

# Paper for LSPNG Conference 2019

Discourse Structuring Devices of Kewapi  
language of Papua New Guinea

Apoi Yaraopea

# UPNG Kewapi students in Dance Mood



# Kewapi speakers of Ponowi village, Ialibu District, SHP



Late Chief Pila Wage with 12 wives and many children and grand children, Ponowi village.



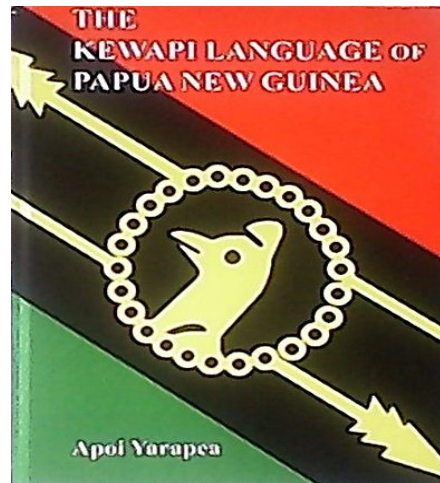
# Kewapi language

- Kewapi is a non-Austronesian or a Papuan language of the West-Central (Enga) Family of the Trans New Guinea Phylum (Franklin 1971, Wurm 1975, 1982, Foley 1986). Within the Enga family, consisting of Enga, Huli, Angal Mendi and Wiru sub-families (Wurm 1975:470), Kewapi is a member of the Angal Mendi sub-family.
- **No dialects really**; Franklin (1971) proposed 3 dialects but they are all mutually intelligible speakers.



# Research & Publications

- Franklin, K.J. 1971. *A grammar of Kewa, New Guinea*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, C16.
- Yaraepa, A. M. 2013. *The Kewapi language of Papua New Guinea*. Port Moresby: UPNG Press.



# Presentation Sections

1. Introduction
  2. Literature Review
  3. Data Analyses
  4. Discussions
  5. Conclusion
- References



# 1. Introduction

- Purpose: to show grammaticalized forms and their use in discourse. Studied 8 large discourse texts – resembling legend narratives, recount narratives, procedural, expository and business transactional texts (Yarapea 2006).
- Scope: Contemporary Kewapi data is used here. Six (6) lexical verbs that show grammaticalization signs are selected for this study.
- Analysis: shows the use of grammaticalized forms in discourse as: topic, referent, information awareness, and linkage markers.
- **Results:** Kewapi uses grammaticalized enclitics that have polysemous functions (Yarapea 2016) to mark discourse functional categories . Syntax (word order) is also used in signalling various discourse functions of nominals.
- Theory: Grammaticalization in Kewapi is induced by the morphosyntactic context in which the lexical word occurs.

# 1.2 Grammaticalization defined

- Grammaticalization is a process of language change in which a lexical meaning changes into a grammatical meaning (Matthews 1997:151).
- Characterizations of cases of grammaticalization include:
  - (a) Cliticized forms become morphological case for argument marking (Kemende & Vincent 1997:161).
  - (b) The semantic meaning persists in new contexts (Hopper 1992:22) so that grammaticalized forms function semantically as polysemous forms.
  - (c) Grammaticalized forms function as articles and enclitic forms (Zwicky 1985).
- Grammatically, language forms undergo changes induced by the morphosyntactic contexts in which they occur.
- Functionally, the grammaticalized form is now free to migrate to other structural contexts to assume new grammatical functions and semantic roles.
- Semantically, in such a transformation the lexical meaning undergoes either a total loss or partial loss (semantic bleaching).

# Grammaticalization

Example:

- (a) *ada* /ədə/ 'see' => verb
- (b) *ade* /ədə/ 'seen' => participial, e.g. *ade mena* 'seen pig = the pig'
- (c) *-de* /-de/ => enclitic => *mena-de* 'pig – the one we know about'

/ə/ is schwa is a mid central vowel.

