ROVIANA

GRAMMAR

PAPER

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TRANSLATIONS DEPARTMENT
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Preface

This paper is prepared as an exploratory excursion into the clause structures of Roviana, a Melanesian language of the Roviana Lagoon area in N.W. New Georgia in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate where about 100 different languages and dialects exist amongst a population of just over 110,000 inhabitants.

The approach being preliminary and initial, is made from the tagmemic standpoint as this has been very helpful in the practical situation orientated on translation, but it is intended that other approaches will be made with different textual material, such as the Transform technique which has yet to be mastered by the writer.

The informant who supplied the appended texts is one of many native writers who have supplied anthropological data during the period of field study since 1947.

The orthography of Roviana includes the following features:

- the phoneme ɓ is prenasalised and aspirated (mb)
- " " d is " " " " (nd)
- the " g is a voiced velar fricative
- the " n is a velar nasal as in sing
- " " q is prenasalised velar stop in younger
- " " v is a fricative bilabial(æp) ɓ.
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THE DEATH OF A CHIEF

(Free Translation - A.H. HALL)

If a chief is sick and he is confined indoors, he will be cared for exceptionally well. The healers will come to heal him. The soothsayers and mediums always come too to consult the spirits who will divulge the chief's malady. They will massage him and anoint him with chewed root-ginger of various species. And if he cannot recuperate, then they spare no pains in providing him with food and water.

When the chief is lying down and wishes to rise to partake of nourishment, they will blow the conch-shell and as they help him to recline again, they will blow the conch-shell once more. Even if they turn him over, they sound the "buki" for that is their practice until chiefs die.

And if he does pass away at last, every one will preserve strict silence. No one will work in his garden, not a soul will go fishing; they abstain completely from mundane pursuits.

Should someone find occasion to labour in his garden, then he must pay out a fine of shell-money. This custom is termed "leleumbo" so everybody always stays put. If some do go to gather foods they must await the time when they will hear the trumpet and then they can go up to hunt for their provisions, but they are not allowed to work. When they hear the trumpet again, they may then descend once more to their village.

When chiefs die, they always open up the abdomen and remove the contents so as to prevent them from decomposing in the
body. They never quickly go to bury the corpse. This will stay four nights in the house and they then only deposit it, not actually burying it in the ground.

Assistant prepared a bier and sat the corpse upon it, lifelike and erect just as if the chief were conscious. They would place him in a war-canoe and go out to a certain island or to some burial place of chiefs and deposit the bier there. Only there would the body decompose. It was covered with a sewn umbrella covering and so they abandoned it.

As for the widow, his wife, should she wish to follow her master in death, they would strangle her so that she might then accompany the chief, but if not his wife, then it would be two or three of his slaves whom they would strangle to accompany their lord. This was to obviate his spirit necessarily going alone down to Keru at Simbo Island and thence on to Sondo in South Bougainville.

Should his wife not be strangulated, then her hair would not be clipped. She must grow it long for a period of 100 days and nights and only on completion of the time could it be cut short. When 10 days had elapsed, the priest would go and take the skull of the chief and deposit it in a shrine, there encasing it properly as befits chiefs.

At the death of a chief, many pigs are killed in ceremonial respect to the departed leader. All betelnut and pepper palms are declared taboo. The betelnut trees could not be scaled nor the pepper plant leaves plucked until 100 nights have passed by and then a feast was prepared and the betelnut palms would
again be climbed, the pepper plant leaves plucked and the widow's hair was cropped short.

The widow was then screened off in the house, unable to wash, and no one was allowed even to glimpse her for it was forbidden. Only those specially permitted by the high chiefs could then take down the screen for the widow and people then saw her. Should she go and wash before sufficient time had elapsed, she must forfeit shell-money as a fine.

They always counted the nights after the passing of the chief. Then they would say, "Ten nights are up, fifty nights have gone, or one hundred!" so they used to say. All would then continue in mourning in the wailing house until the 100 nights had elapsed after the decease of their chief.

The place where the dead go to is Keru on Simbo Island. They go to inscribe their marks at Keru chasm (pit) on Simbo after which they pass on to Sondo for good.

That is the belief of Roviana people in ancient times. This was before any had preached the gospel saying that righteous people go to heaven. But I suppose they who are not righteous (still) go to Keru on Simbo and then pass by to Sondo.

So runs the story concerning the death of Roviana chiefs.

- Lazarus Mamu Pania
"Marriage"

Free Translation

This is the custom of marriage in the Roviana district if two young folk, a boy and a girl, desire each other as partners. If they are in love and courting and if the friendship has been authorised by their parents, the girl will then be carefully supervised so that no strange boy may approach her.

The first responsibility of the girl's two parents is to give shell-money to the brothers of the girl intending to marry. The name of this money is "hinerehere". Thus the girl's parents will distribute money to their sons who are brothers of the girl, who, as their sister, will be given in marriage. This is to inform the brothers that their sister will shortly marry.

These brothers will not speak about the matter, but merely accept the money. But, they will assist in the chaperoning of their sister so that she may remain inviolate until her wedding.

The obligation of the parents of the boy who intends to marry is to take one piece of white shell-money or some armlet rings and to deliver them to the parents of the bride-to-be of their son. This is really to secure the girl by her engagement to their son, and that money is called "pinirovetu". When the time arrives for the marriage, a great feast is prepared and the girl is escorted to meet the intended husband there and they plait a small round basket into which a taro pudding is dumped.

The two eat together from this basket and then both tug at the basket (from each other) until it is torn to shreds and so they playfully keep on eating the pudding which was in it. This is called the "vina'ororeke". When the little ceremony is over, the whole assembly then begins on the feasting. They blow their
national instrument, the bamboo, and all dance to the music, men and women all in merry abandon.

After that, the tribes-people of the boy gather together with those of the bride to perform the function of the "Inivasa". Both clans produce shell-money for mutual exchange. The bridegroom's father will tender one or two or even three valuable "bakiha". Then the representative of the girl's clan will present shellmoney to match the first, and if there is insufficient for a balanced payment by the bride's tribe then the girl is won over completely should her people be unable to produce sufficient money.

But, should the payment from the bride's clan be more than adequate, then she will be able to return to live with her relations. However, if the payment from the bridegroom's side is lavish, then the girl will never reside with her family but go to live with her husband until death.

Another piece of money which the bridegroom's father produces and gives to the mother of the bride is called "breast-money" (payment). It is so to speak a compensation for the mother who reared or suckled her daughter.

This was the custom of marriage in the Roviana district in olden times. When all aspects of this ceremony had been fulfilled, the boy then escorted his bride away, taking her (perhaps) to the land or village of his birth where the two lived together as husband and wife.

