

# **Kasua Grammar Sketch**

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1S	First Person Sing.	S <sub>t</sub>	Subject of a transitive clause
1P	First Person Plural	SEQ	Sequential
2S	Second Person Sing.	SSSQ	Same Subj. Sequential
2P	Second Person Plural	STM	Statement
2DUAL	Second Person Dual	SW.REF	Switch Reference
3S	Third Person Sing.	THL	Tail Head Linkage
3P	Third Person Plural		
3DUAL	Third Person Dual		
3FUT	Third Person Future		
A	Agent		
ABS	Absolutive		
ACCOM	Accompaniment		
CF	Counter-factual		
CMD	Command		
COMP	Completive		
CON	Consecutive		
COND	Conditional		
CONSER	Consecutive Event Result		
DAT	Dative		
DES	Desiderative		
DP	Distant Past		
DSCER	Diff. Subj. Consecutive Event Result		
DSSQ	Diff. Subj. Sequential		
DUR	Durative		
ERG	Ergative		
FOC	Focus		
FUT	Future		
HAB	Habitual		
HYP	Hypothetical		
LOC	Locative		
NEG	Negative		
O	Object		
O <sub>t</sub>	Object of a transitive clause		
PAST	Past		
PERF	Perfective		
PRES	Present		
PROG	Progressive		
PUR	Purpose		
Q	Question		
REDUP	Reduplication		
RSLT	Result		
S	Subject		
S <sub>i</sub>	Subject of an intransitive clause		

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 The Kasua People and Language

The *Kasua* language is a Papuan language spoken by approximately 600 people who live in 7 villages (Fokomaiyu, Talesou, Siane Falls, Musula, Iwatupu, Welio, and Ikisalopo). The Kasua language area occupies a region just south of the area that is called “The Great Papuan Plateau.” According to Freund (1977), the Kasua claimed 1,165 square kilometers extending from the southern boundaries of the plateau around the southeastern slopes of the extinct volcano, Mt. Bosavi, to the headwaters of the Turama River, all in the Southern Highlands. Today, however, their region extends even further south of Mt. Bosavi just north of Wawoi Falls into the Western Province.

Kasua is listed by Wurm (1982) as being in the following classification hierarchy: Bosavi Family (8 languages), Central and South New Guinea Stock, Central and South New Guinea Kutubuan Super-Stock, of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. Voorhoeve and Wurm (1975) discuss the Central and Western areas of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum and mention that Kasua was classified according to an unpublished wordlist. The two most closely related languages to Kasua are: Kaluli and Aimele. Kasua has no dialects.

The present day Kasua people migrated from the north side of Mt. Bosavi in the Southern Highlands and moved to the southern and eastern slopes of the mountain. They were known to be the people who used the “Cassowary” in their trading practices with other groups thus “the Kasua”. Tribal fighting was very common with the neighboring groups (Kalamo and Fasu) and so many stories of these events are

still told. At one point, the Kasua numbered about 2,000 but through tribal fighting, cannibalism, and epidemics, the numbers fell rapidly over the years until government patrols began to come through the area in the mid 1930's. Government contact continued through appointed "Kiaps" and village "Councilors", and perhaps by 1960 most of the traditional leadership patterns were being replaced in the culture. There was a great reduction in social and cultural structures and practices. In the mid 80's two Kasua villages, Fokomaiyu and Musula, constructed bush airstrips and opened the way to the outside world. In 2001, another Kasua village, Welio, did the same. Today, the land of the Kasua is rich in timber, gold, and possibly oil and a number of outside companies are lining up to get first rights "with the permission of the landowners" and so "development" has arrived. Currently, the Wawoi-Guave Timber Company is harvesting timber on Kasua land and has built make-shift dirt roads to carry the timber out and down to its timber camp located on the Bamu river.

For the purposes of this paper, some of the essentials of the Kasua language that need to be kept in mind are the Kasua orthography and its corresponding phonemes and a brief mention of how the Ergative / Absolutive case system works.

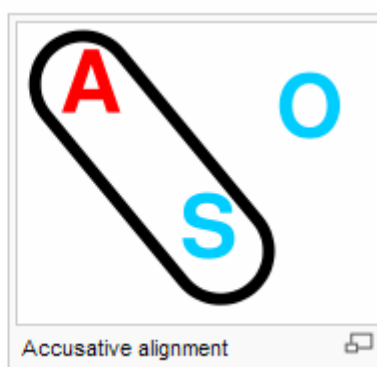
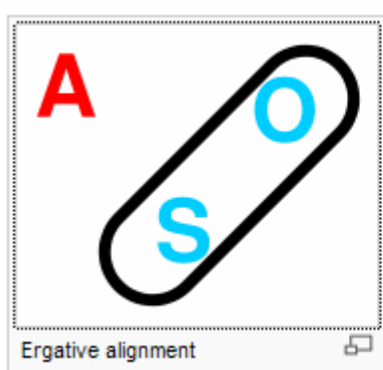
### **Kasua Orthography and Corresponding Phonemes**

ɑ	æ	ɛ	f	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	ɔ	p	s	t	u	w	j
a	a:	e	f	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	o:	p	s	t	u	w	y
A	A:	E	F	H	I	K		M	N	O	O:	P	S	T	U	W	Y

	Bilab	LabDen	Dental	Alveo	Postalv	Retro	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn	Glottal
Plosive	p		t					k			
Nasal	m		n								
Trill											
Tap/Flap											
Fricative		f		s							h
Lateral Fricative											
Approx							j				
Lateral Approx											
Ejective Stop											
Implos											

### Ergative / Absolutive Case System

The distinguishing feature of a language with an Ergative- Absolutive case system is that it marks the object of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb the same, while marking the agent of a transitive verb differently. This is in contrast to a Nominative- Accusative case system (like English) where the subject of transitive and intransitive verbs are marked the same and the object of a transitive verb is marked differently. The following diagrams, found on Wikipedia under the search words 'Ergative Absolutive' is often used to show this.



These different arguments are usually symbolized as follows:

O = object of a transitive verb (sometimes symbolized as **P** for 'patient' or **U** for 'undergoer' )

S = subject of an intransitive verb

A = agent of a transitive verb

## Kasua Example

Ne-ye	kopo-wa	sana.	(transitive)
I -ERG	pig ABS	hit	
Ne-wa	mina.		(intransitive)
I -ABS	came		

Foley (1986:95) comments that typically Papuan languages signal case relations in a verb-based system. He says that the vast majority of Papuan languages use verbal affixation for at least one type of case relation, and very many use it for more than one. Papuan languages also usually supplement the verbal signalling of case relations with constraints on word-order, and by using nominal case marking. Some languages use all three.

Kasua makes use of all three but the nominal case marking seems to be the strongest category. In word order, the actor precedes the undergoer in basic transitive clauses. A look at the Kasua pronoun system with case-marking will be a good reference point for the examples that will follow.

<u>Person</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>S<sub>i</sub></u>	<u>S<sub>t</sub></u>	<u>O<sub>t</sub></u>	<u>Emphatic S<sub>t</sub></u>
1S	ne	ne-wa	ne-ye	ne-wa	ne-yewi (yawiyawa)
2S	ke	ke-wa	ke-ye	ke-wa	ke-yewi
3S	e	e-wa	e-ye	e-wa	e-yewi
1P	ni	ni-wa	ni-ye	ni-wa	ni-yewi
2P	ki	ki-wa	ki-ye	ki-wa	ki-yewi
3P	i	i-wa	i-ye	i-wa	i-yewi
1Dual	na:	na:-ko:	na:-te	na:-ko:	na:-tewi (tawi)
2Dual	ka:	ka:-ko:	ka:-te	ka:-ko:	ka:-tewi
3Dual	a:	a:-ko:	a:-te	a:-ko:	a:-tewi

Kasua seems to use the Ergative-Absolutive case markers quite freely. Their main function is to disambiguate the case relations of the two core nominals by indicating which is actor and/or which is undergoer. For a more complete understanding of how the Ergative-Absolutive case system works in Kasua, please refer to Logan (1994: 66-72).

The research for this paper was carried out under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The data on which the analysis is based was collected between 1991 and 2007, primarily from the Kasua people living in the villages of Musula, Iwatupu, and Fokomaiyu. The data consists of 80 texts, both oral and written, from narrative, hortatory, expository, procedural, and also translated material.