# 1. Tabulation of Data Analyses of Grammaticalization of lexical verbs in the Kewapi language

\*strongest to weakest cases of grammaticalization: *ada/pea/la/mea/raa/naa*

| Lexical verb base form     | Media/Serial Verb form  | Participial Verb form as nominal modifier                            | Cliticized Verb form as nominal affix/clitic  | Cliticized Verb form as Clausal affix/clitic  | Cliticized Verb form as Discoursal affix/clitic  |
|----------------------------|---|--|---|---|--|
| <b>1. <i>ada</i> 'see'</b> | <i>ado</i> 'see': <i>epa ado</i> 'come see' (medial verb)<br><i>ado mea</i> 'see get = see and get it (serial verb)   | <i>ade ali</i> 'seen man (the man that we saw/know'                  | <i>ali-de</i> 'man-DEF (the man)              | <i>ali-de ipi-sa-de</i> man-DEF come-3SG.RPT-DEF<br>'(I believe you know that) the man came.' |  |
| <b>2. <i>pea</i> 'do'</b>  | <i>pu</i> 'do': a) <i>pu mea-wa</i> 'do get-1SG.NPT = I completed it (serial verb)', b) <i>kogono pu-ma pa-sa</i> 'work do-3SG.RPT = he did the work and went (medial verb) | <i>pi kogono</i> 'done work (the work that had been done)'           | <i>mena-pe</i> 'pig-AUG = a huge pig'         | <i>la-wa-pe</i> 'say-1SG.NPT-EMP = do note that I said it'                                    | <i>la-wa-pere na-paga-me</i> 'say-1SG.NPT-but NEG-listen-3PL.NPT = Note that I said it, but they didn't listen/refused.' |
| <b>3. <i>la</i> 'say'</b>  | <i>lo</i> 'say' <i>lo kala-wa</i> 'say give-1SG.NPT = I told him.' (serial verb)<br>b) <i>lo-ma pua-wa</i> 'say-SEQ go-1SG.NPT = I said it and went.' (medial verb)         | <i>le agale</i> 'spoken talk/message (message which had been spoken) | <i>su-le</i> 'land-RE (saying about the land) | <i>su-le epa-lia</i> 'land-RE come-3SG.FUT = he will to talk about the land'                  | <i>epa-lia-le eda sa-pe</i> 'come-3SG.FUT-so, food leave-2 NON-IMP = he will come so, leave food for him.'               |

## 2. Tabulation of Data Analyses of Grammaticalization of lexical verbs in the Kewapi language

\*strongest to weakest cases of grammaticalization: *ada/pea/la/mea/raa/naa*

| Lexical verb base form    | Media/Serial Verb form  | Participial Verb form as nominal modifier                              | Cliticized Verb form as nominal affix/clitic  | Cliticized Verb form as Clausal affix/clitic                         | Cliticized Verb form as Discoursal affix/clitic   |
|---------------------------|---|--|---|--|---|
| 4. <i>mea</i> 'get'       | a) <i>ma gi</i> 'get give = get it and give it' (serial verb)<br>b) <i>mu-ma gi</i> 'get-SEQ give me' (medial form) | <i>pake mi kana</i> 'steal gotten money = money which had been stolen' | <i>ro-me</i> 'stick-INST = stick get'<br><i>ro-me tya-me</i> 'stick-INST hit-3PL.NPT = they hit (it) with a stick.'<br><i>maa</i> -CAUS<br><i>-maa</i> 'SEQ'<br><i>-me/mi</i> 'ERG' |  | <i>lpu pa-lua-me ipu-la</i> 'he go-3SG.FUT-INT come-3SG.PRG 'He is coming with the intention to go (somewhere)'                         |
| 5. <i>raa</i> 'burn/emit' | <i>ro-ma</i> 'burn-SEQ' (medial form)   | <i>re repona</i> 'burnt tree = tree which had been burnt by fire'      | <i>repona-re</i> 'tree-TOP = as for tree (as for the burning of the tree)'  | <i>winya ipi-sa-ra</i> 'woman come-3SG.RPT-TOP (topicalized clause)' | <i>Winya epa-lia-re, kala-pe</i> 'woman come-3SG.FUT-CONJ, give (it) = if the woman comes, give (it) to her'                            |
| 6. <i>na</i> 'eat'        | <i>no</i> 'eat'   | <i>ne eda</i> 'eaten food = food which had been eaten'                 | <i>ali-na</i> 'man-POSR = man's'  | <i>ipi-sa-na</i> 'come-3SG.RPT-INF = I infer that he had come.'      | <i>ipu-ma li-sa-na</i> 'come-SEQ say-3SG.RPT-INF = he had come and ... (event cast in the viewpoint of the actor rather than narrator). |

