ananiy).
leave-we-ft snake big

From now let us leave the snake, we will never pray (to him) again we won't pray (to him), we won't kneel (before him), let us leave the big snake.

In Cyclic Negated Antonym

(Paraphrase) S: OPV 246-250

3. Action: Ngan ngutanganiya' mee'atham nyiin-nyiin, Coord Action:
we night-in awake sat-cont-we

theng-k-thengkanim Coord Action: a' ngan thampang aak thak-thakan
laughed-cont cJ we also place swept-we-ct

We sat awake in the night, laughing, and we also swept the place.

VR 110-112

4. The first part of the following sentence is elliptical, and refers back to the preceding sentence in the text. It is not clear what sentence type this example of Coordinate Sentence is embedded in. It may be that the whole sentence should be regarded as a Coordinate Sentence.

(Nila thuuka pii'ana, thana waa'antan boa constrictora, waa'antana,
he snake big they call-they call-they

thuuk thana pii'pii'antan Action: nila an kuyam, alantan
snake they mind-ct-they he dem used-to to-that-one

mee'a-wuthan, pungkanga nyiin, mee'wuthanmant,
prayed-he knee-with sat-he prayed-he-to-him

Coord Action: a' pam wanch thak konych thanang.
cJ men women too cursed-he them

They keep (worship) the big snake that is called the boa constrictor - he prayed to him, knelt to him and prayed to him and he cursed men and women too.

4. PARALLEL, DISJUNCTIVE, AND CONTRASTIVE SENTENCES

Here there is a spectrum of sentence types ranging from a variety of coupling which systematically varies one and only one noun phrase, to three sorts of disjunctive sentences which posit choices among predicates or one of their terms, to Contrastive Sentences which have a two-fold contrast between their bases. Antithetical Sentence which encodes Expectancy Reversal is considered here also because of its surface feature resemblance to the structure of the Contrast Sentence.

Points of comparison and contrast between the sentence types of this section are summarized in Diagram 111. It is instructive, for example, to note that the Parallel Sentence requires the same verb in all its bases, while other types do not. But even when the other sentence types have the same verb, points of structural contrast remain. Thus, the Parallel Sentence differs from the Alternative Sentence in that when the latter has the same verb in both bases, one base will be negative and the other positive. Other surface features of the latter, including the use of markers, make it plain that choice must be made between the negative or positive predication. Parallel Sentence differs from the Contrast Sentence in that in the latter, *two* referents must differ between the bases. Again, when the same verb occurs in both bases of the Contrast Sentence one must be negated - unless the two opposed referents are only in the terms of the predication. Again, peculiar markers not found in the Parallel Sentence, occur in the Contrast Sentence. Furthermore, the Parallel Sentence differs from the Alternative, Contrast and Antithetical Sentences in that while the Parallel Sentence is multi-based the latter are binary.

DIAGRAM 111

PARALLEL, DISJUNCTIVE AND CONTRASTIVE SENTENCES

	PARALLEL	ALTERNATIVE	CONDITIONAL ALTERNATIVE	ALTERNATIVE WITH or	CONTRAST	ANTITHETICAL	REVERSAL (ANTITHETICAL)
Base Tagmemes	Text, Parallel n = 3, and Comment	Prop and Alt Prop Base	Cond Prop and Cond Alt	Prop and Alt Prop	Text and Contrast	Thesis and Antithesis	Thesis project and Antithesis reversal
Markers	Optional connective -aa, -a', putha'	Optional Potential Marker nath <i>maybe</i> with both bases	Optional Condition- al Alternative Marker nhok-thón <i>alternatively</i> between bases	Obligatory loan word or between bases	ep 'factative marker' ya'a 'opposite to fact' puth 'adversative' frequently occur in one or more bases	Optional Pivot word <i>but</i>	Obligatory Pivot word (puth) <i>on the other hand</i>
Tense and Verb	Same tense. Same verb.	Fut-Fut. Same or Diff verb.	Fut-Fut, Customary- Customary. Same or Diff verb.	Past-Past, Past- Tenseless Exist- ential Cl, Custom- ary-Subjunctive. Diff verb (No example with same verb but see no reason why not).	Normally same tense. Same verb (one optionally negated) or Different verbs (some existen- tial).	Past-Past. Same or Diff verb.	Past-Past (of dominant verb of each base). Same or Diff verb.
Same/ Different	Same or Diff subject	Same subject	One Referent Constant	Same subject	Same or Diff subject	Same or Diff subject	Same or Diff subject
Positive/ Negative	All Pos or All Neg	Pos/Neg	Pos/Neg or Antonyms	Pos/Neg	Pos/Neg or situational opposite	All combinations except Neg/Neg	Pos/Pos (in dominant verb of each base but second base blocks in- tention of first base).
Exponents	Limited expo- nents which are mostly clauses. Same exponents in each base.	Expounded mostly by clauses. Fre- quently different exponents in each base.	Expounded by embedded Indep Condition S.	Expounded mostly by clauses. Same or different exponents of bases.	Wide range of exponents. Same or dif- ferent expo- nents of bases.	Expounded by clauses and embedded sen- tences. Same or Diff exponents of bases.	Expounded by embedded sentences.
Intonation	Identical intonation. Drop of Pitch on each successive parallel.	Intonation of Cl or Sentence type expounding each base. Bases linked by sequence intonation.	Intonation of two proposition tag- memes is that of sentence expound- ing tagmemes. thón of marker takes clause stress.	Intonation of clause or sentence type expounding each base. Link or is fast with low pitch.	Marker ep 'factative' ya' 'opposite to fact' take clause stress. When base negated by ke' or ya' these receive clause stress higher than that of positive base.	First base lower overall pitch and narrow range. Clause stress higher on Antithesis base. Occurs on ya' no if present. puth <i>but</i> is low pitch and rapid.	Pivot tagmeme may be separate phonological clause. Clause stress on ep 'factative' or thón of pivot.

4.1 THE PARALLEL SENTENCE

This sentence type maintains identity of form and lexical items (including the verb) from base to base but systematically varies one noun phrase. Thus, similar but differing predications are made from base to base.

The Parallel Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text	+ (+ Connective + Parallel) ^{n=3*}	+ Comment										
<table border="1"> <tr><td>Transitive Cl</td></tr> <tr><td>Intransitive Cl</td></tr> <tr><td>Antithetical S</td></tr> </table>	Transitive Cl	Intransitive Cl	Antithetical S	<table border="1"> <tr><td>-aa</td></tr> <tr><td>-a'*</td></tr> <tr><td>a'</td></tr> <tr><td>putha' a'*</td></tr> </table>	-aa	-a'*	a'	putha' a'*	<table border="1"> <tr><td>Transitive Cl</td></tr> <tr><td>Intransitive Cl</td></tr> <tr><td>Antithetical S</td></tr> </table>	Transitive Cl	Intransitive Cl	Antithetical S
Transitive Cl												
Intransitive Cl												
Antithetical S												
-aa												
-a'*												
a'												
putha' a'*												
Transitive Cl												
Intransitive Cl												
Antithetical S												
<p>Same verb and same tense Same or different subject One and only one referent changes from base to base All bases positive or all negative Identical intonation with drop of pitch on each successive Parallel</p>												

A minimal Parallel Sentence is composed of two base tagmemes **Text** and **Parallel**, which are optionally linked by a **Connective**. Up to two additional **Parallel Bases** occur in our present data, and an optional **Comment Base**. The **Text** and **Parallel Bases** are expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses and by Antithetical Sentences. **Comment Base** is expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses (Examples 3, 9). The connective is expounded by -aa, -a' optionally suffixed to the verb, or by a' between bases, and in one instance by putha' a' which translates as *and* in this situation.

Stringent co-occurrence restriction characterizes this sentence type. **Text** and **Parallel** must be filled by identical constructions, for example, when **Text** is expounded by a Transitive Clause, **Parallel** will also be expounded by Transitive Clause. The same predicate is obligatory in all bases (except **Comment**). For all bases except **Comment**, one, but only one referent must change - such as subject, object, indirect object, direction, or time. The referents that remain the same are mostly identical in form, but in one example (4) the Stative Clause which fills Antithesis slot of the Antithetical Sentence which fills **Parallel** is somewhat expanded compared with its counterpart in **Text**

tagmeme. When there is same subject, the free form of the subject is usually deleted in Parallel. Where Parallel Sentence is embedded in another sentence, the free form of the subject does not normally occur in either Text or Parallel. In Examples 5 and 8 there is a time word in one base only, in (5) in Text and in (8) in Parallel. All bases must have the same tense. The bases must be either all positive or all negative.

The asterisked items in the array, i.e. the Connective -a' and the combination putha' a' and the occurrence of a third Parallel Base have only been found in Deleted Predicate Parallel Sentences. (See section 11.3).

Typically this sentence type occurs embedded in other sentences.

The Text and each Parallel have identical intonation, with a drop of pitch on the first and each successive Parallel. The pitch range is narrow. These features are superimposed on the intonation patterns of the sentences and/or clause type which expound the bases.

Examples:

1. (Pam wiyiy thana' kuchamang puliya, tractoran kul-kulam
men some they two-tr they-dl -that behind

kalanpul) Text: barbed wire mo'athanpulaa
carried-they-ct ran-out-they-ct-conn

Parallel: plain wire mo'athanpul.
ran-out-they-ct

Other men, those two, they take the tractor behind, they run barbed wire, they run plain wire (from the tractor).

As Paraphrase of

Paraphrase S: MF 18

2. (Yaa, nil wanchínthan thawa') Text: puntha-paam-thámp ke' wey
yes she old woman said-she aeroplane neg emo

wampowa' kinchkénya Parallel: ngaa'atingam ke' wey wampowa.
come-it-ft sun-high early-morning neg emo come-it-ft

The old woman said, "The plane won't come at mid-day, it won't come early in the morning."

In Quotation S: WT 11, 12

3. (Ngay thawangant, "ngay oyngk ke'am yeechanga),
I said-I-to-her I vomit neg poured-I

Text: puntha-paam-thámpang mo'angaa, Parallel: chukun
plane-in went-I-conn boat

mo'anga (minam mo'anga)."
went-I well went-I

I said to her, "I have never vomited, I've travelled in a plane and I've travelled in a boat, I've travelled well."

In the Quote of a

Quotation S: MT 164

4. Text: thon paathina' waya chil Parallel: thon paathina'
another tried-they bad sand another tried-they
 yim-yimanam chil anman, chilatiy anman.
same-way sand only sand-lots only
... they tried one, it was bad, it was sandy, they tried another
it was the same, sandy, lots of sand only.
 In Sequence S: DW 4, 5
5. Text: Ngaa'atamiya' wanch anangiya' wool kan pathantan
tomorrow-sp women those-sp small-dance punct danced-they
 Parallel: wuungk pathantan,
big-dance sing-they
The next day those women sing a small dance and they sing a big
dance...
 In Sequence S: PN 33, 34
6. Text: Than mányātham inangana kan kee'antan,
they alive these punct dance-they
 Parallel: nila minchalamana kan kee'an,...
he ghost-that punct dances-he
Those who are alive dance, and he the ghost dances,...
 In Sequence S: PE 26, 27
7. (kee'athan nuna, thanathan nun aakanga') Text: pungk
plays-he-tr him stands-he-tr him ground-on knees
 pathan nun a' Parallel: thinka pathan nun,
bites him cʃ small-of-back bites-he him
... he plays with him, he stands him on the ground, he bites his
knees, he bites the small of his back...
 In Sequence S: KU 29-32
8. Text: Pam wanch ngatharamanta, ngay kaangk wunanga; Parallel: pam
men women mine-to I like lie-I men
 wanch wiy nath-nathan wuntan, kan-ngul ngay kaangk wunanga,...
women some far-far live-they punct-now I like lie-I
I love my own people, and I love the people who live far away, (I
love them) now,...
 In Negated Antonym (Paraphrase)
 S: WMV 226-8
9. Text: Nil Barbara'angiya wicha, ko'alam wich,
she -tr-sp caught-she three caught-she
 Parallel: nil Marie'iyā, kucham wich, Parallel: Louisa'angiya
she -sp two caught-she -tr-sp
 seven wich --minh nga' Comment: anangan wichin thanang.
caught-she pro fish those caught-they them
Barbara caught three fish, Marie caught two, and Louisa caught seven
fish, that's the fish they caught.

10. Text: *Wiyiya ka'ara we'antan, Parallel: wiyiya nham*
some-sp yam-type dig-they some-sp yam-type
we'antan, Parallel: wiyiya may wathiy we'antan,
dig-they some-sp food yam-type dig-they
 Comment: *may nanangan yot yalamathwuntan.*
food those lots gather-together-they
Some dig ka'ara yams, some nham yams and some wathiy yams. That's
the food they gather together.

Conversation

4.2 ALTERNATIVE SENTENCE

This sentence type encodes Alternation with Excluded Middle, i.e. it poses a choice between but two alternatives. To force this choice a same subject predicate may be repeated and negated; or an antonym of the predicate or of one of its terms may be used.

The Alternative Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{+ Potential} & \text{+ Proposition} & \text{+ Potential} & \text{+ (+ Negative} & \text{+ Alternate} & & \text{)} \\ \text{Marker} & \text{Base} & \text{Marker} & & \text{Proposition Base} & & \\ \text{+} & \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} & & \end{array}$$

<p>nath <i>maybe</i> here or within Proposition Base</p>	<p>Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl 'Like' Merged S</p>	<p>nath <i>maybe</i></p>	<p>ya'/ya'a no kaangk ke' <i>don't like,</i> <i>don't want</i> to</p>	<p>Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl 'Like' Merged S</p> <hr/> <p>The verbal negative ke' may optionally occur with the negatives of Negative tagmeme</p>
<p>Phonological Clause</p>		<p>Phonological Clause</p>		<p>Phonological Cl</p>
<p>Tense of verbs of bases is future (future-customary in Example 3) Same subject, same person and number Positive-Negative Potential Marker nath must occur in at least one but may occur in both positions indicated Potential Marker nath groups with whatever it precedes to form a Phonological Clause Bases may permute, in which case ya'/ya'a no (when present) precedes nath and groups with Proposition Base as a Phonological Clause Phonological Clauses are linked by sequence intonation. Each Phonological Clause intonation pattern is determined by the grammatical clause or sentence type which expounds the tagmeme</p>				

The Alternative Sentence has five tagmemes, Potential Marker, Proposition, Potential Marker, Negative and Alternate Proposition. Both Potential Marker tagmemes are expounded by *nath maybe* which occurs either preceding or within the Proposition and Alternate Proposition tagmemes. Proposition and Alternate Proposition are expounded by Transitive Clause, Intransitive Clause and the 'Like' Merged Sentence. The Negative tagmeme is expounded by *ya'/ya'a no* or *kaangk ke' don't like to, don't want to*.

While both Potential Markers expounded by *nath*, may occur, at least one must occur. The Proposition tagmeme is obligatory. Again, while both the Negative tagmeme and the Alternate Proposition (neg) tagmeme may occur, at least one of the tagmemes must occur.

The Proposition and Alternate Proposition tagmemes are expounded by clauses, either Transitive or Intransitive in all cases except one (Example 5). It is considered probable that other sentence types will be found to be exponents of the base tagmemes on the addition of further data.

The tense of the two bases is future in all but one example (3) where Alternate Proposition Base has customary aspect which is set over against the future tense in the Proposition Base. The accompanying examples happen to be limited to second and third person, singular and dual, but presumably any person and any number could occur. The important structural restriction is that both bases have the same subject, hence the same person and number.

The two bases are positive and negative respectively, or antonymical. Negative expounded by *ya'/ya'a no* or *kaangk ke' don't want to* serves to anticipate and reinforce a following negative or antonym (in the Alternate Proposition Base). The Negative may, however, occur with an implied but unstated Alternate Proposition Base, and the latter may occur without the former, when the former two bases are permuted so that the first base is negative, *ya'/ya'a no* precedes *nath* (when both occur) and reinforces the preceding negative (Example 7).

The Potential Marker *nath maybe* may occur before or within the exponents of Proposition, Negative or Alternate Proposition tagmemes, but wherever it occurs it groups with the exponent of one of these three tagmemes to form a Phonological Clause. The Alternative Sentence is composed of either two or three Phonological Clauses, depending on whether or not the Alternate Proposition tagmeme occurs. Linkage of the bases is by sequence intonation of the mid step-up variety. The intonation pattern of each Phonological Clause is that of the clause or sentence type expounding the tagmeme, this applies both to overall pitch patterns and the position of clause stress.

Examples: These seven examples were elicited or heard in conversation.

1. Prop: Nath wampow, Neg: nath ya'a Alt Prop: ke'am wampow.
maybe come-he-ft maybe neg neg come-he-ft
Maybe he will come, or maybe he wont.
2. Prop: Nath wampow, Alt Prop: nath angam wunow.
maybe come-he-ft maybe there stay-he-ft
Maybe he will come, or maybe he will stay there.
3. Prop: Anne nath miyal wampow pal, Neg: nath ya'
maybe better come-she-ft here maybe no
 Alt Prop: yaam way-wáyama wunan.
long time very-sick lie-she-ct
Anne might come back well, maybe she won't, she might still be quite sick.
4. Prop: Nip inan nath kaangk yumpow, Neg: nath ya'a.
you-dl here maybe like do-you-dl-ft maybe no
Maybe you two would like to do this, maybe you wouldn't.
5. Prop: Nip inan nath kaangk yumpow, an ep,
you-dl here maybe like do-you-dl-ft dem fact
 Neg: nath kaangk ke' Alt Prop: ke' yumpow puth.
maybe like neg neg make-you-dl-ft cj
Maybe you two would like to make this, that's alright, maybe you don't like (to make it), so (if so) don't make it.
6. Prop: Nint inan yumpāna, Neg: nath kaangk ke'
you this make-you-ft maybe like not
 Alt Prop: thon ngul ep yumpān.
other then fact make-you-ft
You do this, maybe you don't want to, then do this other.
7. Prop: Nath ke'am wampow, Alt Prop: nath wampow.
maybe neg come-he-ft maybe come-he-ft
He might come, or maybe he won't.

4.3 CONDITIONAL ALTERNATIVE SENTENCE

A further type of alternative sentence, this sentence type has bases expounded by Conditional Sentences; it thus posits a choice between opposed implications.

The Conditional Alternative Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Conditional
Proposition

+ Alternative
Marker

+ Conditional
Alternate Proposition

Indefinite Condition S	nhok thón <i>the other groin</i> i.e. <i>alternatively</i>	Indefinite Condition S
<p>Tenses agree: Future-Future or Customary-Customary Corresponding bases of the embedded conditional sentences each contain a positive-negative use of the same predicate, or a pair of antonyms, or a pair of situational opposites; additional lexical material may occur in either embedded sentence</p> <p>Optional occurrence of Alternative Marker nhok thón between bases</p> <p>Alternative Marker nhok thón groups with the following base to form a Phonological Clause</p>		

The Conditional Alternative Sentence has two bases, Conditional Proposition and Conditional Alternate Proposition. They are optionally linked by the Conditional Alternative Marker *nhok thón (groin other) on the other hand*. In the Conditional Alternative Sentence each base is expounded by an embedded Indefinite Condition Sentence.

The tense of the bases must agree. The most frequent tense is future-future, but customary-customary also occurs. If both were past tense then such a construction would presumably be Alternative Contradictory Sentence, but no examples have been found to date.

The lexical restrictions of this sentence type are much like those of the preceding type. It is simply necessary to specify that the crucial lexical items are in corresponding bases of the embedded conditional sentences that expound each base. Having specified this, we then find positive versus negative use of the same predicate, or pairs of antonyms and situational opposites as in the previous sentence type.

Intonation of the two proposition tagmemes is that of the sentence expounding the tagmeme. The Conditional Alternative Marker *nhok thón alternatively* groups with the following base to form a Phonological Clause; *thón* of the Marker takes the clause stress. The pitch height of the nucleus of this second Phonological Clause is the same as that of the highest Phonological Clause nucleus in the preceding embedded sentence.

Examples:

1. Cond Prop: Koonha pech menhang anan pipan, ana ngak
tooth space middle that broke-it-ct that water
 min mungkan, aak minang wun Cond Alt Prop: nil
good drinks-he-ct place good-in lives-he he
 koonh pech ke'am ana wuna, thuthana, ana aak
tooth space neg-emph that lives-he broken-it-ct that place
 wayak iiyan, ngak way mungkan, panth-panth thamp
bad-to go-he-ct water bad drinks-he-ct maggots also
 yamang.
somewhere-there (like)
Where there's a tooth space in the middle, he (or she) drinks good
water and lives in a good place. (Alternatively) where there's
no tooth space, he (or she) goes to a bad place, and drinks bad
water, like with maggots somewhere there.

PE 100-103

2. Cond Prop: Nil ngak wey wampow ngay ingam,
it rain emo come-it-ft I here-stay
 Cond Alt Marker: nhoka thón Cond Alt Prop: nil pungan
groin other it sun
 wukōwanya ngay ep iiyāng.
burn-it-ft-me I fast go-I-ft
If the rain comes I'll stay here, alternatively if the sun shines
on me I'll go.
3. Cond Prop: Ngamp Aurukunak wey uwamp kinch
we-pl-incl -to emo find-we-pl-incl-ft sun
 kenya ep ang mungkāmp Cond Alt Marker:
above fact-all-right there-stay eat-we-pl-incl-ft
 nhoka thón Cond Alt Prop: ngamp customs yaam wey
groin other we-pl-incl long-time emo
 mee' pii'ayn ngampang kinchawáyang
eye mind they-pl-ft (delay us) us-Obj sun-bad
 wampāmp.
come-we-pl-incl-ft
If we get to Aurukun at mid-day that will be all right, we will
eat there, alternatively if customs delay us we will come at
evening.

Conversation

4. Cond Prop: Aak ngak an wampan kinch ongk thum heater
place water that comes-it sun long fire
 pii'anamp pung ukanakam, Cond Alt Marker:
mind-we-pl-incl-ct sun go-down-right-up-to
 nhok thón Cond Alt Prop: minam park-parkana, thum heater
groin another well shines-it fire
 ke' pii'anamp, yoon puth nyiinanamp pung
neg mind-we-pl-incl-ct outside because sit-we-pl-incl-ct sun
 karkanang.
hot-in

If it rains all day we keep the heater going right up to when the sun goes down, alternatively when the sun shines brightly, we don't have the heater because we sit outside in the hot sun.

Conversation

4.4 'OR' ALTERNATIVE SENTENCE

This alternative sentence type employs the English loanword 'or' and has further additional features which set it apart from the other alternative sentences. Apparently the 'Or' Alternative Sentence may include alternation either with or without excluded middle while the other two alternative sentence types seem to be restricted to the latter.

The 'Or' Alternative Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Proposition Base + Alternative Marker + Alt Proposition Base

Transitive Cl	or	Transitive Cl Existential Cl Future Result S
<p>Tense-aspect is: past-past past- (Existential Cl), or customary-subjunctive</p> <p>Same subject, Same person and number</p> <p>Negative-Positive and Positive-Negative</p> <p>Both bases have the intonation pattern of the clause or sentence which expounds the bases</p> <p>The link or is fast and with low pitch</p>		

The English loanword or is now used by many Wik-Munkan speakers. The use of or as an Alternative Marker is most common on the phrase level. Out of 10 examples of or in the Wik-Munkan Concordance only three were in sentence level constructions while seven were phrase level. The use of or does not substitute for nath *maybe* which optionally is associated with each base of the Alternative Sentence. Rather or occurs between the bases of a construction which seems to have been added to the Wik-Munkan as a further sentence type. The use of or can be compared with the Conditional Alternative Marker *nhok thón (groin other) alternatively, on the other hand*. However, or usually occurs between phrases or clauses while *nhok thón* occurs in Conditional

Alternative Sentences between embedded sentences which expound the Conditional Proposition and Conditional Alternate Proposition tagmemes.

There are two obligatory base tagmemes, Proposition Base and Alternate Proposition Base and the obligatory Alternative Marker or. Proposition is expounded by Transitive Clause and Alternate Proposition is expounded by Transitive Clause, Existential Clause and Future Result Sentence. While further exponents of these bases may be found later it appears that the second base of this sentence is less restricted in exponence than is the first. The Alternative Marker is expounded by the loanword or.

The tense combinations of the three examples found are past-past, past-Existential Clause-(tenseless), and customary-subjunctive. Person and number are both the same whether overtly stated or not. The subjects are the same in both bases, or the implication is that the second subject is the same.

The alternatives offered in this sentence type need not be positive-negative variants of the same predicate nor antonyms. Thus, as in the third example below, we may simply find two possible courses of action expressed in terms from the same semantic domain without any implication of excluded middle. On the other hand, the first example has in its first base a question which implies a negative as contrasted with the positive of the second base. The second example employs in the first base an overt negative in a question implying a positive answer; but here the focus is an antonymical expression rather obliquely expressed. Probably, then the first two examples include alternation with excluded middle.

This sentence may occur embedded in Sequence Sentence or Concession Sentence. Both the Proposition Base and the Alternate Proposition Base have basic intonation when a clause expounds them. When an embedded sentence expounds a base the base takes the intonation appropriate to that sentence type. The two bases are linked by the Alternative Marker or which occurs fast and with low pitch between the two bases.

Examples:

1. (Muk ngamparamaniy, minh aakanakan, pi'úmak iiya)
 uncle ours-sp fish there-for bush-oven-to went-he
 Prop: ya' thath ey? Alt Marker: or Alt Prop: minh angam
 neg saw-he ques or fish there

uw?
 found-he

*Our Uncle, he went there for fish, to the bush oven, did he look
 in vain, or did he find fish there?*

In Sequence S: GM 031

2. Prop: Lukuw ya' ey, nathan ke' thuchin ey?
 no ques maybe neg went-down-they ques
 Alt Marker: or Alt Prop: thaa' palam yam?
 or intens here somewhere
Not Lukuw, ey, maybe they went down there, or somewhere back here?

GM 111

3. Prop: Nil ngeeyan wik minan thawanamp thant, Alt Marker: or
 he hears-ct words good say-we-ct them-to or
 Alt Prop: thathimp thanang, nyilinythana ngakama, thee'āmp
 see-we-sj them sit-they-sj water-from give-we-ft
 thant, ngak many.
 them-to water small
*He hears us, (if) we say good words to them, or if we maybe see
 them sitting thirsty, we will give them some water.*

In Concession S: WM 084

4.5 CONTRAST SENTENCE

Contrast, as encoded in this binary sentence type is two-pronged. Commonly opposed predicates are contrasted, either by repeating and negating the predicate of the first base or by presenting its antonym in the second base. In addition, a further contrast is found in the terms of the two predications. Alternatively, the predicates may be kept identical and there may be two contrasting pairs of terms.

The Contrast Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text	+ Contrast
Transitive C1	Transitive C1
Intransitive C1	Intransitive C1
Stative C1	Stative C1
Complement C1	Complement C1
Quotation S	Reciprocal C1
Paraphrase S	Paraphrase S
Amplification S	Future Result S
Simultaneous S	Simultaneous S
'Like' Merged S	'Like' Merged S
Coordinate S	Simile S
	Reason S
	Explanation S
	Antithetical S
	Negated Antonym S

One of the following optional markers occurs in one or both bases: Factative Marker *ep it is, it is true*; Adversative *puh but*; Opposite to Fact Marker *ya'a not, won't, doesn't* (in some cases Predicate of Stative Cl)

Normally same tense

Same or different subject

May be positive-negative, negative-positive, or positive-positive (with antonyms)

When either Factative Marker *ep*, or Opposite to Fact Marker *ya'a* occur this receives clause stress or they occur as a separate P Clause to the remainder of the clause

When the negatives *ke'a* or *ya'a* occur these receive clause stress. Either form of sequence intonation occurs between the two bases.

