A GRAMMAR OF ROTOKAS

0. PREFACE

The present draft of the Rotokas grammar is intended to serve three purposes. It is first an outline of a future draft in which the missing chapters will be filled in, and in which the whole grammar including the portions presented here will be tied together. Secondly, this draft provides without further delays the materials on Rotokas syntax which were developed during the 1974 Higher Levels Grammar Workshop held at Ukarumpa (P.N.G. Branch). Finally it allows me to put down in black and white some ideas in the rough which at the present time I feel of worth for a descriptive format. With criticisms by others and another good hard look at it within the coming year by myself, these current ideas will no doubt undergo further changes before there is satisfaction with a final draft. I hope anyone reading this present draft will realize that in many parts I am only thinking on paper and these ideas still need time to simmer a bit more!

1. ABBREVIATIONS

In the final draft the abbreviations used throughout the entire paper will be presented at this point. In this draft, however, I will list the abbreviations at the close.

2. SYMBOLIZATION

The same is true for this section as for ABBREVI-
ATIONS.

3. TYPOGRAPHICAL CONVENTIONS

The same is true for this section as for ABBREVI-
ATIONS.

4. INTRODUCTION

The Rotokas language is spoken by approximately 4,200
people living in the Kieta and Buka Passage Sub-Districts
of central Bougainville Island. The majority of the speak-
ers are located on the eastern side of the island in the
villages built on the ridges surrounding the three main
river systems in the Aita and Rotokas census divisions of
the Kieta Sub-District. There is a correlation between
the three river-system areas and the three dialects of the
Rotokas language: the Wakunai River area - Rotokas Proper,
the Red River area - Pipipaia dialect, and the Aita River
area - Aita dialect. Also included in the Rotokas language
is the Atsilima Sub-language which is located on the west-
ern side of the island in the Buka Passage Sub-District.[1]

Bougainville District is divided basically into two

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1 J. Allen and C. Hurd, Languages of the Bougainville
  District, (Ukarumpa, PNG, 1963) p. 21

major linguistic groups: the Austronesian (Melanesian
and Polynesian) on the island of Buka and in the north-
ern portion of Bougainville, and the Non-Austronesian
(Papuan or Non-Melanesian) in the southern portion.
Rotokas is part of the Kunua-Keriaka-Rotokas-Eivo Stock
of languages between these two major linguistic divisions.
Because of its location it seems to share some features of
the Austronesian languages although it is characterized
by predominantly Non-Austronesian language features and
accordingly is classified as such.

Adam Muller, S.M. in his Grammar and Vocabulary of the
Kunua Language suggests that this stock of languages of
which Rotokas is a part be called the "Central Languages"
or "Papu-Melanesian Mixed."[2] He gives the following points
of comparison between the three linguistic groups: 1) the
Central and Austronesian languages have one enumeration for
everything, the Non-Austronesian languages have multiple
enumeration which differs according to the classes of ob-
jects to be counted; 2) the Austronesian and Non-Austro-
nesian languages have some type of indication of the ob-
ject within the verb affixation, the Central languages do
not (although the "transitivity" of the verb is marked to

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2 Adam Muller, S.M., Grammar and Vocabulary of the Kunua
Language, Edited by the Anthropos Institute, Posieux/Fri-
bourg, Switzerland, 1954. p 13

a degree by the choice of Person-Number and Tense affix-
ation of the verb); and 3) the Central languages have in-
clusive and exclusive pronouns while the Austronesian lan-
guages include inclusive and exclusive pronouns and person
markers within the verb affixation and the Non-Austronesian
have neither pronouns nor person markers within the verb
affixation marked for inclusiveness or exclusiveness.[3]
Hopefully, a future paper will give a detailed comparison
of the northern, central, and southern Bougainville Dis-
trict languages. The present paper, however, will assume
only the two major groups, i.e. Austronesian and Non-Aust-
ronesian of which Rotokas belongs to the latter.

Research in Rotokas was carried out during several
periods of time totalling 40 months between 1965 and 1974
under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.
Most of the primary materials in this description are
from a concordance of 70 texts in Rotokas made on the IBM
1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguis-
tic Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics
and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute sponsored
by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

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3. The presence of the inclusive and exclusive person-
    number markers of the Rotokas verb were apparently
    unknown to Muller at the time he wrote these obser-
    vations.

5. ACKOWLEDGMENTS

The analysis presented in this paper is the result
of several different directed efforts. Two of these ef-
forts involved guidance and encouragement by various in-
dividuals. The first was during my graduate program at
the University of California at Davis where ᴁᴋ Dr. Eric
Liu of the Linguistic Committee gave valuable help in the
analysis of the Rotokas morphology. The title of the thesis
submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics is "Form and
Function of Rotokas Words, Bougainville, New Guinea." A
modified form of this paper is used extensively in this
paper.

The second effort was during a 3-month Higher Levels
Grammar Workshop held at Ukarumpa, P.N.G. during the year
1974. Dr. Alan Healey directed the workshop and Mr. Marshall
ᴋᴀᴡᴇᴋᴇᴋᴋᴋ Lawrence consulted with me about the research.
Both of these men also gave valuable help during this per-
iod of analysis.

Other papers written about the Rotokas language will
also be used in this final description. Both Drs. Alan and
Phyllis Healey helped in the development of these other
papers.

Finally I would like to acknowledge the Rotokas men who
have contributed texts and who have helped to explain the

beautiful way in which this language fits together.   One
man in particular deserves a great deal of the credit for
this paper.   He is David Akoitai of Togarao Village whose
genuine concern for his language and his unflagging en-
thusiasm has made him the most helpful co-worker that a
linguist could hope for.   If Akoitai is satisfied with the
description of the Rotokas language as it is presented here,
then I know the paper has passed the test.

This paper is really a joint effort shared by my wife,
Jackie.   Her valuable ideas and criticsm are all integrated
into the presentation.   We both are hopeful that the gram-
mar of Rotokas as presented here will be helpful to ling-
uists and to those who may wish to learn to speak Rotokas.

TENTATIVE INDEX

CHAPTER ONE

ABOUT THE DESCRIPTIVE FORMAT

1. OVERVIEW OF THE GRAMMAR

One of the most interesting features of linguistics is the scope of descriptive formats. One can choose from a variety of methods or combinations of methods proposed by different schools. In this paper I will use the Tagmemic approach with some modifications that have been made in more recent years. In particular, on the Clause Level I intend to use John T. Platt's ideas where they help to tie XX Clause Level tagmemes into the descriptive format above the Clause Level on the basis of function. These ideas will be taken from his book, Grammatical Form and Grammatical Meaning (Amsterdam & London, 1971).

The descriptive format above the Clause Level will be semantically oriented. For this reason the ideas of Charles J. Fillmore, Wallace L. Chafe, Joseph E. Grimes and others will be used in conjunction with those of Robert E. Longacre. It is not my intention in this paper or in the final draft to discuss advantages or disadvantages of various approaches as this has been done very adequately in technical articles. However, in the final draft I will have some relevant remarks now and then all of which will be included in footnotes at the close for those interested.

At this point I would like to express some personal feelings that have help_ed_ to decide the course of this grammatical statement of Rotokas. Having read earlier statements of grammars or portions of grammars in the Tagmemic format, there was always an uneasy feeling about how practical the statements would be for someone interested in learning the ~~language~~ language. I realize that to write a statement describing a languages so that it can be of use to the language learner as well as to the linguist interested in comparative studies, etc. means sacrificing practicalities or technicalities. However, I think those sacrifices can be kept to a minimum depending upon the choice of descriptive format. It is this that has influenced the decision to write up the Rotokas grammar in the manner I am outlining in this present paper and intend to complete in the near future.

The basis for the descriptive format chosen is found in an overview of language which I'm sure is not new but one that I haven't seen diagrammed in this particular way before. The diagram is meant to show why different ways of describing linguistic entities are more "meaningful" depending upon the level at which the description is being made. Following its implications one should be able to minimize the sacrifices referred to above.

CHART ONE
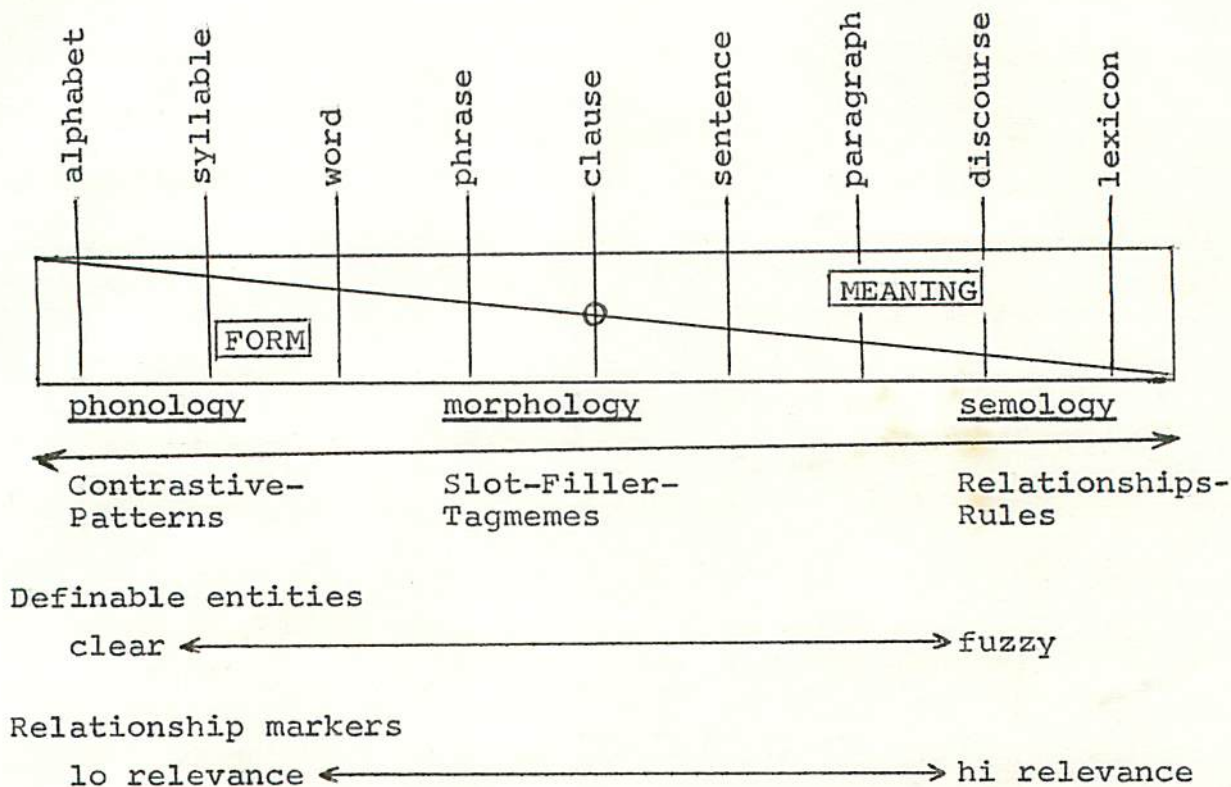
Chart One implies that a descriptive format for a particular level should be chosen on the basis of whether Form or Meaning predominate at that particular level. The Tagmemic format, it would seem, suits best the Clause Level where Form and Meaning seem to balance each other. It would not be an appropriate format for describing a syllable since there is little or no meaning in syllables per se. On the other hand, I feel that at the higher levels where the significance of Meaning overshadows that of Form (think of the variety of ways one can express a particular thought)

the Tagmemic format alone is not the most efficient way to handle the data. The Rotokas language with its many relationship markers seems to need a format which highlights this feature of the language. Moreover, I feel that the various components of the inter-related utterances need to be highlighted more than a Tagmemic format covering the entire gamut of levels would allow. Although one will recognize the Tagmemic format as basic to the description presented here, there are many departures. I justify them at least to my own satisfaction by 1) a desire to have a description useful to both language learner and to linguist, and 2) a conviction that Chart One has something meaningful to say especially in terms of the higher levels.

2. THE FORMAT

As stated previously this paper is to serve as an outline for the final draft. Most of the material which will fill out this outline has been written already in various papers and publications. It will be a matter of rewriting these materials so that terminology is consistent throughout the entire paper and so the descriptions are consistent with the implications of Chart One.

In addition to the descriptions there will be at the close of each chapter language drills. These are primar-

ily intended for use by any who may wish to learn Rotokas. However, they will also serve as additional examples of features described in the chapter and therefore will be useful to linguistic studies.

The chapter on Phonology is a straightforward description of the Rotokas phonemes, and this will be followed by drills on stress and length. The interesting features which make the Rotokas phonology unique among world languages will also be included and highlighted.

Morphology will focus mainly on non-verb features. These will be isolated from a basic text starting with minimal identifiable units. Once these units are identified comparison with other minimal units will facilitate the identification of internal morphemes. Proceeding then with these identified morphemes and units (in Rotokas, the verb construction) units of phrases can then be identified and so on. This provides a demonstratable basis for the separation of morphemes and for the distinguishing of various word classes using environment as a criteria. This approach was suggested to me by Dr. Eric Liu (University of California at Davis) and was used in my thesis.

Following the chapter on the general morphology the first hint of a later emphasis on semantics will be seen as in chapter three nominals will be handled in terms of Grammatical Functions and Semantic Roles. Grammatical Functions

of nominals can be defined in terms of position and/or accompanying relator particles. Semantic Roles, on the other hand are not language specific and will be defined according to suggestions made by Fillmore and others.

Chapter four will provide a semantic basis for categorizing verbs, and chapter five will continue on with verbs describing and illustrating the variety of modalities posssible in Rotokas.

Midway across the horizontal axis of the diagram of Chart One there is an equality reached between Form and Meaning. Traditionally, this is Clause Level material at this point. Instead of dealihg with the data in terms of the clause, I intend to call this construction the Simple Proposition. In doing so the basic unit of the Relationship Rules of the higher levels is introduced and the semantic nature of those Rules pinpointed. After a description of the Simple Proposition in chapter six, a chapter will be given to the special Attributive Proposition, the Relative Clause.

Chapters seven and eight deal with Words and Phrases Which Relate Propositions and Inter-Propositional Relationships respectively. Returning from semantics to the grammatical in chapter eight these various relationships will then be differentiated according to complexity and grammatical markers and labeled Sentence, Paragraph, or Discourse.

CHAPTER TWO

PHONOLOGY

1. RELATED LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

2. INVENTORY OF PHONEMES

3. PRONUNCIATIONS

4. ALLOPHONES

5. DISTRIBUTION

6. LANGUAGE INTERFERENCE

(This chapter will be based upon the Rotokas Phonemic Statement written to fulfill the PNG Branch of SIL requirement and the paper written by Jackie and $\widetilde{r}$ for Anthropological Linguistics December 1969 entitled "An Abbreviated Phoneme Inventory." The practical section dealing with pronuciation with examples will be taken from the introduction to the lexicon of Rotokas-Pidgin-English published by SIL in 1973. Following the body of the chapter will be drills ((all proposed drills will have a tape recording to accompany them)) mainly to help xix with stress and length.)

CHAPTER THREE

MORPHOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION

2. TEXT

3. FORM OF ROTOKAS WORDS

#3.1. FUNDAMENTAL UTTERANCE

 3.2. ROTOKAS VERB

 3.3. FURTHER ISOLATION OF FORMS WITHIN THE TEXT

 3.4. ROTOKAS NOMINALS

 3.5. THE REMAINING FORMS OF THE TEXT IDENTIFIED

 3.6. ROTOKAS MODIFIERS

 3.7. PARTICLES

 3.8. STEM FORMATION

 3.9. WORD-MEANING MODIFICATION

(The format and contents of this chapter will be based
upon the thesis which I wrote in 1969 1970 entitled "Form
and Function of Rotokas Words, Bougainville, New Guinea."
The drills following this chapter will be to give practice
in word and phrase formation.)

CHAPTER FOUR

FUNCTIONS OF THE NOMINALS

1. THE TERM "FUNCTION" DISCUSSED

2. THE GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS IDENTIFIED

2.1. NOMINALS AS ACCOMPANIMENT
2.2. NOMINALS AS COMPLIMENT
2.3. NOMINALS AS DIRECT OBJECT
2.4. NOMINALS AS INDIRECT OBJECT
2.5. NOMINALS AS LOCATION
2.6. NOMINALS AS MEANS
2.7. NOMINALS AS QUOTE
2.8. NOMINALS AS SUBJECT
2.9. NOMINALS AS TIME

3. THE TERM "ROLE" DISCUSSED

4. THE SEMANTIC ROLES DEFINED

4.1. THE AGENT
4.2. THE EXPERIENCER
4.3. THE 𝚇𝚇 ESSIVE
4.4. THE PATIENT
4.5. THE SOURCE
4.6. THE GOAL
4.7. THE REFERENTIAL
4.8. THE BENEFICIARY

5. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS AND SEMANTIC

   ROLES IN ROTOKAS

      (This chapter will include more material from the thesis

which will be modified somewhat. The list of Functions is

yet to be finalized and may include another Function called

𝚇𝚇 "Oblique". One or two changes may be made in the list of

Semantic Roles as well. When the lists are finalized it will

be possible to demonstrate the relations of the surface features

as Grammatical Functions to the deep level features as Semantic Roles. Drills will feature the use of these different Functions in sentences.)

TENTATIVE LIST OF GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS

1) ACCOMPANIMENT identifies the person(s) or item(s) in whose company the Subject performs the action or with whom the Subject exists. The nominal is identified by these relators: -ia, -va, or tapo(ro) all of which mean 'with.'

2) COMPLEMENT (very tentatively proposed as a result of reading Patterns in Clauses, Sentences, and Discourses - India and Nepal, Vol II Clause). The ~~samplin~~ complement is the nominal portion of a stative verb. The Subject must ~~zbwy~~ always be present.

3) DIRECT OBJECT identifies the recipient of the transitive action or the person(s) toward whom a Quote is directed. The nominal is identified by its position immediately preceding the verb or by -ia, -re, and -pa all of which mean 'to/for' depending partly upon the verb.

4) INDIRECT OBJECT identifies the recipient of the Direct Object of the Predicate. It usually immediately precedes the Direct Object. The nominal is identified by the same

relators which identify the Direct Object plus _iare_ 'to.'

5) LOCATION identifies the area in which an action is tak-
ing place or a condition is present, or the direction to-
wards/from which an event happens. The nominals are id-
entified mainly be the relators _iare_ 'towards,' _iava_ 'from'
and -_ia_ or _vo_ both of which approximate any preposition in
English. However, -_re_ 'to', -_va_ 'from', and -_ri_ 'over there',
may also serve to identify the nominal.

6) MEANS identifies the entity by which an intransitive or
transitive action may take place. The identifying relator
is -_ia_ 'with/by means of.'

7) QUOTE is the expression of thoughts or words by the Sub-
ject of an appropriate verb of expression. The expression
is bracketed by either of the pronouns _oisio_ 'like this' or
eisi 'like that' which occur in an appositional relationship
with the expression.

8) SUBJECT identifies the actor of the predication. The
nominal functioning as Subject must agree in person, number,
and gender with the person-number marker of the verb which
obligatorily marks the actor of the verb. There are no
relators which occur with the Subject; however, its position

is either initially or finally in the clause.

9) <u>TIME</u> identifies the time during which the action is
taking place or a condition occurs. The identification of
the nominal is by -<u>ia</u> 'during/on', -<u>ri</u> 'back there', and
sometimes <u>iava</u> 'from.'

~~iax~~

10) <u>OBLIQUE</u> (if used) identifies the subject matter about
which a Quote is made, or it names the object of an emo-
tional response or to some extent the reason for that re-
sponse. The nominal is identified by <u>iava</u> 'about', -<u>va</u>
'about', -<u>re</u> 'to', or -<u>pa</u> 'for.'

TENTATIVE LIST OF SEMANTIC ROLES

1) <u>AGENT</u> The instigator of a predication; the one who causes
or brings about the state or event described by the pred-
icate. Something which performs the action.

2) <u>EXPERIENCER</u> The one affected by a psychological event or
mental state.

3) <u>ESSIVE</u> That which identifies an entity designated by the
predication when the predication is a predicate noun. It
is the subject of a predicate noun.

4) ~~patient~~ <u>PATIENT</u> The entity described which moves or

which undergoes change, the content of a psychological event. The most neutral of all the cases. That which is in the state or a changing state.

5) <u>SOURCE</u> The former location, state, point in time, subject matter of a speech act.

6) <u>GOAL</u> The latter location, state, or time; the result of an action.

7) <u>REFERENTIAL</u> The entity to which another is related in some way by the predicate.

8) <u>BENEFICIARY</u> The entity benefited by what ever is communicated by the rest of the sentence.

9) <u>MEANS</u> (quite possibly) The non-instigative, immediate cause of an event, or the stimulus of a psychological predicate.

(All of the definitions listed under Roles are from one of two sources: Landerman, Peter and Frantz, Donald 1972 or Chafe, Wallace L. 1970. When the list and actual definitions are finalized the credits will be given.)

CHAPTER FIVE

CATEGORIES OF VERBAL IDEAS

1. Introduction

Rotokas nominals have been described according to their
grammatical functions. In kæ turn these grammatical functions
are participants in semantic roles. In a similar way Rotokas
verbs have been classified as transitive, intransitive, or
stative on the basis of grammatical features, i.e. the part-
icular affixation or lack of it peculiar to these three
classes. The definition of the three classes is language
specific.   All the verbs falling into these three classes
can now be further categorized according to universal verbal
ideas. In this way there is with Rotokas verbs (as there
was with Rotokas nominals) a shift in focus from Grammatical
(surface features) to Semantic (deeper features). The value
of categorizing the verbs in this way is yet to be proved
completely worthwhile. However, by the time the final draft
of Chapter Nine is written I should be pretty well convinced
one way or the other. Obviously I feel it is worth trying
at this point.

2. SOURCE

The basic list of categories used in this paper are
from Notes On Grammatical Theory by Peter Landerman and

Donald Frantz (S.I.L. Peru Branch). Landerman and Frantz
published this list as a modified version of an earlier
list by Bruce Hollenbach (S.I.L. Mexico) under the title
"Categories of Verbal Ideas." The definitions in this
paper are verbatum from Landerman and Frantz.

3. EXISTENCE Having to do with being, coming or causing to
come into existence.

    (1) oisioa vao   purareve   akoroto

       always this make.he.would lime-powder

       'He would always make lime powder.'

    (2) rera   kavauroepa

       he   born.he.was

       'He was born.'

    (3) vo   kepa   paureva   orarera vavaearo   ragaia

       this   house built.he own.his hand.poss only.with

       'He built this house with his own hands.'

4. NAMING Having to do with being, or causing to become
called by some name.

    (4) oisio   va vaisipaivoi   rispek

       like-this it name.they.are respect

       'They are calling it respect.'

(5) <u>reraia</u> <u>vo</u>   <u>vaisi</u> <u>tovoiva</u> <u>Asiri</u>

    him.on this   name   put.they Asiri

    'They attached the name of Asiri onto him.'

5. <u>CLASSIFICATION</u> Having to do with being, becoming, or
causing to become a member of a class.

(6) <u>oisioa</u> <u>viovokoa</u>   <u>resiive</u>

    always   young-men   mark.they.would

    'They would always mark out the young men.'

(7) <u>vearovira</u> <u>oaravu</u>   <u>rovirieipari</u> <u>raivara</u>

    good.like   other-things   divide-up.you   roads

    'Divide up well the different roads (into good or bad).'

(8) <u>Pute</u>   <u>torepieivora</u> <u>kaunsel</u> <u>vo</u>   <u>kovoaro</u>   <u>iare</u>

    Pute   stood.they   council   this   work.poss to

    'They elected Pute to the council.'

6. <u>EQUIVALENCE</u> Having to do with being, becoming or causing
to become identified as a particular individual or thing.

(9) <u>oisio</u>   <u>ro</u>   <u>ovauto</u> <u>pieavora</u> <u>ragai</u> <u>ovitoaro</u>

    like-this this   orphan caused.I   I   son.poss

    'I made the orphan my son.'

(10) <u>Pute</u>   <u>touparevoi</u> <u>igei</u> <u>rirotoaro</u>

     Pute   exists.he   we   big-man.poss

     'Pute is our chief.'

(11) ro   Ø   aue   Father Luken

      this   Ø   Ø   Father Luken

      'This is Father Luken.'

7. <u>POSSESSION</u> Having to do with being, becoming or causing
to become associated with an entity as, for example, by
possessing it.

(12) vegeivipa   riroa   vatesi   siraoa

      we.little.for   big-thing   gave.you-two sorrow

      'You both gave to poor little us a great sorrow.'

(13) oiraia   pituava

      her.onto   held.I

      'I held onto her.'

8. <u>QUALIFICATION</u> Having to do with having, coming to have
or causing to have a certain quality temporarily or perman-
ently.

(14) opita   ova   torevokovira   toupai

      coconut   tree   straight.like   exists

      'The coconut tree is straight.'

(15) avekeva   vavatapaoi

      stone   heavy.she.is

      'The stone is heavy.'

(16) evaova   erakoepa

tree   dried

'The tree dried up.'

(17) viipa   vo   siposipo   aviavi   piepaa

you.for   this   story   light   causing.I

'I am explaining this story for you (making

it clear).'

