FORM AND FUNCTION OF ROTOKAS WORDS

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INTRODUCTION

1.0. <u>General Orientation</u>

The Rotokas language is spoken by approximately 3,600 people living in the Kieta and Buka Passage Sub-Districts of central Bougainville Island. Tne majority of the speakers are located on the eastern side of the island in villages built on the ridge surrounding the three main river systems in 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. (See Allen and Hurd 1963:21.)

Bougainville District is divided basically into two 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 located between these two major groups. Because of its location it shares features of both, although it is classified as Non-Austronesian.

Adam Muller, S.M. in his <u>Grammar and Vocabulary of the Kunua Language</u> suggests that this stock of language be called the "Central Languages" or "Papu-Melanesian mixed." (See

Müller 1954:13.) He gives the following points of comparison
between the three linguistic groups: a) 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; b) the
Austronesian and Non-Austronesian languages have some type of
indication of the object within the verb affixation, the Central
languages do not, and c) the Central languages include inclusive
and exclusive pronouns[1], the Austronesian include inclusive and
exclusive pronouns and person markers within the verb affixation
which differ according to this feature, and the Non-Austronesian
have neither pronouns nor person markers within the verb affixation
marked for inclusiveness or exclusiveness.

The Rotokas language is not only peculiar in that it does not
fit neatly into either of the two major lingusitic groups of
Bougainville District, but also in that the phonology includes but
eleven segmental phonemes: /p, t, k, ß, r, Ag, a, e, i, o, and u/.
The lack of nasal phonemes and the fluctuations between some
obstruents and fricatives also violate linguistic universals.

To date there has been no linguistic materials published on
the Rotokas language.[2] 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. Research in
Rotokas was carried out during 28 months of field work between 1965
and 1969 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

1.1 Purpose
The purpose of this paper is two-fold. The immediate concern is for
a description of the morphology. A future paper will describe the
Rotokas syntax, and it is hoped that this paper, presenting both

the form and the function of Rotokas words, will facilitate the formulation of the syntactic structure. The inclusion of the description of "functions" looks forward to the syntactic statement while completing the statement on morphology.

1.2 Format

The paper is divided into two main sections, i.e., Form and Function. Both sections draw upon the texts for the initial observations. These observations are then added to and completed by additional information from the concordance.

The purpose for including the texts is not only to illustrate the morphology, but also to demonstrate the validity of certain morphological cuts and classifications.

2 ROTOKAS TEXT

2.0 Background of Materials

The texts used in this paper were collected in the village of Togarao, Bougainville in 1966 by the author. Text A is a story told by Raupeto, a man in his late thirties who has had some education and is fluent in Neo-Melanesian. Text B was collected from a man in his fifties, Vavioviri, who has had little education and who speaks little Neo-Melanesian. The texts were recorded on tape and then transcribed with the assistance of David Akoitai, the author's assistant. Both story tellers and assistant are from the Rotokas Proper dialect. Both texts hereafter will be referred to as "the text."

In the phonemic representation the phoneme /v/ is the voiced bilabial fricative and /r/ is the flapped alveolar vibrant. The period /./ represents "full pause," and the comma /,/ "tentative pause."

2.1. Text Proper

TEXT A 1. Ovokivuia avaveiepa ora iravu vaisiaro Luke Arimiori
rupusia avakavaia. 2. Rupupaveva. 3. Opuruvaia avaveiepa. 4.
Oira kotoveva iroiroia. 5. Uva voa toupaeva gaegaerepaoro voa osia
rupupaveva. 6. Ovoiei rupupaveva. 7. Atari ritapaveiepa. 8. Uva
voturu purapaveva. 9. Puraveva. 10. Puraveva. 11. Ovoiei ovoiepa
voturu. 12. Uva viapau taraiveiepa osia avakava toruoro viripato
tokoeva ro iraia opuruva kotoveva. 13. Avaopa. 14. Avaopa. 15.
Gaegaereoro avaopa. 16. Avaopa osia viapau taraiveiepa. 17. Avaopa.
18. Uva kukueva kaepieava. 19. Opuruvare rororagaraepa. 20. Uva
oirare rororagaraepa. 21. Ro taviava vegoa rupupaveva, 22. E
opuruva kaevoi. 23. Avakava opuruva kaeevou rovua. 24. Avaopa. 25.
Avaopa. 26. Avaopa. 27. Uva oisio puraraepa, Vi avau. 28. Oira
tariopaoro utuu. 29. Oire viapau uvuipaveiepa uvuipaveiepa. 30. Uva
ragai orapireraepa vouririo raga purapaoro oisio, 31. Ovu vegeivi
kareveare vosia okarevu avuvai vegei aiopai vorara opuruva vavo
oisio avao? 32. Uturaepa. 33. Uturaepa. 34. Uva rikurovu rutuia
avaopa. 35. Avaopa. 36. Uva oire raka iava aataava. 37. Aataava.
38. Uva oiraia pituava. 39. Oiraia pituava oa iava oiraia
orakotoraepa. 40. Oire oira ivaraiare kaeraviro. 41. Kaeraviro. 42.
Kaeraviro. 43. Uva vorevira vorera goteperoia gotepaoro. 44.
Voreraepa. 45. Voreraepa. 46. Uva voreraiva voviri veraraviro. 47.
Uva ro ira taporo avaraepa rirovira roruiraoreva oisio, 48. Ae
vegeivipa vearovira rutu opuruva varovarori. 49. Oa iava
rorupaavou. 50. Oira tovoveva. 51. Uva orareopaveiepa oisio, 52.
Eake rutu vi vovouaroia oratovoi oa iava opuruvare rorosia
kaeuviro? 53. Ovoiei ragai tavipareva Ari. 54. Oisio puraroepa, 55.
Vosia viapau aeri Pautoare ra vegeivi opesive. 56. Ari Pauto vi
tavirevo oa iava kukueva kaepierivo. 57. Ovoiei oisio orareoveiepa
oa iava. 58. Ragai tavireva oisio, 59. Irau ra kareve. 60. Oire
kareveiepa opuruvaia. 61. Kareveiepa. 62. Kareveiepa. 63. Uva
verauviroveiepa vo rogaraaro. 64. Verauvirooro oira tovoveva

opuruva. 65. Oire oira tovooro oisio ragai tavipareva oisio, 66.
Irau ra opitaravai atosia aueve. 67. Oire rokoveva vegoa sioparoia.
68. Uva opitara atoveva. 69. Koru atosia iparoepa. 70. Iparoepa.
71. Uva varava voreveiepa opuruva iare erakopaara taporo. 72. Auere
arua rovisia kareveiepa vore atoia. 73. Kareveiepa. 74. Kareveiepa.
75. Uva kareuviroveiepa. 76. Opuruva verapieveva. 77. Oira
verapieveva oira tovosia vo vovio rogaraaro avakava vatuaroia. 78.
Ovoiei oira tovooro atari siarepaveiepa. 79. Aitereivu kakaetoarei
aruveva, 80. Atari kare siaresi. 81. Uva aruparoepa ro Ari oisio,
82. Aioavaiva ra oai aiove. 83. Aio kokooro puraeva vatuava
vegeipa. 84. Aioveva. 85. Aiooro oratoupiepaveiepa osia voea
atariroviro puraiva. 86. Uva vokiepa. 87. Uva lotusia avaiepa
vokiarovi. 88. Uva lotu opesioro vorevira voreiepa 89. Uva aioiova
atari kare voeao oea rupupaoro vuria ouragaveva. 90. Uva rirovira
rutu siraopaveiepa vo orarugorugopiepaoro oisio, 91. Viapau
uvuipaveiei ra oisio tootoove osia tootoopaveiei uvare opuruva
vegei kavuragaevo uva vuria ouragavevo. 92. Uva eisi vegei vaaro
siraoa oa puravevo. 93. Uva ovokirovuia oraaivaropiepaveaira
orarugopiepave ra siraove ita oravegeipa. 94. Uva oisivio raga
osia opesiei ragai votavitaviaro oa puraavoi vovokioia aueia
naintin sikisti sikis ragai Raupeto.

TEXT B 95. Oavivu garea 96. Uva oisioa ito tavurupaave
tuariri. 97. Uva oirato ruiva itovaia ora vururuva taporo. 98. Rera
tavuruiva. 99. Uva Isio votavuru kaereva. 100. Uva aueia sikatoaia
votavuruva rearearoepa. 101. Uva vaova toparoviropa. 102. Oire uva
koataroepa. 103. Vava eriaia koataroepa. 104. Uva iravu ovito
votavuru votoreva. 105. Votavuru votoreva. 106. Uva orarururoepa.
107. Oravurevureroepa. 108. Oravurevureroepa. 109. Uva oira
karukaruiva. 110. Oira karukaruiva. 110. Oira karukaruiva. 111.
Uva voea uporeva. 112. Uva aigeiva taporo uporeva otopisivuia. 113.
Uva kareroepa voea upooro. 114. Kareroepa. 115. Eisivi raga ragai
vaaro ra opesipe, ragai, Vavioviri.

2.2 Translation of Text

Unless otherwise indicated the past tense used in the translation
is specifically the remote past, "years ago," and the first person
plural, "we" is dual "we both".

1. On another day we both (and I) with another man whose name
is Luke Arimiori went to swim for something in (the) ocean. 2. We
were swimming for something. 3. We went by canoe. 4. We hung her by
(a) rope. 5. So she was there drifting as we were swimming for
something. 6. Finally, we were swimming for something. 7. We were
spearing fish. 8. So we were making this line. 9. We did. 10. We
did. 11. Finally, this line was finished. 12. So we didn't know as
(the) ocean undulating broke (the) rope, this one by which we had
hung (anchored) (the) canoe. 13. She went. 14. She went. 15.
Drifting she went. 16. She went while we didn't know. 17. She went.
18. So I lifted (my) head. 19. I searched in vain for (the) canoe.
20. So I searched in vain for her. 21. I told this man, we who were
swimming for something, 22. "Is she carrying (the) canoe?"
23. (The) ocean carries (the) canoe (to the) deep water. 24. She
went. 25. She went. 26. She went. 27. Then I said this, "You go.
28. You follow while chasing her." 29. Okay we were not able, we
were (not) able. 30. So I disregarded this fear only saying this,
31. "Where will `poor´ we return if some other animals are eating
us while (the) canoe is going way?" 32. I followed. 33. I followed.
34. So she went to (the) truly deep water (beyond the reef).
35. She went. 36. So then I swam from (the) reef. 37. I swam. 38.
Then I held onto her. 39. I held onto her after which I tied myself
to her. 40. Okay I raised up completely to her top. 41. I raised up
completely. 42. I raised up completely. 43. So I returned back
while paddling with (the) paddle. 44. I went back. 45. I went back.
46. Then I returned and beached completely back there. 47. This
man, with whom I went, was very happy (saying) this, 48. "Ah! You
truly retrieved (the) canoe well for `poor´ us. 49. I am happy

about it." 50. We put her (on the beach). 51. Then we were conversing like this, 52. "Truly what put itself in your thoughts after which you raised up to search for (the) canoe?" 53. Finally, Ari was telling me. 54. He said this, 55. "If you had not cried to God, then `poor´ we would be finished. But God told you recently after which you lifted (your) head." 57. Finally, we conversed about it like this. 58. He told me this, 59. "You go first and we will return." 60. Okay we returned by means of (the) canoe. 61. We returned. 62. We returned. 63. Then we beached completely on (the) sand. 64. Beaching completely we put her, the canoe. 65. Okay putting her, like this he told me like this, 66. "You go first and we will consider getting down coconuts." 67. Okay we penetrated inside (the) jungle. 68. Then we got coconuts down. 69. He went up to get down green coconuts. 70. He went up. 71. So we returned to (the) canoe with them, with firewood also. 72. We returned home to "grease" (the) greens. 73. We returned. 74. We returned. 75. So we returned completely. 76. We beached (the) canoe. 77. We beached her to put her here on (the) beach at (the) ocean´s side. 78. Finally, putting her we disemboweled (the) fish. 79. We summoned two others, two boys, 80. "You two disembowel (the) fishes." 81. So this man, Ari, was summoning like this, 82. "(Come) with food and we will eat it." 83. (The) wife did, pouring (the) food for us. 84. We both ate. 85. We both were together eating as they made these fish soups. 86. So day ended. 87. Then they went to worship (in the) evening. 88. So finishing church we (exclusive) ate (the) fishes, these, which while swimming for we inadvertently got (into) trouble. 90. So truly greatly we sorrowed while remembering it like this. 91. We would not be able to live as we are living now because (the) canoe just left us recently, when we inadvertently got (into) trouble. 92. So we recently made it, our sorrow, like that. 93. So on these other days we will always meet together, we will be remembering back, and we will be sorry again for ourselves. 94. So

it is just (a) little like this as my story is finished which I am
making on this day in nineteen sixty six, I, Raupeto.

TEXT B 95. Another little one. 96. So all (the) time they
would bundle bananas long ago. 97. So they enveloped (a) man in
with (the) banana and his war club also. 98. They wrapped him. 99.
Then Isio carried this bundle. 100. So by (the) wild fig tree he
rested with this bundle. 101. Then he continued on with it.
102. Okay then he went inside. 103. With it he entered into (the)
cave. 104. Then another male, (the) son, pressed this bundle.
105. He pressed this bundle. 106. Then he moved around. 107. He
shook himself. 108. He shook himself. 109. So they opened her.
110 The opened her (the bundle). 111. Then he fought them. 112.
Then he fought (the) mother-in-law also in another room. 113. So he
returned fighting them. 114. He returned. 115. Mine (is) just
(a) little like that, now it would be finished, I, Vavioviri.

3 FORM OF ROTOKAS WORDS

3.0 Procedure For Analysis

With the Text as the starting point, the description of Rotokas
morphology will be developed. Establishment of the "word" based
upon boundaries of "full pause" will be the first step. Following
this, a tentative identification of morphemes within the word will
be made. The first phase will be completed by expanding the
information from sources outside of the Text in order to give in
full the description of this fundamental utterance, the verb.

Assuming that the verb can be identified, the second phase
will be to isolate nominals using the boundaries of "full pause"
and verbal construction. Again tentative identification of
morphemes within the nominals will be made and followed by a
complete statement.

The third phase will be to identify and describe modifiers and particles. Finally, word formation and word modification will be identified within the Text and described.

3.1 The Fundamental Utterance

The fundamental utterance of the Rotokas Text is a single stretch of speech bound by full pauses, which cannot be divided into smaller units capable of independent use.

Those found in the Text are as follows:

2	//rupupaveva//	`we both were swimming for something years ago´
9,10	//puraveva//	`we both did years ago´
13,14 17,24, 25,26, 35	//avaopa//	`she went years ago´
32,33	//uturaepa//	`I followed years ago´
37	//aataava//	`I swam years ago´
41,42	//kaeraviro//	`I raised up completely´
44,45	//voreraepa//	`I went back years ago´
61,62	//kareveiepa//	`we both returned years ago´
70	//iparoepa//	`he went up years ago´
84	//aioveva//	`we both ate years ago´
107,108	//oravurevureroepa//	`he shook himself years ago´
114	//kareroepa//	`he returned years ago´

The above list may be extended by taking forms from the texts which closely match any of the above, which are nearly in isolation, or which are repeated in a sequence:

8	-purapaveva//	`we both were making/doing years ago´
29	-uvuipaveiepa//	`we both were being able years ago´
75	-kareuviroveiepa//	`we both returned completely years ago´
92	-puravevo//	`we both made/did recently´

3.11 Identification of Morphemes Within the Fundamental Utterance

Comparing the following pairs of isolated forms, several affixes of the fundamental utterances may be identified:

a) Progressive action marker, -pa

puraveva `we both did years ago´

pura-pa-veva `we both were doing years ago´

    b) Complete action marker, -<u>uviro</u>

       <u>kareveiepa</u> `we both returned years ago´

       <u>kare-uviro-veiepa</u> `we both returned completely years ago´

    c) Person markers, -<u>ro</u> and -<u>ve</u>

       <u>kare-ve-iepa</u> `we both returned years ago´

       <u>kare-ro-epa</u> `he returned years ago´

    d) Potential shift and allomorphic form of complete action marker

       <u>kare-uviro-veiepa</u> `we both returned completely years ago´

       <u>kaera-viro</u>   `I raised up completely´

    e) Tense markers, -<u>va</u> and -<u>vo</u>

       <u>purave-va</u> `we both did years ago´

       <u>purave-vo</u> `we both did recently´

    f) "Transitive" and "intransitive" sets of tense markers, -<u>va</u> and -<u>iepa</u>

       <u>purapa-ve-va</u> `we both were making (it) years ago´

       <u>uvuipa-ve-iepa</u> `we both were being able years ago´

3.12 <u>Summary</u> <u>of</u> <u>Information</u> <u>Thus</u> <u>Far</u> <u>From</u> <u>Text</u>

From the restricted data several tentative conclusions can be posited: the fundamental utterance in Rotokas is a word which expresses a) action or condition, b) aspect of the action or condition, c) subject of the action or condition, and d) time of the action or condition; there are two sets of past tense markers which seem to reflect "transitiveness" or the lack of it; the optional tense markers occur in final position within the construction of the verb; the person markers occur in second from final position; the progressive action marker occurs in third from final position; and the complete action marker occurs immediately before or immediately after the person marker.

    With this sketch of the verb morphology as a framework, the description will be completed drawing upon the Rotokas concordance for the necessary information.

3.2 <u>Rotokas</u> <u>Verb</u> <u>Morphology</u>

The Rotokas verb is a "word" consisting of a stem and affixes. A summary of the verbal construction is presented by the formula on page 105 of the Appendix. The affixes, in order, will be described initially because of their relationship to the classification of stems which will be described afterward.

3.21 <u>Morphophonemics</u>

As was hinted at in the investigation of the texts, there are certain morphophonemic rules required in the affixation of Rotokas verbs. By far the majority of such rules in Rotokas morphology occur in the description of the verb.

a) In Orders 2 and 5 there are six suffixes with pairs of allomorphs commencing with /v/ and /p/:

-(<u>u</u>)<u>viro</u>		~ -<u>piro</u>	completive
-<u>voi</u> -<u>ei</u>		~ -<u>pi</u>	present
-<u>vere</u>		~ -<u>pere</u>	near future
-<u>verea</u>		~ -<u>perea</u>	distant future
-<u>veira</u>		~ -<u>peira</u>	habitual
-<u>ve</u>		~ -<u>pe</u>	subjunctive

In each instance the p-initial form occurs in verbs which have an inanimate subject, and the v-initial form in verbs with animate subjects. When both Order 2 and Order 5 suffixes occur, however, there is an unexplained violation of agreement. The allomorph -<u>piro</u> of Order 2 which normally occurs with inanimate subjects also occurs with the allomorphs of Order 5 which mark animate subjects, i.e. -<u>vere</u>, -<u>verea</u>, -<u>ve</u>, and -<u>veira</u>.

b) The Order 4 person marker -<u>vio</u> and the Order 5 tense markers: -<u>vere</u>, -<u>verea</u> and mode markers: -<u>ve</u>, -<u>veira</u> when occuring suffixed to ß-verb stems are together manifested as the portmanteau suffixes: -<u>pere</u>, -<u>perea</u>, -<u>pe</u> and -<u>peira</u> respectively.

c) The Order 4 person marker -<u>ve</u> is manifested as the infix -<u>a</u>- in the morphological environment of -<u>vere</u>, -<u>verea</u>, and -<u>veira</u>.

The infix occurs after the first vowel /e/ of each of the suffixes,
e.g. -ve-a-re, -ve-a-rea, and -ve-a-ira.

    d) The Order 4 suffixes -io and -vio are manifested as -i and
-vi preceding -ei, -erao, -era, and -epa.

    e) The Order 5 suffixes -erao, -era and -epa are manifested as
-rao, -ra, and -pa following -o or -viro. They are manifested as
-ierao, -iera and -iepa following -ere and -ve.

    f) The Order 5 suffix -ei is manifested as -i following /a/ or
/o/; and as -iei following /e/; and as -ei elsewhere.

3.22 The Verb Prefix

There is only one verb prefix, the reciprocal action marker (rec)
ora-. It has a wide variety of meanings when prefixed to the verb
stem: ORA-vurevure (REC-to shake) `to shake one's self,´ ORA-reo
(REC-to talk) `to converse,´ ORA-ou (REC-to get) `to marry,´
ORA-rugopie (REC-cause to think) `to remember,´ ORA-viki (REC-to
throw) `to jump.´ Other illustrations in the Text are found in
sentences: 30,38,51,52,57,85,90,93 and 106 through 108.

3.23 The Verb Suffixes

From the brief investigation of the texts, four orders of suffixes
were suggested. Had more verbs been isolated it could have been
established that there are five orders of suffixes. Those five
orders are now described.

3.23.1 Order One Suffixes

The two suffixes of Order 1 are the indifferent mode marker -raga
and the emphatic mode marker -irao. Although they are mutually
exclusive in the vast majority of cases, the author has elicited a
verb construction with both occurring, ava-RAGA-IRAO-pa-ra-erao (to
go-INDIFFERENT-EMPHATIC-progressive action-I-near past) `I really
just was going days ago.´

a) The suffix -raga denotes an indifferent mode (inm) of impartiality or apathy, ovau-RAGA-ra-e (to forget-INM-I-immediate past) `I indifferently forgot recently.´ (See Text sentences: 19, 20, 89,91).

b) The suffix -irao denotes an emphatic mode (em), roru-IRAO-re-va (to enjoy-EM-he remote past) `he really enjoyed (it) years ago.´ (See Text sentence 47).

Both suffixes of Order 1 may co-occur with any or all of the orders of verb suffixes.

3.23.2 Order Two Suffixes

The suffix of Order 2 is -(u)viro ~ -piro, the complete action marker (ca), kosi-viro-ta (to exit-CA-you all) `you all completely exit´ and vovouisi pore-PIRO-pa (heart to turn-CA-remote past) `the heart completely turned years ago (change of mind).´ The forms -viro and -uviro alternate freely.

Although this suffix predominantly occurs in Order 2 position, it may follow Order 3 or Order 4 suffixes without a change of meaning. It may occur with any or all of the orders of verb suffixes except for the restriction mentioned in section 3.21. Also -viro may not occur with "inanimate" future tense markers. (See Text sentences: 40-42, 46, 52, 63, 64, 75, 101.)

3.23.3 Order Three Suffix

The suffix of Order 3 is -pa, the progressive action marker (pra), sisiu-PA-re-vere (to wash-PRA-he-near future) `he will be washing soon.´ It may occur with any or all of the orders of verb suffixes. (See Text sentences: 2, 4-8, 21, 28-31, 43, 49, 51, 53, 65, 78, 81, 85, 89-91, 93, 96, 97.)

3.23.4 Order Four Suffixes

The suffixes of Order 4 are the person-number markers and the four syntactically-relevant suffixes: -sia, -oro, -arapa, and -arare.

These last four suffixes are mutually exclusive with the
person-number markers and the suffixes of Order 5.

3.23.41 Person-Number Markers

a) <u>Singular</u>. The first, second, and third person singular
markers are divided into those occurring with ⌐-verb stems, and
those occurring with ß-verb stems.