The Contrast Sentence is composed of two base tagmemes, Text and Contrast. Both Text and Contrast can be expounded by Transitive Clause, Intransitive Clause, Stative Clause, Complement Clause, Paraphrase Sentence, Simultaneous Sentence, and 'Like' Merged Sentence. In addition, Text may be filled by Quotation Sentence, Amplification Sentence and Coordinate Sentence while Contrast may be filled by Reciprocal Clause, Future Result Sentence, Simile Sentence, Reason Sentence, Explanation Sentence, Antithetical Sentence and Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence. Some of these exponents are restricted to Deleted Predicate and Cyclic Contrast Sentences in our present data.

Granting that the data are still relatively fragmentary and that more exponents will be found for each base of the Contrast Sentence, it nevertheless appears that there is a greater variety of exponence in the second base than in the first. It is also evident that this sentence type is on a high layer of organization in that it embeds within itself many other sentences.

Sentences and clauses of both same and different structure may occur together in Contrast Sentence though it is common for the syntagmemes expounding each base to be the same.

This sentence type is characterized by a considerable variety of markers. These markers, viz. Factative Marker *ep*, Opposite to Fact Markers *ya'a*, and Adversative *puh* - along with the verbal negative *ke'* co-occur with each other across bases as follows:

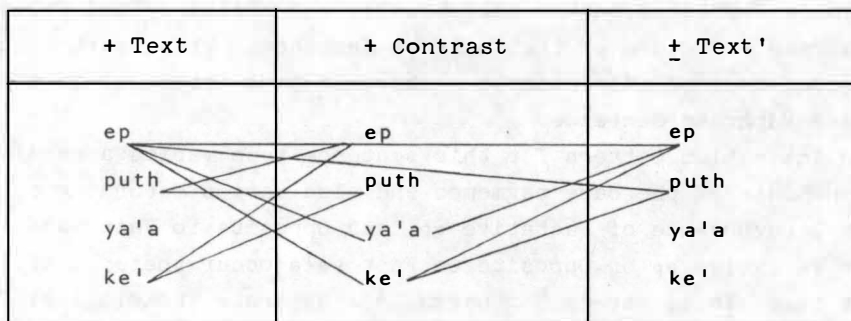
ep in Text co-occurs with ya'a, ke'a, or ϕ in Contrast

puth in Text co-occurs with puth, ϕ , or ep in Contrast

ya'a in Text co-occurs with ϕ in Contrast

ke'a in Text co-occurs with ep and puth in Contrast

In Cyclic Contrast Sentences (cf 11.1) ep occurs in Text and both ep and puth occur in Text'. These can co-occur with ke' in Contrast. In one sentence ep in Text co-occurs with ya' in Contrast and ep in Text'. These various co-occurrence possibilities for markers in the Contrast Sentence and in the Cyclic Contrast Sentence are summarized in the following diagram.



In addition to these co-occurrences across bases, within bases more than one marker or the negative ke' may occur, but only rarely. Thus ep and ya'a occur together in the Text of one example, and puth and ke' in the Text of another, while combinations found in Contrast tagmeme are in one instance ke', ke' and in another ep, puth, ep. In the Text' tagmeme of one example ep and puth occur together.

Deletion of the verb in one base occurs frequently in Contrast Sentence. Examples can be seen in the section on Deleted Predicate Contrast Sentences.

When two verbal clauses or sentences expound the bases, there is only one exception (Example 10) to the verbs being the same tense. The bases may have same or different subjects. The combinations negative/positive and positive/negative occur, and in Cyclic Contrast positive/negative/positive. Both Bases may be positive when situational opposites or antonyms occur.

There must be contrast at two points between the base tagmemes. Very frequently, the same verb is used in both bases but is negated in one base, either by the verbal negative ke' or by the Opposite to Fact Marker ya'a. In some examples the form of the fillers expounding the Subject or Object tagmemes in each base are the same, but the referents are different e.g.

Wiya min, wiya ya'a.
some good some no

Some are good, some (others) are not.

In spite of embedding many sentence types in its bases Contrast Sentence itself occurs embedded in Quotation Sentence, Generic-Specific (Paraphrase) Sentence, Explanation Sentence, Mistaken Thought Sentence (Cyclic example only), and Paraphrase Sentence.

Although this sentence regularly encodes contrast, one example (7) encodes Negated Antonym Paraphrase. While the latter usually encodes as a subtype of Paraphrase Sentence (2.3), in this example the negated antonym is expressed rather elliptically and obliquely and falls into the surface structure of the Contrast Sentence. Thus, *puth* occurs in the second base of this example - where it does not occur in a properly formed Paraphrase Sentence.

The intonation pattern for this sentence type varies according to the exponents of the base tagmemes and also varies according to the optional occurrence of Factative *ep*, and Opposite to Fact *ya'a*. When either Factative *ep* or Opposite to Fact *ya'a* occur these particles either take clause stress, or occur in a separate Phonological Clause to the remainder of the expounding tagmeme. When one base is negated, either by verbal negative *ke'*, or *ya'a*, the Phonological Clause in which the negative occurs has higher clause stress than the Phonological Clause expounding the positive tagmeme. When neither base is negated but contrast is by an antonym or a situational opposite, if either Phonological Clause contains the particle *ep*, that clause takes the higher clause stress. When the Opposite to Fact Marker *ya'a* occurs in a separate Phonological Clause to the remainder of the expounding syntagmeme, the clause stress of the other Phonological Clause in the construction is lower.

Between the two bases either form of sequence intonation occurs, and finally either form of final intonation occurs.

Examples:

1. Text: Wiya puth mul, Contrast: wiya puth inman, manyatham iiyantan.
 some cj dead *some cj today alive go-they*
Some are dead, some are alive today.

TG 170

2. (Pok-pokapang nyiinan) Text: Dora thonam nyiin, Mrs. Pearsonantang,
 separate sat-we *one sat-she* *-accom*
 Contrast: ngay thonamantang nyiingang, Mrs. Ramsyantang.
 I another-accom sat-I *-accom*
We sat separate, Dora sat with one, with Mrs. Pearson, and I sat with another, Mrs. Ramsay.

As Amplification of Generic-Specific S: MB

3. Hullo thawan thant, - Text: wiya miyalmantan,
hullo said-we them-to some better-they

Contrast: wiya ya' ngul.
some not now

We said hullo to them, some were well, and some were not.

In Explanation S: MB

4. Text: Wiya ep wey kuupamin wey Contrast: wiyiya
some fact emo happy-they emo some-sp

kaangk ke', popam angan nyiin-nyiin, ...
like not still there sat-they-cont-pt

Some were happy (at school), but some didn't like it, and just sat quietly...

In Explanation S: KL 015

5. Text: Wiy mul wuniythan, Contrast: wiya wench uwiythan.
some dead lie-they-sj some sores find-they-sj

Some might die, and some might get sores.

WN 031

6. Text: Yuk puth thanchalan way, kek nilan yump thanang,
tree but milkwood bad spears he made them

Contrast: nil-nungantan ep, thaypanangan ana kek yakala,
he-his fact taipan-ts dem spear wattle

thayan puth, ep wey, chaapara ngul-ngánk pichathan.
strong but fact emo blood forehead burst-it-pt

The spears he made of milkwood are no good, but the spears his mate, the taipan snake, made of wattle are good, they are strong and all right to spear him and make his forehead bleed.

TG 072-3

7. Text: Puth ngamp aakiyá'ang ke' iiyimp, yiip aniy,
but we for-no-purpose neg go-we-sj south that

wanchinth al-alantan, Contrast: wik min puth kalanamp
old-woman those-to words good but carry-we

thant, wiyant wik waa'āmp, Godantam wik min,
them-to some-to words tell-we-ft -poss word good

We don't go south to the old ladies for no reason, but we take the good words to them, we tell the good words to others, God's good words...

In Paraphrase S: PT 227-8

8. Text: Thanan kaangk ke' aak wayan pekan nyiināyna, schoolangan,
they like neg place bad down sit-they-ft school-in

Contrast: kaangk yoon in kee'ayn, aak wiy-wiyam
like outside here play-they-ft place different

maakin.
trod-they

They don't like to sit in a bad place, in school, they like to play here in the village, (for) (school) was strange to them.

KL 016

4.6 ANTITHETICAL SENTENCE (MAIN SUBTYPE)

This sentence type, which resembles the Contrast Sentence, encodes Expectancy Reversal. The first base contains a predication which would lead one to expect a certain predicate or range of predicates in the second base. The second base contains, however, a denial of the expected predicate either by negating it or by stating its opposite. In one case (Example 1) a blocking circumstance is given without explicit denial of the expected predicate.

The Antithetical Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Thesis	+ Pivot	+ Antithesis
Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Amplification S Contrast S Reason S	<i>puh but</i> infrequently occurs here or within Antithesis Base	Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Stative Cl Paraphrase S Amplification S Coordinate S Future Result S Reason S Cyclic Negated Antonym Paraphrase S <i>ya' no</i> (neg pro-verb) (opposite value to Thesis Base)
<p>Same or different verbs. Deleted predicate frequent in Antithesis if same verb - or only <i>ya'</i> occurs Past-Past Same or different subjects The sentence is two Phonological Clauses. The first Phonological Clause is normal intonation for the clause or sentence which expounds the base, but may be slightly lower and have a narrower range. Clause stress in the Antithesis Base is higher than in Thesis and occurs on <i>ya'</i> if present or according to clause or sentence type expounding the tagmeme. <i>puh but</i>, when it occurs, is low pitch and rapid.</p>		

The Antithetical Sentence is composed of two base tagmemes, Thesis and Antithesis and the optional pivot puth *but*. The Thesis Base is expounded by Intransitive and Transitive Clauses and by Amplification, Contrast and Reason Sentences. The Antithesis is expounded by Intransitive, Transitive and Stative Clauses and by Paraphrase, Amplification, Co-ordinate, Future Result, Reason and Cyclic Negated Antonym Paraphrase Sentences.

The pivot puth *but* occurs infrequently between the two bases or within the Antithesis. In two examples (4 and 7) puth occurs within the Antithesis but is an embedded Reason Sentence where it is best translated *because*.

When the verb of the Antithesis would be the same as the verb of the Thesis the opposite value to the Thesis is frequently obtained by the use of the negative pro-verb *ya' no, but no*. In one example (6) *ya' no* and the negated verb of Thesis co-occur.

The tense of both bases is past. The only occurrence of future in either base is within an embedded Future Result Sentence where it is an infinitive construction or carries a hypothetical meaning in conjunction with the word *nath maybe*.

The bases may have either the same or different subjects.

This sentence type may occur up to three times in succession. It frequently occurs embedded in other sentence types.

The sentence is composed of two Phonological Clauses. The Thesis Base has normal intonation for the Clause or Sentence type which expounds it, but the pitch level may be slightly lower and with narrower range. Clause stress is higher in the Antithesis and occurs on the neg pro-verb *ya'* if it is present. When the optional marker puth *but* occurs it is low pitch and rapid.

Examples:

1. Thesis: Ngaya, pam thum ngatharam ngan iiy-iiyan, kal-kalan
 I man fire mine we went-we-cont rowed-we-cont
 wongkamtiya Antithesis: ngaka puth pii'ana ku'mulaman kan
 wind-lots water but big high-tide punct
 kampa mo'a kaaw ngul...
 fast ran-it east then

*My husband and I were going along, we rowed and rowed in the wind
 but the tide was very high and running fast to the east...*

In Explicit Frustration S: MW 102

2. Thesis: Ngay wey keenk iiyang, ngan wey Samang iyan marklm
 I emo first went-I we emo Sam-conj went-we mark
 punganan thant keenk aawara we'anan thant Antithesis:
 do-we-pt them-for first hold dug-we-pt them-to
 yaa'an thonakam thaa'-thanpanam - thathayn yipmam.
 just only partly see-they-ft so-that
 Sam and I went first to mark for them so that they could see where
 to go but we only dug partly for them.
3. Thesis: Thon paathina' Antithesis: waya chil Thesis: thon
 one tried-they-pt bad sand another
 paathina' Antithesis: yim-yimanam chil anman, chilatiy anman.
 tried-they-pt same-manner sand only sand-lots only
 They tried one and it was no good, it was sandy; they tried another
 and it was the same way, sandy only, full of sand only.
 DW 45
4. (ngay oltang matangan) Thesis: kuw thathanga Antithesis: ya'
 I log climbed-I west looked-I no
 Thesis: kung thathang Antithesis: ya'a Thesis: yiip thathang
 north looked-I no south looked-I
 Antithesis: ya' - puth wooyan kaawan nganan matan um
 no because road east we climbed-we straight
 kuw a' putham pechangan.
 west cj again shouted-I
 ...I climbed a log, and I looked to the west, but didn't see, I
 looked to the north but didn't see, I looked to the south but
 didn't see, because we came on the east road towards the west,
 and I shouted again.

Three Antithetical Sentences
 filling Text and Parallel of
 Parallel S (in turn embedded
 in Reason S): AP 044

5. Thesis: wiya ep kuchéka, puk manyiy, wiya ya'a
 some fact head child small some no
 Antithesis: ngul-ngulana epa, kuchékanan, waapanan kan
 later-on fact head brain punct
 kuym wun thant, ngaantam ngeeyina.
 used-to be them-to thought-they-pt think-they
 ...some children were alright, they had good brains, but others
 didn't, but later on they used to have good brains and think.

6. Thesis: kek yam nath maayowa, pungow pulanga
spear somewhere maybe pick-up-ft shoot-he-ft those-dl
 Antithesis: puth ya'ey, ke'am kekaniy pekam maay
but no-ques neg spear-that-sp below picked-up-he
 pulanta, mulath pulang, ya'ey
those-two-for killed-he-pt those-dl no-ques
(His men watched him)...to see if he would pick up a spear to spear
those two, but no, he didn't pick up a spear to kill them, no, he
didn't.

WMV 135-8

7. Thesis: ngan wampanana' Antithesis: thana ke' ngaantamngeeyin
we came-we-pt-cj they neg thought-they-pt
 nganan wampān - than puth ngaantamngeeyina ngan ka' mail
we-emph come-we-ft they because thought-they we like
 plane'ang wampan, Sunday.
-in came-we-ft
...we came and they didn't know we were coming because they thought
that we would come in the mail plane on Sunday.

In Reason S: WT 25-29

4.7 REVERSAL (ANTITHETICAL) SENTENCE

This subtype, like the main subtype, expresses expectancy reversal. Here, however, frustrated intention or preference is encoded. The verb of the first base expresses such intention or preference while the second base expresses some blocking circumstance or counter-consideration that frustrates the fulfillment of the intention or preference. When the subjects of the two bases are different the verb of the first base expresses a command or instruction not carried out by those to which it is addressed. The Pivot, obligatory in this subtype, is expounded by *nhok thón the other groin*, i.e. *the other hand, alternatively* or by *nhok thón puth* (for *puth* see main subtype).

While the occurrence of medial *nhok thón* makes this subtype of Antithetical Sentence superficially similar to the Conditional Alternative Sentence note that the latter requires conditional sentences in its bases and a certain distribution of positive and negative values of the same predicate (or antonyms), that the *nhok thón* is not obligatory in the latter, and that it does not couple *nhok thón* with *puth*.

The Reversal (Antithetical) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

Pivot: nhok thón Antithesis reversal: ngay ngaantamngeeyang Godang
groin other I thought-I -ts

ngul pii'ow thanang min-mfn.
then mind-he-ft them-obj well

I thought I wouldn't come here to New Guinea because who would mind them (the family) but I thought (believed) God would mind them well.

4. Thesis_{project}: Pam thawin ngant minh nhinthanak
man said-they-pl us-to protein pig-for

iiyan thantang Pivot: nhoka thóna puth
go-we-pl-ft them-with groin other but

Antithesis_{reversal}: ngan wanchamang kaa'atham wik
one-pl women-all-ts first word

yumpan minh nga'ak iiyān.
made-we-pl-pt protein fish-for go-we-pl-ft

The men said for us to go for pigs with them but we women had made plans to go for fish.

5. CONDITION SENTENCES

As in many languages, Wik-Muncan has two contrasting conditional sentence types: a general, nothing-implied condition (here called Indefinite Condition Sentence) and a Contrafactual Condition Sentence.

Points of comparison and contrast between the two sentence types are summarized in Diagram IV.

Note that the two types have distinct tense sequences. Also, in Indefinite Condition Sentences the Universal Quantifiers <wee'ang> *whoever* optionally occur. Markers provide a few more distinctions. Thus, while the factative marker *ep* occurs in both subtypes, it is optional in Indefinite Condition Sentences and obligatory in Contrafactual Sentences. The 'broad spectrum' conjunction *puth* *but* optionally occurs within the bases of the Contrafactual Condition Sentences, but does not occur in the Indefinite Condition Sentence. In Examples 7 and 8 of Indefinite Condition Sentences *puth* occurs but here the function is linkage of bases in the embedding Alternative and Reason Sentences respectively. *nath* *maybe* occurs optionally in both subtypes.

The tense combinations of Indefinite Condition are future-future, subjunctive-subjunctive and more rarely future-subjunctive and subjunctive-future. The general meaning of Indefinite Condition is '*If this happens, then that will happen*'. There is also one example of future-past. Here the meaning is '*If/when this will happen, I will have done that*'. The tense combinations of Contrafactual Condition are past-subjunctive, subjunctive-past, and subjunctive-subjunctive. Also, an Equative Clause may occur in the Protasis Base and a Clause with a verb in the subjunctive mood in the Apodosis (see Example 4). The general

meaning of **Contrafactual Condition** is *'If this had happened, that would have happened'*.

The loanword 'if' frequently occurs in **Contrafactual Condition Sentences** although only one example is given here. Its most frequent use is in **Complement Clauses** where one of the stative verbs, such as *iiy-* to go, to be, *wun-* to lie, to be etc. would otherwise be used but is regularly deleted on addition of 'if'. Sometimes 'if' co-occurs, however, with the stative verbs. While most speakers use 'if' at some time, explicit informant reaction has been against its use. For example one informant changed the following example from using 'if' to using the stative verb.

- a) If pula wey pama, ngay ep mulathing pulang
if they-dl emo men I fact kill-I-sj them-dl
- b) Pula wey pam iiyypula, ngay ep mulathing pulang
they-dl emo man go-they-dl-sj I fact kill-I-sj them-dl
If they had been men I would have killed them.

a is version on tape of WMV 140-141 while b is the informant's version.

When the subjunctive-subjunctive combination occurs, the tense of the sentence is unstated therefore whether the sentence is **Contrafactual** or **Indefinite Condition** is obvious only from context.

The intonation pattern of both the **Conditional Sentence** types is basically the same. The **Protasis Base** has the distinctive intonation that also occurs on the **Action Base** of a **Simultaneous Sentence**. This intonation is a modification of basic intonation, in that it is higher pitch and narrower range than basic intonation. Clause stress (usually) occurs on the verb which occurs finally.

There is a sudden step down of pitch to the **Apodosis**, which is markedly lower than the **Protasis**. The intonation pattern of the **Apodosis** is the basic intonation pattern and clause stress occurs on the pre-verb word. When the construction contains the factative marker *ep* clause stress occurs on this word.

DIAGRAM 1V
CONDITION SENTENCES

	INDEFINITE CONDITION SENTENCE	CONTRAFACTUAL CONDITION SENTENCE
Base Tagmemes	Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Protasis and Apodosis.	Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Protasis and Apodosis, and one optional Base tagmeme: Explicit Negative.
Markers	<wee'ang> <i>who</i> and <i>nath maybe</i> optionally occur in Protasis. ep factative marker optionally occurs in Apodosis	<i>puh but</i> optionally occurs in either or both bases or two out of three when three bases occur. <i>nath maybe</i> optionally occurs in Protasis. ep factative marker optionally occurs in Apodosis.
Tense of Bases	Future tense and subjunctive mood in all possible combinations.	Past-Subjunctive, Subjunctive-Past or Subjunctive-Subjunctive.
Same/Different Subjects	Bases have different subjects.	Same or different subjects.
Pos/Neg	Pos/Pos or Neg/Pos.	Pos/Pos or Neg/Pos.
Encodes	Hypothetical conditions (but implications with a universal quantifier).	Implication contrary to actual course of events. Both bases are to be understood as the opposite of their overt positive or negative value.
Intonation	Protasis Base has high pitch narrow range intonation with sequence intonation -a'. Apodosis Base has a sudden drop of pitch and normal range intonation.	

5.1 INDEFINITE CONDITION SENTENCE

Here encode not only hypothetical conditions (if X, then Y), but implications with a universal quantifier in the first base (whoever X's will by Y-ed).

The Indefinite Condition Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Protasis	+ Apodosis
Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Future Result S	Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Indirect Quote Merged S 'Like' Merged S Sequence S
Universal quantifiers <wee'ang> <i>whoever</i> and <i>nath maybe</i> optionally occur	ep 'factative' optionally occurs
Future tense or subjunctive mood must occur in either base Same or different subjects Positive-Positive or Negative-Positive Protasis Base has high pitch narrow range intonation Apodosis Base has a sudden drop of pitch and normal range intonation	

The Indefinite Condition Sentence has two obligatory bases. Protasis and Apodosis. Both Protasis and Apodosis may be expounded by Intransitive and Transitive Clauses. In addition, Protasis may be expounded by Future Result Sentence and Apodosis by 'Like' Merged Sentence, Sequence Sentence, and Indirect Quote Merged Sentence.

(Tense combinations have previously been described in the introduction to this section). The bases have different subjects in examples so far found. Bases are either Positive-Positive or Negative-Positive.

The Universal Quantifier <wee'ang> *whoever*, which optionally occurs in Protasis is expounded by the personal interrogative pronouns, both singular and plural (either marked as subject of transitive verb or unmarked as subject of intransitive verb). In this construction, the universal quantifier qualifies a noun or pronoun in the first base. The plural form of the universal quantifier may be used in conjunction

with the singular pronoun object (indirect object etc.) or referent pronoun. In the examples provided only *wee'ang who* (transitive subject) and *wee' nath whoever (who - maybe)* occur, but the plural forms, such as *wee'-wee' who* (pl) and *wee'wee'ang who* (trans., subject, plural) have been overheard in conversation.

The Indefinite Condition Sentence occurs embedded in Reason Sentence, Alternative Sentence and Future Result Sentence, and Indirect Quote Merged Sentence.

The Protasis has basic intonation modified by overall higher pitch with narrower pitch range. There is a drop of pitch to the Apodosis which is a phonological clause with basic intonation of unmodified pitch height and normal pitch range. When the factative marker *ep* occurs in this construction it takes clause stress but is not exceptionally high in pitch.

1. The following elicited set shows the four possible combinations of tense and mood.

- a) Pro: Puntha-paam wey wampowa Apo: ngamp aakanak iiyāmp.
aeroplane emo come-it-ft we there-to go-we-ft
- b) Pro: Puntha-paam wey wampiya Apo: ngamp aakanak iiyimp.
aeroplane emo come-it-sj we there-to go-we-sj
- c) Pro: Puntha-paam wey wampowa Apo: ngamp aakanak iiyimp.
plane emo come-it-ft we there-to go-we-sj
- d) Pro: Puntha-paam wey wampiya Apo: ngamp aakanak iiyāmp.
aeroplane emo come-it-sj there-to go-we-ft

If the aeroplane comes, we will go.

2. Pro: Than nath kaangk ke' nath ngeeyayna, Apo: ngamp koyaman
they maybe like neg maybe hear-they-ft we back
 pentāmpa, waa'āmp thant.
go-out-we-ft tell-we-ft them-to
If they don't like to hear, we (should) go back out and tell them.

WM 095

3. Niiy ngayang wik ngeeyān ngayanga - Pro: niiy ke'an wik
you me words hear-you-ft me you neg words
 ngeeyān ngayang, Apo: गया mulathāng niiyang thampanga.
hear-yōu-ft me I kill-I-ft you also
You listen (and obey) my words (because) if you do not listen to me and obey me I will kill you (pl) also.

In Reason S: OPV 21-3

4. Pro: Nil wee'ang ke' wik ngeeyowanya, Apo: ngay mulathangana.
he who-tr neg words hear-he-ft-me I kill-I-ft-him
Whoever does not hear and obey my words, I will kill him.

WMV 20, 21

5. Pro: Pam kemp pachang wee'ang ngoonchow aak ngatharam ingana
 man skin white-tr who-tr enter-he-ft place mine here

Apo: ngay mulathāngana.
 I kill-I-ft-him

If any white man comes into my country here, I will kill him.

WMV 38, 39

6. Pro: Pam kemp pacham wee' nath wampow aak ngatharamang
 man skin white who maybe come-he-ft place mine-in

tha'ang maakow Apo: ngaya mulathāng.
 foot-with tread-he-ft I kill-I-ft

If any white man comes here to stay in my country, I will kill him.

OPV 42-44

7. Pro: Ngay wey weechowany Apo: nip ekow, kiingkow
 I emo sick-ft-me you-dl get-up-you-dl-ft cook-you-dl-ft

Pro: puth kemp min wey paanthāng Apo: ep ekāng.
 but flesh well camp-I-ft fact get-up-I-ft

If I am sick, you two get up and cook but if I sleep well I'll get up all right.

In Alternative S

(Conversation)

8. (Yaa, ngay nintang puth may erkam aathānga) Pro: puth nil
 yes I you but food quickly give-I-ft if he
 three o'clock wampowa' Apo: ngay nintang may ing ep aathang.
 come-he-ft I you food here fact gave-I-pt

Yes, I will give you food quickly, then if he comes at three o'clock I will have (already) given you food here.

In Future Result S: WT 9

9. (Engkangant pilotant) Pro: nil Chrisan thathiy Apo:
 asked-I-him-pt -to he -sp see-he-sj

engkow nungant, Chrisan may pii'an iikanak kalow.
 ask-he-ft her-to -to food big here-to carry-she-ft

I asked the pilot if he had seen Chris to ask her to bring lots of food here.

In Indirect Quote Merged S

5.2 CONTRAFACTUAL CONDITION SENTENCE

Here as in almost all languages a special structure exists to express an implication contrary to the actual course of events. Both bases of the Contrafactual Sentence are to be understood as the opposite of their overt positive or negative value.

The Contrafactual Condition Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Protasis	+ Apodosis	+ Explicit Negation
Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Complement Cl (sometimes if occurs and verb may be deleted) Stative Cl	Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Purpose S Sequence S	puth ya'a <i>but no</i>
Optional occurrence of ep 'factative' and puth <i>but</i>	Obligatory occurrence of ep 'factative' Optional occurrence of puth <i>but</i>	
<p>Past-Subjunctive, Subjunctive-Past, or Subjunctive-Subjunctive (Also: tenseless Equative Cl-Subjunctive). Same or different subject Positive-Positive or Negative-Positive Protasis has high pitch narrow range intonation Apodosis has sudden drop of pitch and normal range intonation When Explicit Negation occurs, highest clause stress usually occurs on ya' <i>no</i></p>		

Contrafactual Condition Sentence has two obligatory base tagmemes, Protasis and Apodosis. Both Protasis and Apodosis Bases may be expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses. In addition, Protasis may be expounded by Complement and Stative Clauses. The occurrence of the loanword *if* in Protasis is described in the introduction to this section. The Apodosis may also be expounded by Purpose and Sequence Sentences. The tagmeme Explicit Negation filled by puth ya'a optionally occurs following the Apodosis.

As for Indefinite Condition Sentences, the tense and mood combinations have been previously described. The bases may have same or different subject. Only the Protasis Base may be negated.

