FORM AND FUNCTION OF ROTOKAS WORDS

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INTRODUCTION

1.0. General Orientation
The Rotokas language is spoken by approximately 3,600 people living in the Kieta and Buka Passage Sub-Districts of central Bougainville Island. The 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 Grammar and Vocabulary of the Kunua Language 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 linguistic groups of Bougainville District, but also in that the phonology includes but eleven segmental phonemes: /p, t, k, b, 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


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'
12, 14 //avaopa/  'she went years ago'
17, 24, 29, 26, 33 //utraepa/  'I followed years ago'
37 //aatava/  'I swam years ago'
41, 42 //kaeraviro/  'I raised up completely'
44, 45 //voreraepa/  'I went back years ago'
61, 62 //karevelepa/  'we both returned years ago'
70 //iparoepa/  'he went up years ago'
84 //aiovepa/  'we both ate years ago'
107, 108 //oravurevuroeroepa/  'he shook himself years ago'
114 //kareeroepa/  '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, -\textit{uviro}

\textit{Kareveiepa} 'we both returned years ago'
\textit{Kare-uviro-veiepa} 'we both returned completely years ago'

c) Person markers, -\textit{ro} and -\textit{ve}

\textit{Kare-ve-iepa} 'we both returned years ago'
\textit{Kare-ro-epa} 'he returned years ago'

d) Potential shift and allomorphic form of complete action marker

\textit{Kare-uviro-veiepa} 'we both returned completely years ago'
\textit{Kaera-viro} 'I raised up completely'

e) Tense markers, -\textit{va} and -\textit{vo}

\textit{Purave-va} 'we both did years ago'
\textit{Purave-vo} 'we both did recently'

f) "Transitive" and "intransitive" sets of tense markers, -\textit{va} and -\textit{iepa}

\textit{Purapa-ve-va} 'we both were making (it) years ago'
\textit{Uvuipa-ve-iepa} 'we both were being able years ago'

3.12 \textbf{Summary of Information Thus Far From Text}

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 Rotokas Verb Morphology

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 Morphophonemetics

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 \( /p/ \):

\[
\begin{align*}
-\text{(u)}\text{viro} & \sim -\text{piro} & \text{`complete'} \\
-\text{vol} -\text{ei} & \sim -\text{pl} & \text{`present'} \\
-\text{vere} & \sim -\text{pere} & \text{`near future'} \\
-\text{verea} & \sim -\text{perea} & \text{`distant future'} \\
-\text{veira} & \sim -\text{peira} & \text{`habitual'} \\
-\text{ve} & \sim -\text{pe} & \text{`subjunctive'}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \(-\text{piro}\) of Order 2 which normally occurs with inanimate subjects also occurs with the allomorphs of Order 5 which mark animate subjects, i.e. \(-\text{vere}, -\text{verea}, -\text{ve}, \) and \(-\text{veira}\).

b) The Order 4 person marker \(-\text{vio}\) and the Order 5 tense markers: \(-\text{vere}, -\text{verea}\) and mode markers: \(-\text{ve}, -\text{veira}\) when occurring suffixed to \( \beta \)-verb stems are together manifested as the portmanteau suffixes: \(-\text{pere}, -\text{perea}, -\text{pe} \) and \(-\text{peira}\) respectively.

c) The Order 4 person marker \(-\text{ve}\) is manifested as the infix \(-\alpha-\) in the morphological environment of \(-\text{vere}, -\text{verea}, \) and \(-\text{veira}\).
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-IRA0-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 vo vouisi 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-ver (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) Singular. The first, second, and third person singular markers are divided into those occurring with $\tau$-verb stems, and those occurring with $\beta$-verb stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>With $\tau$-verb</th>
<th>With $\beta$-verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person (m)</td>
<td>-ro</td>
<td>-re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person (f)</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) Dual. The first and second-third dual markers are the same for both $\tau$- and $\beta$-verb stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$\tau$-verb</th>
<th>$\beta$-verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-ve ~ -a~</td>
<td>'we two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second-third person</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>'you/they two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m/m or m/f</td>
<td></td>
<td>m/m or m/f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second-third person</td>
<td>-ere</td>
<td>'you/they two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f/f</td>
<td></td>
<td>f/f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c) Plural. The first person plural markers are divided into inclusive and exclusive markers, and the third person plural markers are divided into "With $\beta$-verb stem" and "With $\tau$-verb stem."

First person
inclusive
-vio ~ -vi 'we all'
First person
exclusive -io -i 'we not you'

Second person -ta 'you all'

With r-verb With b-verb
Third person -a -i 'they all'

All of the above suffixes are considered markers of animate subjects. The inanimate neuter marker -Ø 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 Dependent Verb Markers
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 -sia 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, -arare is rarely heard and seems to be a remnant of a past speech form.

b) The suffix -oro 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 -arapa denotes the negative aspect (nea), reasi-pa-ra-i vo-va ava-ARAPA (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) **Future.** The future tense markers are suffixed to byname verb stems and byname verb stems alike. They are:

ava-u-**VERE** (to go-you-NEAR FUTURE (nf)) ‘you will go soon’
urio-0-**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-0-**PEREA** (to finish-it-DF) ‘it will finish years from now’ (see 3.21.b)

b) **Present.** The present tense markers are divided three ways: 1) occurring with byname verb stems, 2) occurring with byname verb stems, and 3) occurring with inanimate (ina) subject marker. They are:

byname verb aio-ri-**VOI** (to eat-you-PRESENT (p))

byname verb ava-u-**EI** (to go-you-P) ‘you go now’
inanimate goagoara-0-**PI** (to boil-it-P) ‘it boils now’

c) **Past.** The past tense markers are divided into those occurring with byname verb stems and those occurring with byname verb stems. All stems marked for inanimate subject are suffixed by those markers which normally occur with byname verb stems to indicate past tense.
\( β \)-verb \( \text{aio-ri-VO} \) (to eat-you-IMMEDIATE PAST (ip))
\( \text{you ate recently} \)
\( γ \)-verb \( \text{ava-u-E} \) (to go-you-IP)
\( \text{you went recently} \)
\( β \)-verb \( \text{aio-ri-VORAO} \) (to eat-you-NEAR PAST (np))
\( \text{you ate days ago} \)
\( γ \)-verb \( \text{ava-u-ERAO} \) (to go-you-NP)
\( \text{you went days ago} \)
\( β \)-verb \( \text{aio-ri-VORA} \) (to eat-you-DISTANT PAST (dp))
\( \text{you ate weeks ago} \)
\( γ \)-verb \( \text{ava-u-ERA} \) (to go-you-DP)
\( \text{you went weeks ago} \)
\( β \)-verb \( \text{aio-ri-VA} \) (to eat-you-REMOTE PAST (rp))
\( \text{you ate years ago} \)
\( γ \)-verb \( \text{ava-u-EPA} \) (to go-you-RP)
\( \text{you went years ago} \)

3.23.52 **Mode Markers**

a) The suffix \( -\text{veira} ~ -\text{peira} \) denotes the habitual mode (hm),
\( \text{vaisi-pa-i-VEIRA} \) (to name-pra-they-HM) 'they are always naming' and
\( \text{pau-pa-Ø-PEIRA} \) (to sit-pra-it-HM) 'it is always sitting.'

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

c) The suffix \( -(\text{vo})iva \) denotes the anticipatory mode (am),
\( \text{varuere-a-IVA} \) (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 β-verb stems" (formerly the transitive markers) and "those occurring with τ-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
ruipa, 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 β-verb stems and the γ-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 The Two Verb Stem Classes

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

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

Some verb stems may be members of both β- and γ-classes. These verb stems are either homonyms, e.g., pau '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 aio 'to eat,' ori 'to cook,' and sisiu 'to wash' are inflected by the markers of the γ-verb stems in
an intransitive context and by the markers of the β-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 ϒ-verb stems, e.g. va sisiu-re-va 'he washed it years ago' but ora-sisiu-ро-епа 'he washed himself years ago.' 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 'to put (it).' In this case the stem tovo is always a β-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 ава (it to-put you-go) 'you go to put it.' When a stem is used that is both a β-verb stem and a ϒ-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 'to cook.'

