A PRELIMINARY STATEMENT OF WITU GRAMMAR:

THE SYNTACTIC ROLE AND STRUCTURE OF THE VERB.

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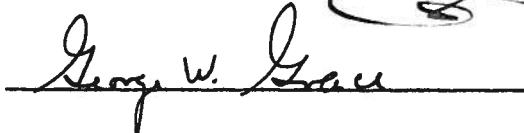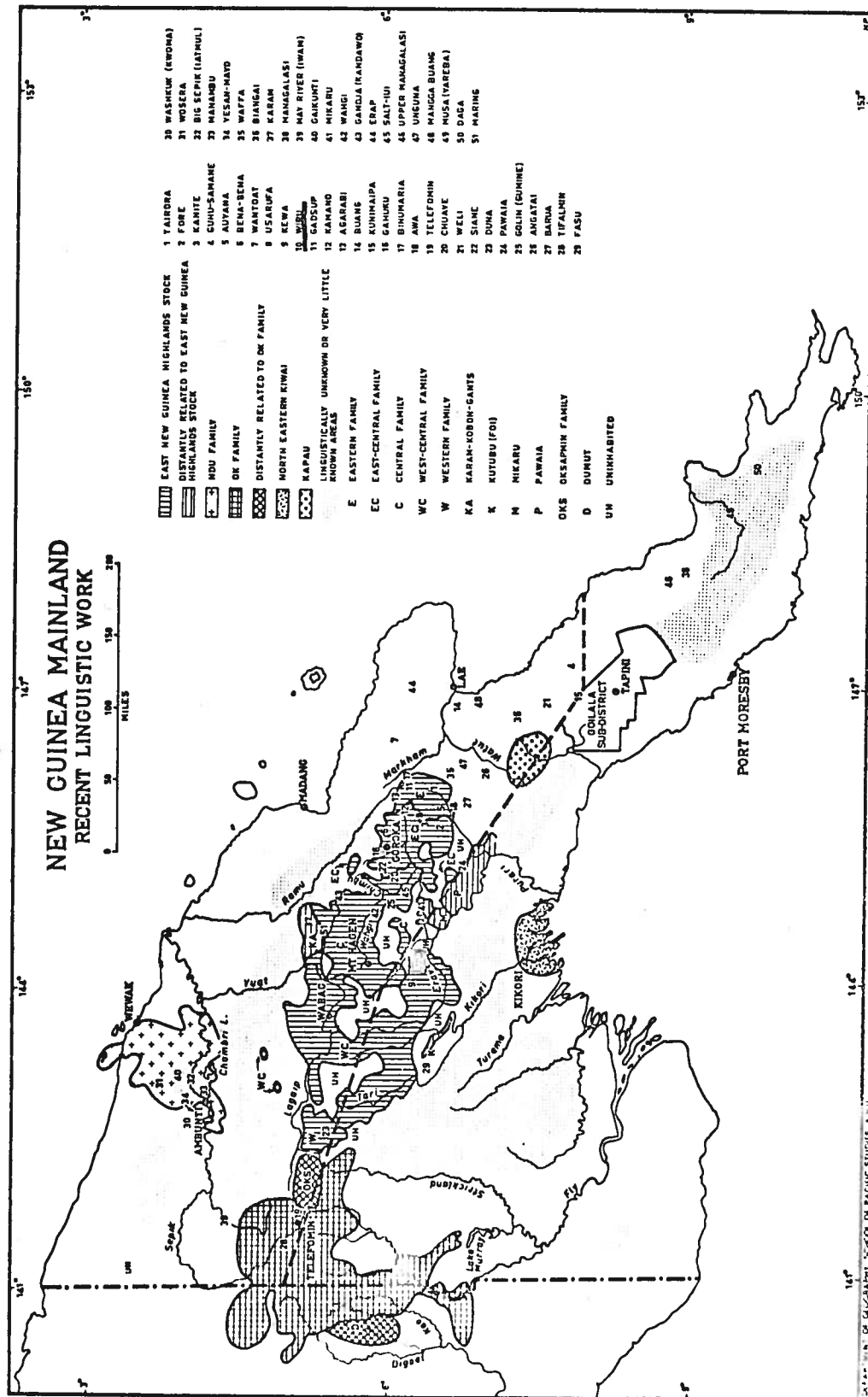of Master of Arts in Linguistics.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

NEW GUINEA MAINLAND
RECENT LINGUISTIC WORK

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Historical Background. This statement is a preliminary description
of the grammatical structure of Witu, a language of the Southern High-
lands District of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.[1] The language
has been classified by S. A. Wurm (1964a, b) as a member of the West-
Central family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock, and represents
a distinct subfamily (of which it is the only member) within this
family. The language area was derestricted in 1960, and as yet there
have been no published statements on the phonology or grammar of Witu.
The classification of Witu in the West-Central Family, while reasonably
secure, is so far based on relatively slender evidence. This statement
may, in addition to any descriptive value, give the comparativist some
surer grounds on which to base his classification of the language.

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[1]Witu is a language spoken by some 15,000 people in the Pangia
Subdistrict of the Southern Highlands District in Papua. They live
around and away from the southern and south-western foothills of Mt.
Ialibu. The author and his wife first allocated in a bilingual
boundary village, Yogete, affiliated with the Kewa language group in
late 1958, and moved into Witu territory proper in late 1960 shortly
before the area was derestricted. This field project has been part
of the program of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, New Guinea
Branch, of which the author and his wife are members.

The territory in which the Witu live is divided into a number
of major named districts within which are various small villages or
hamlets and individual houses. Residence is patrilocal, and the
most highly functional social units within the district and village
are patrilineage-like groups. The author and his wife settled in the
district of Poloko at the village of Bolota. At the time of arrival
it was a ceremonial dancing center with men's residences only. In
response to Administration and Mission action it has become a major
village of family houses.

Prior to A. Capell's work little had been known of the languages of Highland New Guinea, an area which had been geographically inaccessible until the years immediately preceding the Pacific War. Following the war Capell (1949/50) undertook the first work which pointed to the likelihood of a group of interrelated languages in the Highlands. Wurm carried out an extensive survey of the Highlands in 1958 and 1959 on the basis of which, by application of lexicostatistical techniques he set up a linguistic phylum, the East New Guinea Highlands (Micro-) Phylum. Except for a few fringe languages (linguistically and geographically) most of the languages involved in his survey were assigned by him to a single stock, the East New Guinea Highlands Stock. Within this stock he recognized five families, the Eastern, East-Central, Central, West-Central and Western, and within all but the last, several subfamilies. The lexicostatistical threshhold values for such classification were fixed by Wurm as follows: 81% shared vocabulary indicated the border between language and dialect; 28% to 81% shared vocabulary represented the degree of language diversification within a family; within a subfamily of the same family languages shared from 40% to 55% cognates more or less. Within the stock the different families shared from 15% to 25% cognates. (Wurm 1964b p. 78).

The Summer Institute of Linguistics commenced linguistic research in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea in 1956. Currently this organization has work in progress in some sixty languages, many of them in the Highlands, and a considerable number in languages falling within the East New Guinea Highlands Stock (Pence 1962). Amplified

word lists, and depth studies of phonology and grammar now supply an increasingly effective basis for testing and consolidating the classification set up by Wurm. Wurm, himself (1964b) has moved into the area of typological studies reinforcing his purely lexicostatistical observations with pertinent grammatical data.

Of those areas under study by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, languages of the Eastern Family have received the most attention. Linguistic work was first commenced, and the main base of operations built, in the Eastern Family area. Prior to this James Watson (now of the University of Washington, Seattle) had begun anthropological work in the Agarabi language of this family, later extending to the Tairora language. In 1961, under his direction, a major anthropological project was inaugurated in the Eastern Family, extending over a period of five years, and including within its scope a major emphasis on linguistics (particularly comparative). H. P. McKaughan (released for this work by the Summer Institute of Linguistics) undertook the linguistic phase of this project, and in collaboration with members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and also independently, laid a foundation of several published papers, descriptive and comparative, for the Eastern Family (McKaughan 1964, Loving and McKaughan 1964, Frantz and McKaughan 1964). More recently the author has been partially involved in this project. He has undertaken in conjunction with other members of the project (both from the University of Washington, and the Summer Institute of Linguistics) a comparative study of the kinship system, and studies of the verb system of Tairora. The latter may hold the key to a better understanding of the verb system of the other languages of the family.

Relatively less is known of the languages of the families at the western end of the stock. However, what might perhaps be called major (or basic) grammatical features of languages in the Eastern and East-Central Families appear also in languages of the western zone. Insights gained from a study or knowledge of the latter may be highly relevant in studying and describing the former.

Witu is geographically a rather compact language group within which there is so far little evidence of any major dialect variation. Difficult and relatively uninhabited terrain isolates it from other language areas to the east (in particular) and to the north and south (in lesser degree). Most regular contact with other language groups, (involving a moderate amount of marriage across the borders) is with the Kewa-pi (Wurm's term) language to the east and south, and the Gawigl language (again Wurm's term) of the Central Family to the north. The former language is referred to as Kewa and the latter language as Lai by the Witu of the area in which the author worked.

1.2 Structural Background. Kewa is probably both geographically and linguistically closer to Witu than any other language, but preliminary studies require it to be classed in a separate subfamily. Substantial initial statements of the grammar and phonology of Kewa have been prepared by the Franklins (Franklin and Franklin 1962, Franklin 1964). The grammatical and phonological structure of Witu is considerably different considering their proximity. However, both languages agree in two prominent features which seem to be widely shared by languages of the stock. These include (1) sentence constructions which have been called medial constructions,

and (2) clause constructions in which a distinction is made within the verb expression between actions with no other individual or individuals specifically in focus as benefactee than those cited as subject, and those in which the action is carried out with another or with others than the subject as benefactee. These two features reflect a system of relationship which seems to be of considerable importance in the grammatical system of Witu. On the one hand the language takes note of the relationship (both personal and temporal) between the subject and action of successive clauses in the one sentence, and on the other it takes particular note of the personal relationship obtaining between the performer (subject or agent) of the action and the goal (object) of the action within a single clause. Something of the same thing (typologically) in Gadsup (Eastern Family) may perhaps clarify the nature of this type of relationship. The English sentence 'he killed his father' may imply either, he killed his own father, or he killed someone else's father. Gadsup makes a formal distinction between the two types of sentence. For the former it uses a 3rd person singular possessive pronoun implying that the subject killed his own father (the object). For the latter Gadsup uses a 3rd person plural possessive pronoun implying that the subject killed someone else's father (the object).[2] This type of plurality is not the usual simple morphological plurality

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[2]The author is indebted to Chester Frantz for this information by personal communication.

with a single noun or noun expression as referent. It involves syntactic plurality, i.e. a single lexeme has two distinct syntactic units for referent.

The following grammatical description of Witu adheres to no particular descriptive model. It is essentially a working analysis aiming to consolidate information already gained as a stepping stone to further insights into the grammatical structure of the language. It is particularly concerned with verbal constructions. Nominal constructions are less structured than verbal constructions and reveal relatively little of significance to an interpretation of clause and sentence patterns.

Although recent studies of Highlands New Guinea languages point increasingly to a common origin for a large number of them, the diversity even among geographically proximate languages which are most obviously related is considerable. Since the study of such languages is in its infancy there has yet to emerge a clear picture of the common shared grammatical features. This must result inevitably in problems of naming grammatical features. Terms used for the description of grammatical features in Witu may not necessarily match their usage in other Highlands languages, nor enable the reader to grasp most readily those features in which Witu agrees with other languages. As far as possible all descriptions of constructions are illustrated with several examples in an immediately following section. Some of the features of such examples will involve constructions dealt with in a later section. Other features may not be dealt with or only cursorily dealt with in this description. It is hoped that the inclusion of such features in

the illustrations rather than confusing the picture will enable the reader to see the principal constructions under study in wider perspective. The examples have been broken down into their minimal formal components with this in mind.

Examples of the various constructions dealth with in the body of the text will be presented in sections numbered according to the chapter and subsection they illustrate as follows: (a) the vernacular expression is listed first with morphs within a word separated by a period; (b) literal morph by morph translation is listed second with periods indicating the corresponding morph boundaries in the vernacular and hyphens joining words which equate with a single morph in the vernacular. The literal translation is set off from the rest of the example in parentheses; (c) the free translation is presented last. Sometimes two free translations are given where one alone does not adequately convey the meaning of the vernacular.

CHAPTER II

STANDARD MEDIAL SENTENCES

2.1 General Statement. A sentence in Witu may consist of a single clause or a sequence of clauses. A single clause sentence is named an elementary sentence, with the restriction that this term does not apply to single clause sentences which result from the reduction of the final clause of medial and irrealis sentences. A sentence consisting of a sequence of clauses is named a multiclause sentence. The structure of multiclause sentences is described in terms of sentences with only two clauses to reduce complications of description. It should be understood, however, that both clauses may be included within an extended multiclause sentence of several clauses.

Multiclause sentences are of two major kinds: medial sentences and irrealis sentences. Both are characterized by the structure of the verb of the first clause. The verb of the final clause has the same structure as the verb of an elementary sentence.[1]

Elementary and multiclause sentences may be narrative-interrogative sentences or imperative sentences. Since the structure of the verb of interrogative sentences is the same as the structure of verbs of narrative sentences, they have been included together as the same sentence type. Imperative sentences are characterized by the set of imperative tense-subject affixes taken by the final verb. These affixes are listed in Table IX.

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[1]The only exception is the final verb expression of contrary to fact irrealis sentences (section 4.4).

The final verb of elementary and multiclause sentences is named the independent final verb of the sentence. It may take any one of the sets of tense-subject affixes of section 8.2.2 except the medial set.

Standard medial sentences consist of two clauses, the first named the medial clause, the last named the final clause.[2] The two principal subtypes of standard medial sentence are named (1) single subject standard medial sentence and (2) multisubject standard medial sentence. Each is characterized by the verb of the medial clause. The verb of the former type takes tense-subject affixes of the medial type listed in Tables IV and XIII. The verb of the latter type takes any of the sets of tense-subject affixes except the medial set. (see section 8.2.2). It is characterized by the verb final multisubject indicator -IV, an affix with a variable vowel.

It has been customary to focus attention on the subject in determining the major categories of medial sentence in languages of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Witu, however, it seems equally important to consider the time dimension, and to register a primary opposition of medial sentences which involve on the one hand a single time category and on the other hand two time categories. The former are named single time medial sentences, and the latter multitime medial sentences.

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[2]Medial sentences are a characteristic feature of New Guinea Highlands languages. The term 'medial' was first proposed by Capell and is currently used by all linguists involved in the study of such languages.

<u>2.2 Single Subject Standard Medial Sentences</u>. In single subject
standard medial sentences the verbs of both the medial and final
clause have the same subject. The action of the medial verb may
involve the same time category as the action of the final verb, or
involve a different time category. When a single time category is
involved, the activity of the sentence is a single complex activity.
The medial and final verb express a different aspect of the one
activity. The actions are either in immediate and uninterrupted
sequence or are virtually simultaneous. In some situations the verb
combinations amounts almost to a verbal idiom. The form of the medial
verb of such a sentence differs characteristically from the medial
verb in a sentence involving two time categories. There is no specific
tense affix, and the subject of the verb is only specified in the verb
when it is 1st person singular. The tense of the medial verb, however,
is named medial present tense.

When two time categories are involved, the two verbs are always
semantically independent, and except in a few very limited situations,
which constitute special subconstructions, there is nothing approxi-
mating verbal idiom formation. The two actions may be in a cause-
effect relationship, but the cause-effect relationship is not an
inherent feature of the verbs, but rather reflects the accident of the
situation. Commonly there is not even this degree of semantic inter-
dependence. The medial verbs of such sentences take both tense and
subject affixes. The tense affix may be medial future -<u>de</u> or medial
past -<u>ko</u>/-<u>ke</u>.

The final clause of a single subject standard medial sentence may
be omitted if the verb of the medial clause is inflected for medial

future tense. It is therefore necessary to distinguish verbs which
occur finally in a sentence, but which are morphologically medial
verbs, from those verbs which are both morphologically and positionally
final verbs. The term independent final verb is used for the latter,
and dependent final verb for the former.

2.2.1 The Subject Dimension in Single Subject Standard Medial
Sentences. The Witu verb consists of three sectors of which only the
initial root sector and the final tense-subject sector are obligatory.
Among the various forms manifesting tense and subject, however, it is
necessary to recognize a zero form and loss of forms. These features
of the verb are restricted to medial verbs inflected for medial present
tense, and to imperative sentences in which the subject of the imperative
verb is 2nd person singular. A verb inflected for neutrality also
involves a zero manifestation of the subject.[3] Apart from these
situations the subject of the verb of the medial and final clause of
standard medial sentences is always indicated by a suffix in the
obligatory final sector of the verb. Unless the multisubject suffix
-IV follows it, the subject suffix is the final suffix of the verb.
It may, however, be followed by the clitic -pa which is a feature of
the sentence rather than the verb to which it attaches (see section
6.2.1).

The subject of the verb may also be identified by a free personal
pronoun or a noun expression. In referring to those forms which
specify the subject of a verb the term bound subject pronoun is used

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[3]-neya the neutral suffix may, however, be described as a
nondiscriminatory subject indicator. It reflects the subject of the
verb without specifying the subcategories of the subject.

TABLE I.   THE CARDINAL FREE PERSONAL PRONOUN SYSTEM

Number

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	no[4]	tota	toto
2nd	ne	kita	kiwi
3rd	one	kita	kini

TABLE II.   THE POSSESSIVE FREE PERSONAL PRONOUN SYSTEM

Number

Person	Singular	Non singular
1st	anu	tone
2nd	neke	kini
3rd	one	kini

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[4]The following segmental phonemes have been identified to date in Witu. Vowels: i, e, a, o, u   Consonants: p, t, k, b, d, g, m, n, l, w, y. The five vowels correspond reasonably closely with the five cardinal vowels. p, t, and k are simple stop consonants which tend to be voiceless aspirated word initially, and unaspirated, sometimes with slight friction and voicing, word medially. b, d, and g are prenasalised stops. l tends to be slightly retroflexed. t differs from the other two stops (p and k) word medially. It is voiced when preceded by i and followed by a or o, and is flapped in other inter-vocalic environments.

TABLE III.   THE BOUND SUBJECT PRONOUN SYSTEM
OF INDEPENDENT FINAL VERBS

	Number	
Person	Singular	Non singular
1st	-u	-o
2nd	-o	-i
3rd	-o	-i

TABLE IV.   THE BOUND SUBJECT PRONOUN SYSTEM OF MEDIAL VERBS
IN SINGLE SUBJECT STANDARD MEDIAL SENTENCES

	Number	
Person	Singular	Non singular
1st	-ne[5]	-te
2nd	-me	-te
3rd	-me	-te

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[5]Tone is contrastive in Witu, but as in Fasu and possibly other languages in this area of the Highlands it is contrastive at the word rather than the syllable level. A given word carries only one contrastive tone. The over-all tone contour of the word is determined by the nature of the tone, the placement of the tone and the length of the word. There appear to be only two contrastive tones. Since a final solution of the tone system has not been determined, tone is not represented in any of the words. While there are a number of minimal pairs for tone, tone does not carry a heavy functional load. Literacy programs have been carried out without including tone in the orthography, and initial publications in Witu have not indicated tone. Older and younger Witu have become literate despite this, and have no difficulty in reading once literate.

for the verbal suffix, and the term free subject pronoun for free

personal pronouns manifesting the subject. In certain situations

it is useful to use the cover term nominal expression for both noun

expressions and free personal pronouns.

The bound subject pronouns and free personal pronouns of Witu

are listed in Tables I to IV. The free personal pronouns of Table I

are the cardinal personal pronouns, and those of Table II free possessive

personal pronouns. Two subdimensions, person and number underlie the

free and bound subject pronoun systems. While both systems have the

same underlying dimensions, the number of subject categories registered

by each is not the same. The number of categories recognized by each

may be the random product of forces with no grammatical significance.