9. QUANTIFICATION Having to do with being, becoming or
causing to become of a certain quantity.

(18) voea   iava   aitereivu   ropoiva

them   from   two-others   selected.they

'They picked out two from among them.'

(19) vo   resiura   toupaivoi   aue   aveke

this   four   existing   ∅   stone

'There are four stones.'

10. COMPARISON Having to do with the relationship between
two or more entities in their attributes, qualities, pro-
perties, etc.

(20) oira   epao   oisio   osia   aveke

she   exists   like-this   as   stone

'She is like a stone.'

(21) <u>eera</u> <u>vara</u>   <u>rutuia</u> <u>puteparevoi</u> <u>arua</u>

that   these   all.by   passes.he   greens

<u>koora</u>   <u>koie</u> <u>bulamakau</u>

opossum   pig   beef

'That man (human flesh) surpasses all of these:

greens, opossum, pig, and beef.'

(22) <u>viapau</u> <u>rutu</u>   <u>oavu</u>   <u>avu</u>   <u>vai</u>   <u>kekepapeira</u>

no   truly   other   maybe   some   looks.always

<u>oisio</u>   <u>osia</u> <u>vao</u>   <u>avuo</u>

like-this   as   this   maybe

'Truly nothing looks like this, maybe.'

11. <u>ORIENTATION</u> Having to do with being, becoming or caus-
ing to become oriented with regard to some entity in space
or time.

(23) <u>iria</u> <u>iare</u> <u>ita</u> <u>avauepa</u>   <u>haus</u>   <u>siki</u>   <u>vai</u>

she   to   again went.you house sick   some

'You went again to some other hospital.'

(24) <u>vokapareva</u> <u>kokeva</u>   <u>reroaro</u>

walked.he   rain   under

'He was walking in the rain.'

(25) <u>aioa</u>   <u>toupaivoi</u>   <u>kepa</u>   <u>siovaraia</u>

food   existing.is   house   inside

'The food is inside the house.'

    (26) <u>voava</u>   <u>ipaiepa</u>   <u>Ukarumpa</u> <u>iare</u>

          there.from   ascended.we Ukarumpa to

          'We went up from there to Ukarumpa.'

12. <u>POSITION</u> Having to do with being, becoming or causing to become in a certain position.

    (27) <u>pauparoepa</u> <u>paupaia</u>

          sat.he   seat.on

          'He sat on the seat.'

    (28) <u>oeavu</u>   <u>kakaevure</u> <u>gerepieivora</u>   <u>evoa</u>

          others   children   lie.make.they   there

          'Other people made the children lay down there.'

    (29) <u>voea</u> <u>takuviropai</u> <u>viipa</u>

          they   bowed.they   you.to

          'They are bowed down to you.'

13. <u>MOVEMENT</u> Having to do with being, becoming or causing to become in a state of motion (with focus on the manner of motion).

    (30) <u>oisioa</u> <u>toripaa</u>   <u>rera</u> <u>asiavira</u>

          always run—away.I him without.like

          'I would always be running away from him.'

(31) <u>oira</u>   <u>ragaia</u>   <u>viripasi</u>

    her   only.with   circle-around.they-two

    'The two of them would circle around with her.'

(32) <u>revasiva</u> <u>oereva</u>   <u>vorevira</u>

    blood   vomited.he   again

    'He vomited up the blood again.'

14. <u>CONTACT</u> Having to do with being, becoming or causing to become in physical contact with some entity (focus being on the manner, not result, of contact).

(33) <u>rera</u> <u>ragiiva</u>   <u>garoa</u>   <u>vaiia</u>

    him   whipped.they rattan-vine some-with

    'They whipped him with a rattan vine.'

(34) <u>nelto</u> <u>tapareva</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>ragai</u> <u>vavaearoia</u>

    nail   hammered.he   here I   hand.poss.in

    'He hammered a nail into my hand.'

(35) <u>riro</u> <u>varivarivira</u> <u>oirato</u> <u>uporevo</u>

    big   strong.like   man   hit.he

    'He struck the man powerfully.'

15. <u>SENSING</u> Having to do with being, becoming or causing to become the recipient of sensory stimulus.

(36) vaiterei   reoaro   uvuiva   oa   iava

they-two   talk.poss   heard.they   it   about

'They heard the talk of the two of them about it.'

(37) oirato   siovoreva   Isio   orarera   vavaearoia

man   felt.he   Isio   own.he   hand.poss.with

'Isio felt the man with his own hands.'

(38) uraurapavira   vurareva

shadow.like   stared.he

'He stared blearily.'

16. EMITTING Having to do with being, becoming or causing to become the source of sensory stimulus.

(39) ravireo   aueia   rororeva   sigato

sun   Ø.on   shown.he   black-earth

'The sun shown on the black earth.'

(40) erava   pokopiropa   o   vo   Tutue

volcano   explodes   this   this   Tutue

'This volcano, Tutue, exploded.'

17. PSYCHIC ACTIVITY Having to do with being, becoming or causing to become in a certain psychological state (which is not necessarily manifested outwardly.)

(41) <u>rirovira</u>   <u>ita</u>   <u>siraoraepa</u>   <u>aakore</u>

     greatly   again   sorrowed.I   mother.for

     'Again I missed my mother very much.'

(42) <u>va</u>   <u>iava</u>   <u>vii</u>   <u>taraipiepareva</u>   <u>roia</u>   <u>Karuru</u>

     it   about   you   taught.he   this   Karuru

     'This man Karuru taught you about it.'

(43) <u>rera</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>rugorugoaro</u>   <u>gorusivora</u>

     he   this   thoughts.poss   stregthened.they-two

     'They both convinced him.'

18. <u>EXPRESSION</u> Having to do with the communication of a
message or an inward psychological state.

(44) <u>vii</u>   <u>akepaavoi</u>   <u>auepa</u>   <u>Jakob</u>   <u>ira</u>   <u>auepa</u>

     you   ask.I.am   Ø.for   J_acob   who   Ø.for

        <u>ruipapa</u>   <u>kataia</u>   <u>Nupela</u>   <u>Testamen</u>

        'I am asking you on Jacob's behalf who wanted

        a Nupela Testamen.'

(45) <u>vo</u>   <u>siposipo</u>   <u>purapaavoi</u>   <u>visiipa</u>   <u>kekira</u>   <u>iava</u>

     this   story   making.I.am   you.for   moon   about

     'I am making this story for you all about the moon.'

(46) <u>oisio</u>   <u>puraroepa</u>   <u>viapau</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>touparevoi</u>

     like-this   said.he   no   like-this   exi*ting.he

     'He said, "He is not in existence."'

19. <u>PHASE</u> Having to do with the state of progress of an
event or state.

    (47) <u>rera</u> <u>vo</u>   <u>kovoaro</u>   <u>opesipiereva</u>

           he   this   work.poss finished.he

           'He finished his work.'

    (48) <u>avasia</u> <u>auepaerevere</u>

           go.to   ready.they-two.will-be

           'They both are about to go.'

    (49) <u>tauoa</u>   <u>rovoiva</u>   <u>aioaraia</u>

           offering started.they foods.with

           'They started an offering with foods.'

20. <u>METEOROLOGICAL</u> Having to do with conditions of envir-
onment.

    (50) <u>vokiepa</u>   <u>voeare</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>uva</u>   <u>uusiaepa</u>

           night-fell them.to here where sleep.they

           'Night came to them there where they slept.'

    (51) <u>uteopai</u> <u>rutu</u> <u>vo</u>   <u>vokio</u>

           cold.is truly this day

           'Today is very cold.'

    (52) <u>avisia</u>   <u>auepape</u>

           dawn.to imminent.would.be

           'The dawning would be imminent.'

CHAPTER SIX

MODALITY OF PREDICATIONS

1. INTRODUCTION

Up to this chapter Rotokas verbs have been described according to the surface level features of morphology (Chapter Three) and categorized according to deep level notions of meaning. These two sections on the verb have focused upon typology with little to say about modifications of the verbs themselves. At this point the topic of mod-ifications under the general title of Modality receives attention.

I have purposefully held off handling modality until now since it seems that there is more to say semantically about modality than grammatically. Longacre says about modality:

> "...It is so common among the world's languages to express such things as Direction, Desire, etc. as either affixes on a verb, particles in the verb phrase, or auxiliary verbs, that we do well to po-sit a further deep structure level to accommodate these surface structure elements. This further level might not inappropriately be named 'the Increment Calculus' in that we deal here with de-vices for adding to the verbs (and to nouns also) further qualifications of varying weight."

He goes on to say that this would appear to be the more natural way of handling these data rather "than to further overwork the already overworked Predicate Cal-culus." (Longacre 1972).

The term Modality as used in this paper covers the following: Voice, Mode, Aspect, and Tense. For an overview of how all the surface structures described below fall into these various classes, see ~~Chart Two~~ SECTION 8 on page 66 .

When organizing the data for this chapter I felt that a clear presentation could be made if the grouping of surface structures was based upon macro-features, i.e. a) the verb stem itself, b) the auxiliary plus the verb stem, c) the verbal particle in the verb phrase, d) the affix particle in the verb itself, e) the affix of the verb, and finally f) the non-verbal word. Granted the groupings as such will contain mixed elements cutting across the classes of Modality; however, this descriptive format will match more closely the general format of the entire paper, i.e. "from simple to complex."

2. MODALITY INHERENT IN THE VERB STEM

The entire first group to be described and illustrated all belong to the class of Modality known as Voice. The terminology and criteria for distinguishing the different members of this group are taken from Chafe's discussion of them (Chafe 1970, p 95ff). He distinguishes five in all: State, Action, Process, Action-Process, and Ambient.

2.1. STATE VOICE

When a particular nominal is said to be in a certain
state or condition, the Voice of the verb is specified as
State. There are four verbs in Rotokas which are State
verbs, i.e. the verb which has as meaning, 'to be.' The
verbs are: 1) a zero verb stem with full range of verb af-
fixation, 2) the verb stem tou with full range of verb af-
fixation, 3) the verb epao which is not affixed, and 4) the
affix -a which occurs affixed to nominals.

(In the final draft I will explain the restrictions
of use placed upon these four verbs. It would seem that
they fall into two ~~subgroups~~ sub-groups: tou and epao
might be called "existential - to be," while Ø and -a are
"condition - to be," i.e. the difference between 'it is here'
and 'it is red.' I believe this difference in State verbs
was hinted at by Darlene Bee's Neo-Tagmemics (Ukarumpa, PNG,
1974). I can not handle this now because of several except-
ions which have yet to be explained.)

For examples of State verbs see the previous chapter
examples numbers: 10, 11, 14, 15, 19, 20, 25, 46, and 51.

2.2 ACTION VOICE

The remaining members of this group are non-State and
may answer the questions What happened? or What's happen-
ing? The first of these four remaining ~~four~~ members is the

Action voice. The verbs which express this voice may be
identified specifically as those answering the ~~quun~~ quest-
ion, <u>What</u> <u>did</u> <u>N</u> <u>do?</u> where N is some nominal. This nominal
is participating in the role of Agent.

(53) <u>ragai</u>   <u>viipa</u>   <u>rigatoavoi</u>

    I   you.for   writing.I

    'I am writing to you.'

For further examples of the Action voice see numbers:
12, 13, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 36 - 39, 41, and 43 - 46.

2.3. <u>PROCESS</u> VOICE

The simple Process voice can ~~naxxui~~ normally be identif-
ied as those verbs answering the question, <u>What</u> <u>happened</u> <u>to</u>
<u>N?</u> where N is some nominal. In this case the nominal par-
ticipates in the role of Patient.

(54) <u>evaisi</u>   <u>kakupirora</u> <u>aue</u>   <u>takuraisi</u>

    that   cracked   Ø   egg

    'That egg cracked open.'

For further examples of the Process voice see numbers:
2, 16, 22, and 40.

2.4. <u>ACTION-PROCESS</u> VOICE

In some predications the verbal idea may include sim-
ultaneously both a process and an action. In these cases
the condition or state of the Patient is changed (Process),

as well as an action attributed to the Agent (Action).
"The Agent is still someone who does something, but the
agent does it <u>to</u> (or sometimes <u>with</u>) something, the Pat-
ient of the process..." (Chafe 1970, p. 100). The verb
expressing the Action-Process voice may be identified by
whether or not it answers the two questions <u>What</u> <u>did</u> <u>A</u> <u>do?</u>
and <u>What</u> <u>happened</u> <u>to</u> <u>B?</u> where A and B are Agent and Pat-
ient respectively expressed by nominals.

(55) <u>vearovira</u>   <u>aioa</u>   <u>orirevora</u>   <u>aue</u>   <u>Rokoi</u>

     good.like   food   cooked.he   Ø   Rokoi

     'Rokoi cooked the food well.'

In the above example the two questions are answered in
this way: <u>What</u> <u>did</u> <u>A</u> <u>do?</u> Rokoi cooked the food, and <u>What</u>
<u>happened</u> <u>to</u> <u>B?</u> The food cooked. No further examples occur
in the previous chapter.

2.5. <u>AMBIENT</u> VOICE

In some cases there are no nominals present in the
utterance nor are there person-markers within the verb.
It would seem that the verb in this context occurs as a
State, but there is nothing in particular which can be
called the Patient or the Essive. For example, <u>kasiraopai</u>
<u>vo</u> <u>vokio</u> 'It is hot today.'

It is true also for the case in which the verb seems
to express Action voice, xxxx e.g. <u>vokiepa</u> (night-past tense)

'night fell.' However, there is no Agent. In these dif-
ferent cases the voice of the verbs is called Ambient.
The examples are few and restricted to the Meteorological
category of verbal ideas. See examples: 50, 51, and 52.

3. MODALITY EXPRESSED BY TRUE AFFIXES OF THE VERB

The term "true affixes" is used here in contrast to
"affix particles" which are discussed in Section 4 of this
chapter. Particles, as used in Sections 4 and 5, may occur
elsewhere as independent forms with affixation peculiar to
them. A true affix, on the other hand, has no existence,
and hence no function or meaning, apart from its association
with the verb stem.

The true affixes described and illustrated here all
occur either in the initial order or final order of the
verb affixation. There are two mutually exclusive in the
final order. The first is associated with independent verbs
and the second with dependent verbs.

3.1. REFLECTIVE ACTION (MIDDLE VOICE)

The Reflective action is marked by the prefix ＊ ora-.
When the verb is so marked, the person-number marker and
the tense marker are always those which occur with intran-
sitive verb stems. (See verb morphology page _ in final
draft). The subject as marked by this set of person-number

markers participates in more than one role. Primarily it
is the Agent, but also it may be either the Patient, the
Experiencer, or the Beneficiary (to be checked out yet).
In terms of modality, the Reflective action marker is ~~some-
times~~ said to cause the verb to express Middle voice.

(56) <u>Sirovisi</u> <u>ORAtoeroera</u> <u>aueia</u>   <u>siguva</u>

     Sirovisi ref.cut.he   Ø.with knife

     'Sirovisi cut himself with a knife.'

(57) <u>ORArugo</u> <u>pieravere</u>

     ref.think.cause.I.will

     'I will remind myself.'

(58) <u>vaiterei</u> <u>ORAreoreosiepa</u>   <u>va</u> <u>iava</u>

     they-two ref.talked.they-two it about

     'They both discussed it together.'

3.2 TIME CONTINUUM

Occurring in the final order of verb affixes are the
markers of Time Continuum expressing the modality of Tense.
Of these markers there is a common set expressing two de-
grees of future along the continuum. However, those marking
the varying degrees of time historically are ~~divided~~ divided
into two sets. One occurs with transitive verbs and the
second with intransitive verbs. (This statement will be
adjusted to match the statement of verb morphology in Ch. 3.)

-<u>vere</u>   'near future animate'

-<u>pere</u>   'near future inanimate/we-all incl. future'

-<u>verea</u> 'distant future animate'

-<u>perea</u> 'distant future inanimate/we-all incl. distant fut.'

-<u>voi</u>   'present tense - transitive'
                                                    (animate)
-<u>ei</u>   'present tense - intransitive'

-<u>pi</u>   'present tense inanimate'

-<u>vo</u>   'immediate past tense - transitive'

-<u>e</u>   'immediate past tense - intransitive'

-<u>vorao</u> 'near past tense - transitive'

-<u>erao</u>   'near past tense - intransitive'

-<u>vora</u>   'distant past tense - transitive'

-<u>era</u>   'distant past tense - intransitive'

-<u>va</u>   'remote past tense - transitive'

-<u>epa</u>   'remote past tense - intransitive'

(In order to include State verbs I might use the term
"non-transitive" instead. Also there are exceptions to the
above that will be stated in the final draft, i.e. when the
subject of the transitive verb is marked by the person-number
marker for first person inclusive, the past and present tense
markers used are those for intransitive verbs.)

3.3. SUBJUNCTIVE MODE

The meaning expressed by the Subjunctive mode marker
-<u>ve</u> 'would (animate)' and -<u>pe</u> 'would (inanimate/we-all in-

clusive)' encompasses a broader scope ᴏf than its trad-
itional use in which some contingency is implied, i.e.
the action is contingent upon something else. This state-
ment about the Rotokas marker is true, however, in a broader
sense the marker also signals 'indefinite time of action.'
In this broader meaning 'contingency' is not always implied.
(Along with -ve 'would animate transitive' is -∅ 'would
animate intransitive.') (However uusipaave e-18)

> (59) va   purapaiVE
>
>   it   making.they.would
>
>   'They would be making it.'
>
> (60) opesiPE
>
>   finished.it-would-be
>
>   'It would be finished/We all would finish (it).'
>
> (61) avaro∅   viovokoto   vokipavira
>
>   go.he.would   boy   tomorrow
>
>   'The boy would go tomorrow.'

3.4. HABITUATIVE ASPECT

There are three sets of markers which signal that an
activity is habituative either in the past, present, or fut-
ure. Within two of the sets there is no one-to-one relation-
ship between surface structure features and deep level mean-
ing. Only in the present habituative action marker is there
a match between marker and meaning.

When the aspect of the ~~verbal~~ action expressed in the
verb is habituative and occurs in the past the following
set of markers is used: <u>oisioa</u> 'always' (preceding the verb)
and the Subjunctive mode markers described in the previous
section.

(62) <u>motokar</u>   <u>OISIOA</u>   <u>ipa</u>   <u>piepare</u>VE

     car   always   ascend making.he.would-be

     <u>ipavira</u>

     above

     'He would always be making the car go up

     (there) in the past.'

In the present the habituative aspect is marked by
-<u>veira</u> 'always (animate)' or -<u>peira</u> 'always (inanimate)/we
all always.' It normally co-occurs with the continuing
action marker, -<u>pa</u>.

(63) <u>rera</u> <u>vaisipai</u>VEIRA   <u>araokoto</u>

     him   naming.they.always-are brother

     'They are always calling him "brother" at the

     present time.'

Habituative action in the future is signaled by the
set of: -<u>pa</u> 'continuing action' and distant future tense
markers -<u>verea</u> or -<u>perea</u> (although the near future tense
markers are also acceptable).

(64) <u>igei</u>   <u>touPAioVEREA</u>   <u>evoa</u>

      we   existing.we.will-be there

      'We will be always existing there in the future.'

3.5. <u>COMPLETIVE-SEQUENTIAL ASPECT</u>

When one event has been completed and a second event
is expected to follow, the Completive-Sequential aspect mark-
er -<u>voiva</u> (with transitive verb stems) or -<u>iva</u> (with intran-
sitive verb stems) is affixed to the first of the two verbs.
It occurs in the final order of verb affixes. When this
marker is used, there is not conjoining word or phrase used
between the two verbs. Although a second event is expected,
it is not obligatory to express it. In this case the marker
signals only completed action. This is the exception rather
than the rule, however.

(65) <u>varuereroIVA</u>   <u>etopareva</u>

      gathered-food.he.having   started-fire.he

      'Having gathered some food, he started a fire.'

3.6. <u>CONTRARY-TO-FACT-CONDITIONAL MODE</u>

There are in general three meanings which can be ex-
pressed by the Contrary-to-fact-conditional mode markers
-<u>vori</u> (with transitive verb stems) and -<u>eri</u> (with intran-
sitive verb stems). First, in a positive sense the meaning
may be that a condition has not been fulfilled and therefore

an event or state cannot be.

(66) <u>vosia</u>   <u>vii</u>   <u>uvuaVORI</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>viipa</u>   <u>va</u>

      if   you   hear.I.had   then   you.for   it

      <u>ouaVORI</u>

      get.I.would-have

      'If I had heard you, I would have gotten it

      for you.'

Secondly, with the modality of negation the meaning may

be; if it were true that the condition had not been met,

then the event or state would not have been.

(67) <u>vosia</u>   <u>viapau</u>   <u>reraia</u>   <u>rorupasiVORI</u>   <u>ra</u>

      if   no   him.with   pleased.they-two.had then

      <u>viapau</u>   <u>rerapa</u>   <u>tauva</u>   <u>vatesiVORI</u>

      no   him.for   help   give.they-two.would-have

      'If they had not been pleased with him, then

      they would not have given him help.'

Finally in a broader sense, these markers may signal

that an event or a state cannot be because of some prior

condition.

(68) <u>viapau</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>ragai</u>   <u>tapo</u>   <u>touriVORI</u>

      no   like-this   I   with   exist.you.can

      'You can't stay with me (since...)'

3.7. <u>CONSISTENT-TO-FACT-CONDITIONAL MODE</u>

A special use of the Near Past Tense marker in the first

verb followed by a Subjunctive mode marker with the second
verb of a two-verb sequence results in the expression of
Consistent-to-fact-conditional mode. This meaning expressed
is: the condition has already been met; therefore, the event
or state can be.

(69) oisioa   tuituikasi   kasiiVORA   vo

    always   fire   burn.they.would-have   this

      kasi   iare   vara   vikipaiVE

      fire   to   them   throw.they.would

      'Having always burned the fire, they would

      throw them onto this fire.'

The following example demonstrates a "negative" aspect
when the above meaning is in the context of the Avolitional
mode.

(70) teapi   kuvuropatapi   toupaiVORA   rerare

    lest   cool-place   exist.it.would-have   him.to

      vorePE   vo   upia

      return.would   this   sickness

      '...lest having had it in a cool place, the

      sickness would return to him.'

Once again as in the case of the Completive-sequence
aspect marker (the meanings of these two modality markers
are similar) there is usually no other conjoining word or
phrase used between the verbs of this two-verb sequence.

3.8. POTENTIAL MODE

There are several markers which may be used to express the potentiality of an event or state (or object). The first to be discussed is the little used verb affix -via 'maybe' which occurs in the first order of verb suffixes. The remaining markers are discussed in section 7.7. under Non-verbal words. Because of the fact that the second set of markers occurs much more frequently, I feel that this marker of Potential mode, -via is rapidly becoming obsolete.

(71) kepa   pauVIArevere   pasi

house   build.maybe.he.will maybe

'Maybe he will build the house.'

(72) moni   urioVIApere   vore

money   come.maybe.will   here.to

'The money may come here later on.'

3.9. CONTINUING ASPECT

To indicate that an event or state is continuing on in the time continuum, the Continuing aspect marker -pa is affixed to the verb stem usually immediately preceding the person-number marker.

(73) igei   avaPAiei   Rabaul   iare

we   going.we.are   Rabaul   to

'We are going to Rabaul.'

(74) voa   aioa   vearo ØPAi   voeare

      there food   good   is.being them.for

      'There the food is (being) good for them.'

3.10. COMPLETED ASPECT

The verb affix which expresses the meaning of action
completed is -(u)viro (animate subject) or -piro (inanimate
subject). The affix occurs in any order between the verb
stem (or affix particle) and the last order as illustrated
in the chapter on morphology. The meaning conveyed may be
that the action has been completed, will have been completed,
or in conjunction with Continuing aspect marker the action
is in the process of being completed. There are certain verbs
with which this marker commonly occurs. Otherwise it is not
found frequently in the texts.

(75) ira   poreroVIROvere   ragai iare

      he   turn.he.complete.will   I   to

      'He will have completely turned to me.'

(76) katai lotu   raga   pou   rovoPIROpa

      one   church only   arrive first.complete.did

      voia

      here

      'Only one church first came to be here.'

3.11. <u>SIMULTANEOUS</u> <u>ASPECT</u>

The next three markers of modality are peculiar in
that when they are affixed to the verb, the verb then be-
comes dependent upon a second verb for the indication of
subject (as marked by person-number affixes) and tense.
(See chapter on Morphology for Independent vs. Dependent
verb constructions).

When an independent verb construction occurs either
preceded or followed by a verb to which the Simultaneous
aspect marker -<u>oro</u> is suffixed, the meaning is that the
actions of the two verbs occur simultaneously (or state).
There is further discussion and illustrations intended in
the chapter on Inter-propositional Relationships.

(77) <u>aioORO</u>   <u>uriou</u>

eat.ing   come.you

'You come eating.'

(78) <u>aueva</u>   <u>toupaORO</u>   <u>upea</u>   <u>avaraepa</u>

∅.with   exist.while.ing   Upe-hat   went.I

'I went while having the Upe hat.'