	With ⌐-verb	With ß-verb	
First person	-<u>ra</u>	-<u>a</u>	⸌I⸍
Second person	-<u>u</u>	-<u>ri</u>	⸌you⸍
Third person (m)	-<u>ro</u>	-<u>re</u>	⸌he⸍
Third person (f)	-<u>o</u>	-<u>e</u>	⸌she⸍

The verb may be unmarked for person-number when the subject of the
verb is third person masculine singular. This is a stylistic
variant.

b) <u>Dual</u>. The first and second-third dual markers are the same
for both ⌐- and ß-verb stems.

First person	-<u>ve</u> ~ -<u>a</u>-	⸌we two⸍
Second-third person	-<u>si</u>	⸌you/they two⸍
m/m or m/f		m/m or m/f
Second-third person	-<u>ere</u>	⸌you/they two⸍
f/f		f/f

c) <u>Plural</u>. The first person plural markers are divided into
inclusive and exclusive markers, and the third person plural
markers are divided into "With ß-verb stem" and "With ⌐-verb stem."

First person		
inclusive	-<u>vio</u> ~ -<u>vi</u>	⸌we all⸍

First person

  exclusive   -<u>io</u> ~ -<u>i</u>   `we not you´

Second person   -<u>ta</u>   `you all´

	With ɤ-verb	With ß-verb	
Third person	-<u>a</u>	-<u>i</u>	`they all´

All of the above suffixes are considered markers of animate
subjects. The inanimate neuter marker -∅ is the same for singular,
dual, and plural third person. It is designated by `it.´ Any of the
person-number markers may occur with any or all of the orders of
verb suffixes.

3.23.42   <u>Dependent</u> <u>Verb</u> <u>Markers</u>

The remaining four suffixes of Order 4 are syntactically relevant
in that they mark the dependent verb construction. The dependent
verb construction normally occurs in conjunction with an
independent verb construction having person-number and tense
markers which indicate the subject and tense of both constructions
simultaneously. In this way it is "dependent" upon the co-occurring
"independent" verb construction for the identification of subject
and tense. The following examples illustrate this:

    a) The suffix -<u>sia</u> denotes purposive action (pua), aio-SIA
urio-u (to eat-PUA to come-you) `you come to eat.´ (See Text
sentences: 1, 52, 66, 69, 72, 77, 78.) A variant, -<u>arare</u> is rarely
heard and seems to be a remnant of a past speech form.

    b) The suffix -<u>oro</u> denotes simultaneous action (sma), aio-ORO
urio-u (to eat-SMA to come-you) `you come eating´ (See Text
sentences: 5, 12, 15, 28, 30, 43, 64, 65, 78, 83, 85, 88-90, 113.)

    c) The suffix -<u>arapa</u> denotes the negative aspect (nea),
<u>reasi-pa-ra-i</u> <u>vo-va</u> <u>ava-ARAPA</u> (to dislike-pra-I-present tense
here-from to go-NEA) `I am not wanting to go from here.´

3.23.5 Order Five Suffixes

The suffixes of Order 5 are the tense markers and the three mode markers. The latter are mutually exclusive with tense markers.

3.23.51 Tense Markers

a) <u>Future</u>. The future tense markers are suffixed to ß-verb stems and ᴛ-verb stems alike. They are:

ava-u-VERE	(to go-you-NEAR FUTURE (nf)) `you will go soon´
urio-Ø-PERE	(to go-you-NEAR FUTURE (nf)) `it will come soon´
aio-ri-VEREA	(to eat-you-DISTANT FUTURE (df)) `you will eat (it) years from now´
opesi-Ø-PEREA	(to finish-it-DF) `it will finish years from now´ (see 3.21.b)

b) <u>Present</u>. The present tense markers are divided three ways: 1) occurring with ß-verb stems, 2) occurring with ᴛ-verb stems, and 3) occurring with inanimate (ina) subject marker. They are:

ß-verb	<u>aio-ri-VOI</u>	(to eat-you-PRESENT (p)) `you eat now´
ᴛ-verb	<u>ava-u-EI</u>	(to go-you-P) `you go now´
ina	<u>goagoara-Ø-PI</u>	(to boil-it-P) `it boils now´

c) <u>Past</u>. The past tense markers are divided into those occurring with ß-verb stems and those occurring with ᴛ-verb stems. All stems marked for inanimate subject are suffixed by those markers which normally occur with ᴛ-verb stems to indicate past tense.

ß-verb	aio-ri-VO	(to eat-you-IMMEDIATE PAST (ip))
		`you ate recently´
ᴦ-verb	ava-u-E	(to go-you-IP)
		`you went recently´
ß-verb	aio-ri-VORAO	(to eat-you-NEAR PAST (np))
		`you ate days ago´
ᴦ-verb	ava-u-ERAO	(to go-you-NP)
		`you went days ago´
ß-verb	aio-ri-VORA	(to eat-you-DISTANT PAST (dp))
		`you ate weeks ɔgo´
ᴦ-verb	ava-u-ERA	(to go-you-DP)
		`you went weeks ago´
ß-verb	aio-ri-VA	(to eat-you-REMOTE PAST (rp))
		`you ate years ago´
ᴦ-verb	ava-u-EPA	(to go-you-RP)
		`you went years ago´

3.23.52 Mode Markers

a) The suffix -veira ~ -peira denotes the habitual mode (hm),
vaisi-pa-i-VEIRA (to name-pra-they-HM) `they are always naming´ and
pau-pa-0-PEIRA (to sit-pra-it-HM) `it is always sitting.´

b) The suffix -ve ~ -pe denotes the subjunctive mode (sm),
pura-pa-i-VE (to make-pra-they-SM) `they would be making´ and
opesi-0-PE (to finish-it-SM) `it would be finished´ or `we all
would finish (it).´

c) The suffix -(vo)iva denotes the anticipatory mode (am),
varuere-a-IVA (to hunt animals-they-AM) `they hunt animals and...´
Another related.verb construction usually follows although it is
not obligatory. (See Text sentence 46.)

3.24 The Classification of Verbs

The classification of Rotokas verbs has been problematical since
the recording and analysis of the verbs first began. The root of

the problem is the notion of "transitiveness" (which is even unclear in the analysis of English verbs). What are the parameters of transitiveness? Can the verb "to walk" be transitive because there is some goal or direction involved? Why is "to walk" considered transitive in Rotokas when the verb "to return" is never transitive and a goal or direction is more obviously implied in the latter?

In the initial analysis "transitiveness" was based upon the occurrence of one of two sets of person-number markers and non-future markers. The two sets of each of these markers may be identified in the present analysis as "those occurring with ß-verb stems" (formerly the transitive markers) and "those occurring with ⊤-verb stems" (formerly the intransitive markers). For example, in the initial analysis -re `he´ and -va `remote past´ were markers from the transitive sets, and -ro `he´ and -epa `remote past´ were markers from the intransitive sets. These markers were helpful especially to identify meanings of homonyms, e.g. pura-re-va `he made/did (it) years ago´ and pura-ro-epa `he said years ago´ or pau-re-va `he built/planted (it) years ago´ and pau-ro-epa `he sat years ago.´ Also the markers were helpful when an object is implied, e.g., ori-re-va `he cooked something (implied) years ago´ and ori-ro-epa `he cooked years ago.´

Had the use of the two sets of markers been consistent in marking "transitiveness" there would have been no problem and they would have been most helpful tools. The problem is that some verbs such as voka `to walk´ are also inflected by the "transitive" sets of markers (voka-re-va `he walked years ago´), while some verbs such as ruipa `to desire (something)´ are inflected by the "intransitive" sets of markers (ruipa-ro-epa `he desired (it) years ago´). In these cases the "helpful" tools are instead misleading.

Until the author can more clearly determine the Rotokas notion of transitiveness or find some other means to predict the apparently inconsistent inflection of these verbs such as voka and

<u>ruipa</u>, the dependence upon the two sets of markers will be absent in this analysis.

In the present analysis there are four classes of Rotokas verbs: Class I, II, III, and IV. In this classification the "verb" if to be understood as "verb and affixation." The classification is relevant at the word level in that the particular class manifests a particular function of the predicate. There are also two sub-classes of verb stems: the ß-verb stems and the ⲧ-verb stems. In this sub-classification the "verb" is to be understood as the "verb stem without affixation." The sub-classification is relevant at the stem level in that the particular sub-class determines the sets of person-number and non-future tense markers which may co-occur with the members.

3.24.1 <u>The</u> <u>Two</u> <u>Verb</u> <u>Stem</u> <u>Classes</u>

The ß-verb stem class consists of those verb stems which are suffixed for person-number by the following markers: -<u>a</u>, -<u>ri</u>, -<u>re</u>, -<u>e</u>, and -<u>i</u> (see section 3.23.41). They are suffixed for non-future tenses by the following markers: -<u>voi</u>, -<u>vo</u>, -<u>vorao</u>, -<u>vora</u>, and -<u>va</u> (see section 3.23.51).

The ⲧ-verb stem class consists of those verb stems which are suffixed for person-number by the following markers: -<u>ra</u>, -<u>u</u>, -<u>ro</u>, -<u>o</u>, and -<u>a</u> (see section 3.23.41). They are suffixed for non-future tenses by the following markers: -<u>ei</u>, -<u>e</u>, -<u>erao</u>, -<u>era</u>, -<u>epa</u> (see section 3.23.51).

Some verb stems may be members of both ß- and ⲧ-classes. These verb stems are either homonyms, e.g., <u>pau</u> `to sit/to build/to plant´ or stems which may occur in either an intransitive or transitive context. In the case of the latter the particular context in which the stems occurs is reflected by the particular sets of person-number and non-future tense markers used. Specifically, verb stems such as <u>aio</u> `to eat,´ <u>ori</u> `to cook,´ and <u>sisiu</u> `to wash´ are inflected by the markers of the ⲧ-verb stems in

an intransitive context and by the markers of the ß-verb stems in a transitive context.

An exception to the above statement is when the reflexive prefix ora- occurs. No matter the stem class of the verb, when the stem is prefixed by ora- the person-number and non-future tense markers used are always those which occur with ꭲ-verb stems, e.g. va sisiu-re-va ˋhe washed it years agoˊ but ora-sisiu-ro-epa ˋhe washed himself years ago.ˊ Further investigation of this apparent inconsistency may shed more light on the Rotokas notion of "transitiveness."

There are two possibilities of ambiguity occurring by the inflection of the two verb stem types which result in a) not being able to identify the intended context when the object is also not present, and b) not being able to identify the meaning of a homonym.

a) In some abbreviated forms a dependent verb may be used in isolation, e.g., tovosia ˋto put (it).ˊ In this case the stem tovo is always a ß-verb stem and there is no question of it being in a transitive context here. The construction tovosia in isolation is the abbreviation of the understood sentence va tovosia avau (it to-put you-go) ˋyou go to put it.ˊ When a stem is used that is both a ß-verb stem and a ꭲ-verb stem and suffixed by a dependent verb marker, however, there is no way to identify the intended context unless an object is present, e.g., the verb stem ori ˋto cook.ˊ

b) The use of the dependent marker with homonyms also creates an ambiguous situation if the object is not present. For example, the homonym pau means either ˋto build/plantˊ as a ß-verb stem or ˋto sitˊ as a ꭲ-verb stem. When the abbreviated form, pausia is used in isolation without an object, it may either mean (expanded) ˋgo build/plant itˊ or ˋcome sit down.ˊ

Other ambiguous constructions occur when homonyms or stems which can be members of both classes are inflected by future tense markers (which are not differentiated as to occurrence with ß- or

Ⲧ-verb stems) and/or by some person-number markers which again are undifferentiated or homophonous. For example, the verb pura as a ß-verb stem means `to make´ and as a Ⲧ-verb stem it means `to say.´ A construction such as pura-si-vere may mean `they two men will make (it) soon´ or `they two men will say soon.´ An even more confusing construction is when the person-number marker -a is used which means either `I´ or `they.´ The construction pura-a may then mean either `I make (it)´ or `they say.´

As one would expect, in all of the cases of ambiguity stated above, the context of the statement in general will usually resolve the question of meaning intended.

3.24.2 The Four Major Verb Classes

In the present analysis there are four major verb classes which manifest the four predicate types. It should be remembered that after a thorough analysis of the syntax is completed, there may be some additions or adjustments necessary to bring into line this present description of the verb morphology.

3.24.21 Class I Verbs

Verbs which may manifest the Type I Simple Intransitive Predicate are Class I Verbs. These verbs may be either independent or dependent according to the affixation of the stem (see 3.23.42). Some examples of the class are: uusiravere `I will sleep on,´ uriosia `to come,´ and pouroviro `he arrived completely.´ (See Text sentences: 3, 13-15, 17, 24-26, 34-37, 40-42, 44-46, 52, 59-63, 70, 71, 73-75, 87, 101-103, 114, etc.)

3.24.22 Class II Verbs

Verbs which may manifest the Type II Simple Transitive Predicate are Class II Verbs. They may be either independent or dependent according to the affixation of the stem. There are two verbs of this class which are never inflected, i.e. pe `leave alone´ as in a

very common expression, va pe `leave it alone,´ and ururau
`surround/enclose.´ Some examples of the class are: kaeavere `I
will soon carry (it),´ oratovoaepa `they put themselves years ago,´
kekeoro `seeing (it),´ and oureva `he got (it) years ago.´ (See
Text sentences: 2, 4 6-10, 18-20, 22, 23, 28, 32, 33, 38-40, 48,
50, 67, 68, 76-78, 80, 82-84, 89, 92, 96-99, 104-112, etc.)

3.24.23 Class III Verbs

Verbs which may manifest the Type III Simple Quotative Predicate
are Class III Verbs. They may be either independent or dependent
according to the affixation of the stem. Some examples of the class
are: akesivere `they both will soon ask," rugorugoparai `I am
thinking,´ keaparevoi `he is deceiving,´ purapaoro `while saying,´
tavirevoiva `he told and...´ arusia `to summon.´ (See Text
sentences: 51, 53, 54, 57, 58, 69, 79, 81, etc.)

3.24.24 Class IV Verbs

Verbs which may manifest the Type IV Simple Stative Predicate are
Class IV Verbs. The Class is divided into the Class IV-A Verbs
which are existential and the Class IV-B Verbs which are
conditional. They manifest the Type IV-A and Type IV-B Stative
Predicates respectively.

a) The Class IV-A Verbs are: 1) a regularly inflected verb
toupaavoi `I am existing´ or vearovira toupai (good-like it-exists)
`it is good;´ 2) the verb epao `to be´ which is never inflected as
in the example ovu rera epao (where he to be) `where is he?´ 3) a
zero morpheme Ø `to be´ inflected by only the Order 3 suffix -pa,
and Order 4 and 5 suffixes which occur with ᴦ-verb stems such as
rera riro Ø-vere (he big to be-soon) `he will be big soon,´ vokepa
Ø-pere vo (this-house to be-soon here) `this house will be here
soon,´ vearo Ø-pai (good to be-pra-present) `(it) is being good;´
and 4) the suffix -a `to be´ as in the example ragai-a goruto (I-to
be strong-masculine singular) `I am a strong male.´ It is sometimes

difficult to distinguish between this meaning of -a and its function as a neuter gender marker of the noun. In the Text, sentence 95, an alternate reading could be `another little one is small,´ i.e. gare-a is either `is small´ or `a small one.´

b) The Class IV-B Verbs are the least well defined of the classes. They are the Rotokas verbs not included in the first three classes, but more specifically, they never denote an action nor an act of communication. They do describe an emotion or condition of being. Some examples of this class are: uvuiparai `I am able,´ vatatopopau `you be careful,´ siraopaaepa `they were sorry years ago.´ (See Text sentences: 11, 29, 49, 86, etc.) There is also one Class IV-B verb which is never inflected, eagara `never mind (idiomatic).´

3.3 Further Isolation of Forms Within the Text

Assuming that the Rotokas verb can now be identified by the affixation, a further investigation of the Text can proceed with isolating boundaries now being full pause and verb (v), or verb and verb.

1	//ovokivuia (v)	`on another day´
	(v) avakavaia//	`in (the) ocean´
3	//opuruvaia (v)	`by canoe´
4	//oira (v)	`her´-
	(v) iroiroia//	`by (a) rope´
6	//ovoiei (v)	`finally´
7	//atari (v)	`fish´
11	(v) voturu//	`this line´
12	(v) viripato (v)	`(the) rope´
19	//opuruvare (v)	`for (the) canoe´
21	//ro (v)	`this man´
	(v) vegoa (v)	`we two who´
23	(v) rovua//	`(the) deep water´

39	*//<u>oiraia</u> (v)*	`onto her´
46	*//<u>uva</u> (v)*	`then/so´
	(v) <u>voviri</u> (v)	`back there´
53	*(v) <u>Ari</u>//*	`Ari (proper name)´
54	*//<u>oisio</u> (v)*	`this´
58	*//<u>ragai</u> (v)*	`me´
59	*(v) <u>ra</u> (v)*	`and´
60	*//<u>oire</u> (v)*	`okay´
64	*(v) <u>opuruva</u>//*	`canoe´
69	*//<u>koru</u> (v)*	`green coconut´
83	*//<u>aio</u> (v)*	`(the) food´
87	*(v) <u>vokiarovi</u>//*	`evening´
88	*(v) <u>vorevira</u> (v)*	`back´
89	*(v) <u>vuria</u> (v)*	`trouble´
91	*(v) <u>osia</u> (v)*	`as´
96	*(v) <u>tuariri</u>//*	`long ago´
98	*//<u>rera</u> (v)*	`him´
105	*//<u>votavuru</u> (v)*	`this bundle´
112	*(v) <u>otopisivuia</u>//*	`in another room´
113	*(v) <u>voea</u> (v)*	`them´

Extending the definition of "boundary" now to 1) full pause, 2) verbal construction, and 3) previously identified forms; many more forms can be identified within the Text.

5	*(<u>uva</u>) <u>voa</u> (v)*	`there´
12	*(<u>uva</u>) <u>viapau</u> (v)*	`not´
	(<u>osia</u>) <u>avakava</u> (v)	`(the) ocean´
	(<u>ro</u>) <u>iraia</u> (<u>opuruva</u>)	`with which´
18	*(<u>uva</u>) <u>kukueva</u> (v)*	`(my) head´
20	*(<u>uva</u>) <u>oirare</u> (v)*	`for her´
22	*(v) <u>e</u> (<u>opuruva</u>)*	`(interrogative)´
27	*(v) <u>vi</u> (v)*	`you´

31	(v) vorara (opuruva)	`while´
	(opuruva) vavo (oisio)	`way´
40	(oira) ivaraiare (v)	`"to (her) top"´
43	(v) goteperoia (v)	`with (the) paddle board´
47	(v) rirovira (v)	`very/greatly´
52	(vi) vovouaroia (v)	`thoughts (possessed)´
55	(v) vosia (viapau)	`if´
	(v) pautoare (ra)	`to God´
	(ra) vegeivi (v)	`"poor" us´
66	(ra) opitaravai (v)	`coconuts´
68	(uva) opitara (v)	`coconuts´
71	(uva) varava (v)	`with them´
77	(avakava) vatuaroia//	`side (possessed)´
80	(atari) kare (v)	`(fish)-es´
82	//aioavaiva (ra)	`with some food´
	(ra) oai (v)	`it´
85	(atari) roviro (v)	`these soups´
88	(uva) lotu (v)	`church´
90	(rirovira) rutu (v)	`truly´
91	(v) uvare (opuruva)	`because´
	(opuruva) vegei (v)	`we two´
	(v) uva (vuria)	`when´
92	(uva) eisi (vegei)	`like that´
93	(uva) ovokirovuia (v)	`on these other days´
94	(ragai) raupeto//	`Raupeto (proper name)´
97	(uval) oirato (v)	`(a) man´
99	(uva) isio (votavuru)	`Isio (proper name)´
101	(uva) vaova (v)	`from there´
115	(ragai) vaaro (ra)	`it (possessed)´
	(ragai) vavioviri//	`Vavioviri (proper name)´

The following forms from the Text remain to be identified:

1	<u>ora</u> <u>iravu</u> <u>vaisiaro</u> <u>like</u> <u>arimiori</u>	`and with another man whose name is Luke Arimiori´
30	<u>vouririo</u> <u>raga</u>	`this fear only´
31	<u>okarevu</u> <u>avuvai</u>	`some other animals´
34	<u>rikurovu</u> <u>rutuia</u>	`to (the) truly deep water´
36	<u>raka</u> <u>iava</u>	`from (the) reef´
39	<u>oa</u> <u>iava</u>	`after which´
47	<u>ira</u> <u>taporo</u>	`with whom´
48	<u>ae</u> <u>vegeivipa</u> <u>vearovira</u>	`ah well for "poor" us´
49	<u>oa</u> <u>iava</u>	`about it´
52	<u>eake</u>	`(may now be identified as `what´)
	<u>oa</u> <u>iava</u>	`after which´
56	<u>ari</u> <u>pauto</u>	`but God,´
	<u>oa</u> <u>iava</u>	`after which´
57	<u>oa</u> <u>iava</u>	`about it´
63	<u>vo</u> <u>rogaraaro</u>	`on (the) sand´
67	<u>vegoa</u> <u>sioparoia</u>	`inside (the) jungle´
71	<u>iare</u> <u>erakopaara</u> <u>taporo</u>	`to (the canoe) with firewood also´
72	<u>auere</u> <u>arua</u>	`to (grease) (the) greens´
	<u>vore</u> <u>atoia</u>	`to home´
77	<u>vo</u> <u>vovio</u>	`at this time´
79	<u>aitereivu</u> <u>kakaetoarei</u>	`two others, two boys´
89	<u>voeao</u> <u>oea</u>	`these which´
92	<u>siraoa</u> <u>oa</u>	`sorrow which´
93	<u>ita</u> <u>oravegeipa</u>	`again for ourselves´
94	<u>oisivio</u> <u>raga</u>	`just a little like this´
	<u>votavitaviaro</u> <u>oa</u>	`tale/story (possessed) which´
	<u>aueia</u> <u>naintin</u> <u>sikisti</u> <u>sikis</u>	`in nineteen sixty six´
95	<u>oavivu</u> <u>garea</u>	`another little one´
96	<u>oisioa</u> <u>ito</u>	`always bananas´

97 <u>itovaia</u> <u>ora</u> <u>vururuva</u> <u>taporo</u>   `in with (the) bananas and
                                    his war club also´

100 <u>aueia</u> <u>sikatoaia</u>   `by (the) wild fig´

103 <u>vava</u> <u>eriaia</u>   `with it into (the) cave´

104 <u>iravu</u> <u>ovito</u>   `another male, (the) son´

112 <u>aigeiva</u> <u>taporo</u>   `mother-in-law also´

115 <u>eisivi</u> <u>raga</u>   `just a little like that´

By comparing some of the above unidentified forms one can
arrive at tentative meanings for them.

