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Patterns In Clause, Sentence, and Discourse

in selected languages of India and Nepal

Part I, Sentence and Discourse

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We wish therefore to express our sincere appreciation to the Vice Chancellor, Mr. L. Bullayya, the Registrar, Mr. M. Gopalakrishna Reddy, and the Syndicate of Andhra University for their encouragement and cooperation in making this research possible.

Subsequent to the two months at Andhra University, the research teams travelled to Nepal where they worked on further analysis and composition under the kind auspices of Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu. We are deeply grateful to the Vice Chancellor, Dr. T. N. Upraity and to Dr. P. R. Sharma, Dean of the Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, for their part in making this further work possible.

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Introduction

We present in this volume five languages of India-Nepal from four different language families--Halbi, Kupia, and Parengi-Gorum of India, and Dhangar-Kudux and Tamang of Nepal. Halbi and Kupia are Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh respectively. Parengi-Gorum is a Munda language spoken in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. Dhangar-Kudux is a Dravidian language spoken in southern Nepal. It is a dialect of the Kudux of India. Finally, Tamang is a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal.

We focus in this volume on sentence--four of the papers are on sentence description and the paper on Dhangar-Kudux discourse has implications for sentence analysis. The paper, "Clause Patterns in Parengi-Gorum," has been included here in order to balance the sizes of Parts I and II of the report. For the theory underlying this paper, see the article, "Toward the Systematization of Display Grammar," by Austin Hale in Part II.

All of the sentence papers build on the ground work laid by Robert E. Longacre (1967, 1968, 1970, 1972, and the two papers co-authored with Ballard and Conrad 1971). There are, however, certain modifications which we would like to suggest. One is regarding the place of sentence in the grammatical hierarchy. The other is concerning the ranking of relationships within a sentence. Both are discussed in the paper, "Sentence Relations Between Whole Propositions in English."

We feel that the proper context in which to study relations between propositions is discourse. We found in our study of sentence that some sentence links and relators tended to fluctuate in meaning from informant session to informant session especially when sentences were previously elicited out of context. Within a discourse, however, a particular relation is much less likely to be ambiguous and the language assistant is put on a much firmer footing when having to answer questions about that relation. No doubt quick elicitation of several sentence types is possible depending on the ability of the language assistant. Unless, however, these sentences are checked in context, the linguist cannot be sure of either the meaning he has assigned or of the possibility of a finer distinction in meaning.

2 Patterns in Clause, Sentence, and Discourse

Gordon and Pike have reversed this order in their paper on Dhangar-Kudux by studying discourse structure via a heuristic known as sentence reversal. The beauty of this approach is that it studies linguistic units in context and hence the language assistant is perfectly at home in giving judgments about whether certain sentences or groups of sentences can be reversed and if so what adjustments are required to make the change. The method is based on the assumption that the language assistant will only reverse units which are in some way complete in themselves. By starting with sentence size units, the linguist not only discovers much of the structure of paragraph and discourse begins to unfold as well.

Sentence Patterns in Halbi

Fran Woods

A. Introduction.

Halbi is the lingua franca of the Bastar District in the interior of the state of Madhya Pradesh, India. According to the 1961 Census of India there are 300,000 native speakers of the language. Halbi belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages and is closely related to Oriya, Hindi, and Marathi.

As a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics working under the auspices of Deccan College, Poona, the author commenced research in Halbi in 1967. Between 1967 and 1969 the author and a co-worker, Miss Betsy Schuyler, lived in the village of Bhatpal in Bastar District. The present analysis is based on the language as spoken in Bhatpal village.

The author is particularly indebted to Mr. Chingar Ram Murea, Mr. Durga Ram Murea, and Mr. Lula Ram Murea, all of Bhatpal village, for their able assistance in sorting out the intricacies of their language; and to my co-worker, Betsy Schuyler, for her continuing interest and encouragement. The author is also indebted to Dr. Kenneth L. Pike, Dr. Ronald L. Trail, Dr. Robert E. Longacre, and other members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for their stimulation in working on the sentence in Halbi.

It is the author's view that a sentence is basically composed of either one proposition (clause) with its peripheral elements, or two or more propositions (clauses) with only one primary relationship, plus periphery. Focusing on the latter aspect the purpose of this paper is to describe the sentence structure of Halbi. Leaving the description of one-proposition-sentence at this point, we focus on sentence as grammatically a level of clause combination and semantically a level of proposition combination. The interplay of these two features is what we have used to arrive at the twenty-nine sentence types here posited.

The first section of the paper describes the general grammatical structure of the sentence in Halbi and includes a description of sentence nucleus and sentence periphery. The contrastive sentence types are then incorporated into two trees. The first tree is a semantic or propositional relationship tree where each node is a contrastive semantic feature. The second tree is a grammatical structure tree where each node is a contrastive grammatical feature.

The second section of the paper describes in detail the contrastive sentence types. Each sentence is introduced with a short grammatical description followed by a basic sentence formula using the four box system developed by Pike. Immediately following the formula is a description of the semantic relationship between the propositions. This is followed by a more detailed grammatical description including the Halbi examples.

Following this section is a short section on sentence combination describing simultaneous double encoding of various propositional relationships and the embedding of coordinate and alternate constructions in dependent bases. Finally, a section on distribution illustrates some of the recursive embedding of one sentence type within another which may occur in Halbi.

In the basic sentence formulas, links are formalized using a six box system. Box 3 gives the Halbi word or words while box 6 gives the English gloss. Halbi words written with capital letters in box 3 (such as GUNE) indicate one of a class of conjunctions. This is also true in the grammatical descriptions where relators (such as ALE) and verbal suffixes (such as UAY) are written with capital letters to indicate one of class of fillers.

The following is a summary statement of the Halbi phonology and the orthography used for the examples and illustrations given in Halbi. In Figures 1, 2, and 3 the consonants and vowels are given together with the orthographic equivalents in those cases where the orthographic spelling is different from the phonemic spelling. In Figure 4 syllable initial clustering with h is illustrated.

| | | | | |
|---|---|--------|---|---|
| p | t | ṭ (T) | c | k |
| b | d | ḍ (D) | j | g |
| | s | | | |
| m | n | | | |
| | l | | | |
| | r | ṛ (R) | | |
| w | | | y | h |

Figure 1. Halbi Consonants.

| | | |
|---|------|---|
| i | | u |
| e | ə(6) | o |
| a | | |

Figure 2. Halbi Oral Vowels.

| | | |
|--------|--------|--------|
| ĩ (i:) | | ũ (u:) |
| ẽ (e:) | ǣ(ɛ:) | ǿ (ɔ:) |
| | ã (a:) | |

Figure 3. Halbi Nasalized Vowels.

| | | | | |
|----|-----|---------|----|----|
| ph | .th | ɸh (Th) | ch | kh |
| bh | .dh | ɸh (Dh) | jh | gh |

Figure 4. Syllable Initial Clusters with h.

Throughout the paper, clauses filling the sentence bases are described as belonging to the Active, Eventive, Stative, or Attributive clause sets. The Active clause set includes Intransitive, SemiTransitive, Transitive, and DiTransitive clauses; the Eventive clause set includes Eventive, SemiReceptive, Receptive, and DiReceptive clauses; the Stative set includes Descriptive, SemiStative, Stative, and DiStative clauses; and the Attributive clause set includes Circumstantive, Semi-Attributive, Attributive, and DiAttributive clauses. A more complete description of the Halbi Clause may be found in volume two of this report.

During the research, considerable use was made of a concordance of text in Halbi made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the linguistic information retrieval project of the Summer Institute and sponsored by grant GS 1605 of the National Science Foundation.

B. General Structure of the Halbi Sentence.

In Halbi, a sentence consists of a nucleus and an optional periphery. The nucleus of the sentence is that part of the sentence providing the contrastive features which identify the various sentence types in Halbi. The periphery of the sentence generally does not provide the contrastive features distinguishing one sentence from another although there are specialized periphery tagmemes which may only occur with certain sentence types. General periphery tagmemes are common to most types of sentence. In the following paragraphs some general characteristics of the sentence nucleus and then of the sentence periphery are discussed.

1. Characteristics of the Sentence Nucleus.

The sentence nucleus expresses sememic relations between propositions such as coordination, condition-consequent, reason-result, alternation, thesis-antithesis, topic-magnification and the like. These sememic relations encode into various grammatically contrastive sen-

tences. To facilitate the description of the contrastive sentence types, the most common sememic relationship encoding into a particular sentence type is taken as the name of the sentence.

According to Longacre (1968:42), parts of a sentence, "have a certain mutual dependence, cross-reference and cohesiveness." It is these features within the nucleus which distinguish it from the sentence periphery and which prompt the classification of an item as either nuclear or peripheral.

There are two types of nuclear tagmemes--links and bases. Links consist of conjunctions such as ki 'or', nahle 'otherwise', gune 'therefore', aur 'and'. Bases may be dependent or independent and may be joined by the links or merely juxtaposed. The independent bases are filled by independent clauses. The dependent bases are filled by various dependent clauses. A base is termed dependent when any one of the following five factors is applicable:

a) If a base is filled by an axis-relator clause it is dependent and must have another base, not filled by an axis-relator clause, occurring with it.

(DB)leka boRe boRe baRlo jale (IB)bia k6rdebe.
 boy big big he grew when wedding they will perform
 'When the boy is grown big they will perform the wedding.'

Here the first base is dependent in that it is filled by an axis-relator clause and requires the presence of the second base.

b) If a base is dependent on the rest of the sentence to complete its meaning it is dependent. As a result, a base expressed in imperfect aspect is dependent.

(DB 1)mo:y ni ete jale (DB 2)mortis.
 I not I would come if you would die
 'If I hadn't come you would have died.'

(DB)616s bai jatibe (IB)pre**n** bai co kirta janu eta
Alice Bai she would go Fran Bai of reason part. here

Theblise.
 she has stayed
 'Alice Bai would have gone but because of Fran Bai she has stayed.'

In the first example, the second base is dependent on the first base to complete its meaning. The first base is already dependent in that it is filled by an axis-relator clause. In the second example, the first base is dependent on the second base to complete its meaning.

In the same manner, a base expressed in optative mood is dependent. As such the base with the optative mood is dependent on the independent

base to complete its meaning.

(DB) k6ha:y hoo (IB) raha!
 wherever it may be stay!
 'Wherever it may be, stay there!'

c) If a base is filled by an unexpandable formulaic clause, it is dependent. In the example, the second base in an unexpandable formulaic clause and can never occur alone.

(IB) tumco datun aur ay (DB) ne?
 you of toothstick other it is isn't that so
 'Your toothstick is different, isn't it?'

d) If the paired prefixes j- and h- occur in two otherwise independent bases, then both bases are interdependent and thus dependent. The two correlative terms are underlined in the following example.

(DB 1) je l6ge pani l6ge roede (DB 2) hun l6ge cua:
 wherever water place in it will be that place in well

khoRuat.
 they will dig
 'Wherever there is water, at that place they will dig a well.'

e) If negative markers permute from a normal negative positioning in any sentence type then the base in which they are permuted is dependent.

(DB 1) leka khae nai (DB 2) ka:y nai.
boy he eats not is anything not is
 'The boy doesn't eat, he doesn't do anything.'

Here the initial base is dependent in that the negative has been permuted from a position preceding the verb and its form has changed. Normally the clause would be leka ni khae 'the boy does not eat.' The second base is dependent in that it is formulaic.

The sentence nucleus is described in detail with reference to each sentence type in the section on contrastive sentence types.

2. Characteristics of the Sentence Periphery.

Robert Longacre (1970a:786) divides the sentence periphery into two distinct parts--inner and outer periphery. In this report we have used his outer periphery concept as applying to Halbi sentence. Most, if not all, of his inner peripheral items we have incorporated into the sentence nucleus. This means that a conditional clause is never peripheral to what follows it, but always nuclear indicating a condition-consequent relationship. This is a valid sentence level relationship. In the same way, concession, time, cause, purpose, and circumstance

are always considered nuclear to their sentence types.

On the other hand, such items as exclamation, vocative, response, emphatic focus, and time setting are generally not propositional in nature and tend to occur indiscriminately among the sentence types. By these two criteria they are considered peripheral. The fact that some of these are, in fact, limited in distribution to only a few sentence types does not, in our opinion, give sufficient reason for incorporating them into the nucleus of the sentence. The sentence is either composed of only one proposition with accompanying peripheral elements, or two or more propositions with only one primary relationship. This relationship may or may not be signalled by a linking tagmeme. To include these items in the nucleus would be to allow more than one relationship to exist within the sentence.

The periphery of the Halbi sentence consists of a number of optional tagmemes which normally occur on the outer extremities of the sentence, but which, in some cases, may even interrupt the internal linear ordering of the sentence nucleus itself.

Most peripheral elements do not influence or restrict the relationship between the propositions in the nucleus and these are termed General Periphery. However, there are some peripheral elements which have some influence on the propositional relationships of the nucleus and these are termed Specialized Periphery. In the following paragraphs these two types of periphery are described in detail.

2.1 General Periphery.

The occurrence of any of the general periphery tagmemes on a sentence is largely discourse conditioned. In a narrative or dialogue, tagmemes such as attention, response, and vocative occur frequently while in other discourses, such as a procedural discourse, they occur infrequently. Also it is to be noted that some sentence types are more prone to attract these general periphery tagmemes than others. Positive Echo Question and Alternative Question Sentences nearly always have the vocative tagmeme occurring with them, while the Generic Temporal-Conditional Sentence rarely does. The general periphery tagmemes fall into two groups:

2.11 Tagmemes Restricted to Prenuclear Position.

These prenuclear tagmemes occur sentence initial only. Usually only one from this group will occur in any one sentence (two exclamations, however, have been observed in one sentence).

Exclamation. The exclamation tagmeme includes such things as: i aya 'good grief!', chi 'ugh!', oho re 'ah ha!', bap re 'wow!', and he: 'what!'.

Attention. The attention tagmeme includes: d6ka 'look!', ale

'here!', ede 'here!', he: 'hey!'.

Response. The response tagmeme includes: nai 'no', hou 'yes', ale 'O.K.', k6s6n to 'so what', k6s6n jale 'who knows?'.

Sentence Conjunction. The sentence conjunction tagmeme includes: aur 'and', tebe 'then'.

2.12 Tagmemes Not Restricted in Relation to the Nucleus.

These non-restricted tagmemes occur anywhere within the sentence.

Vocative. The vocative tagmeme includes: miri 'Miri!', bai 'lady!', aya 'Mother!', leka 'Boy!', and any other name or relationship term.

Hesitation. The hesitation tagmeme includes: kay to 'ummmm'.

2.2 Specialized Periphery.

The occurrence of any of the specialized periphery tagmemes on a sentence is conditioned by both the specific sentence type and the occurrence of that sentence within a discourse. The emphatic tagmeme, mant6r '!', may only occur with Contra-Expectation, Antithetical, Identity-Contrast, or Witness-Fact Sentences and then only at that point in a discourse requiring an emphatic assertion of belief in the truth or correctness of the statement being made. As yet, the relationship between discourse and the occurrence of these peripheral elements in a sentence has not been studied in depth so a full description must wait until such a study has been made. The specialized periphery tagmemes fall into three groups:

2.21 Tagmemes Restricted to Prenuclear Position.

These prenuclear tagmemes occur sentence initial only.

Topic. The topic tagmeme is usually a phrase marked with the usual direct object marker ke, and frequently employing the repeater tagmeme.

kakRi ke bole
cucumber OM also
'Regarding the cucumber...'

Setting. The setting tagmeme is usually a general time phrase and is obligatorily present when clauses of the Active set fill the bases of the Descriptive Listing Sentence. Setting optionally occurs in other sentence types. Some of the phrases which may fill this tagmeme include: rati m6:j6n 'night and day', aThara din rati m6j6n 'for eighteen days, both day and night', eble 'as yet', roj 'daily', boRe biane 'early in the morning'.

2.22 Tagmemes Restricted to Postnuclear Position.

This set of tagmemes may occur sentence final only.

Responsibility Disclaimer. The responsibility disclaimer tagmeme is filled by m6ne 'it is said'. Throughout narrative discourse m6ne closes each sentence and indicates that the story did not originate with the storyteller. In dialogue m6ne closes the sentence which is passing on secondhand information. The speaker disclaims all responsibility for the truth of his statement when he attaches m6ne to the end.

Afterthought. The afterthought tagmeme may consist of any clause level tagmeme and it occurs sentence final (and following m6ne when it occurs). The afterthought is used to clarify some part of the preceding sentence.

(IB 1)ja sa:gun des (IB 2)bolla (AFTH)m6-ke
 gol having told give! they said I-OM
 'They said, "Go and tell!" to me.'

2.23 Tagmemes Not Restricted in Relation to the Nucleus.

These tagmemes will occur within the body of the sentence.

Emphatic. The emphatic tagmeme is filled by mant6r '!', and it may occur only with the Contra-Expectation, Antithetical, Identity-Contrast, or Witness-Fact Sentences. mant6r occurs between the two bases of the sentence and applies to both. When this tagmeme occurs the truth of both bases is being asserted and the same two bases are being linked together as a definite unit.

Repeater. The repeater tagmeme is filled by bole 'also' and pher 'again'. bole and pher may occur separately or together and frequently are found to occur within the sentence bases.

janu. The janu morpheme occurs in many sentence types. Its function is unknown. janu may occur within the bases of the sentence.

to. The to morpheme occurs in many sentence types; however, here too the function is unknown. Like janu it may occur within the sentence bases.

Time Sequence. The time sequence tagmeme is filled by pase 'later'. It may occur in the sequence sentences where it intensifies the sequential relationship of the propositions. It may also occur in other sentence types where a time sequence may be relevant although not in focus.

Emphatic Focus. The emphatic focus tagmeme is filled by ci. It occurs with the part of the sentence base being emphasized or in focus.

3. Semantic Structure Tree.

The semantic structure tree (Figure 5) breaks down into six major

nodes. The initial break is between chronological and non-chronological. Although cause-effect relationships involve temporal sequence in which cause must precede effect, it is only secondarily in focus. This may also be true of the other non-chronological sentence types. In chronological sentence types, either a simultaneous or a sequential temporal relationship is being focused upon.

Under the non-chronological node come the sub-divisions of cause-effect, disjunction, restatement, coupling, and complementation. Under cause-effect we include conditional, concessive, contrafactual, reason-result, and so forth.

By disjunction we mean alternation in which 'or' is the typical conjunction.

Restatement means that one proposition repeats, either in the same or different form, the initial proposition and may add further information or speaker expectancy.

Under coupling we have included the two relationships which can be characterized as, "A and B" and "A but B." "A and B" simply links two propositions together as a double assertion. "A but B" links two propositions together as a contrastive assertion.

