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 ABBREVIATIONS.

3. TYPOGRAPHICAL CONVENTIONS

The same is true for this section as for ABBREVIATIONS.

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 speakers 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 western 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 northern 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." 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 objects to be counted; 2) the Austronesian and Non-Austronesian languages have some type of indication of the object 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/Fribourg, Switzerland, 1954. p 13
a degree by the choice of Person-Number and Tense affixation of the verb); and 3) the Central languages have inclusive and exclusive pronouns while the Austronesian languages 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. Hopefully, a future paper will give a detailed comparison of the northern, central, and southern Bougainville District languages. The present paper, however, will assume only the two major groups, i.e. Austronesian and Non-Austronesian 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 Linguistic 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.

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 observations.
5. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The analysis presented in this paper is the result of several different directed efforts. Two of these efforts involved guidance and encouragement by various individuals. The first was during my graduate program at the University of California at Davis where 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 Lawrence consulted with me about the research. Both of these men also gave valuable help during this period 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 enthusiasm 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 criticism are all integrated into the presentation. We both are hopeful that the grammar of Rotokas as presented here will be helpful to linguists and to those who may wish to learn to speak Rotokas.
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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 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 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. I realize that to write a statement describing a language 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 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 possible 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 dealing 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 [name] for Anthropological Linguistics December 1969 entitled "An Abbreviated Phoneme Inventory." The practical section dealing with pronunciation 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 [name] with stress and length.)
CHAPTER THREE
MORPHOLOGY

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3.2. ROTOKAS VERB

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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 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
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3. THE TERM "ROLE" DISCUSSED

4. THE SEMANTIC ROLES DEFINED

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   4.2. THE EXPERIENCER
   4.3. THE EX 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
   KR "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 complement is the nominal portion of a stative verb. The Subject must 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 taking place or a condition is present, or the direction towards/from which an event happens. The nominals are identified mainly by 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 Subject 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) **TIME** identifies the time during which the action is taking place or a condition occurs. The identification of the nominal is by -ia 'during/on', -ri 'back there', and sometimes iava 'from.'

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

**TENTATIVE LIST OF SEMANTIC ROLES**

1) **AGENT** The instigator of a predication; the one who causes or brings about the state or event described by the predicate. Something which performs the action.

2) **EXPERIENCER** The one affected by a psychological event or mental state.

3) **ESSIVE** 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** 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) **SOURCE** The former location, state, point in time, subject matter of a speech act.

6) **GOAL** The latter location, state, or time; the result of an action.

7) **REFERENTIAL** The entity to which another is related in some way by the predicate.

8) **BENEFICIARY** The entity benefited by what ever is communicated by the rest of the sentence.

9) **MEANS** (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 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 particular 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 verbatim 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) reraia vo vaisi tovoiva Asiri
him.on this name put.they Asiri
'They attached the name of Asiri onto him.'

5. **CLASSIFICATION** Having to do with being, becoming, or causing to become a member of a class.

(6) oisioa viovokoa resiive
always young-men mark.they.would
'They would always mark out the young men.'

(7) vearovira oaravu rovirieipari raivara
good.like other-things divide-up.you roads
'Divide up well the different roads (into good or bad).'

(8) Pute torepieivora kaunsel vo kovoaro iare
Pute stood.they council this work.poss to
'They elected Pute to the council.'

6. **EQUIVALENCE** Having to do with being, becoming or causing to become identified as a particular individual or thing.

(9) oisio ro ovauto pieavora ragai ovitoaro
like-this this orphan caused.I I son.poss
'I made the orphan my son.'

(10) Pute touparevoi igei rirotoaro
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. **POSSESSION** 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. **QUALIFICATION** Having to do with having, coming to have or causing to have a certain quality temporarily or permanently.

(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 Ø stone
    'There are four stones.'

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

(20) **oira epao oisio osia aveke**
    she exists like-this as stone
    'She is like a stone.'
(21) eera vara rutuia puteparevoi arua
that these all.by passes.he greens
koora koie bulamakau
opossum pig beef
'That man (human flesh) surpasses all of these: greens, opossum, pig, and beef.'

(22) viapau rutu oavu avu vai kekepapeira
no truly other maybe some looks.always
oisio osia vao avuo
like-this as this maybe
'Truly nothing looks like this, maybe.'

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

(23) iria iare ita avauepa haus siki vai
she to again went.you house sick some
'You went again to some other hospital.'

(24) vokapareva kokeva reroaro
walked.he rain under
'He was walking in the rain.'

(25) aioa toupaivoi kepa siovaraia
food existing.is house inside
'The food is inside the house.'
(26) voava ipaiepa Ukarumpa iare
there.from ascended.we Ukarumpa to
'We went up from there to Ukarumpa.'

12. **POSITION** Having to do with being, becoming or causing
to become in a certain position.

(27) pauparoepa paupaia
sat.he seat.on
'He sat on the seat.'

(28) oeavu kakaevure gerepieivora evoa
others children lie.make.they there
'Other people made the children lay down there.'

(29) voea takuviropai viipa
they bowed.they you.to
'They are bowed down to you.'

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

(30) oisioa toripaa rera asiavira
always run-away.I him without.like
'I would always be running away from him.'
(31) oira ragaia viripasi
her only.with circle-around.they-two
'The two of them would circle around with her.'

(32) revasiva oereva vorevira
blood vomited.he again
'He vomited up the blood again.'

14. CONTACT 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) rera ragiiva garoa vaia
him whipped.they rattan-vine some-with
'They whipped him with a rattan vine.'

(34) nelto tapareva vo ragai vavaearoa
nail hammered.he here I hand.poss.in
'He hammered a nail into my hand.'

(35) riro varivarivira oirato uporevo
big strong.like man hit.he
'He struck the man powerfully.'

15. SENSING 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) rirovira ita siraoraepa aakore
greatly again sorrowed.I mother.for
'Again I missed my mother very much.'

(42) va iava vii taraipiepareva roia Karuru
it about you taught.he this Karuru
'This man Karuru taught you about it.'

(43) rera vo rugorugoaro gorusivora
he this thoughts.poss strengthened.they-two
'They both convinced him.'

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

(44) vii akepaavoi auepa Jakob ira auepa
you ask.I.am Ø.for Jacob who Ø.for
ruipapa kataia Nupela Testamen
'I am asking you on Jacob's behalf who wanted
a Nupela Testamen.'

(45) vo saposipo purapaavoi visiipa kekira iava
this story making.I.am you.for moon about
'I am asking this story for you all about the moon.'

(46) oisio puraroepa viapau oisio touparevoi
like-this said.he no like-this existing.he
'He said, "He is not in existence."'
19. **PHASE** Having to do with the state of progress of an event or state.

(47) **rera vo kovoaro opesipiereva**
he this work.poss finished.he
'He finished his work.'

(48) **avasia auepaerevere**
go.to ready.they-two.will-be
'They both are about to go.'

(49) **tauoa rovoiva aioaraia**
offering started.they foods.with
'They started an offering with foods.'

20. **METEOROLOGICAL** Having to do with conditions of environment.

(50) **vokiepa voeare vo uva uusiaepa**
night-fell them.to here where sleep.they
'Night came to them there where they slept.'

(51) **uteopai rutu vo vokio**
cold.is truly this day
'Today is very cold.'

(52) **avisia auepape**
dawn.to imminent.would.be
'The dawning would be imminent.'
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 modifications 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 posit 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 devices for adding to 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 Calculus." (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 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 affixation, 2) the verb stem tou with full range of verb affixation, 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: tou and epao might be called "existential - to be," while 0 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-Taqmemics* (Ukarumpa, PNG, 1974). I cannot handle this now because of several exceptions 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 happening?** The first of these four remaining members is the
Action voice. The verbs which express this voice may be identified specifically as those answering the question, What did N do? where N is some nominal. This nominal is participating in the role of Agent.

(53) ragai viipa rigatoavoi

'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. PROCESS VOICE

The simple Process voice can normally be identified as those verbs answering the question, What happened to N? where N is some nominal. In this case the nominal participates in the role of Patient.

(54) evaisi kakupirora aue takuraisi

'That egg cracked open.'

