KINDS OF INFORMATION IN BUKIYIP ORAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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0. INTRODUCTION

Bukiyip (Mt. Arapesh) is spoken by approximately 5,000 people living in the hills between Yangoru and Maprik in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. A grammar sketch of Bukiyip by Robert J. Conrad (1981) is projected for publication. Bukiyip is in the Arapesh family of the Torricelli phylum (Laycock, 1973). The same language, with considerable dialect variation, is spoken on the north coast between Dagua and Suom by another 5,000 people (Bugenhagen, 1981). The data for this study consists of 85 texts collected during thirty months residence at Bubuamo village under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics between 1971 and 1976. The data is primarily the Chamaun and Buki dialect groups.

The abbreviations used in this study are:

benf	benefactive
cfc	contrary to fact conditional
imp	imperative mood
indef	indefinite
m	male

mix	mixed (male and female gender)
neg	negative
perm	permanently
pl	plural
poss	possessive
p.t.	past tense
r	realis mood
refl	reflexive
unr	irrealis mood

In this analysis[1], information in Bukiyip oral narrative discourse is divided into two major types, termed primary and secondary information. The surface markings that correspond to this distinction are that primary information is marked with realis mood while secondary information is marked with irrealis mood. The distinction is thus an emic one. Therefore this study is one of the first instances documenting a distinction in kinds of information which is signalled by an overt surface marking. For a slightly different approach to the same phenomena, see Hooper (1979).

Such phenomena have been reported in certain languages in Brazil (Ivan Lowe, personal communication), but at this stage they have not yet been published.

All events in primary information are marked with realis mood. Primary information tells about participants, settings and events that happened in the sequence of the narrative. The basis of every narrative discourse is a series of events in some sort of time sequence.

All verbs encoding secondary information, with the exception of flashbacks, are marked with irrealis mood. Secondary information if either collateral, explanatory, or evaluative.

In all the examples presented in this discussion, the portion of the example involving explanatory, collateral or evaluative information is underlined in the free translation.

1. COLLATERAL INFORMATION

Collateral information delineates alternatives. If the alternatives concern what might have happened but didn't, the information is called closed collateral. However, if the alternatives involve a possible way the story might still go, the information will be termed open collateral.

Closed collateral, like all secondary information, is marked first by irrealis mood. In addition, it carries other markings which distinguish it from other kinds of secondary information.

Closed collateral information is manifested by four constructions. Contrary to face constructions with the accompanying marker ele `contrary to fact conditional' are always closed collateral. Closed collateral information may also be conveyed by the future negative bwi/kobwi `will not', by the non-future negative wo...e `did not', and negated antonym (positive-negative).

Open collateral is again marked by irrealis mood to show that it conveys secondary information. It carries its own additional distinguishing markers: future negative bwi/kobwi `will not' and the non-future negative wo...e `did not' coupled with wotak `not yet'.

In (1) open collateral information is signaled by irrealis mood, non-future negative wo...e `did not' coupled with wotak `not yet' and the conjunction oli `but, therefore'.

(1) NM 068-078

Eneny	ny-e-naki,	y-e-galuk	eneny,	eneny	ny-e-naki,
one	it r come	I r reject	one	one	it r come

y-e-galuk	eneny.	Y-a-kli	ch__-u__-tuk	chookwinyi	yoopwinyi
I r reject	one	I r say	they unr give	very:small	very:good

bawepiny	umu	a	g_____-u__-kus
bawepiny:type:ring	so:that	certainty	it(problem) unr remain

keiwakiny	suluhw,	oli	g_____-u__-kus__-uk
old	ring	therefore	it(problem) unr remain perm

Kobwi	wotak	m -u__-lpok	kobwi	wotak	m -u__-lpok,
future:neg	again	we unr argue	future:neg	again	we unr fight

```
kobwi      wotak m -u  -hlitak  A
future:neg again  we unr argue   certainly

ny           -u  -nubu      ny           -u  -kus   -uk
it(problem) unr completely it(problem) unr remain perm

Bolany enyedak, y-a-bo -yeny    namudak
talk   this     I r hit it(talk) like:that

Oli wo            m -u  -gabwe -yeges      e
But non:future:neg we unr fix:up it(problem) non:future:neg

Wotak ny          -a -pe     Peilug n -a -lhwas, Anis
Yet   it(problem) r  remain  Peilug he r  lhwas, Anis

n -a -lhwas...
he r run:away
```

`One ring came and I rejected it, another came and I rejected
it. I want them to give a very small very good bawepin type
ring so that the problem will be solved--- an old ring, and
therefore the problem will be solved. We will not fight any
more; we will not argue any more. The problem will certainly be
solved completely. As for this talk, I told it like that. But
we haven't fixed up the problem yet--- it still remains. Peilug
ran away, Anis ran away...

