KINDS OF INFORMATION IN BUKIYIP ORAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

Robert J. Conrad
Summer Institute of Linguistics

0. Introduction
1. Collateral Information
2. Explanatory Information
3. Explanatory Collateral Information
4. Evaluative Information
5. Conclusion

0. INTRODUCTION

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

The abbreviations used in this study are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>benf</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ofc</td>
<td>contrary to fact conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp</td>
<td>imperative mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indef</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mix mixed (male and female gender)
neg negative
perm permanently
pl plural
poss possessive
p.t. past tense
r realis mood
refl reflexive
unr irrealis mood

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) NM 068-078

Eney ny-e-naki, y-e-galuk eneny, eneny ny-e-naki,
one it r come I r reject one one it r come
y-e-galuk eneny, Y-a-kli ch u tuk chookwinyi yoopwinyi
I r reject one I r say they unr give very:small very:good
bawepiny umu a g _ u -kus
bawepiny:type:ring so:that certainty it(problem) unr remain
keiwakiny suluhw, oli g _ u -kus -uk,
old ring therefore it(problem) unr remain perm
Kobwi wotak m -u -lpok kobwi wotak m -u -lpok,
future:neg again we unr argue future:neg again we unr fight
kobwi  wotak m -u _hlitak  A
future: neg again we unr argue  certainly
ny _-u _nubu  ny _-u _kus  _-uk
it ( problem ) unr completely it ( problem ) unr remain perm
Bolany enyedak, y -a-bo _yeny  namudak
talk this I r hit it ( talk ) like : that
Oli wo _m -u _gabwe _yeges  e
But non: future: neg we unr fix: up it ( problem ) non: future: neg
Wotak ny _-a _pe  Peilug n _a _lhwas, Anis
Yet it ( problem ) r remain Peilug he r lhwas, Anis
n _-a _lhwas...
he r run: away

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

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

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

(2) NJ 025-027
M _-e-at _-atu m _-o-ne winim atedak wilpat nebetali
we r finish it we r do finish this house large
Ch _e _ne wok _les _uli bwi ch _-u _nek
they unr do work lazily those : who future: neg they unr do
isinabul ele, moul ny-u -pe, deke bwi ch -u -nek
quickly cfc work it unr be future future: neg they unr do
moul isinabul. Ch -u -ne inapim biog atugu, nobatigu,
work quickly They unr do fill: up two one four
orait ch -i -at -atu. Orait apak m -e-ne moul isinabul
and: then they unr finish it But we we r do work quickly

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

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

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

(3) NV 060-064

1. Oli p -a-bih h -a-hul opudak nogotep
   and: so it (knife) r go: down they: m r take this knife
h -a-hwo -p a. bihain h -u -ne
they: m r hold it (knife) later they: m unr do
kotim _e -mu_ jas 2b. H... _u_ -ne
prosecute me concerning judge they:m unr do
kotim _e -mu_ i _ne_ kalobs-umu
prosecute me in:order:that I:unr do jail concerning
opudak nogotep. 3c. Sapos p _-u_ -tagla-uk
that knife if it (knife) unr appear perm
aduk ele, kobwi _i_ _ne_ karobs.
outside ofc future:neg I:unr do jail
4. H _-e-hul_ opudak nogotep nau d. bai
they:m r take that knife and future
h _-u_ -ne kotim _-e -mu_ opudak nogotep
they:m unr do prosecute me concerning that knife
5. Oli y-a-lhwas y-a-tagla_ -li_ agundak
and:then I r run:away I r appear come here
aduk y-a-naki agundak y-a-lhwas y-a-nak ulah.
outside I r come here I r run:away I r go jungle

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

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

(4) NM 113-114
Wo h _-u_ -nali wis e
non:future:neg they:m unr hit:come hands non:future:neg
h _-a_ -ku _-m_ -ena-li wabok
they:m r hit ben him come black:palm:stick
'They didn't come and hit him with their hands;
they came and hit him with a black palm stick.'