Story by Lazarus Namu Pania.

(Translation A.H. Hall)
1. Be moho sa baŋara meke koa pa vetu si kaqu ta-
   if sick the chief and stay in house — will be
   kopu-e hola si asa.
   kep-t much — he

2. Kaqu mae sari-na tie salaŋa pude salaŋ-ia si asa.
   will come the pl. men heal to heal him — him

3. Kaqu mae tugo sarina tie sabu-sabu-kae na betu-
   will come too the pl. men magic-making and occult
   betu-e pude nanas-i sarina tomate
   working to consult them the spirits

4. meke arina tomate si kaqu toz-ia sa m-in-oho
   and the spirits — will tell it the sick-ness
   tanisa baŋara.
   of the chief

5. Kaqu mono-a na kusuru-nia amo na kuruvete na
   will massage him and bespittle him with amo and kuruvete
   pasapasa rini si asa.
   ginger medicine the — him

6. Meke be lopu boka magogoso si asa, si kaqu kopu
   and if not can recuperate — he — will care
   sisigiti-nia rini si asa pa ginani na kolo.
   greatly-for-him they — him in food and drink

7. Be eko si asa meke hiva tekulu pude henahena
   if lie dn — he and wish get up to partake

8. si kaqu ivu-a rini sa buki,
   — will blow-it they the conchshell

9. meke be va'-eko pule-a rini si kaqu buki tugo
   and if cause lie again-him they — will trumpet indeed

10. Meke be va-talir-ia rini si kaqu buki pule tugo.
    and if cause-turn-him they — will trumpet again indeed

11. Gu-gua mo asa meke osol-ae mate tu sa.
    just-like only it and until die indeed he.

12. Meke be mate si asa, sari doduru tie si
    and if die do he the all people
    kaqu koa noso beto.
    will stay quiet entirely.
13. Loke tie kaqu tave-tavete pa inuma, loke tie no man will work in garden no person
    kaqu habu pa kolo;
    will fish in water
14. koa madi hola si arini. stay holy very do they
15. Be keke tie si tavet-ia keke nana t-in-avete si if one man do perform it one his work -
    kaqu oki-palae bakiha si asa.
    will pay-out shellmoney - he
16. Sa ga'in-ua asa si ta-poza-e "leleubo", gua asa the meaning that - is call-ed fine like that
    ke hoke koa noso mo sarina tie so always stay quiet only the people
17. Be hata ginani gua sarina tie si kaqu aq-a-n-ia if seek foods like the people - will wait for it
    sa toto-so pude avos-ia rini sa buki si tiqe the time to hear it they the trumpet do only then
    sage hata ginani si arini, ba lopu kaqu tavetavete go up seek food - they but not will work-on
18. Pude avoso pule-a rini sa buki si tiqe gore pule if-to hear again-it they the trumpet only then gown again
    si arini pa dia vasileana do they to their village
19. Totoso-na pu mate sa ba'ara, si hoke hupul-ia Time when which die the chief do always gut (disembowel)
    rini sa tia-na;
    they the abdomen-his
20. meke oki pan-ia sa lagu-na pude meke muzi turaß-ae and throw away it the intestines to not rot together-with
    pa tini-na sa lagu-na gua in corpse-his the intestines, so-to-say
21. Hoke lopu tuture la pomunu-n-ia rini sa tomate-na Always not quickly go pury it they the corpse-his
22. Kaqu koa ka-maøe bogi-na pa vetu si asa, will stay no. 4 night of it in house do he
    meke tiqe la pomunu-nia rini and only then go bury-him they
23. Ba lopu kaqu ta-pomun-ae pa pepeso si asa.
but not will be burie-d in ground - he

24. Tavet-ia rini si keke hape meke va-habol-ia rini
make-it they - one platform and cause-sit-up-him they

25. meke gua-na toa-na meke habotu nana sa tomate-na
and like living and sit up HE the corpse his(of)

sa bapara
the chief

26. Kaqu suran-ia rini pa tomoko meke la pa nusa
will loadhim they in warcanoe and go to island

27. ba be vasina sapu na po-pomunu-ana tadina bapara tugo.
or where which the burial-place of the chiefs indeed

28. meke la veko-a rini sa hape hie meke vasina si
and go leave-it they the bier this and where do

koa muzi sa tini-na
stay rot the corpse-his

29. E Ta-nobi-e poro si asa meke veko-a rini
be covered umbrella-leaf he and leave-him they

30. Ego, sa loa-na, sa nana barikaleqe; si be hiva
well the spouse his the his wife - if wish

mate luli-a sa sa nana palabatu
die followhim she the her master (husband)

31. si kaqu huq-ia rini si asa pude lul-ia sa bapara gua.
- will strangle her they - her to follow-him the chief like

32. ba be lopu sa nana barikaleqe, si kote ka-rua be meta
or if not the his wife then will two or three
pinausu tanisa bapara si huq-i rini pude lul-ia
slaves of the chief do choke-m they to follow-him

sa dia ba-para, gua.
the their master, so to say

33. Pude lopu ene eke si asa totoso gore la pa Keru pa Sibo
ti not go alone - he time gm down go to K, on Simbo

34. meke gore hola la pa Soño sa tomate-na sa bapara gua.
and down pass go to Sondo the spirit of the master so-to-say

35. Be lopu ta-huqi lulii sa nana barikaleqe si kaqu
if not chok-ed follow the her wife - will

lopus ta-koto sa kalu-na
not be-cut the hair-her
36. Kaqu gele la mo sa kalu osolae kamo-a 100 bohi-na
will long go only the hair until reach to 100 nights of it

37. meke kaqu tagopu
and will be clipped off short

38. Sipu hola 10 bohi si la sa hiama
when past 10 nights do go the priest

meke la vag-ia sa batu-na sa baŋara;
and go take it the head his the chief

39. meke la veko-a pa era meke vasina si ravu-enia rini si asa
and go leave it at shrine and there do encache it they it

40. Sipu mate sa baŋara si soku boko si mate
when dead the chief - many pigs do die

puve sakoto-nia sa baŋara.
to honour him the chief

41. Kaqu ta-ziru sarina heta na igisi, lopu kaqu ta-haele
will be tabooed the betelnuts and peppers not will be-climbed
sarina heta
the betelpalms

42. meke lopu kaqu takupi sarina igisi osolae kamo-a 100 bohi
and not will be-plucked the peppers till reach 100 nights