## **1.2 Goal Of This Paper**

For many years I have viewed the grammatical system of the Kasua language at a “grammar essentials” level, knowing however, that it was more complex, very systematic, and quite interesting. This paper will attempt to take a closer look at some of those complexities and interesting characteristics as they relate to three topics, I) Verb-Sequencing, II) The Kasua Pro-Verb, and III) Tail-Head Linkage .

## **2. VERB SEQUENCING IN KASUA**

When verbs occur next to each other in the Kasua language, what do they look like and why are they occurring next to each other? They fall within one of four categories or types which show the different ways in which Kasua verbs sequence in and across clause boundaries. These categories include: 1) Clause-Chaining, 2) Complementation; 3) Lexical Serialization; and 4) Reduplication. The data will come



from analysis of actual language use in social interaction, as well as from narrative texts and other forms of discourse.

## 2.1 Clause-Chaining

By far, the greatest occurrence of verb sequencing in the Kasua language uses the mechanism of clause-chaining. In this type of verb sequencing, each verb represents a clause which refers to a separate autonomous event. Kasua does not normally use conjunctions to link clauses together because it only has one free form conjunction, *koiyawemiye* 'because'. Kasua's linking device in clause chaining is found primarily in the verbal morphology and mere juxtaposition. Instead of conjunctions being used, clause-chaining serves the purpose through verb sequencing to carry on the flow of action in and across clause boundaries as the verbs are inflected for things such as tense, aspect, case, and mood. Clause chaining and/or verb sequencing is commonly seen with simple juxtaposition, verbs ending with the switch reference marker *-kamake*, and with the pro-verb *a*, 'to do'.

### 2.1.1 Simple Juxtaposition

The most common variety of verb sequencing within clause chaining is simple juxtaposition. There are no special rules or circumstances here, just verbs occurring next to each other as separate autonomous events.

- 1) *Kiapo ninipe keke-ne ti -ye tesi -le*  
 Morning all.of.us meet-PAST work-ERG get.up-DP
- sa -ne -wa Kamuna koamesa: fiya te -la.*  
 cross-PAST-ABS Kamula house arrive exist-PAST

'In the morning, we all met, got up, crossed (the river), and arrived at a Kamula village'

- 2) *Po -ta -pola: e -wa wae ti -ya -pola: kasu wepese*

see-PAST-SEQ he-ABS paddle get-PAST-SEQ canoe on.top

**he -la: ko -ya ha-pa**  
sit-PRES paddle-PAST go-PAST

‘He saw this and grabbed a paddle and sitting down on top of the canoe he paddled and went.’

3) *a -puta: kesale amoke -wa mei emi sali-ye*  
do-like.that.and woman that -ABS vine.ropes there hold-ERG

**ina -pola:**  
come-SEQ

‘Doing like that, that woman took hold of the rope and came...’

4) *po -ta -kamake mowatalu-wa ili -ma*  
see-PAST -SW.REF maggot -ABS enough-NEG

**na -pita: papo**  
eat-CONSER see

‘...and they looked and saw that a lot of maggots were eating him.’

5) *sena-wa ka:la:-ye h -a:na:*  
man -ABS sit -ERG go-FUT

**kuteti-pe -la -pola: tika -le fiya -ne -sene**  
finish-STM -PAST-SEQ slide.on-DP come.up -PAST -HAB

‘A man sits and finishes (tying)and then slides on (another row) coming up (the roof).’

6) *Me emi e -ye nakola sena nakola sena-wa e -ye fale-le*  
return there he-ERG sick man sick man -ABS he-ERG heal-DP

**e -la: ha -na -pita:**  
exist-PRES go -PAST -CONSER

‘Going back to Jerusalem, He went around and healed the sick.’

7) *Yutes e -ye h -a:na: sepa -pola: Yu sena -mo -wa emi*  
Judas he-ERG go-FUT report-SEQ Jew man -FOC -ABS there

‘Judas went and reported to the Jews...’

## 2.1.2 Switch Reference

Falling within the category of clause-chaining verb sequencing are many examples which end in the switch reference suffix – **kamake**. The examples below follow the pattern where two verbs occur together, both being separate autonomous events with the second verb being inflected with the switch reference suffix signaling a change in subject.

- 8) **H -a:na: ta: -ta -kamake** ne papa nukulapo ha-pa  
 go-FUT hear-PAST –SW.REF 1S.POSS uncle night go-PAST

‘We went and I heard my uncle leave during the night.’

- 9) *Ne-yawa Yesu -wa napu ina -pela: e -kamake ne -wa*  
 I-ERG Jesus-ABS now come-DUR be-SW.REF my -ABS  
  
*ho -wa ha-pa -lo*  
 spirit-ABS go-PAST -STM

‘I (thought) Jesus was coming now and I was amazed.’

- 10) *Paina pa -wemi potu penaiya fiya -na -kamake kasu*  
 Paina near-LOC boat strong come.up-PAST –SW.REF boat  
  
*mei sepe-ya -wa na -ta ha-na -kamake kasu -wa*  
 vine.rope tie -PAST -ABS cut-PAST go-PAST –SW.REF canoe-ABS  
  
*kemi kepe -ya*  
 there turn.over-PAST

‘Close to Paina village the big boat went fast and the canoe's rope that was tied broke and the canoe turned over.’

- 11) *a -pula: se -pela: se -la -kamake Kolesi-ye se-le-se ĩ*  
 do-SSSQ say-DUR say-PAST –SW.REF Kolesi-ERG say-DP-CON

‘Doing this, I told them (the message) and the Kolesi people said...’

### 2.1.3 The Pro-Verb

Another area where clause-chaining verb sequencing constructions occur in Kasua is with the use of the pro-verb *a*, ‘to do’. Although it is possible for the pro-verb to be involved in a verb sequencing construction, it is not always the case. A clear distinction in Kasua discourse is the use of the pro-verb sentence initial

followed by another verb to carry on the flow of the discourse. It functions as a summary of the previous independent clause in the discourse and links it to the next independent clause, the following verb, and ties the two events together to display the sequence of the story line. A more detailed write up on Pro-verbs and their involvement in tail-head linkage can be seen in Section 3 of this paper.

- 12) **A -puta: epe -ya** semeti Ukunapa sena-wa  
do-DSSQ rejoice-PAST one Ukarumpa man -ABS  
  
epe -ya semeti ili -ma  
rejoice-PAST one enough-NEG

‘Doing like that, the Ukarumpa people group rejoiced a lot.’

- 13) **A -pula: na -na -pe -pela:** ha -wa nai-ye -la -la -pe -  
pela:  
do-SSSQ eat-PAST -REDUP -DUR water-ABS eat-ERG-PAST -PAST-REDUP -DUR

‘Doing like this, I ate and drank water...’

- 14) **A -pula: ha-pa -wa h -a:na:** koa -wa honosane ti  
do-SSSQ go-PAST -ABS go-FUT house-ABS middle build

‘Doing like this, we left and as we continued on half way we built another house.’

- 15) **A -lute ta: -ta -pola: tesi -le ha-pa -wa**  
do-DSCER hear-PAST -SEQ get.up-DP go-PAST -ABS

‘He having done that, I heard, got up, and went...’

## 2.2 Complementation

This type of verb sequencing refers to a single complex event. Complementation uses a limited set of verbs as an auxiliary or aspectual complement to the main verb in the series. The main verb can be most any verb in the language and will usually be fully inflected. The complementary verb can either precede the main verb in the sequence or it can follow it. Verbs of perception like ‘know, see, hear, and

understand', aspectual verbs like 'start and finish', and the desiderative verbs 'want and like' are used commonly.

- 16) *Sali-ya -pola: Yesu -ye Yutes-ma se -le -se ke -ye*  
 hold-PAST -SEQ Jesus-ERG Judas -DAT say-DP-CON you-ERG

**matana timini-ma:na: te -la -la -pita: -wa** *Ke*  
 want do -FUT be -PAST -PAST -CONSER -ABS there

*timini -ma e se -ya*  
 make -CMD he say-PAST

'Judas held Him and Jesus said to Judas, "Whatever you are wanting to do, do it (be done with it)," he said.'