Finally, complementation indicates that one proposition completes or complements the meaning of the other either by item identification and comment, by correlative relationship, or by complementation of such verbs as 'say', 'know', and 'see'.

The reader is also directed to the far lower right which lists the three grammatical divisions as layers into which the terminal points of the tree fall.

It is not surprising to find most cause-effect and chronological relationships encoding as subordinate type grammatical structures. Disjunction as expected encodes into coordinate type grammatical structures. Restatement is largely paratactic but has two sentence types which encode as subordinate structures (these, however, may be due to our definition of truncated and formulaic clauses as being dependent and may not be a real reflection of the true structure). Coupling which we would expect to encode into coordinate, largely encodes into paratactic. This fact demonstrates the tendency of Halbi to conjoin not so much by means of links as by parataxis or other means. Finally, complementation sentences which we would expect to encode into the subordinate grammatical structures encodes mainly into paratactic.

4. Grammatical Structure Tree.

The Halbi sentence structure tree (Figure 6) divides into three smaller trees termed: subordinate, paratactic, and coordinate. Each of these trees is considered to be in contrast with the other on the

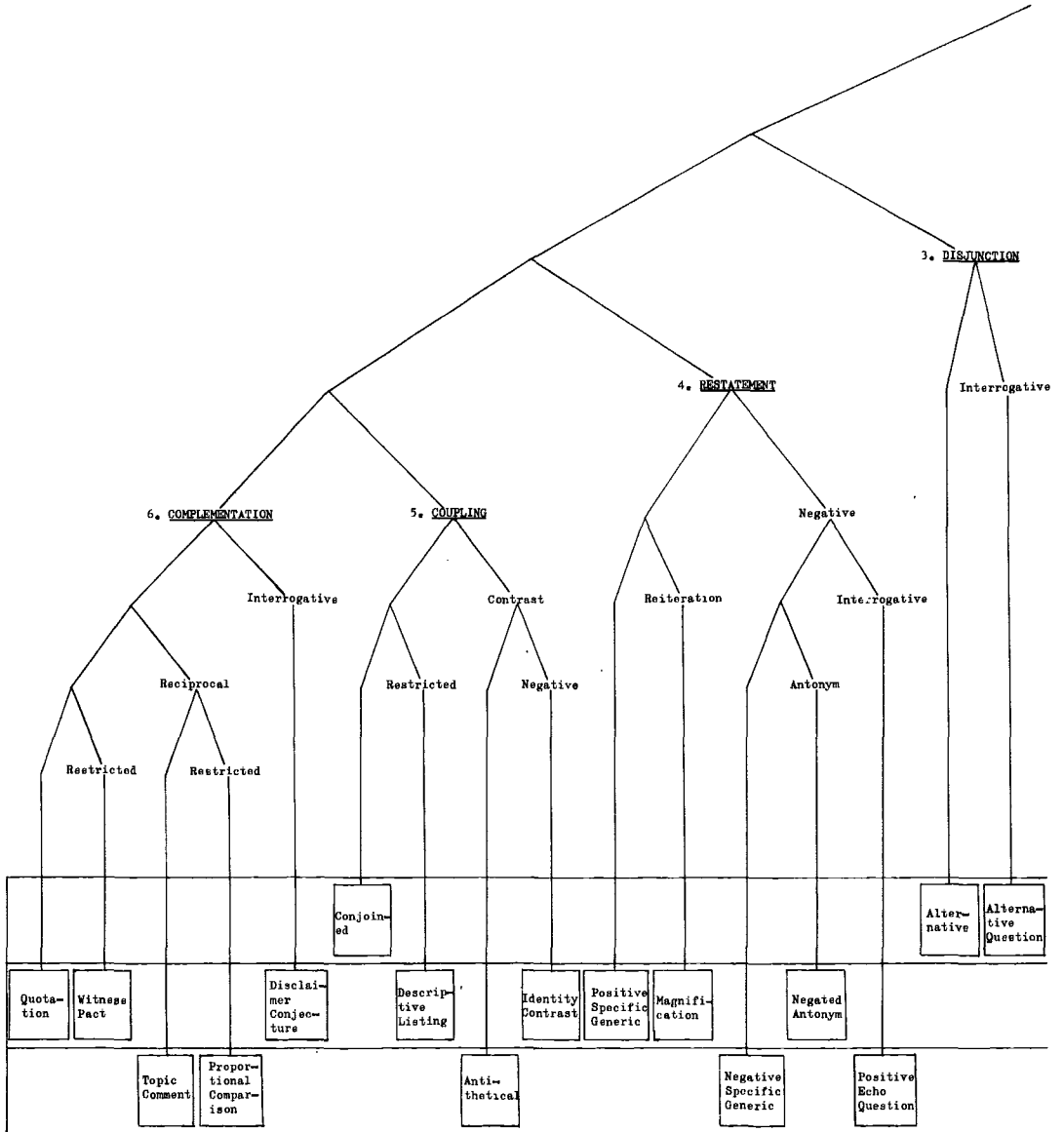


Figure 5. Semantic Structure Tree.

following basis:

- a) In the subordinate tree, sentences must have at least one dependent base.
- b) In the paratactic tree, sentences must have only independent bases.
- c) In the coordinate tree, sentences have independent bases joined by a link.

Each tree divides out to the various contrastive sentence types. Each node on the tree is a contrastive grammatical feature which sets individual sentences and sets of sentences off from one another. (Another contrastive feature is the distribution of each sentence within the grammatical hierarchy; however, this aspect of distribution has not been incorporated into the grammatical tree.) Some of the nodes are self explanatory while others need some explanation.

Subordinate Branch. Optional permute indicates that the bases of these sentences may be permuted without change in meaning. Optional specialized periphery tagmeme, time sequence, means that the form pase 'later' may optionally occur. Independent base indicates the obligatory presence of at least one independent base.

Paratactic Branch. Optional specialized periphery tagmeme, emphatic, indicates the optional occurrence of the form mant6r '!'. Same base fillers means that both bases must have the same clause types. Obligatory setting periphery indicates the presence of some time phrase such as rati m6:j6n 'night and day'.

Coordinate Branch. Disjunct is given as an antonym to conjunct and is characterized by the link 'or'.

The reader is also directed to the far lower right which lists the six major sememic divisions as layers into which the terminal points of the tree fall.

C. Contrastive Sentence Types.

At the time of writing, there have been found twenty-nine contrastive sentence types.² These twenty-nine sentences have been posited as a result of the contrastive features incorporated in the two sentence trees in the previous section. To facilitate description, the sentences are divided into six groups according to the six major nodes on the semantic structure tree. These groups then are: Chronological, Cause-effect, Disjunction, Coupling, Restatement, and Complementation.

The contrastive sentence type examples have been kept free from em-

bedding for illustrative purposes. Embedding of one sentence within another is discussed in Section E. Distribution.

1. Chronological.

The chronological group of sentences consists of four basic types, all of which are subordinate in that they each have one dependent base. The dependency is based on the different axis-relator clauses which may fill this dependent base.

The relationship of the propositions of the chronological sentences may be summarized in the following tree diagram:

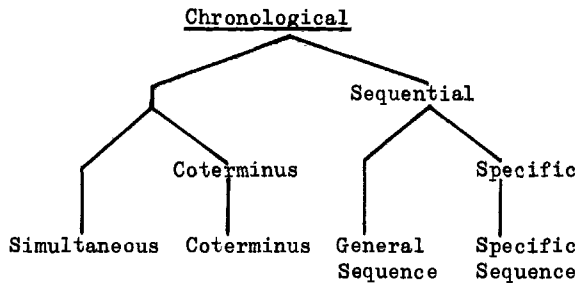


Figure 7. Chronological Branch.

1.1 Specific Sequence Sentence.

The Specific Sequence Sentence consists of at least one dependent base, with the possibility of a second, and one independent base. The dependent bases are filled by dependent clauses or axis-relator clauses while the independent base is filled by an independent clause.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|---------------------|---|-----------------------------|------------------|---|------------------------------|--------|
| + | DB 1 | DepCjvCl A-RC1 7 | + | DB 2 | DepCjvCl | + | IB | IndCl |
| | Initial Prop of Temp Seq | complt action | | Foll Prop of Temp Seq | complt action | | Final Prop of Temp Seq | action |

The propositions of the sentence are in a temporal sequential relationship in which a preceding action must be completed before a following action can begin. The propositions, in general, express a sequence of events in past or present time but they may also be expressed in projected time.

- 1) (DB)iskuT6r ne bosan (IB)6sp6tal ne neuat.
 motorscooter on having caused to sit hospital to they will
 take
 'Having made them sit on the motorscooter they will take them
 to the hospital.'

The dependent bases are filled by a Dependent Conjunctive Clause or by an Axis-Relator Clause 7. The Dependent Conjunctive Clause consists of Dependent Clause 4 from the Active or Eventive clause sets. The clause is unmarked for tense, person, mood, or voice. No verbal auxiliaries may occur. The suffix -un occurs on the verb and indicates a completive aspect. An optional word BATI³ 'after' may also occur intensifying the fact of completion. The Subjects of the bases must be the same.

- 2) (DB)anun bati (IB)ado boRe boRe ke kaTtor ay.
 having brought after half big big OM cutting it is
 'After having brought (the fish to the house), half the big ones
 are to be cut up.'

When more than one dependent clause occurs, both must be Dependent Conjunctive Clauses.

- 3) DB 1)hasun (DB 2)bhuklum (IB)goTheaesot.
 having laughed having rejoiced they are conversing
 'Having laughed and rejoiced they are talking together.'
- 4) (DB 1)sut ghenun (DB 2)anun bhati (IB)hun ke
 thread having bought having brought after that OM
 posea ne bhorun detor ay. . .
 rice water in having filled giving it is
 'Having purchased thread, after having brought it (home), it is
 to be soaked in rice water.'

When the same clause is repeated in two dependent bases then an emphasis on degree or quantity is in focus. This feature is directly influenced by the semantic implications of the sentence. In the following example, for the sentence to be at all meaningful to the audience the dependent base must be duplicated.

- 5) (DB 1)leki gagun (DB)gagun (IB)ai:k kan cipRa
 girl having cried having cried eye ear pus like stuff
 dh6rli.
 she took hold
 'The girl, having bawled her eyes out, has caused her eyes and
 ears to gum up.'

The Axis-Relator Clause 7 which may also fill the initial dependent

base has Dependent Clause 3 from the Active or Eventive sets of clauses filling the axis. Dependent Clause 3 is expressed in perfect aspect and is unmarked for person and number. No verbal auxiliaries may occur. The relator is filled by pase 'later'. The dependent base when filled by this axis-relator clause may have the same or different subject in relation to the independent base.

- 6) (DB)kupa ba:dlo pase (IB)mi:Dtor ay.
 rice stack tied up later threshing it is
 'Later, after the rice-stack is built, the rice is to be threshed.'

The independent base is filled by an independent clause from the Active or Eventive clause sets. This independent clause may be expressed in past, present, or projected time. Declarative mood is usual, though imperative or interrogative mood may occur. Pseudo-passive voice may also occur. The benefactive auxiliary de or the perfective auxiliary ro may occur. Negation does not occur in any base. The linear ordering of the sentence is, in general, as displayed in the four box array; however, permutation is allowed.

- 7) (DB)s6b masT6r nikrun bhati (IB)l6cman ke cheki
 all teacher having come out after Laksman OM blocking
 hola.
 they became
 'After all the teachers came out they stopped (blocked) Laksman.'

- 8) (DB)gay Dhilun (IB)c6rak neese.
 cow having freed to cause to graze he is taking
 'Having let the cattle out he is taking them out to graze.'

- 9) (DB 1)jaun bhati (DB 2)D6:Dik bisan (IB)khator
 having gone after a little while having rested eating
 ay.
 it is
 'After having gone (there), having rested awhile, (food) is to be eaten.'

- 10) (DB)bimar cha:Dlo pase (IB)kukRi pila detor ay.
 sickness healed later hen child giving it is
 'Later, after healing, a chicken is to be given.'

1.2 General Sequence Sentence.

The General Sequence Sentence consists of a dependent and an independent base. The dependent base is filled by an axis-relator clause while the independent base is filled by an independent clause.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | |
|---|----------|---------|---|----------|-----------|
| + | DB | A-Rcl 1 | + | IB | IndCl |
| | Initial | past | | Final | projected |
| | Prop of | time | | Prop of | time |
| | Temp Seq | ' | | Temp Seq | ' |

The propositions of the sentence are in a temporal sequential relationship in which the initial proposition is generally considered to be complete before a following projected action is begun.

- 1) (DB)dhan 6k6rli ale (IB)biasi martor ay.
 paddy rice it sprouted when a small plough hitting it is
 'When the paddy has sprouted then it is to be ploughed with
 the biasi plough.'

The Axis-Relator Clause 1 which fills the dependent base of this sentence consists of an axis filled by an independent clause from the Active or Eventive clause sets. The independent clause must be expressed in simple past tense. The relator is filled by ALE⁴ 'when'.

- 2) (DB)bai m6n ila ale (IB)mo:y ee:de sa:guklay.
 lady pl. they came when I I will come in order to tell
 'When the ladies come I will come in order to tell them.'

The independent base is filled by an independent clause from the Active or Eventive sets of clauses. The clause will be expressed in projected time. Pseudo-passive voice may occur as this usually has the sense of projected time. The Benefactive auxiliary de has been observed to occur.

- 3) (DB)pakli jale (IB)dhan kaTtor ay.
 it ripened when paddy rice cutting it is
 'Once the paddy is ripe it is to be cut.'

The dependent base is not negatable but negation may occur in the independent base. The linear ordering of the bases is usually as displayed in the four box array, however, permutation may occur without any change in the sentence structure. The dependent base is frequently permuted to a position following the independent base in procedural type descriptions where it fills an afterthought tagmeme of the specialized periphery. Also the specialized periphery tagmemes, time sequence (pase 'later') and repeater (pher 'again'), occur frequently and add to the temporal focus of the sentence.

- 4) (DB)hun sowkar chuTi dilo ale (IB)gh6re euat.
 that richman leave he gave when house to they will come
 'When the richman gives (them) leave they will come home.'

- 5) (DB)khub din holi jale (IB)ra:boti amke d6kuk suay.
many day it became when Ramboti we OM to see she will come
'When many days are passed Ramboti will come to see us.'
- 6) (DB)pani marli ale (IB)dhan 6kruay.
water it hit when paddy rice it will sprout
'Once it has rained the paddy will sprout.'
- 7) (DB)leka boRe boRe baRlo jale (IB)bia k6rdebe.
boy big big he grew when wedding they will perform
'When the boy is grown big they will perform the wedding.'
- 8) (DB)hun log m6n ila ale (IB)s6b log khauat.
that people pl. they came when all people they will eat
'When those people come everyone will eat.'
- 9) (DB)hun m6n pej khadla ale (IB)ami bole pej khauau:.
that pl. gruel they ate when we also gruel we will eat
'When they eat gruel we also will eat gruel.'
- 10) (DB)leka hi:Dlo ale (IB)pase pher hun kes ke khi:Dik
boy he walked when later again that hair OM a little

khi:Dik bacator ay.
a little causing to leave it is
'When the boy walks then after that a little bit of his hair
is to be left to grow long.'

1.3 Co-terminus Sentence.

The Co-terminus Sentence consists of one dependent and one independent base. The dependent base is filled by an axis-relator clause while the independent base is filled by an independent clause.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|--|---------|---|-------------|--|-------|
| + | DB | | A-RC1 5 | + | IB | | IndCl |
| | | | | | | | |
| | Identity | | | | Co-terminal | | |
| | Prop | | | | Prop | | |

The initial proposition of the sentence is an event whose terminus (end point) signals the terminus of the second proposition also. That is to say, the two propositions are in a coterminating relationship. While the beginning points of the two propositions can also be the same this is not required.

- 1) (DB)m6ke j6r rotle (IB)6cha ni lage.
I OM fever be until complete good not it feels
'I didn't feel good while I was feverish.'

In some sentences the two propositions are not only in a co-terminating relationship but they are also in a concurrent relationship as well--both beginning and ending together.

- a) (DB)tin din phuni hott6le
three day full moon be while and until complete

(IB)nacuat.
they will dance
'They will dance for three days while the moon is full and until it's finished.'

The dependent base is filled by Axis-Relator Clause 5. The axis is filled by Dependent Clause 4 from the Active, Eventive, Stative, or Attributive sets of clauses, and is unmarked for tense, person, voice, mood, or aspect. No verbal auxiliaries have been observed. The relator is filled by -T6LE,⁵ 'until completion' or -T6TLE,⁶ 'during and until complete'. The dependent base is always stated positively.

- 3) (DB)ber ud6tle (IB)ami sou rou:
sun rise until complete we having slept we were
'We had slept until the sun had risen.'

The independent base is filled by an independent clause from the Active, Eventive, or Stative sets of clauses. The following aspect-tenses have been observed to occur: simple future, simple past, aorist, and present continuous. The benefactive auxiliary de or the perfective auxiliary ro may also occur. Psuedo-passive voice may occur, and the base may be negated. The linear ordering of the bases is as displayed and no permutation is allowed.

- 4) (DB)bai chut ne rotle (IB)gh6re oluk
lady uncleanness in be until complete house in to enter

deter nu ay.
giving not it is
'As long as the lady is defiled she is not allowed inside the house.'

- 5) (DB)ami phik6r ne rotle (IB)gaguau:
we sadness in be until complete we will cry
'We will cry as long as we are sad.'

- 6) (DB)doa m6co thane rotle (IB)dile.
medicine I of place in be until complete I gave
'I gave medicine until it was finished.'

- 7) (DB)bor6k 6mr6tle (IB)janu pej bhat
year arrive until complete part. gruel cooked rice

deuat.
 they will give
 'They will give rice and gruel until the arrival of the next year.'

- 8) (DB)tumco har hotle (IB)khelau:
 you of failure be until complete we will play
 'We will play until you lose.'
- 9) (DB)rani ke bia hotle (IB)k6ha:y jauk ni
 queen OM wedding be until complete wherever to go not

dila.
 they gave
 'They did not allow the queen to go anywhere until her marriage.'

- 10) (DB)eor hott6le (IB)hun 16ge rolu.
 agreement be during and until complete that place at we were
 'We were at that place while and until we reached agreement.'

- 11) (DB)idlo De:g hott6le (IB)laTa m6n.
 this big height be during and until complete weed pl.

ruay.
 it will be
 'The weeds will be there while and until the paddy rice grows to be fairly big.'

