TRIQUE CLAUSE AND SENTENCE: A STUDY IN CONTRAST, VARIATION, AND DISTRIBUTION

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0. The problem of identity and variation is novel in neither philosophy nor linguistics. If we believe that pattern is fundamental to language, then the problem of distinguishing one pattern from another is crucial. A related problem is that of distinguishing contrasting patterns from variations of the same pattern. This paper presents the five clause types which contrast in the structure of Trique. The contrast is threefold: contrastive internal structure; contrastive placement in the system of clause types; and contrastive distribution in sentence-level slots (tagmemes). By studying the latter it is shown that (1) the five clause types contrast as exponents of certain sentence-level tagmemes; and (2) further variants of these clause types have noncontrastive distribution in sentence-level tagmemes and are therefore not further types. To do this it is necessary to sketch somewhat fully not only the system of Trique clause types but also one of the two systems of Trique sentence structures. Although lengthy, this sketch is not without interest in that sentence structure as here presented has been little explored. In current sketches 'sentence structure' usually is concerned with the internal structure of one-clause sentences (considerations here handled under clause) with summary treatment of 'compound' and 'complex' sentences. Such treatment misses the richness of such contrasting patterns as those illustrated in 2.[1]

[1] For two recent sketches of 'sentence structure'

1. Trique has five contrastive clause types, four of which are independent, and one of which is dependent (relator-axis). The four independent clauses comprise three predication clauses and one equational clause. The predication clauses are systemically related along a parameter of increasing complexity of nuclear structure (which correlates approximately with the number of dramatis personae represented as participating in a situation).

The simplest predication clause is meteorological: $Cl_1 = (+P_m) \pm L \pm T$. There is but one nuclear tagmeme (enclosed in parenthesis), the meteorological predicate (P_m). There are two peripheral tagmemes: location (L), and temporal (T). This nucleus is the simplest of the nuclei found in the various clause types. No dramatis personae are involved in that the reference is exclusively to meteorological phenomena. Meteorological predicate is manifested by a small list of verbs: (g)a³maⁿ³⁴? *to rain*, (gi³)ni³⁵ *night-fall*, (gi³)ži³gį̈³⁵ *dawn*, ga³rį³⁵ *loud roar* (as of a forest fire or of the wind), nu³wi³h *cold*, ya³?a³ *hot*, rą⁴⁵ *lightning*, ga³wį³ ru³mi³⁴? *grow dark*, ra³nga³⁵? *full light of sunrise*. Temporal tagmeme occurs not infrequently with this type, location more rarely. Clauses consisting of but the meteorological predicate are frequent (often these manifest the axis of relator-axis clauses), a³maⁿ³⁴? *(it's) raining*, ga⁵maⁿ⁵? a³?yo³h (it) *will-rain tomorrow*, (nga⁴³) gi³ni³⁵ *(when) night-fell*, (nda⁴³)

gi³žigī³⁵ (*until*) *dawn*, u²ta³ga³rį³⁵ nï⁵ʔ ga⁵ča⁵ʔ ru³wa²³ weʔe³ *there was a loud noise in every part of the house.*[2]

Intransitive clauses represent one dramatis persona as actor in the nucleus: $Cl_2 = (+P_i + A) \pm L^2 \pm T^2$. The nucleus of this clause type includes two tagmemes, the intransitive predicate (P_i) and the actor (A). Superscripts on the peripheral tagmemes indicate that each may occur twice in the same clause.[3] Intransitive and transitive are useful lists of verbs relevant to phrase, clause, and sentence structure. Some typical intransitive verbs are exemplified in the clauses given at the end of this paragraph. Intransitive verbs along with their expansions have the structure of all six verb phrase types (Ph_{1-6}) which therefore exhaustively summarize all manifestations of intransitive predicate tagmeme. Of these six verb phrase types, $Ph_{2,4,5}$ occur only in intransitive clauses, while $Ph_{1,3,6}$ occur also in transitive clauses.[4] Actor is manifested here and in

other clause types by five noun phrase types (Ph_{11-15}), appositional phrase (Ph_{21}), coordinate phrase (Ph_{22}), a set of six free pronouns, and a set of three pronoun phrases (Ph_{81-83}). Location is manifested here and in other clause types by certain syntagmemes which also manifest subject $(Ph_{11-15}, Ph_{21-22}, Ph_{81-83})$. In addition, location tagmeme is manifested by unexpandable root morphemes of locational class (place-names), relator-axis phrases (Ph_{41}) of locational class, and relator-axis clauses (Cl_5) of locational class. Temporal is manifested here and elsewhere by Ph_{21-22}, by temporal phrases (Ph_{31-33}), by relator-axis phrases (Ph_{41}) of temporal class, and relator-axis clauses (Cl_5) of temporal class.

A few typical intransitive clauses follow. a³čį²¹ ni⁴ʔya³⁴h zi²¹ ʔnï⁵h du³gwa³gaʔa⁴³ ru³wa²³ du³gwa³zǫ⁴³ ri³a³⁴ presidente. *The prisoner pled his case in the town-hall before the president* (Pi:Ph₁ a³čį²¹ ni⁴ʔya³⁴h *besought*; A:Ph₅ zi²¹ ʔnï⁵h du³gwa³gaʔa⁴³ *the one who was in jail*; L:Ph₄₁ ru³wa²³ du³gwa³zǫ⁴ *in the town hall*; L:Ph₄₁ ri³a³⁴ presidente, *before the president*). ga³wi²¹ ga³ʔ gą⁵ʔą³h ni³⁵⁴ nga³h *I left Putla at four o'clock* (Pi:Ph₁ ga³wi³⁴ *exit* + A:fused pronoun -²³ *I*; T:Ph₃₁ ga³ʔ gą⁵ʔą³h ni³⁵⁴ *four o'clock in the afternoon*; L:unexpandable root nga³h *Putla*). ʔngo⁴ žu³kwa²¹ du³ʔwi³ ga³ʔna³⁵ʔ ne³⁴ʔ ri³nï³ *a lightning serpent came from the coast* (A:Ph₅ ʔngo⁴ žu³kwa²¹ du³ʔwi³ *a lightning serpent*; P_i:Ph₁ ga³ʔna³⁵ʔ *came*; L:Ph₄₁ ne³⁴ʔ ri³nï³ *from the coast*.

Transitive clauses may represent two dramatis personae (whether animate or

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[3] Readings with all six tagmemes (PiALLTT) and even with five (PiALLT or PiALTT) are highly improbable. Permutation of PiALL to LPiAL, of PiATT to TPiAT, and of PiALT to LPiAT or TPiAL are common. In any reading, A may be permuted to the fore of Pi when L or T are not thus permuted.