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

2.4. ACTION-PROCESS VOICE

In some predications the verbal idea may include simultaneously 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 to (or sometimes with) something, the Patient 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 What did A do? and What happened to B? where A and B are Agent and Patient respectively expressed by nominals.

(55) *vearovira aioa orirevora aue Rokoi*  
good.like food cooked.he ø Rokoi  
Rokoi cooked the food well.'

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

2.5. AMBIENT 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, *kasiraopai vo vokio* 'It is hot today.'

It is true also for the case in which the verb seems to express Action voice, îx̂îx e.g. *vokiepa* (night-past tense)
'night fell.' However, there is no Agent. In these different 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 intransitive 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 sometimes said to cause the verb to express Middle voice.

(56) Sirovisi ORAtoroera aueia siguva
Sirovisi ref.cut.he Ø.with knife
'Sirovisi cut himself with a knife.'

(57) ORAruqo pieravere
ref.think.cause.I.will
'I will remind myself.'

(58) vaiterei ORAreoreosiepa va iava
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 degrees of future along the continuum. However, those marking the varying degrees of time historically are 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.)
-vere 'near future animate'
-pere 'near future inanimate/we-all incl. future'
-verea 'distant future animate'
-perea 'distant future inanimate/we-all incl. distant fut.'
-voi 'present tense - transitive' (animate)
-ei 'present tense - intransitive'
-pi 'present tense inanimate'
-vo 'immediate past tense - transitive'
-e 'immediate past tense - intransitive'
-vorao 'near past tense - transitive'
-erao 'near past tense - intransitive'
-vora 'distant past tense - transitive'
-era 'distant past tense - intransitive'
-va 'remote past tense - transitive'
-epa '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 -ve 'would (animate)' and -pe 'would (inanimate/we-all in-
clusive)' encompasses a broader scope \( \epsilon \) than its traditional use in which some contingency is implied, i.e. the action is contingent upon something else. This statement 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 \(-\text{ve} \)'would animate transitive' is \(-\emptyset \)'would animate intransitive.') (However uusipaave e-18)

(59) \textit{va purapaiVE}

\begin{verbatim}
   it making. they.would
\end{verbatim}

'They would be making it.'

(60) \textit{opesiPE}

\begin{verbatim}
   finished. it-would-be
\end{verbatim}

'It would be finished/We all would finish (it).'

(61) \textit{axHkax avaro\emptyset viovokoto vokipavira}

\begin{verbatim}
   go.he.would boy tomorrow
\end{verbatim}

'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 future. Within two of the sets there is no one-to-one relationship between surface structure features and deep level meaning. Only in the present habituative action marker is there a match between marker and meaning.
When the aspect of the verb action expressed in the verb is habituative and occurs in the past the following set of markers is used: oisioa 'always' (preceding the verb) and the Subjunctive mode markers described in the previous section.

(62) motokar sinita ipa piepareve
    car always ascend making. he.would-be
    ipavira
    above
    'He would always be making the car go up (there) in the past.'

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

(63) rera vaisipaiVEIRA araokoto
    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: -pa 'continuing action' and distant future tense markers -verea or -perea (although the near future tense markers are also acceptable).
(64) iqei touPAioVEREA evoa
we existing we will-be there
'Ve will be always existing there in the future.'

3.5. **COMPLETEIVE-SEQUENTIAL ASPECT**

When one event has been completed and a second event is expected to follow, the Compleitive-Sequential aspect marker -voiva (with transitive verb stems) or -iva (with intransitive 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 no 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) varuereroIVA etopareva
gathered-food he having started-fire he
'Having gathered some food, he started a fire.'

3.6. **CONTRARY-TO-FACT-CONDITIONAL MODE**

There are in general three meanings which can be expressed by the Contrary-to-fact-conditional mode markers -vori (with transitive verb stems) and -eri (with intransitive 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) vosia vii uvuaVORI ra viipa va
if you hear.I.had then you.for it

'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) vosia viapau reraia rorupasiVORI ra
if no him.with pleased.they-two.had then

viapau rerapa tauva vatesiVORI
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) viapau oisio ragai tapo touriVORI
no like-this I with exist.you.can

'You can't stay with me (since...)'
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) iqeia vaPAiei 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 raqai 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. SIMULTANEOUS ASPECT

The next three markers of modality are peculiar in that when they are affixed to the verb, the verb then becomes 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 -oro 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) aioORO uriou
    eat.ing come.you
    'You come eating.'

(78) aueva toupaORO upea Avg avaraepa
    Ø.with exist.while.ing Upe-hat went.I
    'I went while having the Upe hat.'

3.12. SEQUENTIAL-PURPOSE ASPECT

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 \(-\textit{sia}\) expresses either action or state in a sequence with that expressed by the independent verb. The most commonly occurring affix of this set is \(-\textit{sia}\), while \(-\textit{arare}\) appears to be coming obsolete in use. It may be that in the past \(-\textit{sia}\) expressed more the meaning of sequential action and \(-\textit{arare}\) expressed more the meaning of purpose. Contrast \(-\textit{arare}\) with \(-\textit{arapa}\) described in section 3.13. of this chapter.

(79) \(\textit{toupaSIA voreraepa voa}\)

exist.to-be returned.I there
'I returned there to stay.'

(80) \(\textit{igei vo kovoaro } ø oirara torevokoARARE}\)

we this work.poss is people straighten.to
'Our job is to straighten out people.'

(81) \(\textit{rikui vai tekaSIA avave auere koie kare}\)

hole some dig.to go.we-two ø.for pig animals
'We are going to dig somehole 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, \(-\textit{arapa}\). 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 commonly 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 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 paipaiRAGApaea
    she cousins.to stymied.just.she.was-being
    'She was just stymied (looking for) her cousins.'
(90) oira geesiRAGApareve vova
she smell.in-vain.he.would here.from
oira gisipoaro
'They would just smell her from her mouth
(without results).'

(91) touRAGApasivora evoa
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. CAUSATIVE VOICE

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

(92) vaiterei koata PIEIive
they-two enter cause.they.would
vore kepaia
here.to house.in
'They made the two boys go into the house.'

(93) rera raverave Ø PIEiva
him weak be caused.they
'They weakened him.'
Also see example number 94 below.

5.2. CESSATIVE ASPECT

The verb particle which expresses the Cessative aspect of the verb is ovoi. 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) ovauto orakopi pie OVOIroepa
orphan ref.die cause completed.he
'At that very moment the orphan killed himself.'

(95) rera ou OVOIeve vore
he get completed.she.would here.to
orakavauoia
ref.lap.her.to
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 rovo. It occurs immediately after the main verb or after the Causative voice marker, pie.

(96) uuko ROVOpareva vo uukovi
get-water starting.he.was here river
'He was starting to get water from the river.'

(97) vegoa viou ROVORi
jungle clear first.you
'You first clear the jungle.'

5.4. REJECTION MODE

The verb particle asia described here as expressing the Rejection mode is similar to the auxiliary verb reasi which also is used to express the Rejection mode. However, as a 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) raqai tavi ASIApari yearovira
    me tell rejecting you are good like
    'You don't want to tell me well.'

(99) raqai vaaro tovo ASIAriva benia
    I it poss put rejected you bank in
    'You didn't put mine in the bank.'

5.5. REPETITIVE ASPECT

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

(100) evaova toereva
    tree cut he
    'He cut the tree.'

but:

(101) evaova toe TOEreva
    tree cut cut he
    'He repeatedly cut the tree.'

6. MODALITY EXPRESSED BY AUXILIARY VERBS

The difference between a verb particle and an auxiliary 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 situation 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 obligatorily absent when the main verb is dependent. Examples 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.'
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 next 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 perform 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) oisio vovouparai ra vili
like.this intending.I.am then you
tapo oravatera
with ref.give.I

'I am intending to give myself to you.'

(106) oisio ruipaparai ra iriai
like.this wanting.I.am then some-other.female
raga oua riakova vai
only get.I woman some

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

(107) aioa vai orisia ruipaparai
food some cook.to wanting.I.am

'I want to cook some food.'