1.4 Simultaneous Sentence.

The Simultaneous Sentence consists of one dependent and one independent base. The dependent base is filled by an axis-relator clause while the independent base is filled by an independent clause.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|---------|--|---|----|------------|
| + | DB | A-RC1 6 | | + | IB | IndC1 |
| | | A-RC1 8 | | | | Concurrent |
| | | Temp | | | | simult |
| | | Sett | | | | Ev Prop |
| | | Prop | | | | action |

The propositions of the sentence are in a temporal relationship in which the second action takes place within the time span of the initial action (inclusive simultaneity) or concurrently (concurrent simultaneity) with it. Which of these two relationships is realized depends on the semantic context in focus. Example 1 shows one event occurring within the time span of the other, while example 2 shows the two

in a concurrent relationship.

- 1) (DB)cegto bera (IB)deo m6n euat.
 climbing time spirit pl. they will come
 'During the time of taking possession, the spirits will come.'
- 2) (DB)gh6re olto bera (IB)usni boluat.
 house in entering time like that they will say
 'While entering the house they will talk like that.'

The dependent base is filled by Axis-Relator Clause 6 or 8. The occurrence of the Axis-Relator Clause 6 involves a sharp focus on the simultaneous beginnings and continuance of the initial and following actions. The axis is filled by Dependent Clause 2 from the Active or Eventive sets of clauses, and is marked for incomplete aspect only. The benefactive auxiliary de or the completive auxiliaries ja or sar may occur. The relator is filled by ke 'at.'

- 3) (DB)jhuma legto ke (IB)ete euat.
 tiredness sticking at coming they will come
 'At the time of becoming tired they will come home quickly.'

The occurrence of Axis-Relator Clause 8 involves a general focus of simultaneity of the initial and following actions. The axis is filled by Dependent Clause 2, from the Active, or Eventive sets of clauses, and is expressed in imperfect aspect and unmarked for person or number. Also no verbal auxiliaries have been observed to occur. The relator is filled by bera 'time'.

- 4) (DB)porto bera (IB)to mo:y gh6s6rle.
 running time part. I I fell
 'While running I fell.'

The independent base may be filled by an independent clause from the Active or Eventive sets of clauses. The clause may be expressed in the following aspect-tenses: simple past, simple future, present perfect, present continuous, and aorist. Psuedo-passive voice may occur. The verbal auxiliaries de benefactive, ja completive, or ro perfective may also occur.

- 5) (DB)ghoRa l6ge 6mra 6mri k6rto ke (IB)goT6k pa:y ke
 horse place in arrival performing at one foot OM
 TuTan dili.
 having broken off she gave
 'At the time of arriving near the place of the horse she broke off a foot.'
- 6) (DB)dhan pakto ke (IB)moRgun jaese.
 paddy rice ripening at having fallen it is going
 'At the time of the paddy rice ripening, it is falling all over

the place.'

Negation rarely occurs with either base. The linear ordering of the bases is generally as displayed in the four box array, however, permutation is allowed. Specifically, the dependent base has been observed to interrupt the internal linear ordering of the independent base.

- 7) (DB)peni marto bera (IB)mi:jak jauat.
 water hitting time to weed they will go
 'During the time of the rains they will go to weed the fields.'
- 8) (DB)ba:wsi phukto ke (IB)e peT ili.
 flute playing at this behind she came
 'At the time of the playing of the flute, she came along this way.'
- 9) (DB)caur deto ke (IB)alu bole dilabe.
 rice giving at potato also they gave
 'At the time of giving rice, they also gave potatoes.'
- 10) (DB)l6gin marto ke (IB)duno leka leki ke tel
 joining of hands hitting at both boy girl OM oil
 cegala.
 they applied
 'At the time of the joining of hands, they rubbed oil over the boy and girl.'

2. Cause-Effect.

The cause effect group of sentences consists of nine basic types. Of these, Contra-Expectation encodes grammatically as paratactic, Conditional-Alternative and Reason Result encode as coordinate, and the rest are subordinate.

The relationships of the propositions of the sentences may be summarized in tree diagram as in Figure 8.

2.1 Contra-factual Sentence.

The Contra-factual Sentence consists of two dependent bases. The first dependent base is filled by an axis-relator clause while the second dependent base is filled by a dependent clause.

The initial proposition of the sentence is a conditional ground which is stated as unfulfilled while the second proposition is the unfulfilled consequent of that condition. This means that, in actual fact, the opposite of each of the propositions is what occurred.

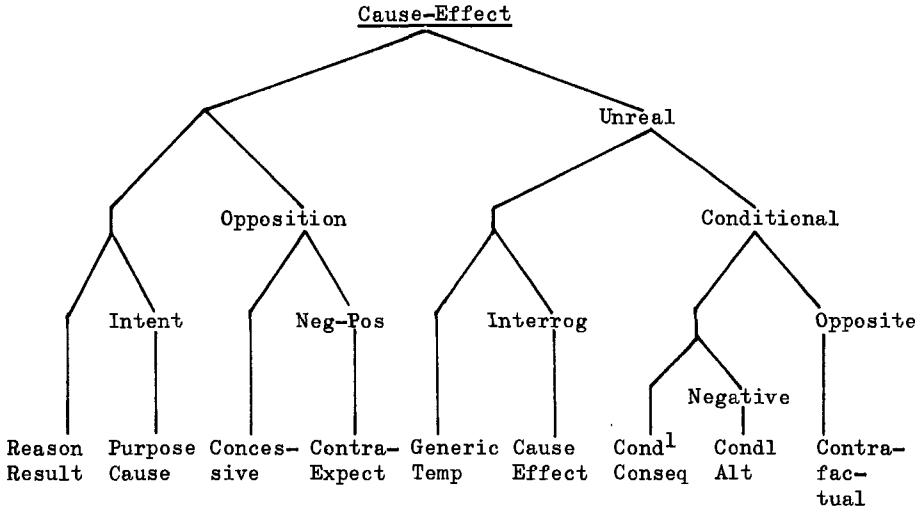


Figure 8. Cause-Effect Branch.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | |
|---|----------|---------|---|----------|---------|
| + | DB 1 | A-RC1 9 | + | DB 2 | DepCl 1 |
| | Unfulfil | | | Unfulfil | |
| | Condn | | | Conseq | |
| | Prop | | | Prop | |

1) (DB 1) mo:y ni ete jale (DB 2)mortis.
 I not I would come if you would die
 'If I hadn't come you would have died.'

This example actually means: 'I came so you didn't die.'

DBase 1 is dependent as a result of the axis-relator clause which fills it while DBase 2 is dependent in that it is marked for imperfect aspect and requires the rest of the sentence to complete its meaning. Together these two dependent bases produce an independent sentence.

DBase 1 is filled by Axis-Relator Clause 9. The axis is filled by Dependent Clause 1 from the Active, Eventive, Stative, or Attributive clause sets. The clause is always expressed in imperfect aspect and marked for person and number. The perfective auxiliary ro may occur. The relator is filled by ALE.

- 2) (DB 1)boRe da:y uTtu ale (DB 2)ami dhan ka:Dun
big time we would arise if we paddy rice having

detu.

husked we would give

'If we would've arisen early we would've husked rice.'

DBase 2 is filled by Dependent Clause 1 from the Active or Eventive clause sets. This clause is always expressed in imperfect aspect and marked for person and number.

- 3) (DB 1)tumi bhaTpal ni etas ale (DB 2)jh6pke h6lbi ni
you Bhatpal not you would come if quickly Halbi not

siktas.

you would learn

'If you wouldn't have come to Bhatpal you wouldn't have learned Halbi quickly.'

Negation may occur on either base, both bases, or not at all except when an Eventive clause fills DBase 2. When an Eventive clause fills DBase 2 then negation must occur on both bases or not at all. The linear ordering of the bases is as displayed in the four box array.

- 4) (DB 1)hun ogay roto ale (DB 2)hun ke biskuT
that quietness he would be if that OM biscuit

dete.

I would give

'If he would've been quiet I would've given him a biscuit.'

- 5) (DB 1)ami aji biane boRe da:y uTtu ale (DB 2)boRe
we today morning in big time we would arise if big

da:y jhaTi gaRa netu

time type of cart oxcart we would take

'If we would've arisen early this morning we would've taken the jhaTi cart early.'

- 6) (DB 1)ami aji pej bera jh6pke khau rotu ale
we today gruel time quickly having eaten we would be if

(DB 2)jhari pokak jatu.

fishnet to throw out we would go

'If we would've eaten quickly we would've gone to net fish.'

- 7) (DB 1)hun m6n sewa k6ruk jata ale (DB 2)hoti.
that pl. worship to perform they would go if it would be
'If they would've gone to do worship it would've been good.'

- 8) (DB 1)ra:boti d6kuk eti ale (DB 2)hoti
 Ramboti to see she would come if it would be
 'If Ramboti would've come to see (us) it would've been good.'
- 9) (DB 1)babu ke d6ktu ale (DB 2)hoti
 Babu OM we would see if it would be
 'If we would've seen Babu it would've been good.'
- 10) (DB 1)tui boRe biti dh6rtis ale (DB 2)hoti.
 you big thing you would take hold if it would be
 'If you would've gotten a big one (fish) it would've been good.'

2.2 Conditional-Alternative Sentence.

The Conditional-Alternative Sentence consists of two independent bases joined by a contra-conditional conjunction. The independent bases are filled by independent clauses.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------|--|-------|---|-------|--|------------|---|--------|--|-------|
| + | IB 1 | | IndCl | + | LK | | Cj ' nahle | + | IB 2 | | IndCl |
| | Choice | | | | Contr | | 'other- | | Choice | | |
| | 1 Prop | | | | Condl | | wise' | | 2 Prop | | |
| | | | | | Pivot | | | | | | |

The propositions of the sentence are in an alternating relationship with the contra-conditional pivot making the first proposition the negative condition of the second.

The independent bases are filled by independent clauses from the Active or Eventive clause sets. Simple future tense may occur with simple future; imperative mood and psuedo-passive voice may occur. No verbal auxiliaries have been observed.

- 1) (IB 1)poysa dh6ruat (LK)nahle (IB 2)6ysa dam6R
 money they will take otherwise much tar
 chicuat.
 they will wipe over
 'They will take money otherwise they will wipe tar over every-
 thing.'
- 2) (IB 1)aj le Dhaka borha: ke (LK)nahle (IB 2)ami maruau:.
 today from cover! pig OM otherwise we we will hit
 'Shut up the pig from today otherwise we'll beat it.'

When the same predicate occurs in both bases then the first predicate may be deleted. Also, the specialized periphery tagmeme, Topic, may occur with this sentence as shown in the following example:

- 3) (STOP)kakRi ke bole (IB1)paklo biti ke am6T (LK)nahle
cucumber OM also ripened thing OM curry type otherwise

(IB 2)sag sagi ra:dtor ay.
curry type preparing it is

'Regarding the cucumber, the ripened cucumber is prepared as
am6T curry otherwise it is prepared as sag sagi curry.'

Negation does not occur on either base. The linear ordering is as displayed in the four box array and no permutation is allowed. A specific sequence of events is obviously intended which limits the possibility of permutation. Apparently, the best choice, in the mind of the speaker, is given first.'

- 4) (IB1)k6ra (LK)nahle (IB 2)mora.
do! otherwise die!
'Do or die!'

The specialized periphery tagmeme, Afterthought, has also been observed to occur as shown in the following example:

- 5) (IB 1)hun thane chak6k mo:d anuat (LK)nahle
that place at one leaf cup wine they will bring otherwise

(IB 2)pona pani hun thane deuat (AFTH)juhlo
sacred water that place at they will give gathered

log ke.
people OM

'At that place they will bring a cup of wine otherwise at that place they will give sacred water to the gathered people.'

2.3 Conditional-Consequent Sentence.

The Conditional-Consequent Sentence consists of one dependent and one independent base. The dependent base is filled by an axis-relator clause while the independent base is filled by an independent clause.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | |
|---|--------|---------|---|--------|-------|
| + | DB | A-RC1 1 | + | IB | IndCl |
| | Condl | | | Conseq | |
| | Ground | | | Prop | |
| | Prop | | | | |

The initial proposition forms the grounds against which the subsequent proposition will or can be realized.

- 1) (DB)tui ni gelisis jale (IB)mo:y ee:de.
 you not you have gone if I I will come
 'If you haven't gone I'll come.'

The dependent base is filled by Axis-Relator Clause 1. The axis is filled by an independent clause from the Active, Eventive, or Stative sets of clauses. The relator is filled by ALE. The clause is expressible in a number of different aspect-tenses: simple past, present continuous, present perfect, aorist, and simple future. The imperative or interrogative mood do not occur and no verbal auxiliaries have been observed. The dependent base is dependent as a result of the axis-relator clause which fills it.

- 2) (DB)6cha silema ase jale (IB)jau:de.
 good movie it is if we will go
 'If there's a good movie on we'll go.'

The independent base is filled by an independent clause from the Active, Eventive, or Stative sets of clauses. The aspect-tenses which may occur in the independent base are: simple future, aorist, and present continuous. Interrogative or imperative mood may occur.

- 3) (DB)tumi ni ias jale (IB)mo:y e thane kay kaje
 you not you come if I this place in what for
 rua:yta?
 I will stay
 'If you don't come why should I stay here?'

- 4) (DB)D6slo biti ke bas dh6rlise ale (IB)pokan
 burnt thing OM smell it has taken hold if having thrown out
 dias,
 give!
 'If the burnt thing has become smelly toss it out.'

The benefactive auxiliary de and the completive auxiliary ja may occur in the independent base.

- 5) (DB)tumi jiu ke ni sa:glas jale (IB)mo:y ucki houn
 you heart OM not you told if I strangle having become
 jae:de.
 I will go
 'If you don't tell me where your heart is I'll go hang myself.'

Negation may occur on either base, both bases or not at all. The linear ordering of the bases is as displayed in the four box array but permutation is allowed.

- 6) (DB) bokRa ke ni dh6ras jale (IB) haT ne biku:de.
 goat OM not you take hold if market in we will sell
 'If you don't take the goat we will sell it in the market.'
- 7) (DB) mo:y hutay a:y ale (IB) ni ee:.
 I there I am if not I come
 'If I'm to be in that place I won't come.'
- 8) (DB) tui jase jale (IB) mo:y bole ee:de.
 you will go if I also I will come
 'If you will go I also will come.'

2.4 Cause-Effect Sentence.

The Cause-Effect Sentence consists of one dependent and one independent base. The dependent base is filled by an axis-relator clause or a dependent clause. The independent base is filled by an independent clause.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | |
|---|---------|---------------------|---|---------|-------|
| + | DB | DepCjvCl A-RCl 2 | + | IB | IndCl |
| | Queried | interrog | | Desired | |
| | Cause | mood | | Effect | |
| | Prop | | | Prop | |

The initial proposition is an interrogative generic cause questioning what can be performed to bring about the desired effect proposition.

- 1) (DB) k6s6n k6run (IB) cha:Dauaybe?
 what having performed he will cause to heal
 'What's he to do to make it heal?'

Axis-Relator Clause 2 or the Dependent Conjunctive Clause may fill the dependent base. When the Dependent Conjunctive Clause occurs then the bases must have the same Subject. The Dependent Conjunctive Clause always contains the generic question word k6s6n 'what?', the generic pro-verb k6r, 'perform' and is expressed in the interrogative mood. The dependent base is dependent as a result of the axis-relator clause and the dependent clause which may fill it. The interrogative mood of the dependent base then extends over the entire sentence.

- 2) (DB) k6s6n k6run (IB) k6man khau:de?
 what having performed harvest we will eat
 'What's to be done for us to be able to live?'

The axis of Axis-Relator Clause 2 is filled by Dependent Clause 4 which like the Dependent Conjunctive Clause always contains the generic ques-

tion word k6s6n 'what?', the generic pro-verb k6r 'perform' and is expressed in interrogative mood. The relator is filled by -LENE.⁷ The Subjects of the bases may be the same or different.

- 3) (DB)hun ke k6s6n k6s6n k6rle (IB)anuk huay?
 that OM what what when perform to bring it will be
 'What's to be done so that I can bring it?'

The independent base is filled by an independent clause from the Active or Eventive clause sets. The clause is expressed in simple future tense or pseudo-passive voice. No verbal auxiliaries have been observed. Negation does not occur on any base. The linear ordering of the bases is as displayed in the four box array and no permutation is allowed.

- 4) (DB)k6s6n k6run (IB)utrua:ybe?
 what having performed I will descend
 'What am I to do so that I can descend?'
- 5) (DB)k6s6n k6run (IB)jiuau:be?
 what having performed we will live
 'What are we to do so that we can survive?'
- 6) (DB)k6s6n k6rle (IB)cha:Duaybe?
 what when perform it will heal
 'What's to be done so that it will heal?'
- 7) (DB)hun g6Rur ke janu k6s6n k6rle (IB)mari hoede?
 that crocodile OM part, what when perform hit it will be
 'What's to be done to the crocodile so that I can kill it?'

2.5 Generic Temporal-Conditional Sentence.

The Generic Temporal-Conditional Sentence consists of one dependent and one independent base. The dependent base is filled by an axis-relator clause while the independent base is filled by an independent clause.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|--|---------|---|---------|--|-------|
| + | DB | | A-RC1 2 | + | IB | | IndC1 |
| | Generic | | state | | Generic | | |
| | Condn | | | | Conseq | | |
| | Prop | | | | Prop | | |

The propositions of the sentence are in a generic condition-consequent relationship which posits a general rule or maxim. The initial proposition is a general condition whose expected general consequent, result, or response is stated in the second proposition.

- 1) (DB)s6Ti k6rle (IB)noni ke naw sa:gauat.
 naming ceremony when perform Noni OM name they will cause to
 tell
 'When the naming ceremony is observed then Noni's name will be
 told.'

The dependent base is filled by Axis-Relator Clause 2. The axis is filled by Dependent Clause 4 from the Active, Eventive, Stative, or Attributive sets of clauses. The clause is not marked for tense, aspect, mood, or voice. The perfective auxiliary ro or the benefactive auxiliary de may occur. The relator is filled by a suffix -LENE.

- 2) (DB)beTa hole (IB)bap co th6r ay
 son when be father of a relationship term he is
 'When a son is born, he is the father's th6r.'

The independent base is filled by an independent clause from the Active or Attributive clause sets. Generally, when simple future -UAY occurs in the independent base (as in examples 3 and 4) the speaker is referring to people or things other than himself, his own sex, his family, or caste. In the following example the speaker was of a caste different to the caste of the people who are the subject of the bases.

- 3) (DB)hun m6n bhat khadle (IB)amke bole bhat
 that pl. cooked rice when eat we OM also cooked rice
 deuat.
 they will give
 'When they eat rice, they give us rice.'

In the following example, the speaker was a man referring to something applying only to women.

- 4) (DB)k6sa ni dilene (IB)hun chut ne
 purification ceremony not when give that defilement in
 ruat.
 they will be
 'When the k6sa purification ceremony is not performed the woman remains defiled.'