Compare the following:

1 and 97 <u>ora</u> `and´

1 and 104 <u>iravu</u> `another man/male´

30 and 115 <u>raga</u> `just/only´

36, 39, 49, 52 and 57 <u>iava</u> `from/about/after´

39, 49, 57, 92 and 94 <u>oa</u> `which/it´

36 and 71 <u>iava</u> `from´

          <u>iare</u> `to´

47, 71, 97 and 112 <u>taporo</u> `with/also´

3.31 <u>Identification</u> <u>of</u> <u>Morphemes</u> <u>Within</u> <u>the</u> <u>Nominals</u>

Looking over the lists of identified forms, the reader will note
that the majority of the forms are names of things, persons,
places, events, or times. He will also note that often a single
Rotokas form is translated by a phrase of English words.
Restricting the present investigation to the "naming forms," the
contrasting of two or more of these forms at a time which have
similar basic meanings will yield a list of affixes. A framework in
which the Rotokas nominal morphology will be described can then be
constructed on the basis of these identified affixes.

a) Specific plural marker, -<u>ro</u>

 <u>ovokivuia</u> `on another day´

 <u>ovoki-ro-vuia</u> `on these other days´

b) Specific singular marker, -<u>o</u>

 <u>voea</u> `they´

 <u>voea-o</u> `these´

c) Alternative marker, -<u>vu</u>

 <u>vovoki-o-ia</u> `on this day´

 <u>ovoki-vu-ia</u> `on another day´

d) Diminutive marker, -<u>vi</u>

 <u>vegei</u> `we two´

 <u>vegei-vi</u> `"poor" we two´

e) Relator marker `for,´ -<u>pa</u>

 <u>vegeivi</u> `"poor" we two´

 <u>vegeivi-pa</u> `for "poor" us two´

f) Reflexive marker, <u>ora-</u>

 <u>vageivipa</u> `for "poor" us two´

 <u>ora-vegeipa</u> `for ourselves´

g) Non-absolute marker, -(<u>a</u>)<u>vai</u>

 <u>opitara</u> `coconuts´

 <u>opitara-vai</u> `coconuts (uncertain)´

h) Possessive marker, -<u>aro</u>

 <u>vatu-aro-ia</u> `by (the) side (possessed)´

 <u>votavitavi-aro</u> `tale/story (possessed)´

 <u>va-aro</u> `it (possessed)´

 i) Gender markers, -<u>va</u> (feminine), -<u>to</u> (masculine), -<u>a</u>
(neuter). The identification of these is tentative, but may be
substantiated by including the pronoun and/or verb person marker
which refers back to the nominal being illustrated.

 <u>opuru-va</u> `canoe (f)´  Ref: <u>oira</u> `her´ and <u>toupaeva</u>
                          `she was´

avaka-va `ocean (f)´ Ref: tokoeva `she broke´

viripa-to `rope (m)´  Ref: ro iraia `this male with
                                which (m)´

pau-to `build/sit (m)/God´ Ref: tavi-re-vo `he told´

sirao-a `sorrow (n)´ Ref: va-aro `it (possessed)´

j) Relator markers, -ia, -va, -pa, -re and iava, iare

avakava `ocean´
avakava-ia `in (the) ocean´
oira `her´
oira-ia `onto her´
ira `which (m)´
ira-ia `with which (m)´

va-aro `it (possessed)´
va-va `with it´

-pa `illustrated in (e).´

opuruva `canoe´
opuruva-re `for (the) canoe´
oira `her´
oira-re `for her´
raka iava `from (the) reef´
oa iava `about/after it´

opuruva iare `to (the) canoe´

3.4 Rotokas Nominal Morphology

Rotokas words which name things, persons, places, times, or events
are nominals. They may be classified nouns, proper nouns, kinship
terms, pronouns, locatives, or temporals. The Rotokas nominals are

identified by the affixes which are peculiar to them. The dominant
feature of the nominals is gender which is identified by suffixes
marking gender or by the referent which may be a pronoun or person
marker of the verb.

Modification of the nominals is predominantly by affixation.
The affixation occurs in order and with some co-occurrence
restrictions as described below.

3.41 Nominal Prefixes

The specific (sp) morpheme evo-/vo- ˜ o- occurs prefixed to
classified noun stems and to free-form pluralizers. The allomorph o
`this, these´ occurs with either the alternative marker -vu or the
relative pronoun marker -a, and the allomorph vo- occurs elsewhere.

The following formulae demosntrate the orders and
co-occurrence restrictions.

a) evo-/vo- + classified noun stem/free-form pluralizer ±
   -o/-reo/-ro/-a/-rei/-ara (see Gender-Number Chart, page 102
   of appendix)

b) o- + classified noun stem/free-form pluralizer ± -rei/-ro ±
   -vu/-a

In formula a) evo-/vo- is prefixed to the classified noun stem
or free-form pluralizer which is optionally suffixed by any of the
number markers listed in the formula, e.g. VO-voki-o (THIS-day-this
one) `today,´ VO-voki-ara (THESE-day-any) `any of these days,´ and
EVO-kara-reo (THOSE-streams-these two) `those two groups of
stream.´ The morpheme evo- specifies objects at a distance from the
speaker. The morpheme vo- specifies objects close at hand. (See
Text sentences: 8.2, 11.3, 30.4, 94.7.10, 99.3, 100.4, 104.4,
105.1. The first number indicates the sentence while the second
(and third) indicates the word.)

In formula b) o- is prefixed to the classified noun stem or
free-form pluralizer which is optionally suffixed by only two of
the number markers which are optionally followed by the alternative

marker or the relative pronoun marker, e.g., O-voki-ro-vu
(THESE-day-these-other) `these other days,´ O-avuka-re-vu
(THESE-elder-the two-other) `these other two old people,´ O-kare-a
(THESE-animals-relative pronoun marker) `which animals,´ and
O-kepa-vu (THIS-house-other) `this other house.´ (See Text
sentences: 1.1, 31.5, 93.2, 112.5.)

The reflexive (ref) morpheme ora- occurs prefixed to the
personal pronouns only. When it does occur, the pronoun is
obligatorily suffixed by a postpositioned relator,
e.g., ORA-rera-pa (REF-him-for) `for himself,´ and ORA-voea-ia
(REF-they-locative) `by/on themselves.´ (See Text sentence 93.8.)

3.42 Nominal Suffixes

The following morphemes to be described are all directly suffixed
to the nominal or free-form pluralizer according to order and
co-occurrence restrictions. As an alternative, however, the
morphemes may occur suffixed to the prepositioned Class 3 Relative
Pronoun aue. A more detailed description of this relationship will
be given in the section on the appositive string, therefore only an
example will be given here. Normal suffixation: Akoitai tarai-A-ARO
(Akoitai know-NEUTER SINGULAR-POSSESSIVE MARKER) `Akoitai´s
knowledge.´ The alternative: aue-ARO Akoitai tarai-A (Class 3
relative pronoun-POSSESSIVE MARKER Akoitai know-NEUTER SINGULAR)
`Akoitai´s knowledge.´ A further alternative, but much less common
construction is the suffixation of the prepositioned Class 2
Relative Pronouns oisi and eisi in an identical manner as that
exemplified above.

3.42.1 Order One Suffixes

a) The instrument-agent (agt) marker -pa nominalizes
adjectives and verb stems and also signals that a following suffix
or bound stem is manifesting the agent. It does not occur without
the following agent which may be a gender-number marker such as

-to, e.g., pitu-PA-to (to hold-AGT-masculine singular) `(masculine) instrument for holding/pliers´ or a noun compounded with it to form a word, e.g. sisiu-PA-kepa (to wash-AGT-house) `wash house´ or alternatively aue-PA-kepa sisiu-PA-kepa (Class 3 Rel. Pro.-AGT-house to wash-AGT-house) `wash house.´

The instrument-agent marker is also suffixed to proper nouns, i.e. names of places, Ruruvu-PA-to (Ruruvu-AGT-masculine singular) `male from Ruruvu.´ It optionally occurs suffixed to some introduced Neo-Melanesian nouns, didiman-PA-to (agricultural officer-AGT-masculine singular) `agricultural officer,´ and to some introduced English nouns, parisi-PA-to (pharisee-AGT-masculine singular) `Pharisee.´

Finally the instrument-agent marker may be suffixed to temporals and locatives, e.g., tuariri-PA-irara (long ago-AGT-masculine plural) `men of long ago´ and tauai-PA-rirei (far away-AGT-feminine dual) `two females from afar.´ (See Text sentence 12.7)

b) The classifier markers (cl) are mutually exclusive with the instrument-agent markers and are followed optionally by the number markers which do not include gender. There are four classifiers which are all related to `shape´: -isi `round object,´ -kuio `round object (particularly a root such as the edible taro root)´, -ua `narrow object,´ and -kae `long object.´

For example: takura `egg´ and takura-ISI (egg-ROUND OBJECT) `egg´; opo `taro´ and opo-KUIO (taro-ROUND OBJECT) `taro´; rogara `sand´ and rogara-UA (sand-NARROW OBJECT) `beach´; evao `tree´ and evao-KAE (tree-LONG OBJECT) `pole.´ An alternative form is aue-KAE evao-KAE (Class 3 Rel. Pro.-LONG OBJECT tree-LONG OBJECT) `pole.´

The classifier markers do not occur suffixed to relative pronouns (Class 1) or to verb stems but they may nominalize adjective roots, e.g., riro-ISI (large-ROUND OBJECT) `large round object.´ (No examples in Text.)

3.42.2 <u>Order</u> <u>Two</u> <u>Suffixes</u>

There are two sets of Order Two Suffixes which mark number. In addition, one of the sets marks gender: masculine (m), feminine (f), and neuter (n).

a) The gender-number markers (gen) not only mark gender, but also they denote number and nominalize adjectives and a small number of verb roots. They most commonly occur with the classified noun stems.

b) The number markers (num) do not distinguish between genders. They do nominalize adjectives and a small number of verb roots. They primarily distinguish between specifiⅎ and non-specific objects. These markers most commonly occur with the free-form pluralizers.

Chart Number 1 Number Markers (Appendix p.147) best demonstrates the relations between gender and number. The masculine singular marker -<u>toa</u> occurs when another suffix follows, otherwise it alternates freely with -<u>to</u>. The feminine singular marker -<u>riva</u> alternates freely with -<u>va</u> and seems to be a remnant of a past speech form. The final /i/ of the dual markers is lost when a suffix follows. It is obvious that further morpheme breaks could be made, e.g., -<u>re</u> `dual,´ however, it is uneconomical considering the system as a whole (see Chart 3 through 8 in Appendix).

The masculine dual and plural markers may include feminine gender objects combined with masculine. For example, <u>ovi-TOAREI</u> (offspring-MASCULINE DUAL) may be translated `two sons´ or alternatively `son and daughter.´ The dual and plural markers of the feminine gender are restricted to feminine objects. (See Text sentences: 3.1, 12.5.7.11, 18.2, 19.1, 22.2, 23.1.2.4, 30.4, 31.10, 48.5, 52.8, 55.4, 56.2.7, 60.3, 64.4, 66.3, etc.)

3.42.3 <u>Order</u> <u>Three</u> <u>Suffixes</u>

The diminutive (dim) marker -<u>vi</u> simply lends the meaning of `little´ and figuratively `poor,´ <u>siposipo-a-VI</u> (story-neuter

singular-DIM) `little story,´ <u>aue-toa-VI</u> <u>oira-toa-VI</u> (Class 3 Rel.
Pro.-masculine singular-DIM person-masculine singular-DIM) `little
male,´ and <u>ragai-VI</u> (me-DIM) `"poor" me.´ (See Text sentence 31.2,
48.1, 55.6, 87.4, 95.1, 115.1.)

All nominals except the proper nouns may be suffixed by the
diminutive marker.

3.42.4 <u>Order</u> <u>Four</u> <u>Suffixes</u>

The alternative (alt) marker -<u>vu</u> has been exemplified in section
3.41.b occurring with the specifier prefix <u>o</u>-. It does not occur
suffixed to nominals other than relative pronouns unless the
specifier is also present. In general the meaning it denotes is
`another.´ For example, <u>o-urui-vi-VU</u> (sp-village-dim-ALT) `this
other little village.´ It should be noted that the alternative
marker more often occurs suffixed to a relative pronoun in an
appositive expansion, <u>oa-VU</u> <u>kepa</u> (it-ALT house) `another house.´

The alternative marker may be suffixed to classified nouns,
relative pronouns, and free-form pluralizers. In all the materials
collected thus far, it occurs mutually exclusive with the
possessive marker. (See Text sentences: 1.1.4, 31.5, 79.1, 93.2,
95.1, 104.2, 112.5.)

3.42.5 <u>Order</u> <u>Five</u> <u>Suffixes</u>

a) The possessive (poss) marker -<u>aro</u> is the most commonly
occurring morpheme following order 2 morphemes. It indicates that
the stem is possessed. The possessor usually, but not always,
immediately precedes the possessed item, <u>vi</u> <u>varivari-ARO</u> (you
strength-POSS) `your strength´ and <u>aue-ARO</u> <u>rera</u> <u>orui</u> (Class 3 Rel.
Pro.-POSS he hair) `his hair.´ (See Text sentences 1.5, 52.4, 63.4,
77.7.9, 92.4, 94.7, 115.4.)

b) The non-absolute (na) marker -(<u>a</u>)<u>vai</u> is still not clearly
defined in the author´s mind. It has many uses and it is difficult
to arrive at a satisfactory meaning and function. The most

predominant meaning is given in the following example, <u>oira-toa-VAI</u>
(person-masculine singular-NA) `possibly the male.´ (See Text
sentences: 31.6, 66.3, and 82.1; however, the meaning `possibly´
has not been included in the English translation).

c) If the non-absolute marker is unclear, the absolute marker
is less yet. The absolute (ab) marker <u>-i</u> occurs predominantly
suffixed to Class 1C Relative Pronouns and seems to add the meaning
of `certitude.´ Sentence 82 of the Text includes nominals with both
the non-absolute marker and absolute markers suffixed, i.e.
<u>aio-a-VAI-va</u> <u>ra</u> <u>oa-I</u> <u>aiove</u> (to eat-neuter singular-NA-with and
it-AB we both will eat). The verb <u>come</u> is understood and the
sentence was translated, "(Come) with some food and we will eat
it." It could possibly be translated, "If there is some food, come
with it and we will then definitely have it to eat." (Sentence 82
is the only occurrence in the Text.)

3.42.6 <u>Relative</u> <u>Pronoun</u> <u>Marker</u>
The final suffix to be described occurs mutually exclusive of all
the preceding nominal suffixes. It differs also from them in that
it does not occur suffixed to the Class 3 Relative Pronoun in the
alternative appositional expansion of nominals.

The relative pronoun marker <u>-a</u> occurs in the formula showing
the specific prefixes (see section 3.41.b.) It is suffixed only to
classified nouns and free-form pluralizers, and only to those which
are prefixed by the specifier <u>o-</u>.

Class 1A Relative Pronouns are derived as a result of this
suffixation of the Classified nouns and free-form pluralizers.
These pronouns will be described in section 3.43.8.a.

Further examples are: <u>vovokio</u> <u>o-voki-A</u> (this day
sp-day-RELATIVE PRONOUN MARKER) `this day which´ and <u>vavae</u> <u>pute</u>
<u>o-pute-A</u> (hand piece sp-piece-RELATIVE PRONOUN MARKER) `piece of
hand which.´ (There are no occurrences of this marker in the
Text.)

3.43 Nominal Stems

The Rotokas nominal stems are differentiated by a) the particular
set of nominal affixes which may occur with them, b) the type of
referent which they name, and c) in some cases, their distribution.

3.43.1 Classified Noun Stems

The general formula for affixation of the classified noun stem is
as follows: + sp + classified noun stem + cl + gen/num + dim + alt
+ poss/na. They may also be suffixed by the relative pronoun
marker.

The classified nouns are divided generally into animate and
inanimate sets; however, the most relevant classification is on the
basis of gender. The occurrences of classified nouns in the Text
have already been cited in references to the above affixes.

3.43.1.1 Animate Classified Nouns

Class 1 nouns may be either masculine, feminine, or both and are
pluralized by -irara or riako, e.g., ovi-IRARA (offspring-M
PL) `sons/sons and daughters,´ ovi RIAKO (offspring F PL)
`daughters,´ aite-IRARA (father-M PL) `fathers,´ and aako RIAKO
(mother F PL) `mothers.´

Class 2 nouns may be either masculine, feminine, or both and
are pluralized by kare (or ragui, from an older speech form), e.g.
kaakau KARE (dog ANIMALS) `dogs,´ kokio KARE (bird ANIMALS)
`birds,´ and atari KARE (fish ANIMALS) `fishes.´

3.43.1.2 Inanimate Classified Nouns

Class 3 nouns are always masculine gender and are dualized by
-toarei and pluralized by -ara, e.g., kupare-TO `smoke,´
kupare-TOAREI `two smokes,´ kupare-ARA `many smokes,´ opita-TO
`coconut tree,´ opita-TOAREI `two coconut trees,´ and opita-ARA
`many coconut trees.´

Class 4 nouns are always feminine gender and are dualized by
-rirei and pluralized by -ara, e.g. opuru-VA `canoe,´ opuru-RIREI
`two canoes,´ opuru-ARA `many canoes,´ aveke-VA, `stone,´
aveke-RIREI `two stones,´ and aveke-ARA `many stones.´

Class 5 nouns are always neuter gender and are dualized by
-arei and pluralized by -ara, e.g., uvua-A `ship,´ uvua-AREI `two
ships,´ uvua-ARA `many ships,´ vavae-A `hand,´ vavae-AREI `two
hands,´ and vavae-ARA `many hands.´

3.43.2 Proper Nouns

Affixation of the proper nouns may be formulated ₣⌐ follows: +
proper noun stem ± agt ± gen. Only names of places are suffixed in
the above formula. Some proper nouns are Vavioviri (man´s name),
Togarao (village name), Pipipaia-pa-to (village name-agt-masculine
singular) `man from Pipipaia.´ (See Text sentences: 1, 53, 55, 56,
94, 99, 115.)

3.43.3 Kinship Terms

The affixation of kinship terms may be formulated as follows: +
kinship term ± num ± dim ± poss. The terms include a restricted
number of nouns which are not marked by gender markers but describe
specific relationships within the kinship structure, e.g., vovoao
`all sisters,´ voarao `all brothers,´ voao `father, mother, and
children/father and children,´ voavao-re-aro (mother and
children-dual-possessed) `two possessed sets of mothers and
children.´ (There are no occurrences of this set in the Text.
Although ovito `son´ (104) and aigeiva `mother-in-law´ (112) are
"kinship terms" anthropologically, they are not considered as such
linguistically.)

3.43.4 Temporals

For the most part, the temporals are affixes in the same way
classified nouns are affixed, e.g., voki `period/day,´ vo-voki-o

(sp-day-this) `today,´ kovo `work/week/day,´ vo-kovo-ro
(sp-week/day-these) `these weeks/these days,´ kekira `moon/month,´
kekira-toarei (moon/month-masculine dual) `two moons/two months,´
iva `season/year,´ o-iva-vu (sp-season/year-alt) `this other
season/this other year.´ These basic forms serve as the bases of
other temporals, e.g., topikakau-voki (tobacco-day) `Saturday,´
utu-pa-kovo (to follow-agt-week/day) `next week/next day,´
erao-voki (two-day) `Tuesday,´ and vopeva-voki (three-day)
`Wednesday,´ etc.

There are also a· restricted number of temporals which occur
with little or no affixation, e.g., tuariri `long ago,´ tuariri-vi
(long ago-dim) `not too long ago,´ aruvea `yesterday,´ oisioa
`always,´ and rara `later.´ (See Text sentences: 1.1, 87.4, 93.2,
94.10, 96.2.5.)

3.43.5 Locatives

The locatives are more like names of places, i.e. the inside, the
behind, the bottom, than morphemes with English prepositional
functions. In Rotokas one doesn´t go "inside the house," but he
goes "to the house´s inside."

Affixation of the locatives may be formualted as follows: +
locative ± dim, e.g., tauai-vi (far away-dim) `not too far away.´

Besides the diminutive suffix, the locatives may contain as
integral parts the following nominal suffixes: the possessive
marker -aro, the locative -ia, the agent marker -pa, and the noun
classifier -ua in different combinations, e.g., isiva-ARO-IA `at
the back side,´ siopa-ARO-IA `on the inside,´ ira-PA-UA `in front.´
There is one locative which is never inflected, voraro
`everywhere.´ (See Text sentences: 40.3, 67.4, 77.9.)

3.43.6 Personal Pronouns

Affixation of the personal pronouns may be formulated as follows: ±
ref + personal pronoun ± dim ± num ± poss, e.g., ragai rera-aro (I

him-possessed) `my male,´ <u>ora-igei-pa</u> (ref-we (exclusive)-for) `for ourselves not you,´ and <u>voea-reo</u> (they-these two) `these two groups.´

It is not common for more than one affix to occur in a single personal pronoun construction. The personal pronouns are illustrated in Chart 3 Personal Pronouns. (See Text sentences: 4.1, 20.2, 27.4, 28.1, 30.2, 31.2.7, 38.2, 39.1.5, 40.2, 48.2, 52.3, 53.2, 55.6, 56.3, 58.1, 64.1, 65.1, 71.2, 103.1, 115.3.4.7, etc.)

3.43.7 <u>Demonstrative Pronouns</u>

The demonstrative pronouns are divided into two classes, a) those whose referents are animate or inanimate objects, and b) those whose referents are associated with either time or space.

Both classes of demonstrative pronouns are sub-classified according to the "position" of the referent in relation to the speaker, i.e., referent near at hand, referent at a distance, and referent removed or out of sight. These pronouns have a greater range of use than the name might imply. They do more than point out their referent. They may in fact be the subject of a sentence, possessor of an item, or in the case of the second class, they may manifest the location or time functions with or without an overt referent.

Affixation of the demonstrative pronouns is as follows: + demonstrative pronoun ± dim ± poss, e.g., (with Class I demonstrative pronouns) <u>eva-vi</u> (that-dim) `that little object (neuter),´ <u>ragai ro-aro</u> (I this male-poss) `my object (masculine) near at hand;´ (with Class II demonstrative pronouns) <u>vo-re oira vo-aro atoia</u> (here-to her here-poss home) `to her home,´ <u>evoa-vi</u> (there-dim) `not too far.´

The Class I demonstrative pronouns are illustrated on Charts 6, 7, and 8 in the Appendix. The recurring partials have been recognized by the author (-<u>o</u>, <u>e</u>-, and -<u>ri</u>); however, it is more economical to handle them as they are presented.

The Class II demonstrative pronouns are: <u>vavo</u> ˋthere
(general),´ <u>evoa</u> ˋthere (exteme),´ <u>voa</u> ˋthere (midway),´ <u>vo</u> ˋhere,´
and <u>voari</u> ˋback there/over there.´ They may be used in reference to
either time or space as in the following examples: <u>voari</u> <u>tuariri</u>
ˋback there long ago,´ or <u>voari</u> <u>vokepa</u> <u>siovaraia</u> (back-there
this-house inside) ˋback there inside of this house.´ (See Text
sentences: 5.2.5, 12.9, 21.1, 31.11, 46.3, 47.2, 72.5, 77.6, 81.3,
89.5, 90.5, 101.2.)

3.43.8 <u>Relative</u> <u>Pronouns</u>

The relative pronouns are divided into three classes on the basis
of the direction syntactically of the referent from the pronoun,
i.e., the referent precedes Class 1 relative pronouns, the referent
may precede or follow Class 2 relative pronouns, and the referent
follows Class 3 relative pronouns.

a) <u>Class</u> <u>1A</u> <u>relative</u> <u>pronouns</u> are those which are derived from
classified nouns or free-form pluralizers by the affixation of
<u>o-</u>...<u>-a</u>, e.g., <u>o-siposipo-a</u> (sp-story-relative pronoun marker)
ˋwhich story.´ They are uninflected. (There are no examples in the
Text.)