A free English translation for this sentence type could be '*If/when/under these circumstances they had X-ed then I would have Y-ed*', rather than, '*Were they to X, I would Y*' of Indefinite Condition. That is, this sentence type, Contrafactual Condition, indicates values which are the opposite to those that are stated, i.e. '*They didn't X, therefore I didn't Y.*' In one example, the opposite value is made explicit by

5. Pro: Nip puth peetnam wampiwa, Apo: ngay ep iiying.
 you-dl cj yesterday came-you-dl-sj I fact go-I-sj
If you two had come yesterday, I would have gone.
6. Pro: Ninta puth ke' wey keyan wayathin, Apo: ninta puth
 you cj neg emo key-that lost-you-sj you cj
ep ngoonchin.
 fact enter-you-sj
If you had not lost the key, you would have gone in (to the home).
7. Pro: Pul wey Chrisang kan wampiypula
 they-dl emo -cj punct come-sj-they-dl
 Apo: ngan wey ep umang uwin pulang.
 we emo fact chest-with find-we-sj them-dl
If those two, Chris (and the other) had come we would have met them.
8. Pro: Nint puth key kan wey uwan Apo: nint ep ngoonchin
 you cj punct emo found-you you fact enter-you-sj
 aawuchang.
 house-in
If you had found the key, you would have gone into the house.
9. Pro: Ngay wey weechinya' Apo: nip ep ekiw,
 I emo sick-I-sj-cj you-dl fact get-up-you-sj
 may kiingkiw ngampara.
 food cook-you-dl-sj us-all-for
Had I been sick, you two would have got up and cooked for us all.
10. Pro: Ngay wey weechinya' Apo: nip ep ekiw,
 I emo sick-I-sj-cj you-dl fact get-up-you-dl-sj
 may kiingkanak ngampara.
 food cook-for us-all-for
Had I been sick you two would have got up and cooked for us.

6. CONCESSION SENTENCES

These three surface structure types encode Expectancy Reversal (cf. Antithetical Sentence above).

Both Frustration Sentence types differ from the Concession Sentence in that Frustration Sentences have an obligatory Frustration marker *ya'angam to no avail* which never occurs sentence initial, and the Concession Sentence has the obligatory Concession marker *nungkwoy even although, regardless of the fact*, which obligatorily occurs sentence initial. The optional Priority markers *mak* and *makant* of Concession Sentence do not occur in the Frustration Sentences. Furthermore, wider tense combinations occur in Concession Sentences than in Frustration Sentences.

Frustration Sentences fall into two types, Explicit Frustration Sentence, and Implicit Frustration Sentence. As suggested by their

DIAGRAM V
CONCESSION SENTENCES

	CONCESSION SENTENCE	EXPLICIT FRUSTRATION CONCESSION SENTENCE	IMPLICIT FRUSTRATION CONCESSION SENTENCE
Base Tagmemes	Two obligatory Base tagmemes.	Two obligatory Base tagmemes.	Two Base tagmemes: + Action + Frustrated Action <u>-</u> Action + Frustrated Action
Markers	Obligatory concession marker <i>nungkwoy nevertheless</i> Optional priority marker <i>mak must.</i>	Obligatory frustration marker <i>ya'angam to no avail.</i>	Obligatory frustration marker <i>ya'angam to no avail.</i>
S/Diff Subject	Same or Different Subject.	Same or Different Subject.	Same Subject.
Encodes	Expectancy Reversal.	Blocked Action.	Blocked Action.
Pos/Neg	Pos-Pos, Pos-Neg, Neg-Pos.	Pos-Pos.	Pos-Pos, Neg-Pos.
Tense	Past-Past, Customary-Future, Subj-Future, Future-Future.	Past tense.	Past tense.
Verb	Same or different.	Same or different.	Same or similar (same semantic domain).
Intonation	Text and concession marker are one P. Clause with high pitch narrow range basic intonation. Counter consideration has sudden drop pitch and normal range basic intonation.	Highest pitch of sentence of frustration marker <i>ya'angam to no avail</i> which is the clause stress of the P. Clause expounding Frustrated Action tagmeme.	

A Concession Sentence is comprised of two obligatory base tagmemes, Text and Counter Consideration, preceded by the obligatory Concession marker *nungkwoy regardless of the fact, even though*. The linear ordering of the tagmemes in this construction is fixed.

The optional Priority marker tagmeme is expounded by *mak must, nevertheless, still*. When this marker occurs the verb in the Counter Consideration tagmeme must be in the future tense.

The verbal substitute *makant* which co-occurs with preceding *puth but, and, so*, replaces both *mak must, nevertheless, still* and a finite verb in the future tense; it occurs only when the obvious (logical) verb of the Counter Consideration tagmeme has been referred to in the Text tagmeme (see Example 1).

The Text and Counter Consideration Bases may both be expounded by Intransitive and Transitive Clauses. In addition, Text may be expounded by Di-transitive Clause and Quotation Sentence. Counter Consideration may also be expounded by Negated Antonym Paraphrase Sentence.

The tense combination of Text and Counter Consideration are Past-Past, Customary-Future, Subjunctive-Future, and Future-Future. The bases may have same or different subject. The following combinations occur: positive-positive, negative-positive, and positive-negative.

The Concession Sentence encodes expectancy reversal.

To date one example has been found of the Concession Sentence embedded in a Cyclic Rhetorical Question Reason Sentence.

The Concession marker *nungkwoy regardless of the fact* and the Text tagmeme form one Phonological Clause with high pitch narrow range basic intonation. The intonation of Counter Consideration has a sudden drop of pitch with basic intonation of normal range.

Examples:

1. This example is embedded as the Text of a Cyclic Rhetorical Question Reason Sentence. It also expounds a Rhetorical Question Base. (It is included here to show the use of *makant*).

Nungkwoy Text: *ngan ngeena' ma' wench uwanana'*
regardless-of-the-fact we what hands sore find-we-ct

wayk we'anaman Counter Consideration: puth an makant...
dye dig-part-pt but dem must

Regardless of the fact that what? That we have sore hands from digging dye, nevertheless we must...

2. Nungkwoy Text: than way thak yumpiytan nungka, Counter
even-though they bad etc do-they-sj you-to
 Consideration: ke'a, a' thuchān, ngangk min wunān
don't cj loose-ft-you heart good live-ft-you
 maalathwun.
settle-recv-you
Even though they may do bad to you, don't (you do bad) let go, be
happy and quieten down.
- OPV 341
3. Nungkwoy Text: thawin kámpan-kūnchan, "ke'
even-though said-they relatives own neg
 iiyowa," Counter Consideration: pula iiypul.
go-ft-you they-dl went-they-dl
Regardless of the fact that their relatives said, "Don't go", they
went.
4. Nungkwoy Text: thok pii'an kiingk-kiingkanamp, Counter
even-though smoke big cook-we-hab
 Consideration: mak pathayn, me'ang,
nevertheless bite-ft-they mosquitoes-ts
 punthaman ke'anghang.
net without
Even although we make a lot of smoke, nevertheless they will bite,
the mosquitoes, (because) we have no net.
5. Nungkwoy Text: ngayang kon weechan, Counter Consideration:
even-though me ear sick-it
 ngay minh nga'ak iiyāng.
I protein fish-for go-I-ft
Even though I have a sore ear, I will still go fishing.
6. Nungkwoy Text: ngampang yotang waa'ayn, Counter
even-though us lots-ts tell-they-ft
 Consideration: ngamp ke' kul thawāmp.
we neg anger say-we-ft
Even though they talk about us a lot, we will not get angry.
7. Nungkwoy Text: ngamp inan wunanamp
even-though we here (now) stay-we-hab
 Counter Consideration: ngamp koyam ngul iiyāmpa.
we back will go-we-ft
Even though we are staying here (now), we will go back.

6.2 EXPLICIT FRUSTRATION SENTENCE

The first base of this sentence type expresses unavailing effort. The second base may express either the reversal of the anticipated predicate (Example 1), or a substitute action (Example 2) or statement of the blocking circumstance plus both of the above (Example 3).

The **Explicit Frustration Sentence** is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Frustrated Action	+ Frustration Marker	+ Explicit Result
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl Antithetical S </div>	<i>ya'angam to no avail</i> occurring here or in Frustrated Action Base	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl Result S </div>
puth <i>but</i> optionally occurs here		
All bases past tense Same or different subject Positive - Positive Highest clause stress of sentence is on Frustration Marker		

The **Explicit Frustration Sentence** is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes, **Frustrated Action** and **Explicit Result**. The obligatory **Frustration** marker *ya'angam* occurs either between the bases or within the **Frustrated Action Base**. Both bases may be expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses, but clause types must match across the bases. In addition Antithetical Sentence may expound **Frustrated Action Base** and **Result Sentence** may expound **Explicit Result Base**. In one example (2) the conjunction *a'* occurs between the bases. The marker *puth but* optionally occurs in base one.

Both bases have the same tense, and in these examples only past tense occurs. The bases may have same or different subject. The action of the **Frustrated Action Base** is a positive attempt, but one which is unsuccessful. The **Explicit Result** tagmeme is positive in all examples, although part of the exponent of this tagmeme is Example 3 is negative.

The **Explicit Frustration Sentence** may occur embedded in **Reason Sentence**.

The highest pitch and clause stress of the **Explicit Frustration Sentence** occurs on the **Frustration** marker *ya'angam to no avail* which is also the nucleus of the Phonological Clause expounding the **Frustrated Action** tagmeme. Intonation on the remainder of the sentence is that of the clause or sentence type expounding the **Frustrated Action** and **Explicit Result** tagmeme.

Examples:

1. Frus Action: Ngay puh ya'angam yuk manya thak kangk
 I but to-no-avail sticks small with leaves
 thak kiingkanga, Explicit Result: nganang me'ang
 too cooked-I us mosquitoes-tr
 war'am maayana.
 almost picked-up
 To no avail I cooked small branches, leaves etc., (still) the
 mosquitoes almost picked us up/carried us away.
 FL 61
2. (Ngan wey Nate ngan wey yaraman thonamang) Frus Action: nipanta
 we emo we emo horse one-on you-dl-his
 ya'angam peyuwa, Expl Result: a' nip ukuw.
 to-no-avail jumped-you cj you got-down-you
 ...Nate and I (will go) on one horse, for you two tried riding
 but (you couldn't do it) and you got down.
 In Reason Sentence: PT 101
3. Frus Action: Ngaya, pam-thúm ngatharam ngan iiy-iiyan,
 my man-fire mine we went-we-ct
 kalan-kalan wongkamtiya, ngaka puh pii'ana ku'mulaman
 rowed-we-ct windy-lots water but big high-tide
 kan kampa mo'a kaaw ngul, ya'angam, Explicit Result:
 punct fast ran east then to-no-avail
 "ana yaam ke' thee'impa," putha kan iiyana, kungenchanga
 dem long neg throw-we-sbj so punct went-we corner-in
 thee'an, ngaanhama thee'an wey.
 threw-we sand-from threw-we emo
 My husband and I rowed and rowed, (but) it was windy and the tide
 was running out fast (so) it was useless (fishing) (so we said)
 "Let's not keep throwing out (our line) here," (we said), so we
 went on and threw out (our lines) round the bend, in a sandy place.
 MW 102-4

6.3 IMPLICIT FRUSTRATION SENTENCE

This sentence type records an action in its first base and tells us in the second base that the action was unavailing. Usually the second base is shorter than the first whose verb it may repeat.

The Implicit Frustration Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Action	+ Frustrated Action
Reason S Quotation S	Intransitive Cl Quotation S Repetition S
	----- Frustration marker <i>ya'angam</i> <i>to no avail</i> obligatorily occurs
Verb of second base is same or similar to verb of first base Both bases past tense Both bases same subject Positive-Positive Quotation Sentence in first base and other sentence type in second; or Quotation Sentence in second base and no first base expressed	

The Implicit Frustration Sentence is composed of two base tagmemes, (optional) Action and (obligatory) Frustrated Action. Action Base is expounded by Reason Sentence or Quotation Sentence, while Frustrated Action Base may be expounded by Intransitive Clause, Direct Quote Sentence or Repetition Sentence. As indicated, however, in the array, Direct Quote Sentences do not expound both bases in a given example of this sentence type. When this sentence type expounds the first base, another sentence type expounds the second; and when Direct Quote Sentence expounds the second base no first base occurs. Within the Frustrated Action Base, *ya'angam to no avail* the Frustration marker, obligatorily occurs.

The verb of the Frustrated Action Base is the same or similar to the verb of Action Base. In the examples all bases are past tense. Both bases have the same subject. The only combination found is positive-positive. The action is a positive attempt but the actor is not successful in what he sets out to do.

The Implicit Frustration Sentence occurs embedded in Sequence and Result Sentences.

As in the Explicit Frustration Sentence the Frustration marker *ya'angam to no avail* takes the highest clause stress in the Implicit Frustration Sentence. Otherwise the tagmemes Action and Frustrated Action have the intonation pattern of the clause or sentence type expounding the respective tagmemes.

Examples:

1. Action: Nil taypanana anpal mo'ant ompam
it taipan-snake-that from-then went-to-him middle
pathan, pathan, pathan, pur' pathana, kemp puth thayan,
bit-he bit-he bit-he hardly bit-he skin for hard
 pimpana thayan putha, Frus Action: pathan ya'angam, ya'angam
scales hard for bit-he to-no-avail to-no-avail
pathan, ya'angam pathan.
bit-he to-no-avail bit-he
 Then the taipan snake went and bit him round the middle. He bit and he bit but he could hardly bite, for the flesh was hard and he bit, all to no avail, and the scales were hard too. He bit but to no avail.

MR 098

2. Action: Nila pecha-pech, 'yaakáy, wench-tháa' pochá,
she cried-ct-she exclam sore-bad sore
 kekang ke' pungan nganyanga, Frus Action: ya'angam
spear-with neg spear-you me to-no-avail
tha-tháw.
said-ct-she
 She cried out, "Ouch, I'm very sore, don't spear me," to no avail she cried.

WO 069

3. Frus Action: Niiyant ya'angam thawangaa, "apap,
you-to to-no-avail said-I-tag quest quiet
 weep wunāna niy wika pii'pii'anniya, ka' ngongkama,
sleep lie-imper you noise hold-you-ct like not-knowing
 wik weenthiya."
words love-sp
 I said to you to no avail didn't I, "Be quiet, go to sleep, you're making lots of noise, you're not taking any notice, you're too fond of talking."

TG 125

4. (Ngutangananiy kaniyaa, wik anan pii'pii'ampa)
night-that-sp punct-sp-tag-quest words that held-ct-we
 Action: nila pechapul "ya'a, apapa, wunān weepa,"
he(coll) cried-they-dl no quiet lie-you-imper sleep
 Frus Action: ya'angam putham pechapul.
to-no-avail again cried-out-they-two
 It was night time, wasn't it, when we made lots of noise, and they cried out, "No! Quiet! Go to sleep!" They cried out again to no avail.

TG 114-5

7. RESULT AND REASON SENTENCES

These various sentence types and subtypes encode causation, i.e. either efficient cause or final cause (purpose). Points of comparison and contrast among these types and subtypes are summarized in Diagram 6.

It seems best at this stage to regard **Future Result** and **Purposive Sentences** as subtypes. Both encode Final Cause, i.e. Purpose, with slight differences in surface structure. In the **Future Result Sentence** the **Future Result Base** is expounded by a clause or sentence with the verb normally in future tense, and the **Result** marker *yipmam* occurs very frequently. The **Purposive Sentence** has a **Dependent Clause** with a nominalized verb marked for purpose expounding Purpose tagmeme, and the **Result** marker *yipman* *so that* rarely occurs. A further difference is that in **Future Result Sentences** the **Future Result Base** may optionally occur twice, while no examples have been found of the Purpose tagmeme repeating. It does, however, seem plausible that the Purpose tagmeme could repeat.

The **Non-future Result Sentence** has very distinct markers from those of the **Future Result Sentence**. The two sentence types are further distinguished by tense sequence. Furthermore, the **Non-future Result Sentence** encodes in its first base **Efficient Cause** - rather than **Final Cause (Purpose)**. The **Reason Sentence**, like the **Non-future Result Sentence**, encodes **Efficient Cause**. Here, however, **Efficient Cause** is encoded in the second base and none of the distinctive markers of **Non-future Result Sentence** are found.

DIAGRAM V1

RESULT AND REASON SENTENCES

	FUTURE-RESULT S	PURPOSIVE SUBTYPE	NON-FUTURE RESULT S	REASON S
Base Tagmemes	2 Base tagmemes, Future Result may repeat twice (n=3).	2 Base tagmemes. No repeat of Purpose tagmeme.	2 Base tagmemes. Non-future Result may repeat once (n=2).	2 Base tagmemes. Reason tagmeme may repeat once (n=2).
Exponents of Base tagmemes	Wide range of exponents of both Bases.	Limited exponents of both base tagmemes. Dependent Cl in Purpose Tagmeme.	Text Base expounded only by clauses + optional puth. Non-future Result expounded by clauses and limited sentence types.	Wide range of exponents of both Base tagmemes.
Person & tense of bases	Wide range of tense in Text Base. Mostly future, but may be customary aspect and subjunctive in Fut Result Base.	Wide range of tense in Text Base. Dependent Cl in Purpose Base.	Same tense or past-subjunctive combination. Obligatory absence of future tense.	Usually tense between bases correspond; but not necessarily aspects.
Same/Different Subject	S/Diff Subject	S/Diff Subject	S/Diff Subject	S/Diff Subject
Pos/Neg	Pos/Pos or Pos/Pos/Neg	Pos/Pos or Neg/Neg	All Pos/Neg possibilities	All Pos/Neg possibilities
Markers	Frequent <i>yipnam so that</i>	Infrequent <i>yipnam so that</i>	Obligatory. Wide range of Non-Fut Result markers: <ka'páa> <i>therefore</i>	Optional but frequent <i>puth because</i>
Intonation	Cl stress on Future Result tagmeme - once or repeated.	Cl stress on nominalized verb expounding Purpose tagmeme.	Cl stress pre-verb in both bases.	Intonation of Cl or sentence type expounding bases, marker <i>puth because</i> always fast and low pitch.

7.1 FUTURE RESULT SENTENCE

This binary sentence type encodes in its second base Final Cause (Purpose) in all except one example (14) where the second base is the result of Efficient Cause in the first base.

The Future Result Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text	+ (+ Result - Marker	+ Future) ⁿ⁼² Result
Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl Parallel S Coordinate S Antithetical S Negated Antonym S Sequence S	yipmam <i>so that</i> occurring here or in Future Result Base	Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl Di-transitive Cl Coordinate S Negated Antonym S *Simultaneous S Future Result S
<p>Majority of examples have future tense in Future Result Base; second Future Result Base may be customary or subjunctive</p> <p>Same or different subject</p> <p>Positive-positiveⁿ or positive-positive-negative</p> <p>Clause stress occurs on verb of Future Result tagmeme</p>		

The Future Result Sentence is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes, Text and Future Result; and the optional Future Result Marker tagmeme expounded by *yipmam so that* or by *puh so that*. The latter has only occurred in one example (9) where it follows an imperative in the Text tagmeme.

The Text and Future Result Bases may be expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses, Coordinate Sentences and Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence. In addition, Text may be expounded by Parallel Sentence, Antithetical Sentence, and Sequence Sentence. Future Result Base may also be expounded by Di-transitive Clause, and in Rhetorical Question Future Result Sentences by Simultaneous Sentence (See section 11.2 Example 6).

Same or different subject may occur. The free form of the subject occurs in Future Result tagmeme only when there is a change of subject, or change of focus, as may be seen in Example 5. Its occurrence under these conditions is optional. In the great majority of cases the verb of the Future Result Base is future tense. However, in two examples (11 and 13) customary aspect and subjunctive mood respectively occur in a second Future Result tagmeme. The tense of the verb in Text Base

may be customary, past or future. The combinations positive-positiveⁿ and positive-positive-negative occur. In Example 9, the Future Result Base embeds a Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence with negative-positive values.

The linear ordering of the base tagmemes is fixed, but the Result Marker *yipmam so that* may occur between bases, within the Future Result Base, or finally in the sentence (cf. Example 6). The Future Result tagmeme may optionally occur twice, with *yipmam* occurring within the repeated Future Result Base (cf. Examples 5, 11).

A succession of putative Future Result Bases without repeated *yipmam* might best be considered to be but one surface structure Future Result Base expounded by an embedded sentence (especially Coordinate, Paraphrase, or Simultaneous). Thus, in Example 3 an embedded Coordinate Sentence with three bases is posited as exponent of the Future Result Base rather than three Future Result Bases. In this instance one occurrence of *yipmam so that* and absence of the free subject characterizes the whole embedded sentence.

On the other hand repeated *yipmam* seems to indicate that a succession of Future Result Bases is intended in the surface structure. In both Examples 5 and 11 a pair of Future Result Bases follows the Text. While the lexical stuff of each pair of bases could be construed as an embedded sentence (Coordinate in 5 and Paraphrase in 11), the recurrence of *yipmam* tells us that we have here in the surface structure two Result Bases each related to the Text in its own right. In Examples 12 and 13 where recurrences of *yipmam* also mark a pair of Future Result Bases in each example the arrangement is different. Here the two Future Result Bases constitute an embedded Future Result Sentence which expounds Future Result Base after Text. This embedded Future Result Base has, however, its own Text and Future Result Base. Thus, the first *yipmam* marks Future Result Base of the embedding sentence while the second *yipmam* marks a Future Result Base in the embedded sentence.

The Future Result Sentence occurs embedded only in Quotation Sentence, in Simile Sentence and in Procedural Sentence in our present data. This fact, plus the number and variety of sentence types which expound bases of the Future Result Sentence probably indicate that this sentence type is on a relatively high layer of organization. The Future Result Sentence also occurs as APERTURE in HORTATORY DISCOURSE and PROCEDURE in PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE.

In the Future Result Sentence clause stress occurs on the verb in the Future Result tagmeme, whether the latter occurs only once, or is repeated. The clause stress of each Phonological Clause (Future Result tagmeme) is approximately the same in the first occurrence of the

tagmeme and in its repeats. Other than the position and height of clause stress the intonation is that of the clause or sentence type expounding the Text or Future Result tagmeme.

Examples:

(Because of the relevance of future tense suffix to this sentence type, this suffix is underlined below):

1. Text: ngaa'-thónana' Saturdayana' ngan Rocky aakanak
 day another-cj -that-cj we there-to
 iyan, township aakanak, Fut Res: waymin piyān anpal
 went-we there-to things buy-we-ft from-there
 ...the next day, Saturday, we went to Rocky, to that township to
 buy things from there,

In Quotation Sentence: WT 18

2. Text: ngan wey in wampana, Fut Res: aak nungkaram in
 we emo here came-we place yours here
 tha'ang maakān, wika mamān nungkaram.
 foot-with tread-we-ft words learn-we-ft yours
 We came here to stay in your place so that we can learn your
 language.

In Quotation Sentence: WMV 126-8

3. (Piip ngantam in kenya, ngan nungk in ngaa'atingam wampanana)
 Father ours here above we yours here morning come-we
 Text: aak ina nungk, Sunday ina, pokapang wunpan ngant,
 time this yours this alone put-you for-us
 Fut Res: yipmam mee'-wuthanmān nungka, aak pathān nungka,
 so-that pray-we-ft you-to sing-we-ft you-to
 wik thawān nungka...
 words speak-we-ft you-to
 Our Father above, we come to you here in the morning, this day is
 yours, this Sunday, you gave it to us to keep separate so that we
 can pray to you, sing to you, and speak to you...

GP 1.3

4. Text: Ngangk ngantaman thaa' pa'ant pii'ān nungkaram,
 hearts ours-emph door open we-will-keep for-you
 Fut Res: wik minam yipmam mamāna,...
 word good so-that keep-we-ft
 We will keep our heart's door wide open so that we will keep your
 good words,...

In Simile Sentence: GP 1.5

5. Text: Pam wanch kuchan ngant Fut Res: wik nungkaram
 men women sent-you us-to word yours
 wampathayn ngantak, iikanakan aak, thaa'-ngánth
 bring-they-ft to-us-for here-to-this place tongue
 wunpayn wik Fut Res: ngan yipmam mamāna, ngeeyān
 put-they-ft word we so-that hold-we-ft hear-we-ft

Fut Res: ngan thampang yipmam wiy thakan thaa'aathān thanang.
 we also so-that others etc teach-we-ft them

*You sent people to us to bring your word to us here in this place
 to put your word into our language so that we can learn and hear
 it and so that we teach others too.*

GP 2.14-18

6. Text: ngay wey keenk iiyang, ngan wey Samang iijan markim
 I emo first went-I we emo Sam-and-I we-went mark-to
 punganan thant keenk aawara we'anan thant yaa'an thonakam
 do-we-it them-for first hold dug-we-it them-to just only
 thaa'-thānpanam Fut Res: thathayn yipmam.
 partly see-they-ft so-that
*Sam and I went first to mark for them so that they could see where
 to go but we only dug partly for them.*

In Quotation Sentence: FL

7. Text: Yaa'an ulpa Fut Res: ngangk kuliw waa'ayn
 just proud heart wild talk-about-they-ft
 nunanga.
 him
*He was just proud, so that they would talk about him as being a
 wild man.*

In Quotation Sentence: WMV 70-71

8. Text: Ngay ina mungkan thawang kiithan puth ke'
 I this Wik-Munkan speak-I English but neg
 thawing Fut Res: niy yipam ngeeyān.
 wouldn't-speak-I you so-that hear-you
*I'm telling you this in Wik-Munkan, I wouldn't tell you in English,
 so that you will hear (understand).*

9. Text: Thathān nganang iijanan nathan inan kinchang inana
 see-you-imper us going-we far here sun-in this
 Fut Res: nungkaram wik puth ke' wantān pii'ān
 your words so-that neg leave-we-ft mind-we-ft
 anman ngangkang.
 only heart-in
*Watch us going a long way away today so that we won't leave your
 words but will keep them in our hearts.*

GP 2.38-46

10. Text: kee'athan nuna thanathan nun aakang pungk pathan
 plays-he him stands-up-he him ground-on knee bites-he
 nun a' thinka pathan nun Fut Res: yipmam iiyowa'
 him and small-of-back bites-he him so-that go-he-ft
 thayanmowant puk manyan kamp mo'owant erkam,
 become-strong-to-him-ft child-that fast run-he-to-him-ft quickly
*...he plays with him and stands him up on the ground and bites
 his knees and bites the small of his back so that he will walk,
 and become strong for him and will run for him quickly,...*

In Procedural Sentence: KU 29-35

11. Text: Min nil puukanam weya ana maayantan pokap
good they(coll) new-part emo those pick-up-they alone
 wunpantan thapang Fut Res: yipam wunpayn pii'ayn
put-they at-each-end so-that put-they-ft mind-they-ft
 ngulak nathak Fut Res: palam yipam
later-for a-long-away-for back-to-here so-that
 kalantan aak aawuch inan ngeeyantan.
carry-they-ct place house this hear-they-ct
*They pick up the good new ones (geese eggs) and put them aside at
 the end so that they can put them down and mind them for later
 for (eating) a long way away so that they can take them back to
 the place where they live.*

GE

12. Text: ngay puthama' nungkarang iiyānga' Fut Res:
I again-cj you-with go-I-ft
 [Text: waykan uwānga' Fut Res: mee'nathānara.]
dye find-I-ft you-show-me-ft
I will go with you again to find dye (so that) you can show me.
 In Quotation Sentence: FL 150-151
13. (...ngay puth thawanganta') Text: kiingkāna thum-múnth
I so said-I-her-to-cj cook-you-imp coals
 pipāna Fut Res: [Text: thok ngul pentowa'
break-you-imp smoke then (so) come-out-it-ft
 Fut Res: me' ké'ngūl wámpīy aniy nungkara]
mosquitoes won't-again come-it-sj that-sp you-to
*...so I said to her, "Burn it and break up the coals so that the
 smoke will come out and so that the mosquitoes won't come to you."*
 In Quotation Sentence: FL 115-118

One example has been found of Future Result Base with ngul + past tense which has the sense of prediction.

