WORKPAPERS IN INDONESIAN LINGUISTICS

Volume I

Edited by
Marit Kana

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PREFACE

This volume is the first of a new series entitled Workpapers in Indonesian Linguistics, published jointly by the Cenderawasih University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Jayapura, Irian Jaya, Indonesia.

At the time of this writing the Summer Institute of Linguistics in cooperation with the Department of Education and Culture is carrying out linguistic and anthropological research in 20 languages in Irian Jaya and 3 in Central Sulawesi. The focus of these workpapers, then, will be the languages of Irian Jaya, with occasional contributions on Sulawesi languages and those from other areas of Indonesia. The articles will be mostly descriptive in nature, offering the reader sufficient data from which to draw material for his own individual research.

Most of the five papers presented in this initial volume were produced during two UNCEN-SIL linguistics workshops in 1980 and 1981, at Danau Bira, Irian Jaya. Dr. Kenneth Gregerson was the main consultant for each of those workshops.

Notice that we are calling these "workpapers", with the realization that, in many cases, some conclusions will be quite tentative and further investigation might yield different results. Still, rather than hold on to these manuscripts until they are in some sort of "completeness", we are publishing them as they are, with sincere hopes that this and ensuing volumes of Workpapers in Indonesian Linguistics will significantly contribute to our scarce, but growing, body of knowledge on the languages of this large and incredibly diverse nation of Indonesia.

Marit Kana
Jayapura, June 1982

FOREWORD

Publikasi ini yang diprakarsai oleh Dr. Kenneth Gregerson dan Miss Marit Kana adalah hasil daripada dua buah Lokakarya Linguistika yang diselenggarakan dalam rangka kerjasama antara The Summer Institute of Linguistics dengan Universitas Cenderawasih.

Diharapkan bahwa publikasi ini yang memuat keterangan pertama mengenai bahasa-bahasa daerah Iau, Ketengban dan Mairasi akan diikuti oleh edisi-edisi berikutnya untuk bahasa-bahasa lainnya di Irian Jaya.

Semoga usaha-usaha pengungkapan informasi mengenai bahasa-bahasa daerah yang masih kurang dikenal di pedalaman Irian Jaya serta di Indonesia pada umumnya kelak akan bermanfaat bagi pengembangan dan pembangunan daerah-daerah tersebut.

Rudy Tarumingkeng
Rektor, Universitas Cenderawasih

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Dave Briley

0. Introduction

When a speaker wants to communicate a message to his audience he does not haphazardly encode that message in random strings of sentences. Grimes (1975) says, "There are processes at work in language that restrict later sentences in terms of earlier ones." The process whereby a speaker stitches together units of the discourse (whether they be clauses, sentences, paragraphs or embedded discourses) is called linkage.

Linkage is accomplished in Bauzi[1] by the use of connectives.   Not only are these connectives used to link units of the discourse, they are also used to provide reference points to keep the hearer properly oriented within the discourse, and to indicate what relationships exist between the units linked.   There are three types of connectives found in Bauzi discourse, namely; repetitive linkers, conjunctions, and juxtaposition. This paper[2] represents the initial investigations of these connectives and their function in discourse. Further research will be needed before a complete analysis of linkage is attained.

1. Repetitive Linkers

The term repetitive linkers in this paper refers to the repetition in a dependent clause of previously given information. Either the verb of the last clause of the preceding sentence or the entire preceding clause is repeated.

Repetitive linkers or repetitive linking clauses are used mainly to provide the hearer with a known point of departure for the new information that the speaker is giving and at the same time to inform the hearer as to the type of relationship that is holding between the contents of the old information and the new.   The type of relationship that is holding may be temporal, logical or one of frustration; suffixes occurring on the repeated verb will indicate the type.

1.1 Temporal

Bauzi exhibits surface markers which provide clues as to the chronological relationships of events. Both temporal overlap and temporal succession are distinguished in Bauzi.