<u>Class</u> <u>1B</u> <u>relative</u> <u>pronoun</u> is the word <u>uva</u> ˋwhere/when.´ The
referents are Class II demonstrative pronouns, locatives, or
temporals, e.g., <u>vo</u> <u>tuariri</u> <u>uva</u> (in long ago when) ˋin the past
when,´ and <u>vo</u> <u>uva</u> (here where) ˋhere where.´ It is uninflected.
(See Text sentence 91.12.)

<u>Class</u> <u>1C</u> <u>relative</u> <u>pronouns</u> denote person, number, and gender.
They are illustrated in Chart Number 4 Relative Pronouns. The
affixation of Class 1C relative pronouns is as follows: + Class 1C
relative pronoun $\pm$ num $\pm$ alt $\pm$ poss, e.g., <u>oea-ro-vu</u>
(they-these-alt) ˋthese others,´ <u>ira-aro</u> (he-poss) ˋhe
(possessed).´ The assistant indicated that the possessive marker
occurring with the relative pronoun is acceptable, but the more
acceptable combination is the possessive marker occurring with the

personal pronoun. When suffixed by the number and/or alternative
markers, the final /a/ is lost from <u>aitereia</u>, <u>airea</u>, and <u>airoa</u> as
in <u>airo-ro-vu</u> (they (f)-these-alt) `these other female objects.´
(See Text sentences: 1.4, 12.10, 21.3, 39.3, 47.3, 49.1, 52.6,
56.5, 57.4, 79.1, 82.3, 89.6, 92.6, 94.8, 104.2.)

b) Class 2 relative pronouns are <u>oisi</u> `like this´ and <u>eisi</u>
`like that.´ The affixation of the Class 2 relative pronouns is as
follows: + Class 2 relative pronoun ± dim ± num ± alt ± na ±
directional (-<u>ri</u> `over there´). Only the diminutive and number
markers are commonly used, e.g., <u>eisi-vi</u> (like that-dim) `a little
like that,´ <u>oisi-o</u> (like this-this) `like this,´ <u>oisi-vi-ro</u> (like
this-dim-these) `a little like these.´ By far the most common form
is <u>oisio</u> `like this.´ (See Text sentences: 27.2, 30.7, 31.12, 47.8,
51.3, 54.1, 57.2, 58.3, 65.4.7, 81.5, 90.7, 91.4, 92.2, 94.2.)

c) The Class 3 relative pronoun is <u>aue</u> which has no meaning.
The affixation of <u>aue</u> is the same as that of the classified nouns
(see section 3.43.1) and has been exemplified in sections
describing the nominal suffixes (see sections 3.42ff). It most
commonly occurs with the post-positioned relator markers and the
possessive marker, -<u>aro</u>. (See Text sentences: 72.1, 94.11, 100.2,
115.1.)

3.43.9 <u>Interrogative</u> <u>Pronouns</u>

Interrogative pronouns when used in a clause require a statement as
an answer in contrast to the interrogative particle which requires
only a "yes" or "no" answer. Also most interrogative pronouns are
inflected, in contrast to the interrogative particle which never
is. The pronouns are as follows: <u>apeisi</u> `how,´ <u>ovu</u> `where,´ <u>irou</u>
`who,´ <u>aa</u> `which,´ <u>eake</u> `what,´ <u>ovirovu</u> `how many,´ <u>avoviroa</u> `how
much,´ and <u>roroa</u> `how much.´

The interrogative <u>apeisi</u> may be suffixed by the emphatic
marker -<u>irao</u>, e.g., <u>apeisi-IRAO</u> `truly how?!´ The interrogative
<u>irou</u> may be suffixed by the gender-number markers, e.g. <u>irou-TO</u>

(who-MS) `who (masculine)´ and <u>irou-RIREI</u> (who-F DL) `who (feminine dual).´ The interrogative <u>eake</u> is interesting in that it can be suffixed by nearly every suffix accounted for thus far, e.g., <u>eake-to</u> (what-m s) `what male,´ <u>eake-vira</u> (what-like) `like what,´ <u>eake-sia</u> (what-pua) `to do what,´ <u>eake-oro</u> (what-sma) `doing what,´ <u>eake-pere</u> (what-nf) `what will be,´ and <u>eake-viro-pa-o-i</u> (what-ca-pra-she-p) `what is she doing completely now.´ Its most apparent use is in questioning a construction not clearly heard or understood. (See Text sentences: 31.1 and 52.1.)

3.43.10 <u>Numerals</u>

To a large degree the Neo-Melanesian and English numbering systems are replacing the vernacular terms over "ten." Numbers from "one" to "ten," however, are in common use, and numbers "one" to "five" are frequently inflected optionally by the agent marker -<u>pa</u> and/or by gender-number markers, or they are inflected by -<u>pa</u> and subsequently compounded with another nominal stem, e.g., <u>katai-to</u> (one-m s) `one masculine object,´ or <u>erao-pa-voki</u> (two-agt-day) `Tuesday.´ They also may be possessed as in this example, <u>ragai vovavae-aro siraopavavae</u> (I these five-poss sorry-agt-five) `my five sorry (things).´ To a much less degree the smaller numbers may be inflected by the remaining nominal affixes, e.g., <u>o-vavae-vu</u> `these other five (things).´

 The counting system is quinary (as are the other Non-Austronesian languages on Boungainville) and is exemplified as follows: <u>Katai</u> `one,´ <u>erao</u> `two,´ <u>peva</u> `three,´ <u>resiura</u> `four,´ <u>vavae</u> `five/hand,´ <u>katai vatara</u> `six,´ <u>erao vatara</u> `seven,´ <u>peva vatara</u> `eight,´ <u>resiura vatara</u> `nine,´ and <u>katai tau</u> `ten.´

 There are terms for "hundred" (<u>vovoto</u>), "thousand" (<u>tuku</u>), and "million" (<u>ipu</u>). A large number will illustrate in part the system: <u>erao tuku resiura vatara vovoto vopeva tau vavae</u> `2,935.´ (A description of Rotokas and other counting systems of Melanesia is in manuscript form and hopefully will be published.) The only

numbers used in the Text (sentence 94) are not Rotokas, but
English.

3.43.11 Free-form Pluralizers

There are several morphemes which appear to be suffixes in that
they obligatorily and immediately follow the classified noun which
they pluralize. As free forms, however, they may be inflected by
both nominal prefixes and suffixes. The author has chosen to regard
them as free forms and as a type of nominal because of the
affixation and distribution when inflected.

The affixation of the free-form pluralizers is as follows: +
sp + free-form pluralizer + num + alt/relative pronoun marker. All
of the pluralizers recorded to date are illustrated below.

a) riako `females´ used as follows: aako RIAKO (mother
FEMALES) `mother,´ kakae RIAKO (small FEMALES) `girls,´ RIAKO-va
(FEMALES-feminine singular) `woman,´ vo-RIAKO-ro (sp-FEMALES-these)
`these specific females,´ and RIAKO-ra (FEMALES-pl) `women.´

b) kare `animals´ used as follows: kaakau KARE (dog ANIMALS)
`dogs,´ vo-KARE (sp-ANIMALS) `these animals,´ o-KARE-ro-vu
(sp-ANIMALS-these-alt) `these other specific animals.´ As was
mentioned in section 3.43.1.1, ragui is an alternate form of kare
and although it is rarely used in the Rotokas Proper dialect, it is
more common in the Aita dialect.

c) kou `group´ used as follows: isisio KOU (grass GROUPS)
`bunches of grass,´ toru KOU (wave GROUPS) `rough surface of
water/waves,´ o-KOU-re-vu (sp-GROUPS-dual-alt) `these other two
groups.´

d) kara `streams´ used as follows: uuko KARA (water STREAMS)
`rivers,´ vo-KARA (sp-STREAMS) `these streams.´

e) vasie `small groups of humans´ used as follows: oira VASIE
(person SMALL GROUP) `small group of men/small group of men and
women,´ vo-VASIE-vi (sp-SMALL GROUPS-dim) `this little group of
people.´

f) <u>vure</u> `group of married people´ used as follows: <u>aue VURE
oira VURE</u> (Class 3 relative pronoun GROUP OF MARRIED PEOPLE person
GROUP OF MARRIED PEOPLE) `group of married men and women,´
<u>vo-VURE-o</u> (sp-GROUP OF MARRIED PEOPLE-this) `this group of married
people.´ Interestingly enough, the most common use of <u>vure</u> is with
the adjective <u>kakae</u> `small´ and means `children.´ The informant
has indicated that this is exceptional.

g) <u>viku</u> `groups of humans´ used as follows: <u>pupi VIKU</u> (to
dance GROUP OF HUMANS) `group of dancers,´ <u>vo-VIKU</u> (sp-GROUP OF
HUMANS) `this group of people.´

h) <u>pitu</u> `swarms´ used as follows: <u>avuru PITU-ro</u> (fly
SWARM-these) `these swarms of flies.´

(See Text sentences: 31.5, 80.2, and 89.4.)

3.5 <u>The Remaining Forms of the Test Identified</u>

Having described verbs and nominals of the Rotokas language, the
remaining forms to be identified (listed on page 30) may now be
investigated. Using the definition of "boundary" as 1) full pause,
2) verbal construction, 3) previously identified forms, and
4) nominal, the final list of identified forms can be compiled
along with those forms previously identified but not as yet
described.

1	(v) <u>ora</u> (n)	`and´
5	<u>uva</u>	`then/so´ (identified)
	<u>osia</u>	`as´ (identified)
6	<u>ovoiei</u>	`finally´ (identified)
12	<u>viapau</u>	`no/not´ (identified)
22	<u>e</u>	`(interrogative marker)´ (identified)
29	<u>oire</u>	`okay´ (identified)
30	(n) <u>raga</u> (v)	`only´
	<u>vosia</u>	`if´ (identified)

	(n) <u>avuvai</u> (n)	`some´ (?)
	<u>vorara</u>	`while´ (identified)
34	<u>rutu</u>(-<u>ia</u>)	`truly´ (identified)
36	<u>iava</u>	`from/about/after´ (identified)
43	(<u>uva</u>) <u>vorevira</u> (v)	`again/back´
47	(n) <u>taporo</u> (v)	`with/also´
	(v) <u>rirovira</u> (v)	`very/greatly´
48	//<u>ae</u> (n)	`ah!´
	(n) <u>vearovira</u> (<u>rutu</u>)	`well/good-like´
55	<u>ra</u>	`and/and then´
56	//<u>ari</u> (n)	`but´
71	(n) <u>iare</u> (n)	`to´
77	(v) <u>vo</u> (n)	`on/by/at´
91	<u>uvare</u>	`because´ (identified)
93	(v) ita (n)	`again´

Remaining also are the postpositioned relators: -<u>pa</u>, -<u>re</u>-, -<u>ia</u>, -<u>va</u>, and -<u>ri</u>, which were identified previously but not as yet described.

Looking over the remaining forms one notes that there is no single grammatical class into which they may be put. Instead some are modifiers, others conjunctions, exclamations, relators, etc. The modifiers will be described separately and all remaining forms which seem to be more relevant at the sentence level than at the word or clause level will be described as "particles."

3.6 <u>Rotokas</u> <u>Modifiers</u>

The modifying words can be divided into two basic groups, a) the "adjectives" which modify nominals; which may occur in a Type IV Predicate construction; or which may be nominalized by affixation, compounded with noun roots to form nominals, or adverbialized; and b) the "adverbs" which predominantly modify verbs.

3.61 Adjectives as Modifiers of Nominals

a) The common adjectives are examplified by: <u>poteku</u> `short,´
<u>riro</u> `large,´ <u>tuakaka</u> `hard,´ <u>vavata</u> `heavy,´ <u>tupitupi</u> `wet,´ and
<u>kasirao</u> `hot.´ The common adjectives may be inflected by the
emphatic marker -<u>irao</u> `truly´ or by the diminutive markers -<u>vi</u> or
-<u>visivi</u>, e.g., <u>uteo-IRAO</u> (cold-TRULY) `truly cold´ and <u>riro-IRAO</u>
(big-TRULY) `truly big;´ <u>poteku-VISIVI</u> (short-DIM) `shorter.´
(There are no adjectives as modifiers in the Text.)

b) As adjectives denoting color the forms are not inflected,
although some of them may be "intensified" by the morpheme <u>tore</u>
`dark.´ Some examples are <u>popote</u> `white,´ <u>revasi</u> `red/blood,´ <u>uriko</u>
`green,´ <u>katokato</u> `black,´ <u>kuuva</u> `blue,´ and <u>kuuva tore</u> `dark
blue.´ See section 3.92. (There are no color adjectives in the
Text.)

c) The possessive adjectives are not inflected but function as
quasi-suffixes in that they obligatorily follow immediately the
possessed item. The possessive adjectives parallel the personal
pronoun set and upon close examination one will notice that parts
of some of the forms are identical to person markers of the verb.
The possessive adjectives are given in Chart 5 of the Appendix.
Examples of their use are as follows: <u>kepara oaio</u> (houses our
(exclusive)) `our houses not yours,´ <u>riakorirei oaro</u>) (two women
his) `his two women.´ (There are no possessive adjectives in the
Text.)

3.62 Adverb Modifiers

a) The common adverbs are either derived from verbs or
adjectives by the adverbializing suffixes -<u>vira</u> `like´ or -<u>visivi</u>
`less.´ They are used to modify verbs only. Some examples are:
<u>ikau-VIRA</u> (to hurry-LIKE) `quickly,´ <u>regore-VIRA</u> (crooked-LIKE)
`crookedly´, <u>roru-VISIVI</u> (to enjoy-LESS) `enjoying slightly´, and
<u>tou-VISIVI</u> (to exist-LESS) `a little while/shortly.´ (See Text
sentences: 43.2, 47.6, 48.3, 88.4, 90.2)

b) Adverbs of "degree" compose a small closed class which may
modify verbs, some nominals, and other adverbs. In some cases their
meanings are very broad and can hardly be adequately described.
They are: rutu `all inclusive/truly/very´ as in these phrases
ikauvira RUTU `very quickly´ and voeao RUTU `all of these men (and
women)´; raga `all exclusive/only/just´ as in the phrases ikauvira
RAGA `just quickly´ and voeao RAGA `only these men´; ita
`again/another/only´ as in these phrases avaroepa ITA `he went
again years ago,´ iravu ITA `another male again,´ ragai ITA `only
me,´ and oisi raga ITA `just like this again.´ The last two are
much more restricted in their use and meaning, aia more, again´ and
pasi `maybe.´ (See Text sentences: 30.5, 34.3, 48.4, 52.2, 90.3,
93.7, 94.3, 115.2.)

3.7 Particles
There are several morphemes which cannot be defined within the
framework of the above descriptive statements. They are presented
here and are named primarily on the basis of distribution.

3.71 Affirmatives
Affirmatives primarily introduce sentences. They are: aure `yes, of
course,´ and iu, ari, and o, all meaning `yes.´ (They are not
present in the Text.)

3.72 Negatives
The negative particles occur in verb phrases where they negate the
action or state of being and in sentences where they pose on
introductory warning or negation. They are: viapau `no, not,
nothing,´ opeita `do not,´ teapi `it is not good that...´ and
aviova `no.´ (See Text sentences: 12.2, 16.3, 29.2, 55.2, 91.1.)

3.73 Exclamatory

Exclamatory particles introduce sentences. They are: o `oh!´ ae
`ah!´ akoeia `truly!´ and avoeao `truly!´ (See Text sentence 48.1,
and note in 55.3 where ae is used as a verb stem `to cry out.´)

3.74 Command

The command particle tepa `must´ functions as a modifier of the
verb as in the example, vuriri TEPA koata-u vo-re (Vuriri MUST
enter-you here-to) `Vuriri, you must enter to here.´ (No examples
occur in the Text.)

3.75 Interrogative

The interrogative e `?´ introduces a question which may be answered
by `yes´ or `no.´ (See Text sentence 22.1.)

3.76 Introducer

There are three particles which introduce constructions: a) ovoiei
`finally´ (which is actually a verb construction in itself meaning
`it is now sufficient´) introduces sentences only, while b) oire
`all right/okay´ and/or uva `so/then´ introduce independent clauses
which may occur initially in the sentence or medially within the
sentence construction. The occurrences in the Text are too numerous
to record here. (Uva in 91.12 is not an introducer. See 3.43.8.a.)

3.77 Conjunctions

The conjunctions of Rotokas are divided into coordinating and
subordinating types. The members of both groups are characterized
by broad general meanings. Because meanings of many conjunctions
overlap, it is difficult to say why one is used in a particular
context rather than another.

3.77.1 Subordinating Conjunctions

The subordinating conjunctions signal a subordinate relationship
between clauses. They are: <u>uvare</u> `because,´ <u>vosia</u> `if/suppose,´
<u>ovusia</u> `while,´ <u>vorara</u> `after/suppose/when/while,´ and <u>osia</u> `as.´
(See Text sentences: 5.6, 12.4, 16.2, 31.4.9, 55.1, 85.3, 91.6.8,
94.4.)

3.77.2 Coordinating conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions connect independent clauses and also
nominals in a series. They are: <u>ora</u> `and,´ <u>o</u> `or,´ <u>ari</u> `but,´ <u>ra</u>
`and/and then,´ and <u>eke</u> `or/or not.´ (See Text sentences 1.3, 55.5,
59.2, 66.2, 82.2, 91.3, 93.5, 97.5, 115.5.)

3.77.3 Pronominal Conjuction

The pronominal conjunction <u>vaio</u> is a special particle with a very
restricted use. It occurs when relating a pair of subjects or
objects which are usually human, e.g., <u>karuru</u> <u>VAIO</u> <u>ora</u> <u>reverisi</u>
(Karuru AND TWO and Reverisi) `Karuru and Reverisi,´ or <u>vegei</u> <u>VAIO</u>
<u>ora</u> <u>Rausira</u> (we two AND TWO and Rausira) `Rausira and I.´ In
Rotokas the speaker includes himself or the referent in the
inclusive pronoun and follows it by the semantically redundant
<u>vaio</u>. (No occurrence in Text.)

3.78 Relators

Because the Rotokas relator particles are for the most part more
important in the description of the functions of Rotokas words
which includes syntactical relations, and because the description
of these relators will serve as a link between form and function,
they will not be described in this portion other than to give a
listing of them and their meanings: <u>vo</u> and <u>-ia</u> may be translated by
nearly all of the prepositions known in European languages, like:
in, on, at, to, from, with, by, about, because of, during, for, (in
fact, they are very much like the Neo-Melanesian <u>long</u>); <u>-pa</u> `for,´

-<u>re</u> `to/for,´ -<u>va</u> `from/with,´ <u>iare</u> `to/towards,´ <u>iava</u>
`from/about/after,´ and <u>tapo(ro)</u> `with/too/also.´

3.8 <u>Stem</u> <u>Formation</u>

Having classified and described, at least in part, the words of the
Text in terms of stems and affixes, a closer look at some of the
stems within the Text will reveal another area yet to be
investigated, stem formation. Two examples from the Text will
illustrate the two means of forming stems in Rotokas (other than by
derivation previously accounted for), i.e., by compounding and by
reduplication.

The first illustration compares verb stems from sentences 90
and 93: <u>orarugorugopiepaoro</u> `thinking back´ and <u>orarugopiepave</u> `we
both would be remembering back.´ Although this is a poor
illustration because of the lack of a clearly contrastive
difference between `thinking´ and `remembering,´ it will serve to
demonstrate the mechanics of reduplication.

Reduplication has been defined as a type of allomorphic
alternation in which an affix is of exactly the same form as part
or all of the stem, or is the same plus an additional phonemes
(Elson and Pickett 1962: 45). All three of these possibilities
occur in the Rotokas language: a) reduplication of stem, <u>tapa</u> `to
hit´ and <u>tapatapa</u> `to hit repeatedly´; reduplication with loss of
final phoneme of stem, <u>kavau</u> `to bear a child´ and <u>kavakavau</u> `to
bear many children´; reduplication with loss of initial phoneme of
stem, <u>ikau</u> `to hurry´ and <u>ikaukauvira</u> `repeatedly hurrying-like´;
and reduplication with addition of phonemes to reduplicated stem,
<u>gae</u> `to follow a path´ and <u>gaegaere</u> `to drift about.´

Reduplication predominantly occurs with verb stems. The
meaning which results is that of "repeated action" as is
exemplified above by <u>tapatapa</u>. When it occurs with a limited number
of noun stems, the result is "many," e.g., <u>kopi</u> `a dot´ and
<u>kopikopi</u> `many dots/mottling.´ Reduplication also occurs with

numbers resulting in the meaning of "grouping," e.g., <u>katai</u> `one´ and <u>katakatai</u> `one by one,´ or <u>erao</u> `two´ and <u>eraerao</u> `two by two,´ etc.

The second illustration is from sentence number 43: <u>goteperoia gotepaoro</u> `while paddling with (a) paddle board (oar).´ In the illustration the verb stem <u>gote</u> `to paddle´ is compounded with the noun stem <u>pero</u> `board´ resulting in <u>gotepero</u> `paddle board/oar.´ At this level, by definition, we are speaking of the compounding of "roots" in the formation of "stems."

Several types of combinations may be illustrated from the Rotokas concordance:

a) Compound of <u>noun root plus noun root</u> which results in noun stem, e.g., <u>aveke-tapi</u> (stone-area) `stony place.´

b) Compound of <u>adjective root plus noun root</u> which results in noun stem, e.g., <u>aguvi-tou</u> (clear-container) `bottle.´

c) Compound of <u>_-verb root plus noun root</u> which results in noun stem, e.g. <u>gau-ovi</u> (to cry-liquid) `tear.´

d) Compound of <u>adjective root plus ß-verb root</u> which results in ß-verb stem, <u>vearo-pie</u> (good-to make) `to correct.´

e) Compound of <u>_-verb root and ß-verb root</u> which results in ß-verb stem, e.g., <u>tootoo-pie</u> (to live-to make) `to make alive.´

f) Compound of <u>_-verb root plus _-verb root</u> which results in adjective stem, <u>uriri-asia</u> (to fear-to dislike) `fearless.´

At this point there is a transition between simple compounding of two units as described above and the description of word modification which follows. In this transition area it is often difficult to distinguish between a word and a phrase. For the sake of analysis and description (and economy) one would tend to consider the constructions about to be investigated as single words made up of compounded roots and/or stems. For the sake of the new literate, however, one would tend to break the construction into segments and consider it a phrase of words. Allowing for inconsistency between technical description and practical

orthography, the author will treat the constructions as single
words in this paper.

The problem can be shown in this construction of compounded
stems: vuripitupitupurapairara `trouble makers.´ This construction
may be broken down as follows: vuri-pitupitu-pura-pa-irara
(bad-fashion-make-agt-m pl). An additional example is
vo-kakiua-siovaraia-tou-to (this-cave-inside-exist-m s) `cave
dweller.´ Another problem construction in this transitional area is
the phrase plus agent marker plus gender-number marker,
e.g. Wakunai-iava-pa-irara (Wakunai-from-agt-m pl) `people of
Wakunai/men of Wakunai,´ or vo-voki-iava-pa riako (sp-day-from-agt
f pl) `today´s female generation,´ or voea-iava-pa-to
(they-from-agt-m s) `one of them.´

One further construction which is less complicated and much
more common is that of stem plus root, e.g., ori-pa-kepa (to
cook-agt-house) `cookhouse´ or papa-pa-kepa (to fly-agt-house)
`airplane.´

3.9 Word-Meaning Modification

Modification in Rotokas takes place to a large degree at the stem
level by affixation or compounding. For instance, the specifier
prefix vo- modifies, alters, or changes the form of the stem as
well as the meaning of it, e.g. kepa `house´ and vokepa this
house,´ or okepavu `this other house.´ Another form of modification
takes place when the stem itself is left unaltered but the meaning
is changed or qualified by the additional independent elements of a
"phrase." By way of contrast, this modification will be considered
to take place at the word level and therefore is considered at this
point in the morphology.

