

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SENTENCE AND DISCOURSE IN HALIA

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0. INTRODUCTION

The first part of this paper describes the linear arrangement of clauses within sentences and of higher level units within the discourse in Halia¹. The second part describes the relationships between clauses within the sentence and between higher level units within the discourse.

1. DESCRIPTION OF UNITS

1.1. The sentence unit is shown by sentence final intonation or by anaphoric clause linkage. A sentence is defined as a unit consisting of one or more independent clauses optionally preceded or followed² by dependent clauses. These clauses may be divided into content clauses, appositional clauses, quotation margin clauses and linking clauses. These clauses in their various combinations and with their appropriate intonations comprise the sentence unit.

1.1.1. Each clause finishes with either rising, level, or falling intonation³. For the purposes of this paper sentence final falling intonation is symbolized by a full stop (period). Sentence final rising intonation is symbolized by a question mark in the case of questions and by a semicolon in the case of assertions. Sentence medial rising intonation is symbolized by a comma. Sentence medial

falling intonation is symbolized by a colon. Sentence medial or final level intonation is symbolized by a dash.

Sentences may end with falling, rising, or occasionally, level intonation. Sentence final falling intonation occurs in ordinary declarative sentences and in information questions and is the predominant sentence final intonation pattern. The fall occurs immediately before, or in varying patterns within, the last word of the sentence⁴:

alia e solor e Patrik. (*I a. name a. Patrick.*) *My name is Patrick.*
 nonei e ka gonomena a tahol itanen. (*he v. is with a. woman his.*)
He is with his wife.

a saha ta ka te mi tukuna itamulam. (*a. what thing v. come arrives ours.*) *What thing is coming to us?*

Non-final clauses are marked by rising or level intonation:

ba nori a tsi mun toulana e saleri-en a tsi poum, ba nonei e nouna.
 (*and those a. dim. two brother v. give-him a. dim. pig-(meat), and he eats.*) *The brothers give him a little pig meat, and he eats.*

poata te palaka-nen, e hiaka-na. (*when v. dry-it, v. white-it.*)
When it is dry, it is white.

Falling intonation may also occur sentence medially, but in only two types of instances - before an appositional clause or phrase and before a direct quotation.

First, falling intonation sentence medially shows apposition between a sentence final clause or noun phrase and the clause with which it is in apposition. This gives compound falling intonation:

manasa koru a maroro e omi koru: e tsiktsiki koru. (*before very a. road v. bad very: v. ground very.*) *In the past the road was very bad, very muddy.*

...ba nori te ka talar i pipiou: nori a tsi elapisa a tsi katun.
 (...and they v. are now in rubbish heap: those a. dim. three a. dim. person.) *...and they are now in the rubbish heap, those three little people.*

In using this appositional type of information structure⁵ the speaker is taking the option of packing into two units - the appositional clause or noun phrase and the clause to which it is in apposition - information which could be included within the preappositional clause. The speaker takes this option for one or more of the following four reasons: to show marked information focus,⁶ as an afterthought, to clarify the preceding clause, or as an afterstatement to prevent overloading the

preceding clause.

Second, falling intonation sentence medially may occur before a direct quotation:

na nonei e Hugen e rangata tala: ime te mar kato talaua-golia.
(and he a. Hugen v. asked now: where v. way do now-I.) And Hugen asked, "What do I do now?"

The type of intonation that occurs before a direct quotation appears to be irrelevant. All contrasts are neutralized; it is only the position of the intonation break that is significant, not the particular intonational contour. Level intonation has been noted here:

...ba te masaka-r ba te poeie-r - ara e na lupura i mahö... (and v. talk-they and v. say-they - we v. go dig-up (banana shoots) tomorrow...) ... and they talk and say, "We will go dig up (banana shoots) tomorrow..."

Rising intonation has also been noted:

ba u tsunono te rangar, na hoatemuma... (and a. chief v. say, go fish...) And the chiefs say, "Go fish..."

Sentence final rising intonation distinguishes yes-no and rhetorical questions, obvious statements, assumptions, insistent requests, and unfinished sentences from ordinary declarative sentences and information questions.