43. meke kaqu ta-tavete si keke inevaŋa
and till be made one feast

44. meke kaqu ta-haele sari heta, ta-kupi sarina igisi
and will be climbed the betels be cut the peppers

45. meke kaqu ta-gopu kalu-na sa naboko
and will be-shaved kair of the widow

46. kaqu ta-goba veko-e poro pa korapa vetu sa nabo-naboko
will be screened left swm-leaves in middle house the widow

47. lopu kaqu hahuve si asa,
not will bather she

48. meke loke tie kaqu dogor-ia si asa, sina hope-na
and not person will see her her for forbidden

49. La-laе pu ta-va-malumu tu koa rina palabatu noma-di
let decide who permitted by the chiefs big they

50. meke kaqu tukel-ia sa goba tanisa naboko
and will open it the screen of the widow

51. meke boka dogor-ia rina tie
and can see her the people
52. Be hinoqa huhuve sa naboko si kaqu oki palae poata
if too soon bather the widow then will part out money
pude leleubo gua
to pay fine so-to-say

53. Hoke nae lulu-i rini sarina boni-na sa bagara;
always count up them they the nights of the chief

54. Hoke zama si arini, "Hokoto manege, hokoto lima-pavulu,
Always say do they finished 10, finished fifty

meke hokoto gogoto gua.
and finished 100 like

55. Kaqu koa besubesu mo koa sa paele haqo-haqo-ana si arini
will stay mourning only at the house mourning do they

56. osolae 100 boni-na sa bagarara sapu mate
until 100 nights his the chief who die

57. Sa vasina pu la sarina tie pu mate si la pa Keru pa Sibo,
the place which go the men who die do go to Keru on Simbo Isd

58. meke la kube-kubere veko pa Keru pa Sibo
and go writing leave at Keru on Simbo (island)

59. meke tiqe hola la pa Sodo meke koa vasina
and then only pass go to Sondo and stay there

60. Gua asa sa vina-hinokara tadi pa Roviana pukerane
like that the belief of them at Roviana in ancient times

61. Totoso lopu ele mae toz-ia sa qosipeli
time not yet come tell it the gospel

62. sapu pa mahuuru tu si la sarina tie pu toto to
that to heaven indeed do go the people who righteous

63. Ba sari pu lo pu toto to si gina pa Keru tugo pa Sibo
but they who not straight do perhaps to Keru indeed on Simbo

meke hola la pa Sodo.
and pass on go to Sondo

64. Asa sa vivinei-na sa minate tana bagarara pa Roviana.
That the story of it the death of the chiefs at Roviana

Account written by Lazarus M. Pania
1. Sa v-in-a-ri-haba pa popoa Roviana si be vari-mkhiva-i
   the recipr. marry at land Roviana do if each desire pl.
   si karu tie, komroo meke vineki
   do two persons make and female

2. be va-ri-hiva-i meke baere sari kara
   if each desire and be friends the two

3. meke be ele ta-va-tëmoto koa rina tia-tama-dia
   and if have cause be straight to the parents their

4. si kaqu ta-kopu-e va-lea-na sa vineki
   - will be kep-t cause good she the girl
   pude lopu kaqu hata pule-a si keke koreo votikae-na
   to not will seek again her do one boy strange-he

5. Sa tinavete kekenu tadi karua tiatama-na sa vineki
   the obligation first of the two parents her the girl

6. si kaqu poni poata rini sarina tasi-na koreo sa vineki
   do will give money they the brothers of the girl
   pu kaqu varihaba;
   who will marry

7. sa poza-na sa poata hie si na h-in-ere-here
   the name of the money this is the fine payment

8. kaqu poni poata rina tiatamana sa vineki hie sari-na
   will give money the parents of the girl this the pl
   tu-dia koreo,
   sons their male

9. sapu na tasi-dia rini sa vineki pu kaqu vari-haba
   which the brothers their they the firl who will marry

10. pude va-avoso-ni sarina tasi-na koreo
    to cause hear them the brothers (male)
    sapu kaqu vari-haba sa tasi-dia vineki, gua
    that will marry the sister their female, like

11. Lopu kaqu zama sarina tasi-na sa vineki,'
    not will speak the brothers of the girl
    ba kaqu vag-ia mo rini sa poata
    but will take it only they the money

12. meke kaqu somana kopu-nia rini sa tasi-dia vineki
    and will share care for her they the sister their female
13. pude koa va-tomoto osolae varihaba si asa. to stay cause straight will marry do she

14. sa tinavete tadina tiatamana sa koreo pu kaqu varihaba the obligation of the parents of the boy who will marry

15. si kaqu palek-ia rini si keke poata keoro be be kaiqa hokata - will bring it they - one money white or some bangle

16. meke la yala-nia koa ri tiatama-na sa vineki and go leave XXXXXX-it with the parents of the girl pu kaqu haba-ia sa tu-dia koreo who will marry him the son-their male

17. pude gua na tokoro veko-a sa vineki pu kaqu haba-ia sa tu-dia to like as seal up-her the girl who will marry-him the son their

18. Ta-poza-e "p-in-iro-vetu" sa poata asa. is called engagement the money that

19. Sipu ele kamo sa tootoso pude vari-haba When have come the time to marry

   si tavet-ia rini si keke inevasa nomana do prepare-it they - one feast big-it

20. meke ta-turaqa la sa vineki meke la koa sa koreo and is led go the girl and go to the boy

21. meke kaqu tigis-ia rini si keke epata and will plait it they one basket

   meke voi-n-ia nuqara rini and put in it pudding they

22. meke kaqu ganigani varigara sari kara koa sa epata hie and will eat on together the two from the basket this

23. meke kaqu va-ri-daku-n-ia ri kara sa epata hie and will each tug on it the two the basket this

24. osolae rikata umjumu sa epata hie until torn-up to pieces the basket this

25. meke ganigani lopi-lopi-nia ri kara sa nuqara and eat on playfully it the two the potato pudding

   pu koa koa sa epata hie which stay in the basket this

26. Asa si XXXXX ta-poza-e "v-in-a-or-oreke". That is called rec\pr. bridal-meal

27. Sipu beto sa vina-ororeke hie si ta-gani sa in-evasa when finished the bridal-meal this is eaten the feast
ko'a ri doduru tie
by the all people

28. meke suki na peka sari doduru tie, na palabatu
and flute and dance the all people the husbands
na barikaleqe meke lopilopi si arini.
and wives and play on do they

29. Ego, sipu beto ase si vari-gara sarina butubutu
well, when finish that do gather tog. the tribe
tanisa koreo meke sa butubutu tanisa vineki
of the boy and the tribe of the girl