Examples of word level modification from the Text are as
follows:

1	vaisiaro	`(whose) name´
12	viapau taraiveiepa	`we both didn´t know long ago´
16	viapau taraiveiepa	"
29	viapau uvuipaveiepa	`we both were unable long ago´
30	vouririo raga	`just this fear´
34	rikurovu rutuia	`to (the) truly deep water´
40	oira ivaraiare	`to her top´
43	vorevira vorera	`I return back´
47	rirovira roruiraoreva	`he was truly very happy long ago´
48	vearovira rutu varovarori	`you retrieved truly well´
52	eake rutu	`what truly´
	vi vovouaroia	`in your thinking´
55	viapau aeri	`you didn´t look´
56	kukueva	`(your) head´
67	vegoa sioparoia	`inside (the) jungle/to (the) jungle´s inside´
77	avakava vatuaroia	`at (the) ocean´s side´
88	vorevira voreiepa	`they returned again years ago´
90	rirovira rutu siraopaveiepa	`truly greatly we were sorrowing years ago´
91	viapau uvuipaveiei	`we both were not able years ago´
92	vegei vaaro siraoa	`our (dual) sorrow´
93	siraove ita	`we will sorrow again´
94	oisivio raga	`just (a) little like this´
94	ragai votavitaviaro	`my story´
114	eisivi raga	`just a little like that´
114	ragai vaaro	`mine/my it´

Of the examples above one my conclude that there are at least three
basic types of modifications, i.e., modification of verbal
constructions, modification of nominals, and possession of
nominals.

3.91 Modification of the Verb

The potential modification of the verb may be formulated as follows:

$$\pm\ \underline{Aux} \pm \underline{rutu}\ ...\ \pm\ \underline{Manner} \pm \underline{rutu}\ ...\ +\ verb$$

$$\underline{raga}$$

$$\underline{ita}$$

$$\pm\ \underline{rutu/aia/ita/pasi}$$

The verb is modified initially by the Auxiliary which optionally occurs with an associated optional qualifier, <u>rutu</u>. The Auxiliaries are the negatives <u>viapau</u> and <u>opeita</u> (3.72) and the command particle <u>tepa</u> (3.74). Secondly, the optional modification by a Manner morpheme may occur with the associated optional qualifier, <u>rutu</u>, <u>raga</u>, or <u>ita</u> (3.62.b). The Manner morphemes are the adverbs described in section 3.62.a. Finally, the verb itself may be followed by the qualifying adverbs, <u>pasi</u>, <u>rutu</u>, <u>aia</u>, and/or <u>ita</u>. There appears to be no restriction upon the use of all four qualifiers occurring simultaneously in the order shown in the formula, or any combination. The formula shows the potential maximum expansion, but rarely do all modifiers and qualifiers occur. (<u>Opeita</u> followed by <u>rutu</u> has never been recorded.) Some examples of the modified verb are as follows:

<u>voreraepa</u> <u>ita</u>	`I returned again long ago´
<u>vearovira</u> <u>rutu</u> <u>vokepa</u> <u>oritoive</u>	`they would decorate this house very nicely´
<u>viapau</u> <u>vearovira</u> <u>rutu</u> <u>toupaivoi</u>	`they are not now existing very nicely´
<u>iravu</u> <u>oratovoroepa</u> <u>aia</u>	`he placed another man more (again) long ago´
<u>opeita</u> <u>va</u> <u>purapari</u>	`you must not be doing it´
<u>tepa</u> <u>kareu</u> <u>ita</u>	`You must return again´

<u>viapau</u> <u>rutu</u> <u>avaparai</u>   `I´m really not going!´

<u>vokavira</u> <u>raga</u> <u>pupipai</u>   `they dance just walking-
                                                  like´

3.92 <u>Modification</u> <u>of</u> <u>Nominals</u>

The modification of Rotokas nominals has two different
formulations. One is a typical Modifier-Head relationship (as shown
below), but a second type, a quasi-modification model, is in fact a
series of juxtaposed nominals in an appositive relationship with
each nominal explaining or expanding other nominals of the series.
This type of modification will be described as the Appositive
String (section 3.94).

     The formula for the potential nominal modification is as
follows:

     ± Adjective + Nominal ± Possessive adjective
                         ± <u>rutu/raga/ita</u>

That is, nominals are optionally modified by a preposed common or
color adjective, they may be marked as "possessed" by an optionally
occurring possessive adjective which also indicates the gender and
number of the possessor, and may optionally be further qualified by
morphemes <u>rutu</u> or <u>raga</u>, and/or <u>ita</u>. Most common and color
adjectives are restricted to the modification of classified nouns
only. For examples of possessive adjective, see section 3.93.

     Examples are as follows:

Classified noun -

     <u>roroio</u> <u>urui</u> <u>raga</u>   `just (a) separate village´

Proper noun -

     <u>Wakunaipairara</u> <u>raga</u>   `only Wakunai men´

Kinship term —

      vovoao <u>rutu</u>   `all (of the) sister´

Temporal —

      <u>vuri</u> <u>voki</u> <u>rutu</u> <u>ita</u>   `(a) truly bad day again´

      <u>vokiara</u> <u>rutu</u>   `all (of the) time/days´

Locative —

      <u>irapaua</u> <u>rutu</u>   `truly in front´

Personal pronoun —

      <u>ragai</u> <u>ita</u>   `only I´ (more commonly,

                                      <u>ragai</u> <u>raga</u>)

Demonstrative pronoun —

      <u>evavi</u> <u>raga</u>   `just that little thing´

Relative pronoun —

      <u>oisio</u> <u>rutu</u>   `truly like this´

Interrogative pronoun —

      <u>eake</u> <u>rutu</u>   `what truly´

Numeral —

      <u>vopeva</u> <u>raga</u>   `only these three´

Free-form pluralizer —

      <u>vokarero</u> <u>rutu</u>   `all these animals´

Modification of relative pronouns Class 1B and Class 3 has so far not been recorded. (See examples 30, 34, 52 and 94 on page 57.)

3.93 Possession of Nominals

The possession of nominals in Rotokas may be by three different means, a) direct affixation of possessive suffix, b) indirect affixation of possessive suffix, or c) use of possessive adjective.

    a) In the first type the nominal is marked as possessed by -<u>aro</u>, and the possessor usually, but not always, precedes the nominal, e.g.,

ragai ro-aro (I this male-poss) `my (this) man´

rera vokepa-aro (he this-house-poss) `his house´

Vavioviri kaakau-aro (vavioviri dog-poss)

                `Vavioviri´s dog´

b) The second type if much like the first, however, the possessive marker is affixed to a pronoun instead of directly to the nominal being possessed. The pronoun is usually va `it´ (or dual or plural accordingly), the demonstrative pronoun vo `here,´ or the Class 3 relative pronoun aue. The modificatɪɔn is more the function of an appositional relationship, e.g.,

oira va-aro voevao (she it-poss this-tree) `her tree´

aue-aro Pauto taraia (aue-poss God knowledge) `God´s

                      knowledge´

oira varei-aro vaisirei (her it (dual)-poss two balls)

                    `her two balls´

ragai rera-aro oirato (I he-poss man) `my man´

Vusipiri aue-aro kokioto (Vusipiri aue-poss chicken)

                    `Vusipiri´s chicken´

voea vo-aro atoia (they here-poss home) `their home´

c) The third type makes use of the possessive adjective which always follows immediately the possessed nominal.

kakaeto oara raga `your boy only´

riro vaisi oaive `their large name/ball´

The pronoun possessing the nominal is sometimes repeated as a personal pronoun initially as in the following example:

ragai vaisia oaa (I name mine) `my name´

An alternative expression of possession makes use of the locative <u>ruvaraia</u> `near.´ It is idiomatically understood as indicating possession, e.g.,

<u>vara</u> <u>ouri</u> <u>rera</u> <u>ruvaraia</u> (them you-get him near)
  `get them near him/"get his".´

(See Text sentences: 1, 52, 77, 92, 94, 115.)

3.94 The <u>Appositive</u> <u>String</u>

Early in the Rotokas language study the assistant made a comment which has proved to be very significant in the subsequent attempts to describe the language. He noted that, in contrast to English, "we (the Rotokas) say one thing many times." He was, in fact, describing the Appositive String, i.e., a series of components not connected by conjunctions which rename or explain any of the other components in the series and which together function as a single unit. It is commonly used as a type of modification model and is more common than the Modifier-Head type described in section 3.92.

The significant difference between the two types of modification is that each component of the appositive string may stand by itself in place of the string, but not so in the case of the modifier-head relationship. The meanings of two nearly identical expressions may appear to be the same, but in light of the above statement, they are significantly different. For example,

(Appositive String) <u>riroto</u> <u>oirato</u> (large-m s person m s)
        `large male, (a) man´
(Modifier-Head) <u>riro</u> <u>oirato</u> (large person-m s)
        `(a) large man.´

In the first example there are two separate components which function together as a single element in a clause, and in the

second example there are two <u>associated</u> components which function
as a single element as a single element in a clause.

The components of an appositive string may be: any of the
nominals, clause(s), sentence(s), paragraph(s), or an entire
discourse. There are three arrangements of these components which
may be formulated and contrasted on the basis of the <u>Class</u> of the
relative pronoun when it occurs as a component. To reiterate the
basis of classifying relative pronouns (section 3.43.8), Class 1 -
referents precede the pronoun, Class 2 - referents precede or
follow the pronoun, and Class 3 - referents follow ‿he pronoun.
With this in mind, the three "constructions" may be formulated as
follows: (The colon ":" signals an appositive relationship.)

a) <u>With</u> <u>Class</u> <u>1</u> <u>Relative</u> <u>Pronoun</u> <u>component</u>
personal pronoun/classified noun/kinship term/proper
noun/locative/temporal/clause(s)/sentence(s) :
demonstrative pronoun : Class 1 relative pronoun/ relative
clause

Examples:

Personal pronoun -
    <u>voea</u> : <u>voeao</u> : <u>oea</u>   `they, these, they/who´
Classified noun -
    <u>kaakau</u> : <u>o</u> : <u>iria</u>   `dog, this (f), she/which´
Kinship term -
    <u>voaraorei</u> : <u>vaitereo</u> :   `two brothers, these two
        <u>aiterea</u>   (m), the two/who´
Proper noun -
    <u>Karuru</u> : <u>ro</u> : <u>ira</u>   `Karuru, this (m), he/who´
Locative -
    <u>reroaro</u> : <u>vo</u> : <u>uva</u>   `underneath, here, where´
Temporal -
    <u>vovokio</u> : <u>vao</u> : <u>ovokia</u>   `this day, this (n), day/
                                          which´

An example of the use in a sentence would be helpful at this point: <u>vovokio</u> <u>vao</u> <u>ovokiaia</u> <u>avaparoi</u> `this day, this one, on this day he is going´ or `he is going today.´ The relative clause as a component of the appositive string occurs in this example: <u>rakoru</u> <u>kekepari</u> <u>o</u> <u>iria</u> <u>rataua</u> <u>riaroia</u> <u>toupae</u> (snake see-you-are this (f) she/which door opening-in exist-she-is) `you are seeing (the) snake, this female, which is in (the) doorway.´ In this example the appositive string is, <u>rakoru</u> : <u>o</u> : <u>iria</u> <u>rataua</u> <u>riaroia</u> <u>toupae</u> `snake : this (f) : which is in (the) doorway.´

In the Text is an example of the common occurrence of a complete thought (sentence) in an appositional relationship with <u>oa</u> `which.´ In sentence 49 the <u>oa</u> "renames" the entire thought of sentence 48 `about which´ the person was `happy.´

b) With <u>Class</u> <u>2</u> <u>Relative</u> <u>Pronoun</u> <u>component</u>, <u>oisi(o)</u> or <u>eisi</u>
word(s)/clause(s)/sentence(s)/discourse : Class 2
relative pronoun + Quotative predicate (<u>or</u> the
reverse order of the string)

Examples:

<u>ragai</u> <u>tavireva</u> <u>oisio</u> <u>toupari</u> (I tell-he-years ago like-this
<u>exist-pra-you)</u> he told me years ago this, "You stay (here)"

<u>oisio</u> <u>puraroepa</u> <u>o</u> <u>ae</u> <u>vearovira</u> <u>rutu</u> (like-this say-he-years ago oh
ah good-like truly) years ago he said this, "Oh, ah, thank
you very much"´

(Discourse) <u>eisi</u> <u>oisioa</u> <u>tavitavipaaveira</u> ((discourse) like-that
always tell (repeatedly)-pra-they-habitually) they are always
telling (it) like that (discourse)´

An example in the Text is in sentences 54, 55, and 56. As in the examples above the <u>oisio</u> of sentence 54 is in an appositional relationship wiht the quote (sentences 55 and 56). Re-phrasing the sentences makes the relationship clearer: `Years ago he said this, "If you had not cried to God...".´

c) With <u>Class</u> <u>3</u> <u>Relative</u> <u>Pronoun</u>, <u>aue</u> (or to a lesser degree,
<u>oisi(o))</u>

Class 3 relative pronoun (or <u>oisi</u>(<u>o</u>)) : nominal/clause/sentence

Examples of <u>aue</u> and <u>oisio</u> with following nominal component:

<u>varao</u>, <u>aue</u> <u>aio</u> <u>okovoro</u> <u>taporo</u> (these Ø food gardens also)
 these food gardens also

<u>vopeva</u> <u>aue</u> <u>aioiva</u>, <u>koie</u> <u>kare</u> (three Ø they-ate-years ago
 pig plural) they ate three pigs years ago

<u>viapau</u> <u>oisio</u>, <u>rirokaekae</u> <u>siposipoa</u> (not like-this very-long
 story) not this, (the) very long story

Examples of <u>aue</u> and <u>oisio</u> with following clause component:

<u>siopaipatoarei</u> <u>aue</u> <u>iava</u> <u>uvare</u> <u>tokopievira</u> <u>oisioa</u> <u>toupasive</u>
(two-unlearned-men Ø about because isolated-like always
exist-pra-they two (m)-would) two ignorant men because they both
would always be isolated

<u>viapau</u> <u>oisio</u> <u>avaparai</u> (not like-this go-pra-I-present) 'I am not
going

The appositive relationships in the above five examples are:

<u>aue</u>	:	<u>aio</u> <u>kovoro</u> <u>taporo</u>
<u>aue</u>	:	<u>koie</u> <u>kare</u>
<u>oisio</u>	:	<u>rirokaekae</u> <u>siposipoa</u>
<u>aue</u>	:	<u>tokopievira</u> <u>oisioa</u> <u>toupasive</u>
<u>oisio</u>	:	<u>avaparai</u>

Also noted in sentence 72 of the Text where the appositional
relationship is between <u>aue</u> and the construction <u>arua</u> <u>rovisia</u>
(greens to-grease) 'to grase (the) greens.'

All of the above examples illustrate the important function of
the relative pronouns in the appositive string. They serve as
agents a) to summarize the entire string and/or b) to take any
affixation of the string as a unit, especially the relator marker
affixation. It has been implied that the relative pronoun as a
component of the string may stand alone in place of the string.
Although occurrences have been recorded, this is very rare.

Instead, the personal pronouns or demonstrative pronouns occur as the independent representatives of a potential string.

The more complicated appositive strings have been dealt with above, but it will be remembered that there are other simpler combinations possible, such as classified noun : classified noun, as in riroto oirato given in the introductory paragraph above. (See Text sentences 1.4-5: 6-7, 12.7:9:10-12, 27.2:4-5 (28) 1-3, 30.7:(31) 1-31, 31.11:12, 39.1-2:3, 47.2:3-5. 47.8:(48) 1-6 (49) 1-3, 49.(48)1-6:1, 51.3:(52)1-10, 52.1-5:6, 54.1:(55) 1-7 (56) 1-8, 56.1-4:5, 57.(48)-(56):2, 57.(1)-(46):4, 58.3:(59) 1-3, 79.1:2, 89.3-4:5:6-9, 91.9-11:12, etc.)

3.95 Nominals in a series

In contrast to the appositive string nominals may occur in a series with conjunctions connecting them, in which case they do not necessarily rename or explain other members of the series. The most common conjunctions used to connect a series of words are ora and o (section 3.77.2). (See Text sentences 1, 97.)

4 FUNCTION OF ROTOKAS WORDS

4.0 The Term "Function" Discussed

A comparison has been made (Dik 1968:148-149) between lexical and grammatical items, and actors performing a play. The actors are individuals who belong to specific classes (male-female, young-old, good-bad, etc.) irrespective of the play in which they are performing. Each individual actor, when performing, represents a particular role or function which is defined by the overall structure of the play itself and not by the actor's relation to his co-actor. These roles or functions may be played by any actor, although a role is normally restricted to a particular class of actors. This is to say that the structure of the play is not dependent upon any one cast.

The comparison points out that to a large extent the functional patterns of a linguistic performance are independent of the lexical or grammatical items which manifest them. It is because of this independence that the present paper makes the attempt to describe both the forms and the functions of the Rotokas words as completely as possible at this stage of the total analysis.

Not all linguists feel that this type of description is necessary. Bloomfield states (1943:103-104):

> To earlier students, language appeared to have a third aspect, intermediate between form and meaning; this aspect was usually called function. Thus, a word like apple not only meant a certain kind of fruit, but also functioned as a noun, serving as the subject of verbs, and the object of prepositions and transitive verbs, and so on. Careful study, however, showed that features like these are a part of the form; they are the formal features which come into being when two or more forms are combined in a larger form...A form's privilege of occurring in any one position is a function of that form, and all its various functions together make up its function. In sum, the function of a speech form consists merely of formal features which appear as it serves as part of a more inclusive form.

Chomsky and the transformational schooll propose a different approach yet to the notion of "function." The functions of "subject," "predicate," "object," etc. are "inherently relational notions" (Chomsky 1965:68) and merely show certain relationships which occur in the same linguistic structure.

> Thus, a statement like 'John is the subject of the sentence John is reading a book' would mean no more than 'The lexical item John, which is an NP, is directly dominated by S, which dominates the whole sentence John is reading a book.' The definition of the function 'subject-of' is, accordingly, given as follows (Chomsky 1965:71):
>
> (5) Subject-of: ⅀NP,S⅀.
>
> If this were possible for all grammatical functions, there would, again, be no need to specify these functions separately in the structural description...(Dik 1968:147).

Tagmemics, on the other hand, incorporates the notion of "function" in the basic element of the descriptive statement, the tagmeme, i.e., it (the tagmeme) is the correlation of a function (or 'slot') and the class of items by which it can be fulfilled ("fillers") (Pike 1967:490-492) Longacre defines function as "the

particular office or role of one distinguishable part of a
construction type in relation to other parst of the same
construction" (Longacre 1965:65).

In the description of the functions of Rotokas words, one will
readily recognize that the author subscribes to this latter notion
of "function." In fact, the "distinguishing" features of the
"parts" (or syntactical components) include the relator particles
which signal a _particular_ "relation" of that part "to other parts
of the same construction." It is in the area of elaborating upon
the "distinguishing feaatures" that this paper may differ from the
traditional tagmemic statement and, moreover, the dependence upon
this elaboration to simplify the "tagmemic" description of the
syntax later on.

Martinet, in discussing the "moneme," i.e., the smallest
segment of speech that has some meaning attached to it,
(Martinet 1962:22) points out a threefold distinction among
monemes in relation to the criterion of syntactic autonomy (the
identification of the functions of syntactic components). First,
there are the _autonomous_ _monemes_ such as _yesterday_ that "carry
within themselves the indication of their own function." Secondly,
there are the _dependent_ _monemes_ which "do not imply any definite
relation to the rest of the utterance," and therefore are dependent
upon "position" or some other element to identify their function.
Finally, he describes the monemes "which secure autonomy for other
monemes to which they are attached, by indicating their function."
These are called _functional_ _monemes_ and correspond to prepositions,
conjunctions, and case endings (Martinet 1962:45).

Within this basic framework provided by Martinet, the
functions of Rotokas words will be examined and described. The
classification of some nominals as Temporals and Locatives
(autonomous monemes) and the identification of relator particles
(functional monemes) already give a groundwork on which to start.

4.1 <u>Syntactic</u> <u>Components</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>Rotokas</u> <u>Text</u>

The comment was made that the description of "functions" completes
the statement of Rotokas morphology; however, it is included also
as a basis for the syntactic statement to be written at some future
date. It is at this point in the total description of the language,
then, that the taxonomic terminology of morphology and the
grammatical terminology of syntac intersect and the correlation
between morphology and syntax is made.

The Text will once again be examined, this time for the
syntactic components. Particles relevant at the ser ence level will
not be taken into account in this procedure. The utterances will be
listed in the order of complexity from the simple to the complex.
(Unless otherwise indicated, `we´ is `we two´ and past tense is
remote.)