3.12. <u>SEQUENTIAL-PURPOSE</u> <u>ASPECT</u>

The two affixes of this set do not convey consistently
either the meaning of "two actions in sequence" or "intended
action or purpose." However, in contrast to the Simultaneous

aspect marker the Sequential-Purpose aspect markers always
signals that verb so marked ~~which~~ expresses either action
or state in a sequence with that expressed by the inde-
pendent verb. The most commonly occurring affix of this
set is -sia, while -arare appears to be coming obsolete in
use. It may be that in the past -sia expressed more the
meaning of sequential action and -arare expressed more the
meaning of purpose. Contrast -arare with -arapa described
in section 3.13. of this chapter.

~~???~~
(79) toupaSIA   voreraepa   voa

     exist.to-be   returned.I   there

     'I returned there to stay.'

(80) igei vo   kovoaro   ∅   oirara   torevokoARARE

     we   this   work.poss is   people   straighten.to

     'Our job is to straighten out people.'

(81) rikui vai   tekaSIA   avave   auere   koie   kare

     hole   some   dig.to   go.we-two ∅.for   pig   animals

     'We are going to dig some hole for the pigs.'

3.13. SEQUENCE-NEGATION ASPECT

     Probably the most difficult meaning to pin down is
that expressed by the Sequence-negation aspect marker,
-arapa. The term "negation" is used to cover also the area
of "frustration" or "non-fulfilment of an expected event."

In addition there is underlying the meaning of negation
the indication that the action or state expressed by the
verb marked by -arapa occurs in a sequence with the action
or state expressed by the independent verb.

(82) uririparai koatapaARAPA   vo   keparoia

      fearing.I   enter.to.neg   this   houses.here

      'I am afraid to go into these houses here.'

(83) ariiparai   aioa   vai   areARAPA

      shame.I   food   some   request.to.neg

      'I'm ashamed to ask for some food.'

(84) ovauroepa   rera   akeARAPA

      forgot.he   him   ask.to.neg

      'He forgot to ask him.'

(85) vokiei   igeire   kepa   puraARAPA

      night-falls us.to   house   make.to.neg

      'Night is coming upon us and we haven't built the

      house yet.'

4. MODALITY EXPRESSED BY AFFIX PARTICLES OF THE VERB

     There are two modes expressed by affixes which may
also occur as free form adverbs elsewhere. For this reason
they are differentiated from true verb affixes (section 3.)

4.1. ASSERTIVE MODE

The Assertive mode is expressed by either of two affix
particles which occur suffixed to the verb stem or to the
verb particle. They are -irao and -vasi both of which give
indication that the action or state expressed by the verb
is especially important. Of the two -irao is the more com-
monly used affix.

(86) vearovira   rutu   voeao   oritoIRAOai

     good.like   truly   these   decorate.truly.they

     'They really decorated these people very well.'

(87) roru   ØIRAOpaa   viia

     happy   am.truly.I you.with

     'I am very happy with you.'

(88) apeisi   vigei   kavuVASIpare   ro

     why   us   leave.truly.he   this.male

     ~~Why did the this man really leave us?~~

     'Why is this man really leaving us?'

4.2. FRUSTRATIVE MODE

The affix particle -raga expresses the notion of either
a kind of frustration or that the event or state expressed
by the verb is intended to be de-emphasized by the speaker.

(89) iria   taataairarare   paipaiRAGApaeva

     she   cousins.to   stymied.just.she.was-being

     'She was just stymied (looking for) her cousins.'

(90) <u>oira</u>   <u>geesiRAGApareve</u>   <u>vova</u>

     she   smell.in-vain.he.would   here.from

          <u>oira</u>   <u>gisipoaro</u>

          'They would just smell her from her mouth

          (without results).'

(91) <u>touRAGApasivora</u>   <u>evoa</u>

     exist.just.you-two   there

     'You two just stay there.'

5. MODALITY EXPRESSED BY VERB PARTICLES

Verb particles are verb stems which may occur as
independent verbs elsewhere; however, when expressing the
modality of an associated verb they occur immediately
following that verb affixed by all of the suffixes which
otherwise would have occurred with that verb, i.e.

     main-verb-stem   verb-particle + main-verb-affixes

5.1. <u>CAUSATIVE</u> <u>VOICE</u>

The Causative voice marker <u>pie</u> is a frequently occur-
ring modality marker. In some cases the verb stem plus
<u>pie</u> have become a secondary verb-stem composite and are
considered a single unit, e.g. <u>kae</u> 'to carry' and <u>pie</u>
'cause to' together form the unit <u>kaepie</u> 'to lift.' The
main verb marked for causative voice will always take the

verb affixes which occur with transitive verb stems.

(92) <u>vaiterei</u>   <u>koata</u>   ~~pie~~<u>PIEive</u>

    they-two   enter   cause.they.would

      <u>vore</u>   <u>kepaia</u>

      here.to   house.in

      'They made the two boys go into the house.'

(93) <u>rera</u>   <u>raverave</u>   Ø   <u>PIEiva</u>

    him   weak   be   caused.they

    'They weakened him.'

Also see example number 94 below.

5.2. <u>CESSATIVE</u> <u>ASPECT</u>

The verb particle which expresses the Cessative aspect of the verb is <u>ovoi</u>. This particle signals that the event has been completed or that the action took place completely at that point in time, i.e. punctiliar action. It follows the main verb immediately or the Causative voice marker as in example 94.

(94) <u>ovauto</u>   <u>orakopi</u>   <u>pie</u>   ~~ro~~<u>OVOIroepa</u>

    orphan   ref.die   cause   completed.he

    'At that very moment the orphan killed himself.'

(95) <u>rera</u>   <u>ou</u>   <u>OVOIeve</u>   <u>vore</u>

    he   get   completed.she.would   here.to

      <u>orakavauoia</u>

      ref.lap.her.to

(95) 'She would get him finally into her own lap'

5.3. INCEPTIVE ASPECT

Although the marker described and illustrated here is
labeled Inceptive i.e. that it signals the starting of an
event or state; in most cases the marker simply indicates
that the particular event or state happened first. As a
free form verb it means 'to start,' but nominalized it
means 'first one.' The Inceptive aspect marker is <u>rovo</u>.
It occurs immediately after the main verb or after the
Causative voice marker, <u>pie</u>.

<blockquote>
(96) <u>uuko</u>   <u>ROVOpareva</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>uukovi</u>

get-water   starting.he.was   here   river

'He was starting to get water from the river.'
</blockquote>

<blockquote>
(97) <u>vegoa</u>   <u>viou</u>   <u>ROVOri</u>

jungle   clear   first.you

'You first clear the jungle.'
</blockquote>

5.4. REJECTION MODE

The verb particle <u>asia</u> described here as expressing
the Rejection mode is similar to the auxiliary verb <u>reasi</u>
which also is used to express the Rejection mode. However,
as a̶ a̶f̶ verb particle the meaning of rejection is extended
to mean "without" as well, i.e. 'without the event or state

happening.' This verb particle occurs in the same order
as do the previously described particles of 5.2. and 5.3.

(98) <u>ragai</u> <u>tavi</u> <u>ASIApari</u>   <u>vearovira</u>

     me   tell rejecting you.are good.like

     'You don't want to tell me well.'

(99) <u>ragai</u> <u>vaaro</u>   <u>tovo</u> <u>ASIAriva</u>   <u>benia</u>

     I   it.poss   put   rejected.you bank.in

     'You didn't put mine in the bank.'

5.5. <u>REPETITIVE ASPECT</u>

The Repetitive aspect of an event is marked in a spec-
ial way in that the verb particle is a repeat of the main
verb itself. It follows itself immediately.

(100) <u>evaova</u> <u>toereva</u>

      tree   cut.he

      'He cut the tree.'

but:

(101) <u>evaova</u> <u>toe</u> <u>TOEreva</u>

      tree   cut cut.he

      'He repeatedly cut the tree.'

6. MODALITY EXPRESSED BY AUXILIARY VERBS

The difference between a verb particle and an auxil-
iary verb is that the affixation of the verb particle "be-

longs to the main verb"; whereas the affixation of the
auxiliary verb is "its own." That is to say there is
affixation on the main verb as well as on the auxiliary
verb.

6.1. ABILITATIVE MODE

The Abilitative mode is identified by the auxiliary
verb uvui which means 'to be able, to be sufficient, to be
equal to.' Used in isolation this verb stem also means
'to measure.' As an auxiliary verb it expresses the idea
that the subject has the ability or aptitude to perform
the event described by the main verb, or that the situa-
tion is "right" for the event to take place or the state
to be. The linking word ra 'then' is optional but usually
present when the main verb is independent, but it is ob-
ligatorily absent when the main verb is dependent. Exam-
ples 102 and 103 respectively illustrate these points.

(102) uvuiparai   ra   viire   kerara

       able.I.am   then   you.to   call.I

       'I can call to you.'

(103) uvuipatai   va   purapasia

       able.you.are   it   doing.to-be

       'You all can be doing it.'

(104) uvuipai   ra   raiva vaire   tarari
       able.is   then road   some.to search.you

       igeipa
       us.for

       'It is right that you search for some
       road for us.'

I feel there is a difference in focus between these
three examples. In one the focus could be on the event
expressed by the main verb (102 and 104), but in the other
the focus would be on the notion of "ability" (103). This
distinction of focus upon the notion expressed by either
main verb or auxiliary verb could also be made for the
køм two auxiliary-main verb constructions to follow. More
careful analysis is necessary.

6.2. DESIDERATIVE MODE

There are two verb stems which when used as auxiliaries
express the idea that the subject has the desire to per-
form the event or to be in the state described by the main
verb. These two verb stems of the Desiderative mode are
ruipa and vovou 'to desire, to want, to intend.' The links
oisio 'like this' and ra 'then' are optional but usually
present when the main verb is independent, but are absent
when the main verb is dependent. For the description of the
function of oisio see Relator Particles section   .

(105) <u>oisio</u>   <u>vovouparai</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>vii</u>
       like.this   intending.I.am   then   you

            <u>tapo</u>   <u>oravatera</u>
            with   ref.give.I

            'I am intending to give myself to you.'

(106) <u>oisio</u>   <u>ruipaparai</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>iriai</u>
       like.this   wanting.I.am   then   some-other.female

            <u>raga</u>   <u>oua</u>   <u>riakova</u>   <u>vai</u>
            only   get.I   woman   some

            'I want to get (marry) some other woman only.'

(107) <u>aioa</u> <u>vai</u>   <u>orisia</u>   <u>ruipaparai</u>
       food   some   cook.to   wanting.I.am

            'I want to cook some food.'

6.3. <u>REJECTION</u> <u>MODE</u>

The Rejection mode is expressed by the auxiliary verb
stem <u>reasi</u> 'to dislike.' In isolation this verb stem also
means 'to be tired.' The auxiliary form is used to ex-
press the idea that the subject does not want to perform
the event nor to be in the state described by the verb with
which it is associated. When the main verb is dependent
the final-order suffix is not -<u>sia</u> as in the above two modes,
but -<u>arapa</u> which has been described in section 3.13. The
restrictions placed upon the use of <u>oisio</u> and <u>ra</u> in the above

two sections hold true for the use with the Rejection
mode as well.

(108) reasiparai   oisio   ra   eisi

       disliking.I.am   like.this then   like-that

              oarai   purari

              some-other   make.you

              'I dislike you doing something like that.'

(109) reasipataveira   aioa   oriarapa

       disliking.you.always   food   cook.to.neg

       'You all are always tired of cooking food.'

6.4. DURATIVE ASPECT

The final modality discussed in this section on auxil-
iary verbs is peculiar in that 1) the modality is an aspect
of the main verb and not a mode, and 2) the auxiliary verb
is a repeat of the main verb with same or nearly same af-
fixation. The auxiliary verb may be repeated up to four or
five times according to the narrator's fancy. The idea ex-
pressed by this repetion of the main verb is that the event
(usually an action event) takes place over a period of time.

(110) uva   vo   turu   purapaveva

       then   this   line   making.we-two.were

              purapaveva   purapaveva

       making.we-two.were   making.we-two.were

(110) 'Then the both of us were making this

       line over a period of time.'

(111) <u>avaopa</u>   <u>avaopa</u>   <u>gaegaereoro</u> <u>avaopa</u> <u>avaopa</u>

       went.she   went.she   drifting   went.she went.she

       'She (canoe) went on and on drifting and going.'

7. MODALITY EXPRESSED BY NON-VERB WORDS

There are ♠ several words which are used to express
various modalities of the verbs. Although not directly as-
sociated with the verb as are the markers described and il-
lustrated in sections 2. through 6. above, there is a ᴇᴋᴇ
certain degree of relationship with the verb since certain
of the above markers commonly occur with various of these
non-verb ᴍᴏᴅᴀᴋᴋᴋᴋ modality markers. When appràriate these
co-occurrences will be noted.

7.1. <u>NEGATION</u> <u>MODE</u>

Other than the markers of Sequence-Negation aspect,
and Rejection mode there is nothing in the makeup of the
Rotokas verb construction which signals Negation. However,
the notion expressed by the total verb construction may be
negated simply by including the word <u>viapau</u> 'no/not'. This
Negation mode marker usually occurs first in the utterance.
The link <u>oisio</u> 'like this' optionally (but usually) occurs
immediately after <u>viapau</u>.

(112) viapau   oisio   voreroverea

       no   like-this   return.he.will

       'He will not return again.'

(113) With Habitual aspect marker:

       viapau   oisioa   ragai   uvupareve

       no   always   I   hearing.he.would-be

       'He would never be obeying me in the past.'

(114) With Abilitative mode marker:

       viapau   oisio   uvuipaopa   ra   vo

       no   like-this   able.she.was   then   this

           tupa   tateeve

           door   smash.she.would

           'She couldn't smash the door.'

(115) With State voice:

       ro   tutue   viapau   vo   toureverea

       this   volcano   no   here   exist.he.will

       'This volcano won't be here.'

(116) When viapau (oisio) is followed immediately
by the link ra, the meaning is 'shouldn't'.

           viapau   oisio   ra   rera   uvuragari

           no   like-this   then   he   hear.just.you

           aiteara

           father.your

           'Don't listen vainly to your father.'

7.2. AVOLITIONAL MODE

As mentioned above viapau (oisio) ra is one way to express the Avolitional mode, however, a more common way is by means of the Avolitional mode marker teapi. The meaning expressed by this word is that the event shouldn't take place or the state be. In addition the notion of 'lest' or 'it wouldn't be good if...' is also expressed by teapi. It usually occurs initially in the utterance.

(117) teapi   va   purata
      shouldn't it   make.you
      'You shouldn't do it.'

(118) teapi vii keareve   vo   vokiia
      lest you deceive.he.would this   day.about
      'It wouldn't be good if he deceived you about this day.'

7.3. PROHIBITIVE MODE

Of a stronger injunction is the word opeita which expresses the meaning 'you must not' as Prohibitive mode marker. It conveys the strongest prohibitive meaning when used in conjunction with the emphatic qualifier rutu 'truly.' The word opeita usually occurs initially in the utterance.

(119) opeita va   purapata   rutu
      don't   it   making.you.be truly

(119) 'Truly don't be doing it!'

(120) <u>opeita</u> <u>gare</u>   <u>kepaia</u>   <u>vara</u>   <u>tovopari</u>

      don't   small house.in them putting.you.be

      'Don't be putting them in the little house.'

7.4. <u>OBLIGATIVE</u> <u>MODE</u>

The Obligative mode is expressed by the word <u>tepa</u> which means 'must.' To emphasize this meaning the Assertive mode marker <u>irao</u> may be included in the verb construction or the emphatic qualifier <u>rutu</u> may be employed either immediately after <u>tepa</u> or after the verb construction. The marker <u>tepa</u> usually occurs initially in the utterance. In all examples recorded so far, the subject of the verb is second person.

(121) <u>tepa</u> x <u>vii</u> <u>ira</u>   <u>rovou</u>

      must   you lead first.you

      'You must go ahead first.'

(122) <u>tepa</u> <u>torepau</u>   <u>tapo</u> <u>aiopasia</u>

      must get-up.you   also eating-be.to

      'You must also get up to be eating.'

7.5. <u>ASSERTIVE</u> <u>MODE</u>

The word <u>rutu</u> is used to express the Assertive mode. It has a variety of uses expressing various notions such as:

all inclusiveness, emphasis, the totality of something.
It usually occurs to emphasize adverbial constructions and
nouns. However, when following the verb or when preceding
the verb in conjunction with the link oisio, then the event
or state described by the verb is intended to be highlighted.

 (123) taraipauei rutu vo aueia

    knowing.you.are truly this ∅.about

     opesiaro vo rasito

     end.poss this ground

     'You really do know about the finish of

     the ᴥᴥ earth.'

 (124) oisio   rutu vo pitupituro toupaiveira

    like-this truly this customs exist.always

    'These customs are truly always like this now.'

One might say that in example number 124 the use of
rutu is like the ordinary Rotokas adverb which is true to
a degree. However, there are several adverbs which have
parallel functions emphasizing the truth of the verbal no-
tion or its greatness, but none of them seems to be as
closely tied to the verb in word order and in meaning as the
Assertive mode marker rutu.

7.6. CERTITIVE MODE

 The Certitive mode marker, taru, conveys two distinct-
ive meanings in English which both seem to be unified into

one in Rotokas. The English meanings are 1) certainly and 2) later on. The union of these two meanings is illustrated particularly in example number 126. The word <u>taru</u> usually follows immediately the verb, however, it may follow nominal phrases directly associated with the verb as well.

(125) <u>vii</u> <u>tovaio</u>   <u>taru</u>

you   bury.we.would   certainly

'We would ᵍᵉᵗ certainly bury you.'

(126) <u>vo</u>   <u>karo</u>   <u>rutu</u> <u>taru</u>   <u>tasiive</u>

this   rafter   all   certainly/later   tie.they.would

'They would certainly then fasten all these rafters.'

7.7. <u>POTENTIAL MODE</u>

Along with the verb affix -<u>via</u> described in section 3.8. there are two other forms associated with the verb which express the Potential mode of the verb. The first is the free form <u>pasi</u> 'maybe' which seems to be unrestricted as far as order of occurrence in the utterance. The second is the enclitic -<u>vai</u> which may occur suffixed to nominals and means 'some', or to adverbs and whole verb constructions where it means 'maybe.' A third form meaning 'maybe' is the nominal suffix -<u>avu</u>. Both -<u>avu</u> and -<u>vai</u> occur in a commonly used expression: <u>viapau</u> <u>oavuavuvaiei</u> (no other-thing.maybe.

some.is) 'There is nothing *wrong.'

    (127) <u>uvuiparaiVAI</u>

           able.I.am.maybe

           'I might be able.'

    (128) <u>oisioVAI</u>   <u>pasi</u>   <u>ragai</u>   <u>piepare</u>   <u>doktor</u>

           like-this.some   maybe I   doing.be.he doctor

           'The doctor might do something like this to me.'

    (129) <u>viapau</u> <u>uvuiparai</u> <u>ra</u>   <u>o</u>   <u>ouavere</u>   <u>pasi</u>

           no   able.I.am then this get.I.will maybe

           'I might not be able to get (marry) this woman

           later on.'

    (130) <u>viapauVAI</u> <u>vearo</u> <u>Øravere</u>   <u>pasi</u>

           no.maybe   good   be.I.will maybe

           'I might not recover (from sickness) later on.'

7.8. <u>INTERROGATIVE</u> <u>MODE</u>

The Interrogative mode is signaled by Interrogative pronouns when specific responses are being elicited. However, when a <u>yes</u> or <u>no</u> answer is all that is required, there are two Interrogative mode markers used in conjunction with the verb. These markers are <u>e</u> and <u>eke</u>. The first has no other meaning except to signal (along with the appropriate intonation) that the statement of the verb is being made made as a question. The second marker, <u>eke</u> basically means 'or'

and in its final position of the utterance it introduces
an elliptical echo question e.g. "Are you going pig
hunting or aren't you going pig hunting?" The marker e
occurs initially in the utterance.

(131) e   viapau   kavori   kare   uporivo
      ?   no   crayfish animals killed.you
      'Didn't you kill the crayfish?'

(132) Togarao   iare   karepauei   eke
      Togarao   to   returning.You.are   or...
      'Are you going back to Togarao or (aren't you
      going back to Togarao)?'

7.9. DUPLICATIVE ASPECT

The Duplicative aspect marker, ita, functions much like
the adverb vore(ri)vira 'again'; however, unlike the adverb
its distribution is limited to immediately following the
verb. Its meaning also is more broader than the adverb in
that it is also used in other contexts as an emphasis marker.

(133) avaparai   ita
      going.I.am again
      'I am going again.'

~~(134) avaa akipasia~~
~~food cooking be ready here was~~

'

(134) <u>aioa</u> <u>orisia</u>   <u>ita</u>   <u>vatatoporoepa</u>

food   cook.to   again   ready.he.was

'He was ready to cook food again.'

8. SUMMARY OF MODALITIES

In the final draft I will have chart of distribution which will include all of the markers described and illustrated in the preceding sections.

The following is a summary listing of the modalities according to the outline as found in Darlene Bee's <u>Neo-Tagmemics</u> (Ukarumpa PNG, 1974)

I The modality of Voice:

State, Action, Process, Action-Process,

Ambient, Middle, Causative.

II The modality of Mode:

Response Oriented:

Assertive, Obligative, Prohibitive,

Avolitional, Interrogative.

Truth-value/Reliability:

Certitive, Negation, Contrary-To-Fact-

Conditional, Consistent-To-Fact-Condit-

ional, Potential, Abilitative, Subjunctive.

Emotional Attitude:

Desiderative, Rejection, Frustrative.

III The modality of Aspect:

    Force:

        Completed, Inceptive, Cessative.

    Duration:

        Simultaneous, Sequential-Purpose, Sequential-Negation, Completive-Sequential, Continuing, Durative.

    Frequence:

        Repetitive, Habituative, Duplicative.

IV The modality of Tense:

    Time Continuum/Degree:

        Remote past, Distant Past, Near Past, Immediate Past, Present, Future, Distant Future.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE SIMPLE PROPOSITION

1. INTRODUCTION

In his article "A Case For Case" Fillmore suggests

that a "proposition" is made up of a Verb Phrase plus

Noun Phrases which are marked for case. Furthermore, "Sen-

tences" are made up of these "Propositions" plus Modality.

In this description of the Rotokas grammar, I prefer to

merge Fillmore's "Proposition" and "Sentence" into one

unit called the Simple Proposition. That is to say, the

Simple Proposition (hereafter termed "proposition") con-

sists of a Verb Phrase, plus Modality, plus the Arguments

made up of Noun Phrases. A proposition will be made up of

no less than one of each of these constituents, or the

potential for their occurrence (one argument will always

be manifested in the verb construction by the person-number

marker or absence of it whether or not the entity is iden-

tified as a free-form argument elsewhere in the proposi-

tion.)

If the combination of Modality and Verb Phrase is

considered as a single unit (which I will term the "Pre-

dication"), then the descriptions of propositions in this

chapter will approximate Grimes' Predicate Rule as posed

in his suggested semantic grammar of propositions (Grimes

1972 p. 225) which is:

$$F \longrightarrow P_1^* \; A_0^*$$

where the initial symbol <u>F</u> stands for 'form' represent-
ing a proposition and one rewrite rule that replaces <u>F</u>
by one or more predications <u>p</u> together with zero or more
x arguments <u>A</u>. The asterisk stands for a string of any
number of elements greater than or equal to the subscript
beneath it.

There is more to be gained by studying his Argument
Rule and discussion of the application of these two rules;
however, at this point I'm not ready or able to apply them
to the notions which I am toying with until 1) I have more
"light" on Grimes and 2) my notions are better formed to
my own satisfaction. I mention Grimes here to remind my-
self and to suggest to others that my description is aimed
at what Grimes has outlined of his semantic grammar of
propositions.

Following again the basic format of this paper, the
propositions will be described and illustrated according
to increasing complexity. Starting with a proposition of
one predication with included argument, i.e. the argument
is identified by the person-number marker of the verb, but with
optional marginal arguments the description will proceed
to more complex propositions. In this chapter I will dif-
fer with Grimes Predicate Rule in that the propositions will

as Simple Propositions include no more than one predica-
tion. (It should be noted also that my use of predication
does not match Grimes use of predicate which is broader.)

2. PREDICATION PLUS OBLIGATORY INCLUDED ARGUMENT

The least complex proposition which can occur in Rot-
okas is the single predication (Verb Phrase plus Modality)
with its included argument identified by the subject marker
of the verb, i.e. person-number marker. The optional mar-
ginal arguments of this least complex proposition are:
Agent, Experiencer, Essive, Patient, Source, Goal, Refer-
ential, and Means. The participants of these semantic roles
are the nominals which function grammatically as: Subject
SUBJECT, ACCOMPANIMENT, COMPLIMENT, LOCATION, TIME, MEANS,
(hereafter all semantic roles will be named in lower case
and grammatical functions in upper case type).

In the predication the class of verb stems will be
non-transitive which may manifest express only the following
verbal categories: existence Existence, Equvalence, Pos-
session, Qualification, Quantification, Comparison, Orien-
tation, Position, Movement, Sensing, Emitting, Psychic
Activity, Phase, and Meteorological. Concerning Modalities
the predication may be in the State Voice, Action Voice,
Process Voice, and Ambient Voice, but not Middle Causative
Causative Voice, or Action-Process Voices.