There are two kinds of question sentences besides information questions: yes-no questions and rhetorical questions. Ordinary yes-no questions must finish with rising intonation, as only the intonation distinguishes a yes-no question from a statement:

alo e kaka talam o Hugen? (you v. are-here now o Hugen?) Are you here, Hugen?

However, a yes-no question with an "or not" ending will have rising intonation on the question, but falling intonation on the "or not":

alimiu e ka hanigamiu, tsi emoa. (you v. are good, or not.) Are you well or not?

Rhetorical questions may finish with rising intonation:

alo be hakatsi tsiponeiem ara e tapa seira? (you un. think un. we v. fly up?) Do you think we will fly up? The speaker then answers his own question, saying, "We're going down."

Obvious statements also finish with rising intonation. They indicate that the speaker considers the statement so obvious that he should not really have to make it:

alö e gummoia itamulam; alö e gummoia i halahala-mulam; (*you v. sit on-us; you v. sit on our-shoulders;*) *You sit on us (implying, where else?). You sit on our shoulders (implying, where else?).* These sentences were spoken by three little birds in reply to a little boy's mystified question, "What do I do now?"

ga ra e russira; (*un. we v. go-down;*) *We go down (of course).*

Assumptions also finish with slight rising intonation:

na tana ka len, alimiu e atei silemiu a tun tolala te ka gonome-gulia reka; (*now another thing more, you v. know a. white man v. am with-I here;*) *Now another thing, you all know the white man that I'm with here.*

Insistent requests finish with rising intonation:

ba tsi mun toulana i poe poni alö go hala talaramelam ta tsi kannou; (*and dim. two brother v. say again you imperative give now-us a. dim. food;*) *And the brothers say again, "You give us a little food."*

Ordinary requests finish with level or falling intonation:

ba nonei e poiema luema a kikiono i toum ba lia u noubuto - (*and he v. says, give a. pudding directive here and I v. eat -*) *And he says, "Give the pudding here, and I'll eat."*

ba tsi mun toulana e singor alö go hasalarame-lam ta tsi pemun kalekale. (*and dim. two brother v. beg you imperative give-us a. dim. husk betelnut.*) *And the brothers beg, "You give us some betelnut husks."*

Sentences left unfinished by the speaker also carry rising intonation.

1.1.2. Sentence final intonation is irrelevant before anaphoric clause linkage,⁷ which itself signals the beginning of a new sentence. All contours are neutralized as is the case before a direct quotation. The anaphoric clause showing linkage carries rising intonation. It optionally begins with a connective, *poata when* or *ba (be, bu) and*. It must repeat the verb of the clause to which it refers and optionally repeats the subject or object or both. The adverb *hakapa finish* usually follows the verb to show completion of the action. The linking clause may contain new information such as an explicit object for the verb, an adjective modifying the object, or a locative. Linkage of one sentence to another may continue until a related sequence of actions is completed. A discourse describing the making of a canoe has four units containing sequences of sentences linked by anaphoric clauses. The first describes preparations for starting construction of the canoe. The second

describes the construction, the third the gluing of the joints, the fourth, painting and using the canoe.

In the following example each new sentence begins with anaphoric clause linkage. The preceding sentence to which the linkage refers finishes with rising intonation:

...ba nori te saloier u taariomo; salo hakape-r-en, ba te hakitseie-r; hakits hakape-r ba te salo tsonie-r u bibiana; ba te salo hakape-r u bibiana ba te hakitseie-r. (...and-then they v. plane a. taariomo-plank; plane finish-they-it, and v. tie-they; tie finish-they and-then v. plane again-they a. bibiana-plank; and v. plane finish-they a. bibiana-plank and v. tie-they.) And then they plane the taariomo plank. (When) they have finished planing it, they tie (it). (When) they have finished tying (it), then they plane again, (this time) the bibiana planks. And (when) they have finished planing the bibiana planks, then they tie (them).

In the following example the sentence to which the linkage refers finishes with falling intonation:

...ba te na noue-r a kannou e naselila tohalio. poata te nou hakapa-ri-en,... (then v. go eat-they a. food v. cook women. when v. eat finish-they-it,...) ...then they eat the food the women have cooked. When they have finished eating it,...

