

Sursurunga Conjunctive Elements

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Halliday and Hasan (1976:226-27), in their discussion of English conjunctions, note that “they are not primarily devices for reaching out into the preceding (or following) text, but they express certain meanings which presuppose the presence of other components in the discourse”. They further define conjunction as “a specification of the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before.” In Sursurunga,¹ the “presupposing of other components in the discourse” is crucial. As a rule, conjunctive elements are heavily contextually dependent. Usually, of course, there is some common denominator of meaning, some sameness **under** the surface, but **on** the surface the meanings can be quite different in different contexts. One adversative conjunction, for instance, means ‘rather’ in one situation (‘they did not do this, **rather** they did this **instead**’), but in a different context it indicates something that is also true, a meaning of ‘in addition’ (‘the village was close to the beach, but it was also up in the bush a ways’).

The function or meaning of conjunctive elements in Sursurunga seems to be determined by the following factors:

1. the kind of discourse the conjunction is used in (narrative vs descriptive vs hortatory, etc),
2. whether the conjunction is used on the event line or as part of the background description or setting,
3. the semantic context surrounding the conjunction,
4. the speaker’s choice of how strong the connection is, and

¹ Sursurunga is spoken by about 5000 people in the Namatanai district of New Ireland Province of Papua New Guinea. Ross (1988) classifies it as a member of the South New Ireland/North West Solomonian network in the Meso-Melanesian network of Oceanic languages. The analysis here is based primarily on a corpus of 90 texts which include the following genre: traditional narrative, personal experience, history, procedures, descriptions of local customs or items, personal letters, public exhortations, sermons, and prayers. A concordance of this corpus yielded over 40,000 total morphemes, 2800 of which are distinct. In addition, I have relied on several speakers of Sursurunga, a small amount of translated material, and my own field work among the Sursurunga since 1974.

5. the use of breath groups, pauses, and intonation.

As with systems in other languages of Papua New Guinea, Sursurunga conjunctions often operate on several levels of the grammar. One additive conjunction, *má*,² links words, phrases, and clauses, and is used as a clitic to mark definiteness on the verb phrase. Another conjunction, *ki*, primarily indicates sequential links between clauses in a sentence, but in some narratives only occurs in the climax of the story.

There are approximately thirteen one-word conjunctions. Of these, only one or two occur in no other part of the grammar. The others, including four case-marking verbs, are used both as conjunctive elements and in other parts of the grammar. In addition to the one-word conjunctions, there is frequent use of combinations of single conjunctions or of conjunctions plus deictics, time words, interrogatives, or particles. A quick count of the combinations occurring in my text corpus yields about 140 different conjunctive phrases.

In section 1 of this paper I describe in detail the five most common conjunctions, including their nonconjunctive uses. In the following sections, the other conjunctive elements are described according to their primary semantic category. Examples of some of the conjunctive phrases are also presented throughout the discussion. When appropriate, there is also discussion of constructions like dependent clauses which act as links between parts of a text.

1 The Five Most Frequent Conjunctions

The five most frequent conjunctions are *má* ‘and’, *ki* ‘then/and so’, *ngo*, *ngorer* ‘like that’, and *yo*. These five will be discussed in turn in this section.

1.1 *má*, ‘and’

Má is the most frequent word in Sursurunga, accounting for more than 7% of all words used in the texts analysed. The morpheme *má* can be used as a post-clitic on the verb phrase to mark ‘definite’ or as a conjunction. As a post-clitic it concludes the breath group comprising the verb phrase and is frequently followed by a pause. It refers to what has preceded. As a conjunction it initiates the breath group and is preceded by a pause. It refers primarily to what follows it, linking the following material with the preceding material. It is not uncommon to find the post-clitic *má* and the conjunctive *má* adjacent to each other as in (5) and (15) or separated only by a single word as in (8) and (15). It is difficult to construct a single meaning which would unite these two uses of *má*, thus, it could be

² The practical orthography is used in all examples. The grapheme <á> represents /ə/.

argued that they represent two morphemes. While the focus in this paper is on the use of *má* as a conjunction, its use as a definite marker is also discussed to give an overall view of the form.

Má is the most neutral conjunction, and certainly the most common one. It is the only conjunctive element that occurs in every text. Most of the meaning of the intra-clausal relationships in sentences containing *má* as a conjunction is signalled by something other than *má*. Thus, the conjunctive *má* connects clauses which need a relationship shown by something more than simple juxtaposition, but where the meaning is really carried by something other than the conjunction, usually semantics and intonation. In its use as a definite marker on the verb phrase, *má* can occur or be absent without any known change in meaning. Speakers insist that *má* sometimes simply ‘fills out’ the sound of the clause rather than carrying any meaning. Thus *má* as a conjunction functions like the Halia *na* connecting “actions without focusing on their relationship to each other” (Allen 1971:66).

One function of *má*, like the English conjunction ‘and’, is as a link “between pairs (or among sets) of items functioning more or less anywhere in the structure of the language” (Halliday and Hasan (1976:234). It conjoins nouns (as in (1)) or verbs (as in (2)), links coordinate phrases (as in (3)) and clauses (as in (4)), joins clauses into sentences (as in (5)), joins sentences, and may initiate paragraphs (as in (6)).³

- 1) *Má pákánbung gim roh i arliwán Pomio má Rábául,*
 CJ time lpx fly PREP space Pomio CJ Rabaul
erár á gim-á bana-i lalah ráin má bahang...
 at.that.time REL lpx-DEF meet-OM large rain CJ fog

‘And when we flew between Pomio and Rabaul, then we met up with lots of rain and fog...’

³ The following abbreviations are used in the examples:

ADV	adverbializer	HAB	habitual	PLZ	pluralizer
ATT	attention marker	IMP	imperative	POSS	possessive
CJ	conjunction	INDEF	indefinite	PREP	preposition
CMP	complementizer	IOM	indirect object marker	PURP	purpose
CAUS	causative	IRR	irrealis	RCP	reciprocal
DEF	definite	LINK	link	RDP	reduplicated
DIR	directional	LOC	locative	REL	relater
EMPH	emphatic	NEG	negative	SM	subject marker
GLZ	generalizer	OM	object marker	TOP	topic marker

Pronouns are glossed by ‘1’, ‘2’, or ‘3’ for person and ‘s’, ‘d’, ‘t’, or ‘p’ for singular, dual, trial, quadral, and plural. Nonsingular forms can be further marked ‘n’ or ‘x’ for inclusive or exclusive.

- 2) ... *giur sang ái Ton giur lu bop má namnam tiklik.*
 1dx EMPH REL Ton 1dx HAB sleep CJ eat together

'...Ton and I are sleeping and eating together.'

- 3) *Má te marán be sang mul a mon, ngor-er i laiberi má*
 CJ some many now EMPH also 3s exist like-that OM library CJ
rum-án buk di lu sira buk on, má rum-án buk di
 house-3s book 3p HAB sell book there CJ house-3s book 3p
lu le buk on.
 HAB write book 3s

'And some others as well are there, like a library and bookstore and printshop.'

- 4) *Má a mon i kádi sito, mon i kádi ausik, mon i*
 CJ 3s exist SM 3p.POSS store exist SM 3p.POSS clinic exist SM
kádi balus, mon i kádi pos opis, má a mon i
 3p.POSS airplane exist SM 3p.POSS post office CJ 3s exist SM
kádi kar,...
 3p.POSS car

'And they have a store, they have a clinic, they have an airplane, they have a Post Office, and they have cars,...

- 5) ... *á-k han sukis pagas ya muda i lulng-án dan má,*
 3s-DEF go sit.down remain LOC DIR OM head-3s river DEF
má ya muda i iát má kán tu mák páks-i dan.
 CJ LOC DIR OM top DEF 3s.POSS merely see remain-OM river

'...he went and sat down there up at the head of the river, and up on top he was staring at the river.'

- 6) 'One year long ago a very hot sun came up and everything died in their gardens, yams and sweet potatoes dried up and people greatly lacked for food. Coconuts also did not bear well in the strong sun.

'*Má* people went with canoes to far villages to get coconuts for food. They got other things for food, like *kalwoson gilih*, *wán palngát*, and palm nuts.

'*Má* some families...'

It has also been observed signaling a return to the event line as in the case of the first instance of *má* in (6)).

One thing the conjunction *má* does not do is initiate discourse. Only three examples of *má* at the beginning of a text occur in my corpus, and in all three cases the texts involved are part of a larger written text: two are narratives that are two parts of a four-part history, and the other is a description produced as part of an exercise to write about several different things in the culture.

In its usage as a completive or a definite marker on the verb phrase, *má* occurs in 70 of the 90 texts in my corpus. Frequently it is intonation that indicates whether *má* is being used as a conjunction or a definite marker. If sentence medial rising intonation finishes on the *má* with a pause following, then *má* is acting as the verb phrase definite marker as in (7a). But if the sentence-medial intonation occurs on the preceding word, then *má* begins the next clause and therefore acts as a conjunction as in (7b).

- 7) a. ... *matngan kantári ngádáh a obop te-kes-i simin*
 kind country what 3s put some-one-OM cement
ala-atung m-á-k-te punpunam má, da mák pas-i
 LOC-there CJ-3s-DEF-EMPH hide DEF 3p.IRR see get-OM

sang...
 EMPH

‘...whatever country put a piece of cement over there and it’s now hidden, they would surely see it...’

- b. ... *matngan kantári ngádáh a obop te-kes-i simin*
 kind country what 3s put some-one-OM cement
ala-atung m-á-k-te punpunam, má da mák pas-i
 LOC-there CJ-3s-DEF-EMPH hide CJ 3p.IRR see get-OM

sang...
 EMPH

‘...whatever country put a piece of cement over there and it’s hidden, and they would see it...’

Má seems cognate with *-á* which acts as a definite marker on non-singular consonant-final pronouns. In fact, the forms *má* and *-á* are used interchangeably at times by certain speakers. Another cognate could be *á* which generally marks the following noun as the topic.

- 8) *Má káp-a-te mongmong mul má a ru i kálámul diar*
 CJ NEG-3s-EMPH long.time also CJ 3s two OM man 3d
kahra main Ruka, a ru angelo ái Gapiriel má ái Iona,
 appear here Ruka 3s two angel REL Gabriel CJ REL Jonah
má diar má him i kunlán balis á Samo.
 CJ 3d DEF work PREP whole area REL Samo

'And it was not long after that when two men appeared here at Ruka, two angels whose names were Gabriel and Jonah, and they worked over the entire Samo area.'

In (8), either *má* or *-á* could have been used, and in the context of the narrative which describes a past event, the meaning would be the same. However, if (8) is spoken in isolation, the two forms result in different meanings. *Má* actually gives the idea that their work is still going on, while *-á* puts this entirely in the past.

I am positing that the underlying meaning of *má* is 'completed' and 'definite'. This fits all the uses of *má*: as a conjunction, as a particle on the verb phrase indicating definiteness, and as a definite marker on subject pronouns. It also fits both the uses of *á*: as a definite marker on subject pronouns, and as a definite article marking topic. (One other use of *á* illustrated in (8) is as a relater between nouns.) Frequently, *má* is often functioning in two of these roles at once. Because of a phonological rule merging identical contiguous vowels into one, the combination *má á* becomes *má* which both completes the verb phrase and marks the subject or topic.

- 9) *Á-k sap má kalik er ngor-er á-k mákmák*
 3s-DEF get.up DEF-SM child that like-that 3s-DEF see
pala mámán a han ngor-er ki á-k han má ur-i bos.
 remove mother.3s 3s go like-that CJ 3s-DEF go DEF to-OM bush

'So that child got up like that, he saw his mother go off like that, then he went to the bush.'

As has been mentioned, when two *má*'s occur adjacent to each other, the first is the verb phrase clitic while the second is a conjunction. This indicates that once the action of the first clause is completed or is true, then the action of the second clause occurs. Thus, a double *má* indicates sequential events.