1.1.1 Overlap

Overlap is the occurrence of one series of events overlapping chronologically with another series of events.

a. By using a linking clause with -da 'incompletive' and -meam 'conditional' suffixed to the repeated verb, the speaker is informing the hearer that a simultaneous relationship exists between what he has just said and what new information he is about to give. A speaker uses this form of connective when he gives the setting for a narrative or when he wants to fix the time of a certain event in the hearer's mind. Notice example (1):

(1) We were staying (es-da)   at Benekema.
                     stay-incompletive
    While we were staying (im benekema   es-da-meam)
                           we place name stay-incomp.-conditional
    the men put forth the brideprice and they gave me Sina.

In the above example the speaker fixes the punctiliar event of the men putting forth the brideprice and giving Sina as a wife within a temporal continuum. This can be diagrammed as follows:

```
------------------------ while we were staying at Benekema
                         the men put forth the brideprice and
                         gave Sina as a wife
```

b. When the speaker wants to establish for the hearer that two events occur simultaneously, but with emphasis on the fact that one started before the other, then he uses the suffix -dilabe which contains the morphemes -di 'time of' and the directional marker -labe 'from there'; these are attached to the incompletive aspect marker -da and the non-past tense marker -m. Notice that this variety of overlap is slightly different from (a) above.

(2) So then they cooked the sago and were eating it together
    (ab vahi   à-da-mam).
     together eat-incomp.-non past
    After they began eating (à-da-m-di-labe)
                            eat-incomp.-non past-time-from there
    it began raining.

In the above example, the men had already started eating the sago when the rain started falling. This can be diagrammed as follows:

```
-------------------------------- eating
---------------------- raining
```

c. In this next variety of overlap, both events are seen by the speaker as being punctiliar and as taking place at the same time. To indicate this, the past tense marker -hV (where V stands for

the echo vowel of the final vowel of the verb root) is followed by -di 'time' and this is followed by the demonstrative lam 'that'.

(3) The plane on Sunday brought (ab vou   le-ham)
                                        accompany come-past
    the corpse. At the time that the plane brought her from there
    (labe   vou   le-he-di   lam) she was dead.
    from there accompany come-past-time that

The speaker sees the events of the girl's death and the plane bringing her as two events having happened at the same time. This can be diagrammed as follows:

                            .   the plane brought her
                            .   she was dead

1.1.2 Succession

Succession is the sequential ordering of events.

a. The speaker in Bauzi informs the listener that certain information is either old or it is new. One of the ways he does this is by adding the suffix -me, which translates simply as 'and then', to the final verb of the repeated clause. The use of this suffix indicates a close sequential ordering of events in an expectancy chain (see Section 1.3). Note the following:

(4) They would not hurry up and give Elina to me as a wife so I
    fled to Danao (Danao ita).I fled to Danao and then (Danao
                   Danao flee
    ita-me)   arrived, and stayed at Danao.
    flee-and then

The repetition of the previous clause, 'flee to Danao', at the onset of the following sentence serves as a point of departure for the next clause, 'arriving there and staying'. By using this repetition of the verb with -me, the speaker slows down the rate at which he presents new information to the hearer. This type of linking is used more frequently than the one discussed in b. below.

b. When the speaker uses the repetitive linking clause with -zobe 'afterwards' he has in view that the action contained in the new information is sequential to the old, but not necessarily expected. This is different from a. above. When the repeated verb has the past tense marker -hV and -zobe, it looks back to the previous action as being completed at the time the new action commences.

(5) While it was happening in this manner, the woman died (<u>ab</u>
    elo-ham). After the woman died (<u>nam</u>   elo-ho-zobe)
    die-past   woman die-past-afterwards
    the men kept it (the sacred flutes) a secret.

The woman who had first made the discovery of the sacred flutes in
the first place had to die before the men could start keeping it a
secret (i.e., hiding it from the rest of the women).

Notice the following example where -zobe follows the incompletive
aspect marker -da. In this instance the event signalled by the new
information happens after the action signalled by the repeated
verb has begun.

(6) So then I gave the flashlight to Sina and she started
    shining it (<u>ab</u> fis-da-mam).   After she started
                    shine-incomp.-nonpast
    shining it (fis-da-m-zobe)   Toea and I shot
                shine-incomp.-nonpast-afterwards
    and hit (the bird).