The underlined stretches in the free translation, namely
(i) `the problem will be solved' (three times), (ii) `we will not
fight any more, will not argue any more' and (iii) `we haven't
fixed it up yet' all represent possible (i.e. still realizable)
alternatives. They are therefore open collateral. Thus the first
two describe possible situations in the future, while the last
describes a situation which hasn't been realized, but which the
speaker would like to see realized. The following examples
illustrate closed collateral information.

Example (2) illustrates closed collateral information
signalled by irrealis mood, future negative bwi `will not', and the
contrary to fact conditional ele. The conjunction orait `but, and,
therefore' and realis mood are used to signal the return to the
event line.

(2) NJ 025-027

```
M -e-at    -atu m -o-ne winim atedak wilpat nebetali
we r finish it  we r do finish this   house  large

Ch -e -ne wok les  uli       bwi       ch -u -nek
they unr do work lazily those:who future:neg they unr do
```

```
isinabul ele,  moul  ny-u  -pe,  deke   bwi         ch  -u  -nek
quickly  cfc   work  it unr be   future future:neg they unr do

moul isinabul.  Ch -u -ne inapim  biog atugu, nobatigu,
work quickly    They unr do fill:up two  one    four

orait       ch -i -at     -atu.  Orait apak m -e-ne moul isinabul
and:then    they unr finish it   But   we   we r do work quickly
```

`We finished the house, we finished this large house. If it had
been done by those who worked lazily, who did not work fast,
they would take three or four weeks more and then they would
finish it. But we did the work very quickly...

The information underlined in the free translation is
contrafactual. It presents an alternative no longer possible: what
might have happened if lazy personnel had been working on the
house. Since the alternative is precluded by the actual events, it
is giving closed collateral information.

Example (3) illustrates in sentence 1a, 2, and 4d a preview of
something that still might happen, signalled by bihain `later´, bai
`future´ and irrealis mood. Since this portion refers to something
that still might happen, it is open collateral, and is underlined
in the free translation. (3) also illustrates in sentence 3c an
alternative which cannot happen. This is then closed collateral
information signalled by the contrary to fact conditional marker
ele and the future negative kobwi. This information is double
underlined in the free translation. The return to the event line
(sentence 5) is then signalled by realis mood and the conjunction
oli `and then´. The narrative describes an illegal switchblade
knife which the speaker tried unsuccessfully to throw away so that
it could not be used as evidence against him in court. However, it
was picked up, hence the speaker´s fears as expressed in the
passage.

(3) NV 060-064

```
1.  Oli    p        -a-bih    h       -a-hul  opudak nogotep
    and:so  it(knife) r go:down  they:m r take this   knife

h        -a-hwo -p        a. bihain h        -u  -ne
they:m r hold it(knife)      later  they:m unr do
```

```
kotim     -e -mu              jas  2b. H ___ -u -ne
prosecute me concerning judge     they:m unr do

kotim     -e -mu                  i    -ne kalobus-umu
prosecute me in:order:that I:unr do jail      concerning

opudak nogotep. 3c. Sapos p        -u -taglag-uk
that   knife        if     it(knife) unr appear perm

aduk    ele, kobwi    i    -ne karobus.
outside cfc  future:neg I:unr do jail

4. H     -e-hul opudak nogotep nau  d. bai
   they:m r take that   knife   and    future

h     -u -ne kotim     -e -mu             opudak nogotep
they:m unr do prosecute me concerning that   knife

5. Oli      y-a-lhwas     y-a-tagla -li    agundak
   and:then I r run:away I r appear come   here

aduk    y-a-naki agundak y-a-lhwas    y-a-nak ulah.
outside I r come  here    I r run:away I r go  jungle
```

1. `And so that knife fell down and they took it and held it and a. later they will prosecute me before a judge. 2b. They will prosecute me in order that I will go to jail because of that knife. 3c. If it (that knife) had gone outside (the bar room) permanently, I would not go to jail. 4. They took that knife and d. in the future they will prosecute me concerning that knife. 5. And then I ran away and arrived outside here and I came here and ran away and went to the jungle´.