- 10) *Á-k punma-i kalik má, má kán tu kis má*
 3s-DEF hide-OM child DEF CJ 3s.POSS merely sit DEF

m-á-k bop pagas ya-atung i suh...
 CJ-3s-DEF sleep remain LOC-there PREP bench

‘(When/after) he hid the child, **then** he just stayed **and** slept there on the bench...’

- 11) *Ái gum páláu a tu kunsin má, má a kis i*
 SM crab tree-sleeping 3s merely naked DEF CJ 3s sit PREP

mátán hat.
 opening stone

‘A tree-sleeping crab **becomes** naked, **and then** he begins living in caves.’

It is possible that *má* may be used to slow down the information rate of new material since in many instances there is no ascertainable difference in meaning when it is omitted.

- 12) *Má kálámul erei a mák-ái má a kon sur-i má a kip-i...*
 CJ man that 3s see-OM CJ 3s crave for-OM CJ 3s get-OM

‘**And** that man saw it **and** he wanted it **and** he took it...’ OR ‘**And when** that man saw it, he wanted it, **so** he took it...’

At any rate, *má* carries a very heavy functional load.

When special modalities occur in the clause which follows *má*, it can mean ‘not’, ‘already’, ‘when’, ‘but’, ‘so’, or ‘even’. The combination of *má* plus a following negative signals contrast as in (13) or contraexpectation as in (14-15).

- 13) *Ran kadas gim lu ob-oi hat pakta tangra ris-án má*
 pit huge lpx HAB put-OM stone big along side-3s CJ

kun a-mi polgon. Má ran beres kápte, te hat pakta
 stone LOC-DIR inside CJ pit normal NEG some stone big

tangra ris-án.
 along side-3s

‘In an extra large pit we put large stones around the side and *kun* stones in the middle. **But** in a normal pit we **just** put some large stones around the side.’ OR ‘**But contrastively** in a normal pit we **only** put some large stones around the side.’

- 14) *Má katmur er a pakta má káp-te a ob-oi wán ngo*
 CJ pumpkin that 3s big CJ NEG-EMPH 3s put-OM fruit CMP
na katmur, a ob-oi má i wán á-k mon i mani
 3s.IRR pumpkin 3s put-OM DEF OM fruit 3s-DEF exist SM money
on má.
 OM DEF

'And that pumpkin grew **but** it didn't bear pumpkin fruit, it bore fruit with money in it.'

- 15) *Diar pán má i kábungbung má, má bokoh má páplun*
 3d awake DEF PREP morning DEF CJ absent DEF body
ái kák diar, tu lul sár...
 REL father 3d merely 3s.POSS.head only

'They awoke in the morning, **but** their father's body wasn't there, only his head...'
 OR 'When they awoke in the morning, their father's body wasn't there, only his head...'

As an additive, *má* can introduce an explanation for one's thinking, that is, a reason or justification. The clause introduced by *má* is thus treated as something definite, presupposed, known, or given.

- 16) *Mái sár ngo ngádáh na siusiu ngo-i má kápán*
 CJ.3s only CMP what 3s.IRR swim like-OM CJ 3s.POSS.skin
páplun a lite alar di?
 body 3s different from 3p

'However, how would he swim like them **when** his skin was different from theirs?'

In (16), *má* can be replaced by either *kabin* 'because' or *ngo* 'if'. The use of either *má* or *kabin* indicates it is definite that his skin is different. The use of *ngo*, however, indicates that the speaker is not sure whether his skin is different or not.

- 17) *Sur-i dáh u-na kaleng ur Suralil má matananu di*
 PURP-OM what 2s-IRR return to Suralil CJ people 3p
mata-i ngo da tangan iáu?
 dislike-OM CMP 3p.IRR help 2s

'Why do you want to go back to Suralil **when** people there don't want to help you?'

The order of the two clauses in (17) can also be reversed using the same conjunction:

- 18) *Matananu til Suralil di mata-i ngo da tangan git,*
 people from Suralil 3p dislike-OM CMP 3p.IRR help 1pn
má sur-i dáh u nem ngo u-na kaleng ur a-di?
 CJ PURP-OM what 2s want CMP 2s-IRR return to LOC-DIR

‘People from Suralil don’t want to help us, so why do you want to go back there?’

It is the intonation that indicates the presupposition, not the conjunction. *Má* could be deleted in (16-18) and intonation alone would carry the meaning. Semantically, the use of *má* softens the impact of the statement. Simple juxtaposition with no conjunction in these examples would indicate a strong exhortation; linking the clauses with *má* gives more the meaning of pleading or reasoning with the hearer.

Má is often used between phrases and clauses simply to add more information in the initial setting of a narrative or in a description. For example, one story begins as follows.

‘A story they’ve been telling since long ago is the three who are a family, but it’s not three it’s four, two children *má* a wife *má* they two who are married *má* their two children. There was one boy *má* one girl, their children. *Má* they lived in a village up in the bush,...

Má also occurs in peripheral slots where it indicates agreement with a proposal as in:

‘Should we go dig the ditch now?’ ‘*Má!* (OK, let’s go!)’

or

‘Will you drink some coffee?’ ‘*Má!* (Sure!)’

When used as a form of agreement, *má* can be combined with a direct object pronoun to indicate ‘go ahead with what you’re saying’. In this specialized utterance final context *má* usually occurs as *máh*.

- 19) *A be namnam ngor-er á kálámul er ki di-k ngo-i*
 3s now eat like-that SM man that CJ 3p-DEF say-OM
singi-n i tan mopup ngo “Git-á-k ar-siut!” Ki á-k
 to-3s SM PLZ dwarf CMP 1pn-IRR-DEF RCP-push CJ 3s-DEF
ngo-i á kálámul er ngo “Gam máh!”
 say-OM SM man that CMP 2p DEF

‘When that man finished eating then the dwarfs said to him “Let’s push each other!” So that man said “Sure, let’s do it!”’

Note that even though the pronoun used by the speaker here does not include himself, he is including himself in the meaning. The dwarfs include him by using the inclusive form, and he agrees with what they propose. The meaning is not ‘you go ahead, but leave me out’.

- 20) *Ngo u-na ngo koion ki kes á er-ei, má ngo u-na*
 if 2s-IRR say NEG-IMP then one REL that-OM CJ if 2s-IRR
ngo-i á iáu máh ki i-na mur on sár.
 say-OM REL 2s DEF CJ 1s-IRR follow 3s only

‘If you say not to then that’s one thing, but if you say **go ahead** then I will do that.’

Hortatory or exhortative texts, while they do contain the conjunction *má* somewhat frequently, show a real dearth of the completive *má*. This is probably due to the fact that the purpose of hortatory is to get others to do something, rather than to describe what has already been done. Hortatory texts are inherently less definite or real than are narrative texts which tell a story and describe something that has happened previously.

1.2 *ki* ‘then/and so’

Ki ‘then/and so’ occurs a total of 294 times among 43 of the 90 texts in my corpus. Thirty of the texts in which *ki* occurs are narrative. Of the 13 non-narrative texts in which *ki* occurs, eight are descriptive/explanatory texts, three are letters, one is a sermon and one is a hortatory text. *Ki* indicates temporal succession or a weak result clause. When it indicates temporal succession it is strongly sequential: ‘first x, *ki* y’. It is used prominently in this sense in explanation texts which give instructions for how to make something. When it indicates a weak result clause, the two actions are more than just sequential, but less than closely-bound cause and result. About 25% of the occurrences of *ki* are in constructions of the form ‘x happened, *ki* he said “...”.’ In this context, the verb following *ki* is always a verb of speaking or thinking.

More often than not, the two senses of *ki* overlap, and it is difficult to determine what the sense is. *Ki* can be described as strong sequential, weak result, temporal in nature (rather than just additive), strongly linked to action, and often prominent in the climax of narrative events. In letters and descriptions, it tends to follow a clause marking time of some sort.

As outlined above, *má* can also indicate sequentiality and even weak causality, but it is primarily additive. It is generally used as a simple link between clauses. *Ki* is more temporal than *má*. In conversation, *má* tends to be associated more with realis, as opposed to *ki* which is associated more with irrealis. Although a double *má* indicates sequential events, it does not occur frequently in texts delineating how to do something, as in step-by-

step procedures. Apparently, *má* is too neutral for this. Procedural texts make heavy use of *ki*.

While *ki* is generally more strongly sequential than is *má*, the use of *ki* in some descriptions is anomalous. In (11), repeated here, *má* is used to indicate sequentially.

- 11) *Ái gum páláu a tu kunsin má, má a kis i*
 SM crab tree-sleeping 3s merely naked DEF CJ 3s sit PREP
mátán hat
 opening stone

‘A tree-sleeping crab becomes naked, and then he begins living in caves.’

If the conjunction *má* is replaced by *ki*, the meaning is ‘he usually lives in caves regardless of whether he has become naked or not’. This is a reversal of what one would expect the meaning to be, given *ki*’s strong propensity for signalling sequential action. This anomalous behaviour appears to be determined by the discourse type and semantics as outlined in §1.2.2.

1.2.1 *ki* indicating sequentiality. In (21-23) *ki* is used to indicate sequentiality.

- 21) *Á-k lu murmur mul ái wak ngor-er ki á-k mák-ái*
 3s-DEF HAB follow.RDP also SM wallaby like-that CJ 3s-DEF see-OM
má ki á-k ngo-i ngo...
 DEF CJ 3s-DEF say-OM CMP

‘The wallaby followed along too like that then he saw him then/so he said...’ OR
 ‘When the wallaby followed along too like that then he saw him and he said...’

- 22) ... *diar-á lu suka-i hat erei á-k pos á-k*
 3d-DEF HAB step.on-OM stone that 3s-DEF break 3s-DEF
pánpán i limá-n ái kámgu, keke-n, bál, lul,
 appear SM hand-3s REL adolescent.girl leg-3s her.stomach her.head
aur ngor-er ki diar-á top pas-i má.
 her.face like-that CJ 3d-DEF grasp get-OM DEF

‘...they stepped on that rock and it broke open and the girl’s hand appeared, her leg, her stomach, her head, her face like that so then they took hold of her.’

- 23) *Namur gim-á tár kus-i te na ru i kuir pákán*
 later 1px-DEF chop cut-OM some 3s.IRR two SM piece leaf
lamas, ki gim-á ir-i kes-i bals-án, namur kes-i
 coconut CJ 1px-DEF weave-OM one-REL side-3s later one-REL
bals-án bul. Ki gim-á kip no-i a ru kuir má, ki gim-á
 side-3s also CJ 1px get all-OM 3s two piece DEF CJ 1px
ir-i...
 weave-OM

‘Then we chop into two pieces the coconut leaf, **then** we weave one side, then the other side. **Then** we take both pieces, **then** we weave...’

In (23) both *namur* and *ki* carry basically the same meaning.

1.2.2 *ki* indicating simultaneity. When *ki* follows a phrase or clause indicating time or condition, then it signals simultaneous action and indicates the following clause is a result of the preceding clause. In this context, *má* would indicate sequentiality.

- 24) *Pákánbung di tahn-i tuá-n kálámul ki erár di-k*
 time 3p bury-OM bone-3s man CJ at.that.time 3p-DEF
long namnam.
 make food
 ‘When they bury the man’s bones **then** at that time they make a feast.’
- 25) *Te bung ngo iau merok sur-i láklák ur Tekedan ki iau*
 some day REL 1s tired PURP-OM walk to Tekedan CJ 1s
kis i malar má ia-k him ái.
 sit PREP village CJ 1s-DEF work 3s
 ‘Some days when I’m too tired to walk to Tekedan **then** I remain at home and work there.’