All other Modalities may be appropriately expressed keeping
in mind that those expressing dependence upon another verb
or that the event or state is only one of two or more verbs,
e.g. if Completive-Sequential aspect is expressed, then
normally a second predication will follow, will require a
further predication.

The following formulations give the possible combina-
tions of Predications and ~~Any~~ Arguments for the least com-
plex propositions.

2.1. PREDICATION WITH STATE VOICE

When the Predication is expressed by verbs of the State
Voice, the following limitations are imposed upon the choice
of optional arguments: Experiencer, Essive, Patient, Ref-
erential the participants of which are expressed by nominals
functioning as SUBJECT or COMPLIMENT; and Source and ~~Goal~~
Goal ~~of which the participants are expressed by nominals~~
which are expressed by nominals functioning grammatically
as either TIME or LOCATION. This proposition will be termed
the "Stative Proposition."

$$F_{stative} \longrightarrow (Source/Goal) \quad (Essive/Patient/Experiencer)$$

$$Predication \qquad (Referential)$$
$$state\ voice$$
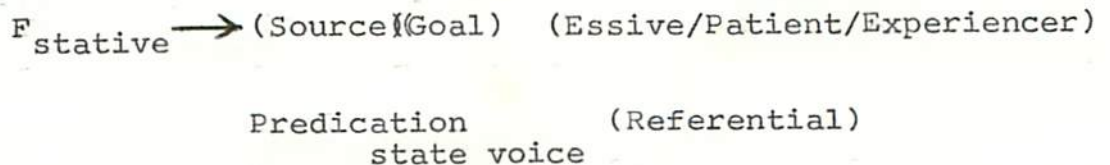
The parentheses indicate optional components and the
linked parentheses indicate that either ~~element may appear~~

component may appear alone or both may appear together
(Grimes 1972.226).

(At this point I will just indicate how the final draft
may appear. Firstly, this section of the Stative Prop-
osition will have to be reworked to include the differences
between optional and obligatory arguments based upon the
different manifestations of the verb, i.e. tou and Ø norm-
ally have an included argument, but epao and -a do not ex-
press an argument. Secondly, I'll rewrite the above in a
more tagmemic type format but with Platt's ideas and de-
notations included (?). Thirdly, the chapter will go some-
thing like this:

1. INTRODUCTION

2. PREDICATION WITH ~~OBLIGATORY~~ INCLUDED ARGUMENT

2.1. THE STATIVE PROPOSITION

2.2. THE CONDITION PROPOSITION(?)

2.3. THE INTRANSITIVE PROPOSITION

3. PREDICATION WITH ONE OBLIGATORY FREE ARGUMENT

3.1. THE TRANSITIVE PROPOSITION

3.2. THE QUOTATIVE PROPOSITION

4. PREDICATION WITH TWO OBLIGATORY FREE ARGUMENTS

4.1. THE DI-TRANSITIVE PROPOSITION

Obviously I am feeling my way here, but there is a
possibility (depending upon what I get out of a further study
of Platt) that the descriptions will be in the following

format:

The Stative Proposition

notion: My name is Akoitai.

construction:

example –	ragai	vaisia	oaaa	Akoitai
	I	name	my.is	Akoitai
SR	predication			essive
GF	SUBJECT			COMPLEMENT
GC	Predicate Noun			Noun Phrase
description	NP + -a			Any word/phrase used as a "name," or a "description."

In the above "SR" stand for Semantic Role, "GF" stands
for Grammatical Function, and 'GC" stands for Grammatical
Construction. The description allows for a brief dis-
cussion of special GC's or specific lexical items used in
the proposition. I realize the description of Noun Phrase
is inadequate for COMPLEMENT as I had ~~xxixxi~~ origᴧinally in-
tended the above for another type of format.

Going on then in the prose section of the above des-
cription of the Stative Proposition there will be the
following:

margin: (This will usually be about the limitations

placed on the occurrence of Goal and/or

Source as TIME or LOCATION.

modality: (Limitations on modalities possible and/or
any peculiarity concerning them in the pro-
position being discussed.)

exmaples: (Illustrations with modalities named, e.g.
(135) with Negation:

<u>viapau</u>	<u>oisio</u>	<u>ragai</u>	<u>vaisiaroa</u>	<u>Pute</u>
no	like-this	I	name.poss.is	Pute

'My name isn't Pute.'

This then will complete the description of the least
complex propositions.)

CHAPTER EIGHT

SPECIAL TYPES OF SIMPLE PROPOSITIONS

1. INTRODUCTION

There are types of propositions which do not conven-
iently fit into the descriptions of Chapter Seven. One of
these types does not fit because of its peculiar construct-
ion. This type will be termed the "Merged Propositions."
The second of the types does not fit because of its pecul-
iar function. This type will be termed the "Attributive
Propositions."

2x

2. MERGED PROPOSITIONS

When there are two or more propositions inter-related
by "dependency," the resulting constructions is termed a
"Merged Proposition." By "dependency" is meant one or more
of the propositions 1) is unmarked in its predication for
person-number functioning grammatically as SUBJECT, and 2)
the aspect of the predication signals more than one event
or state in the total construction, i.e. Simultaneous
aspect, Sequential-Purpose aspect, or Sequential-Negation
aspect.

An alternative description might be suggested for these
combinations of verbs. One might say that there is the
main verb with its associated verb in a Verb Phrase. How-

ever, this is unsatisfactory since in terms of proposi-
tions each of the dependent predications may be accom-
panied by its arguments as well as the main predication
with its arguments. Granted in the Merged Proposition
there is a restricted use of some arguments where mikme
otherwise there would be redundant repetion, however, the
potential is there. To illustrate this are the following
examples of Merged Propositions:

(136) mikme oira   tovooro atari   siarepaveiepa
              her   putting fish   gutting.we-two.were

      'Putting her (the canoe) up we were gutting
      the fish.'

(137) oisi   ita   vorerivira uukovi   gaereve
      like-this again   once-again stream   wade.he.would

         aue tarasia   viupa
         Ø   search-for.to   wound

         'In the same way he would again wade in the
         stream searching for his wamk wound.'

(138) va vao   avekata kovo Ø   kakae   oupasia
      it this easy   work is   child   getting.to-be

      vairopa   pipisipariako
      these.for web-women

      'this would be easy work for the women with
      webs to give brk birth to a child.'

(139) <u>ragai</u>   <u>reoaro</u>   <u>uvupaoro</u>   <u>kovopareve</u>

    I   talk-poss   hearing   working.he.would-be

    <u>moni</u>   <u>oupasia</u>   <u>ita</u>

    money   getting.to-be   again

    'He would be working obeying my suggestion

    to be earning money.'

(I will follow these examples with a description mainly
consisting of co-occurrence restrictions of predication
types (categories and classes) and of modalities. The sec-
tion will close with co-occurrence restrictions of argu-
ments. The Merged Propositions will also again receive brief
attention in Chapter Ten under Temporal Relationships.)

3. ATTRIBUTIVE PROPOSITIONS

The second special type of Simple Proposition is bas-
ically any of the propositions described and illustrated
thus far, i.e. either simple or merged. It is the func-
tion and to a degree the relationship it has with a second
proposition which sets it aside as special. In grammatical
terminology I am discussing here the relative clause as it
functions in the Rotokas language.

The Attributive proposition, then, is expressed in the
surface grammar as a relative clause. Its function is to
amplify (by delimiting or by highlighting) an argument of
the main proposition. Functioning in this way it normally

follows immediately the argument which it amplifies.

The Attributive proposition may be identified by the surface grammar manifestation of the related argument which is always some form of a relative pronoun. There are three classes of relative pronouns. Class 1 consists of those which are derived from classified nouns or free-form pluralizers by the affixation of o-...-a. For instance, siposipo 'story' plus o-...-a 'specifier...relative pronoun marker' yields osiposipoa 'which story.' These pronouns are uninflected except for number. Class 2 consists of a single relative pronoun uva 'where/when.' The referents of this form are Class II demonstrative pronouns, locatives, or temporals, e.g. vo tuariri UVA (in long-ago when) 'in the past when...' or evoa UVA 'there where...' The Class 2 relative pronoun also is uninflected. Class 3 relative pronouns ~~parakaii~~ parallel the Personal Pronouns. For a discussion of them see Section 3.4 in Chapter Three on nominal morphology.

Within the Attributive proposition the relative pronoun may function grammatically in various semantic roles. These are illustrated below:

(140) Functioning as LOCATION in role of Source.

oira	epao	vo	uvava	urioaepa
she	exists	here	where.from	came.they

k	keerapaoro			
	calling			

(140) 'She is there from where they came calling.'

(141) Functioning as TIME in role of Goal:

koie ~~kxxxkx~~ aiosia voreavere vokipavira
pig   eat.to return.they.will tomorrow

uva   va   iava   orareoreoavere
when it   about ref.discuss.they.will

'They will come back tomorrow to eat pig

when they will discuss it.'

(142) Functioning as DIRECT OBJECT in role of Patient:

rera oputepavu   aiopareva   vavae putepa
he   part.another eating.he.was hand   part

vao   vuvukorapa oputea   aiopareva
this fist   which-part eating.he-was

'He was eating a hand-part, this part, the

fist which he was eating.'

(143) Functioning as SUBJECT in role of Agent:

oisioa vurito   toupareve   ro   ira
always evil.man exist.he.would   this who

oisioa oira aioparo
always man   eating.he.would-be

'There was always this evil man who would

always be eating people.'

(144) Functioning as SUBJECT in role of Experiencer:

<u>aioa</u>   <u>vaterevora</u>   <u>ro</u>   <u>ira</u>   <u>uvuiparoera</u>

food   gave.he   this   who   being-able.he.was

<u>rorupasia</u>

happy.to-be

'He gave a feast this man who could be

happy.'

(145) Functioning as SUBJECT in role of Referential:

<u>oire</u>   <u>vao</u>   <u>siposipoa</u>   <u>Jisas</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>reoaro</u>

okay   this   story.is   Jesus   this   talk.poss

<u>oa</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>purapai</u>   <u>vuvuiua</u>   <u>ora</u>

which   like-this   says   heaven   and

<u>rasito</u>   <u>opesiperea</u>   <u>ari</u>   <u>viapau</u>   <u>reoa</u>

ground   finish.will   but   no   talk.is

<u>oa</u>   <u>opesiperea</u>

which   finish.will

'Okay this is the story, Jesus' words

which say this, "Heaven and earth will

be destroyed, but it is not the word

which will be destroyed.2"'

In each of the above examples the referent of the

relative clause is amplified being either delimited or

highlighted. Highlighting by means of the relative clause

is common in Rotokas. It usually can be identified when

the referent is a demonstrative pronoun which is a com-

ponent of a Stative Proposition, e.g. this is the man who...,
or that is the thing which... Note the highlighting effect
of the relative clause functioning as an Attributive Pro-
position in the example below:

(146) Functioning as MEANS in role of Means:

ruiiva   takuvuivoi   voea   rutu//   uva   va
spit   combine.they   they   all   so   it

    evaa   oaia   oisioa   voea   rutu
    that.is   which.by   always   they   all

    vovouisiroaro   takiaviro
    hearts.poss   bind.completely

    'They would combine their spit. So that is
    the thing by which they would bind their
    intentions together completely.'

Considering the above discussion of Attributive pro-
positions all other features of this proposition, occur-
rences of modality, categories of verbs, classes of verbs,
arguments, etc. follow the statements of limitations im-
posed upon them for Simple and Merged propositions.

CHAPTER NINE

WORDS AND PHRASES WHICH CONJOIN PROPOSITIONS

1. INTRODUCTION

If we continue to follow the implications of Chart
One (page 9) so that at the appropriate area of the
hierarchy we are using the most relevant descriptive for-
mat, then from this point in the Rotokas Grammar on the
emphasis will be on relationships. With the information
given so far all features of the propositions have been
covered except distribution. Instead of continuing with
a format using slot-filler notions,however, the distri-
bution of the propositions will be described by focusing
upon how one proposition is related to another, and how
sets of propositions are related to other sets of pro-
positions. Also in focus will be the meaning of these
various relationships. Much of this meaning will be ex-
pressed by the conjoining words and phrases themselves.

In order to facilitate the appropriate use of these
conjoining words and phrases, this chapter will be devoted
to the description and illustration of them. A key term
which I will use in the descriptions is "functional weight."
By functional weight I mean the relative usefulness of a
conjoining word or phrase to relate propositions or sets
of propositions of various complexity. For instance, a

conjoining word A might be useful only in relating two
single propositions. Conjoining word B, on the other hand,
might be useful in relating two single propositions, a
single proposition and a set of propositions at the para-
graph level of complexity, or even two sets of proposi-
tions at the paragraph level of complexity. In addition,
conjoining phrase C might be useful in relating two sets
of propositions on the paragraph level, or two sets of pro-
positions on the discourse level. Comparing the three con-
joining words and phrases, A has less functional weight
than B or C, and C has more functional weight than A or B.
Conjoining word B has a functional weight intermediate be-
tween A and C. For a full description of sentence, para-
graph, and discourse levels of complexity see chapter 11
where these levels are defined according to grammatical
distinctions.

The conjoining words and phrases of Rotokas seem to
divide into three sets: Set One relates propositions or
sets of propositions which are "loosely related semantic-
ally." By this I mean that there is ᴀᴀᴋ no complex logical
relationship such as Cause-Effect but simply a real-world
chronological sequence, i.e. a Temporal relationship. Set
Two consists of those conjoining words and phrases which
do relate these more logically related propositions or sets
of propositions. Finally Set Three consists of a small

number of pairs of conjoining words which join together
tightly related (by logical meaning of "if...then") pro-
positions. (The definitions of these Sets will be im-
proved, hopefully, after the completion of Chapter 10.)

2. CONJOINING WORDS AND PHRASES OF SET ONE

The conjoining words and phrases of Set One will be
described in order according to their increasing fun-
tional weight (func. wt.). Starting with the word ra 'then'
which is useful at the least complex level, i.e. within a
proposition, I will continue through the Set finishing with
the phrases which conjoin sets of propositions at the dis-
course(?) level of complexity. The following Chart Two
will display theses words and phrases of Set One:

CHART TWO

	Useful within:
ra	proposition
ora, o, eke.	
uva.	sentence
ari.	
oire	paragraph
oa iava, va iava	
oire uva, oire ra, oire ari. . .	
oaa vao oa iava, etc,.	discourse

GREATER FUNCTIONAL WEIGHT
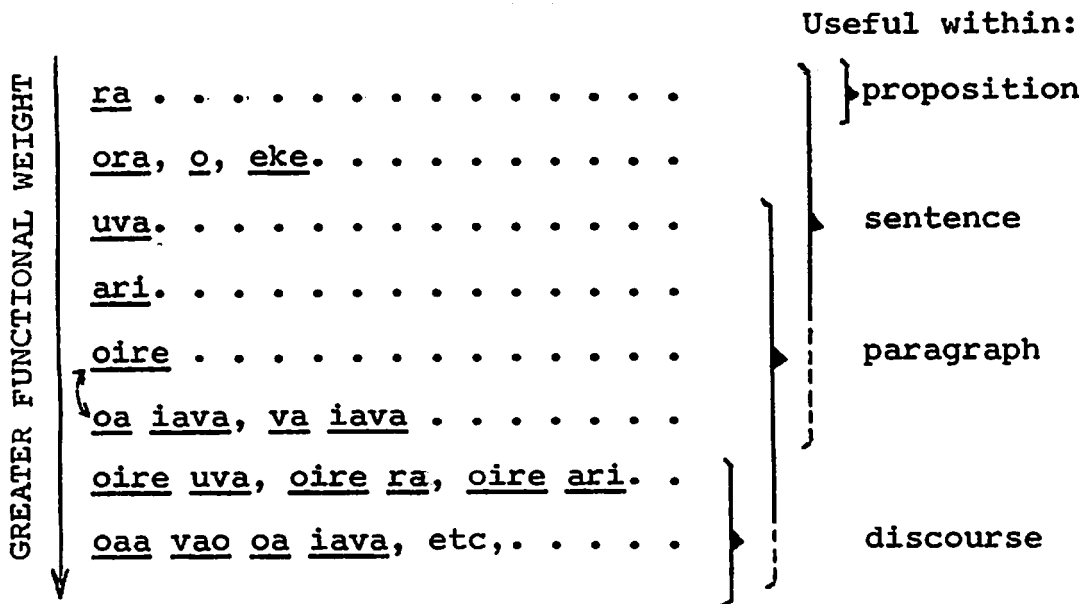
The broken lines at the bottoms of the two brackets sig-
nals that those words and phrases included by them have
only marginal use. For instance, oire has only rarely
been recorded relating two propositions within a sent-
ence.

Each of the above words and phrases will vary in
meaning to a degree with the other members of the Set.
However, collectively the single semantic domain to which
all belong could be assigned the meaning of 'then.'

2.1. CONJOINING WORDS USEFUL WITHIN A PROPOSITION

The usefulness of the conjoining word ra 'then'
within a proposition is limited to a special relationship
involving modality. Certain modalities are expressed by
auxiliary verbs (see Section 6 p. 53). One of the two
ways by which the auxiliary and main verb are related is
when ra is used as the link. The meaning of 'then' does
not satisfactorily express the relationship in which ra
is a link, however, it is more concise than alternatives.

    (147) viapau   uvuiparai   ra   o   ouavere   pasi
          no   able.I.am   then   this get.I.will maybe
          'I might not be able (then) to get (marry)
          this woman later on.'

For further examples see numbers: 102, 104, 105, 106,
and 108.

2.2. CONJOINING WORDS AND PHRASES USEFUL WITHIN A SENTENCE

The words and phrases described and illustrated in this section are useful when two propositions are to be related at the sentence level of complexity.

2.2.1. THE CONJOINING WORD <u>ra</u> 'and then'

The most commonly occurring words of Set One is this word <u>ra</u> which generally expresses the meaning 'and then.' This conjoining word always functions within the sentence and never between sentences by itself. However, it will be noted in Chapter 11 where sentence boundaries are described that when a second sentence-introducing word is used in conjunction with <u>ra</u> e.g. <u>ra</u> <u>ovokivuia</u> 'then on another day,' there is sufficient functional weight gained that it is useful between sentences. Sufficient functional weight may also be gained when <u>ra</u> occurs in conjunction with a sentence-closing word when this word closes the immediately preceding sentence.

(148) <u>vore</u>   <u>uriou</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>rokove</u>
      here.to   come.you   then   here   penetrate.we-two
      'Come here and then we'll both go in.'

(149) <u>visii</u>   <u>tavipaavoi</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>iroa</u>   <u>vai</u>
      you-all   telling.I.am   then   this   rope   some
      <u>purapata</u>
      make.you

(149) 'I'm telling you all and then you will make
some rope.'

(150) <u>tuituia</u>   <u>kuparepaoro</u>   <u>ipapapeira</u>
fire   smoking.while   ascending.always-is

    <u>ra</u>   <u>voa</u>   <u>raveravepe</u>
    then there weaken.it.would

'The fire while smoking is always going
up and then there (where the smoke would
go) it would lose its stregth.'

(151) <u>eva</u>   <u>tapo</u>   <u>oisioa</u>   <u>opitara</u>   <u>uverepaive</u>
that   also   always   coconuts   mixing.they.would-be

    <u>ra</u>   <u>va</u>   <u>kasiive</u>   <u>va</u>   <u>gavutaroia</u>
    then   it   fire.they.would   it   ash.poss.with

    <u>uveresia</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>sipeipe</u>
    mix.to   then   salt.it.would-be

'They would mix coconut (milk) with that
and then they would burn it in order to
mix its ashes and then it would be salty.'

2.2.2. THE CONJOINING WORDS <u>ora</u> 'and', <u>o</u> 'or', <u>eke</u> 'or'

The word <u>ora</u> 'and' normally joins together two or
more nominals, e.g. <u>aite</u> <u>ora</u> <u>aako</u> 'father and mother';
however, occasionally it is useful to relate two propo-
sitions. It never occurs between sentences at the para-

graph level of complexity.

(152) voea   tapo   rorupata   ora   tapo   voea

them   with   rejoice.you   and   also   them

tapo   gaupata

with   cry.you

'You all rejoice with them and also cry

with them.'

The conjoining word o 'or' is not commonly found in the texts. However, there is sufficient evidence to include it in Set One. Granted it is on the periphery of the semantic domain common to Set One conjoining words and phrases.

(153) avapauei   o   apeisi?

going.you.are   or   what

'Are you going or what (are you doing)?'

The conjoining word eke has been referred to already (see page 64, section 7.8.) as a marker of the Interrogative mode. However, it is useful in statements as well where two propositions are in an "either...or" relationship. The conjoining words o and eke never occur between sentences on the paragraph level of complexity.

(154)

2.2.3. THE CONJOINING WORD uva 'and then/so then'

According to Chart Two the conjoining word uva

is useful within both sentence and paragraph level com-
plex xkrux constructions. At this point the discussion
is limited to its use within the sentence only. Used in
this way, the conjoining word <u>uva</u> expresses the idxx meaning
'and then'. At times it is difficult to distinguish whether
<u>uva</u> is being used within the sentence or between sentences
within the paragraph. One clear way of recognizing at
which level it is functioning is to note whether or not
there are any other sentence-introducing words occurring
with it. If so then its functional weight is increased
sufficiently to allow its functioning within the paragraph.
Some of these combinations of <u>uva</u> plus sentence-introducing
word are: <u>uva</u> <u>oire</u> 'so then,' <u>uva</u> <u>voaviva</u> 'so in a little
while,' <u>uva</u> <u>voava</u> 'so after a while,' <u>uva</u> <u>vosia</u> 'so when.'
Example number 155 illustrates <u>uva</u> plus <u>vosia</u> functioning
between sentences as well as <u>uva</u> alone functioning within
the sentence.

(155) ...<u>pouvirouepa</u>   <u>voari</u>   <u>tuariri</u>// <u>uva</u>
      arrived.you   back-there   long-ago   so

      <u>vosia</u>   <u>Wakunaiia</u>   <u>pouvirouepa</u>   <u>uva</u>
      when   Wakunai.place   arrived.you   then

      <u>voa</u>   <u>raga</u>   <u>touriva</u>
      there   only   existed.you

      '...you arrived long ago. So when you ar-
      rived at Wakunai, then you stayed right there.'

2.2.4. THE CONJOINING WORD <u>ari</u> 'and/but/true/why'

Probably the most interesting of all the conjoining words is <u>ari</u> because of its very broad meaning and variety of uses. Between propositions within the sentence the meaning of <u>ari</u> may be either 'and then' or 'but then.' There is a fine distinction between 'and' and 'but' at times, however, the meaning is clearly 'but then' when 1) negation occurs in one of the propositions as opposed to the other proposition which is positive by way of contrast (see example 156); and 2) in the second of the two related propositions there is alternation overtly marked by the affixation of some nominal by -<u>vu</u> 'other.' Example 157 il-lustrates this second point. The meaning of <u>ari</u> is clearly 'and' when it conjoins a series of propositions (see example 158).

(156) <u>viapau</u> <u>oisio</u>   <u>riakova</u> <u>vai</u>   <u>taraiopa</u>
     no   like-this woman   some knew.she

    <u>ari</u> <u>rera</u> <u>raga</u> <u>oirato</u> <u>tarairoepa</u>
    but he   only   man   knew.he

    'No women knew, but only the man knew.'

(157) <u>eisivi</u>   <u>raga</u> <u>ra</u>   <u>opesipe</u>   <u>ari</u>
    that.little   only then finished   but

    <u>oavua</u>   <u>vao</u>
    another.is   this

    'With that little bit it's finished, but there is something else.'

(158) <u>ari</u>   <u>oratau</u>   <u>oisiri</u>   <u>ari</u>   <u>oratau</u>

and   another.door   over-there   and   another.door

<u>oisiri</u>   <u>ari</u>   <u>oratau</u>   <u>oisiri</u>

over-there   and   another.door   over-there

'And then another door is over there, and

another is over there, and another door is

over there.'

The remaining meanings and use of <u>ari</u> within the para-
graph will be discussed in the section number 3ff.

2.2.5. THE CONJOINING WORD <u>oire</u> 'okay'

As noted before with reference to Chart Two <u>oire</u> which

expresses the meaning 'okay then' is included in this set

as functioning within the sentence but only marginally so.

It more commonly occurs within the sentence when it is a

member of the pair of conjoining words, <u>vosia</u>...<u>oire</u> 'if...

okay then.'

2.2.6. THE CONJOINING XXX PHRASE <u>oa</u> <u>iava</u> 'after/because of'

Still within the semantic domain of 'then' are the

meanings expressed by the conjoining phrase <u>oa</u> <u>iava</u> 'after

which' and 'because of which.' Although <u>iava</u> is ambiguous

as to its meaning either 'after' or 'because' one must

agree that there is this fine distinction possible as il-
lustrated in the following two examples.

(159) <u>oira</u> <u>kaepiesiva</u>   <u>rikui</u> <u>iava</u> <u>oa</u>   <u>iava</u>
      her   lifted.they-two   hole from which after

      <u>vaiterei</u> <u>ivueva</u>   <u>osia</u> <u>oravaitereiia</u>
      they-two   pulled.she   as   ref.they-two.with

      <u>pugupasiepa</u>
      busy.they-two.were

      'They both pulled her out of the hole after
      which she towed them (around) as they were
      busy with themselves (becoming untangled).'