If so, it is pointless to draw any grammatical conclusions from the

number and nature of the subject categories recognized in each of the

Tables I to IV. A growing body of data from other languages of the same

stock, however, suggests that the number of categories recognized by a

particular bound personal pronoun system and the formal manifestation

of these categories is grammatically significant.[6]

One of the most consistent features of the four personal pronoun

systems is the formal identity of 2nd and 3rd person pronouns,

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[6]This is particularly the case in the bound subject pronoun system
of the verb in Tairora of the Eastern Family described in an unpublished
paper, The Structure of the Tairora Verb System, Harland Kerr and Alex
Vincent.

particularly when plural. This is a feature of many other (if not all

other) languages of the stock.[7] In both bound subject pronoun systems

2nd and 3rd person are represented by the same form, the form varying

according to the number of the pronoun. In the free personal pronoun

systems 2nd person nonsingular and 3rd nonsingular pronouns have the

same base ki-.

The bound subject pronoun system of independent final verbs

listed in Table III distinguishes only three categories of subject

(1) 1st singular; (2) 2nd singular, 3rd singular and 1st plural; and

(3) 2nd nonsingular and 3rd nonsingular. The last category is mani-

fested by the front vowel -i and the first two categories by back

vowels -u and -o respectively. The sector which combines the first

two categories equates with what in languages of the East-Central

Family has been described as the monofocal subject pronoun category.[8]

The sector manifested by the bound pronoun -i equates with polyfocal

pronouns. The parallel may be fortuitous, but it may be significant

that in Kewa, Witu, Bena-bena and Gahuku the polyfocal category is

marked by the front -i.[9]

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[7]Wurm particularly cites this feature of Highlands languages. S.A.
Wurm, "Australian New Guinea Highlands Languages and the Distribution of
Their Typological Features," American Anthropologist 66, 4 (1964), p. 82.
   [8]Young first postulated this dichotomy of bound subject pronouns in
his description of the primary verb in Bena-bena of the East-Central
Family (Young 1964 pp. 47-51).
   [9]The pronoun initial affix of free personal pronouns of the poly-
focal category in Kewa is i-. In Bena-bena of the East-Central Family
the stem final vowel of verbs whose subject is a polyfocal pronoun is i
if the verb class is Class B or C, but another front vowel e if the verb
is Class A (Young 1964 p. 49). In Gahuku of the East-Central Family the
focal category of the subject of a verb expression is indicated in various
ways by a vowel of the verb expression. In all cases the polyfocal cate-
gory is identified by the vowel i (Deibler 1963 p. 8).

The bound subject pronoun system of medial verbs distinguishes three categories of subject: (1) 1st singular -ne, (2) 2nd and 3rd singular -me, and (3) plural -te. The three categories resolve themselves into a basic dichotomy of person and number. When the subject is singular, the bound subject pronoun registers the person of the subject. When the subject is plural, the bound subject pronoun registers the number of the subject but not the person of the subject.[10] It is assumed that these bound subject pronouns are not portmanteau forms.

2.2.2 The Temporal Dimension in Single Subject Standard Medial Sentences. All verbal activity takes place in the context of the dimension of location in time, whether or not there is any overt form, affixal or free, specifying the tense or time of the activity. As for the subject, so with time, the relevant category is indicated in the verb by a suffix. It may be additionally identified by a free temporal pronoun, by a temporal noun phrase or temporal clause.

The verbal affixes register three categories of time. In the final verb these affixes are elementary tense affixes, specifying the tense categories, present, future and past. These three

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[10] Wurm (1964b p. 82) has noted that the affixes of verbs of languages of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock are rarely portmanteau forms.

categories are marked by k̲, -o̲ and -ko̲ respectively, and immediately precede the subject suffix. In the medial verb also three categories of time are registered. Although the categories so distinguished are not elementary tense categories as in the final verb, they parallel closely the tense categories of the final verb, and can legitimately be given the same names, present, past and future. The absence of any suffix (-∅) indicates that the action of the medial verb is carried on at the same time as the action of the final verb. This category is named medial present. The suffix -de̲ indicates that the action of the medial verb will take place in the future after the action of the final verb. This category is named medial future. The suffix -ke̲ alternating phonologically with -ko̲ indicates that the action of the medial verb has already taken place, or been set in motion prior to the action of the final verb. This category is named medial past. The medial temporal affixes (like the elementary tense affixes) immediately precede the subject suffix.

The tense distinctions of the final verb are rated from the time of speech activity of the speaker. Present tense refers to time now, past tense to time previous to now, and future tense to time following now. The temporal distinctions of the medial verb are rated from the time of the activity of the final verb. The

medial future can thus represent a future action with reference
to a final action in process now, or a future action with reference
to a past situation or a future action with respect to a future
situation. Similarly medial present can occur in the context of
a past, present, or future situation. Medial past would seem to
be restricted to past and future situations. Medial past verbs
which associate with a verb inflected for final present tense
represent a somewhat different type of construction from those
being dealt with in this section (see sections 3.1.1, 3.1.2 and
3.1.3). The above definitions of medial and final tenses are
necessarily an oversimplification.

The final present tense may refer to an action which the
subject is on the verge of performing, and hence infer immediate
future. Medial past tense may in some instances refer to the
action of a medial verb which is strictly contemporary with the
action of the final verb (see section 3.1.1).

The various combinations of medial and final tense are summarized
in Table V. The illustrations are full single subject standard medial
sentences reduced to the minimal elements, a medial and a final verb.
The medial verb is mo- 'to get' which takes a stem formative affix -to
with medial past tense, and with final present and past tenses. The

final verb is _pi_- 'to lie (intr.)' or 'to place something (tr.).'
The first example in the top left hand corner, <u>moane</u> <u>piku</u> can be
translated 'I will take (it) and place (it)' or 'I am taking (it)
and placing (it).'[11] The two actions are contemporaneous and
carried out in the present or immediate future. The example
<u>moane</u> <u>piou</u> means 'I will take (it) and place (it).' The two
actions are contemporaneous in the future. The example <u>moane</u> <u>pikou</u>
is translated 'I took it and placed it.' The two actions are
conceived of as essentially simultaneous and in the past. In each
example a truer sense of the essential contemporaneousness of the
actions would be conveyed by a more literal translation, 'Holding
(it) I place(d) (it).'

In those examples involving a medial future tense the medial
verb means less 'to hold' and more 'to get,' as in <u>moadene</u> <u>piku</u>
'I am placing (it) (there) to get (something).' Medial future
tense frequently implies the purpose of an action, but it is not an
essential correlate of this tense: <u>oto</u> <u>noadene</u> <u>puku</u> 'I will be
coming back here, I'm going now.' <u>moadene</u> <u>piou</u> is translated 'I
will put (it) to get (something),' and <u>moadene</u> <u>pikou</u> 'I put (it)
(there) to get (something).'

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[11]An item included in parenthesis is a gloss inferred from the
context but not represented by a form in the vernacular.

TABLE V. SINGLE SUBJECT STANDARD MEDIAL SENTENCES

Medial Tense	1st sing.	2nd-3rd sing.	1st plural	2nd-3rd plural	Final Tense
Present P	moane piku	moa piko	moa piko	moa piki	P
	moane piou	moa pioo	moa pioo	moa pioi	F
	moane pikou	moa pika	moa pikoo	moa pikoi	Pst
Future F	moadene piku	moademe piko	moadete piko	moadete piki	P
	moadene piou	moademe pioo	moadete pioo	moadete pioi	F
	moadene pikou	moademe pika	moadete pikoo	moadete pikoi	Pst
Past Pst	motokene piku	motokome piko	motokome piko	motokete piki	P
	motokene piou	motokome pioo	motokome pioo	motokete pioi	F
	motokene pikou	motokome pika	motokome pikoo	motokete pikoi	Pst

The medial verb mo- inflected for medial past tense again has the meaning 'to get.'   motokene piou means 'when I get (it) I will place (it) (somewhere).'   motokene pikou means 'when I got (it) I put (it) (somewhere).' The combination of medial past and final present tense illustrated by motokene piku is possibly an unnatural illustration. This type of combination is not common, and when it occurs seems to refer to two actions which are contemporary as in the sentence oto nekete iki (here coming singing) 'They are coming here singing.' motokene piku is included (despite its unnaturalness) to illustrate the form of such constructions.

2.2.3 The Two Subdimensions of the Temporal Dimension. So far the temporal dimension has been treated as a simple unlinear dimension registering three time categories, past, present and future. It should rather be treated as a complex dimension roughly like the complex subject dimension for which two subdimensions, person and number were postulated. The two subdimensions of time are named tense and number. The terms past, present and future represent the three categories of the tense dimension. But when the tense categories of the final and medial verb are combined within a single time matrix it is essential to recognize the subdimension of number. The tense categories of final verbs represent singular (single time perspective) categories. -k 'present', -o 'future' and -ko 'past' imply only a single action, and hence only a single time perspective for the clause of the verb to which they attach. Independent final verbs and the independent final clause in which they function do not presuppose any other related clause or verbal activity.

The tense categories of the medial verb represent plural time categories. They imply a double time referent (i.e. a twofold time perspective), one implicit in the medial verb, and the other implicit in the final verb. This must, however, be qualified. When the tense category of the medial verb is medial present, the medial sentence involves only a single time perspective since the time perspective of the final verb and the time perspective of the medial verb coincide. When, however, the tense category of the medial verb is medial past or medial future, the medial sentence involves two time perspectives, that of the medial verb, and that of the final verb. Table VI summarizes these two-dimensional characteristics of time in Witu.

Table VI may be interpreted as follows, viewing the temporal affixes as markers of particular sentence types which involve singular time and plural time perspectives respectively. The cells of the left hand column under singular time represent the time markers of elementary sentences (i.e. a sentence consisting of a single clause with an independent final verb for predicate). The independent final verb of such sentences takes the tense affixes, -k -ko and -o of the left hand column. The cells of the right hand column under plural time represent the distinctive time markers of single subject standard medial sentences i.e. a sentence consisting of two clauses in which the verb of the first clause (the medial clause by which the sentence type is named) takes the distinctive medial tense affixes.

TABLE VI.   THE TWO DIMENSIONS OF TIME IN WITU SENTENCES

Number

Tense	Singular Time The Tense Categories of Final Verbs	Plural Time The Tense Categories of Medial Verbs	
Present	-k	-∅	single time perspective
Past	-ko	-ko / -ke	multitime perspective
Future	-o	-de	

single time
perspective

The two cells of the lower right hand corner are marked off from the other cells. A sentence carrying either of the time markers -<u>ko</u> (with its phonologically conditioned variant -<u>ke</u>) or -<u>de</u> has a double (hence plural) time perspective. The cell marked by zero (-∅) (present medial tense) characterizes a sentence with the formal markings of a construction with a double time perspective, since two actions are involved each with its own time perspective. However, the medial present tense feature -∅ requires the two time perspectives to be equated as a single complex time perspective.

The two major sectors of the matrix are named the single time sector and the multitime sector respectively. -<u>de</u> of the multitime sector specifies that the action of the medial verb to which it attaches occurs in the future, following the action of the final verb. -<u>ko</u> of the multitime sector is the medial past tense suffix. In standard medial sentences it specifies an action which precedes the action of the final verb. In nonstandard medial sentences, however, the action marked by medial past tense may be contemporary with the action indicated by the final verb, or may refer to an activity going on while the speaker is still speaking. Such constructions are dealt with under secondary medial sentences (Chapter III).

The single subject medial sentence represented by the cell with a zero (∅) tense suffix is a medial present tense sentence, and as already indicated involves only one time perspective. In sentences

of this type the two verbs commonly occur in immediate sequence, each expressing a different aspect of a single complex action. The verbal combination often amounts to a verbal idiom. [12]

The directional verbs pV- 'to go' and nV- 'to come' inflect irregularly in such medial present tense sentences. All other verbs inflected for medial present tense carry a subject suffix only when the subject is 1st person singular. However, pV- and nV- inflect for the full set of medial subject suffixes listed in Table IV when the medial tense of the verb is medial present.

It should be noted in conclusion that the tense and subject suffixes of medial verbs, and independent final verbs remain formally distinct. There is no fusion of tense and subject forms to produce portmanteau forms. The pressure against portmanteau forms is further evidenced by the fact that though the subject of a verb combines within its lexical make-up both person and number categories, the bound subject pronouns marks either the person category of the subject, or the number category, but not both. The 2nd-3rd person past tense form -ka of independent final verbs is the closest approximation to a portmanteau form observed. It may well have been derived from an earlier monolexemic form.

_____

[12]This type of verb construction approximates what Young has referred to as a compound unit in Bena-bena (Young 1964 p. 71).

2.2.2 Examples of Single Subject Standard Medial Sentences.

(1) Single Time - Medial Present Tense

<u>kai</u> <u>wi.a.ne</u> <u>n.o.u</u>. (pig kill.st-f.I   eat.f.I)[13] I'll kill and eat the pig.

---

[13]The following abbreviations are used in the morph by morph translation:

adv	adversitative suffix
ben	benefactive suffix
cause	causative suffix
compl	completive aspect suffix
del-fut	delayed future suffix
d-sp	direct speech particle
emph	emphasis suffix
f	final future tense suffix
imp	imperative
int	intensity of action suffix
m-f	medial future suffix
m-pst	medial past suffix
m-s	multisubject indicator
neg	negative suffix
pl	plural subject indicator suffix
pst	final past tense suffix
p	final present tense suffix
poss	possessive
prev	preventative suffix
rpt	reported or inferred situation suffix
s-cl	sentence clitic
sec-fut	secondary future suffix
s-cont	sentence continuant clitic
st-f	stem formative suffix
s-irr	simple irrealis suffix
trans	transitive suffix

When no descriptively adequate gloss can be given, then a given morph is sometimes represented by its own form in the morph by morph translation.

modo pado.a.ne y.o.u (sweet-potato peel.st-f.I cook.f.I) I'll peel and cook the sweet potatos.

Pagia ka.wa.ne nu.k.u (Panggia stand.st-f.I come.p.I) I have just come from Panggia.

Pagia ka.wa no.k.o (Panggia stand.st-f come.p.he) He has just come from Panggia.

Pagia ka.wa ni.k.i (Panggia stand.st-f come.p.they) They have just come from Panggia.

mani.ka pi.a no.ka pe (interrog.place sleep.st-f come.pst-3rd question) Where did he come from? (spoken early in the morning)

mani.ka ka.wa no.ka pe (interrog.place stand.st-f come.pst-3rd question) Where did he come from?

to.to tukili o.a me.o.o (we.pl school say.st-f sit.f.we) We all will attend school.

opi no.me me.k.o (today come.he sit.p.he) He has just arrived.

opi no.ne me.k.u (today come.I sit.p.I) I have just arrived.

Aeyota no.te me.ko.o (Aiyura come.pl sit.pst.we) We arrived at Aiyura.

a.te to.a[14]pe.ke.neya (up direction pull-up.st-f go.pst.neutral) He fled off and settled up there. He took refuge up there.

agawa no.pala o.ko.me Layowane ipe pana wi.a.ne modo t.o.u. w.a o.ka (my-mother me.to say.m-pst.she Layowane farm planting-hillock build.st-fI sweet-potato do.f.I say.st-f say.pst-she) My mother told me that she would be preparing the farm for planting sweet potato.

mani.pete no.k.o pe w.a.ne o.ko.u (interrogative.time come.p.you question say.st-f.I say.pst.I) I said, 'When are you coming.'

mani.pete no.k.o pe w.a o.ka (interrogative.time come.p.he question say.st-f say.pst-he) He said, 'When are you coming?'

anu kogono to.a.ne wa.k.u (my work do.st-f.I cease.p.I) I have stopped working.

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[14]The nasalised vowel of a root which belongs to the nasalised root class of verbs (Class 3) is indicated by underlining: thus toa. A superscript has not been used since tone, when marked, will be so indicated.

pa ꞵuꞵutu.a wi.t.a.neya (just everywhere.st-f kill.st-f.neutral)
He just killed wholesale without cause.

modo au.a ni.k.i (sweet-potato carry.st-f come.ꞵ.they) They are
bringing sweet ꞵotato.

neke ꞵiꞵia wi.a.ne weteka.k.u (your paper hit.st-f.I send.ꞵ.I) I
am writing you a letter.

(2) Multitime - Medial Future Tense

kai mo.a.de.ne ꞵu.k.u (ꞵig get.st-f.m-f.I go.ꞵ.I) I am going to get
the ꞵig.

atu ꞵi.a.de.ne ka.o.u (vaꞵour lie.st-f.m-f.I stand.f.I) I will put
it on when I go to sleeꞵ.

Poloko atu ꞵi.a.de.te ꞵo.o.i (Poloko vaꞵour lie.st-f.m-f.ꞵl go.f.
they) They will go to Poloko to sleeꞵ.

one ne no.a.de.me wa.k.o (his food eat.st-f.m-f.he refuse.ꞵ.he)
He refuses to eat his food.

opi no.a.de.ne ꞵu.k.u (today come.st-f.m-f.I go.ꞵ.I) I'll be back
today, I'm going now.

tateꞵe to.a.de.te ni.k.i (trade do.st-f.m-f.ꞵl come.ꞵ.they) They are
coming to trade.

nito.a.de.ne mo.no.ko.u.ya (do-as-just-said.st-f.m-f.I get.come.ꞵst.
I.s-cl) I have come to get it to do what I said I would.

one tu.a.de.ne yene ꞵi.ma ya.k.u wa o.ka.le ne ya.te.ka ꞵe (he die.
st-f.m-f.I sick lie.contemporaneous wander.ꞵ.I say say.ꞵst-he.m-s
you hear.st-f.2nd-ꞵst question) Did you hear him say, 'I am walking
around with a sickness about to die?'

ꞵagu teke kau.a.de.me i ꞵene titi.k.o (ꞵanggu root break.st-f.m-f.it
here just begin.ꞵ.it) The ꞵanggu root is about to break through (the
bark); it is beginning to just here.

(3) Multitime - Medial Past Tense

o.to ne.ke.ne mo.o.u (here.direction come.m-ꞵst.I get.f.I) I will
get it when I come back.

o.to ne.ke.te no.o.o (here.direction come.m-ꞵst.ꞵl eat.f.we) When
we return, we'll eat.

ene.ke.ne o.o.u (see.m-pst.I say.f.I) When I see (him), I'll tell (him).

niti.me tu.ke.ne yapu pu.k.u (cold.agent die.m-pst.I house go.p.I) I'm feeling sick, I'm going home.

e.da ka.ke.te en.o.o (there.place stand.m-pst.pl see.f.we) When we stand there, we can see it.

to mo.po.ko.me ene.ka (saw get.go.m-pst.he see.pst-he) When he went to get the saw, he saw it.

opi ne.ke.te i.k.i (now come.m-pst.pl say.p.they) They are coming singing.

kai wi.ti.ke.te no.o.i (pig kill.st-f.m-pst.pl eat.f.they) When they kill the pigs, they will eat.

kei poi yapu pi.ti.ka.ke.ne kawi.o.u (down fight house lie.st-f. trans.m-pst.I cool-off.f.I) When I put them down there in prison, I'll cool them off.

ue wi.ti.a po.ko.me kau to.o.o (water emerge.st-f.st-f go.m-pst.it dry do.f.it) When the sap runs out (of the tree), it will dry up.

kobu to.k.o.lo ene.ko.me po pitiko.a mou mo.a na.k.o (hungry do.p. it.m-s see.m-pst.he string throw.st-f fish get.st-f eat.p.he) When he feels hungry, he throws out a line, catches a fish and eats it.

ada ali me.ko.me mali pea patuka.tape.neya.ke tu.a.te.k.o.lono tigo.neya me.ko.me.pa one mati opi.a.neya (old-man man sit.m-pst.he Christmas all pass-by.complete.neutral.at die.st-f.sec-fut.p.he.time short. neutral sit.m-pst.he.s-cl his child born.st-f.neutral) When he was an old man of very many years, and about to die, he had a child.