- 26) *Kes-i kalik taba kán tang i libung, bosbos bung no a*
 one-OM child much 3s.POSS cry PREP night PLZ.RDP day all 3s
lu tang i libung. Má namur kes-i bung má diar
 HAB cry PREP night CJ later one-OM day DEF 3d
mos on ái kákán mái mámán, má kes-i pákán
 angry 3s REL father.3s CJ.REL mother.3s CJ one-OM leaf

libung ki diar-á kusak alar-i, diar sol alar-i
 night CJ 3d-DEF enter away.from-OM 3d enter away.from-OM
ur-i rum,...
 to-OM house

‘There was a child who cried a lot at night, every single day he cried at night. And later one day then his father and mother were angry at him, so one night they entered away from him, they went into the house away from him,...’

1.2.3 *ki* as result. As with every Sursurunga conjunctive element, the meaning of *ki* is influenced by the context. In (27) *ki* expresses result.

27) *Ngo a lala pos i nas má ngo á-ng kunkun, ki*
 ADV 3s big break SM sun CJ ADV 3s-DEF earthquake CJ
na us gut i ráin.
 3s.IRR blow INDEF SM rain

‘If the sun is bright and if there’s an earthquake, then (the result will be that) it will probably rain.’ (= the rain will be the result of the sun and the earthquake occurring together)

Ki is contrasted with juxtaposition and other conjunctives expressing result in §5.1.

1.2.4 *ki* used on the discourse level. On the discourse level *ki* marks an important action, turning point, or conclusion. In one story, the dog and the wallaby begin as friends, going everywhere together, until the wallaby tricks the dog into eating feces. In retaliation, the dog tricks the wallaby into breaking his forelegs. This explains why they are now enemies, with the dog chasing the wallaby, and why the dog is known for eating feces and the wallaby has shortened pulled-up forelegs.

The conjunction *ki* occurs 19 times in this text of just over one page. Although it occurs throughout the text, there is a definite concentration of *ki* in the incidents where the wallaby tricked the dog and vice versa. *Ki* also marks the conclusion of the whole story in conjunction with *erei má ngo onin* ‘here comes today’ to mean ‘and so it comes down to today that they are no longer friends they are forever angry’.

In another story, an angel visits a woman asking for food and shelter. In the beginning of the story, when the stage is set with a description of the woman’s situation, and at the end when the angel departs and the author describes the results of the woman’s refusal to help, *ki* does not occur. *Ki* occurs twelve times, however, in the paragraph in which the

angel begins to approach the woman's house and interacts with her. This is the paragraph which describes the action around which the story is built.

In a story of an adolescent girl who is sealed inside a rock, her parents call for the birds to come and free her. No bird is able to do that until two small insignificant birds arrive and, by tenacity and cooperation, manage to free her. Of the twelve occurrences of *ki* in this text, eight of them occur in the action describing the actual releasing of the girl from the rock.

Ki is sometimes used to signal a turning point in the story. In one story, a man clears and plants a garden but does not want to do the work of weeding and keeping it up well. Since he is not married and cannot afford to hire someone to do the work, *ki* he gets another idea. He sends his pigs off to do it, and this eventually leads to his poverty as the pigs dig up and destroy the garden. In another story, a narrative description of World War II, the war carries on until God sees that people are experiencing real difficulties, *ki* he finishes the war, people are free and they are happy. In both these texts *ki* occurs only once, to signal the turning point.

1.2.5 *ki* contrasted with *má*. In (28) either *ki* or *má* can be used with no ascertainable difference in meaning.

- 28) *Ái Topuar mái Piai diar-a han ur main ki/má ai*
 SM Topuar CJ.SM Piai 3d-IRR go to here CJ where
diar-a lu bop ái?
 3d-IRR HAB sleep 3s

'When Topuar and Piai come here where are they going to sleep?' OR 'Topuar and Piai are coming here and where are they going to sleep?'

Similarly, in (29a) either *ki* or *má* can be used with no ascertainable difference in meaning. The lack of contrast between *ki* or *má* in (29a) can be attributed to the presence of *erár* 'at that time'. In (29b,c) *ki* and *má* contrast when *erár* is not present.

- 29) a. *I-na tota-i be i dan ur main ki/má erár*
 1s-IRR pour-OM now OM water to here CJ at.that.time
i-na para te-kes.
 1s-IRR say some-one

'I will (first) pour this water into here, then I'll say what you want.'

- b. *I-na totra-i be i dan ur main ki i-na para*
 1s-IRR pour-OM now OM water to here CJ 1s-IRR say

te-kes.

some-one

‘I will pour this water into here, **then/after that** I’ll say what you want.’
 (sequential)

- c. *I-na totra-i be i dan ur main má i-na para*
 1s-IRR pour-OM now OM water to here CJ 1s-IRR say

te-kes.

some-one

‘I will pour this water into here, **and (while doing that)** I’ll say what you want.’ (simultaneous)

In both (30a) and (30b) the actions are sequential; in (30a) they are definitely overlapping while in (30b) they are possibly overlapping. The major difference between the two is in causality. In (30a) *m-á-k* from *má á-k* gives no indication that either event is a result of the other, while in (30b) *ki á-k* indicates it is likely that the earthquake is the result of the rain.

- 30) a. *A us i ráin m-á-k hut i tiling kunkun.*
 3s blow SM rain CJ-3s-DEF arrive 3s big earthquake

‘The rain was falling **and then** a big earthquake came.’

- b. *A us i ráin ki á-k hut i tiling kunkun.*
 3s blow SM rain CJ 3s-DEF arrive SM big earthquake

‘The rain fell **then** came a big earthquake.’

1.3 *ngo* (generic verb, adverbializer, complementizer, disjunction)

Ngo occurs 828 times in my text corpus. It is similar to *má* in that it has several different uses which cannot be easily subsumed under a single meaning: it can be used as a generic verb stem, an adverbializer, a complementizer, or in disjunctions. Again, intonation is crucial in differentiating the senses. As a generic verb stem or complementizer, *ngo* receives no special intonation or pause. As an adverbializer, *ngo* initiates the clause, the end of which is marked by a pause. The adverbial clause marked by *ngo* is a breath group in itself, and almost always occurs sentence initially. Finally, when used in a disjunction,

ngo usually follows a pause which is preceded by a sentence medial rising intonation. Each disjunctive phrase or clause is a single breath group.

Structurally, the uses of *ngo* as an adverbializer or complementizer can be analysed as special cases of the generic verb stem. While recognizing this, I present the four uses of *ngo* separately in the following sections.

1.3.1 *Verb stem.* *Ngo* ‘say, think, do, be’ is the stem for the most neutral or generic verb. When it is used transitively it takes the object marker *-i*. It is generally followed by clauses (often quotations) rather than single words or phrases, and thus the combination *ngo(-i) ngo* is frequent.

- 31) *A ngo ngo aring mul na kaleng...*
 3s think CMP later again 3s.IRR return

‘He thought that he would return again later...’

- 32) *Á-k ngo-i ngo “Áá, malar sang á in.”*
 3s-DEF say-OM CMP yes village EMPH REL here

‘He said “Yes, this is a village.”’

1.3.2 *Adverbializer.* *Ngo* acts as an adverbializer to indicate condition and time. Basically, *ngo* plus irrealis signals condition while *ngo* plus realis indicates time. The dependent clause beginning with *ngo* almost always precedes the clause indicating the result. In addition, the result clause frequently takes a conjunction such as *ki*, *namur*, or the definite subject pronoun. This results in pairs of conjunctions.

- 33) *Ngo na hut i kar, ki i-na-k han.*
 ADV 3s.IRR arrive SM car CJ 1s-IRR-DEF go

‘If the car comes, then I will go.’

If *ngo* is analysed as the generic verb, a literal translation of (33) would be ‘Say the car comes, then I will go.’

- 34) *Má ngo a dik i kátál, namur gim tár talm-i*
 CJ ADV 3s strong SM form later 1px chop gather-OM

got...
 bamboo

‘And when the forms are (in place and) sturdy, then we cut (and) gather bamboo...’

- 35) *Ngoro á wák er ngo á-k lu kis mokos i polgon*
 like SM woman that ADV 3s-DEF HAB sit widow PREP inside
rum...
 house

‘Like that woman **if/when** she mourns as a widow inside the house...’

1.3.3 *Complementizer*. *Ngo* acts as a link in identification and clarification statements as in (36-38).

- 36) *Káp-te ngo man. Káp-te (te) man.*
 NEG-EMPH CMP bird NEG-EMPH some bird

‘It is not a bird. There are no birds.’

- 37) *Má siari ngo a worwor ngoro kálámul, káp-te...*
 CJ INDEF CMP 3s talk like man NEG-EMPH

‘And he did not speak like a man, no...’

- 38) ... *táit er di utng-i ngo kelel.*
 thing that 3p call-OM CMP scraper

‘...that thing they call a scraper.’

In (39, 41-42) *ngo* marks a complement clause which functions as the direct object of a verb. The verb in the matrix clause tends to be an experiencer rather than an action verb. When the complement clause is marked by *ngo*, the matrix verb does not take the normal *i* object marker as can be seen by comparing (39) and (40).

- 39) *Má káp-iau-te mánán ngo a mon i malar minái.*
 CJ NEG-1s-EMPH know CMP 3s be SM village this

‘And I didn’t know **that** there was a village here.’

- 40) *Káp-iau-te mánán i malar minái.*
 NEG-1s-EMPH know OM village this

‘I don’t know this village.’

- 41) *Á-k hol on ngo káp-te te kálámul a-mi pokon...*
 3s-DEF think 3s CMP NEG-EMPH some man LOC-DIR place

‘He thought **that** there were no people up at the garden,...’

- 42) *Yo, á-k mos i bál ngo a tu torong*
 CJ 3s-DEF angry SM 3s.POSS.stomach CMP 3s just walk
bia má káp-a-te bana te rokoi...
 nothing CJ NEG-3s-EMPH meet some wild.pig

‘So, he was angry **that** he had walked around for nothing and did not meet up with any wild pigs....’

The complement clause may be a direct and indirect quote as shown in (43-44).

- 43) ... *á-k mos má á-k para-i ngo “A long sáksákna-i*
 3s-DEF angry CJ 3s-DEF say-OM CMP 3s do ruin-OM
kang kalik á urtarang minái!”
 1s.POSS child SM demon this

‘...she was angry and she said “This demon has messed up my child!”’

- 44) ... *ái Dan a gátna giur ngo arwat ngo giur-a mángát*
 SM Don 3s ask 1dx CMP OK CMP 1dx-IRR agree
sur-i mur i di...
 PURP-OM follow OM them

‘...Don asked us **if** it would be all right and **that** we would agree to go with them...’

Ngo can also be used in combination with other conjunctive elements when marking a complement clause.

- 45) *Iau lala hol pas gam kabin ngo káp-te marán*
 1s big think get 2p because CMP NEG-EMPH many
kalilik.
 children

‘I am thinking about you a lot **because** there are not many guys (to help you).’

In certain contexts, *ngo* signals frustrated purpose and unfulfilled expectation. See §5.4 for an example and further discussion.

1.3.4 Disjunction. *Ngo* is the disjunctive conjunction signalling equally possible alternatives. In this use it contrasts with *kol* (see §2.2.1).

- 46) *Al-atung u kip-i ngo ala main u obo-i, tatalen*
 INDEF-there 2s take-OM or INDEF here 2s put-it custom
kán kila?
 3s.POSS marriage

'Is it somewhere there you took it or somewhere here you put it, (the book about) marriage customs?'

It can also be used to express an open-ended alternation with further unstated alternatives hinted at or indicated (cf. Longacre 1974:113).

- 47) *Na han inái ngo latiu ngo siari. Káp-iau-te mánán.*
 3s.IRR go now or tomorrow or INDEF NEG-1s-EMPH know

'He'll go/come today or tomorrow or who knows. I don't know.'

1.4 *ngorer* 'like that'

Ngorer consists of *ngoro* 'like' plus *er* 'that'. It occurs a total of 417 times among more than 60 of the 90 texts in my corpus. It occurs most frequently in narrative texts and in explanations or descriptions of cultural features. In other descriptive texts it often does not occur at all. All but about 40 occurrences are in head-tail recapitulation, which is a feature of discourse cohesion. In most of the other occurrences *ngorer* is combined with *má*, *ki*, *suri*, *ngo*, or some particle.