- 17) *Sita-la epele kasu so -ta -lape koteti-pela:*  
 stay-PAST and canoe carve.out-PAST -PERF finish-DUR

*Keyatomaiyu ha-pa*  
 Village.name go-PAST

'We stayed there and finished carving out the canoe, and went to Keyatomaiyu.'

- 18) *Solo se -ma:na: matana-wa epa kamo*  
 talk say-FUT want -ABS that finished

'That's all I wanted to say.'

- 19) *Ne-wa Meneti h -a:na:na: matana*  
 I -ABS Meneti go-FUT want

'I want to go to Mendi.'

- 20) *ka: -wa ma:-na: te -keye e se -ya -le*  
 bamboo.crew-ABS eat-FUT like-STM he say-PAST -DP

"I would like to eat a bamboo shoot," he said.

- 21) *sala ne-yawi kesale ti -ma:na: matane-saleko kesale*  
 boy I-myself woman marry-FUT want -COND woman

...if a boy like myself wants to marry a woman...

## 2.3 Lexical Serialization

Many definitions of verb serialization have arisen over the years but one that is very user friendly is by James (1983:27-8),

“A serial verb construction (SVC) consists of two or more verbs which occur in a series with neither normal coordinating nor subordinating markers, which share at least some core arguments (normally subject and/or object/goal), and which in some sense function together semantically as a single predication.”

The key words in James definition that I would like to focus on are “function together semantically as a single predication.” Unlike clause chaining, which refers to separate autonomous events, and unlike complementation, which refers to a single complex event, lexical serialization in Kasua uses verb sequencing to refer to a single cohesive event where two or more verbs come together and have a different meaning than each individual verb on its own.

In relation to James’ definition and for the purposes of this paper, adjacent Kasua verbs are categorized as lexical serial verbs when :

- 1) there is no grammatical marking of clause boundary between the verbs, like coordinators, dependent verb endings, etc.;
- 2) the verbs cannot be separated by negation, adverbials, etc.;
- 3) each verb shares the same arguments;
- 4) they function as subparts of a single overall event; and
- 5) frequently, they are stripped down to verb stems or roots with the final verb showing full inflection.

Normally, the first verb in the series is from a broader class of verbs, while the second is from a limited set. In some instances, the first verb will have an aspectual or tense suffix while the final verb will have affixation indicating tense, aspect, mood, or case marking.

Many Kasua sentences are formed by clauses that use lexical serialization. Some of the more common Kasua SVC's use verbs like *get*, *look*, *go*, *come*, *be*, *smell*, and *say*, in combination with other verbs where their own semantic meaning is bleached. Some good examples of this type of serialization make use of the verbs **ti** “*get/take/work/do*”, and **e** or **te** “*to be*”. These verbs give the verb sequence a completed or stative aspect.

- 22) A *-pula: sikape* *isu -wa* *h -a:na: te -se*  
 do-SSSQ later post-ABS go-FUT be -CON
- na -na -pola: ti -ye ine tuwa-pola: peleya:-wa*  
 cut-PAST -SEQ get-ERG come put -SEQ ground -ABS
- ta: -la -la -pe -pela: isu -wa ke -la ha-no -sene*  
 dig-PAST -PAST -REDUP -DUR post-ABS plant-PAST go-STM -HAB

‘After having done that, you usually go and cut the posts, **bring** them back (to the site), dig the holes, and put them in the ground.’

- 23) *So:numu na ti -ye ine ti -ye ti -pela:*  
 main.floor.beam cut get-ERG come get-ERG work-DUR
- so:numu sako -lo -sene*  
 main.floor.beam fasten-STM -HAB

‘You cut the main floor beams, **bring** them (to the site) and pile them up, and fasten them (to the posts).’

- 24) *tupu -wa na -na -pola: ine tuwa-te -sene*  
 horiz.roof.beam-ABS cut-PAST -SEQ come put -PAST -HAB

‘...you cut the horizontal roof beams and **bring** them.’

- 25) *Yesu -wa emi Kote-ma ho -la: se -la: emi eni*  
 Jesus-ABS there God -DAT call.out-PRES say-PRES there sleep

‘Jesus was **crying out** to God and slept there.’

- 26) *Ke falo -pola: na ti -ye ke falo -pola: kiapo*  
 there sleep-SEQ eat work-ERG there sleep-SEQ morning

‘We slept there and **finished eating** there and slept till morning.’

- 27) *ko:nuwane-wa sa -no ti -ye*

lizard -ABS kill-PAST work-ERG

‘killed a lizard’

28) *Ka ha-pa -wa h -a:na: Kawe fiya te -la*  
 there go-PAST -ABS go -FUT Kawe come.up be -PAST

‘I went until I arrived at Kawe village.’

29) *A:ko: ma: -wa ki -ne na -ye e -la -pela: ka ha-pa*  
 3DUAL sago-ABS give-DP eat-ERG be-PAST -DUR there go-PAST

‘We gave those two spies some sago to eat and left there.’

30) *A -pola:, tata-lape wa: ti -ye mi -na.*  
 do-SEQ tie -PERF carry get-ERG come-PAST

‘Doing that, (I) tied it up and brought it.’

31) *sukulu ti -ye ha-pa...*  
 pull get-ERG go -PAST

‘dragged’

32) *si ku -lu papo*  
 eye die-PAST look

‘stared’

33) *po -te he -la*  
 look-DP sit-PAST

‘waited’

34) *ke -le -se ha-pa*  
 find-DP-CON go-PAST

‘searched’

35) *se ti -ye mi -keye*  
 say do -ERG give -STM

‘preached’



## 2.4 Reduplication

A final area where clause-chaining verb sequencing constructions occur in Kasua comes in the form of verb reduplication. In this context of clause-chaining in the Kasua language, it is a full reduplication of the verb and functions to show an intensification or durative process with the final verb usually having more inflection.

- 36) *Ni -wa ke falo -pola: kiapo kasu so -ta: -sele*  
 we -ABS there sleep-SEQ morning canoe carve.out-PRES -PROG

*sita :-ne -wa kasu -wa so -ta: e -la :-sele sita: -ne*  
 were -PAST -ABS canoe -ABS carve.out-PRES be-PRES -PROG were -PAST

*sita: -ne sita: -ne sita: -ne -wa*  
 were -PAST were -PAST were -PAST -ABS

‘We slept there and in the morning we stayed there and were carving out the canoe, and we stayed for a long time.’

- 37) *kopo -wa yo -la yo ti -ye yo -la -la -pe*  
 pig -ABS cut-PAST cut do-ERG cut-PAST -PAST -DUR

‘...(they)cut and cut and cut the pig up.’

- 38) *Tupu -wa ti -ye ti -ye koteti -pela: sa -wa*  
 horiz.roof.beam -ABS get -ERG get -ERG finish -DUR rafter-ABS

*tele -sene*  
 hang -HAB

‘After putting the horizontal roof beams up, you hang the rafters.’

- 39) *Ketea amo ti -ye ti -ye ti -ma ti -ye ti -ye*  
 something this get-ERG get-ERG get-CMD get-ERG get-ERG

*ti -ma ti -ye ti -ye ti -ma ke yopolotela-lo*  
 get-CMD get-ERG get-ERG get-CMD there night -STM

‘We continued putting these things until it got dark.’

### 3. THE KASUA PRO-VERB

#### 3.1 Defintion Of A Pro-Verb

The following is the Wikipedia definition of a pro-verb:

In grammar, a **pro-verb** is a word or phrase that stands in place of a verb (for example, in order that the verb not need to be repeated). It does for a verb what the more widely known pronoun does for a noun. It is a type of anaphora.

This definition is very similar to SIL's definition that is found in its glossary of linguistic terms:

A **pro-verb** is a pro-form that substitutes for a verb or predicate. A pro-form is a word, substituting for other words, phrases, clauses, or sentences, whose meaning is recoverable from the linguistic or extralinguistic context.

As the Kasua language uses the pro-verb **a**, 'to do' to replace verbs, so does English in the following examples:

Jim cooks better than she *does*. (*Does* replace the verb *cooks*)

She likes cotton candy, and so *do* I. (*Do* replaces the verb *likes*)

#### 3.2 A Description Of Kasua Pro-Verbs

A clear distinction in Kasua discourse is the use of the pro-verb **a** 'to do', which can occur both sentence and clause initial. It serves as a linking device for sentences and clauses and carries the story along in an aspectual manner. Since this pro-verb can be affixed by many aspectual suffixes it can be separated into three main categories as to how it affects the flow of the discourse. It is anaphoric as it refers back to the previous actions in the previous clause, sentence, or paragraph "having done that".