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 'to build/plant' as a β-verb stem or 'to sit' as a ϒ-verb stem. When the abbreviated form, pausia is used in isolation without an object, it may either mean (expanded) 'go build/plant it' or 'come sit down.'

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 β- or
γ-verb stems) and/or by some person-number markers which again are undifferentiated or homophonous. For example, the verb *pura* as a β-verb stem means 'to make' and as a γ-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 b-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,' rugorogoparai `I am thinking,' kepaperoi `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 0 `to be' inflected by only the Order 3 suffix -pa, and Order 4 and 5 suffixes which occur with v-verb stems such as rera rirol 0-vere (he big to be-soon) `he will be big soon,' vokepa 0-pere vo (this-house to be-soon here) `this house will be here soon,' vearo 0-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 //ovokivua (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 //opuruvarere (v) 'for (the) canoe'
21 //ro (v) 'this man'
   (v) vegoa (v) 'we two who'
23 (v) rovua/ '(the) deep water'
39 //oiraia (v) 'onto her'
46 //uva (v) 'then/so'
   (v) voviri (v) 'back there'
53 (v) Ari/ 'Ari (proper name)'
54 //oisio (v) 'this'
58 //ragai (v) 'me'
59 (v) ra (v) 'and'
60 //oire (v) 'okay'
64 (v) opuruva/ 'canoe'
69 //koru (v) 'green coconut'
83 //aio (v) '(the) food'
87 (v) vokiaro/ 'evening'
88 (v) vorevira (v) 'back'
89 (v) vuria (v) 'trouble'
91 (v) osia (v) 'as'
96 (v) tuariri// 'long ago'
98 //rera (v) 'him'
105 //votavuru (v) 'this bundle'
112 (v) otopisivua// 'in another room'
113 (v) voea (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 (uva) voa (v) 'there'
12 (uva) viapau (v) 'not'
   (osia) avakava (v) '(the) ocean'
   (ro) iraia (opuruva) 'with which'
18 (uva) kukueva (v) '(my) head'
20 (uva) oirare (v) 'for her'
22 (v) e (opuruva) '(interrogative)'
27 (v) vi (v) 'you'
(v) vorara (opuruva) 'while'
(ovuruva) vavo (oisio) 'way'
(oira) ivaraiare (v) "to (her) top"
(v) goteperoia (v) 'with (the) paddle board'
(v) rirowira (v) 'very/greatly'
(vi) vovouaroia (v) 'thoughts (possessed)'
(v) vosia (viapau) 'if'
(v) pautoare (ra) 'to God'
(ra) vegevi (v) "poor" us'
(ra) opitaravai (v) 'coconuts'
(uva) opitara (v) 'coconuts'
(uva) varava (v) 'with them'
(avakava) vatuaroaia// 'side (possessed)'
(atari) kare (v) '(fish)-es'
/aioavaiva (ra) 'with some food'
(ra) oai (v) 'it'
(atari) roviro (v) 'these soups'
(uva) lotu (v) 'church'
(rirovira) rutu (v) 'truly'
(v) uvare (opuruva) 'because'
(opuruva) vegei (v) 'we two'
(v) uva (vuria) 'when'
(uva) eisi (vegei) 'like that'
(uva) ovokirovua (v) 'on these other days'
(ragai) raupeto// 'Raupeto (proper name)'
(uva) oirato (v) '(a) man'
(uva) isio (votavuru) 'Isio (proper name)'
(uva) vaova (v) 'from there'
(ragai) vaaro (ra) 'it (possessed)'
(ragai) vaviovi/ri// 'Vaviovi (proper name)'

The following forms from the Text remain to be identified:
ora iravu vaisiaro like arimiori

vouririo raga
okarevu avuvai
rikurovu rutuia
raka iava
oa iava
ira taporo
ae vegeivipa vearovira
oa iava
eake
oa iava
ari pauto
oa iava
oa iava
vo rogararo
vegoa sioparoa
iare erakopaara taporo

auere arua
vore atoia
vo vovio
aitereivu kakaetoarei
voeao oea
siraoa oa
ita oravegeipa
oisivio raga
votavitaviaro oa

aueia naintin sikisti sikis
oavivu garea
oisioa ito

and with another man whose name is Luke Arimiori
this fear only
some other animals
to (the) truly deep water
from (the) reef
after which
with whom
ah well for "poor" us
about it
(may now be identified as "what")
after which
but God,
after which
about it
on (the) sand
inside (the) jungle
to (the canoe) with
firewood also
to (grease) (the) greens
to home
at this time
two others, two boys
these which
sorrow which
again for ourselves
just a little like this
tale/story (possessed) which
in nineteen sixty six
another little one
always bananas
97 itovaia ora vururuva taporo
100 aueia sikatoaia
103 vava eriaia
104 iravu ovito
112 aigeiva taporo
115 eisivi raga

`in with (the) bananas and his war club also`
`by (the) wild fig`
`with it into (the) cave`
`another male, (the) son`
`mother-in-law also`
`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 ora `and`
1 and 104 iravu `another man/male`
30 and 115 raga `just/only`
36, 39, 49, 52 and 57 iava `from/about/after`
39, 49, 57, 92 and 94 oa `which/it`
36 and 71 iava `from`
   iare `to`
47, 71, 97 and 112 taporo `with/also`

3.31 Identification of Morphemes Within the Nominals
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, -ro
   ovokivua 'on another day'
   ovoki-ro-vuia 'on these other days'

b) Specific singular marker, -o
   voea 'they'
   voea-o 'these'

c) Alternative marker, -vu
   vovoki-o-ia 'on this day'
   ovoki-vu-ia 'on another day'

d) Diminutive marker, -vi
   vegei 'we two'
   vegei-vi "poor" we two'

e) Relator marker 'for,' -pa
   vegeivi "poor" we two'
   vegeivi-pa 'for "poor" us two'

f) Reflexive marker, ora-
   vageivipa 'for "poor" us two'
   ora-vegeipa 'for ourselves'

g) Non-absolute marker, -(a)vai
   opitara 'coconuts'
   opitara-vai 'coconuts (uncertain)'

h) Possessive marker, -aro
   vatu-aro-ia 'by (the) side (possessed)'
   votavitavi-aro 'tale/story (possessed)'
   va-aro 'it (possessed)'

i) Gender markers, -va (feminine), -to (masculine), -a (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.

   opuru-va 'canoe (f)' Ref: oira 'her' and toupaeva
       '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 demonstrate 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. V0-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-rire (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 Order Two Suffixes
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 specific 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 -toa occurs when another suffix follows, otherwise it alternates freely with -to. The feminine singular marker -riva alternates freely with -va 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., -re `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, ovi-TOAREI (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 Order Three Suffixes
The diminutive (dim) marker -vi simply lends the meaning of `little' and figuratively `poor,' siposipo-a-VI (story-neuter
singular-DIM) 'little story,' \textit{aue-toa-VI oira-toa-VI} (Class 3 Rel.
Pro.-masculine singular-DIM person-masculine singular-DIM) 'little
male,' and \textit{ragai-VI} (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 Order Four Suffixes

The alternative (alt) marker -\textit{vu} has been exemplified in section
3.41.b occurring with the specifier prefix o-\textit{.} 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, \textit{o-urui-vi-VU} (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, \textit{oa-VU kepa} (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 Order Five Suffixes

a) The possessive (poss) marker -\textit{aro} 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, \textit{vi varivari-ARO} (you
strength-POSS) 'your strength' and \textit{aue-ARO rera orui} (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 -(a)vai 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, *oira-toa-VAI* (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 -i 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. *aio-a-VAI-va ra oa-I aiome* (to eat-neuter singular-NA-with and it-AB we both will eat). The verb come 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 Relative Pronoun Marker
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 -a 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 o-.

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: *vovokie o-voki-A* (this day sp-day-RELATIVE PRONOUN MARKER) 'this day which' and *vavee pute o-pute-A* (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 -rire and pluralized by -ara, e.g. opuru-VA `canoe,' opuru-RIE `two canoes,' opuru-ARA `many canoes,' aveke-VA `stone,' aveke-RIE `two stones,' and aveke-ARA `many stones.'

