MODE, ASPECT, AND FOREGROUNDING IN SENTANI

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1. INTRODUCTION

Aspect in its discourse context has until recently received surprisingly little attention. The work of Hopper (1977-1982) and Hopper and Thompson (1980) has done a great deal to shed light on this important area of language.

One of Hopper's main theses is that by studying aspect in past tense narrative discourse, the reader is able to separate items important to the speaker/writer, labelled Foreground, from items not considered important, labelled Background. The purpose of this paper is to examine this theory not only in the Sentani Discourse. not only in the light of Narrative Discourse, but also in projected time Procedural and Hortatory texts. In this regard, mode has been found relevant also and is included in this examination.

2. MODE: REALIS vs. IRREALIS

Mode depicts the speaker's assessment of the reality, factualness, or truth of the event being described (c.f. Lyons 1968:307). In Sentani hypothetical events or events which have not yet occurred (except for negatives, which are unmarked for mode or aspect) are marked as irrealis. Logically, what is yet future, from a tense point of view, falls in this category. Events that have been actualized (i.e. past tense) or are actually occurring (present tense) receive a realis marking.

¹ The Sentani people of Irian Jaya, numbering approximately 20,000, live on the islands and shores of Lake Sentani, situated about 20 kilometres from Jayapura, the capital city. Their language is divided into three dialects--Eastern, Central, and Western--and is classified as Papuan or Non-Austronesian, and as a part of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. This study was done on the Central dialect. I am indebted to Dr. Kenneth J. Gregerson for his encouragement in the production of this paper.

This realis vs. irrealis opposition is signalled in the verb morphology by the choice of subject suffixes as follows:-

	Person	Singular		
Realis	1	-a-	-e-/-en-	-a-/-an-
	2	-a-	-e-/-eu-	-a-/-au-
	3	-e-/-eu-/Ø	-e-/-ei-	-a-/-ai-
Irrealis	1	-re-/-fe-	-a-	-ma-
	2	Ø	Ø	-N-
	3	-N-	-ne-	-na-

Rules: / indicates that these morphemes can fill the same slot,
but not in free variation. Choice depends on whether
the Object Marker (OM) is present, and on the
phonological shape of surrounding morphemes.
N represents a nasal which assimilates to the point of
articulation of the following consonant, or changes
to y before a vowel (Hartzler, D.: 1976)

The second feature that marks this modal opposition is the ordering of these subject suffixes. The usual ordering patterns are: Without Object Markers:

- (a) Irrealis = Root + <u>Irrealis Subject + ko/bo + N ²</u>
 + Subject Agreement (SA)
- (b) Realis = Root + ko/bo + Aspect + Realis Subject + N + SA

OR

The particles ko/bo in the Sentani language are object related morphemes in some cases, i.e. they describe the size or number of the object. When no specific object morpheme is present, the ko/bo morpheme can still be attached to the verb. The ko form usually indicates a multiple occurrence action, while the bo form attaches itself to single occurrence actions. Into this slot in the verb can also be fitted the morphemes (described as 'Occurrence Aspect' morphemes by D. Hartzler, 1976) hi, ha, and ho. These are rare, and the meanings are somewhat elusive. Inward actions, such as drinking, are characterized by hi; outward actions, such as pouring, by ha. The morpheme N has so far not been specifically analyzed as to its function.

With Object Markers:

It can be seen from the above that the presence of OM does not affect the morpheme ordering in the Irrealis mode. Further analysis is needed to determine the reason for the two orderings of morphemes in the realis mode without OM.

Examples are as follows:

'I will eat.'

(3) Haw - ei - bo - ke

row - realis -perfect
3 du aspect

'They two rowed.'

(5) Ere - k(e) - ai - mi

see - perfect - realis - object
aspect 3 pl 3pl

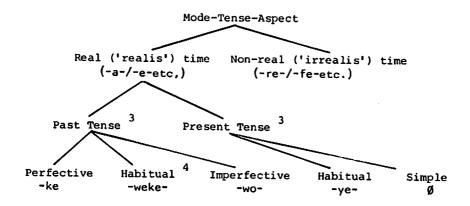
'They saw them.'

ASPECT

As Comrie (1976:5) has noted, tense is a deictic category which locates situations in time, usually with reference to the time of utterance. In the example, 'I went to dinner', the time of the event,

'go to dinner', is prior to the verbal event in which 'I' refer to it. The going is specifically defined as occurring in the past, as having already happened. Aspect looks not at whether the event occurred, for example, prior to the relating of it, but at whether the action in question is considered by the speaker to be of short or long duration, or whether it is completed or not, among other distinctions.