In example (4) closed collateral information is conveyed by a negated antonym marked by the non-future negative wo...e `did not´ and irrealis mood. The first sentence (underlined) is the unrealized alternative, while the second is the realized.

(4) NM 113-114

```
Wo               h     -u -nali     wis   e
non:future:neg they:m unr hit:come hands non:future:neg

h     -a -ku -m -ena-li     wabok
they:m r  hit ben him come black:palm:stick
```

`They didn´t come and hit him with their hands; they came and hit him with a black palm stick.´

Example (5) illustrates two instances of closed collateral information. The first is a negated antonym marked by a negative. The second, i.e. he wasn´t killed, is marked by helekatimu `nearly´ and irrealis mood expressing the unrealized alternative. The conjunction nau `and then´ is used to mark the return to the event line.

(5) NA 011-012

<u>Yek</u> <u>y-a-nak</u> <u>y-a-lto</u>   <u>kipainyi</u> <u>lowag.</u> <u>Ino</u>   <u>chokwinyi</u>
I   I r go I r go:up another tree   it:was:not small

<u>wiakalu,</u>   <u>nebenyi.</u> <u>Helekati-mu</u>   <u>ny-e</u> <u>-Ø</u>   <u>-e</u>
poisonous:reptile big   nearly   about it unr kill me

<u>nau,</u>   <u>y-a-nak</u> <u>kipaigun-umu</u>   <u>y-a-ulimu</u> <u>kipaigasi</u> <u>lowas.</u>
and:then I r go another   place I r find other   trees

`I went up another tree. It was not a small poisonous reptile,
it was a big one. It nearly killed me and then I went to
another place and found other trees (to cut).´

2. EXPLANATORY INFORMATION

In narrative discourse, as well as in other types, explanatory
information is included, because the speaker feels the addressee
needs this explanation to understand the text adequately.
Therefore, this kind of information crucially involves the
speaker-addressee relationship.

The term `explanatory´ is used instead of `background´ to
describe this type of information because of the many other uses
and meanings of the latter term. Explanatory information nearly
always consists of non-events. It includes flashbacks and previews
as well as information which has no particular relationship to the
time line in a discourse.

The main surface manifestations of explanatory information are
irrealis mood on all action verbs, as in the last sentence of (6),
stative verb realized by Ø, as in (8), and third person plural
mixed gender as subject, as in (6).

Everything after the initial sentence is explanatory
information, off the event line, and included for the benefit of
the addressee who did not know that such ghost creatures as
Huhukwil drink feces instead of water. The speaker's assumptions
about the addressee's knowledge are clearly indicated in this
explanation.

If the explanatory information were deleted, the story
consisting of the events along the main event line would have
proceeded uninterrupted.

In (6) the corresponding clauses and sentences in the vernacular and the free English translation are numbered 1-6. The explanatory information, sentences 2 through 5 is underlined in the English free translation. All the verbs are in the irrealis mood. In fact, all the verbs signalling explanatory information are in the irrealis mood except the verb <u>nakli</u> `he said´ in sentence 3 which is used to signal a desire and so is translated `he wanted´. Sentence 2 describes a custom; sentence 3 along with sentence 4 depicts another custom. The fact that a custom is being explained is signalled here by irrealis mood in this context. The last sentence, in realis mood, is clearly a return to the event line.

(6) RM 175

1. <u>Ali Huhukwil a   n -a-namoli n -u -lu dewag</u>
   But Huhukwil p:t he r come   he unr get feces

2. <u>Olsem   echechibal ebal</u> 3. <u>ali   n -a-kli</u>
   like:this their   water   and:so he r say

4. <u>n -u -lu dewag. N -u -nak n -u -ge   -luh</u>
   he unr get feces He unr go he unr it(feces) fill:up

5. <u>n -u -go   -wahumu   kakwich</u>
   he unr it(feces) eat:with garden:food

6. <u>Ali   n -e-yotu n -a -gakomom</u>
   And:so he r stand he r help:them

1. `But Huhukwil came to get feces. 2. <u>It's like water for them. 3. And so he wanted to get feces. 4. It was his custom to go and fill up a container with it 5. and eat it with his garden food.</u> 6. And so he stood and helped them.´

A further example of (explanatory) information is found in (7) which is the introduction to the same discourse as the one containing example (6). Example 7 begins with the introductory story formula. `I am Duna from Kairiru village´. Normally the speaker would proceed directly with the words "And I want to tell a legend now, and all of you listen´. However, because the speaker and some of his customs about naming are unknown to the immediate addressee, the former adds some information about why his name is Duna. This portion is clearly explanatory information, although it is not marked by any formal features from its immediate context.