Example (5) illustrates two instances of closed collateral
information. The first is a negated antonym marked by a negative.
The second, i.e. he wasn't killed, is marked by helekatimu 'nearly'
and irrealis mood expressing the unrealized alternative. The
conjunction nau 'and then' is used to mark the return to the event
line.
2. EXPLANATORY INFORMATION

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

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

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

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

If the explanatory information were deleted, the story consisting of the events along the main event line would have proceeded uninterrupted.
In (6) the corresponding clauses and sentences in the vernacular and the free English translation are numbered 1-6. The explanatory information, sentences 2 through 5 is underlined in the English free translation. All the verbs are in the irrealis mood. In fact, all the verbs signalling explanatory information are in the irrealis mood except the verb nakli 'he said' in sentence 3 which is used to signal a desire and so is translated 'he wanted'. Sentence 2 describes a custom; sentence 3 along with sentence 4 depicts another custom. The fact that a custom is being explained is signalled here by irrealis mood in this context. The last sentence, in realis mood, is clearly a return to the event line.

(6) RM 175
1. Ali Huhukwil a n=-a-namoli n=-u -lu dewag
   But Huhukwil p;it he r come he unr get feces
2. Olsom  echechibal ebal 3. ali n=-a-kli
   like:his their their water and:so he r say
4. n=-u -lu dewag. N=-u -nak n=-u -ge____ -luh
   he unr get feces He unr go he unr it(feces) fill:up
5. n=-u -go____ -wahumul kakwich
   he unr it(feces) eat:with garden:food
6. Ali n=-e-yotu n=-a-gakomom
   And:so he r stand he r help:them

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

A further example of (explanatory) information is found in (7) which is the introduction to the same discourse as the one containing example (6). Example 7 begins with the introductory story formula. 'I am Duna from Kairuru village'. Normally the speaker would proceed directly with the words 'And I want to tell a legend now, and all of you listen'. However, because the speaker and some of his customs about naming are unknown to the immediate addressee, the former adds some information about why his name is Duna. This portion is clearly explanatory information, although it is not marked by any formal features from its immediate context.
This portion is analyzed as a flashback, since the term namaitu 'now' is very general and logically must refer to a time prior to the time of the immediate context. Therefore, the verbs in this portion are in real aspect. The secondary addressees are the people whom the speaker anticipates will listen to this story when it is broadcast over a local radio station.

(7) RM 001-004.

Ali yek Duna bilong Kairiru. Yekinu aninu Duna
ok I Duna from Kairiru: village my father Duna
Ali namaitu y-o-hul nuganinu ken y-o-no -hwalu
so now I r take son again I r refl be: named
Duna. Ali y-a-kli i -agwleh eneny saki namaitu
Duna and I r want I: unr say one: indef legend now
dekte ipak wolobaipali p -e -menek
fut you all you imp hear: listen

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

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

[Diagram of flashback]

Table 1. Diagram of flashback.
Example (5) combines several different types of explanatory information: flashback, signalled by *nubuwakih* 'a few days ago' and irrealis mood; preview, signalled by irrealis mood and self embedded explanatory information (explanatory collateral within explanatory). See Table 2 for a diagram of these relationships.

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

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

In the Table 2, the numbers represent the sentences; the kind of point (i.e. dot, square or square within square) represents the kind of information that the sentence expresses, and the labels along lines joining points represent the relationship between the sentences.
Table 2. Diagram of example (8)