4.11 <u>First</u> <u>degree</u> <u>of</u> <u>complexity</u>: a single component

2,6	<u>rupupaveva</u> (tr pred-vb)	`we were swimming for something´
9,10	<u>puraveva</u> (tr pred-vb)	`we did´
13,14,17, 24,25,26, 35	<u>avaopa</u> (intr pred-vb)	`she went´
32,33	<u>uturaepa</u> (tr pred-vb)	`I followed´
37	<u>aataava</u> (intr pred-vb)	`I swam´
41,42	<u>kaeraviro</u> (intr pred-vb)	`I raised up completely´
44,45	<u>voreraepa</u> (intr pred-vb)	`I went back´

61,62, 73,74	<u>kareveiepa</u> (intr pred-vb)	`we returned'
70	<u>iparoepa</u> (intr pred-vb)	`he went up'
75	<u>kareuviroveiepa</u> (intr pred-vb)	`we returned completely'
84	<u>aioveva</u> (tr pred-vb)	`we ate'
86	<u>vokiepa</u> (stat pred-vb)	`day was (idiomatic)'
102	<u>koataroepa</u> (intr pred-vb)	`he entered'
106	<u>orarururoepa</u> (tr pred-vb)	`he moved around'
107,108	<u>oravurevureroepa</u> (tr pred-vb)	`he shook himself'
114	<u>kareroepa</u> (intr pred-vb)	`he returned'

4.12 <u>Second degree of complexity</u>: two components

3	<u>opuruvaia</u> <u>avaveiepa</u> (agt-nom) (intr pred-vb)	`we went by canoe'
7	<u>atari</u> <u>ritapaveiepa</u> (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)	`we were spearing fish'
8	<u>voturu</u> <u>purapaveva</u> (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)	`We were making this line'
11	<u>ovoiepa</u> <u>voturu</u> (stat pred-vb) (sub-nom)	`this line was finished'
15	<u>gaegaereoro</u> <u>avaopa</u> (intr pred-dep vb) (intr pred-vb)	`drifting she went'
18	<u>kukueva</u> <u>kaepieava</u> (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)	`I lifted (my) head'

19	opuruvare rororagaraepa	`I searched in vain for
	(obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)	(the) canoe'
20	oirare rororagaraepa	`I searched in vain for her'
	(obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)	
22	opuruva kaeevoi	`she carries (the) canoe'
	(obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)	
34	rikurovu rutuia avaopa	`she went to truly
	(loc-mod nom) (intre pred-vb)	deep water'
36	raka iava aataava	`I swam from (the) reef'
	(loc-nom) (intr pred-vb)	
38	oiraia pituava	`I held onto her'
	(obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)	
40	oira ivaraiare kaeraviro	`I raised up completely
	(loc-mod nom) (intr pred-vb)	to her top'
49	oa iava rorupaavoi	`I am happy about it'
	(axis-nom) (stat pred-vb)	
50	oira tovoveva	`we put her'
	(obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)	
51	orareopaveiepa oisio	`we were conversing
	(quot pred-vb) (quote-nom)	like this'
54	oisio puraroepa	`he said this'
	(quote-nom) (quot pred-vb)	
60	kareveiepa opuruvaia	`we returned by means of
	(intr pred-vb) (agt-nom)	(the) canoe'
63	verauviroveiepa vo rogaraaro	`we beached completely
	(intr pred-vb) (loc-nom)	on (the) sand'
67	rokoveva vegoa sioparoia	`we penetrated inside
	(tr pred-vb) (loc-mod nom)	(the) jungle'
68	opitara atoveva	`we got coconuts down'
	(obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)	
76	opuruva verapieveva	`we beached (the) canoe'
	(obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)	

79 <u>aitereivu kakaetoarei</u> <u>aruveva</u>   `we summoned two
    (addres-nom:nom)   (quot pred-vb) others, two boys´

80 <u>atari kare</u> <u>siaresi</u>   `you two disembowel (the)
    (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)   fishes´

92 <u>eisi vegei vaaro siraoa oa</u>   `we recently made it, our
    (obj-nom:mod nom:nom)   sorrow, like that´

    <u>puravevo</u>
    (tr pred-vb)

98 <u>rera</u>   <u>tavuruiva</u>   `they wrapped him´
    (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)

101 <u>vaova</u>   <u>toparoviropa</u>   `he continued on with it´
    (acc-nom) (intr pred-vb)

105 <u>votavuru</u> <u>votoreva</u>   `he pressed this bundle´
    (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)

109, <u>oira</u>   <u>karukaruiva</u>   `they opened her´
110 (obj-nom (tr pred-vb)

111 <u>voea</u>   <u>uporeva</u>   `he fought them´
    (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)

4.13 <u>Third degree of complexity</u>: three components

4   <u>oira</u>   <u>kotoveva</u>   <u>iroiroia</u>
    (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb) (agt-nom)
    we hung her by (a) rope´

28 <u>oira</u>   <u>tariopaoro</u>   <u>utuu</u>
    (obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb) (tr pred-vb)
    you follow while chasing her´

43 <u>vorevira vorera</u>   <u>goteperoia gotepaoro</u>
    (intr pred-mod vb) (agt-nom) (tr pred-dep vb)
    I returned back while paddling with (the) paddle´

46 <u>voreraiva</u>   <u>voviri</u>   <u>veraraviro</u>
    (intr pred-vb) (loc-nom) (intr pred-vb)
    I returned and beached completely back there´

48 <u>vegeivipa</u>   <u>vearovira rutu</u> <u>opuruva</u>   <u>varovarori</u>
    (in obj-nom) (obj-nom) (tr pred-mod vb)
    you truly retrieved (the) canoe well for "poor" us´

53 <u>ragai</u>   <u>tavipareva</u>   <u>Ari</u>
    (addres-nom) (quot pred-vb) (sub-nom)
    Ari was telling me´

57 oisio   orareoveiepa   oa iava
    (quote-nom)   (quot pred-vb) (topic-nom)
    `we conversed about it like this`

58 ragai   tavireva   oisio
    (addres-nom)   (quot pred-vb) (quote-nom)
    `he told me this`

69 koru   atosia   iparoepa
    (obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb) (intr pred-vb)
    `he went up to get down green coconuts`

81 aruparoepa   ro Ari   oisio
    (quot pred-vb) (sub-nom:nom)   (quote-nom)
    `this man, Ari, was summoning like this`

87 lotusia   avaiepa   vokiarovi
    (intr pred-dep vb) (intr pred-vb)   (time-nom)
    `they went to worship (in the) evening`

88 lotu   opesioro   vorevira voreiepa
    (obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb) (intr pred-mod vb) .
    `finishing church we (exclusive) returned back`

97 oirato   ruiva   itovaia
    (obj-nom > mod nom)   (tr pred-vb)   (loc-nom)
    ora vururuva taporo
    `they enveloped (a) man and his war club also with
    (the) banana`

99 Isio   votavuru   kaereva
    (sub-nom)   (obj-nom)   (tr pred-vb)
    `Isio carried this bundle`

100 aueia sikatoaia votavuruva rearearoepa
    (loc-nom:nom)   (acc-nom)   (stat pred-vb)
    `by (the) wild fig tree he rested with this bundle`

103 vava   eriaia   koataroepa
    (acc-nom) (loc-nom)   (intr pred-vb) .
    `with it he entered into (the) cave`

104 iravu ovito   votavuru   votoreva
    (sub-nom:nom) (obj-nom)   (tr pred-vb)
    `another male, (the) son, pressed this bundle`

112 aigeiva taporo uporeva   otopisivula
    (obj-mod nom)   (tr pred-vb) (loc-nom)
    `he fought (the) mother-in-law also in another room`

113 kareroepa   voea   upooro
    (intr pred-vb)   (obj-nom)   (tr pred-dep vb)
    `he returned fighting them`

4.14 Fourth degree of complexity: four or five components

1   ovokivuia   avaveiepa   ora iravu vaisiaro Luke
    (time-nom)   (intr pred-vb)   (sub-mod nom:nom)
      Arimiori rupusia   avakavaia
               (tr pred-dep vb)   (loc-nom)
    `on another day we both (and I) with another man whose
    name is Luke Arimiori went to swim for something in
    (the) ocean`

21   ro   taviava   vegoa   rupupaveva
    (addres-nom) (quot pred-vb) (sub-nom) (tr pred-vb)
    ʻI told this man, we who were swimming for somethingʼ

23   avakava   opuruva   kaeevoi   rovua
    (sub-nom)   (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb) (loc-nom)
    ʻ(the) ocean carries (the) canoe (to the) deep waterʼ

30   ragai   orapireraepa   vouririo raga
    (sub-nom) (stat pred-vb) (axis-mod nom)
      purapaoro   oisio
      (quot pred-dep vb) (quote-nom)
    ʻI disregarded this fear only saying thisʼ

39   oiraia   pituava
    (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb) oa iava oiraia
               (time:cl:nom)   (loc-nom)
      orakotoraepa
      (tr pred/obj-vb)
    ʻI held onto her after which I tied myself to herʼ

47   ro ira taporo   avaraepa   rirovira roruiraoreva
    (acc-nom)   (intr pred-vb)   (stat-mod vb)
           (sub-nom:cl)
  oisio
  (quote-nom)
   this man, with whom I went, was very happy (saying)
  this

64   verauvirooro   oira   tovoveva   opuruva
    (intr pred-dep vb) (obj-nom:nom) (tr pred-vb)
    ʻbeaching completely, we put her, (the) canoeʼ

71   varava   voreveiepa   opuruva iare erakopara taporo
    (acc-nom) (intr pred-vb) (loc-nom)   (acc-nom)
    ʻwe returned to (the) canoe with them, (and) firewood
    alsoʼ

72   auere arua   rovisia
    (obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb) kareveiepa
       (reason-nom:cl)   (intr pred-vb)
      vore atoia
      (loc-nom:nom)
    ʻwe returned to home to "grease" (the) greensʼ

78   oira   tovooro   atari   siarepaveiepa
    (obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb) (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)
    putting her, we disemboweled (the) fishʼ

83   aio   kokooro   puraeva   vatuava
    (obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb) (tr pred-vb) (sub-nom)
      vegeipa
      (in obj-nom)
    ʻ(the) wife did, pouring (the) food for usʼ

90   rirovira rutu siraopaveiepa vo
    (stat pred-mod vb)   (topic-nom)
    orarugorugopiepaoro oisio
    (quot pred-dep vb) (quote-nom)
    ʻtruly greatly we sorrowed while remembering it like thisʼ

96   oisioa   ito   tavurupaave   tuariri
    (time-nom) (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)   (time-nom)
    all (the) time they would bundle bananas long agoʼ

4.15 <u>Fifth</u> <u>degree</u> <u>of</u> <u>complexity</u>: six or more components

or compound sentences

5   <u>voa</u>   <u>toupaeva</u>   <u>gaegaerepaoro</u>   <u>voa</u>
    (loc-nom) (stat pred-vb) (intr pred-dep vb) (loc-nom)
      <u>osia</u>   <u>rupupaveva</u>
     ` (conj) (tr pred-vb)
    `she was there drifting there as we were swimming for
    something`

12   <u>viapau taraiveiepa osia</u>   <u>avakava</u>   <u>toruoro</u>
    (stat pred-mod vb) (conj) (sub-nom) (intr pred-dep vb)
      <u>viripato tokoeva</u>
            (tr pred-vb)
        <u>iraia</u>   <u>opuruva</u>   <u>kotoveva</u>
    <u>ro</u> (agt-nom) (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)
                   obj-nom:nom:cl
    `we didn't know as (the) ocean undulating br_ke (the)
    rope, this one, by which we had hung (anchored) (the)
    canoe`

16   <u>avaopa</u>   <u>osia</u>   <u>viapau taraiveiepa</u>
    (intr pred-vb) (conj) (stat pred-mod vb)
    `she went while we didn't know`

                      <u>vi</u>   <u>avau</u>

27   <u>oisio</u>   <u>puraraepa</u>   (sub-nom) (intr pred-vb)
    (quote-nom:cl) (quot pred-vb)
    `I said this, "you go"`

29   <u>viapau uvuipaveiepa uvuipaveiepa</u>
    ` (stat pred-mod vb) (stat pred-vb)  `
    `we were not able, we were (not) able`

31   <u>ovu</u>   <u>vegeivi</u>   <u>kareveare</u>   <u>osia</u>   <u>okarevu avuvai</u>
    (loc-nom) (sub-nom) (intr pred-vb) (conj) (sub-mod nom)
      <u>vegei</u>   <u>aiopai</u>   <u>vorara opuruva</u>
      (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb) (conj) (sub-nom)
      <u>vavo oisio</u>   <u>avao</u>
    ` (loc-nom:nom) (intr pred-vb)
    `where will "poor" we return if some other animals
    are eating us while (the) canoe is going this way`

52   <u>eake rutu</u>   <u>vi vovouaroia oratovoi</u>
    (sub-nom nom) (loc-mod nom) (tr pred/obj-vb) oa iava
                 (time-cl:nom)
      <u>opuruvare rorosia</u>   <u>kaeuviro</u>
      (obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb) (intr pred-vb)
    `truly what put itself in your thoughts after which
    you raised up to search for (the) canoe?`

55   <u>vosia</u> <u>viapau aeri</u>   <u>Pautore</u>   <u>ra</u>
    (conj) (quot pred-mod vb) (addres-nom) (conj)
        <u>vegeivi</u>   <u>opesive</u>
        (sub-nom) (stat pred-vb)
    `if you had not cried to God, then "poor" we would be
    finished`

56   <u>ari</u> <u>Pauto</u>   <u>vi</u>   <u>tavirevo</u>
    (conj) (sub-nom) (addres-nom) (quot pred-vb) oa iava
        <u>kukueva</u>   <u>kaepierivo</u>
        (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)
    `but God told you recently after which you lifted
    (your) head`

59 <u>irau</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>kareve</u>
   (intr pred-vb) (conj) (intr pred-vb)
   'you go first and we'll return'

65 <u>oira</u>   <u>tovooro</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>ragai</u>
   (obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb) (quote-nom) (addres-nom)
      <u>tavipareva</u>   <u>oisio</u>
   ` (quote pred-vb) (quote-nom)
   'putting her, like this he told me, like this'

66 <u>irau</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>opitaravai</u> <u>atosia</u>
   (intr pred-vb) (conj)   (obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb)
                                           (quote-cl)
      <u>aueve</u>
   ` (quot pred-vb)
   'you go first and we'll consider getting down coconuts'

77 <u>oira</u>   <u>verapieveva</u> <u>oira</u>   <u>tovosia</u>
   (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)   (obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb)
         <u>vo vovio rogararo avakava vatuaroia</u>
   `   (loc-nom:nom:mod nom)
   'we beached her to put her here on (the) beach at (the)
   ocean's side'

82 <u>aioavaiva</u> <u>ra</u>   <u>oai</u>   <u>aiove</u>
   (acc-nom) (conj) (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)
   '(come) with food and we will eat it'

85 <u>aiooro</u>   <u>oratoupiepaveiepa</u> <u>osia</u>   <u>voea</u>
   (intr pred-dep vb)   (stat pred-vb)   (conj) (sub-nom)
      <u>atariroviro</u> <u>puraiva</u>
   ` (obj-nom)   (tr pred-vb)
   'we both were together eating as they made these fish
   soups

89 <u>aioiova</u>   <u>atari kare voeao (obj-nom)</u>
   (tr pred-vb)
         <u>rupupaoro</u>   <u>vuria</u>   <u>ouragaveva</u>
      (tr pred-dep vb) (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)
                  (obj-nom:nom:cl)
   `we ate (the) fishes, these, which while swimming for
   we inadvertently got (into) trouble'

91 <u>viapau uvuipaveiei</u> <u>ra</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>tootoove</u>
   (stat pred-mod vb) (conj) (com-nom:cl) (stat pred-vb)
                                  <u>opuruva</u>   <u>vegei</u>
                                  (sub-nom) (obj-nom)
   <u>osia</u>   <u>tootoopaveiei</u> <u>uvare</u>
   (conj) (stat pred-vb) (conj)
   <u>kavuragaevo</u>
   (tr pred-vb) uva <u>vuria</u>   <u>ouragavevo</u>
   (time-cl:nom)   (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)
   `   (reason-cl)
   'we would not be able to live as we are living now
   because when (the) canoe just left us recently, we
   inadvertently got (into) trouble'

93 <u>ovokirovuia</u> <u>oraaivaropiepaveaira</u> <u>orarugopiepave</u>
   (time-nom) (intr pred-vb)   (quot pred-vb)
   <u>ra</u>   <u>siraova ita</u>   <u>oravegeipa</u>
   (conj) (stat pred-mod vb) (sub/axis-nom)
   ' on these other days we will always meet together,
   we will be remembering back, and we will be sorry
   again form ourselves'

94   <u>oisiovio raga</u>   <u>osia</u>
      (comment-mod nom) (conj)
      <u>epesiei</u>   <u>ragai votavitaviaro</u>
      (stat pred-vb)   (sub-mod nom)   oa
                  (obj-cl:nom)
      <u>puraavoi</u>   <u>vovokioia aueia naintin sikisti sikis</u>
      (tr pred-vb) (time-nom:nom:nom)
      <u>ragai Raupeto</u>
      (sign-nom:nom)
      'it (is) just (a) little like this as my story is
      finished which I am making on this day in nineteen
      sixty six, I Raupeto'

115   <u>eisivi raga ragai vaaro</u>   <u>ra</u>   <u>opesipe</u>
      (comment-mod non:mod nom) (conj) (stat pred-vb)
      <u>ragai Vavioviri</u>
      (sign-nom:nom)
      'mine (is) just a little like that and now it would be
      finished, I, Vavioviri'

4.16 Information Provided By Text

An investigation of the Text broken down into its component parts
shows that, aside from sentence-level particles such as
affirmatives, exclamatory morphemes and introducers, basically the
components are either verbs, nominals, or conjunctions. These
components' functions are varied: to describe action, to describe
condition or state of being, to name the subject, object, indirect
object, time of action, place of activity, etc. The verbs and
nominals may be notified. The verbs may occur in subordinate or
coordinate relationships. The nominals may occur in an appositive
string or in a coordinate series.

A closer look at the components made up of nominals will also
reveal the importance of the relator particles mentioned in
section 3.78, but left until now to be explained. These relator
particles, prepositions, post-positioned relators, functionals, or
whatever one wants to name them will provide the most useful means
of identifying the functions of the components. Order of components
will be of little help.

Beginning with these observations and using the Rotokas
concordance to complement the data, a "framework" for the
description of functional components of Rotokas syntax will be
attempted. To be sure, when the syntax itself is fully investigated

there will be subsequent adjustments and additions to the
description given in this paper.

4.2 The Rotokas Predicate

The observations about the "fundamental utterance" (section 3.1)
and the conclusions which can be drawn from observing any utterance
of the first degree of complexity are identical, i.e., it expresses
action, condition, or state of being, the actor (subject), the time
of action, the mode, and the aspect of the action. It is a single
word, a verb construction, which functions as the "predicate" of
the Rotokas clause. The predicate can be identified by its verb
morphology and by the fact that it is the minimal permitted
utterance of a clause.

4.21 The Simple Predicate

By definition the Rotokas Simple Predicate consists of one and only
one verb construction which is either dependent upon or independent
of another verb construction in the utterance. There are four types
of simple predicates: those which never occur with an object, those
which may occur with an object, those which are preceded or
followed by a quote, and those which express a state of being,
existence, or condition.

4.21.1 Type I, The Simple Intransitive Predicate

One will readily conclude from the description of Rotokas verb
morphology and from observations of the Text that the Rotokas
concept of transitiveness is, at best, vague. Note, however, the
following sets of examples: <u>va aiori</u> `you eat it´ and <u>aiou</u> `you
eat´; <u>va oriri</u> `you cook it´ and <u>oriu</u> `you cook.´ The first
examples of the two sets are both transitive in that an object is
present and a corresponding ß-stem marker <u>-ri</u> `you´ is employed.
The second examples are intransitive in that there is no object and
the corresponding -stem marker <u>-u</u> `you´ is employed. On the basis

that in these examples the notion of transitiveness is manifested, the distinction will be recognized in the description of the predicate; otherwise, there is little to warrant it.

Predicate Type I expresses an intransitive action which is neither preceded nor followed by a Comment, nor is there ever an Object of the action expressed. The Type I predicate is manifested by Class I verbs which may or may not be modified. Examples are:

<u>ira</u> <u>AVAROEPA</u> <u>kaakau</u> <u>kare-va</u>   `he went with (the) dogs
he went-he   dog   pl-with   years ago`

<u>VIAPAU</u> <u>IKAUVIRA</u> <u>VOKAEVERE</u>   <u>vo-re</u>   <u>atoia</u>
no   quickly   walk-she-will here-to home
 `soon she will not walk home quickly`

<u>va-va</u>   <u>kepa-ia</u>   <u>KOATAROEPA</u>   `he went with it into
with-it house-into entered-he   (the) house years ago`
<u>KAREUVIROSIERA</u>   `two people (m/m or m/f) completely
                returned weeks ago`

The simple predicates of this type in the Text are listed according to the verb stems: <u>ava</u> `to go,` <u>kare</u> `to return,` <u>aata</u> `to swim,` <u>vore</u> `to go back,` <u>ira</u> `to precede,` <u>ipa</u> `to ascend,` <u>topa</u> `to continue on,` and <u>koata</u> `to enter,` <u>vera</u> `to beach,` and <u>kae</u> `to raise up.`

4.21.2 <u>Type</u> <u>II</u>, <u>The</u> <u>Simple</u> <u>Transitive</u> <u>Predicate</u>

Predicate Type II expresses a transitive action which is neither preceded nor followed by a Comment, but there may or may not be an overt Object of the action. The Type II predicate is manifested by Class II verbs which may or may not be modified. Examples are:

<u>ouruivu</u>   <u>PURAIVA</u>   `they made another village
village-other   made-they   years ago`

<u>RIROVIRA</u>   <u>ORAVUREVURERAERA</u>   `I shook myself vigorously
greatly   myself-shook-I   weeks ago`

The simple transitive predicates in the Text are listed according to the verb stems: <u>rupu</u> `to swim for something,` <u>koto</u> `to hang,` <u>rita</u> `to spear,` <u>pura</u> `to do/make,` <u>toko</u> `to break,` <u>kaepie</u> `to lift,` <u>roro</u> `to search for,` <u>kae</u> `to carry,` <u>utu</u> `to follow,`

aio `to eat,´ pitu `to hold,´ varovaro `to retrieve,´ tovo `to put,´ roko `to penetrate,´ ato `to get (something) down,´ kavu `to leave behind,´ ou `to get,´ aivaro `to conjoin,´ tavuru `to bundle,´ ru `to envelop,´ verapie `to beach/anchor,´ siare `to disembowel,´ voto `to press,´ ruru `to move around,´ vurevure `to shake,´ karukaru `to open repeatedly,´ upo `to hit/fight.´

4.21.3 Type III, The Simple Quotative Predicate

Predicate Type III expresses the act of communicating either by audible articulation or mental exercise. The "Quote," i.e., the message to be communicated nearly always precedes or follows this predicate type. The "Addressee," i.e., the one receiving the message parallels the "Object" of the Predicate Type II, and is an optional component associated with this Predicate. The Type III predicate is usually readily identified by the co-occurrence of the nominal oisio `like this´ which is an appositive relationship with the Quote. For example:

    oisio   PURAROVERE   irau   `soon he will say this,
    like-this   say-he-will   precede-you   "you go first"

    oa iava   oisio   VOVOUPARAI
    it-about   like-this   thinking-am-I
    `I am thinking about it like this´

    ragai   TAVIREVORA   eisi   osia   vi   TAVITAVIPAAVOI
    I   told-he   like-that   as   you   telling-am-I
    `he told me like that weeks ago as I am telling you
    now´

     Examples of this predicate type in the Text are as follows:
tavi `to tell,´ pura `to say,´ reo `to talk,´ aue `to consider,´ aru `to summon,´ rugorugo `to think,´ rugopie `to remember.´

4.21.4 Type IV, The Simple Stative Predicate

Predicate Type IV expresses existence, condition, or state of being. Existence (Type IV-A) is expressed by the verb stems: tou `to exist,´ epao `to be,´ Ø `to be,´ and -a `to be.´ They are all exemplified in section 3.24.24.