This portion is analyzed as a flashback, since the term <u>namaitu</u> `now´ is very general and logically must refer to a time prior to the time of the immediate context. Therefore, the verbs in this portion are in real aspect. The secondary addressees are the people whom the speaker anticipates will listen to this story when it is broadcast over a local radio station.

(7) RM 001-004.

<u>Ali</u>	<u>yek</u>	<u>Duna</u>	<u>bilong</u>	<u>Kairiru.</u>	<u>Yekinu</u>	<u>aninu</u>	<u>Duna</u>
ok	I	Duna	from	Kairiru:village	my	father	Duna

<u>Ali</u>	<u>namaitu</u>	<u>y-o-hul</u>	<u>nuganinu</u>	<u>ken</u>	<u>y-o-no</u>	<u>-hwalu</u>
so	now	I r take	son	again	I r refl	be:named

<u>Duna.</u>	<u>Ali</u>	<u>y-a-kli</u>	<u>i</u>	<u>-agwleh</u>	<u>eneny</u>	<u>saki</u>	<u>namaitu</u>
Duna	and	I r want	I:unr	say	one:indef	legend	now

<u>deke</u>	<u>ipak</u>	<u>wolobaipali</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>-e</u>	<u>-menek</u>
fut	you	all		you imp	hear:listen

`Ok, I am Duna from Kairiru village. <u>My father was named Duna</u> <u>and so now I, his son, am also named Duna again. And I want to</u> <u>tell a legend now, and all of you listen.</u>´

A flashback is often signalled by an optional time word and by realis mood, as contrasted with irrealis mood which marks all other explanatory information. Occasionally there is no time word, and the only clear signal is the context and realis mood. Every action verb must be marked by realis or irrealis mood with no tense marking. Flashback is marked by realis mood, because it is assumed to be relevant in the flow of the story.
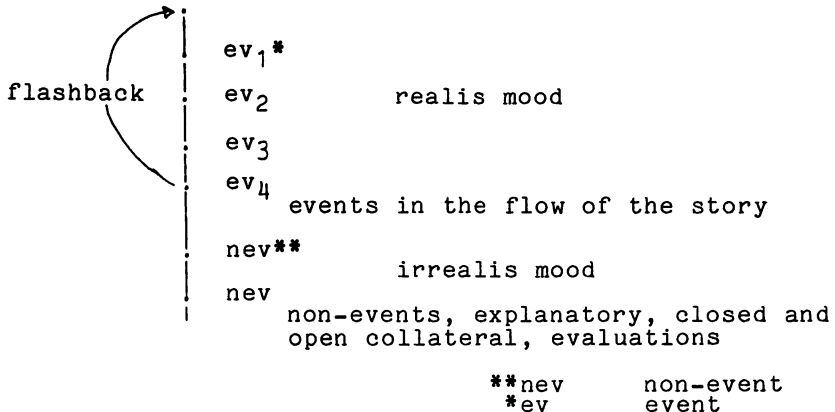
flashback

ev$_1$*
ev$_2$ realis mood
ev$_3$
ev$_4$ events in the flow of the story
nev**
      irrealis mood
nev
    non-events, explanatory, closed and
    open collateral, evaluations

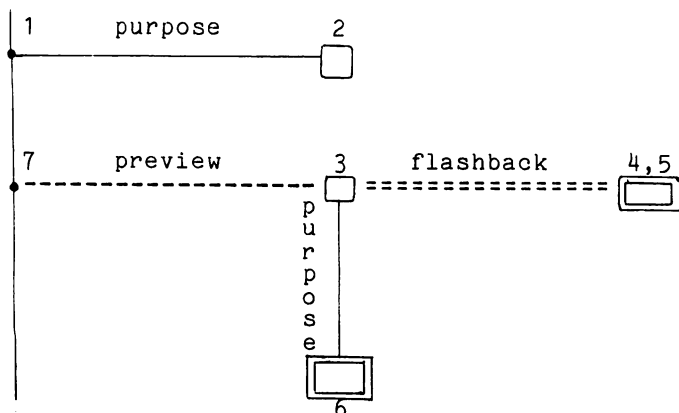**nev   non-event
*ev   event

Table 1. Diagram of flashback.