Aspectual distinctions (perfect, imperfect, habitual, progressive) in general can co-occur with tense, in that events can be located prior, during, or after the time of utterance at the same time as the durative or continuative (for example) nature of the action is defined. In Sentani these distinctions of aspect co-occur with mode and tense, as indicated in the following tree:



Sentani, as it stands, has no unique tense marking. It cannot be denied, however, that certain actions happen before the time of utterance, others occur simultaneously, and still others are anticipated to happen later. The latter is covered by the modal distinction Irrealis. One solution in the Realis mode, however, would be to examine the tense-aspect markings of Sentani's sister language, Tabla, which is approximately 50% cognate with Central Sentani. In comparative work done on the two languages by Hartzler and Gregerson (as yet unpublished), it was found that in almost every instance Tabla retains the earlier forms, and Sentani forms are environmentally altered. In Tabla, the form which corresponds to Sentani-ke 'perfective aspect' is-ko. If it is supposed, then, that the Sentani perfective aspect morpheme was also

Examples of each of these categories follow: Irrealis:

'I will go, I would go.'

Realis:

(7) Perfective:

'In the village those two visited.'

(8) Past habitual:

(9) Imperfective:

Ro mbai neke -
$$\underline{wo}$$
 - \emptyset - le.

man one live - imperfective - realis - SA
aspect 3 sg 3 sg

'There was once a man.'

originally -ko, this would place perfective-ko and imperfective-wo in contrast with present habitual-ye and present simple- \emptyset . The analysis could be further posited to be:

* -ko perfective aspect

* -wo imperfective aspect

* -o past tense

This contrastive pattern, however, has now become obscured in both Sentani and Tabla.

If, consistent with footnote 3, -ke was originally -ko, then it is feasible to hypothesize that -weke- may have originally been *-wo-ko-, which is a combination of perfective and imperfective in the past tense. This long-short combination is possibly, in the Sentani mind, a description of an habituative action--something which is done, finished and done, then done again, over a period of time.

(10) Present Habitual:

Reyae e -
$$\underline{y(e)}$$
 - a - le.

I go - present - realis - SA habitual 1 sg 1 sg

'I am always going.'

(11) Simple:

Neyae w
$$- \cancel{\emptyset}$$
 eu $- \text{mi}$, "Ehe."

he say $- \text{simple} - \text{realis} - \text{object}$ yes

3 sg 3 du

'He says to those two, "Yes."!

As can be noted above, aspectual distinctions of the kind described in this paper are found only in the realis mode.

4. FOREGROUNDING AND BACKGROUNDING IN DISCOURSE

Looking at texts aspectually gives the reader an opportunity to determine the grids through which the native speaker foregrounds relevant information, and backgrounds other parts of his story which do not significantly contribute to the progress of the story line. Hopper (1977:1) states that it is a universal of narrative discourse that in any extended text an overt distinction is made between the language of the actual story line and the language of supportive material which does not itself narrate the main events. He outlines the chief properties of the foreground/background distinction as follows:

Foreground

Background

chronological sequencing

simultaneity or chronological overlapping of situation C with event A and/or B

view of event as a whole, whose completion is a necessary prerequisite to a subsequent event

view of a situation or happening whose completion is not a necessary prerequisite to a subsequent happening

identity of subject within each discrete episode

frequent changes of subject

Foreground

unmarked distribution of focus in clause, with presupposition of subject and with assertion made in verb and its immediate complements (or other unmarked focus)

human topics

dynamic, kinetic events events indispensible to the narrative or discourse line

realis

Background

marked distribution of focus, e.g. subject focus, instrument focus, focus on sentence adverbial

variety of topics, including natural phenomena static, descriptive situations state or situation necessary for understanding motives, attitudes, etc.

irrealis

In Sentani narrative texts, this last distinction, as well as the relegation of 'natural phenomena' to backgrounded information, are somewhat questionable. Additionally, when moving into other types of discourse genre, written in the irrealis mode, irrealis verbs carry the foregrounded material. As in accomplished time literature, the fact that the actions are accomplished is in focus, so in projected time texts the fact that the actions are not accomplished is in focus.

Grimes (1971) divides backgrounded events into Setting,
Background, and Collateral, and includes under these categories
(in a realis setting) temporal and spatial references, 'once upon
a time' events, events outside the mainstream, intended events,
evaluations, negatives, futures, questions, and quotations. Here
again, certain problems arise in applying these criteria to Sentani
narrative discourse.

In the course of the present study, two narrative discourses, one procedural discourse, and two hortatory discourses were examined. I outline below the salient details of each genre and how aspect in the verb, and mode, is used to divide foregrounded from backgrounded material in Sentani discourse.