30. Meke tavet-ia rini sa "in-ivaša".
and perform it they the mutual-payments

31. Kaqu hopeke va-vura poata sari karu kali-na
will each cause-appear money the two parties-of-it

32. Sa tama-na sa koreo si kaqu veko-a si keke be karu
the father of the boy — will put it — one or two
be pete bakiha ari-lae-di
or three shellmoney valued

33. Ego, sari kali-na sa vineki si kaqu veko poata tugo
well, the side of the girl — will place money too
pude va-pigur-ia sa poata
to cause match it the money

34. meke be lopu pada sa poata tanisa kali-na tanisa vineki,
and if not measure the money of the side of her of the girl
si kaqu mate koa sa koreo sa vineki
then will won by the boy the girl

35. sina lopu gdzd garo sa poata tanisa kali-na tanisa vineki
for not enough the money of the side of her of the girl

36. Ba be pišira sa bakiha tanisa kali-na tanisa vineki
but if strong enough the money of the side of the girl
si kote boka pule la koa rina turapa-na sa vineki
then will can back go to the relations of the girl

37. ba be pišira kola sa bakiha tanisa kali-na koreo
but if strong very the money of the side of boy
si lopu kaqu la koa rina turapa-na sa vineki
not will go to the relations—her the girl
38. Kaqu koa mo koa sa kali-na tanisa koreo meke osolae mate will stay only with the side of the boy and until die

39. Keke poata pule sapu veko-a sa tama-na sa koreo one money more which put it the father of the boy

40. Meke poni-nia koa sa tina-na sa vineki, and give it to the mother of the girl
   si ta-poza-e pazu-susu
   is call-ed pay suckling

41. Gua na hinolu-na sa susu-na sa tina-na gua like the payment-of the breast-her the mother-her so-to-say

42. Gua asa sa vinari-haba pa Roviana pa toto so puikerane like that the marriage at Roviana in times long past

43. Beto sari doduru g-in-ua hire si after the all things these do
   tione turam-ia sa komeo sa nana barikaleqe only then lead-her the boy the his wife

44. Meke la pa nana popoa ba be vasideana soti and go to his district or village native
   meke koa vari-kapa-i sari kara and stay alongside-each other the two

Story supplied by Lazarus M. Pania
INTRODUCTION

These two stories of anthropological interest have been chosen from many as data for grammatical analysis in this paper. Text A is the "Death of Chiefs" and Text B is "Marriage" in the Roviana lagoon area.

The informant is Mr Lazarus Mamu Pania, aged 53 years from Dunde village near the Munda Airfield. He is a teacher and catechist with the Methodist Overseas Mission based at Kokenggolo, Munda P.O. There may be as many as 8000 monolingual speakers of the language and the same number of bilinguals and trilinguals scattered mostly through the Western region.

This study of Roviana clause types with relevant analysis is based solely on the data presented above with interlinear literal translation. The bound morphemes are separated by hyphens and a free translation attached.

Supplementary affixial lists include more material than is fully represented in the data in order to give a measure of completeness for the reader's perspective.

CLAUSE LEVEL ANALYSIS

Clauses differ variously among themselves. We follow traditional divisions in illustrating the material before discussing the variant kinds of clauses. A broad division is that between Independent and Dependent (or subordinate) clauses. The former are defined as single clauses not containing a subordinating tagmeme or feature. The latter do manifest this. Independent clauses mostly fill the principal slots in sentences, but dependent clauses tend to be embedded in other clauses or
phrases as marginal strings of tagmemes.

Several main types might be expected such as active, reflexive, passive, indefinite, stative, imperative, obligatory, interrogative, emphasis and subordinate, but not all of these occur in the texts. Only those present will be analysed in this exploratory paper.

In order to analyse the clauses in detail, morpheme cuts are made down at word level.

It is pointed out that the term filler-class means the class of morphemes and their sequences within only one slot, thus transitive, intransitive, subject and object slots manifest different filler classes. When the same words fill two different tagmemes, they are different in filler class but only one distribution class, having allo-classes.

It will be realised that as in English, some classes are closed and some open, having comparatively unlimited membership.

The following clause types are extracted etically from Text A. It will be realised that later several of these types may be united to form probable emic types.

I Intransitive

a. Active Independent most frequent type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Emphasis</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>3</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>kaqu mae</td>
<td>tugo</td>
<td>sarina tie sabu..</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>habotu</td>
<td>nana</td>
<td>sa tomatena sa baphara sa</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>lopu kaqu hahuve</td>
<td>nana</td>
<td>si asa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>lopu kaqu tavetavete</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>kaqu buki pule tug</td>
<td>tugo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Independent type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Emphasis</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>sapu</td>
<td>pa maqauru</td>
<td>si la</td>
<td>sarina tie pu to moto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>vasina</td>
<td>si koa muzi</td>
<td>sa tinina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### C. Stative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Manner</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Expletive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>gua na</td>
<td>toa-na</td>
<td>manege</td>
<td>gua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hokoto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hokoto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### d. Active Independent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
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<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Manner/time</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Explet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>kaqu koa</td>
<td>kamade bohama</td>
<td>pa vetu</td>
<td>si asa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>koa</td>
<td>madi hola</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>si arini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>gore hola la</td>
<td>pa Sodo</td>
<td>sa tomatena...</td>
<td>gua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>gua asa ke hoke koa nose mo</td>
<td>pa Sodo</td>
<td>sarina tie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### e. Dependent Conditional and Reason

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introduc</th>
<th>Manner</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>lopu boka magogoso</td>
<td></td>
<td>si asa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>sipu</td>
<td>mate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sa baqara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>hinoqa</td>
<td>hahuve</td>
<td></td>
<td>sa naboko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>(la)</td>
<td>vasina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>sina</td>
<td>hopoena</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sapu gua</td>
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</table>

### f. Subordinate Purposive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
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<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Explet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>pude</td>
<td>meke muzi turapa</td>
<td>pa tinina</td>
<td>sa laguna</td>
<td>gua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>leleubo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>lopu ene eke</td>
<td></td>
<td>si asa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### g. Equational

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Introduc</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>gua asa</td>
<td>sa vinabonomo to tadi</td>
<td>pa Roviana</td>
<td>puke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>tiqe gore pule</td>
<td>si arini</td>
<td>pa dia vasil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>gugua mo asa</td>
<td>sa vivineina sa minate</td>
<td>pa Roviana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### h. Appositional

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>sa vasina</td>
<td>si (la pa Keru pa Sibo sarini)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This predicate filler is treated as an equational unit on clause level.

