PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF THE TONE MORPHEMES ON ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE PARTICLES IN IAU

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This paper completes the three part series about the use of the tone morphemes in Iau verb morphology. The same set of eight basic tone morphemes in Iau which are used on verb stems to indicate aspect and on other post verbal particles to indicate status (Bateman, 1986a, 1986b), are used on illocutionary force particles to indicate both the relationship of the information to discourse topic and the speaker hearer relationship.

1.0 INTRODUCTION[1]

In Iau, a set of segmental particles occuring optionally at the end of the sentence indicates the illocutionary force of the utterance.[2] The segmental illocutionary force particles are of two types. One set of particles which receive major stress relative to the other postverbal particles indicates that the primary role of the proposition in the discourse is to give information to the hearer. These particles mark statements. Another set of sentence final illocutionary force particles are unstressed and indicate that the primary role of the proposition in the discourse is to give information to the hearer. These particles mark statements. The third set of sentence final illocutionary force particles are unstressed and indicate that the primary role of the proposition is to elicit a response from the hearer. These particles mark directives[3] and yes-no questions.

The set of tone morphemes that occur on these particles are the same set of tone morphemes that occur on verbs as aspect morphemes and on other postverbal particles as status morphemes. On the illocutionary force segmental particles, the tone morphemes give pragmatic information about the dynamics of the conversational exchange between the speaker and hearer. The tone morphemes on these particles all have two simultaneous functions. One function is to indicate three different degrees to which the speaker actually expects to achieve the illocutionary force goal indicated by the segmental particle. The three degrees of expected goal achievement are as follows: (1) The speaker expects to achieve the goal by using the utterance; (2) The speaker expects immediate achievement of the goal by using the utterance; (3) The speaker does not necessarily expect to achieve the goal.

When the tone morphemes occur on directive utterances, which have the illocutionary force goal of causing the hearer to do the action, they indicate whether the speaker is authoritative towards the hearer or not. When the Iau tone morphemes occur on statements, they indicate whether the statement achieves the discourse goal of predicating information about the discourse topic or not. Peripheral information or information that the speaker is offering in a very deferential nonassertive way is marked as being not directly asserted about the discourse topic. When the tone morphemes occur on yes-no question markers, which have the illocutionary force goal of getting the hearer to confirm that the information in the yes-no question is correct, the tone morphemes indicate whether the speaker feels that the hearer will confirm the information in the question as correct or not.

The second function of the Iau tone morphemes is to indicate three different speaker hearer relationships to each other and to the achievement of the illocutionary force goals of the utterance. The three relationships are as follows: (1) The speaker considers himself a primary achiever of the illocutionary force goals of the utterance and expects the hearer to accept or comply with the utterance;(2) The speaker considers the hearer to be the primary achiever of the illocutionary force goals of the utterance and expects the hearer to accept the utterance, or comply with the demands of the utterance; (3) The speaker considers the hearer the primary achiever of the illocutionary force goals of the utterance but is not certain that the hearer will accept the utterance or comply with the demands of the utterance.

On directive utterances, the Iau tone morphemes on the segmental illocutionary force particles indicate whether the speaker expects the hearer to obey his directive and also whether or not the speaker in addition to the hearer is a participant in bringing about the action. On statements, the Iau tone morphemes indicate the degree to which the speaker expects the hearer to accept the information being communicated by the statement. The tone morphemes on statements also indicate speaker hearer relationship in terms of which participant is controlling or attempting to control the flow of information about the discourse topic. On yes-no questions, the tone morphemes indicate whether the speaker is using the question to control the conversation or not and the degree of speaker commitment to truth of the information in the question.

Figure 1 below shows the Iau tone morphemes which occur on segmental illocutionary force particles and defines their meanings in terms of the two basic functions of the tone morphemes: Indicating the degree of achievement of the illocutionary force goal of the utterance and indicating the speaker hearer relationship to each other and to the achievement of the illocutionary force goals. The tones in the chart in figure 1 are the same tone morphemes that occur on verb stems as aspect tone morphemes and on other post verbal particles as status[4] tone morphemes. See Bateman, 1986a, 1986b for complete discussions of the other meanings of the tone morphemes. The tone morphemes in figure 1 are arranged in the same semantic groupings and relationships to one another as they are in the aspect and status tone morpheme systems. This will be discussed in section 5 of this paper.

FIGURE 1.   PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF THE TONE MORPHEMES ON
SEGMENTAL ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE PARTICLES

| | ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE GOAL | | |
	Speaker Also Achiever --	Hearer is Achiever --	Hearer is Achiever --
ACHIEVEMENT OF ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE GOAL	Hearer Expected to Accept	Hearer Expected to Accept	Hearer is not Expected to Accept
Achieved	9	3	7
Being Achieved in Immediate Present	(6)	8	
Not Necessarily Achieved	5	(2)	4

As shown in figure 1, only six of the eight basic tone morphemes occur on the segmental illocutionary force particles. Tones 6 and 2, shown in parenthesis have not been found in the conversational contexts studied thus far. Tone 6 however does occur on exclamations. This is discussed in section 4 and 5 of this paper.

2.0 FUNCTIONS OF THE IAU TONE MORPHEMES ON DIRECTIVES

Directives (Lyons 1977:746) are a class of utterances that include commands, demands, requests, entreaties, warnings, recommendations, and exhortations. Directives are utterances through which the speaker tries to influence the behavior of the hearer. An utterance is marked as a directive in Iau either by the presence of an obligation particle, or by one of the illocutionary force particles that indicates that the speaker wants the hearer to do something.

The following chart shows the meanings of the Iau tone morphemes on mood particles in sentences with the illocutionary force of directives.

FIGURE 2.   PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF THE TONE MORPHEMES ON DIRECTIVES

Speaker Hearer Interaction in Achieving the Illocutionary Force Goal

Achievement of Illocutionary Force Goal	Speaker Included in Response	Expect Response	Attempt to Persuade Response
Speaker Authoritative: Goal Achieved	9 SRS.SA	3 RS.SA	7 PRS.SA
Speaker Authoritative: Immediate Achievement	--	8 RS.SA.IR	--
Speaker Non Authoritative Questionable Achievement	5 SRS.SNA	--	4 PRS.SNA

The tones in the first column are used when the speaker also participates in the response in some way. Tone 5 is used on commands such as "Let's do x" in which the speaker is also a participant in bringing about the action. Tone 9 is used when the speaker is recommending a course of action as what he would do in a given situation.

The tones in the second column are used when the speaker expects the hearer to comply, i.e. respond to his command. In contrast to the first colums it is the hearer alone who brings about the action. Tone 3 is used on ordinary commands. Tone 8 is used in situations where the speaker is emphasizing or expecting an immediate response.

The tones in the third column are used when the speaker is not sure that the hearer is willing to comply with his directive and he is hoping to persuade the hearer to bring about the action. Tone 7 is used on commands when the hearer is resistant and the speaker is still trying to get the desired response but doesn't have much hope. Tone 4 is used to express desires when the speaker feels the hearer is not likely to comply.

The functions of the tones displayed along the left hand side of the chart in Figure 1 indicate the degree of authority that the speaker is exercising over the hearer. Tones 9, 3 and 7 are used when the speaker is taking an authoritative role relative to the hearer. Tone 9 is used on directives giving advice. Tone 3 is used on commands and, requests and tone 7 is used on commands when the hearer is resistant but the speaker is still trying to persuade him to respond. In contrast, tone 8 which is also speaker authoritative is used when the speaker is demanding an immediate response.

The tones in the bottom row of the chart, tones 5 and 4, are used when the speaker is not taking an authoritative position over the hearer. That is, the speaker does not feel that he has the right to demand a response from the hearer. Tone 5 is used on suggested joint actions such as "Let's

do x." Tone 4 is used on expressions of desire when the speaker feels the hearer may not be willing to comply. In the remainder of this section, examples are given of each of the tone morphemes used on directives.

The use of a tone 9 on a directive indicates that the speaker is authoritative (SA), i.e. he intends to achieve his goal of eliciting a response by means of the utterance. Tone 9 also indicates that the speaker views himself as a participant in the desired response in some way (SRS). The following is an example of tone 9 on a directive utterance.

1. Dy^8 bi^9ai^2 da^8dv^9 by^7 ui^8
   then   tired-TEL.INC   MVClCon   Res Act   house

   fe^6ka^4 de^7 $\underline{to}^9$
   sleep-TEL.INC   Sta-HYP $\overline{Contr}$-SRS.SA

   'If you are tired, then you <u>should</u> <u>be</u> asleep in your house!'

In the example above, the segmental illocutionary force particle <u>to</u> is marked with a tone 9. The speaker is using the utterance to get the speaker to follow the course of action that he would take if he were in the same situation.

The use of tone 3 on a directive indicates that the speaker intends to achieve his goal of eliciting a response by means of the utterance and that he expects the hearer to respond to bring it about. Tone 3 morphemes are used on direct commands, prohibitions, and also on requests. Commands in Iau are marked by the imperative particle $\underline{dy}^3$ as illustrated in the example below.

2. Ui^8 bv^8 i^7 $\underline{dy}^3$
   house   to   go-TOT.PUN $\overline{Imp}$-RS.SA

   'Go home! /Go to the house!'

Prohibitions are also marked by a tone 3 on the illocutionary force particle $\underline{day}^3$ as illustrated below.

3. Di^9 dy^4sy^7 i^7 $\underline{day}^3$
   2s   Prohib   go-TOT.INC $\overline{Prohib}$-RS.SA

   'You shouldn't go! /Don't go!'