Rachel M. Landin, in her article, "Higher-Level Conjunctions in Karitiana," (Grimes 1986) uses three terms to describe the higher level conjunctions she found in the Karitiana language of Brazil. These terms are additive, temporal, and causal. Although Kasua doesn't make use of free form conjunctions on the discourse level, it does use the sentence and clause initial pro-verb **a** 'to do' in relation to these same three terms.

### 3.2.1 Additive Pro-verbs

One aspect of how Kasua discourse flows, is by clauses and sentences being added or joined together with the pro-verb **a-pula:**. This additive pro-verb simply joins the previous clause to the next clause or joins the previous sentence to the next sentence. By way of affixation, it carries with it a temporal orientation of sequence. The pro-verb, by definition, replaces the previous main verb. A classic example is when Jesus chose the twelve disciples in Matthew 10:1-2. Notice the first use of **a-pula:** as it links two sentences and the following three uses of **a-pula:** as they link clauses together.

40) *...i-ma Yesu-yewi penaiya-wa mi-keye. **A-pula:** Yesu-yewi sena kukuluipe ta:pe -le*  
 3P-DAT Jesus-ERG power -ABS give-STM do-SSSQ Jesus-ERG man twelve choose-DP

*ti -ya -pola: I -ma Apasolo sena unuwapo-keye. I -wa unu -wa*  
 work-PAST-SEQ 3P-DAT Apostle man name -STM. 3P-ABS name-ABS

*tu -la -wa we-keye. Saimone ene unuwapo nowa Pita, **a-pula:** nowa*  
 put-PAST-ABS this-STM. Simon his name other Peter, do-SSSQ another

*Saimone-yewi ene e ma:e A:nitulu, **a-pula:** nowa Sepeti e sa:le*  
 Simon -ERG himself his brother Andrew, do-SSSQ another Zebedee his son

*Yemese, **a-pula:** nowa Yemese ene e ma:e Yone,ĩ*  
 James, do-SSSQ another James himself his brother John,...

‘...Jesus Himself gave power to them. **And doing that**, Jesus chose twelve and called them Apostle men. These are the names that were put/chosen. (He chose) Simon whose other name was Peter, **and doing that** (He chose) another who was Simon’s own brother Andrew, **and doing that** (He chose) another who was Zebedee’s son James, **and doing that** (He chose) another James own brother John...’

Another additive pro-verb in Kasua is **a-la-wa-mona** . Kasua uses this proverb as the counter-factual link between sentences.

41) *Yosep -leli -ye Meli -leli -wa a:ko: peleya: Petiliheme*  
Joseph-ACCOM -ERG Mary -ACCOM -ABS 3DUAL place Bethlehem

*Yosep e -wa elepela sena eni koane*  
Joseph he-ABS room man sleep house

*nowa keya ha-pa.*  
a search go-PAST

*A -la -wa -mona elepela semteii nowa itapo:.*  
But-PAST-ABS-CF room one a none

‘Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem and Joseph searched for a house with a room for a man to sleep. **But having done that (searched)**, there was not one room.’

42) *E -ye mene se -le -se, “Ke -wa ipi sena mi -na -na?”*  
He-ERG again say-PAST-CON 2S-ABS who man come-PAST-Q

*Ke unu -wa ipa:?”*  
Your name-ABS what

*A -la -wa -mona, I -yawa mene eta: se -ya -ma.*  
Do-PAST-ABS-CF 3P- ERG again not say-PAST-NEG

‘He replied, “Which man did you come with? What is your name? **But having done (said) that**, he did not reply.’

Another additive pro-verb in Kasua is **a-kamake** . Kasua uses this pro-verb across sentence boundaries to signal a simple switch reference in participants.

43) *Ke heteti -ya -kamake iwa:ka sa -no -ye*  
there arrive-PAST -SW.REF base.of.a.tree hit -PAST -ERG

*ti -ye komo -wa se -ya .*  
make-ERG victory.shout -ABS say-PAST

*A -kamake ni ama kepiyaso -wa sipa:lo -wa -te*

do-SW.REF my mother old.woman-ABS come.outside-ABS-DP

‘We arrived there and hit the tree trunks and gave the victory shout. (*We*) *having done this*, my old mother came outside...’

Another additive pro-verb in Kasua is **a-ye** . This Kasua pro-verb is the most basic form without any aspect or modality attached to it. It is simply affixed with the ergative case marker **-ye** identifying and agreeing that the same subjects who were in control in the previous clause are carrying on the action. In this case, it joins the two sentences together much the same way that ‘and’ joins sentences in English.

44) *Nepa:le sa -te -pela: fiya -ne sola honosane-wemi e*  
 River cross-DP -DUR climb.up-PAST ridge middle -LOC be  
*si -ya po -ya .*  
 standby-PAST watch-PAST

*A-ye ikile si -na -te peleya-wa ka mu -nu*  
 do-ERG day go.down-PAST -DP ground-ABS there paint -PAST

‘*We* crossed the Nepa:le River and climbed up a ridge and stood by and watched. And *having done that*, when it was almost dawn, we went down and smeared ourselves with mud.’

### 3.2.2 Temporal Pro-verbs

While all Kasua pro-verbs seem to have some time orientation associated with them by the mere fact that they are linking events together, some links using the pro-verb **a**, ‘to do’ between sentences in the discourse level are more focused on the temporal and make use of the sequential, durative, and statement suffixes. By skillful use of these forms the Kasua speaker is constantly reminding the hearer of the time frame of the discourse in terms of 1) sequence of action; 2) duration of action; and 3) completeness of action.

#### 3.2.2.1 Sequence Of Action

Some Kasua pro-verbs are marked to communicate that there is a sequence of action taking place, a series or set of events taking place next to each other in a set order. Some of these pro-verbs are encoded not only for sequential action but also for

participant tracking, e.g. switch reference, and therefore will be included in more than one category of pro-verbs. **A-pula:** for example, was included in the Additive Pro-verb section previously for its ‘additive’ qualities of joining clauses and sentences. It will also be included here as it is marked for sequential action as well. These temporal pro-verbs are found in narrative texts but more readily in procedural texts. Each example below will show a different pro-verb with some type of sequential marking.

- 45) *Hono ti -ye koteti-pela: sikape emi i tepiteni i*  
clear work-ERG finish-DUR later there tree small tree

*kolotea naso -ya -la -pela: ta:pe-ye h -a:na:*  
little clear.cut -PAST -PAST -DUR mark -ERG go-FUT

*te -se -wa ta:pe-ye .*  
be -CON -ABS mark -ERG

**A-pula:** *wa:ta:-wa a -pola: e -pela: sikape emi isu*  
do-SSSQ bed -ABS do-SEQ be -DUR later there post

*ke -ma:na:-wa ta:pele kewa -ye h -a:na: kuteti-pela:*  
plant -FUT -ABS mark plant -ERG go-FUT finish-DUR

‘After you’ve finished clearing the ground, you cut down all the small trees and you go to mark (off the ground). **Having done those things, you then do** the bed and mark off where the posts will later be planted.’

- 46) **A-puta:** *sena kasu wepe hele-wa -mo -ke ho -la:*  
do-DSSQ man canoe on.top sit -ABS-FOC -STM call.out -PRES

*se -la: ko -pela: sena semeti nowa eta: papo -ma .*  
say-PRES finish -DUR man one another not see -NEG

**A-puta:** *mota kasu -yawu ke -ya -wa eta: papo -ma .*  
do-DSSQ motor canoe-ERG search-PAST -ABS not see -NEG

‘**And he having done that**, the man (different subject) who was sitting on top of the canoe was calling out and when he finished he didn’t see anyone (in the water). **He having done that**, a motor canoe (different subject) searched but didn’t see anything.’