When pseudo-passive voice occurs in this sentence type (as in examples 5-8) it is inclusive and reflexive and indicates that the sentence applies to the speaker, his sex, his family, or may extend to include his village or caste.

- 5) (DB)6sni kai: jai: caur cun bokRa kukRa hajle (IB)deo
 like this everything rice goat fowl when lost spirit

bosator ay.
 causing to sit it is
 'It's like this when anything--such as rice, goats, fowl--is
 lost, the spirits are to be consulted.'

- 6) (DB)bihRa s6rli bolle (IB)pher mi:jak mureator
 plough type it finished when said again to weed beginning

ay.
 it is
 'When it's said, "The bihRa ploughing is finished," then the
 weeding is to begin.'

- 7) (DB)borli bolle (IB)ba:dun detor ay.
 it filled when said having tied giving it is
 'When it's said, "It's filled," then it is to be tied up.'

- 8) (DB)da:d6r bhitre olla bolle (IB)jator ay.
 fishtrap inside they entered when said going it is
 'When it's said, "The fish entered the trap," one is to go (to
 get them).'

Negation may occur on either base, both bases, or not at all. The
 linear ordering of the bases, in general, is as displayed in the four
 box array but permutation is allowed. The benefactive auxiliary de may
 occur in the independent base.

- 9) (DB)dia d6kale (IB)ha:Di chia:uat.
 oil lamp when show water pot they will touch
 'When the oil lamp ceremony is observed (for purification) they
 will be able to touch the water pots.'

- 10) (DB)dhan ka:Duk ni role (IB)soutor ci ay.
 paddy rice to husk not when be sleeping just it is
 'When there's no paddy to be husked then one can sleep a little
 longer (in the mornings).'

- 11) (DB)e baTe duka suka holene (IB)sirha anuat.
 this way in pain and sickness when be shaman they will bring
 'In this country when someone is ill they will bring the shaman.'

- 12) (DB)naclene (IB)caur dhan detor ay.
 when dance rice paddy rice giving it is
 'When they dance, rice and paddy is to be given (to the dancers).'

- 13) (DB)pej bera holi bolle (IB)pej khator ay.
 gruel time it became when said gruel eating it is
 'When it's said, "It's become lunchtime," then gruel is to be
 eaten.'

- 14) (DB)dhan 6k6rli bolle (IB)pher bihRa martor
paddy rice it sprouted when said again plough type hitting

ay.

it is

'When it's said, "The paddy has sprouted," then the bihRa
plough is to be ploughed with.'

2.6 Contra-Expectation Sentence.

The Contra-Expectation Sentence consists of two independent bases.
The bases are filled by independent clauses.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | |
|---|--------|-------|---|--------|--------------|
| + | IB 1 | IndCl | + | IB 2 | IndCl (red.) |
| | Expect | pos | | Contr | neg |
| | Prop | | | Expect | |
| | | | | Prop | |

The two propositions are in a cause-negated effect relationship.
The initial proposition arouses an expectation, the fulfillment of which
is denied or negated by the second proposition. As a result, the second
proposition is always negated while the initial one never is.

The bases are filled by independent clauses from the Active or
Eventive clause sets.

In general, fairly close ties occur across the bases. Some of these
ties may be as follows:

- a) The same Subject in each base.

- 1) (IB 1)hun m6n boRe da:y j6gd6lpur gela (IB 2)najun
that pl. big time Jagdalpur they went not yet

6m6r1a.
they arrived
'They went early to Jagdalpur but they haven't arrived yet.'

- b) The Object of IBase 1 becomes the Subject of IBase 2.

- 2) (IB 1)tum ke kon din6t le sikae:se (IB 2)ni sikas.
you OM which many days from I am teaching not you learn
'For how many days I am teaching you but you don't learn.'

- c) The Subject of IBase 1 becomes the Referent of IBase 2.

- 3) (IB 1) tumco beTi n6:g6t holise (IB 2) gor6s ni hoe.
 you of daughter good she has become milk not it becomes
 'Your daughter has given birth but her milk hasn't come.'

d) The Predicate in IBase 1 may be the causative form of a verb while the Predicate in IPase 2 is the non-causative form of the same verb.'

- 4) (IB 1) khub din mo:y khoale gay ke (IB) ni khadli.
 many day I I fed cow OM not it ate
 'For many days I fed the cow but she didn't eat.'

e) The IBase 2 is frequently reduced to only the free form negative ni plus the predicate.

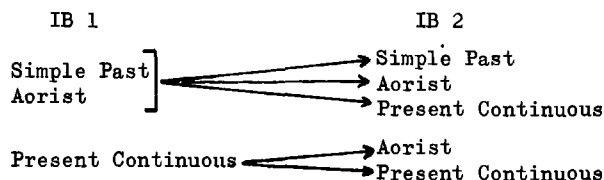
- 5) (IB 1) gh6n gh6n aig D6bi dh6rale (IB 2) ni dh6re.
 again and again fire match I lighted not it lights
 'Again and again I struck the match but it didn't light.'

f) The optional occurrence of the emphatic tagmeme, mant6r, from the specialized periphery.

- 6) (IB 1) baba bita pila ke poRalo (EMPH) mant6r
 father thing child OM he caused to read emph.

(IB 2) kh6Tke ni poRe.
 absolutely not he reads
 'The father taught reading to the boy but he just doesn't read.'

The following aspect-tense co-occurrences across the bases have been observed:



The auxiliary ne and the perfective auxiliary ro may both occur. The linear ordering of the bases is as displayed in the four box array. No permutation is allowed.

2.7 Concessive Sentence.

The Concessive Sentence consists of one dependent and one independent base. The dependent base is filled by an axis-relator clause and the independent base is filled by an independent clause.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|--|-----------------|--|---|--------|--|-----------------|
| + | DB | | A-RC1 4 | | + | IB | | IndCl |
| | Conc | | past & | | | Contr | | past & |
| | Prop | | current time | | | Expect | | current time |

The two propositions are in a cause-inverse effect relationship. The initial proposition of the sentence is a concessive circumstance whose expected outcome is not fulfilled. This makes the second proposition function as a contrary-to-expectation proposition.

- 1) (DB)bhuk poRli ale bole (IB)ami kebi bhuke ni so6lu.
 hunger it fell although we when hunger in not we slept
 'Although there was a famine, we never went to sleep hungry.'

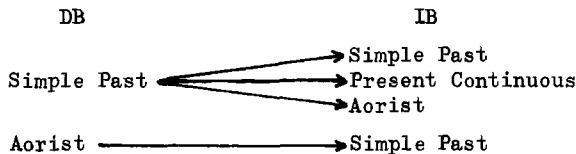
The dependent base is filled by Axis-Relator Clause 4. The axis is filled by an independent clause from the Active, Eventive, or Stative clause sets. The clause may be expressed in the following aspect-tenses: simple past, present continuous, and aorist. No verbal auxiliaries have been observed. The relator is filled by ale bole 'although'.

- 2) (DB)nani 6s6n mo:Dhi holi ale bole (IB)khub log ju6la.
 small like this fair it became although much people they
 gathered.
 'Although it was a small fair many people gathered.'

ale may be optionally deleted when aorist tense occurs on the verb rouk 'to be' in the dependent base.

- 3) (DB)cua: ne k6m pani roe bole (IB)khub log ke phurli.
 well in less water it was although much people OM it sufficed
 'Although there was little water in the well it sufficed many people.'

The independent base is filled by an independent clause from the Active or Eventive clause sets. There are some tense co-occurrence restrictions across the bases. The tenses which may co-occur are:



No verbal auxiliaries have been observed. Negation may occur on either

base but not both. The linear ordering is as displayed in the four box array but some permutation is allowed. However, this permutation is restricted and as yet it is not known what these restrictions are.

- 4) (DB)rani baTe khi:Dik k6m log hola ale bole
 queen way in a little less people they became although
 (IB)boyragi baba baTe khub log jaesot.
 holyman father way in much people they are going
 'Although less people are with the queen, many people are going to the holyman.'
- 5) (DB)pani ni ay ale bole (IB)ami nahlu.
 water not it is although we we bathed
 'Although there was no water we bathed.'
- 6) (DB)j6may naT ke jitla ale bole (IB)khetri kumar
 all dance drama OM they surpassed although a dance drama
 aur j6ym6ni bhar6t naT ke ni jitot.
 and a dance drama dance drama OM not they surpass
 'Although they surpass all the dance dramas they don't surpass the Khetri Kumar and Jaymani Bharat dramas.'
- 7) (DB)leka m6n bai ke h6lbi sikala ale bole (IB)bai ni ci
 boy pl. Bai OM Halbi they taught although Bai not just
 sikli.
 she learnt
 'Although the boys taught Halbi to Bai, she just didn't learn.'

2.8 Purpose- Result Sentence.

The Purpose- Result Sentence consists of a dependent and an independent base. The dependent base is filled by an axis-relator clause and the independent base is filled by an independent clause.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|--|-----------|---|--------|--|-------|
| + | DB | | A-RC1 3 | + | IB | | IndCl |
| | | | | | | | |
| | Purpose | | intention | | Result | | |
| | Prop | | | | Prop | | |

Semantically the propositions are in a cause-effect relationship in which the purpose stands as the cause of the action of the result proposition. Note that purpose always implies intention (noted in box 5) and that this intention or forethought stands as the cause of the resulting action.

- 1) (DB)h6lbi sikato kaje (IB)m6ke tui mol chiRan
 Halbi teaching for I OM you price having agreed upon
 anlis.
 you brought
 'Having agreed on a wage you brought me here for the purpose of
 teaching Halbi.'

The dependent base is filled by Axis-Relator Clause 3. The axis is filled by Dependent Clause 2 from the Active set of Clauses. The clause is expressed in imperfect aspect and is unmarked for person or number. No verbal auxiliaries have been observed to occur. Generally, the clause is reduced to its minimal form and the Subject is deleted. The Subject of both bases will be either the same or the Subject of the dependent base will be the Object of the independent base. The relator is filled by kaje 'for'. In example 2, the same Subject occurs in both bases while in example 3, the Subject of one base becomes the Object of the other.

- 2) (DB)pan TuTato kaje (IB)ran jauat.
 leaf picking for forest they will go
 'They will go to the forest for picking leaves.'
- 3) (DB)nacto kaje (IB)hun thano bhopal co boRe sah6b
 dancing for that place of Bhopal of big official
 hag dilose.
 he has called
 'The important official from Bhopal has called (the boys) to
 come and dance.'

The independent base is filled by an independent clause from the Active set of clauses. The clause may be expressed in past, present, or projected time. Pseudo-passive voice may occur. No verbal auxiliaries have been observed.

Negation does not occur on either base. The linear ordering of the sentence bases is, in general, as displayed in the four box array but permutation is allowed. Also, the dependent base may interrupt the internal linear ordering of the independent base, as in example 4.

- 4) (IB)huta ba:w6s (DB)phoRki monato kaje (IB cont.)anlase.
 there bamboo fence making for they have brought
 'For making a fence they have brought bamboo.'
- 5) (IB)6sni lai c6na kera deuat (DB)khato
 like this puffed rice channa banana they will give eating
 kaje.
 for
 'They will give puffed rice, channa, and bananas like this for

the purpose of eating.'

2.9 Reason-Result Sentence.

The Reason-Result Sentence consists of two independent bases joined by a reason-result conjunction. The bases are filled by independent clauses.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------|--------|---|------|----|-----------------------------------|---|--------|-------|
| + | IB 1 | Ind Cl | + | LK | Cj | $\frac{\text{GUNE}}{\text{tebe}}$ | + | IB 2 | IndCl |
| | Reason | | | Rsn | | 'therefore' | | Result | |
| | Prop | | | Rslt | | | | Prop | |
| | | | | Piv | | | | | |

The initial proposition of the sentence is given as the reason or basis for the resulting proposition which follows.

- 1) (IB 1)m6ke anak jau rola (LK)gune (IB 2)mo:y
 I OM to bring having gone they were therefore I

ile.

I came

'They had come to get me so I came.'

IBase 1 is filled by an independent clause from the Active or Attributive sets of clauses. IBase 2 is filled by an independent clause from the Active, Eventive, or Stative sets of clauses. The clauses which fill the bases do not have to be of the same emic type. Also Active clauses may co-occur with Stative clauses. Co-occurrence restrictions appear to be imposed by semantic (situational) constraints.

- 2) (IB 1)ami k6rea log au: (LK)gunuk (IB 2)amke 6ysa ni
 we dark people we are therefore we OM much not

d6kot.

they look

'We are dark-skinned people therefore they don't stare at us.'

- 3) (IB 1)mahla euat (LK)gune (IB 2)laj kaje
 betrothal they will come therefore shyness for

haT geli.

market she went

'They will come for the betrothal so she went to the market because she was shy.'

The tense co-occurrence restrictions which usually apply in the Conjoined Sentence and others, do not apply in this particular sentence. A temporal sequence is not in focus so IBase 1 may be projected time while IBase 2 may be past time.

- 4) (IB 1)mo:y khub caur khaua:y (LK)gunuk (IB 2)m6ke bai m6n
 I much rice I will eat therefore I OM lady pl.
 khub caur dh6run dila.
 much rice having gotten they gave
 'I will eat lots of rice therefore the ladies got me lots
 of rice.'

Imperative mood or psuedo-passive voice do not occur in IBase 1 but may occur in IBase 2. The following example illustrates psuedo-passive voice.

- 5) (IB 1)sian log m6n at (LK)tebe (IB 2)hun m6n.
 old person people pl. they are therefore that pl.
 ke naw ni dh6rtor ay.
 OM name not taking hold of it is
 'They are old people therefore you must not say their names.'

The perfective auxiliary ro or the benefactive auxiliary de may occur in either base. Either base may be negated but not both. The linear ordering of the sentence is as displayed in the four box array and no permutation is allowed.

- 6) (IB 1)tumco dehe: po:Dri ay (LK)gune (IB 2)6ysa d6kuat.
 you of flesh white it is therefore much they will
 look
 'Your skin is white therefore they will stare at you.'

The reason-result pivot GUNE has two forms: gune and gunuk. gune is used by men while women may use both gune and gunuk. The tebe pivot seems to occur if the speaker is relating something he himself witnessed while GUNE is used for secondhand information.

- 7) (IB 1)ami j6yphur co hoT6l thane bhat khadlu (LK)gune
 we Jeypur of hotel place in cooked rice we ate therefore
 (IB 2)amke hun bita m6n 6ysa d6kot.
 we OM that thing pl. much they look
 'We ate lunch at a hotel in Jeypur therefore many men stared
 at us.'
- 8) (IB 1)e leka co tual jhiku rohot (LK) gune
 this boy of towel having snatched they were therefore

(IB 2)e ci kirta Thebu rou:.
 this just reason heving stayed we were
 'They had snatched the boy's towel therefore for this very
 reason we had stayed.'

3. Disjunction.

The disjunction group of sentences consists of two basic types and both of these are coordinate. In the Alternative Question Sentence the second base is dependent (having a formulaic clause filler) but because of the link it is being retained in the coordinate group.

The relationships between the propositions of the sentences may be summarized in the following tree diagram:

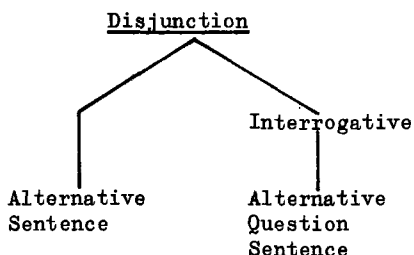


Figure 9. Disjunction Branch.

3.1 Alternative Question Sentence.

The Alternative Question Sentence consists of one independent and one dependent base joined by an alternating link. The independent base is filled by an independent clause; the dependent base is filled by a dependent clause; and the link by a conjunction ki/kay 'or'.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|--|----------|---|-----|--|----|--|------------|---|-------|--|---------------------|
| + | IB | | IndCl | + | LK | | Cj | | ki, kay | + | DB | | FormCl 1 DepCl 7 |
| | Alt v | | pos | | Alt | | | | | | Alt v | | neg/generic |
| | Prop | | interrog | | Piv | | | | | | Prop | | interrog |

Semantically the two propositions are in an alternating relationship in which they are reciprocally offered as choices to each other. In subtype 3.11, the choice is between the positive and negative of proposition one. In subtype 3.12, the choice is between proposition one and the generic interrogative 'what'.

The independent base is filled by independent clauses from the

Active, Eventive, Stative, or Attributive sets of clauses. The clauses from the Active and Eventive set are expressible in the following aspect-tenses: simple past, simple future, or present continuous. The clauses from the Stative and Attributive sets are not expressible in reference to time. The pseudo-passive voice may occur but no other verbal auxiliary has been observed. The sentence as a whole is interrogative, and carries a distinctive question intonation pattern.

The dependent base may be filled by Formulaic Clause 1 or Dependent Clause 7. The dependency of the base is a result of these fillers. Also the occurrence of either Formulaic Clause 1 or Dependent Clause 7 divides the sentence into two subtypes.

3.11 Alternative Question Subtype 1.

The propositions of this subtype are in a negative alternating relationship in which the initial proposition is always positive while the final proposition is always negative. A response is required from the audience either as a negation or an affirmation of the speaker's initial proposition.

Formulaic Clause 1 filling the dependent base has two structural possibilities and is always negative:

- a) nai 'not is'. This will occur when clauses from the Attributive and Stative clause sets fill the independent base. This is a predicate consisting of a bound negative n- plus a form of the verb AY 'to be'.

1) (IB)bai gh6re ase (LK)ki (DB)nai?
Bai house in she is or not is
'Is Bai in the house or not?'

2) (IB)miri cor ay (LK)ki (DB)nai?
Miri thief he is or not is
'Is Miri a thief or not?'

- b) NAJUN 'not yet'. This will occur when clauses from the Active and Eventive clause sets fill the independent base. There are two forms possible: najun which is a bound negative na- plus jun '?' and is used by men; nai which is a bound negative n- plus a form of the verb AY 'to be' and is used by women.

3) (IB)leka m6n hun baT le ila (LK)ki (DB)najun?
boy pl. that way from they came or not yet
'Did the boys come from that place yet or not?'

- 4) (IB)beTsi a:g dholi (LK)kay (DB)najun?
 Betsy body she washed or not yet
 'Has Betsy given birth yet or not?'
- 5) (IB)tui pani anlis (LK)ki (DB)najun?
 you water you brought or not yet
 'Did you bring water yet or not?'

3.12 Alternative Question Subtype 2.

The initial proposition queries whether that same proposition is true or occurred; the final proposition queries what is true or what action took place if the initial proposition isn't true or didn't occur. A response is required from the audience in the form of a statement or explanation.

The dependent base is filled by Dependent Clause 7 from the Active or Eventive clause sets and is in the interrogative mood. See example 4 below. This clause is usually truncated to only the question word k6s6n 'what' and as a result is dependent. There is no overt negative in either base.