The examples above have a tone 3 morpheme on the sentence final illocutionary force particle. The speaker uses the tone 3 particle to indicate that he expects a response from the hearer (RS) and is authoritative (SA).

In addition to direct commands and prohibitions, Iau has a number of ways of issuing softened, more polite commands in the form of requests for permission, requests for action and the wishes and desires. The following are some examples which use a tone 3 morpheme on the sentence final illocutionary force particle.

4. A^9 i^7 $\underline{bv}^3$?
   1s   go-TOT.PUN $\overline{Rq}$-RS.SA

   'Shall I go?'

5. Bv^8kv^7 ba^7bv^9 di^9 $\underline{sy}^9$ e^8-fe^7 o^7 di^7
   book   this   2s $\overline{Ob}$l   1s-Benef   take-TOT.INC   PBd-HYP

   $\underline{y}^3$.
   $\overline{Info}$-RS.SA

   'You <u>should</u> get this book for me if you will.'

   $\underline{Sy}^9$ e^8-fe^7 o^7 $\underline{bv}^3$.
   $\overline{Ob}$l   1s-Benef   take-TOT.INC $\overline{Rq}$-RS.SA

   'Would you get it for me, please?
   /<u>Would</u> <u>you</u> <u>be</u> <u>willing</u> <u>to</u> get it for me?'

4

6. A^9 bv^{8}ku^7 doe^7 se^4 di^{4}du^{7}be^7
   1s$_4$ book   see-TOT.INC   Inten-URLZ IC1Con Advers
   di^4 y^3
   happen-TEL.INC   Info-RS.SA

   'I would like to look at books if I could.'

   In the examples above, the segmental illocutionary force particles make these utterances softened or more polite commands, but the tone 3 morpheme indicates that the speaker regards himself as authoritative 'as having the right to make the request of the hearer and expects a response from the hearer.

   The use of a tone 7 on a directive indicates that although the speaker regards himself as authoritative over the hearer, the hearer is resistant and is not responding. The use of a tone 7 is an authoritative attempt to persuade the hearer to respond. There is only one example so far overheard recently in church. A child was running around during the service and the mother had been trying to get her to come and sit down beside her. As the child was running toward the door with no apparent intention of responding, the mother gave one last call--apparently with only a slight hope that the child would respond. The command she gave is given below.

7. Ai^{6}a^9 Ba^7 dy^7!
   (Exasperation)   come-TOT.INC   Imp-PRS.SA

   'Will you come here!'

   In the example above, the tone morpheme on the command particle dy indicates that the speaker is trying to persuade the hearer to comply (PRS) and is authoritative over the hearer (SA).

   The tone 8 morpheme is used on commands to indicate that the speaker needs an immediate response (IR). Tone 8 is frequently used on long distance shouted commands, since these are commands given in situations where an immediate response is required. The speaker regards himself as authoritative (SA) and expects the hearer to respond (RS). The following are some examples.

8. Ta^8 da^8 ba^7 dy^8
   knife   carry-RES.DUR   come-TOT.INC   Imp-RS.SA.IR

   'Bring a knife!'

9. Ba^7 dy^8-da^9
   come-TOT.INC   Imp-RS.SA.IR RpSp-FACT

   'I said come!'

   Example 8 above is an example of a command in which the speaker needs an immediate response. He and a friend have cornered an animal but they need a machete to get at it. Example 9 is frequently heard in the village when mothers are calling their children to come. Example 9 can also be used in situations where in English we would say an emphatic 'Come on!'

   The use of a tone 5 morpheme on a directive indicates that the speaker is including himself in the expected response (SRS) but that he does not regard himself as authoritative over the hearer (SNA), i.e. he does not have the right to tell the hearer what to do. The following sentence is an example.

10. Y^8 sa^{4}dy^4 i^7 ba^5
    1p   Urge Act   go-TOT.INC   Imp-SRS.SNA

    'Let's go, then!'

   The sentence above is heard commonly in situations when the speaker is suggesting a joint action to the hearer.

   The use of a tone 4 morpheme indicates that the speaker is persuading a response from a probably reluctant hearer (PRS) and the speaker does not

have the authority to demand a response (SNA). The tone 4 morphemes occur in Iau on indirect or underlying directives which have the surface forms of statements. The following are some examples.

11. Di^9 sa^{4}dy^4 e^9 ti^2 a^9 e^9
    2s Urge Act 1s give-TEL.DUR MUBd-FACT Nom Mkr
da^{9}ki^6 y^4
    good-Pred Info-PRS.SNA

'It would be good if you gave it to me, <u>okay?</u>'

12. A^9 da^{8}bu^9 sa^8 fo^9 a^9 y^4.
    1s squash eat-RES.DUR Desid MUBd-FACT Info-PRS.SNA

'I <u>want</u> to eat some squash.'

13. A^9 di^9 doe^8 be^7 o^{4}ba^8 sa^7
    1s 2s see-RES.DUR SC1 Mkr medicine eat-TOT.INC
se^4 dy^{4}da^{8}dv^9 ba^9 a^9 y^4
    Inten-URLZ therefore come-TOT.PUN MUBd-FACT Info-PRS.SNA

'I intend /want to take medicine, therefore I have come.'

All of the examples above are statements which have the illocutionary force of requests. The speaker uses the tone 4 morpheme to indicate that he would like the hearer to comply with his request but he does not feel he has the authority to demand a response and he is not sure that the hearer is willing to do as he is requesting.

3.0 THE FUNCTIONS OF THE TONE MORPHEMES ON STATEMENTS

Statements are used in conversational discourse primarily to give information to the hearer. Specifically, statements can be used in conversational discourse to answer questions, establish discourse topic, give information about discourse topic,[5] provide counter information, provide additional information on a given topic, or to give the speaker reaction to or opinion of discourse topic. As stated previously in section 1.0, the Iau tone morphemes have two simultaneous functions on statement particles. First, they indicate whether the statement achieves the illocutionary force goal of giving information to the hearer about the discourse topic. Second, the tone morphemes indicate the speaker hearer relationship in the information exchange taking place. Specifically, the tone morphemes on statement particles indicate which participant is controlling the information flow about the discourse topic and also whether or not the speaker is asserting the utterance i.e., demanding that the speaker accept the information in the statement.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the specific meanings of the Iau tone morphemes on statements, a brief discussion of the dynamics of conversational control will be given below.

3.1 Speaker Hearer Interaction and Conversational Control

Longacre (1976:169-170) refers to the dynamics of conversational interchange between speaker and hearer as 'repartee'. He proposes three basic reciprocal units of conversational interchange: question-answer; proposal (i.e. a directive)-response; and remark-evaluation (e.g. agree or disagree). The first member of each set (i.e. the question, the proposal and the remark) is the initiating utterance for the conversational exchange. The second member of each set is the resolving utterance of the exchange.

In a minimal conversational exchange, the first speaker 'sets the terms' for the conversational exchange. The first speaker either asks for certain information (i.e. through a question), demands a response (i.e. through

a directive), or asks for an evaluation (i.e. through a remark). If the hearer chooses to accept the proposed terms, then he responds with the second member of the reciprocal pair, i.e. an answer, a response, or an evaluation. However, he can also refuse to accept the terms of the first speaker by using what Longacre (1976:172) calls a 'continuing utterance'. A continuing utterance can be a counter question such as 'Why do you want to know?'; a counter proposal such as 'Let's go home first!'; or a counter remark such as 'You always ask me to do that!'

Longacre's view of the speaker hearer interchange as an exchange of taking and conceding control is a useful one in the analysis of the pragmatic functions of the tone morphemes. The Iau tone morphemes on statement particles indicate whether the speaker is using the utterance to control the flow of information about discourse topic or not. For example, when the speaker is answering a previous speaker's question with a resolving utterance, he marks his answering statement with a noncontrolling tone morpheme to indicate that he is only responding with the information requested by the previous speaker. However, if he cannot or will not accept the terms offered by the first speaker he will mark his answer with a controlling tone morpheme to indicate that he is opposing the terms of the first speaker. The following sets of conversational exchanges are examples of speaker controlling vs speaker noncontrolling answers to questions.

14A. Dy^4 so^6 to^7ba^7 de^9?
    then child how many Sta-FACT

'How many children does she have?'

B. So^6 ai^6 $\underline{y}^9$
   child Neg-STA.FACT Info-SC.ADT

'She <u>has</u> no children!'

15A. Fv^7 da^8su^6 ba^7 ba^3?
    canoe tomorrow come-TOT.INC Uncer-RS.SA

'Is the plane coming tomorrow?'

B. Di^9y^3 Fv^7 da^8su^6 ba^9 a^9 $\underline{y}^3$.
   Yes canoe tomorrow come-TOT.PUN MUBd-FACT Info-SNC.ADT

'Yes, the plane is coming tomorrow.'

In the conversational exchange in 14 above, Speaker B does not accept the terms offered to him by A. B uses his utterance to oppose A's assumption that the person in question has children. The statement in 14B is a counterstatement and is marked with a speaker controlling tone 9.

In the conversation exchange in 15, Speaker A asks for information about the plane. Speaker B accepts his terms and responds with the answer. He marks his answer as a response to the control of A with a tone 3 morpheme.

3.2 Pragmatic Functions of the Tone Morphemes on Statements

The Iau tone morphemes indicate whether the speaker feels that he is controlling the information in the conversation exchange or whether he feels the hearer is controlling the information. Figure 3 below shows the functions of the Iau tone morphemes on statements.