# Table 3: Topic markers

| Discourse Topic | Forms   |
|-----------------|---|
| onset           | Unmarked subject nominal in SV/SOV<br>Unmarked object nominal in OV                                       |
| continuity      | -re in <i>ali-re</i> = man-TOP 'as for the man'<br>-ra in <i>ali-ra?</i> = man-TOP? 'what about the man?' |
| closure         | Topicalized clause => <i>Ali-re ipi-sa-ra!</i> = man-TOP come-1SG.RPT-TOP! 'The man came!'                |

# Table 4: Referent – formal markers

| Discourse Topic  | Forms   |
|--|---|
| onset  | 1) Unmarked subject nominal in SV/SOV/; Unmarked object nominal in OV;<br>2) common nominal + <i>meda</i> (INDEF article) e.g. <i>ali meda ipu-la</i> : man a come-3SG.PR = ‘A man is coming.’<br>3) personal names, place: <i>Apoi</i> ‘Apoi’, <i>Yalipu</i> ‘lalibu town’ |
| continuity   | 1) impersonal referents: spacial deictic forms + referent nominal, e.g. <i>go ali</i> : ‘that man’<br>2) personal pronouns (you <i>ne</i> , I <i>ni</i> , third persons <i>s/he ipu</i> , etc)  |
| closure  | 1) impersonal referents: spacial deictic forms + NOM marker, e.g. <i>go-ai</i> : ‘that one’   |
| <b>Note: <i>meda</i> means ‘indefinite one’ occurs in NP =&gt; Nominal + Number, while other attributive adjectives occur as NP =&gt; ADJ + Nominal: <i>adaa mena meda</i> ‘big pig one = one/a big pig’</b> |   |

# Table 5: Information awareness – formal markers

| Discourse awareness  | Information structure marked by Word Order & morphology  |
|--|--|
| New – for participants 1,2   | <p>1) Unmarked nominal and/or clause in SV/SOV/<br/>           e.g. <i>ali meda ipu-la</i>: man a come-3SG.PR = ‘A man is coming.’<br/>           The whole clause information is assumed to be new.</p>   |
| New – for participants 2<br><i>-da</i>   | <p>1) The constituent(s) marked by <i>-da</i> is assumed to be New information for the addressee(s):<br/>           e.g. <i>ali-da ipu-la</i>: man a come-3SG.PR = ‘A man is coming.’ ( I have specific man in mind but I doubt you know him.)</p> |
| Given/known – participants 1,2 <i>-de</i>  | <p>1) The constituent(s) marked by <i>-de</i> is assumed to be known information for participants 1 &amp; 2):<br/>           e.g. <i>ali-de ipu-la</i>: man a come-3SG.PR = ‘The man is coming.’ ( We both known the man.)</p>                     |
| Information awareness – Speaker’s assumptions about the state of awareness of events for discourse participants (1,2, 3) |  |



# Table 6: Discourse linkers - formal markers

| Discourse cohesion/linkers | Forms   |
|----------------------------|---|
| Cohesion                   | Coordinators:<br><i>-ma</i> 'and', <i>-pere</i> 'but', <i>-pa</i> 'or'  |
|                            | Subordinators:<br><i>-daa</i> 'because', <i>-robo</i> 'when', <i>-le</i> 'so', <i>-na</i> 'for that reason', <i>pege</i> 'even if'                        |
| Coherence                  | Subordinators: (locatives in anaphoric role + event clause + subord.)<br><i>Go pea-da</i> 'because of that, therefore, thus'<br><i>Go-robo</i> 'now then' |
|                            | Coordinators: (locatives in anaphoric role + event clause + coord.)<br><i>Go pu-ma</i> 'and having done that'   |

# 4.0 Discussion of data analysed

- all the verbs occur in the normal/unmarked word order (syntactic context) – SOV or SV as lexical verbs; in the morphosyntactic contexts identified above they occur as phonetically, formally and semantically as reduced or changed forms to assume the various morphosyntactic, semantic, and discursal functions.