In the following example the sentence to which the linkage refers finishes with level intonation:

...me kana me pikana - pika peseie-na a pien... (...and stays-she and becomes-pregnant - becomes-pregnant alone-she a. child...) ...and she stays and becomes pregnant. She conceives a child by herself...

1.2. Higher level units within the discourse are shown, not by intonation as is the sentence unit, but by sequences of anaphoric clause linkage, by the use of transitional sections, by changes of setting or participants or both, and by the repetition of a particular element at the beginning of each section of the discourse.

The first, sequences of anaphoric clause linkage, has been described under 1.1.2.

The second is the use of transitional units. These units have anaphoric reference to the unit of discourse just completed and cataphoric reference to the unit being introduced:

Now I will talk again, (this time) about the way the roads were before, the grass (roads). The phrase *talk again* refers to the talking already done in the preceding section while *the way the roads were before* introduces the subject of the new section.

In a story about some birds trying to rescue a small boy named Hugen who has been kidnapped by the sky dwellers the following section makes the transition between the efforts of the larger birds to reach the sky country and the successful attempt of the three despised small birds:

And they (the bigger birds) say, "Oh, we ate all that food for nothing (since the strength we got from it didn't enable us to reach the sky country). You little birds try now."

The third is changes of setting or participants or both. The story about Hugen mentioned above is divided in this way:⁸

Section 1: Setting - earth; Hugen is kidnapped from there by the sky dwellers.

Section 2: New participants - all the birds; they try to reach the sky country from earth in order to rescue Hugen; the three smallest birds finally succeed in reaching it.

Section 3: Setting - sky country; Hugen and the three little birds make a plan for Hugen's escape from there and carry it out.

Section 4: Setting - earth; Hugen and the three little birds arrive home there and a feast is made for them.

A story about a man named Tokanbehi who tricks two brothers is divided as follows:

Section 1: Setting - the sea; Tokanbehi persuades the two brothers to row his canoe with him in it. He keeps eating and promising to give them food when they pass the next cape but never does it. They eventually jump overboard and swim to shore.

Section 2: Setting - the land; the two brothers fight off wild dogs all night. The people who live at that place prepare food for the boys to take with them when Tokanbehi returns for them.

Section 3: Setting - the sea; Tokanbehi takes the boys and their cargo to sea again. The boys now eat in front of Tokanbehi, tricking him as he did them. He is finally eaten by a crocodile they have secreted in one of the food baskets. The brothers then return to shore.

The fourth way higher level units within the discourse are shown is by the repetition of a particular element at the beginning of each section of the discourse. In a certain historical narrative the repeated element is a temporal phrase, often lengthy in comparison with the shorter temporal phrases that usually occur within the sections:

And this time now...; Long ago, no, not so very long ago...; Long ago, during the time of Fr. Siaban....

Another discourse, which is a tape recorded letter from a young man away from home to his relatives back in the village, begins each sentence with either *you know* or *I want you to know* or *I don't know*.

2. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN UNITS

These relationships may be divided into three types: specific, semi-specific and general.⁹ A few are shown by connectives that mark relationships only between clauses. One is shown by a linkage that marks relationships only between sentences. Most are shown by connectives that mark relationships between clauses and also between higher level units within the discourse.

2.1. Specific relationships may be shown in three ways. First, by the use of certain verb phrase suffixes or purposive adverb plus transitive suffix in the first clause of a sentence that have reference to the following clause. The two clauses are interdependent. The referential suffix *-ne*, the beneficiary suffix *-beie*, the associative suffix *-me* and the purposive adverb *sil-* plus the transitive suffix *-e* all have specific case relationships within the clause but they may also show relationships between clauses as follows:

The referential suffix *-ne* shows purpose or reason:

ba te hasesei-ne-na ge gi pan boroboro. (and v. hurry-referential-she un. imperative big quickly.) And she hurries (them) up so they will grow up quickly.

*alia e la-ne-gu-la te raharahauana e tsina-r. (I v. go-referential-I-directional v. anger a. mother-my.) I went because my mother is angry. (El.)*¹⁰

The beneficiary suffix *-beie* shows reason:

nonei e hahatongo-beie-na e lama turu skol. (he v. knows-beneficiary-he v. came from school.) He is smart because he has been to school. (El.)