(160) <u>easi</u> <u>kovoa</u> <u>vaiei</u>   <u>rakoruia</u>   <u>oa</u>   <u>iava</u>
      why   work   some.is snake.with which because-of

      <u>vaitereo</u>   <u>ragai</u> <u>akepasi</u>
      these.two   me   questioning.they-two.are

      'Why, there might be something to do with the
      snake because of which they both are question-
      ing me.'

The conjoining phrase <u>va</u> <u>iava</u> 'after it/because of it' is
used in the same way as <u>oa</u> <u>iava</u>, but occurs much less fre-
quently. Still less frequent are <u>eva</u> <u>iava</u> 'after that/because
of that' and <u>vao</u> <u>iava</u> 'after this/because of this.'

~~2.3.xxConjoining~~
2.3. CONJOINING WORDS AND PHRASES USEFUL WITHIN PARAGRAPHS
    Because of the overlapping areas of usefulness as il-
lustrated on Chart Two, some of the following conjoining

words and phrase will have already been discussed in view
of their usefulness within sentences. In this section it
will be illustrated how these as well as other phrases re-
late sentences within paragraph-level complexities.

2.3.1. THE CONJOINING WORD uva 'so then'

The word uva when relating two sentences expresses
the meaning 'so then.' It is especially common in texts of
narrations. Example 161 illustrates the use of uva at both
levels of complexity, i.e. within sentence as well as within
paragraph. Granted, in this example there is a fine dis-
tinction made as to the stregth of the internal cohesion
of the construction, i.e. a single sentence vs. two. How-
ever grammatical features such as the repetition of the verb
helps support the decision to xaii treat this construction
as a single sentence within which uxx the second uva is use-
ful.

(161) sent.//   uva   voea uporeva uva

      sent.//   so-then them hit.he   and-then

            aigeva   taporo   uporeva   otopisivuia

            mother-in-law   also   hit.he   other-room.in

            sent.// 'xx So then he hit them, and then he

            hit the mother-in-law also in another room.'

(162) quote// <u>uva</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>puraraera</u>

quote// so-then like-this said.I

<u>siraovira</u>   <u>rutu</u>   <u>araoko</u>...

sorrowfully truly   brother...

'quote// So then I said this, "I'm sorry

brother..."'

2.3.2. THE CONJOINING WORD <u>ari</u> 'why!/true!'

More often than not when <u>ari</u> is used to related two

sentences within a paragraph, the meaning it expresses in-

cludes an element of surprise 'why!' or emphasis 'truly!'

Also in texts of narrations it commonly relates quotes of

a dialogue not otherwise separated by Expression verbs, e.g.

<u>pura</u> 'say'. This point is illustrated below.

(163) <u>fada</u>   <u>oira</u> <u>akereva</u>   <u>ovure</u>   <u>avapau</u>//

father her   asked.he where.to going.you.are//

<u>ari</u> <u>oiratoa</u> <u>iare</u> <u>voreparai</u>

why man   to   returning.I.am

'The Father asked her, "Where are you

going?" ꞩꞩꞩ "Why! I'm returning to

the man." (she replied.)'

(164) <u>apeisi</u> <u>ragavira</u>   <u>oira</u> <u>uporivo</u>//   <u>ari</u>

how   just.like her   killed.you why

<u>oira</u> <u>oovaupaoro</u>   <u>uturae</u>

her   tracking.while followed.I

(164) '"How in the world did you kill her?" "Why!

while tracking I followed her."'

Example number 165 illustrates the use of _ari_ within

a paragraph where this additional emotional content is not

expressed.

(165) <u>uva</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>raga</u> <u>uvuipai</u>   <u>ovusia</u>

so-then this   just   sufficient.is   while

<u>karetavere//</u>   <u>ari</u>   <u>ruipaparai</u>

return.you.will//   and-so   desiring.I.am

<u>vo</u>   <u>osia</u> <u>vao</u>   <u>ouri</u>   <u>rigatoa</u>   <u>oire</u>

this   as   this   get.you   writing   okay

<u>ragai</u> <u>taviri</u>   <u>vosia</u> <u>vearo</u>   <u>Øpape</u>

me   tell.you   if   good   is.it

'So then this is okay when you all re-

turn. And so I want when you get this

letter, then you tell me if it's good.'

A further meaning can be expressed by _ari_ when it occurs

in conjunction with the adverbial particle _ita_ 'again.'

The phrase _ari ita_ is an exclamatory introducer of sent-

ences which also functions as a conjoining phrase.

(166) sent.// <u>ari</u>   <u>ita</u>   <u>siraopatapi</u>   <u>toupai</u>

sent.// true   again   sorrowful-place   exists

<u>uva</u>   <u>vegei</u>   <u>tovoreverea</u>

where   we-two   put.he.will

(166) sent.// 'Truly! there is a place of sorrowing
               where he will put you and I in the dis-
               tant future.'

Finally, the word <u>ari</u> may occur in conjunction with
the conjoining word <u>vosia</u> 'if' but with none other accord-
ing to text recordings to date. The meaning expressed by
this phrase which is used to join sentences is 'and if/
but it.'

(167) sent.// <u>ari</u> <u>vosia</u> <u>rera</u> <u>Isio</u> <u>oavu</u> <u>avu</u>

        sent.// but if   he   Isio other maybe

            <u>vai</u>   <u>vikireve</u>   <u>reraia</u> <u>oirato</u> <u>ra</u>

            some throw.he.would   him.at man   then

            <u>kopiro</u>

            die.he.would

            sent.// 'But if Isio would throw something,
                maybe, at the man, then he would die.'

2.3.3. THE CONJOINING PHRASES <u>oa</u> <u>iava</u> 'after/because of which'
       AND <u>va</u> <u>iava</u> 'after it/because of it'

Although these phrases are used predominantly within
sentences, both <u>oa</u> <u>iava</u> and <u>va</u> <u>iava</u> may be used within para-
graph level complexities. In example 168 <u>va</u> <u>iava</u> has in-
creased functional weight because of the co-occurrence with
the sentence-introducing word <u>ovokivuia</u> 'on another day.'

In this way its functional weight is sufficient for it
to be useful at this level of complexity.

(168) sent.// <u>va</u> <u>iava</u> <u>ovokivuia</u>   <u>rera</u> <u>tapo</u>

    sent.// it after another.day.on him   with

       <u>avaroepa</u> <u>ovito</u> <u>Arara</u> <u>rera</u> <u>Asiri</u> <u>aiteto</u>

       went.he   son   Arara   he   Asiri father

       sent.// 'After this on another day ꞵꞅꞌArara

       the son went with Asiri the father.'

(169) <u>soldiairara</u> <u>urioaepa</u>   <u>evoare</u>   <u>Ivuaro</u>//

    soldiers   came.they there.to Ivu.place//

       <u>oa</u>   <u>iava</u> <u>avaraepa</u> <u>avaraepa</u> <u>uvare</u>

       which after went.I   went.I   because

       <u>keeraroepa</u> <u>masta</u> <u>Need</u> <u>ragaire</u>

       called.he   Mr.   Need   me.to

       'The soldiers came there to Ibu. After that

       I kept on going because Mr. Need called

       to me.'

It seems rather arbitrary to say that <u>oa iava</u> in ex-
ample 169 is functioning between sentences rather than with-
in sentence. One of the problems is that <u>oa iava</u> has suf-
ficient functional weight to function convincingly within
a sentence but hardly enough to function between sentences.
The reason for the decision as such above is based in part
on the expression of the Durative modality of the verb. In

chapter 11 I intend to discuss higher-level boundaries
and their markings such as the Durative modality.

2.3.4. THE CONJOINING WORD <u>oire</u> 'okay then'

One of the more common conjoining words which function
within the paragraph is the word <u>oire</u>. The meaning expressed
by it is straightforward, 'okay then' and would seem to be
near the center of the semantic domain common to all Set One
conjoining words and phrases.

(170) sent.// <u>oire</u>   <u>avipe</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>vovouisivi</u>

    sent.// okay-then light.would   then   heart.small

        <u>ragare</u>   <u>ravireo</u>   <u>kaeroviro</u>

        only.to   sun   rise.he.would

        sent.// 'Okay then the dawn would come, and

        then the sun would rise and shine on just a

        small part of the heart.'

(171) <u>irau</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>opitara</u>   <u>vai</u>   <u>atosia</u>

    precede.you   then coconuts   some   get-down.to

        <u>aueve//</u>   <u>oire</u>   <u>rokoveva</u>

        consider.we-two// okay-then   penetrated.we-two

        <u>vegoa</u>   <u>sioparoia</u>

        jungle   inside

        '"You go first and then we'll think about get-

        ting down some coconuts." Okay then we both

        went into the jungle.'

2.3.5. THE CONJOINING PHRASES WHICH INCLUDE <u>oire</u>

Of all the conjoining words illustrated so far, <u>oire</u> occurs most frequently in conjunction with other conjoining words or introductory words. In doing so the functional weight is increased sufficiently to make it useful even at the discourse level of complexity. Some of these phrases are: <u>oire</u> <u>ra</u> X̶̶̶̶̶̶X̶K̶X̶ʝ̶ 'okay then,' <u>oire</u> <u>uva</u> 'okay so then,' <u>oire</u> <u>ari</u> 'okay but then,' <u>oire</u> <u>vosia</u> 'okay if,' <u>oire</u> <u>voava</u> 'okay from then on,' and <u>oire</u> <u>ovokivuia</u> 'okay then on another day.' The greatest functional weight is present in more complex phrases which follow this pattern:

(172) <u>oire</u>   <u>vaa</u>   <u>vao</u>   <u>oa</u>   <u>sirova</u>...

     okay   it.is   this   which   beside ...

     'okay this is it after which...'

These more commonly function within the discourse and are illustrated in section 2.4.1. Illustrated now are these phrases including <u>oire</u> which æx are useful within paragraphs.

(173) sent.// <u>oire</u> <u>uva</u>   <u>ruipapara</u>   <u>vapa</u>

     sent.// okay   then   wanting.I.am   it.for

       <u>oisio</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>vava</u>   <u>kareuvere</u>

       like-this   then   it.with   return.you.will

       <u>ragai</u>   <u>vatesia</u>

       me   give.to

(173) sent.// 'Okay then I want that you will re-

turn with it to give (to) me.'

(174) sent.// <u>oire</u> <u>voava</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>ori</u>

sent.// okay   then.from   this   cooked-food

<u>kuvuive</u>   <u>vovio</u>   <u>va</u> <u>tovosia</u>

encase.they.would   right-here   it   put.to

<u>kuvoropatapi</u>

cool.place

sent.// 'Okay after this they would encase

this cooked food in order to put it here

in this cool place.'

2.3.6. THE CONJOINING PHRASES <u>oaa</u> <u>vao</u> <u>oa</u> <u>iava</u> 'this is the

thing after which/about which/ because of which'

The conjoining phrase <u>oaa</u> <u>vao</u> <u>oa</u> <u>iava</u> is one of a set

which all follow a certain pattern of construction, i.e.

<u>oa</u>   <u>-a</u>   <u>vao</u>   <u>oa</u>   <u>iava</u>

(rel. pron. vb.   ) demon. pro. rel. pron. relator
                state

All pronouns occurring within the phrase obligatorily agree

in person and number. The first component, <u>oaa</u> 'it is' is

optional. Further details will be given in section 2.4.2

where this phrase and its variations are discussed relevant

to its usefulness within the discourse.

Its use within the paragraph is generally limited to

highlighting the second of the two related proposition
or sets of propositions. This is the function normally
in the absence of other paragraph boundary markers. These
sentence?
markers are discussed in Chapter 11. Note the highlight-
ing effect in the example below.

(175) sent.// <u>oeaa</u>   <u>evoea</u> <u>oea</u>   <u>sirova</u>

   sent.//   they.are those whom   beside

     <u>utupaioveira</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>vokio</u>

     following.we.always-are   this   day

     sent.// 'Those are the ones whom we are

     always following (as examples) today.'

(176) sent.// <u>oaa</u>   <u>vao</u>   <u>oa</u>   <u>iava</u>   <u>pupia</u>   <u>vai</u>

   sent.//   it.is this   which after   dance   some

     <u>purapaive</u>

     making.they.would-be

     sent.// 'This is the thing after which then

     they would be making some dance.'

2.4. CONJOINING PHRASES USEFUL WITHIN THE DISCOURSE

Of all the conjoining words and phrases of Set One
the phrases to be discussed in this section will have the
most functional weight. Paragraph breaks are often hard
to distinguish. However, the occurrence of these phrases
may offer sufficent evidence when making the correct de-
cision.

2.4.1. THE CONJOINING PHRASES WHICH INCLUDE <u>oire</u> - DISCOURSE

Having discussed these phrases and listing them in section 2.3.5. there is little more to be said about them. It is noteworthy, however, that the phrase <u>oire</u> <u>uva</u> is a common signal of paragraph breaks within the texts of narrations. Also the particle <u>ita</u> 'again, truly!' may occur immediately following the phrases which include <u>oire</u> (or <u>oire</u> by itself) and in so doing add emphasis and functional weight to the conjoining phrase.

(177) para.// <u>oire</u> <u>ari</u>   <u>tuariri</u>   <u>oisioa</u>

para.// okay but-it's true long-ago always

<u>viapau</u> <u>raiva</u> <u>vai</u> <u>toupaive</u>   <u>vo</u>

no   road   some   existing.would   here

<u>voari</u>   kuxm <u>tuariri</u>...

back-there   long-ago...

para.// 'Okay, it's true then that there never were any roads back there in the long-ago. ...'

2.4.2. THE CONJOINING PHRASES <u>oaa</u> <u>vao</u> <u>oa</u> <u>iava</u> - DISCOURSE

Having given the general pattern of construction for these phrases, some of the more commonly used phrases will be given here. These phrases in particular are the members of this set which are useful for the relating of paragraphs within a discourse.

<u>oisia</u>   <u>eisi</u>   <u>osia</u> <u>iava</u>

like-this.is   like-that   as   after/because-of-which

'because of it being like that' or

'after it being like that'

<u>iraa</u>   <u>ro</u>   <u>ira</u> <u>iava</u>

who.is   this.male   who   about/because-of

'this is the male because of whom' or

'this is the male after whom'

A variation of the basic pattern includes the word
<u>vituaro</u> 'basis possessed' as in the following example:

<u>vaa</u>   <u>eva</u>   <u>oa</u>   <u>vituaro</u>   <u>iava</u>

it.is   that   which   basis.poss   because-of/about

'that is it upon the basis of which'

A second variation includes the word <u>sirova</u> 'beside/
following' as in the following example:

<u>vaa</u>   <u>eva</u>   <u>oa</u>   <u>sirova</u>

it.is   that   which   beside

'that is it following which'

A distantly related variation of the first example of
this series is:

<u>oisio</u>   <u>ragavira</u>   <u>iava</u>

like-this   just.like   because-of

'because it being just like this'

Since in most cases the Identification predication of the phrase is referring to some entity which is ana- phorically related, one would expect that this set of con- joining phrases would tend to occur later in the body of the text. In fact, they often occur linking a summary reason or amplification type paragraph with the preced- ing paragraph or sets of paragraphs.

3. CONJOINING WORDS AND PHRASES OF SET TWO

(Having seen a bit of "new light" on the grouping of all the conjoining words and phrases, what follows super- cedes the Introduction portion of this Chapter where re- levant. The first Set will be considered now as those con- joining words and phrases which signal an unconditional succession of events or sets of events.)

The conjoining words and phrases of Set Two in con- trast to those of Set One signal the unconditional over- lapping of events or sets of events. If the general mean- ing of Set One words and phrases expresses the idea of 'then', then those of Set Two ~~express~~ express the idea of 'while' or 'as.'

3.1. THE CONJOINING WORD ovusia 'while'

Unlike those words and phrases of Set One, Set Two conjoining words and phrases are useful only within the

sentence and paragraph levels of complexity. The conjoin-
ing word <u>ovusia</u> 'while' is useful only within the sentence
as are the others of this Set. (For this reason the no-
tion of functional weight has very little relevance to
these descriptions.) Unlike the other words and phrases
of Set Two, the meaning expressed by <u>ovusia</u> is straight-
forward and fairly narrow. It is clearXx that Event A
is taking place <u>while</u> Event B is also taking place.

(178) <u>uva</u>   <u>toupaive</u>   <u>ovusia</u>   <u>korovo</u>
      then   exist.they.would   while   oil

            <u>purapaive</u>   <u>aue</u>   <u>iava</u>   <u>opita</u>
            make.they.would   Ø   from   coconut

            'Then they would stay while they would
            make the coconut oil.'

(179) <u>oire</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>upeva</u>   <u>utaveaepa</u>
      okay   this   upe-initiates.with   blow-shell.they

            <u>ovusia</u>   <u>voea</u>   <u>kaeoro</u>   <u>avaaepa</u>   <u>osia</u>
            while   they   carrying   went.they   as

            <u>pupipa</u>   <u>uvuruia</u>   <u>orakiuaepa</u>
            singsing   group.into   ref.went-in.they

            'Okay they blew the Baylor Shell with the
            Upe initiates while they went carrying them
            as they went into the group of dancers.'

3.2. THE CONJOINING WORDS AND PHRASES <u>osia</u>, <u>rara</u>, <u>vo</u> <u>osia</u>, and <u>vo</u> <u>rara</u> 'as/when'

Although in general these four words and phrases share the meanings 'as' or 'when', there are some fine distinct- tions which generally can be made. If the ~~dix~~ description of these words and phrases appears uncertain, it is be- cause there are still unexplained exceptions to both the meanings expressed by these words and phrases and also to the uses of them~~x~~ as described below.

The conjoining word <u>osia</u> 'as/when' seems to bring focus on the overlapping of events in <u>non-future</u> time. There is usually a change of subject marker within the two verbs, but not always. The relationship may be between two propo- sitions or a set of propositions, i.e. Event A <u>as</u> Event B <u>as</u> Event C. (In final draft use example CA-38)

(180) <u>vokiaro</u> <u>uusipaaepa</u>   <u>osia</u> <u>erava</u>

      night   sleeping.they.were when volcano

         <u>pokoviropa</u>

         exploded

      'They were sleeping at night when the

      volcano exploded.'

(181) <u>viapau</u> <u>oisio</u>   <u>taraipaveiei</u> <u>osia</u>

      no   like-this know.we-two when

         <u>opesiroverea</u>   <u>rasito</u>

         finish.he.will earth

(181) 'We both are not knowing when the earth will
        be destroyed.'   (We will still be unaware of
        it as it happens.)

(182) oira   epao   oisio   osia   aveke   osia
        she   exist   like-this   as   stone   when

        oraporeopa
        ref.turned.she
        'She was like a stone when she became trans-
        formed.'

The conjoining word rara 'as/when' seems to bring focus
on the overlapping of events in future time. This is sub-
stantiated by another use of the word rara as a temporal
word. When it is used in this way the time expressed by
the predication as a whole is future regardless of the
tense marker on the verb, e.g. avaparai rara (going.I.pres-
ent-tense later-on) 'I am going later on.' The conjoin-
ing word rara is useful within the sentence, and normally
relates no more than two propositions.

(183) viiia   plasta   vai   tovoavere   rara   eisi
        you.on   cast   some   put.I.will   when   like-that

            touri   waia   ragaia
            exist.you   wire   only.with
            'I'll put a cast on you when you will still
            have just the wire on you.'

(184) <u>pau</u> <u>pieve</u>   <u>vokiara</u> <u>rutuia</u> <u>aueia</u>

     sit   make.we-two   days   all.on   Ø.with

     <u>rorua</u>   <u>rara</u> <u>va</u> <u>sirova</u> <u>vearovira</u>

     happiness   when it beside good.like

     <u>utupau</u>

     following.you

     'You and I can have a happy existence

     every day when you carefully follow this.'

(185) <u>uvuipai</u> <u>ra</u>   <u>oira</u> <u>ivuve</u>   <u>rara</u> <u>vo</u>

     able.is   then her   pull.we-two when here

     <u>oravegeiia</u>   <u>garoara</u> <u>tuke</u>   <u>rovove</u>

     ~~Xvxxbxxkhxxxxxxpxkixhxxxwhxxxxxxfixxkxfxxkxx~~

     ref.we-two.on   rattans   fasten   first.we-two

     'We both can pull her when we first fasten

     rattan vines onto ourselves.'

One of the possible exceptions to the meaning 'as/when' of <u>rara</u> is evident in the examples 184 and 185. In an initial analysis I had assigned the meaning of 'if' so that the two glosses read as follows: (184) 'You and I can have a happy existence every day if you carefully follow this,' and (185) 'We both can pull her ~~wh~~ if we first fasten rattan vines onto ourselves.' To my knowledge there are no other grammatical clues to resolve the ~~difference~~ ambiguity (if there is one.)

Interestingly enough the conjoining phrases <u>vo</u> <u>osia</u>
and <u>vo</u> <u>rara</u> are mutually substitutable in all contexts.
They express the meaning 'when' and are ㅂ뾰 useful within
sentence level complexities.

(186) <u>eva</u>   <u>iava</u>   <u>oisioa</u>   <u>vorero</u>

      that   because   always   return.he.would

         <u>vo</u> <u>rara</u>/<u>vo</u> <u>osia</u>   <u>rera</u>   <u>aio</u>   <u>vatepasi</u>

         when   /when   him   food   giving.they.would

         'Because of that he would always come back

         when they would give him£ food.'

In certain contexts either <u>vo</u> <u>rara</u> or <u>vo</u> <u>osia</u> may be
substituted for by <u>rara</u> but not <u>osia</u>.

(187) <u>viapau</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>kareraeri</u>

      no   like-this   return.I.would-have

      <u>vo</u> <u>rara</u>/<u>vo</u> <u>osia</u>/<u>rara</u>   <u>viire</u>   <u>viapape</u>

      when   /when   /when   you.to   empty.would-be

      'I wouldn't have left you when (if?) you were

      without anything.'

In the above example the meaning may well be better ex-
pressed by the gloss 'if' since the Contrary-to-Fact-Con-
ditional mode marker appears on the first verb (-<u>eri</u>). It
would not be an appropriate gloss in the example below, how-
ever.

(188) <u>aio</u>   <u>purapaive</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>vokiia</u>

  food   make.they.would   this   day.for

  <u>vo</u> <u>rara</u>/<u>vo</u> <u>osia</u>/<u>rara</u>   <u>vearovira</u>   <u>rutu</u>

  when   /when   /when   good.like   truly

  <u>vo</u>   <u>kepa</u>   <u>oritoive</u>

  this   house   decorate.they.would

  'They would make a meal for this day when

  they would decorate the house very well.'

In certain contexts either <u>vo</u> <u>rara</u> or <u>vo</u> <u>osia</u> may be
substituted for by <u>osia</u> but not <u>rara</u>.

(189) <u>viapau</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>rera</u>   <u>uvuragari</u>

  no   like-this   then   him   hear.just.you

  <u>aiteara</u>   <u>vo</u> <u>rara</u>/<u>vo</u> <u>osia</u>/<u>osia</u>   <u>eake</u> <u>iava</u>

  father.your   when   /when   /when   what from

  <u>opesiu</u>   <u>skul</u>   <u>iava</u>   <u>kareu</u>   <u>reareasia</u>

  finish.you   school   from   return.you rest.to

  'Don't pay little attention to your father

  when you finish whatever, school, and come

  back to rest.'

In certain contexts <u>rara</u> and <u>osia</u> are mutually sub-
stitutable. It would seem, though, that the focus is upon
<u>identification</u> and not <u>time</u>, and for this reason the choice
between <u>rara</u> and <u>osia</u> is less significant. Both of the ex-
amples are non-future and to say the events are overlapping

is stretching the definition at best.

(190) evoa   Urikotuiko   eva   miningaro   oisio
       there Urikotuiko   that meaning.poss   like-this

       toupai   rara/osia   tuariri   aruara
       exists   when/when   long-ago   vegetables

       tuepaive
       store-up.they.would

       'That meaning of 'Urikotuiko' is this
       that they would always store up vegetables
       there.'

(191) eisivi   ragaa   osia   vo   siposipo
       like-that.little   only.is as   this   story

       purapaa   varao   vituaro   iava
       making.I   these   vasis.poss about

       rara/osia   oisioa   siraoara   kekepaive
       when/when   always   sorrows   see.they.would

       riako   avaoro   vo   tuariri
       woman   children-and-mother   here   long-ago

       'That is just the way it is as I tell you
       about the basis of these things when the
       mothers and their children would always
       experience sorrows long ago.'

In the above two examples vo rara and vo osia may be
substituted for rara or osia.

4. CONJOINING WORDS AND PHRASES OF SET THREE

The first two sets of conjoining words and phrases express temporal relationships of succession and overlap. These relationships were considered unconditional. Within this final set of words and phrases, however, there are those which express a relationship of conditionality or of causation. The usefulness of these words and phrases which express these two relationships is mainly within the sentence; however, some function within the paragraph as well.