## 4.1 Formal roles/distributions

- When the lexical verbs occur clause-medially, they acquire medial or serial verb forms. Apart from other distinguishing features of medial and serial verbs, the verbs occurring in a series cannot be interrupted by a sequential marker *-ma* 'SEQ', whereas strings of medial verbs can be sequenced by *-ma* 'SEQ'.
- The morphosyntactic contexts provide a haven for complementary distribution of grammaticalized forms: Noun Phrase (NP), Clause, Sentence, Discourse. The unmarked position of verb is: SOV. Grammaticalization occurs when the verb occurs in marked positions: medial/serial positions VVV, participial position VN (which is reanalysed as a participial form of the verb, functioning as an attributive/descriptive modifier of the Noun).
- Grammaticalization pathway: =>prefixation=>main verb => medial/serial verbs => participial verbs => nominalization enclitics => clausal enclitics => sentential enclitics => discourse enclitics=>. A verbal form cannot occur in a preverbal slot (SO\*V), and when proclitics occur in preverbal positions, they become integral part of the main lexical verb and are reanalysed as verbal prefixes, and this has happened in only two cases in the language: the causative prefix *ma-* CAUS and negative prefix *na-* 'NEG'.

# Cont/.. 4.0 Discussion of data analysed

## 4.2 Polysemous semantic roles

- Retention of lexical meanings occur when the grammaticalized verbs occur in: VP and NP but only remotely in Clausal and Discoursal contexts. There they acquire pragmatic-semantic roles/meanings as shown in Tables 1 and 2 above.

### 4.2.1 The verb *mea* 'get' as case enclitics

- The verb *mea* 'get' has changed to become case markers (enclitics) and acquire other grammatical meanings as follows: (see also Tables 1 and 2 above)
- *mea* 'get' (lexical verb base form);
  - (a) => *mi* 'one that had been gotten' (participial nominal verb );
  - (b) => *-me/mi* 'ERGative or INSTRumental case markers' reanalysed nominal marker;
  - (c) => *mu* 'get' medial verb form;'
  - (d) => *ma-* 'CAUS' reanalysed verbal prefix;
  - (e) => *-ma* 'SEQ' (reanalysed grammatical form)

Other forms: verb compounds, serial/medial verbs, e.g. *lo-mea* 'say-get =>flood-receded river', *ada-mea* 'see-get =>meet/greet/welcome someone' *ado-mea* 'see-get =>choose one', etc.

# Cont/.. Polysemous semantic roles

## 4.2.2 The verb *ada* 'see' as article enclitics

- The verb *ada* 'see' has changed to become article markers (enclitics) and acquire other grammatical meanings as follows: (see also Tables 1 and 2 above).
- *ada* 'see'(lexical verb base form);
  - (a) =>*ado* (medial/serial form);
  - (b) =>*ade ali* 'seen man =the men we saw/know' (participial verb, nominal modifier);
  - (c) => *ali-de* 'man-seen=>DEF (the man: definite NP marker/suffix ;
  - (d) => *ipi-sa-de* 'someone came – *de*=seen event=>DEF: definitely, someone came' i.e. I believe (I saw/know) that 'someone came' (a case of semantic extension).

## 4.2.3 The verb *ra* 'burn' as topic marker

- The verb *ra* 'burn' has changed to become topic marker (enclitic) and acquire other grammatical meanings as follows: (see also Tables 1 and 2 above)
- *ra* 'burn/emit' (verb base);
  - (a) => *ro* (medial form);
  - (b) => *re kana* 'burnt money=money that has been burnt' (participial form);
  - (c) =>*kana-re* 'money-TOPic' as for money;
  - (d) => *kana-ra* 'money-TOP' (reduced clause=> 'what about the money?';
  - (e) => *epa-lia-re, kala-pe* 'come-3SG.FUT-TOP (if), give-IMP = if he comes, give it to him.' Conditional clausal markers as topic markers are common in many Non-Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea.