The associative suffix *-me* shows reason or simultaneity:

ara e haromana-me-ra te kui menarera a hatu na te kui menarera a maromo. (*we v. sorry-associative-we v. work with a. stone-axe and v. work with digging-stick.*) *We are sorry because we have to work with stone axes and digging sticks.*

...ba nori te la tala-me-r te susukun tsirukuuana pitala tara lahi. (*...and they v. go now-with(associative)-they v. near set sun in afternoon.*) *...and they go at the time the sun is nearly setting in the evening.*

The purposive adverb *sil-* followed by the transitive suffix *-e* shows purpose or reason:

a han e ski sil-e-na te galualila a barebana. (*a. village v. deserted purposive-transitive-it v. go (to the beach) a. people.*) *The village is deserted because the people went to the beach.* (El.)

a moni itar e antuna sil-e-na te go hol meni lia a wailis. (*a. money my v. enough purposive-transitive-it v. subjunctive buy transitive I a. radio.*) *My money is sufficient for me to buy a radio.* (El.)

Second, specific relationship may be shown by the use of anaphoric clause linkage described in 1.1.2. It specifies a sequential relationship between sentences. The linking clause is sometimes separated from the sentence to which it anaphorically refers by an appositional sentence. In this case it links the sentence it introduces to both of the preceding sentences:

...nori e hakits mame-r u hatsinana. hatsinana e kate-ri u polats has. Poata te kits hakapana u hatsinana... (*...they v. tie first-they a. hatsinana-planks. hatsinana-planks v. make-they a. polats-wood too. when v. tie finish a. hatsinana-planks...*) *First they tie the hatsinana planks. The hatsinana planks are made from polats wood, too. When they have finished tying the hatsinana planks,...*) In this example the second sentence is in apposition to the first sentence. And the anaphoric linking clause at the beginning of the third sentence links that sentence to both of the preceding ones.

Third, specific relationships may be shown by the use of specifying connectives. *Taraha* and *tara neha*, both meaning *because*, show reason:

alia e ramaneg-en taraha e omi-na. (*I v. dislike-it because v. bad-it.*) *I don't want it because it is bad.* (El.)

Matanatsil begs for a little fire and the woman doesn't want to give it to him. Because (taraha) she sees that he has a liver hanging from him.

alia e lag-ou i haus-sik i lahi tara neha e tsina-r e sikina. (I v. go-future to hospital in afternoon because a. mother-my v. sick.) I will go to the hospital this afternoon because my mother is sick. (El.)

Hena and sanena, both meaning *if*, show hypothetical result:

hena alo go katsin hitöl ba lo te hatakeiem a luma. (if you imperative want marry then you v. build a. house.) For example, if you want to get married; all right, you build a house. (El.) Hena carries a connotation of for example as well as if.

Sanena te go lauu lö turu hai skul i Lei ba lö te luea niatei pan. (if v. subjunctive go-you to high school in Lae then you v. get a. knowledge big.) If you go to high school in Lae (whether you really go there or not), you learn a lot. (El.)

Here- like shows analogy:

a bom e gutsil here-nei u gururu. (a. bomb v. sound like-it a. thunder (sound).) A bomb makes a noise like thunder. Here- in the first clause has reference to the following clause which is often elliptical as in the elicited example above.

Tsi or shows alternation:

alimiu toum e hapolasa banemolia, tsi alimiu toum e na hakats silemia. (you maybe v. forget-away me, or you maybe v. negative think about-me.) Maybe you have completely forgotten about me, or maybe you just don't think about me.

If we follow the ways told about in our folklore will it be well with us? Or (tsi) shall we change these ways?

E poeiena it says shows implication:

If a person asks the question: *What does this mean - the village is deserted and the houses are locked?*, the reply could be as follows:

a ka teka e poeiena a barebana e kete hakapalila. (a. thing here v. says a. people v. go-to-bush finish.) This means that everybody has gone already to the bush. (El.)

Poata when shows temporal setting. It precedes the temporal clause. It may show a simultaneous or a sequential temporal setting relationship:

Poata te tukuia a tolala, a katun hoboto e na alosoia i kotolana.
(when v. arrive a. ship, a. person all v. go wait on beach.) When the ship arrived, all the people went (and) waited on the beach.