[4] The phrase types posited for Trique are decimally numbered as follows: 0 decade (Ph₁₋₆), verb phrases; 10 decade (Ph₁₁₋₁₅), noun phrases; 20 decade, phrases used both as substantives and temporals; 30 decade, temporal phrases; 40 decade, relator-axis phrases; 50 decade, adjective phrase; 60 decade, numeral phrases; 70 decade conjunctive phrases; 80 decade, pronoun phrases.

The view of hierarchy assumed in this paper is: (1) Most frequently, lower-level syntagmemes manifest tagmemes on the immediately higher

level (e.g. phrase types manifest clause-level tagmemes). (2) Recursive manifestation is not uncommon on some levels (e.g. a phrase type may manifest a phrase-level tagmeme); (3) Backlooping manifestation (e.g. a clause type may manifest a phrase-level tagmeme) and level-skipping manifestation (e.g. a morpheme which cannot expand into a word or phrase may nevertheless manifest a phrase-level tagmeme) occur, but less frequently than (1) and (2). For a detailed exposition of this view see my Some Fundamental Insights of Tagmemics, Lg. 41.65–76.

inanimate) as actor and object within the nucleus: $Cl_3 = (+P_t + A \pm O) \pm I \pm L^2 \pm T^2$. The nucleus here includes the transitive predicate (P_t), the actor (A), and the optional object (O). While the object is optional within the clause, it is invariably present in the linguistic or situational context. A further peripheral tagmeme, the instrumental, occurs here in addition to location and time which are found in other clause types. The transitive predicate (P_t) is manifested by transitive verbs or their expansion. Whether minimal or expanded the structure is that of the three verb phrases, $Ph_{1,3,6}$. A and O are manifested as listed above for A in the intransitive clause— except that fused pronouns do not manifest O. I is manifested either by a noun phrase (Ph_{11-12}) or a relator-axis phrase (Ph_{41}) of instrumental class. I occurs with an arbitrary list of transitive verbs. Further lexical selection dictates $I:Ph_{11-12}$ versus $I:Ph_{41}$— although with some verbs either construction is possible. $I:Ph_{11-12}$ is more frequent when I is permuted to the fore of P_t. Otherwise, $I:Ph_{41}$ is the more frequent.[5]

a³ča²¹ ni³ ngo⁴ ča²a³ *they're singing a song* ($P_t:Ph_1$ a³ča²¹ *sing*; A:Ph_{11} ni³ *they*; O:Ph_{11} ngo⁴ ča²a³ *a song*). ri³²ya³ ngo⁴ o²ra³ ri³ą³⁴ yą³²ą⁴³ *she cooks (it) for an hour on the fire* ($P_t:Ph_1$ ri³²yą³⁴h *cooks* + A:fused pronoun -³ *they*; T:Ph_{32} ngo⁴ o²ra³ *an hour*; L:Ph_{41} ri³ą³⁴ yą³²ą⁴³ *on the fire*). a³wi³ žu³ ²ya³h ni³ čų¹² *they make an earth-oven (meal) from its head* (I:Ph_{12} a³wi³ žu³ *its head*; $P_t:Ph_1$ ²ya³h *make*; A:Ph_{11} ni³ *they*; O:Ph_{11} čų¹² *earth-oven*). (nga⁴) ri³a⁴ ²ya³h ni³ ngo⁴ gwi³⁵⁴ *(with) bamboo make they a person* (I:Ph_{41} nga⁴ ri³a⁴ *with bamboo*; $P_t:Ph_1$, ²ya³h *make*; A:Ph_{11} ni³ *they*; O:Ph_{11} ngo⁴ gwi³⁵⁴ *a person*). ngo⁴

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[5] Readings and permutations of Cl_3 are similar to those of Cl_2 except that presence of the additional tagmemes O and I increases the number of readings and permutations. It remains, however, that readings involving more than four tagmemes are highly improbable. Permutations are limited by the rule that no more than one tagmeme may be permuted to the fore of P_t in any given clause. Cf. fn. 3.

zǫ³⁴ za⁵² ²ya³h zǫ³⁴ re⁵² *you're doing a good work* (O:Ph_{11} ngo⁴ zǫ³⁴ za⁵² *a good work*; $P_t:Ph_3$ ²ya³h zǫ³⁴ *work*; A:Ph_{82} re⁵² *you*) ni³²ya³⁴h ni³²ya³⁴h zi³ ma³²ą²¹ *he keeps looking at me* ($P_t:Ph_6$ ni³²ya³⁴h ni³ya³⁴h *looking looking*; A:Ph_{11} zi³ *he*; O:Ph_{12} ma³²ą²¹ *myself*).

The equative clause contrasts with all the above: $Cl_4 = (+S + E + C) \pm L \pm T$. Each of the nuclear tagmemes symbolized within the parenthesis is distinct from the corresponding tagmemes of the predication clauses. The equator tagmeme (E) is manifested only by the verbs w·į³ *be* and gu⁴²na⁴h *be named*. Furthermore, the favored position of the equator is post-initial in its clause type while the predicate tagmemes (P_m, P_i, P_t) characteristically occur initial in their clauses. Subject (S) and complement (C) have broader manifesting sets than those of actor and object in the predication clauses. The set manifesting S is the union of the sets manifesting actor, location, and time in the predication clauses. The set manifesting C is the union of the sets manifesting object, location, and time. Permutation of SEC to ESC and CES occurs. Peripheral tagmemes occur only rarely. ngo⁴ ža³ta⁴h ngu³yą⁴ w·į³ za³⁴ kwą⁴³ *a road-runner bird is purplish* (S:Ph_{11} ngo⁴ ža³ta⁴h ngu³yą⁴ *a road-runner bird*; E:Ph_2w·į³ *is*; C:Ph_{11} za³⁴ kwą⁴³ *a purplish one*). ki²¹ čų³ ri³²ni³ w·į³ go³no³²o² *bark of the ash tree is medicine* (S:Ph_{11} ki²¹ čų³ ri³²ni³ *bark of the ash tree*; E:Ph_2 w·į *is*; C:Ph_{11} go³no³²o² *medicine*. yu³h n·e³ ni³ka⁴ le²nču³ gu⁴²na⁴h ži²-gu³ču²u⁴³ *where Lorenzo's wife lives is called 'Foot of the potatoes'* (S:Cl_5 yu³h n·e³ ni³ka⁴ le²nču³ *where lives Lorenzo's wife*; E:Ph_2 gu⁴²na⁴h *is named*; C:Ph_{41} ži²-gu³ču²u⁴³ *foot of the potatoes*). gwi³ ²ngo⁴³ gu⁴²na⁴h gwe³²ngo⁴³ *the first day is called First-day* (Monday) (S:Ph_{31} gwi³ ngo⁴³ *the first day*; E:Ph_2 gu⁴²na⁴h *be named*; C:Ph_{33} gwe³²ngo⁴³ *First-day*). ru³ne⁴ gu⁴²na³ *it's called beans* E:Ph_{11} ru³ne⁴ *beans*; C:Ph_2 gu⁴²na⁴h *be named* + S:fused pronoun -³ *he, she, it*). y·a⁵⁴h w·į³ zi³²ya²³ *now it's my property* (T:y·a⁵⁴h *now*; E:Ph_2 w·į³ *be* + S:fused pronoun -³; C:Ph_{12} zi³²ya²³ *property-*

my). w·į³ zi³ dre²? ru³wa²³ žu³mi³gwi⁵ na³h *he's our father in this world* (E:Ph₂ w·į³ *be*; S:Ph₁₁ zi³ *he*; C:Ph₁₂ dre²? *father-our*; L:Ph₄₁ ru³wa²³ žu³mi³gwi⁵ na³h *in this world*).