In the above example, the shooting of the bird took place after
Sina had turned on the flashlight. Notice that though the
shooting of the bird took place while the light was shining
(overlap), the emphasis is on the succession of the two events.

c. Spatial orientation is important in Bauzi narrative discourse
and is maintained throughout the narrative. In most cases a
narrative takes place in several locations. By using repetitive
linking clauses the narrator keeps the hearer informed as to where
each participant is at any given point in the narrative.

When motion verbs such as go, come, go out of, enter, arrive, etc.
are used as repetitive linking devices they serve two purposes:
to bridge gaps between motions and subsequent motions and to
bridge gaps between actions at a place and subsequent actions away
from that place.

An example of the first purpose is:

(7) 'Come and take this knife and give it to her' he had said
    and then we went (<u>ab</u> la-ham). Going and then (<u>le</u>) I
                          go-past   go
    slept and then took the knife and gave it to Felina.

The recapitulated verb <u>le</u> 'go' at the beginning of the second
sentence signifies that the place to which the going was directed
(namely, the location of the quoter of the direct quote) is the
setting for the subsequent actions (sleeping, taking and giving of
the knife). And since it indicates a change of location, it also
implies temporal succession.

In the following example, notice the different use of a repetition of the same verb la 'go' when it occurs with the past tense marker -hV and the direction suffix -labe 'from there'. In this instance, the repetition is linking an action at a place and subsequent action away from that place.

(8) Since they were afraid of each other they came back
    (fat   ab le-ham). Coming from there (le-he-labe)
     iterative come-past   come-past-from there
    they came across the sago grove.

-Labe in the example above indicates to the hearer that the participants are in transition; they were at one place (where they were frightened by their enemies) and then -labe indicates their leaving that place and carrying out the subsequent action of coming across the sago grove. A narrator often uses this type of repetitive linker to get the participants into the proper location for the story's climax to happen.

1.2 Logical

Repetitive linkers with -hemu[3], 'so in consequence', indicate a logical link between the repeated old information and the new information. In other words, the new information issues from the old.

(9) The breadfruit hit her on her nose and she fell down
    (ab bite-ham).   She fell down and so in consequence of
       fall down-past
    that (nam bite-hemu)   the man said, 'Are you
         woman fall down-so in conseq.
    hurt?'

In Longacre's (1976) terms, the woman's falling down was the efficient cause for the man to ask her if she was hurt.

1.3 Frustration

Longacre (1976) describes what he calls expectancy chains. These chains involve actions which customarily occur in sequence; for example, one would expect to find something after one searched for it. So this sets up the expectancy chain: search - find. A frustration in succession develops when a 'blocking circumstance' comes about. An example of frustrated succession in Bauzi is the following:

(10) One morning this man went pig hunting (doho la). He went
                                              pig go
     to go pig hunting but (doho la-ha)   killed a
                            pig go-counter to expect.
     rat near the edge of the house.

The speaker uses the suffix -ha 'counter to expectation' with the repeated verb to indicate that the new information is unexpected. The man had not expected to kill a rat when he left for the morning on his pig hunt. Longacre would call the killing of the rat the 'blocking circumstance' which frustrates the expectancy chain.

2. Conjunctions

2.1 The Conjunction labi

The conjunction labi functions both anaphorically and cataphorically. As an anaphoric conjunction it refers back to the whole situation expressed in the preceding sentence or paragraph.

The following example shows this anaphoric function of labi:

(11) The people had entered the Noi River, and while they were gathering and eating matoa fruit, Simon snatched Aetva's wife Nuzuba from him, and because he was to take her away, Digehivabna and Ouhafait took a bush knife and stringbag and gave it to them and they (Simon and Nuzuba) ran away. That being so (labi), Aetva was sad, came down the Noi River and entered the Ohava River.

Labi indicates that Simon's theft of Aetva's wife is backbone material (those events that move the story along) and also tells the hearer that this theft is the basis for Aetva's sadness and his trip downstream. Labi recaptures everything in the first sentence and makes that the basis for the following action.

In another example of labi it appears together with a repetitive linker. In a folktale about a woman who gets buried by a rat that turns into a woman, the speaker tells of the buried woman's attempts to get out of the hole where she is buried. She begins to eat several varieties of roots and as she finishes the last root, rocks fall down and she sees the sky. It continues:

(12) Then she came out at the top (tom futo).   In this manner
                                   up go out of
     she came out at the top and (labi tom futo-u)   when
                                  up go out of-and
     she sat down, she was wanting to bear children.