In addition to its conjunctive use, *ngorer* is also used in its literal meaning 'like that' or even just 'like'. One of the most common occurrences of this is in ending a story, particularly narratives, by saying *ngorer sár* 'just like that'.

1.4.1 *Head-Tail Recapitulation.*

- 48) ... *á-k an no-i má kalil er má kuk má isu er a*
 3s-DEF eat all-OM DEF snail that CJ crab CJ fish that 3s
ub-i á wák er. An no-i ngor-er á-k rah, ki...
 hit-OM SM woman that eat all-OM like-that 3s-DEF finished CJ

'...he ate all those snails and crabs and those fish that woman caught. He ate it all like that it was finished, then...'

- 49) *I-na puksa-i kes-á soi, soi erei soi sur-i kes-á*
 1s-IRR tell-OM one-REL story story that story about-OM one-REL
aratámán ditul lu kis i kes-á malar i ris-án
 family 3t HAB sit PREP one-REL village PREP side-3s
kes-á dan. Ditul lu kis ngor-er má i libung...
 one-REL water 3t HAB sit like-that CJ PREP night

‘I will tell a story, that story is a story about a family who lived in a village beside a river. **They lived like that** and one night...’

In two instances *ngorer* is used with a time phrase to indicate a change of time. It is unclear whether these should be analysed as head-tail recapitulation. Regardless of this, the use of *ngorer* promotes cohesion and changes the setting. One of the examples is given in (50).

- 50) ... *di-k bop iatung má ia-k bop a-nang. Arasa i*
 3p-DEF sleep there CJ 1s-DEF sleep LOC-DIR next REL
kábungbung ngor-er gim-á so kaleng ur atung i ni-án
 morning like-that 1px-DEF exit return to there OM place-3s
balus.
 airplane

‘...they slept there and I slept over there. **The next morning then** we went back to the airstrip.’

1.4.2 Clarification.

- 51) *Marán mul á matngan ngis-án git lu utng-i mai. Di kip*
 many also SM kind name-3s 1pn HAB call-OM with 3p get
ngis-án malar, á kálámul, má tan ngor-er. Te ngis-án
 name-3s village REL man CJ PLZ like-that some name-3s
ngor-er i Kimadan, Pinikindu,...
 like-that OM Kimadan Pinikindu

‘There are lots of other kinds of names we call it. They took the names of villages, men, and things like that. Some names were Kimadan, Pinikindu,...’

- 52) *Ngoro mata-i, mata gim á gim ngor-er tan*
 like dislike-OM dislike lpx REL lpx like-that PLZ
rang bu-án ái kán pup, ngor-er ái kák-án á
 PLZ clansmen-3s REL her husband like-that REL father-3s REL
kalik, ngo gim-a káp worwor kodong i diar.
 child CMP lpx-IRR NEG talk privately OM 3d

'It's like she doesn't want it, doesn't want us who are her husband's clansmen, **that is** the child's father's clansmen, that we should gossip about them (the widow and her child).'

1.4.3 Summary.

- 53) *Ngor-er á di lu long-oi ngo-i á pákur git*
 like-that REL 3p HAB do-OM like-OM OM food.package lpn
má lu an-i.
 DEF HAB eat-OM

'In that way they make a food package we eat.'

1.4.4 *Result.* *Ngorer* is used to signal result. In this function it is used primarily in combination with other conjunctives like *má*, *ki*, *suri*, and *ngo*, or with a particle.

- 54) *Iau laes mul ngo ái Ton a kis be mam iau má ngor-er*
 1s happy also CMP SM Ton 3s sit now with 1s CJ like-that
a kuluk i kak hol.
 3s good SM 1s.POSS thinking

'I am happy also that Ton is still with me and **therefore/so** my mind is at rest.'

- 55) ... *á-k-te baur-i kuir kábau. Má ngor-er á-k*
 3s-DEF-EMPH break-OM piece tree CJ like-that 3s-DEF
ngo-i i kanih ngo á-k-te mat á kálámul erei,...
 think-OM SM snake CMP 3s-DEF-EMPH die SM man that

'..he had broken a stick in two. And **therefore/so** the snake thought that that man had died,...

- 56) *Ái Dan a urup ma-i kam him ur-i pukda-i kángim*
 REL Don 3s pass with-OM 2s.POSS work to-OM turn-OM 1px.POSS
worwor ur-i Buk Tabu sur-i ngor-er gim gim-á-k talas
 talk to-OM book sacred PURP like-that 1px 1px-IRR-DEF clear
kuluk ur-i kam worwor,...
 good to-OM 2s.POSS talk

‘Don came with your work to turn our talk into Scripture for the purpose that/so that therefore we will then be very clear about your talk...’

1.4.5 Contrast with *ngoromin*. *Ngoromin* consists of *ngoro* ‘like’ plus *min* ‘this’. It is cataphoric, pointing forward in the discourse, in contrast to *ngorer* which is anaphoric. *Ngoromin* occurs only 40 times among more than 24 texts. It is frequently used in narratives in combination with a verb of speaking as in (57). On the discourse level, it is used to introduce explanations and descriptions as in (58).

- 57) *Ki á-k para-i má singin wák ngoro-min, “Han má*
 CJ 3s.DEF say-OM DEF to.3s woman like-this go DEF
u-nu-k up-mai-at ya muda i lontas...
 2s-IRR-DEF hit-with-stone LOC DIR OM ocean

‘So he said then to the woman like this, “Go now and gather shellfish out in the ocean...’

- 58) *Lul-iru ái á kes-i matngan namnam git lu an-i.*
 head.3s-enemy 3s REL one-OM kind food 1px HAB eat-OM
Má na ser i kam hol ngo ngádáh di lu
 CJ 3s.IRR search OM 2s.POSS mind CMP what 3p HAB
long-oi ngo-i, ki ngoro-min di lu long-oi ngo-i á
 make-OM do-OM CJ like-this 3p HAB make-OM do-OM SM

lul-iru.
 head.3s-enemy

‘An enemy-head (actually a wrapped package of cooked tubers) is a kind of food we eat. And your thinking will be searching for how they make it, so like this they make an enemy-head.’

1.5 *yo* (major shift)

Yo occurs 137 times among 34 out of the 90 texts in my corpus. In thirteen of those texts it occurs only once, while in five of them, it occurs ten or more times. The most it occurs in one text is eighteen times. It occurs throughout narratives, explanations, descriptions, procedures, and sermons and prayers, but does not occur in letters. It can be used as a particle in conversation or as a conjunction. As a particle in conversation *yo* is a term of agreement with what has been suggested, or is used to encourage someone to do what you have suggested, as in ‘Shall we go now?’ ‘*Yo*, let’s go!’ or ‘Let’s sing a song, *yo*?’ Thus, as a particle used in conversation, the best translation of *yo* is ‘OK’ either as a statement or a question.

As a conjunction *yo* links major sections of a discourse, signalling a turning point such as the next episode in the story as in (59-60), the change from stating a problem to working on the solution as in (61), the end of background material and the move into action or the main event as in (62), the introduction of a new participant as in (63), or the conclusion as in (64). It frequently signals the initial move to the event line or a return to it. Almost all occurrences initiate a new sentence or paragraph.

59) And he went and got coconut and fed them and said to them, “You just lie there now, you are tired from weeding.” *Yo* he woke up in the morning and said...

60) *Di-k namnam talum m-á-k rah má, yo di kas-i*
 3p-DEF eat together CJ-3s-DEF finished DEF CJ 3p took-OM
má-i mani má...
 DEF-OM money DEF

‘They ate together and it was finished. **Then** they took the money and...’

61) One day the men and the dogs came from a pig feast. They went like that and they ate at that pig mumu. Finished eating they returned. They were returning and the river was flooded. They were not able to cross that river. *Yo*, the dog went along and said to the crocodile, “My brother, carry me across.”

62) The dog and the egret were great friends, wherever one of them went they both went. *Yo*, one day the dog got up and cooked. He cooked soup...

63) Many more years were finished and foreigners arrived. And the church crawled ashore at Molot, and it crossed the sea to Kalil, and it went up and went to Kudukudu. *Yo*, another thing also appeared up in the bush at Porkaswai village, and they called it a spirit.

- 64) (Description in detail of a great famine and its effect on the people.) ...and things grew again, grew back, and coolness entered returning into the ground. *Yo* then they were very happy and later those things did not come to them anymore. The end.

The two texts in which *yo* occurs most frequently are quite long and so this is to be expected. However, *yo* is also used heavily in three other short texts. In these texts, virtually every change of setting, episode, and direction is signalled by *yo*. Most speakers use *yo* more sparingly, signaling only major turning points.

2 Additives

2.1 *áá* 'yes'

The word *áá* is used most frequently as the affirmative answer to a yes-no question. Occasionally, however, it is used in the middle of a monologue to clarify a point and/or to add additional information to what has just been said.

- 65) *Ái sini a long-oi sápkín a ámáris i mát-án ái Káláu*
REL who 3s do-OM evil 3s guilty PREP eye-3s REL God

kabin á-k-te ngákngák i nagogon si Káláu. Áá,
because 3s-DEF-EMPH rebel OM law of God yes

ngákngák ái á nirw-án sápkín tatalen.
rebel 3s REL root-3s evil custom

'Whoever does evil is guilty in God's eye because he has rebelled against God's law. Yes, rebellion is the root of sin.'

- 66) *Kán armámna ái Káláu a táplas m-á-k lu pakpakta*
3s.POSS love REL God 3s unfold CJ-3s-DEF HAB big.RDP

hanhan a-mi bál git sur-i namur i bung-án
go.RDP LOC-DIR stomach 1pn PURP-OM later PREP day-3s

nagogon, git-a tur atu i mát-án táil i Káláu.
law 1pn-IRR stand strong PREP eye-3s precede REL God

Áá, git-a tur atu ngor-er má káp-te git-a mátut
yes 1pn-IRR stand strong like-that CJ NEG-EMPH 1pn-IRR afraid

kabin kángit liu main i bim na káng mai
because 1pn.POSS life here PREP ground 3s.IRR full with

armámna ngor-er i kán liu ái Karisito.
 love like-that OM 3s.POSS life REL Christ

‘God’s love unfolds and increases in our stomachs so that later on the day of judgment, we will stand confidently before God. Yes, we will stand like that and we will not be afraid because our lives here on earth will be full with love like Christ’s life.’

2.2 *kol* and *mokol*

2.2.1 *kol* (*disjunction*). This word appears only twice in 90 texts. In both cases it is used disjunctively with the flavour of clarification by indicating another possibility. It seems to indicate the speaker’s point of view that the first alternative stated is wrong and the second one right. In certain contexts, it indicates there is no alternative.

67) *Wáláu, má i-mi kon ái, kán tu bás damau á*
 joke.word CJ LOC-DIR sang 3s 3s.POSS merely pound nut SM

kalik. Kol sin a mat gam para-i?
 child or who 3s die 2p say-OM

‘What a joke, he’s out at the beach, the child is cracking nuts. Or (I must have misunderstood you) who did you say died?’

68) ... *ki u-na para-i ngo “Mái iau kol sini?”*
 CJ 2s-IRR say-OM CMP CJ.SM 1s or who?

‘...then you should say “Why it’s me of course! (who else would it be?)”’

In addition to its use as a conjunction, *kol* is also used as an affirmative response to questions. Although the occurrence of *áá* ‘yes’ is by far more common, *kol* is appropriate as a response to questions expressing delight and/or modesty.

‘Was it you who made the basket? *Kol!* (Yes, it was me!)’