4.1 NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

Longacre (1976:200-2) lists the following as universal features of Narrative Discourse:

- 1. First or third person action
- 2. Agent-oriented
- 3. Accomplished time
- 4. Chronological linkage

Sentani Narrative Discourses may readily be described in these terms also. Of the two narratives studied in depth, one is a popular traditional story (told in the third person), and the other Sekolah Ahuneukoke 'School is Out', is a contemporary first person experience related by a young Sentani woman. Both stories feature verbs distinguished by the suffixes -ke 'perfective aspect' and -wo- 'imperfective aspect'.

As outlined by Hopper, most perfective verbs, those which view events as a whole, turn up in the foregrounded material. These verbs are marked with the suffix -ke as previously stated. Verbs marked with -wo, -weke-, and -ye fit well into the descriptions of back-grounded information. Certain problems have been found with irrealis and simple present, however, which will be outlined after the text description which follows. Examples are rendered in English only:

Ebale Yakali⁵

Foreground	Background
1. of	There was once living -wo a man.
2.	His name (no verb) was Ebale Yakali.
3.	His village was (no verb) . Ebale Hunu.
4.	His life habitually depended on -weke- tricks.

 $^{^{5}}$ This text was supplied to me by Beris Monim of the village of Puyo Besar.

ç.;m

I, her father, do not want

(Ø, present simple)

	Foreground		Background
5.			There was -wo- once a day at Hele village (no verb)
	a man and his wife took -ke a canoe		e en la completa de l La completa de la completa del completa de la completa del completa de la completa del la completa de la completa del la completa de la completa del completa del la completa del la completa del la completa del
		in de la companya di salah di Salah di salah di sa	to Ebale village they were coming -wo-,
	they proposed marriage -k to a woman on a certain of		to the control of the
6.	Those two came -ke	er ti	at the village (no verb)
	they visited -ke.	**************************************	at the village (no vela)
7.	They say (0, present simp	ole)	Do you have (no verb) a
8.	He says to them (Ø, prese	nt	daughter?
	simple)	errif ()	Yes; she is on her way! =wo-1.
9.	I have agreed -ke-		to the garden.
		entra entre Estan Esta participat	My daughter will go (irrealis) to your man as a wife.
10.			Then
	this man and woman paddle	Copy of	to their village they were
11.			going -wo. a straight .commercial Another day (not verb) resultate a dis-
	nnico		id od 121 mi. unožinosie od krajem. Hudan imprepakaj di katalomi
12.	Mhan sama -lea		a legral, can lemogram was , dawn
2.0		and . Albana .	they were giving -wo- it to Ebale Yakali.
13.			Ebale Yakali does not want it (Ø, present simple)
7.4	he said -ke- to them. He says (Ø, present simpl		, lendar de la destablicat democracia camanda et la como did
-7.	" ada (h) breseur stubt	.c/	

Foreground

Background

I say (Ø, present simple)

15. My wish is to trade
 (irrealis) my daughter for
 tobacco.

Contrary to Grimes (1971) statement that the content of direct quotes is never foregrounded material, two quotes have been placed in the Foreground. The first (S9) 'I have agreed' is inflected with perfective aspect -ke. Additionally, in the context of the story, the agreement is necessary as a prerequisite to the subsequent event, which is the bringing of the bride price as outlined by Hopper (see Section 4). The second (S15) is also essential for an understanding of the following events, as it is the introduction of the basic plot of the story. A possible explanation for the inclusion of S15, which is in the irrealis mode, is to treat speech as embedded discourse operating under a different mode, in this case, irrealis. This would justify the inclusion of an irrealis verb in the foreground of a perfective past-oriented narrative text.

Worthy of note here is the inclusion (cf. Grimes) of the verbs 'they say ' and 'he says' as foregrounded events, even though they do not contain -ke # 'perfective' like other foregrounded verbs. The reason for this is that Sentani marks direct quotations by placing the present simple form of the verb 'to say' at the beginning of the utterance. Indirect quotations precede the verb 'to say', which is then inflected with the perfective (see S13) above). Comrie (1976:73) refers to situations similar to this as 'narrative present'.

Included in background material, along with the durative -wo-verbs, are temporal and spatial references, and, as outlined by Hopper (1977), static, descriptive situations such as 'His name was Ebale Yakali...His village was Ebale Hunu,' neither of which contain verbs.

In this text of 65 sentences, verbs marked with -ke- occur 56 times, 91% of the time in generally accepted foregrounded material. The other 9% occur in direct quotes and in time phrases such as

Foreground

Background

8.