### i. Independent with a definite subjective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introduc</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Emph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>loke tie</td>
<td></td>
<td>kaqu tavetave</td>
<td>pa inuma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>soku boko</td>
<td></td>
<td>si mate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Ba</td>
<td>sari pu toto</td>
<td>gina</td>
<td>pa Keru</td>
<td>tugo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### j. Independent with non specific subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introduc</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>toto</td>
<td>gore la</td>
<td>pa Keru pa Sibo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>la kubekubere veko</td>
<td>pa Keru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>tiqe hola la</td>
<td>pa Sodo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
k. Subordinate Stative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>tomato</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-7</td>
<td>(sa)pu</td>
<td>mate</td>
<td>(adjective fillers)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Transitive

a. Independent common type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>vasina</td>
<td>si ravenia</td>
<td>rini</td>
<td>si asa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>hoke la pommu-nia</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>sa tomate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>tavet-ia</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>si keke hape</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>la veko-a</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>sa hape hie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>hoke nai lul-i</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>sarina bobina sa bari...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Independent with nonspecific object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>kaq okipalae</td>
<td>bakiha</td>
<td>si asa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>tige sage hata</td>
<td>ginani</td>
<td>si arini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Dependent with subordinating introducer and non-specific object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Expl</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>osolae</td>
<td>hata</td>
<td>100 boqi</td>
<td>sa bapara pu mate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>ginani</td>
<td>gana</td>
<td>sarina tie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. Independent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>kaq surap-ia</td>
<td>rini</td>
<td>pa tomost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>will load-him</td>
<td>rini</td>
<td>in war-canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>la veko-a</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>pa era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>goand left-him</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>at shrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>baka dogor-ia</td>
<td>rina tie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>can see him</td>
<td>the people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e. Independent (where the Subject is understood, not stated)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>kaq aqa-nia</td>
<td>sa tatoso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>la vag-ia</td>
<td>sa batuna sa bapara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>kaq tukel-ia</td>
<td>sa goba tanisa naboko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F. Dependent with subordinating introducer and subject in focus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>keke tie</td>
<td>si tavet-ia</td>
<td>keke nana tinavete</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

g. Dependent with subordinating introducer
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>musa be</td>
<td>va-eko pule-a</td>
<td>rini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>totosona pu matenga ba bapara</td>
<td>si hoke hupul-ia &quot; sa tiwana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>be &quot;</td>
<td>hiva mate lul-ia &quot; sa nana palabatu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>lopu       &quot; sa nana barikaleqe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>osoloe</td>
<td>kamo-a     100 bogi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

h. Dependent with purposive introducer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Explet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pude</td>
<td>nanas-i</td>
<td>sarina tomate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>avos-ia</td>
<td>rini</td>
<td>sa buki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>lul-ia</td>
<td>sa dia bapara</td>
<td>gua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>avoso pule-a</td>
<td>rini</td>
<td>sa buki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Independent Agentive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Agent</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kaqu mono-a na kusuru-nia</td>
<td>amo na kuruvete....</td>
<td>rini</td>
<td>si asa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

j. Independent Manner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Manner</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>si kaqu konu sisisiti-nia</td>
<td>rini</td>
<td>si asa</td>
<td>pa ginani na koko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

k. Independent with Object in focus (between aspect and Predicate)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
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<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>ba kote</td>
<td>karua...pinausu tanisa bapara si huaq-1 rini</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-1</td>
<td>ego</td>
<td>sa loana, sa nana barikalege &quot; la &quot;-is &quot; si</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>ri tie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

l. Independent with the Subject specially in focus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>arina tomate</td>
<td>si kaqu toz-ia</td>
<td>sa minoho tanisa bapara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>loke tie</td>
<td>kaqu dororia</td>
<td>si asa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Passive

a. Indefinite Pseudo-passive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>sa ginua asa si ta-poza-e</td>
<td>leleubo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Agentive (using "koa")

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Emphasis</th>
<th>Agent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>ta-va-malumu tu</td>
<td>koa rina palabatu nomadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Instrumental

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>ta-nobi-e</td>
<td>poro</td>
<td>si asa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>kaqu ta-goba ve ko-e</td>
<td>poro</td>
<td>na keke vetu</td>
<td>sa nabonaboko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
d. Indefinite (non-specific) Pseudo-passive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Manner</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>kaqu ta-kopu-e</td>
<td>hola</td>
<td>pa pepeso</td>
<td>si asa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>lopu kaqu ta-pomuna-e</td>
<td></td>
<td>pa pepeso</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>lopu ta-huqi luli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sa nana barik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>kaqu lopu takoto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sa kalu-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>kaqu tahaele</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sarina heta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With reference to the clause types, an attempt is being made to isolate some of the emic units and postulate their mutual relationships for they are distinct to a Roviana native speaker.

The investigator has bunched as the same unit items which resemble each other and have no basic contrast.

**CLAUSES MERITING ATTENTION IN TEXT B**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pude</td>
<td>lopu kaqu hata pule-a</td>
<td>si keke koreo votikaena</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This would make the object optional in clause type 2 h.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Indirect Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6,8</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>kaqu poni poata rini</td>
<td>sarina tasina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This adds an Indirect Object and transfers the copula "si" from the Subject across to the indirect Object in 2 b.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Indirect Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>la vala-nia koa ri tiatamana sa wineki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This puts an optional Indirect object between the Subject and Location in clause 2 d.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>kaqu habaia</td>
<td>sa tudia (koreo)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is another etic type and is classified as 2 m. It could be called Dependent Transitive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ta-poza-e</td>
<td>diniro-vetu</td>
<td>sa poata asa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison should be made with No 26 which is emphatic and etic clause type 3 c. This is equational and can be labelled 3.e.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Introducer</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Indirect Object</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>(Object)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>meke</td>
<td>voi-nia</td>
<td>nugara rinu rini</td>
<td>si asa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This clause would add an optional Indirect Object to 2 a. and make the object optional.
It appears that Location may follow the Subject optionally in etic type 1 d.

Here, a Time clause is Introducer to a Passive Dependent type clause and falls into type 3 f.

Comparison could be made with No. 16. This adds an optional Indirect Object to type 2 d.

This is equational as in 1 g, with different filler. An expletive virtually fills the subject slot, "si asa" being understood.

Here we see etic type 2 g, with a clause for Time Introducer.

Discussion:

It is not always easy to progress from the emic collection of clause types listed above to the emic clauses which a Roviana speaker would recognise as mutually contrastive. Both form and function must be considered in locating contrast. The latter involves differences in slot significance while form involves difference in order and filler-classes.