2.2.2 Example of a Reduced Standard Medial Sentence - Medial Future

Tense.

en.a.de.ne mano (see.st-f.m-f.I give-to-me) I want to see it. Hand it to me.

2.3 Multisubject Standard Medial Sentences. When the subjects of the
two verbs of a standard medial sentence are different, the sentence is
a multisubject standard medial sentence. The verb of the medial clause
of such a sentence cannot be called a medial verb in the strict sense
of the word since it takes the tense and subject affixes of an
independent final verb, rather than a set of tense-subject affixes
restricted to medial clauses as in single subject standard medial
sentences. The verb of the medial clause in a multisubject sentence
is marked by a verb final suffix (-lV with a variable vowel) whose
only function is to specify that the subject of the verb of the final
clause is different from the subject of the verb to which it attaches.

There is a basic dichotomy of multisubject standard medial
sentences into those involving a single time perspective, and those
involving a multitime perspective. When a single time perspective
characterizes the temporal relationship of the verbs of the two clauses,
the verb of the medial clause is inflected for present tense. When a
multitime perspective characterizes the temporal relationship of the
verbs of the two clauses, the verb of the medial clause is inflected
for past tense. Past tense in the context of such a sentence connotes
both past and future situations.[15]

When the multisubject indicator -lV attaches to the verb of a
medial clause inflected for present tense, the variable vowel harmo-
nizes with the vowel which precedes it in the verb. This is indicated
in Tables VII and VIII. Single time perspective or contemporaneous

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[15]A similar situation obtains in temporal clauses involving the
suffix -pete (6.2.2).

TABLE VII.   THE VERB ni- INFLECTED AS AN
INDEPENDENT FINAL VERB

Subject	Tense	
	Present	Past
1st. sing.	nitiku	nitikou
2nd-3rd sing.	nitiko	nitika
1st. plur.	nitiko	nitikoo
2nd-3rd plur.	nitiki	nitikoi

TABLE VIII.   THE VERB ni- AS A MEDIAL VERB OF
MULTISUBJECT STANDARD MEDIAL SENTENCES

Subject	Tense	
	Single Time	Multitime
1st. sing.	nitikulu piki	nitikolu pioi
2nd-3rd sing.	nitikolo piki	nitikale pioi
1st. plur.	nitikolo piki	nitikolo pioi
2nd-3rd plur.	nitikili piki	nitikoli pioi

activity in the context of this construction involves something more
than mere simultaneity of action. The two actions commonly stand in
an interdependent type of cause-effect relationship, where each action
presupposes the other. The total sentence activity may be regarded as
a complex united action.

In the other type of multisubject standard medial sentences (i.e.
multitime sentences) two discrete, essentially independent actions are
commonly involved as in such a sentence as the following: <u>ponokale</u>
<u>enekou</u> 'I saw him passing by.' While the two actions may be treated
as contemporary, they are essentially independent, and are operating
in two time dimensions which merely intersect at a given point in time
rather than running parallel. This is in contrast to such a single
time sentences as <u>one mukiti nakolo pikala toko</u> which means, 'When her
back is aching, she lies down.' While no single term can adequately
connote the difference between the two types of multisubject medial
sentences, the first will be referred to as single time sentences and
the latter as multitime sentences, interpreted to mean united versus
independent activity. In other words, with single time multisubject
constructions the temporal aspect of each verb is correlated, while
with multitime multisubject construction the temporal aspect of each
verb is not correlated.

The medial verb of a multitime sentence is structurally almost
the same as the medial verb of a single time sentence. There are two
simple differences. With multitime sentences the multisubject
indicator -<u>IV</u> attaches to a verb which is otherwise the same as a final

verb inflected for past tense. There is a subsequent morphophonemic interaction by which the variable vowel of -IV harmonizes with the preceding subject vowel (unless that vowel is a̲ when the vowel V̲ becomes e̲). But the process goes one stage further, following this, and the subject vowel is dropped, except when this vowel is part of the portmanteau tense-subject form -ka̲. This is apparent from a comparison of the relevant verb in the right hand side column of Tables VII and VIII.

Table VIII lists examples of the two types of multisubject medial sentence. The medial verb is ni̲- (which like mo̲- 'to get, to hold' takes an obligatory stem formative -tV̲ with a harmonizing vowel when followed by a final present, or final past tense suffix) and the final verb is pi̲-. ni̲- means 'to do an action previously referred to,' and as a medial verb is usually best translated 'and so doing.' pi̲- (the same verb used in final role in Table V) means 'to lie (intr.) or to place (tr.)' nitikulu piki means 'and while I am so doing they are placing (it) (somewhere).' nitikolu pioi means 'and when I do so, they will place (it) (somewhere).'

2.3 Examples of Multisubject Standard Medial Sentences.

(1) Single Time

i.ta ka.ke.ne ene.k.u.lu abe pi.a.neya tetepo to.k.o (here.place
stand.m-pst.I see.p.I.m-s dirt lie.st-f.neutral seem-like do.p.it)
When I stand here and look, it seems to me as if there is dirt on it.

pene matiti wi.a.ne uduka.k.u.lu tu.tu.ka.kala to.k.o (just matches
hit.st-f.I ignite.p.I.m-s die.st-f.st-f.emph do.p.it) As I just
light a match, it keeps on going out.

i.me ko.k.u.lu ko.a.mo.k.o (this.agent wipe-off.p.I.m-s wipe-off.
st-f.neg.p.it) As I wipe it off with this, it (the stain) won't wipe off.

anu.me au.a.ne nu.k.u.lu wa.kala to.k.o (I.agent bring.st-f.I come.
p.I.m-s refuse.emph do.p.you) Now that I have brought this (to you),
you refuse to (take it).

waipa witi.k.i.li ene.k.o (song sing.p.they.m-s see.p.he) He is
looking at them as they sing. He is watching them singing.

yomo ka.k.o.lo ka.k.o (tree stand.p.it.m-s chop-down.p.we) If the
tree is standing, we chop it down.

pi.k.o.lo.pa poi.k.o (lie.p.it.m-s.s-cl cut-through.p.we) If it (the
tree) is lying down, we hack it up.

ta no.k.o.lo pu.k.u (rain come.p.it.m-s go.p.I) The rain is coming so
I'm off.

anu.me e.ke.ne ue mo.p.a w.a.ne u.k.u.lu mo.po.o.o (I.agent say.m-pst.
I water get.go.st-f say.st-f.I say.p.I.m-s get.go.f.he) Whenever I
say go and get water, he will go and get it.

ela to.k.o.lo me.k.u (sad do.p.it.m-s sit.p.I) I am sad. I live in a
state of sorrow.

tone.na kai tine tu.a.de.k.o.lo anu wene tubea keda to.k.o.lo ya.k.u.ye
(our.phrase-clitic pig offspring die.st-f.rpt.p.it.m-s my feelings
big heavy do.p.it.m-s wander.p.I.d-sp) Now that I have heard that our
piglets have died I live (wander around) with a heavy heart.

Tikili Bolota me.k.o.lo u.k.u.ye[16] (Tikili Bolota sit.p.you.m-s say.
p.I.d-sp) Tikili I am writing to you at Bolota.

opi no ta li.k.o.lo kadapi.me u.k.u (today I land dark.p.it.m-s
fourth-finger.time say.p.I) I am writing to you on Thursday night. It
is Thursday night time as I write to you.

(2) Multitime

ta pili.ka.le pa.me.le to.a.mo.k.o (weather break.pst-it.m-s go.neg.
le do.st-f.neg.p.he) The weather has broken and he cannot go.

Kalue kai wi.ti.ko.li mo.to.ka (Kalue pigs kill.st-f.pst.m-s get.
st-f.pst-you) You took (that photo) when they were killing pigs at Kalue.

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[16] -ye is a sentence-final clitic which may be roughly translated
'I say' or 'Do you hear'. It is a feature of such a common expression
as nukuye 'I'm coming'.

Pipiki.keneya ka.ko.lu wi.t.a.neya (Pipiki.like stand.pst.m-s
kill.st-f.st-f.neutral) They killed him (my father) when I was
Pipiki's age.

tika.tape.ko.lu po.ka (chase-off.complete.pst.m-s go.pst-it) When
I chased it off, it went away.

ki.mene baluti.ke po.ko.li no anu.me o.to no.o.u (you-pl.all plane.
in go.pst.m-s I I.agent here.direction come.f.I) When you go off
in the plane, I will come back here.

CHAPTER III

SECONDARY MEDIAL SENTENCES

In secondary medial sentences the final clause is manifested by an independent final verb only, so that the medial verb and final verb of the sentence are always juxtaposed. The root of the final verb is characteristically restricted, and is diagnostic of the various subtypes of secondary medial sentence.

As in standard medial sentences, there is a primary dichotomy involving single subject sentences on the one hand, and multisubject sentences on the other. Single subject secondary medial sentences exhibit a greater diversity of function and structure than multisubject secondary medial sentences.

3.1 <u>Single Subject Secondary Medial Sentences</u>. There are two subtypes of single subject secondary medial sentences (1) those sentences in which the verb root of the final clause is $t\underline{V}$- or $\underline{V}$- (2) those in which the root of the final verb is the same as the root of the medial verb.

3.1.1 <u>Temporal Medial Sentences</u>. Those single subject secondary medial sentences in which the verb of the last clause is $t\underline{V}$- are named temporal medial sentences. The final verb $t\underline{V}$- of this sentence type is essentially a lexically empty verb.

3.1.1 <u>Examples of Single Subject Secondary Medial Sentences</u>: <u>Temporal Medial Sentences</u>.

(1) <u>Medial Past Tense</u>

i wi.ti.ke.ne tu.k.u.no ene.ka (this kill.st-f.m-pst.I do.p.I.s-cl
see. obj) I am killing these (lice), just you watch.

me.ke.te ti.k.i (sit.m-pst.pl do.p.they) They are still living (there).

ta ene.pe.a ya.ko.me to.k.o ya.mo.ta (land see.off.st-f wander.m-pst.
st-f. do.p.he wander.let-him.imp) He's gone off to look over the land,
let him wander.

opi to.ko.me to.k.o (now do.m-pst.it do.p.it) (That's what) they've
been doing up to now. (Re. pigs which have been rooting up gardens in
yard, but which will soon be killed at the feast.)

kakale to.ko.me to.k.o (cold is.m-pst.it do.p.it) It has become
cold.

ne ene.ko.me to.k.o (you see.m-pst.it do.p.it) It (the pig) has been
(and still is) watching you.

anu yapu me.ko.me to.k.o (my house sit.m-pst.he do.p.he) He has been
at my house.

ta ta.ko.me to.k.o (rain splash.m-pst.it do.p.it) The rain has
splashed onto it.

lou mo.to.ko.me to.k.o (sun get.st-f.m-pst.it do.p.it) It (the cat)
has been (and is) lying in the sun.

pade.ka po.ko.me to.k.o (another.place go.m-pst.he do.p.he) He's
gone to some other place.

yapu.kene pi.ko.me to.k.o (house.inside lie.m-pstit do.p.it) It is
lying inside the house.

opi Paea piteni ya.te.ko.me to.k.o (now Paea pidgin-English hear.
st-f.m-pst.he do.p.he) Now Paea understands pidgin English.

kei.ti pe.ke.te o.to ne.ke.te t.o.i (back-there.direction go.m-pst.pl
come.m-pst.pl do.f.they) They are there one day and here tomorrow.

opi no.ko.me to.k.o (today come.m-pst.he do.p.he) He is coming now.
He's on the way now.

(2) Medial Future Tense

i.ka to.a.de.ne tu.k.u.no (this.place do.st-f.m-f.I do.p.I.s-con)
I still have this part to do.

<u>tu.a.de.me</u> <u>to.a.ke</u> <u>la.ta.k.o</u> (die.st-f. <u>m-f.</u> he <u>do.</u> st-f. though recover. st-f. p. he.) He almost died but he recovered.

<u>tu.a.de.me</u> <u>to.k.o</u> patu (die. st-f. <u>m-f.</u> it <u>do.</u> p. it perhaps) Perhaps it will go out (Re. flickering candle).

<u>yapu</u> <u>pi.pa.de.me</u> <u>to.k.o</u> (house sleep.go. <u>m-f.</u> he <u>do.</u> p. he) He is going off to sleep at the house.

<u>ali</u> <u>pade</u> <u>me.a.de.me</u> <u>to.k.o</u> (man another give. st-f. <u>m-f.</u> he <u>do.</u> p. he) He is going to give it to another man.

<u>keapi.yo</u> <u>pipia</u> <u>o.to</u> <u>wete.ka.de.me</u> <u>to.k.o.no</u> (kiap. agent-marker paper here. direction send. st-f. <u>m-f.</u> he <u>do.</u> p. he. s-con) The kiap will send word here.

<u>ali</u> <u>no.a.de.me</u> <u>to.k.o</u> (man eat. st-f. <u>m-f.</u> he <u>do.</u> p. he) He (the pig) is in a mood to eat a person.

<u>opa</u> <u>yo.a.de.me</u> <u>to.k.o</u> (now cook. st-f. <u>m-f.</u> it <u>do.</u> p. it) It will be cooked soon.

<u>one</u> <u>yapu</u> <u>pene</u> <u>wi.a.de.me</u> <u>to.k.o</u> (his house soon build. st-f. <u>m-f.</u> he <u>do.</u> p. he) He is shortly to build his house, or He is planning to build his house.

<u>moke</u> <u>to.a.de.te</u> <u>ti.k.i</u> (share do. st-f. <u>m-f.</u> pl <u>do.</u> p. they) They are about to share it around.

<u>po.a.ma.de.te</u> <u>ti.k.i.li</u> <u>kou</u> <u>wi.to.a</u> <u>ka.wa</u> <u>weteka.k.o</u> (go. st-f. neg. <u>m-f.</u> pl <u>do.</u> p. they. m-s unwilling st-f. st-f stand. st-f take-away. p. he) Because they do not wish to go, he is taking them against their will.

<u>ed.a.de.me</u> <u>to.k.o</u> <u>pe</u> (what. st-f. <u>m-f.</u> he <u>do.</u> p. he question) What will he do now?

The sentences illustrated above could be single clause rather than multiclause sentences. The predicate of the sentence would then be a complex two-verb sequence like the empty verb compounds of Chapter X. Multisubject secondary medial sentences of section 3.2 cannot be so analyzed since the two verbs have different subjects. To be consistent both types of secondary medial sentence are treated as multiclause sentences. In the above examples the final verb is <u>tV-</u>.

It is equated with the transitive verb tV- 'to do, to make, to work'
which belongs to a very small class of verbs (with only four primary
members) with a variable vowel, and characteristic irregularities of
inflection. In temporal medial sentences, however, the root tV- is
lexically empty and serves only as a base upon which to attach the
final tense and subject affixes of the sentence.

The final verb tV- takes the regular tense and subject affixes
of an independent final verb without restriction. The tense of the
medial verb is restricted to medial future and medial past tense.
The root of the medial verb is the lexically nuclear verb root of
the sentence, since tV- is lexically empty. When inflected for
medial future tense the medial verb refers to an action which is in
the future with respect to the time indicated by the tense of the
final verb tV-. When inflected for medial past tense the medial
verb refers to an action which is usually best interpreted as
contemporaneous with the time category expressed by the tense of
the final verb. It tends to imply current rather than prior (past)
action typical of this tense in standard medial constructions.

3.1.2 Vocal Medial Sentences. Those single subject secondary medial
sentences in which the verb of the last clause is V- are named vocal
medial sentences. V- is one of the four primary members of the verb
class with a variable root vowel. Like tV- it has a wide range of
grammatical function, and in some constructions is lexically empty
as tV- is in temporal medial sentences. In those constructions in

which it is not lexically empty, it generally implies vocal
activity (note the periphrastic verb expressions <u>ka</u> <u>V</u>- 'to cry
with pain', <u>komo</u> <u>V</u>- 'to weep' and <u>kayo</u> <u>V</u>- 'to call out').

Two subtypes of vocal medial sentences are recognized according
to the tense of the medial verb. Those in which the tense of the
medial verb is medial future are named <u>desiderative medial sentences</u>.
Those in which the medial verb is inflected for medial past tense are
named <u>vocal activity medial sentences</u>. As in temporal medial
sentences, medial past tense implies an action which is commonly
contemporary with the vocal action implied by the final verb, rather
than prior to the action of the final verb as in standard medial
sentences.

The vocal activity sentence is commonly included in a longer
sentence implying vocal activity. The description and classification
of this extended sentence is beyond the scope of this paper. It is
used for reported speech situations as in the following sentence:
<u>o.a</u> <u>po.ko.me</u> <u>o.ko.me</u> <u>kini</u> <u>ta.ke</u> <u>to.a.ti.k.i.le</u> <u>one</u> <u>ta.ke</u> <u>to.ko.u.le</u>
<u>pine</u> <u>eno.a.ti.no</u> <u>na.mene</u> <u>w.a</u> <u>o.ka</u> (say.st-f <u>go.m-pst.he</u> <u>say.m-pst.he</u>
their land.at do.st-f.do.p.they.p.le his land.at do.pst.I.le
base see.st-f.delayed-imp.s-cont come.imp say.st-f say.pst-he)
He went around saying, "Come and see the way I have done it at my
place so that you can do the same (planting of coffee) on your land."

3.1.2 Examples of Vocal Medial Sentences

(1) Desiderative Medial Sentences: Medial Future Tense

neke.ke lapolapo pade kue.me mo.a.de.ne u.k.u (your.from clothing
some money.agent get.st-f.m-f.I say.p.I) I want to obtain some
clothing from you for money.

neke lene timini en.a.de.ne u.k.u (your eye nose see.st-f.m-f.I
say.p.I) I want to your face (I want to see you face to face).

ne wi.a.de.me o.k.o (you hit.st-f.m-f.she say.p.she) She intends to
hit you.

(2) Vocal Activity Medial Sentences: Medial Past Tense

opi ne.ke.te i.k.i (now come.m-pst.pl say.p.they) They are coming
now talking (singing) as they come.

kunana o.a.de.te pe.ke.te i.k.i (courting-song say.st-f.m-f.pl go.
m-pst.pl say.p.they) They are going off to court the girls. They are
talking of going off to court.

mani.pete no.k.o patu w.a.ne anu.me ne ya.te.ke.ne u.k.u.ye
(question.time come.p.you perhaps say.st-f.I I.agent you hear.
st-f.m-pst.I say.p.I.d-sp) I would like to hear from you as to when
perhaps you are coming.

3.1.3 Completive Medial Sentences.
Those single subject secondary
medial sentences in which the root of the final verb is the same as
the root of the medial verb are named completive medial sentences,
though this term is only descriptively fitting for those types in
which the tense of the medial verb is medial past tense.

Sentences in which the medial verb is inflected for medial past
tense are named regular completive medial sentences. If the subject
of such a sentence is singular, the sentence describes an action
which is carried through to completion. It equates with the
Neomelanesian expression 'to do something finish'. The verb root

<u>pV</u>- 'to go' in the context of such a construction means 'to leave a place for good, to leave a place and not return'. In other constructions it simply means 'to leave a place, to go away' without any implication of no return. When the subject of the sentence is plural, it may imply the same completion of an action, but the sentence may also imply that all the members of a particular group under discussion are involved together in a joint action.

The medial verb of a completive medial sentence may also be inflected for medial future tense. Only two examples of this type of sentence have been recorded, and its function is still indeterminate.

As with all the sentence constructions described so far the constructions described above may become part of an expanded sentence of which they constitute the initial or final part.

<u>3.1.3 Examples of Completive Medial Sentences.</u>

(1) <u>Regular Completive Medial Sentences</u>: <u>Medial Past Tense</u>

<u>opi</u> <u>to.to</u> <u>pitu.ke.te.mene</u> <u>pitu.a.to</u> (now we.pl cut.m-pst.1st-pl-imp cut.st-f.1st-pl.imp) Let us all get our hair cut together now.