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

3.43.2 Proper Nouns
Affixation of the proper nouns may be formulated as follows: + proper noun stem + agt + gen. Only names of places are suffixed in the above formula. Some proper nouns are Vavioiri (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,' vao `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 formulated 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,' ora-igei-pa (ref-we (exclusive)-for) 'for ourselves not you,' and voea-reo (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 Demonstrative Pronouns
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) eva-vi (that-dim) 'that little object (neuter),' ragai ro-aro (I this male-poss) 'my object (masculine) near at hand,' (with Class II demonstrative pronouns) vo-re oira vo-aro atoia (here-to her here-poss home) 'to her home,' evoa-vi (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 (-o, e-, and -ri); however, it is more economical to handle them as they are presented.
The Class II demonstrative pronouns are: \textit{vavo} 'there (general),' \textit{evoa} 'there (extreme),' \textit{voa} 'there (midway),' \textit{vo} 'here,' and \textit{voari} 'back there/over there.' They may be used in reference to either time or space as in the following examples: \textit{voari tuariri} 'back there long ago,' or \textit{voari vokepa siovaraia} (back-there this-house inside) 'back 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 \textbf{Relative Pronouns}

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) \textbf{Class 1A relative pronouns} are those which are derived from classified nouns or free-form pluralizers by the affixation of \textit{0-\ldots-a}, e.g., \textit{o-siposipo-a} (sp-story-relative pronoun marker) 'which story.' They are uninflected. (There are no examples in the Text.)

\textbf{Class 1B relative pronoun} is the word \textit{uva} 'where/when.' The referents are Class II demonstrative pronouns, locatives, or temporals, e.g., \textit{vo tuariri uva} (in long ago when) 'in the past when,' and \textit{vo uva} (here where) 'here where.' It is uninflected. (See Text sentence 91.12.)

\textbf{Class 1C relative pronouns} 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 + num + alt + poss, e.g., \textit{oea-ro-vu} (they-these-alt) 'these others,' \textit{ira-ar} (he-poss) 'he (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 aitereia, airea, andairoa as in airo-ro-vu (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 oisi 'like this' and eisi 'like that.' The affixation of the Class 2 relative pronouns is as follows: + Class 2 relative pronoun + dim + num + alt + na + directional (-ri 'over there'). Only the diminutive and number markers are commonly used, e.g., eisi-vi (like tr-at-dim) 'a little like that,' oisi-o (like this-this) 'like this,' oisi-vi-ro (like this-dim-these) 'a little like these.' By far the most common form is oisio '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 aue which has no meaning. The affixation of aue 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, -aro. (See Text sentences: 72.1, 94.11, 100.2, 115.1.)

3.43.9 Interrogative Pronouns

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: apeisi 'how,' ovu 'where,' irou 'who,' aa 'which,' eake 'what,' ovirovu 'how many,' avoviroa 'how much,' and roroa 'how much.'

The interrogative apeisi may be suffixed by the emphatic marker -iraO, e.g., apeisi-IRA0 'truly how?!' The interrogative irou may be suffixed by the gender-number markers, e.g. irou-TO
(who-MS) "who (masculine)" and irou-RIREI (who-F DL) "who (feminine
guai)." The interrogative eake is interesting in that it can be
suffixed by nearly every suffix accounted for thus far, e.g.,
eake-to (what-m s) "what male," eake-vira (what-like) "like what,"
eake-sia (what-pua) "to do what," eake-oro (what-sma) "doing what,"
eake-pere (what-nf) "what will be," and eake-viro-pa-o-i
(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 Numerals
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 -pa and/or
by gender-number markers, or they are inflected by -pa and
subsequently compounded with another nominal stem, e.g., katai-to
(one-m s) "one masculine object," or erao-pa-voki (two-agt-day)
"Tuesday." They also may be possessed as in this example, ragai
vovavae-aro siraopavavae (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., o-vavae-vu
"these other five (things)."

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

There are terms for "hundred" (vovoto), "thousand" (tuku), and
"million" (ipu). A large number will illustrate in part the system:
erao tuku resiura vatara vovoto vopeva tau vavae `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) **vure** `group of married people' used as follows: **aue VURE oira VURE** (Class 3 relative pronoun GROUP OF MARRIED PEOPLE person GROUP OF MARRIED PEOPLE) `group of married men and women,' **vo-VURE-o** (sp-GROUP OF MARRIED PEOPLE-this) `this group of married people.' Interestingly enough, the most common use of **vure** is with the adjective **kakae** `small' and means `children.' The informant has indicated that this is exceptional.

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

h) **pitu** `swarms' used as follows: **avuru PITU-ro** (fly SWARM-these) `these swarms of flies.'

