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SEQUENCES OF CLAUSES IN TAIRORA

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One of the characteristics of the languages of the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea is the distinction between utterance medial and utterance final forms of the verb.¹ Since the verb usually contains in its internal structure the obligatory clause level elements (subject and predicate), and because of the formal differences between the medial and final verbs, it is often possible to describe the various types of clauses in sequence by reference to the characteristics of the verb in each clause.

Tairora, one of the languages of the Eastern Highlands, exhibits various relationships between clauses in sequence within a single sentence. Alex and Lois Vincent of the Summer Institute of Linguistics have written some "Introductory Notes on Tairora Verb Morphology and Syntax", an article published in Oceania Linguistic Monographs No. 6.² The first part of their article describes the Tairora verb morphology, while the last part deals with some of the possible sequences of clauses in sentences. In depicting the verb morphology, the Vincents resort to verb paradigms. These seem to me to be useful in this case even as I found it useful in describing the Maranao verb structure.³ It further

seems to me to be useful to extend this approach to the description of the possible clause sequences in Tairora.

The use of paradigms to describe language material is not new. Hockett mentions this approach as the oldest model of grammatical description.⁴ He describes the IA (Item and Arrangement) and the IP (Item and Process) models, but only indicates that the older, which he terms WP (Word and Paradigm) model, needs elucidation. Pike has begun to suggest the possibilities of such a model in various articles dealing with matrix theory.⁵ Paralleling Hockett's IA and IP designations, I suggest IM (Item and Matrix) for this third model. It may be that this model, and even the other two models, should be thought of, not as a system of approach for the description of the entire grammar, but as a model within a larger framework of indicating the structuring of language. I see no reason why each of these models may not prove useful in a single description where one or the other may best fit the data.

Vincent's have given almost sufficient material to display the various possible clause sequences. Where their data is not sufficient, I have supplemented with my own informant work.⁶

They define a clause "as a construction which contains one main verb, a main verb being defined as one marked for person and number."⁷ The following are their designations of clauses in sequence: (1) "actions in series," (2) "first action completed before the next takes place," (3) "first action continues while the second takes place," (4) "simul-

taneous actions," (5) "first action impending as second action takes place," (6) "conditional relationships," (7) "contrary to fact relationships"--which may be divided into past, negative and future types, and (8) "causal relationships." We shall refer to these sequences respectively as series, sequential, inclusive, simultaneous, impending, conditional, contrary to fact and causal.

The clauses in the sequence differ from each other depending first on whether the subject is the same for both clauses, or is different, and second on the kind of sequence involved. If different subjects are involved in the sequence, a morpheme is included in the verb of the first clause to anticipate the subject to come. The verb in the first clause also contains a contrastive set of tense-aspect/person/number portmanteaus. Another set of tense-aspect/person/number affixes occurs with verbs which are in the final clause of the sequence. The particular portmanteaus are described by the Vincents.

A syntax paradigm gives the various possibilities with as little vocabulary change as possible. Just as a word paradigm uses one base with several affixes, so the clause sequence paradigm may be illustrated best by using only the necessary bases for each kind of sequence. The bases ne ~ na 'eat' and bi ~ bu 'go' will suffice for illustrating all the sequences we wish to describe. Other auxiliaries such as ke or te 'completed action' and bai 'to be' are required in certain constructions, and therefore will appear in the paradigmatic illustrations. We now turn to illustrative paradigms for the

sequences of clauses in Tairora.

1. Clauses in series.

1.1. Same subject. A series of actions all of which have the same subject is indicated by the juxtaposition of clauses containing verbs which have final or closing tense-aspect-subject morphemes, or mode-subject morphemes. We use where possible the third person singular forms to show the various possible combinations of tense-aspects, or modes in the series. A hyphen within a form set off by spaces marks a morpheme boundary--the phonemic sequence following the hyphen being the tense-aspect-subject marker, or the mode-subject marker.