Predicate tagmas are different from Subject tagmas when manifested by different classes with different meanings. One might well ask whether they are ever the same. Difference in distribution (order of tagmemes) also shows contrast in form even though they are manifested by the same class.

Partial differences often cause confusion especially when we tend to bring English grammatical preconceptions into our decisi-
ion on problems in another language, which may regard two "dis-
similar" types as of one category. Frequently in Roviana, it is
found that phrase constructions manifest clause level tagmemes such
as subject, predicate or object.

The investigator has tried to distinguish etic constructions by weighing different filler-classes, variant order of tagmemes, presence or absence of obligatory tagmemes, contrasting obligatory tagmemes and variant distribution in the constructions when grammatically significant.

Difference in class affects the tagmeme but difference in order concerns the construction. If this changes the meaning, it is emically distinct and not just an etic variation. Roviana demonstrates how emphasis may move a tagmeme to the beginning of the clause. Interrogation sometimes does the same.

We must also consider the presence or absence of objective tagmemes in comparing transitive and intransitive clauses.

Following Elson and Pickett, in "An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax" (1964), we regard constructions as different when there are two differences in the obligatory tagmemes or one in the obligatory tagmemes plus one in the optional tagmemes. Optional differences in optional tagmemes alone cannot indicate different clause types.

An introducer to a clause may affect the distribution of the clause as a whole causing change of meaning from "independent" to dependent.

We assume that transitive differs from intransitive because every Roviana verb cannot occur with objects. Affixes and Order can vary when there is no object present.

In this paper, the clauses have been intentionally over-
divided so that the uniting process becomes clearer for it is easier to unite than to separate when looking for differences in form and function.

Before summarising the clauses in equations, it is pointed out that the following abbreviations are employed:

- **Int**: Introducer to a clause
- **P**: Predicate occupying the verb slot etc
- **Em**: Emphasis (marker)
- **S**: Subject
- **L**: Location
- **M**: Manner
- **T**: Time
- **Expl**: Expletive
- **N**: Noun phrase
- **V**: Verb phrase
- **n**: noun
- **pn**: pronoun
- **av**: adverb
- **aj**: adjective
- **locm**: location marker
- **int**: intransitive
- **t**: transitive
- **p**: passive
- **asp**: aspect marker
- **rel pn**: relative pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-O</td>
<td>Indirect Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cn</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr</td>
<td>Instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>verb (root)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>noun (root)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caps</td>
<td>phrase expansion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A tagmeme is defined as the slot plus its filler and in the equations, the slot is named first and separated from its filler class by a colon. e.g. P:V means the predicate slot filled by a verb phrase, and S:N/pn means the Subject slot filled by a...
Noun phrase or a pronoun.

1. **INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE EQUATIONS**

   a. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot \text{cn} + \text{P:V} \pm \text{Em} \cdot \text{emp} \pm \text{S: N/pn} \)
   
   b. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot \text{cn} + \text{L:loc} \pm \text{Em} \cdot \text{emp} \pm \text{P:V} + \text{S: N} \)
   
   c. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot \text{cn} + \text{M:av} + \text{P:aj} \pm \text{S: num} \pm \text{Expl} \cdot [\text{gual}] \)
   
   d. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot \text{cn} + \text{P:V} \pm \text{M:AV} \pm \text{L:loc} + \text{S: N/pn} \pm \text{Expl} \cdot [\text{gual}] \)
   
   e. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot \text{cn} \pm \text{M:av} + \text{P:V/aj} \pm \text{L:loc} \pm \text{S: N/pn} \)
   
   f. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot \text{[pude]} + \text{P:V} + \text{L:loc} + \text{S: N/pn} \pm \text{Expl} \cdot [\text{gual}] \)
   
   g. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot \text{[si]} + \text{P:V/PN} + \text{S: N/pn/expl} \pm \text{L:loc} \pm \text{T:av} \)
   
   h. \( \pm \text{S: N} + \text{P:V} \)
   
   i. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot \text{av} + \text{S: N/pn} + \text{P:V/asp} \pm \text{L:loc} \pm \text{Em} \cdot [\text{tugo}] \)
   
   j. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot \text{av} + \text{P:V} + \text{L:loc} \)
   
   k. \( \pm \text{S: relpn} + \text{P:aj} \)

   In order to unite some of these, it is suggested that a and b be considered noncontrastive. Likewise, a and c may be considered variants of the same basic form.

   Again, allowing the Location and Subject slots to switch optionally in d, there is similarity between de, ef and df.

   Finally, h and i could be united into one clause type too.

2. **Transitive Clause Equations**

   a. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot \text{cn/si} \pm \text{L: loc} + \text{P:V} \pm \text{I-0: v} + \text{S:pn} \pm \text{O: N/pn} \)
   
   b. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot [\text{si}] + \text{P:V} + \text{O:n} + \text{S:pn} \pm \text{I-0: N} \)
   
   c. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot \text{av} \pm \text{P:V} \pm \text{O: N} \pm \text{Expl} \cdot [\text{gual}] + \text{S: N} \)
   
   d. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot \text{cn} + \text{P:V} + \text{S: n/pn} \pm \text{I-0: N} \pm \text{Loc:loc} \)
   
   e. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot \text{cn/si} + \text{P:V} + \text{O: N} \)
   
   f. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot [\text{be}] + \text{S: N} + \text{P:V} + \text{O: N} \)
   
   g. \( \pm \text{Int} \cdot \text{CN} + \text{P:V} \pm \text{S: N/pn} \pm \text{O: N} \)
\[ h. = + \text{Int: [pude]} + P; V + S; pn + O; N + \text{Expl: [guia]} \]
\[ i. = + P; V + A; N + S; pn + O; pn \]
\[ j. = + P; V + M; av + S; pn + O; pn + L; loc \]
\[ k. = + \text{Int: av/expl} + O; N/pn + P; V + S; pn + O; pn \]
\[ l. = + \text{Int: cn} + S; N + P; V + O; N/pn \]
\[ m. = + O; relpn + P; V + S; N \]

It will be noted that a and d are basically noncontrastive, especially considering the emphasis or focus on the location. b and c could be united in most cases. In d and j, we would probably find that one type would suffice as also in g and h, the original m drops out to give place to what is in the equation above.

\[ \text{3. Passive Clause Equations} \]
\[ a. = + S; N + P; pv + O; n \]
\[ b. = + S; relpn + P; pv + \text{Emp: [tu]} + A; g; N \]
\[ c. = + P; pv + \text{Ins: n} + L; loc + S; n/pn \]
\[ d. = + \text{Int: cn/si} + P; pv + M; av + L; loc + S; N/pn \]
\[ e. = + P; pv + O; n + S; N \]
\[ f. = + T; T + P; pv + S; N + I-O; A \]

In this group of clauses, it will be seen that c and d are basically the same and could be united.