<u>one</u> <u>tu.ko.me</u> <u>tu.ka</u> (he die.m-pst.he die.pst-3rd) He has died.

<u>po.ko.me</u> <u>po.k.o</u> <u>pe</u> (go.m-pst.he go.p.he question) Is he going for good?

<u>kini</u> <u>atua</u> <u>mo.to.ke.te</u> <u>mo.to.ko.i</u> (their women get.st-f.m-pst.pl get.st-f.pst.they) They (the whole group of young men) obtained wives.

<u>pe.ke.te</u> <u>p.a.to</u> (go.m-pst.pl go.st-f.1st-pl-imp) Let's all go.

(2) <u>Completive Medial Sentences</u>: <u>Medial Future Tense</u>

<u>Motepi</u> <u>po.a.de.me</u> <u>po.k.o</u> <u>patu</u> (Port-Moresby go,st-f.<u>m-f</u>.it go.p.it perhaps) Perhaps it has taken off for Port Moresby.

<u>kogono.ke</u> <u>po.a.de.ne</u> <u>pu.k.u.yake</u> <u>tobou</u> <u>wi.ti.k.o</u> <u>wakape.k.u</u> (work.to go.st-f.m-f.I go.p.I.prev head hit.st-f.p.it turn-back.p.I) I had really started off for work but my head hurts and I'm turning back.

3.2 <u>Multisubject Secondary Medial Sentences</u>. The final verb of multisubject secondary medial sentences may be <u>tV</u>- or <u>V</u>-. Those with <u>tV</u>- are simple cause-effect constructions in which the first clause cites the cause of the situation implied by the final verb <u>tV</u>-. <u>tV</u>-, which is equated with the Class 2 verb meaning 'to do, to make', functions as a proverb in this type of sentence, and has in consequence no distinctive lexical function other than that deriving from its proverb substitutionary function.

Those sentences in which the final verb is <u>V</u>- equate semantically with the single subject secondary medial sentences whose final verb is <u>V</u>-. <u>V</u>- is the Class 2 verb whose central lexical function is glossed as 'to say'. In multisubject secondary medial sentences its function is partly quotative and partly desiderative. Such a sentence as <u>ela tokolo uku</u> combines the meanings of the following two English sentences, 'I am telling (you) I am sad' and 'I want (you) to know I am sad.'

3.2 <u>Examples of Multisubject Secondary Medial Sentences</u>.

(1) With <u>tV</u>-

<u>tei.ko.lu</u> <u>t.a.neya</u> (cut.pst.<u>m-s</u> do.st-f.neutral) I did it cutting (something). It happened while I was cutting something.

<u>di.ka.k.u.lu</u> <u>t.a.neya</u> (this-way.st-f.ρ.I.<u>m-s</u> <u>do</u>.st-f.neutral) I did
it in this way.

<u>agetai.mena.me</u> <u>poi</u> <u>taba</u> <u>to.a</u> <u>me.k.i.li</u> <u>to.k.o.no</u> (my-father.ρl.agent
fight soft do.st-f sit.ρ.they.<u>m-s</u> <u>do</u>.ρ.it.s-cont) It happened
(that they were killed) because my fathers were gentle fighters.

(2) With <u>y</u>-

<u>ela</u> <u>to.k.o.lo</u> <u>u.k.u</u> (sad do.ρ.it.<u>m-s</u> <u>say</u>.ρ.I) I want you to know I
am sad.

CHAPTER IV

IRREALIS SENTENCES

The term irrealis sentence is a cover term for a somewhat
miscellaneous group of sentence types. In their minimal manifesta-
tion each consists of two clauses. The final clause of each is an
independent final clause, except for that subtype named the contrary
to fact sentence type. The initial clause of each characterizes the
particular sentence type. Each initial clause is in turn characterized
by the structure of the verb expression.

An irrealis cause-effect relationship obtains between the
clauses of each sentence type. The first clause expresses a
situation which either has not, is not or never will be realized
since the action implicit in the verb is prevented, avoided, cut
short, or hypothetical, or because the action of the verb though
realized has been negated by a subsequent action. The verb of the
final clause cites the preventing, avoiding, or cooccurent hypothetical
situation, or the action responsible for the negation of a prior action
or state.

4.1 Preventive Irrealis Sentences. An intended action forestalled
by circumstances is indicated by a sequence of two clauses, the first
expressing the forestalled activity, and the final clause expressing
the alternate course of action taken, or the reason for the alternate
course of action. The first clause which is named the preventive
irrealis clause is the characteristic clause of the sentence. This
clause is itself characterized by the structure of the verb, which

consists of a <u>root</u> plus the <u>stem</u> <u>formative suffix -a</u> plus the <u>root-like affix -tV</u> plus <u>the tense and subject affixes of Table XII</u> (usually associated with independent final verbs of narrative sentences) plus <u>the suffix -yake</u>. In the examples available the tense of the verb is restricted to present tense. This may not be a systematic restriction. The affix <u>-tV</u> is equated with the Class 2 root <u>tV-</u> and designated accordingly by the gloss 'do' in the literal translation.

The second clause which expresses the alternate course of action, or the cause of the alternate course of action is an independent final clause whose independent final verb carries no form specific for the preventive irrealis sentence. This clause may be omitted. The situation or the discourse clarifies the interpretation of the resulting reduced preventive irrealis sentence.

4.1 Examples of Preventive Irrealis Sentences.

<u>tadali</u> <u>palene</u> <u>mo.po.tu.k.u.yake</u> <u>no</u> <u>ta</u> <u>lomu.kaya</u> <u>to.k.o.lo</u> <u>wa.k.u</u>
(heavy-rain eyes get.go.do.p.I.<u>prev</u> I rain soak.appr do.p.it.m-s don't-want.p.I) I would go out and collect some hail stones, but since the rain would be soaking me I won't.

<u>anu.me</u> <u>i.ka</u> <u>ki.a.tu.k.u.yake</u> <u>ede.o.u</u> <u>patu</u> (I.agent here.place cook. st-f.do.p.I.prev what.f.I perhaps) I had intended to cook here, but now what will I do.

<u>no.pa</u> <u>po.a.tu.k.u.yake</u> <u>yapali</u> <u>waka.p.o.u</u> (I.s-cl go.st-f.do.p.I.<u>prev</u> pitpit cut.go.f.I) I would go, but I have to go and cut pitpit.

<u>no.a.tu.k.u.yake</u> <u>po.a.de.ka</u> <u>lomu.a.de.ka</u> (eat,st-f.do.p.I.<u>prev</u> bad. st-f.rpt.3rd-pst rot.st-f.rpt.3rd-pst) I would have eaten it but it had gone bad, it had gone rotten.

<u>Yota.ta</u> <u>pi.a.tu.k.u.yake</u> (Yota.two sleep.st-f.do.p.I.<u>prev</u>) I don't suppose I can sleep with Yota (in his house).

<u>agetai</u> <u>pi.ka.moto.a.ne</u> <u>me.a.tu.k.u.yake</u> <u>me.a.mu.k.u</u> (my-father place. ben.cause.st-f.I give.st-f.do.p.I.<u>prev</u> give.st-f.neg.p.I) I was intending to give it to my father to hold for me, but I have not.

kogono.ke po.a.de.ne tu.k.u.yake tobou witi.k.o wakape.k.u (work.to
go.st-f.m-f.I do.p.I.prev head strikes.p.it return.p.I) I would
go off to work but my head hurts. I'm going home.

4.2 Incipient Irrealis Sentences. An incipient irrealis sentence

describes a situation in which the action implied by the verb of the

first clause is almost, but not quite, carried through to completion.

The final clause is manifested by a single verb pete- glossed 'almost'.

In general the subject of the two juxtaposed verbs is the same and the

overall meaning of the sentence implies evasive action. The subject

of the first verb may, however, differ from the subject of the final

verb. Such sentences may describe an avoided or evaded action, but

in one example the first clause expresses an action about to be brought

to completion by the subject of the final verb.

The final verb pete- inflects as an independent final verb.

The immediately preceding verb also inflects as an independent final

verb but has for its final suffix -yake, which is equated with the verb

final suffix of preventive irrealis verbs. In examples of this type

the tense of the verb of the first clause has been restricted to final

present tense. This may not be a systematic restriction.

4.2 Examples of Incipient Irrealis Sentences.

to.ta pono.koluka.k.o.yake pete.k.o (we.two pass.collide.p.we.prev
almost.p.we) We have almost collided with each other.

kamedeka.ko.me kai.k.o.yake pete.k.o (trip.m-pst.he fall.p.he.prev
almost.p.he) He has tripped and almost fallen.

kai.k.u.yake pete.k.u (fall.p.I.prev almost.p.I) I have almost fallen.

tue.me na.k.o.yake pete.k.u (axe.agent bite.p.it.prev almost.p.I)
The axe almost cut me.

toe tumi.ko.me yo.to.k.o.yake pete.k.u (fire grow.m-pst.it boil.
st-f.p.it.prev almost.p.I) The fire has built up and I have almost
brought the water to the boil.

4.3 Simple Irrealis Sentences. A simple irrealis sentence expresses

a situation which once existed but has since been negated by a later

action, or a situation which is contrary to the expectations or hopes

of the speaker. It may also express a situation just under way but

being cancelled by later developments. The characteristic affix of

the verb of the first clause is the verb final suffix -ke which may be

preceded by either the suffix -na or -ya. -na seems to connote past

tense, prior situations, and -ya non past situations. The verb to

which these affixes attach inflects as an independent final verb.

This sentence type may ultimately be united with the type

named preventive irrealis.

4.3 Examples of Simple Irrealis Sentences.

watewate to.ko.u.na.ke opi kege pi.tape.k.o (wash do.pst.I.na.s-irr
today dirt lie.compl.p.it) Although I washed it yesterday there is
dirt all over it today.

anu.me pade mati.ya.ne lati.ko.a.ne to.ko.u.na.ke epet.a.mo.k.o.ye
(I.agent some boy.st-f.possessive make.ben.st-f.I do.pst.I.na.s-irr
good.st-f.neg.p.it.d-sp) I made one (jews harp) for another boy but it
didn't turn out well.

kogono.ke po.a.de.ne pu.k.u.yake tobou wi.ti.k.o wakape.k.u (work.to
go.st-f.m-f.I go.p.I.s-irr head hit.st-f.p.it turn-back.p.I) I am
really on my way to work, but my head hurts so I'm turning back.

no wene.pa tu.k.u.yake no en.a.mu.k.u (I understanding.s-cl do.p.I.
s-irr I see.st-f.neg.p.I) Although I know (what it is), I can't see
it.

4.4 Contrary To Fact Irrealis Sentences. The contrary to fact
irrealis sentence in Witu combines two contrary to fact clauses,
which are structurally almost identical. The first contrary to fact
clause expresses a possible but unrealized or unrealizable action
which prevents or prevented the realization of the action implicit in
the verb of the second clause. Each clause has for its predicate a
two-verb sequence. The first verb of the sequence is the lexical
nucleus of the sequence. It inflects with the tense and subject
affixes of an independent final verb, but the tense is restricted to
future tense. The second verb of the sequence is the lexically empty
verb tV- with the 3rd person singular past tense affix -ka of an
independent final verb. In addition the first contrary to fact clause
is marked by the sentence clitic -pa which attaches to the last word
toka of the clause. The second clause has no additional marker.
There is then no affix specific for contrary to fact sentences. This
type of sentence is signalled by a combination of affixes which are
features of independent final verbs, and a clitic which is a common
feature of independent final clauses, and of standard medial sentences.

In some examples of what are presumed to be the same sentence
construction the verb toka either of the first clause or both clauses
is replaced by toma. There seems to be no change in the lexical
content of the sentence.

In the first contrary to fact clause the nuclear verb of the two-
verb sequence may be replaced by the two-verb sequence of a temporal

medial sentence inflected for medial past tense (section 3.1.1). The

verb <u>tV</u>- of this sequence then inflects for future tense: <u>a.ta</u>

<u>me.ke.ne t.o.u to.ka.pa</u> .... (up.place sit.m-pst.I do.f.I

do.pst-3rd-sing.s-cl) If I were living up there ....

4.4 Examples of Contrary To Fact Irrealis Sentences.

<u>Pulumanu Yalinu.ta wa.m.o.o to.ka.pa one wi.a.m.o.i to.ka</u> (Pulumanu
Yalinu.two say.neg.<u>f</u>.he <u>do.pst-it.s-cl</u> he kill.st-f.neg.<u>f</u>.they
<u>do.pst-it</u>) If he had not named the two Pulumanu and Yalinu, they
(the spirits) would not have killed him (the father).

<u>Motikia</u> <u>po.a.m.o.o to.ma.pa wi.o.i to.ka</u> (Motikia go.st-f.neg.<u>f</u>.he
<u>do.ma.s-cl</u> kill.<u>f</u>.they <u>do.pst-it</u>) If Motikia had not gone (with us),
they would have killed (us).

<u>tu.o.o to.ka ni one ka.wa.mo.o to.ka</u> (die.<u>f</u>.he <u>do-pst-it</u> then he
stand.st-f.neg.<u>f</u>.he <u>do.pst-it</u>) If he had been meant to die he would
not be alive now.

<u>kiwi no.a.mo.o.i to.ka.pa to.to.ka di.ko.a wi.o.i to.ka</u> (you-all
come.st-f.neg.<u>f</u>.you-all <u>do.pst-it.s-cl</u> we.pl.emph this-way.trans.
st-f kill.<u>f</u>.they <u>do.pst-it</u>) If you had not come they would have
killed us in this way for sure.

<u>pi.o.o to.ka.pa me.o.u to.ka</u> (lie.<u>f</u>.it <u>do.pst-it</u> give.<u>f</u>.I <u>do.pst-
it</u>) If there were any, I would give (them to you).

<u>no i.ta me.ke.ne t.o.u to.ka.pa lou.ke pi.a.ne tele ta.ka.de.ne pame</u>
<u>t.o.u to.ka</u> (I here.place sit.m-pst.I do.<u>f</u>.I <u>do.pst-it.s-cl</u>
sun.in lie.st-f.I strong do.trans.m-f.I buy do.<u>f</u>.I <u>do.pst-it</u>)
If I were going to be staying on here, I would buy (the corn) and put
it out in the sun to harden.

<u>a</u>.<u>ta</u> <u>me.ke.ne t.o.u to.ka.pa ni.pa aina modo.pa t.o.u to.ka.ye</u>
(up.place sit.m-pst.I do.<u>f</u>. I <u>do.pst-it</u>.s-cl then.s-cl up
sweet-potato.s-cl do.<u>f</u>.I <u>do.pst-it</u>.d-sp) If I were living up there,
I would look after the sweet potato growing up at that house.

CHAPTER V

SENTENCE MOOD

The sentence types recognized in previous chapters have been named elementary or multiple sentences according to whether they consist of a single clause or a sequence of clauses. Multiple clauses have been further classified according to the type of relationship obtaining between successive clauses of the sentence as medial and irrealis sentences. These in turn have been further subclassified by other formal and semantic features characterizing the relationship of the clauses to each other within the sentence.

A second major dimension underlies the system of sentence structure. This dimension, sentence mood, has two major categories, narrative and interrogative sentences on the one hand and imperative sentences on the other. This chapter describes the formal characteristics of these two categories.

5.1 <u>Narrative and Interrogative Sentences</u>. There is no significant difference in the structure of narrative and interrogative sentences. They differ only in the occurrence of sentence final interrogative particles such as <u>pe</u> (general question marker) and <u>patu</u> (dubitative question marker), sentence initial interrogative pronouns and intonation. The internal ordering of clauses in the sentence, or constituent features of the clause is otherwise the same.

Interrogative pronouns may be personal or locational. Both types consist of a root plus an affix identifying the syntactic

function of the pronoun. The person root is te- and the locational

root is mani-. They enter into the following combinations:

te.yo	Agentive subject interrogative pronoun 'who' 'by whom'
te	Object interrogative pronoun, and subject interrogative pronoun of intransitive sentences. 'who' or 'whom'
te.ta	Accompaniment interrogative pronoun 'with whom'
te.pala	Accompaniment interrogative pronoun 'with whom'
mani.ka	Location in space interrogative pronoun 'where'
maida[1]	Location in space interrogative pronoun 'where'

maida is a fusion of the forms mani.ta paralleling the form mani.ka.

The locational suffixes -ta and -ka mark stationary location in

space with no determinable difference in function.

Narrative and interrogative sentences differ characteristically

from imperative sentences in the tense and subject affixes of the

final verb of the sentence. The tense and subject affixes of the

final verb of narrative-interrogative sentences are either those

listed in Table XII or the neutral or reported situation tense-

subject affixes dealt with in Chapter IX.[2]

Note should be taken of a verb root which is specifically an

interrogative verb root meaning 'what to do'. This root takes the

regular tense-subject affixes of Table XII when it functions as an

independent final verb, but may also attach the medial tense-subject

affixes of Table XIII and function as a medial verb. This root

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[1] Note the same kind of fusion of forms in the location in space pronouns of Table X, where -nita has become -ida.

[2] It is not certain whether the reported situation tense-subject affixes attach to the final verb of interrogative sentences.

ede- also functions as the base of an interrogative pronoun edele

used in such situations as edele toko pe 'What are you doing?'

This pronoun is probably equatable with the set of noninterrogative

pronouns of manner: ile 'in a manner as I do' winile 'in a

manner as you' and enile 'in a manner as he does'.

5.1 Examples of Interrogative Sentences.

mani.ka po.k.o pe (where.place go.p.you question) Where are you
going?

maida pi.ka pe (where put.pst-he question) Where did he put it?

ede.le to.k.o pe (what.le do.p.you question) What are you doing?

naba mo.a.de.te kue kou.ko.a pitika.ko.i.na opi ede.k.i (councillor
get.st-f.m-f.pl money collect.trans.pst.they.rel-clause-marker
today what.p.they) What are they doing with that money they collected
to ensure the election of the Councillor?

te.ta po.ka pe (who.with go.pst-he question) With whom did he go?

ne atoa ibini te.yo pule me.te.k.o pe (you woman name who.person-
agent dream give.st-f.p.you question) Who are you woman who gives
this dream?

ede.k.o.lo ti.k.i pe (what.p.he.m s do.p.they question) What has
happened that they are doing this?

p.o.u pe (go.f.I question) Shall I go?

ni.k.i patu (come.p.they perhaps) Are they coming maybe?

ede.k.u pe (what.p.I question) What shall I do now?

wene to.a tei.ka.k.o.ya pe (understand do.st-f cut.trans.p.you.ya
question) Do you know how to turn (it) off?

5.2 Imperative Sentences.

Medial and elementary sentences may be
inflected for imperative mood. The resulting sentence type is best
described in terms of an underlying narrative construction. The
tense-subject affixes of the word-final sector of the independent

final verb of the narrative sentence are replaced by affixes specific
for imperative mood, which signal both person and number of the subject.
If, however, the subject is 2nd person singular and the sentence is
inflected for imperative mood, neither the medial verb of single
subject standard medial sentences, nor the final verb of either
sentence type carries a subject affix. The absence of a bound subject
affix is sufficient to identify the final verb of the sentence as an
imperative verb inflected for 2nd person singular subject. The medial
verb of a single subject medial sentence retains its medial tense
affixes with such 2nd person singular imperative constructions. When
the tense is medial past, however, the form -ke (never the variant form
-ko) is used.

The immediate present or future imperative affixes taken by the
final verb of an imperative sentence are listed in Table IX. There is
no imperative affix unique to 2nd person. 2nd person singular imper-
ative is identified by a zero form (absence of any specific form).
2nd person plural is identified by the suffix -e, but this suffix may
also be the final plural suffix of a verb with a plural 1st person or
plural 3rd person subject. The suffix -mene most commonly associated
with a 2nd person subject is a rather general suffix used in one
example with the medial verb of a completive irrealis clause in which
the verb has a 1st person plural subject. opi toto pituketemene
pituato 'Let us all get our hair cut together now.' -mene may also
be used with the 3rd person imperative suffix -mota.