The expression of condition (Type IV-B) is made by verb stems such as the following: <u>roru</u> `to be happy,´ <u>ovoi</u> `to be enough,´ <u>ruipa</u> `to desire.´ Some examples of the expression of condition are as follows:

<pre>
rera-pa   VATATOPOIRAOPAU   ro   propetato
him-for   be-ready-truly   this-man   prophet
     `you be truly ready for him, this man, (the) prophet´
iravu   kopiroepa   voea iava
another man   died-he   them-from
     he died years ago, another one of them´

VIAPAU   TARAIPAU   ragai   vaaro-ia   toua
not   knowing-are-you I   it-pos-about   existence
vo   vuka-ia
here   Buka-on
 you do not know how I am here on Buka´
</pre>

The predicate which expresses state of being is a construction of adjective stem followed immediately by the Type IV-A morpheme <u>Ø</u> `to be.´ Examples are given in section 3.24.24 in addition to those given here:

<pre>
eva   kovoaro   VAVAGISI Ø-PAI   RUTU
that   work-poss   difficult-it is   very
            that work is very difficult´

APOTA Ø-PAVE   uvare   viapau   oisio   oiratoavai
poor-they-would-be   because   none   like-this   some-man
     `they would be poor because (there was) not one man´

RIROVIRA   RUTU   UTEO   Ø-IRAOPARAEPA   evoa
greatly   very   cold   really-I-was   there
          I was truly very very cold there´
</pre>

The Type IV predicates found in the Text are: <u>tou</u> `to exist,´ <u>ovoi</u> `to be enough,´ <u>tarai</u> `to know,´ <u>uvui</u> `to be able,´ <u>roru</u> `to be happy/to rejoice,´ <u>opesi</u> `to be finished,´ <u>sirao</u> `to be sorry,´ <u>tootoo</u> `to be alive,´ <u>rearea</u> `to rest,´ <u>voki(epa)</u> `(idiomatic use) day ended.´

4.22 Compounded Predicates

Two or more Simple Predicates may co-occur in either dependent[3] or independent relationships. Predicates occurring in dependent relationships may be identified by the dependent verb markers described in section 3.23.42, i.e., <u>-sia</u>, <u>-oro</u>, and <u>-arapa</u>. Those

occurring in an independent relationship with another predicate may
be identified by either the presence of the anticipatory mode
marker -iva (3.23.52) or by the occurrence of conjunctions
conjoining the predicates either coordinately or subordinately.

a) Example of three predicates, two of which are in a
dependent relationship with the third:

```
voa-va       PUTERAGAPAIVA        vooriro
here-from    passed-by-just-they  these-foods
KAVUPAORO       UKOPASIA
while-leaving   water-to-be-getting
 they just passed by from there years ago leaving these cooked
foods, to get water
```

b) Example of two independent predicates in subordinate
relationship:

```
vosia   kovoavai    TOUPAIVOI    rakoru-ia
if      work-maybe  existing-is  snake-by-means-of
oire       ragai    TAVIRI
okay-then  I        tell-you
 if perhaps there is work (power) in this snake, then you
tell me
```

c) Examples of two independent predicates in coordinate
relationship:

```
oira   TUSIVOIVA       oira   IPAPIEPASIVA
she    tied-they-and   she    ascend-made-they
 (the) two men tied her and they made her go up years ago'

rera   OVOIRO          ora   oira   OVOIO
he     enough-he-is    and   she    enough-she-is
 he is (mature) enough, and she is (mature) enough'
```

For examples from the Text of dependent predicates see the
listings under section 3.23.42 a and b. For examples of subordinate
and coordinate relationships see the list of examples showing the
fifth degree of complexity (section 4.15).

4.3 The Functions of Rotokas Nominals

Having established that the Rotokas Predicate as the fundamental
utterance may express a complete thought, e.g., subject and action,
condition, or state of being, the next step is to observe instances

of the fundamental utterance plus some complementary component.
Proceeding through the list of section 4.12, one notes the
following components in addition to the Predicate: Agent, Object,
Subject, Location, Axis, Quote, Accompaniment. Others are present
in the utterances of section 4.13: Indirect Object, Topic, Time;
and finally in section 4.14 and 4.15: Reason, Comment and
Conjunction.

Each complementary component except the conjunction is a
function of the Rotokas nominal. In the description of the Rotokas
Predicate it was seen that the <u>single</u> <u>function</u> of Predicate had
various sub-types according to the Class of verb, i.e., transitive
action, intransitive action, quotative, condition, or existential.
It will be noted, however, in the description of the non-verbal
components there is a single group of words, the nominals, with
<u>various</u> <u>functions</u>. The question now arises, which was not present
in the discussion of the Predicate, how can the various functions
be identified when they are manifested by only a single group of
words, the nominals?

As was mentioned previously (section 4.16) the relator
particles will provide the key to the identification of the
functions. Granted, there will be overlap and some ambiguities,
but, in addition, co-occurrences of particular verb classess and
nominals and, to some degree, order will help in the identification
process. As a brief review the relator particles are given here
again: -<u>pa</u> `for,´ -<u>re</u> `to/for,´ -<u>ri</u> `over there,´ -<u>va</u> `from/with,´
<u>iare</u> `to/towards,´ <u>iava</u> `from/about/after,´ <u>tapo</u>(<u>ro</u>)
`with/too/also,´ <u>vo</u> and -<u>ia</u> which may be translated by nearly all
of the prepositions known in European languages, like: in, on, at,
to, from, with, by, about, because of, during, for. (In fact, they
are very much like the Neo-Melanesian <u>long</u>.)

4.31 Nominals As Accompaniment

The Accompaniment component names the person(s) or item(s) in whose
company the subject performs the action or with whom the subject
exists. The identifying relator particles are: -ia `with,´ -va
`with,´ and tapo(ro) `with/also/too.´ These particels are suffixed
to or follow immediately these optionally modified nominals:
classified noun, proper noun, relative pronoun, demonstrative
pronoun, interrogative pronoun, and/or relative clause, which may
or may not occur in an appositive string.

```
rovopava    RERA-VA     toupaeva
first-(f)   him-with    exist-she
`(the) first woman existed with him years ago´

VOEA-VA     kosiaviro                VOEA-VA
them-with   exit completely-they     them-with
   utaveoro
   blowing-the-Triton-shell
`they went out completely with them blowing the Triton
shell with them´

ira   RAGAI TAPORO    oraaivaropieroepa
he    me with         met together-he
`he met together with me´

VORAO-IA     avaereiepa      poukarao
branch-with  went-2 (f)      leaning-branch
`both of the women went years ago with this branch, (the)
leaning branch´
```

(See Text utterances: 71, 82, 100, 101, and 103.)

4.32 Nominals As Addressee

The Rotokas Addressee component names the person(s) or item(s) to
which the Quote is directed. It is identified by the optional
relator particles -pa `for,´ -re `to´ and iare `to,´ but more
commonly by its usual position, i.e., immediately preceding the
Quotative Predicate. The Addressee is manifested by all of the
optionally modified nominals (except temporals and locatives)
and/or by relative clauses.

```
visi   RAGAI-RE   tavitai      oisio        koie   uposia
you    I-to       tell-you     like-this    pig    to-kill
   uriouvere
   come-you-will
`you all tell me this, "you will come to kill pigs"´
```

<u>viapau</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>taviparoepa</u> <u>RO</u> <u>IARE</u>
no   like-this   tell-he-was   this-man to
 he was not telling this to this man years ago´

<u>oa iava</u>   <u>rakutairara</u>   <u>VEGEI-PA</u> <u>siposipopaive</u>
it-about   doctor-men   us-for   teach-they-would
 (the) doctors would be teaching/telling us about it´

<u>IRAVU-RE</u>   <u>oisio</u>   <u>puraroepa</u> <u>rera</u> <u>aiteto</u>
another-(m)-to   like-this   said-he   he   father
 he said this to another man, him, (the) father´

(See Text utterances: 21, 53, 55, 58, 65, and 79.)

4.33 <u>Nominals</u> <u>As</u> <u>Agents</u>

The Rotokas Agent component names the means by which an
intransitive or transitive action may take place. The identifying
relator particle is -<u>ia</u> `with/by means of´ which may be suffixed to
these optionally modified nominals: classified noun, personal,
demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronoun; and/or relative
clause which may or may not occur in an appositive string.

<u>GAUOVIA</u>   <u>VAO-IA</u>   <u>OA-IA</u>   <u>agasioe</u>
cry-water-is this-here which-with filled-she-was
     <u>kakate</u>
.   bamboo
`this here is (the) cry-water (tears) by which (the) bamboo
(tube) was filled´

<u>RARIROVA-IA</u>   <u>iparaepa</u>   <u>oisiri-re</u>
Landrover-by means of   ascended-I   over there-to
<u>agirikoturo</u> <u>sitesin</u>
agricultural station
 I went up years ago by landrover to (the) agricultural
station over there´

<u>apui-ia</u> <u>RASITUVU-IA</u>   <u>orakipuparoepa</u>
hole-in mud-with   himself-painting-he-was
 in (the) hole he was painting himself with mud years ago´

(See Text utterances: 3, 4, 12, 43, 60, 97.)

4.34 <u>Nominals</u> <u>As</u> <u>Axis</u>

The Axis component co-occurs with Type IV Predicate only. It names
the object of an emotional response or, to some extent, the reason
for that response. The identifying relator particles are: -<u>ia</u> (any
preposition), -<u>re</u> `to,´ -<u>pa</u> `for,´ and -<u>iava</u> `about.´ All nominals

may manifest this function and/or a relative clause. The
appositive string construction is again optional.

```
opeita    OREKEROVU RAGA-IA    vovoupau
do not    everything just-for  desire-be-you
 don't be desirous for just everything'

VO-PA    AVATARA   ,     houses   oraarikokopaave
here-for initiates'  houses     respect-they-would-be
 they would be respectful for (the) initiates' houses'

rirovira  rutu  uririparaepa  OISIO      TEAPI
greatly   truly fear-was-I    like-this  not good
  RAGAI KUVAIVE
   I    poison-they-would
 'I was truly very afraid (of) this (that) they would
poison me'
```

(See Text sentences: 30, 49, 93.)

4.35 Nominals As Comment

The Comment component functions as a bracketing device which
relates the verb to an entire commentary, usually more than one
sentence in length. The nominals which function as Comment are the
relative pronouns oisi(o) and eisi 'like this' and 'like that'
respectively. The relator particles which may occur identifying
this function, though rarely do they occur, are -ia 'about' and
iava 'about.' The most common occurence of this component is at the
close of a narration as in utterances 94 and 115.

```
vearovira  OISIO-IA         ragai vaaro     ririvari
good-like  like-this-about  I     it-poss   ag. officer
  ragoa   vokovoaro
   I     work-poss
 'thank you, for (about) this my work as agricultural
officer'

evopitupitu     oa   OISIO      toupaivou
that-custom     it   like-this  exists-it-now
 that customs, it is like this now' (relating to
description of the custom in the paragraph that follows)

EISIVI RAGA              osia  vosiposipo   purapaa    vaoia
like-that-dim-just       as    this-story   making-I   this-here
  vokovoaro iava  Davit
   work-poss-about
 'it is just a little like that as I am making this story
about David's work.' (A reference to preceding narrative
about David's work, which it brackets)
```

(See Text utterances: 91, 94 and 115.)

4.36 <u>Nominals</u> <u>As</u> <u>Direct</u> <u>Object</u>

Other than the Predicate, the Object component is the most common
one to be found in the Text. The function of the Object is to name
the receiver of the transitive action. In only five of the 54
occurrences of the Object in the Text is the component identified
by a relator particle. The identification of the Object is mainly
dependent upon "order." In all but three of the 54 occurrences in
the Text, the Object immediately precedes the verb stem of the
Predicate. in two of the three exceptions, the Object immediately
follows the Predicate. In the remaining instance, ʤhe Object is a
part of the Predicate. Although the ordering of the components of
the Rotokas clause is not by any means "set," there is a general
pattern which can be formulated for clauses with transitive
Predicates, i.e.,

   ± Subject ± Indirect Object ± Direct Object

      + Predicate Type II

It is especially important to notice that the Subject precedes the
Object, which immediately precedes the Predicate. Neither Subject
nor Object are commonly identified by relator particles, and when
both Subject and Object are of the same number and gender, there is
no other way to distinguish them since the person marker (Subject)
of the Predicate would agree with both, e.g., <u>Pita</u> <u>Raupeto</u> <u>tapareva</u>
(Peter Raupeto hit-he-remote past) ΅Peter hit Raupeto years ago.΅
    When relator particles (-<u>ia</u>, -<u>re</u>, -<u>pa</u>) are used with the
Object there is usually a correlation between the relator particle
and the particular activity described by the verb, i.e., in the
Text No.9, <u>OPURUVA-RE</u> <u>rororagaraepa</u> (CANOE-FOR I searched in vain)
΅I <u>searched</u> in vain <u>for</u> (the) canoe.΅
    The reciprocal action marker <u>ora-</u> identifies the combined
subject-object relation of the person marker of the verb in some

instances, e.g., ORA-upo-A-epa (REC-fight-THEY-remote past) `they
fought themselves years ago.´ The reciprocal action marker prefixed
to the Subject component may indicate in a similar fashion the
subject-object relation, e.g., ORA-VAITEREI-IA garova tusiva
(REC-TWO(M)-ON rattan-vine tie-they (2)-remote past) `(the) two men
tied themselves together (with) rattan vine.´

Other examples of the Direct Object component are as follows:

OAVU   ITA   ouava   RIGATOA WANA VAARO
another again got-I   writing Wana it-poss
`I got another letter again from Wana´

vosia viapau VA vearovira tokipari   ra   vuria
if   no   it well   care for-you then evil
  karekepe
  arise-will
`if you are not taking care of it well, then evil will
arise/develop´

IGEI-RE   utuaepa   Japan
we-to   followed-they
`(the) Japanese followed us years ago´

vegeivipa   RIROA   vatesi   SIRAOA
poor us-for big-thing give-you(2) sorrow
`both of you give to both of us "poor ones" much sorrow´

AUE ERAO TAU VAVAE   AUE KOIE KARE OA   uporevora
Ø   twenty-five   Ø   pigs   which   killed-he
va iare   pupipa
it-for   feast
`twenty-five pigs, them he killed for (the) feast´

(See Text utterances: 4, 7, 8, 12, 18-20, 22, 23, 28 30, 31,
38, 39, 48, 50, 52, 56, 64-66, 68, 69, 72, 76-78, 80, 82, 83, 85,
88, 89, 91, 92, 94, 96-99, 104, 105, 109-113.)

4.37 Nominals as Indirect Object

The Indirect Object component names the one(s) receiving the Direct
Object of the Predicate. The two most common identifying relator
particles are -re `to´ and -pa `for.´ Occasionally -ia `to/for´ and
iare `to´ are also used. All nominals except locatives and
temporals may manifest this function as well as relative clauses.
These may or may not occur in appositive strings. It co-occurs
with a Transitive Predicate only and usually immediately precedes
the object.

```
ovirovu   tootooara  vikiivora    vo   VIGEI-PA  VAO
how many  lives      threw-they  here  us-for    this
   OIRARA VAO  VO   ROTOKASI-IA
 people this here Rotokas-at
'how many threw their lives away for us, this people of
(the) Rotokas here'
```

```
VI-PA     va   puraa
you-for   it   make-I
 I make it for you'
```

```
VIGEI VAO  VIGOA IARE  kovoa  kaeivora      vao
we    this we    to    work   carried-they this
   vearokovo
   good work
'we (are) these to whom they carried (the) work, this
good work'
```

```
ovokia    rikuivai    tekasia   avave  AUE-RE  KOIE  KARE
this-day  hole-maybe  to dig    go-we  Ø-for   pigs
 this day we will go to dig (a) hole, maybe, for (the) pigs'
```

(See Text utterances: 48 and 83.)

4.38 Nominals as Location

The Location component names the area in which an action is taking

place or a condition is present, or the area towards which or from

which an action is taking place. The most common identifying

relator particles are: -ia (any prepositional), iare 'towards,'

iava 'from,' and vo (any preposition). To a lesser degree -re 'to,'

-va 'from' and -ri 'over there' are used. All nominals except

temporals may manifest this function as well as relative clauses.

These may or may not occur in apposition strings.

```
OA  IAVA  avaraepa
it  from  went-I
 another male, (a) boy slept in this house from which I
went years ago'
```

```
kepapaiova   RIROVA   SIOVARA-IA   KOKEVA  IRIA
house-we     big(f)   inside-at    rain    she
   POROOPA
   fall(as rain)-she
'we were building (a) house inside (the) heavy rain which
was falling'
```

```
rirovira   uteoparaera   EVOA    UKARUMPA-IA
greatly    cold-I-was    there   Ukarumpa-at
 I was very cold there at Ukarumpa'
```

(See Text utterances: 1, 5, 23, 31, 34, 36, 39, 40, 46, 52, 63, 67,

71, 72, 77, 97, 100, 103, 112.)

4.39 <u>Nominals</u> <u>as</u> <u>Quote</u>

The Quote component functions much like the Commentary component
(4.35) and is manifested in part by the same two nominals, i.e.,
the relative pronouns, <u>oisi(o)</u> and <u>eisi</u> `like this´ and `like
that,´ respectively. The primary difference between the two
components is that the Quote is the expression of thoughts, or
words, by the Subject of a Quotative Predicate, whereas the
Commentary goes beyond these limits in a much more general
function. The nominals <u>oisi(o)</u> and <u>eisi</u> "bracket" the expression of
thoughts or words and simultaneously signal their presence in an
appositive string manifesting the Quote component. The expression
itself may be an optionally modified word, clause, sentence, or
combination, although usually not larger than a single sentence.
There are no relator particles used to identify this component,
except -<u>ia</u> which occur rarely.

<pre>
OISIO   auepaue   RAGAI   AUERORE
like-this considered-you   I   Ø-these-to
 VORERAVEREA   KOTOKOTOARA
. return-I-will   cargoes
 you considered this, "I will years from now return to
these cargoes"

OISIO   puraaepa   EAKE KEKEPASI
like-this   said-they   what see-you(2)-are
 they said this years ago, "what are you both seeing?"

akesia   avaaepa   OISIO   E OIRATO   VO   URIOROEPA
to ask   went-they like-this   ? man   here came-he
 years ago they went to ask this, "Did (a) man come here
years ago?

OIRA OURIVERE   EIRA   RAGAI   OVIVAARO
her   get-you-will   that(f)   I   daughter-poss
 EISI   puraroepa
. like-that   said-he
 "you will get her, that girl, my daughter," that (is
what) he said years ago
</pre>

(See Text utterances: 27, 30, 47, 51, 54, 57, 58, 65, 81, and 90.)

4.310 <u>Nominals</u> <u>as</u> <u>Reason</u>

The Rotokas Reason component defines or explains the rational
behind an activity, communication or condition described in the

Predicate. It is usually identified by the relator particles: -re
`to,´ -pa `for,´ or iava `because of/about.´ The component may be
manifested by any of the nominals and/or by a relative clause. A
common manifestation is a (relative) clause in a subordinate
relationship with the main clause, e.g.,

rikuivai   tekasi   AUE IAVA   uvare   VIAPAU
hole-maybe dig-they(2) Ø because-of because not
    OISIO   TARAIPASI   VAO   IAVA   KOPIA
    like-this know-they(2)-are this about   death
  `they both dig (the) hole possibly because they both are not
aware/knowing of/about this death´

In the example above the relative pronoun aue "brackets" the
subordinate clause and with the relator particle signals its
presence as the Reason for the action of the Predicate.

voeava   avave   vegoarore   AUE-RE   KORA
them-from go-we(2) jungle-to   Ø-in order to   opossum
    TARASIA
    to hunt
  `we both went from them to (the) jungle to hunt opossum´

EAKEVAI-PA   voeao   riakova   tovapai
what-for   these   woman   bury-are-they
  `for what (reason) are these burying (the) woman?´

vikusiva   vaireiarova   VO   UVARE
go to garden-they(2) they(2f)-poss-from here because
    AVIEPA   oa iava   siraopaoro   toupaereve
    dawned it-because of sorrowing   exist-they(2) would be
  `they both went to the garden from their two girls because
of this (here), day was dawning; because of it (their leaving)
(the) two girls would both be existing sorrowing´

(Note: The entire utterance up to and including oa iava manifest
the Axis component in contrast to the clause in upper case type
which manifests the Reason component.

(See Text utterances: 72 and 91.)

4.311 Nominals and Signature

The signature component is very restricted in its use and the
nominals which manifest the component are only pronouns and Proper
nouns. The component functions as a closure for a narrative which
the person named in the Signature has given. There are no
identifying relator particles used; however, its position,

narration final, and the usually occurring personal pronoun <u>ragai</u>
`I´ are sufficient to identify it.

<pre>
eva   oa   opesi   Ø-ei   RAGAI   EKURIMA
that   it   finish   is   I   Ekurima
</pre>
`that (is it) which is finished, I Ekurima´

(See Text utterances 94 and 115.)

4.312   <u>Nominals</u> <u>as</u> <u>Subject</u>

The Rotokas Subject component is an optional component of the
clause since the Predicate includes the person-number marker of the
subject of the action in the verb construction. The Subject is
manifested by any nominal and/or by a relative clause. The Subject
component is not identified by relator particles, but primarily by
its agreement in person and number with the subject marker of the
verb construction, and secondarily by its usual position either
initial or final in the clause.

<pre>
OVIROVUA   AUE   OIRA   OA   epao   voa
how many   Ø   people   it   exist   there
</pre>
`how many (are the) people who are there?´

<pre>
AVEKEVA   vavata   Ø-paoi
stone   heavy   is-she
</pre>
`(the) stone is heavy´

<pre>
OIRATO   oisioa   vovouiraoparo   oiraia   riakova
man   always   desire-really-he   her-for   woman
</pre>
`(a) man is all (the) time really desiring for (a) woman´

(See Text utterances: 1, 11, 12, 21, 27, 30, 31, 47, 52, 53, 55,
56, 81, 83, 85, 91, 93, 94, 99, 104.)

4.313 <u>Nominals</u> <u>As</u> <u>Time</u>

The Time component names the time during which the action is taking
place or a condition occurs. The most common identifying relator
particles are: -<u>ia</u> `during/on,´ -<u>ri</u> `back there´ and, to some
extent, <u>iava</u> `from.´ Only the temporals, Class II demonstrative
pronouns, and the locatives <u>siovaraia</u> `inside´ and <u>isivaroia</u>

`behind´ may manifest the Time component or a relative clause which may or may not occur in an appositive string.

```
VOVOKIO    OVOKIA-IA      turaro  voreroverea
this-day   which-day-on   chief   come back-he-will
`this (is the) day on which (the) chief will return
years from now´
```

```
vouruiia         vokipara  voa     VOARI        RUTU
this-village-in  awake-I   there   back-there   truly
  TUARIRI
  long-ago
`I was awaking there in this village back there truly
long ago´
```

```
vosiposipo   purapaa      ragai  VOIVAO       SIOPAROIA
this-story   make-I-am    I      this-year    inside
  AIREPAIVA
  new-year
`I am making this story within this year, (the) new year´
```

(See Text utterances: 1, 39, 52, 56, 87, 91, 93, 94 and 96.)

4.314 <u>Nominals</u> <u>as</u> <u>Topic</u>

The Rotokas Topic component is the subject matter about which a Quote (spoken or thought) is made. It only occurs with a Quotative Predicate and is most commonly identified by <u>iava</u> `about´ or -<u>ia</u> `about.´ The Topic most often is manifested by a combination of sentences describing an episode. Within the clause, however, the entire episode may be bracketed and signaled by a relative pronoun and the relator particle (as in the second example). To a lesser degree all nominals may manifest this component.

```
IRA   IAVA    oisioa   siposipopaive       OIRATO
him   about   always   tell story-they-would   man
 `they would always be telling a story about him, (a) man´
```

```
OA   IAVA    oisio      auevearea              vovokia
it   about   like-this  consider-we(2)-will    this-day
  vao    tutuvou
  this   nears-is
`about it (a previous statement) we both will consider
years from now this, "this day is drawing near"
```

```
visi       tavitavia   VAO    KOIE  KARE   VIEIARO        IAVA
you-all    tell-I      this   pigs         count-poss     about
 `I tell you all about this, (the) number of pigs´
```

(See Text utterances 57 and 90.)

4.4 Summary of Functions

The basic components of a clause consist of types of Predicates manifested by optionally modified verbal constructions and complementary components of the Predicates manifested by optionally modified nominals, clauses, sentences or discourses, often in appositive strings.