The relator-axis clause is bipartite: $Cl_5 = R' + A'$.[6] The clause-level relator tagmeme (R') may be locational yą³⁴ *where*, nda⁴³ yą³⁴ *as far as where*, yu³h *place where*, ne³⁴? *direction towards*; or temporal nga⁴³ *when*. The clause-level axis tagmeme is manifested by a predication or equation clause, i.e. by any of the other four clause types.

2. Trique has two systems of sentence types: a system of closely-knit and a system of loosely-knit types. To describe the latter is beyond the scope of this paper.[7] The nuclei of closely-knit sentences consist of two or more clauses joined paratactically without intervening conjunction. Most types do not occur with medial pause at the seam of the clauses. There may be, on the contrary, a slight pick up in speed at the seam with optional pause (for breath) internal within one of the component clauses.

A general formula for all closely-knit sentences is (except the relator-axis sentences): $\pm$ SD $\pm$ TM $\pm$ SC + Nucleus $\pm$ SM. SD (sentence disjunctive) is manifested by za³ni⁴ *but*, da³dį³⁵? zi³ *because* plus the set which manifests SC. TM (temporal margin) is manifested by the set of items which

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[6] While relator-axis phrases are symbolized as + R + A, relator-axis clauses are represented as + R' + A', and relator-axis sentences as + R″ + A″. In this way the parallelism of the various constructions on the three levels is recognized without obliterating their contrastive status. Note that the manifestations of R, R', and R″ are distinct (R' is a subset of R, and R″ is a unit subset of R') as well as the manifestations of A, A', and A″ (phrase versus clause versus sentence).

[7] The loosely-knit sentences comprise such types as general condition, specific condition, indirect quotation, direct quotation, interrogative, alternative, permissive, and a few varieties of particle sentences. These sentences are assigned decade numbers 20–30, while the closely-knit sentences are in decades 0 and 10 (as is also the simple sentence numbered S_{14}).

manifest clause-level temporal tagmeme. SC (sentence conjunctive) is manifested by ni⁴ *and*, nga⁴³ ni⁴ *then also*, we² dą³ ni⁴ *and then*, da⁴³?nga⁴³ si³ (*something having happened*) *then*. SM (sequence marker) is manifested by ne³h *also*. The following sentence is a conative sentence with preposed periphery (its nucleus consists of conative and performance tagmemes): za³ni⁴ nga⁴³ nų³ a³rą³⁵? ru³wa²³ ni³ ni⁴ na³?we³⁴h ni³ ga⁵?wi⁵? ni³ zi³ ža⁵na⁵³. *But when they don't like* (*him*) *they aren't willing to give the girl* (*in marriage*). SD: za³ni⁴ *but*; TM:Cl_5 nga⁴³ *when*, nų³ *not* a³rą³⁵? ru³wa²³ *like* ni³ *they*; SC:ni⁴ *and*; conative tagmeme: na³?we³⁴h ni³ *are-unwilling they*; performance tagmeme: ga⁵?wi⁵? ni³ *will-give they*, zi³ ža⁵na⁵³ *girl*. In the interest of brevity peripheral tagmemes are eliminated from most of the following examples, which exemplify only the nuclei of the various closely-knit sentences.

There are six pairs of closely-knit sentences and a further relator-axis closely-knit sentence. The two members of each pair of sentence types are distinguished according to degree of internal restriction. In giving these pairs, the first sentence type of each pair is the less restricted. Reciprocal sentences: cause, audition. Narrative sentences: sequence, simultaneous. Appositional sentences: paraphrase, recapitulation. Intentive sentences: purpose, suggestion. Deictic sentences: emphatic, identification. Orientation sentences: conative, direction. The relator-axis closely-knit sentence consists of + R″ (Sentence-level relator) + A″ (Sentence-level axis manifested by a nuclear closely-knit sentence).

Both reciprocal sentence types must have different subject referents in the two clauses which compose their nuclei. The second clause is transitive but lacks an object. The first clause is the logical, but not the grammatical object of the second. A cause sentence is: $S_1 = +$Effect + Cause. Effect is manifested by meteorological, intransitive, and equative clauses (Cl_{1-2}, Cl_4). Cause is manifested by a transitive clause (Cl_3)

minus object; its predicate is manifested by the verb ʔya³h *to do*. The order of the two tagmemes is sometimes reversed (Cause Effect). If there exists a corresponding causative verb[8] for the intransitive verb manifesting predicate of the effect, the cause sentence may be transformed to a simple sentence whose nucleus consists of but one clause (S_{14}). In such a transformation (1) the first verb (of the clause manifesting effect) is made causative by addition of the dV-*causative* prefix. (2) The verb ʔya³h *to do* (of the clause manifesting cause) is deleted. (3) The subject of the verb ʔya³h becomes object of the causative verb. This may be represented: $(V_1 N_1)$ (ʔya³h N_2) → dV-V_1 N_2 N_1. ga³mą³⁴ʔ gi³ʔya³h yą³ʔąhą⁴³ *rained caused God*, i.e. *God caused it to rain.* ga³ta³⁵ʔ n·e³⁴ neʔe³ ru³wa²³ nu²wi³ gi³ʔya³h dre³h *got baptized baby in (the) church caused (the) priest.* (ga³ta³⁵ʔ n·e³⁴ *become baptized*, neʔe³ *baby* ru³wa²³ nu²wi³ *church*). The latter may be transformed to: du³gwa³ta³⁵ʔ n·e³⁴ dre³h neʔe³ ru³wa²³ nu²wi³ *the priest baptized the baby in the church.*