In the above example, labi recaptures the whole process of how she managed to get out of the ground. In this sense labi has an underlying notion of manner.

Labi is also used to link two simultaneous actions. Notice:

(13) In this manner (what was described earlier in the story)
     they joined together, went there, stayed a while, split up
     and some went up the Vaoboza River. Labi some went to
     Deilo.

In this instance labi still seems to be exhibiting an element of
manner. That is, 'This is how they split up. Some went up the
Vaoboza River. Some went to Deilo.' The ones going to Deilo are
seen as having gone at the same time as those who went up the
Vaoboza River. A speaker often uses this conjunction to keep
track of who is where when a group splits up.

Labi is used in the finis in most discourse genre. The finis is
the ending, usually formulaic, of a discourse. For example, Labi
gago 'I've said it like this'. In most procedural and expository
discourses the speaker makes a summary statement before the finis
and that is usually formulaic as well: Labi mode 'That is the way
we do it.'

As a cataphoric connector labi 'like the following' points forward
to the following events. In a procedural text on house building,
the aperture, or opening sentence, is as follows:

(14) I am going to tell about house building. When we make houses
     we do it like the following (labi mode).

And what follows is a step-by-step explanation of how Bauzis build
houses.

The rate at which the speaker presents new information is speeded
up when using this conjunction. In one folktale the speaker, as
he approaches the climax of the story, uses fewer repetitive
linkers and more labi's.

Labi occurs with the same suffixes as do the repetitive linkers to
express the same types of relationships holding between the events
of the old information and the new. The suffix -ha 'the
before-mentioned' precedes any other suffixes on labi.

(15) We draw the arrow back and then place it at the base of a
     tree. When we do the before-mentioned in that manner
     (labi-ha-meam), that man will die.

The full form of -ha is laha (which is discussed later) but the
first syllable la- is deleted following labi. So in the example
above labi is again global, in that it is referring back to the
whole process of how to prepare a bewitched arrow for use in
sorcery, whereas -ha is a more local back reference marker,
referring to pulling the arrow back and placing it at the base of
a tree.

Notice the example below where -hemu (discussed in 1.2 above) is suffixed to labi. By a morphophonemic process the -he in -hemu and the a in labiha- become à, producing labihàmu. When labi is used with this suffix, it indicates that the previous event is the efficient cause of the event of the following clause.

(16) Utozo's wife coming from there came and hit the widow.
     Labihàmu Felina picked up a club and there fought with her.

Utozo's wife hitting the widow is the efficient cause for Felina to pick up a club and start fighting with her.

2.2 The Conjunction làhàmu

The conjunction làhàmu also indicates a logical relationship. The statement following làhàmu is a logical consequence of the preceding sentence. I feel that làhàmu compared with labihàmu (just discussed), is a less determinate causation marker.

(17) Having gone up the river, Aetva arrived and when he looked Boi was sleeping. Làhàmu he drew back his bow to shoot him, but didn't.

In the above example làhàmu acts much like the English 'then'. The two events are sequential; one follows the other in time. They are also logically connected; one event brings about or helps bring about the other. Thus in the example above, Boi's sleeping is what led Aetva to draw back his bow.

This conjunction often connects a proposal and the execution of that proposal. In one story there are some creatures, which the narrator describes as cannibals, who arrive at the tree which the men they are chasing have climbed. They commence to chop the tree down and as the tree is falling, one creature says to the others:

(18) 'Get ready to attack.' Làhàmu they surrounded the tree.

One creature makes a proposal and the other creatures respond in the expected manner. Getting ready to attack by surrounding the tree, their response is preceded by the conjunction làhàmu.

2.3 The Conjunction ne

The conjunction ne expresses an underlying notion of contrast or counter to expectation. Some speakers use it to inform their hearers that the events they are about to relate are not what one would expect:

(19) The men entered the Noi River and while they were eating the
     matoa fruit, they continued to gather it until evening.
     Ne Digehivabna and Simon were singing and Simon said,
     'Older brother, isn't this the time to do it!' (snatch
     Aetva's wife)

Simon's question to Digehivabna is not what the hearer would
expect to follow the previous sentence. Ne tells him to "pay
attention to what's coming next". Another example showing that a
change in the status quo is to take place is found in example
(20):

(20) We were learning about God's talk. We were learning to write.
     Ne when we proceeded to be doing this, someone came to us
     and killed one of us.