14. Text: ngay puth pam pii'anan mulathang kaa'atham
I but man big killed-I first
 Fut Res: ngayangan pam-wanch ngatharamang ngul
me-emph people mine-ts then
 mulathin ngayang
kill-they-pt me
*I killed the big man at first, so (I predict) my people might
 kill me.*

In Quotation S: OPV 49-50

7.2 PURPOSIVE (FUTURE RESULT) SENTENCE

A nominalized verb with purpose marker occurs in the second base of this subtype. In most examples the second base encodes Final Cause (Purpose) although in a few (Examples 1, 2) the last base encodes the logical object of verbs 'learn' or 'help/teach'.

The **Purposive (Future Result) Sentence** is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text	+ Purpose
Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) S	Dependent Trans Cl with nominalized verb and purposive marker ----- Optional and rare occurrence of Result Marker yipmam so that
Text has customary, past, past continuous, or future tense Same or different subject Positive-Positive, or Negative-Positive Clause stress occurs on the nominalized verb expounding the Purpose tagmeme	

The **Purposive (Future Result) Sentence** is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes, **Text** and **Purpose**. The optional **Result Marker** tagmeme, expounded by *yipmam so that*, occurs infrequently in this construction within **Purpose Base**. The **Text** tagmeme may be expounded by Intransitive Clauses, by Transitive Clauses and by **Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence**. The **Purpose** tagmeme is expounded by a dependent Transitive Clause (nominalized verb and purposive marker).

The following tenses may occur on the verb of the **Text Base**: customary, past, past continuous, and future tense. The free subject does not occur in the **Purpose** tagmeme, nor is subject person shown on the dependent verb. Normally the subject of the action of **Text** is also the subject (implied) of the action of **Purpose Base**. In Example 2 the object of **Text** is the implied subject of **Purpose**. The combinations Positive-Positive and Negative-Positive occur.

In one example (5) the **Purpose** tagmeme occurs within the **Text** tagmeme, between the subject and verb of the clause filling **Text**.

The analytical option of treating the **Purpose Base** as a clause level tagmeme rather than a sentence level tagmeme has been considered. Wik-Munkan clauses have an optional purpose tagmeme, filled mostly by noun phrases marked by *-ak* showing goal or purpose. However, it has been decided to treat the Dependent Clauses as fillers on the sentence level because of the optional occurrence of a number of clause level

tagmemes (object, indirect object, manner) within the Dependent Clauses. Another factor was the optional though rare occurrence of *yipmam so that*, which is considered relevant on sentence level in Future Result Sentences. Special conditions have, however, been posited where it seems best to treat the Dependent Clause as expounding a clause level tagmeme.

All examples given here of Purposive (Future Result) Sentence are embedded in Reason Sentence, Paraphrase Sentence, Sequence Sentence, Quotation Sentence, or Simultaneous Sentence.

Purposive Sentences may transform to Future Result Sentences by the addition of *yipmam so that* and by the dependent verb becoming future tense and being marked for person and number.

The intonation of the Text tagmeme is that of the sentence or clause type expounding the tagmeme, but it always ends with the sequence intonation of mid step down. The clause stress occurs on the nominalized verb marked for purpose in the Purpose Base and the overall intonation is basic with sentence final intonation of either type.

Examples:

- (nil thanang kaangka') Text: Than puth erkam mamin
he them likes they because quickly learned-they
 Purpose: yumpanakan yimananganiy.
make-purp in-that-manner-sp
...he likes them because they have learned how to make fences like this.

In Reason S: MF

- (Ya'a ina ngay inngulan kuuy thee'thee'angan)
no this I here-now line threw-I-pt-it
 Text: ngayang puth ke'am ma'aathin ngayang
me because never helped-they me
 Purpose: kuuy thee'anakaniy,
line throw-purp-sp
No, I just now threw a line for the first time because they never taught me how to throw a line before...

In Quotation Sentence: VR 63-64

- (Nil wal kath ananganiya keenkanaman kala
he(coll) partly bad those long-time-ago laid-she(coll)
 ana pókāpang wunpantan,) Text: nil anangan pi'angiy
that separate put-they it(coll) those ant-bed-in
 kaampantan Purpose: mungkanakaniy,
bury-they eating-purp-sp
Those partly bad ones (geese eggs) that were laid a long time ago, they put them aside, they cook them in antbed, for the purpose of eating them...

In Sequence S: GE 069

4. Text: ngamp thamp, ngamp wunāmpāā namp inaniy wunpanāmp
we too we live-we-tag-quest name this-sp put-we-ct
 kepa' kaap wey, onchan thee'aniy pam alantan namp
moon wet-season emo pre-wet throws-sp man that-one-to name
 Purpose: pam pii'an alant namp yumpanakiya Text: ngan puth
man big that-to name make-for-sp we but
 yotamaniy nathan ke' pankayn yotam angam
lots-sp long-way neg return-they-ft lots there
 Purpose: nampan yipmam yumpanak nung.
name so-that make-purp him-for
...we too, we who live here, don't we, we put our names (vote) in
the month, in the wet season and in the pre-wet season, we vote
for that man, lots of us don't go a long way back to the bush, we
stay so that we can vote for that man.

Two examples of Purposive (Future Result) S embedded in Paraphrase
 S: PY 99-101

5. Text: Ngay Purpose: wik kucharakan Text: iiyang.
I word send-purp went-I-pt
I was going to send a message.

Simultaneous S: Conversation

7.3 NON-FUTURE RESULT SENTENCE

Here, Efficient Cause encodes in the first base of the sentence and the Result in the second base.

The Nonfuture Result Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text	+ Nonfuture Result Marker <ka'páal>	+ Result
Transitive Cl	ka'páal <i>therefore</i>	Transitive Cl
Intransitive Cl	puh <i>so, then</i>	Intransitive Cl
Equative Cl	inpal/imanam <i>therefore,</i>	Stative Cl
Optional but frequent occurrence of puh <i>but</i>	<i>so, from this</i> nanpal/namanam <i>therefore,</i> <i>so, from that (mid)</i> anpal/amanam <i>therefore,</i> <i>so, from that (far)</i>	Sequence S Coordinate S
	The above occur here or in Result Base a' <i>so, then</i> occurs here on only	

Same tense, or past-subjunctive combination (future tense does not occur)

Same or different subject

All Positive-Negative combinations

Bases linked by sequence intonation

Nonfuture Result Marker, in whatever position, forms part of Phonological Clause which expounds Result tagmeme; it occurs fast and low pitch preceding P Clause stress

The Non-future Result Sentence is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes, Text and Result and linked by an obligatory Non-future Result Marker <ka'páa1> *therefore* which occurs either preceding or within the exponent of the Result Base.

The Text Base may be expounded by Transitive, Intransitive and Equative Clauses. The conjunction *puh* *but* frequently occurs within the clause expounding Text.

The Result Base may be expounded by Transitive, Intransitive and Stative Clauses, and Sequence and Coordinate Sentences. Examples which are given here illustrate the occurrence of the Non-future Result Markers listed in the array. An example of the reduplicated form of *amanam*, that is *am-amanam therefore* may be found in the section on Deleted Predicate Non-future Result Sentences (11.3). Examples of the use of *nanpal therefore* may be found in the Cyclic (11.1) and Rhetorical Question (11.2) sections.

The forms *inpal*, *nanpal*, and *anpal* and *imanam*, *namanam* and *amanam* are alternate sets. They show source as regards time, location and reason. Three degrees of distance are distinguished. Thus *inpal* and *imanam* may both be variously translated *from now*, *from here* and *so for this reason*. *nanpal* and *namanam* express mid-distant time, location or reason, while *anpal* and *amanam* express far-distant time, location or reason. The mid-distance forms *nanpal* and *namanam from that, therefore* are by far the most frequent in text materials. *ka'páa1* is best translated *therefore* and occurs often in Non-future Result Sentences. The conjunction 'a occurs in a very small number of examples and carries the meaning of *so* in this environment. The 'broad spectrum' conjunction *puh* also occurs in Result Base, where it usually co-occurs with another marker, and is best translated as *so, therefore*. In those constructions in which the conjunctions which occur have a wide range of meaning, the deep structures which are encoded in the sentence bases help in separating the construction types.

The tense combination most frequently found is past-past. Past-

subjunctive occurs in two examples, while customary tense occurs in conjunction with a non-verbal clause. Future tense does not occur. Bases may have same or different subject. The following combinations occur: positive-positive, negative-negative and (positive)-positive-negative.

The Non-future Result Sentence embeds in Quotation Sentence, Coordinate Sentence and Alternative Sentence in our present data.

The bases, Text and Result, are linked by either subtype of sequence intonation. The Non-future Result Marker <ka'páal> *therefore* (see array for full set) occurs preceding the Result Base, but as part of the same Phonological Clause where it takes pre nuclear low pitch and fast intonation. This marker may occur either preceding or following the free subject pronoun of the clause or sentence which expounds the base. Clause stress occurs pre-verb in both bases, and any other intonational features are those of the clause or sentence expounding the base.

Examples:

1. Text: ngakam péey-pēey Result: puth koyam an erkam
water-from cried-he-pt so back part quickly
 ka'páal kalang nunang.
therefore carried-I-pt him
...he was crying for water so therefore I quickly carried him back.

In Quotation S: MG 094

2. Text: Pula puth ke' wampul Result: ka'páal
they-two but didn't come-they-two therefore
 ngamp ke' iiyamp.
we-all didn't go-we-all
They didn't come so we didn't go.

Conversation

3. Text: Barbara puth keenk iiy naakanakan Result:
but first went-she to-that-mid-place
 imanam ngay may ke'mungkanam wantang nungant iiyang.
therefore I food uneaten left-I-pt her-to went-I-pt
Barbara went first to the cubicle (that place) therefore I went to her without eating my food (breakfast).

Conversation

4. (ngay puth thawang) Text: "ee'a wik ngamparam puth inaniy
 I but said-I yes words ours but this
 Result: namanam ngeeyanniy."
therefore listen-you-all

So I said, "This is our language therefore you listen."

In Quotation S: Pt 055

5. Text: pulana mee'ngathapula piip ngamparamant
they-two eyes-shut-they-two father ours(pl)-to
 Result: a' ngangkana min wunpul ngangkam
therefore heart good were-they-two heart-from
 thayanpul.
strong-they-two
...they prayed to our Father therefore they felt good and their hearts were strengthened.
- In Non-future Result S: WMV 179-80
6. Text: pula puh kan ngaatamngeeypul Godan pulantang
they-two but punct believed-they-two God-that with-them-two
 wonka' Result: a' iiypul pam wanch ilantan.
side-cj so (and then) went-they-two people these-to
...they believed that God was by their side so they went to these people.
- In Coordinate S: WMV 104-106
7. Text: Inan pul wanch kuchamweya Result: ngay puh ke'
these they-two women two-part I so won't
 mulathing pulang,
kill-I-sj them-two
These two are women so I wouldn't kill them,...
- In Alternative S: OPV 139
8. Text: Barbara'ang nyiingka wayathanya Result: inpalana
-ts recently unsettled-she-me so-from-this
 ngay ke' yipak workak iiyang.
I neg still purp go-I-pt
Barbara recently unsettled me, that is why I haven't gone to work yet.
- Conversation
9. Text: Ngan Winnieang kaangk Anne'ak iiyanan
we -cj like -purp go-we-pt
 Result: anpal ngan tha'ang kan iiyan aakanakan.
from-that we foot-on punct went-we place-that-to
Winnie and I wanted to go to see Anne, from that reason we went there on foot.
- Conversation

7.4 REASON SENTENCE

This sentence type, in distinction from the preceding, encodes Efficient Cause in its second base.

The Reason Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text	+ (<u>+</u> Reason Marker	+ Reason) ⁿ⁼²
Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl Stative Cl Generic-Specific S Sequence S Negated Antonym S	puth <i>because</i> optionally occurs here or within exponent of Reason Base	Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl Stative Cl Equative Cl Quotation S 'Like' Merged S Purpose S Amplification S Explanation S Reason S
Usually correspondence of tense, but not necessarily of aspect Same or different subject All positive-negative combinations Bases linked by sequence intonation. The optional Reason Marker <i>puh because</i> in whatever position forms part of the Phonological Clause expounding Reason and is fast and low pitch		

The Reason Sentence is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes; Text and Reason. The conjunction *puh because* optionally occurs as Reason Marker tagmeme, either between the two base tagmemes or within the Reason tagmeme. When there is no marker the implicational relationship shows Reason in contrast to Result. i.e. in Reason the implication is that the second item leads back to the first (i.e. $P \leftarrow Q$) while in the Result the first item leads on to, or results in, the second (i.e. $P \rightarrow Q$).

Both Text and Reason Bases may be expounded by Transitive, Intransitive and Stative Clauses. In addition, Text may be expounded by Generic-Specific (Paraphrase) Sentence, Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence, and Sequence Sentence. Reason Base may also be expounded by Equative Clause, Quotation Sentence, 'Like' Merged Sentence, Purposive (Future Result) Sentence, Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence, and Explanation Sentence.

The tenses of the two bases may be any tense but future. The tenseless forms of the verb also occur, i.e. subjunctive and perfect. Continuous aspect often occurs, both customary and past. Where two verbal exponents occur, normally the tenses of the bases are the same, (mostly past-past or customary-customary). Aspect does not necessarily

correspond, however, in that past and past continuous sometimes occur together. Other possible combinations are customary-subjunctive, perfect-past, and past-customary. The bases may have same or different subject. The following combinations occur: positive-positive-(positive); negative-positive-(positive) and (positive)-positive-negative.

The Reason Base may optionally repeat once. In both the examples where Reason Base is repeated (Examples 1 and 13) *puth because* occurs within the exponent of the repeated Reason Base. (Cf. the distribution of *yipmam therefore* in Future Result Sentences).

The Reason Sentence embeds only in Sequence Sentence and Direct Quote Sentence (Example 9) in our present data.

Reason Sentence may be separated from Future Result Sentence on the grounds of different markers and different tense combinations. The Reason Marker *puth because* contrasts with the Result Marker *yipmam so that* in Future Result Sentences. The one example of *puth* in a Future Result Base (Example 9) is in conjunction with future tense of the verb. Future tense does not occur in Reason Sentence.

The Reason Sentence has only one exponent of Reason Marker viz. *puth because*. The Non-future Result Sentence has a number of exponents of the Non-future Result Marker, viz. <ka'páa|> *therefore* which can not be substituted for *puth* in Reason Sentence.

The two bases, Text and Reason are linked by either sequence intonation with mid step down. The two bases are linked in this manner with the intonation pattern of each base being that of the clause or sentence expounding the base. When the optional Reason Marker *puth because* occurs (either between the two base tagmemes, or within the Reason tagmeme), it occurs within the Phonological Clause expounding Reason. If the Reason tagmeme is repeated it also occurs within Reason² tagmeme. *puth because* is always fast and low pitch regardless of its position within the grammatical clause or sentence expounding the base.

Examples:

1. (yaa) Text: *anpalan putha' tha'pá| umppul*
yes therefore so foot-here cut-they-two-pt (never went
again) never then bathed-they-two-pt creek-in there-in
 Reason: *aak puth thangkanani Reason: pula winyang*
place because deep-that-sp they-two frightened
mo'pul pikuwantam puth.
ran-they-two-pt crocodile-from because
 ...yes, so therefore they didn't go there ever again, they didn't
 bathe there ever again in the creek because it was deep and they
 were frightened of the crocodile.

2. Text: Ngaya pam pii'an inman Reason: ngay kan
 I man big here-now I punct
 mulathangana pamaniy, chiefaniy, pam pii'anana,
 killed-I-pt man-spec chief-spec man big-that
 I am chief here now because I have killed the big man, the chief...
 WMV 18-19
3. Text: Tarirlan ucha ongk ngoonch mananganiy
 Tariri-emph beads long put-on-he-pt neck-on-sp
 Reason: puth nilan pam wanch yot mulath,
 because he-emph people lots killed-he-pt
 Tariri put a long necklace around his neck because he had killed
 lots of people...
 OPV 69-70
4. Text: nil minam ep thee' wanchínth alangan
 she well fact threw-she-pt old-woman that-tr
 Reason: ngay puth kan ma'aath-aathangan má'-yotam.
 I because punct helped-I-pt-cont-her hand-lots (of times)
 ...the old lady threw it well because I had helped her lots of
 times.
 VR 19-20
5. Text: ina puth nilnfl Reason: Smithan puth
 this but different -that because
 mée'mTiy pama nil yumpanam keenkanama.
 knowing man he made-perfect a long time ago
 ...but this is different because Smith knows how to make them
 because he has made them from a long time ago.
 MF 63-65
6. Text: nil thanang kaangka' Reason: than puth
 he them likes-cj they because
 erkam mamin yumpanaka yimananganiy.
 quickly learned-they making-for in-this-manner-sp
 ...he likes them because they have learned to make fences like this.
 FL
7. (Ngan kaa'áthama' oyngk chintanan puuya' yaa'ka'a chintin
 we first-cj bait spear-we crab maybe spear-we-sj
 pii'anan Text: anaman thee'in Reason: thaa'óyngk min
 big-emph then throw-we-sj bait good
puth puuyaniy
 because crab-that-sp
 First we spear bait, maybe it's a big crab, only then would we
 throw the line because crabs are good bait...
 WH 2.4-7

8. Text: manchathanan thayanangana' piikanana' angan thee'anan
 flatten-we-ct axe-with-cj hit-we-ct-cj there throw-we-ct
 kunchanang angan Reason: karp pul puth anganiy
 pandanus-on there together they-two because there
 penchanpul.
 cook-they-two-ct
 ...we flatten it with an axe, we hit it and then we throw it there
 on the pandanus because those two cook together.
9. Text: "Yaa ina ngay inngulan kuuy thee'thee'angan Reason: ngayang
 no this I just-now line threw-cont-I-pt me
puth ke'am ma'aathin ngayang kuuy thee'anakaniy,"
 because never taught-they-pt me line throwing-for-sp
 "No, I just now threw a line for the first time because they never
 taught me how to throw a line before"...
- In Direct Quote Sentence: VR 63-64
10. Text: ngay wey puth minh ke' wichanam Reason: work ngath
 I but fish didn't catch(perfect) mine
 anman thanang ma'-wak-wakanakan thananganman ma'-wak-wakang.
 only-that them help-cont-purp them only helped-cont-I-pt
 ...I didn't catch any fish, my work was to help them and I only
 helped them.
- VR 101-2
11. Text: woyan thon wakangan Reason: ngay puth
 road another followed-I-pt I because
 kon-thaa'-wáy yipak, komanh.
 ear-mouth-bad (ignorant) still young-girl
 ...I took the wrong road because I was still an ignorant young
 girl.
- AP 060
12. Text: puk manyan peeyinara Reason: puth kuchara.
 child small cried-they-for-me-pt because cold
 ...the children cried for me because it was cold.
- MG
13. Text: ngan ngul we'an Reason: puth aak ngampara
 we then dug-we-pt because place(custom) ours
 Reason: ngamp ko'anch puth ke' pii'anampa thanang, wathiy,
 we blind because neg keep-we-ct them yams
 nhamiya.
 yams
 ...we dug the yams then because it is our custom and because it is
 our custom not to keep these two kinds of yams from the blind.
- GM 171

14. Text: ngamp wey ingam wunamp ngul puth ke'
 we-pl-incl emo *stayed stayed-we-pt then but neg*
 iiy-iiyamp Reason: puk manya yot ke' kalimp
 go-cont-pt-we *child small lots neg carry-we-sj*
 thanang ngampan thawamp.
 them we-pl-incl *said-we-pt*
 ...we stayed then, we didn't go because we wouldn't take all those
 children; we said.

AP

15. Text: nil Mrs. Smithana' angman than-than
 she -*emph-cj there-that-place stood-cont-she-pt*
 Reason: कांग्क pent-pent tháth-thāthān,
 like *coming-out-she-cont-pt see-cont-ft*
 Mrs. Smith stood there because she liked coming out to see...

FL 32-34

8. SENTENCES WITH ka' *similar, about to*

These sentences have in common the formal feature that the particle ka' *similar, about to* occurs in either their second or their first base. Diagram Vll presents points of likeness and dissimilarity between the three sentence types of this section.

DIAGRAM V11

SENTENCES WITH *ka'* like, about to

	SIMILE SENTENCE	MISTAKEN THOUGHT SENTENCE	FRUSTRATED SEQUENCE SENTENCE
Tagmemes	2 Obligatory and 1 Optional.	1 Obligatory and 2 Optional.	2 Obligatory.
Markers	+ <i>ka'</i> similarity marker in second Base. + <i>yimanang like this (appearance/manner)</i> in Simile and Manner Base, and + <i>anman like that</i> in Simile Base. Second Base may be negated by <i>ya'a no</i> , but then means <i>not like this</i> .	+ <i>ka'</i> appearance marker in first Base. + <i>puh but</i> , <i>a' but</i> between bases. <i>ya'a no</i> occasionally occurs as reality along with explicit reality.	+ <i>ka' about to</i> within first Base. <i>ya'a no</i> frequently occurs and makes explicit the negation of first Base.
Tense	Proposition Base agrees with Manner Base. pt-pt, fut-fut, fut-cust-fut, fut-pt-fut, cust-cust, fut-cust-fut-cust-fut, cust-pt.	pt-pt (embedded clauses may be future).	subj-cust, subj-fut, fut-cust, subj-pt.
Subject	Same/Diff, but Diff more frequent.	Same/Diff (but restricted).	Same/Diff.
Pos/Neg	Proposition and Simile Base Pos-Pos (but may be expounded by Neg-Ant Sentence). Manner Base Pos or Neg.	All bases are Positive except Reality Base which may be Negative. A succession of two Reality Bases is Neg-Pos.	First and second bases may be Positive with intervening Negative tagmeme. Otherwise: Second Base is negative or contains an antonymous predicate.
Intonation	Markers are in P. Clause of Base within which they occur. P. Clause with <i>ka'</i> is high pitch and narrow range. <i>ka'</i> is low and fast.	<i>ka'</i> is lowest pitch in P. Clause in which it occurs. The word, phrase, or clause following <i>ka'</i> is all higher than that which precedes it. <i>puh but</i> occurs with low pitch between two bases. <i>ngul and then</i> in transition base is low and fast.	Modification of Basic Intonation in first Base - step down to <i>ka'</i> rather than step up. Sharp rise following <i>ka'</i> to verb, rather than step down. <i>ya' no</i> occurs as separate P. Clause and has high pitch. Second Base lower pitch throughout.

8.1 THE SIMILE SENTENCE

The Simile Sentence expresses a comparison between two activities or things one of which is given in the Proposition and the other in the Simile Base with intervening Simile Marker *ka' similar, like*. The comparison is usually reinforced by a Similarity Marker and Manner Base such as *so X will go/do*. The minimal reading of this sentence type may encode Exemplification rather than Comparison (Example 4). A subminimal reading (Example 7) evidently encodes a comparison from which the *ka'* and Simile Base are deleted.

The Simile Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Proposition	$\left[\begin{array}{cc} + \text{ Simile} & + \text{ Simile} \\ \text{ Marker} & \text{ Base} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{cc} \underline{+} \text{ Similarity} & \underline{+} \text{ Manner} \\ \text{ Marker} & \text{ Base} \end{array} \right]^{n=2}$			
Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Negated Antonym S Sequence S	ka'/ke' (dialect variants)	Noun phr Intran Cl Trans Cl Compliment Cl Negated Antonym S Generic- Specific S	yimanang/yimanam <i>like this/that</i> Occurs here or in Simile Base	Intran Cl Future Result S
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> When + Simile Marker + Simile Base is repeated, <i>ka'</i> may be deleted in the repeat.				
Tense of Prop Base agrees with tense of Manner Base Same subject in Prop Base and Manner Base Same/Different subject in Simile Base (latter is more frequent) Prop Base and Simile Base are positive; but either may be expounded by Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) S (with values: positive-negative, or negative-positive); Manner Base may be positive (expressing a positive comparison: <i>like this</i>) or negative (expressing a negative comparison: <i>not like this</i>) Intonation: <i>ka'</i> forms with Simile Base a phonological clause and is low and fast. Phonological Clause which contains Simile Base has high pitch and narrow range. <i>yimanang</i> when occurring in previous base forms part of previous phonological clause; otherwise it forms a phonological clause with the Manner Base. Phonological clause which contains Manner Base has basic intonation.				

A Simile Sentence is composed of an obligatory Proposition Base; an obligatory Simile Marker with an obligatory Simile Base; and a further optional pair of tagmemes of which the first may occur without the second but not vice versa: Similarity Marker and Manner Base. The whole string of tagmemes from Simile Marker on may be repeated twice in various readings according to the indicated obligatory/optional possibilities. It is significant that various clause and sentence types (see the array) can expound the Proposition Base, that among other exponents a noun phrase may expound Simile Base, and that Intransitive Clause (or Result Sentence with Intransitive Clause in its second base) expounds Manner Base. The occurrence of the single noun phrase as exponent of Simile Base (Example 6) correlates with the fact that indication of the object of the comparison can be relatively minimal. The requirement of an Intransitive Clause in the exponent of Manner correlates with the fact that a limited number of such verbs (*thus it goes/does*) are used to reinforce comparisons. The Simile Marker, expounded by *ka'/'ke' like*, is essential to the expression of the comparison which can be further reinforced by *anman like that* in the Simile Base, and - more regularly - by the Similarity Marker expounded by *yimanam like this, in this manner*.

Possible tense combinations of the bases are: past-past, customary-past, future-future, customary-customary, future-customary-future, and future-past-future. The tense of the Manner Base agrees with the tense of the Proposition Base. Most examples have bases with different subjects, but a few examples (Example 7, 8) have same subject. While the first two bases are positive (counting embedded Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) as positive), the third base may be positive or negative.

The Similarity Marker *ka'* normally occurs preceding the Simile Base, but may occur after the first word of the Simile Base. The Manner Marker *yimanang like this* may occur preceding Manner Base but it may permute and occur within the Simile Base, or preceding the Simile Base. *anman* occurs within the Simile Base. The linear ordering of base tagmemes is not fixed and in Example 8 Simile Base occurs before Proposition.

Example 4 is of peculiar interest in that it encodes Exemplification rather than Comparison. The reading here is minimal in that it consists only of Proposition Base, Simile Marker and Simile Base. Example 8 - in spite of length - is similarly minimal but encodes Comparison. Example 7 is subminimal; the comparison is never expressed: '*we were really thrown around; like*'.

The Simile Sentence occurs embedded in Contrast Sentences, and Reason Sentence.

The intonation pattern for the Simile Sentence is as follows. The intonation and clause stress of the Proposition Base are those of the sentence type or clause type which expounds the tagmeme. Here, as elsewhere, when there is a negative clause stress falls on the negative. Aside from this, whatever word precedes *yimanang* or *anman* in the same phonological clause receives the clause stress. Otherwise *yimanang* itself receives clause stress. The remainder of the sentence has the same intonation as the Frustrated Sequence Sentence, i.e. the Similarity Marker *ka'a like* is low, and when a pronoun precedes it, it drops to below the pitch of that pronoun. There is the same high rise of pitch following *ka'a* up to the following Simile Base. The Simile Base itself has modified basic intonation, i.e. fairly high pitch with narrow range.