6.3. REJECTION MODE

The Rejection mode is expressed by the auxiliary verb stem reasi 'to dislike.' In isolation this verb stem also means 'to be tired.' The auxiliary form is used to express 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 -sia as in the above two modes, but -arapa which has been described in section 3.13. The restrictions placed upon the use of oisio and ra 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 auxiliary 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 affixation. The auxiliary verb may be repeated up to four or five times according to the narrator's fancy. The idea expressed by this repetition 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) avaopa  avaopa  gaeqaereoro  avaopa  avaopa
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 associated with the verb as are the markers described and illustrated in sections 2. through 6. above, there is a certain degree of relationship with the verb since certain of the above markers commonly occur with various of these non-verb modality markers. When appropriate these co-occurrences will be noted.

7.1. NEGATION MODE

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 viapau 'no/not'. This Negation mode marker usually occurs first in the utterance. The link oisio 'like this' optionally (but usually) occurs immediately after viapau.
(112) \textbf{viapau oisio voreroverea}
\begin{quote}
no like-this return.he.will
\end{quote}
'He will not return again.'

(113) With Habitual aspect marker:
\textbf{viapau oisioa ragai uvupareve}
\begin{quote}
no always I hearing.he.would-be
\end{quote}
'He would never be obeying me in the past.'

(114) With Abilitative mode marker:
\textbf{viapau oisio uvuipaopa ra vo}
\begin{quote}
tupa tateeve
door smash.she.would
\end{quote}
'She couldn't smash the door.'

(115) With State voice:
\textbf{ro tutue viapau vo tourevere}
\begin{quote}
this volcano no here exist.he.will
\end{quote}
'This volcano won't be here.'

(116) When \textbf{viapau (oisio)} is followed immediately by the link \textbf{ra}, the meaning is 'shouldn't'.
\textbf{viapau oisio ra rera uvuragari}
\begin{quote}
aiteara
father.your
\end{quote}
'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 maky.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) opeita gare kepaia vara tovopari
don't small house in them putting you be
'Don't be putting them in the little house.'

7.4. OBLIGATIVE MODE

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

(121) tepa y vii ira rovou
must you lead first you
'You must go ahead first.'

(122) tepa torepau tapo aiopasia
must get up you also eating be to
'You must also get up to be eating.'

7.5. ASSERTIVE MODE

The word rutu 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) taraipaei  rutu  vo  aueia
knowing.you.are  truly  this  Ø.about
opesiario  vo  rasito
end.poss  this  ground
'You really do know about the finish of the wood 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 \textit{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 notion 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 \textit{rutu}.

7.6. CERTITIVE MODE

The Certitive mode marker, \textit{taru}, conveys two distinctive 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 taru usually follows immediately the verb, however, it may follow nominal phrases directly associated with the verb as well.

(125) vii tovaio taru
      you bury.we.would certainly
      'We would certainly bury you.'

(126) vo karo rutu taru tasiive
      this rafter all certainly/later tie.they.would
      'They would certainly then fasten all these rafters.'

7.7. POTENTIAL MODE

Along with the verb affix -via 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 pasi 'maybe' which seems to be unrestricted as far as order of occurrence in the utterance. The second is the enclitic -vai 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 -avu. Both -avu and -vai occur in a commonly used expression: viapau oavuavuvaei (no other-thing.maybe.
some.is) 'There is nothing wrong.'

(127) uvuiparaivai
able.I.am.maybe
'I might be able.'

(128) oisioVai   pasi    ragai    piepare    doktor
like-this.some maybe I doing.be.he doctor
'The doctor might do something like this to me.'

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

(130) viapauVai  vearo  Øravere  pasi
no.maybe good be.I.will maybe
'I might not recover (from sickness) later on.'

7.8. INTERROGATIVE MODE

The Interrogative mode is signaled by Interrogative pro-
nouns when specific responses are being elicited. However,
when a yes or no answer is all that is required, there are
two Interrogative mode markers used in conjunction with the
verb. These markers are e and eke. The first has no other
meaning except to signal (along with the appropriate in-
tonation) that the statement of the verb is being made
as a question. The second marker, eke 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.'
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 *Neo-Tagmemetics* (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-Conditional, Potential, Abilitative, Subjunctive.

Emotional Attitude:

Desiderative, Rejection, Frustrative.
III The modality of Aspect:

Force:

Completed, Inceptive, Cessative.

Duration:

Simultaneous, Sequential-Purpose, Sequential-Negation, Compleitive-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, "Sentences" 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") consists 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 identified as a free-form argument elsewhere in the proposition.)

If the combination of Modality and Verb Phrase is considered as a single unit (which I will term the "Predication"), 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:

\[ F \rightarrow P^*_1 A^*_0 \]

where the initial symbol \( F \) stands for 'form' representing a proposition and one rewrite rule that replaces \( F \) by one or more predications \( p \) together with zero or more arguments \( A \). 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 myself 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 differ with Grimes Predicate Rule in that the propositions will
as Simple Propositions include no more than one predication. (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 Rotokas 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 marginal arguments of this least complex proposition are: Agent, Experiencer, Essive, Patient, Source, Goal, Referential, and Means. The participants of these semantic roles are the nominals which function grammatically as: 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, Equivalence, Possession, Qualification, Quantification, Comparison, Orientation, 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, 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 Compleitive-Sequential aspect is expressed, then normally a second predication will follow, will require a further predication.

The following formulations give the possible combinations of Predications and Arguments for the least complex 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, Referential the participants of which are expressed by nominals functioning as SUBJECT or COMPLIMENT; and Source and Goal which are expressed by nominals functioning grammatically as either TIME or LOCATION. This proposition will be termed the "Stative Proposition."

\[ F_{\text{stative}} \rightarrow (\text{Source} | \text{Goal}) (\text{Essive} | \text{Patient} | \text{Experiencer}) \]

Predication (Referential)

state voice

The parentheses indicate optional components and the linked parentheses indicate that either...
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 Proposition 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 normally have an included argument, but epao and -a do not express an argument. Secondly, I'll rewrite the above in a more tagmemic type format but with Platt's ideas and denotations included (?). Thirdly, the chapter will go something 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:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>example</th>
<th>ragai</th>
<th>vaisia</th>
<th>oaaa</th>
<th>Akoitai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>my.is</td>
<td>Akoitai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>predication</th>
<th>essive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GF</td>
<td>SUBJECT</td>
<td>COMPLEMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>Predicate Noun</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 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 discussion 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 originally intended the above for another type of format.

Going on then in the prose section of the above description 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 proposition being discussed.)

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

viapau oisio ragai vaisiaroa Pute
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 conveniently fit into the descriptions of Chapter Seven. One of these types does not fit because of its peculiar construction. This type will be termed the "Merged Propositions." The second of the types does not fit because of its peculiar function. This type will be termed the "Attributive Propositions."

2. MERGED PROPOSITIONS

When there are two or more propositions inter-related by "dependency," the resulting construction 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 propositions each of the dependent predications may be accompanied 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 otherwise there would be redundant repetition, however, the potential is there. To illustrate this are the following examples of Merged Propositions:

(136) *mix* 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
∅ search-for. to wound
'In the same way he would again wade in the stream searching for his wound.'

(138) va vao avekata kovo ∅ 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 birth to a child.'
3. ATTRIBUTIVE PROPOSITIONS

The second special type of Simple Proposition is basically any of the propositions described and illustrated thus far, i.e. either simple or merged. It is the function 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

(139) \textit{ragai reoaro uvupaoro kovopareve} \\
\text{I talk-poss hearing working.he.would-be} \\
\textit{moni oupasia ita} \\
\text{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 section will close with co-occurrence restrictions of arguments. The Merged Propositions will also again receive brief attention in Chapter Ten under Temporal Relationships.)
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, saposipo 'story' plus o-...-a 'specifier...relative pronoun marker' yields osaposipoa '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 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{oirō} & \quad \text{epao} & \quad \text{vo} & \quad \text{uvava} & \quad \text{urioaepa} \\
\text{she} & \quad \text{exists} & \quad \text{here} & \quad \text{where} & \quad \text{from} & \quad \text{came} & \quad \text{they} \\
& \quad \text{k} & \quad \text{keerapaoro} & \quad \text{calling}
\end{align*}
\]
(140) 'She is there from where they came calling.'