- 47) “*Meli sena nowa -napulu ha -pa -la -po. A -luse e -ma sotolo*

Mary man another-ACCOM went-PAST-PAST-STM Do-CON 3S-DAT big

*Koto-kamaki -wa sena sopo-yawa e -wa ewa -ma:pekise*  
 Court-SW.REF-ABS man all -ERG 3S-ABS shame -lest

*Semi -wa o:sulu iya :-pa:na:-keye.”*  
 engagement -ABS quietly leave -FUT -STM

‘Mary has gone with another man. **And so, she having done that**, I will quietly leave the engagement lest she gets shame from all men and has a big court.’

48) *Ni ata i kapo ti -ye ne-wa i -ne po -ta -pola:*  
 my father tree skin get-ERG I-ABS come-PAST see-PAST -SEQ

*Kouwa-yewi o:su ti -ye tuwate -na:na: -na -po .*  
 Kouwa-ERG grab get-ERG go.against-FUT -PRES -STM

*A -pute -kiwako e -ma ka apo -lo -se Elepaiye*  
 do-DSSQ-COMP him -DAT there let.go -STM -CON Elepaiye

*e -wa Kouwa e -wa i kapo tiya -la ka apo -lo -se .*  
 he-ABS Kouwa he-ABS tree skin get -PAST there let.go-STM-CON

‘I came and saw my father with a shield and Kouwa grabbed it and was going to go against (the enemy). **After I did this (saw it), then** he let go of the shield and Elepai, also called Kouwa, took it.’

### 3.2.2.2 Duration Of Action

One Kasua pro-verb communicates that a duration of action has taken place in the previous clause and uses both the durative suffix and reduplication.

49) *A -la -pe -pela: Kote-ma se -la -la -pe -pela: epa*  
 do-PAST -REDUP-DUR God -DAT say -PAST-PAST -REDUP -DUR that

*ko -keye e -la -le*  
 finish -STM be -PAST- DP

‘**Having done this (for a duration of time)**, we prayed to God and were finished.’

### 3.2.2.3 Completeness Of Action

The following example shows a sequence of events happening within the discourse of going to a store and buying items and then leaving. The pro-verb

**a-kuta:** closes out the section as a summary of all that has preceded it and conveys that the whole scene is now completed.

50) *A -pula: tapola ti -ya -pola: kata ha-pa.*  
do-SSSQ clothes take-PAST -SEQ leave go-PAST

*A -pula: h -a:na: te -se sitoa kipa -ma mi.*  
do-SSSQ go-FUT be-CON store keeper-DAT give

*Tapola e -ma ki -na -na -pe*  
clothes her-DAT give-PAST -PAST -STM

*etewa ti -ye ki -na -pola: tapola ti -ye kate mi -na.*  
money get -ERG give-PAST -SEQ clothes take-ERG leave come-PAST

*Si -ne kala ke ta -pela: . A -kuta: koane ka ha-pa.*  
go.down-PAST car there climb.into -DUR Do-finish house there go-PAST

‘And we took the clothes and went. And we went to give (the clothes) to the checkout clerk. We gave the clothes to her. We took some money and gave it (to her) and took the clothes and left. We went down to the car and got in. *And having done all of that*, we went to the house.’

Another pro-verb that expresses completeness of action is **a-la-keye**. Normally, the statement marker **-keye** is known for ending a sentence. Whenever you see it, you know the sentence is complete. Here however, it is attached to the pro-verb to signify a previously completed action and it is usually found in dialog scenarios telling someone else what was said or done.

51) *Ne-ye Tomi -ma se -le -se, “Tulama-wa kola,”*  
1S-ERG Tommy -DAT say -DP -CON river -ABS downbelow

*a -la -keye e -la*  
do-PAST -STM be -PAST

‘I said to Tommy, “The Tulama River is downbelow.” *I did (said) like this.*

52) *A -pula: ne-ye Tomi -ma se -le -se, “Ne-yawa*  
do-SSSQ I -ERG Tommy-DAT say -PAST -CON I -ERG

*a -la -keye e -pela:,” na:nipe ako -la -la -pe -pela:*  
do-PAST -STM be -DUR 2DUAL laugh-PAST -PAST -REDUP -DUR

‘And I said to Tommy, “*I did this*” and we laughed and laughed.’



### 3.2.3 Causal Proverbs

The pro-verb **a** ‘to do’ is also used in a causal way to join sentences in a discourse. Causation is implied only in the sense that the second proposition follows logically as a result of the first. These pro-verbs carry the function of consecutive event and result or if...then clauses.

- 53) *E -wa hola: -ne -na -po. A -pita: ninipe ha-pa.*  
 3S-ABS call.out-PAST-PAST-STM Do-CONSER we.all go-PAST

‘He called out. **And having done that, therefore,** we went.’

- 54) *A -la -wa -mona, ke -yawa puwano Kote -yewi Piseiki -pela:*  
 Do-PAST-ABS-CF you-ERG first God -ERG King -DUR  
*pota: e -pe -sita: matane-pa:.* *A -la -nase,* *eli -wemi*  
 rule be-STM-PUR desire -CMD Do-PAST-RSLT tomorrow-LOC  
*au-ma:na:-wa eli -wemi kemi matane-pa:.* *Napu matane-pa*  
 do-FUT -ABS tomorrow-LOC there think-CMD Now think -NEG

‘But first, you must desire that God rules as King. **And having done that, therefore,** you must not think about what will happen tomorrow.’

- 55) *Ne-yawa solo we heneye se -la -keye. Ki -yawa Kote-ma*  
 I -ERG talk this truly say-PRES-STM 2P-ERG God-DAT  
*himu semetei matana-wa i maseta fo kolotea epapu -la -leke,*  
 heart one belief -ABS tree mustard seed small like.that-PAST-HYP  
*tokomo -ma se -le -se,* “*Tokomo weya-mo -wa ke -wa*  
 mountain -DAT say -DP -CON Mountain this -FOC -ABS 2S -ABS  
*peleya: we iya: -pela:, peleya: no -wemi e -la -pose ha-mona,*”  
 place this leave-DUR place another-LOC be-PAST-DES go-CMD  
*Au se -le -saleke hana-posa -keye. A -lu -saleke, nano ketea*  
 Do.like.that say-PAST-HYP go -3FUT-STM Do-PAST-HYP things  
*sopoke ile timini -pesa -keye.*

all able do/work-3FUT -STM

'I tell you the truth. If your belief in God is the same as a small mustard seed, (you can) say to a mountain, 'Mountain, you leave this place and go to another place,' and if you say that, it will go. *And if you do (say) like that, then* you will be able to do all things.'

56) *Eta: heteti -ma e -ne -wa puka usulupe ka -sele*  
not made -NEG be -PAST -ABS book three finish -PROG

*epapula -wa heteti-keye. A -la -ke ne-wa epiya -keye .*  
like.that -ABS made -STM do-PAST -STM 1S-ABS happy-STM

'Before these three books were not made, (but) like that we did finish them. *And so, having done that*, I am happy.'

In closing this section on the use of pro-verbs, it's important to note that the suffixes which attach to pro-verbs, have the same function as they are attached to any verb.

## 4. TAIL-HEAD LINKAGE

### 4.1 A Definition Of Tail-Head Linkage

A distinctive form of repetition that is found in oral material in many Papua New Guinean languages, is Tail-Head linkage (Thompson and Longacre 1985:209-213). It is a process used by languages whereby the last part (tail) of one sentence, of at least the (main) verb, is repeated as a subordinate clause in the first part (head) of the next sentence, as in, *He cut down the tree. After he cut down the tree, he went home.* Thus it is called tail-head linkage (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:16).

### 4.2 Types of Tail-Head Linkage In Kasua

In the process of doing research for tail-head linkage in Papuan languages for this paper, I came across a very interesting abstract by Lourens de Vries, entitled,

*Towards A Typology Of Tail-Head Linkage In Papuan Languages.* In his article, he presents a typological overview of tail-head linkage (THL) in Papuan languages and posits two types, chained THL and thematized THL. I have found the same to be true in the Kasua language but with slightly different parameters of description.

De Vries states that the chained type is the default type of THL and its morphosyntactic form follows from the basic clause linkage type in a given Papuan language, for example when switch reference constructions are the basic type of clause linkage, then the default type of THL takes the form of switch reference constructions. In Kasua, the basic clause linkage type takes the form of the **Recapitulation of the Final Verb** which can be affixed with referential coherence mechanisms (e.g. number agreements, tense, switch reference) and event sequencing mechanisms (e.g. sequence-consecutive result morphology) across chain boundaries.