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

3.5 The Remaining Forms of the Test Identified

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) **ora** (n) 'and'
5 **uva** 'then/so' (identified)
  **osia** 'as' (identified)
6 **ovoiei** 'finally' (identified)
12 **viapau** 'no/not' (identified)
22 **e** '(interrogative marker)' (identified)
29 **oire** 'okay' (identified)
30 (n) **raga** (v) 'only'
  **vosia** 'if' (identified)
```
(n) avuvai (n)  'some' (?)
vorara  'while' (identified)
34 rutu(-ia)  'truly' (identified)
36 iava  'from/about/after' (identified)

43 (uva) vorevira (v)  'again/back'
47 (n) taporo (v)  'with/also'
(v) rirovira (v)  'very/greatly'
48 //ae (n)  'ah!'
(n) vearovira (rutu)  'well/good-like'

55 ra  'and/and then'
56 //ari (n)  'but'
71 (n) iare (n)  'to'
77 (v) vo (n)  'on/by/at'
91 uvare  'because' (identified)
93 (v) ita (n)  'again'

Remaining also are the postpositioned relators: -pa, -re-, -ia, -va, and -ri, 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 Rotokas Modifiers
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 exemplified by: poteku `short,`
    riro `large,` tuakaka `hard,` vavata `heavy,` tupitupi `wet,` and
    kasirao `hot.` The common adjectives may be inflected by the
    emphatic marker -irao `truly` or by the diminutive markers -vi or
    -visivi, e.g., udeo-IRAO (cold-TRULY) `truly cold` and riro-IRAO
    (big-TRULY) `truly big;` poteku-VISIVI (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 tore
    `dark.` Some examples are popote `white,` revasi `red/blood,` uriko
    `green,` katokato `black,` kuuva `blue,` and kuuva tore `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: kepasa oajo (houses our
    (exclusive)) `our houses not yours,` riakorirei oaro (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 -vira `like` or -visivi
    `less.` They are used to modify verbs only. Some examples are: 
    ikau-VIRA (to hurry-LIKE) `quickly,` regore-VIRA (crooked-LIKE)
    `crookedly`, roru-VISIVI (to enjoy-LESS) `enjoying slightly`, and
    tou-VISIVI (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 aviava '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: *uvare* 'because,' *vosia* 'if/suppose,' *ovusia* 'while,' *vorara* 'after/suppose/when/while,' and *osia* '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: *ora* 'and,' *o* 'or,' *ari* 'but,' *ra* 'and/and then,' and *ekte* '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 Conjunction**

The pronominal conjunction *vaio* 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., *karuru VAIO ora reverisi* (Karuru AND TWO and Reverisi) 'Karuru and Reverisi,' or *vegei VAIO ora Rausira* (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 *vaio.* (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: *vo* and *-ia* 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 *long*); *-pa* 'for,'
-re `to/for,' -va `from/with,' iare `to/towards,' iava `from/about/after,' and tapo(ro) `with/too/also.'

3.8 Stem Formation

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: orarugorugopiepaoro `thinking back' and orarugopiepave `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, tapa `to hit' and tapatapa `to hit repeatedly'; reduplication with loss of final phoneme of stem, kavau `to bear a child' and kavakavau `to bear many children'; reduplication with loss of initial phoneme of stem, ikau `to hurry' and ikaukauvira `repeatedly hurrying-like'; and reduplication with addition of phonemes to reduplicated stem, gae `to follow a path' and gaegaere `to drift about.'

Reduplication predominantly occurs with verb stems. The meaning which results is that of "repeated action" as is exemplified above by tapatapa. When it occurs with a limited number of noun stems, the result is "many," e.g., kopi `a dot' and kopikopi `many dots/mottling.' Reduplication also occurs with
numbers resulting in the meaning of "grouping," e.g., katai `one` and katakatai `one by one,' or erao `two' and eraerao `two by two,' etc.

The second illustration is from sentence number 43: goteperoia gotepaoro `while paddling with (a) paddle board (oar).' In the illustration the verb stem goto `to paddle' is compounded with the noun stem pero `board' resulting in gotepero `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 noun root plus noun root which results in noun stem, e.g., aveke-tapi (stone-area) `stony place.'

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

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

d) Compound of adjective root plus 3-verb root which results in 3-verb stem, vearo-pie (good-to make) `to correct.'

e) Compound of _-verb root and 3-verb root which results in 3-verb stem, e.g., tootoo-pie (to live-to make) `to make alive.'

f) Compound of _-verb root plus _-verb root which results in adjective stem, uriri-asia (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: **vuripitupipurairara** `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-siovaraiatou-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:
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:

\[ * \text{Aux} * \text{rutu} \ldots * \text{Manner} * \text{rutu} \ldots * \text{verb} \]

\[ \text{raga} \]

\[ \text{ita} \]

\[ * \text{rutu/aia/ita/pasi} \]

The verb is modified initially by the Auxiliary which optionally occurs with an associated optional qualifier, rutu. The Auxiliaries are the negatives viapau and opeita (3.72) and the command particle tepa (3.74). Secondly, the optional modification by a Manner morpheme may occur with the associated optional qualifier, rutu, raga, or ita (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, pasi, rutu, aia, and/or ita. 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. (Opeita followed by rutu has never been recorded.) Some examples of the modified verb are as follows:

\[ \text{voreræpa ita} \]
\[ \text{veyarovira rutu vokepa} \]
\[ \text{orioive} \]
\[ \text{viapau veyarovira rutu} \]
\[ \text{toupaivoi} \]
\[ \text{iravu oratovoroepa aia} \]
\[ \text{opeita va purapari} \]
\[ \text{tepa kareu ita} \]

'I returned again long ago'
'they would decorate this house very nicely'
'they are not now existing very nicely'
'he placed another man more (again) long ago'
'you must not be doing it'
'You must return again'
viapau rutu avaparai  'I'm really not going!'  
vokavira raga pupipai  'they dance just walking-like'

3.92 Modification of Nominals
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 + rutu/raga/ita

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 rutu or raga, and/or ita. 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 -
  roroio urui raga  'just (a) separate village'

Proper noun -
  Wakunaipairara raga  'only Wakunai men'
Kinship term -  
vovoao rutu  
'all (of the) sister'

Temporal -  
vuri voki rutu ita  
'o truly bad day again'

Locative -  
irapaua rutu  
'truly in front'

Personal pronoun -  
ragai ita  
'only I' (more commonly,  
ragai raga)

Demonstrative pronoun -  
evavi raga  
'just that little thing'

Relative pronoun -  
oisio rutu  
'truly like this'

Interrogative pronoun -  
eake rutu  
'what truly'

Numeral -  
vopeva raga  
'only these three'

Free-form pluralizer -  
vokarero rutu  
'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 -aro, and the possessor usually, but not always, precedes the nominal, e.g.,
ragai ro-arō (I this male-poss) `my (this) man`
reva vokepa-arō (he this-house-poss) `his house`
Vaviovirī kaakau-arō (vaviovirī dog-poss)
`Vaviovirī's dog`

b) The second type is 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 modification is more the function of an appositional relationship, e.g.,

oira va-arō voevao (she it-poss this-tree) `her tree'
aue-arō Pauto taraia (aue-poss God knowledge) `God's knowledge'
oira varei-arō vaisirei (her it (dual)-poss two balls)
`her two balls'
ragai reva-arō oirato (I he-poss man) `my man'
Vusipiri aue-arō kokioto (Vusipiri aue-poss chicken)
`Vusipiri's chicken'
voea vo-arō 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 oaiwe `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 ruvaraia `near.' It is idiomatically understood as indicating possession, e.g.,

\texttt{vara ouri rera ruvaraia} (them you-get him near)
\texttt{\`get them near him/"get his".}'

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

3.94 The Appositive String
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,

\texttt{(Appositive String) riroto oirato} (large-m s person m s)
\texttt{\`large male, (a) man''}

\texttt{(Modifier-Head) riro oirato} (large person-m s)
\texttt{\`(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 associated 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 Class 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 the pronoun. With this in mind, the three "constructions" may be formulated as follows: (The colon "::" signals an appositive relationship.)

a) With Class 1 Relative Pronoun component

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 -

voea : voeao : oea

'they, these, they/who'

Classified noun -

kaakau : o : iria

'dog, this (f), she/which'

Kinship term -

voaraorei : vaitereo :

aiterea

'two brothers, these two (m), the two/who'

Proper noun -

Karuru : ro : ira

'Karuru, this (m), he/who'

Locative -

reroaro : vo : uva

'underneath, here, where'

Temporal -

vovokio : vao : ovokia

'this day, this (n), day/which'
An example of the use in a sentence would be helpful at this point: vovokio vao ovokiaia avaparoi '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: rakoru kekepari o iria rataua riaroaia toupae (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, rakoru : o : iria rataua riaroaia toupae '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 oa 'which.' In sentence 49 the oa "renames" the entire thought of sentence 48 'about which the person was 'happy.'

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

Examples:

ragai tavireva oisi o toupare (I tell-he-years ago like-this exist-pra-you) he told me years ago this, "You stay (here)"