When the subject of the final verb of an imperative sentence is
1st person, the imperative affixes register three distinctions of
number. The suffix -da specifying a 1st person singular subject
is unique to imperative constructions. The suffixes -ta and -to
specifying a dual and plural 1st person subject respectively are
the same as the number suffixes of the cardinal 1st person pronouns
of Table I, tota and toto respectively. The general imperative plural
suffix -e may optionally follow the plural 1st person imperative suffix
-to e.g., patoe 'let's all go'.

The 3rd person imperative affixes of Table IX include the
causative suffix -moto. The 3rd person singular imperative form
-mota is interpreted as a fusion of the nonimperative form -moto and
the imperative stem formative suffix -a. The 3rd person plural form
-motoe is interpreted as a combination of the singular imperative form
-mota and the general plural suffix -e, followed by change of the final
a of -mota to o. This change of vowel is paralleled by the 2nd person
singular and 2nd person plural imperative forms with Class 2 roots:
pa (2nd singular imperative) poe(2nd plural imperative) 'go'.

TABLE IX.   IMMEDIATE FUTURE OR PRESENT IMPERATIVE
SUFFIXES OF SENTENCE FINAL VERBS

| | Number | | |
Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-a.da	-a.ta	-a.to.(e)
2nd	-a.(mene)		-(a.w)e or -a.mene
3rd	-mot.a		-moto.e

Sentences inflected for imperative mode register distinctions of tense as well as subject. If the sentence is a standard medial sentence, the medial verb retains its distinctive medial tense suffixes, even though with a 2nd person singular subject in single subject medial sentence the medial bound subject is dropped when the sentence is imperative. The suffixes of Table IX as previously indicated refer to an action of the immediate present or future. If the imperative action is to be delayed, this is indicated by the imperative suffix -ti. This suffix is used most commonly when the subject is 2nd person, and stands alone without any other imperative suffix. It may also be used with 1st and 3rd person subjects.

One of the most common verbs, nV- 'to come' of Class 2 inflects irregularly for imperative mood. Where the other three verbs of this class inflect as follows for 2nd person singular imperative, pa 'go' a 'speak' ta 'do' nV- plus the stem formative -a is manifested as no: wete no 'come now'. When, however, the optional imperative suffix -mene is added the verb becomes regular: wete na.mene. nV- does not appear to inflect for 1st person imperative dual or plural. The expression 'let's come' may be a semantic contradiction in Witu. An approximation to a 1st person plural imperative inflection is, however, illustrated by the following example: i.ta k.a.to no (here.place stand.st-f. 1st-pl-imp come) Come and let's stand here.

5.2 Examples of Imperative Sentences.

ali podolio tuyono po.a.ti o.k.o (men tomorrow four go.st-f. imp-del-fut say. p.he) He wants four men to go tomorrow.

<u>to.to</u> <u>po.a.ti</u> (we.all go.st-f.imp-del-fut) We all have to go later.

<u>ue</u> <u>nomo.po.a.ti</u> <u>na.mene</u> (water get.go.st-f.imp-del-fut come.imp)
Come on, you have to go for water later.

<u>ogopono</u> <u>obo.a</u> <u>no.te</u> <u>ya.ko.a.ti</u> <u>no</u> (afternoon gather.st-f come.pl
hear.st-f.st-f.imp-del-fut come) Gather together here in the
afternoon to hear (what I have to say).

<u>o.pa</u> <u>ne</u> <u>i.ta</u> <u>me.ke.te</u> <u>no.a.ti</u> (now.s-cl food here.place sit.m-pst.
pl eat.st-f.imp-del-fut) Sit here and eat your food later.

<u>ne</u> <u>atia</u> <u>witi.ke</u> <u>paka.lono</u> <u>kabe</u> <u>le.ka</u> (you sneeze blow.m-pst to-one-
side.place neck turn-aside.trans) When you sneeze turn your head away.

<u>ku.ka</u> <u>ka.ke.te</u> <u>o.po.e</u> (back.place stand.m-pst.pl say.go.imp-pl) Go
back there to talk.

<u>pa</u> <u>ene.ke.te</u> <u>a.to</u> (just see.m-pst.pl say.1st-pl-imp) Just read it
and say it.

<u>kai</u> <u>mo.a.de</u> <u>p.a</u> (pig get.st-f.m-f go.st-f) Go and get the pig.

<u>kai</u> <u>mo.a.de.te</u> <u>po.e</u> (pig get.st-f.pl go.imp-pl) You (pl) go and get
the pig(s).

<u>kai</u> <u>mo.a.ti.no</u> <u>po.e</u> (pig get.st-f.delayed-imp.s-cont go.imp-pl)
You (pl) go later and get the pig(s).

<u>i.ta</u> <u>ka.to</u> <u>no</u> (here.place stand.1st-pl-imp come) Come and stand
here with us.

<u>ne</u> <u>na.ke</u> <u>me.ke</u> <u>eno.a</u> <u>no</u> (food eat.m-pst sit.m-pst see.st-f come)
Come here and read while you eat.

<u>a.ta</u> <u>pi.a.te.k.o</u> <u>kopapu</u> <u>au.a.to.e</u> (up.place put.st-f.secondary-future.
p.it cargo carry.st-f.1st-pl-imp.imp-pl) Carry that cargo off that
has to be put up there.

<u>pono.moto.e</u> (pass-by.cause.imp-pl) Let them pass by.

<u>yomo.ke</u> <u>lu.e</u> (wood.in insert.imp-pl) Insert it in the wood.

Example of an Included Imperative Construction

<u>toe</u> <u>yo.a.ti</u> <u>w.a</u> <u>me.te.k.o</u> (fire burn.st-f.delayed-fut-imp say.st-f
give.st-f.p.she) She's giving you something she wants you to make the
fire with.

CHAPTER VI

LOCATION

Both time and space are subsumed under the term location. In
other Highland languages the parallel between location in time and
location in space is brought out clearly by a set of location pronouns
which apply equally to time or space, the context alone determining
whether their function is temporal or spatial. In Witu what might
perhaps be called the focal root of the location system is the root
i- with its possible variant o-. The root i- with the stationary
spatial affixes -ta and -ka identifies space proximate to the speaker.
With the temporal suffix -pete it signals time contemporaneous with the
speech activity of ego, the speaker. This root does not occur with the
directional spatial suffix -tV. The root o- occurs in its place with
the directional suffix to give the directional spatial pronoun oto
'to here.' The same root may be recognized in the two words opi and
opa which indicate time contemporaneous with ego's speech activity, and
which are generally translated by the words 'now' or 'today.'

The stationary spatial suffixes -ta and -ka are not restricted to
spatial function with nominal expressions, but are also found affixed
to verbs with both spatial and temporal function. In certain contexts
the combination specifies the place where an action was performed, is
being performed or will be performed. In other situations the
combination specifies the temporal context of the action implied by the
final verb of the sentence.

6.1 Location in Space.

6.1.1 Location in Space Pronouns. There are two subsystems of spatial

location pronouns. One is essentially impersonal the other is personal,

though ego (a person, the speaker) generally establishes the focal

point of reference for the categories of both subsystems.

The categories of the impersonal subsystem are essentially

geographic or topographic categories, and reflect two significant

subdimensions. The roots a- and kei- register an opposition in the

vertical plane of 'up' and 'down' respectively. With the regular

suffixes, -ta and -ka (stationary location) and -tV⁻ (directional

location) they register what might be called simple spatial distinct-

ions. With the suffixes -ko and -ku respectively they register what

might be called comparative spatial distinctions. ako means 'up

higher,' and keiku means 'down lower'. The suffixes -ko and -ku

possibly stem from the same historic form.

While a- and kei- most consistently register vertical space

categories they may additionally register space on a horizontal plane.

a.ka.lono up.stationary-location.place means 'outside' and kei.ka

down.stationary-location has been recorded with the meaning 'on the

other side (of the fence).' kei- in combination with the directional

suffix -tV also describes a point of return.

The roots e- and ku- register categories of space in a horizontal

plane. The horizontal connotation of these two roots is, however,

less obvious and significant than the vertical plane connotation of

the roots a- and kei-. e- seems to imply a location away from the focal point of reference. ku- is generally glossed 'back'. The contrast between e- and ku- is best established in the context of the directional suffix -tV. ete means 'away' implying movement away from a focal place. kutu means 'back' implying movement towards another place. Thus ete pa means 'go away, move away from here,' while kutu pa means 'go over to that place back there'.

The roots of the personal location subsystem are i- specifying space proximate to the speaker, wi- specifying space proximate to the addressee, and e- specifying space proximate to another person. The last root vowel e- may perhaps relate to the impersonal spatial root e-. These three personal roots are also a feature of a set of words which might be called pronouns of manner; ile '(to do) in a way like me,' winile '(to do) in a way like you', and enile '(to do) in a way like him'.

A suffix -ni taking first position after the root is an optional feature of impersonal spatial pronouns with the stationary suffixes -ta and -ka. It does not occur with the directional suffix -tV. The same suffix is an obligatory feature of the personal spatial pronouns with the roots wi- and e-. It never occurs with the personal spatial root i-. The exact function of this suffix is still uncertain. It may, however, equate with the verb root ni- which means 'to do something previously referred to'. With the spatial roots it may imply 'place previously referred to'. The combination of -ni with a following -ta is followed by major morphophonemic interaction.

TABLE X.   PRONOUNS SPECIFYING LOCATION IN SPACE

ROOTS		AFFIXES			
		Stationary			Directional
Impersonal	-ka	-nika	-ta	-ida	-tV
a- 'up'	aka	anika	ata	aida	ate
kei 'down'	keika	keinika	keita	keida	keiti
e- 'away'	eka	enika	eta	eida	ete
ku- 'back'	kuka	kunuka	kuta	kuida	kutu

Personal

i-/o- 1st	ika	—	ita		oto
wi- 2nd		winika		wida	
e- 3rd		enika		eida	

Comparative Location Pronouns

     ako   'higher'

     keiku   'lower'

     oka   'closer to me, on this side towards me.'

Other Location in Space Words

     keikulu 'underneath'

     ekolo   'inside' i.e. inside a tube, or fruit,etc.

This involves metathesis of the first consonant and vowel of the combination followed by merging of the resulting consonants of the cluster nt in the new form -inta to produce a prenasalised complex represented orthographically as d. The vowel i preceding d conditions a palatalised offglide. The resulting suffix -ida has the phonetic shape -ind^{y}a. A similar metathesis, merging and palatalisation occurs when the general interrogative locational root mani- attaches the stationary suffix -ta. mani- plus -ka becomes manika. But mani- plus -ta becomes maida (see section 5.1).

The impersonal location pronoun subsystem is regular. Each of the four impersonal location in space roots a- kei- e- and ku- combines with each of the five suffixes or suffix combinations -ka -nika -ta -ida (derived from -nita) and -tV respectively. The personal location in space roots are more restricted in the affixes with which they associate.

While the directional pronouns are commonly associated with verbs implying directional activity the association is not obligatory. Directional pronouns are used with verbs which are implicitly stationary as in such sentences as ete ka 'stand aside' and ete mea 'sit further away'. The directional pronouns oto and ete are commonly used with verbs involving speech activity to indicate words directed towards ego, and words directed back respectively. In one example of this kind the two, oto and ete, have fused into a single form ote meaning (speech) back and forth. The stationary suffixes -ta and -ka have the same distribution and seem to be mutually synonymous.

6.1.1 Examples of Location in Space Pronouns.

Stationary and Directional

wida me.a.to.a.ne nu.k.u (there-by-you sit.st-f. let.st-f. I come. p. I)
Let's sit together there by you, I'm coming.

keiti pe.ke.te oto ne.ke.te t.o.i (back-there go.m-pst.pl to-here
come.m-pst.pl do.f.they) They'll be back off there (today) and here
(again tomorrow).

ete po.e (away go.imp-pl) All of you run away.

ete ka.w.e (away stand.st-f.imp-pl) Stand away.

to.to.pa oka ka.ke.te ene.ko.o (we.all.s-cl nearer-here stand.m-pst. pl
see.pst.we) We all stood over towards here watching them.

kini.mene o.te te.ke.te i.k.i (they.all to-here.to-there do.m-pst. pl
say.p.they) They are all talking backwards and forwards.

kei.ka en.o.u.no kotoko.a mo.a (down.place see. f. I.s-cont remove.
st-f get.st-f) I want to see the other side, just take it off.

kei.ti lewi.a ko.k.o (down.directions come-down.st-f descend. p. he)
He is climbing down.

ni.ti.ka.le pi.a.te.k.o.ta kiti eno.a pi.moto.ke.te kei.ti ne na.k.i
yapu po.ko.o (so-do.st-f. pst-he.m-s sleep.st-f. fut. p.we.place
emphasis see.st-f sleep.cause.m-pst.pl down.direction food eat.p.
they house go.pst.we) After he did that we saw the place where we
would be sleeping, and after we had rested ourselves we went back to
the house where they eat.

a.te.pea ka.ko.a pi.a (top.direction.towards stand.trans.st-f put.
st-f) Stand it on its head.

i.ta patu wi.da patu (here.place perhaps there-by-you.place perhaps)
(Just where do you want to eat) here perhaps, or there where you are?

e.te witi.ko.me o.to witi.ko.me to.k.o (away.direction withdraw-m-pst.
he here.direction withdraw.m-pst.he do.p.he) He darts hither and
thither.

poi te.ke.te e.te ali wi.kala o.to ali wi.kala to.a ka.ke.neya (fight
do.m-pst.pl away.direction man kill.emph here.direction man kill.
emph do.st-f stand.st-f.neutral) As they fought they killed men on
this side and on that without stopping.

e.te me.te.ka (away.direction give.st-f.pst-he) He gave it back.

ne.pa anu.me i.ka tu.k.u.mo u.k.u.ye (you.s-cl I.agent here.place
do.p.I.information say.p.I.d-sp) I am telling you (in this letter)
what I am doing here.

ku.ka ka.ke.te o.po.e (back.place stand.m-pst.pl speak.go.pl-imp)
All of you go back there and speak.

ludu mati.ke po.ne e.kala ka.wa.ne nu.k.u w.a a.mene (distant very.
to go.I away.emphasis stand.st-f.I come.p.I say.st-f say.imp)
Say (tell them) that I have been to a place a very long way off and
(just) come back.

e.ka patuka.kala t.a.neya (away.place pass-through.emph do.st-f.
neutral) It (the arrow) passed right through to the other side.

6.1.2 Location in Space Clauses.

A clause functioning as a sentence
may be transformed into a spatial clause by affixation of the stationary
spatial suffix -ta to the independent final verb of the clause. The
verb retains its independent final tense and subject affixes, unless
it is inflected for future tense. The verb of a location in space
clause with a future tense inflection consists of a root plus -a
(stem formative) plus -te (the suffix most specifically correlated
with the future tense inflection) plus a tense and subject suffix
characteristic of an independent final verb inflected for either
present or past tense (see section 9.4).

A location in space clause is a component of a clause and
substitutes within that clause for more elementary spatial expressions,
pronouns and spatial noun phrases.

6.1.2 Examples of Location in Space Clauses.

no ka.k.u.ta na.mene (I stand.p.I.place come.imp) Come to where
I am.

ni.to.a Yetu no.me ka.wa.te.ka.ta kiwi namolo po.te nepi.a ka.p.a.neya
(and-so.st-f.st-f Jesus come.he stand.st-f.sec-fut.pst-he.place
they-immediately-referred-to first go.pl wait.st-f stand.go.st-f.
neutral) And so all those same people went off to wait for Jesus at
the place they expected he would be.

pi.ko.u.ka agopa to.k.o (put.pst. I. <u>place</u> not-know do.p. it) I don't know where I put it.

<u>eni</u> <u>kai</u> <u>ka.ka.na.ta.kama</u> <u>ka.wa</u> <u>ka.k.o</u> (that animal stand.pst-it. na.<u>place</u>.emphasis stand.st-f stand.p.it) That animal is still standing in the same place it was a long time ago.

<u>oi.ya.ago</u> <u>pi.k.o.ta</u> <u>po.te</u> <u>tue.me</u> <u>naniko</u> <u>ka.kala</u> <u>t.a.neya</u> (this.st-f. man lie.p.he.<u>place</u> come.pl axe.agent Later chop-up.emph do.st-f. neutral) Later they came back to where this man was lying and chopped him in pieces.

<u>yapu</u> <u>tukunu</u> <u>ludu</u> <u>ego</u> <u>no.ka.ka</u> <u>en.a.de.te</u> <u>tuku</u> <u>to.ma</u> <u>ya.ke.neya</u>
(house border long fly come.pst-it.<u>place</u> see.st-f.m-f.pl look-for do.simultaneous-action wander.st-f.neutral) They walked through the village searching for places around the houses where flies might be breeding.

6.2 Location in Time.

6.2.1 Location in Time Pronouns and Days of the Week. Location in

time may be indicated by a set of free temporal pronouns such as the

following.

<u>nani</u>	later	<u>ogopono</u>	afternoon
<u>namolo</u>	at first, earlier	<u>likonu kama</u>	morning (after night)
<u>opi</u>	today	<u>likonu</u>	night
<u>podolio</u>	tomorrow	<u>podoli kama</u>	the next day
<u>patepeo</u>	the day after tomorrow		
<u>abela</u>	yesterday		
<u>ikono</u>	the day before yesterday		

eko <u>ikono</u> the day before the day before yesterday, three days ago
eko <u>patepeo</u> the day after the day after tomorrow, in three days time
<u>kuku</u> <u>patepeo</u> in four days time

Since the coming of the Australian Administration, terms have been

adopted for the days of the week. Most commonly the days beginning

from Monday are named off by the fingers starting with the little

finger.

<u>ege</u>	little finger	= Monday
<u>tatigi</u>	2nd finger	= Tuesday
<u>tube</u> <u>yono</u>	big finger	= Wednesday
<u>kadapi</u>	4th finger	= Thursday
<u>ko</u>	thumb	= Friday

Saturday a half day of rest for the Administration is termed <u>nate koto</u> 'little day', and Sunday a full day of rest is called <u>tube koto</u> 'big day'.

The focal root of the location in time system seems to be <u>o</u>- which occurs in the two most common forms of the word for today or now, <u>opi</u> and <u>opa</u>. In the latter word the segment <u>pa</u> equates with what has been called the sentence clitic -<u>pa</u> in examples cited so far. The clitic -<u>pa</u> has no clear lexical function but attaches to that grammatical element which constitutes the first significant unit of the sentence. This unit may be a single introductory word, a phrase, or a clause. If -<u>pa</u> is dropped from the construction there is no effect on the lexical content of the construction, and no change in the grammatical structure of the remaining elements. The same root <u>o</u>- functions as the focal root of the location in space system when the locational suffix is the directional suffix -<u>tV</u> in the word <u>oto</u> 'to here'. The focal root with the stationary location in space suffix -<u>ka</u> is <u>i</u>-. This same root combines with the temporal suffix -<u>pete</u> in the focal temporal word <u>ipete</u> 'at this time'.

6.2.2 Location in Time Clauses With the Suffixes -<u>pete</u> -<u>ka</u> and -<u>ta</u>.

The location in time of the action expressed by the verb of a clause may be indicated by an included temporal clause. Included temporal clauses are derived from clauses functioning as elementary sentences by affixation of the general location suffixes -<u>ka</u> or -<u>ta</u> (which connote either time or space) or the specific temporal suffix -<u>pete</u> to the independent final verb of the elementary sentence.

If the independent final verb is inflected for future tense, the future tense suffix -o is replaced by a combination of the stem formative -a plus the immediately following suffix -te which is named the secondary future suffix. If the independent final verb is inflected for present or past tense, the internal structure of the verb is unchanged when the locational suffix is added.