An audition sentence is: S_2 = +Verbalization + Audition. This sentence type has marked lexical restriction on the verbs occurring in it. Verbalization is manifested by an intransitive clause (Cl_2); its predicate is manifested by ta³⁴h *say*, na³ta³⁵ʔ *notify*. Audition is manifested by a transitive clause (Cl_3) minus object; its predicate is manifested by gu³ni³ *hear* (which does not change for tense or aspect in this position). This sentence type may be transformed to a sim-

ple sentence (S_{14}) by deleting the verb gu³ni³ *hear* and inserting ri³ą³⁴ *before, to*; ri³ą³⁴ plus following noun—formerly subject of the second clause—now manifests location tagmeme in an intransitive clause: (ta³⁴h/na³ta³⁵ʔ N_1) (gu³ni³ N_2) → ta³⁴h/na³ta³⁵ʔ N_1 ri³ą³⁴ N_2. na³ʔwe³ na⁵ta⁵ʔ zi³ gu³ni² re⁵ʔ *he's unwilling to tell you* (na³ʔwe³ auxiliary verb *unwilling*, zi³ *he*, re⁵ʔ *you*). This may be transformed to na³ʔwe³ na⁵ta⁵ʔ zi³ ri³ą³⁴ re⁵ʔ (with approximately the same meaning).

Both narrative sentence types are transformable to simple sentences (S_{14}) with a temporal margin (TM). This transformation is described for each of the two sentence types below. The sequence sentence is: S_3 = +Antecedent + Consequent. Subject-referents may be same or different. Both tagmemes are manifested by intransitive and transitive clauses ($Cl_{2,3}$). Aspect mood sequence is unrestricted. This closely-knit sentence type—which represents one action as taking place before another—may be transformed to a simple sentence (S_{14}) with a temporal margin (TM) which consists of a relator-axis clause whose relator is nda⁴³ *when*, and with the sentence conjunctive (SC) da⁴³ʔ nga⁴³ zi³ *until when that . . .* ga³či²h ni³ du³gwa³gaʔa⁴³ ngwe⁵³ gi³ʔni³h ngwe⁵³ ngo⁴ yą ʔą³ *they put the-two-of them (in) jail, stayed in the-two of them one night* (ga³či²h *put in*, ni³ *they*, du³gwa³gaʔa⁴³ *jail*, gi³ʔni³h *was-in*, ngwe⁵³ *the-two-of-them*, ngo⁴ *one*, yą ʔą³ *night*). This may be transformed to nda⁴³ ga³či²h ni³ ngwe⁵³ du³gwa³gaʔa⁴³ da⁴³ʔ nga⁴³ zi³ gi³ʔni³h ngwe⁵³ ngo⁴ yą ʔą³ (*prior*) *when they put the-two-of them (in) jail, then they stayed-in a night.* Some of the sentences have a syntactically ambivalent noun at the seam of the two clauses. The noun may be object of the first clause and subject of second: ga³ʔni²³ nu³gwaʔą⁴³ ga³ʔna³⁵ʔ *sent-I word came* (ga³ʔni²³ *sent-I*, nu³gwaʔą⁴³ *word*—object of preceding verb, subject of the second, ga³ʔna³⁵ʔ *came*). Or the noun may be object of both verbs: gi³ri³⁴ʔ ni³ ži³lu²¹ l·i³ ža²³ ni³ *found they little worms ate they*

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[8] Thus, such verbs as (g)a³ne³⁴ *bathe*, (g)u³ci³ *nurse*, (gi³)na³ʔa³⁴h *be extinguished* have corresponding causatives: du³gwa³ne³⁴ *to bathe (a corpse, baby, or sick person)*, du³gu³ci³ *to nurse (a baby)*, du³na³ʔa³⁴h *to extinguish (a fire)*. But, as seen in the first gloss above, many causatives have specialized meaning. Thus, while ga³mą³⁴ʔ means *rain*, its corresponding causative da³ga³mą³⁴ʔ means *to sprinkle* or *spatter* (something with some liquid). For this reason many S_1 cannot be transformed to S_{14} even when parallel intransitive and causative verbs exist. This is but one of the many ways in which lexical constraints restrict the operation of grammatical patterns.

(gi³ri³⁴? *found*, ni³ *they*, ži³lu²¹ l·i³ *little worms*, ža²³ *ate*).

The simultaneous sentence is: S_4 = +Circumstance + Event. Subject referents are the same in the two clauses. Circumstance is manifested by intransitive and transitive clauses ($Cl_{2,3}$); event by intransitive, transitive and equational clauses (Cl_{2-4}). The verb manifesting predicate of the first clause is continuative in aspect. These limitations on subject referent and aspect make this type more restricted than the somewhat similar sequence sentence. When a simultaneous sentence is transformed to a simple sentence (S_{14}), its first clause is shifted to the temporal margin (TM), where it becomes a relator-axis clause whose relator is nga⁴³ *when*. The second clause, which is nuclear in the S_{14}, is preceded by the sentence connective (SC) nga⁴³ ni⁴ *then also*, or ni⁴ *and*. ni³ka³⁴h ni³ ča³ ga³?na³⁵? ni³ *had they tortillas came they*, i.e. *they brought tortillas*, (ni³ka³⁴h *have*, ni³ *they*, ča³ *tortillas*, ga³?na³⁵? *came*). a³ga³? ni³ ya²h n·i³h a³di³ą³⁴ ni³ ri³ą³⁴ ni²ma³ *beat they (a) drum precede-they before (the) corpse*, i.e. *they beat a drum, they walk before the corpse*. (a³ga³? *beat*, ya²h n·i³h *drum*, a³di³ą³⁴ *precede*, ni²ma³ *corpse*). The latter may be transformed to a simple sentence with temporal margin: nga⁴³ a³ga³? ni³ ya²h n·i³h nga⁴³ ni³ a³di³ą³⁴ ni³ ri³ą³⁴ ni²ma³ *when they beat the drum they also go before the corpse*.