On phrase level, analysis reveals that noun phrases consist often of a limiter slot filled by an article, a head slot filled by a noun root and a descriptive slot filled by an adjective. In some cases the descriptive slot is filled by a relative clause functioning as an adjective. In 34, it consists of a limiter plus a head noun followed by a possessive. In 1, 1 and Nos 13, 40 there
are numeral adjectives which precede the headnoun. In 2 f. we see that the numeral adjective precedes the possessive adjective in its order before the headnoun. Demonstratives follow their noun as is to be seen in 3 a, No 16, "sa ginua asa - the - matter - it ".

Verb phrases include the negative marker, [lopu] which precedes the verb root. Aspect usually comes between the negative marker and the verb root, though this is not invariable; notice no 35 in type 3 d where the position is reversed for a different shade of meaning. Again in no 32 of 2 k. the future tense marker is separated from its verb by the intrusive object. This is entirely for emphasis in bring the object into focus.

It will be noticed that location is indicated by the two markers pa and koa (22) and that koa is also used to indicate the agent of an action or the indirect object when the -nia construction is not used. Apart from small clauses occurring on word level and embedded clauses which themselves are extracted and included in the clause types, there are a few matters which require attention and these are appended now.

Aspect is sometimes more important than Tense in Roviana, the following being markers so far recorded:

- gina (ŋina) dubitative
- tale frequency with no exception
- koba high frequency
- tique immediate sequence
- hoke frequency
- hiva desiderative
- namu emphasis
- hite fractional
- o-na, e-na desiderative
- keke gua all-inclusive
- hopeke individually
- LOPU negation
These free morphemes all precede their verb. Tense markers are \textit{ele} for the perfective, \textit{korapa} for the continuous and \textit{kote} or \textit{kaqu} for the future.

Another verb modifier is \textit{pule}. Before the verb, it means back and after the verb it means again. Sometimes this position varies so that we see:

"La pule pule!" "Go back again!"
"Pule mae tio!" "Hey, come back!"
"La pule tio!" "Hey, go again!"
"Pule mua tio!" "You go back!"

\textit{Pule} also functions in a verb slot just as other strings of verbs when the object marker suffixes the final verb root in the string. (Compare sentences 9, 10 and 18 etc.)

On the word level, the glossary may be consulted for the meanings attached to \textit{Na}, \textit{Pule-nia}, \textit{Sa}, \textit{Sarina}, \textit{Si}, \textit{Pa} and \textit{Koa}.

Emphasis markers are \textit{bisa}, \textit{bari} and \textit{tu(go)}, occurring sentence medially and finally. Dubitative markers \textit{beka}, \textit{taga} and \textit{ta} occur mainly in utterance final position, often linked to a name.

Roviana prefixes have all been listed in the glossary as also the suffixes. It would require a special paper to deal with these extras and so they are sidestepped for the moment.

Verb inflections will be seen to be very simple, the common object marker on words functioning as verbs being \textit{-ia} and \textit{-i} for singular and plural, in the third person. A complete statement on Roviana verbs could well be the subject of another paper. Suffice it to say that pronominal suffixes on verbs are usually followed by the same or a similar form disjunctively. e.g. :

\textit{Hataia rau si asa} ; I sought him (sought-him I copula him)
\textit{Hatagamu rau si gamu}; I sought (seek) you (pl).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roviana Pronouns</th>
<th>Nominative and Disjunctive</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Desiderative Food and Sleep</th>
<th>Emphasis and Possession</th>
<th>Possession after head noun</th>
<th>Person and number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rau &quot;I&quot;</td>
<td>-au &quot;me&quot;</td>
<td>gequ &quot;my&quot;</td>
<td>qua &quot;my&quot;</td>
<td>taqaru &quot;my&quot;</td>
<td>1st Sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goi &quot;you&quot;</td>
<td>-go &quot;you&quot;</td>
<td>gemu &quot;your&quot;</td>
<td>mua &quot;your&quot;</td>
<td>tamugoi &quot;your&quot;</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asa &quot;he she it&quot;</td>
<td>-a &quot;him&quot;</td>
<td>gana &quot;his&quot; &quot;her&quot; &quot;its&quot;</td>
<td>nana &quot;his&quot; &quot;her&quot; &quot;its&quot;</td>
<td>tanisa &quot;his&quot; etc</td>
<td>3rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gita &quot;we&quot;</td>
<td>-gita &quot;us&quot;</td>
<td>gada &quot;our&quot;</td>
<td>nada &quot;our&quot;</td>
<td>Tadigita &quot;ours&quot;</td>
<td>1st Incl Plur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gami &quot;we&quot;</td>
<td>-gami &quot;us&quot;</td>
<td>gemami &quot;our&quot;</td>
<td>mami &quot;our&quot;</td>
<td>tamigami &quot;our&quot;</td>
<td>1st Excl Plur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gamu &quot;you&quot;</td>
<td>-gamu &quot;you&quot;</td>
<td>gemi &quot;your&quot;</td>
<td>mia &quot;your&quot;</td>
<td>tamugamu</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rini &quot;they&quot;</td>
<td>-iy &quot;them&quot;</td>
<td>gedi &quot;their&quot;</td>
<td>-dia &quot;there&quot;</td>
<td>tadirini &quot;there&quot;</td>
<td>3rd plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arini</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

It is thought that sentence analysis could be used in connection with the following suggestions for investigation:
1. Additional texts illustrating all possible Roviana types of clause.
2. Transform approach structuring Roviana texts.
3. Translations materials be analysed in connection with Grimes test for evaluating equivalence.
4. Literacy and primers.
Glossary