The suffix -na, which immediately follows the subject affix, is interpolated between the verb and the locational suffix if the verb is inflected for past tense and if the locational suffix is -ta or -pete. It is optional if the locational suffix is -ta but obligatory if the locational suffix is -pete.

Should the independent final verb to which -pete attaches be inflected for future tense, the future tense suffix -o is dropped (as indicated earlier), but it may be replaced by the secondary future suffix -te with the preceding stem formative -a. It may also be replaced by the final past tense suffix -ko. Such a derived temporal clause as neke ta pinelono po.ko.u.pete (your land homeland. place go.pst.I.time) 'when I will go to your homeland...' differs from the same derived clause inflected for past tense only in the absence of the suffix -na which is an obligatory feature of the latter: neke ta pine.lono po.ko.u.na.pete 'when I went to your homeland...'

In the examples cited as temporal clauses all those with the suffix -pete or -ka have an obvious temporal role in the sentence in which they occur. Those clauses with the suffix -ta, however,

do not have so unambiguous a role, but could be equally interpreted

as location in space clauses. The contrast between time and space

is possibly neutralized when the suffix -ta is a feature of such

locational clauses.

In a number of the examples cited the location in time expression

is derived from a medial sentence. The process of derivation is the

same as that described for elementary sentences.

<u>6.2.2 Examples of Location in Time Clauses</u>.

(1) <u>With pete</u>

<u>po.ko.u.pete me.o.u</u> (go.<u>pst</u>.I.<u>when</u> give.f.I) When I go, I will give
it to you.

<u>Otetalia.ke po.ko.u.na.pete ene.ko.u</u> (Australia.to go.<u>pst</u>.I.<u>na</u>.<u>when</u>
see.pst.I) When I went to Australia, I saw it.

<u>opi atu pi.a.te.k.o.pete.no p.a.to.e</u> (now vapour lie.st⁻f.<u>sec⁻fut</u>.
p.we.<u>when</u>.s⁻cont go.st⁻f.lst⁻pl-imp.pl) It is time for us to go to
sleep, let's go.

(2) <u>With -ka</u>

<u>anu tue mo.a.ne ege.te.ko.u.na tue enakea.me.pa to.na Lagunu.ka</u>
<u>au.a.ne po.ko.u.ka wa.ko.me o.to kate.a no.ka.ke ogada wi.a na.ke.de.ka</u>
(my dog get.st⁻f.I care⁻for.st⁻f.pst.I.which dog that⁻one.agent.
s⁻cl our.which Langkuna.place take.st⁻f.I go.pst.I.<u>when</u> refuse.
m⁻pst.it here.direction miss.st⁻f come.pst⁻it.then chicken kill.
st⁻f eat.st⁻f.rpt.pst⁻it) <u>When I brought</u> my dog, the one I had made a
pet, to our place at Langkuna, it wouldn't stop, but sneaked away, and
then it came here and killed and ate the chickens.

<u>ne no.a.de.me na.ko.me me.ka.ka poi no.k.o w.a o.ko.li ne no.a.me.nea</u>
<u>ya.wa ka.ke.nea</u> (food eat.st⁻f.m⁻f.he eat.m⁻pst.he sit.pst⁻he.<u>when</u>
fight come.p.he say.st⁻f say.pst.m⁻s food eat.st⁻f.neg.neutral
wander.st⁻f stand.st⁻f.neutral) <u>When</u> he would be about to sit down to
eat, they would say, the enemy is coming, and he would have to leave
and wander around without eating.

<u>pene na.k.o.ka i ali o.to mo.to.ka.le po.ka</u> (just bite.p.it.<u>when</u>
this man here.direction hold.st⁻f.pst⁻he.m⁻s go.pst⁻he) <u>When</u> it
(the fish) just took the bait, the man pulled back (on the line) and
it escaped.

<u>kamo.a</u> <u>po.ka.ka</u> <u>pita.ko.me</u> <u>kau.a.de.ka</u> (rise-up.st-f go.3rd-past.
<u>when</u> fall-down.m-pst.it break.st-f.rpt.3rd-pst) When the plane took
off, it dropped and smashed.

<u>one</u> <u>kono</u> <u>wi.a.de.me</u> <u>to.ka.ka</u> <u>to.a</u> <u>mo.t.a.neya</u> (his daughter kill.
st-f.m-f.he do.pst-he.<u>when</u> remove.st-f hold.st-f.st-f.neutral)
Just as he was about to kill his daughter, he (another man) rescued
her.

<u>kue.ke</u> <u>pi.a.me.ne.ka</u> <u>de.k.o</u> <u>patu</u> (money.emphatic lie.st-f.neg.<u>when</u>
what-to-do.p.we perhaps) When there is no money, what are we to do?

<u>ete</u> <u>yene.pa</u> <u>Yetu</u> <u>au.a</u> <u>po.ko.i.ka</u> <u>liti.a.ka</u> <u>po.a.me.a.de.k.i</u> (away
people.s-cl Jesus take.st-f go.pst.they.emphatic follow.st-f.when
go.st-f.neg.st-f.rpt.p.they) The ones who fled away when they led
Jesus off did not follow along with him.

(3) <u>With -ta</u>

<u>kege</u> <u>ka.ka.le</u> <u>ko.to.ko.a.ne</u> <u>pi.ko.u.na.ta</u> <u>pada.me</u> <u>kode</u> <u>mo.ta.di.k.i.li</u>
<u>anu</u> <u>wene</u> <u>po.k.o</u> (dirt stand.pst-it.m-s remove.st-f.m-pst.st-f.I
place.pst.I.which.<u>when</u> some.agent steal take.st-f.rpt.p.they.m-s
my thoughts bad.p.it) It (the shirt) had dirt on it, and when I took
it off and put it down, someone stole it, and now I feel bad.

<u>auna</u> <u>kiloko</u> <u>po</u> <u>a.na</u> <u>auna</u> <u>yapu</u> <u>kegele</u> <u>pake.ke</u> <u>lu.loga.ko.u.ta</u> <u>tepolo.me</u>
<u>tei.a.de.ka.no</u> <u>pade</u> <u>tapika.mene</u> (My clock band up.which my
house woven-wall hole-in slip.fix.pst.I.<u>when</u> rat.agent cut.st-f.
rpt.pst-it.s-con another send.imp) When I stuck my watch band into
the woven walling of the house up there, a rat ate it, so please send
me another.

<u>tuga.kaya.tekaka.ta</u> <u>anu.me</u> <u>kio</u> <u>o.to.ko.a.ne</u> <u>o.o.u</u> (stumble.appr.rep.
<u>when</u> I.agent straight say.st-f.st-f.st-f.I say.f.I) Lest he
stumble repeatedly (in his reading), I will be ready to correct him
when he stumbles.

6.3 <u>Temporal Sentences</u>. The suffixes -<u>tV</u> and -<u>ka</u> which may equate

with the directional and stationary location suffixes respectively of

Table X are the distinctive affixes of temporal clauses which occur

first in a sequence of two clauses in sentences named temporal

sentences. The clause whose verb carries the suffix -<u>tV</u> implies

direction in time (e.g., after doing ...). The clause whose verb

carries the suffix -<u>ka</u> implies stationary location in time (e.g.,

while doing ...). Both verbs have a somewhat similar structure, but they and the clause in which they function must be treated as fundamentally different constructions. The extent of their likeness in structure is indicated by the two representative verbs:

ena.te.ko.a.ne   see.direction.ko.st-f.I   'after I saw ...'

me.ka.ko.a   sit.stationary.ko.st-f   'while I/you/he/we/they were at ...'

Both verbs consist of a <u>root</u> plus a <u>location in time suffix</u> plus the <u>suffix -ko</u> plus the <u>stem formative -a</u>. The contrast in structure in the final tense-subject sector points to a major difference in function. The tense-subject sector of the first verb is the same as that of a medial verb of a single subject standard medial sentence inflected for medial present tense. There is no tense suffix, and no subject suffix unless the subject is 1st person singular. The tense-subject sector of the second verb <u>mekakoa</u> is never manifested by any tense or subject form. The first verb is identified as a medial verb, and the sentence in which it functions is identified as a single subject medial sentence. It is not, however, a standard medial sentence. The latter verb is not a medial verb and is followed by a clause whose subject may be the same or may be different from the subject of the first clause of which it is the predicate.

No function can be assigned to the suffix -<u>ko</u> which follows -<u>tV</u> and -<u>ka</u> in each of the two verbs. It is probably a basic form -<u>ka</u> whose vowel has been obligatorily dissimilated to <u>o</u> under the influence of the stem formative -<u>a</u> which follows it. The medial stem formative (a feature of the first verb) always dissimilates a preceding vowel <u>a</u> to <u>o</u>.

6.3 Examples of Temporal Sentences.

(1) Directional Temporal Clauses

ue kete.te.ko.a ku.tu mo.a weteka.to (water shut.direction.st-f.
st-f back.direction hold.st-f lead.let-us-imp) Let's dam up the
water and direct it back there.

ya.ka.te.ko.a.ne m.o.u (hear.st-f.direction.st-f.st-f.I hold.f.I)
After I ask (you), I'll get it.

pade po.a.neya mo.a me.te.kaya to.k.o.lo ena.te.ko.a.ne me.o.u
(some bad.st-f.neutral hold.st-f give.st-f.appr do.p.he.m-s
see.direction.st-f.st-f.I give.f.I) Lest he give you some bad ones,
I will look them over before I give (them to you).

keapi ene.te.ko.a.ne nu.k.u wa _ne ene.ko.me o.ko.me to.ka (patrol-
officer see.direction.st-f.st-f.I come.p.I say you see.m-pst.he
say.m-pst.he do.he-pst) When the patrol officer saw you, he said I
have come (to your house) after seeing it (the dead body).

ki.mene kei.ti baluti.ke po.ko.li no anu.me tebe.te.ko.a.ne no
o.to n.o.u (you.plural down.direction plane.in go.3rd-pl-pst.m-s
I me.agent hug.direction.st-f.st-f.I I here.direction come.f.I)
When you go down there to leave in the plane, I will return here
after I have hugged you (goodbye).
.

takato.a.ne ena.te.ko.a.ne mo.to.ka.ko.u (peel.st-f.I see.direction.
st-f.st-f.I get.st-f.ben.pst.I) After peeling back (the outer layer)
and looking (them over), I got them for you.

(2) Stationary Temporal Clauses

Aeyota me.ka.ko.a to.ko.i (Aiyura sit.stationary.st-f.st-f do.pst.
they) While (we) were at Aiyura, they did it.

Poloko me.ka.ko.a to.ko.u (Poloku sit.stationary.st-f.st-f do.pst.I)
I did it while I was at Poloko.

CHAPTER VII

CLAUSE TYPES

7.1 Active Clauses. Correlation of a particular list of verbs with the presence or absence of such clause features as an object, or indirect object establishes three types of active clause, intransitive, transitive and bitransitive. Of the three, intransitive verbs and transitive verbs are the most common, and are both virtually open lists. A large number of the verbs of both lists (possibly the majority) are simple underived verbs. Many are unique either to the intransitive or transitive list. There are, however, some almost certainly related underived roots which occur in both the intransitive and transitive list: pi- (intr.) 'to lie' and (tr.) 'to put something down', na- (intr.) 'to burn, to ache' and (tr.) 'to bite, to burn with fire'.

Within both lists, intransitive and transitive, are verbs which are obviously derived. The derivational affix may currently retain its identity (as indicated by its occurrence in certain constructions, and its absence in others), or it may be fossilised and its presence only inferred from the length of the now complex root, and the characteristic recurring partial in the final sector of the complex root.

The verb list which correlates with what is tentatively named bitransitive constructions is restricted. Each of the verbs so far assigned to this list appears to be a derived verb, or a compound verb. None has yet been identified which has the obvious features of a simple underived root.

Within the transitive clause type it may be legitimate and useful to recognize several types of transitivity, or several degrees of transitivity. Each is associated with a particular subclass of verbs. The most common type of transitivity is that involving a verb such as mo- 'to get.' The object of this verb is commonly not expressed in the clause, though it is implicit in the situation or discourse relevant to an interpretation of the clause. The sentence anume motokou 'I got it' is quite grammatical even though no object is stated. A second type of transitivity involves verbs of the type ene- 'to see, to observe.' The expression 'let me see it' may be rendered by either of the 1st person singular imperative sentences enada or enekada. The second sentence includes an optional suffix -ka which is tentatively identified as a general object marker.

In transitive constructions of the third type the subject is not marked by an agentive clitic -me, whether or not the object is part of the clause. 'I am eating food' is expressed in Witu as no ne naku, never as *anume ne naku. The verb na- also functions in transitive clauses of the first type but the meaning is somewhat different: e.g., toeme naka 'The fire burnt it.' and tueme naka 'The dog bit him.'

Such constructions as ipe tuku and kogono tuku are tentatively assigned to the third type of transitive clause. If a free subject is included along with the object plus verb (and usually it is not), it does not take the agentive clitic -me: e.g., no ipe tuku or anu ipe tuku 'I am preparing a sweet potato garden,' and no kogono tuku 'I am working away at something.'

Other subtypes of transitive construction will be mentioned in a later section dealing with the transitive suffix -ka.

The agentive clitic -me of transitive and bitransitive clauses attaches to the last word of the agentive nominal expression, which may be a free personal pronoun or a noun expression. The free personal pronoun is a cardinal personal pronoun (Table I) with the exception of 1st person singular, for which the possessive personal pronoun (anu Table II) is used. If the clitic -me attaches to a noun root in which the final vowel is e or o, and in which the tone falls on the final syllable, the final vowel becomes a: yonó 'hand', yonáme 'with (his) hand', niné 'mother', nináme 'by (his) mother.' There is a similar morphophonemic shift when the clitic me attaches to a noun expression whose last component is the emphatic kiti: ali kiti 'the men', ali kitame 'by the men.'

The ordering of the syntactic units in an active clause is substantially the same as the ordering of corresponding units in stative and active-stative clauses. However, since active clauses expand into longer and hence more complex constructions than stative and active-stative clauses, there are features of ordering unique to active clauses. What can be said for active clauses is, however, generally relevant for the other two clause types.

There is no ordering of the syntactic units of a clause which characterizes the clause type, or characterizes the sentence role a particular clause fills. The verb occurs last in the clause unless followed by an independent or clitic-like particle such as the simple

interrogative <u>pe</u> or the dubitative <u>patu</u>. The subject of the clause generally precedes the object, but this is not obligatory. Spatial and temporal words or phrases are for the most part unrestricted in the position they take within the clause, subject to the rule that the verb expression comes last.

What has been implied as the second object of a bitransitive clause has no characteristic positional priorities. It is commonly unmarked, and is then formally indistinguishable from a first object. Occasionally it may be marked by the suffix -<u>ke</u> which is used also with spatial and temporal words, phrases or clauses, sometimes, but not always, with the implication of direction. On the whole there is no rigorous formal marking of directional spatial expressions. Thus the expression <u>anu yapuke puku</u> 'I am going to my house' is just as commonly rendered <u>anu yapu puku</u> without the suffix -<u>ke</u>.

A second agent (which may also be termed an instrument) may be a feature of transitive clauses. It is marked in the same way (by the clitic -<u>me</u>) as the first agent (which is more commonly referred to as the subject or agentive subject.) The form -<u>me</u> attaches to the last word of the nominal expression. It would seem that second agents, and directional spatial expressions play only a minor role (if any) in subcategorizing the verbs of active clauses. So far there is no evidence of a second agent as part of an intransitive clause. But within transitive clauses a second agent is a feature of a wide range of verbs. The expression <u>anu leneme enekou</u> 'I saw it with my own eyes' is some indication of the range of verbs which associate with second agents. It should be noted, however, that two agents usually do not

occur as free forms in the one transitive clause. Most commonly this situation is avoided by recognizing the first agent (the subject) as a bound subject pronoun within the verb, leaving only the second agent as a free form in the clause. The first agent, however, may be formally reflected in the free second expression by a possessive personal pronoun with the same referent as the bound subject. Such an expression as, 'the man hit the dog with the axe' is more usually rendered in Witu as 'he (bound subject pronoun) hit the dog with his (own) axe.'

7.1 Examples of Bitransitive Active Clauses.

yono toe poto yame.te.k.o (hand fire hot show.st-f.p.he) He is warming his hands at the fire. He is showing his hands the heat of the fire.

neke pipia wi.a.ne weteka.k.u (your paper hit.st-f.I send-to.p.I) I am writing you a letter.

i mati one yapu weteka.k.u (this child his house take-to.p.I) I am taking this child to his home.

ena pipia o.to me.te.ka (that paper here.direction give.st-f.pst-he) He gave that letter back (to me).

7.2 Stative Clauses.

The stative clause may, with further insights into the structure of the language, have to be treated as a subtype of the intransitive clause. It is tentatively set up as a distinct clause type whose verb list is currently limited to two verbs tV- and V- both of which are homophonous with verbs of the variable root vowel class tV- 'to make, to do' and V- 'to be vocal'. The two stative verbs are equated with the verb 'to be' in English. They inflect for 3rd person singular subject only and tense has been limited to present and past in the examples studied to date. The tense and subject affixes taken by

the verb are regular tense-subject affixes characteristic of active verbs.

The other class of words which obligatorily associates with the two verbs tV- and V- is tentatively named the descriptive root class. This is a class of uninflected roots of rather miscellaneous membership. Some of the roots function in active clauses as unambiguous nouns, others such as niti 'cold' kakale 'cold' poto 'hot' liti 'slippery' and so on either never function like nouns in active clauses, or are limited to subject role in intransitive clauses: niti noko (cold comes) It is getting cold.

Stative clauses are usually limited to the two obligatory class words, but may sometimes be expanded by a nominal expression (pronominal or noun) in a loose knit appositional relationship with the obligatory elements: no niti toko (I cold is) 'I am cold.' ena toe poto toko (that fire hot is) 'the fire is hot'.

7.2 Examples of Stative Clauses.

niti to.k.o (cold do.p.it) It is cold.

poto to.k.o (hot do.p.it) It is hot.

keda to.k.o (heavy do.p.it) It is heavy.

piti to.k.o (frightening do.p.it) It is frightening.

liti to.k.o (slippery do.p.it) It is slippery.

ela toko (sad do.p.it) It is sad.

ela to.k.o.lo me.k.u (sad do.p.it.m-s sit.p.I) I sit feeling sad.
I live in a state of sadness.

ela.pa.i to.k.o (sad.s-cl.i do.p.it) This is indeed very sad.

kio o.k.o (straight say.p.it) It is straight.

<u>7.3 Active-Stative Clauses</u>. The active-stative clause type may
also be only a variant of intransitive clauses if the obligatory
element marked by an agentive suffix should prove to be compatible
with the intransitive clause type.

The two obligatory items of this clause type are the verb <u>tu-</u>,
homophonous with the intransitive active verb <u>tu-</u> 'to die, to feel
sick, to feel out of sorts', and a root which takes the agentive
clitic -<u>me</u>. This root is commonly also a member of the descriptive
root class of the stative clause. This is the only type of
construction found so far in which a word marked by the agentive
suffix occurs in the same clause as a verb which never takes an
object.

The verb <u>tu-</u> is equated with the English verb 'to be'. It
takes regular tense and subject affixes, without restriction.

<u>7.3 Examples of Active-Stative Clauses</u>.

<u>niti.me</u> <u>tu.k.u</u> (cold.agent die.p.I) I am cold.

<u>poto.me</u> <u>tu.k.u</u> (hot.agent die.p.I) I am hot.

<u>keda.me</u> <u>tu.k.u</u> (heavy.agent die.p.I) I am weighed down.

<u>ela.me</u> <u>tu.k.u</u>   (sad.agent die.p.I) I am sad.

<u>niti.me</u> <u>tu.ke.ne</u> <u>yapu</u> <u>pu.k.u</u> (cold.agent die.m-pst.I house go.p.I)
I am cold. I'm going home.