2.2.2 *mokol* (*further explanation*). The primary use of *mokol* is in conversation where it is used as an affirmative answer to a question, or in support of a statement. It indicates the speaker is in complete agreement with what has been said. *Mokol* may consist of *má* plus *kol* with the *á* harmonizing to *o*, a process which occurs elsewhere in Sursurunga. I have also heard the full form *má kol*, and was told that it means ‘yes now’ (a literal rendition) as opposed to ‘not so previously’. The form *mokol* is stronger than the usual affirmative *áá* or than either *má* or *kol* alone.

- 69) *“Be, gaur han sang sur-i long-oi táit iau para-i si gaur
 hey 2d go EMPH PURP-OM do-OM thing 1s say-OM to 2d
 nengen i kábungbung?” “Mokol, giur long-oi!”
 earlier PREP morning yes 1dx do-OM*

“Hey, did you guys go do the thing I said to you earlier this morning?” “Yes/of course, we did!”

Mokol does appear once in my text corpus. In (70) *mokol* seems to function as a conjunction which indicates further explanation of what has just been said. One native speaker’s reaction to finding this in the middle of a written text was to interpret it as though the writer was speaking to a group and using *mokol* as a storytelling device to interact with the listeners. It is used as if a question had been asked and the writer is answering it.

- 70) ... *koion á da lu tangs-i kálámul a mat, mokol a
 NEG.IMP REL 3p.IRR HAB cry-OM man 3s die CJ 3s
 táil sár ur-i malar...
 precede only to-OM village*

‘...they should not cry for a man who has died, **after all/in truth** he has only gone on ahead to the place (where all of us here will die and see him again there).’

2.3 Other combinations

- 71) *Tuang, iau nem sur-i gálta iáu be mai kes-i
 1s.POSS.brother 1s want PURP-OM ask 2s now with one-OM
 holhol iau hol on. A ngoro-min á kak holhol. Iau nem
 thought 1s think 3s 3s like-this SM my thought 1s want
 sur-i...
 PURP-OM*

‘My brother, I want to ask you about a thought I have been thinking. **My thought is like this.** I want to (work down at the Project in the kunai).’

- 72) *Tan hom er di long-oi tan tu lain hom masak. Na, war
 PLZ play that 3p do-OM PLZ merely nice play alone no why!*

a te tu kor sang á rum er gim lu nongna di!
 3s EMPH merely shake EMPH SM house that 1px HAB laugh 3p

'Those plays they did were just wonderful. Why, that house just shook with us laughing at them!'

3 Temporals

Conjunctive elements used in a temporal sense signal time sequence. The more generic and frequently used temporal relationships are signalled by juxtaposition and single conjunctions, while more elaborate and specific relationships are indicated by longer phrases.

3.1 Consecutive/Sequential Action

3.1.1 Juxtaposition. A common way of encoding consecutive or sequential action in both narratives and procedural texts is by simple juxtaposition. This speeds up the action and moves the story along more quickly. In juxtaposed sequences most subject pronouns take the definite form.

In a story of an altercation between a shrimp and a tree along the bank of a river, *má* is rarely used as a conjunctive, although it occurs frequently as a verb phrase completive. The conjunction *ki* is used several times and there is extensive use of juxtaposed clauses containing the definite form of the pronoun.

In one story of a journey, clauses are most frequently juxtaposed with no intervening conjunctions. Again, heavy use is made of the definite form of the pronoun. This text is constructed like a procedural text, going through the steps in the journey taken by the speaker, but the content is narrative.

Example (73) is taken from a narrative about a rather stupid man. In this story, the speaker quickly goes through the steps of making a garden before getting to the main part of the story which tells what happens to the garden and how the man takes care of it. In this quick initial description of making a garden, no conjunctions are used. Clauses, all using the definite form of the subject pronouns, are juxtaposed one after the other.

73) ... *m-á-k long-oi kes-i kán pokon a-mi bos.*
 CJ-3s-DEF make-OM one-OM 3s.POSS place LOC-DIR bush
Á-k kot-oi á-k tár-ái á-k timan-i á-k
 3s-DEF cut-OM 3s-DEF chop-OM 3s-DEF straighten-OM 3s-DEF

pilpil á-k áir á-k wat, á-k so-i kaukau,
 clean 3s-DEF fence 3s-DEF finished 3s-DEF plant-OM sweet.potato
inbul, long,...
 yam taro

‘...and he made himself a garden up in the bush. He cleared off the jungle he chopped the trees he cleaned it up it was clean he fenced it was finished, then he planted sweet potato, yams, taro, ...’

3.1.2 *Conjunction*. Conjunctions are also used in sequences of clauses indicating consecutive or sequential action. As indicated in §1, *má* and *ki* are frequently used to express sequentiality. *Namur*, another frequently used temporal conjunction, is simply a verb phrase which has lexicalized in certain contexts.

74) *na mur*
 3s.IRR follow

‘he/she/it will follow’ or (lexicalized) ‘later, after that’

Namur occurs 119 time among 41 texts; all but ten of these occurrences are conjunctive indicating temporal sequence or chronological order. All the conjunctive examples follow full stops, commas, or other conjunctions like *yo*, *má*, *ki*, or *suri*. The nonconjunctive use of *namur* is illustrated in (75-77), while the conjunctive use of *namur* is illustrated in (78-81).

75) *Rang bu-án ur namur di-k-te mánán on má...*
 PLZ clansmen.3s to later 3p-DEF-EMPH know 3s and

‘His later clansmen (= descendants) they know it and...’

76) ... *kok a lu kis til a-da táil i takup mái*
 chicken 3s HAB sit from LOC-DIR precede OM canoe and.SM
wak a kis a-nang namur i takup.
 wallaby 3s sit LOC-DIR later OM canoe

‘...the chicken sat at the front of the canoe and the wallaby said at the back of the canoe.’

77) ... *gitar-a bokoh til-i liu minái, má gitar-á-k han*
 1dn-IRR absent from-OM life this and 1dn-IRR-DEF go

ur-i liu namur...
to-OM life after

'...when we will be gone from this life, then we will go to the **afterlife**...'

- 78) *Á-k rah i toros, namur gim han ur-i bos sur-i*
3s-DEF finished SM post later 1px go to-OM bush PURP-OM
- tár got.*
chop bamboo

'When the posts are finished, **then** we go to the bush to cut bamboo.'

- 79) *Lala pakta taladeng i bál. Namur a lu hanhan*
big big very.much SM 3s.POSS.stomach later 3s HAB goes
- sur-i...*
for-OM

'His stomach was huge! **Later/then** he went looking for...'

- 80) *Ki á-k para-i singi-n wák ngoro-min, "Han má*
CJ 3s-DEF say-OM to-3s woman like-this go DEF
- u-nu-k up-mai-at ya muda i lontas u-nu-k ru*
2s-IRR-DEF hit-with-stone REL DIR OM ocean 2s-IRR-DEF find
- te kalil má kep má te isu git-á-k an-i." Yo*
some snail CJ shellfish CJ some fish 1pn-IRR-DEF eat-OM CJ
- namur wák er a longra pas-i worwor si wak má...*
later woman that 3s hear get-OM talk of wallaby and

'So he said to the woman like this, "Go and search for shellfish out in the ocean, you could find some snails and shellfish and some fish so we all can eat some."
So **then** that woman heeded the wallaby's words and...'

- 81) ... *má gim gim mákmák pas, mák pas-i di himna-i ngo-i,*
and 1px 1px watch get see get-OM 3p work-OM like-OM
- má namur ngo da bokoh á di, ki á gim mul*
and later ADV 3p.IRR absent SM 3p then SM 1px also
- gim-a pusak pas-i.*
1px-IRR shoulder get-OM

'...and us we watch, (we) see how they work and do it, and **then later** when they aren't here anymore, then we in turn will take it on.'

3.2 Simultaneous

Simultaneity is expressed by juxtaposition of clauses as in (82), by a time phrase as in (83), and by use of a conjunction linking the events that occur simultaneously plus a construction connoting togetherness as in (84-85).

- 82) *A us i ráin Ø á-k hut i kunkun.*
 3s blow SM rain 3s-DEF arrive SM earthquake

'The rain came down and there was an earthquake (at the same time, but it is ambiguous as to which came first).'

- 83) *I án pákánbung er-ei sang, a mák gim má ki*
 PREP LINK time that-OM EMPH 3s see 1px DEF CJ
á-k táu.
 3s-DEF flee

'At that very moment, he saw us and fled.'

- 84) *Kunkun má ráin diar hut tiklik.*
 earthquake CJ rain 3d arrive together

'The earthquake and the rain came together (simultaneous arrival).'

- 85) *Kunkun a hut má ráin tur-án.*
 earthquake 3s arrive CJ rain friend-3s

'The earthquake came and the rain with it.'

3.3 Immediate

- 86) *In-ái sár a han ur Námátánai má káp melek sár*
 now-OM only 3s go to Namatanai CJ NEG quickly only
er-ei mul ái!
 that-OM again 3s

'Just now he went to Namatanai **and immediately** there he is again!' (= 'He sure did return quickly!')

3.4 Other combinations

- 87) *Turpas-i i pákánbung er ái huhái á-k mánán i*
beginning PREP time that SM crocodile 3s-DEF know OM

an kálámul,...
eat man

‘Henceforward/From that time on the crocodile was familiar with eating people.’

- 88) *Má pákánbung á-k-te kálik kis dol má a ru hat*
CJ time 3s-DEF-EMPH little sit long DEF 3s two stone

er, á-ng kálik lu rahrah má sasam er narsá-n
that 3s-DEF little HAB finish.RDP DEF sick that presence-3s

matananu.
people

‘And when those two stones had been there for a while, that sickness abated from the people.’

- 89) *Namur kono kán bang a para-i má kes-i bung*
later one 3s.POSS men’s.house 3s say-OM DEF one-OM day

sur-i gim-a kakas ma-i ngo atr-i má i kán
PURP-OM lpx scoop with-OM or stand.up-OM DEF OM 3s.POSS

bang. Pákánbung erei sang kono kán bang na is
house time that DEF one 3s.POSS house 3s.IRR catch

bor ur-i mansin kán bang,...
pig to-OM honour 3s.POSS house

‘Then the owner of the men’s house says a day that we will dig the post holes or stand up his house. **On that very day (OR at that very time)** the house owner will catch a pig to provide food for building his house,...

- 90) *Má til tungu káp-te iau lu mák-ái á bapalou,...*
CJ from previously NEG-EMPH 1s HAB see-OM TOP buffalo

‘Before/until now I never saw a buffalo,...

- 91) *Má káp-a-te tepák á bung, yo ái Tabarman a para-i si*
CJ NEG-3s-EMPH far SM day CJ SM Tabarman 3s say-OM to

Kanih Kos ngo na ololoh i tan bor...
 Kanih Kos CMP 3s.IRR care OM PLZ pig

‘And not long after that, then Tabarman said to Kanih Kos that he should look after his pigs...’

92) *Yo, arasa mul ur-i kes-i bung má, á kálámul er*
 CJ next.day also to-OM one-OM day DEF SM man that

á-k ngo-i má ngo...
 3s-DEF say-OM DEF CMP

‘Then, the next day, that man said that...’

93) *Arasa i kábungbung á-k-te ngo-i mul i kálámul...*
 next.day REL morning 3s-DEF-EMPH say-OM also SM man

‘The next morning the man said again...’

4 Adversatives

4.1 Simple adversative

The simple adversative is generally signalled by the conjunction *má* plus a following negative as in (13-15) above.

4.2 Emphatic adversative

The emphatic adversative conjunctions *ái sár* and *mái sár* consist of the conjunction *má* ‘and’, the 3rd person singular free pronoun *ái*, and the particle *sár* ‘only, just’.⁴ In all occurrences of *mái sár* and all but one occurrence of *ái sár*, these forms are used as conjunctions. A similar form occurs in Nakanai (Johnston 1980:226) with the meaning ‘it being thus...’ or ‘but’. Johnston describes it as being both demonstrative and anaphoric. Similarly, in Sursurunga these conjunctives refer to the preceding statement, contrasting it with what follows. They warn that the unexpected is to follow.