- 1) (IB)amco goT khub D6:D hoese (LK)kay (DB)k6s6n?
 we of language much difficulty it is becoming or what
 'Is our language giving you difficulties or what?'
- 2) (IB)tuco ga:w s6b le boRe ay (LK)ki (DB)k6s6n?
 you of village all from big it is or what
 'Is your village bigger than all others or what?'
- 3) (IB)tuco des s6b des le boRe ay (LK)kay (DB)k6s6n?
 you of country all country from big it is or what
 'Is your country larger than all other countries or what?'
- 4) (IB)hunco m6nus ke bimar holi (LK)ki (DB)k6s6n holi?
 that of husband OM sickness it became or what it became
 'Her husband became sick or what happened?'
- 5) (IB)durga m6n bokra anla (LK)ki (DB)k6s6n?
 Durga pl. goat they brought or what
 'Did Durga's people bring the goat or what happened?'

3.2 Alternative Sentence.

The Alternative Sentence consists of two independent bases joined by an alternating link. The bases are filled by independent clauses linked by a conjunction.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | |
|---|----------------|---|-----------------------------------|---|----------------|
| + | IB 1 IndCl | + | LK Cj <u>ki</u> <u>kay</u> | + | IB 2 IndCl |
| | Altv Prop | | Alt 'or' Piv | | Altv Prop |

The two propositions are in a disjunctive relationship. The relationship between the propositions may be either:

- a) Positive-negative alternation of the same proposition.
- 1) (IB 1)tumi bolase (LK)ki (IB 2)ni bolase.
 you you will say or not you will say
 'Either you will speak or you won't.'
- b) Alternate choices between different propositions.
- 2) (IB 1)bosu rolu (LK)kay (IB 2)uba rou:.
 having sat we were or standing we were
 'Either we had sat or we had stood.'

3.21 Alternative Subtype 1.

The propositions are in a positive-negative alternating relationship where the initial proposition is always positive and the final proposition is always negative.

The independent bases are filled by matching independent clauses from the Active or Eventive sets of clauses. However, the clause filling IBase 2 is reduced to just the predicate plus a negative.

- 3) (IB 1)hun dine deota m6n kaTot (IB 2)ni kaTot.
 that day on spirit pl. they cut not they cut
 'On that day the spirits will either cut or they won't.'

The sentence is expressed in projected time. The same verb plus suffixes will occur in each base. That is, if IBase 1 is aorist, then IBase 2 is also aorist, as well as being negated. The Subjects remain the same across the bases. When imperative mood occurs in Base 1 then imperative mood also occurs in Base 2.

- 4) (IB 1)tui likun des (IB 2)ni likun des.
 you having written give! not having written give!
 'Either you write or don't write!'

The alternating link, ki/kay, is readily elicitable but rarely occurs in text or conversation since alternation in this sentence type is implied by the juxtaposition of the same two clauses, the second of

which is reduced and negated.⁸ The linear ordering is as displayed in the four box array and no permutation is allowed.

- 5) (IB 1) saka hoot (IB 2) ni hoot.
 healing they become not they become
 'Either they heal or they don't.'

3.22 Alternative Subtype 2.

The propositions are in an alternating relationship where each proposition is an alternate choice expressed positively.

The independent bases are filled by independent matching clauses from the Attributive set when identification of an item is in focus as in the following example.

- 6) (IB 1) ra:Di co gh6r ay (LK) kay (IB 2) s6rkar co gh6r ay.
 widow of house it is or government of house it is
 'Either it is a widow's house or it is a government house.'

The independent bases are filled by independent clauses from the Active or Eventive clause sets when alternate events are in focus. The tense of the verbs will be the same in each base. The Subjects will be the same across the bases. Negation does not occur on any base. The linear ordering of the bases is not rigid and permutation may occur.

4. Restatement.

The restatement group of sentences consists of five basic types. Two of the sentences are subordinate (Positive Echo Question and Negated Specific-Generic), and the other three are paratactic (Negated Antonym, Magnification, and Positive Specific-Generic).

The relationships of the propositions of the various sentences may be summarized by tree diagram as in Figure 10.

4.1 Positive Echo Question Sentence.

The Positive Echo Question Sentence consists of an independent and a dependent base. The independent base is filled by an independent clause while the dependent base is filled by a formulaic clause.

Basic Sentence Formula.

| | | | | | |
|---|------|-------|---|------|------------------------|
| + | IB | IndCl | + | DB | FormCl 2 |
| | Iden | decl | | Echo | neg interrog |
| | Prop | mood | | Qn | mood. 'Yes' |
| | | | | Prop | response re- quired |

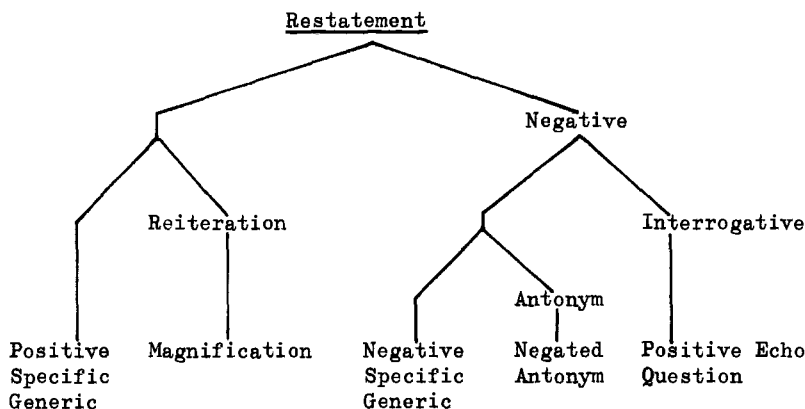


Figure 10. Restatement Branch.

The propositions of the sentence are in a restatement relationship in which the second proposition rephrases the first in the form of a question in minimal form. The question requires a positive answer affirming the content of the first proposition.

- 1) (IB)rati bera m6sin sunalas (DB)ne bai?
 night time taperecorder you caused to hear isn't that so Bai
 'Last night you played the taperecorder for us, didn't you Bai?'

The independent base may be filled by an independent clause from the Active, Eventive, Stative, or Attributive sets of clauses.

- 2) (IB)tumco datun aur ay (DB)ne bai?
 you of toothstick other it is isn't that so Bai
 'Your toothsticks are different, aren't they Bai?'

There is no observable limitation to tense or aspect. Interrogative mood may not occur in the independent base since the whole sentence is interrogative as a result of the dependent base. The independent base may be either negative or positive.

- 3) (IB)hun m6n ni ila (DB)ne sukri?
 that pl. not they came isn't that so Sukri
 'They didn't come, did they Sukri?'

The dependent base is filled by Formulaic Clause 2. This formulaic clause may consist of the word ne or a:y both of which mean 'isn't that so?'. The general sentence periphery Vocative tagmeme occurs frequently with this sentence and normally follows the dependent base.

- 4) (IB)ami hud6lda:y koRi didi s6:ge nahalu (DB)ne
 we at that time Kori Didi with we bathed isn't that so

koRi didi?

Kori Didi

'At that time we bathed with Kori Didi, isn't that so Kori Didi?'

- 5) (IB)goT6k Da:Da martor biti ke sa:gu roe:de (DB)a:y?
 one sugarcane hitting thing OM having told I will be isn't

that so

'I'll tell you about cutting the sugarcane, okay?'

A distinctive rising question intonation pattern occurs on the dependent base. The linear ordering of the bases is as displayed in the four box array and no permutation is allowed.

- 6) (IB)e bai co bia 6m6rlise (DB)ne?
 this lady of wedding it has arrived isn't that so
 'This lady's wedding (time) has arrived, hasn't it?'

- 7) (IB)eda:y mo:y bole ee:de (DB)a:y?
 now I also I will come isn't that so
 'I will come now, shall I?'

- 8) (IB)poka jane (DB)ne?
 very well he knows isn't that so
 'He knows it very well, doesn't he?'

- 9) (IB)usni k6rese (DB)ne?
 like that he is performing isn't that so
 'He is doing it just like he should, isn't he?'

4.2 Negated Antonym Sentence.

The Negated Antonym Sentence consists of two independent bases. The bases are filled by independent clauses.

Basic Sentence Formula:

$$\begin{array}{r}
 + \frac{\text{IB 1} \quad \vdots \quad \text{IndCl}}{\text{Iden} \quad \vdots \quad \text{pos}} \\
 \text{Prop} \quad \vdots \quad \text{S}_i
 \end{array}
 \quad + \quad
 \begin{array}{r}
 \frac{\text{IB 2} \quad \vdots \quad \text{IndCl}}{\text{Restat} \quad \vdots \quad \text{neg}} \\
 \text{Prop} \quad \vdots \quad \text{S}_i
 \end{array}$$

The propositions are in a restatement relationship in which one restates the other by negating an antonym of a constituent of the other (usually the predicate).

- 1) (IB 1)i baT ke ia (IB 2)huta ni g6ma.
 this(emph) way OM come! there not tarry!
 'Come back this way, don't tarry there!'

The bases are filled by independent clauses from the Active, Eventive, or Stative sets of clauses. The independent clauses tend to be matched across the bases so that when an Intransitive clause fills IBase 1 then an Intransitive clause will also fill IBase 2. The same mood, voice, and tense tend to occur in each base.⁹

- 2) (IB 2)e log nactor nu ay (IB 1)ogay houn
 this people dancing not it is quietness having become
 rotor ay.
 being it is
 'These people are not to be dancing, they are to be remaining quiet.'

- 3) (IB 2)tumi gir co e paT ni naka (IB 1)bhitre raha
 you line of this side not cross! inside stay!
 'Don't cross this side of the line, stay inside.'

The same Subject occurs in each base and is overt only in the base which occurs initially in the linear order. The final base of the linear order is often reduced to only the Predicate. The linear ordering is quite loose so that permutation of the order displayed in the four box array frequently occurs. One of the bases must be negated.

- 4) (IB 2)leka ke ni Tebaua (IB 1)euk dias.
 boy OM not cause to stop! to come give!
 'Don't stop the boy, allow him to come!'
- 5) (IB 2)ma:d ni hoe (IB 1)pat6r holise.
 thickness not it becomes thinness it has become
 'It didn't become thick, it became thin.'
- 6) (IB 2)cufea rani ni manli (IB 1)khedun nili.
 mouse Queen not she obeyed having chased she took
 'The Mouse Queen didn't obey, she (disobeyed and) chased the cattle.'
- 7) (IB 2)tumi kakRi ke ni ra:das (IB 1)6sni khau6has.
 you cucumber OM not you cook just like this you will eat
 'You don't cook cucumbers, you just eat them raw.'
- 8) (IB 2)hun leki goT6k ni:d ni soe (IB 1)s6bu ke d6kte
 that girl one sleep not she slept all OM seeing
 roe.
 she was
 'The girl didn't sleep a wink, she was looking at everything.'

4.3 Negative Specific-Generic Sentence.

The Negative Specific-Generic Sentence consists of one dependent base, with the possibility of another, and a final dependent base. The dependent bases are filled by dependent clauses while the final dependent base is filled by a formulaic clause.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|--|----------------|---|------|--|----------------|---|---------|--|----------------|
| + | DB 1 | | DepCl 6 | + | DB 2 | | DepCl 6 | + | FIN DB | | Form Cl 3 |
| | Sp | | S _i | | Sp | | S _i | | Generic | | S _i |
| | Prop | | neg | | Prop | | neg | | Prop | | neg |

The propositions of the sentence are in a restatement relationship in which the specific propositions enumerate one or more different predications conceptually included in the generic proposition. All propositions must be expressed in the negative and have a common topic.

- 1) (DB 1)leki khadlise nai (DB 2)so6lise nai (FIN DB)
 girl she has eaten not is she has slept not is

ka:y nai.
 anything not is
 'The girl hasn't eaten, she hasn't slept, she hasn't done anything.'

The dependent bases may be filled by Dependent Clause 6 from the Active, Eventive, or Attributive sets of clauses. When the dependent bases are filled by clauses from the Active or Eventive sets then the same Subject will occur in each base. When the dependent bases are filled by clauses from the Attributive set then different Subjects will occur in each base but a common possessor (stated in DBase 1) applies to all bases (See example 2). When more than one dependent base occurs then each base is filled by a clause from the same clause set, and the verbal suffixes will be the same. All the bases are negated.

- 2) (DB 1)hunco baba ni ay (DB 2)aya ni ay (FIN DB)
 that of father not he is mother not she is

ka:y ni ay.
 anything not it is
 'He doesn't have a father, he doesn't have a mother, he doesn't have anyone.'

The dependent bases are dependent as a result of the permutation of the negative from its normal position preceding the predicate to a position following the predicate where its form also changes. The usual use of the negative would be:

leka ni khae
 boy not he eats 'The boy doesn't eat'

However, in this sentence type the above example becomes:

leka khae nai
 boy he eats not is 'The boy doesn't eat'

The FIN DBase is filled by Formulaic Clause 3. There are two structural possibilities for this formulaic clause:

a) ka:y ci nai
 anything just not is '(he) just won't (do) anything'

The predicate nai is a form of the negative n- plus a form of the verb AY 'to be', while the topic is the generic word ka:y 'anything'. The emphatic particle ci 'just' may be added to this formulaic clause.

b) ka:y ci ni ay
 anything just not it is 'there just isn't anything...'

The predicate ni ay consists of the free form negative ni 'not' and a form of the verb AY 'to be', while the topic is the generic word ka:y 'anything'. The emphatic particle ci 'just' may be added to this formulaic clause.

The linear ordering of the bases of the sentence is as displayed in the four box array and permutation of the dependent bases with the FIN DBase is not allowed. When more than one dependent base occurs then these may permute with one another.

3) (DB 1)leka khae nai (FIN DB)ka:y nai.
 boy he eats not is anything not is
 'The boy doesn't eat or anything.'

4) (DB 1)m6co bhai ni ay (FIN DB)ka:y ni ay.
 I of brother not he is anything not it is
 'I don't have a brother or anyone.'

4.4 Magnification Sentence.

The Magnification Sentence consists of at least two independent bases, with the possibility of a third. The bases are filled by independent clauses.

The relationship between the propositions is one where the second and third propositions are restatements of the initial theme or topic proposition. The restatement propositions enlarge upon, magnify, or expand the theme of topic.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|----------------|---|-------|----------------|---|-------|----------------|
| + | IB 1 | IndCl | + | IB 2 | IndCl | + | IB 3 | IndCl |
| | Topic | S _i | | Magnf | S _i | | Magnf | S _i |
| | Prop | P _i | | of | P _i | | of | P _i |
| | | | | Topic | | | Topic | |
| | | | | Prop | | | Prop | |

- 1) (IB 1)m6co gh6re ra (IB 2)m6co beTi kaje gh6r jua:y
 I of house in stay! I of daughter for house young man

ra.

stay!

'Stay in my house, stay as a husband for my daughter!'

The independent bases are filled by independent clauses from either the Active or Stative sets of clauses. The same clause will occur in each base. That is, when a SemiTransitive clause fills IBase 1, a SemiTransitive clause will also fill IBase 2 and 3. The same Subject and the same Predicate occur in each base, thus providing a close linkage of the bases. Tense, mood, voice, and aspect will be the same in each base.

- 2) (IB 1)tumi jaha (IB 2)tumi ch6y bhai jaha.
 you go! you six brother go!
 'Go! You six brothers go!'

Negation does not occur in any base. The linear ordering of the bases is usually as displayed in the four box array, but permutation of topic to sentence final position is allowed.

- 3) (IB 1)j6may ga:w co log jasot (IB 2)lad boli ne jasot.
 all village of people they go Lad Boli to they go
 'All the villagers go, they go to Lad Boli.'
- 4) (IB 1)khub khaja khadlu (IB 2)ciwRa kera aru lai
 much tidbit we ate rice mixture banana and puffed rice
 miTh6i s6b khadlu.
 sweets all we ate
 'We ate lots of tidbits, we ate rice mixture, bananas, and puffed rice and sweets and all.'
- 5) (IB 1)dhukan dhukan dhukan bulese (IB 2)e k6pRa dhukan
 shop shop shop he is walking this cloth shop
 bulese (IB 3)hun pan dhukan bulese.
 he is walking that betel nut shop he is walking

'He is walking around the shops, he is walking around the cloth shop, he is walking around the betel nut shop.'

4.5 Positive Specific-Generic Sentence.

The Positive Specific-Generic Sentence consists of one independent base, with the possibility of up to three, and a final independent base. The bases are filled by independent clauses.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|----------------|---|--------|----------------|---|---------|----------------|
| + | IB 1 | IndCl | + | IB 2,3 | IndCl | + | FIN IB | IndCl |
| | Sp | P _i | | Sp | P _i | | Generic | P _i |
| | Prop | pos | | Props | pos | | Prop | pos |

The propositions of the sentence are in a restatement relationship in which the specific propositions enumerate one or more different specifics included in the all inclusive generic proposition. All propositions must be expressed positively and have a common Predicate.

- 1) (IB 1)suksi bhijli (IB 2)cita bhijli (FIN IB)
 dried fish it got wet custard apple it got wet

j6ma bhijli.

all it got wet

'The dried fish got wet, the custard apples got wet, everything got wet.'

The all inclusive (generic) proposition has a Subject which involves the use of a generic or summary word meaning 'all' such as:

s6b leka m6n

all boy pl. 'all the boys'

gulay ga:w co log

all village of people 'all the villagers'

- 2) (IB 1)ami bia d6kuk jauau: (IB 2)sukuntula m6n jauat
 we wedding to see we will go Sukuntula pl. they will go

(FIN IB)gulay ga:w co log jauat.

all village of people they will go

'We will go to see the wedding, Sukuntula's family will go, the whole village will go.'

The bases are filled by independent clauses from the Active, Eventive, or Stative set of clauses. The same emic clause type must occur throughout the bases. That is, if IBase 1 is filled by an Intransitive clause then all the bases including FIN IBase are filled by the same.

Also, the verbal suffixes of each base will be the same. At present only present perfect, present continuous, simple future, and simple past tenses have been observed to occur. The verb ASE 'to be' also occurs. Mood, voice, and aspect are the same throughout the bases. Negation does not occur on any base. The Predicates will be the same in each clause with only the Subjects being different.

- 3) (IB 1)hun 16ge ami rolu (IB 2)durga m6n rola (IB 3)
 that place in we we were Durga pl. they were
- chi:GRu m6n rola (FIN IB)s6bu log rola.
 Chingaru pl. they were all people they were
 'We were at that place, Durga's people were there, Chingaru's
 people were there, everyone was there.'

The linear ordering of the sentence is usually that displayed in the four box array. The FIN IBase does not interrupt the linear ordering of the IBases but it may permute to a position immediately preceding the IBases. Where several IBases occur these may permute with one another.