Example (8) combines several different types of explanatory information: flashback, signalled by <u>nubuwakih</u> `a few days ago´ and irrealis mood; preview, signalled by irrealis mood and self embedded explanatory information (explanatory collateral within explanatory). See Table 2 for a diagram of these relationships.

This text begins with the speaker (the author´s language teacher) describing how the two of them made a desk for Bob to do language work. Then the speaker goes on to explain a separate project which he has already begun, but not completed--the work on steps in a path.

(In both the free English translation and the vernacular, the flashback portion is double underlined.) Sentence 1 relates the main event line information, marked by realis mood. Sentence 2 gives explanatory information, marked by irrealis mood. It expresses the purpose of the work in sentence 1. Sentence 3 is a preview of what the language teacher will do and is therefore explanatory. This preview is fulfilled in the events reported in sentence 7. Sentence 3 also introduces a new topic, work on steps. Sentences 4 and 5 are an explanatory flashback, signalled by <u>nubuwakih</u> `a few days ago´ and realis mood. This flashback takes the addressee back to the situation a few days before when the speaker began the work on the steps. The flashback itself explains the topic `work on steps´ in sentence 3. Again, sentence 6 is explanatory to sentence 3, because it gives the purpose of th work planned in sentence 3. Sentence 7 is a return to the main event line, marked by realis mood, and fulfilling the preview in sentence 3.

In the Table 2, the numbers represent the sentences; the kind of point (i.e. dot, square or square within square) represents the kind of information that the sentence expresses, and the labels along lines joining points represent the relationship between the sentences.

```
1      purpose       2
●──────────────────┌──┐

7      preview       3    flashback   4,5
●- - - - - - - - - ┌─┐================┌────┐
                   p  └─┘             └────┘
                   u
                   r
                   p
                   o
                   s
                   e
              ┌──────┐
              │┌────┐│
              │└────┘│
              └──────┘
                   6
```

● main event line information

┌──┐ explanatory information

┌──────┐
│┌────┐│ explanatory within explanatory
└──────┘

Table 2. Diagram of example (8)

(8) NH 058-068

1. <u>w   -a-glug   -atu</u> <u>mu</u>   <u>bwiyeb,</u> <u>w   -e-ne</u> <u>nilim-atu</u>
   we:two r rip:saw it into two   we:two r do nail   it

2. <u>N -u -pwe</u> <u>n -i -nyemo-umu</u>   <u>N -e -nyemo-me</u>   <u>apakiny</u>
   he unr be he unr write where   he unr write about our

   <u>bolany</u> <u>genegainy</u>
   talk   vernacular

3. <u>Wokli</u>   <u>yek</u> <u>i -nak</u> <u>moul</u> <u>step</u>
   and:then I   I:unr do   work steps

4. <u>Nubuwakih</u>   <u>y-a-utinyuk</u>
   A:few:days:ago I r partly:finish

   <u>namaitu</u> <u>y-e-at   -eny.</u>   5. <u>Yah</u> <u>h -a-niglak</u>
   now   I r finish it(step)   Path it r go:down

   <u>dewag</u> <u>umu.</u> ·6. <u>Luhut</u> <u>deke</u> <u>ch -u -na -mu</u>
   toilet when   Later lest they unr go to

   <u>dewag</u> <u>umu</u> <u>ch -u -goul.</u>   <u>Echah</u> <u>h -u -lomoli</u>
   toilet when they unr fall:down   Rain it unr come

7. <u>Y-e-nek</u> <u>budalgas</u> <u>step.</u> <u>Dou</u>   <u>ny-a-tuh</u>   <u>w   -e-me</u>
   I r do   ladder   step   and:then it r finish we:2 r do

1. `We two (Bob and the speaker) rip-sawed (the plywood) into
two pieces and we nailed it (in order to make a desk).
2. (This desk is) where he (Bob) will be and write--he (Bob)
will write our language. 3. And then I will go and I will work
on the steps (in the path). 4. A few days ago I started it and
I finished it-- 5. the path which goes down to the toilet.