FIGURE 3.   MEANINGS OF IAU TONE MORPHEMES ON STATEMENTS

SPEAKER HEARER INTERACTION IN ACHIEVING THE ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE GOAL

ACHIEVEMENT OF ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE GOAL	Speaker Controlling Information Asserted	Speaker Noncontrolling Information Asserted	Speaker Noncontrolling Information Not Asserted
Directly About Discourse Topic	9 SC.A.DT	3 SNC.A.DT	7 SNC.NA.DT
Of Immediate Contextual Relevance	(6) SC.IR	8 SNC.IR	--
Not Directly About Discourse Topic	(5) SC.A.NDT	(2)	4 SNC.NA.NDT

The tones in the first column are used when the speaker is asserting his control of the information flow in the conversation and the information content as pertinent information that he wants the hearer to accept.   Tone 9 morphemes are used on counter statements, and on summary statements of the conversation when the speaker feels that the information he gave in the conversation was the controlling primary content of the conversation.

Tones 6 and 5 which are in parenthesis in the chart do not occur on full statements but do occur on exclamations.   Tone 6 exclamations are expressions of displeasure or sorrow over something that has happened.   Tone 5 exclamations are used in situations where the speaker is responding to something the hearer has said and is changing the topic to focus on himself and his responses.

The tones in the second column, 3, 8, and 2, are used when the speaker is indicating that he is not using the statement to control the information flow of the conversation.   The information in his statement is a resolving utterance in response to the hearer who is controlling the flow of information about discourse topic.   Tones 3, 8 and 2 also indicate that the speaker is asserting the information of his statement as pertinent information that he wants the hearer to accept.   The tone 3 morpheme is used on answers to questions, additional comments giving furthur information about the established discourse topic, and on summary statements in which the speaker is acknowledging the hearer as controller of the information flow and himself as responder.   Tone 2 occurs on exclamations where the speaker is lamenting a lack of control over a situation, i.e. he is lamenting something that he feels should never have happened.

The tones in the final column of figure 3 are used when the speaker is indicating that he is not using the statement to control the information flow about the discourse topic and when he is indicating that he is not asserting the information contained in the statement.   Tone 7 morphemes are used when the statement is an emotional reaction to a previous statement or an emotive opinion about something someone has said.   Tone 4 morphemes are used on segmental statement particles when the statement gives additional peripheral information or peripheral explanations or when the speaker wants to indicate a very polite, self-effacing attitude toward the hearer.

The functions of the tone morphemes that are displayed along the side of the chart in figure 1 all indicate whether or not the statement achieves the illocutionary force goal of predicating information about the discourse topic.   The tones in the first row of the chart, 9, 3, and 7 are all used when the speaker is giving information in the utterance that is directly about the discourse topic.   Tones 9, 3, and 7 mark counter statements, answers to questions, additional comments about the discourse topic

and emotional reactions to topical information.

The tones in the second row of figure 3 are used when the speaker is giving information about his immediate situation. Tone 6 on exclamations is an immediate response to a distasteful situation, or to a calamity. Tone 8 occurs on statements which are informing the hearer that the speaker is responding and currently implementing his previous command.

The tones in the bottom row of figure 3 are used when the speaker is making a statement that does not directly achieve the illocutionary force goal of giving information directly about the discourse topic. Tone 5 morphemes as mentioned above do not occur on full statements but do occur on exclamations. The tone 5 morpheme on exclamations are used when the speaker is responding to a statement or situation by changing the topic or focus of the conversation to himself. The tone 2 morpheme does not occur in the data on statement particles. The tone 4 morpheme is used on statements which contain peripheral information or explanations, i.e. information that is not directly about discourse topic.

Tones 9, 3, and 4 are the most frequently occuring tones on statements. Section 3.2.1 will compare and contrast these tones in terms of their function of indicating which speaker controls the information flow about the discourse topic. Section 3.2.2 will compare and contrast tones 9,3, and 4 in terms of their function of indicating whether the statement gives information directly about discourse topic i.e. foregrounded information, or not i.e. backgrounded information. Section 3.2.3 will give examples of the uses of the other less frequently occurring tones.

3.2.1 Tones 9, 3 and 4: Speaker Controlling vs. Speaker Noncontrolling Functions

When a speaker uses a tone 9 morpheme to mark an illocutionary force particle on a statement, he indicates that he regards himself as initiator or controller of either the discourse topic[5], or the flow of information about the discourse topic. Tone 3 or 4 morphemes marking the mood particle on a statement indicate that the speaker does not regard himself as initiator/controller but that his utterances are either a response to the hearer or they offer additional information the speaker feels is of interest' to the hearer. In the remainder of this section, the initiator/controller vs. the noninitiator/noncontroller functions of the tone morphemes will be illustrated and discussed.

The following conversational exchanges, illustrate tone 3 and 4 morphemes marking the speaker as noninitiator /noncontroller.

16A. Fv^7 da^8su^6 ba^7 ba^3?
       canoe   tomorrow   come TOT INC   Uncer RS SA

       'Is the plane coming tomorrow?'

B. Di^9y^3. Fv^7 da^8su^6 ba^9 a^9 $\underline{y}^3$
    Yes   canoe   tomorrow   come TOT PUN   MUBd FACT   Info SNC ADT

       'Yes, the plane is coming tomorrow.'

17A. Da^9 be^8sy^9 av^8be^8 a^9toi^3 be^3?
      2p   Must   quickly   land TOT DUR   Uncer RS SA

       'You must have landed (i.e. got there) quickly?'

B. Ba^{6-3} y^3 fi^4au^7 ba^8sy^9 i^7 ai^9
    no   we   Intens   easily   go TOT INC   Neg FACT
   $\underline{y}^4$
   Info SNC NA NDT

       'No, we didn't go very quickly at all.'

18A.   Ty^7 y^8 fai^{9}fa^{9}ba^{4}de^7 du^{7}be^7 sui^5
       person 1p   same as   that   die TEL PUN

     'Was the man who died like us (i.e. about our age)?'

B. 1. A^{7}se^9 fi^{4}au^7 to^3 be^9 iy^4.
       Seq Mkr Intens young is TOT PUN InfoUn SNA NA NDT

     'In fact, he was very young.'

   2. To^6 si^4 ba^7 ai^9 y^3.
       Contr old is TOT INC Neg FACT Info SNC ADT

     'He was not old at all.'

All of the answers in the conversational exchanges 16), 17), and 18) above are marked by tone 3 or 4 as Speaker Noncontrolling. Speaker B is responding to Speaker A by giving the requested information. Sentence 18A) is an example of a Yes-No Question which is not marked by any kind of mood particle. Speaker A simply states his assumption. Speaker B indicates his agreement by marking his response in 18B1) and 18B2) with Speaker Noncontrolling tone morphemes.

The use of Controlling vs. Noncontrolling tone morphemes operates independently of the degree of vehemence the speaker may express. The following conversational excerpts are taken from a conversation in which one speaker is trying to get the other speaker to tell him the meaning of an Iau word. Speaker B is not satisfied with the explanation that is being given and keeps insisting that there is another explanation that Speaker A is not giving him. The recorded conversation gets quite vehement. Vehemence is indicated by greatly increased pitch ranges, marked slowing of speech, and increased intensity.

19A. Fi^{4}au^7 ae^6.
     Intens Neg STA FACT

     'There isn't any (other explanation).'

B. Ba$^{6-3}$ be^4 du^{7}be^7 di^9 bi^{8}fa^7 ae^2
    no   is TEL INC MVClCon 2s   say TOT INC Neg SCl
    bi^7 ba^4.
    get TOT INC Uncer SNC ADT

    'There is, but you maybe are not saying anything about it.'

20A. Tv^{9}y^9 da^8 e^9 sv^4 de^7 ba^3?
     'tui' RpSp CRLZ Nomin only one Sta HYP Uncer RS SA

     'When you say the word 'tui', is that all there is?'

In both 19) and 20) the answer is marked by a speaker noncontrolling tone morpheme. By using the speaker noncontrolling tone morpheme, the speaker is acknowledging that he is accepting the dialogue on the speaker's terms and not resisting the other speaker's control of the topic and information content of the discourse. Vehemence is expressed by intonational features.

Answers marked by controlling tone morphemes can indicate resistance to the first speaker. The following conversational exchange gives an example.

21A. Da^9 ty^7 a^{7}se^9 te^{8}bai^{4}de^7 da^9 be^4 v^3
     2p   person Seq Mkr which   2p   N Mkr come toward
     di^3
     kill TOT DUR

     'Which people were the ones that came and killed (one of) you?'

B. Ty^7 Fa^{7}te^{9}fvy^{8}ae^7 fi^8 by^9.
person Fatehui Ae   Rpt Info Prob SC ADT

'I already told you it was the people from Fatehui Ae.'

In the conversational exchange above Speaker B refused to retell his story so it could be put on tape. Speaker A tried to prompt him to tell it by asking him leading questions. Speaker B at first totally refused to answer the prompting questions. When he did finally begin to answer, his answers were curt and marked by the speaker controlling tone 9 on the mood particles as illustrated above. By using tone 9 the speaker was indicating his resistance to Speaker A as controller of the conversation.

The following conversational exchange illustrates the use of a tone 9 morpheme on a statement used by Speaker B to challenge the information content of Speaker A's question.

22A. Dy^4 so^6 to^{7}ba^7 de^9?
then child how many Sta FACT

'How many children does she have?'