(141) Functioning as TIME in role of Goal:

koie txxxxxx 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:

\[
\text{aioa vaterevora ro ira uvuiparoera}
\]

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

\[
\text{rorupasia}
\]

happy.to-be

'He gave a feast this man who could be happy.'

(145) Functioning as SUBJECT in role of Referential:

\[
\text{oire vao siposipoa Jisas vo rearo}
\]

okay this story.is Jesus this talk.poss

\[
\text{oa oisio purapai vuvuiua ora}
\]

which like-this says heaven and

\[
\text{rasito opesiperea ari viapau reoa}
\]

ground finish.will but no talk.is

\[
\text{oa opesiperea}
\]

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."'

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:

ruilva  takuvuivoi  voea  rutu//  uva  va
spit  combine.they  they  all  so  it
evaa  oapia  oisioa  voea  rutu
that.is  which.by  always  they  all
vovouisiroaro  takiavro
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 format, 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 distribution 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 propositions. Also in focus will be the meaning of these various relationships. Much of this meaning will be expressed 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 paragraph level of complexity, or even two sets of propositions 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 propositions on the discourse level. Comparing the three conjoining 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 between A and C. For a full description of sentence, paragraph, 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 semantically." By this I mean that there is 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") propositions. (The definitions of these Sets will be improved, 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 functional 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 discourse(?) level of complexity. The following Chart Two will display these words and phrases of Set One:

CHART TWO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greater Functional Weight</th>
<th>Useful within:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>proposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paragraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ora, o, eke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oire (oa iava, va iava)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oire uva, oire ra, oire ari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oaa vao oa iava, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The broken lines at the bottoms of the two brackets signal 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 sentence.

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.

2.2.2. THE CONJOINING WORD ra 'and then'

The most commonly occurring word of Set One is this word ra 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 ra e.g. ra ovokivuia 'then on another day,' there is sufficient functional weight gained that it is useful between sentences. Sufficient functional weight may also be gained when ra occurs in conjunction with a sentence-closing word when this word closes the immediately preceding sentence.

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

(149) visii tavipaavoi ra vo iroa vai
    you-all telling.I.am then this rope some
    purapata
    make.you
(149) 'I'm telling you all and then you will make some rope.'

(150) tuituia kuparepaoro ipapapeira fire smoking while ascending always is ra voa raveravepe 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 strength.'

(151) eva tapo oisioa opitara uverepaive that also always coconuts mixing they would be ra va kasiive va gavutaroia then it fire they would it ash poss with uveresia ra sipeipe 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 ora 'and', o 'or', eke 'or'

The word ora 'and' normally joins together two or more nominals, e.g. aite ora aako 'father and mother'; however, occasionally it is useful to relate two propositions. It never occurs between sentences at the para-
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 complex constructions. At this point the discussion is limited to its use within the sentence only. Used in this way, the conjoining word uva expresses the meaning 'and then'. At times it is difficult to distinguish whether uva 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 uva plus sentence-introducing word are: uva oire 'so then,' uva voaviva 'so in a little while,' uva voava 'so after a while,' uva vosia 'so when.' Example number 155 illustrates uva plus vosia functioning between sentences as well as uva alone functioning within the sentence.

(155) pouvirouepa voari tuariri// uva

arrived.you back-there long-ago so

vosia Wakunaila pouvirouepa uva

when Wakunai.place arrived.you then

voa raga touriva

there only existed.you

'...you arrived long ago. So when you arrived at Wakunai, then you stayed right there.'
2.2.4. THE CONJOINING WORD ari 'and/but/true/why'

Probably the most interesting of all the conjoining words is ari because of its very broad meaning and variety of uses. Between propositions within the sentence the meaning of ari 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 -vu 'other.' Example 157 illustrates this second point. The meaning of ari is clearly 'and' when it conjoins a series of propositions (see example 158).

(156) viapau oisio riakova vai taraiopa
no like-this woman some knew.she
ari rera raga oirato tarairoepa
but he only man knew.he
'No women knew, but only the man knew.'

(157) eisivi raga ra opesipe ari
that.little only then finished but
oavua vao
another.is this
'With that little bit it's finished, but there is something else.'
(158) ari oratau oisiri ari oratau
and another door over there and another door
oisiri ari oratau oisiri
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 ari within the paragraph will be discussed in the section number 3ff.

2.2.5. THE CONJOINING WORD oire 'okay'

As noted before with reference to Chart Two oire 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, vosia...oire 'if... okay then.'

2.2.6. THE CONJOINING MQR PHRASE oa iava 'after/because of'

Still within the semantic domain of 'then' are the meanings expressed by the conjoining phrase oa iava 'after which' and 'because of which.' Although iava is ambiguous as to its meaning either 'after' or 'because' one must agree that there is this fine distinction possible as illustrated in the following two examples.
They both pulled her out of the hole after which she towed them (around) as they were busy with themselves (becoming untangled).

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

The conjoining phrase va iava 'after it/because of it' is used in the same way as oa iava, but occurs much less frequently. Still less frequent are eva iava 'after that/because of that' and vao iava 'after this/because of this.'
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 relate 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 distinction made as to the strength of the internal cohesion of the construction, i.e. a single sentence vs. two. However grammatical features such as the repetition of the verb helps support the decision to treat this construction as a single sentence within which uva the second uva is useful.

(161) sent.// uva voea uporeva uva
sent.// so-then them hit.he and-then
aigeva taporo uporeva otopisivua
mother-in-law also hit.he other-room.in
sent.// 'So then he hit them, and then he hit the mother-in-law also in another room.'
(162) quote// uva oisio puraraera
quote// so-then like-this said.I
siraovira rutu araoko...
sorrowfully truly brother...
'quote// So then I said this, "I'm sorry brother..."'

2.3.2. THE CONJOINING WORD ari 'why!/true!'

More often than not when ari is used to relate two sentences within a paragraph, the meaning it expresses includes 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. pura 'say'. This point is illustrated below.

(163) fada oira akereva ovure avapau//
father her asked.he where.to going.you.are//
ari oiratoa iare voreparai
why man to returning.I.am
'The Father asked her, "Where are you going?" "Why? I'm returning to the man." (she replied.)'

(164) apeisi ragavira oira uporivo// ari
how just.like her killed.you why
oira oovaupaoro uturae
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) uva vo raga uvuipai ovusia
so-then this just sufficient.is while
karetavere// ari ruipaparai
return.you.will// and-so desiring.I.am
vo osia vao ouri rigatoa oire
this as this get.you writing okay
ragai taviri vosia vearo òpape
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 sentences which also functions as a conjoining phrase.

(166) sent.// ari ita siraopatapi toupai
sent.// true again sorrowful-place exists
uva vegei tovoreverea
where we-two put.he.will
(166) sent.// 'Truly! there is a place of sorrowing where he will put you and I in the distant future.'

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

(167) sent.// *ari vosia rera Isio oavu avu*

sent.// but if he Isio other maybe

*vai vikireve reraia oirato ra*

some throw.he.would him.at man then

*kopiro*

die.he.would

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

2.3.3. THE CONJOINING PHRASES *oa iava* 'after/because of which'

AND *va iava* 'after it/because of it'

Although these phrases are used predominantly within sentences, both *oa iava* and *va iava* may be used within paragraph level complexities. In example 168 *va iava* has increased functional weight because of the co-occurrence with the sentence-introducing word *ovokivuiia* 'on another day.'
In this way its functional weight is sufficient for it to be useful at this level of complexity.

(168) sent. // va iava ovokivua rera tapo
sent. // it after another.day.on him with
avaroepa ovito Arara rera Asiri aiteto
went.he son Arara he Asiri father
sent. // 'After this on another day Arara
the son went with Asiri the father.'