Examples:

- Prop: Driver thon alanganiya' ngak way mungk, Simile
driver one that-one-tr water bad drank-he

Base: ana ka' nil ko'anch yimanang nyiin-nyiin,
dem like he blind like sat-he-ct

One driver had drunk beer and it was like as if he was blind...

In Contrast Sentence: WT 20
- Prop: Kaa'átham ngeeyāna, kootrang pii'āna ngangkang
first hear-we-ft head-in mind-we-ft heart-in

ngoonchow, ngantaniy Simile Base: ka' kaanch minana keekan
enter-ft-it ours-that like seed good-that falls-it

pal-púuyana, ngaanh minangan, ngaanh kuntowang angan keekan
here-there sand good-in-that sand stone-in there falls-it

yimanang ya'a, Manner Base: ke' pii'an ngangk, - erkaman wayamān.
like no neg mind-we heart quickly bad-vb-we

First we will hear (then) we will keep them in our heads and it will go into our hearts, like good seed that falls here and there in the good ground, not like those that fall into the stony ground - we won't keep our hearts (like this) and become bad quickly.

Future Result S: GP 1
- (Thathān nganang, iyanan nathan, inan kinchang inana)
see-ft-you us go-we-ct far this day-in this

Prop: nungkaram wik puth ke' wantāna, pii'ān anman
yours words so neg leave-we-ft mind-we-ft only

ngangkang Simile Base: ka' kaanch min anman kuntowang keekana,
heart-in like seeds good only stone-in falls-it

kaancha, Manner Base: yimanang ke' iiyān, Simile Base:
seeds like-this neg go-we-ft

akaramin iyan kinchangan Manner Base: yimanang ngan ke' iiyān.
withered goes-it sun-in like-this we neg go-we

See us, (as) we go a long way this day, your words we won't leave, we will only keep them in our hearts, like those good seeds that fall in stony ground, like that we won't go, like withered in the sun we won't go.

GP 2.38-46

4. Prop: Puk manyiy than yukang thakan matantana' Simile
child small they tree-on also climb-they-cj
 Base: ka' nyiing inan Treveoran ma'-matan aawuch kenyangk,
like recently here -that climbed-he house high-on
The children climb up in trees, etc., like recently here Trevor
climbed up on top of a house,...

In Reason S: CT 2,3

5. Prop: liyan aawuch ngantamak kana, nathan iiyāna, pii'āna
go-we house ours-to punct far go-we-ft mind-we-ft
 Simile Base: ka' kaanch minan keeka, aak ngaanh
like seeds good-that fell place sand
 minangana, Manner Base: yimanangan iiyāna.
good-in like-this we-go-ft
(When) we have gone to our houses, and have gone a long way away,
we will keep them (words) like the good seeds feel on the good
ground, we will go in that manner.

GP 2.6-10

6. Prop: Ke' piikanamaniya, thaa'théekana thaa'aman, wunpiyang
neg hit-perfect-sp mouth-spit mouth-from put-they-them-to
 ma'ang, mee' namp-nampuwin Simile Base: ka' mee'
hand-with eyes rubbed-ct-recip-they like eye
 kam yimanam...
juice like
(The children who) had not been hit put saliva from the mouth on
their fingers, and rubbed their eyes with their hands, it was like
tears...

In Contrast S: TG 130

7. (Ana winyangim peeyana) Prop: an thee'an nganang
dem frightened cried-we dem threw-it us
 Manner Base: yimananga, ya'im wunyathan nganang.
like-this intens shook-it us
We were frightened - for we were thrown around - it was like this,
it really shook us.

In Reason S: DM

8. Simile Base: Anan ka' maany thathantana, oonya pathaman
 dem *like* ghost see-they ghost really
 yamang, wampan, Prop: thanan kee'antan, pam wanch
 somewhere-close comes-it they dance-they men women
 mányāthamana' nilana' oonyana' anman mookaman, pam
 alive-ones-cj he-cj ghost-cj that-one imitates man
 mulananiy kee'an yamang.
 dead-that-sp dances-he somewhere-close
*It's as though they see a ghost, coming somewhere close as they,
 the ones who are alive, dance, and the ghost dances somewhere
 close, imitating the dead man.*

OR 84-88

8.2 MISTAKEN THOUGHT SENTENCE

As indicated in its name this sentence type records a mistaken impression in its first base. It, however, with great frequency also encodes in its third base the reality which was falsely taken to be something else, and - with less frequency - may record in the second base the event or circumstances which led to the discovery that the impression was false. Here ka' in the first base indicates something mistaken for another instead of a comparison.

The Mistaken Thought Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Appearance Base	+ Transition Base	+ Adversative	+ Reality Base ⁿ⁼²
Equative Cl Transitive Cl where verb is ngáantamangēey <i>think</i> (frequently deleted) plus object expounded by phrase or clause <hr/> ka' <i>like</i> obligatorily occurs -ant 3rd sing referent bound pronoun option- ally occurs finally in clause	Transitive Cl preceded by ngul <i>then</i>	puth <i>but</i> occurs here or in Reality Base	noun phrase ya'a no/ Equative Cl whose predicate is expounded by ya'a no Transitive Cl Intrans Cl Antithetical S

Verbs of bases are past tense; verb of clause embedded in
 Appearance Base may be past or future
 Same or different subject
 Appearance Base and Reality Base contain a pair of antonyms,
 situational opposites, or contrasted participants
 First and second bases are positive; the third (Reality) is
 positive or negative; a sequence of two Reality Bases is
 negative-positive
 Clause stress of Appearance Base on final word of phonological
 clause; all that precedes it is low and fast; ka' has lowest
 pitch in phonological clause
 puth Adversative has low pitch
 Reality Base has basic intonation

The Mistaken Thought Sentence is composed of three base tagmemes, (obligatory) Appearance, (optional) Transition and (obligatory) Reality. The optional Adversative Marker tagmeme puth *but* occurs either before the Reality Base or within it. The Appearance Base is expounded by either an Equative Clause or by a Transitive Clause which has the verb ngáantamngēey *think*.

If the exponent of the Appearance Base is an Equative Clause, ka' occurs in the Predicate of the Equative Clause, and it is sometimes reinforced with yimanang *like this* as in Example 1 (cf. Simile Sentence). Within the Equative Clause the actual mistaken thought or idea may encode as a noun phrase which optionally is marked with -ant 'third person singular referent' and which is final in its clause. When the exponent of Appearance Base is a Transitive Clause with the verb *think* the actual mistaken thought or idea is encoded as the object of this verb, whether as noun phrase or as an embedded Transitive or Intransitive Clause. Within the embedding Transitive Clause itself, the subject may take the -ant suffix. Not infrequently, however, the verb *think* is deleted and even the accompanying subject (see Examples in 11.3). The marker ka' normally occurs after the verb *think* when the latter is present.

The Transition Base, which is optional, is expounded by an Intransitive Clause preceded by ngul *then*. Here some action or event causes the speaker to realize he is wrong, and the Reality Base follows. This may be expounded by noun phrases (both modified noun phrases and coordinate noun phrases), by ya'a *no*, by an Equative Clause where ya'a *no* expounds the Predicate, Transitive, and Intransitive Clauses and by Antithetical Sentence. patham *really* sometimes occurs in the noun

phrase expounding a Reality Base. In the one example with no Reality Base (Example 5) the reality is implied by what follows, which is a result of the Mistaken Thought. Two Equative Clauses with *ya'a* filling Predicate do not occur together expounding repeated Reality tagmemes. Under these circumstances, the first Reality Base will be expounded by *ya'a* or by an Equative Clause whose Predicate is expounded by *ya'a no* and the second Reality Base will be expounded by a phrase or clause which gives positive identification to the reality.

The verbs of the Appearance, Reality and Transition Bases are all in the past tense, but the verb of the embedded Transitive or Intransitive Clause occurring in Appearance Base may be either past or future. The Appearance and Reality Bases sometimes have the same subject when Appearance Base is expounded by a Stative Clause, as in Example 1, otherwise the bases have different subjects.

The only base which may be negative is the Reality Base. A negative or an antonym (or situational opposite or contrasting participant) is required here. As explained above it is not infrequent to have a negative-positive sequence in a pair of Reality Bases (cf. Negated Antonym (Paraphrase)).

While the Reality Base has been included as an obligatory tagmeme for this sentence type, there is an occasional occurrence (one example only here) embedded in another sentence type where the negative reality is not overtly stated but is implied by the following result (Example 5).

This sentence type occurs embedded in Quotation Sentence, Sequence Sentence, and Result Sentence.

Examples:

1. Nilan thaw - Appearance: a' inan minh ka' erp yimananga'
she said cj this fish like raw like-cj

Adversative: puh Reality Base: nila kanam pencha.
but it punct cooked

She said, "This fish looks like it's raw, but it's cooked."

In Quotation S: FL 88-89

2. Appearance: ngul ngampan ngáantamngēeyampa, ka' white
and we-emph thought-we like

teacheran wampowa, Transition: ngul thathampan thinthan,
-that come-she-ft then saw-we-her close

Reality: ina half-caste ey? puh nilan kuchék min.
this ques but she head good

...and we thought that a white teacher was coming, but when we saw her close, she was a half-caste, wasn't she, but she had good brains.

In Sequence S: TG 018

3. (Yaa), Appearance: ngay ka' wunyangant chint minhaniy
 yes I like o.bro.-tr-ref speared-he fish-that-sp

Angusanganta Reality: nila pam thum nungkaramang chint,
 -tr-ref he man fire yours-ts speared-he

Mittaboyang ey?
 -tr ques

*Yes, I thought it was older brother, Angus, who speared the fish,
 but it was your husband, Mittaboy, who speared it, wasn't it?*

GM 015-6

4. (Aaya, ngayan thawangana, "wee' pechana?" Appearance: pam
 excl I-emph said-I-emph who shouts-he man
ka' thonant, Reality: nil ya' Reality: Rexang pulaa, Angusang.
like one-ref he no -cj they-dl-cj -cj
 I said, "Who is shouting out?" I thought it was one man, but it was
 two, Rex and Angus.

GM 176

5. Appearance: Thuukaniy, thuuk manchaniy, ka'
 snake-that-sp snake death adder-that-sp like

kochanta, Transition: ngul ka' putham ma' ongkaratha,
 lizard-ref then just-as again hand stretched-she

ma'anan pathan.
 hand-that bit-it-her

*(She) thought that snake, the death adder was a lizard, then just
 as she stretched out her hand again it bit her hand.*

In Result S TG 060

6. Appearance: Ngay ka' thuukanta, Adversative: puth Reality: ya'a.
 I like snake-ref but no

I thought it was a snake, but it wasn't.

Conversation

8.3 FRUSTRATED SEQUENCE SENTENCE

This sentence type encodes in its first base a frustrated intention. Its second base typically encodes the blocking circumstance that resulted in the frustration (although Example 2 apparently encodes the unexpected outcome itself in Base 2). Here ka' in the first base expresses neither comparison nor one thing mistaken for another but expresses the 'as-if-ness' of something intended but never carried out.

The Frustrated Sequence Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Frustrated Action Base	+ Negative	+ Frustrating Action Base
Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Paraphrase S Future Result S	ya'a no nila ya'a <i>it doesn't</i>	Intransitive Cl Quotative S Non-future Result S

intention marker ka'		
<p>Tense of first base is subjunctive or future; tense of second base is past or customary Same or different subject Chronologically second base occurs first and blocks the action of first base ka' lower pitch than preceding pronoun. Sharp rise from ka' to verb ya'a when it occurs is separate P Clause Frustrating Action Base has lower overall pitch</p>		

A Frustrated Sequence Sentence is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes, Frustrated Action and Frustrating Action. The linear ordering of these tagmemes is fixed and is opposite to the chronological order in that the action which is projected but frustrated is mentioned before the action which frustrates it. The Intention Marker ka' best translated as *just as, right at that time, intended* obligatorily occurs following the sentence initial free form pronoun of the Frustrated Action Base (as does the Appearance Marker in the Appearance Base of a Mistaken Thought Sentence when the verb is deleted).

The negative ya'a or nila ya'a *it doesn't* optionally occurs, but when it is absent, the Frustrating Action Base must contain either the negative ke' (which precedes verbs), or a verbal antonym of the verb which occurs in the Frustrated Action Base. Ya'a and ke' may co-occur, but in this situation ya' is a negative intensifier, and occurs in a separate preceding phonological clause.

The tense of the Frustrated Action tagmeme is subjunctive or future, while the tense of the Frustrating Action Base is past or customary. The subjects in the two bases may be either the same or different. The relationship of positive-negative is as follows: the first base (Frustrated Action) is a positive intention which is frustrated (thus negated) by the second base (Frustrating Action) which prevents the action of the first base from taking place. The (deep structure) negation may take the surface form of a negated verb or a verbal antonym. The negative or antonym may be in the sentence which expounds

Quote of a Direct Quote Sentence when this syntagmeme expounds Frustrating Action Base.

Both the Frustrated Action tagmeme and the Frustrating Action tagmeme are obligatory, while the negative *ya'a no* or *nila ya'a it doesn't* optionally occurs between the two bases. This negative when present acts as a pivot negating the preceding base and intensifying the following base.

This sentence type does not embed in other sentence types. It occurs as an EXCHANGE in DRAMATIC DISCOURSE.

Examples:

1. Frd Act Base: Nil ka' paathiya', Neg: ya'
she just-as try-sj-she no
 Fing Act: lopam thuuchantam.
right-off fell-off-from-her
Just as she tried it, no, it fell off from her.
 FL 138-9
2. Frd Act: Nil puth ka' wewman pentowa, Neg: nila ya'a,
it but just-as red-that come-out-ft it no
 Fing Act: ngotan wiy inangan yimanang pentan, kanan
black some these like-this comes-out punct
kiingkanananiy, puth mina.
cooked-that-sp but good
Just as the red is going to come out, it doesn't, it comes out
black like these when it is cooked, but it's good.
 FL 224-8
3. Frd Act: Ngaa'-thón ngulana' ka' muunchiypul, ukiypul
day-another then-cj just-as bathe-they-two-sj go-down
 punth um aakanaka, Fing Act: ngan Bennyang thawān nungant,
river straight there-to we -cj said-we him-to
 "Nipa ke' muunchowa, pikuwa nang wo'woyana', peeya."
you-two neg bathe-you-dl crocodile there other-side-cj goes-he
Another day they were about to bathe, to go straight down to the
river, (when) Benny and I said to him, "Don't bathe. A crocodile
is there on the other side."
 FL 175-9
4. Frd Act: Ngan ka' ekānaniy ngakaka thakanim iiyāna
we just-as get-up-ft water-for etc get-we-ft
 Fing Act: ana pal yuupima, ke-kéekan, nilara.
dem here moving-emph-it fell-cont-she she-mine
We tried to get up to get water, etc., but (the train) was moving
about, and she, my friend, fell down.
 MB 6

5. Frd Act: Ngay ka' mulathing pulang, wanch komanh
 I *just-as* kill-I-sbj them-two women young
 kucham inangana, Fing Act: ngul ngayan thawang, "wantān
 two these then I-emph said-I leave-ft
 pulang, wanch komanh kucham ananganiya, pul puth
 them-dl women young two those-sp they-dl but
 wantak wey keka thula maayiypul, mulathiypul
 how emo spear woomera pick-up-sbj kill-sbj-they-two
 ngampanga - wantāmp pulang!"
 us leave-we-ft them-dl
*I was about to kill these two young women, but then I said, "Leave
 the two young women alone, for are they likely to pick up spears
 and spear throwers and kill us? Let us leave them along."*

OPV 283

9. THE QUOTATION SENTENCES

Besides Direct and Indirect Quote Sentence types Wik-Muncan has an Indirect Quote structure that is a merged sentence, and has a further similar merged sentence that expresses liking something or being pleased with it. Here, as in many languages formal structures similar to quotation are put to non-speech uses. Most of these sentence types have one or more subtypes. These various types and subtypes are compared on the accompanying charts.

DIAGRAM V111 (a)
QUOTATION SENTENCES

	DIRECT QUOTE S	INDIRECT QUOTE S	INDIRECT YES/NO QUESTION (SUBTYPE)	INDIRECT QUOTE MS	INDIRECT CONTENT QUESTION (SUBTYPE)	INDIRECT POLITE REQUEST (SUBTYPE)
Verb of QF	thaw <i>speak</i> . waa' <i>tell about</i> . engk' <i>ask</i> (expected that ngaantam-ngeey <i>to think</i> pech <i>to shout</i> also occur).	waa' <i>tell about</i> .	engk' <i>ask</i> .	thaw <i>speak</i> . waa' <i>tell about</i> . pech <i>shout</i> .	engk' <i>ask</i> .	engk' <i>ask</i> (negated).
Person and Tense of verb of QF	past. 1st, 3rd person.	past. 3rd person.	imper/past. 2nd person.	future, customary or past. 1st, 2nd, 3rd person.	imper. 2nd person.	imper/sj. 2nd person.
Occurrence of free subject in Quote Base	+	+	+	-	-	-
Person and Tense of verb (s) of Quote	any tense. any person. S/S or D/S as QF.	past. 3rd person. S/S as QF.	ft/sj/pt. 3rd person. D/S to QF.	ft/sj. 3rd person. D/S from QF.	ft/sj. 3rd person. D/S from QF.	ft/sj. 3rd person. D/S from QF.
Other	Wide range of exponents of Quote . QF may permute to within Quote . Two P. Clauses.	Narrow range of exponents of Indirect Quote . 1QF, and Indirect Quote only one P. Clause.	Optional final ey question marker. Only one P. Clause.	Narrow range of exponents of Indirect Quote . Only one P. Clause.	Content interrogative word in Indirect Question . Only one P. Clause.	Final ey question marker. Absence of pause between two P. Clauses.

DIAGRAM VIII (b)

'LIKE' SENTENCES

	'LIKE' MERGED S	'LIKE' CONDITIONAL ANSWER (SUB-TYPE)
Verb of 'Like' Base	kaangk <i>like</i> non-conjugating verb. If conjugates, co-occurs with <i>pent to come out</i> .	kaangk <i>like</i> non-conjugating verb.
Person and Tense of 'Like' Base	1st, 2nd, and 3rd person. If verb of Action Base is <i>pt</i> , <i>pent to come out</i> occurs with kaangk <i>like</i> and is inflected for past.	2nd person.
Occurrence of subject in 'Like' Base	Obligatory occurrence of free subject pronoun.	Obligatory absence of free pronoun.
Person and Tense of Action Base	Future when only kaangk <i>like</i> occurs. If verb is past, kaangk <i>like</i> and <i>pent to come out</i> co-occur (except where <i>pent</i> occurs in literal sense).	Obligatory 2nd person (sg, dl, pl) in Action Base. Future tense of imperative mood (no tense marker).
Other	Limited exponent of 'Like' Base. Wide range exponents of Action Base. Usually only one P. Clause.	Limited exponents of both tagmemes. Only one P. Clause.

It can be seen that the main criteria used for contrast among these surface structures are:

- a) Tense and person of verbs of both Quotation Formula and Quote or Indirect Quote (or Indirect Question).
- b) The obligatory absence versus optional or obligatory occurrence of the free subject in Quote or Indirect Quote Base where this is same or different from subject of Quotation Formula.
- c) The wider range of exponents of Quote in Direct Quote Sentences than in Quote tagmemes in other quotation sentence types.
- d) The number and linear position of Quote Formulas (not represented in chart) is another factor. In Direct Quote Sentence the Quote Formulas (up to two may occur) are optional and one may occur preposed, the other postposed or one or more may permute to within the Quote. The Indirect Quote Merged Sentence and its subtypes on the other hand have one obligatory preposed Quote Formula which does not repeat or permute. The Indirect Quote Sentence (main subtype) has a preposed and a postposed Quote Formula both of which are obligatory and do not permute, while its subtype Yes/No Question (Indirect Quote) has one obligatory preposed Quotation Formula which does not permute.
- e) The contrasting feature of the intonation of Direct Quote Sentence with the Indirect Quote Sentences is that in Direct Quote Sentence the Quotation Formula is fast and low and is a separate phonological clause to the Quote tagmeme; while in the Indirect Quote Sentence the Quote tagmeme is fast and low, but is part of the same phonological clause as the Quote tagmeme with clause stress occurring within the Quote tagmeme.

9.1 DIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE

The Wik-Munkan Direct Quote Sentence, like such sentences in other languages proposes to report the speech of some speaker without adaptation to the viewpoint of the reporter.

The Direct Quote Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Quote Formula ₁	+ Quote	+ Quote Formula ₂
Intransitive Cl where verb is <i>thaw speak</i> or <i>engk ask</i> Transitive Cl where verb is <i>waa' tell about</i> Amplification S with the same verb of speech in both bases	Any Clause Sentence fragment such as Responses Sentence Discourse	Intransitive Cl where verb is <i>thaw speak</i> ----- optional occurrence of <i>yimanang like</i> <i>this</i> preceding clause
Verbs of Quote Formulas are past Quote Formula ₁ may permute to within the Quote Quote Formula intonation is low pitch and fast, Quote is higher pitch than Quote Formula Quote Formula ₁ and Quote are separate phonological clauses		

The Direct Quotation Sentence has only one obligatory tagmeme, the Quote. Both the preposed and postposed Quote Formula tagmemes are optional; both may occur, neither may occur, but one usually occurs. When the Quote is lengthy both usually occur. The Quote Formula₁ may also occur interlarded within the Quote. The verb in the Quote Formula₁ is one of the verbs of speech, the most frequent form being *thaw say*. This verb and *engk ask*, which are intransitive verbs (the free subject (noun) occurring with these verbs is unmarked and therefore the verbs must be intransitive) occur in Intransitive Clauses which expound the preposed Quote Formula₁. A further verb *waa' tell about* is a transitive verb (the free subject (noun) is marked by *-ang*, transitive subject marker) which occurs in Transitive Clauses which also expound Quotation Formula₁. It is expected that other verbs of speech or thought could occur also in Quote Formula₁ such as *pech shout*, *ngaanthamngeey think*. An Amplification Sentence with the same verb of speech in both bases may expound Quote Formula₁ (Example 11).

Potentially Quote tagmeme may be expounded by any clause, sentence fragment such as responses, and vocatives, sentences, and by any discourse.

Quote Formula₂ is expounded only by Intransitive Clauses containing the verb *thaw speak*. In examples with the Quote Formula₂ the free subject does not usually occur. Frequently the clause expounding Quote Formula₂ consists of the verb only (Example 6 and 9). The

formulaic form *nilan thaw he said* has been heard, however, in conversation.

The tense of the verbs of speech in the clauses expounding the Quote Formulas is past in all examples. The tenses of the verb of the exponents of the Quote is unrestricted except for restrictions imposed by the embedded clause, sentence, or discourse. The subjects of the Quote Formula(s) (which of course, have the same subject) and Quote Base are the same or different. All persons, like all tenses may occur in Quote. Where third person subject occurs in Quote Formula(s) and first person subject in Quote the same referent is intended. The Quote Formula is positive in all examples. Again, the Quote is unrestricted as to positive, negative, or any combination of the two values - except as such restrictions are imposed by embedded structures.

The Quotation Sentence may be embedded in Sequence Sentence, Simple Dialogue Sentence, Complex Dialogue Sentence and in Compound Dialogue Sentence.

The pitch of the Quote is higher than that of the Quote Formulas, but has the same relative intonation that we would expect to find in the corresponding unembedded construction. The Quote Formula₁, especially when expounded by a clause, is fast and low (modification of basic intonation). The Quote Formula₁ and the Quote form separate phonological clauses and mid step down sequence intonation occurs between them. The latter is in line with the fact that this sentence type purports to give direct reporting without adaptation of the words reported to the viewpoint of the reporter. The phonological boundary explicitly sets off the reporter from what he is reporting. Postposed Quote Formula₂ is very low and fast and takes final intonation.

Examples:

1. (Yaa, ngay iiyanga') QF₁: *thawangant,* Quote: "pal kan
yes I went-I said-I-to-her here punct
iiyāna' ngan inan kan kathan, minhana."
come-you-imp we here punct tied-we fish-that
Yes, I went and said to her, "You come here (to where) we have
tied up the fish."

In Sequence S: FL 22-25

2. QF₁: Nilan *engk* nganta, Quote: "nip wantak ngul
she-emph asked-she us-to you-dl how then
iniy yumpowa', minha..."
this-sp make-you-ft fish
She asked us, "How will you make (prepare) this fish?..."

In Simple Dialogue S: FL 42-3

3. QF₁: ngay thawanganta, Quote: "nint thathān thonakama."
 I said-I-to-her you watch-you-ft only
 ... I said to her, "You just look."
 In Complex Dialogue S: FL 44-45
4. QF₁: nilan thaw, Quote: "a' inan minh ka' erp yimananga' puth
 she said cj this fish like raw like but
 nila kanam pencha', minh woongkanch in ina inman wun pach
 it punct cooked fish liver this here now lies white
 yipak ey?..."
 yet ques
 ...she said, "This fish looks like it's raw, but it's cooked.
 Does the liver stay white like this?..."
 In Compound Dialogue S: FL 87-90
5. QF₁: ngan thawan nunganta, Quote: "nana minh kanan
 we said-we her-to that fish punct
 pencha', kan paathā."
 cooked now try-imper
 ...we said to her, "That fish is cooked, now try it."
 In Compound Dialogue S: FL 91-93
6. Quote: "ina minh mánpāthana, mina, ina aak min niyantama"
 this fish sweet good this custom goods yours
 QF₂: thaw.
said-she
 ...this fish is sweet, it's good, this custom of yours is good,"
 she said.
 In Compound Dialogue S: FL 95-97
7. Quote: "ee'a," QF₁: nilan thaw, Quote: "ngay puth ya'angama
 yes she said I for to-no-avail
 yuk manya thak, kangk thak ki-kíngkanga nganang
 thing small with bushes too cooked-ct-I us
 me'ang war'am maayana..."
 mosquitoes-tr almost picked-up
 "Yes," she said, "I to no avail burnt bushes and things. The
 mosquitoes almost carried us away..."
 In Compound Dialogue S: FL 109-113
8. QF₁: ngay puth thawanganta', Quote: "kiingkāna' thum
 I so said-I-to-her-cj cook-you-imper fire
 munth pipāna', thok ngul pentowa' me' ké'-ngūl
 coals break-you-imper smoke then come-out-ft mosquitoes neg
 wampiy aniy nungkara."
 will-come-sbj that-sp you-to
 So I said to her, "Burn (it), and break up fire coals, so that the
 smoke will come out and so that the mosquitoes won't come to you."
 In Compound Dialogue Sentence:
 FL 114-8

9. Quote: "ina aak min niyanta', QF₂: thaw.
this custom good yours-cj said-she
 ...*"this is a good custom of yours," she said.*

In Compound Dialogue S: FL 52

10. QF₁: Than puth ka'páal wanchínth anangan thawin, wuut
they so therefore old-woman those said-they old-men
 thakan, Quote: "ina wik min, ngan ínnngūlan ngeeyana,
too-emph this word good we just-now heard-we
 Wik-Mulkanang waa'anniiy ngant, ngan ke' ngeeyan kaa'áthaman
-in tell-you us-to we not heard-we first
 yimanama, Archie'ang ke' waa'an ngant yimanang, nil
like-this -tr neg tells-she us-to like-this she
 kiithangama waa' ngant, ngan puth inan ep, ngan
English-in-emph told-she us-to we but now fact we
 kaangk, kán-ngūl, ngan ngaantamngeeyan pamaniy nunana,
like compl we think-we man-that-sp him
 Jesusana," QF₂: yimanang thawin.
-that like-this said-they

So for that reason those old women and old men said, "These are good words we have just heard in Wik-Mulkan, that you are telling us, we have not heard it like this before, Archie doesn't tell it like this, she told us in English, but now what we have heard (we understand) all right, we like it, and now we believe in that man, Jesus," like this they spoke.