6. (I finished it) <u>lest later when they go to the toilet
they will fall down, when it will rain.</u> I did the
<u>ladder-steps, and then they were finished</u> and we two (Bob and
the speaker) worked on the pipes.´

In example (9), flashback is signalled by context only, and
the return to the event line is signalled in sentence 15 by the
time word <u>Tunde</u> `Tuesday´. The underlined material in the free
translation indicates the portion which is flashback (sentence 5
through 14). In this portion, the speaker is explaining what had
happened while the author of this paper was on a trip to a funeral
in Lae. Thus, the first mention of <u>Lei</u> `Lae´ is the beginning of
the flashback which takes us back in time from the time of
sentence 4, a Tuesday morning, to the time when the men went to
Lae, which was the morning before.

(9) NP 069-081

1. <u>H   -a-sahal   h   -a-naki</u> <u>wab   enebik   h   -a-nak</u>
   they:m r go:fast they:m r come night somewhere they:m r go

<u>h   -a-nak</u> <u>h   -a-taglali</u> <u>h   -a-nak</u> <u>h   -a-taglali</u>
they:m r go they:m r arrive they:m r go they:m r arrive

<u>h   -a-nak</u> <u>eit   oklok   agundak.</u> 2. <u>H   -a-taglali</u>
they:m r go eight o´clock here   they:m r arrive

<u>eit   oklok.</u> 3. <u>Oli   n -e-ne-m -e -li   yopubi</u>
eight o´clock   and:then he r do ben me come good (night)

<u>nau   yek</u> <u>y-e-chuh.</u> 4. <u>Y-e-chuh, g -a-gluk, y-a-itaki</u>
and:then I   I r sleep   I r sleep it r dawn I r get:up:come

<u>y-a-pe.</u>   5. <u>Omom   h   -a-nak Lei y-a-bo   enatu</u>
I r remain   They:m they:m r go Lae I r hit a

<u>barit y-a-gabe</u> <u>enatu barit tati   iluh -ahah hulukati-mu</u>
ditch I r fix a   ditch it(distant) above there near   to

<u>yah.</u> 6. <u>Y-a-gabe enatu barit aliga   y-a-nak y-a-taglali</u>
road   I r fix a   ditch continue I r go I r arrive

<u>mahlagas</u> umu. 7. <u>Oli   y-a-bih   y-a-gabe</u>
bamboo   where   and:then I r down I r fix

<u>tati   douk   yek   y-a-pe   tekan</u>
it(ditch):distant and:then I   I r remain opposite

<u>wopis   umu.   Oli   y-a-gabe atebuk   y-a-nak y-a-taglu</u>
office where And:then I r fix this(ditch) I r go I r arrive

<u>aligaliga,   y-e-at   -atu y-a-gabe bieh yegwih chokwihi</u>
continue:until I r finish it I r fix two paths small

8. Y-a-gabe-yeh   h   -e-ateh   oli   y-a-gabe
   I r fix them(paths) they(paths) r finish   and:then I r fix

yah   y-a-gabe-yagun   nebetali barit.   9. Oli,   oli
path I r fix it(path) big   ditch   And:then and

enok misis   k -o-naki kw -a-salik -e,   "Nyakich
a   European:woman   she r come she r ask   me   Your

mamachich ch -a-nak agunume?" 10. Y-a-kli, "Oo, Halipeim
parents   they r go   where   I r say   Oh   Halipeim

n -a -nak Lei n -a-nak ch -a-nigomu tuwag   -omi.
he r go   Lae he r go   they r bury   European those

11. Chakaiokweny atuk   kw -a-pe."   12. Kw -a-kli, "Oo."
    Chakaiokweny she:only   she r remain   She r say   Oh

13. Oli   y-a-pe moul. 14. Y-a-pe   y-e-nek moul aliga
    And:then I r do work   I r remain I r do work continue

y-e-yat   -eny y-a-pe.   15. Y-a-pe Tunde   y-a-nech luseh...
I r finish it   I r remain   I r be Tuesday I r wash clothes

`The men went fast and came at night from somewhere, and they
went and arrived here at eight o'clock. 2. They arrived at
eight o'clock. 3. And then he (the author of this paper) said,
"Good night" to me and then I went to sleep. 4. I slept, and it
dawned and I got up and came and stayed. 5. When the men went
to Lae, I dug a ditch and fixed that ditch over there above,
near the road. 6. I fixed a ditch and continued until I went
and arrived at the place where the bamboo is. 7. Then I went
down and fixed it and then I stayed opposite the office, and
then I fixed this ditch and went and arrived and continued
until I finished it, and I fixed two small paths. 8. I fixed
them, and they were finished, and then I fixed the path and
fixed a big ditch. 9. And then a European woman came and asked
me, "Where are your parents?" 10. I said, "Oh, Halipeim went to
Lae. He went to bury Europeans and those with them.
11. Chakaiokweny only remains." She said, "Oh." 13. And then I
stayed and did work. 14. I did work until I finished it and
then I stayed. 15. I stayed and Tuesday I washed clothes...'