4.1. THE CONJOINING PAIRS OF WORDS <u>vosia</u>...<u>ra</u>/<u>uva</u>/<u>oire</u>/<u>rara</u> 'if...then'

These conjoining pairs of words are rather closely related to those of section 3.2. In fact distinctions between the use of <u>osia</u> and <u>rara</u> can be made based upon the potential use of certain of these pairs when the propositions related by <u>rara</u> or <u>osia</u> are permuted. In every example where <u>osia</u> is acceptable but not <u>rara</u> (180 to 189) when the propositions are permuted, the pair of conjoining words is always <u>vosia</u>...⬛x̶i̶x̶x̶/<u>uva</u>. But in examples where <u>rara</u> is acceptable but not <u>osia</u>, the order and conjoining pair of words is always <u>vosia</u>...<u>ra</u>. This bears out the point that <u>osia</u> conjoins propositions which are non-future time oriented.

The conjoining pair <u>vosia</u>...<u>ra</u> 'if...then' expresses

the relationship of conditionality within sentence level
complexities.

> (192) vosia   iravu   kopiro   voea   iava
>   if   another.male died.he them   from
>
>   ra   orareoave
>   then ref.talk,they.would
>   'If one of the men died, then they would
>   discuss (this).'

The pair vosia...uva 'if...then' occurs less frequently.
When it does, though, one must be careful not to ~~confus~~ con-
fuse the uva 'then' with the locative referential uva 'where.'
When a proposition,not otherwise specifically related to
a proposition preceding it, occurs immediately before vosia,
and if the distinction between vosia and vo osia is not
heard, then the result could be a confusion between these
two possibilities: 1 - correct) Event A. If Event B, then
Event C; 2 - incorrect) This Event A as ~~This~~ Event B where
Event C. The following example gives a hint of the pos-
sible confusion, however, the context makes it clear that
here uva is the conjoining word 'then' and not the refer-
ential 'where.'

> (193) vosia   rovua   siovaraia   touri   evoa   uva
>   if   ocean   inside   exist.you   there   then
>
>   viire   karekepere   vo   voki   vao
>   you.to   manifest.it.will this   day   this

(193)   <u>oaia</u>   <u>Jisas</u>   <u>voreroverea</u>   <u>vore</u>

which.on   Jesus   return.he.will   here.to

'If you are there in the ocean, then this

day in which Jesus will return here will

come to you there (the results of which

will include you).'

The pair <u>vosia</u>...<u>oire</u> 'if...okay then' includes a

word which by itself has more functional weight than either

<u>ra</u> or <u>uva</u> of the previous two sets. For this reason one

would look for a proposition joined by <u>oire</u> to the propo-

sition introduced by <u>vosia</u> to be either more complex or

one to be highlighted.

(194) <u>vosia</u> <u>kovoa</u> <u>vai</u>   <u>toupaivoi</u>   <u>rakoruia</u>

if   work   some   existing.is   snake.with

<u>oire</u> <u>ragai</u> <u>taviri</u>

okay   me   tell.you

'If there is something that has to do with

the snake, then you (had better) tell me!'

4.2. THE CONJOINING WORDS AND PHRASES WHICH INCLUDE <u>uvare</u>

'because'

The conjoining word <u>uvare</u> 'because' and the phrases

which are formed from it all express a relationship of

causation and more specifically that of reason or Efficient

Cause (according to Longacre's suggested list of Comin-
ations of Predications in An Anatomy of Speech Notions
to be published(?)).

The word uvare is useful within sentence level com-
plexities to join together propositions.

(195) oire   vara   akepata   vo   igei   ruvaraia
      okay   them   ask.you   here   us   near

          uvare   igeia   vara   kova   piepairara
          because   we.are   them   grow   make.men

          'Okay you all ask us about them, because we
          are the men responsible to make them grow.'

The phrase aue iava uvare 'because (of)' in some cases
is used in such a way as to reflect increased functional
xweight, i.e. it is still useful within the sentence but in
a special way to highlight the proposition following it.
However, in other cases the addition of aue iava is op-
tional and, I feel, only reflects individual's styles.

(196) oire   ra   oavu   siposipoa   gareavi
      okay   then   another   story.I   small.little

          aue   iava   uvare   iriavu   reakova
          Ø   about   because   another.female   woman

          oureva   siaratoa   oaa
          got.he   clansman   my

          'Okay now I'll tell you another little story
          of this because my clansman marrked another girl.'

(197)   <u>rikui</u>   <u>vai</u>   <u>tekasi</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>oira</u>   <u>tovape</u>
        hole   some   dug.they-two   then   her   buried

        <u>aue</u>   <u>iava</u>   <u>uvare</u>   <u>viapau</u>   <u>oisio</u>
        Ø   of   because   no   like-this

        <u>taraipasi</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>osia</u>   <u>kopipavioveira</u>
        knew.they-two   like-this   as   die.we.always

        'They both dug a hole and then buried her,

        because of this they weren't aware of how

        we always die (and are buried).'

In example & 197 above not only is the proposition fol-
lowing <u>aue</u> <u>iava</u> <u>uvare</u> in focus (the punch line of the story),
but also it is a more complex construction.

Of significantly greater functional weight is the ex-
panded phrase <u>eake</u> <u>iava</u> <u>uvare</u> 'for what reason? because'
which occurs within paragraphs. This phrase parallels the
previously illustrated phrase <u>aue</u> <u>iava</u> <u>uvare</u> since both
<u>eake</u> 'what' and <u>aue</u> 'Ø' stand for the proposition or set of
propositions to follow.

(198) <u>uva</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>vokioia</u>   <u>igei</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>touo</u>
      so   this   day.here   we   this   existence

      <u>avekataa//</u>   <u>eake</u>   <u>iava</u>   <u>uvare</u>   <u>auero</u>
      easy.is   what   about   because   Ø.these

      <u>toupaivoi</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>vokio</u>   <u>kovopara</u>
      existing.are   this   day   tools

(198)   <u>oara</u>   <u>uvuipai</u>   <u>riro</u>   <u>varivaripara</u>

which   able.are   great   strong-efforts

<u>verapaive</u>

rid.they̶.would

'So at this time our way of life is easy.

For what reason? because there are tools

today to get rid of the strenuous efforts.'

Another variation of the phrase <u>aue</u> <u>iava</u> <u>uvare</u> which

has functional weight equal to <u>eake</u> <u>iava</u> <u>uvare</u> is the phrase

<u>aue vituaro</u> <u>uvare</u> (∅ basis-poss because) 'because of this

which is the basis for it.' This phrase is useful within

the paragraph (and possibly within the discourse).

(199) <u>uva</u> <u>vo</u>   <u>vokioia</u>   <u>igei</u> <u>vo</u>   <u>touo</u>

so   this   day.here   we   this   existence

<u>avekataa</u>//   <u>aue</u>   <u>vituaro</u>   <u>uvare</u>   <u>auero</u>

easy.is   ∅   ẍbasis.poss   because   ∅.these

<u>toupaivoi</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>vokio</u>   <u>kovopara</u>   <u>oara</u>

existing.are   this   day   tools   which

<u>uvuipai</u>   <u>riro</u>   <u>varivaripara</u>   <u>verapaive</u>

able.are   great   strong-efforts   rid.they.would

'So at this time our way of life is easy.

Because of this which is the basis for it

(Because of this reason) there are tools to-

day to get rid of the strenuous efforts.'

A final variation of the phrase <u>aue</u> <u>iava</u> <u>uvare</u> is <u>vo</u> <u>uvare</u> 'this because.' In the base phrase <u>aue</u> is a cataphoric referential referring to the proposition to follow. However, in <u>vo</u> <u>uvare</u>, <u>vo</u> functions as an anaphoric referential bracketing the immediately preceding proposition. In this way the final phrase discussed here is different than all the others which include <u>uvare</u>. The conjoining phrase <u>vo</u> <u>uvare</u> is useful within the sentence only.

(200) <u>uva</u>   <u>vearo</u>   <u>vaisi</u>   <u>tapo</u>   <u>purapaavoi</u>   <u>vo</u>

     so   good   name   also   making.I.am   this

     <u>uvare</u>   <u>vii</u>   <u>kekepaavoi</u>

     because   you   seeing.I.am

     'So I'm thankful and it's because I'm seeing you.'

4.3. THE CONJOINING PHRASES WHICH INCLUDE <u>oisio</u> <u>ra</u> 'so that'

The conjoining phrases which include <u>oisio</u> <u>ra</u> 'so that' all express a relationship of causation. However, in contrast to those of 4.2. where reason is expressed, these phrases more specifically express purpose or Final Cause according to Longacre. The base phrase and the expansions of it all are useful within the sentence level of complexities.

(201) <u>uva</u> <u>oisio</u>   <u>eripaoro</u> <u>utupaopa</u>   <u>oisio</u>

     so   like-this digging   followed.she like-this

     <u>ra</u>   <u>vo</u> <u>rovuia</u>   <u>rao</u>

     then this lake.here drain.would

     'So she followed digging like this so that

     the lake would drain.'

The referential <u>oisio</u> 'like this' is ambiphoric in that
its referent may either precede it or follow it. In the
example above the gloss indicates the proposition referred
to is the preceding proposition. When the phrase is ex-
panded, however, by the suffix -<u>re</u> 'to/for' the referent
is clearly the following proposition as illustrated below.

(202) <u>Isio</u> <u>vararoepa</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>rasio</u>   <u>iare</u>

     Isio descended.he this ground to

        <u>oisiore</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>igei</u> <u>tauvapareve</u>

        like-this.for then us   help.he.would

        'Isio came down to the ground so that he

        would help us' or 'Isio came down to the

        ground for this (reason) to help us.'

Finally the fully expanded phrase where -<u>re</u> is shifted
to the cataphoric referential and <u>tapo</u> 'also' adds emphasis.

(202) <u>voeao</u> <u>vearo</u> <u>kovova</u>   <u>urioai</u>   <u>auere</u>

        these   good   work.with come.they Ø.for

(202)   <u>oisio</u>   <u>tapo</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>vearovira</u>   <u>pauvio</u>
         like-this   also   then   good.like   sit.we
         'These men come with good projects so that
         also we will have a good way of life.'

There is so far no evidence that there is increased
~~fme~~ functional weight sufficient to make this phrase use-
ful within the paragraph.

CHAPTER TEN

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TWO OR MORE PROPOSITIONS

1. INTRODUCTION

Having already touched on some of the relationships
which occur between propositions or sets of propositions
in the chapters on Modalities and Conjoining Words and
Phrases, there will now be a full discussion of all the
possible relationships. Differing from other descriptions
of the Higher Levels of grammars where each level is des-
cribed in turn accounting for all possible relationships
per level, I intend to abstract the relationships from
those levels in which they are pertinent and to thereby
focus on the relationship and not the particular features
of the levels.

In Chapter Seven on The Simple Proposition the focus
was on the relationships between predication and arguments.
Grimes talks about this in terms of "role-related under-
lying structure, or _lexical_ structure..." (Grimes 1972:251).
However, above the level of the Simple Proposition the
relationships in focus are of a much broader scale. They
occur between two single propositions and between whole sets
of propositions with varying degrees of complexity in-
between included. Grimes terms these relationships _rhet-
orical_ propositions in that "the arguments are not related

to their predicates via semantic roles" (ibid:251). He
goes on to say that "their main function could be thought
of as that of organizing the content of discourse."

Grimes lists, defines, and illustrates relationships
under three main headings: paratactic, hypotactic, and
neutral. Using the terminology of this paper on Rotokas
the paratactic relationships would be between at least two
propositions or sets of propositions, each of which has
equal weight. The hypotactic relationships would have one
or more propositions, but are of a subordinate nature to
some main proposition or set of propositions. Neutral
relationships may take either form. They may coordinate a
number of equal propositions or sets of propositions or
they may make their propositions subordinate to something
else. All three kinds and their sub-types are x similar
to some degree at least to another classificatory scheme
laid out by R.E. Longacre in his An Anatomy of Speech
Notions Chapter 3 (to be published?). Longacre goes through
the list of relationships using more traditional termin-
ology such as: Conjoining, Alternation, Temporal, Im-
plication, etc. Having started with his terminology in
the Higher Level Workshop, I prefer to stick with it. (I
also find it easier to understand).

The format of the description, however, will differ
from the more traditional ones in which there is a chapter

on The Sentence, one on The Paragraph, and a third on The
Discourse. As stated before I intend to abstract from these
three levels the basic relationships and refer to levels
in terms of varying degrees of complexity which may ^{be} the
property of the inter-related propositions or sets of pro-
positions. The "degrees of complexity" will be expressed
in "minimum - maximum" terms at this stage, although for
naturalness of translated material a thorough study of
"degrees of complexity" would seem worthwhile.

Obviously I am feeling my way in this chapter since most
of the format has yet to be worked out. I do think am at
this point that I'll distinguish between relationships
and patterns. Relationships will be those major headings
of Longacre's list, e.g. Conjoining Relationship, Alter-
nation Relationship, Temporal Relationship, etc. The term
patternX will be used for the sub-types, e.g. Coupling
Pattern, Overlap Pattern, Event-Span Pattern, etc. In this
way the idea that a Coupling Pattern applies to sentence
level, and paragraph level complexities or that a Condition-
ality Pattern is found on the paragraph and discourse levels
but with differences to the Conditionality Pattern found on
the Sentence level will come across more clearly.

The general outline will be to discuss all the various
patterns of a particular relationship before going on to
those of another relationship. The description of each pat-

tern will include:

name: PATTERN OF OVERLAPPING

description: (A prose statement about Event(s) A

takingplace during the period of time

Event(s) B is taking place. And that

these Events may be coterminous, etc.)

sentence level: (if relevant)

types of links: -oro, ovusia, osia, etc.

limitations upon types of elements related

limitations upon number of elements related

limitations upon permutations

paragraph level: (if relevant)

types of links: evo voki xagaia ragaia 'within that

very day', etc.

limitations (if relevant)

discourse level: (if relevant)

types of links:

etc.

There will possibly be some type of formulation of the pattern
where it can be helpful. Also the P___ ∧ ___Q-statements of
Longacre could be helpful. The discussion of each level will
be followed by illustrations which draw attention to various
features mentioned in the discussion, e.g. coterminous vs.
punctiliar-punctiliar, peculiar permutations, peculiar uses or
ofxaffacksxofxmodakikkasyxakax effects of modalities, etc.

2. SOURCE MATERIALS FOR FINAL DRAFT

At this point I'll depart from the outline of the
Rotokas Grammar in order to record source materials for
this chapter of the final draft. At the High Level Work-
shop the following paragraph types were found and labeled.
It wasn't until after this stage of investigation that the
course of the total description veered away from Longacre's
format and terminology. I am recording the following to
be used as source materials with the understanding that for
the most part the paragraph types recorded are still very
tentatively differentiated. In fact, having looked over
the materials again I see that some of the illustrations
are other than paragraphs!

- -

Relationship: SEQUENCE

Name: NARRATIVE

Formula: + Buildup^n $\pm$ Comment

Examples: zz-2-32

zz-2-к32 BUILDUP^1:

uva	tokoruovira	toupareva	vaisi	kokovuia
then	alone	stayed.he	mountain	bottom.at

tuepaoro//	aa	vo	vokio	vo
waiting//	which	this	day	here

pourovirovere

arrive.he.will

zz-2-32   BUILDUP[1]:

'Then alone he was there waiting at the
bottom of the mountain. "When will he get
here?" (he asked himself).

BUILDUP[2]:

uva	kupareto	tuereva//	irouto	roia
then	smoke	watched.he//	who	this.here

osia	ito	kourei	vareo
as	banana	garden.two	these.two

okourea	tekipaiva		vo	rera
which.two	spoiling.they.were		here	him

sirova

beside

'X̶X̶h̶m̶x̶i̶x̶x̶k̶h̶ Then he watched the smoke. "Who
is this man?" (he asked himself) as they razed
the two banana gardens after him (his death).'

BUILDUP[3]:

va	raga	tueoro	torireva
it	only	watching	ran-away.he

'Seeing it (smoke), he ran away.'

BUILDUP[4]:

uva	oravikiroepa//	rasivaia	keritara
then	jumped.he	red.paint.of	trash

puraoro	torireva	torireva
making	ran-away.he	ran-away.he

zz-2-32   BUILDUP[4]:

> 'Then he jumped along. (and) Making trash
> of the red paint, he continued on running
> away.'

BUILDUP[5]:

uva	kareroepa
then	returned-home.he

'Then he returned home.'

zz-3-17   BUILDUP[1]:

oire	rera	uvuoro	orave	oirato
okay	he	hearing	pillow	man

kareroepa	kareroepa	ikauvira
returned-home.he	returned-home.he	quickly

raga	kareroepa
just	returned-home.he

'Okay the man hearing the pillow returned
home; he kept on coming home quickly.'

BUILDUP[2]:

uva	kareroviropa	osia	ro	ira
so	returned.he.completely	as	this	who

vo	kepaaroia	raipiparoepa	Isio
here	house.poss.in	sheltered.he	Isio

ira	rerare	potereva
who	him.to	short.he.was

zz-3-17   BUILDUP^2:

> 'So he returned completely as this man,
>
> Isio, in whose house he sheltered himself
>
> he came up short (chasing him.)'

BUILDUP^3:

> rerare   poteoro   voreroepa   voreroepa
>
> him.to   short.being returned.he   returned.he
>
> vore   orarera   voaro
>
> here.to   ref.him   here.poss
>
> 'Being short chasing him, he went back con-
>
> tinuing on to his own place.'

Tense: same (usually remote past)

Subject: same/different

Link: recapitulation of some verb stem, uva 'then/so' or

   oire 'okay'

Relationship: SEQUENCE

Name: PROCEDURAL

Formula: + Step^n ± Target ± Comment

Examples: c-123, e-5, e-12, 21, 28(?)

e-5   STEP^1:

> oire   uva   oisioa   erakoara   sipo   rovoive
>
> okay   then   always   firewood   send   first.they.would
>
> vatatopovira   ra   vara   iare   osia   vo
>
> ready-like   then   them   for   as   this

e-5   STEP[1]:

    <u>guru</u>   <u>toupaive</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>osia</u> <u>oira</u>

    pile   exist.it.would   here   as   she

<u>toeive</u>

cut.they.would

'Okay then they would always first send the

firewood in readiness, and then they would

cut her (tree) for this pile of firewood

which was there.'

STEP[2]:

   <u>vo</u>   <u>govuko</u> <u>toeive</u>   <u>va</u> <u>sikasia</u>

   this   trunk   cut.they.would it break-up.to

     <u>ra</u>   <u>va</u> <u>sikaive</u>   <u>garepavisivi</u>

     then it   break-up.they.would small.like

     <u>ra</u>   <u>va</u> <u>sikapaoro</u>   <u>va</u> <u>sipopaive</u>

     then it   breaking-up it   send.they.would

<u>kepa</u>   <u>ruvaraiare</u>

house   near.to

'They would cut this (tree) trunk to break

it up, and then they'd break it up into little

pieces, and then they would send it to near

the house.'

c-123   STEP[1]:

uva   ovokirovuia   oraaivaropiepaveaira

so   days-these-other-on   meet.we-two.always

'So you and I will always be meeting on other days.'

STEP[2]:

orarugopiepave

remembering.we-two.would-be

'You and I would be remembering.'

STEP[3]:

ra   siraove   ita   oravegeipa

then   sorrow.we-two   again ref.we-two.for

'Then we'll be sorry again for ourselves.'

g-32   STEP[1]:

varao   ouive   kaavaa   ora   turoturo   ora

these   get.they.would kaavaa   and   turoturo   and

ropegesi   ora   vara   rutu   vuta   kouro

ropegesi   and   them   all   place grasses

varao   oaraia   kovepapeira   uukovi

these   which.on   falls.always stream

vagaparaia   oravikipaoro

falls.from   jumping

'They would get kaavaa, turoturo, ropegesi,

and all these grasses from where the water-

falls spray.'

STEP[2]:

oire	vara	rutu	tatereve	veeta	touia
okay	them	all	smash.he.would	bamboo	tube.in

vo	kuvu	purasia
this	contained-bit	make.to

'Okay he would smash them all in a bamboo tube in order to make this medicine.'

STEP[3]:

ra	vaia	rera	sisiuive
then	it.with	him	wash.they.would

'Then they'd wash him with it.'

TARGET:

oire	ra	voava	rera	varaua	rerare
okay	then	there.from	he	body	he.to

kusipe	osia	opesi	ovoipe
cool.would	as	finish	immediately.would

rera	iava	vo	upia
him	from	this	sickness

'Then his body would cool-off as the sickness went quickly from him.'

COMMENT:

aue	iava	uvare	oisioa	voava	evoa
Ø	about	because	always	there.from	there

vuutaia	oisioa	vo	ruvaru	purapaive
time.at	always	this	medicine	make.they.would

g-32   COMMENT:

va   vao   aue   malaria   ruvaru   vorara rara

it   this   Ø   malaria   medicine   when

rirovira   rutu   oirato   kasiraoiraoparo

greatly   truly   man   hot.much.he.would-be

ora   uteoparo   tapo

and   cold.he.would   also

'Because of this, they would always make this
medicine at the time when the man would be very
hot or would be cold, the malaria medicine.'

Relationship: IMPLICATION

Name: PURPOSE

Formula: + Statement   + Purpose

Examples: ce-15, bh-3, cb-14

bh-3   STATEMENT:

vikureve   Ravopaua   vo   osia   ro

travel.he.would   Ravopaua   this   as   this

vova   vatatoporoepa   ita

here.from   ready.he.did   also

'He (from) Ravopaua would travel as this man
from here also got ready,'

PURPOSE:

oisio   ra   vorosia   vikureve

like-this   then   hunt.to   travel.he.would

bh-3   PURPOSE:

> 'in order that he would travel to hunt.'

cj-37   STATEMENT:

> <u>igei</u>   <u>sioparo</u>   <u>iava</u>   <u>evavi</u>   <u>oare</u>   <u>vii</u>
>
> we   heart   from   that.little   it.to   you
>
> <u>akepaiovoi</u>
>
> asking.we.are
>
> 'It is that small thing from our hearts for
>
> which we are asking you now,'

PURPOSE:

> <u>oisio</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>voeaviia</u>   <u>vurari</u>   <u>voeao</u>
>
> like-this   then   they.little.on   look.you   these
>
> <u>oea</u>   <u>takuviropai</u>   <u>viipa</u>
>
> who   bowing.they.are   you.for
>
> 'so that you would look uponthese 'dear ones'
>
> who are bowing before you.'

cb-12   STATEMENT:

> <u>oire</u>   <u>vara</u>   <u>aioivora</u>   <u>voea</u>   <u>kipupaive</u>   <u>vo</u>
>
> okay   them   ate.they   they   smear.they.would   this
>
> <u>taritaroia</u>   <u>varao</u>   <u>oaravu</u>   <u>opita</u>   <u>taritaro</u>
>
> scraps.with   these   others   coconut   scraps
>
> <u>oara</u>   <u>oisioa</u>   <u>kurioro</u>   <u>vara</u>   <u>takouive</u>
>
> which   always   scraping   them   package.they.would

cb-12 STATEMENT:

ra	vo	takouroia	voea
then	these	packages.with	them

kipupaive		vo	ukoviia	vo
smear.they.would		this	river.in	here

voea	sisiupaoro
them	washing

'Okay having eaten them they would smear them
with these scrapings, these coconut scrapings
which they would package up, and then they
would smear them with these packages while
washing them here in the river.'

REASON:

oire	auere	eva	oisioa	purapaive	vo
okay	Ø.for	that	always	make.they.would	this

vuivuio	xɐx	verasia	oa	oisioa	puraeve
dirty		rid.to	which	always	make.she.would

riakova	kakaetoava	touoro	taraipa	kakae
woman	child.with	existing	know.for	child

vo	osia	kavauo
this	as	give-birth.she

'Okay they would always do that so as to get rid
of the 'dirty' which the woman had with the
child as she gave brith, the first-born child
(the child by which she gets acquainted with
birth).'

Relationship: IMPLICATION

Name: REASON

Formula: + Statement + Reason

Examples: j-28, 37, 47, Cus-p57-18

j-28 STATEMENT:

>   vearoa vao ouveare   paua
>
>   good   this   get.we-two   sitting
>
>   'You and I will get a good way of life,'

>   REASON:

>   uvare   taraipaveiei oisio...(paragraph)
>
>   because   know.we-two   like-this...(paragraph)
>
>   'because you and I know this...(explanation)'

j-47   STATEMENT:

>   uvuipai   ra   akeakeve
>
>   can-be.it   then   try.we-two
>
>   'You and I can try,'

>   REASON:

>   UVARE   VOEAO   OEA   torepiepavevoi   turaro
>
>   because   these   who   elect.are.we-two   leader
>
>   irara   vo   uruiara   siopaaroia   oea
>
>   men   here   villages   inside   who
>
>   distrik   gavman   vo   ruipaaroia torepai
>
>   district   government   this   desire.in stand.they
>
>   'because these leaders whom we are electing in

j-47   REASON:

>the villages, they are standing according to
>
>the district government's desire.'