In Sequence S: PT 230

11. Quote: "Minh pulant ina" waa'pul QF₁: waa'
pro their-dl here told-they-two told-he
 ngant Quote: "thee'ān pulant"
us-to give-you-imper those-dl-to
"Their meat is here," those two said, he said to us, "give it to them."

In Sequence S: WM 110

12. Yaa, QF₁: ngay wunpanganta' ngay thawang Quote: "ninta
I put-I-for-her-cj I said-I you
 ngul thee'an ey? kuuyan ey?"
now throw-you-ft ques line-this ques
Yes, I put it on for her and I said, "Will you throw it now, (will you throw) the line?"

In Sequence S in Compound Dialogue
 S: VR 23-25

13. QF₁: ngul minh hookan thaa' anpalan thapathaka' ngathara
then fish -that mouth that-from take-off-purp me-to
thawin Quote: "pal iiyāna, in thapathāna..."
said-they to-here come-you-imp this take-off-you imper
...when they wanted to take the hook from the fish's mouth they said to me, "Come here, take this off."

In Complex Dialogue S: VR

14. Quote: "ina in kenya, pinalang uka, ngakangan
this here high plain-on fell-it water-in
 ke'am uka' ngay in kenya thee'ang, pinalang."
not fell-it-cj I here high threw-I plain-on
"It's here, above, it fell on the plain, it didn't fall in the
water. I threw it up here on the plain."

In Compound Dialogue S: VR 40, 41

9.2 INDIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE (MAIN SUBTYPE)

The Indirect Quote Sentence in Wik-Muncan is not, as in some languages a transformation of any and all Direct Quote Sentences. Rather, the main subtype of Indirect Quote and the subtype described below (as well as the Indirect Quote Merged Sentence and its subtypes) represent a handful of encoding possibilities having to do with specific person sequences and specific situations such as reporting of incidents, of types of questions, and of requests.

The Indirect Quote Sentence (main subtype) is limited to past tense, and same subject in Quotation Formula and Quote. Here the speaker reports a past activity which he himself performed.

The Indirect Quote Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Indirect Quote Formula ₁	+ Indirect Quote	+ Indirect Quote Formula ₂
Transitive Cl where verb is waa' tell	Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Complement Cl Sequence S	Transitive Cl where verb is waa' tell
	free subject obligatorily occurs	optional occurrence of yimanang like this preceding clause
<p>Tense of all verbs is past Quote Formulas and Indirect Quote Base have same subject Positive - Positive - Positive Each tagmeme has clause stress and intonation of clause or sentency type expounding the tagmeme There is obligatory absence of pause between Indirect Quote Formula₁ and Indirect Quote, but normal sequence intonation between Indirect Quote and Indirect Quote Formula₂</p>		

The Indirect Quote Sentence has three obligatory tagmemes, the preposed and postposed Indirect Quote Formulas, and the Indirect Quote. The Indirect Quote Formulas are expounded by Transitive Clauses where the verb is *waa' tell*. The Indirect Quote Formula₂ is frequently preceded by *yimanang like this*. The Indirect Quote may be expounded by Transitive Clause, Complement Clause and Sequence Sentence. It is evident that the variety and range of exponents of Indirect Quote are more restricted than for Direct Quote.

The verbs of both the Indirect Quote Formulas and of the Indirect Quote are in the past tense. The subjects of both Indirect Quote Formulas and the Indirect Quote are the same. The free subject obligatorily occurs in the Indirect Quote. The examples are all positive-positive-positive. The linear ordering is fixed.

The Indirect Quote Sentence occurs embedded in Sequence Sentence.

In the Indirect Quote Sentence, the Indirect Quote Formula₁, the Indirect Quote, and the Indirect Quote Formula₂ each receives clause stress according to the clause or sentence type expounding the tagmeme. However, while each receives clause stress there is obligatory absence of pause between the preposed Indirect Quote Formula₁ and the Indirect Quote. It seems plausible to consider these to be two phonological clauses each with basic intonation but linked by absence of pause between the two bases rather than by one of the sequence intonation subtypes. Either subtype of sequence intonation may occur between the Indirect Quote tagmeme and the postposed Indirect Quote Formula.

Examples:

1. IQF₁: *wik kuyam waa' thant Ind Quote: nilana*
words used-to told-he-about them-to he-emph
- mulatha, bowanga arrowanga mulath thanang, kekangan*
killed-he bow-with arrow-with killed-he them spear-with
- mulath thanang, mananganiiy waanch kuchekana pama wancha*
killed-he them neck-on-sp hung-he heads-that men women
- ananiya', IQF₂: anana waa' nungantakam.*
those-sp that told-about-he himself
- ...he told them about how he had killed with bow and arrow how he*
killed with spears, and that he hung the heads of men and women
around on his neck, thats what he told them about himself.

In Sequence S: WMV 213-8

The following examples were supplied by the informants.

2. IQF₁: *Nil Louisa'ang waa' thant Ind Quote: nil*
she -tr told-about-she-pt them-to she
- keenk may minan kiingk pulant, kaathanta'*
first food good cooked-she-pt those-dl-for mother-for-cj
- piipant IQF₂: yimanang waa' thant.*
father-for like-this told-about-she-pt them-to

The Yes/No Question (Indirect Quote) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Indirect Question Formula	+ Indirect Question
Intransitive Cl where verb is engk ask	Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Condition S
	Free subject obligatorily occurs ey question marker optionally occurs finally
Verb of Indirect Question Formula is imperative, 2nd person or past, 1st person Indirect object of first base has same referent as subject of second base Verb of Indirect Question is future/subjunctive or past, and third person Obligatory absence of pause between the Indirect Question Formula and the Indirect Question	

Yes/No Question (Indirect Quote) Sentence is a subtype of Indirect Quote Sentence. As in the main subtype, the free form of the subject obligatorily occurs in the Indirect Question tagmeme. The verb of the Indirect Question Formula is engk ask and this may be imperative and second person or past and first person. The verb of the Indirect Question must be third person, but can be either future subjunctive or past. The indirect object of the first base has the same referent as the third person subject of the second base. Sentence finally the question marker ey optionally occurs, but has not been found co-occurring with subjunctive.

There is obligatory lack of pause between the Indirect Question Formula and the Indirect Question as in the main subtype. The two bases each have clause stress and form separate phonological clauses. In the Indirect Question Formula clause stress occurs on the verb. In Example 5 clause stress also occurs on pilotanta *to the pilot* which is a separate phonological clause with a pause between it and the verb. Clause stress in the Indirect Question tagmeme varies according to the clause or sentence type expounding the tagmeme.

Examples:

1. IQuF: Engkān nungant Ind Ques: nil nath wampow ey?
ask-you imper him he maybe come-he-ft ques
Ask him if he will come.
2. IQuF: Engkān nungant Ind Ques: nil nath wampiy.
ask-imper him-to he maybe come-he-sj
Ask him if he might come.
3. IQuF: Engkān nungant Ind Ques: nil Chris kan thath ey?
ask-imper him-to he punct saw-he ques
Ask him if he saw Chris.
4. IQuF: Engkān nungant Ind Ques: nil Chris ngaa'atam
ask-imper him-to he tomorrow
thathōw ey?
see-he-ft ques
Ask him if he will see Chris tomorrow.
5. IQuF: Engkangānt, pilotant Ind Ques: nil Chrisan thathow
asked-I-him -to he -that see-he-ft
engkow nungant, Chrisant, may pii'an ilkanak kalōw.
ask-he-ft her-to -to food big to-here bring-she-ft
*I asked the pilot if he sees Chris to ask her to bring lots of
food here.*

9.4 THE INDIRECT QUOTE MERGED SENTENCE

This type of quotation sentence has the structural restriction that a free subject may not occur in its quote base (Contrast 9.2-9.3); rather the obligatory indirect object pronoun of the first base is portmanteau subject of the second base (cf. 9.3). As a type of indirect quotation this sentence type is, however, less restricted as to person than is 9.2 and its subtype 9.3. Deep structure reporting of commands and requests is encoded in this sentence type.

The Indirect Quote Merged Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Merged Quote Formula	+ Merged Indirect Quote
Intransitive Cl where verb is <i>thaw to speak</i> Transitive Cl where verb is <i>waa' tell</i> Paraphrase Sentence (in examples verbs are <i>thaw to speak</i> and <i>pech to shout</i>)	Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Future Result S Negated Antonym S
Free subject does not occur in Merged Indirect Quote Indirect object pronoun Merged Quote Formula is subject of Merged Indirect Quote Verb of Merged Quote Formula is past, customary, or future, and any person Verb of Merged Indirect Quote is future tense and any person Obligatory absence of pause between the Merged Quote Formula and Merged Indirect Quote	

The Indirect Quote Merged Sentence has two tagmemes, Merged Quote Formula and Merged Indirect Quote. The Merged Quote Formula is expounded by a Transitive or Intransitive Clause or by a Paraphrase Sentence. The verb or verbs of the exponent of the Merged Quote Formula are verbs of speech. Occurring in examples here are *waa' tell about* (transitive), *thaw speak* and *pech shout* (intransitive). The Merged Indirect Quote Base may be expounded by Intransitive Clause, Transitive Clause, Future Result Sentence and Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence.

The indirect object which obligatorily occurs in the Merged Quote Formula, is the portmanteau subject of the Merged Indirect Quote, in that the free form subject noun or pronoun does not occur in the latter. For this reason this sentence type is regarded as a merged sentence.

The verb of the Merged Quote Formula is inflected in the usual manner for person, number and tense (past, customary, future, and imperative). The verb may be any person. The verb of the Merged Indirect Quote is future tense, and any person. One example (Example 2) has subjunctive on one of the verbs in the sentence expounding Merged Indirect Quote tagmeme may be expounded by a Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence (which, again, counts as a positive; cf. 8.1).

The Merged Indirect Quote tagmeme is obligatory. In one subminimal

example (4) the Merged Quote Formula does not occur, but the form it would take is implied by the preceding clause which expounds Antecedent Base of the Sequence Sentence that the Indirect Quote Merged Sentence in this example is embedded in.

The Indirect Quote Merged Sentence occurs embedded in Sequence Sentence, Implicit Frustration Sentence, Non-future Result Sentence, Future Result Sentence, and Reversal (Antithetical) Sentence.

The Indirect Quote Merged Sentence is two phonological clauses with obligatory absence of pause between the bases. Clause stress of the first base occurs on the verb of speech and in the second base on the verb or the verb modifier. Clause stress may be approximately the same height in both bases, or higher in either base. When the sentence encodes a deep structure Command there is a wider range of pitch and stronger emphasis than when encoding a Request.

Examples:

1. MQF: ngamp waa'āmp thant Mind Quote: kon
 we-pl-inc tell-about-we-ft them-to ear
 kenyangk iiyayn...
 high-up go-they-pl-ft
 ...we will tell them to be alert...

In Sequence S: WM 045

2. MQF: Ngan puth thawan nungant Mind Quote: ukow
 we-pl-exc but said-we him-to come-down-he-ft
 kaanch ngul pipow nungantakam, ana puth mulakam
 bone later break-he-ft his-own dem and death-to
 unchiy nungantakam.
 knock-he-sj himself
 For we told him to come down, that he will break his bones, he will
 knock himself to death.

In Non-future Result S: CT 4-7

3. MQF: ngan ka'páal thawanan thant
 we-pl-excl therefore say-we-cust them-to
 Mind Quote: wách-wachan kee'ayn wooyan anpalan,...
 far-away play-they-ft road that-from
 ...therefore we tell them to play a long way from the road,...
- In Non-future Result S: CT 29-30
4. (ninta iiyān nunga') Ind Quote: pal kan iiyowa'
 you-sg go-you-imper her-to-cj here punct come-she-ft
 thathow ngalanga' wánt-wāntakan yumpanala.
 see-she-ft us-dl-obj-cj how make-we-dl-ct
 ...you go, (tell her) to come here to see us, how we make it.
- In Sequence S: MF 18-21

5. MQF: Wiya puka pii'pii'an thawan thanta manyiyant,
some children big said-we them-to small-to
 al-alantan weentha, Mind Quote: weep kan wunayna,
those-to silly sleep punct lie-they-ft
 yaam ke' wik pii'ayn (ya'angam).
long-time neg word keep-they-ft useless
We said to the big children and to those little ones, to those
silly ones, to go to sleep and not to keep talking, but it was
useless.
- In Implicit Frustration S: TG 117
6. (ana puth ngangk wayang ngan wunan) MQF: ka'páal thawanan
 dem but hear sad-with we be-we therefore say-we-ct
 thant Mind Quote: ukayn, ke' matayn kenya kech.
them-to get-down-they-ft neg climb-they-ft high far
...because we would be sad, therefore we say to them to get down,
not to go up in the tree, high up.
- In Non-future Result S: CT 8
7. MQF: Ngan puth thawanan thant, pechanan thant
 we so say-we-ct them-to shout-we-ct them-to
 Mind Quote: iiyayn wooyan anpalan aak wantayn
go-they-ft road that-from place leave-they-ft
 truckan yipmam mo'ow,...
-that so-that run-it-ft
So we say to them, we call out to them to go away from the road,
to leave room so that the truck can run...
- In Future Result S: CT 24-27
8. MQF: Pam thawin ngant Mind Quote: minh nhinthanak iiyān
 man said-they to-us meat pig-for go-we-pl-ft
 thantang...
them-with
The men said for us to go for pigs with them...
- In Reversal (Antithetical) S
9. MQF: Thawan nungant Mind Quote: wik kalowara pal.
 say-you her-to words carry-she-ft-to-me to-here
Tell her to bring the message to me here (to the study cubicle -
when it comes).

9.5 CONTENT QUESTION (INDIRECT QUOTE MERGED) SENTENCE

This subtype of the Indirect Quote Merged Sentence has the typical features of the main type but is specialized in respect to use of only the verb *ask* in its quotation formula and in respect to the exponent of its quote base. There are restrictions on tense and person sequences as well.

The Content Question (Indirect Quote Merged) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Merged Quote Formula	+ Merged Content Question
Intransitive Cl where verb is engk <i>ask</i>	Content Interrogative Intransitive Cl Content Interrogative Transitive Cl
<p>Verb of Merged Quote Formula is imperative, 2nd person Verb of Merged Content Question is 3rd person and either future tense, or subjunctive mood, or past tense Free subject does not occur in Merged Content Question Base Indirect object pronoun of Merged Quote Formula is portmanteau subject of Merged Content Question Clause stress occurs on interrogative</p>	

The Content Question (Indirect Quote Merged) Sentence has two tag-memes, Merged Quote Formula and Merged Content Question.

The verb of the Merged Quote Formula is engk *ask* and is imperative and second person. The verb of the Merged Content Question must be third person, but can be either subjunctive or past. The indirect object of the first base has the same referent as the third person subject of the second base which is never expressed by a free subject.

The Content Question (Indirect Quote Merged) Sentence is two phonological clauses with obligatory absence of pause between bases. Clause stress of the first base occurs on engk *ask* and that of the second base on the interrogative. Clause stress is highest on the interrogative in the second base.

Examples:

The examples were supplied by the informants.

1. MQF: Engkān nungant M Content Ques: aak ngeen wampiy?
ask-imper him-to time what come-he-sbj
Ask him when he might come.
2. MQF: Engkān nungant M Content Ques: aak ngeen wampow?
ask-imper him-to time what come-he-ft
Ask him when will he come.

3. MQF: Engkān nungant M Content Ques: ngéen-ngēen
ask-imper him-to what-what (how many)
 pal kalow?
here bring-he-ft
Ask him how many he will bring.
4. MQF: Engkān thant M Content Ques: wantin wunpin?
ask-imper them-to where put-they
Ask them where they put it.

9.6 POLITE REQUEST (INDIRECT QUOTE MERGED) SENTENCE

This further subtype of the Indirect Quote Merged Sentence is much like the preceding. The chief distinctions are: negative verb in first base and use of -ey question marker in sentence final. This encodes a polite way to ask an addressee to make a request of a third party.

The Polite Request (Indirect Quote Merged) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Merged Quote Formula

+ Merged Polite Request

Negated Intransitive Cl where verb is engk <i>ask</i>	Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> -ey question marker optionally occurs finally
<p>Verb of Merged Quote Formula is imperative or subjunctive and in 2nd person and negated</p> <p>Verb of Merged Polite Request is 3rd person and either future or subjunctive</p> <p>Free subject does not occur in Merged Polite Request Base</p> <p>Indirect object pronoun of Merged Quote Formula is portmanteau subject of Merged Polite Request</p> <p>Clause stress occurs on negative ke'</p> <p>The Merged Polite Request Base has final question intonation on question marker -ey</p> <p>Obligatory absence of pause between Merged Quote Formula and Merged Polite Request</p>	

The Polite Request (Indirect Quote Merged) Sentence has two tag-memes, Merged Quote Formula and Merged Polite Request.

The verb of the Merged Quote Formula is *engk ask* and it is always negated by the verbal negative *ke'*. It may be either imperative or subjunctive mood and is second person. (In all the examples in the present corpus it is also singular but conceivably could be dual or plural). The indirect object of the first base has the same referent as the third person subject of the second base, which is never expressed by a free subject.

The Polite Request (Indirect Quote Merged) Sentence is two phonological clauses with obligatory absence of pause between the two bases. Highest clause stress occurs on the negative *ke'* in the first base. Clause stress of the second base occurs according to the intonation of the clause type expounding the tagmeme. This second base (Merged Polite Request) also has final question intonation on the question marker *ey* or on the last syllable of the last word of this clause which is then slightly higher in pitch than if the clause were indicative mood.

Examples:

The examples were supplied by informants

1. MQF: Ninta *ke' engkin* nungant
 you neg ask-you-sj him-to
 Merged Polite Request: *iikanak wampow, ey?*
 here-to come-he-ft ques
 You wouldn't mind asking him to come here, would you?
2. MQF: Ninta *ke' engkān* thant Merged Polite
 you neg ask-you-ft them-to
 Request: *yūk-way-mín pal kalayn ey?*
 things-bad-good here carry-they-ft ques
 Would you mind asking them to bring the luggage here?
3. MQF: Ninta *ke' engkin* nungant
 you neg ask-you-sj him-to
 Merged Polite Request: *may thee'iy ngath ey?*
 food give-he-sj to-me ques
 Would you mind asking him to bring food to me?
4. MQF: Ninta *ke' engkān* pulant Merged
 you neg ask-you-ft those-dl-to
 Polite Request: *lat wichowpulant ey?*
 book read-they-dl-ft-for-him ques
 You wouldn't mind asking those two to read for him would you?

5. MQF: Ninta ke' engkin Chrisant
 you neg ask-you-sj -to

Merged Polite Request: yalkam pekir?
 shake dance-she-sj-for-me-ques

*You wouldn't mind asking Chris to shake a leg (dance) for me,
 would you?*

9.7 'LIKE' MERGED SENTENCE

This sentence type encodes expression of pleasure in some activity or action. Some examples apparently encode desire (to inaugurate a pleasurable course of action) or a polite question (perhaps equivalent to an invitation to do something). Examples of this sentence type with the same subject in the two bases show considerable internal cohesion; those with different subjects show less cohesion and could be posited as a subtype.

The 'Like' Merged Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ 'Like' Base	+ Action
Clause with unconjugated verb kaangk <i>like</i> Optional occurrence of nath <i>maybe</i>	Transitive Cl Intransitive Cl Reason S Sequence S
Majority have same subject in both bases. Verb of Action Base is past or future Positive-Positive or Negative-Positive The whole sentence constitutes one phonological clause (apart from phonological breaks within embedded constructions) When the negative ke' occurs it receives clause stress. Otherwise clause stress occurs on the verb following kaangk, but kaangk is also high pitch	

The 'Like' Merged Sentence is composed of two obligatory bases, 'Like' Base and Action. The verb kaangk which occurs in the clause of 'Like' Base never inflects. The marker nath *maybe* optionally occurs in the 'Like' Base. Action Base may be expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses, Reason Sentence, and Sequence Sentence.

Kaangk itself never inflects, when inflection is required the verb *wun to lie, to be, pent come out* occurs immediately following it and takes the inflection. The resultant construction is then only a

Merged Sentence if a further verb follows *wun* or *pent* (cf. Example 14).

The second verb in the majority of examples is in the future tense, which is used much as an infinitive type construction is used in English, i.e. the primary use of the future to express futurity is subordinated here to a secondary use in encoding a complement. The other tense used is past, which occurs infrequently and indicates pleasure in some specific completed action.

In sentences with same subject in both clauses there is obligatory absence of the second subject. In those with different subjects in each clause the occurrence of the free subject pronoun is obligatory. When both verbs have the same subject they are frequently juxtaposed, but they may be separated by a phrase or particle, i.e. object, locative, goal, negative, or *nath maybe*. With different subjects a string of several elements may intervene. Thus, in one example (15) of this sentence with different subjects, negative, manner, modifier and subject occur between *kaangk* and the second verb. In example (16) subject, temporal, and directional intervene between the two verbs. In sentences which have the same subject, the subject (which precedes *kaangk*) is shared by both bases.

Both positive-positive and negative-positive occur in the bases. When the first base is negated, the verbal negative *ke'* occurs following *kaangk to like*. (When co-occurring with *kaangk* the negative most frequently follows *kaangk* even when it does not occur in a Merged Sentence, while with all other verbs negated by *ke'* the negative occurs preceding the verb.) Examples 4 and 6 where *ke'* occurs with *ey* question marker (on first or second base) encode a polite question (equivalent to an invitation or suggestion) (cf. 9.6).

The 'Like' Merged Sentence occurs embedded in Direct Quote Sentence, Paraphrase Sentence, Contrast Sentence, Indefinite Condition Sentence, Non-future Result Sentence, and Reason Sentence. The 'Like' Merged Sentence also occurs as an EXCHANGE in DRAMATIC DISCOURSE.

Examples:

A. Same subject, future tense in second verb

1. 'Like' Base: Nilan kaangk Act: thathōw ngalang,
she-emph likes see-she-ft us

She likes to see us,...

In Direct Quote S: FL 43

2. 'Like' Base: Ngay kaangk Act: mamānga' kunchan kathanniya.
I like learn-I-ft pandanus make-you-ct

...I would like to learn how you make pandanus (articles).

In Direct Quote S: FL 84

3. 'Like' Base: Than kaangk Act: nungkaram wik ngeeyayn.
 they like your words hear-they-ft
They like to hear your words.

GP 1

4. (ngul nilara Marie thaw) 'Like' Base: ninta kaangk ke'
 then she-mine said-she you like neg
 Act: peyān ey?
 jump-you-ft ques
*...then she, my one, Marie, said, "You wouldn't like to jump on
 (the horse), ey?"*

In Direct Quote S: KA 041

5. 'Like' Base: Nila kaangk Act: wathiy mungkow pul minhang.
 he likes yams eat-he-ft they-dl meat-cj
He likes to eat yams, together with meat.

GM 133

6. (Thaw ngant,) 'Like' Base: "nipa kaangk ke' ey
 said-he us-to you-dl like neg ques
 Act: yinangan thee'ow thanang ey?"
 same way throw-you-dl them ques
*He said to us, "You two wouldn't like to throw (balls) at (the
 ducks) in the same way?"*

As Quote of Direct Quote S: KA 063

7. 'Like' Base: Puk wiya kaangk Act: ngoonchayn
 children some like enter-they-ft
 schoolaka, (wiya ya'a aak way ngeeyantan).
 -to some no place bad hear-they-ct
*Some children like to go to school, some don't, (because) they
 hear it is a bad place.*

In Contrast Sentence: KL

8. (Wiyan thawina,) 'Like' Base: "ngay kaangk
 some said-they I like
 Act: school iiy-iiyānga, 'Like' Base: ngay kaangk
 go-I-ct-ft I like
 Act: aak-pathānga, (thawin).
 sing-I-ft said-they
Some said, "I like going to school, I like singing," they said.

In Paraphrase S within Quotation

S: KL 053

9. 'Like' Base: Ngay kaangk Act: engkāng nungka, kaatha,
 I like ask-I-ft you-to mother
 keenkanaman niiyan kóm-kōmanhana iiyan,
 long-ago-emph you-pl young-girls went-you
*I want to ask you, mother, what it was like when you were young
 girls long ago,...*

In Paraphrase S: MT 001

10. 'Like' Base: ngaya kaangk Act: ngeeyāng wik-káthan
 I like hear-I-ft stories-that
 nungkarama.
 yours
 ...I would like to hear your stories.
 In Paraphrase S: MT 002
11. 'Like' Base: Than nath kaangk ke' Act: nath ngeeyāyna,
 they maybe like neg maybe hear-ft-they
 (ngamp koyaman pentāmpa, waa'āmp thant.)
 we back go-out-we-ft tell-we-ft them-to
 They maybe don't like to hear, (but) when we go out (of church)
 we will tell them.
 As Protasis of Conditional S:
 WM 095
- B. Same subject, past tense in second verb
12. 'Like' Base: Wúncha-wúnchana kaangk Act: pentin.
 youths like go-out-they-pt
 The young boys like going out (to the bush for holidays).
 MG 165
13. (Yaa, ina wik min waa'angan wik-kátha) 'Like' Base: ngay
 yes this words good told-about-you story I
kaangk pentang, Act: ngeey-ngeeyang ey.
like come-out-I-pt hear-ct-I-pt int
 Yes, this was a good story you told; I liked listening.
 MT 035-6
14. 'Like' Base: Ngampan kaangka pentamp Act: kangkangam
 we like come-out-pt bush-in-emph
 wunamp wey, (palaman puth kemp min ngul wampamp,
 stay-we-pt emo back for flesh good then came-we
 may minh yota múngk-mungkamp).
 food meat lots ate-we-ct-pt
 We liked staying in the bush, and we came back feeling good,
 (because) we had eaten lots of (carbohydrate) food and fish.
 In Reason S: JM 128
- C. Different subject, future tense in second verb
15. 'Like' Base: Puth nganan kaangk ke' yimanangan Act: putham
 but we like neg same manner again
 pukan keekayn, kaanch pipayn thantakam, ...
 child all-they-ft bones break-they-ft their-own
 But we don't like it to happen again, for children to fall, to
 break their bones...
- In Non-future Result S: CT 14-16

16. 'Like' Base: Ngay kaangk Act: nipan ngaa'-thonthon
 I like you-dl night every

iikanak wampōw.
 here-to come-you-dl-ft

I like you two to come here every day.

Conversation

9.8 CONDITIONAL ANSWER ('LIKE' MERGED) SENTENCE

This subtype is similar to those main type examples which have the same subject and encode a polite question which is somewhat equivalent to an invitation. Here, however, the free pronoun (obligatorily absent in the same subject examples of the main subtype) must occur between kaangk and the second verb. The construction is highly elliptical and means something on the order of 'If you would like to do X [of which we/you have spoken, then do X].'

The Conditional Answer ('Like' Merged) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Choice Marker	+ Action
kaangk <i>like</i>	Transitive Cl with potential marker nath <i>maybe</i> Future or imperative tense
Free subject occurs immediately after kaangk and is second person Bases are positive-positive and have same subject	

This sentence is a subtype of 'Like' Merged Sentence in that it also contains kaangk *to like*. The order of the bases is fixed and both bases have the same subject. Optionally, ee'a *yes* of the Sentence Periphery occurs initially followed by kaangk *to like* which is obligatory followed by the second person free subject pronoun *you* (nint (singular) nip (dual), or niyy (plural)) optionally followed by nath/nathiy *might, maybe*, which is then obligatorily followed by the second verb - either in future tense or imperative mood.