De Vries describes his Thematized THL with nominalized clauses that discontinue the event and participant lines. The head clause in this type of THL is a thematic NP that is syntactically separate from the chain and this reflects thematic discontinuity: the thematic head clause is off-sequence. The Kasua language does not use thematic noun phrases, but rather **the pro-verb a, 'to do'**, to introduce a new thematic paragraph. It is syntactically separate from the chain of verbs that precede it and as a new thematic clause, it is off-sequence and therefore begins a new sequence, a new paragraph, a new chain of events.

THL in Kasua can be found in every narrative and procedural discourse as the nature of those texts contain a clear sequential event line that is connected and flows forward. In these texts you can see that a thematic paragraph has internal cohesion and that it is connected to the next paragraph by another type of THL. THL is not

usually found in expository and hortatory discourses as the nature of those texts are for strong encouragement to do something or to inform, explain, and describe a particular subject to its hearers or readers and thus a sequential event line is not necessary. THL only occurs within these discourses if the speaker uses a narrative story to get his point across.

The following sections will show the two types of THL in Kasua, 1) verb recapitulation within the paragraph and 2) the use of the pro-verb across the paragraph boundary.

#### 4.2.1 Verb Recapitulation

Verb recapitulation is the default type of THL in Kasua. This involves the fully inflected final verb of a sentence being recapitulated, using a medial verb form that is inflected for aspect, tense, or mood, showing the type and sequence of action. In many cases, the verb is not the only thing recapitulated. Other constituents of the clause can also be recapitulated with the verb. The events **within** the thematic paragraph are all chained together by this type of THL. Some of these possibilities will be shown in the examples below.

##### 4.2.1.1 Verb Only

The most simple form of chained THL is recapitulation of only the final verb of the previous clause.

57) *Na:te kasolo sili -ye wa:ke me ha-pa. H -a:na: kasolo-ma wa -ya.*  
 2DUAL dog take-ERG again return go-PAST Go-FUT dog -DAT show-PAST

‘We two took the dog again and **went**. We **went** and showed the dog.’

58) *Yesu-wa ke ku -lu. Ku -la -pita: opo pi o -kemi oko: tuwalo*  
 Jesus -ABS there die-PAST Die -PAST-CONSER time Friday time -LOC sun noon

‘There Jesus **died**. He **died** and it was noon on Friday.’

#### 4.2.1.2 More Than One Verb

Sometimes in Chained THL, more than one verb is recapitulated.

- 59) *peleya:-wa ta: -la -la -pe -pela: isu -wa ke -la ha-no -sene*  
 Ground-ABS dig-PRES-PRES-REDUP-DUR post-ABS plant -PRES go-STM -HAB
- Ke -la: h -a:na: kuteti-pela:*  
 plant-PRES go-FUT finish -DUR

‘You dig the ground and **go and plant** the posts. After you finish **going and planting** (the posts)...’

#### 4.2.1.3 Verb + Other Constituents

Sometimes the final verb is recapitulated along with other constituents of the previous clause. These would include the verb + LOC (61) , the verb + object (62), the verb + indirect object (63), the verb + subject (64), and the verb + subject and object (65).

- 60) *Yutes e -ye h -a:na: sepa -pola: Yus sena-mo-wa emi sepa -pola: e -ye*  
 Judas he-ERG go-FUT report -SEQ Jews man-FOC-ABS there report-SEQ he-ERG
- ke sa -ma:na:-pela: sena-wa ilipe wati -ya -la -pe ke mi -na*  
 there hit-FUT -DUR man -ABS they gather-PAST -PAST -DP LOC come-PAST
- Ke ine te -se nakela ke -la unu -wa Kelesimeni emi h -a:na:*  
 LOC come be -CON garden plant-PAST name-ABS Gethsemane there go -will
- te -se Yesu -wa emi Kote-ma ho -la: se -la: emi eni.*  
 be-CON Jesus -ABS there God -DAT call.out-PRES say-PRES there sleep

‘Judas went and reported to the Jews and he and the Jews gathered, in order to kill, and **came there**. They **came there** to the garden called Gethsemane where Jesus was calling out to God and slept there.’

- 61) *Ke -la: h -a:na: kuteti-pela: sikape emi -wa h -a:na: te -se hepa*  
 plant-PRES go-will finish-DUR later there -ABS go-FUT be-CON side
- nokemi e -le seli heke wa:te po -te nokemi e -la -wa -la heke*  
 behind be -DP very.good straighten left look-PAST behind be -PAST -ABS-too straighten
- po -te e -kamake seli ili te -la -la -pita: emi peleya: ta:sa -no -sene.*

look-PAST be-SW.REF very enough be-PAST -PAST -CONSER there ground fill.in -STM -HAB

*Peleya: ta:sa -no ti -ye koteti-pela -wa ĩ*  
ground fill.in -STM work-ERG finish -DUR -ABS

‘After planting (the posts), you look down one side to (make sure the posts) are good and straight. You look down the other side too and when it looks good enough, you usually **fill in the dirt.**’

**After you finish filling in the dirt,...**

- 62) *Ka:luli ha -we e -ne -wemi sikape Yeluseleme-wemi mene ha-pa.*  
Galilee water-LOC be -PAST -LOC later Jerusalem -LOC again go-PAST

*Yelusaleme mene ha-pa -wa Olif toko -wemi Yesu -wa e ata salo emi*  
Jerusalem again go -PAST-ABS Olive mountain-LOC Jesus-ABS his father side there

*meifala kiniwani ine ke tesiti e-ne kiniwani ine te-se ti -ya -pola: ĩ*  
sky fog come there rise be-PAST fog come be -CONS take-PAST -SEQ

‘They were at Galilee and later **went back to Jerusalem. They went back to Jerusalem** to the Mount of Olives and there clouds from the sky came and Jesus rose and the clouds took Him to His Father's place.’

- 63) *E -wa emi sa -ma:na:-pela: Yutes e -yawwi emi sepa -po . Yutes e -ye*  
3S-ABS there hit -FUT -DUR Judas 3S-ERG there report-STM Judas 3S-ERG

*h -a:na: sepa -pola: Yus sena-mo -wa emi sepa -pola: e -ye ke*  
go-FUT report -SEQ Jewish man -FOC -ABS there report-SEQ 3S-ERG there

*sa -ma:na:-pela: sena -wa ilipe wati -ya -la -pe ke mi -na.*  
hit-FUT -DUR man -ABS they gather-PAST -PAST -STM there come-PAST

‘There (in Jerusalem) He (Jesus) would be killed and **Judas would report there**(to the Chief Priests). **Judas would report there** to the Jews and he and they gathered and came in order to kill (Jesus).’

- 64) *Ne-ye koane ti -sene manu -wa wa -ma:na: .*  
1S -ERG house build-HAB story -ABS tell -FUT

*Ne-ye manu -wa wa -ma:na: weya-mo -wa koane ti -ma:na:*  
1S -ERG story -ABS tell -FUT this -FOC-ABS house build-FUT

*peleya: amo -wa hono -sene.*  
ground this -ABS clear-HAB

‘**I will tell a story** about how to build a house. **I will tell a story** about this, to build a house you usually clear a piece of ground.’

#### 4.2.2 The Pro-Verb A-

The second type of THL in the Kasua language involves the use of the pro-verb **a**, ‘to do’. This type of THL occurs primarily across paragraph boundaries. The occasional additive pro-verb (see section 3.2.1) is seen joining clauses and sentences together within a paragraph, but for the most part, the pro-verb **a** occurs at paragraph boundaries. Instead of recapitulating the final verb of the previous clause, the pro-verb **a**, ‘to do’ is used as a THL device. Because it starts a new thematic paragraph, it not only replaces the final verb of the previous clause, but it summarizes the preceding series of clauses. This discourse feature is very handy as a paragraph marker because it allows the speaker to summarize the entire preceding paragraph with just one verb, ‘*having done all of that.*’

Just for the sake of seeing this pattern in Kasua discourse, observe the following text. The English gloss has purposefully been left out so that the default THL, **verb recapitulation** (highlighted in yellow), and the thematized THL, the **pro-verb** at the beginning of each paragraph (highlighted in green), can be seen clearly. This is a story about a canoe full of people that turned over as it was on a journey down the river and the traumatic events that resulted. The English translation will be placed after the text.