10.

Afterwards

we came back -ke

we were returning -wo

there the people brought down -ke coconuts

we ate -ke

immediately we returned to the village.

9. We all returned -ke

evening came - ke we slept -wo- the night.

Returning to our village

(no verb)

day was beginning -wowe were returning -wo-.

11. We returned -ke-

the sun rose -ke, in the village.

12. From Puai my uncle and aunt
had filled -ke- (the canoe)
with various types of food

we two were returning -wo-.

In this text, 15 of the 21 occurrences of -ke- fit nicely into what Hopper would describe as Foregrounded material. Of the remaining six instances, five describe natural phenomena, i.e. 'evening came', 'many trees had grown'. The sixth is in S3 'I saw them (the trees).' This phenomenon was also seen in the previous text, Ebale Yakali. It is possible that temporal events in a Sentani narrative are being treated as on the story line like other more active events. In fact, in S9 and S11, the two time phrases define first the return from the river, and then the return home, and could be interpreted as necessary ingredients of the story line.

In a re-writing of this text by another Sentani, the incidence of ke rose from 64% of the total number of verbs in the original text, to 83%. This re-writing was done at the request of the author of this paper, who stressed that only the important events of the story were to be noted. In this re-writing, many statements referring to natural

4.2 PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

Procedural Discourse in Sentani again reflects Longacre's (1976) expected features and is characterized by the following:

- Patient oriented
- 2. Projected time
- Chronological linkage
- 4. Non-specific person

This latter prerequisite is apparent on the semantic level only in the discourse studied. As a surface strategy the persons used are 'I' and 'they'.

When we approach projected time (or, for Sentani, irrealis) discourses, the distinction between foreground and background is not the same as with accomplished time narratives, due to the fact that there is no specific verb suffix which marks irrealis perfective or imperfective as with the -ke vs. -wo- in accomplished time narratives. However, in Procedural Discourses other definite foregrounding and backgrounding techniques have been used to provide the reader/hearer with results equally as definitive as those found in narratives. These techniques are as follows:

phenomena were omitted; those retained were all conjugated with -wo'imperfective aspect' with the exception of hu ike 'the sun rose.'
This may, of course, reflect only the different perspective of
another Sentani speaker. However, although no definitive conclusions
can be stated as to the Sentani inclusion of natural events on the
story line, it does appear that at least some, if not all, of these
types of events are considered by both males and females to be
relevant enough to take the same markings as human-oriented events.
No significant differences were noted in the re-writing of the other
texts. It is hypothesized that the subject matter in these other
texts is so familiar to any Sentani speaker that, unused as they are
to delineating their patterns of thought consciously in this way,
they are unable to concisely separate foreground from background to
any relevant extent.

Foreground:

uses the irrealis mode

Background:

uses the irrealis mode with the addition

of the particle mo. Although this

particle is most easily translated into English as 'just', its major function on the discourse level is to subordinate the

clause to which it is attached.

uses the realis mode, verbless forms, etc.

The Procedural Text, Fi Eke, 'Going After Sago', may be partitioned as follows:

Foreground

Background

- 1. First he will split (the sago log).
- 2. We women will go.
- I will make four places to squeeze sago.
 I will clean them.
- 4. Five men will go.
- 5. With sago pounders only mo.
- 6. After I go mo.

I will prepare a place made with sago leaves.

7. After they will pound mo

we will carry the dregs we will throw it away.

8. After we go mo

just to the squeezing mo.

9. I will carry the basket (wa

for squeezed sago)

I will return

I will put it.

10. After mo we squeeze sago

we will make the wa basket

11. We will make five we baskets

we will fill them

we will return to the village.

12. After we return to the village mo
I will make food
we will eat.

Notice that this story is not told in strict chronological sequence. In actual sequence of events, Sentences 7 to 11 should be arranged thus:

- 7. After they pound mo, I will carry the sago rubbish, I will throw it away. 8. We just go, just to the squeezing, mo..mo.
- 10. After we squeeze the sayo mo, I will make baskets for the squeezed sago.
- 11. We will make five of these baskets, we will fill them, we will return to the village.
- 9. I will carry the wa basket, I will return, I will put it.
 The impression given here is that the narrator had originally meant to finish her story after Sentence 9, hence the wind-down punctuated by mo begun in S8, but had then thought of additional information relevant to her subject and had continued on with S10, which she notes as a new paragraph. Note that Sentence 9 is actually a type of 'preview' to Sentence 11, although chronologically it follows it because of the addition of extra information 'I will put it.' There is no further use of the mo particle in this text, consisting of 18 sentences, until the final clause is given: Nebel mo 'This is all.' Literally this means 'this just', and is a very typical conclusion to a Sentani discourse.