<u>ne-ro</u> <u>bi-ro</u>	He ate and went.	(neutral + neutral)
<u>ne-ro</u> <u>bi-reba</u>	He ate and will go.	(neut. + future)
<u>ne-ro</u> <u>bu-anaro</u>	He ate and can go.	(neut. + abilitative)
<u>ne-ro</u> <u>b-iba</u>	He ate and went.	(neut. + past)
<u>ne-ro</u> <u>b-ura</u>	He ate and left (a long time ago).	(neut. + far past)
<u>ne-ro</u> <u>b-ira</u>	He ate and has gone.	(neut. + perfect)
<u>ne-ro</u> <u>bu-ariraba</u>	He ate and leaves.	(neut. + customary)
<u>na-reba</u> <u>bi-ro</u>	He will eat and go.	(fut. + neut.)
<u>na-anaro</u> <u>bi-ro</u>	He can eat and go.	(abil. + neut.)
<u>na-iba</u> <u>bi-ro</u>	He ate and went.	(past + neut.)
<u>n-ora</u> <u>bi-ro</u>	He ate (a long time ago) and went.	(far past + neut.)
<u>na-ira</u> <u>bi-ro</u>	He has eaten and gone.	(perfect + neut.)
<u>na-ariraba</u> <u>bi-ro</u>	He eats and goes.	(customary + neut.)
<u>ne-ra</u> <u>bu-ana</u>	You eat and then you must go.	(neut. + imperative)

<u>na-ana</u> <u>bi-ro</u>	You must eat and go.	(imv. + neut.)
<u>ne-ro</u> <u>bu-antora</u>	He ate and should not go.	(neut. + avolitional)
<u>na-antora</u> <u>bi-ro</u>	He should not eat and go.	(avolit. + neut.)
<u>ne-ro</u> <u>b-irera</u>	He ate and probably shouldn't go.	(neut. + dubitative)
<u>na-irera</u> <u>bi-ro</u>	He probably shouldn't eat and go.	(dub. + neut.)

Any combination of the above verbs representing sequences of clauses in a series with the same subject may occur.

For example, na-reba bi-reba 'he will eat and will go' (fut. + fut.), na-reba bu-anaro 'he will eat and can go' (fut. + abil.) etc.

Thus a series of actions which have the same subject requires verbs containing what we may call a final set of tense-aspect-subject markers or mode-subject markers. If we symbolize this set by "f" and the verb stem as "S" we may represent the series as (S + f) + (S + f).

1.2. Different subjects. If a series of actions with different subjects is to be indicated, then the non-final clause must contain a verb with a contrastive set of tense-aspect-subject markers, and an anticipatory subject marker to indicate the subject to come. Only three tense-aspects occur with these medial forms. The final clause may contain any of the forms listed in the above paradigm. We will cite the third person neutral final form to represent all such possibilities. In the following examples, and throughout the paper, unless otherwise noted, the first 'he' in translation

refers to a different subject from that of the second. The series paradigm, then, where subjects are different, is as follows (the tense-aspect-subject of the first verb appears after the first hyphen, and the anticipatory subject marker after the second hyphen):

<u>na-iba-ro</u> <u>bi-ro</u>	He ate and he left.	(past medial + neut. f)
<u>no-oba-ro</u> <u>bi-ro</u>	He ate (a long time ago) and he went.	(far past.m + neut.f)
<u>na-ira-ro</u> <u>bi-ro</u>	He will eat, and he will go.	(fut.m + neut.f)

Clause sequences which are in series with different subjects may be represented by the following where "m" indicates a medial set of tense-aspect-subject markers and "as" indicates an anticipatory subject marker:

(S + m + as) + (S + f)

2. Clauses in sequential relation.

2.1. Same subject. A sequence of clauses in which the action of the first is finished before the second takes place is indicated when the subjects are the same by a verb stem followed by one of the verbal auxiliaries ke or te which in turn occur with the final set of tense-aspect markers in the first clause. The verb in this final clause occurs with a final set of tense-aspect markers. Any combination of the various possibilities is permissible. The entire range may be illustrated as follows: ne ke-ro bi-ro 'He finished eating and then went'. The syntactic formula for the sequential relation with clauses having the same subject is

(S + ke/te + f) + (S + f) where the underlined portions are the Tairora auxiliary verbs.

2.2. Different subjects. The sequential relation, when different subjects are involved, is indicated by medial forms of the tense-aspect morphemes and the anticipatory subject markers occurring with ke or te which follows a main verb stem in the first clause, and a verb stem plus final tense-aspect markers in the second clause. It should be remembered that only three tenses are possible with medial forms. All combinations of these three in the first clause followed by the full range of final portmanteaus in the second may occur. The sequence may be depicted by the following: ne ka-iba-ro bi-ro 'After he finished eating, he went.'; or by formula as (S + ke/te + m + as) + (S + f).