(8) NH 058-068

1. w -a-glub -atu mu bwiyeb, w -e-ne nilim-atu
   we:two r rip:saw it into two we:two r do nail it
2. N -u -pwe n -i -nyemo-umu N -e -nyemo-me apakiny
   he unr be he unr write where he unr write about our
   bolany genegainy
   talk vernacular
3. Wokli yek i -nak moul step
   and:then I I:unr do work steps
4. Nubuwakih y-a-utinyuk
   A:few:days:ago I r partly:finish
   namaitu y-e-at eny.
   5. Yah h -a-niglak
      now I r finish it(step) Path it r go:down
   dewag umu.
   6. Luhut deke ch -u -na -mu
      toilet when Later lest they unr go to
   dewag umu ch -u -goul.
   Echah h -u -lomoli
   toilet when they unr fall:down Rain it unr come
7. Y-e-nek budalgas step. Dou ny-a-tuh w -e-me
   I r do ladder step and:then it r finish we:2 r do

1. 'We two (Bob and the speaker) rip-sawed (the plywood) into
two pieces and we nailed it (in order to make a desk).
2. (This desk is) where he (Bob) will be and write--he (Bob)
   will write our language. 3. And then I will go and I will work
   on the steps (in the path). 4. A few days ago I started it and
   I finished it-- 5. the path which goes down to the toilet.
6. (I finished it) lest later when they go to the toilet they will fall down, when it will rain. I did the ladder-steps, and then they were finished and we two (Bob and the speaker) worked on the pipes.

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

(9) NP 069-081

1. h-a-sahal h-a-naki wab enebik h-a-nak
   they:m r go:fast they:m r come night somewhere they:m r go
h-a-nak h-a-taglali h-a-nak h-a-taglali
   they:m r go they:m r arrive they:m r go they:m r arrive
h-a-nak eit oklok agundak. 2. H-a-taglali
   they:m r go eight o'clock here they:m r arrive
eit oklok. 3. Oli n-e-ne-m-e-li yopubi
   eight o'clock and:then he r do ben me come good (night)
nau yek y-e-chuh. 4. Y-e-chuh, g-a-gluk, y-a-itaki
   and:then I I r sleep I r sleep it r dawn I r get:up:come
y-a-pe. 5. Omom h-a-nak Lei y-a-bo enatu
   I r remain They:m r go Lae I r hit a
barit y-a-gabe enatu barit tati iluh -ahah hulukati-mu
   ditch I r fix a ditch it(distant) above there near to
yah. 6. Y-a-gabe enatu barit aliga y-a-nak y-a-taglali
   road I r fix a ditch continue I r go I r arrive
mahlagas umu. 7. Oli y-a-bih y-a-gabe
   bamboo where and:then I r down I r fix
tati douk yek y-a-pe tekan
   it(ditch):distant and:then I I r remain opposite
wopis umu. Oli y-a-gabe atebuk y-a-nak y-a-taglali
   office where And:then I r fix this(ditch) I r go I r arrive
aligaliga, y-e-at -atu y-a-gabe biel yegwi y chokwihi
   continue:until I r finish it I r fix two paths small
8. Y-a-gabe-yeh h-e-atuh oli y-a-gabe
   I r fix them(paths) they(paths) r finish and:then I r fix
yah y-a-gabe-yagun nebetali barit. 9. Oli, oli
path I r fix it(path) big ditch And:then and
enok misis k-o-naki kw-a-salik-e, "Nyakich
a European:woman she r come she r ask me Your
mamachich ch -a-nak agunume?" 10. Y-a-kli, "Oo, Halipeim
parents they r go where I r say Oh Halipeim
n-a-nak Lei n-a-nak ch-a-nigomu tuwag-omi.
he r go Lae he r go they r bury European those
Chakaiokweny she:only she r remain She r say Oh
And:then I r do work I r remain I r do work continue
y-e-yat-eny y-a-pe. 15. Y-a-pe Tunde y-a-nech luseh...
I r finish it I r remain I r be Tuesday I r wash clothes

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

In sentences 1-4 there is a continuous time sequence between
successive sentences as evidenced by head-tail linkage between
sentences 1 and 2, and 3 and 4. Between sentences 2 and 3 there is
a sequential connective oli 'and.then'. Between sentences 4 and 5
the head-tail linkage is broken, signifying that the time of the
'when' clause of sentence 5 does not necessarily follow the time of
the events of sentence 4. In fact, the verb 'return' of sentence 1
presupposes that the men went somewhere; this event (their going)
is expressed by the 'went' of the beginning of sentence 5. Thus,
there is a backward step in time between sentences 4 and 5.
Sentence 14 is the last sentence of the flashback. Note that the head-tail linkage is resumed between sentence 14 and 15, showing that the story has returned to the main event line.