Both intentive sentence types have second clauses whose verbs must be in the anticipatory mood.[9] The purpose sentence is: S_5 =

+ Behavior + Purpose[2]. Subject-referents are same or different. The order of the two tagmemes may be reversed. When not reversed, purpose (as indicated by the superscript) may occur twice. Both tagmemes may be manifested by intransitive or transitive clause ($Cl_{2,3}$); purpose may be manifested by equative clause as well (Cl_{2-4}). ri³ki²³ re⁵? ža⁵h *gave you will-eat-I*, i.e. *you gave it to me for me to eat* (ri³ki²³ *give*, ža⁵h *will-eat-I*). nų³ gi³ni³?i³ ni³ ga⁴?ne⁴ ni³ *they didn't see (it) they won't take-away it*, i.e. *they didn't see it that they might take it away* (nų³ *not*, gi³ni³?i³ *saw*, ni³ *they*, ga⁴?ne⁴ *will-take-away*). Purpose may occur twice: ni³ko³⁵? ne³h po³li³sya²³ gi⁴da³?a³⁴ ni³ ga⁴či⁴ ni³ du³gwa³ga?a⁴³ *followed the police would-seize they, would-put-in they jail*, i.e. *the police followed him that they might seize him and put him in jail* (ni³ko³⁵? *follow*, ne³h *the* po³li³sya²³ *police*, gi⁴da³?a³⁴ *will-seize*, ga⁴či⁴ *will-put-in*, du³gwa³ga?a⁴³ *jail*). A syntactically ambivalent noun at the seam of the two clauses may function as object of both clauses or as object of the first and actor (or subject) of the second. ža⁵ka⁵ ngo⁴ ga³xǫ² ža⁵h *will-buy-I a box (of corn), will-eat-I*, i.e. *I'll buy a box of it to eat.* (ža⁵ka⁵ *I'll buy*, ngo⁴ ga³xǫ² *a box*, ža⁵h *I'll eat.*) wa³⁴ ža⁴ka⁴h ngwe⁵³ ngo⁴ zi²¹ na⁴?u⁴ ga⁵?na⁵? gi⁴?ya³h dro² ga⁴ni⁴ gi³?ya⁴h zą³ dri²si³ *went will-find the-two a man will-come will-make (the) bull will-explode festival Saint Andrew*, i.e. *the two of them were going about to find a man to come and make the (bamboo) bull to explode at the festival of Saint Andrew* (wa³⁴ ža⁴ka⁴h *go about to find*, verb phrase; ngwe⁵³ *the-two-of them*; ngo⁴ zi²¹ na⁴?u⁴ *a man*; object of the first clause, subject of the second clause; ga⁵?na⁵? gi⁴?ya³h *will-come will-make*, a verb phrase; dro² *bull*, object of the second clause, subject of the third clause; ga⁴ni⁴ *will-explode* gi³?ya⁴h zą³ dri²si³, *the festival of Saint Andrew*).

The suggestion sentence is: S_6 = + Suggestion + Project. Suggestion tagmeme is manifested by an intransitive clause (Cl_2) with verb in second person. Project tagmeme

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[9] S_5 with all verbs in the anticipatory mood is ambiguous with S_3 with all verbs in the anticipatory mood. Thus, although the first two examples below contrast, the third is ambiguous: (1) gi³da³?a³⁴ zi³ ža⁴ zi³*grabbed-he will-eat he*, i.e. *he grabbed it in order to eat it.* (2) gi³da³?a³⁴ zi³ ža²³ zi³ *grabbed-he ate-he*, i.e. *he grabbed it and ate it.* (3) gi⁴da⁴?a⁴ zi³ ža⁴ zi³ *will-grab he will-eat he* which can mean either *he'll grab it in order to eat it* or *he'll grab it and eat it.* This illustrates again that while formulas and rules can be framed so as to generate all possible constructions, they cannot be framed so as to analyze unambiguously every given example.

is manifested by an intransitive or transitive clause (Cl$_{2,3}$) with verb in first person plural inclusive. ga^{4}di^{4}ą^4 re^5? gų^4? *go-ahead you we'll go*, i.e. *you go first and we'll go* (ga^{4}di^{4}ą^4 *will go ahead*, re^5? *you*, gų^4? *we will go*) du^{3}gu^3?ni^2? re^5? du^{4}gwa^{3}čį^2? go^{3}če^{23} dą^{3}h *hurry you will-pass-we that car*, i.e. *you hurry up and we'll pass that car* (du^{4}gu^3?ni^2? *will-hurry*, du^{4}gwa^{3}čį^2? *will-pass-we*, go^{2}če^3 *car*, dą^{3}h *that*).

Ambivalent nouns may occur at the seam of the two component clauses in the two deictic sentence types; in the emphatic sentence occurrence of such a noun is obligatory. The emphatic sentence is S$_7$ = + Emphasis + Affirmation. Emphasis tagmeme is manifested by a nuclear intransitive clause (Cl$_2$) containing one of, the emphatic verbs, we^2 *lo*, *(it) is* . . ., ze^2 *lo*, *(it) isn't* . . ., ni^{3}ta^{4}h or nu^{3}wi^{34}? *there is/are none* . . ., gi^{3}zi^{2}h *tallies up to*. . . . Affirmation clause is manifested by intransitive, transitive, and equational clauses (Cl$_{2-4}$). The noun manifesting subject of the nuclear intransitive clause also manifests a tagmeme of the affirmation clause. ze^2 gwi^{354} w·į^3 *not (a) person was-he* (gwi^{354} *person* is actor of se^2 *not* and complement of w·į^3 *is-he*). we^2 žu^3 nga^{3}h yų^2 a^3?ngo^2 yuhu^3, *lo animal lay again another place*, i.e., *and there it was lying in another place*. (žu^3 *it (animal)* is actor of both we^2 *lo there is*, and of nga^{3}h *lie*; yų^2 *again*; a^3?ngo^2 *another*; yuhu^3 *place*). ni^{3}ta^{4}h gwi^{35} ža^{5}na^5 dą^{3}h n·e^3 ru^{3}wa^{23} we$^?$e^3 *nothing-of woman that living in house*, i.e., *that woman wasn't in the house*. (gwi^{35} ža^{5}na^5 dą^{3}h *that woman*, is actor of both ni^{3}ta^{4}h *there isn't* and of n·e^3 *live/be*; ru^{3}wa^{23} *inside-of*; we$^?$e^3 *house*). nu^{3}wi^{34}? zi^{21} dą^{3}h n·e^3 *nothing-of that man living (there)*, i.e. *that man wasn't there* (zi^{21} dą^{3}h *that man* is actor of both nu^{3}wi^{34}? *there isn't* and of n·e^3 *be*). gi^{3}zi^{2}h gą^5?ą^{3}h zna^{2}du^3 gu^{3}žu^{3}ma^{23} *tallied-up-to four soldiers arrived*, i.e. *All told, four soldiers arrived*. (gą^5?ą^{3}h zna^{2}du^3 *four soldiers* is actor of both gi^{3}zi^{2}h *tallies up to* and of gu^{3}žu^{3}ma^{23} *arrived*).