As already stated this construction is highly elliptical. It implies that the projected (and presumably pleasurable) activity has been already mentioned, and that consent is given for the addressee to do it. Possibly examples 4 and 6 under 9.7 are an alternative way of encoding the same deep structure as that encoded here.

The significant difference between this sentence and the 'Like' Merged Sentence is that a free pronoun which applies to both bases must come between the bases, while in the main subtype of the same subject variety a pronoun may not occur in this position.

The intonation pattern of this sentence is modified basic intonation. Kaangk *like* occurs pre clause stress, fast and with low pitch while clause stress occurs on the subject pronoun.

Examples:

1. (Ngana puth wooka thakan maayān ey?) ee'a
 we then rubbish etc pick-up-we-ft ques yes

Choice Marker: kaangk Action: niiy nathiy maayāna.
like you maybe pick-up-you-ft

Shall we pick up the rubbish? Yes, if you would like to pick it up.

KL 069

2. Choice Marker: Kaangk Action: nintan nath thee'ara.
like you maybe give-to-me-imper
 (Would you like tea?) If you would like to give it to me.

Conversation

10. DIALOGUE SENTENCES

Dialogue Sentences consist of three types - Simple Dialogue Sentence, Complex Dialogue Sentence and Compound Dialogue Sentence. These types are distinguished in that the first sentence type is a simple binary structure encoding either a Question and its Answer (as Speech₁ and Speech₃) or a Proposal and its Response or Execution (also as Speech₁ and Speech₃). The Complex Dialogue Sentence has a further tagmeme Speech₂ whose purpose is to parry, or divert the thrust of a Speech₁. The Compound Dialogue Sentence is composed of a series of embedded dialogue sentences (Exchanges) which reach internal resolution at various points (end of an Exchange).

A feature of all dialogue sentences is the frequent occurrence of Non-verbal Response or Execution. This occurs frequently in each of the three types of dialogue sentence and is not mutually exclusive with a verbal response, that is, both verbal response and non-verbal response may co-occur in the same sentence.

A structural clue that the non-verbal response fills a similar dialogue slot as that filled by a verbal response is seen in the frequent occurrence of *yaa yes* initial in the embedded sentence which expounds a Speech₃ with non-verbal response. This is significant in that *yaa yes* also characterizes verbal response.

Types of Dialogue Sentence are compared and contrasted in Diagram IX.

DIAGRAM IX
DIALOGUE SENTENCES

	SIMPLE DIALOGUE S	COMPLEX DIALOGUE S	COMPOUND DIALOGUE S
Tagmemes	2 obligatory SP tagmemes: SP ₁ , SP ₃ ; optional Setting and SP ₄ (Terminus and/or Acceptance).	2 obligatory SP tagmemes: SP ₁ , SP ₂ ; optional SP ₃ .	2 obligatory Exchanges each expounded by Simple Dial S.
Meaning of Construction	Proposal or Question and its Execution.	Parrying of Proposal, Question or Remark.	A series of exchanges.
Exponents	SP ₁ obligatorily expounded by Quotation Sentence.	SP ₁ obligatorily expounded by Quotation Sentence.	Some variation of exponents of tagmemes after 1st exchange.
	No significant tense, person distinctions or intonation patterns.		

For a full discussion of the general apparatus of dialogue analysis see Longacre 1968, Volume 1, pp 168 ff. The present treatment of Wik-Munkan Dialogue Sentences is extremely sketchy. More research and analysis are needed.

10.1 SIMPLE DIALOGUE SENTENCE

A Simple Dialogue Sentence consists of $Speech_1$ which encodes a deep structure Question, or Proposal (including Command and Threat) and $Speech_3$ which encodes the corresponding Answer, Response, or Execution and may, therefore, be verbal, non-verbal, or both (reported in the same embedded sentence).

It is important to note that the deep structure category Question does not necessarily correspond to a surface structure grammatical question. The latter may encode, e.g. a polite request and be, therefore, deep structure Proposal (cf. Example 1 below). To this simple binary structure with two obligatory parts certain optional tagmemes may be added: Setting (provides non-dialogue background for the sentence); $Speech_0$ (a deep structure Remark which ties into the rest of the sentence only in a loose way), and $Speech_4$ (Acquiescence and/or terminating events). $Speech_0$ may permute to the interior of the sentence (between a $Speech_1$ and a $Speech_3$). (See 10.3, last Exchange in Example 2, for an example of $Speech_0$).

Example 5 below has the surface structure of a Simple Dialogue Sentence. It has the peculiarity that the $Speech_1$ and $Speech_3$ have the same subject rather than the subject-switching that is characteristic of dialogue. One may, however, carry on a conversation with oneself or make a proposal (verbally) and carry it out (non-verbally). The latter is what is found in the example under discussion. This sentence, however, while having the surface structure of simple dialogue has two exchanges in its deep structure (cf. 10.3). $Speech_3$ not only encodes the execution of the Proposal encoded in $Speech_1$ but contains a fresh Proposal (to kill those who don't obey him) and the surface structure $Speech_4$ is Acquiescence in the latter. Diagrammatically this may be summarized:

Surface Structure	Deep Structure
Sp_1	Proposal
Sp_3	Execution
	Proposal
Sp_4	Acquiescence

The Execution that terminates the first deep structure Exchange and the fresh Proposal are encoded in the same surface structure Coordinate Sentence - hence one surface structure unit.

The Simple Dialogue Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

\pm Setting	\pm Sp ₀	+ Sp ₁	+ Sp ₃	\pm Sp ₄
Stative Cl	Direct Quote S	Direct Quote S	Direct Quote S Parallel S Sequence S	Sequence S Coor S
Deep structure: (various background)	Remark (peripheral)	Question Proposal	Answer (verbal) Execution (non-verbal)	Acquiescence/ Terminating events
<p>Tense: verbs in Quote Formulas are past; and parts of dialogue follow chronologically</p> <p>Subjects: usually different; may be same (dialogue with oneself)</p> <p>Sp₀ has only one example, which occurs in an embedded Simple Dialogue Sentence in Section 10.3 Example 2. Other peripheral remarks are embedded in exponents of Sp₃ and Sp₄ of Example 5 in this section).</p>				

The Simple Dialogue Sentence has two obligatory tagmemes, Speech₁ and Speech₃ and three optional tagmemes, Setting, Speech₀ and Speech₄.

Speech₁ and Speech₃ and the optional tagmeme Speech₀ are all expounded by Direct Quote Sentences and Speech₃ may also be expounded by Parallel or Sequence Sentences. The optional Setting tagmeme is expounded by a Stative Clause and the optional Speech₄ tagmeme by Sequence and Coordinate Sentences.

The tense of the verbs in the Quote Formulas is past and the various parts of the dialogue are chronologically ordered. The subjects are different unless one is addressing oneself (see Example 5).

The intonation is that of the Clause or Sentence type expounding various tagmemes.

Examples:

- Setting: Inan wik- kath thonangana ngan Love River ana
story old another we that
 wun-wun, Manchiliy angan Sp₁ (Prop): puk wee'antama?
stayed-cont there-at child whose
 Mr. Smith a' Mrs. Smith pulantam ang wun-wun
cj theirs-dl there stayed-cont-she
 ngantang paanth-paanth nilan thaw "aayang, ngananga
us-with camped-cont-she she-that said-she hey us

minkak kalana" Sp₃ (Execution): yaa, ngay Valan kalangana' Rick
fish-for take-you yes I took-I-her

putha' a' wanchintan káath-kūnchan, Mrs. Smithan kalangan.
and cj old-woman mother-real -that took-I-her

This is another story, (about when) we stayed at Love River, at Manchiliy. Whose child? Mr. and Mrs. Smith's theirs, stayed there with us, camped there. She said, "Hey, will you take us for fish?" Yes, I took Val and Rick and the old lady, the mother, Mrs. Smith I took.

VR 1-9

2. Sp₁ (Prop): Ngay kangkangana wunanga' Kencharangan aak namp
I bush-in stayed-I -at place name

a' Michaelang puntha-paam-thampang mo'ath keny-keny ngantang
cj -ts plane flew-he-it high-very us-loc

a' nil lat keekath nga'alangkang nilan thawa' "nintiya'
cj he letter dropped-he bottle-in he-that said you-sp-cj

Mauda' Peret kuupānāra ngay anpal maayāng
-cj wait-you-for-me-ft I there-from pick-up-I-ft

nintang, kungka Weipa'ak" Sp₃ (Execution): yaa, ngan putha
you north -for yes we so

ngaa'atingam mo'an Peretak wampan ngayang angam wantin.
morning went-we -to came-we me there-stay left-they

(While) I was staying in the bush at a place called Kenchar, Michael flew the plane high above us and he dropped us a letter in a bottle (plastic) and he said "You Maud wait for me at Peret, I will pick you up from there, for the north, (to take you to) Weipa." Yes, so we went early in the morning to Peret, we came, and they left me there.

WT 1-9

3. Sp₁ (Ques): ngay puth engkangant "ninta kuuy keenkanam
I so asked-I-to-her you line long-time-ago

thee'thee'an minhak ey?" Sp₃ (Ans): nilan thaw "ya'a,
threw-it-cont-you fish-for quest she said-she no

ina ngay inggulan kuuy thee'thee'anga' ngayang puth ke'am
this I here-now line thew-cont-I-cj me because never

ma'aathin ngayang, kuuy thee'anakaniy Sp₄ (Termination): yaa,
shown-they me line throw-for yes

ngay puth putham thee'angant a' minh thonam ngul wich.
I so again thew-I-for-her cj fish one then caught-she

...so I asked her, "Have you (known how to) throw a line from a long time ago for fish?" She said, "No, I just now threw a line, (for the first time), they have never shown me how to throw a line." Yes, so I threw (it) again for her and then she caught a fish.

VR 60-66

4. Sp₁ (Prop-Command): *Yaa, ngula', anpalaniya', thaw páthām*
yes then-cj after-that-cj said-he really
wanch pam nungantam alantan, "wuuch manyiy kaachiy pulanta,
woman man his those-to house small build-sj those-two-for
ngorkala," a' wanch mantayan umpāna, pi'ow
hut cj woman old-one beckon-you-ft mind-she-ft
pulang weya," thaw Sp₃ (Execution): yaa, ngorkal many
those-two emo said yes hut small
kaachin pulant, wanch komanh alantaniy a' wanch mantayanangana
built-they for them woman young those-for cj woman old-ts
pii'pii' pulang, pulanganiiy wey
minded-cont-she them-two those-two-sp emo
 Sp₄ (Acquiescence and Termination): *a' ngangkaman thawpul,*
cj heart-from said-they-two
 "Godang in keney wik kan ngeeya, ngalantam aniya"
God-ts here high word punct heard ours that
thawpul a' angama wunpul, ma'a-aath-aathpul thanang.
said-they-two cj there stayed-they helped-ct-they-two them
Yes, then after that he really said to his people, to them, "Build
a small house for those two, a hut, and beckon an old lady to mind
those two" he said. So they built a small hut for those two young
women and an old woman minded them, those two. Those two said
from their hearts, "God above has heard our prayers," they said.
And they stayed there and helped those people.

WMV 151-162

5. Setting: *Kaapa sevenanga, Tariri'ana pam kompa iiya*
wet-seasons seven-in -that man young was-he
 Sp₁ (Proposal): *nilaniy thaw, "ngaya kaangk pam pii'an*
he-that-sp said-he I like man big
iiyānga pam wanch ngatharam ilantana"
go-I-ft men women mine to-these
 Sp₃ (Execution): (Non-verbal and verbal) *ngula, nilana thuucha,*
after he-that crept
mán-māngkang kóy-kōyuw, pam pii'an thon alantan - pam
back-loc behind man big another to-that-one man
pii'an nilaniy iiya - alantan thuuch, a' ep mulathan
big he-that-sp was to-that-one crept-he cj fact killed-he
ey, a' koyam ngul iiy, pam wanch Shapra, pam wanch alantan,
ques cj back then went-he men women men women to those
a' pecha thant, "ngaya pam pii'ana, inmana, ngay kan
cj shouted-he them-to I man big now I punct
mulathangana, pam aniy chief ananiya, pam pii'ana ana,
killed-I-him-pt man that that-one-sp man big that
nila wee'ang ke' wik ngeeyowanya, ngay múlāthāngāna
he who-ts neg word obey-ft-he-me I kill-ft-him
 Sp₄ (Acquiescence and Termination) *paman wanch yotan ngeeyina -*
men women lots heard-they
than puth wantak thawiytan koyamaniy, ngangk akangam
they but what could-say-they back-sp heart shaking

thanin - a' Tariri'aniya pama pii'an iiya
 stood-they cj -that-sp man big was-he

ma'púntha yuka than, thachan iiya.
 arms tree stood-he very-hard was-he

For seven years Tariri was a young man, he said, "I'd like to be a big man of my people (chief)." Then after that he crept along behind that other big man, he crept behind that one and then he killed him and then he went back to those Shapra people and called out to them, "I am the important man now, I have killed him the chief, the other big man, and whoever doesn't hear my words and obey me, I will kill him." The people heard him but what could they say back because they stood there in fear, because Tariri was the big man, he had arms like a tree and he was very hard.

WMV 11-27

10.2 COMPLEX DIALOGUE SENTENCE

Complex Dialogue Sentence occurs when other than the expected response follows a $Speech_1$ utterance. A counter-token, $Speech_2$, occurs whose purpose is to parry, or divert the $Speech_1$. In effect, the use of a $Speech_2$ is a bid for the control of the conversation. Thus, if $Speech_1$ encodes a Question or Proposal, either of these may be followed by a $Speech_2$ which encodes a counter-question or a counter-proposal. The $Speech_1$ and $Speech_2$ need not correspond as to deep structure (as must $Speech_1$ and $Speech_3$ - where Question calls for Answer and Proposal for Response/Execution). Rather, we may counter either a question or a proposal with another question or another proposal. That is, we may either question a question or brush it aside with a proposal for a new course of action; and we may likewise question a proposal or attempt to replace it with a new proposal. When the optional $Speech_3$ occurs in a Complex Dialogue it is matched to the last counter-token ($Speech_3$). Thus a $Speech_3$ may answer the last counter-question or respond/execute the last counter-proposal.

It is necessary to add here a new $Speech_1$ (Remark) and a $Speech_2$ (Counter-remark). There seems, however, to be no reason to believe that Simple Dialogue Sentences of $Speech_1$ (Remark) and $Speech_3$ (Evaluation) could not occur. Examples should be found in a wider corpus. Notice that we here add no further tagmemes but recognize a further trio of deep structures encoded in tagmemes which have already been posited.

$Speech_4$ occurs in the Complex Dialogue Sentence as in the Simple Dialogue Sentence. Presumably Setting and $Speech_0$ (Remark - of a peripheral nature) could also occur here in spite of lack of examples in our present corpus - but Setting and $Speech_0$ are not entered into the accompanying array.

The Complex Dialogue Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Sp ₁	+ Sp ₂	+ Sp ₃	+ Sp ₄
Direct Quote S	Direct Quote S	Direct Quote S Sequence S	Transitive Cl
Deep structure: Question Proposal Remark	Counter- Question Counter- Proposal Counter- Remark	Answer (verbal) Execution (non-verbal)	Terminating event
Tense: verbs in Quote Formulas are past; and parts of dialogue follow chronologically Subjects: different (but cf. Simple Dialogue Sentence)			

The Complex Dialogue Sentence has two obligatory tagmemes, Speech₁ and Speech₂ and two optional tagmemes, Speech₃ and Speech₄.

Speech₁, Speech₂ and Speech₃ may all be expounded by Direct Quote Sentences. In addition the optional tagmeme, Speech₃ may be expounded by Sequence Sentence and the optional Speech₄ is expounded by Transitive Clause.

The tense of the verbs in the Quote Formulas is past and the various parts of the dialogue are chronologically ordered.

The subjects are different unless one is addressing oneself.

The intonation is that of the Clause or Sentence type expounding the various tagmemes.

Examples:

1. Sp₁ (Rem): Anpalaniya' wee' Philipa kan iiy, iiya'
after-that who -sp punct went-he went-he-cj
- Nathanielant waa' "ngaya ang uwanga, Messiah ana
-to told-about-he-pt I there found-I that
- keenkanam ana waa'ina, Moses wee'anang wik
long-time-ago that told-about-they those-group words
- katha inan uwangana" Sp₂ (Rem): ngul Nathanielan thawa'
story this found-I-him then -sp said-he-cj
- ngul nathapala ngeen miniy pentowa, Nazareth
then far-from-there what good-sp come-out-it-ft
- anpalaniya' anpal min ke' pentiya, anythingiya.
from-there-cj from-there good neg come-out-it-sj -sp

After that who? Philip he went and told Nathaniel, "I found there the Messiah about whom they told, Moses and those others, I found this one." And then Nathaniel said, "From over there what good thing would come out, from Nazareth? Nothing good would come out, (not) anything."

WM 40-48

2. Sp₁ (Prop): putham ngulan' thawara "ngath thee'āna"
 again then-cj said-she-to-me mine throw-you
- Sp₂ (Prop): ngay puth thawang "ninta kan paatha ninta
 I but said-I you punct try-imp you
- ngul thee'a" Sp₃ (Exc): yaa, nil thee', kuuyan
 later throw-imper yes she threw-she line
- wunyatha' thee' wantinak ngul thee'a?
 swang-she-it-cj threw-she-it where-to then threw-she-it
- yukang wipath Sp₄ (Acquiescence): ngana angman
 tree-in caught-she-it we there-stay
- thengkan uw-uwan, wo'uw wonkang angman.
 laugh found-we river side-on there-stay
- ...and again she said to me, "Will you throw mine?" but I said to her, "You try (so that) you will (learn to) throw it." Yes, she threw the line, she swang it, she threw it. Where did she throw it? She caught it in a tree. There we had a good laugh, there on the side of the river.
3. Sp₁ (Ques): Nil wanchinthan engkant wanch komanh
 she old-woman-that asked-she-to-her woman young
- alant, "may chiik ya' ey?" Sp₂ (Ques): puth nil wanch
 to-that-one food tobacco none ques but she woman
- komanhan koyam engkant, "than thawin chukkun
 young-that back asked-she-to-her they-pl said-they-pl boat
- kanan wampan ey?"
 compl came-it ques
- The old lady asked the young woman, "Have you any tobacco?" but the young woman asked her, "Have they said the boats come yet?"

10.3 COMPOUND DIALOGUE SENTENCE

The Compound Dialogue Sentence is composed of two or more Exchanges. Each Exchange is expounded by a Simple Dialogue Sentence. Up to four Exchanges each expounded by an embedded sentence, occur in the Compound Dialogue Sentence in our present corpus. This sentence type may also have an optional Setting tagmeme and an optional Terminus tagmeme which seems to be not a Speech₄ but rather a closure-like feature of the whole Compound Sentence. Presumably, further data would provide examples with exchanges expounded by Complex Dialogue Sentences.

The Compound Dialogue Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Setting	+ Ex ₁	+ Ex ₂ ⁿ⁼³	+ Terminus
Purpose S	Simple Dial S	Simple Dial S	Transitive Cl Reason S
<p>First sentence of a non-initial Exchange or the Quote within it may be elliptical (dependent on previous Exchange)</p> <p>Subjects are typically different within an Exchange and may alternate (S₁, S₂; S₁, S₂ etc) between Exchanges</p> <p>When Sp₃ of Ex₁ encodes Execution (non-verbal), then Sp₃ of Ex₁ and Sp₁ of Ex₂ may have same subject</p> <p>New subject (not in Ex₁) may be introduced in the Sp₁ of Ex₂</p>			

The Compound Dialogue Sentence has two obligatory tagmemes, Exchange₁ and Exchange₂, the latter of which may be repeated three times; and the two optional tagmemes, are Setting and Terminus.

Exchange₁ and Exchange₂ are expounded by Simple Dialogue Sentences. (Presumably further data would find Complex Dialogue Sentences expounding these tagmemes). The optional Setting is expounded by Purpose Sentence and the optional Terminus by a Transitive clause or a Reason Sentence.

In a non-initial exchange the first sentence or the Quote within that sentence may be elliptical. This ellipsis is dependent on the information of the preceding Exchange.

Subjects are typically different within an Exchange and alternate between Exchanges.

When Speech₃ of a preceding Exchange encodes non-verbal Execution then the following Speech₁ may have the same subject.

New subjects may be introduced in Speech₁ of an Exchange other than Exchange₁ where the original participants are introduced.

The intonation is that of the Clause or Sentence type expounding the various tagmemes.

Examples:

1. Exch₁ Sp₁ (Prop): a' púk-kūnch an thaw, Valan,
and then child-own that said-she Val-that
"ngathara wanpana" Sp₃ (Exec): yaa, ngay wunpanganta'
mine put-you-cj yes I put-I-her-for-cj
Exch₂ Sp₁ (Ques): ngay thawang, "ninta ngul thee'an ey,
I said-I you now throw-you quest
kuuyanan ey?" Sp₃ (Ans and Execution): nilan thaw, "ee,
line-that quest she said-she yes
ngay kan paathānga" - ngay koyam iiyanga' kuuy ngathan
I punct try-I-fut I back went-I-cj line mine-sp
thee'ang, nyiin-nyiinanga' ngay ngeeyangan Val an thaw
threw-I sat-cont-I-cj I heard-I-her that said-she
pech, āthamāyan Exch₃ Sp₁ (Ques): ngay weentangana'
call-out-she loudly I turned-around-I-cj
ngay thawang, "ngeenama?" Sp₃ (Ans): nilan thaw "ngay
I said-I what-from she said-she I
kuuyan ka' thee'inga" Exch₄ Sp₁ (Ques): ngay puth thawang
line-sp like throw-I-sj I so said-I
"puth wantina?" Sp₃ (Ans): "ina in kenya pinalangan uka
but where this here above plain-on fell-it
ngakangan ke'am uka' ngay in kenya thee'ang, pinalanga"
water-in never fell-it-cj I here above threw-I plain-on
Terminus: ngan an thengkan min uw-uwan, angman nungantam.
we laughed-we good found-we there-stay her-from
...and then her child, Val said, "Put (it) on for me." Yes, I put
it for her. I said, "Will you throw it, the line?" She said,
"Yes, I will try." I went back and I threw my line. I sat and
sat and I heard Val call out loudly. I turned around and I said,
"What from?" She said, "I tried to throw the line." So I said,
"But where?" "It's here, it fell, above on the plain, it didn't
go down in the water. I threw it here above on the plain." We
had a good laugh, there from her.

VR 21-43

2. Setting: Yaa, minh thanan wichina' than puth kaangk,
yes fish they-that caught-they they but like
ngangk-mín wichanakaniy Exch₁ Sp₁ (Prop): ngul minh
happy catching-for-sp later fish
hookan thaa' anpalan thapathaka' ngathara thawin
-that mouth that-from take-they-it-for me-to said-they
"pal iiyān in thapathana" Sp₃ (Exec): yaa, ngay
to-here come-you this take-off-you-cj yes I
iiyanga' hookana, thaa' minh nga' anpalana thapathang,
went-I-cj -that mouth fish that-from took-off-I
thaa'óyngk wunpang Exch₂ Sp₁ (Ques): Rickang yim-yimanam ka'ant
bait put-on-I -ts same-way cat-fish
piian wich, ngathara thawara "ina wantakaa ngay
big caught-he to-me said-he-to-me this how-cj I

thapathangaa" Sp₃ (Exec): *yaa*, ngay iiyanga' thaa' umpangan,
take-off-I-cj yes I went-I-cj mouth cut-I

chaawarang umpang, a' wichangan hook anan, Exch₃ Sp₁
big-knife-with cut-I and pulled-out-I that

(Prop): ngay thawang, "pik nanan ke' mamāna nint nanpalan
I said-I fin that neg touch-you-ft you from-that

ngul tháa'ēench-ēenchan ngut-ongk" Sp₀ (Remark-peripheral):
later groan night-long

a' ngay thawangant "nana way naniya, pik nanganiya
cj I said-I-to-him that bad that-sp fins those-sp

Sp₃ (Exec): ngay puth iiyangan a' umpangan pik aniy thayan
I so went-I cj cut-I-it fin that-sp are

manyang umpangan pik an Terminus: ngay wey puth minh
small-with cut-I-it fin that I emo so fish

ke' wichanam, thanang anman wak-wakang work ngathaman
neg caught them only helped-I mine-that

thanang ma'wák-wākanang.
them helped-ct-I

Yes, the fish they caught they liked (catching), they are happy for catching. When they were ready to take the hook from the mouth they said to me, "Come here and take this off." Yes, I went and I took the hook from the mouth of the fish. I put the bait on. Rick in the same way caught a big catfish and said to me, "How will I take this off?" Yes, so I went and I cut the mouth, I cut it with a big knife, and I pulled out the hook. I said, "Don't touch that fin, you will groan all night from that," and I said to him, "Those are bad, those fins," so I went and I chopped that fin, I cut it with a small axe, that fin. I didn't catch any fish (because) I only helped them - my work was helping them.

VR 77-102

11. MULTIPLIERS

Three surface structure features of Wik-Muncan are of such extensive use that they require special attention here. In that these surface structure features co-occur with many of the sentence types already described they may be considered to determine further types derived from those basic types. Thus, many sentence types may be given CYCLIC structure so as to produce a cyclic sentence derived from the basic sentence type. It is not known at present precisely how many of the basic types may be given such cyclic structure: presumably the present data are spotty in this regard and the picture will be rounded out more satisfactorily on addition of further data. Similarly, many sentence types already described may be given the structure of a RHETORICAL QUESTION. Again, here it is not known at present how extensive is the use of this feature with the basic sentence types. A further

feature is recapitulation in a structure from which one or more predicates are deleted; this is referred to henceforth as simply DELETED PREDICATE structure. All these features have in common stylistic elaboration of basic sentence types. Furthermore, some of them can co-occur with each other in elaborating a basic type into a new type of considerable derivational complexity.

These further features that co-occur sporadically with various of the basic types are here termed SENTENCE MULTIPLIERS - since they by co-occurrence with the basic types yield more types.

It is a matter of no small importance that we eventually come to understand better the limits of use of the sentence multipliers. With what types may a given multiplier *not* be used? With what types is a given multiplier most *typically* used? Only in answering these and similar questions can we understand better the real thrust and stylistic significance of these devices. Thus it appears unlikely that the sentence multipliers would ever be used with any of the dialogue sentences. On the other hand, all three multipliers seem to be used with various subtypes of the Paraphrase Sentence, two with the Parallel Sentence, two with the Contrast Sentence and all three with various sorts of Reason and/or Result Sentences. It seems, therefore, that the sentence multipliers are primarily devices for elaborating such basic structures as those just listed.

The accompanying diagram (Diagram X) summarizes features characteristic of the three multipliers and comparisons between them.