B. So^6 ai^6 y^9.
child   Neg STA FACT   Info SC ADT

'She has no children!'

Speaker B uses a tone 9 on the y mood particle to indicate that he intends to challenge the basic assumption of Speaker A and assert contrastive information about the discourse topic.

Controlling tone morphemes are also used on answers in which the speaker wishes to assert his control of information unknown to the hearer as is illustrated by the following question and answer sets.

23A. To^4 da^{8}dv^9 be^4 o^9 a^4?
What do? TEL INC MVC1Con NMkr take TOT PUN MUBd URLZ

'What does one do with it (fish net) so that they are caught? (i.e. How are (fish) caught using this?)'

B. Dy^{4}dau^7 da^{8}dv^9 a^{7}se^9 fi^9 fa^{3}fu^7 ba^7 da^{8}dv^9
like this MVC1Con Seq Mkr fish all   come TOT INC MVC1Con
a^{7}se^9 ba^9 baui^8 to^9
Seq Mkr here reach RES DUR RHr SC ADT

'You do it like this, and the fish all come, until they reach this point.'

24A. A^{7}bv^9 te^{8}du^7 du^{8}be^7 ty^{3}fo^3 bv^{8}ke^7 da^8 i^9
new   what   that   arrow   Acc.   carry RES DUR go TOT PUN
a^4?
MUBd URLZ

'What is that new thing that you are carrying with the arrow?'

B. Fe^6 ai$^{7-8}$ to^9.
eye glass InfoUn SC ADT

'Those are underwater goggles.'

25A. Y^9 to^6 tay^7 sa^3?
Oh when? knife-by cut TOT DUR

'Oh-oh! When did he get cut?'

B. Da^{8}fa^{9}du^4 tay^7 da^9 y^9.
yesterday knife-by cut TOT PUN Info SC ADT

'He got cut by a knife yesterday.'

In 23), a procedural type text, Speaker B is the expert who controls the information content of the discourse. Speaker B marks his answer to A's question with a Speaker Controlling tone morpheme (9). The conversational exchange in 24) is a similar sort of text about a new device to facilitate spearing fish underwater. Again, Speaker B, the expert, marks his answer with tone 9, Speaker Controlling. In 25), Speaker A is a village health worker. Speaker B's intent is to call A's attention to a patient needing treatment. Although he is responding to A by providing the information requested, he marks his answer with a Speaker Controlling tone 9 because his intent is to control the behavior of A through the information that he is giving.

Controlling tone morphemes frequently occur on the mood particle to as in 23) and 24) above. To marks information that corrects, refutes or contradicts previous information or is contrary to the experience/expectations of the speaker. However, to also occurs on answers with Speaker Noncontrolling viewpoints. The following are examples of Speaker Noncontrolling answers on the particle to.

26A. Kae^2 bv^7 di^9 te^{7}bv^9 da^8 du^8
      F.net this 2s   why?   carry RES DUR go around RES DUR
      a^3?
      MUBd ACCFACT

      'Why do you carry around that fish net?'

  B. A^9 fi^9 be^4 o^7 to^4.
      1s   fish NMkr catch TOT INC   RHr SNC NA NDT

      'I use it to catch fish.'

27A. Ty^7 bi^{7}si^9 ai^{7}bv^9 si^6 to^{8}ba^7 de^9?
      person   one   that   wife   how many Sta FACT

      'How many wives does that man have?'

  B. Ba^{7}bv^9 boi^8 o^{8}sy^9 to^4.
      this   oldr bro   my   RHr SNC NA NDT

      'This is my older brother!'

In 26) above, Speaker B is giving Speaker A information that is culturally unknown to A, i.e. speaker B is the expert. However, in this particular conversation, Speaker B does not choose to assert himself or his information as the controlling information in the discourse. Instead, he uses the highly deferential nonassertive tone morpheme 4. In 27), speaker B does not directly answer A's question. Sentence 27) gives peripheral identifying information about the discourse topic instead of the requested information. Sentence 27B) is marked by tone 4 as Speaker Noncontrolling and as also Nonassertive, and not directly giving foregrounded information about the discourse topic (NDT).

In addition to questions and answers, conversational dialogues include remarks (Longacre 1977) that give further information on a topic, or that give speaker opinion about a topic.

Statements which function as further remarks can take either Controlling or Noncontrolling tone morphemes depending on the viewpoint the speaker wishes to take. A controlling tone morpheme can mark a contrastive response to a previous statement as is shown in the following example.

28. Ay^8 au^{7}sy^9 ai^{7}bv^9 fi^{4}be^8 dy^{4}dau^8 de^7 da^{8}dv^9
     okay ours   that   Intens like that Sta HYP MVC1Con
     av^{8}be^{8}day^8 te^7 fv^2 a^9 dy^{4}dau^9
     hurry   husband tie to TEL DUR MUbd FACT like that TOT PUN
     a^9 y^9.
     MUbd FACT Info SC ADT

'I see, when our (women) are (the age of) that one then they get
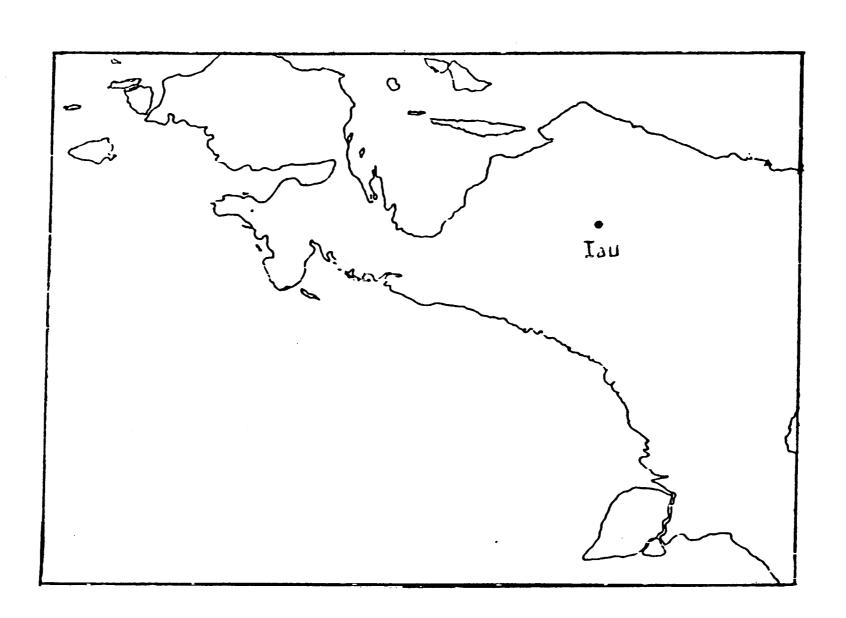married very quickly.'

In the context preceeding 28), Speaker A has just expressed surprise that a
certain adolescent girl is still unmarried. Speaker B answers that that's
the way they do things in Faui. Example 28) is simultaneously a response
by Speaker A to the previous speaker's statement and it is also a remark
giving a contrastive cultural viewpoint. Speaker A's viewpoint is not
only contrastive to B's but it is being asserted as controlling. Example
28) is therefore marked with a Speaker Controlling tone morpheme.
The following text excerpt is a conversational exchange between
speakers who have contrastive opinions on the discourse topic, but these
opinions are not being asserted as Controlling in the conversation.

29A 1. Di^9 a^7se^9 doe^7 da^8dv^9 ty^7 e^8 fe^7
     2s   Seq Mkr   see TOT INC   MVC1Con   person   1s   Benef

     foi^4 dy^3.
     tell TEL INC   Imp RS SA

     'If you see it, then tell people for me (that I want it
     back).'

B 2. Ay^8 ty^7 bv^6 foi^{4-7} se^3.
     okay person 1s   tell TEL INC CHS   Inten SNC ADP

     'Okay, I will tell them.'

3. Sa^4dy^4 bv^8 bai^7 de^9 dy^3.
    Urge Act   for   wait TOT INC   Sta FACT   Imp RS SA

    'Wait for me.'

4. Ty^7 du^8 o^7 ai^4 y^3.
    person secretly take TOT INC   Neg URLZ   Info SNC ADT

    'I (don't think) anyone has stolen it.'

A 5. Ay^8 ty^7 du^8 o^7 ba^3.
    okay person secretly take TOT INC   Uncer SNC ADT

Iau (Irian Jaya)

$$\text{dy}^4\text{da}^8\text{dv}^9 \quad \text{bv}^6 \quad \text{bv}^8 \quad \text{tai}^7 \qquad\qquad \text{a}^9 \qquad\qquad \text{y}^3.$$

IndCl Con   1s   for   search TOT INC MUbd FACT Info SNC ADT

'I see. I think someone may have stolen it and so I'm looking for it.'

6. $\text{e}^8 \quad \text{fe}^7 \quad \text{da}^8 \qquad\qquad \text{ba}^7 \qquad\qquad \text{d}^3.$

    1s Benef carry RES DUR come TOT INC Imp RS.SA

'Bring it to me! /Get it for me!'

In 29) Sentence 4, speaker B offers A an opinion on why the axe is missing. He marks the sentence with a noncontrolling tone morpheme to indicate his attitude toward the role of these statements in the conversation. Speaker B sees this statement as an expression of his own personal opinion which A may or may not accept. Speaker A in Sentence 5 disagrees with B but also marks his statement with a Noncontrolling tone morpheme (3) to indicate his intent not to insist on his own opinion.