The identification sentence is: S$_8$ = + Assertion + Identification. Assertion tagmeme is manifested by intransitive or transitive clause (Cl$_{2,3}$). Identification is manifested by equational clause (Cl$_4$), which is often permuted to ESC. gi^4?ya^{21} re^5? ngo^4 zu^{3}nduhu^{43} w·į^2 re^5? yą^3?ąhą^{43} *do you a favor, are you God*, (gi^4?ya^{21} *will-do*, re^5? *you*, ngo^4 *a*, zu^{3}ndu^{4}hu *favor*, w·į^2 *are*, yą^3?ąhą^{43} *God*). ne^{34}? ne^{5}h mą^{3}h gi^{3}nga^{3}h ngo^4 žu^{3}mą$^?$ą^{43} gu^4?na^3 ži^3-ri^3?ni^3 zi^3-nu^{5}gwą^5? mų^3?ų^2? *over that way lay a village called-it 'Foot of the ash tree' in our language* (ne^{34}? ne^{5}h mą^{3}h *over that way*, gi^{3}nga^{3}h *lay*, ngo^4 *a*, žu^{3}mą$^?$ą^{43} *village*, gu^4?na^3 *was-called-it*, ži^3-ri^3?ni^3 *'foot of the ash-tree'*, zi^3-nu^{5}gwą^5? mų^3?ų^2? *(in) our language*).

In orientation sentence types both component clauses have the same subject referent. A conative sentence is: S$_9$ = + Conative + Performance. Conative is manifested by an intransitive clause (Cl$_2$) containing a verb which expresses relative ability, willingness, or skill. Performance is manifested by intransitive or transitive clause (Cl$_{2,3}$). w·į^3 čų^{34} ni^3 a^3?mi^{34} ni^3 na^{34} zdi^{2}la^3, *are learned they talk they Spanish*, i.e. *they know how to talk Spanish* (w·į^3 čų^{34} *be learned*, ni^3 *they*, a^3?mi^{34} *talk*, na^{34} zdi^{2}la^3 *Spanish*. gu^{3}nu^{4}kwa^{3}h zi^3 gu^{3}či^{35}? zi^3 du^{3}kwa^2 zi^3 *managed he arrived he house his*, i.e. *he managed to arrive at his house*. na^3?we^{34}h ru^{3}wa^{3}h gi^{5}rą^5?ą^{3}h ga^5? *not willing-she would-dance-she more*, i.e., *she didn't want to dance any more*.

The direction sentence is: S$_{10}$ = + Attitude + Direction. Attitude tagmeme is manifested by an intransitive clause (Cl$_2$) which contains a Ph$_5$ (metaphorical verb phrase), direction is manifested by a transitive clause (Cl$_3$) whose goal is obligatorily present and whose predicate is manifested by the verb ni^3?i^3 *seeing* (unchanging for mood or tense here—although regularly inflected elsewhere). zi^4 ga^3?mą^3 ru^{3}wa^{23} zo^5? ni^3?i^2 zo^5? yų^{5}h *don't be-warm inside you seeing you me*, (zi^4 prohibitive negative, ga^3?mą^3 ru^{3}wa^{23} *be-warm-inside*, zo^5? *you*, yų^{5}h *me*), i.e. *don't be angry at me!* nų^3 a^{3}rą^{35}? ru^{3}wa^{23} gwi^{35} ni^3?i^3 ni^3 ngo^4 zi^3 na^4?u^4 na^3?we^{34}h ga^{4}wį^3 dų^{23} *not like people seeing*

they a man not-willing (to) be (a) mayordomo (nu³ *not* a³ra̧³⁵? ru³wa²³ *like*, gwi³⁵⁴ *people*, ngo⁴ zi²¹ na⁴?u⁴ *a man*, na³?we³⁴h *isn't willing*, ga⁴wi̧³ *will-be* du̧²³ *mayordomo*).

Appositional sentence types may be involved structures which permit medial pauses. Either nuclear tagmeme of either type may be manifested by Cl$_{1-4}$. The paraphrase sentence is: S$_{11}$ = + Remark + Paraphrase; the order of the two tagmemes may be reversed. ga³?mi³ nga⁴ zi²¹ na⁴?u⁴ da̧³h ga³wi̧³ zi³-gi⁵ča⁴⁵? ngwe⁵³ *talked-she with that man became paramours the-two* (ga³?mi³ *talked-she*, nga⁴ *with*, zi²¹ na⁴?u⁴ da̧³h *that man*, ga³wi̧³ zi³-gi⁵ča³? *became paramours*, ngwe⁵³ *the-two*). ga̧³?a̧³⁴h ni⁴?ya⁴ žu³ zi⁴ na³ri²? ga⁵? *gone-away lost it not we'll-find (it) ever*, i.e. *it's lost for good; we'll never find it.* (ga̧³?a̧³⁴h ni⁴?ya⁴ *got lost*, žu³ *animal*, zi⁴ *prohibitive negative*, na³ri²? *will-find-we*, ga⁵? *ever*). na⁴či³ ni⁴ta³ žu³ku³ ni³ta⁴h zi³ ga³?a̧³⁴h ni⁴?ya⁴ žu³ *will turn up (the) animal not that lost it*, i.e. *the animal will turn up; it's not really lost.* (na⁴či³ ni⁴ta³ *turn-up, appear*, žu³ku³ *animal*, ni³ta⁴h *negative verb*, zi³ *nominalizer*).

The recapitulation sentence is: S$_{12}$ = + Statement + Recapitulation. The verb occurring in the clause which manifests recapitulation tagmeme is the same verb as that which occurs in the clause manifesting statement. Alternatively, the verb of the first clause may be repeated as auxiliary of the verb in the second clause. Preposed peripheral tagmemes (in parentheses) occur along with the nuclei in the following examples: (nga⁴³ u³ya̧³h ri³ki³ zda³ne⁴³ ni⁴) ga⁵či⁵? n·e³⁴ cre³o³li²na³ ga⁵či⁵? za³⁴ ga³ni²h ya̧³⁴³. *(When boils stomach-of (a) goat, then) we-put-in creosote, we-put-(it)-in among salt*, i.e., *when a goat has diarrhea, we mix in creosote, we mix it in with salt.* (TM: nga⁴³ *when*, u³ya̧³h *boils*, ri³ki³ *stomach-of* zda³ne⁴³ *goat*; SC: ni⁴ *and*; ga⁵či⁵? *will-put-in-we*, n·e³⁴ *liquid*, cre³o³li²na³ *creosote*, za³⁴ ga³ni²h *among*, ya̧³⁴³ *salt*). (da³di̧³⁴? zi³) ga̧³?a̧³⁴h zi³ ža⁵na⁵ da̧³h kïhï³ ga̧³?a̧³⁴h ni⁴?ya³ da̧³h tro² nga⁴ da̧³h gwa²yu³. *(Because) went that*

young woman (to the) mountains, went (to) see animals-of-her cattle and animals-of-her horses, i.e., *because that woman went to the mountains, she went to see her cattle and horses.* (SD: da³di̧³⁴? zi³ *because*; ga̧³?a̧³⁴h *went*, zi³ ža⁵na⁵ da̧³h *young woman*, kïhï³ *mountain*, ga̧³?a̧³⁴h ni⁴?ya³ *went (to) see-she* da̧³h *(possessed) animal-her*, tro² *cattle*, gwa²yu³ *horse*).