DIAGRAM X

THE SENTENCE MULTIPLIERS

	CYCLIC	RHETORICAL QUESTION	DELETED PREDICATE
Function of Multiplier	Emphasis/Recapitulation of sentence level <i>tagmeme</i> . Closure of lexical unit.	Emphasis of clause level <i>tagmeme</i> as introduced by interrogative, such as <i>who</i> , <i>what in</i> , <i>where</i> , <i>why</i> etc.	Recapitulation of sentence level <i>tagmeme</i> , but with emphasis on clause level <i>tagmeme</i> due to deletion of verb.
Discourse types in which it mostly occurs	Occurs in all discourse genre, but less frequently in NARRATIVE.	Occurs in all discourse genre, but most frequently in NARRATIVE, HORTATORY and (as POINT) in EXPOSITORY.	Occurs in all discourse genre. Also occurs as simple deletion of predicate in many existing sentence types without being a multiplier.
Alternate Analysis	No alternate analysis - only multiplies existing sentence types.	No alternate analysis - only multiplies existing sentence types.	Alternate analysis as discontinuous noun phrases is awkward in that the two parts of NP would occur in separate P. Clauses.
Co-occurs with other multipliers	R.Q., Del. Pred., and both R.Q. and Del. Pred.	Cyclic, both Cyclic and Del. Pred.	Cyclic, both Cyclic and R.Q.
Sentence types Multiplied (more expected to be found)	Simple Amplification Paraphrase Neg-Antonym Paraphrase Generic-Specific Reason Future Result Contrast Coordinate	Simple Amplification Paraphrase Neg-Antonym Paraphrase Reason Future Result Parallel Sequence Simile	Simple Amplification Neg-Antonym Paraphrase Generic-Specific Non-future Result Parallel Contrast Mistaken Thought

11.1 CYCLIC SENTENCES

Cyclic Sentences in Wik-Munkan are paralleled by similar structures in Walmatjari (Hudson 1970) and Mantjiltjara (Marsh 1970). That they are called 'paragraph' in the latter two languages and 'sentence' in Wik-Munkan is of no great consequence. In all three languages the hypothesis is being tested that for these languages, sentence and paragraph do not constitute distinct grammatical levels. It is of little importance whether the common level be called 'sentence' or 'paragraph'. Undoubtedly we are dealing with similar structures in the three languages.

Cyclic sentences seem to reflect a fondness for closure on the part of the speaker. At the end of the sentence he recapitulates material from the beginning. Thus, a base tagmeme A in sentence-initial position is paralleled by a base tagmeme A' at sentence end. This gives rise to surface structures such as the following (where A and B stand for sentence-base tagmemes of a cyclic sentence type but derived from corresponding tagmemes of basic sentence types): ABA', ABB'A' and $ABA_1'B'A_2'$.

It is of considerable importance to recognize that the A' and B' are rarely simple reiteration but almost always include a certain amount of expansion and amplification. A failure to recognize this tendency to amplification led to initial analytical difficulties, i.e. it was considered that cyclic sentences were comparatively rare because something close to pure reiteration was required of them. It now appears, however, that cyclic sentences are of considerable frequency and involve an additional or 'outer' way of expanding a sentence over and beyond the possibilities inherent in the various binary structures grouped together as subtypes of the Paraphrase Sentence.

To date cyclic structure has been found as a multiplier of the following sentence types (either in simple cyclic multiplication or in examples with more than one multiplier - see Section 11.4): Contrast, Paraphrase, Amplification (Paraphrase), Negated Antonym (Paraphrase), Generic-Specific (Paraphrase), Coordinate, Reason, and Future Result Sentences. Cyclic and Rhetorical Question multipliers occur together with the following types: Non-future Result, Future Result, Reason and Simultaneous.

In some Cyclic Sentences it is difficult to know whether a Reason Sentence or one of the Result Sentences has been elaborated into a cyclic structure. This is not to be wondered at. The reason-result difference in sentence structure in Wik-Munkan, English, and many other languages is based on a surface structure distinction in linear order in which Efficient Cause is encoded in the second base of the Reason

Sentence and in the first base of the Result Sentence - although, to be sure, other features (markers, tense restrictions, transformational potential) exist to reinforce the distinction. But, in a cyclic sentence of either sort, the recapitulation of the first base sets up implications going in both directions, i.e. 'I'm tired, so I don't want to go downtown, because I'm tired' and 'I don't want to go to town because I'm tired, so I don't want to go to town'. Here it is obvious that the stage is set for features of both basic sentence types, Reason or Result, to appear in the same cyclic sentence. The structural contrast between the two basic types is wholly or partially neutralized in the cyclic type which is derived from either of them.

Examples:

Cyclic Contrast Sentences

1. A Text: Aak ina wiy-wTyam ngul weenan
place this different now become

B Contrast: aak keenkan ya'a
place first not

B' Contrast: wonk thonamin wun
side other-emp lay-it

A' Text: ngul ina ep ngul.
now this fact now

This place has become different, it wasn't (like this) at first it was on its other side, (i.e. it was different), now it is (all right).

PY 91

2. A Text: wiy minaman epa
some good-that fact

B Contrast: manyiy inangan ya' wayiy
small-sp these neg-intens bad-sp

A' Text: nil pii'anan ep min.
he(coll) big-that fact good

...some (of that fish type) are all right, the small are not, they are bad, but the big ones are good.

3. A Text: Ina wik min, ngan inngulan ngeeyana, Wik-Mungkanang
this word good we just-now heard-we -in

waa'anniy ngant
tell-you-ct us-to

B Contrast: ngan ke' ngeeyan kaa'áthaman yimanama, Archie'ang
we neg heard-we first like-this -ts

ke' waa'an ngant yimanang, nil kiithangama waa' ngant,
neg tells-she us-to like-this she English-in-emph told-she us-to

A' Text: ngan puth inan ep, ngan kaangk, kán-ngūl ngan
we cj this fact we like compl we

ngáantamngēeyan pamaniy nunana, Jesusana.
think-we man-that-sp him-that -that

Those are good words we have just heard in Wik-Mulkan, that you are telling us, we have not heard it like this before, Archie doesn't tell it like this, she told us in English, but now what we have heard (we understand) all right, we like it and now we believe in that man, Jesus.

PT 230

Cyclic Paraphrase Sentence

4. A Text: Ngan thengkanakan ween, yot ananganiny ngan,
we laughing-up-to became lots those-sp we
 B Paraphrase: Paraphrase Sentence Text: ngan ngang min nylin
we heart good sat
 Paraphrase: ngang kuupanana, anganly aak
heart glad there-at place
 A' Text: thengkanim kee'an yot.
laughed-we played-we lots
We all laughed, we were happy, we were glad in that place, we all laughed lots.

Cyclic Amplification Sentence

5. A Text: Ngamp yoyk matamp,
we hill climbed-we
 B Ampl: yoyk pii'an matamp,
hill big climbed-we
 A' Text: yoyk matamp,
hill climbed-we
We climbed a hill, a big hill we climbed...

Cyclic Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence

6. A Text: Inpalaniya' thuukana wantāmp
from-now-sp snake leave-we-ft
 B Neg Ant Para: ké'-ngūl mee'wuthanmāmpa, mee' ke' ngathāmp,
neg-then pray-we-ft eye neg shut-we-ft
 pungkang ke' nyiināmpa
knee-on neg sit-we-ft
 A' Text: wantāmp thuuk pii'ananiy.
leave-we-ft snake big-that-sp
From now on let us leave the snake, we will never pray (to him) again, we won't pray (to him), we won't kneel (before him), let us leave the big snake.
7. A Text: Ina in kenya, pinalangan uka,
this here high plain-on fell-it
 B Neg Ant Para: ngakangan ke'am uka'
water-in neg fell-it
 A' Text: ngay in kenya thee'ang, pinalanga.
I here high threw-I plain-on
It's here, above, it fell on the plain, it didn't fall in the water, I threw it up here on the plain.

VR 40, 41

Cyclic Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence

8. A Text: Ngamp thawamp Jesusant pal iiyāna
 we-pl-incl say-we-pl -to to-here come-you-imper
 ngangk ngatharang ing wunāna
 heart mine-in here-stay stay-you-imp
 B Neg Ant: ke' kuchāmpantaniya
 neg send-we-pl-ref-sp
 A' Text: ngamp ngoonchathamp ngangk ngamparang ingan.
 we-pl bring-in-him-we-pl heart ours-in her-stay
We should say to Jesus to come here and stay in our hearts, we shouldn't send him away, we should bring him into our hearts to stay.

WM 219-223

Cyclic Generic-Specific (Paraphrase) Sentence

9. A Text_{Generic}: Ngaa'-thon-thón ana yim-yímanam,
 night every that same-manner
 B Amplification_{Specific}: ekanan ngaa'atingam, may
 get-up-we-ct morning-in food
 mungkanana' churchakam iiyanan mee' ngathanak,
 eat-we-cj -up-to go-we-ct eyes shut-for
 A' Text_{Generic}: nil yinaman iiyān ngaa'-thon-thónaniy.
 it same-manner goes-it-ct night every-that-sp
Every day it's the same, we get up in the morning, we eat, we go to church to shut our eyes (pray), it's the same every day.

In the following three examples Efficient Cause is encoded in the central base(s).

Cyclic Reason Sentences

10. A Text: ngan puth thawanan thant, pechanan thant
 we so say-we-ct them-to shout-we-ct them-to
 iiyān wooyan anpalan, aakan wantayn truck
 go-they-ft road that-from place-that leave-they-ft
 yipam mo'ow
 so-that run-it-ft
 B Reason: ngul puth mulakam maak thanang truckanganíy
 now because dead-up-to crush-it them -ts-that-sp
 A' Text_{Result}: ngan ka'páal thawanan thant wách-wāchan
 we therefore say-we-ct them-to far-away
 kee'ayn wooyan anpalan
 play-they-ft road that-from
 ...so we say to them, we shout out to them to go from the road,
 to leave the road so that the truck can run there, because that
 truck could crush them to death, therefore we say to them to
 play a long way from that road...

11. A Text: Nanpalaniya' Taririaniya ngutanga kinchanga
after-that -that-sp night-in day-in
 kon kenyangka wun
ear above lay-he
 B Reason Base: nil ngáantamngēey pam wanch nungantam ngul
he thought-he man woman his then
 puthangkaniy mulathayn nunang ka' nilan mulath pam
revenge-sp kill-they-ft him like he-that killed-he man
 pii'anana,
big-that
 B' Reason: a' nilan yinang ngáantamngēey
cj he-that like-this thought-he
 A' Text: kon kenyangka wun mee'athama wun.
ear above lay-he awake lay-he
After that Tariri was alert day and night because he thought
his people would kill him just as he had killed the (previous)
chief. He thought like this so he lay there alert and awake.
12. A Text: Ngal ingam ngiinal puuyan ke' iiyal
we-two-incl here sat-we-two-incl further neg go-we-two-incl
 B Reason: ana puth aak-pech ke'anhang ngul
that because space none then
 A' Text: ngal ingam nyiinal.
we-dl-incl here-stay sat-we-two-incl
We sat here, we didn't go any further because there wasn't
space then, so we sat here.

KA 134

Cyclic Coordinate Sentence

13. (Nila thuuk pii'ana, thana waa'antan boa constrictor,
he snake big they call-they
 waa'antan, thuuk thana pii'pii'antan)
call-they snake they mind-they-ct
 A Text: nilan kuyam alantan mee'a-wuthan
he-that used-to to-that-one prayed-he
 B Coord: puugkanga nyiin
knee-on sat-he
 A' Text: mee'wuthanmant (a' pam wanch thak konych thanang.)
prayed-he-him-to cj men women too cursed them
(The big snake that they call the boa-constrictor, they worship
that snake) he prays to that one, he kneels to that one, he
prays to that one (and he curses the people).

WMV 73-80

11.2 RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

A further multiplier that occurs very frequently is the Rhetorical Question. While the conversion of a basic sentence type to a Rhetorical Question may involve a certain amount of paraphrase and amplification it appears that the main thrust of such derived sentence types is emphasis. The particular item emphasized may be phrase-level, clause-level, or sentence-level. This form of elaboration of basic types has not been reported in the two Western Desert languages whose higher-level structure was investigated at the same time as that of Wik-Munkan.

The imposition of Rhetorical Question structure takes one of two possible forms: (1) one base of the basic sentence type is converted to a Rhetorical Question, and the rest of the construction is let serve as Response; or (2) a further (usually) initial base is added to carry the Rhetorical Question and the material derived from the basic sentence type is let serve as the Response.

In the first case, in the examples below a slash separates Rhetorical Question Base from the original name of the base in the basic sentence type; while slash similarly separates Response Base from the original base name. Thus R Q Base/Proposition means 'Rhetorical Question Base derived from a sentence type in which this base functions as Proposition'; and Response Base/Simile means 'Response Base derived from a sentence type in which this base functions as Simile' (cf. Examples 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 below).

In the second case, however, the R Q Base is added in sentence-initial position and Response is expounded by an embedded sentence which corresponds to the basic sentence type (cf. Examples 1-5, and 7 - where the R Q Base intervenes between successive bases of a Sequence Sentence).

The Rhetorical Question Sentence is composed of two tagmemes, the obligatory Rhetorical Question Base and obligatory Response Base. In that interrogatives are crucial to the derivation of Rhetorical Question Sentences I append here a list of the interrogatives and interrogative pronouns that figure in the Rhetorical Question Base:

wee'a	who sing	}	Nominative
wee'-wee'a	who plur		
wee'ang	who sing	}	Ergative
wee'wee'ang	who plur		
wee'ant	to whom	}	Referent
wantak	what for		
ngeenak	what for		

wee'antam	from whose	}	Ablative
wantinpal	from where		
ngeenam	from when/what reason		
aak ngeen anpal	from what time/what place		
wee'antang	with whom	}	Accompaniment
ngeenang	with what		Instrument
wee'antam	whose	}	Possessive
ngeenang	what in/on		
wantin	at what place (outside)		
wanting	at what place (inside) i.e. in what		
wee'antamant	to whose		Poss. Referent
wee'antamantam	in whose		Poss. Ablative
wee'antamantang	with whose (mother)		Poss. Accompaniment
wee'antamang	with whose (stick)		Poss. Instrument

Rhetorical Questions occur with the following sentence types: Parallel, Paraphrase, Amplification (Paraphrase), Negated Antonym (Paraphrase), Sequence, Future Result, Reason, and Simile.

It is worth noting here that Rhetorical Questions give a pseudo-dialogue cast to a sentence. But while true dialogue (cf. Dialogue Sentences) encodes deep structure Repartee, here the pseudo-dialogue aspect of the sentence is a feature of surface structure which yields a surface structure meaning of emphasis.

Examples:

Rhetorical Question Parallel Sentence

1. RQ Base: a' thaa'oyngk wee'ant thee'angan?
cj bait whom-to threw-I

Response Base: Parallel S

Text: Valant thee'ang Parallel: a' Rickant thee'ang.
Val-to threw-I-pt cj Rick-to threw-I

...and to whom did I give the bait? To Val and to Rick.

Rhetorical Question Paraphrase Sentence

2. RQ Base: Yaa, inaniya waa'angan ngeena?
yes this-sp-cj tell-I-ct what

Response Base: Paraphrase S

Text: wayk nganan we'anan Paraphrase: uwanan kangkang,
dye we dig-we-ct find-we-ct bush-in

Yes, this that I'm telling you, what is it? We dig dye, and find (it) in the bush...

Rhetorical Question Amplification Sentences

3. RQ Base: nil ngeen wich
she what caught-she

Response Base: Amplification S

Text: minh ur'ur' wich Ampl: pii'an wich
fish grunter caught-she big caught-she
...what did she catch? She caught a grunter, a big one.

4. RQ Base: Wee'aniy, Andrewan, nil kaa'atham wee' uwan
who-sp Andrew-that he first who found-he

Response Base: Amplification S

Text: kúunch-kūnchan uwan Ampl: Simonan uwan
brother own-that found-he -that found-he
Who did Andrew first find? He found his own brother, he found
Simon...

Rhetorical Question Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence

5. RQ Base: an ngangk ngeen
that heart what

Response Base: Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence

Text_{neg}: kaangk wunow thant ya'a
like lie-he-ft them-to doesn't

Para_{pos}: nil ngangkan pe-péey thant
he heart cried-he-ct them-to

...and what was his heart like? He didn't love them, he
hated them.

Rhetorical Question Sequence Sentence

6. RQ Base/Base₁: wantinak ngul thee'a
where-to then threw-she

Response Base/Base_n: yukang wipath
tree-on stuck-it

...where did she throw it next? It got stuck in the tree...

7. Base₁: nil aakanak iiya wo'uwak
she there-to went-she river-to

RQ Base: a' nil ngeen ngula
cj she what then

Response/Base_n: a' kuuy thee' minh nga'ak
cj line threw-she fish-for

...she went to the river, and what did she do then, she threw
her line in for fish.

Rhetorical Question Future Result Sentence

8. RQ Base/Text: Ngeenak than fenceaniy yumpantana, puth ngeenak?
why they fence-that-sp make-they but why

Response Base/Future Result: bullockan yipmam wonk palangk
bullock-that so-that side this-on

ingman wunayn min-miniy anangman.
here-stay lie-they-ft good-very there-stay-prereferent

Why are they making that fence? For what? So that bullocks will live on this side, and stay in that very good place.

Rhetorical Question Reason Sentence

9. RQ Base/Text: nilan puth wantak thawiy pulanta
 he but what say-would-he them-dl-to
 Response Base/Reason: pulan puth kuunch anman
 they-dl because brother only
 waa'-pul nunang komanh kuchamang ananiya.
 talked-about-they-dl him young-women two-ts those-two-sp
 ...but what could he say to those two because those two young
 women only called him brother.

Rhetorical Question Simile Sentences

10. RQ Base/Proposition: Yuk ina ka' ngeen yimanam
 thing this like what same-manner
 Response Base/Simile: ka' waangk ngantam patham.
 like string-bag ours really
What is this thing like? It is really like our string bags.
11. RQ base/Proposition: Aak ina ngeen
 place this what
 Response Base/Simile: min ngul ka' wiy inana kemp pach
 good now like some this skin white
 nath-nath ngan ina yim-yimanam kemp pacha' ngana' karp.
 far-away we this this-manner skin white-cj we-cj together
*What is this place like? It's good now, like the white people's
 place far away, we're the same now, the white people and us.*

11.3 DELETED PREDICATE

As a sentence multiplier, Deleted Predicate is somewhat more problematic than the two already described and illustrated. In some of the basic types, deletion of the predicate of one base is a rather predictable and mundane occurrence (cf. deletion of the verb *thought* in *Mistaken Thought Sentence*). Clearly, a sentence multiplier should be an additional feature over and beyond those characteristic of a basic sentence type. I have tentatively posited such a feature as co-occurring with the following basic sentence types: **Parallel**, **Contrast**, **Amplification (Paraphrase)**, **Generic-Specific (Paraphrase)**, **Negated Antonym (Paraphrase)**, **Completive Action (Sequence)**, **Non-future Result**, and **Mistaken Thought** (but not by virtue of deletion of the verb *thought*).

In some examples, Deleted Predicate sentence types could be analyzed as discontinuous noun phrases. This analysis has been rejected as it leads to clumsy noun phrases, with part in one Phonological Clause and the remainder in another. Also regarding intonation, there is no difference in the intonation pattern when the second Phonological Clause

contains a verb and when the verb (Predicate) is deleted; that is, it can be supplied and is treated as if there in all examples. When the verb does occur, e.g. in Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence it is low and fast and occurs sentence final.

Examples:

Deleted Predicate Parallel Sentences

1. Yaa, Text: ngay Valan kalangana' Parallel: Rick puth
 yes I Val-that took-I-her-cj and
 Parallel: a' wanchintan káath-kūnchan, Mrs. Smithan kalangan.
 cj old-lady-that mother-own-that -that took-I-her
 Yes, I took Val and (I took) Rick and the old lady, the mother
 Mrs. Smith, I took her too.

VR 8, 9

2. Text: Ana puth paman uthamana' Parallel: or wanch nathiy,
 dem then man-that dies-he-cj or women maybe
 Parallel: or puk weya, (aawuchan wantanampa)...
 or child emo house leave-we-hab
 When a man dies, or maybe a woman (dies) or child (dies), we leave
 the house (and go and stay with our relatives).

In Sequence S: OR

Deleted Predicate Contrast Sentences

3. Text: inan ya'a, Contrast: ngaa'thónan nath wampowa.
 today no day-another maybe come-he-ft
 ...he won't (come) today, maybe he'll come another day.
4. Text: Puk many wiya epa mina ngoonchantan, Contrast: wiya ya'a.
 child small some fact good enter-they some no
 Some children are all right, they go to school without any fuss but
 others don't (go to school without fuss).

KL 003-004

5. Text: wiyiy thawantan, "ngay ep ya'a",
 some say-they I fact no
 Contrast: nil wiya oyngkang wantan thanang,
 he(coll) some vomit-ts leaves-it them
 ...some say, "I'm all right, I won't (vomit)", but others vomit,...
6. Text: Ngay-nungantiya', kenyangk wunang,
 I-hers-sp-cj high-on lay-I
 Contrast: nil Dora pekangk.
 she below-on
 I slept on the top bunk and Dora (slept) on the bottom.

MB

7. Text: Puk wiya kaangk ngoonchayn schoolaka,
children some like enter-they-ft -to
 Contrast: wiya ya'a, aak way ngeeyantan.
some no place bad hear-they-ct
*Some children like to go to school, but some don't (like to),
 they hear bad things about it.*

KL 004

Deleted Predicate Amplification Sentences

8. Text: Nil ngangk nungantamani ngangka pe-péey,
he heart his-that-sp heart cried-he-cont
 Ampl: pam wanch nungantamak aakanakaman kampan,
men women his-to those-to relatives
He had hate in his heart, he even (hated) his own relatives...
9. Text: kun-thúl chintangan, Ampl: pii'an.
rifle-fish speared-I big
...it was a rifle fish I speared, a big one (I speared).

Deleted Predicate Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence

10. Text_{neg}: way thakan ke'am thee'antan ngant,
bad etc never give-they-pl us-to
 Para_{pos}: min anman.
good only
...they never give us bad, (they) only (give) good.

GP₂ 31-37

Deleted Predicate Generic-Specific Sentences

11. Generic: aakana wíy-wiyama Specific: iithan ananiya
place-that different jungle that-sp
...this place is strange, the jungle (is strange)...
12. Generic: nana way naniya, Specific: pik nanganiya.
those bad those-sp fins those-there-sp
...those are bad, those fins there (are bad).

Deleted Predicate Completive Action Sentence

13. Action: a' kenya kenya kenyaa, Completed Action: kan patham
cj high high high-ct punct really
 pechan, "thum ya' ey?"
cried-we firewood not ques
*...and we (went) up and up and up, and then we really called out,
 "There isn't any firewood there, is there?"*

WM 052

Deleted Predicate Non-future Result Sentence

14. Text: Ngay ngaa'thonthón ngaa'am chintanara'
 I every-day dark-from spears-to-me-cj
 Res: am-amanam ngay kemp waya'
 from-that(reason) I body bad-cj
 Res: ka'páal ke' ek-ekang mee'ngútangama.
 therefore neg get-up-I early
 I (work) every day until it is dark therefore I feel bad so I
 don't get up early in the morning.

Recorded from Conversation

Deleted Predicate Mistaken Thought Sentence

15. Appearance Base: Ngay ka' ku'waakanta, Reality: puth ya'a
 I like cat-to-it but no
 Reality: ku' patham.
 dog really
 I (thought) it was a cat, but, no, (it's) really a dog.

11.4 EXAMPLES WITH MORE THAN ONE MULTIPLIER

The following examples are where more than one multiplier occurs with a basic sentence type.

Cyclic Deleted Predicate Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence

1. A Text_{pos}: Nil ngakak pam muuy kunchang alangan
 he water-for man cousin own-ts that-ts
 uwan nungant, kuutan nungantamakaniy,
 finds-he him-for his-own-for-sp
 B Para_{neg}: piipiyang ya'a, kuunchang ya'a,
 father-ts no brothers-ts no
 A' Text_{pos}: nil pam muuyanan weentowant
 he man cousin-that turn-round-ft-for-him
 ngakaka, mayaka, minhaka.
 water-for food-for meat-for
 The man who is his own cousin finds water for him, for his kuutan;
 his father (does) not, his brothers (do) not; it is his cousin
 who searches for water and food and meat for him.

Cyclic Rhetorical Question Simultaneous Sentence

2. A Text: ngan we'anana' B RQ Base: ngeenana weechanan,
 we dig-we-ct-cj what-that follow-we-ct
 B' Response/Simultaneous: tha'púntamanan anan weechanan,
 roots-those that follow-we
 A' Text: we'anana.
 dig-we-ct
 ...when we dig, what do we follow, we follow that root, (when)
 we dig.

Cyclic Rhetorical Question Reason Sentence (deleted Response)

3. Text: Wantān pulang, RQ Base/Reason: pula puth wantak
 leave-you-ft them-dl they-dl but what
 wey kek maaiypul, mulathiypul ngampang,
 emo spear pick-up-sj-they kill-sj-they us
 Text': wantāmp pulang.
 leave-we-ft them-dl
 (You) leave them, (because) would they pick up a spear to kill
 us, (so) we will leave them.

Cyclic Rhetorical Question Result Sentence

4. A Text: yaa, puth than wik nungantamana' konangam pii'in
 yes so they words his-that-cj ear-in held-they
 B Result: Rhetorical Question Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) S
 RQ Base/Text_{neg}: ke' thak ngeen yumpantan way-wáy
 neg etc what make-they-ct bad-bad
 thampanganí ngul, Response Base/Para_{pos}: than minam anman
 too-that-sp then they good only
 yumpantan, A' Text: wik nungantaman ngaantam-ngeeyantan,
 do-they-ct words his-that hear-they-ct
 konangam pii'antan.
 ear-in hold-they-ct
 ...yes, so they remembered his words so that they don't make (the
 fence) badly, they only make it well, they believe and remember
 his words.

Cyclic Rhetorical Question Deleted Predicate Simple Sentence

5. A RQ Base: A' Louis'ang ngeen wanta
 cj Louisa-ts what left-she
 B Response Base: Rhetorical Question Sentence
 RQ Base: koonha wanta kempan tham angaman landing
 teeth left-she basket too there-stay
 wun yuunch ngeen thinta
 was-it tree what near
 Response: upun thinthan wun A': koonh.
 poison-tree close-that lay-it teeth
 What did Louisa leave behind? She left her teeth behind, and
 her basket also, there at the landing, near what tree? - near
 the poison tree, there she left her teeth.

Cyclic Rhetorical Question Deleted Predicate Reason-Result Sentence

6. A RQ Base/Text: Than inan work umpantan thaa'tháa'
 they this do-they-ct all-the-time
 ngaa'thonthóna' mango yuk inangan umpantan thanang,
 day-every tree these cut-they-ct them
 keekathantan thanang, ngeenama?
 fell-they-ct them why

B Response Base/Reason: Cyclic Reason Sentence

A Text: anan puth yim-yímanama, wanch alpan thonam
it but like-this woman sick one

war'am maakan punthanan pip
almost crushed-it-her branch-that broke-it

B Reason: yuk anhanh mayangam ngath
tree heavy fruit-full shut

A' Text: Rhetorical Question Non-future Result Sentence

RQ Base/Text: puth nanpal yaa'ka'a ngeena
but from-what maybe what

Response Base/Result: yukaniy thuth
tree-that-sp broke-it

A₁' Text-Result: than puth nanpala yuk inangan pupantan
they but therefore tree these cut-they-ct

ngaa'thonthónang
day-every-on

B' Reason: Rhetorical Question Reason Sentence

RQ Base/Text: ana puth aak way ngul ngeen
dem because place bad then what

Response Base/Reason: alpan thak maak wunananganíy
sick etc crush-it lying-there-sp

A₂' Text-Result: nanpala umpantan.
therefore cut-they-ct

A *Why are the men here working every day, chopping down and felling these mango trees?*

B *It's like this, one sick woman was almost crushed when a branch broke, because the branch was heavy with fruit and from that, what?, maybe the tree broke.*

A₁' *therefore they are chopping down these trees every day*

B' *because the place would become dangerous, why? - the sick people lying there would get crushed.*

A₂' *therefore they chop (the trees) down.*

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