(169) soldiairara urioaepa evoare Ivuaro //
soldiers came.they there.to Ivu.place //

oa iava avaraepa avaraepa uvare
which after went.I went.I because
keeraroepa masta Need ragaire
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 oa iava in example 169 is functioning between sentences rather than within sentence. One of the problems is that oa iava has sufficient 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 oire 'okay then'

One of the more common conjoining words which function within the paragraph is the word oire. 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.// oire avipe ra vovouisivi
     sent.// okay-then light.would then heart.small
     ragare ravireo kaeroiro
     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) irau ra opitara vai atosia
     precede.you then coconuts some get-down.to
     auvee// oire rokoveva
     consider.we-two// okay-then penetrated.we-two
     vegoa sioparoia
     jungle inside

"'You go first and then we'll think about getting down some coconuts." Okay then we both went into the jungle.'
2.3.5. THE CONJOINING PHRASES WHICH INCLUDE oire

Of all the conjoining words illustrated so far, oire 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: oire ra xàìììì 'okay then,' oire uva 'okay so then,' oire ari 'okay but then,' oire vosia 'okay if,' oire voava 'okay from then on,' and oire ovokivuia 'okay then on another day.' The greatest functional weight is present in more complex phrases which follow this pattern:

(172) oire vaa vao oa sirova...
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 oire which are useful within paragraphs.

(173) sent.// oire uva ruipapara vapa
sent.// okay then wanting.I.am it.for
oisio ra vava kareuvere
like-this then it.with return.you.will
ragai vatesia
me give.to
(173) sent.// 'Okay then I want that you will return with it to give (to) me.'

(174) sent.// oire voava vo ori

sent.// okay then from this cooked-food

kuvuive vovio va tovosia
encase. they. would right-here it put. to
kuvoropatapi
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 oaa vao oa iava 'this is the thing after which/about which/ because of which'

The conjoining phrase oaa vao oa iava is one of a set which all follow a certain pattern of construction, i.e.

oa -a vao oa iava
(rel. pron. vb. ) demon. pro. rel. pron. relator state

All pronouns occurring within the phrase obligatorily agree in person and number. The first component, oaa '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 markers are discussed in Chapter 11. Note the highlighting effect in the example below.

(175) sent.// oeea evoea oea sirova
sent.// they are those whom beside

utupaioveira vo vokio
following we always are this day
sent.// 'Those are the ones whom we are always following (as examples) today.'

(176) sent.// oaa vao oa iava pupia vai
sent.// it is this which after dance some

purapaive
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 sufficient evidence when making the correct decision.
2.4.1. THE CONJOINING PHRASES WHICH INCLUDE oire - 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 oire uva is a common signal of paragraph breaks within the texts of narrations. Also the particle ita 'again, truly!' may occur immediately following the phrases which include oire (or oire by itself) and in so doing add emphasis and functional weight to the conjoining phrase.

(77) para.//  oire  ari  tuariri  oisioa
para.//  okay  but-it's  true  long-ago  always
viapau  raiva  vai  toupaive  vo
no  road  some  existing.would  here
voari  xuxx  tuariri...
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 oaa vao oa iava - 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.
oisia  eisi  osia  iava
like-this.is like-that as  after/because-of-which
'because of it being like that' or
'after it being like that'

iraa  ro  ira  iava
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
vituaro 'basis possessed' as in the following example:

vaa  eva  oa  vituaro  iava
it.is that which basis.poss because-of/about
'that is it upon the basis of which'

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

vaa  eva  oa  sirova
it.is that which beside
'that is it following which'

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

oisio  ragavira  iava
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 anaphorically related, one would expect that this set of conjoining 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 preceding 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 supercedes the Introduction portion of this Chapter where relevant. The first Set will be considered now as those conjoining words and phrases which signal an unconditional succession of events or sets of events.)

The conjoining words and phrases of Set Two in contrast to those of Set One signal the unconditional overlapping of events or sets of events. If the general meaning 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 conjoining word **ovusia** 'while' is useful only within the sentence as are the others of this Set. (For this reason the notion of functional weight has very little relevance to these descriptions.) Unlike the other words and phrases of Set Two, the meaning expressed by **ovusia** is straightforward and fairly narrow. It is clear\textsuperscript{xx} that Event A is taking place while Event B is also taking place.

(178) **uva toupaive ovusia korovo**
then exist.they.would while oil
**purapaive aue iava opita**
make.they.would 0 from coconut
'Then they would stay while they would make the coconut oil.'

(179) **oire vo upeva utaveaepa**
okay this upe-initiates.with blow-shell.they
**ovusia voea kaeoro avaaepa osia**
while they carrying went.they as
**pupipa uvuruia orakiuaepa**
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 osia, rara, vo osia, and vo rara 'as/when'

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

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

(180) vokiaro uusipaaepa osia erava
      night sleeping.they.were when volcano
      pokoviropa
      exploded

'They were sleeping at night when the volcano exploded.'

(181) viapau oisio taraipaveiei osia
      no like-this know.we-two when
      opesiroverea rasito
      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.torned.she
'She was like a stone when she became transformed.'

The conjoining word rara 'as/when' seems to bring focus on the overlapping of events in future time. This is substantiated 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.present-tense\$ later-on) 'I am going later on.' The conjoining 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) pau pieve vokiara rutuia aueia
sit make.we-two days all.on Ø.with
rorua rara va sirova wearovira
happiness when it beside good.like
utupau
following.you
'You and I can have a happy existence
every day when you carefully follow this.'

(185) uvuipai ra oira ivuve rara vo
able.is then her pull.we-two when here
oravegeia garoara tuke rovove
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 rara 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 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 vo osia and vo rara are mutually substitutable in all contexts. They express the meaning 'when' and are useful within sentence level complexities.

(186) eva iava oisioa vorero
     that because always return.he.would
     vo rara/vo osia rera aio vatepasi
     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 vo rara or vo osia may be substituted for by rara but not osia.

(187) viapau oisio kareraeri
     no like-this return.I.would-have
     vo rara/vo osia/rara viire viapape
     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 expressed by the gloss 'if' since the Contrary-to-Fact-Conditional mode marker appears on the first verb (-eri). It would not be an appropriate gloss in the example below, however.
In certain contexts either vo rara or vo osia may be substituted for by osia but not rara.

In certain contexts rara and osia are mutually substitutable. It would seem, though, that the focus is upon identification and not time, and for this reason the choice between rara and osia is less significant. Both of the examples 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 ragaas osia vo siposipo
like-that.little only.is as this story
purapaa varao vituaroa 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 vosia...ra/uva/oire/rara

'if...then'

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

The conjoining pair vosia...ra 'if...then' expresses
the relationship of conditionality within sentence level complexities.

\[(192) \text{vosia iravu kopiro voea java} \]
if another.male died.he them from \[ra \text{ orareoave}\]
then ref.talk,they.would
'If one of the men died, then they would discuss (this).'

The pair \text{vosia...uva 'if...then'} occurs less frequently. When it does, though, one must be careful not to confuse the \text{uva 'then'} with the locative referential \text{uva 'where.'} When a proposition, not otherwise specifically related to a proposition preceding it, occurs immediately before \text{vosia}, and if the distinction between \text{vosia} and \text{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 possible confusion, however, the context makes it clear that here \text{uva} is the conjoining word 'then' and not the referential 'where.'

\[(193) \text{vosia rovua siovaraia touri evoa uva} \]
if ocean inside exist.you there then \[viire karekepere vo voki vao\]
you.to manifest.it.will this day this
(193) **oaia** Jisas **voreroverea** vore
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 **vosia...oire** 'if...okay then' includes a
word which by itself has more functional weight than either
**ra** or **uva** of the previous two sets. For this reason one
would look for a proposition joined by **oire** to the propo-
sition introduced by **vosia** to be either more complex or
one to be highlighted.

(194) **vosia** kovoa vai **toupaivoi** rakoruia
if work some existing.is snake.with
**oire** **ragai** taviri
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 **uvare**
'because'

The conjoining word **uvare** '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 Cominations of Predications in An Anatomy of Speech Notions to be published(?)).

The word *uvare* is useful within sentence level complexities 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 weight, 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 optional 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 rèakova
Ø about because another.female woman
ourevia siaratoa oaa
got.he clansman my
'Okay now I'll tell you another little story of this because my clansman marrked another girl.'
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 following aue iava uvare in focus (the punch line of the story), but also it is a more complex construction.