The relator-axis sentence has the structure S$_{13}$ = + R″ + A″. R″ is manifested by nga⁴³ *when*; A″ is manifested by one of the reciprocal or orientation sentence types (i.e., cause, audition, conative, direction sentences). nga⁴³ a³ma³⁴? ?ya³h ya̧³?a̧ha̧⁴³ *when rains causes God*, i.e., *when God causes it to rain.* (A″: cause sentence). nga⁴³ ga³ta³⁴h re⁵? gu³ni²¹ *when said you heard-I* (A″: audition sentence). nga⁴³ na³?we³⁴h ru³wa²³ ni³ ri⁴ki⁴ ni³ *when not willing they (to) give they* (A″: conative sentence). nga⁴³ a³?ma̧³ ru³wa²³ re⁵? ni³?i² re⁵? yu̧⁵h *when hot inside you seeing you me*, i.e. *when you're angry at me* (A″: direction sentence). Relator-axis sentences manifest temporal margin tagmeme within other sentences.

3. The clause types in **1** are set up on the basis of contrasting internal structures. The clause types thus posited manifest tagmemes in various (usually sentence-level) syntagmemes. We now examine the distribution of these clause types so as to confirm or modify the analysis. We show here that (1) relator-axis clauses (Cl$_5$) are wholly distinct in distribution from the other clause types (Cl$_{1-4}$); (2) the four clause types Cl$_{1-4}$ are clearly seen to contrast at several points in sentence structure in that they occur as contrastive exponents of the same sentence-level tagmeme; and (3) allotypes of the various clause types occur; these allotypes are conditioned by occurrence as exponents of certain sentence-level tagmemes.

3.1. Internally the relator-axis clause is distinguished by presence of the relator and by the immediate constituent layering which

groups relator versus everything else (the axis) in the clause. This internal distinction between relator-axis clauses and other clauses correlates with a fundamental difference in type of distribution: Cl_5 manifests two clause-level peripheral tagmemes (locational and temporal) and one sentence-level peripheral tagmeme (temporal margin): Cl_{1-4} manifest only nuclear sentence-level tagmemes. Thus the distribution of Cl_5 versus Cl_{1-4} is as distinct as the distribution of consonants versus vowels.

3.2. Cl_{1-4} contrast as exponents of sentence base tagmeme (the nucleus) of the simple sentence (S_{14}). In each of the following examples the sentence-level tagmemes are (cf. the general formula for closely-knit sentences in **2.**): (1) sentence disjunctive: za³ni⁴ *but*; (2) temporal margin: gu³kï³ *yesterday*; (3) sentence conjunctive: ni⁴ *and* and (4) sentence base: Cl_{1-4}.

Cl_1: za³ni⁴ gu³kï³ ni⁴ ga³mạ³⁴ʔ *but yesterday it rained.*

Cl_2: za³ni⁴ gu³kï³ ni⁴ gạ³ʔạ³⁴h zi³ *but yesterday he went.*

Cl_3: za³ni⁴ gu³kï³ ni⁴ na³gi³ʔya³h zi³ weʔe³ *but yesterday he repaired the house.*

Cl_4: za³ni⁴ gu³kï³ ni³ ga³wị³ zi³ dụ²³ *but yesterday he became mayordomo.*

Moreover, all four independent clauses contrast as exponents of the tagmemes of the two appositional sentence types ($S_{11, 12}$). While the full range of contrastive independent clauses is seen here and in the simple sentence—as illustrated above—contrast among subsets of Cl_{1-4} is seen elsewhere in the closely-knit sentences. Thus, Cl_{1-2} and Cl_4 contrast as exponents of effect tagmeme in the cause sentence (S_1); and Cl_{2-4}, as exponents of the event tagmeme in the simultaneous sentence (S_4), and as exponents of affirmative tagmeme in the emphatic sentence (S_7). Cl_{1-2} contrast as exponents of other sentence-level tagmemes.

In the following, Cl_{1-2} and Cl_4 are shown as exponents of the effect tagmeme in cause sentences (most lexical items are the same

as in the above battery of examples):

Cl_1: ga³mạ³⁴ʔ gi³ʔya³h yạ³ʔạhạ⁴³ *rained caused God.* (yạ³ʔạhạ⁴³ *God*).

Cl_2: gạ³ʔạ³⁴h zi³ gi³ʔya²¹ re⁵ʔ *went he caused you.*

Cl_4: ga³wị³ zi³ ngo⁴ dụ²³ gi³ʔya³h ne³h gwi³⁵ *he became a mayordomo caused the people.*

In the following, Cl_{2-4} are shown as exponents of the affirmation tagmeme in emphatic sentences (S_7). Parentheses enclose the nuclear intransitive clause which manifests emphasis tagmeme of this sentence type. Brackets include Cl_{2-4} which manifest affirmation tagmeme. The noun phrase found within both the parenthesis and the brackets is the syntactically ambivalent noun phrase which is obligatory to this sentence type.

Cl_2: (we² [ni³ka⁴ re⁵ʔ) a³če²¹ yu³h mạ³h], *lo, your husband walks over there* (ni³ka⁴ re⁵ʔ *your husband*; a³če²¹ *walks*; yu³h mạ³h *place there*).

Cl_3: (we² [ni³ka⁴) re⁵ʔ gi³ni³ʔi²¹] *lo, your husband saw-I* (gi³ni³ʔi²¹ *saw-I*).

Cl_4: (we² [zi³) w·ị³ ni³ka⁴ re⁵ʔ] *lo, he is your husband.*

3.3. Allotypes of Cl_{2-4} (there are no systemic variants of Cl_1) are conditioned by their occurrence as exponents of certain sentence-level tagmemes. Allotypes display lexical and grammatical restrictions which affect either the clause as a whole or some phrase or word within it. In that these variants of clauses are conditioned by their occurrence as exponents of specific sentence-level tagmemes, the variants are not contrastive clause types in their own right. Nevertheless, it is important that these allotypes be identified and catalogued. By so doing the tagmemicist can meet the transformationalist's entirely reasonable demand for context-sensitive description.