4.3 HORTATORY DISCOURSE

Two manifestations of this genre have been found in Sentani, one written completely with irrealis verb forms, the other in the realis mode with command verb forms. Longacre's (1976) description of Hortatory Discourse is as follows:-

- 1. Second person; 1 incl; 3rd person pronouns
- 2. Imperative clauses
- 3. Imperative/jussive/hortative modes
- (Linkage) by conditional, cause, purpose connectors (or their equivalent).

Although no imperative clauses have been used in this first text, Reyae Jayapurare Merete 'I will go to Jayapura', the use of causative linkage 'because of this' and the hortative theme of the discourse, i.e. Come with me to Jayapura, defines this text as a low-key Hortatory Discourse. It is written in the irrealis mode, and the same procedure for separating Foreground from Background as was used previously for Procedural Discourse has been used.

Foreground

Background

1.

I have not seen mo Jayapura in my life -ye-.

2.

Because of this (no verb)

I want you to come with me tomorrow we will go.

3.

Tomorrow morning going mo

we will return here in the evening.

4.

I have not seen Jayapura in my life -ye- mo.

5.

Because of this (no verb)

tomorrow we will go I want to see things

•

those big ships they talk about
(Ø, present simple)

I have not seen mo.

Because of this (no verb) tomorrow we will go mo

we will see.

7.

6.

Afterwards mo

we will return from Kota Raja and from Abepura we will return.

8.

Afterwards mo that is finished

we will return to the village.

This is all mo.

9.

The background in this text also includes negatives (cf. Grimes, 1971) and the habitual aspect marked by -ye-, as well as both causal and chronological linkage phrases. The one present simple verb included in the text (S5), elate 'talk about' has the meaning 'they say, they continuously talk about.'

Again, the foregrounding and backgrounding pattern of this discourse gives us a clue as to the feelings of the narrator. As distinct from a narrative discourse in which foregrounding precedes the story line, foregrounding, at least in Sentani Hortatory Discourse, is used to expound the message which is focal to the text. In these eight foregrounded clauses, only three ideas emerge: You come with me to Jayapura, I want to see things, and, later we will return. In the context of the entire discourse, these latter phrases regarding returning home appear to be an attempt to add security to a somewhat fearsome venture. The speaker's almost constant use of the plural 'we' suggests hesitation at going alone, and adds force to the gentle persuasive note struck by the author in this text.

In the other Hortatory Discourse, untitled, by Usiel Pallo, the subject matter deals with instructing children not to play with fire close to his garden. Unlike the previous irrealis mode Hortatory Discourse, this text is begun with a past perfective, continues into the present simple, moves then into two irrealis mode statements, and culminates in two direct commands, also irrealis on the semantic level, but with specific command morphology in the verbal structure. The discourse is not punctuated with mo. It is outlined as follows:-

- 1. Why are many people playing -ke with fire around here?
- 2. Don't you know (present simple) I am making (present simple) a garden on the top of the hill?
- If you burn with fire (irrealis)
 my garden will all burn up (irrealis)
- 4. You all go away (command imperative) from here and don't play (command imperative) with fire.

The focii of this short discourse, contained in the imperatives of

S4, are obvious from the outset. From this we gather that it is not just aspect and mode which play a part in determining foreground in a Hortatory Discourse, but verb mood as well. In this case, while the Discourse is primarily irrealis, to separate all irrealis from non-irrealis would still leave background explanatory material classified as foreground. The imperative mood, being the distinctive feature of the text, needs to be set apart from the rest. The partitioning would then be as follows:

Foreground Background Why are many people playing -ke with fire around here? Don't you know (present simple) I am making a garden on top of the hill (simple present)? If you burn with fire (irrealis) my garden will all be burned up (irrealis)

You all go away (command).
 Don't play with fire (command).

Interestingly enough, if mood were to be taken into account in Jayapura Merete, and verbs of a persuasive nature, i.e. want, desire, separated from the rest, only two clauses would be foregrounded:

- 2. I want you to come with me tomorrow
- 5. I want to see things

This conclusion does not contradict in essence the conclusions reached by using the mo particle as a dividing technique, but rather brings the message of the text into even clearer focus.

5: CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, it becomes obvious that the division of foregrounding from backgrounding in the various discourse genre available for study is not a simple, rote exercise of applying rules of aspect, or even of mode. Hortatory Discourse differs from Narrative,

and Narrative from Procedural. Where there is no aspect, other devices need to be sought in order to discover how speakers highlight the focal points of their speech.

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