Another use of Noncontrolling tone morphemes is to give further comment on an already introduced discourse topic. The following examples, 30) and 31) illustrate further comments marked by the speaker noncontrolling tone morphemes 3 and 4.

30. $\text{Ay}^8 \quad \text{Be}^8\text{a}^8\text{bi}^8 \quad \text{fv}^7 \quad\quad \text{doe}^7 \qquad\qquad \text{ae}^3 \qquad\qquad \text{se}^9$

    okay Benjamin canoe see TOT INC Neg ACCFACT Since

    $\text{dy}^4 \qquad\qquad\qquad \text{a}^3 \qquad\qquad \text{y}^3.$

    do that TEL INC MUbd ACCFACT Info SNC ADT

'Right. Since Benjamin had never been in a plane before, he acted like that.'

In the preceding conversational context, speaker A has just asked speaker B if he and Benjamin were afraid as they rode in the plane. Speaker B replied that he himself was not afraid, but Benjamin was so afraid that he grabbed on to Speaker B's leg and held it throughout the whole trip. Sentence 30) is marked by the noncontrolling tone morpheme (3) as a response. It is not the speaker's intent to give any new direction to the conversation, or to control subsequent information content of the conversation by this remark.

Sentence 31) below also illustrates a noncontrolling tone morpheme (4) on a further remark in conversational discourse.

31. $\text{Sy}^4 \qquad \text{bv}^6 \qquad \text{da}^8\text{fa}^9 \quad \text{ai}^9\text{be}^7 \quad \text{fvy}^8 \qquad\qquad \text{e}^9 \qquad \text{by}^7\text{by}^9$

    garden 1s RecPst there dig RES DUR Nomin true

    $\text{du}^7\text{be}^7 \qquad \text{taui}^9 \qquad\quad \text{a}^9 \qquad\quad \text{y}^4.$

    that TpMkr work TOT PUN MUbd FACT Info SNC NANDT

'I'm going to work in the garden that I just dug.'

Speaker A, the controller of the conversational segment, asked B what he is going to do. B replied that he is going to work in his garden. Then, after a short pause he volunteered further information about which garden he meant. Sentence 31) is marked by the tone morpheme 3 on the y mood particle as a continued response without intent to control.

Conversational exchanges in Iau frequently end with a question and answer set that summarize what the conversation was about. These summary statements are also marked as either Speaker Controlling or Speaker Noncontrolling. The following is an example of a speaker Noncontrolling summary statement.

32A. $\text{Ay}^8 \quad \text{by}^7\text{by}^9 \quad \text{du}^7\text{be}^7 \qquad\quad \text{da}^9 \quad \text{tui}^2 \quad \text{di}^8$

     okey true that TpMkr 2p enemy kill RES DUR

     $\text{be}^4 \qquad\qquad\qquad \text{dy}^4\text{da}^8\text{dv}^9 \quad \text{bv}^6 \quad \text{bi}^8\text{fa}^9 \qquad\quad \text{a}^9$

     Uncer SNC NANDT IndCl1Con 1s say TOT PUN MUbd FACT

     $\text{y}^3.$

     Info SNC ADT

'Yes, I was wondering whether you ever did kill any enemies,
so I have been talking (about it with you).'

B. Ba$^{6-3}$ fi^{4}au^7 ty^7 doe^7 ai^9 y^3.
    No_   Intens person see TOT PUN Neg FACT Info SNC ADT

    'No, we didn't see any at all.'

The two sentences in 32) represent the closing summary statements by
the two participants in the conversation. Speaker A was controlling par-
ticipant in the conversation, i.e. he controlled discourse topic and also
flow of information about the topic. By marking his summary with a Noncon-
trolling tone morpheme he indicates his acceptance of Speaker B's answers.
Speaker B marks his summary statement with a Noncontrolling tone morpheme
to indicate that his contribution to the conversation was a response to
speaker A.

The following example shows a conversational summary statement marked
by a Controlling tone morpheme.

33A 1.   Ay^8 by^{7}by^9 du^{7}be^7 bv^8 tai^7 da^{8}dv^9 so^6
         okay   true   that TMkr for search TOT INC MVC1Con child
         av^{7}bv^9 bv^7 u^8 to^6 by$^{7-8}$?
         her   this   day   when? born TOT INC CHS RES

         'Yes, well I wondered. When was her child born?'

    2.   A^9 v^4 dy^{4}dau^7 da^{8}dv^9 a^{7}se^9 da^6 di^9
         1s   heart like that TOT INC MVC1Con Seq Mkr now   2s
         foi^5.
         ask TEL PUN

         'My heart was like that so I have just now asked you.'

B 3.   Ba$^{6-3}$ bai^3 ka^{6}di^8 ba^7 ae^5.
         No   moon   many   Nmkr Neg EMPH

         'Well, it hasn't been many moons /months.'

    4.   Bai^3 sv^4 bo^4 be^9 y^9.
         moon   only   two   is TOT PUN Info SC ADT

         'It has only been two moons.'

A 5.   Da^{9}ki^6.
         good

         'Good.'

Speaker A sums up his contribution to the conversation by restating his
question. The sentence is not marked by any mood particles. Speaker B
marks her summary statement with a Speaker Controlling tone morpheme. By
using a tone 9 Speaker Controlling tone morpheme, she emphatically reempha-
sizes her answer, implying that it is contrary to expectation or could be
called into question.

3.2.2 Tone 9, 3, and 4: Marking relationship to Discourse Topic

We have seen that tone 9 on statements in Iau marks the speaker as
Controller of the discourse topic and the information flow of the dis-
course. Tones 3 and 4, on the other hand, indicate that the speaker does
not consider his statement as an attempt to control the conversation. Tone
morphemes on statement mood particles in Iau not only mark which partici-
pant is controlling the information content of the discourse, but they
also mark the relationship of the statement to the discourse topic. Both
tones 9 and 3 mark information that is a direct comment about discourse
topic. Tone 4 on the other hand marks information that is not a direct

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comment about discourse topic. Instead, the information has one of the following roles relative to discourse topic: further explanation of a topical proposition, restatements or paraphrases of discourse topic, or evaluations of or reactions to discourse topic. Examples illustrating the backgrounding functions of tone 4 will be given first, followed by examples illustrating the foregrounding functions of tones 3 and 9.

3.2.2.1 Backgrounding Functions of Tone 4

The example below illustrates the use of tone 4 to mark statements giving further explanatory detail about a topical proposition. The sentence marked by tone 4 is the final sentence in the example below.

34A 1. Dy^4 di^9 by^7 te^8du^7 sa^4 $taui^9$?
      then   2s   ResAct   what?   CntrAct   do   TOT PUN

'And what are you going to do?'

B 2. A^9 sa^4 a^5 $taui^7$ sa^9 y^8.
     Is   CntrAct   land   do-TOT.INC   Inten-FACT   Info-SNC.A.IR

'I am going to work in the garden.'

A 3. Y^6! bo^9dy^9!
     oh(Symp)   Exp Symp

'Oh that's too bad /be careful!'

B 4. Sy^4 bv^6 da^8fa^9 ai^9be^9 fvy^8 e^9 By^7by^9
     garden   1s   RecPst   There   dig-RES.DUR   Nomin   true
     du^7be^7 $taui^9$ a^9 y^4
     that TpMkr   do-TOT.PUN   MUbd-FACT   Info-SNC.NA.NDT

'I'm going to work in the garden that I just recently dug.'

The conversation above is about 'what speaker B is going to do'. The new information in sentence 4) gives additional information about the topical proposition by specifying which garden Speaker B is refering to. Sentence 4 in 34) does not actually predicate any new information about the discourse topic 'what B is going to do'. Sentence 4 gives backgrounded further information that is related to the topical proposition. As we saw in section 3.2.1, tone 4 also marks the speaker as noncontrolling participant in this interchange.

The following excerpt of a conversational text illustrates the tone 4 morpheme marking further explanatory detail about the topical proposition.

35A 1. Faf^3 o^8sy^9 te^8 be^5?
     axe   my   where?   is-TEL.PUN

'Where is my axe?'

B 2. Bv^6 doe^7 ai^4 y^3.
     1s   see-TOT.INC   Neg-URLZ   Info-SNC.ADT

'I don't know /I haven't seen it.'

A 3. Faf^3 o^8sy^9 bv^6 ba^4 be^{7-8} du^7be^7 bv^6
     axe   my   1s   right here   is-CHS   that-TpMkr   1s
     bv^8 tai^7 to^4.
     for   search-TOT.INC   RHr-snc.na.ndt

'I'm looking for the axe that I left right here."

The conversation above is about Speaker A's axe and the topical proposition, 'Where is my axe?' When Speaker B answers that he doesn't know, Speaker A responds in Sentence 3 with additional detail explaining where it should have been. Sentence 3 is marked by tone 4 as backgrounded

further information about the topic. Sentence 3 does not predicate any new information about the topic. Sentence 3 does not predicate any new information about the topical proposition, i.e. it does not predicate 'Where the axe is'.

Tone 4 can also be used in conversational discourse to mark statements that are explanatory in the sense that they are the cause or reason for a topical proposition. The following question and answer sets are some examples.

36A. Di^9 e^8 du^{7}sy^9 to^4 di$^{7-8}$?
    2s foot your   what do? PBd-HYP.CRLZ

    'What happened to your foot?'