oisio puraroepa o ae yearpvira rutu (like-this say-he-years ago oh an good-like truly) years ago he said this, "Oh, ah, thank you very much"

(Discourse) eisi oisioa tavitavipaaveira ((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 oisi 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 Class 3 Relative Pronoun, aue (or to a lesser degree,
Class 3 relative pronoun (or oisi(o)) : nominal/clause/sentence

Examples of aue and oisio with following nominal component:

varao, aue aio okovoro taporo (these Ø food gardens also)
    these food gardens also

vopeva aue aioiva koie kare (three Ø they-ate-years ago
    pig plural) they ate three pigs years ago

viapau oisio rirokaekae siposipoa (not like-this very-long
    story) not this, (the) very long story

Examples of aue and oisio with following clause component:

siopaipatoarei aue java uvare tokopievira oisioa toupasive
    (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

viapau oisio avapara (not like-this go-pra-I-present) ‘I am not
    going

The appositive relationships in the above five examples are:

aue : aio kovoro taporo
aue : koie kare
oisio : rirokaekae siposipoa
aue : tokopievira oisioa toupasive
oisio : avapara

Also noted in sentence 72 of the Text where the appositional
relationship is between aue and the construction arua rovisia
(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 school 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 features" 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 Syntactic Components of the Rotokas Text

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 syntactic 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 sentence 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 First degree of complexity: a single component

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2,6</td>
<td>rupupaveva</td>
<td>'we were swimming for something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(tr pred-vb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,10</td>
<td>puraveva</td>
<td>'we did'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(tr pred-vb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,14,17</td>
<td>ayaopa</td>
<td>'she went'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24,25,26</td>
<td>(intr pred-vb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32,33</td>
<td>uturaepa</td>
<td>'I followed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(tr pred-vb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>aataava</td>
<td>'I swam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(intr pred-vb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41,42</td>
<td>kaeraviro</td>
<td>'I raised up completely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(intr pred-vb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44,45</td>
<td>voreraepa</td>
<td>'I went back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(intr pred-vb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
61,62, **kareveiepa**  
(2 intr pred-vb)  
'we returned'

70 **iparoepa**  
(2 intr pred-vb)  
'he went up'

75 **kareuviroveiepa**  
(2 intr pred-vb)  
'we returned completely'

84 **aioveva**  
(tr pred-vb)  
'we ate'

86 **vokiepa**  
(stat pred-vb)  
'day was (idiomatic)'

102 **koataroepa**  
(2 intr pred-vb)  
'he entered'

106 **orarururoepa**  
(tr pred-vb)  
'he moved around'

107,108 **oravurevureroepa**  
(tr pred-vb)  
'he shook himself'

114 **kareroepa**  
(intr pred-vb)  
'he returned'

4.12 Second degree of complexity: two components

3 **opuruvaia avaveiepa**  
(agt-nom) (2 intr pred-vb)  
'we went by canoe'

7 **atari ritapaveiepa**  
(obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)  
'we were spearing fish'

8 **voturu purapaveva**  
(obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)  
'We were making this line'

11 **ovoiepa voturu**  
(stat pred-vb) (sub-nom)  
'this line was finished'

15 **gaegaereoro avaopa**  
(intr pred-dep vb) (intr pred-vb)  
'drifting she went'

18 **kukueva kaepieava**  
(obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)  
'I lifted (my) head'
'I searched in vain for (the) canoe.'
'I searched in vain for her.'
'she carries (the) canoe.'
'she went to truly deep water.'
'I swam from (the) reef.'
'I held onto her.'
'I raised up completely to her top.'
'I am happy about it.'
'We put her.'
'We were conversing like this.'
'he said this.'
'We returned by means of (the) canoe.'
'We beached completely on (the) sand.'
'We penetrated inside (the) jungle.'
'We got coconuts down.'
'We beached (the) canoe.'
79 aitererevu kakaetoarei aruveva  
   (addres-nom:nom)  (quot pred-vb) others, two boys' 
80 atari kare siaresei  
   (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb) 
82 eisi vegei vaaro siraoa oa  
   (obj-nom:mod nom:nom) 
   puravevo  
   (tr pred-vb) 
88 rera tavuruiva  
   (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb) 
98 vaova toparoviropa  
   (acc-nom) (intr pred-vb) 
105 votavuru votoreva  
   (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb) 
109, oira karukaruiva  
110 (obj-nom (tr pred-vb) 
111 voea uporeva  
   (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb) 

4.13 Third degree of complexity: three components

4 oira kotoveva iroiroia  
   (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb) (agt-nom)  
   we hung her by (a) rope 
28 oira tariopaoero utuu  
   (obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb) (tr pred-vb) 
   you follow while chasing her' 
43 vorevira vorera goteperoa gotepaoro  
   (intr pred-mod vb) (agt-nom) (tr pred-dep vb) 
   I returned while paddling with (the) paddle' 
46 voreraiva voviri veraraviro  
   (intr pred-vb) (loc-nom) (intr pred-vb) 
   I returned and beached completely back there' 
48 vegeivipa yevarovira rutu opuruva varovarori  
   (in obj-nom)  
   you truly retrieved (the) canoe well for "poor" us 
53 ragai tavipareva Ari  
   (addres-nom) (quot pred-vb) (sub-nom) 
   Ari was telling me
we conversed about it like this

he told me this

he went up to get down green coconuts

this man, Ari, was summoning like this

they went to worship (in the) evening

finishing church we (exclusive) returned back.

they enveloped (a) man and his war club also with (the) banana

Isio carried this bundle

by (the) wild fig tree he rested with this bundle

with it he entered into (the) cave

another male, (the) son, pressed this bundle

he fought (the) mother-in-law also in another room

he returned fighting them

Fourth degree of complexity: four or five components

on another day we both (and I) with another man whose name is Luke Arimiori went to swim for something in (the) ocean
taviava vega rupupaveva
(i told this man, we who were swimming for something'

avakava opuruva kaevoi rohua
(sub-nom) (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb) (loc-nom)
(the) ocean carries (the) canoe (to the) deep water'

ragai orapireraea vouririo raga
(sub-nom) (stat pred-vb) (axis-mod nom)
(purapao) oisio
(quot pred-dep vb) (quote-nom)
'I disregarded this fear only saying this'

oiraia pituava
(obj-nom) (tr pred-vb) oia oiraia
(time:cl:nom) (loc-nom)
orakoreraea
(tr pred/obj-vb)
'I held onto her after which I tied myself to her'

ira taporo avaraepa rirovira rorurirapooreva
(acc-nom) (intr pred-vb) (stat-mod vb)
(oisio
(quote-nom)
'this man, with whom I went, was very happy (saying) this'

verauvirooro oira tovoveva opuruva
(intr pred-dep vb) (obj-nom:nom) (tr pred-vb)
'beaching completely, we put her, (the) canoe'

varava voreveipa opuruva iare erakopara taporo
(acc-nom) (intr pred-vb) (loc-nom) (acc-nom)
'we returned to (the) canoe with them, (and) firewood also'

auere arua rovisia
(obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb) kareveipa
(reason-nom:cl) (intr pred-vb)
vore atoia
(loc-nom:nom)
'we returned to home to "grease" (the) greens'

oira tovoro atari siarepaveipa
(obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb) (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)
'putting her, we disemboweled (the) fish'

ai ko kooro puraeva vatuava
(obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb) (tr pred-vb) (sub-nom)
vegeipa
(in obj-nom)
'(the) wife did, pouring (the) food for us'

rirovira rutu siraopaveipa vo
(stat pred-mod vb) (topic-nom)
orarugorugopiepaoro oisio
(quot pred-dep vb) (quote-nom)
'truly greatly we sorrowed while remembering it like this'

oisioa ito tavurupaave tuariri
(time-nom) (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb) (time-nom)
'all (the) time they would bundle bananas long ago'
4.15 **Fifth degree of complexity:** six or more components or compound sentences

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

12  viapau  taraiveiepa  osia  avakava  toruoro
  (stat pred-mod vb)  (conj)  (sub-nom)  (intr pred-dep vb)
viripato  tokoeva
  (tr pred-vb)
  iraia  opuruva  kotoveva
  (agt-nom)  (obj-nom)  (tr pred-vb)
  'we didn't know as (the) ocean undulating br. ke (the) rope, this one, by which we had hung (anchored) (the) canoe'

16  avaopa  osia  viapau  taraiveiepa
  (intr pred-vb)  (conj)  (stat pred-mod vb)
  'she went while we didn't know'
  vi  avau

27  oisio  puraraepa
  (sub-nom)  (intr pred-vb)
  (quote-nom:cl)  (quot pred-vb)
  'I said this, "you go"

29  viapau  uviipaveiepa  uviipaveiepa
  (stat pred-mod vb)  (stat pred vb)
  'we were not able, we were (not) able'

31  ovu  vegelvi  karevere  osia  okarevu  avuavi
  (loc-nom)  (sub-nom)  (intr pred-vb)  (conj)  (sub-mod-nom)
  vegel  aiopaque  vorara  opuruva
  (obj-nom)  (tr pred-vb)  (conj)  (sub-nom)
  yavo  oisio  avao
  (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  eake  rutu  vi  vovouaroia  oratovoi
  (sub-nom nom)  (loc-mod nom)  (tr pred/obj-vb)  oa  iava
  (time-cl:nom)
  opuruva  rorosia  kaeuviro
  (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  vosia  viapau  aeri
  (conj)  (quot pred-mod vb)  (addres-nom)  (conj)
  vegelvi  opesive
  (sub-nom)  (stat pred-vb)