There are two lexically restricted allotypes of the intransitive clause (Cl_2). Intransitive clause, allotype A, must contain a verb phrase whose head tagmeme is manifested by ta³⁴h *say* or na³ta³⁵ʔ *notify*. This allotype

manifests verbalization tagmeme in the audition sentence (S_2). Intransitive allotype B must contain a verb phrase whose head is manifested by a verb expressing relative ability, willingness, or skill (e.g., gu^{3}nu^{4}kwa^{3}h *manage to*, ga^3?we^{34}h *be willing*, na^3?we^{34}h *be unwilling*, w·i̥^{3} ru^{3}wa^{23}/a^{3}rạ^{35}? ru^{3}wa^{23} *like*, ru^{5}mi^5 *lazy*, ni^3?i^3 *know (how)*, w·i̥^{3} čụ^{34} *be learned, know how*). This allotype manifests conative tagmeme in the conative sentence (S_9). A further allotype of the intransitive clause, allotype C, is both lexically and grammatically restricted in that the predicate of this allotype is manifested by a small list of emphatic verbs (we^2 *lo, there is . . .*, ze^2 *lo, there isn't*, etc. (Cf. **3.**), while the structure of the clauses is restricted to a nucleus (PS) without any accompanying periphery. This allotype manifests the emphasis tagmeme in the emphatic sentence (S_1). Allotype D of the intransitive clause is grammatically restricted in that its predicate must be manifested by Ph$_5$, i.e. the metaphorical verb phrase (a phrase which contains ru^{3}wa^{23} *heart, inside*, a particle which makes the action of the previous verb to be understood in a non-physical sense). This allotype manifests attitude tagmeme of the direction sentence (S_{10}).

There are two both lexically and grammatically restricted allotypes of the transitive clause. Allotype K contains as predicate the verb ?ya^{3}h *do*; it must not express an object (since the accompanying sentence-level effect tagmeme is logical object). This allotype manifests cause tagmeme in cause sentences (S_1). Allotype L contains as predicate the verb gu^{3}ni^3 *hear*; it also must not express an object. This allotype manifests audition tagmeme in the audition sentence (S_2). Allotype M contains as predicate ni^3?i^3 *seeing* and must contain an object (which elsewhere is optional in a transitive clause). This allotype manifests direction tagmeme of direction sentence (S_{10}). The three verbs which occur as predicates of these allotypes are minimal verb phrases which

cannot be expanded by adding any other element of any verb phrase type. Elsewhere, these and other verbs are minimal Ph$_1$ freely expandable by addition of other tagmemes of this phrase type (adverbial, auxiliary, modifier, and repetitive). Furthermore, gu^{3}ni^3 *hear* and ni^3?i^3 *seeing* are restricted as word structures. The former verb is punctiliar. The latter is continuative. Neither may be varied to any other aspect-mood in these allotypes of the transitive clause. The grammatical restrictions in these three allotypes affect, then, not only elements on the clause level but on the phrase and word levels as well. Nevertheless, all these restrictions are conditioned by the occurrence of the allotype as an exponent of a given sentence-level tagmeme.

Further allotypes of both intransitive and transitive clause are characterized by (a) restriction of aspect-mood of the verb phrases which manifest predicate; and/or (b) restriction of person of the subject. Allotypes R of intransitive and transitive have verb phrases only in the anticipatory mood. These allotypes manifest purpose tagmeme in purpose sentences (S_5). Allotypes S of intransitive and transitive have verb phrases only in the continuative aspect. These allotypes manifest the circumstance tagmeme of the simultaneous sentence (S_4). Allotypes T of the intransitive and transitive have verb phrases only in the anticipatory mood and subject in second person singular. These allotypes manifest suggestion tagmeme in the suggestion sentence (S_6).

4. Syntagmemic contrast[10] is in reference to three parameters: (a) the internal tagmemic structure of the syntagmeme; (b)

[10] In further discussion of syntagmemic contrast see Pike, Dimensions of Grammatical Constructions, Language 38.221–44, especially pp. 231–42; Longacre, String Constituent Analysis, Language 36.63–88, especially pp. 75–82; Longacre, Grammar Discovery Procedures (The Hague, 1964) 17–23; Barbara Erickson, Construction Types as Linguistic Units, submitted to IJAL.

the distribution of the syntagmeme as an exponent of tagmemes of other (usually higher-level) syntagmemes; and (3) the distribution of the syntagmeme within a system of syntagmemes.

In reference to internal structure it is useful to consider that two partially similar syntagmemes are distinct if they display more than one structural difference. One difference is usually insufficient since this difference may simply indicate a variation at one point in the syntagmeme rather than contrasting organizations of two syntagmemes. One difference may, however, be admitted as sufficient when the two similar syntagmemes are exponents of tagmemes belonging to radically different classes or occurring on different levels (predicate tagmeme versus dramatis personae tagmemes; or clause-level tagmeme versus sentence-level tagmeme). Or, one difference may be admitted as sufficient when this is dictated by the placement of two partially similar syntagmemes within a system of syntagmemes. Such a system can be conceptualized as charted with appropriate dimensions. In such a chart two columns or two rows may be filled with constructions which contrast well in respect to their internal structure. Should we find one spot in such a chart where two constructions which are needed to fill in the symmetry of the chart, have but one structural difference, they may be considered to be distinct by analogy to the constructions which contrast unambiguously.

Again, two similar syntagmemes may display more than one structural difference but still be considered to be allotypes. This follows when one is seen to be a variant conditioned by its role as exponent of some tagmeme (usually in a higher-level of structure). On this basis, allotypes of Trique

clauses have been posited. Thus, allotype C of the intransitive clause is distinct from other intransitive clauses in that (1) no periphery occurs; (2) the predicate is manifested by a peculiar list of emphatic verbs which are not phrasally expandable. Nevertheless, these restrictions are seen to result from occurrence of allotype C as exponent of the emphasis tagmeme in the emphatic sentence (S_1). As a variant conditioned by occurrence in one specific sentence slot, Allotype C is not a separate syntagmeme. While Cl_{1-4} occur contrastively as exponents of several sentence-level syntagmemes, allotype C does not contrast with the intransitive in even one sentence-level slot.

What is the proper role of the distribution of a syntagmeme (as exponent of various tagmemes in other syntagmemes) in determining syntagmemic contrast? As suggested above, (1) two similar syntagmemes may be syntagmemically separated when they are exponents of tagmemes belonging to radically different classes or occurring on different levels. Thus, the Trique relator-axis clause (Cl_5) is an exponent of either (peripheral) clause-level locational or temporal tagmeme or (peripheral) sentence-level temporal margin. Other clause types (Cl_{1-4}) are exclusively exponents of nuclear sentence-level tagmemes. On these grounds the relator-axis clause can be considered distinct from the others. (2) Otherwise, distinct syntagmemes contrast as exponents of one or more tagmemes in syntagmemes on the next higher level. Thus, the Trique Cl_{1-4} contrast as exponents of several sentence-level tagmemes. (3) An allotype of a syntagmeme occurs when a variant form of a syntagmeme is conditioned by its occurrence as exponent of a tagmeme or a small set of tagmemes on the next higher level. Consideration (1) takes precedence over (3).