#### KASU

Kakatemaiyu sena mota kasu kepeya amo pula walawa we. Kakatemaiyu senawalapulu kesalewalapulu salawalapulu sopoke noka Kikoli hapa. Fokomaiyu sena e keleliwala **i-lipe ha-**  
**pa.**  
**I-wa ha-no-sekiwa** mota elipi woliyetiye **ha-pa.** **Ha-na-pola:** noka Paina koamesa: emi apole.  
 Noka Kikoli emi hano ketea wa:la:loma:na: epela: **ha-pa.** **Ha-na-pola:** nano ketea wa:la:yalape  
 yapola: kiapo mene **mi-na.** **I-na-pola:** hano honosane emi motawa olokeya tepita:mona tiya:yawi  
 kolo tiye fiyanenene fiyanenewalapulu potakamake potu sosolo nowa kemi mina.  
**A-puta:** ili mota kasu emi ha:na: sepeya sepela: fiyane. Paina pawemi potu penaiya  
 fiyanakamake kasu mei sepeyawa nata hanakamake kasuwa kemi **kepe-ya.** **Kepe-le-pita:** sena

nakola ka:pela: hano ki kola:mi ofola sau kalawa kemi kesele tiye iya:peya.

A-puta: ewa fiya tese potakamake kasu amowa ma:ni tiye ha:na:na:ke pa-po-lo. Po-ta-pola: ewa wae tiyapola: kasu wepese hela: koya ha-pa. Ha-no-se potakamake kesale nowa ma:ni tiye inise pola: inapita: potapola: kasu mei senawa emi sotukepiya.

A-puta: kesale amokewa mei emi saliye inapola: kasu wepese inapita: sena amoke pisei fano saliypola: emi sa-pe-ya. Sa-pela: ela: potakamake sala kolotea nowa ma:ni tiye inapita: a:tawi tiyapola: ela: potakamake sala nowa ma:ni tiye hanose selese, "Koteo napuwa newa kulalo."

A-la-wa-mona, ewa Kote penaiya ewamoke hema ha:na: sipapo. Sala elipi amo inayawa esa:le elipiwa hano ma:ni tiye hapalapo epela: ewa hema ina sipapowamona wa:ke hano mutula:

ha-pa. Ha-na-pola: fiya tese potakamake ewa hano honosane hanapanapita: mene pola ha:na: hema si-pa-po. Si-pa-ta-pola: enene. Ela: potakamake sena noka sipata: hanose sena semeti nowa eta: sipapoma.

A-puta: sena kasu wepe helewamoke hola: sela: kopela: sena semeti nowa eta: papoma.

A-puta: mota kasuyawi keyawa eta: papoma. Ikila sosolo kola sokatiye semeti kopela: emi

pa-po. Po-ta-pola: kemi tikila tikilawamona mitokolo sena ta:letili sena iyawi selese, "Tikila epa sima,"e seya.

A-puta: tikila amowa wa:ke me si tiyetuwapola: potakamake mowataluwa ilima napita: papo. Potapola: wa:ke me kemi tikipiya. Neyawi solo sema:na:wa epa. Kamo.

### THE BOAT

*This is a story about a Kakatemaïyu man who turned a canoe over. Some men, women, and children from Kakatemaïyu, as well as a man from Fokomaïyu and his wife, went to Kikori. (They went and filled up two boats and continued on. They continued on and left some people at Paina village. And some went to Kikori by the river to buy some things. They went and bought some things and in the morning came back. They came back and halfway back the motor broke down so they paddled up the river and saw a large boat that had come.*

*Having done that, they went and tied their canoe to the big boat and they went up the river. Close to Paina village the big boat went fast and the canoe's rope that was tied broke and the canoe*



**turned over**. It **turned over** and a sick man lying in the canoe went inside the water and he tore off the hot clothes he was wearing.

**Having done that**, and he came back up and **saw the canoe being swept down the river**. He **saw this** and grabbed a paddle and sat down on top of the canoe and paddled. He went and saw a woman that was swimming and being swept away by the water so he threw her a rope from the canoe.

**Having done that**, this woman took hold of the rope and came and this man took hold of her hair and pulled her up and **put her on top of the canoe**. **He put her there** and saw a small boy coming being swept away by the water and they got him and saw another boy going and being swept away by the water who said, "God, now I'm dieing."

**Having done that, but** God's strength helped him to get out on the bank. The father of these two boys thought that his two boys were swept away by the water so he went out on the bank but then dove back in again. He went and came up and saw that he was in the middle of the river so he swam back to the bank and **got out**. He **got out** on the bank and **stayed there**. He **stayed there** and saw some people getting out on the bank and one man didn't get out.

**Having done that**, the man who was sitting on top of the canoe was calling out and when he finished he didn't see anyone (in the water).

**Having done that**, a motor canoe searched but didn't see anything. Many days went by, one week was finished, and **they saw him**. **They saw him** and buried him there but some health officers and the police said, "Dig this grave up."

**Having done that**, they dug up the buried man and layed him down and they looked and **saw** that a lot of maggots were eating him. They **saw** this and they buried him again. This is what I wanted to say. That's all.

### 4.3 Functions of Tail-Head Linkage In Kasua

The functions of THL in Kasua involve three main areas of consideration, **thematic continuity**, **processing ease**, and **referential coherence**.

Within a thematic paragraph, the Kasua speaker makes very prominent use of verb recapitulation, which functions to highlight those events and actions that he wants his audience to hear and this carries on the *thematic continuity* of what he is saying. These recapitulated verbs serve as a cohesive device that link these events and participants together in a *referential coherence* strategy to communicate the most important events and people in the discourse. This slows the discourse down a bit and allows the hearer to register the repetitions at a much slower *processing ease*. This is particularly helpful in procedural discourses when the speaker is highlighting the main steps of a particular procedure and is linking each main step to

the following sequential step, emphasizing the completion of one step and then moving on to the next step.

Across thematic paragraph boundaries, the use of the pro-verb **a**, 'to do', functions as a summary-head linkage, i.e, *having done all this, they then proceeded to...*(Longacre, 1976). In relation to this, the *thematic continuity* from the previous paragraph is summarized and discontinued and a new thematic paragraph is introduced. Again, the issue of processing ease comes into play. This type of THL functions to give processing ease to the speaker and to the hearer. The speaker, instead of repeating all the verb events of the previous paragraph, uses the one pro-verb to summarize them and can continue with his story. The use of the pro-verb gives the hearer the signal that the speaker is about to move on to the next thematic paragraph and the participants may change and in this way the *referential coherence* and the *thematic continuity / discontinuity* effectively communicate the story.

#### **4.4 Oral And Written Styles**

The Kasua language had been a completely oral language up until 1991 and nothing had been written in the language. In 2000, a writer's workshop was held in Musula village and the Kasua people, for the first time, began to write down stories in their language. These written stories, one of which can be seen in the Appendix, show no substantial differences in the use of THL. See both oral and written style discourses in the Appendix.

## 5. APPENDIX

### 5.1 Oral Narrative Discourse

The following text told by Nawa Pate, March 1998, illustrates the common uses of tail-head linkage in Kasua narrative discourse. Again, verb recapitulation will be highlighted in yellow, while the use of the pro-verb, across paragraph boundaries, will be highlighted in green.

*Ikila nowemi ni -ye kasolo sili -ye mowa ha-pa.*  
Time one we-ERG dog take-ERG bush go-PAST

One time, we took our dogs and **went** to the bush.