RELATION
Relationship: IMPLICATION

Name: RESULT

Formula: + Statement + Result^n

Examples: zz-33, e-11, zz-16

zz-32   STATEMENT:

>ae   tutuupiepai   ra   kopira   uvare   eera
>
>oh   approaches.it then die.I   because that
>
>   ragai   kearevo
>
>   me   deceived.he
>
>   'Oh! I'm nearly dead because he fooled me.'

RESULT:

>rerape//   ira   upoavere
>
>him.leave//   he   fight.I.will
>
>'Let him alone. I'll fight him.'

e-11   STATEMENT:

>oire vo   guru   oisioa toupaive   ovusia
>
>okay this pile   always exist.would while
>
>   rikui   puraive   o   iria   siovaraia
>
>   hole   make.they.would   this   her   inside

e-11   STATEMENT:

> oisioa   erako   repi   tovotovoive
>
> always   firewood   stack   put.they.would.repeat-
> edly
>
> 'When this pile was there, they'd dig a hole
>
> into which they would stack firewood.'

evaia   oisioa   tuituikasi   kasiivora   vo

it.in   always   fire   burn.they.did   this

kasi   iare   oira   teoteopaoro   garepavisivi   vara

fire   to   she   chopping   small.like   them

> vikipaive   vo   kasi   ivaraia
>
> throw.they.would   this   fire   on-top
>
> 'Having burned the fire in it, chopping her
>
> (tree) up into little pieces, they would throw
>
> them on top of the fire.'

RESULT:

> oire   ra   va   iava   rovape   ikavura   rutu
>
> okay   then   it   because   burn.would   quickly   truly
>
> 'Okay then because of that, it would burn very
>
> quickly.'

Relationship: OPPOSITION

Name: ·ALTERNATIVE

Formula: + Alternative$_1$ + Alternative$_2$

Examples: e-22, co-44, am-91, g-18

co-44 ALTERNATIVE₁:

    isio   vai   kopiroepa

    Isio   maybe died.he

    'Maybe Isio died,'

ALTERNATIVE₂:

    o   apesi piereva

    or what   did.he

    'or what happened to him.'

am-91 ALTERNATIVE₁:

    vigei tapo uvuipaviei vo   kovoro vituaro

    we   also can.we   this   works   basis.poss

       kekepe

       see.we

    'We can see the beginning of these projects,'

ALTERNATIVE₂:

    o   uvuipaviei ra   oaravi   aio   aiooro

    or can.we   then   these.little food eating

       vigei varaaro   opesipe   tootooara vo

       we   them.poss finish.we lives   this

       rara vigei goruvira kovope vo   vokio

       when we   strongly work.we this   day

    'or we can finish our lives getting some

    profits when we work hard today.'

g-18   ALTERNATIVE$_1$:

    <u>oire</u> <u>ra</u>   <u>opesi</u> <u>ovoio</u>   <u>oira</u> <u>revasiva</u>

    okay   then   end   immediately.she   she   blood

      <u>rera</u> <u>iava</u> <u>oirato</u> <u>ro</u>   <u>ira</u> <u>vo</u>   <u>upia</u>

      him   from   man   this   who   this   sickness

      <u>purapareve</u>

      making.he.would-be

      'Then the bleeding would quickly cease from

      this man who would be sick.'

ALTERNATIVE$_2$:

    <u>ari</u> <u>vosia</u> <u>kaureopao</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>aue</u> <u>raga</u>

    but   if   stubborn.she   then   Ø   only

      <u>ruruiara</u>   <u>kavikavireve</u>   <u>aue</u> <u>iava</u>

      scrapings   gather.he.would   Ø   from

      <u>kasirio</u> <u>ora</u> <u>aue</u> <u>kaekaeo</u>

      kasirio   and   Ø   kaekaeo

      'But if the sickness resisted then he would

      gather scrapings from the kasirio and kaekaeo

      (grasses).'

Relationship: OPPOSITION

Name: NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE

Formula: + Statement + Negative Paraphrase ± Restatement

Examples: e-1, 28, 48, 91; j-40, 47; e-72, j-30, ao-76

e-1   STATEMENT:

<u>vosia</u>   <u>kasisia</u>   <u>auepaave</u>   <u>sisiva</u>

if   burn.to   ready.they.would-be   salt-tree

  <u>ra</u>   <u>oirare</u>   <u>kepa</u>   <u>vatatopo</u>   <u>rovoive</u>

  then   her.to   house   ready   first.they.would

  <u>ora</u>   <u>aue</u>   <u>erako</u>

  and   Ø   firewood

  'When they would be ready to burn the salt tree,

  then they first would make ready the house and

  firewood for it.'

NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE:

<u>uva</u>   <u>viapau</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>oarai</u>   <u>rutu</u>   <u>kovoara</u>

so   no   like-this   some.other   all   works

  <u>vai</u>   <u>oiraia</u>   <u>toupai</u>

  some   her.for   exists

  'There is no other work to be done for it.'

RESTATEMENT:

<u>ari</u>   <u>kataiarei</u>   <u>raga</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>osia</u>   <u>aue</u>   <u>kepa</u>

but   two.only   only   like-this   as   Ø   house

  <u>ora</u>   <u>erako</u>

  and   firewood.'

j-40   STATEMENT:

~~ii~~...<u>uvare</u>   <u>oaravu</u>   <u>ruipara</u>   <u>toupai</u>   <u>oarava</u>

    because   others   desires   exist   which.with

j-40   STATEMENT:

<u>orapaipiepaveiei</u>

stuck.we.are

'...for this reason we are stuck with some

other desires.'

NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE:

<u>viapau</u> <u>oisio</u>   <u>vuuta</u> <u>vai</u>   <u>toupaiøvoi</u>

no   like-this   time   some   existing

<u>vegeipa</u>   <u>vara</u> <u>kosipiepasia</u>

we-two.for   them   expound.to

'There is no time existing for you and I

to expound them.'

Tense: same

Subject: same/different

Link: juxtaposition, <u>ari</u> (between Neg. Para. and Restate.)

RR: negation obligatory in the Neg. Para.

Relationship×××EXPLANATION

Name×××DESCRIPTION

Formula×××Topic×××Description

Examples×××j-9×××20×××27×××30×

Relationship: OPPOSITION

Name: CONTRAST

Formula: + Item + Contrast

Examples: d-163, c-71, a-141, am-102, ay-16, am-82

a-141 ITEM:

> uva vo   vegei vo   reoaro   oisio
>
> so   here we-two this talk.poss like-this
>
> turaro
>
> leader
>
> 'So in our language it is this "leader",'

CONTRAST:

> ari vo   voea   popoteirara oisio   king
>
> ᴋbut here they   white.men   like-this king
>
> 'but in the white man's (language) (it) (is)
>
> "king".'

d-163 ITEM:

> uva viapau oisio   ragai oarai
>
> so   no   like-this   I   other.some
>
> oupaa   kakaevurepa
>
> getting.I   children.for
>
> 'I'm not getting anything for the children,'

CONTRAST:

> ari vii raga ragai vatevatepari
>
> but you only me   giving.repeatedly.you
>
> 'but you alone are always giving to me.'

am-82   ITEM:

<u>viapau</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>uvuipai</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>vegoaro</u>   <u>ragare</u>

no   like-this able.is   then   bush   only.to

<u>raiva</u>   <u>puraa</u>

road   make.I

'I can't just build a road to the bush.'

CONTRAST:

<u>ari</u> <u>oisio</u>   <u>vearopai</u>   <u>vo</u> x <u>rara</u> <u>riroara</u>

but like-this good.it.is   this as   many

<u>rutu</u>   <u>purari</u>   <u>kovoara</u>   <u>visii</u>   <u>rutu</u>   <u>uvuita</u>

truly make.you   gardens   you   all   able.you

'But it will be okay when you plant plenty of

gardens, all of you can (do this).'

Tense: same/different

Subject: same/different

Link: juxtaposition, <u>ari</u> 'but/and'

RR: Must be two contrastive differences (or it would be like

a Negative Paraphrase).

One further CONTRAST:

c-71   ITEM:

<u>vosia</u> <u>viapau</u> <u>aeri</u>   <u>Pautoare</u> <u>ra</u>

if   no   called-'ae'.you Pauto.to   then

<u>vegeivi</u>   <u>opesive</u>

we-two.little   finish.we-two

c-71   ITEM:

'If you had not called out 'ae!' to Pauto,

then you and I (poor little us) would have

been finished.'

CONTRAST:

ari   Pauto   vii   tavirevo   oa   iava

but   Pauto   you   told.he   which   because

kukueva   kaepierivo

head   lifted.you

'But Pauto spoke to you because of which you

raised your head.'

Relationship: EXPLANATION

Name: DESCRIPTION

Formula: ± Topic + Description

Examples: j-9, 20, 27, 30

j-9   TOPIC:

kovoaro   aue   vilis   gavman   oisio

work.poss   Ø   village government   like-this

'The village government's work (is) like this,'

DESCRIPTION:

vegeipa   kovoara   torepiepaoro   vo   uruiara

we-two.for   works   making-stand   here   villages

siopaaroia

inside

j-9   DESCRIPTION:

   '(It is the) initiation of work projects for

   you and I here in the villages.'

j-27   TOPIC:

  <u>ari</u> <u>ita</u> <u>oisio</u>   <u>rugoa</u>   <u>toupaivoi</u>

  yes again like-this thinking existing.is

  'Yes! the thinking is like this.'

  DESCRIPTION:

  <u>vearoa</u> <u>vao</u> <u>ouveare</u> <u>paua</u> <u>uvare</u> <u>taraipaveiei</u>

  good this get.we-two sit because know.we-two

    <u>oisio</u>...

    like-this...

  'You and I will get a good life because you

  and I know this...'

j-20   TOPIC:

  <u>vosia</u> <u>eake</u> <u>kovo</u> <u>torepie</u> <u>ruipapaave</u>

  if   what work make-stand desire.they.would

  'Whatever the work is they wish to initiat\e.'

  DESCRIPTION:

  <u>oire</u> <u>evoa</u> <u>uva</u> <u>uvuiparoi</u> <u>ra</u> <u>vegei</u>

  okay there where able.he.is then we-two

   <u>tauvareve</u> <u>vilis</u> <u>gavman</u>   <u>vo</u>

  help.he.would village government here

j-20   DESCRIPTION:

orekevu   areoro   vo   distrik

other-thins   requesting here   district

gavman   siovaraia

government   inside

'Okay that's where he would help you and I

requesting these other things from the dis-

trict government.'

Tense: same/different

Subject: same/different

Comment: oisio toupai 'it's like this' commonly used

Relationship: EXPLANATION

Name: EVALUATION

Formula: + Statement + ($\pm$ Evaluation^{n-1} $\pm$ Evaluation^{n})

Examples: e-53, bz-21

e-53   STATEMENT:

oire   vo   rutu   vearopai   va   aviea   vo   osia

okay   this truly good.is   it   salt   this as

katai vokiia   ora   vopevaia   voki

one   day.for or   three.for day

touve   koieara   avieara   siovaraia

stay.would   porks   salts   inside

'Okay the salt is really good when the pieces

of pork would be in the salt-tubes for one or

three days.'

EVALUATION^{n-1}:

> <u>ra</u>   <u>vearovira</u>   <u>vara</u>   <u>aiopari</u>
>
> then   good.like   them   eating.you.are
>
> 'Then you are eating them well.'

EVALUATION^{n}:

> <u>viapau</u>   <u>oavu</u>   <u>avu</u>   <u>vai</u>
>
> no   other   maybe   some
>
> 'There is nothing wrong with it (everything
>
> is okay).'

bz-21 STATEMENT:

> <u>oire</u>   <u>toua</u>   <u>purapasi</u>
>
> okay   life   make.they-two

EVALUATION:

> <u>viapau</u>   <u>oavu</u>   <u>avu</u>   <u>vai</u>
>
> no   other   maybe   some
>
> 'There is nothing wrong with it (everything
>
> is okay).'

Tense: same/different

Subject: same/different

RR: read at least 2 tagmemes

Comment: Evaluation in final position is formulaic

Relationship: AMPLIFICATION

Name: PARAPHRASE

Formula: + Statement + Paraphrase

Examples: c-69, a-145

c-69   STATEMENT:

>   ragai   tavipareva   Ari
>
>   me   told.he   Ari
>
>   'Ari told me,'

PARAPHRASE:

>   oisio   puraroepa
>
>   like-this   said.he
>
>   'he said this.'

a-145   STATEMENT:

>   uva   voa   tuvuavora
>
>   then   there arrived.I

PARAPHRASE:

>   oire   kepaia   tuvuavora
>
>   okay   house.at arrived.I
>
>   'Okay I arrived at the house.'

Tense: same

Subject: same

Link: juxtaposition

R^R: total repetition

Relationship: AMPLIFICATION

Name: ADDITION

Formula: + Statement   + Addition

Examples: c-29, zz-1-16

c-29   STATEMENT:

> <u>e</u>   <u>opuruva</u>   <u>kaeevoi</u>
>
> ?   canoe   carry.she.is
>
> 'Is she carrying the canoe?

ADDITION:

> <u>avakava</u>   <u>opuruva</u>   <u>kaeevoi</u>   <u>rovua</u>
>
> ocean   canoe   carry.she.is   depths
>
> 'Is the current carrying the canoe out to sea?'

zz-1-16 STATEMENT:

> <u>oire</u>   <u>rera</u>   <u>kaepaoro</u>   <u>avaopa</u>
>
> okay   him   carrying   went.she
>
> 'Okay she went carrying him.'

ADDITION:

> <u>rera</u>   <u>kaepaoro</u>   <u>avaopa</u>   <u>rera</u>   <u>upopaoro</u>
>
> him   carrying   went.she   him   hitting
>
> <u>evaovaroia</u>   <u>ora</u>   <u>aueia</u>   <u>aveke</u>   <u>oaraia</u>
>
> trees.on   and   Ø.on   stones   which.on
>
> <u>rera</u>   <u>tapaoro</u>   <u>avapaopa</u>
>
> him   hitting   going.she.was
>
> 'She went carrying him, hitting against trees
>
> and stones against which she was going hit-
>
> ting him.'

Tense: same

Subject: same

Link: juxtaposition

RR: total repetition plus one new tagmeme (this looks

like just the reverse of the repetition relationship)

Relationship: AMPLIFICATION

Name: AMPLIFICATION

Formula: ± Gen. Statement + Spec. Statement ± Gen. Summary

Examples: e-45, 90, 54, j-49(?)

e-45   SPECIFIC STATEMENT:

    uva   evara   rutu   oisioa   siovaraia   toupaoro

    so   those   all   always   inside   existing

        rirovira   sipeipape   koieara

        greatly   salted.would.be   pig.meats

        'So those pieces of pig would always get very

        salty being inside them.'

    GENERIC SUMMARY

    VOSIA VARA   AIOPARI   VOAVA   RA

    if   them   eat.you.are   there.from then

        rirovira   rutu   sipeipape

        greatly   truly   salted.would.be

        'If you'd eat them from there, they would

        be very salty.'

j-54   GENERIC STATEMENT:

> <u>uva</u>   <u>rera</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>vavaearoia</u>   <u>evaa</u>
>
> so   he   this   hand.poss   that.is
>
> 'So that is his hand.'

SPECIFIC STATEMENT:

> <u>rera</u>   <u>vaaro</u>   <u>vavaea</u>   <u>oa</u>   <u>tovoparevoi</u>
>
> he   it.poss   hand.is   which   putting.he.is
>
> <u>vo</u>   <u>uruiara</u>   <u>siopaaroia</u>
>
> here   villages   inside
>
> 'It is his hand which he is putting into the
>
> villages.'

Tense: same

Subject:: same

Link: juxtaposition

Relationship: EXPLANATION

Name: PARALLEL

Formula: + Item 1 + Item 2

Example: ₤×₤₤ e-41

e-41   ITEM 1:

> <u>oire</u>   <u>vearovira</u>   <u>rutu</u>   <u>goruara</u>   <u>ivitara</u>
>
> okay   good.like   truly   strong-ones   plugs
>
> <u>tovopaive</u>
>
> put.they.would

e-41   ITEM 2:

      uva   ivita   oisioa   goruvira   rutu   varapieive

      so   plug   always   strong   truly   insert.they

        riakova   avieua   riaroia

        woman   tube   openning.in

        'So they, the women, would always shove in

        tightly the plug into the tube openning.'

Tense: same

Subject: same/different

Link: juxtaposition

RR: one lexical difference between the two Items

Relationship: QUOTATION

Name: SPEECH QUOTE

Formula: $\pm$ Quote Phrase   + Quote

Examples: c-34, c-103, a-40

c-34   QUOTE PHRASE:

      uva   oisio   puraraepa

      so   like-this   said.I

      'So I said this,'

   QUOTE:

      vii   avau//   oira   tariopaoro   utuu

      you   go.you   her   chasing   follow.you

      'You go. You follow chasing her (canoe).'

c-103   QUOTE PHRASE:

    uva aruparoepa   ro   Ari   oisio

    so   ordered.he   this   Ari   like-this

    'So this Ari gave orders like this,'

  QUOTE:

    aioa   vaiva   ra   oai   aiove

    food   some.with   and   some   eat.we-two

    '(Come) with some food and the two of us

    will eat it.'

a-40   QUOTE PHRASE:

    ...uvare   oisio   purapai

      because   like-this   says.it

    '...because it says this,'

  QUOTE:

    ro   ira   ogoeparo   irapa   uvuipauei

    this   who   hungry.he.is   him.for   able.you.are

      vateu

      give.you

    'This man who is hungry, you can give to him.'

Tense: same/different

Subject: same/different

RR: speech verb and relative pronoun oisio 'like this'

    are usually in the quote phrase

(Additional SPEECH QUOTE)

zz-1-22 QUOTE PHRASE:

<u>uva</u>   <u>rera</u>   <u>akepareva</u>   <u>uvare</u>   <u>rerava</u>

so   him   asked.he   because   him.with

<u>aivaroreva</u>   <u>vegoaro</u>

met.he   bush

'So he asked him because he had met him

in the bush,'

QUOTE:

<u>apeisi</u>   <u>evo</u>   <u>kare</u>   <u>ourivo</u>   <u>kavori</u>   <u>kare</u>

how   those   animals   get.you   crayfish   animals

''How did you catch those crayfish?'

Relatiojship: QUOTATION

Name: MENTAL QUOTE

Formula: + Quote Phrase   + Quote

Examples: a-18, c-115, j-29

a-18   QUOTE PHRASE:

<u>uva</u>   <u>eisi</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>siposipo</u>   <u>sirova</u>   <u>oisio</u>

so   like-that   this   story   beside   like-this

<u>aueraera</u>

considered.I

'So I considered that that story is similar

to this,'

QUOTEx

a-18   QUOTE:

<u>o</u>   <u>easi</u>   <u>va</u>   <u>vao</u>   <u>oa</u>   <u>iava</u>   <u>Baibel</u>

oh   why!   it   this   which   about   Bible

<u>siposipopaiveira</u>   <u>o</u>   <u>tugoropa</u>   <u>vuku</u>

teaches.always   or   sacred   book

<u>siposipopaiveira</u>   <u>oa</u>   <u>iava</u>

teaches.always   it   about

'Oh, why this is the one which the Bible

teaches about, or the holy book teaches about.'

c-115   QUOTE PHRASE:

<u>uva</u>   <u>rirovira</u>   <u>rutu</u>   <u>siraopaveiepa</u>   <u>vo</u>

so   greatly   truly   sorrowed.we-two   this

<u>orarugorugopiepaoro</u>   <u>oisio</u>

remembering   like-this

'So we both were very sorry remembering this,'

QUOTE:

<u>viapau</u>   <u>uvuipaveie</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>tootoove</u>

no   able.we-two   then   like-this   live.we-two

<u>osia</u>   <u>tootoopaveie</u>   <u>uvare</u>   <u>opuruva</u>   <u>vegei</u>

as   lived.we-two   because   canoe   we-two

<u>kavuragaevo</u>

left.just.she

'You and I would not have been able to live as

we are living now because the canoe just drifted

from us.'

j-29   QUOTE PHRASE:

> <u>taraipaveiei</u>   <u>oisio</u>
> know.we-two   like-this
> 'You and I know this,'

QUOTE:

> <u>vosia</u>   <u>gavman</u>   <u>siovaraia</u>   <u>toupavevora</u>   <u>ro</u>
> if   government   inside   exist.we-two   this
>
>   <u>reito</u>   <u>Australian</u>   <u>gavman</u>   <u>uva</u>   <u>viapau</u>
>   big-one   Australian   government   so   no
>
>   <u>vegeire</u>   <u>rugorugoparoera</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>uruiara</u>
>   we-two.to   think.he   here   villages
>
>   <u>siopaaroia</u>
>   inside
>
> 'When you and I were under the Australian
> government's rule, it did not think about you
> and I in the villages.'

Relationship: QUOTATION

Name: NAMING

Formula: + Target + Name

Examples: a-31, 37; bg-18, by-19, ae-6, ax-81, at-40, cd-1

a-31   TARGET:

> <u>oire</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>kepa</u>   <u>vao</u>   <u>oa</u>   <u>vaisipaiveira</u>
> okay   this   house   this   which   name.they.always

a-31   TARGET:

    aue   popotepairara   oisio

    Ø   white-man   like-this

    'Okay, the white man always name this house

    here like this,'

NAME:

    aue   mess   aiopa   kepa

    Ø   mess   eat.for   house

    'the mess, the house for eating.'

bg-17   TARGET:

    ari   vosia   orokui   siuriketo   siara   iava

    but   if   Orokui   Siuriketo   clan   from

    iriavu   oureve   ra   aria

    woman.another   get.he.would   then   shame

    oureve   oa   oisio   vaisipai

    get.he.would   which   like-this   name.they

    oisi   raga   ita   oisio

    this   just   again   like-this

    'And if an Orokui would marry a woman from

    the Siuriketo clan, then he would be shamed

    which they always name just this again like this,'

NAME:

    koua

    Koua

    'Koua'

by-19   TARGET:

<u>eisi</u>   <u>voea</u>   <u>voeao</u>   <u>oea</u>   <u>oisioa</u>   <u>voeapa</u>
like-that   they   these   who   always   them.for

   <u>irapaave</u>   <u>oea</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>vaisipai</u>
   go-first.they   who   like-this   name.they

   'It is like that, these who always lead the

   way for them, they name them like this,'

NAME:

<u>lidapairara</u>   <u>riropairara</u>   <u>voeao</u>   <u>irapairara</u>
leaders   big-men   these   leaders

   <u>voeapa</u>
   them.for

   'leaders, important men, these leaders for them.'

cd-1   TARGET:

<u>oire</u>   <u>oavu</u>   <u>puraa</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>voea</u>   <u>viovokoa</u>
okay   another   make.I   here   them   ꜰ̶ꜱ̶boys

   <u>vaaro</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>aueia</u>   <u>inglisia</u>   <u>o</u>   <u>tok</u>
   it.poss   this   Ø.in   English.in   or   talk

   <u>pidgin</u>   <u>o</u>   <u>eakevuia</u>   <u>oaia</u>   <u>oisio</u>
   pidgin   or   what.other.in   which.in   like-this

   <u>va</u>   <u>vaisipaivoi</u>
   it   name.they.are

   'Okay I'll make another (story) of this thing

   of the boys, this which in English, or Pidgn, or

   whatever they are naming it like this,'

cd-1   NAME:

> rispek   vao   oa   oisioa   purapaive
>
> respect   this   which   always   make.they.would
>
>> tuariri// ɯxɑxɨ oraarikoko   vo   vigei   vo
>>
>> long-ago//   respect   here   we   this
>>
>> reoaro   Rotokasi   reoia   oisio
>>
>> talk.poss   Rotokas   talk.in   like-this
>>
>> purapai   oraarikokoa
>>
>> says.it   oraarikokoa
>>
>> 'respect, this which they would always make
>>
>> long ago. Respect, here in our language of
>>
>> Rotokas it says it like this, ɑxɨ oraarikokoa.'

Tense: same/different

Subject; same/ different (subject of naming verb is usually

> 'they')

Link: juxtaposition and the use of oisio 'like this'

RR: Verb of the Target is a naming verb such as vaisi 'to

> name' or resi 'to mark'

Relationship: QUOTATION

Name: TERMINAL

Formula: ± Summary + (± Date ± Location ± Identification)

> ± Summary Close

Examples: c-126, b-228, h-251

c-126   SUMMARY:

uva   oisivio   ragaa   osia   opesiei
so   this.little just.is as   finished.is

ragai vo   tavitaviaro oa   puraavoi
I   this   story.poss   which   make.I

'So this is it as my little story is finished
which I make.'

DATE:

vo   vokioia   aueia   1966
this   day.on   Ø.in   1966

'On this day in 1966'

IDENTIFICATION:

ragai   Raupeto
I   Raupeto

'I, ~~Raupeekt~~ Raupeto'

b-228   SUMMARY:

eva   reoreoa   ragai   vaaro
that   talk.is   I   it.poss

'That is my story.'

IDENTIFICATION:

Pita   Vivisiori
Peter Vivisiori

'Peter Vivisiori.'

b-228   SUMMARY CLOSE:

>   <u>opesiei</u>
>
>   finished.is
>
>   'It's finished.'

h-251   SUMMARY:

>   <u>eisivi</u>   <u>raga</u>   <u>osia</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>siposipo</u>   <u>viipa</u>
>
>   that.little   only   as   this   story   you.for
>
>   >   <u>aviavipiepaa</u>
>   >
>   >   light.make.I
>   >
>   >   'That's the way it is as I explain this story
>   >
>   >   for you.'