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

so this day.here we this existence

easy.is what about because 0.these

existing.are this day tools
(198) oara uvuipai riro varivaripara
which able. are great strong-efforts
verapaive
rid. they 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 aue java uvare which
has functional weight equal to eake java uvare is the phrase
aue vituaro uvare (Ø 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) uva vo vokioia igei vo touo
so this day. here we this existence
avekataa// aue vituaro uvare auero
easy. is Ø x basis-poss because Ø. these
toupaivoi vo vokio kovopara oara
existing. are this day tools which
uvuipai riro varivaripara verapaive
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 aue iava uvare is vo uvare 'this because.' In the base phrase aue is a cata-
phoric referential referring to the proposition to follow. However, in vo uvare, vo functions as an anaphoric refer-
ential bracketing the immediately preceding proposition. In this way the final phrase discussed here is different than all the others which include uvare. The conjoining phrase vo uvare is useful within the sentence only.

(200) uva vearo vaisi tapo purapaavoi vo
so good name also making.I.am this
uvare vii kekepaavoi
because you seeing.I.am
'So I'm thankful and it's because I'm seeing you.'

4.3. THE CONJOINING PHRASES WHICH INCLUDE oisio ra 'so that'

The conjoining phrases which include oisio ra 'so that' all express a relationship of causation. However, in con-
trast 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 expan-
sions of it all are useful within the sentence level of complexities.
(201) uva oisio eripaoro utupaopa oisio
so like-this digging followed.she like-this
ra vo rovuia rao
then this lake.here drain.would
'So she followed digging like this so that
the lake would drain.'

The referential oisio '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 -re 'to/for' the referent
is clearly the following proposition as illustrated below.

(202) Isio vararoepa vo rasio iare
Isio descended.he this ground to
oisio re ra igei tauvapareve
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 -re is shifted
to the cataphoric referential and tapo 'also' adds emphasis.

(202) voeao vearo kovova urioai auere
these good work.with come.they Ø.for
(202) oisio tapo ra vearovira pauvio
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
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 described 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 underlying 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 rhetorical 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 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 terminology such as: Conjoining, Alternation, Temporal, Implication, 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 the property of the inter-related propositions or sets of propositions. 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 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, Alternation Relationship, Temporal Relationship, etc. The term pattern 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 Conditionality 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 taking place 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 [language] ragaia 'within that very day', etc.

**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 $P \land Q$-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 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 Workshop 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 + Comment

Examples: zz-2-32

.zz-2-x32 BUILDUP^1:

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

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

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

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

Then he watched the smoke. "Who is this man?" (he asked himself) as they razed the two banana gardens after him (his death).
'Then he jumped along. (and) Making trash of the red paint, he continued on running away.'

'uva kareroepa
then returned-home.he
'Then he returned home.'

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

'rela rerare potereva
who him.to short.he.was
So he returned completely as this man, Isio, in whose house he sheltered himself he came up short (chasing him.)'  

'Becoming short chasing him, he went back continuing 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(?)
STEP 1:

\[
guru \ toupaive \ vo \ osia \ oira
\]

pile exist. it. would here as she

toeive
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:

\[
vo \ govuko \ toeive \ va \ sikasia
\]

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

\[
ra \ va \ sikaive \ garepavisivi
\]

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

\[
ra \ va \ sikapaoro \ va \ sipopaive
\]

then it breaking-up it send. they. would

\[
kepa \ ruvaraiare
\]

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 STEP¹:

uva ovokirovuia oraaivaropiepaveaira
so days-these-other-on meet.we-two.always
'So you and I will always be meeting on other days.'

STEP²:

orarugopiepave
remembering.we-two.would-be
'You and I would be remembering.'

STEP³:

ra siraove ita oravegeipa
then sorrow.we-two again ref.we-two.for
'Then we'll be sorry again for ourselves.'

g-32 STEP¹:

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.'
STEP²:

do ire  vara  rutu  teterminate  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.'

STEP³:

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

'Then they'd wash him with it.'

TARGET:

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

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

rera  iawa  vo  upia
him from this sickness

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

COMMENT:

aue  iawa  uvare  oitisoa  voava  evoa
Ø  about because always there. from there

vuutaia  oitisoa  vo  ruvaru  purapaive
time. at always this medicine make. they. would
g-32 COMMENT:

va vao aue malaria ruvaru vokhks rara
it this 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
tavel 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:

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

PURPOSE:

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

cb-12 STATEMENT:

oire vara aioivora voea kipupaive vo
okay them ate.they they smear.they.would this
taritaroia varao oaravu opita taritaro
scraps.with these others coconut scraps
oara oisioa kurioro vara takouive
which always scraping them package.they.would
cb-12 STATEMENT:

ra vo takouroia voea
then these packages with them

kipupaive vo ukoviiia 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 xea 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 birth, 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 taraipeveiei 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
REASON:

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

RPEXXITH
Relationship: IMPLICATION

Name: RESULT

Formula: + Statement + Result

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 repl tovotovoive
always firewood stack put.they.would.repeatedly

'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 inare oira tecteopaoro 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: + Alternative₁ + Alternative₂
Examples: e-22, co-44, am-91, g-18
co-44 ALTERNATIVE₁:

**isio vai kpiroepa**
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 uvuipavie vo kovoro vituaro**
we also can.we this works basis.poss

kekepe
see.we

'We can see the beginning of these projects,'

ALTERNATIVE₂:

-o uvuipavie 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$_1$:

{oire ra} opesi ovoio \(\text{oira revasiva}\)

okay then end immediately she she blood

{rera iava oirato ro} ira vo upia

him from man this who this sickness

purapareve

making he would-be

'Then the bleeding would quickly cease from this man who would be sick.'

ALTERNATIVE$_2$:

{ari vosia kaureopao} ra aue raga

but if stubborn she then \(\emptyset\) only

{ruruiara kavikavireve} aue iava

scrapings gather he would \(\emptyset\) from

{kasirio ora aue kaekaeo}

kasirio and \(\emptyset\) 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
vosisia kasisia auepaave sisiva
if burn.to ready.they.would-be salt-tree
ra oirare kepa vatatopo rovoive
then her.to house ready first.they.would
ora aue erako
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:

uva viapau oisio oarai rutu kovoara
so no like-this some.other all works
vai oiraia toupai
some her.for exists

'There is no other work to be done for it.'

RESTATEMENT:

ari kataiarei raga oisio osia aue kepa
but two.only only like-this as Ø house
ora erako
and firewood.'

j-40 STATEMENT:

ux...uvare oaravu ruipara toupai oarava
because others desires exist which.with
j-40 STATEMENT:

orapaipiepaveiei
stuck.we.are
'...for this reason we are stuck with some other desires.'

NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE:

viapau oisio vuuta vai toupaiovoi
no like-this time some existing
vegeipa vara kosipiepasia
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, ari (between Neg. Para. and Restate.)
RR: negation obligatory in theNeg. Para.
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

turaroro

leader

'So in our language it is this "leader",'

CONTRAST:

*ari vo voea popoteirara oisio king*

*but here they white.men like-this king*

'but in the white man's (language) (it) (is) "king".'

d-163 ITEM:

*uva viapau oisio ragai orai*

so no like-this I other.some

oupaa kakaevurepa

getting.I children.for

'I'm not getting anything for the children,'

CONTRAST:

*ari vii ragai ragai vatevatepari*

*but you only me giving.repeatedly.you*

'but you alone are always giving to me.'
am-82 ITEM:

viapau oisio uvuipai ra vegoaro ragare
no like-this able.is then bush only.to
raiva puraa
road make.I

'I can't just build a road to the bush.'

CONTRAST:

ari oisio vearopai vo ≠ rara riroara
but like-this good.it.is this as many
rutu purari kovoara visii rutu uvuita
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, ari 'but/and'

RR: Must be two contrastive differences (or it would be like
a Negative Paraphrase).

One further CONTRAST:

c-71 ITEM:

vosia viapau aeri Pautoare ra
if no called-'ae'.you Pauto.to then
vegeivi opesive
we-two.little finish.we-two
'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 torepipeaoro 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:

ari ita oisio rugoa toupaivoi
yes again like-this thinking existing.is

'Yes! the thinking is like this.'

DESCRIPTION:

vearoa vao ouveare paua uvare taraipaveiei
good this get.we-two sit because know.we-two

oisio...
like-this...