  'if you had not cried to God, then "poor" we would be finished'

56  ari  Pauto  vi  tavirevo
  (conj)  (sub-nom)  (addres-nom)  (quot pred-vb)  oa  iava
  kukuveva  kaeplerivo
  (obj-nom)  (tr pred-vb)
  'but God told you recently after which you lifted (your) head'
Irau ra kareve
(Intr pred-vb) (conj) (Intr pred-vb)
you go first and we'll return

Oira toovo orisio ragai
(obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb) (quote-nom) (addres-nom)
tavipareva orisio
(quote pred-vb) (quote-nom)
'putting her, like this he told me, like this'

Irau opitaravai atosia
(Intr pred-vb) (conj) (tr pred-dep vb)
aueve
(quot pred-vb)
'you go first and we'll consider getting down coconuts'

Oira verapieveva oira tovosia
(obj-nom) (tr pred-vb) (obj-nom) (tr pred-dep vb)
vo vovio rogararo avakava vatuaoroi
(loc-nom:nom:mod nom)
'we beached her to put her here on (the) beach at (the)
  ocean's side'

Aioavaiva ra oai alove
(acc-nom) (conj) (obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)
'(come) with food and we will eat it'

Aiooro oratouipepaveipapa osia voea
(intr pred-dep vb) (stat pred-vb) (conj) (sub-nom)
atariroivo puraiva
(obj-nom) (tr pred-vb)
'we both were together eating as they made these fish
  soups'

Aioiova atari kare voeao (obj-nom)
(tr pred-vb)
rupupaaro yuria ouragaveva
(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'

Viapau uuhipaveiei ra oisio tootoove
(stat pred-mod vb) (conj) (com-nom:cl) (stat pred-vb)
opuruva vegie
(sub-nom) (obj-nom)

Osia tootopaveiei uvare
(conj) (stat pred-vb) (conj)
kavuragaevu
(tr pred-vb) uva yuria ouragavevo
(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'

Ovokirovui oaraivaropipaveaira orarugopipave
(time-nom) (intr pred-vb) (quot pred-vb)
ra siraova ita oravegeipa
(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
envisioio raga osia
(comment-mod nom) (conj)
epesiei ragai votavitavaro
(stat-pred-vb) (sub-mod nom) oa
(obj-cl:nom)
puraavoi yovokioia aueia naintin sikisti sikis
(tr-pred-vb) (time-nom:nom:nom)
ragai Raupeto
(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 eisivi raga ragai vaaro ra opesipe
(comment-mod non:mod-nom) (conj) (stat-pred-vb)
ragai Vavioviri
(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: va aiori 'you eat it' and aiou 'you
eat'; va oriri 'you cook it' and oriu 'you cook.' The first
eamples of the two sets are both transitive in that an object is
present and a corresponding B-stem marker -ri 'you' is employed.
The second examples are intransitive in that there is no object and
the corresponding -stem marker -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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ira} & \quad \text{AVAROEPA} \quad \text{kaakau} \quad \text{kare-va} \quad \text{`he went with (the) dogs} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{went-he} \quad \text{dog} \quad \text{pl-with} \quad \text{years ago} \\
\text{VIAPAU} & \quad \text{IKAUVIRA} \quad \text{VOKAEVERE} \quad \text{vo-re} \quad \text{atoia} \\
\text{no} & \quad \text{quickly} \quad \text{walk-she-will} \quad \text{here-to} \quad \text{home} \\
\text{soon} & \quad \text{she will not walk home quickly} \\
\text{va-va} & \quad \text{kepa-ia} \quad \text{KOATAROEPA} \quad \text{`he went with it into} \\
\text{with-it house-into} & \quad \text{entered-he} \quad \text{(the) house years ago} \\
\text{KAREUVIROSIERA} & \quad \text{two people (m/m or m/f) completely} \\
\text{returned weeks ago} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

4.21.2 Type II, The Simple Transitive Predicate

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ouruiuvu} & \quad \text{PURAIWA} \quad \text{`they made another village} \\
\text{village-other} & \quad \text{made-they} \quad \text{years ago} \\
\text{RIROVIRA} & \quad \text{ORAVUKEVURERAERA} \quad \text{`I shook myself vigorously} \\
\text{greatly} & \quad \text{myself-shook-1} \quad \text{weeks ago} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The simple transitive predicates in the Text are listed according to the verb stems: \text{rupu} `to swim for something,' \text{koto} `to hang,' \text{rita} `to spear,' \text{pura} `to do/make,' \text{toko} `to break,' \text{kaepie} `to lift,' \text{roro} `to search for,' \text{kae} `to carry,' \text{utu} `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
'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: roru 'to be happy,' ovoi 'to be enough,' ruipa 'to desire.' Some examples of the expression of condition are as follows:

rer-a-pa VATATOPOIRAOPAU ro propetato
him-1or be-ready-truly this-man prophet
you be truly ready for him, this man, (the) prophet
iravu kopiroepa voeia iava
another man died-he them-from
he died years ago, another one of them
VIAPAU TARAIPAU
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'

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

eva kovoaro VAVAGISI ə-PAI RUTU
that. work-poss difficult-it is, very
that work is very difficult
APOTA ə-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 ə-IRAOPARAEPAA evoa
greatly very cold really-I-was there
I was truly very very cold there

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

4.22 Compounded Predicates
Two or more Simple Predicates may co-occur in either dependent or independent relationships. Predicates occurring in dependent relationships may be identified by the dependent verb markers described in section 3.23.42, i.e., -sia, -oro, and -arapa. 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 rakorua-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 IPAPIPASIVA
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
'she 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 single function 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 various functions. 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: -pa `for,' -re `to/for,' -ri `over there,' -va `from/with,' iare `to/towards,' iava `from/about/after,' tapo(ro) `with/too/also,' vo and -ia 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 long.)
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 particles 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-T) him-with exist-she
'(the) first woman existed with him years ago'

VOEA-VA kosiaivo VOEA-VA
them-with exit completely-they them-with
utavoro 'they went out completely with them blowing the Triton
shell with them'

ira RAGAI TAPORO oraaivaropieroapa
he me with met together-he
'he met together with me'

VORAO-IA avareipepa poukarao
branch-with went-2 (T) 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"`
4.33 Nominals As Agents

The Rotokas Agent component names the means by which an intransitive or transitive action may take place. The identifying relator particle is -ia '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.

GAUOVI A VAO-IA OA-IA agasioe
\text{cry-water-is this-here which-with filled-she-was}
\text{\quad kakate bamboo}
\text{\quad 'this here is (the) cry-water (tears) by which (the) bamboo (tube) was filled'}

RARIROVA-IA iparaepa oisiri-re
\text{Landrover-by means of ascended-I over there-to}
\text{\quad agirikoturo sitesin agricultural station}
\text{\quad I went up years ago by landrover to (the) agricultural station over there}

\text{apui-ia RASITUVU-IA orakipuparoepa}
\text{\quad hole-in mud-with himself-painting-he-was}
\text{\quad in (the) hole he was painting himself with mud years ago}

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

4.34 Nominals As Axis

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: -ia (any preposition), -re 'to,' -pa 'for,' and -java 'about.' All nominals
may manifest this function and/or a relative clause. The appositive string construction is again optional.

(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 occurrence of this component is at the close of a narration as in utterances 94 and 115.

(See Text utterances: 91, 94 and 115.)
4.36 Nominals As Direct Object

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, the 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.,

\[ \pm \text{Subject} \pm \text{Indirect Object} \pm \text{Direct Object} \]

\[ \pm \text{Predicate Type II} \]

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., Pita Raupeto tapareva (Peter Raupeto hit-he-remote past) "Peter hit Raupeto years ago."

When relator particles (-ia, -re, -pa) 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, OPURUVA-RE rrororaraepa (CANOE-FOR I searched in vain) "I searched in vain for (the) canoe."

The reciprocal action marker ora- 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
it no it well care for-you then evil
karekpe arise-will
`if you are not taking care of it well, then evil will arise/develop

IGEI-RE utuaepa Japan
He-to followed-they
(the) Japanese followed us years ago.

vegeivipa RIRAO vatesi SIRAOA
good 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 one 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 kova 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 0-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), ire 'towards,`
java '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
1t 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 Ukarympa-at
I was very cold there at Ukarampia

(See Text utterances: 1, 5, 23, 31, 34, 36, 39, 40, 46, 52, 63, 67,
71, 72, 77, 97, 100, 103, 112.)
4.39 Nominals as Quote

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, oisi(o) and eisi "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 oisi(o) and eisi "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 -ia which occur rarely.

OISIO   auepaue  RAGAI  AUERORE
like-this  considered-you  I  these-to
VORERAVERE  KOTOKOTOARA
"return-I-will  cargoes
you considered this, "I will years from now return to
these cargoes"

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

akesia  avaaeapa  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  OVIDIAARO
her  get-you-will  that(f)  I  daughter-poss
EISI  puraoroepa
"like-that  said-he
"you will get her, that girl, my daughter," that (is