The narrative continues to inform the listener that the people
involved left that place and went to a new location upstream,
their peace interrupted by the murder.

In one story the speaker is telling how he got his present wife.
The normal way to get a wife in the Bauzi culture is for the
bridegroom to provide the right amount of brideprice goods. After
the goods are taken up by the girl's family, then the man takes
his wife. So this sets up an expectancy chain: 'I stacked up my
brideprice (displayed the goods on the ground in a certain
fashion) and they gave me Sina'. Notice in the following example
how the speaker lets the hearer know that there is a blocking
circumstance that hinders the normal expectancy chain from taking
place.

(21) He said to the bridegroom, 'You did not put down a big
     knife', therefore he refused the brideprice. He was refusing
     the brideprice until Tena's father put down a big pot, then
     the bride's family picked up the knives again. Ne the ones
     staying at the pig house at the Vemoha River were going to go
     upstream, so they said to me, 'We will bring Elina (the
     bride) downstream later'.

So the blocking circumstance of Elina's absence from the place
where they transacted the brideprice kept the bridegroom from
immediately getting his bride.

Ne is also used to indicate to the hearer that the statement that
follows is not common; it is peculiar to normal behavior. Notice
example (22), taken from a folktale:

(22) While this woman was sleeping on her little bed, this rat
     came down, dug a hole with the cassowary bone and buried the
     woman. Ne after burying her, the rat changed into a woman.

Notice in the above example that the speaker has put ne before the clause describing the rat changing into a woman, but not before the sentence describing the rat's actions. Having just had its liver taken out and eaten by the woman, the rat gets down off the roof and digs a hole big enough to bury the woman. One would expect that these events would be just as abnormal as the first. This gives us insights into the speaker's presuppositions as well as cultural presuppositions about what is normal and what is not.

In a procedural discourse that tells how the Bauzis make arrows used in sorcery, the speaker starts out by saying, 'I'm going to tell you how we make the bewitched arrow'. Then he gives a step-by-step procedure for making the arrow. After describing the procedure, he then tells what they do with the arrows, namely perform sorcery on someone. He continues:

(23) When we do like this, that man will die. Ne today we don't do like that.

Here the speaker uses a ne to indicate a contrast between what they used to do and what they do today.

Another similar situation is when the speaker uses ne to indicate a switch of attention from what one participant is doing to what another is doing.

(24) The man went pig hunting. Ne the woman took the rat, brought it back ...

2.4 The Conjunction lahana

The conjunction lahana sometimes follows ne. The conjunction contains the morpheme laha 'the before-mentioned' and -na which functions as a nominalizer. Ne lahana translates as 'that is so but'. First an example in which the conjunction occurs alone:

(25) They just killed two of us. That is so, but (lahana) we killed seven of their men.

In this instance of the conjunction, it seems to be functioning with an underlying meaning of contrast.

Now an example following ne:

(26) Today Tomat went to the Seova people to get a wife. Ne lahana because we thought they were going to catch and forcefully give a widow, we tell about what happened to Itahi earlier when he took a widow.

By using ne lahana the speaker is informing the listener that though Tomat went to Seova to get a wife, he didn't succeed. Historically the full form for the conjunction lahana was

probably ne lahana. But through the years the ne has begun to
be dropped. There seems to be no added meaning when the two are
used together.

Laha 'the before-mentioned' is also used with the negative
vaba to mean 'if the before-mentioned doesn't take place or
happen'. It takes the previous statement as its point of
reference and proceeds to say what would be true if the previous
statement were not so.

(27) How come you didn't openly kill one of us? Because you have
       secretly killed one of us, you have been frightened, have
       hid it from us and it is still hid to this day. If the
       before-mentioned were not the case (laha-m
                                              bef.ment.-nonpast neg.
       vaba -emeam)   we would have retaliated earlier.
       become-condition

If the people mentioned in the first sentence had openly killed
the relative of the narrator, then retaliation would have taken
place.