3. Clauses having the inclusive relation.

3.1. Same subject. A sequence of clauses in which the first action continues while the second takes place, if the same subject is retained throughout, is indicated by the juxtaposition of clauses containing verbs with the final set of tense-aspect markers on both verbs, with the addition of the progressive suffix -ha after the stem of the first verb: ne-ha-ro bi-ro 'He went while eating (He started to eat, then left, but continued to eat while going).' The only tense-aspect permitted in the first clause is the neutral, with no limitations in the second clause. This sequence may be represented also by (S + -ha + neut.f) + (S + f).

3.2. Different subjects. The inclusive relation between clauses which have different subjects is indicated

by using a verb stem followed by the auxiliary bai which must occur with a medial set of tense-aspect markers followed by the anticipatory subject markers: ne ba-iba-ro bi-ro 'While he was eating, he went.' The formula representing this sequence is (S + bai + m + as) + (S + f).

4. Clauses having simultaneous actions. Clauses with simultaneous actions and the same subject are marked by the suffix -qi ("q" indicating glottal stop) and the final tense-aspects following the verb base in the first clause, and the regular final verb in the second clause: nama-qi-ro⁸ bi-ro 'He was eating and going (at the same time).'; in these cases, only the neutral tense may occur with the first verb: (S + -qi + neut.f) + (S + f).

When different subjects are involved, the form is the same as that for different subjects in inclusive relations (3.2.): (S + bai + m + as) + (S + f).

5. Clauses with impending relations. To mark the first action as impending when the second takes place, the first clause contains a verb with a future final form followed by the auxiliary i which in turn occurs with -ha and the neutral final forms when subjects are the same, but with medial forms and the anticipatory subject markers when different subjects are involved. Same subject: na-reba i-ha-ro bi-ro 'He went when about to eat.'; different subjects: na-reba i-ro bi-ro 'When he was about to eat, he went.' The formulaic sequences are as follows: same subject: (S + fut.f + i + -ha + neut.f) + (S + f); different subjects: (S + fut.f + i + m + as) + (S + f).

6. Clauses in conditional sequences. Same and different subjects do not contrast in conditional relations. A verb with the dubitative-mode-person suffix occurs in the first clause, while the second contains a regular verb with final endings: na-irera bi-ro 'If he eats, he'll go (same or different subjects).' This sequence may be represented by the syntactic formula (S + dubitative) + (S + f).

7. Clauses having contrary to fact relations. Sequences indicating contrary to fact relations occur with past, negative and future implications.

7.1. Past. Only the persons may be altered in sequences with the same subject; the contrary to fact morphemes occurring in both clauses: na-itiri b-itiri (the past medial form has a zero allomorph in these instances) 'If he had eaten, he (same subject) would have gone.'; (S + past m + -itiri) + (S + past m + -itiri). Note that medial forms are used in both clauses in this kind of sequence. If different subjects are involved in the clauses, the first clause has a regular medial verb, while the second has the conditional affix complex: (S + m + as) + (S + past m + -itiri); na-iba-ro b-itiri 'If he had eaten, he would have gone.' The person and tense-aspect may be altered in the first clause of such sequences with different subjects, but only the person in the second clause.

7.2. Negative. In negative contrary to fact sequences, the first clause does not take place, so the second cannot. The morpheme -bau occurs following the tense-aspect markers in the first clause. Neutral final forms are used in the first

clause when the same subject occurs throughout the sequence, and future medial forms occur in the first clause if different subjects are involved. The second clause may contain either the future or the abilitative, but not other tense-aspects. The negative contrary to fact sequence of clauses may be represented as follows: ne-ro-bau bi-reba 'If he had eaten, he (same subject) would have gone.' or ne-ro-bau bu-anaro 'If he had eaten, he (same subject) could have gone.' The syntactic formula is (S + neut.f + -bau) + (S + fut. or abil.f). For different subjects, where the first verb must also contain the anticipatory subject: na-ira-ro-bau bi-reba 'If he had eaten, he would have gone.' and na-ira-ro-bau bu-anaro 'If he had eaten, he could have gone.' The formula: (S + fut.m + as + -bau) + (S + fut. or abil.f).