In sentences 1-4 there is a continuous time sequence between
successive sentences as evidenced by head-tail linkage between
sentences 1 and 2, and 3 and 4. Between sentences 2 and 3 there is
a sequential connective oli `and.then'. Between sentences 4 and 5
the head-tail linkage is broken, signifying that the time of the
`when' clause of sentence 5 does not necessarily follow the time of
the events of sentence 4. In fact, the verb `return' of sentence 1
presupposes that the men went somewhere; this event (their going)
is expressed by the `went' of the beginning of sentence 5. Thus,
there is a backward step in time between sentences 4 and 5.

Sentence 14 is the last sentence of the flashback. Note that the head-tail linkage is resumed between sentence 14 and 15, showing that the story has returned to the main event line.

3. EXPLANATORY COLLATERAL INFORMATION

In Bukiyip texts, the collateral and explanatory types of secondary information occasionally occurs in combination. Explanatory collateral has both an explanatory as well as a collateral function. In addition to giving information the speaker thinks the addressee might need to understand the message clearly. This type of information indicates future possible alternatives which might occur but haven't yet.

In example (10), a combination of explanatory and collateral information is signalled by <u>deke</u> `lest´ and irrealis mood. The return to the event line from background is signalled by the conjunction <u>dou</u> `and then´ and realis mood.

(10) NB 101-108

<u>Matopi</u>	n -o-wechik-eny	moto	baik.	<u>N -o-wechik-eny,</u>
Matopi:ground:name	he r stop	it	motor bike	he r stop it

<u>dou</u>	w -e-tegleh	echudak.	<u>Deke</u>	echah	h -u -lu
and:then	we:two r take:off	these	lest	rain	it(rain) unr rain

h -u -naki.	<u>Luhut</u>	n -u -nak	<u>Yangor -omu.</u>	<u>Deke</u>
it unr come	later	he unr go	Yangoru when	lest

u -law -eny-i	ny-e -naki	ny-u -kus	agundak	<u>wagomu</u>
we:two take it	come	it unr come	it unr be	here	later

<u>wagomu</u>	n -u -nak	<u>Yangor -omu,</u>	echah	h -u -lomoli.
later	he unr go	Yangor when	rain	it unr come

<u>Hyasogah</u>	baret.	<u>Yah</u>	<u>yoweh.</u>	<u>Dou</u>	yek	y-e-yotu
Hyasogah:ground:name	ditch	road	bad	and:then	I	I r stand

enan	n -e-lau	moto	baik	n -e-nak	<u>Wilaru.</u>
he	he r take	motor	bike	he r go	Wilaru:ground:name

<u>N -e-nak</u>	n -a-pu -buk-uk	n -e-naki	y-e-hul	echudak
he r go	he r it(bike) put remain	he r come	I r take	these

y-a-hwech	w -e-naki
I r hold:them	we:two r come

1. `At the ground named Matopi he stopped the motor bike.
2. He stopped it, and we two took off these things.
3. (We took theme off) <u>lest rain come later when he will want to go to Yangoru</u>

4. (We took them off) <u>lest we two take the motor bike and it come and be here, and later when he will go to Yangoru, rain will come and the road will be bad at the ditch at the ground named Hyasogah.</u>
5. And then I stood and he took the motor bike and went to Wilaru.
6. He went and put it, and it stayed there and he came and I took these things and held them, and we two came.´

In this example the underlined portion, sentences 3 and 4, has an explanatory function in that it gives the reason for the actions of sentences 1 and 2. The same portion also has a collateral function in that possible alternatives as to what might happen in the future are suggested there.

4. EVALUATIVE INFORMATION

Evaluative information reveals the speaker´s attitude to the events or people´s customs in narrative discourse or his attitude toward the explanations of an explanatory or hortatory discourse. This type of information is usually signalled by interjections, intonation including vowel length, the imperative mood and special lexical items including the characteristically evaluative stems <u>yowe-</u> `bad´, <u>yopwi-</u> `good´ <u>duduk-</u> `nice´.