In (94), one native speaker says there is a difference in meaning between *mái sár* and *ái sár*.

⁴ In three written texts *mái sár* occurs as *má ái sár*. Each text is by a different author. In speech, however, *má ái* always coalesces to *mái* both in the emphatic adversative and when it is used as a combination conjunction-subject marker.

- 94) ...*gim no gim lain liu kuluk, ái sár i te bung mudán*
 lpx all lpx good live well 3s only on some day little

kukuah má ngolngol a lu hut si gim...
 malaria CJ cold 3s HAB arrive to lpx

‘...we all are feeling well, **except** for some days a little malaria or a bit of a cold strikes us...’ OR ‘...we are all feeling well **generally**, but it is also the case that some days...’

The use of *mái sár* in (94) would indicate we are sick with malaria and colds much of the time, whereas the use of *ái sár* indicates we are only occasionally sick. In most situations, however, I have been unable to differentiate between *mái sár* and *ái sár*. While at times it seems that one is preferred over the other in a particular context, upon closer examination native speakers almost always indicate that either can be used with no change in meaning. In some instances, the simple additive *má* can be substituted for *ái sár* or *mái sár* with no apparent change in meaning.

- 95) *Káp-te marán táit i-na para-i si gamhat, ái sár iau*
 NEG-EMPH many thing 1s-IRR say-OM to 2q it only 1s

para a-gas Káláu sur-i kán ololoh má...
 say CAUS-happy God about-OM 3s.POSS care CJ

‘I don’t have much to say to you, **only that/however** I praise God for his care and...’

- 96) *Má di lu kis i kes-i malar ya muni bos, káp-te*
 CJ 3p HAB sit PREP one-REL village LOC DIR bush NEG-EMPH

ngo a lalah tepák alar-i kon, káp-te. ... a pátm-i
 CMP 3s big far away.from-OM beach NEG-EMPH 3s near-OM

kon á malar er, ái sár ngo a tepák sang ala muni
 beach REL village that 3s only CMP 3s far EMPH LOC DIR

bos...
 bush

‘And they lived in a village up in the bush, not a real long way from the beach, no. ...that village was near the beach, **however/at the same time** it was also quite a ways up in the bush...’

- 97) *Ki gim-á hol on má ngo áruán kaleng si Iesu,*
 CJ 1px-DEF think 3s DEF CMP second return of Jesus

ái sár ngo káp-te mul.
 3s only CMP NEG-EMPH also

'Then we thought that it was Jesus' second coming, **but/however** it wasn't that either.'

- 98) *Kang kalilik, koion git-a para tar-i kángit*
 1s.POSS children NEG.IMP 1pn-IRR say give-OM 1pn.POSS

armámna mai worwor a so til-i ngus git sár. Ái sár
 love with talk 3s exit from-OM mouth 1pn only 3s only

git-a artangan mai lim git sur-i rang táir i git
 1pn help with hand 1pn PURP-OM PLZ companion REL 1pn

da mák-ái má dá-k mák ilm-i ngo armámna
 3p.IRR see-OM CJ 3p.IRR-DEF see recognize-OM CMP love

muswan a kis i bál git.
 true 3s sit PREP stomach 1pn

'My children, we should not show our love with the talk that comes out of our mouths only. **Rather** we should love with our hands so that our fellow-believers will see it and thus recognize that true love is in us.'

- 99) *Patate a ngoro kaukau mái sár di lu so-i suk-án...*
 potato 3s like sweet.potato CJ.3s only 3p HAB plant-OM vine-3s

'Patate is like sweet potato **however/except** that they plant the vine...'

- 100) *Tapiok ái mul á kes-i matngan namnam git lu so-i*
 cassava 3s also REL one-OM kind food 1pn HAB plant-OM

i kán-git num. Mái sár tapiok káp-te ngo git
 PREP 3s.POSS-1pn garden CJ.3s only cassava NEG-EMPH CMP 1pn

lu so-i támin, káp-te.
 HAB plant-OM true NEG-EMPH

'Cassava is also a kind of food we plant in our gardens. **However/at the same time** we do not plant the edible part of the cassava.'

- 101) ... *giur mák-ái ngoro-min ngo káp-te te kálámul a meket*
 1dx see-OM like-this CMP NEG-EMPH some man 3s black
- i kápán páplun i di ... giur lala rumrum taladeng. Má*
 SM skin body REL 3p 1dx big embarrassed very CJ
- ái sár giur lala laes mul kabin ngo kán-giur mulán*
 it only 1dx big happy also because CMP 3s.POSS-1dx first
- pákán sur-i mák-ái matngan pati erei.*
 time PURP-OM see-OM kind party that

'...we two saw that there were no (other) black men. ...we were very embarrassed.

On the other hand/despite that, we were very happy also because it was our first time to see that kind of party.'

Mái sár is also used for switching topic in discourse, especially in hortatory discourse. In one hortatory speech at a village meeting, the speaker first talks about how people should be planting on their blocks of land instead of just letting them sit unused, and that help is available to get them started. '*Mái sár* on to something that I have felt sorry for the two headmen saying for such a long time (with no response from us), pig fences and toilets.' He then goes on to expound on those two things.

In another text the speaker relates memories from World War II. He mentions several things the Japanese occupiers did to the local people as well as some of their plans for the people. The occupiers tried to kill all the local people by putting them into a big hole and exploding a bomb in the hole. '*Mái sár* God saw that the people were experiencing suffering, so he finished the war.'

4.3 Clarification/Correction

Clarification, or correction of perception, is indicated by the use of *má* plus a following negative, by the case-marking verb *alari* 'away from', and by the conjunctions *wa* and *war*. The surrounding context indicates whether the speaker is simply adding more information or correcting what has gone before.

- 102) ... *á-k-te gálta-i ái tám-dák "Dáni er a pur be?"*
 3s-DEF-EMPH ask-OM SM man-torch what that 3s fall now
- Ki á-k-te ngo-i ngo "Tuá-n" á-k ngo-i ngo*
 CJ 3s-DEF-EMPH say-OM CMP bone-3s 3s-DEF say-OM CMP
- tuá-n sár á isu. Má káp, támin isu er a lu*
 bone-3s only REL fish CJ NEG true fish that 3s HAB

busbuswa-i ur a-di lal,...
 throw.RDP-OM to LOC-DIR bottom

‘...the torchman asked him “What is that that fell?” Then he said “Bones” he said, meaning just fish bones. **But it wasn’t, it was actually** fish meat that he was throwing down to the bottom,...

- 103) *U-na mur i worwor si kaka-m alar-i táit a*
 2s-IRR follow OM talk of father-2s.POSS away.from thing 3s
para-i ái tura-m er-ei.
 say-OM SM friend-2s.POSS that-OM

‘You should follow what your father says **instead of** what that friend of yours says.’

- 104) *Kuluk taladeng sur-i pasbat pas iau, mái sár u-na mák*
 good very for-OM open get 1s CJ.3s only 2s-IRR lest
ngo-i ngo iau kes-i kálámul muswan á iau, war iau
 say-OM CMP 1s one-OM man true REL 1s CJ 1s
kes-i angelo si Káláu á iau.
 one-OM angel of God REL 1s

‘Thank you very much for being hospitable to me, however lest you think that I am a real man, **actually** I’m one of God’s angels.’

- 105) *Sini ngo na pur ur-i lol malar bia min-ái, wa a*
 who CMP 3s.IRR fall to-OM middle village nothing this-OM CJ 3s
pur ur-i iátin kálámul, wák, káláu, matngan kálámul ngádáh.
 fall to-OM top.of man woman male kind man what

‘It’s not going to fall on to nothing here in the middle of the village, **on the contrary** it applies to men, women, males, whoever.’

4.4 Negative purpose

Negative purpose is expressed by juxtaposition of clauses with *káp* or *mák* ‘lest’ following an irrealis nominative pronoun in the second clause.

- 106) *Koion u-na tur iatung i ris-án sál Ø na mák*
 NEG.IMP 2s-IRR stand there PREP side-3s road 3s.IRR lest

sar íáu i kar.
 climb 2s SM car

‘Don’t stand there on the side of the road lest a car hit you.’

5 Causals

5.1 Result

Result is expressed by juxtaposing the reason clause before the result clause, with the nominative pronoun in the result clause taking the definite marker. There is no need for an overt conjunction as in (107-108), although overt conjunctions or conjunctive combinations can be used as in (109-110).

- 107) *Yo, namur gim-á kip-i kámnah má gim-á oso-i Ø*
 CJ later 1px-DEF get-OM fire CJ 1px-DEF burn-OM

á-k bam i pokon.
 3s-DEF burned SM place

‘Then we get fire and we burn it **with the result that** the place is burned.’

- 108) *Irá sang kes-i wák di bat-i Ø á-ng kámgu.*
 long.ago EMPH one-OM woman 3p wall-OM 3s-DEF initiate

‘Long ago they put a girl into the shelter **resulting in the fact that** she became an initiate.’

- 109) *Di lu mákmák kár-i i bosbos bung sur-i na*
 3p HAB see.RDP block-OM PREP PLZ.RDP day PURP 3s.IRR

sangin má ná-k rus.
 stink CJ 3s.IRR-DEF thin

‘They watched over it every day so that it would rot and stink **and thus** grow thin.’

- 110) *A us i ráin má/ki á-k hut i kunkun.*
 3s blow SM rain CJ/CJ 3s-DEF arrive SM earthquake

‘The rain fell and there was an earthquake.’

The verb *pasi* or a construction based on it can be used to indicate the result of the preceding action or situation. This verb is frequently used in serial constructions, marking action as moving toward the speaker.

- 111) ... *ngo a rut tangra malar átik á Samo, ki di-k long*
 ADV 3s run along village ending REL Samo CJ 3p-DEF do
bengta-i má di-k ub-i tan kálámul..., pas-i er di-ng
 ruin-OM CJ 3p-DEF hit-OM PLZ man get-OM that 3p-DEF
kot...
 court

'...when it went from village to village as far as Samo, then people ruined it and beat the men, **consequently** they took it to court...'

- 112) *Diar mos nabung ái rugar er má pas-i á ngor-er*
 3d angry yesterday SM those.2 that CJ get-OM REL like-that
ái komiti ná-k wor i diar aring i libung.
 SM headman 3s.IRR-DEF talk OM 3d later OM night

'Those two were angry at each other yesterday and **so/because of that** the headman is going to scold them tonight.'

The interplay between overt conjunctives, context, and semantics is complex. In (110) the primary connotation is of sequential and overlapping action: the rain began to fall and then there was an earthquake. The sequentiality follows from the order of clauses. However, (110) can also mean 'The rain fell **causing** an earthquake.' In cases of simple juxtaposition, the meaning is more directly dependent on semantics. Examples (82), repeated from above, and (113) are structurally identical to (110) except they have no conjunction. In (82) simultaneity is the primary meaning, while in (113), cause-result is primary.

- 82) *A us i ráin Ø á-k hut i kunkun.*
 3s blow SM rain 3s-DEF arrive SM earthquake

'The rain came down and there was an earthquake (at the same time, but it's ambiguous as to which came first).'

- 113) *Di os-oi pokon er á-k bam.*
 3p burn-OM place that 3s-DEF burned

'They burned off that place it was burned.'

Result is even more strongly implied in (113) with no conjunctive than in (110) with a conjunctive because being burned is more directly a result of burning than an earthquake is of rain falling. The various conjunctives add to the basic meaning carried by the context and semantics. The strength of the result conjunctives is summarised in the following table.