2.2. Semi-specific relationships are shown by connectives that in some cases show specific relationships but in others do not specify as to the type of relationship being shown. Three connectives, *ba*, *me*, and *kaba*, are semi-specific.

*Ba*¹¹ (*be*, *bu*)¹¹ tends to show the specific relationships of sequence or consequence in narrative discourse. In one narrative composed of sequential actions ten sections out of a total of thirteen are tied together with *ba*.

ba kako te sunguna, bu katun hoboto te soater nonei a maman a ka tere patere. (and cargo v. comes-to-shore, and-then person all v. carry this a. every a. thing of priest.) An the cargo comes ashore, and then all the people carry all the priest's things.

te kamua alö ba lö te tatei hengoem u ranga itar. (v. are-(there) you then you v. can hear a. talk my.) (if) you are there (and I expect you to be), you can hear what I have to say.

a mapou e las pokapnana mona ba mona te me tatei takata boroboronei. (a. bench v. pull hold canoe so canoe v. negative can break quickly.) The bench holds the canoe together so that it cannot break apart quickly.

In non-narrative discourse *ba* does not specify the type of relationship shown.

Me tends to connect clauses within a close knit action sequence. It usually specifies extended or continuous action:

ba tsi hatoulana a tsi kapan e seieta u uele me na tsekona me koluna. (and dim. brother a. dim. big v. climbs-up a. coconut-tree and go breaks-off (coconuts) and comes-down.) And the bigger brother climbs the coconut tree and picks (the coconuts) and climbs down.

Me may also be used when the same action is expressed in two different ways:

Ba nonei e gamoto me poiena.... (and he v. lied and says....) And he lied and said, "...."

Also *me* may show result without specifying it:

ba nori e hengoer-en me na osa talar tara mona tere Tokanbehi. (and they v. hear-him so go board now on canoe of Tokanbehi.) And they listened to him, so they boarded Tokanbehi's canoe.

Occasionally *me* occurs sentence initial rather than between clauses within a sentence. Here it also tends to show sequential action.

Kaba tends to show the adversative relationship:

nonei a poata teka patere e ka hakapa, kaba nori u katun teka emoa ta toukui pan itaren. (this a. time here priest v. is finish, but they a. person here no a. work big their.) At this time the priest was already here, but these people didn't have a lot of work.

Kaba may be used as a nonspecifying connective also. In the following example it is used to show that the speaker forgot a procedure in a discourse describing the building of a canoe and wants to backtrack to put it in:

kaba i mam turu taariomo nu bibiana, nori e hakits mamer u hatsinana. (but directive before of tarriomo-planks and bibiana-planks, they v. tie first a. hatsinana-planks.) But before (making) the taariomo and bibiana planks, they first tied the hatsinana planks.

2.3. General relationships show that there is a relationship but do not specify what relationship. These relationships are shown by the connective *na* and by juxtaposition.

The connective *na* (*nu*, *ne*) tends in non-narrative discourses to connect nonsequential units:

e tatei hakeier, tsi a saha ka te omina itanen? na u hahatate u mana, nonei u Pinari? (v. can put-(it), or a. what thing v. bad its? and a. story a. true, this a. Pinari?) (We) can approve it, or what is wrong with it? And is it true, this Pinari (story)?

In narrative discourses *na* may indicate collection, sequence, or simultaneity without specifying which:

te kaia i Hanahan, na a teret stoa itanen e kaia tara makum ti ngöei i Kobono. (v. stay at Hanahan, and trade store his v. stay at place v. call directive Kobono.) (He) stayed at Hanahan, and his trade store was at the place called Kobono.

na taina muki e pietama na nonei e singatsi na muki e rus i puta. (and another dog v. runs and he v. hits and dog v. fall directive below.) And another dog comes running and he hits (it) and it falls down below.

toa pal katun te larima, ne Hopuei e pila baren. (one group person v. come, and Hopuei v. shoot away-them.) One group of people comes, and Hopuei shoots them down.

Juxtaposition may indicate the following relationships:

Positive-negative and negative-positive:

One narrative says: "Before the roads were very bad. They weren't good enough for cars to go on."