ajo, root ginger species
-ana, localiser
aqa, await, wait for
ari- with aj, referent
arilaedi, valuable
arina, plural limiter
arini, they
asa, he, she, it
avoso, hear, listen
B
baere, friend
bašara, chief, master
bakiha, shell-money
barikaleqe, wife, spouse
batuna, his head
be, if
beka, perhaps, dubitive
besubesu, mourn
beto, finished, after
betubetue,'medium' occult
boka, can, able
boko, pig
bopi, night
buki, conchshell
butubutu, tribe, clan
D
daku, pull, tug
-dI, their
-dia, their
doduru, all, every
dogoro, see
E
-e, passive or instrumental
ego, all right, then
eke, alone, only
eko, lie (down)
el, perfect tense marker
ene, walk, go
-enia, -e with verbal object (s)
epata, plaited basket for food
era, burial place
η
eta, three
ηimira, strong
ηina, perhaps, dubitive marker
G
ganigani, eat
garo, enough, sufficient
glele, long, tall
gina, perhaps, dubitive marker
ginani, ɣ food
ginua, resemblance, reason
goba, wall inside, screen
gogoto, one hundred
gopu, shaved (in mourning)
gore, (go) down
gua, like, so to say
H
habotu, sit
habu, gather food, fish
haele, climb, scale
hape, bier, platform
haqoqaqoana, mourning place
hata, seek, search for
henahena, partake of food
heta, betel nut (palm)
hiama, priest
hinerehere, fine, payment
hinokara, true, truth
hinoluna, price
hinoqa, suddenly
hire, these
hiva, wish, desire
hokata, bangle
hoke, often, (frequency)
hola, much, many, most, pass
hopeke, each (one)
hopena, forbidden, holy
hupulia, remove intestines
huqi, choke, strangle
huve, wash, bathe
-i, plural object marker
-ia, singular object marker
igisi, pepper plant
-in- nominaliser infix, prefix
inevaga, feast
inivasa, bridal price payment
inuma, garden
ivu, blow, whale
K
ka, number marker
kaluna, his hair
kalina, side, his side, opposite
kamo, up to, reach
kaqu, future marker
karu-a, two
ke, expletive, oh, and
keke, one
kekenu, first, primary
keoro, white
Keru, mountain on Simbo Island
koa, to, from, at
koa, stay, abide, stop (there)
koba, always, frequency marker
kolo, water, liquid
kopu, keep, care for, watch out
korapa, present continuous mkr
koreo, boy, man, male
kote, future marker
koto, cut the hair
kubere, write, make marks
kupi, pluck (leaves)
kuruvete, ginger plant
kusuru, chew with saliva, spit
la, go (from)
laguna, intestines
lalae, choose, decide
leleubo, fine, payment
limapavulu, fifty
loana, mate, spouse
loke, no (with nouns)
lopilopi, play, cavort
lopu, not, negative marker
luli, follow, accompany
M
made, four
madi, holy, sacred
madi, let them
mae, come
magogoso, rest, recuperate
magauru, heaven, sky
malumu, (va-) permit
manege, ten
mate, dead, unconscious, "won"
meke, and
mèke, don't
minate, death, group
minoho, sickness
mo, only, just
moho, sick, ill
mono, press, massage
muzi, rotten, decomposed
N
na, the
-nan, his, her, its
naboko, widow (-er)
nae, count, eagle
namu, emphasis marker, indeed
nana, his, her, its
nanasa, ask, enquire
-ni, referential plural vb suff.
-nia, " singular "
nobi, cover, blanket
nomana, big, large
noso, quiet, still, stop
nuqara, potato pudding
nusa, island, islet
O
oki, throw
okipalae, throw out, away
osolae, until, up to
P
pa, at, to, location marker
pada, measure, adequate
paele, large leaf building
palabatu, chief, husband
palae, away, out
paleka, carry it
pania, away (after verbs)
pasapasa, wild ginger, magic
pazu-susu, rearing compensation
pepeso, soil, earth, ground
pinausu, slave, servant
pinirovetu, engagement
poata, money, shellmoney
pomunu, bury
poni, give
poopo, land, earth, country
poro, umbrella-leaf plant
poza, name
pu, who, which, that
pude, in order to, reason mkr
pukerane, long ago, before
puleni(-a), reflexive marker
pule, back, again
Q
qosipeli, gospel, evangel
qua, my
R
ravue-nia, deposit, encache
rikata, torn, tear
rini, they, them
Roviana, Lagoon area, N. Georgia
rua, two
ruana, his neck
sa, the, limiter
sa, (asa), he, she, it
sabusatuka, magic working, occult
sage, (go) up, ascend
sakoto, celebrate, honour
salapa, heal, restore
sapu, who, which, that
sari, the (plural)
sarina, the plural limiter
sari pu, they who, those who
si, copular, is, are
Siboo, Simbo island
sina, because, for
si na, copular and limiter
sipu, while, during, durative mkr
sisigiti, much, very
Sodo, Sondo, southern Bougainville
soku, many, much
somana, take part, present
soti, own, actually
sura, get on board, embark
susuna, her breasts
T
ta-... (e) Passive or instrumental
tadi, of the...
tale, entirely, always, (frequency)
taliri, turn over, turn round
tamana, his father
tana, of (general)
tanisa, his hers, its, her
tasina, his, her brother, sister
tava- passive with causative
tavetavete, work
tekulu, rise, stand, get up
tia, utumutum give, offer
tiana, stomach
tiatamana, his parents
tie, person
tigisia, plait, weave it
tina, thousand
tina- passive nominalised
tinana, his mother, aunt
tinava-, tava- nominalised
tinavete, work
tinina, his body
tiqa, only just, sequential mkr
toa, live, survive
togoto, straight, righteous
tokoro, tambu, restrict
tomatena, spirit, corpse (his)
tomoko, war-canoe (with planks)
totoso, time, when
tozi, tell, relate
tu, indeed, emphasis, (tugo)
tudia, their sons (tuna)
tugo, indeed, too, emphasis mkr
turaŋa-e, lead, led, be led
turaŋana, his, her relation(s)
tutuare, quickly, hastily
umumu, crumbs, in pieces, shred
va-, causative marker
vagia, get it, take it
vahinokara, believe, accept
vala, give, offer, extend
vapiguru, match, equal
vari-, reciprocal marker
varigara, gather, assemble
varihi vai, in love, desire (rcp
varikapai, together, alongside
vasileana, village, settlement
vasina, there, place, where
vata- causative with passive
veko, leave, place, deposit
vetu, house, building
vina- causative nominalised
vina-ororeke, bridal meal
vinari-, reciprocal nominalised
vinariva- ditto with causative
vinarihaba, marriage, wedding
vinarivata, reciprocal with vata-
vinata—passive causative nominalised
vivinei, story, report, tale

voi, enclose, put in
votikaena, different, strange.

Z
zama, talk, say

ziru, taboo
\[ K \sim K_h \times f \]

and

\[ s \sim z \text{ measure} \]

\[ t \sim f \text{ final} \]

\[ p \sim f \text{ initial} \]

\[ A \sim z \text{ initial} \]

\[ S \subset A \text{ initial} \]

\[ \mathbb{Z} \frac{S}{Z} \text{ initial} \]

\[ \mathbb{Z}, \mathbb{F} \text{ initial} \]

\[ \mathbb{Z}, \mathbb{F} \text{ initial} \]