Contrast of Result Conjunctives

weak result, very dependent on semantics	juxtaposition, no overt conjunction <i>má</i> 'and' <i>ki</i> 'then' <i>ngorer</i> 'therefore' <i>má ngorer</i> 'and therefore' <i>pasi</i> 'resulting in' <i>ki erár</i> 'then at that time' <i>ki ngorer</i> 'then therefore'
strong result, independent of semantics	<i>pasi á ngorer</i> 'because of that'

5.2 Reason

Reason is the reverse of result, and the clauses involved are linearly reversed to show it (first result, then reason). Reason may be encoded by a simple juxtaposition of clauses as in (114), or a conjunction may be used to show a stronger relationship.

- 114) *I-na-k lu boptin be iau; iau merok.*
1s-IRR-DEF HAB sleep now 1s 1s tired

'I'm going to sleep now, (because) I'm tired.'

Two conjunctions indicating reason use the inalienable nouns *kabin* or *káplabin* 'base (of a tree)' as illustrated in (115-117). In (118) the case-marking verb *suri* 'purpose' is used. Finally, a construction based on *pasi á ngorer* is possible though rare as illustrated in (119).

- 115) *Matananu no di konngek kabin káp-a-te lu ngor-er*
people all 3p worried base NEG-3s-EMPH HAB like-that
be á te kunkun on á matung PNG...
now SM some earthquake 3s REL there PNG

'Everyone was worried because there had never been any earthquakes like that before in PNG...'

- 116) *Má Tabarman a longra-i má a buswa-i kán wonwon*
 CJ Tabarman 3s hear-OM CJ 3s throw-OM 3s.POSS fishing.pole

má a alus ma-i kán takup kaleng ur a-di
 CJ 3s paddle with-OM 3s.POSS canoe return to LOC-DIR

malar káplabin ngo á-k-te longra ilm-i má
 village base CMP 3s-DEF-EMPH hear recognize-OM DEF

kaungá-n ái Kanih Kos.
 voice-3s REL Kanih Kos

‘And Tabarman heard it and he threw away his fishing pole and he paddled with his canoe back to the village **because** he had recognized the voice of Kanih Kos.’

- 117) *Turpas-i i pákánbung er ái huhái á-k mánán i an*
 beginning PREP time that SM crocodile 3s-DEF know OM eat

kálámul, á-k mánán i an-i pap, bor, a káplabin si
 man 3s-DEF know OM eat-OM dog pig 3s base to/of

pap a tar-i mudán bor singi-n m-á-k an-i.
 dog 3s give-OM little.bit pig to-3s CJ-3s-DEF eat-OM

‘From that time on the crocodile was familiar with eating people, he was familiar with eating dog, pig, **because of** the dog who gave him a bit of pig and he ate it.’
 OR ‘...and it was the fault of the dog who gave him a bit of pig and he ate it.’

- 118) *Di korantik má sur-i a hut mul a-di...*
 3p surprised DEF PURP-OM 3s arrive again LOC-DIR

‘They were surprised **about/because of** his arrival again down there...(because they thought he was dead)’

- 119) *Pas-i á ngoro in di-k wáng i git, á gam gam*
 get-OM REL like now 3p-DEF swear OM 1pn REL 2p 2p

tangkabin i gulm-i tawan.
 begin OM knock-OM tawan

‘The **reason** they swore at us, it’s you (because) you began knocking down *tawan* fruit.’

5.3 Purpose

Purpose can also be expressed in several ways. The most obvious are by the use of the case-marking verbs *suri* 'purpose' or *uri* 'to (both motion and purpose)'. While *uri* cannot be used with a following nominative pronoun, *suri* can be.

- 120) *Kes-á bung di-k han sur-i sar damau.*
 one-REL day 3p-DEF go PURP-OM climb nut

'One day they went to climb for nuts.'

- 121) *A ur-i akiláng i kam bung u páng on.*
 3s to-OM mark OM 2s.POSS day 2s born 3s

'It is for the purpose of/to celebrate the day you were born.'

Purpose can also be expressed by juxtaposition of clauses with the nominative pronoun in the second clause taking the definite affix.

- 122) *I-na han ur a-mi kon Ø i-na-k soso isu.*
 1s-IRR go to LOC-DIR sand 1s-IRR-DEF spear fish

'I'm going out to the beach to spear fish.'

5.4 Frustrated purpose

The combination of *ngo* plus an irrealis pronoun to indicate purpose has the connotation of frustrated purpose: something that was intended, but did not actually happen; an action begun but not completed.

- 123) *Di-ng kas-i tan suk, tan suk muswan ngo da kápt-i*
 3p-DEF get-OM PLZ vine PLZ vine true CMP 3p.IRR tie-OM
ma-i...
 with-OM

'They got the vines, real vines for the purpose of tying him up with them...(but they didn't).'

If *suri* was used instead of *ngo* in (123), the basic meaning would be the same, but the connotation would be that the purpose is more likely to be accomplished. *Uri* could also be used if the following nominative pronoun *da* was deleted.

6 Conclusion

As this paper has demonstrated, Sursurunga has a wealth of forms and combinations available to link words, phrases, clauses, and larger chunks of texts together. Several, including *má*, *ki*, sometimes *yo*, operate on more than one level. Some can mean different things in different contexts. For example, *kol* is used for affirmative response in conversational text but for disjunction in the middle of a sentence, while *ngo*, also used as a disjunctive conjunction, links things together as a complementizer. The meaning of conjunctive elements is influenced by the type of text they are used in it as, for example, in the reversal of meaning of *má* and *ki* in descriptions. Many ‘conjunctions’ also play other roles in the grammar – some are verbs, some are inalienable nouns, some are peripheral forms of affirmative response. And always there are seemingly unlimited possibilities of combinations of conjunctions or of conjunctions and other parts of speech. The following table summarises how conjunctive elements are used. Numbers in parentheses indicate example numbers.

\emptyset	consecutive/sequential – §3.1.1 simultaneous – §3.2 result – §5.1 reason – §5.2 purpose – §5.3
<i>alari</i>	‘instead’ – §4.3
<i>ái sár</i>	emphatic adversative, ‘however’ – §4.2 ‘except’ – (94) ‘rather’ – (98)
<i>kabin, káplabin</i>	reason – §5.2
<i>ki</i>	sequential, ‘then’ – §1.2.1 simultaneous – §1.2.2 result – §1.2.3 and 1.2.5 marks story climax – §1.2.4 signals turning point – §1.2.4 adds to description – §1.2
<i>kol</i>	disjunction, ‘or’ – §2.2.1 affirmative response – §2.2.1
<i>má</i>	most neutral link – §1.1 additive explanation – (16-18) adding information – (12)

	'so' – (18)
	simultaneous – (29c)
	agreement – (19-20)
<i>má, má</i>	sequential – (10,11)
<i>má + {ák}</i> 'DEF'	sequential – (30a)
	result – §5.1
<i>má + {kápte}</i> 'NEG'	contrast – (113)
	contraexpectation – (14,15)
	clarification/correction – (102)
<i>má + {tiklik}</i>	simultaneous – §3.2
<i>mái sár</i>	emphatic adversative, 'however' – §4.2
	topic switching – §4.2
<i>mokol</i>	affirmative response – §2.2.2
	further explanation – §2.2.2
<i>namur</i>	consecutive/sequential – §3.1.2
<i>ngo</i>	generic verb ('do, say') – §1.3.1
	complementizer – §1.3.3
	disjunction, 'or' – §1.3.4
	frustrated purpose – §5.4
<i>ngo + irrealis</i>	'if' – (33)
+ realis	'when' – (34)
<i>ngorer</i>	head-tail recapitulation – §1.4.1
	clarification – §1.4.2
	summary – §1.4.3
	result, 'therefore' – §1.4.4
<i>pasi</i>	result – §5.1
<i>suri</i>	reason – §5.2
	purpose – §5.3
<i>{i bung er}</i> 'time phrase'	simultaneous – §3.2
<i>uri</i>	purpose – §5.3
<i>wa, war</i>	clarification/correction – §4.3
<i>yo</i>	major shift in discourse – §1.5

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PAPUA NEW GUINEA 444

Appendix: Trying to Get Bananas⁵

- 1) *Ina puksai kesá soi,*
iau-na puksa-i kes-á soi
 1s-IRR tell-OM one-REL story

'I will tell a story,

- 2) *soi erei soi suri kesá aratámán*
soi er-i soi sur-i kes-á ara-támán
 story that-OM story PURP-OM one-REL GLZ-family

'that story is a story about a family

- 3) *ditul lu kis i kesá malar i risán kesá dan.*
ditul lu kis i kes-á malar i risán kes-á dan
 3t HAB sit PREP one-REL village PREP side one-REL water

'they three lived in a village beside a river.

⁵ This story was told by Tuarurung on 24 November 1978.

- 4) *Ditul lu kis ngorer*
ditul lu kis ngoro-er
 3t HAB sit like-that

‘They lived like that

- 5) *má i libung má ái kák diar a parai si diar*
má i libung má ái kaka diar a para-i si diar
 CJ PREP night DEF SM father 3d 3s say-OM to 3d

tinán, si rugar tinán er,
tinán si rungar tinán er
 mother.child to 3d mother.child that

‘and one night the father said to the mother and child, to those two who were mother and child,

- 6) “*Latiu i kábungbung gitula pán*
latiu i kábungbung gitul-a pán
 tomorrow PREP morning 1tn-IRR awake

“‘Tomorrow morning we will get up

- 7) *má gitulák han*
má gitul-a-k han
 CJ 1tn-IRR-DEF go

‘and we will go

- 8) *suri up dan.*”
sur-i ub dan
 PURP-OM hit water

‘to gather fish, etc in the river.”

- 9) *Má ditulá pán ngorer i kábungbung má,*
má ditul-á pán ngoro-er i kábungbung má
 CJ 3t-DEF awake like-that PREP morning DEF

‘And they three got up like that in the morning,

- 10) *ákte pos má nas,*
a-k-te pos má nas
 3s-DEF-EMPH break DEF sun

‘the sun had already risen,

- 11) *ditulá aptur pas eran má mai tan táit, rat má*
ditul-á aptur pas eran má mam-i tan táit rat má
 3t-DEF get.up get prepare DEF with-OM PLZ thing basket CJ

kas, sapakir,
kas sapakir
 basket basket

'they got up and prepared with things, different kinds of baskets,

- 12) *ditulá top pasi*
ditul-á top pas-i
 3t-DEF grasp get-OM

'they took them

- 13) *má ditulá han ura munang i dan má.*
má ditul-á han ur-a munang i dan má
 CJ 3t-DEF go to-LOC DIR OM water DEF

'and they then went down to the river.

- 14) *Ditulá lu up dan,*
ditul-á lu ub dan
 3t-DEF HAB hit water

'They three were gathering/fishing,

- 15) *pampam nur,*
pampam nur
 palmRD shrimp

'catching shrimp,

- 16) *ditulá rui tan inngon tili dan, má meleu, má isu,*
ditul-á ru-i tan inngon til-i dan má meleu má isu
 3t-DEF search-OM PLZ shell from-OM water CJ eel CJ fish

'they were looking for shells from the river, and eels, and fish,

- 17) *e gim lu parai*
er gim lu para-i
 that lpx HAB say-OM

'that's what we say

- 18) *ngo up dan erei,*
ngo ub dan er-i
 CMP hit water that-OM

'is "hitting water",

- 19) *ubi tan táit tili dan.*
ub-i tan táit til-i dan
 hit-OM PLZ thing from-OM water

'killing things from the river.

- 20) *Ditulá lu han ya muni*
ditul-á lu han ya muni-i
 3t-DEF HAB go LOC DIR-OM

'They three went along up that way

- 21) *lu mur i dan*
lu mur i dan
 HAB follow OM water

'following the river

- 22) *má ditulá lu mur i dan er átik ala muni*
má ditul-á lu mur i dan er átik ala muni-i
 CJ 3t-DEF HAB follow OM water that until LOC DIR-OM

sang i katbán bos.

sang i katbán bos

EMPH OM middle jungle

'and they followed that river as far as up into the middle of the jungle.