3. EXPLANATORY COLLATERAL INFORMATION

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

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

(10) NB 101-108

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

dou w -e-tegleh echudak. Deke echah h -u -lu
and:then we:two r take:off these last rain it(rain) unr rain
h -u -naki. Luhut n -u -nak Yangor -omu. Deke
it unr come later he unr go Yangoru when lest
u -law -eny-i ny-e -naki ny-u -kus agundak wagomu
we:two take it come it unr come it unr be here later
wagomu n -u -nak Yangor -omu, echah h -u -lomoli.
later he unr go Yangor when rain it unr come

Hyasogah baret. Yah yoweh. Dou yek y-e-yotu
Hyasogah:ground:name ditch road bad and:then I I r stand
enan n -e-lau moto baik n -e-nak Wilaru.
he he r take motor bike he r go Wilaru:ground:name

N -e-nak n -a-pu -buk-uk n -e-naki y-e-hul echudak
he r go he r it(bike) put remain he r come I r take these
y-a-hwech w -e-naki
I r hold:them we:two r come

1. At the ground named Matopi he stopped the motor bike.
2. He stopped it, and we two took off these things.
3. (We took theme off) lest rain come later when he will want
to go to Yangoru
4. (We took them off) lest we two take the motor bike and it come and be here, and later when he will go to Yangoru, rain will come and the road will be bad at the ditch at the ground named Hyasogah.

5. And then I stood and he took the motor bike and went to Wilaru.

6. He went and put it, and it stayed there and he came and I took these things and held them, and we two came.

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

4. EVALUATIVE INFORMATION

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

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

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

(11) Anis nə-a-lhwas, oli yek y-o-wak -enu bolany Anis. Anis he r run:away so I r send him talk Anis Y-a-kli, "Anis, ehe, ny -u -naki ny -u -pe." I r say Anis no you imp come you imp remain 'Anis ran away and so I sent a message to Anis. I said, "Anis, no! Come and stay here!"

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

(12) NB 064-069

Yek y-e-l -ech Wanguen-omi n-a-n -om
I r go:with them Wanguen those:with:him he r and them
batowich y-e-l -ech m-o-nak trak Enaniny
children I r go:with them we r go truck his
kar dudukeny, Wanguen enaniny. Namunyi. Nau
truck nice:it Wanguen his new And:then
apak m-a-lik m-o-walubu.
we we r go:first we r go:down

‘I went with them, with Wanguen and those with him—the with him and his children. I went with them by truck. Wanguen’s truck is nice. It’s new. And then we went first, going down.

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

(13) HG 096-100

P -i -gimu Aninu enaniny bolany yopwinyi. Omuni
you:pl imp follow father his talk good who
omuni p -a-dekemech umu enyudak yowenyi? Oli
who you:pl r understand about these bad:things and:so
P -u -tekem -uk? Nebemi!
you:pl unr tekem it (bad things) perm important:men
H -a-dekem u enyudak-uli. Oli
they:m r understand these those:who and:so
h -u -tekem-emy -uk?  
they:m unr leave it(bad:things) perm

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

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

(14) HG 114-118

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

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

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

   we imp follow him Father

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

6. yopwinyi bolany
   good talk

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

5. CONCLUSION

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

1. Research for this paper was partly supported by grant number 4088 from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I am indebted to Ivan Lowe of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for many helpful suggestions and for the basic theoretical approach in Section 1. Bonnie Moeckel has also given several helpful suggestions.

REFERENCES