Example (11) illustrates how the speakers may evaluate a current situation negatively by use of the interjection particle <u>ehe</u> `no´, which is a signal of intense involvement.

In (11), the speaker is saying that Anis´ running away (present state of affairs) is not good, and so he wants Anis to come back and stay.

(11) <u>Anis n -a-lhwas,</u>   <u>oli yek y-o-wak -enu bolany Anis.</u>
Anis he r run:away so I   I r send him talk   Anis

<u>Y-a-kli,</u> "Anis, <u>ehe, ny -u -naki ny -u -pe.</u>"
I r say   Anis no   you imp come you imp remain

`Anis ran away and so I sent a message to Anis. I said, "Anis, <u>no</u>! Come and stay here!"´

In this example the quote is part of the event line.

In example (12) the evaluative information is marked by
equational clauses and the absence of realis mood, while the
surrounding events are all marked for realis mood. This evaluative
information is simultaneously explanatory information since its
function is to explain something the speaker feels the addressee
needs to know--namely the speaker's attitude to Wanguen's truck. It
is underlined in the free translation. Note the conjunction nau
`and then', which signals a return to the event line.

(12) NB 064-069

<pre>
Yek y-e-l   -ech Wanguen-omi   n -a-n   -om
I   I r go:with them Wanguen those:with:him he r and them

batowich y-e-l   -ech m -o-nak trak Enaniny
children I r go:with them we r go truck his

kar   dudukeny, Wanguen enaniny. Namunyi. Nau
truck nice:it   Wanguen his   new   And:then

apak m -a-lik   m -o-walubu.
we   we r go:first we r go:down
</pre>

`I went with them, with Wanguen and those with him---
with him and his children. I went with them by truck.
Wanguen's truck is nice. It's new. And then we went
first, going down.

Example (13) signals evaluative information by means of a
rhetorical question. The text is a hortatory text in which the
speaker is exhorting the people to turn from "these bad things",
which is identified in the preceding context as `Seten'. This *term*
includes by implication stealing, adultery, and murder, but
primarily sorcery, which is subsequently referred to obliquely as
`that by which people die'.

(13) HG 096-100

<pre>
P   -i -gimu Aninu enaniny bolany yopwinyi. Omuni
you:pl imp follow father his   talk   good   who

omuni p   -a-dekemech   umu   enyudak yowenyi? Oli
who   you:pl r understand about these bad:things and:so

P   -u -tekem   -uk? Nebemi!
you:pl unr tekem it (bad things) perm   important:men

H   -a-dekemu   enyudak-uli.   Oli
they:m r understand these   those:who and:so
</pre>

```
h      -u  -tekem-eny              -uk?
they:m unr leave it(bad:things) perm
```

`You all follow Father--His talk is good. Whoever of you
understand about these bad things? Will you leave them
permanently? Important men! Those who understand about these
(bad things). Will they leave them permanently?´

Example (14) illustrates evaluative information signalled by
the imperative mood. It is from the same hortatory text as the
previous example. This is an exhortation to turn from `these bad
customs´ which refer primarily to sorcery and by implication to
other things mentioned in the explanation of example (13).

(14) HG 114-118

```
1. Oli i     -kli -yeny      -i              enyedak bolany yopwiny
   And I:unr tell it(talk) that:which this    talk    good

2. Enyedak yowenyi m -o  -k  -enyu          egab.
   this    bad     we imp give it(badness) backbone

3. P      -u  -munek Aninu   enaniny bolany yopwinyi.
   you:pl imp obey   Father  his     talk   good

4. M -u  -aimu    enan Aninu.
   we imp follow  him  Father

5. Enyedak  bolany  wo            i      -giyagi e
   this     talk    non:fut:neg  I:unr   lie     non:fut:neg

6. yopwinyi  bolany
   good         talk
```

1. `And that talk which I tell you, this talk is good.
2. As for these bad customs, we will give them the backbone
   (i.e., reject them).
3. You all hear and obey Father's good talk.
4. Let us follow him.
5. I am not lying.
6. This talk is good talk.´

5. CONCLUSION

This study has given evidence to show that primary information
in Bukiyip is marked by realis mood, while secondary information is
marked by irrealis mood. Therefore this study is somewhat unique,
since it is one of the first instances documenting a distinction in
kinds of information which is overtly signalled by a surface
structure.

FOOTNOTE

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