*Ni -wa h -a:na: honosane tepe-ya -walapulu kasu -wa kasolo ke a: -la.*  
We-ABS go-FUT middle fight-PAST-ACCOM cassowary-ABS dog there chase-PAST

**And we went until**, in the middle of the bush, our dogs fought with a cassowary and **chased** it there.

*A: -pita:, ninipe kasolo-walapulu ne -wa ninipe ka ha-pa.*  
Chase-CONSER we dog -ACCOM 1S-ABS we there go-PAST

*They chased (it) and I and all of us went along with the dogs.*

*H -a:na: honosane te-se kasolo-yewi kasu -wa alu ti -ye Tulama nai-ya toliyeti.*  
Go-FUT middle be-CON dog -ERG cassowary-ABS chase get-ERG river cut-PAST fall down

**Going until**, in the middle, the dogs chased the cassowary off a cliff by the Turama river and it fell.

*A -puta:, Hiye na:ko: Tulama hano ke si -ni.*  
Do-DSSQ Hiye 2DUAL Turama river there go.down-PAST

*(It) Having done that, then Hiye and I, we two, went down to the Turama river.*

*Si -ne pota-kamake kasu -wa hano mene ti -ye ha -pa -la -po.*  
Go.down-PAST see -SW.REF cassowary-ABS water again work-ERG go-PAST-PAST-STM

**We went down** and saw that the cassowary had gone into the water and back out again and went.

*A -puta: ne-ye se -le -se, "Ki -wa noka mowa h -a:na:-pa: .*  
Do-DSSQ 1S-ERG say-DP-CONS 2P-ABS some bush go-FUT-CMD

**(It) Having done that**, I said, "Some of you must go in the bush.

*Hiye na:ko: hano we -yemi si -na -keye.*  
 Hiye 2DUAL water here-just go.down-PAST-STM

Hiye and I will go down to the river just here.

*Kasu -wa ki -ye sili -ye h -a:na:-pa:.”*  
 Cassowary-ABS 2P -ERG catch-ERG go-FUT -CMD

You all must go and catch the cassowary.”

*Na:ko: hano si -na -keye e -pela: hano ke si -ni.*  
 2DUAL water go.down-PAST-STM be-DUR water there go.down-PAST

We two **went down** to the river and were staying there down at the river.

*Si -ne pota-kamake kasu -wa hano hakulu mini e -ne -na -pita: papo.*  
 Go.down-PAST see-SW.REF cassowary-ABS water fall front be-PAST-PAST-CONSER see

**Having gone down**, the cassowary was in front of a waterfall and we saw it.

*A -puta:, Hiye na: -tewi hano hakulu kemi po -la.*  
 Do-DSSQ Hiye 2DUAL-ERG water fall there see-PAST

**(It) having done that**, we two **saw** it there at the water fall.

*Po -le h -a:na: kasu -wa puwano na:ko: sikape kasu -wa*  
 See-DP go-FUT cassowary-ABS first 2DUAL later cassowary-ABS

*e ka -sele ha-ne -sape.*  
 3S cry.out-PROG go-PAST-PERF

**We saw it** and went (closer) and the cassowary was in front and we two were behind him and he cried out and went.

*A -puta: na:ko: sikape ka ha -pa.*  
 Do-DSSQ 2DUAL later there go -PAST

**(It) having done that**, we two followed there and went.

*Kasu -wa mowa fi -ya -wa te ha -na -pita: na:ko: sikape*  
 Cassowary-ABS bush go.up-PAST-ABS be go-PAST-CONSER 2DUAL later

*fi -ya te -pela: pota-kamake kasu -wa ha-pa -la -po.*  
 Go.up-PAST be-DUR see -SW.REF cassowary-ABS go-PAST-PAST-STM

The cassowary went up into the bush and we two went up and followed after him and we climbed up and saw the cassowary go.

*A -puta:, na:ko: ka ata ha-pa.*  
 Do-DSSQ 2DUAL there leave go-PAST

**(It) having done that**, we two left there and **went**.

*H -a:na: pota-kamake Ketipano e -wa hano muta:-sela: honosane sita:-ne -na -po.*  
 Go-FUT see -SW.REF Ketipano 3S-ABS river wash-PROG middle be -PAST-PAST-STM

*We went and saw Ketipano, she was washing in the middle of the river.*

*A -puta:* ne-ye se -le -se, “Kasu -wa eta: ti -ma -keye.  
Do-DSSQ 1S-ERG say-DP-CONS cassowary-ABS not get-NEG-STM

*And (we) having done that, I said, “We didn’t get the cassowary.*

*Nesi-le ha-pa -keye!” e se -ya.*  
Run –DP go-PAST-STM like.that say-PAST

He ran away!”

*Au: se -la -pita:*, Ketipano se -le -se, “Kasolo sili -ye ha-mona,”  
Like.that say-PAST-CONSER Ketipano say-PAST-CONS Dog take-ERG go-CMD

*e se -le -sape.*  
like.that say- DP-PERF

**Having said that**, Ketipano said, “Take the dogs and go,” like that she said.

*A -puta:*, na:te kasolo sil i-ye wa:ke me ha-pa.  
Do-DSSQ 2DUAL dog take-ERG return again go-PAST

**(She) having done (said) that**, we two took the dogs and **went** back again.

*H-a.na: kasolo-ma wa-ya.*  
Go-FUT dog-DAT show-PAST

**We went** and showed the dogs.

*Walo -kamake, kasu -wa e -ne -wemi kasolo ke fi -ya te -la.*  
Show-SW.REF cassowary-ABS be-PAST-LOC dog there go.up-PAST be-PAST

**We showed the dogs** where the cassowary was, and the dogs went up.

*A -puta:*, kasolo ke a: -la.  
Do-DSSQ dog there chase-PAST

**(We) having done that**, the dogs **chased** (it) there.

*A: -la -wa -mona, hano Tulama toliyeti.*  
Chase-PAST-ABS-CF river Turama fall

**They chased it**, but they fell into the Turama river.

*A -puta:*, kasu -wa kaso -ye eta: sa -na -ma.  
Do-DSSQ cassowary-ABS dog -ERG not kill -PAST-NEG

**(They) having done that**, the cassowary was not killed by the dogs.

*Kasu -wa hano mene ti -ye ha -na -pita: ke ita: -pela: na:ko: koane*  
Cassowary-ABS river again work-ERG go-PAST-CONSER there leave-DUR 2DUAL house

*ka ata ha-pa.*  
there leave go-PAST

The cassowary came back out of the river and went and we two left there and went to the house.

## 5.2 Written Narrative Discourse

The following text is a typical written Kasua narrative discourse. It was written by Tomas Apuwe, from Musula village, in a writer's workshop and does not differ from an oral narrative discourse, which emphasizes the importance of tail-head linkage features in the Kasua language.

*Ikila nowemi ne-wa a koloteya sala e -ne -wemi ni ata, ni ama,*  
Time one 1S-ABS still little child be-PAST-LOC my father my mother

*ni -wa ke ha-pa.*  
1P-ABS there go-PAST

One time, while I was still a little child, my father and mother, **we went**.

*H -a:na: pota-kamake, sena tilila nowa enapotane e -ne -wemi*  
Go-FUT see -SW.REF man old a alone be-PAST-LOC

*ni -wa ke fi -ya te -la.*  
1P-ABS there arrive-PAST be-PAST

**We went** and I saw an old man who was alone and we arrived there.

*A -puta: ne-ye ke pota-kamake sena tilila amo-wa*  
Do-DSSQ 1S-ERG there see -SW.REF man old that-FOC

*Ke e -la -pita: papo.*  
there be-PAST-CONSER see

*And we having done that, therefore I saw that old man who was there.*

*Pota-pola: ne-wa ipila nesi-le h -a:na:-na: e -kamake ni ata, ni ama,*  
See -SEQ 1S-ABS afraid run -DP go-FUT -PROG be-SW.REF my father my mother

*a:te se -le -se, "Ke -wa ipi -pa!*  
3DUAL say-PAST-CONS 2S-ABS fear-NEG

*After I saw (him), I was afraid and I ran and was going and my father and mother said, "You don't be afraid."*

*Epa ke kouwa -keye," e se -ya.*

That your grandfather-STM like.that say-PAST

That is your grandfather," like that they said.

*A -puta:* pota-kamake, tilila ne kouwa amoke oka ina -pulu  
Do-DSSQ see -SW.REF old my grandfather that pandana come-ACCOM

ti -ya -pola: ne-ma ki -ni -sape.  
take-PAST-SEQ 1S-DAT give-PAST-PERF

**They having done that**, that old grandfather of mine took a pandana and came with it and **gave** it to me.

*Ki -na -pita:* ne-ye epeya sosolo te-la -keye.  
Give-PAST-CONSER 1S-ERG happy big be-PAST-STM

*He gave it* (to me) and I was very happy.

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