The key to the identification of the Predicate is the verb affixation and, more specifically, the key to the identification of the type of Predicate is the class of verb stems and the co-occurring complementary components.

The key to the identification of the complementary components manifested by nominals is not as reliable. There are eight relator particles equivalent to the many prepositions of English which function in a similar manner. Because of the relatively few identifying particles there is much overlap; however, position of component with in the clause, co-occurring Predicate type, and type of nominal (temporal or locative) help to resolve some of the ambiguities.

On the following page is a chart showing co-occurrence restrictions which will help to see at a glance the possible complementary components of the Predicates.

CO-OCCURRENCE OF PREDICATES and COMPLEMENTARY COMPONENTS

COMPONENT	Type I	Type II	PREDICATE Type II	Type IV
Accompaniment	+	+	+	+
Addressee			+	
Agent	+	+		
Axis				+
Comment	+	+		+
Direct Object		+		
Indirect Object		+		
Location	+	+	+	+
Quote			+	
Reason	+	+	+	+
Signature (exception)				
Subject	+	+	+	+
Time	+	+	+	+
Topic			+	

SUMMARY.   Accompaniment, Location, Reason, Subject, and Time may co-occur with all Predicate types. The Comment component may co-occur with all but Type III Predicate. The Agent may co-occur with Types I and II only. The Direct and Indirect Object components may co-occur with Type II only. The Addressee, Quote, and Topic may co-occur with Type III only, and the Axis component co-occurs with Type IV Predicate only. (The above are subject to adjustments when a more thorough analysis of the syntax is completed.)

5 AN EXERCISE IN IDENTIFICATION

5.0 Orientation

The identification of components occurring in four utterances (below) will help to demonstrate the validity of the criteria described in the above sections. The process will be a) to identify the Predicate type first, thus defining the possible complementary

components which may co-occur with it, b) to identify those
complementary components (by relator particles - RP, position in
clause, and specific type of nominal) beginning with the component
immediately preceding the Predicate and working towards the start
of the utterance, and c) to identify in the same manner components
immediately following the Predicate working towards the finish of
the utterance.

5.1 Utterance Number One

votouva kareroviropa votou vatausia vo rutu rupakouia

kareroviropa	IDENTIFICATION: The verb (identified
`he returned completely years ago´	by -roviropa) is intransitive because the stem, kare, and affixation are a
Predicate-I	Class I verb.

votouva	IDENTIFICATION: The classified noun
`with this bottle´	(ident: vo-) functions as such because of the RP -va `with.´
Accompaniment	

NOTE: There is some ambiguity becaue -va could also mean
`from,´ in which case the nominal would function as Location. The
remaining part of the utterance, however, clears the meaning.

vatausia	IDENTIFICATION: The second predicate
`to hide´	is dependent (ident: -sia) and transi
Predicate-II	tive because vatau is a Class II verb.

votou	IDENTIFICATION: The classified noun
`this bottle´	(ident: vo-) functions as such because
Direct Object	of the position and absence of RP´s.

NOTE: There could be ambiguity in that this nominal could also
be the Subject of the Predicate. Since there is no person-number
marker in the Dependent verb construction, the person-number marker

of the independent verb is referred to and tentatively demonstrates that the nominal is not the Subject but the Object.

vo rutu rupakouia

`here truly in
(the) morning`

Time

IDENTIFICATION: The component is an appositive string consisting of a modified demonstrative pronoun (ident: closed class) and a temporal (ident: closed class). The string functions as such because of the specific nominal[4] and the RP -ia `in.´

THE MEANING OF THE FIRST UTTERANCE: `he returned completely years ago with this bottle to hide this bottle very early in (the) morning.´

5.2 Utterance Number Two

oisio puraopa vorerivira uriou osia uririparaepa rutu

puraopa

`she said years
ago`

Predicate-III

IDENTIFICATION: The verb (ident: -opa) is a quotative because they stem, pura, with this affixation is a Class III verb.

oisio

`like this´

Quote

IDENTIFICATION: The presence of the relative pronoun oisio (ident: closed class) will always signal an expression of thought when it co-occurs with the Quotative Predicate.

NOTE: The relative pronoun oisio only signals the presence of the expression and simultaneously brackets it. The actual expression, as part of the Quote in an appositive relationship with the relative pronoun, is usually immediately before or after the combination of relative pronoun and Predicate-III. In this case,

the first complete expression following the predicate will be
tentatively identified as the actual quote; see below.

<u>vorerivira</u> <u>uriou</u> `you come again´ Predicate-I/Quote	IDENTIFICATION: The modified (ident: -<u>vira</u>) verb (ident: -<u>u</u>) is intransitive because the stem, <u>urio</u>, with this affix- ation is a Class I verb.

NOTE: This modified verb construction functions as the
Predicate of an independent clause; however, that clause is in an
appositive relationship with the relative pronoun of the Quote
function; consequently, it functions as part of the Quote component
simultaneously.

<u>osia</u> `as´ Conjunction	IDENTIFICATION: The word <u>osia</u> is a conjunction (ident: closed class) by definition. See section 3.77.1.

<u>uririparaepa</u> <u>rutu</u> `I was being truly afraid years ago´ Predicate-IV	IDENTIFICATION: The modified (ident: closed class) verb (ident: -<u>paraepa</u>) is a condition because of the presence of the stem <u>uriri</u> with this affixation, which is a Class IV verb.

NOTE: The second predicate is not included in the Quote
because of a) the conjunction, but moreover because of b) the
inconsistency of person-number markers of the three verb
constructions in the utterance.

MEANING OF SECOND UTTERANCE: `She said this years ago, "You come
again," as I was truly being afraid years ago.´

5.3 Utterance Number Three

<u>rera</u> <u>vaisieva</u> <u>ro</u> <u>irapa</u> <u>oisioa</u> <u>reasipao</u> <u>Kaka</u>

<u>vaisieva</u>	IDENTIFICATION: The verb (ident: <u>-eva</u>)
`she named years ago`	is a quotative because the stem, <u>vaisi</u>, with this affixation, is a Class III
Predicate-III	verb.

<u>rera</u>	IDENTIFICATION: The personal pronoun
`him`	(ident: closed class) functions as such
Addressee	because of position and absence of RP's. The nominal here again could be either Subject or Addressee; however, the person-number marker of the verb con- struction makes it clear that it is not the Subject.

<u>reasipao</u>	IDENTIFICATION: The verb (ident: <u>-pao</u>)
`she is disliking`	is a condition because the stem, <u>reasi</u>,
Predicate-IV	with this affixation, is a Class IV-B verb.

<u>oisioa</u>	IDENTIFICATION: The temporal, <u>oisioa</u>,
`all of the time`	(ident: closed class) functions as such
Time	because of its membership class.

<u>irapa</u>	IDENTIFICATION: The relative pronoun
`for him`	(ident: closed class) is identified as
Axis	the Axis component because of the co- occurrence with a Type IV Predicate, and the RP -<u>pa</u>.

<u>ro</u>	IDENTIFICATION: The demonstrative pro-
`this man`	noun (ident: closed class) is the
Axis/Addressee	second member of an appositive string. The first member, <u>rera</u>, has been ident- ified as the Addressee, and the third member, <u>ira</u>, has been identified as the Axis. The demonstrative pronoun here

points out that the Axis of the second clause is in fact the Addressee of the first clause. The entire Addressee component then is <u>rera</u> <u>ro</u> <u>irapa</u> <u>oisioa</u> <u>reasipao</u> following the formulation of section 3.94 (p. 63).

<u>Kaka</u>   IDENTIFICATION: The proper noun
`Kaka´   (ident: name of man) functions as such
Quote   because of a) absence of RP´s,
                             b) co-occurrence with the Type III
                             Predicate, c) the final position in the
                             utterance, and d) the lack of agreement
                             with the person-number markers of both
                             predicates (indicating that it couldn't
                             be the Subject.)

NOTE: This component is ambiguous if the semantic content of the Predicate is ignored. Since the first activity is that of naming a man, it follows that the name occurring in the utterance will be the one used in connection with that activity. The person named <u>Kaka</u> could possibly be the one in disfavor with the subject, however, and therefore be a complement of the second Predicate, but this would leave the Quotative Predicate without a Quote.

MEANING OF THIRD UTTERANCE: `She named him Kaka years ago, this man whom she was always disliking.´

5.4 <u>Utterance</u> <u>Number</u> <u>Four</u>

<u>akeeva</u> <u>eakepa</u> <u>ragai</u> <u>kavupari</u> <u>vore</u> <u>avapaoro</u> <u>Wakunaia</u>

akeeva

`she asked
years ago`

Predicate-III

IDENTIFICATION: The verb (ident: -eva)
is a quotative because the stem, ake,
with this affixation, is a Class III
stem.

kavupari

`you are leaving`

Predicate-II

IDENTIFICATION: The verb (ident:
-pari) is transitive because the stem,
kavu, with this affixation, is a Class
II stem.

ragai

`me`

Direct Object

IDENTIFICATION: The personal pronoun
(ident: closed class) functions as such
because of its position and the absence
of any RP's. (Again the person-number
marker of the verb construction
resolves the Subject-Object ambiguity.)

eakepa

`for what`

Indirect Object

IDENTIFICATION: The interrogative pro-
noun, eake (ident: closed class) func-
tions as sucb because of the RP -pa and
its position immediately preceding the
direct object.

avapaoro

`while going`

Predicate-I

IDENTIFICATION: The second predicate
is dependent (ident: -oro) and intran-
sitive because the stem, ava, is a
Class I verb stem.

vore

`to here`

Location

IDENTIFICATION: The Class 2 demonstrative
pronoun, vo, (ident: closed class)
functions as such because of the RP
-re, and the co-occurrence with the
Type I predicate.

NOTE: The Class 2 demonstrative pronoun signals a following
member of the appositive string of which it is a member. In this

case, the following member is a proper noun which names the `here´
of the demonstrative pronoun. See below.

Wakunaiia   IDENTIFICATION: The proper noun
`to Wakunai´   (ident: name of place) functions as
Location   such because of a) the RP -ia and its
                             position in the appositive string which
                             as a whole functions as the Location.

NOTE: Since the first predicate was a Quotative Predicate, one
must automatically look for a Quote. In this case, the entire
clause following the Quotative Predicate functions as the Quote
componenet complementing that predicate. It is identified by its
position immediately following the predicate, but also, in this
case of a question, by intonation.

MEANING OF FOURTH UTTERANCE: `She asked years ago, "For what are
you leaving me while going to Wakunai?"

APPENDIX

CHART 1
GENDER-NUMBER MARKERS OF THE NOUN

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Without Gender Non-specific	Without Gender Specific
Singular (s)	-to~-toa	-va~-riva	-a	-a 'any one'	-o 'this'
Dual (dl)	-toarei	-rirei	-are~-rei	-re~-rei 'any two'	-reo 'these two'
Plural (pl)	-irara	riako	-ara	-ra 'any'	-ro 'these'

CHART 2
NOMINAL SUFFIXES

Stem	Order One	Order Two	Order Three	Order Four	Order Five
+ nominal[5] verb stem/ adjective	± agt/cl	± gen/num	± dim	± alt	± poss/na

CHART 3
PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First person	_ragai_ `I, me´	_vegei_ `we 2´	_vigei_ `we all (inc)´   _igei_ `we not you(ex)´
Second person	_vi_ `you´	_vei_ `you 2´	_visi_ `you all´
Third person masculine	_rera_ `he, him´	_vaiterei_ `they, them 2´ (m/m or m/f)	_voea_ `they, them all´ (all m or m/f)
Third person feminine	_oira_ `she, her´	_vairei_ `they, them 2´	_vairo_ `they, them all´
Third person neuter	_va_ `it´	_varei_ `they, them 2´	_vara_ `they, them all´

CHART 4
RELATIVE PRONOUNS

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First person	_ragoa_ `I, me´	_vegoa_ `we 2´	_vigoa_ `we all (inc)´   _igoa_ `we not you (ex)´
Second person	_vigoa_ `you´	_veigoa_ `you 2´	_visigoa_ `you all´
Third person masculine	_ira_ `he, him´	_aiterea_ `they, them 2´ (m/m or m/f)	_oea_ `they, them all´ (all m or m/f)
Third person feminine	_iria_ `she, her´	_airea_ `they, them 2´	_airoa_ `they, them all´
Third person neuter	_oa_ `it´	_oarea_ `they, them 2´	_oara_ `they, them all´

CHART 5
POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
First person	oaa	`my´	oave	`our 2´	oavi	`our (inc)´
					oaio	`our not your (ex)´
Second person masculine	oara	`your´	oaesi	`your 2´ (m/m or m/f)	oavisi	`your´
Second person feminine	oara	`your´	oaere	`your 2´	oavisi	`your´
Third person masculine	oaro	`his´	oaesi	`their 2´ (m/m or m/f)	oaive	`their´ (m/m or m/f)
Third person feminine	o	`hers´	oaere	`their 2´	oae	`their´

CHART 6
DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS
Subject Near at Hand

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
Masculine	ro	`he, him, this´	vaitereo	`these 2´	voeao	`these all´
Feminine	o	`she, her, this´	vaireo	`these 2´	vairoo	`these all´
Neuter	vao	`it, this´	vareo	`these 2´	varao	`these all´

CHART 7
DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS
Subject at a Distance

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
Masculine	eera	`he, him, that´	evaiterei	`those 2´ (m/m or m/f)	evoea	`those all´ (all m or m/f)
Feminine	eira	`she, her, that´	evairei	`those 2´	evairo	`those all´
Neuter	eva	`it, that´	evarei	`those 2´	evara	`those all´

CHART 8
DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS
Subject Removed or Out of Sight

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Masculine	roari `he, him, that´	vaitereiri `those 2´ (m.m or m/f)	voeari `those all´ (all m or m/f)
Feminine	oari `she, her, that´	vaireiri `those 2´	vairori `those all´
Neuter	vari `it, that´	vareri `those 2´	varari `those all´

CHART 9
VERB AFFIXES

Order 1	STEM	Order 1	Order 2	Order 3	Order 4	Order 5
± rec	ß-verb stem or -verb stem	± inm/em	± ca	± pra	± person-number/ pua/ sma/ nea	± tense/ hm/ sm/ am

GLOSSARY
of items occurring in the Rotokas Text

A

aataava – I swam years ago
ae – ah!
aeri – you cry out
aigeiva – mother-in-law

aio – food
aioa(vai)(va) – food (maybe) (with)
aioiova – we (ex) ate years ago
aiooro – eating
aiopai – they are eating
aiove – we both eat
aioveva – we both ate (it)

aitereivu – two other males
ari – but
Ari – Ari
Arimiori – Arimiori
arua – (edible) greens
aruparoepa – he was summoning years ago

aruveva – we both summoned years ago
atari – fish
atariroviro – these fish soups
atoia – home/village
atosia – to get down

atoveva – we both got (it) down years ago
aue(ia) – Ø (by)/(in)
aue(re) – Ø (in order to)
aueve – we both consider
avaiepa – we (ex) went years ago (Translation error, p. 11)
avakava(ia) – the ocean (in)

avao – she goes
avaopa – she went years ago
avaraepa – I went years ago
avau – you go
avaveiepa – we both went years ago
avuvai – some

E

e - (question marker)
eake - what
eisi(vi) - like that
    (a little)

erakopaara - firewood (pl)
aria(ia) - cave (into)

G

gaegaereoro - drifting
gaegaerepaoro - while
    drifting

garea - a small thing
gotepaoro - while paddling
gotepero(ia) - paddle (with)

I

iare - to/towards
iava - from/about/after
iparoepa - he went up years
    ago
ira(ia) - which/masculine
    object (by)
irau - you go first
iravu - another man

iroiro(ia) - rope (by)
Isio - Isio (wild man of the
    jungle)
ita - again
ito - banana
itova(ia) - banana (with)
ivaraia(re) - top (to)

K

kaeevoi - she carries (it)
kaepieava - I lifted (it)
    years ago
kaepierivo - you lifted
    (it) recently
kaeraviro - I raise up
    completely
kaereva - he carried (it)
    years ago
kaeuviro - you raised up
    completely
kakaetoarei - two young
    males
kare - animals
kareroepa - he returned
    years ago
kareuviroveiepa - we both
    returned completely
    years ago

kareve - we both return
kareveare - we both will
    soon return
kareveiepa - we both
    returned years ago
karukaruiva - they opened
    (it) repeatedly years
    ago
kavuragaevo - she just left
    recently
koataroepa - he entered
    years ago
kokooro - pouring
koru - green coconuts
kotoveva - we both hung
    (it) years ago
kukueva - head

L

lotu - church (Pidgin)
lotusia - to worship

Luke - Luke

N

naintin - ninenteen

O

oa(i) - it (positive)/which
oavivu - another small
    (thing)
oea - they/who/which
oira(re)/(ia) - her/she (for/
    onto)
oirato - man
oire - okay
oisioa - always
oisio - like this

orareoveiepave - we would
    both be remembering back
orarugorugopiepaoro - while
    thinking back/remembering
orarururoepa - he moved
    himself years ago
oratoupiepaveiepa - we
    both were together
    years ago
oratovoi - it puts itself

oisi(vio) - like this
(a little)
okarevu - other animals
opesiei - (it) finishes now
opesioro - finishing
opesipe - (it) would be
finished
opesive - we both would be
finished
opitara(vai) - coconuts
(maybe)
opuruva(ia)/(re) - canoe
(by)/(for)
ora - and
oraaivaropiepaveaira - we
both habitually are
meeting together
orakotoraepa - I tied/hung
myself years ago
orapireraepa - I disregarded
years ago
orareopaveiepa - we both were
conversing years ago
orareoveiepa - we both
conversed years ago

oravegeipa - for ourselves
(we both)
oravurevureroepa - he
shook himself years ago
osia - as/while
topisivu(ia) - another
room (in)
ouragaveva - we both
inadvertently got
(it) years ago
ouragavevo - we both
inadvertently got
(it) recently
ovito - son
ovoiei - finally
ovoiepa - (it) was
finished years ago
ovokirovu(ia) - these
other days (on)
ovokivu(ia) - another
day (or)
ovu - where

P

Pautoa(re) - God (to)
pituava - I held years ago
puraavoi - I am making now
puraeva - she did/made
years ago
puraiva - they made years
ago
purapaoro - while saying
doing/making years ago

puraraepa - I said
ago
puraroepa - he said years
ago
puravevo - we both made
recently
puraveva - we both did/
made years ago

R

raga - just/only
ragai - I/me
raka - reef
Raupeto - Raupeto
rearearoepa - he rested
years ago
rera - he/him
rikurovu - deep water
(hole-lake)
rirovira - greatly
ritapaveiepa - we were
spearing years ago
ra - then/and then
ro - this male/masculine
object
rogaraaro - sand
rokoveva - we both
penetrated years ago

rororagaraepa - I searched
vain years ago
rorosia - to search for
roruiraoreva - he was very
happy years ago

rorupaavoi - I am happy now
rovisia - to grease
rovua - deep water
ruiva - they enveloped (it)
years ago
rupupaoro - while swimming
for something
rupupaveva - we both were
swimming for something
years ago
rupusia - to swim for some-
thing
rutu - truly/all

S

siarepaveiepa - we both
were disemboweling
(it) years ago

sikisti - sixty
sioparoia - inside
siraoa - sorrow

siaresi – you two males disembowel (it)
sikatoa(ia) – wild fig tree (by)
sikis – six

siraopaveiepa – we both were sorrowing years ago
siraove – we both sorrow

T

taporo – also/with
taraiveiepa – we both knew years ago
tariopaoro – while chasing
taviava – I told years ago
tavipareva – he was telling years ago
tavirevo – he told recently
tavireva – he told years ago
tavuruiva – they bundled (it) years ago
tavurupaave – they would be bundling (it) years ago
tootoopaveiei – we both are living now

tokoeva – she broke (it) years ago
tootoove – we both live
toparoviropa – he continued on completely years ago
toruoro – undulating
toupaeva – she was (existing) years ago
tovooro – putting
tovosia – to put
tovoveva – we both put (it) years ago
tuariri – long ago

U

upooro – fighting
uporeva – he fought years ago
uturaepa – I followed years ago
utuu – you follow
uva – then/so

uva – when (91)
uvare – because
uvuipaveiei – we both are able now
uvuipaveiepa – we both were able years ago

V

va(aro) – it (poss)
vaisiaro – name (poss)
vao(va) – this (with)
vara(va) – them (with)
varovarori – you retrieve
vatuaro(ia) – side (poss) (by)
vatuava – wife
va(va) – it (with)
Vavioviri – Vavioviri
vavo – there/way
vearovira – good-like/well
vegei(vi) (pa) – us/we ("poor") (for)
vegoa – we both/who
vegoa – jungle
verapieveva – we both beached (it) years go
veraraviro – I beach completely
verauvirooro – beaching completely
verauviroveiepa – we both beached completely years ago
vi – you
viapau – no/not/nothing
viripato – rope
vo – here/non
voa – there
voea – they

voeao – these
vokiarovi – evening
vokiepa – "day ended"
vorara – while
vo(re) – here (to)
voreiepa – we(ex) returned years ago
vorera – I return
voreraepa – I returned years ago
voreraiva – I return and...
voreveiepa – we both returned years ago
vorevira – again/back
vosia – if/suppose
(vo)tavitaviaro – (this) story (poss)
(vo)tavuru(va) – (this) bundle (with)
votoreva – he pressed (it) years ago
(vo)turu – (this) line
(vo)uriri(o) – (this) fear
vovio – here
voviri – back there
vovokio(ia) – this day (on)
vovou(aro) (ia) – heart/ desire (poss) (in)
vuria – evil/trouble
vururuva – war club

Notes

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    A list of abbreviations and symbols follows these notes.

    1   The presence of the inclusive and exclusive person markers of the Rotokas verb were apparently unknown to Müller at the time of his writing.

    2   Since this thesis was written several items have been published. See Firchow, 1971,1974,1977; Firchow and Firchow, 1969; Firchow and Akoitai, 1973.

    3   For definition of "dependent", see 3.23.42.

    4   Martinet's "autonomous moneme".

    5   See section 3.42 for co-occurrence restrictions and affixation of specific nominals.

    6   The letter "s" is used in the practical orthography although phonemically /s/ is an allophone of /t/.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ab	absolute	NP	noun phrase
acc	accompaniment	np	near past
addres	addressee	num	number
agt	agent	obj	object
alt	alternative	p	present
am	anticipatory mode	pl	plural
ca	complete action	poss	possessive
cl	classifier	pra	progressive action
cl	clause	pred	predicate
conj	conjunction	Pro	pronoun
dep	dependent	pua	purposive action
df	distant future	quot	quotative
dim	diminutive	rec	reciprocal action
dl	dual	Ref:	referent

dp	distant past	ref	reflexive
em	emphatic mode	Rel.	relative
ex	exclusive	RP	relator particle
f	feminine	rp	remote past
gen	gender	s	singular
hm	habitual mode	S	subject
ident	identification	sign	signature
in	indirect	sm	subjunctive mode
inc	inclusive	sma	simultaneous action
inm	indifferent mode	sp	specifier
intr	intransitive	stat	stative
ip	immediate past	sub	subject
loc	location	tr	transitive
m	masculine	(v)	verb
mod	modified	vb	verb
ŋ	neuter	~	alternates with
(n)	nominal	>	and
na	non-absolute	:	appositive
nea	negative aspect		relationship
nf	near future	//	full pause
nom	nominal	/	tentative pause

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