<u>niti.me</u> <u>tu.k.i</u> (cold.agent die.p.they) They are cold.

<u>piti.me</u> <u>tu.k.o</u> <u>pe</u> (frightening.agent die.p.you question) Are you afraid?

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VERB

8.1 Verb Classification. Verbs consist of three sectors of which
only the first and final sector are obligatory. The first sector,
named the root sector, is the particular concern of this section.

The root sector may be manifested by either a simple or a complex
root. There are four classes of simple roots. One class of simple
roots (Class 4) obligatorily takes the stem formative suffix -tV
when the following suffix is the benefactive suffix -ka, the transitive
-ka, the medial past tense suffix (-ko or -ke), the final past tense
suffix -ko, the final 2nd-3rd singular past tense suffix -ka, the
final present tense suffix -k, the neutral suffix -neya or the reported
situation suffix -de.

The other three classes of simple roots do not associate with such
a stem formative suffix -tV, and are classified according to the
behaviour of the root vowel. Class 2 roots (apart from a compound root)
have a single variable vowel (V) which harmonizes with the vowel of the
following syllable unless that vowel is a. If that vowel is a other
morphophonemic rules determine whether it dissimilates to o, or is
reduced. This class is referred to as the variable root vowel class.
Apart from the compound pVnV- 'to pass by' it consists of only four
primary (underived roots) pV- 'to go' nV- 'to come' V- 'to articulate,
to vocalize' and tV- 'to do, to make'.

Class 3 verbs are characterized by a nasal vowel. The analysis
of nasalization has not yet been finalized. The following facts are,
however, clear. At most a word carries a single nasalized vowel, more

or less paralleling the tone structure. (A word carries only one tone, and the tone contour of the word is determined by the nature of the tone and its placement in the word.) The nasalization of the nasal vowel spreads to the contiguous vowels, but just how this prosody-like feature extends is not yet certain. No example has been recorded in which the nasalized vowel is a feature of an affix. The feature of nasalization may manifest itself by nasalization of the root vowel, if the following suffix is not p, t or k (stop) initial. If the following suffix is stop initial the feature of nasalization is manifested by a nasal consonant homorganic with an immediately following stop. The combination of nasal plus stop is phonetically indistinguishable from a prenasalized stop. Nasalization is represented by underlining of the relevant vowel. The nasalized root class (Class 3) is a limited class, but its membership is larger than Class 2. Typical examples are ta- 'to splash' ka- 'to chop down (a tree)' to- 'to pull up'.

Class 1 roots do not have a variable vowel (V) or a nasalized vowel, and do not associate with the stem formative -tV. This is a major, virtually open class of roots. According to the morphophonemic behaviour of certain of the roots three subclasses are recognized within it.

Class 5, the class of complex roots, is a miscellaneous class recognized only to highlight the apparent importance of verb derivation. Convincing members of this class are such verbs as tubete- 'to grow big' kabete- 'to vomit' epete- 'to be good' kotuka- 'to mimic' latika- 'to treat as' nateka- 'to build up (a fire)' pedeka-

'to shove away'. The simple root underlying such complex verb roots
is obvious: tube (one of the few roots which may be genuinely
adjectival, see Chapter XI) 'big' kabe (a noun root) 'vomit' epe-
(a simple verb root which in combination with such an affix as the
neutral suffix -neya means) 'to be in one's prime' kotu- (a simple
verb root) 'to meet, to place alongside' lati- (a simple verb root)
'to draw the likeness of' na- (a simple verb root) 'to bite, to burn'
pede- (a simple verb root) 'to break by bending or shoving back'.

TABLE XI. VERB CLASSES

	Simple Roots				Complex
	− Stem Formative −tV			+ Stem	Roots
	Vowel			Formative	
	Constant	Variable	Nasalized	−tV	
Verb Class	1	2	3	4	5
Typical Roots	ka-	tV-	ka-	mo(to)-	pedeka-
	me-	pV-	tei-	pi(ti)-	tubete-
	kete-	V-	ta-	ya(te)-	nateka-

Root Meaning

Class 1

ka- 'to stand'

me- 'to sit'

kete-'to close'

Class 2

tV- 'to do'

pV- 'to go'

V- 'to say'

Class 3

kai- 'to chop down'

tei- ' to cut up'

ta- 'to splash onto'

Class 4

mo- 'to get, to hold'

pi- 'to sleep'

ya- 'to hear'

Class 5

pedeka- 'to shove or roll away'

tubete- 'to grow big'

nateka- 'to build up (fire)'

Among the complex verbs listed above the following recurring partials are recognized: -te -ka and -tVka. The same forms are frequent final recurring partials of verbs whose stem is too long to qualify without query as a simple underived root: pitika- 'to throw away, to stamp one's foot', mitika- 'to throw away' (compare with mitape- which also means 'to throw away'), kebete- 'to tie up', patuka- 'to pass by a place', kibutu- 'to be every-where', and many other stems. However, no simple root survives in the language by which to establish the derivational orgin of many such stems, or the meaning of the simple and the derived verb have now so far diverged that they cannot be equated with certainty. Such verbs must therefore be treated as unanalysable roots, which possibly have a derivational origin. Apart from their length and possible derivational origin such roots belong functionally to the major class of verb roots, Class 1, with invariable root vowels, though if their derivational origin could be established they should be assigned to Class 5.

Although such verbs as tubete- kotuka- and nateka- are clearly derived verbs based on the simple roots tube- kotu- and na- respect-ively, they are defined as roots rather than stems. The derivational affixes are now fused to the simple root, and (in the light of such verbs as pitika- 'to throw away' and kebete-) may some day become fossilised as evidence of their simple origin ceases to exist in the language. Since, however, they are obviously complex they are defined as complex roots.

While the suffix -tV of the Class 4 verb mo- 'to get, to hold' currently has no derivational value, it is possible that this suffix may have a derivational function with other Class 4 roots. The Class 4 root pi- 'to sleep' attaches the stem formative -tV when followed by the relevant affixes cited at the beginning of this section. It may well relate to the Class 1 root pi- which in intransitive function means 'to lie flat.' Since the verb expression meaning 'to sleep' (atu pi-) is composed of two obligatory words, atu (which means in other contexts breath or vapour) and the verb pi-, it would not be surprising if the verb root plus the stem formative -tV (by which it is characterized as a Class 4 root) were a derived verb.

It is also necessary to recognize a subclass of Class 4 verbs, in which the suffix -ka has a limited stem formative role somewhat like the regular stem formative -tV of this class. The verb ya- 'to hear' takes the regular stem formative suffix -tV with those affixes which regularly require the stem formative when no other affix intervenes: final past tense -ko and final present tense -k etc. With the other affixes, however, the stem formative is not simply dropped (the regular process) but replaced by the suffix -ka: yaka 'listen (imperative)', yakou 'I will hear', yakoane nuku 'I have come to hear from (you)', and so on.

8.2 The Verb Sectors. As previously mentioned, the verb structure divides into three sectors. The initial sector (root sector) has already been described. The affixes which follow the root sector

divide into two sectors, which are named the middle stem formative
sector and the final tense-subject sector respectively. Where no
ambiguity results, these sectors are referred to as the middle sector
and the final sector of the verb.

8.2.1 The Root Sector: Further Observations. The following additional
facts are pertinent to the structure of the root sector. While the
forms of this sector are generally simple or complex roots of the type
listed in Table X, they may sometimes be compound. The most common
examples of this type are the verbs yame- 'to show something to some-
one, to give someone possession of land etc.' and pVnV- 'to pass by'.
yame- probably consists of a combination of a root ya- which might
equate with the present root ya- 'to walk around' and me- 'to give'.
yame-, when it connotes 'to give someone possession of land', specifies
a situation in which the subject shows a person around the territory
he is about to give. pVnV- 'to pass by' combines the two Class 2
roots pV- 'to go' and nV- 'to come'.

8.2.2 The Affixes of the Obligatory Tense-Subject Sector. There are
four different sets of affixes which manifest the obligatory tense-
subject sector. All but one of these sets have been dealt with
previously: the tense-subject affixes of independent final verbs,
the tense-subject affixes of medial verbs, and the tense-subject
affixes of imperative sentences. They will be briefly cited again
along with the affixes which constitute the fourth set of tense-
subject affixes. The last set will be described in detail in the
following chapter (see 9.2).

The most common type of tense-subject affixes are named regular tense-subject affixes. These affixes listed in Table XII associate with the independent final verb of elementary, medial and irrealis sentences inflected for narrative or interrogative mood. Among the four sets of tense-subject affixes this is the only set which is never preceded by the stem formative suffix -a.

The second set of tense-subject suffixes is associated with the medial verb of single subject standard medial sentences, and single subject secondary medial sentences. If, however, the sentence is inflected for imperative mood and the subject is 2nd person singular, the subject suffix of the medial verb is dropped. The various tense and subject affix combinations are listed in Table XIII along with the preceding stem formative suffix -a.

The third set of tense-subject affixes attaches to the independent final verb of sentences inflected for imperative mood. These affixes together with the stem formative suffix -a are listed in Table IX. The affixes of this table are essentially subject forms, and more specifically forms identifying the number of the subject rather than the person of the subject. These forms incidentally connote an action of the present or immediate future, and may be replaced by the single suffix -ti if a delayed future action is indicated.

The fourth set of affixes of the tense-subject sector consists of two characteristic affixes only, -neya, the neutral tense-subject affix, and -de, the reported or inferred situation suffix, which is always immediately followed by regular tense-subject affixes of the first set.

TABLE XII.   REGULAR TENSE AND SUBJECT SUFFIXES

Tense	Subject			
	1st sing.	2nd-3rd sg.	1st plur.	2nd-3rd pl.
Present -k	-ku	-ko	-ko	-ki
Future -o	-ou	-oo	-oo	-oi
Past -ko	-kou	-ka	-koo	-koi

TABLE XIII.   MEDIAL TENSE AND SUBJECT SUFFIXES

Tense	Subject		
	1st sing.	2nd-3rd sg.	plural
Present -∅	-ane	-a	-a§
Future -de	-adene	-ademe	-adete
Past -ke	-kene	-kome	-kete

§The initial vowel a of the forms with present and future tense is the stem formative affix. It is missing with past tense forms.

The reported or inferred situation suffix -de and the regular tense
and subject affixes which follow it will be treated as a single Type
4 entity rather than a combination of a Type 4 affix and Type 1
affixes, since there seem to be significant restrictions on the tense
and subject affixes of Type 1 which follow -de.

Treatment of the neutral and reported or inferred situation
affixes of the final verb sector as essentially the same type of
affix is indicated more by unique features of stem formation shared
by these two sets of affixes, than by any obvious semantic parallel
in function. This is discussed in a later section (section 9.2)
dealing specifically with these affixes.

With the exception of the first type of tense-subject affixes
(the regular tense-subject affixes) the majority of tense-subject
affixes of the other types are immediately preceded by the stem
formative suffix -a, which may be said to close off the middle verb
sector. Even with the first type, however, there is a tendency for
the tense-subject affixes to be separated from the root sector by a
stem formative. When a verb root of Class 4 is followed by the
regular tense suffix -ko (past) or -k (present), the stem formative
-tV stands between the tense suffix and the root.

8.2.3 The Suffixes of the Middle Stem Formative Sector. The middle
sector of Witu verbs is the middle stem formative sector. It is so
named since the initial and final affixes of this sector are simple
(and essentially lexically empty) stem formatives -tV and -a
respectively. The other affixes of this sector are of various kinds,

but none of them reflect categories of the subject or tense dimension. Each of these suffixes is essentially an independent suffix, not a member of a set of mutually substitutable suffixes. To distinguish them from the virtually lexically empty stem formative affixes -tV (of Class 4 verbs) and -a, they will be referred to by the general term lexical affixes of the middle sector.

First in order of the lexical affixes of the middle sector are the benefactive suffix -ka and the transitive -ka. Both may co-occur in the same verb with (as far as can be determined) the transitive suffix preceding the benefactive. The transitive suffix is, however, essentially a derivational suffix. In the light of evidence presented in the first section of this Chapter, it appears that such an affix may become a fossilised segment of a complex root, and hence shift to the initial root sector.

Next in order in the middle sector are affixes which may be described as aspectual. The most common affixes of this sector are -tape, -pe and -loga. -tape reflects the degree of involvement of the subject in the activity of the verb, -loga appears to reflect the spatial orientation of the action, and -pe refers to action directed away from a focal point.

Last in order of the lexical affixes of the middle sector identified to date is the causative suffix -moto.

CHAPTER IX

THE VERBAL AFFIXES

9.1 Suffixes of the Middle Stem Formative Sector.

9.1.1 The Benefactive Suffix -ka. Benefactive clauses fall into two
groups. One group is associated with verbs which are implicitly
benefactive, the type of verb previously referred to as bitransitive.
The other group corresponds to the type of construction generally
defined as benefactive in other Highland New Guinea languages (Young
1964 p. 74, Frantz and McKaughan 1964 p. 86). In this type of
construction, the particular concern of this section, the verb of
the clause is not implicitly benefactive but carries the benefactive
suffix -ka. The benefactee is specified by a nominal expression,
which may be a personal pronoun or a noun expression. So far the
only convincing examples of benefactive clauses have involved a
transitive verb.

Benefaction may, perhaps, imply substitutionary action (e.g.,
I will cut the wood for you to save you having to do it). The most
common manifestation of this type of construction suggests, rather,
that benefaction involves possession. The object of the action becomes
the possession of the benefactee following the action if it did not
previously belong to the benefactee. In benefactive clauses of the
bitransitive type involving implicitly benefactive verbs with a
second object (the benefactee), the second object may sometimes be
marked by the suffix -ke. But in constructions of the type under
consideration here the benefactee is most commonly specified by a
possessive pronoun or a possessive noun expression lateral to the

head noun of the object expression. Thus what in English would be rendered by 'I cut up the wood for him' is rendered in Witu by a construction best translated into English as 'I cut up his wood.' The identification of the benefactee by an attribute possessive expression is commonly a feature also of benefactive constructions involving implicitly benefactive verbs.

The benefactive suffix is segmentally homophonous with the transitive suffix -ka. The former, however, seems to be consistently associated with a low tone (-kà) while the latter most commonly, if not always, is associated with a high tone (-ká). Since there remain some indeterminacies with respect to tone in Witu this statement is only tentative.

As previously indicated, benefactive constructions of the type under study in this section seem to be restricted to verbs with an object. With such verbs the benefactive suffix follows the verb root, or the stem formative -tV if the verb is a Class 4 root. There are some constructions, however, in which the benefactive suffix is a feature of a sentence-final intransitive verb. In such a construction the intransitive verb follows a transitive verb, and the two-verb sequence is treated as a transitive sequence. The first verb may be inflected for neutrality or be a medial verb in a single subject medial sentence. While the intransitive verb carries the benefactive suffix, this suffix inflects the transitive two-verb sequence, rather than just the intransitive verb to which it attaches. This type of construction is further characterized by the interpolation of a stem formative affix

-t<u>V</u> between the benefactive suffix -<u>ka</u> and the intransitive root, even though the root may be a Class 1, 2 or 3 root which (unlike a Class 4 root) does not take a stem formative suffix -t<u>V</u> in constructions other than this type.

Very occasionally, perhaps only with the one root <u>wi-</u>, a stem formative -<u>ka</u> is interpolated between the benefactive suffix -<u>ka</u> and the root of a transitive verb, which in other constructions does not take a stem formative. Note the following two sentences: <u>anu yapu</u> <u>wi.k.u</u> (my house build.p.I) 'I am building my house.' <u>one yapu</u> <u>wi.ka.ka.k.u</u> (his house build.st-f.ben.p.I) 'I am building a house for him.'

9.1.1 Examples of Verbs with the Benefactive Suffix -<u>ka</u>.

<u>Tikili</u> <u>anu</u> <u>Bolota</u> <u>ana.ta</u> <u>yamanu</u> <u>mata.ko.u</u> <u>kailapo</u> <u>to.a</u> <u>lene</u> <u>pi.ka.mene</u>
(Tikili <u>my</u> Bolota up.there.place home-garden plant.pst.I peanuts
pull-up.st-f seed-for-planting lay.<u>ben</u>.imp) Tikili, lay up for me
some of the peanuts I planted up there in the home garden at Bolota.

<u>kini</u> <u>moio</u> <u>Yamo</u> <u>to.ta.me</u> <u>lati.ko.e</u> <u>w.a</u> <u>i.k.i.li</u> <u>Yamo.yo</u> <u>pade</u> <u>mati.ya.ne</u>
<u>lati.ko.a</u> <u>anu.me</u> <u>pade</u> <u>mati.ya.ne</u> <u>lati.ko.a.ne</u> <u>to.ko.u</u> (<u>their</u> jews-harp
Yamo we.two.agent make.<u>ben</u>.imp say.st-f say.p.they.m-s Yamo.subj
some boy.st-f.<u>poss</u> make.<u>ben</u>.st-f I.agent some boy.st-f.<u>poss</u>
make.<u>ben</u>.st-f.I do.pst.I) When they asked us to make them a jews harp,
Yamo made one for one boy and I made one for another.

<u>anu</u> <u>yali</u> <u>anu</u> <u>ogada</u> <u>pade</u> <u>atoa</u> <u>ogada</u> <u>mo.to.ka.mene</u> (my friend <u>my</u>
chicken some woman chicken get.st-f.<u>ben</u>.imp) My friend buy a
chicken, a female chicken, for me.

<u>olo</u> <u>ka.ka.ka.moto.a.ne</u> <u>me.te.ko.u.ya</u> (sharp stand.trans.ben.cause.st-f.
I give.st-f.pst.I.s-cl) I have given it to him to sharpen for me.

<u>pade</u> <u>kiti</u> <u>dokota.ne</u> <u>wi.ka.ka.kala</u> <u>to.a</u> <u>yatene</u> <u>ka.k.o.to.a</u> <u>tati.mu.to.a</u>
<u>yapu</u> <u>mo.a</u> <u>me.t.anea</u> (some emphasis <u>doctor.poss</u> build.st-f.<u>ben</u>.emph
do.st-f line stand.p.it.do.st-f share.mu.do.st-f house take.st-f
give.st-f.neutral) He shared out the work of building the house for the
doctor to each line in its turn.

<u>kayo</u> <u>a.ka</u> <u>w.a.ne</u> <u>u.k.u</u> (call say.<u>ben</u> say.st-f.I articulate.p.I)
I want you to call (her) for me (literally, Call out for (me), I say).

<u>pidi.moto.a.ne</u> <u>mo.to.ka.ko.u</u> (cuddle.cause.st-f.I hold.st-f.<u>ben</u>.pst.I)
I got it (the bird) for her to cuddle.

<u>anu</u> <u>wanu</u> <u>mo.to.ka</u> (my wanu-wood get.st-f.<u>ben</u>) Get me the wanu wood.

<u>a.na</u> <u>kue</u> <u>tata</u> <u>agetai</u> <u>pi.ka.moto.a.ne</u> <u>me.a.tu.k.u.yake</u> <u>me.a.mu.k.u</u>
(up.which money leaf my-father place.<u>ben</u>.cause.st-f.I give.st-f.
do.p.I.prev give.st-f.neg.p.I) I had meant to leave the pound (leaf
money), which (I have) up there, with my father to keep for me, but I
have decided not to give it to him now.

9.1.1 Examples of the Benefactive Suffix -ka Suffixed to an Intransitive Verb.

<u>au.a.ne</u> <u>po.to.ka.k.u</u> (bring.st-f.I go.st-f.ben.p.I) I am taking it
(to him).

<u>lau.a.neya</u> <u>ka.te.ka.k.u</u> (hold-tight.st-f.neutral stand.st-f.ben.p.I)
I am standing holding it (for him).

<u>lau.a.neya</u> <u>me.te.ka.k.o</u> (hold-tight.st-f.neutral sit.st-f.ben.p.he)
He is sitting holding it (for him).