B. A^9 e^8 o^{8}sy^9 a^9 be^{8}sy^9 boi^3 u^8
    1s foot my   1s obl   firewood split-RES.DUR
    be^{8}du^7 e^8 tay^7 fa^{8}fvy^8 y^4.
    MVC1Con.Sim foot knife-by cut-RES.DUR Info-SNC.NA.NDT

    'My foot, I was splitting firewood when I cut my foot with the machete.'

37A. Kae^2 bv^7 di^9 te^{7}bv^9 da^8 du^8
    fish net this 2s why? carry-RES.DUR go around-RES.DUR
    a^3?
    MUbd-ACCFACT

    'Why are you carrying that fish net?'

B. A^9 fi^9 be^4 o^7 to^4.
    1s fish NMkr catch-TOT.INC RHr-SNC.NA.NDT

    'I'm (going to) catch fish with it.'

In example 36) above, Speaker B is giving an explanation for the topical proposition 'What happened to your foot?' The answer to the question in 37) is also an explanation and both 36B and 37B are marked by tone 4 as explanations.

Another use of tone 4 on statements in conversational text is to mark restatements of a topical proposition. The following conversational exchange is an example of a restatement of a topical proposition marked by tone 4.

38A 1. Da^9 da^{8}du^7 ba^9 tv^9 y^9 da^9 be^{8}sy^9
    2p first here go away-TOT.PUN nomin 2p Must
    av^{8}be^8 a^{9}toi^3 be^3?
    quickly land-TOT.DUR Uncer-SNC.ADT

    'When you first left here, you must have landed /gotten there very quickly.'

B 2. Ba$^{6-3}$ y^8 fi^{4}au^7 ba^{8}sy^9 i^7 ai^9
    No we Intens quickly go-TOT.INC Neg-FACT
    Y^3.
    Info-SNC.ADT

    'No, we didn't go quickly at all.'

3. Fv^7 fi^{4}be^8 du^{8}av^{5}du^8 i^9 a^9
    canoe Intens slowly go-TOT.PUN MUbd-FACT
    y^4.
    Info-SNC.NA.NDT

    'The plane went very slowly.'

In the conversation above, Speaker B had taken a plane trip and

Speaker A was asking him about it. The topic under discussion in this section of the conversation is the manner in which they went. Speaker A presupposes that they arrived very quickly at their destination. Speaker B denies that and emphasizes his point with a negative-positive pair of sentences. The tone 4 morpheme in sentence 3) marks the positive restatement of sentence 2). Sentence 3) does not state any new information about the discourse topic.

Another use of tone 4 is to mark evaluations of discourse topic or reactions to discourse topic. In both cases, the sentence marked by tone 4 does not predicate new information about the discourse topic. The example below is taken from a conversation about the marriage status of various people in the village. The text below illustrates a speaker reaction to discourse topic marked by tone 4.

39A. Bv^7 te^7 ae^6 to^9.
    this   husband   Neg-C.FACT   RHr-SC.ADT

    'This (woman) has no husband.'

B. Y^5 au^7 $i^8si^4ba^7$ be^7 to^4.
    Excl   3s   big   is-TOT.PUN   RHr-SNC.NA.NDT

    'But she's already grown.'

Speaker B's statement in 39B) above is his reaction to Speaker A's statement. Sentence 39B) provides no new information about the discourse topic of the marriage status of the individual.

The final example below illustrates tone 4 marking the speaker's evaluation of discourse topic. Speaker B has been telling Speaker A about underwater goggles and how they are used for fishing. The conversational excerpt below begins with Speaker B's statement that he is not convinced of the usefulness of the goggles.

40A 1. Dy^4 o^8sy^9 bv^6 fi^4au^7 doe^7 ai^4
     then   my   1s   Intens   see TOT INC   Neg UNRSZ
     y^3.
     Info SNC ADT

     'Well, I don't know anything about them.'

B 2. Ba^{6-3} fi^4au^7 da^9ki^6 y^4.
     no   Intens   good   Info-SNC.NANDT

     'No, they are really good.'

3. Du^7sy^9 be^4 da^8dv^9 sa^4dy^4 $taui^7$
    yours   is-TEL.INC   MVC1Con   Urge Act   make-TOT.INC
    a^9 y^9 da^9ki^6 e^4.
    MUbd-FACT   Info-FACT   good   Expl-URLZ

    'It would be good if you made some.'

4. Y^8 $fai^9fa^9ba^7$ de^9 fi^9 bv^8 du^7
    1p   together   Sta-FACT   fish   for   go-TOT.INC
    se^3.
    Inten-ACC.FACT

    'We would go fishing together.'

Sentence 2) marked by tone 4 gives the speakers evaluation of the topic, 'the usefulness of underwater goggles for fishing'. The speaker is not asserting any new information about the topic but is reiterating his evaluation of it and trying to persuade the hearer to agree.

3.2.2.2 Foregrounding Functions of Tone 3

Segmental particles marked by tone 3 indicate that the sentence asserts new information about the discourse topic. The following conversational exchange illustrates tone 3 on sentences that assert new information about the topic.

41A 1. Faf^3 o^8sy^9 te^8 be^5?
       Axe   my   where is TEL PUN

       'Where is my axe?'

  B 2. Bv^6 doe^7 ai^4 y^3.
       1s   see-TOT.INC Neg-URLZ Info-SNC.ADT

       'I haven't seen it.'

  A 3. Faf^3 o^8sy^9 bv^6 ba^4 be^{7-8} du^7be^7
       axe   my   1s   here is-TOT.INC-CHS that.TMkr
       bv^6 bv^8 tai^7 to^4.
       1s   for   search-TOT.INC RHr-SNC.NA.NDT

       'I'm looking for my axe that I left right here.'

    4. Ty^7 du^8 bi^9 $\underline{be^3}$.
       person secretly get-TOT.PUN Uncer-SNC.ADT

       'I think someone may have stolen it.'

    5. Bv^6 doe^7 ai^4 y^3.
       1s   see-TOT.INC Neg-URLZ Info-SNC.ADT

       'I don't know.'

    6. Di^9 a^7se^9 doe^7 da^8dv^9 ty^7 e^9 fe^7
       2s   Seq Mkr see-TOT.INC MVC1Con person 1s Benef
       foi^4 dy^3.
       tell-TEL.INC Imp-SNC.ADT

       'If you see it then tell people for me (to return it).'

The conversational exchange above has 3 sentences illustrating tone 3 used to mark the assertion of new information about the topic. The topic of the conversation is a proposition, 'Where is my axe?' Sentence 2 asserts the new information that the speaker has not seen the axe. Answers to questions are normally marked with tone 3, indicating that the speaker is providing the requested information about the discourse topic. As we saw in section 3.2.1, tone 3 also indicates that the speaker is not the controlling participant in the conversation. Sentence 3 above, marked by tone 4 asserts no new information about the topic but gives further details and explanation about why the speaker is looking for his axe. Both sentences 5) and 6) assert new information about the topical proposition 'Where is my axe?' Speaker A thinks someone has stolen it but he is not sure.

3.2.2.3 Foregrounding Function of Tone 9

We have seen in section 3.2.1 that tone 9 morphemes in Iau mark statements when the speaker views himself as controller or initiator of the information content of the discourse. Tone 9 statements, like tone 3 statements, assert the speaker's comment[6] about the discourse topic. The following examples illustrate the tone 9 morpheme marking asserted information about discourse topic.

42A. Da^9 ty^7 a^7se^9 $te^8bai^4de^7$ da^9 be^4 v^3
       2p   person Seq Mkr which   2p N Mkr come toward

di^3?
kill-TOT.DUR

'Which people were the ones that came and killed (one of) you?'

B. Ty^7 $Fa^7te^9fvy^8ae^7$ $f:^8$ by^9.
person Fatehui Ae Rpt Info Prob-SC.ADT

'I already told you it was the people from Fatehui Ae.'

43A. Dy^4 so^6 to^7ba^7 de^9?
then child how many Sta-FACT

'How many children does she have?'

B. So^6 ai^6 y^9.
child Neg-C.FACT Info-SC.ADT

'She <u>has</u> no children!'

Sentence 42B) above asserts the requested information about the topical proposition, 'Which people were the ones who came and killed one of you?' Sentence 43B) asserts new information about the topical proposition, 'How many children does she have?' and is also marked with a tone 9 morpheme.

3.3 Functions of the Other Iau Tone Morphemes on Statements

Tone 7 and 8 occur less frequently on statements and tones 6, 5 and 2 occur only on statement particles that are used as exclamations. Tone 7 like tones 9 and 3 indicates that the information in the statement is directly about discourse topic. (See figure 3, section 3.2). When the speaker uses tones 9 and 3 he is asserting the information in the statement, i.e. he is urging the speaker to accept it. In contrast, the speaker uses tone 7 to mark his own personal reactions to the information about the discourse topic. Most statements marked by tone 7 are highly idiomatic. The following are some examples. A question mark under the gloss indicates that the exact meaning of the particle is unknown.

44A 1. So^7 fi^4au^7 be^8 be^9?
tree Intens tall is-TOT.PUN

'The So tree was very tall?'

B 2. Y^6 to^{2-7} ae^7?
Excl do what? TEL.INC-CHS Neg-HYP

'You're not kidding!'

3. Ba^9 tv^9 dv^9 y^7.
here go away-TOT.PUN ? info-SNC.NA.DT

'It was way up there! <u>Believe me</u>!'

45. Bai^6 y^7 di^9 so^7dy^4 y^7 bai^4
Deny Info-SNC.NA.DT 2s lie say-TOT.INC ?
y^7.
Info-SNC.NA.DT

'That's not true. I think you are lying.'