'You and I will get a good life because you and I know this...'

j-20 TOPIC:

vosia eake kovo torepie ruipapaave
if what work make-stand desire.they.would

'Whatever the work is they wish to initiatže.'

DESCRIPTION:

oire evoa uva uvuiparoi ra vegei
okay there where able.he.is then we-two

tauvareve vilis gavman vo
help.he.would village government here
j-20 DESCRIPTION:

orekevu areoro vo distrik
other-thins requesting here district
gayman siovaraia
government inside
'Okay that's where he would help you and I requesting these other things from the district government.'

Tense: same/different
Subject: same/different
Comment: oisio toupai 'it's like this' commonly used

Relationship: EXPLANATION
Name: EVALUATION
Formula: + Statement + (± Evaluation^{n-1} ± 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 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$^{n-1}$:

ra veavira vara aiopari
then good like them eating you are
'Then you are eating them well.'

EVALUATION$^{n}$:

viapau oavu avu vai
no other maybe some
'There is nothing wrong with it (everything is okay).'

bz-21 STATEMENT:

oire toua purapasi
okay life make they two

EVALUATION:

viapau oavu avu vai
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
RR: total repetition

Relationship: AMPLIFICATION
Name: ADDITION
Formula: + Statement + Addition
Examples: c-29, zz-1-16
c-29 STATEMENT:

*e opuruva kaeevoi*
? canoe carry.she.is

'Is she carrying the canoe?'

ADDITION:

avakava opuruva kaeevoi rovua
ocean canoe carry.she.is depths

'Is the current carrying the canoe out to sea?'

zz-1-16 STATEMENT:

*oire rera kaepaoro avaopa*
okay him carrying went.she

'Okay she went carrying him.'

ADDITION:

rera kaepaoro avaopa rera upopaoro
him carrying went.she him hitting
evaovaroia ora aueia aveke oaraia
trees.on and ø.on stones which.on
rera tapaoro avapaopa
him hitting going.she.was

'She went carrying him, hitting against trees and stones against which she was going hitting 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


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 truly salted.would.be
'If you'd eat them from there, they would be very salty.'
```
j-54 GENERIC STATEMENT:

\[\text{uva rera vo vavaearoia evaa}\]

so he this hand.poss that.is

'So that is his hand.'

SPECIFIC STATEMENT:

\[\text{rera vaaro vavaea oa tovoparevoi}\]

he it.poss hand.is which putting.he.is

\[\text{vo uruiara siopaaroia}\]

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: &k&£ e-41

\[\text{e-41 ITEM 1:}\]

\[\text{oire vearovira rutu goruara ivitara}\]
okay good.like truly strong-ones plugs

tovopaive

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: + 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:

```
  uva  rera  akepareva  uvare  rerava
  so  him  asked.he  because  him.with
  aivaroreva  vegoaro
  met.he  bush

'So he asked him because he had met him in the bush,'
```

QUOTE:

```
  apeisi  evo  kare  ourivo  kavori  kare
  how  those  animals  get.you  crayfish  animals

''How did you catch those crayfish?''
```

Relationship: QUOTATION

Name: MENTAL QUOTE

Formula: + Quote Phrase + Quote

Examples: a-18, c-115, j-29

a-18 QUOTE PHRASE:

```
  uva  eisi  vo  siposipo  sirova  oisio
  so  like—that  this  story  beside  like—this
  aueraera
  considered.I