In a historical discourse a unit of discourse describing the "bad old days" is in an adversative relationship with a block describing the present good time.

nonei a poata teka emoa ta tun tolala te para te ga ka, emoa. e masta Heben talasi a toa te ka. (*this a. time here no a. white man a. many v. subjunctive are, no. a. Mr Heben only a. one v. is.*) *At this time there weren't many Europeans (here). Only one, Mr Heben, was here.*

Equivalence is also shown by juxtaposition:

...ba nonei a katun eni te kopis pouts ponn-ou romana, e la pouts ponn-ou... (*and this a. person here v. return back again-future future, v. go back again-future...*) *...and this person will return again; he will go back again...*

It is a good time now as foreseen and brought about by the Europeans ... It is a very good time now... It is a good time.

Collection is also shown by juxtaposition:

A tape recorded talking letter home has the following collection of sections:

Sections 1 and 2: *what I want you to know.*

Section 3: *what I'm doing with the white man.*

Section 4: *what I want you to tell Dad.*

Section 5: *what I want to tell Latu.*

Section 6: *what I want you to do for Jerry.*

Setting is shown by juxtaposition of the setting with the remainder of the discourse and also by order when it occurs at the beginning. The following setting of identification and location occurs at the beginning of a tape recorded talking letter:

My name is Patrick. I am in Lae. I work at the hospital.

The relationships of general-specific and result are indicated by order as well as by juxtaposition:

a tahol itanen has e posa hakapa. e posei a tsi pien tahol. (*a. woman his also v. give-birth finish. v. give-birth a dim. child woman.*)

His wife also has given birth. (She) has given birth to a baby girl.

Today there is much work. (Specifically,) the building of good houses.

This example shows reason followed by result:

We now live in many different places rather than all together as before. I have married a girl from another tribe.

N O T E S

1. Halia is a Melanesian language closely related to the north Bougainville languages - Petats, Solos, and Sapos (J. Allen and C. Hurd, Languages of the Bougainville District, Port Moresby, 1965). According to Isidore Dyen (The Lexicostatistical Classification of the Austronesian Languages, IUPAL Memoir No. 19, 1965, p.43) Halia is a member of the Northwest Buka subfamily of Austronesian languages.

The following Halia orthography is established: p, b, t, k, g, s, ts, h, m, n, ng [ŋ], l, r, ɾ, e, a, o, u, ö [o[^]], ei, ëi [ɛ^vi], au, ou.

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2. Although it is unusual in this part of the world to find dependent clauses following independent clauses, this does occur in Halia:

alö e ma tara putami te go mamariulö. *You must not look down lest you become dizzy.*

3. The four levels of intonation in Halia are extra high (limited usage), high, mid, and low.

4. The following abbreviations are used in word for word translations of text:

v.: verb phrase introducer
 a.: article
 dim.: diminutive
 un.: untranslatable

5. M. A. K. Halliday, Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English, part 2, *Journal of Linguistics*, 3:2, 199-236, October 1967.
6. Marshall Lawrence, *Oksapmin Sentence Structure* (forthcoming), Section 1, describes compound falling intonation sentence final in Oksapmin as a means of focusing information.
7. Longacre says that this linkage "basically consists in repeating, paraphrasing, or referring in some manner at the onset of a succeeding sentence to the whole or part of the preceding sentence" (Robert E. Longacre, 1968).
 Robert C. Thurman, *Chuave Medial Verbs* (forthcoming), 1971, distinguishes between chaining (cataphoric reference through predicting the subject of the next clause) and linkage (anaphoric).
8. Only direct translations are shown in Italics; paraphrases and condensations are not. Examples that have more than one sentence are usually given only in English. If the use of a particular connective is being illustrated, it will be given in Halia as well as English.
9. Simon C. Dik, *Coordination*, North-Holland, 1968, page 291, gives a scale of semantic specificity for coordinators followed by a description of general tendencies which may be formulated in connection with the scale.
10. Examples marked (El.) have been elicited from a Halia speaker, rather than found in free text.
11. Jerry Allen, *Tense/Aspect and Conjunctions in Halia Narrative*, (forthcoming), 1971, describes Halia conjunctions.