46. Ba^7bv^9 fu^9 dav^8 be^7de^8 y^7.
this Ded lake Infer Info-SNC.NA.DT

'There must be a lake (visible) from that one (ie tree top).'

47A. U^8 sai^7 du^{7}sy^9 da^7 be^3?
     house Rflx   yours   RpSp-HYP Uncer-RSP.SA

   'Is this your house?'

  B. Di^{9}to^4 o^{8}sy^9 to^7.
     Yes   mine   R̅H̅r-SNC.NA.DT

   'Of course, it's my house!'

The sentences marked by tone 7 in examples 44) through 47) are all highly emotive responses to something the previous speaker has said. Reactions marked by tone 7 are emphatic and are directly about discourse topic and are attempts to persuade the hearer to accept the speaker's point of view. Sentence 3 in 44) is an emphatic restatement of a previous statement that the tree was tall. Sentence 45 is an emphatic statement which the speaker thinks the hearer is not likely to accept. In 46) the speaker is making a highly speculative statement which he hopes is true. In the discourse context, he and the others have been looking for the lake for quite some time. In 47) the speaker indicates by using tone 7 that his ownership of the house should never have been called into question.

Tone 8 and tone 6 morphemes are used when the speaker is responding to a situation in the immediate context which has affected or involved him. The tone 8 morpheme on a statement indicates that the speaker is not using the utterance to control the hearer or the conversational interchange but is responding to the speaker. Tone 8 also indicates that the hearer is achieving the illocutionary force goals in the immediate present. The following are some examples of the tone 8 morphemes on statement particles.

48. A^9 sa^4 a^5 taui^7 sa^9 y^8.
    1s CntrAct land   work-TOT.INC Inten-FACT I̅n̅fo-SNC.A.CR

   'I'm going to work in the garden.'

49A. Di^9 da^6 i^7 ba^3?
     2s   now   go-TOT.INC Uncer-RS.SA

   'Are you going now?'

  B. A^9 da^6 i^7 sa^9 y^8.
     1s   now   go-TOT.INC Inten-FACT I̅n̅fo-SNC.A.CR

   'I am going now.'

50A 1. Ty^{7}da^{7}y^8!   Se^{7}ko^{8}da^7 y^8
        People-Voc   school   I̅n̅fo-SNC.A.IR

   'People! It's now time for school!'

   2. Ba^7 ka^7 dy^8.
      come-TOT.INC Emph   Imp-RS.A.IR

    'Come!'

  B 3. Y^3 da^6 ba^8 y^8
       1p   now   come-RES.DUR I̅n̅fo-SNC.A.IR

    'We are coming!'

51. Di^{9}di^3. Ba^7 by^8 dy^{4}da^{8}dv^9 a^9
    Agree   come-TOT.INC S̅u̅bj-SNC.A.IR IndClCon   1s
    foi^4 dy^3.
    tell-TEL.INC Imp-RS.SA

   'When he comes, tell him.'

The tone 8 morphemes in 48), 49) and 50B) all mark situations that are of immediate relevance in the discourse context. The speaker is noncontrolling, i.e. responding to the hearer. In 50A), the speaker is informing

the hearer of a situation that is of immediate relevance to him. This situation marked in 50A) is the grounds for the command in the following sentence. In 51) the clause marked by tone 8 has not yet occurred, however, it is of immediate relevance to the following clause.

The tone 6 morpheme occurs on the exclamation y^6! to indicate displeasure over something that has happened. It is heard frequently in the village when an owner returns to find that a dog has eaten his food, or when a child has gotten into mischief. The speaker uses a tone 6 to announce and assert his displeasure to the community at large.

The tone 5, 2 and 4 morphemes all occur in situations in which the speaker is not predicating the information as asserted information about the discourse topic. We saw in the preceeding sections that the tone 4 morpheme is used when the speaker is predicating peripheral information that is not directly about discourse topic, or when he is being very self-effacing in giving the information to the hearer. Tone 5 and 2 although they only occur on exclamations, occur only in situations where the speaker is either slightly changing the focus of the conversation, or is exclaiming over what almost happened but didn't.

The tone 5 morpheme occurs on exclamations in which the speaker is changing the subject or focus of the conversation slightly in response to something that the hearer just said. The following is an example taken from a conversation between a health worker and a villager reporting to the health worker about a man with a bad cut.

52A. Fi^4au^7 di^8 be^9 y^4. $\bar{Y}^5$!
      Intens   hot   is-TOT.PUN   Info-   SNC.NA.NDT   Exclam-SC.A.NDT

be^8sy^9 dv^4ui^9 da^8 ba^7 ka^7 dy^3.
Oblig   lift   carry-RES.DUR   come-TOT.INC   Emph   Imp-RS.SA

'Well <u>then</u> lift him up and bring him (here).'

In the example above, the tone 5 morpheme occurs in the kind of context predicted by the chart in figure 3. The speaker takes control of the conversation by ending the discussion of symptoms and changing the discussion to what should be done about the problem.

The exclamation particle y^5 also occurs in contexts where the speaker is reiterating something that has already been said in a more emphatic way. The following is an example.

53A 1. Fi^9 da^9 sa^4dy^4 $i^7bai^3ta^7$ doe^8 be^7
       fish   2pl   just   clearly   see-RES.DUR   SC1Mkr

      ba^3?
      Uncer-RS.SA

B 2. $\bar{Y}^5$ fi^4be^8 $i^7bai^3ta^7$ doe^8 'be^7
      Exclam-SC.A.NDT   Intens   clearly   see-RES.DUR   SC1Mkr

      ba^8 $fai^9fa^9ba^4de^4$.
      kill-RES.DUR   same-Stat-URLZ

'<u>They</u> <u>sure</u> <u>are</u>! They can clearly seen to be killed.'

3. Fi^9 fi^4be^8 ko^4du^8 ba^8 ae^5.
    fish   Intens   few   is-RES.DUR   Neg-NPFACT

'There are not just a few!'

In the following example, the particle $\underline{y}^5$ shows disbelief on the part of the speaker.

54A. Bv^7 te^7 ai^6 to^9.
      this   husband   Neg-CFACT   RHr-SC.A.DT

'This one doesn't have a husband!'

B. Y^5! au^7 $i^8si^4ba^7$ be^7 to^4.
   Exclam-SC.A.NDT   3s   big   is-TOT.INC   RHr-SNC.NA.NDT

   '_But_ she is already grown!'

     The tone 2 morpheme occurs on an exclamation particle that is used to lament or express the speaker's opinion that a situation should not have happened as it did. The Iau exclamation ai^9av^2 occurs in one text when the speaker almost fell out of a tree he was climbing because some vine he was pulling himself up with pulled loose. Afterwards he talks to himself, saying. "Oh no!, I almost slipped."

4.0 FUNCTIONS OF THE TONE MORPHEMES ON YES-NO QUESTIONS

     Yes-No questions ask the hearer for confirmation or denial of the truth of the information content of the proposition. Only three of the eight tones have been found in the data on the yes-no question markers _be_ and _ba_. Tone 9 is used for prompting or leading questions when the speaker knows that the information in the question is correct but is using the question to control the conversation and get the hearer to say what he wants him to say. Tone 3 is used when the speaker has reason to believe that the information in his question is correct but he wants to make sure. Tone 3 is noncontrolling. Tone 4 is used when the speaker feels that it is highly likely that the information content of his question will be corrected by the hearer. Tone 4 is also noncontrolling. The following sentences are examples of the use of tones 9, 3, and 4 on yes-no questions.

55. A^4 ty^7 Bi^7e^9 a^7se^9 u^6 di^9 be^9?
      father   people   Bie   SeqMkr   before   kill-TOT.PUN   Uncer-FACT

     '_So_ the people from Bie killed father first?'

56. Fv^7 ba^7 ba^3?
      cannoe   come-TOT.INC   Uncer-RSP.SA

     'Is the plane coming?'

57. Da^9 a^2 tv^9 be^4?
      2p   land-by   travel-TOT.PUN   Uncer-RSP.SNA

     '_I guess_ you went by land? /Did you go by land?'

     Sentence 55) above comes from a taped conversation in which one participant was trying to get the other participant to retell a story so it could be taped. The man was refusing to tell the story again. The speaker used a series of questions like the one in 55) above to prompt the other participant to begin telling his story. The speaker's use of a tone 9 on the _be_ particle indicates that he assumes the information content is correct and he does not anticipate that the hearer will correct the information in the proposition.
     Sentence 56) is an example of the most common type of Yes-No Question. The speaker has reason to believe that the plane is coming but he is not sure that the information is correct. He marks the Yes-No Question with tone 3 to indicate that he would like the hearer to confirm or deny the truth of the statement. Tone 3 indicates that the speaker expects or needs input from the hearer.
     The speaker in Sentence 57) is not sure at all that his information is correct. He marks the question particle _be_ with a tone 4 indicating that the information content of the question could very will be wrong.
     Figure 4 below summarizes the contrastive meanings of the Iau tone morphemes on Yes-No Questions.

FIGURE 4. DEGREE OF SPEAKER EXPECTATION OF HEARER INPUT

Speaker Controlling	Speaker Not Controlling	Speaker Not Controlling
Information Correct	Information Correct	Information Not Correct
9	3	4

The Iau tone morphemes as shown in figure 4 above indicate the degree to
which the speaker expects the hearer to add to the information content of
the discourse. Tone 9 indicates that the speaker does not anticipate that
the hearer will give any new or contradictory information. Tone 3 indi-
cates that the speaker wants or expects the hearer to indicate whether the
information content of the proposition is correct or not. Tone 4 indicates
that the speaker feels that it is highly likely that the hearer will cor-
rect the information in the proposition.