'So I considered that that story is similar to this,'
```

QUOTE
a-18 QUOTE:

Oh, why! it this which about Bible

'these or sacred book

'this is the one which the Bible

'teaches about, or the holy book teaches about.'

c-115 QUOTE PHRASE:

'So we both were very sorry remembering this,'

'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:

\[ \text{taraipaveiei oisio} \]
know\_two like\_this

'You and I know this,'

QUOTE:

\[ \text{vosia gavman siovaraia toupavevora ro} \]
if government inside exist\_two this

\[ \text{reito Australian gavman uva viapau} \]
big\_one Australian government so no

\[ \text{vegeire rugorugoparoera vo uruiara} \]
we\_two. to think. he here villages

\[ \text{siopaaroia} \]
inside

'When you and I were under the Australian government's rule, it did not think about you and I in the villages.'
a-31 TARGET:

\[ \text{aue popotepairara oisio} \]
\[ \emptyset \text{ white-man like-this} \]

'Okay, the white man always name this house here like this,'

NAME:

\[ \text{aue mess aiopa kepa} \]
\[ \emptyset \text{ mess eat. for house} \]

'the mess, the house for eating.'

bg-17 TARGET:

\[ \text{ari vosia orokui siuriketo siara iava} \]
\[ \text{but if Orokui Siuriketo clan from} \]
\[ \text{iriavu oureve ra aria} \]
\[ \text{woman. another get. he. would then shame} \]
\[ \text{oureve oa oisio vaisipai} \]
\[ \text{get. he. would which like-this name. they} \]
\[ \text{oisi raga ita oisio} \]
\[ \text{this just again like-this} \]

'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:

\[\text{eisi} \quad \text{voea} \quad \text{voeao} \quad \text{oea} \quad \text{oisioa} \quad \text{voeapa}\]
like-that they these who always them for

\[\text{irapaave} \quad \text{oea} \quad \text{oisio} \quad \text{vaisipai}\]
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:

\[\text{lidapairara} \quad \text{riropairara} \quad \text{voeao} \quad \text{irapairara}\]
leaders big-men these leaders

\[\text{voeapa}\]
them for

'leaders, important men, these leaders for them.'

cd-1 TARGET:

\[\text{oire} \quad \text{oavu} \quad \text{puraa} \quad \text{vo} \quad \text{voea} \quad \text{viovokoa}\]
okay another make I here them mwu boys

\[\text{vaaro} \quad \text{vo} \quad \text{aueia} \quad \text{inglisia} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{tok}\]
it poss this Ø in English in or talk

\[\text{pidgin} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{eakevuia} \quad \text{oaia} \quad \text{oisio}\]
pidgin or what other in which in like this

\[\text{va} \quad \text{vaisipaivoi}\]
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,'
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:

\[
\text{uva oisivio ragaa osia opesiei} \\
\text{so this little just is as finished is} \\
\text{ragai vo tavitaviaro oa puraavoi} \\
\text{I this story poss which make I} \\
\text{So this is it as my little story is finished} \\
\text{which I make.}
\]

DATE:

\[
\text{vo vokioia aueia 1966} \\
\text{this day on 0 in 1966} \\
\text{On this day in 1966}
\]

IDENTIFICATION:

\[
\text{ragai Raupeto} \\
\text{I Raupeto} \\
\text{I, Raupeto}
\]

b-228 SUMMARY:

\[
\text{eva reoreoa ragai vaaro} \\
\text{that talk is I it poss} \\
\text{That is my story}
\]

IDENTIFICATION:

\[
\text{Pita Vivisiori} \\
\text{Peter Vivisiori} \\
\text{Peter Vivisiori}
\]
b-228 SUMMARY CLOSE:

_opesiei_
finished.is
'It's finished.'

h-251 SUMMARY:

_eisivi_  _raga_  _osia_  _vo_  _siposipo_  _viipa_
that.little only as this story you.for

_aviavipiepaa_
light.make.I

'That's the way it is as I explain this story for you.'

DATE:

_vo_  _ivao_  _sioparoia_  _1966_  _iva_
this year within 1966 year

'Within this year of 1966,'

IDENTIFICATION:

_ragai_  _vaisia_  _oaa_  _Akoitai_
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 formulaic 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

rearo uvuri
talk.poss hear.you

"If your father would tell you to do something like this, "You help me with the work of gardening," 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:

eisi osia visiipa vo rugoo vatepaa
like-that as you for this thought giving.
ra vearovira rutu vare rugorugopata
then good like truly it to remember you
vao rovopa
this first-thing
'It's like that as I am giving you this
thought, and you must all carefully think back
to this important thing.'

REASON:

eake iava uvare viapau oisio
what about because no like-this
taraipavioveira oisio osia toupaivoi
know we always like-this as existing is
rovoa ora opesia varoaia vuutara
start and finish these here times
varoaia osia toupapeira
these here as existing we always are
vo rasioia
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 lava oisio visipa
which base-poss about like-this you.for

vo rugoro vatepaavo 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 vigelia taraia
because no like-this we.in knowledge

vaiei vo vokioia rurukoiraraa
some.is this day.at unknowing-men.are

vigei siopapairaraa rutu
we unaware-men truly

'Because there is no knowledge in us at this
time; we are unknowing and unaware people.'

bf-22 EXHORTATION:

oire vearoa ra rugorugopavio ra gorupavio
okay good.is then thinking.we and strong.we
EXHORTATION₁:

vo kovoarore rugopaoro/ opeita varao
this work.poss.to thinking// do-not these
ragaia rugopavio varao vo rasitoaia
only.of thinking.we these this ground.on
viapau
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!'

EXHORTATION₂:

viapau ra vaopa uriripau oa
no and this.for fearing.you which
kekepari vo osireitoaia ari vaopa
seeing.you this eye.with but this.for
uriripau oa viapau kekepari eva...
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: + Opening + Initiating Utterance + Continuing Utterance + Resolving Utterance + Terminating Utterance + Closure

Examples: zz-1-4, zz-2-7, zz-2-15

zz-1-4 INITIATING UTTERANCE:

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?"

CONTINUING UTTERANCE:

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.""
**zz-1-4 CONTINUING UTTERANCE:**

\[
\text{o apeisi ragavira oira uporivo} \\
\text{oh how just.like her killed.you} \\
\text{"Oh, (then) just how did you kill her?"}
\]

**RESOLVING UTTERANCE:**

\[
\text{ari oira oovaupaoro uturae uva} \\
\text{why her tracking followed.I where} \\
\text{uusipaoe...} \\
\text{sleeping.she.was} \\
\text{"Why, I followed her tracks to where} \\
\text{she was sleeping etc."}
\]

**zz-2-7 OPENING:**

\[
\text{uva orareopasiepa} \\
\text{so conversed.they-two} \\
\text{"So the two of them conversed."}
\]

**INITIATING UTTERANCE:**

\[
\text{ovuia uriouei/ eakere tarapari} \\
\text{where.from come.you what.for searching-for.you} \\
\text{"Where are you coming from? What are you} \\
\text{searching for?"}
\]

**CONTINUING UTTERANCE:**

\[
\text{ari ragai koue tarioparai} \\
\text{why I pig chasing.I.am} \\
\text{"Why, I'm chasing pig."}
\]
zz-2-7 CONTINUING UTTERANCE:

ari  ragai  tapo  ita  ragoa  oira  oovaaro
why  I also  too  I  her  tracks

uturae  vova//  uva  uvuipai  ra
followed.I  here.from  so  able.is  then

vo  raga  raiva  pura  ovoive
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:

ari  uvuipai//  ari  vearo  tapi  raga  vo  uva
why  able.is  yes  good  area  only  here  where

uriorai
come.I

"Why yes we can. Yes, it is a good area right from where I come."

CLOSING:

oire  eisi  orareosiepa
okay  like-that  conversed.they-two

'Okay they both were talking together like that.'

zz-2-15 INITIATING UTTERANCE:

oire  uva  roari  oisiriva  Keriaka
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  
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:

oraaivaropieveare  rara
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 discourse 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 terminology 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 productive format for all levels; however, after further study of Bee's discussion of descriptions according to wave features in her *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 significant features could be seen at a glance, the chart (see attached foolscap mimeographed page) was devised. On this chart were written from left to right: 1) the slot in the discourse syntagmeme in which the proposition 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 paragraph, 6) event (or predication), 7) Thurman Chart for identification 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 common to the paragraph and seemed to tie all of the propositions (or sentences) of that paragraph together. It extended 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 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 specifically 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**

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peak Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

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 identified, and other participants or objects brought into the context. Following this sentence there is often an introductory phrase occurring in the onset of the next para-
## Rotokas Grammar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>TENSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slot</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>Tip</td>
<td>Theme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table is designed to organize information related to Rotokas grammar, with columns for TEXT, TYPE, PERSON, and TENSE, and rows for Slot, Intro, Tip, Theme, and Event.
graph which indicates a new event in the sequence of events, i.e. oire voava 'okay after that,' oire uva 'okay then', oa isivaro (iava) 'okay after that,' etc. A reversal of the theme is indicated by the introductory phrase ati vosia 'and if/but if.' Frequently temporal words occur in the trough as well either prior to the border i.e. vokiepa 'night came', opesiepa 'it was finished', or following the border, i.e. ovokivua '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:

+ Aperture + Topic + Goal + Procedures \(^n\) + Comment
+ Target + Alternate Procedure + Conclusion

Aperture, Topic, Goal, and sometimes first Procedure occur in various combinations as portmanteau elements.

Procedures - the terminal borders are usually unmarked, however, the initial borders of the paragraphs are usually marked by 'temporal signals' and in particular by voava 'after this.' Verbs in the paragraphs are predominantly transitive and the paragraphs seem to have a characteristic 'if/when...then' pattern. The tenses of the verbs are future (few) but predominantly -ve indefinite/subjunctive.
In the Comment paragraph there is a fair bit of embedding 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 **involved** involving two men on a fishing trip has the following themes: Canoe, Fishing, Drifting, Search, Discussing Rescue, Attempt, Recovery, Rejoicing, Conclusion (God's Help), Return, Coconuts, Beach Canoe, Dinner, Recall, Prediction. Now coupling the themes with the peak activities the outline is filled in: 1) We anchored the canoe, 2) We were spear fishing, 3) The canoe drifted as we were unaware, 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 discourses 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 paragraph 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

![Wave Shape Diagram]

At the peaks of **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 **Procedural** 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, *ovoiei* which means 'it is finished/finally.' One of the border features peculiar to Raxit Narrative discourses is the linkage of the paragraphs by the verbs in a tail-head relationship such as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>coda of Para 1</th>
<th>onset of Para. 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ava-ro-epa</em></td>
<td><em>avaporo va kekereva</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he went'</td>
<td>'while going he saw it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>avaroepa avaroepa</em></td>
<td><em>avaparoiva va kekereva</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he kept going'</td>
<td>'having gone he saw it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kareroepa kareroepa</em></td>
<td><em>kareroviro va kekereva</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he kept returning'</td>
<td>'he returned completely and he saw it'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 CHarts Three and Four.

**NARRATIVE DISCOURSE:**

\[ + \text{Aperture} + \text{Stage} + \text{Episodes}^n + \text{Climax} + \text{Denouement} + \text{Moral} + \text{Comment} + \text{Close} + \text{Finis} \]
Aperture, Stage, Close and Finis are predominantly formulaic.

Episodes - There must be at least one Episode. The codas are usually marked by ovoiei 'it is finished/ finally.' At either the onset or coda there tends to be Durative aspect manifested. The verbs in these paragraphs are predominantly intransitive. All tenses are used though 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, Epistolary, 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 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!
### Direct Quotes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Narr</th>
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<th>Inst</th>
<th>Hist</th>
<th>Expos</th>
<th>Exhort</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eake iava? Apeisia?</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>/</td>
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<td>Temporals/statives</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voava, va iava etc.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>/</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rovopa, opesipa</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>-vora, ...-ve</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>/</td>
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<td>teapi, uvuipa</td>
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<td>/</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**narrative discourse tran -44 | intran - 60**

**procedural " tran -61 | intran - 16**

Without going into details about the different features listed (and why), suffice it to say that there are significant differences between discourse-level grammatical 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Events in sequence</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Instruction</th>
<th>Procedural</th>
<th>Narrative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Events not in sequence</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Exhortation</td>
<td>Expository</td>
<td>Epistolary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHART FIVE**

Temporals and Distinctions Between Discourses

**FREE FORMS**

- tuariri rutu
- tuariri
- tuariri visivi
- aruvea
- vokipaua
- vo vokio
- vaviopavira
- vokipavira
- utupa visivi
- utupaua
- utupaua rutu

**TENSE MARKERS**

- -epa
- -era
- -erao
- -e-
- -ei

**DISCOURSE**

- -va
- -vora
- -vorao
- -vo
- -voi
- -d.quote
- -vere
- -verea
- -∅

- PROCEDURAL
- EXPOSITORY
- EPISTOLARY
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