what) he said years ago.

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

4.310 Nominals as Reason

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-may be dig-they(2) 0 because-of because not
  OISIO TARAPIASI 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
  then-from go-we(2) jungle-to 0-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.)

4.3.11 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 *ragai* ‘I’ are sufficient to identify it.

\[
\text{eva} \quad \text{oa} \quad \text{opesi} \quad \emptyset \text{-ei} \quad \text{RAGAI} \quad \text{EKURIMA} \\
\text{that} \quad \text{it} \quad \text{finish} \quad \text{is} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{Ekurima} \\
\text{‘that (is it) which is finished, I Ekurima’}
\]

(See Text utterances 94 and 115.)

**4.312 Nominals as Subject**

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.

\[
\text{OVIROVUA} \quad \text{AUE} \quad \text{OIRA} \quad \text{OA} \quad \text{epao} \quad \text{voa} \\
\text{how many} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{people} \quad \text{it} \quad \text{exist} \quad \text{there} \\
\text{‘how many (are the) people who are there?’}
\]

\[
\text{AVEKEVA} \quad \text{vavata} \quad \emptyset \text{-paoi} \\
\text{stone} \quad \text{heavy} \quad \text{is-she} \\
\text{(the) stone is heavy}
\]

\[
\text{OIRATO} \quad \text{oisioa} \quad \text{yovouiraoparo} \quad \text{oiraia} \quad \text{riakova} \\
\text{man} \quad \text{always} \quad \text{desire-really-he} \quad \text{her-for woman} \\
\text{(a) man is all (the) time really desiring for (a) woman’}
\]

(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 Nominals As Time**

The Time component names the time during which the action is taking place or a condition occurs. The most common identifying relator particles are: *-ia* ‘during/on,’ *-ri* ‘back there’ and, to some extent, *iava* ‘from.’ Only the temporals, Class II demonstrative pronouns, and the locatives *siovaraia* ‘inside’ and *isivaroia*
'behind' may manifest the Time component or a relative clause which may or may not occur in an appositive string.

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

vouruia vokipara voa VOARI RUTU
this-village-in awake-I there back-there truly
TUARIRI
'I was awakening there in this village back there truly
long ago'

vosiposipo purapaa ragai VOIVAQ 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 Nominals as Topic

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 iava 'about' or -ia '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 KOIF 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 within 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMPONENT</th>
<th>Type I</th>
<th>Type II</th>
<th>Type II</th>
<th>Type IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accompaniment</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addressee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Axis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comment</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Object</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect Object</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quote</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signature (exception)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 yo rutu rupakouia

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

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

NOTE: There is some ambiguity because -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
'to hide'
Predicate-II
IDENTIFICATION: The second predicate is dependent (ident: -sia) and transitive because vatau is a Class II verb.

votou
'this bottle'
Direct Object
IDENTIFICATION: The classified noun (ident: yo-) functions as such because 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.

\textbf{vo rutu rupakouia}\hfill 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 and the RP -\textit{ia} "in."

\textbf{\`{h}ere truly in (the) morning}\hfill \textbf{\`{h}e returned completely years ago with this bottle to hide this bottle very early in (the) morning.}

\textit{\`{h}ere truly in (the) morning} Time

\textbf{THE MEANING OF THE FIRST UTTERANCE: \`{h}e returned completely years ago with this bottle to hide this bottle very early in (the) morning.}'

\section{5.2 Utterance Number Two}

\textbf{oisio puraopa vorerivira uriou osia uririparaepe rutu}

\textbf{puraopa}\hfill IDENTIFICATION: The verb (ident: -\textit{opa}) is a quotative because they stem, \textit{pura}, with this affixation is a Class III verb.

\textit{\`{s}he said years ago} Predicate-III

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

\textit{`like this'} Quote

\textbf{NOTE: The relative pronoun \textit{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.

**vorerivira uriou**

`you come again`

**Predicate-I/Quote**

IDENTIFICATION: The modified (ident: -vira) verb (ident: -u) is intransitive
because the stem, *uri*, with this affixation 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.

**osia**

`as`

**Conjunction**

IDENTIFICATION: The word *osia* is a
conjunction (ident: closed class) by
definition. See section 3.77.1.

**uririparaepa rutu**

`I was being truly afraid years ago`

**Predicate-IV**

IDENTIFICATION: The modified (ident: closed class) verb (ident: -paraepa) is
a condition because of the presence of
the stem *uriri* 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**

**rera vaisieva ro irapa oisioa reasipao Kaka**
vaisieva
'she named years ago
Predicate-III

rera
'him'
Addressee

reasipao
'she is disliking'
Predicate-IV

oísioa
'all of the time'
Time

irapa
'for him'
Axis

ro
'this man'
Axis/Addressee

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

IDENTIFICATION: The personal pronoun (ident: closed class) functions as such 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 construction makes it clear that it is not the Subject.

IDENTIFICATION: The verb (ident: -pao) is a condition because the stem, reasi, with this affixation, is a Class IV-B verb.

IDENTIFICATION: The temporal, oísioa, (ident: closed class) functions as such because of its membership class.

IDENTIFICATION: The relative pronoun (ident: closed class) is identified as the Axis component because of the co-occurrence with a Type IV Predicate, and the RP -pa.

IDENTIFICATION: The demonstrative pronoun (ident: closed class) is the second member of an appositive string. The first member, rera, has been identified as the Addressee, and the third member, irapa, 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 *rera ro irapa oisioa reasipao* following the formulation of section 3.94 (p. 63).

**Kaka**

'Kaka' Quote

IDENTIFICATION: The proper noun (ident: name of man) functions as such 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 *Kaka* 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 **Utterance Number Four**

*akeeva eakepa ragai kavupari vore avapaoro Wakunaia*
akēeva
'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.)

eakępa
'for what'
Indirect Object

IDENTIFICATION: The interrogative pronoun, eake (ident: closed class) functions as such because of the RP -pa and its position immediately preceding the direct object.

avapaooro
'while going'
Predicate-I

IDENTIFICATION: The second predicate is dependent (ident: -oro) and intransitive 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
componenent 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
<th>Without Specific</th>
<th>Gender Specific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular (s)</td>
<td>-to~toa</td>
<td>-va~-riva</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a any one'</td>
<td>-0 this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual (dl)</td>
<td>-toarei</td>
<td>-rire</td>
<td>-are~-rei</td>
<td>-re~-rei any two'</td>
<td>-reo these two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural (pl)</td>
<td>-irara</td>
<td>riako</td>
<td>-ara</td>
<td>-ra any'</td>
<td>-re these'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chart 2
**Nominal Suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Order One</th>
<th>Order Two</th>
<th>Order Three</th>
<th>Order Four</th>
<th>Order Five</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ nominal verb stem/</td>
<td>+ agt/cl</td>
<td>+ gen/num</td>
<td>+ dim</td>
<td>+ alt</td>
<td>+ poss/na</td>
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<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td></td>
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### Chart 3
**Personal Pronouns**

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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th><strong>Dual</strong></th>
<th><strong>Plural</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td><strong>ragai</strong> 'I, me'</td>
<td><strong>vegei</strong> 'we 2'</td>
<td><strong>vegei</strong> 'we all (inc)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>igei</strong> 'we not you(ex)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td><strong>vi</strong> 'you'</td>
<td><strong>vei</strong> 'you 2'</td>
<td><strong>visi</strong> 'you all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td><strong>rera</strong> 'he, him'</td>
<td><strong>vaiterei</strong> 'they, them 2'</td>
<td><strong>voea</strong> 'they, them all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masculine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(m/m or m/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td><strong>oira</strong> 'she, her'</td>
<td><strong>vairei</strong> 'they, them 2'</td>
<td><strong>vairo</strong> 'they, them all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td><strong>va</strong> 'it'</td>
<td><strong>varei</strong> 'they, them 2'</td>
<td><strong>vara</strong> 'they, them all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neuter</td>
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### Chart 4