DATE:

>   <u>vo</u>   <u>ivao</u>   <u>sioparoia</u>   <u>1966</u>   <u>iva</u>
>
>   this   year   within   1966   year
>
>   'Within this year of 1966,'

IDENTIFICATION:

>   <u>ragai</u>   <u>vaisia</u>   <u>oaa</u>   <u>Akoitai</u>
>
>   I   name   my   Akoitai
>
>   'My name is Akoitai.'

Tense: same (usually all in the present tense or unmarked)

Subject: same (usually focuses upon the narrator 'I')

Link: juxtaposition

RR: fillers are usually phrases but can be expanded clauses
    as well; however, as phrases the reading is formulaie
i   in nature.

Relationship: EXHORTATION

Name: HORTATORY

Formula: + Exhortation ± Reason

Examples: k-5, 34, 70, 94; bf-22, 25, 28, 29

k-5 (Exhortation embedded within the Hortatory paragraph)

EXHORTATION:

vosia   aiteara   vii tavipareve   oavu
if   father.your you tell.he.would   another

purasia oisio   vaoia   ragai tauvari
do.to   like-this this.here   I   help.you

vo   kovoia   aiopa   kovo   oire rera
this   work.here   food.for   work   okay he

reoaro   uvuri
talk.poss   hear.you

'If your father would tell you to do something
like this, "You help me with the work of garden-
ing," okay you obey his words.'

REASON:

uvare   eakea   aioaa   oirato   ora   aioaa
because   what   food.is   man   and   food.is

riakova   ora   aioaa   kakaeto...
woman   and   food.is   young-boy...

'For what reason? Food is man and food is
woman and food is a young boy...'

k-34   EXHORTATION:

<u>eisi</u>   <u>osia</u>   <u>visiipa</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>rugoo</u>   <u>vatepaa</u>
like-that   as   you.for   this   thought   giving.I

    <u>ra</u>   <u>vearovira</u>   <u>rutu</u>   <u>vare</u>   <u>rugorugopata</u>
    then   good.like   truly   it.to   remember.you

<u>vao</u>   <u>rovopa</u>
this   first-thing

'It's like that as I am giving you this
thought, and you ꭗꭗ all carefully think back
to this important thing.'

REASON:

<u>eake</u>   <u>iava</u>   <u>uvare</u>   <u>viapau</u>   <u>oisio</u>
what   about   because   no   like-this

    <u>taraipavioveira</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>osia</u>   <u>toupaivoi</u>
    know.we.always   like-this   as   existing.is

    <u>rovoa</u>   <u>ora</u>   <u>opesia</u>   <u>varaoia</u>   <u>vuutara</u>
    start   and   finish   these.here   times

<u>varaoia</u>   <u>osia</u>   <u>toupapeira</u>
these.here   as   existing.we.always-are

<u>vo</u>   <u>rasioia</u>
this   earth.on

'Because of what? Because we never know this
as the start and the finish of these times now
exist, these now as we are living on this earth.'

k-70   EXHORTATION:

oire   uva   va   eva   vituaro   ogoeto   eera

okay   so   it   that   base-poss   hunger   that

       oa   vituaro   iava   oisio   visipa

       which   base-poss   about   like-this   you.for

       vo   rugoro   vatepaavoi   ra   vearovira

       this   thoughts   giving.I   so   good.like

       rutu   reo   uvupata

       truly   talk   hear.you

       'Okay so that is the basis of hunger, that

       basis of which I am giving you these thoughts

       so that you carefully listen to this talk.'

REASON:

       uvare   viapau   oisio   vigeiia   taraia

       because   no   like-this   we.in   knowledge

       vaiei   vo   vokioia   rurukoiraraa

       some.is   this   day.at   unknowing-men.are

       vigei   siopapairara   rutu

       we   unaware-men   truly

       'Because there is no knowledge in us at this

       time; we are unknowing and unaware people.'

bf-22   EXHORTATION₁

       oire   vearoa   ra   rugorugopavio   ra   gorupavio

       okay   good.is   then   thinking.we   and   strong.we

bf-22   EXHORTATION$_1$:

<u>vo</u>   <u>kovoarore</u>   <u>rugopaoro</u>/ <u>opeita</u> <u>varao</u>

this   work.poss.to   thinking// do-not   these

<u>ragaia</u>   <u>rugopavio</u>   <u>varao</u> <u>vo</u>   <u>rasitoaia</u>

only.of   thinking.we   these   this   ground.on

<u>viapau</u>

no

'So it is good that we be thinking and strength-
ening (ourselves) thinking of this work. Let
us not be thinking only of the things of this
earth, no!'

EXHORTATION$_2$:

<u>viapau</u> <u>ra</u> <u>vaopa</u>   <u>uriripau</u>   <u>oa</u>

no   and   this.for fearing.you which

<u>kekepari</u>   <u>vo</u>   <u>osireitoaia</u> <u>ari</u> <u>vaopa</u>

seeing.you   this   eye.with   but   this.for

<u>uriripau</u>   <u>oa</u>   <u>viapau</u> <u>kekepari</u>   <u>eva</u>...

fearing.you   which   no   seeing.you   that...

'Do not be fearing this which you are seeing
with your eyes, but be fearing this which you
don't see that...'

Tense: different (tense of exhortation is usually unmarked
     or future while tense of Reason is usually indefinite.)

Subject: same/different (often we dual or inclusive)

RR: Exhortation noted so far to be repeated twice only

Relationship: REPARTEE

Name: DIALOGUE (General)

Formula: $\pm$ Opening $+$ Initiating Utterance $\pm$ Continuing

Utterance^n $\pm$ Resolving Utterance $\pm$ Terminating

Utterance $\pm$ Closure

Examples: zz-1-4, zz-2-7, zz-2-15

zz-1-4 INITIATING UTTERANCE:

<div style="margin-left:3em">

oire   oisio   puraroepa

okay   like-this said.he

avuto   apeisi koie pieri   eira iria

grandfather what   pig   do.you that which

kaepaoro   karepauei// ari irouva   upoavo

carrying   return.you   why which.one killed.I

'Okay he said this,

"Grandfather, what did you do to that pig which

you are carrying back? Why, which one did I kill?"'
</div>

CONTINUING UTTERANCE:

<div style="margin-left:3em">

UVA APEISI RAGAVIRA   OIRA UPORIVO//

so   how   just.like   her   killed.you

ari oira ita   upoavo

why her   only killed.I

'"So just how did you kill her? Why, she is

the very one that I killed."'
</div>

zz-1-4 CONTINUING UTTERANCE:

> o   apeisi   ragavira   oira   uporivo
>
> oh   how   just.like her   killed.you
>
> '"Oh, (then) just how did you kill her?"'

RESOLVING UTTERANCE:

> ari   oira   oovaupaoro   uturae   uva
>
> why   her   tracking   followed.I   where
>
> uusipaoe...
>
> sleeping.she.was
>
> '"Why, I faka followed her tracks to where
>
> she was sleeping etc."'

zz-2-7 OPENING:

> uva   orareopasiepa
>
> so   conversed.they-two
>
> 'So the two of them conversed.'

OR INITIATING UTTERANCE:

> ovuia   uriouei//   eakere   tarapari
>
> where.from come.you   what.for   searching-for.you
>
> '"Where are you coming from? What are you
>
> searching for?"'

CONTINUING UTTERANCE:

> ari   ragai   koue   tarioparai
>
> why   I   pig   chasing.I.am
>
> '"Why, I'm chasing pig."'

zz-2-7 CONTINUING UTTERANCE:

<u>ari</u> <u>ragai</u> <u>tapo</u> <u>ita</u> <u>ragoa</u> <u>oira</u> <u>oovaaro</u>

why   I   also   too   I   her   tracks

<u>uturae</u>   <u>vova</u>//   <u>uva</u> <u>uvuipai</u> <u>ra</u>

followed.I   here.from   so   able.is   then

<u>vo</u>   <u>raga</u>   <u>raiva</u> <u>pura</u>   <u>ovoive</u>

here   just   road   make   completely.we-two

'"Why, I too, I have followed her tracks from

here. So can you and I make a road right here

now?"'

RESOLVING UTTERANCE:

<u>ari</u> <u>uvuipai</u>// <u>ari</u> <u>vearo</u> <u>tapi</u> <u>raga</u> <u>vo</u> <u>uva</u>

why   able.is   yes   good   area   only   here where

<u>uriorai</u>

come.I

'"Why yes we can. Yes, it is a good area right

from where I come."'

CLOSING:

<u>oire</u>   <u>eisi</u>   <u>orareosiepa</u>

okay   like-that   conversed.they-two

'Okay they both were talking together like that.'

zz-2-15 INITIATING UTTERANCE:

<u>oire</u> <u>uva</u>   <u>roari</u>   <u>oisiriva</u>   <u>Keriaka</u>

okay   then   this.other   over-there.from   Keriaka

zz-2-15 INITIATING UTTERANCE:

oisio   puraroepa

like-this said.he

'Okay then this other man from over in Keriaka,

he said this,'

vearopai   ra   ragaipa   rasiara   vai   kasirivere

good.is   then   me.for   earths   some burn.you.will

osia viipa   koetara   vai   sipoa

as   you.for   bows   some send.I

'"It is good that you will prepare earth-paint

for me as I send some bows to you."'

CONTINUING UTTERANCE:

oire oisio   puraroepa   ro   vova

okay like-this said.he   this   here.from

   vearopai osia pieveare   oraaivaropieveare

   good.is   as   do.we-two   meet.we-two.will

   'Okay this man from here said this, "It is

   good as we will do it and meet again."'

TERMINATING UTTERANCE:

oire   oisio   puraroepa   roari

okay   like-this said.he   this.other

oire   ovoiei oisio   ra   oratavarive//

okay   enough like-this then   exchange.we-two//

   oire kareve   vatatopopasia uva

   okay return.we-two get-ready.to   then

zz-2-15 TERMINATING UTTERANCE:

<u>oraaivaropieveare</u>   <u>rara</u>

meet.we-two.will   later-on

'Okay this other man said this, "Okay it is
enough like this that we exchange. Okay we
both will go back to make ready and then we
will both meet again later on."'

Tense: same/different (opening and closing usually remote
      past while Quotes are present, indefinite, or future)

Subject: same/different

Link: juxtaposition

RR: In the general formula at least one other tagmeme
      must appear along with the initiating utterance

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SENTENCE, PARAGRAPH, DISCOURSE

THE GRAMMATICAL DISTINCTIONS

1. INTRODUCTION

Having used the terms sentence, paragraph, and dis-
course in this paper without yet defining them, I intend
to do so in this chapter. These levels will be defined
on the basis of grammatical features. In the tentative
analysis so far it has been found profitable to discuss
these grammatical features according to where they occur
in the unit, i.e. at the onset, peak, or coda in the term-
inology of "wave" features. So far defining grammatical
features in the terminology of the wave has not been done
for all levels. It is possible that it won't be a pro-
ductive format for all levels; however, after further
study of Bee's discussion of descriptions according to
wave features in her N̶e̶o̶-̶T̶a̶g̶m̶e̶m̶ Neo-Tagmemics I'll know
whether or not to push it any further.

2. WORKSHOP REPORT RELEVANT TO THIS CHAPTER

While attending the High Level Grammar Workshop there
was a report on discourse level features in Rotokas which
will be re-worked before being used in the final draft.
At this writing, however, I'll include it pretty much as

it was handed in.

In order to display a discourse so that the signif-
icant features could be seen at a ɢᴀɪɴᴄᴇ glance, the
chart (see attached foolscap mimeographed page) was de-
vised. On this chart were written from left to right:
1) the slot in the discourse syntagmeme in which the pro-
position occurred, 2) the sentence level introducer, 3)
number of utterance within the specific text, 4) the etic
proposition type (or sentence type), 5) theme of the para-
graph, 6) event (or predication), 7) Thurman Chart for ident-
ification of participants (see Grimes 1972:104), 8) tense of
verb, and 9) other significant features.

The Theme on the chart reflected an idea that was com-
mon to the paragraph and seemed to tie all of the propo-
sitions (or sentences) of that paragraph together. It ex-
tended from the onset of the paragraph to the coda. It was
identified lexically by nouns, pronouns, person markers in
the verb within Procedural discourses and usually by ᴋ verb
stems within Narrative discourses. Now in terms of the
theme and other features the various discourse types found
will be discussed.

2.1. PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

The nominal which designates the Theme of Procedural
discourses is acted upon throughout the paragraph and

therefore is renamed in various ways. It may be specif-
ically named, it may have a synonym e.g. 'the fire' and
its equivalent 'the funeral pyre', it may occur marked in
the verb. At some point it usually appears on the Thurman
Chart.

In relation to the events of the paragraph, it is
usually involved in the culminating activity. This is
the verb or structure consisting of several verbs which
occur at the peak of the wave. As indicated by the shape
of the wave characterizing paragraphs filling 'procedure
slots', there is very little activity in the paragraph
involving the Theme after the peak.

WAVE SHAPE OF PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH

(Target)
Peak Event

onset   coda
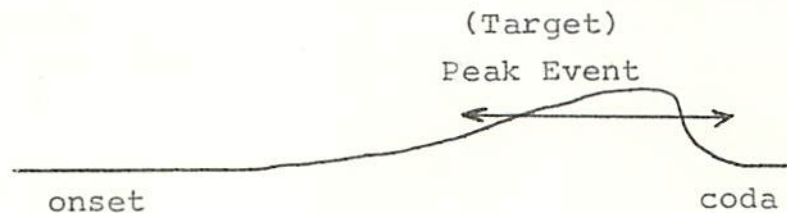
Complex sentences often occur at the troughs of the
wave. In Procedural paragraphs the complexity usually
occurs at the coda. This may be a summary type sentence
in which the Theme is named, the main participant is ident-
ified, and other participants or objects brought into the
context. Following this sentence there is often an into-
ductory phrase occurring in the onset of the next para-

TEXT _____ TYPE _____

9 SLOT	INTRO	#	TYP	THEME	EVENT	PERSON					TENSE
9 SLOT	INTRO	#	TYP	THEME	EVENT	PERSON					TENSE

graph which indicates a new event in the sequence of
events, i.e. <u>oire</u> <u>voava</u> 'okay after that,' <u>oire</u> <u>uva</u> 'okay
then', <u>oa</u> <u>isivaro</u> <u>(iava)</u> 'okay after that,' etc. A rever-
sal of the theme is indicated by the introductory phrase
<u>aiͶ</u> <u>vosia</u> 'and if/but if.' Frequently temporal words
occur in the trough as well either prior to the border
x̄x i.e. <u>vokiepa</u> 'night came', <u>opesiepa</u> 'it was finished',
or following the border, i.e. <u>ovokivuia</u> 'on another day'.
Also there is change of subject across the border in some
procedural paragraphs; however, change of subject across
borders is a much more frequently occurring characteristic
of narrative paragraphs (in narrative discourse).

PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE:

$\pm$ Aperture $\pm$ Topic $\pm$ Goal + Procedures^n $\pm$ Comment

$\pm$ Target $\pm$ Alternate Procedure $\pm$ Conclusion

Aperture, Topic, Goal, and sometimes first Procedure
occur in various combinations as portmanteau elements.

Procedures – the terminal borders are usually un-
marked, however, the initial borders of the paragraphs are
usually marked by 'temporal signals' and in particular by
<u>voava</u> 'after this.' Verbs in the paragraphs are predom-
inantly transitive and the paragraphs seem to have a charact-
eristic 'if/when...then' pattern. The tenses of the verbs
are future (few) but predominantly <u>-ve</u> indefinite/subjunc-
tive.

In the Comment paragraph there is a fair bit of em-
bedding with discourse-size chunks occurring as embedded
elements later in the discourse.

2.2. NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

The theme of Narrative discourse is usually expressed
by a verb. The person marked in this particular verb is
usually either one of the main participants or a group of
them.

Reading through the list of themes of a discourse, one
should be able to get the general outline of the discourse
and when the themes are coupled with the peak activities,
one should have the text in miniature. For example a text
ꞵꞯꞭꞯꞮꞯ involving two men on a fishing trip has the fol-
lowing themes: Canoe, Fishing, Drifting, Search, Discus-
sing Rescue, Attempt, Recovery, Rejoicing, Conclusion (God's
Help), Return, Coconuts, Beach Canoe, Dinner, Recall, Pre-
diction. Now coupling the themes with the peak activities
the outline is filled in: ꞯꞮ 1) We anchored the canoe, 2)
We were spear fishing, 3) The canoe drifted as we were un-
aware, 4) I searched in vain, 5) I told him to follow it,
6) I followed and followed, 7) I held it and anchored it,
8) We were happy, 9) He said God told me to look in time,
10) We returned, 11) We went into the bush and got coconuts,
12) We beached the canoe, 13) We ate food the wife made for

us, 14) We sorrowed thinking back, 15) We will meet again.

Other characteristics of the Theme in Narrative dis-
courses are: there is a greater weight carried by the tense
markers of the verb stems occurring as Themes at the peak.
That is to say there is at this point a significant marking
of tense which differs from the usual remote past tense which
occurs throughout most narratives.

Also there is sometimes used at this point in the para-
graph a focusing device, i.e. oa iava 'because of which/
after which/about which' or oire oisi 'okay it is like this'.
Also when verb stems are repeated at this point, i.e. the
peak, the whole sentence is usually repeated and this for
emphasis. This differs from the repetition of the verb to
signal the Durative aspect.

WAVE SHAPE OF NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

Peak Event

onset   coda
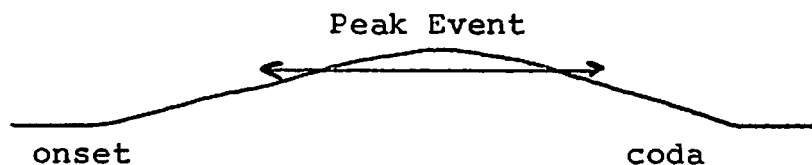
At the peaks of both Narrative paragraphs there occur
complex sentences in contrast to the more simple single-
verb type sentences found at the onset or coda

Some features which occur at the onset or coda of Pro-
cedural paragraphs also occur in Narrative paragraphs such
as temporals and change of subject. There is a particular

temporal which seems to be used only in Narrative discourses at the coda of the Narrative paragraphs, <u>ovoiei</u> which means 'it is finished/finally.' One of the border features peculiar to R̶x̶X̶ Narrative discourses is the linkage of the paragraphs by the verbs in a tail-head relationship such as:

<u>coda</u> of Para. 1	<u>onset</u> of Para. 2
<u>ava-ro-epa</u>	<u>avapaoro</u> <u>va</u> <u>kekereva</u>
'he went'	'while going he saw it'
<u>avaroepa</u> <u>avaroepa</u>	<u>avaparoiva</u> <u>va</u> <u>kekereva</u>
'he kept going'	'having gone he saw it'
<u>kareroepa</u> <u>kareroepa</u>	<u>kareroviro</u> <u>va</u> <u>kekereva</u>
'he kept returning'	'he returned completely and he saw it'

One further feature which seems to be more common to Narrative discourses is that when there is a Parenthesis within a paragraph, it usually occurs in the coda portion of the wave.

Other features which contrast Narrative and Procedural discourses are found on CHart Three and Four.

NARRATIVE DISCOURSE:

$\pm$ Aperture + Stage + Episodes^n $\pm$ Climax

$\pm$ Denouement $\pm$ Moral $\pm$ Comment $\pm$ Close

+ Finis

Aperture, Stage, Close and Finis are predominantly formulaic.

Episodes – There must be at least one Episode. The codas are usually marked by <u>ovoiei</u> 'it is finished/ finally.' At either the onset or coda there tends to be Durative aspect manifested. The verbs in these para½ graphs are predominantly intransitive. All tenses are used (½)although remote past tense predominates in traditional stories and narrations of events which took place up to only a few months previous to the story being told. Intermediate past tense is used in Dream narratives. There are more Direct Quotes in these paragraphs than in any other of the discourse types (see Chart Three)

2.3. SUMMARY

Tentative descriptions were made of Expository, Hortatory, Epistlary, and Instruction type discourses, but as in the descriptions above the observations are both tentative and sketchy. There are some comparisons which can be made, however, in the form of charts which add some ~~xhxxkh~~ worthwhile information. With these the paper is concluded.

Once again, I consider this paper only a very rough and sketchy draft. I hope anyone reading it will realize that!

CHART THREE

	Narr.	Proc.	Inst.	Hist.	Expos.	Exhort.
Direct Quotes	81	9	1	5	9	/
Eake iava? Apeisia?	/	4	/	1	2	/
Temporals/statives	13	12	4	/	/	/
Voava, va iava etc.	18	24	36	/	1	/
Rovopa, opesipa	11	15	14	/	/	/
-vora, ...-ve	/	4	1	/	/	/
object repeated	10	3	2	/	/	/
event repeated	12	/	/	/	/	/
repeated verbs	24	2	/	/	/	/
ovoiei	31	/	/	/	/	/
oavua vao	/	/	/	12	/	1
vosia...ra/oire	/	20	21	/	32	6
teapi, uvuipa	/	/	/	/	/	15

narrative discourse	tran -44	intran - 60
procedural "	tran -61	intran - 16

Without going into details about the different fea-
tures listed (and why), suffice it to say that there are
significant differences between discourse-level gram-
matical features according to the type of discourse in
which they may occur. The count above was made within
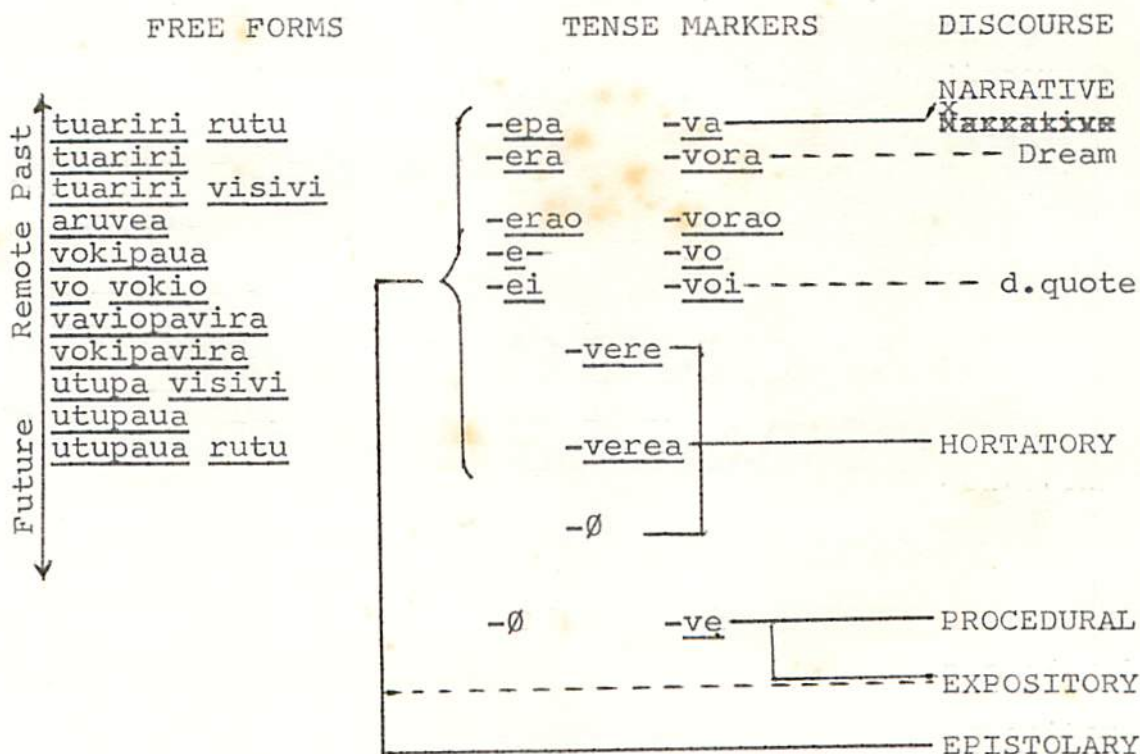17 texts of narrative materials, 17 texts of procedural

materials, 3 of instructional, 10 of epistolary, 10 of
expository, and 5 of exhortation.

CHART FOUR

Events in sequence	Tense		
	−∅	indefinite	definite
Events in sequence	Instruction	Procedural	Narrative
Events not in sequence	Exhortation	Expository	Epistolary

CHART FIVE

Temporals and Distinctions Between Discourses

FREE FORMS   TENSE MARKERS   DISCOURSE

tuariri rutu	-epa -va	NARRATIVE
tuariri	-era -vora	Dream
tuariri visivi		
aruvea	-erao -vorao	
vokipaua	-e- -vo	
vo vokio	-ei -voi	d.quote
vaviopavira		
vokipavira	-vere	
utupa visivi		
utupaua	-verea	HORTATORY
utupaua rutu	-∅	
	-∅ -ve	PROCEDURAL
		EXPOSITORY
		EPISTOLARY

Remote Past ← Past — Future

NARRATIVE (with X struck out)

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