- 23) *Lu han ya muni má katbán bos má,*
lu han ya muni-i má katbán bos má
 HAB go LOC DIR-OM DEF middle jungle DEF

'They went along up there into the middle of the jungle,

- 24) *má nat diar má a matpám.*
má natu diar má a matpám
 CJ child 3d DEF 3s hungry

'and their child was hungry.

- 25) *Má káp ditul te kip ánditul te namnam mul.*
má káp ditul te kip ka-n-ditul te namnam mul
 CJ NEG 3t EMPH carry POSS-3s-3t some food too

‘But they did not bring any food for themselves.

- 26) *Matpám mái nat diar ngorer*
matpám má-ái natu diar ngoro-er
 hungry DEF-SM child 3d like-that

‘Their child was hungry

- 27) *mák ngo án te.*
má-a-k ngo ka-n te
 CJ-3s-DEF say POSS-3s some

‘and said he wanted some food.

- 28) *Ák táu pagas mái kákán mái mámán yatung*
a-k táu pagas má-i kaka-n má-ái mama-n ya-atung
 3s-DEF flee remain DEF-OM father-3s CJ-REL mother-3s LOC-there

‘He went off leaving his father and mother there

- 29) *diará lu ubi tan isu yatung i dan*
diar-á lu ub-i tan isu ya-atung i dan
 3d-DEF HAB hit-OM PLZ fish LOC-there OM water

‘they were gathering fish there in the river

- 30) *mák táu táilna diar mái*
má-a-k táu táilna diar má-ái
 CJ-3s-DEF flee precede 3d DEF-3s

‘and he went off preceding them

- 31) *ák han sukis pagas ya muda i lulngán dan má,*
a-k han su-kis pagas ya muda i lulngán dan má
 3s-DEF go backwards-sit remain LOC DIR OM head water DEF

‘and went and sat down there up at the head of the river,

- 32) *má ya muda i iát má kán tu mák páksi*
má ya muda i iát má ka-n tu mák pagas-i
 CJ LOC DIR OM top DEF POSS-3s merely see remain-OM

dan.

dan

water

'and up there at the top he watched the river.

- 33) *Ák lu mákmák ngorer*
a-k lu mákmák ngoro-er
 3s-DEF HAB seeRD like-that

'He was watching like that

- 34) *mák mák pasi tantanián hun,*
má-a-k mák pas-i tantanián hun
 CJ-3s-DEF see get-OM reflection banana

'and he saw the reflection of bananas,

- 35) *hun er a pim ya muni tapam*
hun er a pim ya muni-i tapam
 banana that 3s ripe LOC DIR-OM ascend

'those bananas were ripe up above

- 36) *má dirtapul pagas ura mudi polgon dan*
má dirtapul pagas ur-a mudi-i polgon dan
 CJ bow remain to-LOC DIR-OM inside water

'but were bowed down toward the water

- 37) *má kalik er ák tu mákái tantanián hun ura*
má kalik er a-k tu mák-i tantanián hun ur-a
 CJ child that 3s-DEF merely see-OM reflection banana to-LOC

di dan,

di dan

DIR water

'and that child was merely looking at the reflection of the bananas in the water,

- 38) *mák ngo*
má-a-k ngo
 CJ-3s-DEF say

'but he thought

- 39) *ngo támin hun muswan sang á mudi dan,*
ngo támin hun muswan sang á mudi-i dan
 CMP true banana true EMPH REL DIR-OM water

'that it was really true bananas in the water,

- 40) *má kán tu lumi mái tantanián hun er ura*
má ka-n tu lum-i má-i tantanián hun er ur-a
 CJ POSS-3s merely dive-OM CJ-OM reflection banana that to-LOC

mudi dan,
mudi-i dan
 DIR-OM water

'and he was diving for that reflection of bananas down into the water,

- 41) *má hun i muni pungpung*
má hun i muni-i pungpung
 CJ banana PREP DIR-OM mountain

'but the bananas were up on the mountain

- 42) *a tur pagas.*
a tur pagas
 3s stand remain

'standing up there.

- 43) *Lum á kalik er*
lum á kalik er
 dive SM child that

'That child was diving

- 44) *ákte kop i tan hat a di dan,*
a-k-te kop i tan hat a di dan
 3s-DEF-EMPH bump PREP PLZ stone LOC DIR water

'he had bumped his head on the rocks in the river,

- 45) *tu rápráp i limán er*
tu rápráp i lima-n er
 merely tearRD SM hand-3s that
 'his hand was torn up
- 46) *ngo a lu top pasi hun ngoromin*
ngo a lu top pas-i hun ngoro-min
 CMP 3s HAB grasp get-OM banana like-this
 'as if he was grasping the bananas like this
- 47) *te tu salum pasi tan hat tila di dan.*
te tu salum pas-i tan hat til-a di dan
 EMPH merely search get-OM PLZ stone from-LOC DIR water
 'he just searched up against the rocks from down in the river.
- 48) *A lu longoi ngorer*
a lu long-i ngoro-er
 3s HAB do-OM like-that
 'He was doing like that
- 49) *ák lu longoi ngorer*
a-k lu long-i ngoro-er
 3s-DEF HAB do-OM like-that
 'he did like that
- 50) *ák merok kunán*
a-k merok kunán
 3s-DEF tired about.it
 'he became tired of it
- 51) *ák sukis.*
a-k su-kis
 3s-DEF backwards-sit
 'and he sat down.
- 52) *Diar lu hanhan mái kákán mái mámán*
diar lu hanhan má-ái kaka-n má-ái mama-n
 3d HAB goRD DEF-SM father-3s CJ-REL mother-3s
 'His father and his mother came along

- 53) *diará gáltai*
diar-á gálta-i
 3d-DEF ask-OM
 ‘and they asked him
- 54) “*Kauh, dáni kam tu longoi?*”
kauh dáni ka-m tu long-i
 boy what POSS-2s merely do-OM
 ““Son, what are you doing?”
- 55) *Parai má*
para-i má
 say-OM DEF
 ‘He said
- 56) “*Ak hun i mudi*
ka-k hun i mudi-i
 POSS-my banana PREP DIR-OM
 ““My bananas (for eating) are down there
- 57) *má iau risi long pasi.*
má iau ris-i long pas-i
 CJ 1s unable-OM do get-OM
 ‘but I am unable to get them.
- 58) *Tata, han tohoi bul*
tata han toh-i bul
 Dad go try-OM in.turn
 ‘Dad, you go try,
- 59) *unáng kipi ái iáu.”*
u-na-k kip-i ái iáu
 2s-IRR-DEF carry-OM TOP 2s
 ‘you’ll be able to get them.”
- 60) *Tohoi ái kákán mul*
toh-i ái kaka-n mul
 try-OM SM father-3s too
 ‘His father also tried

- 61) *ák tu ngorer sang ái natun*
a-k tu ngoro-er sang ái natu-n
 3s-DEF merely like-that EMPH REL child-3s
 'he did just like his child
- 62) *er a longoi be nengen.*
er a long-i be nengen
 that 3s do-OM now earlier
 'did earlier.
- 63) *Te tu han salbái tantanián hun a di dan*
te tu han salbá-i tantanián hun a di dan
 EMPH merely go attempt-OM reflection banana LOC DIR water
 'He just attempted to get the bananas down in the water
- 64) *ákte kaleng,*
a-k-te kaleng
 3s-DEF-EMPH return
 'and he returned,
- 65) *te han ái mámán mul*
te han ái mama-n mul
 EMPH go 3s mother-3s too
 'his mother also went
- 66) *ngo a lu lum*
ngo a lu lum
 CMP 3s HAB dive
 'to dive
- 67) *ditul támán no ngorer.*
ditul támán no ngoro-er
 3t family all like-that
 'all three of them in the family did it.
- 68) *Namur má kalik er ák sukis má*
Namur má kalik er a-k su-kis má
 later DEF child that 3s-DEF backwards-sit DEF
 'Later/after that that child sat down

- 69) *mák tántán*
má-a-k tántán
 CJ-3s-DEF look.up

'and he looked up

- 70) *suri ngo na mákái nas ya muni bát.*
sur-i ngo ø-na mák-i nas ya muni-i bát
 PURP-OM CMP 3s-IRR see-OM sun LOC DIR-OM heaven

'to see the sun up in the sky.

- 71) *Tántán*
tántán
 look.up

'He looked up

- 72) *má tálangnai má hun er*
má tálangna-i má hun er
 CJ concurrent-OM DEF banana that

'and saw those bananas at the same time

- 73) *ák mák pasi támin hun má ya muni*
a-k mák pas-i támin hun má ya muni-i
 3s-DEF see get-OM true banana DEF LOC DIR-OM

'he saw the real bananas up there

- 74) *a sámTUR i aun sang á hun.*
a sámTUR i aun sang á hun
 3s stand PREP trunk EMPH REL banana

'where stood the actual banana plant.

- 75) *Er ák parai má si kákán mái mámán,*
er a-k para-i má si kaka-n má-ái mama-n
 that 3s-DEF say-OM DEF to father-3s CJ-REL mother-3s

'So he said then to his father and mother,

- 76) *"Uai tata diar ái nana, muni sár á hun*
uai tata diar ái nana muni-i sár á hun
 ATT Dad 3d REL Mom DIR-OM only TOP banana

"Hey, Dad and Mom, the bananas are just up there

- 77) *má gitul má tu lu lumlumi tantanián a di dan*
má gitul má tu lu lum-lum-i tantanián a di dan
 CJ 1tn DEF merely HAB dive-dive-OM reflection LOC DIR water

‘and we were just diving for the reflection down in the water

- 78) *má muni bát á hun!*
má muni-i bát á hun
 CJ DIR-OM heaven TOP banana

‘but the bananas are up in the sky!’

- 79) *Tapam mái kákán*
tapam má-ái kaka-n
 ascend DEF-SM father-3s

‘His father went up

- 80) *ák tár pasi*
a-k tár pas-i
 3s-DEF chop get-OM

‘and cut them down

- 81) *má tari má singin kalik er*
má tar-i má si-ngi-n kalik er
 CJ give-OM DEF to-IOM-3s child that

‘and gave them to that child

- 82) *ák namnam*
a-k namnam
 3s-DEF eat

‘and he ate

- 83) *ák mas*
a-k mas
 3s-DEF full

‘and was full

- 84) *má ditul támán má ditulá mas má i ani hun er a*
má ditul támán má ditul-á mas má i an-i hun er a
 -CJ 3t family DEF 3t-DEF full DEF REL eat-OM banana that LOC

mi bos.
mi bos
 DIR jungle

'and the family, they three were full from eating those bananas up in the jungle.

- 85) *Ditulá sosih kaleng má mai káditul tan táit*
ditul-á so-sih kaleng má mam-i ka-n-ditul tan táit
 3t-DEF exit-descend return DEF with-OM POSS-3s-3t PLZ thing

er i libung má ura di malar,
er i libung má ur-a di malar
 that PREP night DEF to-LOC DIR village

'They three went back down then with those things of theirs at nighttime down to the village,

- 86) *bos isu má meleu má gos er ditul kipi tangrai dan*
bos isu má meleu má gos er ditul kip-i tangra-i dan
 PLZ fish CJ eel CJ shell that 3t get-OM along-OM water

'the fish and eels and shellfish they got along the river

- 87) *ditulá hut mai,*
ditul-á hut mam-i
 3t-DEF arrive with-OM

'they came with,

- 88) *ditulá sawi a di malar,*
ditul-á saw-i a di malar
 3t-DEF cook-OM LOC DIR village

'they cooked them down in the village,

- 89) *ditulá namnam no má a di malar má.*
ditul-á namnam no má a di malar má
 3t-DEF eat all DEF LOC DIR village DEF

'they ate them all down in the village.

- 90) *Ák rah sár yatung á soi erei.*
á-k rah sár ya-atung á soi er-i
 3s-DEF finish only LOC-there TOP story that-OM

'And that story is finished there.