Now notice the use of laha when it is used with the particle bake
which carries with it a notion of affirmation. In this case, the
conjunction takes the previous statement (which is presupposed as
being true) as its point of reference and proceeds to make a
statement that follows from that presupposition.

(28) Hiboli's father said, 'I do not want to live with the
       foreigner. He killed my older brother. He killed my
       younger brother. Since the before-mentioned is true
       (laha-m   bake),   I do not want to live
         bef.ment.-nonpast neg. affirmation
       with the foreigner.

In most narratives the speaker uses laham vabaemeam and laham bake
to make evaluations and, thus, these conjunctions signal
background information--there is no movement down the time line.

3.   Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition,   loosely   linked   sets   of   sentences,   in Bauzi
discourse indicates lack of movement down the time line. When the
narrator uses two clauses with no connective between them, he
thereby indicates there is no temporal transition between the
events.   The   following   situations   call   for   linkage   by
juxtaposition:

a. Between short, identical clauses, to show that an action is
repeated over and over. This action is viewed as a single event,
thus there is no movement down the time line.

(30) One came and hit it. One came and hit it.

b. Between a time line event and following interjected explanatory material, such as a description. Notice that in the example below no connective occurs between 'He was doing thus' and 'One of the men ...'

(31) He would tie up each man, take them down and place them on the raft. He was doing thus. One of the men was his sacred partner. Seikogoi was his name.

c. Between statements in the speech of a single participant.

(32) She said, 'I did it. I said that he was like a bat eating ai tree fruit.'

d. Between the aperture, or opening statement, and the body of a discourse.

(33) I am going to tell you today about Simon snatching Aetva's wife. The men entered the Noi River and were eating the matoa fruit.

e. Between two clauses which indicate a single event. In the example below, the first clause states negatively what the following clause states positively; this is a type of paraphrase, what Longacre (1976) calls 'rhetorical underlining'. For example, the narrator of one narrative, from which the following example is taken, is describing the attempts of one group of men to retaliate against another. To make it clear to the hearer the approach the first group used, the narrator states:

(34) They did not arrive openly for the men to see. They just stood in secrecy.

f. Between descriptive clauses explaining a location. This is another example of paraphrase, but this time there is a gain in information; the narrator does not want the hearer to miss an important point in the story so he employs extra words. The following is an example of a generic-specific paraphrase:

(35) They ran away to the jungle. They went up to Monohubu and stayed. There at the bird blind.

No connective occurs between any of the sentences. The backbone event is 'they ran to the jungle'. The following two sentences add more specific information.

4. Conclusion

In this paper I have briefly discussed the connectives which I have thus far found in Bauzi discourse. Much space has been devoted to repetitive linkers, the reason for this being that the repetitive linkers are used much more frequently than either conjunctions or juxtaposition. By using repetitive linkers the speaker takes old information and makes that the setting or point of departure for the following new information. By using certain suffixes with the repetitive linker the speaker lets the hearer know what kind of relationship exists between the old and new information, that is, whether it is temporal or logical, for example. Similar relationships are indicated by the use of various conjunctions, but at a much faster rate of information flow. Juxtaposition in general indicates a paraphrase relationship between two clauses, rather than either a temporal or logical one.

For the person who wants to communicate a message properly and accurately to a Bauzi audience, he must have a working knowledge of how to use these various connectives.

Notes

1 Bauzi is spoken by an estimated 1000 living in small villages and hamlets scattered along several rivers, mostly in the Kecamatan Mamberamo Tengah, Kabupaten Jayapura of the Province of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. C.L. Voorhoeve (1975) classifies Bauzi as a non-Austronesian language of the East Geelvink Bay Stock.

For other work done on Bauzi, see D. Briley (1976), J. Briley (1976), and Briley and Briley (1980).

2 The study of Bauzi on which this paper is based was carried out intermittently from December 1975 through May 1980. I wish to acknowledge the contribution of Isak from Noiadi, who has taught me his language. I also want to thank Marit Kana for reading early drafts and making helpful suggestions.

3 When -hemu follows the incomplete aspect marker -da, then by a morphophonemic process the -he in -hemu and the a in -da become à (phonetically [æ]), producing -dàmu.

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