7.3. The contrary to fact sequence with future implications may be illustrated by the following: na-reba i-ha-ro-bau bi-reba 'If he would eat, he (same subject) would go.' or na-reba i-ha-ro-bau bu-anaro 'If he would eat he could go.'; (S + fut.f + i + -ha + neut.f + -bau) + (S + fut. or abil.f) for same subject, and the following for different subjects: na-reba i-ra-ro-bau bi-reba 'If he would eat, he would go.' or na-reba i-ra-ro-bau bu-anaro 'If he would eat, he could go.'; (S + fut.f + i + fut.m + as + -bau) + (S + fut. or abil.f).

8. Clauses having the causal relation. Clause sequences in which the first gives the reason for the second have only been observed with different subjects. Medial forms are used with the verb in the first clause with the suffix

-bera following them. The sequence is illustrated as follows:
na-i-bera bi-ro 'Because he ate, he left.' (S + m + -bera) +
(S + f).

Thus far we have been describing clauses as they occur in sequence in the sentence. It remains to summarize the clause types in such sequences. In order to do this, we arrange the contrastive features of the clauses described above by paradigm and formula in such a way as to bring out the basic or kernel clause types in sequence. The contrastive features include the distribution of the various clauses with relation to each other, or in the sentence and certain internal formal features.

Clauses occur either medial with respect to other clauses (i.e. not final in two or more), or final (i.e. last in the sequence of two or more). In addition to these features of distribution there are formal contrastive features which may be grouped under the terms dependent and independent. Thus dependent final clauses contain verbs with final tense-aspect sets of suffixes, plus some other suffix such as -ha the progressive, -qi used with simultaneous actions, -itiri contrary to fact morpheme, or -bau used in negative or future contrary to fact sequences. Independent final clauses contain a verb with final tense-aspect sets without other suffixes. The dependent medial clauses contain a verb with medial tense-aspect sets of suffixes plus an anticipatory subject marker. Independent medial clauses contain a verb with medial tense-aspect sets, but no anticipatory subject marker. These facts may be arranged in the following matrix, the kernel matrix for

Tairora clauses.

	<u>Dependent</u>	<u>Independent</u>
Final	Dependent final clauses	Independent final clauses
Medial	Dependent medial clauses	Independent medial clauses

The subclasses of clauses for each type noted above are as follows.

	<u>Dependent</u>	<u>Independent</u>
Final	Inclusive (f + suffix) Simultaneous Impending Contrary to fact	Series (f only) Sequential Conditional
Medial	Series (m + as) Sequential Inclusive/simultaneous Impending Contrary to fact	Causal (m only) Conditional

The formulas for the clauses may easily be fitted into the above matrix. Dependent final or medial clauses may only occur if there is another clause (or more) following. Independent final clauses may occur as complete sentences. We suspect that the independent medial clauses may also occur as complete sentences, but this needs testing on the field.

By arranging our facts in a matrix, we reduce the clauses to four major types, and group them by formal characteristics. The application of the IM model to the clause types brings order to what may otherwise seem to be an unordered listing of clause types. It seems to me that this model could also be applied to verb phrases, other clauses than those mentioned above if they exist, to sentences as a whole, and

perhaps to higher level units such as the paragraph and the discourse--as well as to the words in a traditional paradigmatic model.

FOOTNOTES

¹Wurm, S. A., "The languages of the Eastern, Western and Southern Highlands, Territory of Papua and New Guinea," In Linguistic Survey of the South Western Pacific, A. Capell, ed., South Pacific Commission. Technical paper No. 136, 1962, p. 14 ff.

²Vincent, Alex and Lois, "Introductory notes on Tairora verb morphology and syntax." Oceania, Monograph No. 6.4-27.

³McKaughan, H. P., The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs. Manila Bureau of Printing, 1958.

⁴Hockett, Charles F., "Two models of grammatical description," Word 10.210-31 (1954).

⁵Pike, K. L., "Dimensions of grammatical constructions," Language, 38.221-44 (1962). "A Syntactic Paradigm," Language 39.216-30 (1963). "Matrix Permutation and Conflation," Pre-publication copy, 1963.

⁶My field work was under the auspices of the Micro-Evolution Studies, University of Washington, supported by NSF

grants G-17283 and G-22676. I present a discussion of the language family to which Tairora belongs in a paper called "A Study of divergence in four New Guinea Languages," to be published 1964 in a special New Guinea Issue of American Anthropologist.

⁷Vincent, op. cit. p. 20.

⁸The stem na 'eat' requires the indicative morpheme -ma following it in this instance, but most verbs may occur with -qi directly following the stem.