5.0 SIMILARITIES IN THE PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF THE IAU TONE MORPHEMES ON VERBS AND PARTICLES

A single set of the 8 basic Iau tone morphemes occurs on Iau verbs and
on the Iau postverbal particles with three different sets of meanings de-
pending on the type of segmental stem on which they occur. On verbs, the
tone morphemes indicate 8 contrastive aspectual viewpoints. (See Bateman,
1986a Tone Morphemes and Aspect in Iau.) On the segmental illocutionary
force particles, we have seen that they indicate the pragmatic relation-
ships between speaker, hearer and the information content of the utter-
ance.   On all other postverbal particles the tone morphemes form a set of
contrastive status meanings (Foley and Van Valin, 1984) indicating degree
of factivity, and under what temporal circumstances the proposition is con-
sidered to be a reality. There is a correlation in the pragmatic func-
tions of the three sets of tone morphemes. A complete discussion is beyond
the scope of this paper, however a brief discussion is given below in
order to show why the pragmatic functions of the tone morphemes on segmen-
tal illocutionary force particles have been analyzed as presented in this
paper.   The three sets of meanings of the Iau tone morphemes are shown in
Figures 5, 6, and 7 below.

FIGURE 5. THE PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF THE ASPECT TONE MORPHEMES[6]

	Punctual	Durative	Incompletive
Totality of Action	9 Foregrounded Sequences of Events	3 Additional Detail Sequences of Events	7 Initiated But Interrupted Sequences of Events
Resultative	6 Affected Participants /Props	8 Detail Affected Participants	
Telic	5 Foregrounded Causative Event Chains	2 Additional Detail Causative Event Chains	4 Causative Event Chains Initiated but Not Completed

FIGURE 6. MEANINGS OF STATUS TONE MORPHEMES ON IAU POSTVERBAL PARTICLES

TEMPORAL CONDITIONS FOR REALITY	FACTIVITY: Established As Fact	Actually Realized	Possibly Realized
Reality At Some Time	9 is /was /used to be reality, did happen	3 have been have done do	7 would have /could have /might have been
	FACT	REALIZED	HYPOTHETICAL
Immediate Reality	6 is fact	8 being brought about, accomplished currently relevant reality	--
	CURRENT FACT	CURRENT REALIZATION	
Not An Immediate Reality	5 did happen /was fact but no longer relevant /in effect	(2) (only one occurrence: meaning obscure)	4 is /was probable /planned but not yet a reality
	NONPRESENT FACT	NONPRESENT REALIZE	UNREALIZED

FIGURE 7. PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF THE IAU TONE MORPHEMES ON SEGMENTAL ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE PARTICLES

ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE GOAL

ACHIEVEMENT OF ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE GOAL	Speaker Also Achiever -- Hearer Expected to Accept	Hearer is Achiever -- Hearer Expected to Accept	Hearer is Achiever -- Hearer Expected to Accept
Achieved	9 Speaker Controlling Statements, Advice, Prompting Questions	3 Answers Commands, Prohibitions Requests, Question for Confirmation	7 Reactions, Command: Hearer is Unresponsive ---
Being Achieved in Immediate Present	(6) Exclamations: Displeasure, Sorrow --- ---	8 Response Being Implemented, Commands: Immediate Response ---	
Not Necessarily Achieved	5 Exclamations: Change Focus, Suggestions:: Speaker Participates, ---	(2) --- --- ---	4 Answer: Deferential, Peripheral Information, Desire /Wish Question: Not Sure of Content

The tone 9 aspect morpheme on verb stems as shown in figure 5 is perfective and is used to mark highly foregrounded information in narrative discourse. (See Bateman, 1986a) As shown in figure 7, the tone 9 morpheme on statements indicates that the speaker is using his statement to control the information flow about the discourse topic and is asserting the information in the statement as core information that he wants the hearer to accept. On the other postverbal particles, the tone 9 status morpheme, as illustrated in figure 6, indicates that the proposition is being established and asserted by the speaker as fact. (See Bateman, 1986b) All of these uses of tone 9 have a similar pragmatic function of marking foregrounded highly asserted information in the discourse.

The tone 3 morpheme as shown in figure 5 marks information that gives additional detail in the sequence of narrative events in a narrative discourse. On segmental illocutionary force particles, tone 3 marks speaker noncontrolling statements which contain information directly about the discourse topic. On other postverbal particles, the tone 3 morpheme marks information that the speaker is viewing as actually realized fact at some contextually established time. The tone 3 morpheme marks discourse information that is being asserted about the discourse information that is being asserted about the discourse topic, but is not in itself a main point being made about the discourse topic.

The tone 7 morpheme is used in narratives as an incompleted aspect tone morpheme to indicate interrupted events that never are completed. On most other particles, it is used as a status morpheme to mark hypothetical fact, e.g. all the 'could have' and 'would have beens'. We have seen in this paper in section 3 that the tone 7 morpheme is used to mark noncontrolling speaker reactions to a previous statement. The information in the statement is about discourse topic but is not being asserted as main point information about the discourse topic. The tone 7 morpheme is used to mark more peripheral discourse information: irrealis information, information that the hearer may not be willing to accept, and deletable information such as circumstantial settings for the more foregrounded events.

The tone 6 and tone 8 morphemes as indicated in figures 5, 6, 7, mark information indicating either affected participants or information with significance for the immediate present.

The tone 5 morpheme as shown in the bottom rows of figures 5-7, marks information in the discourse that is intended to bring about a change in the course of events. In a narrative, a tone 5 event occurs for the purpose of bringing about the subsequent event. In a conversation, the speaker uses a tone 5 to suggest a alternative course of action to the current one (see section 2.0, this paper). In terms of the factivity of an event, the tone 5 morpheme emphasizes the factivity of the proposition in the face of evidence to the contrary.

The tone 2 morpheme gives additional information that is used to emphasize more foregrounded information in the discourse. In narrative discourse, tone 2 marks verbs giving information about the means by which a subsequent event is brought about. In terms of the factivity, as shown in figure 6, tone 2 emphasizes the factivity of another actually realized event in the discourse context by marking information that would normally have been expected to happen but didn't.

The tone 4 morpheme is used to mark information in a discourse when the speaker is not expecting the hearer to accept it for any of a number of reasons. The speaker may be uncertain of the truth of the information; he may be uncertain of the hearers willingness to accept it; he may be uncertain of his right to give the information to the hearer or demand a response from him; or he may wish to offer information to the hearer that is a personal opinion that the hearer is free to accept or reject.

The charts shown in figures 5, 6, and 7 are 'predictive', i.e. they have been used in the analysis of the Iau tone morphemes to predict the meanings of tones that have not been found in the data and also to help determine the meanings of tones with only a very limited occurrence in the data. This has been especially helpful in the analysis of tones 6, 7 and 2. As we saw in section 2.0, the chart predicts that a tone 7 on a directive particle will occur in some situation where the hearer is resistant to speaker but where the speaker feels he has the right to

control the behavior of the hearer. When a tone 7 on a directive did finally occur, it appeared in just such a context. Tones 6, 2 and 5 do not occur in the data on segmental illocutionary force particles in the data but they do occur on segmental illocutionary force particles used as exclamations. The situations in which these exclamations are used coincide with the kind of situations predicted by the tone morpheme charts.

NOTES

1. See Appendix 1 and 2 in Bateman, "Tone Morphemes and Aspect in Iau" for a brief overview of Iau and a listing of the Iau postverbal particles, the tone morphemes and the meaning of each along with a listing of the abbreviations used in the examples.

   Research for this paper has been done under the auspices of a cooperative project of the Universitas Cenderawasih in Irian Jaya, Indonesia and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The author has had 30 months of village time in Faui as part of a 4-year period of intensive work on Iau Language data. Since the author's goal in Iau study is to be able to produce well-formed coherent texts of translated material into Iau, the analysis has been directed towards acquiring native speaker ability to produce well-formed text or at least to be able to determine whether or not a text is well-formed and makes use of normal discourse coherence features of Iau.

   I would like to thank my partner, Dr Helen Miehle, for her comments on successive drafts of this paper and also Dr Larry Jones for some very helpfull comments.

2. In Iau, not all sentences are marked for illocutionary force. The addition of mood particles in Iau shifts the focus of the sentence from the assertion of the information content of the sentence to the assertion of the speaker's attitude toward the proposition and the hearer. Content questions (e.g. who? what? why? etc.) and their answers do not take mood particles.

3. The term directive as used by Lyons (1977:746) includes any utterance through which the speaker tries to influence the behavior of the hearer. Examples of directives are: commands, requests, warnings, etc.

4. Status is a term used by Foley and Van Valin (1984:213) to refer to the actuality of the event, i.e. whether it has been actually realized or not.

5. For the purposes of this paper discourse topic can be defined as 'what the discourse is about'. Discourse topics in narrative discourse are usually a single entity, i.e. a participant or a prop. In conversational discourse, the discourse topic can be a single entity or the discourse topic can be a proposition.

6. The narrative discourse functions of the Iau aspect tone morphemes are discussed briefly in Bateman, The Tone Morphemes and Aspect in Iau. A more complete discussion entitled, "The Pragmatic Discourse Functions of the Iau Tone Morphemes" is currently being revised.

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