**Relative Pronouns**

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<th><strong>Plural</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td><strong>ragoa</strong> 'I, me'</td>
<td><strong>vegoa</strong> 'we 2'</td>
<td><strong>vigoa</strong> 'we all (inc)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>igoa</strong> 'we not you (ex)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td><strong>vigoa</strong> 'you'</td>
<td><strong>vegoa</strong> 'you 2'</td>
<td><strong>visigoa</strong> 'you all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td><strong>ira</strong> 'he, him'</td>
<td><strong>aiterea</strong> 'they, them 2'</td>
<td><strong>oea</strong> 'they, them all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masculine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(m/m or m/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td><strong>ira</strong> 'she, her'</td>
<td><strong>airea</strong> 'they, them 2'</td>
<td><strong>airoa</strong> 'they, them all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td><strong>oa</strong> 'it'</td>
<td><strong>oarea</strong> 'they, them 2'</td>
<td><strong>oara</strong> 'they, them all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neuter</td>
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### Chart 5
**Possessive Adjectives**

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First person</strong></td>
<td>oaa 'my'</td>
<td>oave 'our 2'</td>
<td>oavi 'our (inc)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oalο 'our not your (ex)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second person</strong></td>
<td>oara 'your'</td>
<td>oaesи 'your 2' (m/m or m/f)</td>
<td>oavisи 'your'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mascuine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second person</strong></td>
<td>oara 'your'</td>
<td>oaere 'your 2'</td>
<td>oavisи 'your'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>femini ne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third person</strong></td>
<td>oaro 'his'</td>
<td>oaesи 'their 2' (m/m or m/f)</td>
<td>oaiв 'their'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mascuine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(m/m or m/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third person</strong></td>
<td>o 'hers'</td>
<td>oaere 'their 2'</td>
<td>oae 'their'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>femini ne</td>
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### Chart 6
**Demonstrative Pronouns**

- **Subject Near at Hand**

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<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine</strong></td>
<td>ro 'he, him, this'</td>
<td>vaitereи 'these 2'</td>
<td>voeao 'these all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feminine</strong></td>
<td>o 'she, her, this'</td>
<td>vaireо 'these 2'</td>
<td>vairoo 'these all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neuter</strong></td>
<td>vao 'it, this'</td>
<td>vareо 'these 2'</td>
<td>varao 'these all'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chart 7
**Demonstrative Pronouns**

- **Subject at a Distance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine</strong></td>
<td>eera 'he, him, that'</td>
<td>evaitereи 'those 2' (m/m or m/f)</td>
<td>evoeа 'those all' (all m or m/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feminine</strong></td>
<td>eira 'she, her, that'</td>
<td>evaireи 'those 2'</td>
<td>evairo 'those all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neuter</strong></td>
<td>eva 'it, that'</td>
<td>evareи 'those 2'</td>
<td>evaро 'those all'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 8
DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS
Subject Removed or Out of Sight

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
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<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>roari 'he,</td>
<td>vaitereiri 'those 2'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>him, that</td>
<td>(m.m or m/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>oari 'she,</td>
<td>vaireiri 'those 2'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>her, that</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuter</td>
<td>vari 'it,</td>
<td>vareri 'those 2'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>that</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART 9
VERB AFFIXES

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<tr>
<th>Order 1</th>
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<th>Order 3</th>
<th>Order 4</th>
<th>Order 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ rec</td>
<td>B-verb stem or -verb stem</td>
<td>+ inm/em</td>
<td>+ ca</td>
<td>+ pra</td>
<td>+ person-number/</td>
<td>+ tense/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)
aioiva - 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

aruvan - we both summoned years ago
atar - fish
atariroviro - these fish soups
atoia - home/village
atosa - 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
avaaraepa - I went years ago
avau - you go
avaveiopa - we both went years ago
avuvai - some
erakopaara - firewood (pl)
aria(ia) - cave (into)
garea - a small thing
gotepeoro - while paddling
gotepero(ia) - paddle (with)

iroiro(ia) - rope (by)
Isio - Isio (wild man of the jungle)
ita - again
ito - banana
itova(ia) - banana (with)
vvaraia(re) - top (to)
kareve - we both return
kareveare - we both will soon return
kareveiepa - we both returned years ago
karukaruiva - they opened (it) repeatedly years ago
kavuragaevu - she just left recently
koataroepa - he entered years ago
kokooroo - pouring
koru - green coconuts
kotoveva - we both hung (it) years ago
kukueva - head

lotu - church (Pidgin)
lotusia - to worship

naintin - nineteen

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

orareveiepave - 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
oisivi - 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
oraiivaropiepaveaira - we both habitually are meeting together
orakotoraepa - I tied/hung myself years ago
orapireraepa - I disregarded years ago
orareopaveiepap - we both were conversing years ago
orareoveite - we both conversed years ago

P
Pautoa(re) - God (to)
pituava - I held years ago
puavaovi - I am making now
puaveva - she did/made years ago
puavai - they made years ago
puaparaoro - while saying doing/making years ago

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

S
siarepaveiepap - we both were disemboweling (it) 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
ovoie - finally
ovoiepap - (it) was finished years ago
ovokirovu(ia) - these other days (on)
ovokivu(ia) - another day (on)
or - where

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

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

Rorupavaovi - 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 something
rutu - truly/all

S
sikiasi - sixty
sioparoia - inside
sirara - sorrow
siare - you two males
disembowel (it)
sikatoa(ia) - wild fig tree
(by)
sikis - six

siropaveiepa - we both were sorrowing years ago
tsirave - we both sorrow

taporo - also/with
taraiiveiepa - we both knew years ago
tarioporo - 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
tavuropaaave - they would be bundling (it) years ago
tootoopaveie - we both are living now

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

va(aro) - it (poss)
vaiaiaro - name (poss)
vaoy(aya) - this (with)
vara(ava) - them (with)
varoaroqi - you retrieve
vatuaroa(ia) - side (poss) (by)
vatavua - wife
va(va) - it (with)
Vavioiri - Vavioiri
vavo - there/way
vearovira - good-like/well
vegei(vi)(pa) - us/we ("poor") (for)
vegoa - we both/who
vegoa - jungle
verapiiveva - we both beached (it) years ago
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

Tokoena - she broke (it) years ago
tootoove - we both live
toparooviro - he continued on completely years ago
toruoro - undulating
touaepa - she was (existing) years ago
tovororo - putting
tovosia - to put
tovoveva - we both put (it) years ago
tuariri - long ago

U

uva - when (91)
vare - because
uvuipaveiepa - we both are able now

V

voeao - these
vokiairo - evening
vokiiepa - "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)tavataiaro - (this) story (poss)
(vo)tavuru(ava) - (this) bundle (with)
voteveva - he pressed (it) years ago
(vo)tur - (this) line
(vo)uriri(o) - (this) fear
vovio - here
voviri - back there
vovokia(ia) - this day (on)
vovou(aro) (ia) - heart/desire (poss) (in)
vuria - evil/trouble
vurarura - war club
Notes

* The field work for this study was done during the 60s. I should like to acknowledge gratefully the many who have helped me: first and most of all David Akoitai, our language co-worker for Rotokas: Drs Alan and Phyllis Healey of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Papua New Guinea Branch; Dr Eric Liu of the Linguistics Committee of the University of California at Davis, where I presented this study as a Master's Thesis; and my wife, Jackie, who worked with the Rotokas language for many years with me.

A list of abbreviations and symbols follows .nese 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
acc accompaniment
address addresssee
agt agent
alt alternative
am anticipatory mode
ca complete action
classifier
cl clause
conj conjunction
dep dependent
df distant future
dim diminutive
dl dual

NP noun phrase
np near past
num number
obj object
p present
pl plural
poss possessive
pra progressive action
pred predicate
pro pronoun
pua purposive action
quot quotative
rec reciprocal action
Ref: referent
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<td>dp</td>
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<td>n</td>
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<td>nom</td>
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<td>/</td>
<td>tentative pause</td>
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References


Longacre, Robert E. 1965. "Some fundamental insights of tagmemics". 
*Language* 41:65-76.