# 5.0 Conclusion

- The lexical verbs (*mea* 'get', *ada* 'see', *raa* 'burn', *na* 'eat', *la* 'say', *pea* 'do') undergo change from lexical meaning to grammatical meaning in different morphosyntactic contexts of a language (Matthews 1997:152).
- The grammaticalized forms operate at morphological, syntactic and discourse contexts, as case-like enclitics, and as clausal, sentential and discursal enclitics.
- The prefixal affixes *ma-* 'CAUSATIVE' and *na-* 'NEGATIVE' have undergone affixation from being clitics as a result of grammaticalization.
- Theoretically, data from Kewapi appears to provide counterexamples of grammaticalization: whereby grammaticalized lexical forms remain grammatical forms like clitics and do not retain their original lexical semantics. In Kewapi however, the grammaticalized forms appear as grammatical forms in certain morphosyntactic contexts only and outside of that context and in their normal syntactic contexts they function as main lexical verbs. In other words, certain lexical verbs have been formally and semantically extended to derive polysemous meanings and functions in various grammatical contexts through grammaticalization.

# Abbreviations

|                               |                                  |                                 |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 first person                | FUT future tense                 | POSS possessed                  |
| 2 second person               | GEN genitive marker              | PRG present progressive tense   |
| 3 third person                | IMM immediate command            | PT participial verb             |
| Adj adjective                 | IMP imperative                   | PUNCT punctual aspect           |
| SOV subject-object-verb       | INDF indefinite referent         | PUR purpose                     |
| ASP aspect                    | INST instrumental case           | Q question                      |
| AUG augmentative mode         | N noun                           | S subject of in/transitive verb |
| CAUS causative                | NEG negative                     | SEQ sequence                    |
| CONJ conjunction              | NON-IMM non-immediate<br>command | SG singular                     |
| CONT continuative aspect      | NON-SING non-singular<br>number  | SOV subject-object-verb         |
| DEF definite referent         | NP noun phrase                   | SPR simple present tense        |
| DIM diminutive                | NPT near past tense              | SR switch-reference             |
| DL dual number                | O object of transitive verb      | SS same subject                 |
| DUR durative aspect           | POS possessor                    | SV subject-verb                 |
| EMP emphatic assertion marker |                                  | TNS tense                       |
| ERG ergative marker           |                                  | TOP topic                       |
|                               |                                  | VP verb phrase                  |

# References

- Franklin, K.J. 1971. *A grammar of Kewa, New Guinea*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, C16.
- Franklin, J. and Franklin, K. J. 1962b. Kewa I: phonological asymmetry. *Anthropological linguistics*, 4.7.29-37.
- Hopper, P. 1991. 'On some principles of grammaticalization.' In E. Traugott & B. Heine (ed.) *Approaches to Grammaticalization*. 17-35. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kemenade, A. and Vincent, N. (eds.) 1997. *Parameters of morphosyntactic change*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Matthews, P.H. 1997. *Oxford concise dictionary of Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yarapea, A.M. 2016. Grammaticalization in Kewapi language. *Journal of Language and Linguistics in Oceania* 8: (56-63).
- Yarapea, A. M. 2013. *The Kewapi language of Papua New Guinea*. Port Moresby: UPNG Press.
- Yarapea, A. M. 2007. Switch reference in Kewapi. In Toru Okamura (ed) *Language in Papua New Guinea*. Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers.
- Yarapea, A. M. 2006. Morphosyntax of Kewapi Language. PhD thesis. Department of Linguistics. Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.
- Yarapea, A.M. 2001. On interclausal reference in Kewapi. In A. Pawley, M. Ross and D. Tyron (eds) *The boy from Bundaberg: studies in Melanesian linguistics in honour of Tom Dutton*, 399-417. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Yarapea, A.M. 1993. Kewapi verbal morphology and semantics. *Journal of Language and Linguistics in Melanesia*, 24 (1): 95-110.
- Yarapea, A.M. 1992. Aspects of Kewapi grammar. M.Phil. thesis. Department of Linguistics, The University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia.
- Zwicky, A. 1985. Clitics and particles. *Language*, 61.283-305.

Thank you for Listening!