- 4) (IB 1)esu dhan 6cha 6cha baRlise (FIN IB)s6bu 6cha
 this year paddy rice good good it has grown all good
- 6cha baRlise.
 good it has grown
 'This year the paddy rice did well, everything has done well.'
- 5) (FIN IB)s6b log asot (IB 1)tati gh6ro log asot
 all people they are Tati house of people they are
- (IB 2)sirha gh6ro log asot (IB 3)poTel gh6ro
 Sirha house of people they are Potel house of
- log asot.
 people they are
 'All the people are there, Tati's house's people are there,
 Sirha's house's people are there, Potel's house's people
 are there.'

5. Coupling.

The coupling group of sentences consists of four basic types. One of the sentences is coordinate (Conjoined), two are paratactic (Identity-Contrast and Descriptive Listing) and one is subordinate (Antithetical).

The relationship of the various sentencees may be summarized in the following tree diagram:

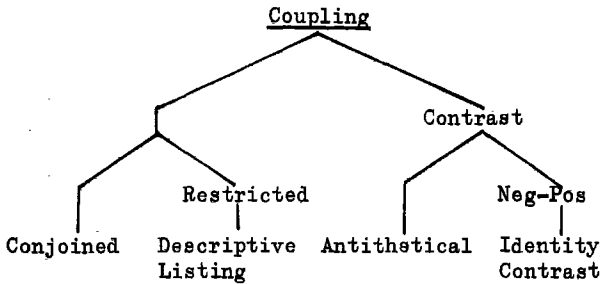
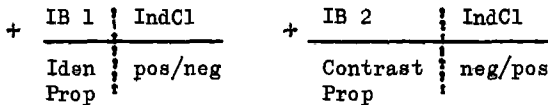


Figure 11. Coupling Branch.

5.1 Identity-Contrast Sentence.

The Identity-Contrast Sentence consists of two independent bases. The independent bases are filled by independent clauses.

Basic Sentence Formula:



The relationship of the two propositions is one of contrast. This contrast is maintained by a two-fold difference between them. The first is a positive-negative or negative-positive relationship between their Predicates. This is shown in box 5 of the formula above. The second difference requires that a participant or supporting prop (setting, location, time) of one must contrast with a corresponding participant or supporting prop of the other. The reader can note this twofold difference in other examples, but note the pattern in examples 1 and 2 in the Figure below.

| Base Example | Base 1 | Base 2 |
|--------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | a. in your country b. give | a. in our country b. do not give |
| 2 | a. his father b. is alive | a. my father b. isn't (alive) |

Figure 12. Two-fold Difference Chart.

- 1) (IB 1) tumco des ne k6sa ni deot
 you of country in purification ceremony not they give
 (IB 2) amco des ne deuat.
 we of country in they will give
 'In your country they don't perform the K6sa purification
 ceremony, in our country they do perform it.'
- 2) (IB 1) hunco baba ase (IB 2) m6co baba ni ay.
 that of father he is I of father not he is
 'His father is alive, my father isn't.'

The independent bases are filled by independent clauses from the Active, Eventive, Stative, or Attributive sets of clauses. Generally, the clauses filling the two bases are matched so that both will belong to the same set--Active with Active, Eventive with Eventive, Stative with Stative, and Attributive with Attributive.

- 3) (IB 1) m6co beTa beTi nu at (IB 2) tuco beTa beTi
 I of son daughter not they are you of son daughter
 at.
 they are
 'They are not my children, they are your children.'
- 4) (IB 1) gay gor6s ni anlo (IB 2) bag gor6s anlo.
 cow milk not he brought tiger milk he brought
 'He didn't bring cow milk, he brought tiger milk.'

Sometimes even though the clauses do not match yet the identity-contrast relationship still exists. When this is true, negated clause from the Attributive set will usually be one of the clauses.

- 5) (IB 1) raja to nu ay bai (IB 2) rani ke d6klu.
 king part. not he is Bai queen OM we saw
 'It wasn't the king, Bai, we saw the queen.'

No adversative conjunction exists which would provide a close contrastive link. The two-fold contrastive relationship of the two propositions provides the semantic linkage. Grammatically, the linkage for the two bases may be:

- a) The juxtaposition of the two clauses,
- b) The obligatory presence of a negative particle in one base versus its absence in the other,
- c) The occurrence of contrasting tagmemes such as--Subject versus Subject, Object versus Object, and so on, or
- d) The optional occurrence of the emphatic tagmeme mant6r, from the specialized periphery which is emphasizing the truth or correctness of both bases.

- 6) (IB 1)tumco l6ge 6sp6tal neuat (EMPH)mant6r
 you of place in hospital they will take emph.
 (IB 2)amco l6ge ni neuat.
 we of place in not they will take
 'In your country they will take (sick people) to the hospital,
 but in our country they don't take them.'

When the same Predicate occurs in the bases then the second Predicate may be deleted. When this occurs then the positive base will occur initially and the negative base finally.

- 7) (IB 1)phus jon ne nacuat (IB 2)aur jon ne nai.
 lunar month moon in they will dance other moon in not is
 'They will dance in the month of Phus, not in another month.'
 8) (IB 1)ma:g jon ne pakuay (IB 2)ebe nai.
 lunar month moon in it will ripen now not is
 'In the month of Mang it will ripen, not now.'
 9) (IB 1)phujari k6ruay (IB 2)aur log nai.
 priest he will perform other people not is
 'The priest will perform the ceremony, not anyone else.'

The linear ordering of the sentence is loose in that no specific base must occur initially or finally.

- 10) (IB 1)mo:y ni jane: (IB 2)hun leka january.
 I not I know that boy he will know
 'I don't know but that boy will know.'
 11) (IB 1)m6ke nu ay bai (IB 2)aru leki ke ay.
 I OM not it is Bai other girl OM it is
 'It isn't me, Bai, it's another girl.'
 12) (IB 1)6ytwar aur l6kinbar rati mas ni khaot (IB 2)aur rati
 Sunday and Thursday night meat not they eat other night
 khauat.
 they will eat
 'They don't eat meat on Thursday and Sunday nights but they
 will eat it other nights.'
 13) (IB 1)mu:de bera sag khauau: (IB 2)rati bera ni khau:
 midday time curry type we will eat night time not we eat
 'At midday we eat vegetable curry but not at night.'

5.2 Antithetical Sentence.

The Antithetical Sentence consists of one dependent and one inde-

pendent base. The dependent base is filled by a dependent clause while the independent base is filled by an independent clause.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|--------|---|---------|---|--------|---|-------|
| + | DB | { | DepCl 1 | + | IB | { | IndCl |
| | Contr | | unreal | | Factl | | real |
| | Factl | | | | Anti- | | |
| | Thesis | | | | Thesis | | |
| | Prop | | | | Prop | | |

The propositions are in a thesis-antithesis relationship to each other characterized by the English conjunction 'but' (A but B). Proposition one states an event which is never realized. Against this or in spite of it, proposition two is realized. The word mant6r occurs between the propositions and emphatically asserts that the sentence is true.

- 1) (DB)616s bai jatibe (EMPH)mant6r (IB)pren bai co kirta janu
 Alice Bai she would go emph. Fran Bai of reason part.
 eta Theblise.
 here she has stayed
 'Alice Bai would have gone but because of Fran she has stayed here.'

The dependent base is filled by Dependent Clause 1 from the Active clause set. The base is dependent in that it is marked only for imperfect aspect, person, and number and is dependent on the rest of the sentence to complete its meaning. The perfective auxiliary ro has been observed to occur. The suffix -be occurs on the verb but as yet its function is unknown.

- 2) (DB)id6lda:y gh6re 6mru rotube (IB)janu
 at this time house in having arrived we would be part.
 tuci kirta Theblu.
 you of(emph) reason we stayed
 'At this time we would have arrived home but because of you we waited.'

The independent base is filled by an independent clause from the Active, Eventive, or Stative clause sets. The independent base is expressed in past time.

- 3) (DB)mo:y mo:d khatebe (EMPH)mant6r (IB)e ci kirta
 I wine I would eat emph. this of(emph) reason

ogay hole.
quietness I became

'I would have drunk wine but because of the others I sat quietly.'

The morpheme janu may occur with this sentence. However, like the suffix -ba, its function is unknown. The emphatic tagmeme, mant6r, from the specialized periphery may optionally occur between the bases.

Negation does not occur on either base. The linear ordering of the bases is as displayed in the four box array and no permutation is allowed.

- 4) (DB)ami naT d6kuk jatube (IB)e ci kirta
 we dance drama to see we would go this of(emph) reason

Thebluse.

we have stayed

'We would have gone to see the dance drama but because of her we stayed here.'

5.3 Descriptive-Listing Sentence.

The Descriptive-Listing Sentence consists of at least two independent bases with the possibility of up to six. The bases are filled by independent clauses.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------|--|-------|---|--------|--|-------|---|--------|--|-------|
| + | IB 1 | | IndCl | + | IB 2 | | IndCl | + | IB 3-6 | | IndCl |
| | Desc | | pos | | Desc | | pos | | Desc | | pos |
| | Prop 1 | | neg | | Prop 2 | | neg | | Props | | neg |

Semantically the two propositions are in a coupling relationship in which each proposition adds an event or state to a list of events or states with a common topic. This descriptive listing may involve:

a) A single actor performing (or not performing) a series of actions or predications during a specific time setting.

- 1) (SETT)eble (IB 1)ni uTlise (IB 2)duar duari ni baRae
 as yet not she has arisen courtyard not she sweeps

(IB 3)chaRa ni dee.

 dung not she gives

'As yet she hasn't arisen, she doesn't sweep the courtyard nor does she dung it.'

b) A single possessor whose possessions (or lack thereof) are listed:

- 2) (IB 1)hunco gh6r ase (IB 2)kuRea ase (IB 3)beRa ase
 that of house it is cattle shed it is field it is
 (IB 4)kaRa ase (IB5)gay ase (IB 6)bacha ase.
 field it is cow it is calf it is
 'He has a house, a cattle shed, fields, cattle, and calves.'

The independent bases are filled by independent clauses from either the Active or the Attributive sets of clauses. No mixing of clause sets may occur. Where all the bases are filled by clauses from the Active clause set then the Subject of each base will be the same and generally each of the bases will have the same tense, mood, voice, and aspect. Changes in the tense suffixes indicate that a temporal sequence is involved. Also the Setting tagmeme from the specialized periphery must occur when the Active clause set is used.

- 3) (SETT)rati m6:j6n (IB 1)ni soe (IB 2)ni khae.
 night day not she sleeps not she eats
 'Night and day she doesn't sleep and she doesn't eat.'

Where all the bases are filled by clauses from the Attributive set then a possessive pronoun occurs in IBase 1 and this possessive pronoun applies equally to all the bases although not overtly marked. The possessive pronoun is readily supplied in each base by the language assistants but in their opinion it makes the sentence cumbersome. The possessive pronoun in the following example has been underlined.

- 4) (IB 1)hunco gh6r ni ay (IB 2)beRa ni ay (IB 3)bho:ysa
 that of house not it is field not it is buffalo
 ni ay.
 not it is
 'She doesn't have a house, nor fields, nor waterbuffaloes.'

The bases are either all negative or all positive. The linear ordering of the bases of the sentence is as displayed in the four box array and permutation is restricted. When all the bases are negated then permutation is allowed but only if temporal sequence is not involved. None of the positive examples are permutable.

- 5) (SETT)aThara din rati m6:j6n (IB 1)ek ni:d ni soe
 eighteen day night day one sleep not she sleeps
 (IB 2)pej bhat ni khae.
 gruel cooked rice not she eats
 'For eighteen days, both day and night, she hasn't slept one bit, nor eaten any gruel or rice.'
- 6) (SETT)rati m6:j6n (IB 1)khae (IB 2)pie (IB 3)soe
 night day she eats she drinks she sleeps

(IB 4)bose.
she sits

'Night and day she eats, she drinks, she sleeps, she sits.'

- 7) (SETT)boRe biane (IB 1)uTe (IB 2)baRa o:Da k6re
big morning in she arises house cleaning she per-

(IB3)chaRa caT dee.
forms dunging the courtyard she does
'Early in the morning she arises, she cleans the house, she
dungs the courtyard.'

- 8) (SETT)aji biane (IB 1)duar baRaIe (IB 2)chaRa dile
today morning in courtyard I swept dung I gave

(IB 3)pani anIe (IB 4)ra:da ra:dIe.
water I brought preparation I prepared
'Today, I swept the courtyard, dunged it, brought the water,
cooked the meal.'

5.4 Conjoined Sentences.

The Conjoined Sentence consists of at least two independent bases, with the possibility of up to five, joined by a coordinating conjunction. The bases are filled by independent clauses.

Basic Sentence Formula:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 + \frac{\text{IB 1} \quad \text{IndCl}}{\text{Iden} \quad \text{Prop}} \quad + \frac{\text{LK} \quad \text{Cj} \quad \text{AUR}}{\text{Conn} \quad \text{'and'}} \quad + \frac{\text{IB 2} \quad \text{IndCl}}{\text{Conj} \quad \text{Prop}} \\
 \\
 \pm \left[\begin{array}{c} + \frac{\text{LK} \quad \text{Cj} \quad \text{AUR}}{\text{Conn} \quad \text{'and'}} \quad \pm \frac{\text{IB 3-5} \quad \text{IndCl}}{\text{Conj} \quad \text{Prop}} \end{array} \right]
 \end{array}$$

The coordinate relationship is used to join propositions of equal grammatical-semantic status in a series of two or more. The propositions must have a common topic and although sequence may be involved, it is not in focus when this grammatical construction is chosen.

- 1) (IB 1)pej khauat (LK)aur (IB 2)aplo beRa ne jauat
gruel they will eat and one's own field in they will

mi:jak
go to weed

'They will eat gruel and they will go to their own fields to

weed them.'

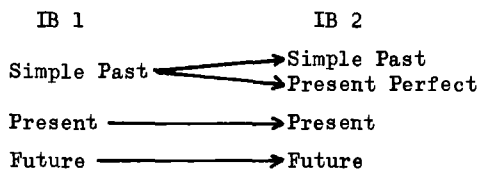
The independent bases are filled by independent clauses from the Active, Eventive, Stative, or Attributive sets of clauses. The clauses filling the bases tend to be matched so that both will belong to the same set—Active with Active and so on. It has been observed that a Stative clause may follow an Active clause when location is involved.

- 2) (IB 1)gh6r ba:dlu (LK)aru (IB 2)a:su.
 house we tied and we are
 'We built a house and here we are.'
- 3) (IB 1)cuRator ay (LK)aur (IB 2)hunco pani ke gartor ay.
 preparing it is and that of water OM pouring it is
 'It is to be prepared (cooked) and its water is to be poured off.'

In general, indicative mood must match indicative mood, imperative mood must match imperative mood, hortative must match hortative.

- 4) (IB 1)leka tui hun cua: ne ut6r (LK)aur (IB 2)hun k6sla ke
 boy you that well in descend! and that a pot OM
 nikran des.
 having brought out give!
 'Boy! You descend down that well and fetch my pot!'

Within indicative mood the restriction is that prior propositions must be the same or prior in tense or aspect to the following propositions. This restriction may be summarized as follows:



This indicates the fact that logical sequence is involved though we are positing that it is not primary.

- 5) (IB 1)rati bera so6lu (LK)aur (IB 2)biane uTlu (LK)aur
 night time we slept and morning in we arose and
 (IB 3)pher gelu.
 again we went
 'We slept at night and in the morning arose and again we went.'

Any base may be negated. The linear ordering of the bases is as displayed in the four box array but some permutation is allowed. Where

temporal sequence is not involved then the bases may be permuted. When temporal sequence is involved then permutation may occur only after a change in sentence type. One of the bases (or several) will be changed to the dependent base of one of the sequence sentences. We posit, however, that the chief function of this sentence type is simply to list events as having occurred together. Often the situational context is responsible for contributing a temporal/logical sequence to the Conjoined Sentence.

- 6) (IB 1)pej khadlu (LK)aur (IB 2)Da:Da maruk gelu.
gruel we ate and sugar cane to hit we went
'We ate gruel and went to cut sugar-cane.'

This Conjoined Sentence becomes a Specific Sequence Sentence when IBase 1 and IBase 2 are permuted and the necessary grammatical changes made to the structure:

(IB)Da:Da maruk gelu (DB)pej khaun bhati.
sugar cane to hit we went gruel having eaten after
'We went to cut sugar-cane after having eaten our gruel.'

In general, the Subjects will be the same in each base. The coordinating conjunction AUR has two forms—aur and aru. aur is used by men and aru is used by women.

- 7) (IB 1)pani t6pali (IB 2)nahan dili.
water she heated having bathed she gave
'She heated water and bathed.'
- 8) (IB 1)hũn m6n ch6ya co m6ya hola (LK)aru (IB 2) up6r phur
that pl. disappearance they became and above world
ne gela.
in they went
'They disappeared and returned to the upper world.'

6. Complementation.

The complementation group of sentences consists of five basic types. Three of the sentences (Disclaimer-Conjecture, Witness-Fact, and Quotation) are grammatically paratactic, and the other two (Proportional-Comparison and Topic-Comment) are subordinate.

The relationships of the propositions of the sentences may be summarized by tree diagram as in Figure 13.

6.1 Disclaimer-Conjecture Sentence.

The Disclaimer-Conjecture Sentence consists of one dependent and one independent base without any overt linking conjunctions. The dependent base is filled by a rhetorical question and the independent base is

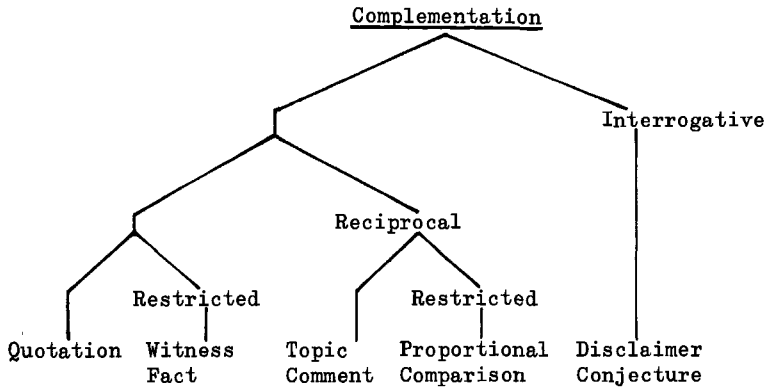


Figure 13. Complementation Branch.

filled by an independent clause.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | |
|---|-------|----------|---|-------|-------|
| + | DB | RhetQn | + | IB | IndCl |
| | Discl | interrog | | Conjt | |
| | Prop | | | Prop | |

The two propositions are in a complementary relationship—the second to the first. The initial proposition of the sentence disclaims or denies all knowledge concerning the proposition which follows. The second proposition then is a conjecture as to the existence or availability of an item or a conjecture about an occurrence of which the speaker has no first hand knowledge.

- 1) (DB)kon janlose (IB)phur phura bole eu roede.
 who he has known flood also having come it will be
 'Who knows whether a flood will have come.'

The dependent base is filled by a clause from the Stative clause set and is always expressed in interrogative mood. The question thus formed is a rhetorical question and no response is required from the audience. The DB is incomplete and formulaic. The rest of the sentence is required to complete the meaning. All the examples show only one form of the verb 'to know' which is present perfect, third person, masculine. However, the language assistants agree that other forms of the verb are possible.

The independent base is filled by an independent clause from the Active, Eventive, or Attributive clause sets.

- 2) (DB)kon janlose (IB)ag6r bole hoede.
 who he has known more also it will be
 'Who knows whether it will cost more.'

Negation does not occur on either base. The linear ordering is as shown in the four box array and permutation is not allowed.

- 3) (DB)kon janlose (IB)upre pani marlise.
 who he has known above water it has hit
 'Who knows, it may have rained up there.'
- 4) (DB)kon janlose (IB)caur cun aladad dh6ru rou:.
 who he has known rice large quantity having gotten we were
 'Who knows whether we'll be able to get a large quantity of rice.'

6.2 Proportional-Comparison Sentence.

The Proportional-Comparison Sentence consists of two dependent bases. These dependent bases are filled by dependent clauses.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|--|----------|---|---------|--|---------|
| + | DB 1 | | DepCl 8 | + | DB 2 | | DepCl 8 |
| | Quant | | j- | | Proport | | h- |
| | Prop | | relative | | Prop | | prefix |
| | | | prefix | | | | |

The two propositions are in a correlative complementary relationship. The initial proposition is a quantified proposition, a 'plumb-bob' or scale, focussing on one element only of the proposition. Against this a similar element in the second proposition can be related or measured exactly. Time, location, quantity, and manner are the non-nuclear clause elements which are relateable (measurable) across the bases. In the following example location is being related across the bases.

- 1) (DB 1)je l6ge pani l6ge roede (DB 2)hun l6ge cua:
 wherever water place in it will be that place in well

khoRuat.

they will dig

'Wherever there is water, at that place they will dig a well.'

Actor, possessor, action, and goal are the clause nuclear elements which are relateable (measurable) across the bases. In the following example actions are being related across the bases.

- 2) (DB 1)ebe tuco baba mori holoje (DB 2)usni
 now you of father dead he became(relative) just like that

amco des co raja bole morlo.
 we of country of king also he died
 'Just as your father is dead now, so the king of our country
 also died.'

A contrastive feature of this sentence type is the obligatory presence of cross-referencing terms typically occurring in pairs, as:

| DB 1 | | DB 2 | |
|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|----------------|
| j-idlida:y] | at whatever time | h-udlida:y] | at that time |
| j-id6lda:y] | | h-ud6lda:y] | |
| j-e thane | at whatever place | h-un thane | at that place |
| j-itlo | however much | h-utlo | that much |
| j-6s6n | however | ∅-us6n | like that |
| j-on | whoever | h-un | that one |
| j-e | [whoever whatever | h-un | that one |
| j-eco | | whose ever | h-unco |
| j-e | verb relative | ∅-usni | just like that |

As a result of the obligatory presence of the cross-referencing prefixes (j- and h-) both bases are considered dependent.

- 3) (DB 1)jitlo m6cri jhari ne poRede (DB 2)hutlo ke
 however much fish net in it will swim that much OM
- dh6rtor ay.
 taking hold of it is
 'However many fish swim into the net, that many fish are to
 be caught.'

The clause types which fill the two bases are not usually matched. DBase 1 is filled by Dependent Clause 8 from the Active, Eventive, Stative, or Attributive clause sets. DBase 2 is also filled by Dependent Clause 8 from the Active or Eventive clause sets. Co-occurrence restrictions on the clauses appear to be semantically or situationally governed.

- 4) (DB 1)j6s6n age co m6hal roli (DB 2)usni m6hal ba:dla.
 however before of palace it was like that palace they
- tied
 'However the palace was previously, just like that they built
 it.'

The following tenses have been observed in DBase 1: simple future, simple past, and aorist. The perfective auxiliary ro may also occur. No other verbal auxiliaries have been observed. The following tenses have been observed in DBase 2: simple future and simple past. Impera-

tive or interrogative mood, or pseudo-passive voice may occur. No verbal auxiliaries have been observed. In example 5, DBase 2 is expressed in imperative mood and in example 6, DBase 2 is expressed in interrogative mood.

- 5) (DB 1)ami jid6lda:y eu:de (DB 2)hud6lda:y sa:g,
we at whatever time we will come at that time tell!
'At whatever time we will come, at that time tell us!'
- 6) (DB 1)amco des ne nua: manluje
we of country in New Year festival we celebrated(relative)

(DB 2)usni tumi bole manu6has?
just like that you also you will celebrate
'Just as we celebrate the New Year festival here, in your
country, do you also celebrate the same festival like that?'

Neither base is negatable. The linear ordering of the bases is as displayed in the four box array and no permutation is allowed. The Predicate of one of the bases may be deleted but never both. Other clause level tagmemees may also be deleted. These deletions may be predicatable but as yet no pattern has been observed. Examples 7, 8, and 9 show some of these deletions.

- 7) (DB 1)j6s6n co m6hal (DB 2)us6n holi.
however of palace like that it became
'Whatever the palace (was like before) that's how it became.'
- 8) (DB 1)jitlo dhan co (DB 2)hutlo caur monali.
however much paddy rice of that much rice she made
'However much paddy rice there was, that much rice she made.'
- 9) (DB 1)jid6lda:y ami eu:de (DB 2)hud6lda:y?
at whatever time we we will come at that time
'At whatever time we will come, at that time?'
- 10) (DB 1)jid6lda:y mo:y phirte roe (DB 2)hud6lda:y boRe
at whatever time I returning I was at that time big

m6skul ne poRle.
difficulty in I fell
'At whatever time I was returning, at that time I fell into
difficulties.'
- 11) (DB 1)j6s6n j6s6n hun deo sa:gu roede (DB 2)us6n
however however that spirit having told it will be like

joRtor ay.
that putting together it is
'Just as that spirit will have said, like that it is to be
gotten together.'

6.3 Topic-Comment Sentence.

The Topic-Comment Sentence consists of one dependent and one independent base. The dependent base is filled by an axis-relator clause or a dependent clause and the independent base is filled by an independent clause.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|---------|------------|---|----|---------|
| + | DB | A-RC1 1 | | + | IB | IndCl |
| | | DepCl 5 | | | | |
| | | Topic | indefinite | | | Comment |
| | | Prop | | | | Prop |

The two propositions are semantically in a complementary relationship. The initial proposition identifies a theme or topic which is expounded by the final proposition. In other words, the topic proposition highlights or spotlights one particular item upon which the comment proposition enlarges.

- 1) (DB)kon des ne ay ale (IB)hun thane l6R6i holi.
 which country in it is when that place in war it became
 'Whatever country it is in, a war occurred there.'

- 2) (DB)koni hoo (IB)haT baTe Da:Da bikuat.
 whoever it may be market way in sugar cane they will sell
 'Whoever it may be, they will sell the sugar-cane in the market.'

The dependent base may be filled by Axis-Relator Clause 1. The clause filling the axis is an independent clause from the Active, Eventive, or Attributive sets of clauses. Typically, the clause is from the Attributive set as the identification of an item is in focus. The combination of a question word (marked by prefix k-) and the relator ALE results in an indefinite meaning to the item in focus.

- 3) (DB)kay g6Rur ay jale (IB)hun co paT ne mo:ji g6ta bosli.
 what crocodile it is when that of back in middle she sat
 'Whatever crocodile it is, she sat on the middle of its back.'

The dependent base may also be filled by Dependent Clause 5 from the Eventive clause set. The clause typically identifies a location, time, person, or thing. The combination of a question word or a generic word (both marked by prefix k-) and the verb houk 'to become' in the optative mood results in an indefinite meaning to the item in focus.

- 4) (DB)k6ha:y hoo (IB)raha.
 wherever it may be stay!
 'Wherever it may be, stay there!'

The occurrence of either Axis-Relator Clause 1 or Dependent Clause 5, in the dependent base, is dependent upon the speaker's attitude or outlook toward the eventuation of the topic proposition. The author feels that one is probably further removed from reality than the other although which one it would be is unknown.

The independent base is filled by an independent clause from the Active, Eventive, or Stative sets of clauses. Pseudo-passive voice or imperative mood may occur.

5) (DB)kitlo dhan ay ale (IB)anun dias.
 how much paddy rice it is when having brought give!
 'However much paddy rice there is, bring it!'

6) (DB)kidlida:y hoo (IB)amco gh6re ia.
 whatever time it may be we of house in come!
 'At whatever time it may be, come to our house!'

Neither base is negatable. The usual linear ordering of the bases is as displayed in the four box array but permutation may occur. When permutation does occur then the relator of the axis-relator clause may be deleted as shown in example 7.

7) (IB)pher jator ay (DB)kon t6ri ne ay.
 again going it is which pond in it is
 'To whichever pond it is, (to that pond) one is to be going.'

8) (IB)khau:be (DB)ka:y ci hoo.
 we eat anything just it may be
 'Whatever it may be, we eat it.'

No interruption of the internal linear ordering of the dependent base is allowed. However, when an axis-relator clause fills the dependent base it may interrupt the internal linear ordering of the independent base as in example 9.

9) (IB)hun may beTi kaje (DB)key key dh6run dilo
 that mother daughter for what what having gotten he gave

ale (IB cont.)hun ke d6kak anu roe.
 when that OM to show having brought he was
 'Whatever he got hold of, he had brought it for the mother and daughter to see it.'

10) (DB)kitlo dhur le ila ale (IB)eta bisalasot.
 how much distance from they came when here they have rested
 'However far they have come from, here they have rested.'

11) (DB)key na:w co raj ay ale (IB)hun thane ase.
 what name of country it is when that place in she is
 'Whatever is the name of the country, she is there.'

6.4 Witness-Fact Sentence.

The Witness-Fact Sentence consists of two independent bases. The bases are filled by independent clauses.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | |
|---|---------|-------|---|---------|-------|
| + | IB 1 | IndCl | + | IB 2 | IndCl |
| | Fact | | | Stat | |
| | Witness | | | of Fact | |
| | Prop | | | Prop | |

The two propositions are in a complementary relationship in which the second completes the meaning of the predicate of the first. The initial proposition of the sentence introduces a predication which asserts a mental or sensory activity such as 'see' or 'know'. The second proposition states the event which is visually or otherwise perceived or known. The word mant6r may occur between the propositions and emphatically asserts that both the initial proposition and the final proposition are true and definitely occurred.

- 1) (IB 1)mo:y jane: (EMPH)mant6r (IB 2)hun leka 6cha ay.
 I I know emph. that boy good he is
 'I know for sure that the boy is good.'

Where the second proposition is secondhand information and has not been witnessed firsthand then the word m6ne 'it is said' will be added to the end of the proposition. In using m6ne, the speaker is disclaiming responsibility for the proposition which precedes it.

- 2) (IB 1)chi:gRu pep6r ne poRlo (EMPH)mant6r (IB 2)ba:gla des
 Chingaru newspaper in he read emph. Bangla Desh
 ne khub log morla (RDM)m6ne.
 in much people they died it is said
 'Chingaru read in the newspaper that many people died in
 Bangla Desh.'

The independent clauses which may fill IBase 1 are from the Stative clause set. The predicates of these dependent clauses all indicate some sort of awareness such as: d6k 'see', jan 'know', sun 'hear', poR 'read'.

The IBase 1 is always positive but IBase 2 may be either positive or negative. The emphatic tagmeme mant6r, from the specialized periphery, may occur between the bases. Also the responsibility disclaimer tagmeme m6ne, from the specialized periphery, may occur following IBase 2.

- 3) (IB 1)chi:gRu sunlo (EMPH)mant6r (IB 2)bai nagpur baTe Dera
 Chingaru he heard emph. Bai Nagpur way in lodging

dh6rli (RDM)m6ne
 she got it is said
 'Chingaru heard positively that Bai had gotten lodgings in
 Nagpur.'

Independent clauses from the Active, Eventive, Stative, and Attributive clause sets fill IBase 2. The linear ordering of the bases is as displayed in the four box array and no permutation is allowed.

- 4) (IB 1)s6b log d6kte rola (IB 2)koki ni mare.
 all people seeing they were to anyone not he hits
 'Everyone saw that he didn't hit anyone at all.'
- 5) (IB 1)durga m6n d6kla (IB 2)hun leki haT baTe geli.
 Durga pl. they saw that girl market way in she went
 'The people of Durga's house saw her go towards the market.'
- 6) (IB 1)bai d6klise (EMPH)mant6r (IB 2)kaThma:Du ns khub hipi
 Bai she has seen emph. Kathmandu in much hippie
 m6n asot.
 pl. they are
 'Bai saw that there were many hippies in Kathmandu.'
- 7) (IB 1)leka janlo (IB 2)sah6b m6n puna baTe jau
 boy he knew official pl. Poona way in having gone
 rola.
 they were
 'The boy knew that the officials had gone to Poona.'

6.5 Quotation Sentence.

The Quotation Sentence consists of two independent bases. The filler of the first base is unlimited while the independent clause which fills the second base is limited to the Stative set and verbs of vocal or mental activity.

Basic Sentence Formula:

| | | | | | |
|---|-----------|--------------------------------|---|---------|-------|
| + | IB 1 | wd, Ph, Cl, Sen, Para, Disc | + | IB 2 | IndCl |
| | Quotation | | | Quote | |
| | Prop | | | Formula | |
| | | | | Prop | |

The two propositions are in a complementary relationship in which the first proposition completes the meaning of the Predicate of the second. The second proposition of the sentence is a predication which asserts a speech act such as 'say'. The initial proposition states what

it is that is actually said.

- 1) (IB 1)car rupea a:t ana dias (IB 2)mo:y bolle.
 four rupees eight anna give! I I said
 'I said, "Give four rupees and eight annas."'

The IBase 2 is filled by an independent clause from the Stative clause set. The predicate will indicate some sort of verbal or mental speech act such as bol 'say', sa:g 'tell', or bon 'think'.

- 2) (IB 1)k6s6n khu:dese? (IB 2)bone:se.
 what he is stamping I am thinking
 'I am thinking to myself, "Why is he stamping?"'
- 3) (IB 1)ia utraklay (IB 2)bolese.
 come! in order to take down she is saying
 She is saying, "Come and take this thing down (off my head)!"

IBase 1 may be filled by a word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, or discourse. In this paper the examples of the filler of IBase 1 are deliberately limited to short ones for illustrative purposes.

Frequently the subject of IBase 2 fills the afterthought tagmeme, of the specialized periphery, as in the following example.

- 4) (IB 1)mey loTea anlo ni more (IB 2)bolese (AFTH)
 exclam. he brought not he dies he is saying
 hun raja.
 that king
 'That king is saying, "Curses, he brought it, he didn't die."'

Many of the sentence periphery tagmemes will occur in IBase 1. This is a result of the fact that normally whatever occurs in the actual speech event is quoted completely and will frequently include paragraph and discourse level particles.

- 5) (IB 1)ale bhaci kaje paTa paTi dh6ras nai (IB 2)bolese
 att. niece for handwoven cloth you get won't you he is
 (RDM)m6ne (AFTH)s6tra bita.
 saying rdm father in law thing
 'The father-in-law is saying, "Listen, won't you get a handwoven cloth for the daughter-in-law."'

The typical linear ordering of the bases is as displayed in the four box array. However, IBase 1 may permute to a position where it interrupts the internal linear ordering of IBase 2. The predicate of IBase 2, however, must always occur following IBase 1.

- 6) (IB 2)hun ke (IB 1)ai:k ulThalo (IB 2 cont.)boluat.
that OM eye he caused to turn up they

will say

'They will say to that, "He was jealous."'

- 7) (IB 2)hun ke log m6n (IB 1)hura holo aur gelo ci
that OM people pl. hateful he became and he went just

(IB 2 cont.)boluat.

they will say

'The people will say to that, "He became furious and just went."'

- 8) (IB 1)hun co kaje tumi ni khiseaua (IB 2)bolli.
that of for you not be sad! she said
'She said, "Don't be sad for that reason!''

- 9) (IB 1)ja sa:gun des (IB 2)bolla (AFTH)m6-ke.
go! having told give! they said I-OM
'They said to me, "Go and tell!''

- 10) (IB 1)tuco kaje kit hat co paTa dh6rtor ay
you of for how many hand of handwoven cloth getting it is

(IB 2)bolese.

he is saying

'He is asking, "How many cubits of handwoven cloth are to be gotten for you?''

D. Sentence Combination.

There are two ways so far observed in which sentence types can combine with each other in Halbi—either by superimposing a proportional relationship on another type or by embedding a coordinate or alternative construction in the dependent base of another type.

1. Simultaneous Double Encoding.

Proportional Comparison plus General Sequence. This type, as well as the following, combine both the grammatical signals and semantic meanings of both relationships in the one sentence. Note that the j- form in the one base plus the h- form in the other signals the proportional relationship, while the ALE relator signals the general sequence relationship.

- 1) (DB 1)beka m6n jid6lda:y ila ale (DB 2)hud6lda:y
Becca pl. at whatever time they came when at that time

ami bokRa ke anun deu:de.
 we goat OM having brought we will give
 'At whatever time the Gordon's come, at that time we will bring
 the goat.'

- 2) (DB 1) je dine kósa dila ale (DB 2)
 whatever day on purification ceremony they gave when

hun dine hag deuat.
 that day on they will call
 'Whatever day they will give the Kósa purification ceremony,
 on that day they will call the village people.'

- 3) (DB 1) je thane bayle ghór holi ale (DB 2) huta
 whatever place in woman house it became when there

khórcá dhóruk jauay.
 compensation to get he will go
 'Wherever it is a woman sets up house then the ex-husband will
 go there to get compensation.'

Proportional Comparison plus Generic Temporal Condition. Again two relationships are signalled. The j-h form correlation across the bases signals the proportional relationship, while the relator -LENE signals the generic temporal conditional relationship.

- 1) (DB) je sag cuRu role (IB) hun sag
 whatever curry type having prepared when is that curry type

deuat.
 they will give
 'Whenever, whatever curry is prepared, that curry they will give.'

- 2) (DB) jitlo din kaje neu role (IB) hutlo din
 however much day for having taken when is that much day

rotor ay.
 being it is.
 'Whenever, however, many days one is taken for, for that many
 days one should stay.'

- 3) (DB) jitlo bollene (IB) hutro dhóruciat.
 however much when say that much they will just get
 'Whenever, however much is said, that much they will definitely
 get.'

- 4) (DB) jitlo likle (IB) hutlo likuk houay.
 however much when write that much to write it will become
 'Whenever, however much is written, that much will be written.'

- 5) (DB)j6s6n k6male (IB) us6n khator ay.
 however when farm like that eating it is
 'Whenever, however a person farms, then just like that they will eat.'

2. Coordinate and Alternative Constructions in Dependent Bases.

2.1 Coordinate Constructions.

Combination of Specific and General Sequence Dependent Bases.

These two dependent bases—the specific sequence signalled by the -un suffix and the general sequence signalled by the ALE relator—are juxtaposed in a loose coordinate-sequence relationship to each other, but each maintaining its peculiar relationship to the one independent base.

- 1) (DB 1)pani marun (DB 2)dhan 6k6rli ale (IB)biasi
 water having hit paddy rice it sprouted when a small
 maruat.
 plough they will hit
 'After it's rained, when the paddy has sprouted, they will plough with the biasi plough.'

- 2) (DB 1)mo:Dea pisan ghorun bhati (DB 2)pase uk6Rli jale
 millet flour having mixed after later it boiled when
 (IB)utrator ay.
 causing to descend it is
 'After having mixed the millet flour, when it's boiled, it is to be taken off the fire.'

Combination of Specific Sequence and Simultaneous Dependent Bases.

Similar to the above, specific sequence is signalled by the suffix -un while simultaneous action is signalled by -to ke. These, as well, are in a loose coordinate-sequential relationship to each other, each maintaining its peculiar relationship to the independent base.

- 1) (DB 1)kukRa basto ke (DB 2)nikrun bati jenu (IB)raja
 cock crowing at having come out after part. king
 ete ilo.
 coming he came
 'At the time of the cock's crowing, (and) after having departed, the king came quickly here.'
- 2) (DB 1)din bhor roun bati (DB 2)a6:j hoto ke
 day throughout having stayed after evening becoming at
 (IB)gh6re ilu.
 house to we came
 'After having stayed the whole day, at the time it became

- 2) (DB) [ber hoo bad6r hoo ka:y hoo] (IB) tumco
sun it may be cloud it may be anything it may be you of
gh6re d6kuk euau:.
house to to see we will come
'Whether it is sunny, or cloudy, or whatever it may be, we
will come to your house to see (them).'
- 3) (DB) [dui Than rohot kay tin Than rohot] ale (IB) gida
two thing they were or three thing they were when eaglet
ke apTun dili.
OM having turned out she gave
'Whether there were two or three, she turned the eaglets out
(of the nest).'
- 4) (DB) [DhuTi hoo ko:Di hoo kay n6ki
fish basket it may be little pot it may be or aluminium pot
hoo] (IB) beRa baTe neuat.
it may be field way in they will take
'Whether it is a fish basket or a little pot or an aluminium
pot, they will take it to the fields.'
- 5) (DB) [kay dui moyna ay kay tin moyna ay] ale (IB) hun
or two month it is or three month it is when that
l6ge rola.
place in they were
'Whether it was two months or three months, they were at that
place.'
- 6) (DB) [bimar holi ki kay holi] ale (IB) 6sp6tal nila.
sickness it became or what it became when hospital they
took
'Whether it is sickness or whatever it is, they took her to
the hospital.'
- 7) (IB) jae:de bua (DB) [kiRa hoo thapa hoo]
I will go Father [insect it may be grasshopper it may be]
'Whether it is an insect or a grasshopper, I will go Father (in
order to marry it).'
- 8) (DB) [kay koni log nila kay bilhi: khadli kay pokay
or any people they took or cat it ate or thrown out
holi kay kukur khadli] ale (IB) hun biti ni ay.
it became or dog it ate when that thing not it is
'Whether someone took it or a cat ate it or it became thrown

out or a dog ate it, that thing is not here.'

When the specific-generic alternating construction embeds in the Generic Temporal Conditional Sentence the following features apply: a) the linking morpheme nahle 'otherwise' will occur between the clauses; b) several clauses occur as choices;¹⁰ c) a specific-generic relationship encodes across the bases although the generic clause is deleted in the following examples.

- 1) (DB) kukur ke nahle boyla m6n ke sog k6rlene (IB)hun
 dog OM otherwise bull pl. OM love when perform that
 ke sog k6rlo boluat.
 OM love he performed they will say
 'When a person takes good care of a dog or bull (or any animal), people will say to that, "He took care of them."'
- 2) (DB) deo ke nahle raja ke nahle bh6gwan ke pa:y poRlene
 spirit OM otherwise king OM otherwise God OM foot when fall
 (IB)hun ke pa:y poRlo boluat.
 that OM foot he fell they will say
 'When a person worships a spirit, or the king, or else God, then people will say to that, "He worshipped."'

E. Distribution.

In Halbi, sentences combine to form paragraphs and fulfill specific functions in other higher levels in the hierarchy. Many sentences appear to have a very restricted distribution within these higher levels. However, a complete description must wait until an analysis of Halbi paragraph and discourse have been undertaken.

Extensive recursive embedding of one sentence type within another occurs very frequently in Halbi. This recursive embedding, according to Longacre (1968), is a distinguishing feature of the sentence as a legitimate level within the grammatical hierarchy.

Exhaustive studies of this feature of recursive embedding in Halbi have not, as yet, been undertaken. However, in the following pages are some examples of what has been observed. Also included are examples of backlooping that may occur.

1. Chronological.

1.1 Specific Sequence Sentence.

The Specific Sequence Sentence may embed: a) in the independent

base of the Generic Temporal Conditional Sentence.

- 1) (DB)s6tra s6tri role (IB)pher boRe da:y
 father in law mother in law when is [again big time
 uTun k6rtor ay.]
 having arisen performing it is
 'When there are in-laws, one must arise early and work.'

b) in the independent base of the Purpose- Result Sentence.

- 2) (DB)m6cri dh6rto kaje (IB)haT le sut ghenun
 fish taking hold for [market from thread having purchased
 antor ay.]
 bringing it is
 'For netting fish, thread is to be purchased and brought from
 the market.'

c) in the IBase 1 of the Negated Antonym Sentence.

- 3) (DB 2)tumi hi:Duk ni s6kas (IB 1)ph6T ph6Ti ne
 you to walk by foot not you can [motorscooter on
 cegun jau6has.]
 having climbed you will go
 'You are unable to go by foot, you will go by motorscooter.'

d) in IBase 2 of the Identity-Contrast Sentence.

- 4) (IB 1)janlo log binuat (IB 2)ni janlo log ghenun
 known people they will weave [not known people having
 phi:duat.]
 purchased they will wear
 'The people who know (how to weave) will weave (but) the
 people who don't know will buy and wear.'

e) in IBase 2 of the Reason-Result Sentence.

- 5) (IB 1)morlo (LK)gune (IB 2)may beTi nikrun
 he died therefore [mother daughter heving come out
 ilase.]
 they have come
 'The man died therefore the mother and daughter departed
 and have come here.'

1.2 Coterminus Sentence.

The Coterminus Sentence may occur embedded in IBase 1 of the

Contra-Expectation Sentence.

- 1) (IB 1) [kukur ke mor6tle marte roe] (IB 2)ni more.
 [dog OM die until complete hitting he was not it dies
 'He was beating the dog to death but it didn't die.'

1.3 Simultaneous Sentence.

The Simultaneous Sentence backloops to manifest a clause level function. Here it fills the axis of an axis-relator clause which in turn fills DBase 1 of the Contra-Factual Sentence.

- 1) (DB 1) [tumi ghana k6rto bera etas]
 [you sugar cane crusher performing time you would come]
 jale (DB 2)Da:Da gur r6s khau rotas
 when sugar cane raw sugar juice having eaten you would
 be
 'If you would've been here during the sugar-cane crushing
 you would've eaten sugar-cane, raw sugar, and sugar juice.'

2. Cause-Effect.

2.1 Conditional Alternative Sentence.

The Conditional Alternative Sentence may embed: a) in the independent base of the General Sequence Sentence.

- 1) (DB)bimar holi ale (IB) [sirha deo bosuay nahle
 sickness it became when [shaman spirit he will sit other-
 gunea caur basuay.
 wise diviner rice he will separate]
 'When sickness occurs the shaman will call the spirits or
 else the diviner will separate the rice grains (to find out
 what is wrong).'
- 2) (DB)bai m6n ila ale (IB) [amke poysa deuat nahle
 lady pl. they came when [we OM money they will give other-
 bhat sag khoauat.
 wise cooked rice curry type they will feed]
 'When the ladies come they will give us money or else they
 will feed us rice and curry.'

- b) in the independent base of the Specific Sequence Sentence.

- 3) (DB)gham ne sukaun (IB) [pase tin tag nahle car
sunshine in having dried later three length otherwise four
tag hiTator ay.
length taking off it is
'Having dried (the thread) in the sun, later three or four
lengths are to be taken off.'

2.2 Conditional-Consequent Sentence.

The Conditional-Consequent Sentence may embed in the independent base of the Topic-Comment Sentence.

- 1) (DB)koni thane hoo (IB) [bayle ase ale D6g6r jae:se.
any place in it may be wife she is if search I am going
'Wherever it may be, if there is a wife (there) I am searching
for her.'

2.3 Generic Temporal Conditional Sentence.

The Generic Temporal Conditional Sentence may embed: a) in the independent base of the Topic-Comment Sentence.

- 1) (DB)koci hoo (IB) [beRa ne tiarle jator ay.
whoever it may be field in when ready going it is
'Whosoever it may be, when (their) field is ready (for weeding)
people are to be going there to work.'

b) in IBase 1 of the Conditional Alternative Sentence.

- 2) (IB 1) [daul m6ti rani dilene neua:y
Daul M6ti Queen when give I will take] (LK)nahle (IB 2)
otherwise

mo:y ni nee:
I not I take

'If Queen Daul M6ti gives it, I will take it otherwise I
won't take it.'

- 3) (IB 1) [g6R b6R s6R b6R hole 6sp6tal ne neuat
trouble and difficulties when become hospital to they will

take] (LK)nahle (IB 2)neunuat.
otherwise they will not take

'When difficulties occur (at childbirth) they take them to
the hospital otherwise they won't.'

c) in the independent base of the Positive Echo Question Sentence.

- 4) (IB) [dhan hole kaTuk lagse
paddy rice when become to cut you will stick] (DB)a:y?
isn't that so

'When the paddy rice is ready you will require it to be cut, won't you?'

The combination Proportional Comparison plus Generic Temporal Conditional may embed in the independent base of the Topic-Comment Sentence.

- 5) (IB)

| | | | | | |
|----------|-------|------|--------|----------|-------------------------|
| je | sag | cuRu | role | hun | sag |
| whatever | curry | type | having | prepared | when is that curry type |

| | | | | |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|--------|--------------------|
| deuat | (DB)m6cri | hoo | go:dri | hoo. |
| they will give | fish | it may be | onion | it may be |
| 'Be it fish or | onions, | whatever | curry | they prepare, that |
| curry | they will | give | us.' | |

2.4 Purpose-Result Sentence.

The Purpose-Result Sentence may embed: a) in the independent base of the Generic Temporal Conditional Sentence.

- 1) (DB)leki hole (IB)

| | | | | |
|-----------|---------|--------|------|----------|
| 6sni | kosa | ba:dto | kaje | kes |
| like this | hairbun | tying | up | for hair |

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| bacator | ay. |
| causing to leave | it is |
| 'When there's a girl, | the hair is to be left to grow long for |
| the purpose of tying | a bun.' |

b) in IBase 2 of the Identity-Contrast Sentence.

- 2) (IB 1) m6nuk m6n ni eot (IB 2)

| | | | |
|-------|-------|-----|----------------|
| bayle | pila | m6n | euat |
| woman | child | pl. | they will come |

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| khato | kaje. |
| eating for | |
| 'The men don't come, | only the women and children come for |
| eating.' | |

3. Disjunction.

3.1 Alternative Question Sentence.

The Alternative Question Sentence may embed in the independent base of the Disclaimer-Conjecture Sentence.

- 1) (DB)kon janlose (IB)

| | | | |
|----------|------|------------|-------------------|
| e | baTe | k6rbuja | mirede |
| this way | in | watermelon | it will be avail- |

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| ki | nai. |
| able or not | is |
| 'Who knows whether | watermelons will be available or not.' |

b) in IBase 2 of the Reason-Result Sentence.

- 3) (IB 1) tui gelis (LK) gune (IB 2) [m6ke bhat pej
 you you went therefore [I OM cooked rice gruel
 ra:dala aru khate khadla.
 they caused to prepare and eating they ate]
 'You left therefore they forced me to cook their meals and
 they gobbled down the food (without giving me any).'

c) in IBase 2 of the Contra-Expectation Sentence.

- 4) (IB 1) gay cheri bole hun baTe khedun ni ne bollu
 cow goat also that way in having chased not take! we said
 (EMPH) mant6r (IB 2) [ni manli aur khedun nili.
 emph. [not she obeyed and having chased she took]
 'We said, "Don't chase the cattle in that direction," but
 she didn't obey and she chased them there.'

d) in the independent base of the Cause-Effect Sentence.

- 5) (DB) k6s6n k6run (IB) [morauau:be aur hunco bayle ke
 what having performed [we will kill and that of wife OM
 anuau:be?
 we will bring]
 'What's to be done so that we can kill him and bring his wife
 here?'

e) in the independent base of the Topic-Comment Sentence.

- 6) (DB) ber hoo bad6r hoo (IB) [Dokri ra:d aur dhire
 sun it may be cloud it may be [Old Woman cook! and slowly
 dhire bole an.
 slowly also bring!]
 'Whether it be sunny or cloudy, Old Woman, cook food and bring
 it carefully to me!'

f) in DBase 2 of the Contra-Factual Sentence.

- 7) (DB 1) ami aji biane boRe da:y uTtu ale (DB 2)
 we today morning in big time we would arise when
 [boRe da:y jhaTi gaRa netu aur jh6pke gh6re
 big time cart type ox cart we would take and quickly house
 etu.
 to we would come]

'If we would've arisen early this morning we would've taken the jhati cart and we would've quickly returned.'

6. Complementation.

6.1 Quotation Sentence.

The Quotation Sentence may embed: a) in IBase 1 of the Reason-Result Sentence.

1) (IB 1) [aji hun noni ni ja ai bolli] (LK)tebe
 today that Noni not go! Grandma she said therefore

(IB 2)ni gele.

not I went

'Today Noni said, "Don't go Grandma," so I didn't go.'

b) in the independent base of the Generic Temporal Conditional Sentence.

2) (DB)nani biti holene (IB) car rupea a:T ana dee:de
 small thing when become four rupees eight anna I will give

boltor ay.

saying it is

'When it is a small hen, one should say, "I will give four and a half rupees."'

The Quotation Sentence backloops to manifest a clause level function. Here it fills the axis of an axis-relator clause which in turn fills the dependent base of the Concessive Sentence.

3) (DB) [mas m6cri ni khaha bollo] ale bole (IB)ami khau:se.
 meat fish not eat! he said although we we are eating
 'Although he said not to eat meat and fish, we are eating them.'

Abbreviations.

Box 1

| | |
|-----|------------------|
| DB | dependent base |
| IB | independent base |
| LK | link |
| FIN | final |

Box 2

| | |
|--------|--------------|
| A-R | axis-relator |
| Cl | clause |
| Cj | conjunction |
| Cjv | conjunctive |
| Dep | dependent |
| Disc | discourse |
| Form | formulaic |
| Ind | independent |
| Para | paragraph |
| Ph | phrase |
| Rhet | rhetorical |
| Qn | question |
| Sen | sentence |
| wd | word |
| red. | reduced |
| trunc. | truncated |

Box 4

| | |
|---------|---------------|
| Alt | alternating |
| Altv | alternative |
| Condn | condition |
| Condl | conditional |
| Conj | conjoined |
| Conjt | conjecture |
| Conc | concessive |
| Conn | connector |
| Conseq | consequent |
| Contr | contra |
| Desc | descriptive |
| Discl | disclaimer |
| Ev | event |
| Expect | expectation |
| Foll | following |
| Factl | factual |
| Iden | identity |
| Magnf | magnification |
| Piv | pivot |
| Prop | proposition |
| Proport | proportional |
| Quant | quantifying |
| Qn | question |
| Rsn | reason |
| Rslt | result |
| Sett | setting |
| Seq | sequence |
| Sp | specific |
| Stat | statement |

| | |
|----------|-------------|
| Temp | temporal |
| Unfulfil | unfulfilled |
| Wit | witness |

Box 5

| | |
|----------|--------------------------------|
| complt | completed |
| decl | declarative |
| interrog | interrogative |
| neg | negative |
| pos | positive |
| Pi | same Predicate in both clauses |
| Si | same Subject in both clauses. |
| real | realized |
| simult | simultaneous |
| unreal | unrealized |

Other

| | |
|---------|--|
| AFTH | afterthought |
| att. | attention |
| cont. | continued |
| EMPH |] emphatic |
| emph | |
| exclam. | exclamation |
| OM | object marker |
| part. | particle |
| pl. | plural |
| rel. | relator |
| RDM | responsibility disclaimer marker |
| STOP | sentence topic |
| SETT | setting (time) |
| [] | indicate embedded sentences or constructions |

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Footnotes.

¹ale occurs with sentences in the interrogative mood, while ede occurs with sentences which are explanatory in nature.

²The twenty-nine sentence types posited in this paper are not necessarily exhaustive and other types no doubt exist.

³The relator BATI has two forms--bati and bhati. bati is used by men and boys, while bhati is used by women and girls.

⁴The relator ALE consists of two forms--ale and jale. ale is used by men and boys, while jale is used by women and girls.

⁵The suffix -T6LE has two forms: -6tle and -tle. When a verb stem ends in a consonant then the suffix form will be -6tle as in hi:D-6tle 'until completed walking by foot.' When the verb stem ends in a vowel then the suffix form becomes -tle as in ro-tle 'until completed staying.'

⁶The suffix -T6TLE has two forms: -t6t6le and -tt6le. When a verb stem ends in a consonant then the suffix form will be -t6t6le as in nac-t6t6le 'dancing and until completed.' When a verb stem ends in a vowel then the suffix form will be -tt6le as in ho-tt6le 'becoming and until completed.'

⁷The suffix relator -LENE has two forms: -lene and -le. -lene is used by men and boys, while -le is used by women and girls.

⁸The conditional alternating link nahls 'otherwise', may also occur with some of the examples.

⁹On checking with the language assistants it was found that in sentences expressed in active voice and declarative mood, the negated base was more acceptable as 'good Halbi' if aorist endings occurred on the verb.

¹⁰A feature of the Conditional Alternative Sentence is the optional deletion of the same predicates from all basess except the final base.

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