9.1.2 The Transitive Suffix -ka.

The role of the transitive suffix
-<u>ka</u> is to some extent implicit in the discussion of the verb root sector
under the section dealing with verb classification. It points out the
difficulty of positively identifying such an essentially derivational
affix which first fuses with the simple root to which it attaches (so
that it ceases to be an optional and hence formally segmentable feature
of the construction of which it is a part), and later appears to become a
fossilised component of a complex root. In certain derived transitive
constructions, however, the transitive suffix -<u>ka</u> can be positively
identified. Among them are active transitive constructions derived
from stative constructions, and active transitive constructions which are
somewhat reflexive in nature since the object involved in the action

is the subject (performer of the action) himself or herself or part
of the subject: e.g. he turned himself, he bent his neck to one side
and so on.

Apart from such subtypes of transitive construction there are many
examples of an active transitive verb derived from an active intransi-
tive verb root by suffixation of the transitive suffix -ka. However,
this type of transitive verb seems to have potential for diverging in
lexical function from the lexical function of the intransitive verb
from which it derived until the two cannot be positively equated, and
the transitive suffix -ka legitimately identified as a derivational
transitive suffix.

When the transitive suffix -ka attaches to a simple non transitive
root (intransitive or stative), the stem formative -tV may be inter-
polated between it and the root. This stem formative may have no
lexical function, and be purely a stem formative, as in the sentence
po kio otokaku 'I am straightening the rope' based on the simple
stative sentence po kio oko 'the rope is straight'. It may, however,
be derivational in function as indicated in the three sentences yau
toko 'he is laughing', yau takako 'he is making someone laugh', and
yau totokako 'he is laughing at someone'. The first sentence is the
simple base sentence. The second has a derived transitive verb with
the transitive suffix -ka only. The last sentence has another derived
verb with the suffix -tV and the suffix -ka. It is an open question
whether in this last sentence -tV is to be identified as a stem
formative with derivational function, and -ka as the transitive suffix,

or whether the combination -tVka is to be treated as a single unit functioning as a derivational transitive suffix.

9.1.2 Examples of Transitive Constructions Derived from Stative.

(1) Derived from Stative Constructions with the Verb tV-

pea to.k.o (finish do.p.it) It is finished.

pea ta.ka.k.o (finish do.trans.p.you) You have finished it.

piti to.k.o (fear do.p.it) It is frightening.

piti ta.ka.k.o (fear do.trans.p.he) He is frightening (someone).

agopa to.k.o (unknown do.p.it) It is unknown.

i ta agopa ta.ka.k.o (this land unknown do.trans.p.it) The land is hidden from view (of men).

(2) Derived from Stative Constructions with the Verb V-

eni po kio o.k.o (that rope straight say.p.it) That rope is straight.

po kio o.to.ka.k.u (rope straight say.st-f.trans.p.I) I am straightening out the rope.

i mo wane wi.ti.k.u wa kio a.ko.a wi.a.me.a. de.k.o (this information thing write.st-f.I.p for-instance straight say.trans.st-f write.st-f.neg.st-f.rpt.p.it) Take what I have written here for instance, it is incorrectly written as you will observe.

(3) Examples of Reflexive-like Transitive Verbs with the Suffix -ka

pi.ti.ke.te kawa kele.ka.k.i, pote yomo (lie.st-f.pl feet rest-on.trans.p.they foot-rest wood) When they sleep, they rest their feet on a foot rest.

tine.lono kei.ti ta.ka.k.u tepe a.te ta.ko.a.ne me.a.ne pu.k.u (back.place down.direction do.trans.p.I stomach up.direction do.trans.st-f.I sit.st-f.I go.p.I) I am walking backwards uphill.

le.ka.ko.a i ka.k.o.no (bend-sideways.trans.st-f here stand.p.she.s-cont) This one (the girl in the photo) is standing bent (bending herself) sideways.

kadapi yono.ta kolu.ka.ko.a ka.k.i (fourth-finger hand-two colliding.st-f.trans.st-f stand.p.they) They are standing pointing their fingers at each other.

yono poka.ko.a mukiti.ke (hands placed-on.trans.st-f back.on)
His hands placed on his back ....

one kabe le.ka.k.o (his neck bend-sideways.trans.p.he) He is bending
his neck sideways.

lene ki.ka.ko.a me.k.o (eyes close.st-f.trans.st-f sit.p.he) He is
sitting with his eyes closed.

e.te peke.ko.a ka.k.o (away.direction turn.trans.st-f stand.p.he)
He is standing turned (turning himself) away.

(4) Examples of Active Transitive Verbs Derived from Intransitive Verbs

tu.ka (die.pst-he) He died.

wi.a tu.ka.neya (kill.st-f die.trans.neutral) He killed (someone).

a.ta ka.k.o (up.place stand.p.it) It is standing up there.

kege ka.k.o (dirt stand.p.it) Dirt is stuck to (something).

one mamina ka.ka.k.o (his clothing stand.trans.p.he) He is putting
his clothing on.

yono kadapi.ke ka.ko.a.ne mo.to.k.u (hand fourth-finger.on stand.
trans.st-f.I hold.st-f.p.I) I am balancing it on my fourth finger.

ali takuta.me kai.ne kabe.ke po ka.ko.a li.k.i (men two.agent pig.
poss neck.on rope stand.trans.st-f pull.p.they) The two men are
dragging the pig along with a rope around its neck.

yau ti.k.i (laugh do.p.they) They are laughing.

yau ta.k.k.o (laugh do.trans.p.he) He is making (someone) laugh.

yau.pa to.to.ka.k.o (laugh.s-cl do.st-f.trans.p.he) He is laughing
at someone.

wene tu.k.u (understanding do.p.I) I understand.

neke mamina ka.wa.me.a.de.k.o w.a te.yo wene ta.ka.k.o pe (your
clothing stand.st-f.neg.st-f.rpt.p.it say.st-f interrog.person-
agent understanding do.trans.p.he question) Who told you that you
did not have any clothes on?

le.k.o (lie-on-side.p.it) It is lying on its side. It is lying
horizontal.

le.ko.a pi.a (lie-on-side.trans.st-f lie.st-f) Lie it on its side.

anu yapu lobutu.ko.u (my house go-into.pst.I) I went into my house.

no lobutu.ka.me.le to.a.mo.k.o (I go-into.trans.neg.le do.st-f.neg.
p.it) I can't fit myself into (these shoes).

anu tue olo ka.k.o (my axe sharp stand.p.it) My axe is sharp.

olo ka.ka.ka.moto.a.ne me.te.ko.u.ya (sharp stand.trans.ben.cause.
st-f.I give.st-f.pst.I.s-cl) I have given it to him to sharpen for
me.

9.1.3 The Causative Suffix -moto. The non causative construction on

which the -moto construction is based is defined as the base construc-

tion. The verb of the base construction may be transitive or

intransitive, and the subject may be animate or inanimate. The suffix

-moto introduces another (personal) nominal referent into the construc-

tion, which may or may not be the same as the subject of the base

construction. If the referent specific for -moto is the same as the

subject of the base construction, the -moto construction is a reflexive

type construction: he threw himself backwards. This type of causative

construction is much less common than that in which the referent of

-moto is not the same as the subject of the base construction. In the

latter type of construction the personal referent of -moto is the

subject of the -moto construction. The subject of the base construc-

tion carries out the action implied by the verb of the base construction

at the request of or by permission of the subject of the -moto

construction.

Should the suffix -moto not be preceded by any other lexical

suffix of the middle verb sector, and should the verb be a Class 4

verb, the stem formative -tV (as previously indicated) is dropped.

A causative verb may be a final verb or a medial verb. When it is a final verb, the suffix -moto is immediately followed by the regular tense and subject suffixes if the sentence is inflected for narrative or interrogative mode. If the sentence is an imperative sentence, the causative suffix is verb final -mota or -moto depending on whether the subject is singular or plural. In medial function the causative verb has so far only been found inflected for medial present and medial past tense. Most of the medial examples have involved medial present tense. In addition the medial sentence has always been a single subject medial sentence in which the subject of the verb inflected for causative is the same as the subject of the final verb.

9.1.3 Causative Constructions with -moto.

neli wi.ka.ka.mot.o.u (needle stab.st-f.ben.cause.f.I) I will get him to inject me.

podolio au.ka.mot.o.o.no (tomorrow carry.ben.cause.f.we.s-con) We'll get them to carry water for us tomorrow.

tei.ka.moto.k.o (cut.trans.cause.p.it) It has cut itself off. It has stopped running.

pili.moto.ko.me pita.k.o (go-back.cause.m-pst.he fall.p.he) He has leapt back in fright or surprise. (literally: He has thrown himself back, and fallen down).

koda wi.moto.a.ne me.te.k.u (ball kick.cause.st-f.I give.st-f.p.I) I have given them the ball to kick around.

pidi.moto.a.ne mo.to.ka.ko.u (cuddle.cause.st-f.I get.st-f.ben.pst.I) I got it for her to cuddle.

pi.mot.a (lie.cause.st-f) Let it lie there.

olo ka.ka.ka.moto.a.ne me.te.ko.u.ya (sharp stand.trans.ben.cause. st-f.I give.st-f.pst.I.s-cl) I have given it to him to sharpen for me.

po.tape.mot.a (go.compl.cause.st-f) Let them all go.

9.1.4 The Aspectual Suffixes of the Middle Stem Formative Sector.

The suffixes -tape, -pe and -loga are representative of a number of

suffixes which take a position in the middle stem formative sector of

the verb between the benefactive and transitive suffixes to the left

and the causative suffix -moto to the right. They do not represent a

set of mutually substitutable affixes, and do not seem to be

semantically incompatible, though so far only -pe and -tape have been

found together in the same verb. Of the three -tape is by far the most

common. It occurs with all verbs, while -pe and -loga are restricted

in the verbs with which they occur. The last two suffixes may perhaps

equate with forms which function as verb roots in other contexts, pe-

(to close a door, i.e. to remove a door) and loga- (to lie i.e. as a

lake of water etc.).

The suffix -tape refers to the degree of involvement of the

subject in the action. If the subject is singular, -tape signals that

the subject carries the action of the verb through to completion, or

that the whole of the subject is involved in the activity. If the

subject is plural, -tape signals that either the action is carried

through to completion, or that all the people of a group under

discussion are involved in the action.

The suffix -pe involves a directional aspect as in enape- 'to look

out over, to gaze into the distance'. But this directional aspect may

be coupled with a feature of removal as in pukape- 'to blow something

away'.

The suffix -loga involves a spatial orientation of the action either on a vertical or horizontal plane. With respect to the horizontal plane it refers to an action involving a spreading out: the spreading out aspect of water or a sprawling aspect as in the verb pitaloga- 'to fall headlong'. Compare this last verb with pita- which means 'to fall down from a higher to a lower position'. With respect to the vertical plane it implies an upward aspect: a person sitting looking up at the sky. Where a downward orientation of an action is involved it seems that the suffix -keiti may be used e.g. the medial verb kau.keiti.ko.a (smash.downwards, trans.st-f) 'It was dropped and smashed.' This is, however, the only example in the recorded data with this suffix.

If no other lexical suffix of the middle stem formative sector of the verb stands between -tape or -loga and a Class 4 verb root, the stem formative -tV is dropped. It is not yet known if the same is true for the suffix -pe.

9.1.4 Examples of the Suffixes -tape -pe and -loga.

tobou wane pi.logo.a po.k.o (head thing lie.up-on.st-f go.p.he)
He is carrying it along on top of his head.

ue mine me.loga.k.o (water lake sit.spread.p.it) The lake is lying
(there).

pita.loga.k.o (fall-down.sprawl.p.he) He has fallen headlong.

opi kege pi.tape.k.o, abela watewate to.ko.u.na.ke (now dirt lie.
compl.p.it yesterday wash do.pst.I.na.though) Now dirt is all over
it, though I washed it yesterday.

wili walai a.ka.tape.neya (higgledy piggledy say.trans.compl.neutral)
It (the soil) is all churned up.

<u>mamina</u> <u>yaga.loga.k.o</u> (cloth spread.out.p.he) He is spreading out the cloth.

<u>do</u> <u>puka.pe.k.o</u> (debris blow.away.p.he) He is blowing the debris away.

<u>ta</u> <u>en.a.pe.a.de.me</u> <u>po.ka</u> (land see.st-f.out.st-f.m-f.he go.pst-he) He has gone to look out over the land.

9.2 Suffixes of the Final Tense-Subject Sector.

<u>9.2.1 The Neutral Suffix</u> <u>-neya</u>. The neutral suffix <u>-neya</u> may consist of two segments, <u>-ne</u> specifically signalling neutrality and <u>-ya</u> a verb final form equating with <u>-ya</u> of such a sentence as <u>olo kakakamotoane metekouya</u> 'I have given it to him to sharpen for me.' The <u>-ya</u> of this sentence has a perfective connotation. Until there are further grounds, however, for treating <u>-ya</u> as a separate form, the neutral suffix <u>-neya</u> will be treated as a single entity.

A verb inflected for neutrality registers no distinctions of subject (either person or number) and no distinctions of tense. It is most commonly the final verb of the sentence in which it occurs, but it may also function as the verb of a clause other than the final clause. Usually, if not always, the subject of a non final verb inflected for neutrality is the same as the subject of the final verb of the sentence, and the non final verb occurs immediately contiguous with the final verb forming with that verb a kind of semantic entity in which the actions of the two verbs appear to express different aspects of a single complex action: <u>yomo lauaneya kako</u> 'He is standing holding the wood tight.'

While <u>-neya</u> reflects no distinctions of subject or tense, it belongs to the verb final tense-subject sector, and is preceded by the stem

formative -_a_ which characteristically separates the affixes of the tense-subject sector from the affixes of the preceding sectors.[1] The term neutral implies neutrality with respect to subject and tense. The suffix -_neya_ does not correlate with any other verbal dimension, since a verb inflected for neutrality may still take any of the suffixes of the middle stem formative sector.

9.2.2 The Reported or Inferred Situation Suffix -_de_. While -_de_ is neither an elementary tense nor a strict subject suffix, it belongs positionally to the obligatory final tense-subject sector of the verb and is immediately preceded by the stem formative suffix -_a_. It is immediately followed in this sector by regular tense and subject suffixes (Table XII). The co-occurrence restrictions of -_de_ in combination with these suffixes is lexical evidence that the semantic domain of -_de_ to some degree overlaps the semantic domain of the tense and subject affixes. Its semantic domain evidently has no overlap with the other verbal suffixes, since it may associate with any or all of them in the verb.

-_de_ associates most commonly with the present tense suffix -_k_ and with 3rd person subject. It has occasionally been found in combination with the 3rd person singular past tense suffix -_ka_. It has never been recorded in combination with the future tense suffix -_o_ or the secondary future suffix -_te_ of final verbs. Examples in which it occurs with a 1st person subject are rare and suspect.

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[1]Following the completive aspect suffix -_tape_ the stem formative -_a_ is commonly omitted.

It is typically a feature of independent final verbs, and like such verbs may function in the medial clause of multisubject medial sentences. It is, however, never a feature of the medial verb of a single subject medial sentence.

It has been listed with the neutral suffix -a.neya in the fourth subtype of affixes which manifest the obligatory tense-subject sector of a verb. The identity of -de and -neya in this respect is indicated by their behaviour in combination with Class 2 verbs, and those Class 1 verbs subclassified as Class 1c, ya- 'to wander' ka- 'to stand' and na- 'to eat'. When -de or -neya combine with these verbs and no lexical affix of the stem formative middle sector intervenes between them and the root the usual stem formative -a is replaced by -ke. No other verb root plus verb suffix combination exhibits this irregularity (see Table XV). When either suffix (-de or -neya) follows the root of a Class 4 verb the stem formative -tV of the verb is retained. This results in a juxtaposition of the two stem formatives -tV and -a to produce the combination -ta. This is again the only situation in which the two stem formatives -tV and -a are brought together in the verb. Thus mo.tV- 'to get' plus -a.neya 'neutral' becomes motaneya, and mo.tV- plus -a.de plus such regular tense subject suffixes as -k.o becomes motadeko.

The precise lexical function of -de is still indeterminate, but is more or less adequately conveyed by the definition 'reported or inferred situation' suffix. It refers to a subject (grammatical subject) whose state or action expressed by the verb (to which -de attaches) cannot be or is not directly observed by either the speaker,

the addressee or both. This type of situation is implicit in the following examples illustrative of the lexical function of -de: (1) pi.a.de.k.o (lie.st-f.rpt.p.it) Here it is; (2) anu ta kode mo.a.de.te ne.ke.de.k.i w.a.ne o.o.u (my land steal get.st-f.m-f. pl come.st-f.rpt.p.they say.st-f.I say.f.I) I will say (know) that you have come to steal my land (if I find you are lying to me); (3) i kago ku en.a.me.ke.te t.a.de.k.o (this raspberry fruit see.st-f. neg.m-pst.pl do.st-f.rpt.p.it) These fruits are evidently ones we did not see (when we were picking the bush over earlier today). In the first example the expression is used by the person who finds an object for which both he and the addressee have been looking. When he locates it, he communicates the fact to the addressee with this commonly used expression 'piadeko'. In the second illustration the speaker accuses the addressees of possible future misconduct which he can only assume by observation of their present activity. The misconduct of which he accuses the addressees is not directly observable since it is potential- ly future. In the third illustration the raspberry fruit are under direct observation by both speaker and addressee. But by virtue of the fact that addressee and speaker see the fruit now, they infer that at an earlier time they must not have seen them, i.e. when picking the bush over.

9.2 Examples of Verbs With the Neutral Suffix -neya and Reported Situation Suffix -de.

mena t.a.de.k.o (negative do.st-f.rpt.p.it) It appears that there are none.

me.a.me.a.de.k.o (sit.st-f.neg.st-f.rpt.p.he) (We found out that) he was not at home.

ta pea.ke pi.a unuka.neya (land   all.at   lie.st-f   surround.neutral)
They settled over the entire land.

tuku to.ma ya.ke.neya (look-for   do.simultaneous-action   wander.st-f.
neutral) He wandered around the place searching.

kai.me timini.me ena do peko.a weleteko.a ka.ke.neya (pig.agent
snout.agent   that   debris   turn-over.st-f   wriggling.st-f   stand.st-f.
neutral) The pigs were standing turning over that pile of debris with
their snouts.

ali pi.ti.k.o.to.a ego pita.de.k.o (man   sleep.st-f.p.he.do.st-f   fly
fall-down.rpt.p.it) It is observed that wherever people live flies also
appear.

9.3 Root-like Suffixes of the Verb.   Among the verbal affixes not yet

dealt with are two forms which also function as verb roots, and a third

which, though never functioning as a root, has the characteristics of a

root.   The first two forms are the directional suffixes -pV and -nV

which equate with the verb roots pV- 'to go' and nV- 'to come'

respectively.   The third form is the negative suffix -mV.

9.3.1 The Directional Suffixes.   The affixes -pV and -nV are affixes

of the middle stem formative sector which follow the benefactive suffix

-ka and precede the causative suffix -moto.   Their position with

respect to the aspectual affixes of the middle sector is not yet known.

If they follow a Class 4 verb root with no other lexical suffix of the

middle sector intervening, the stem formative -tV is dropped.

The variable vowel of the two suffixes usually behaves in the same

way as the variable vowel of the two roots.   If, however, the suffix

following the two suffixes -pV or -nV is the neutral suffix -neya or

the reported situation suffix -de, the two suffixes do not behave like

their respective roots.   The regular stem formative -a stands between

them and -neya or -de, not the suffix -ke.   Should either -pV or -nV

attach to the other two Class 2 roots <u>tV</u>- or <u>V</u>-, the vowel of these two roots does not behave regularly, but remains <u>o</u> whatever the vowel of the following suffix -<u>pV</u> or -<u>nV</u>.

Inflection of a verb for either direction away (signalled by -<u>pV</u>) or towards (signalled by -<u>nV</u>) specifies an action in which the directional activity precedes the activity implicit in the verb root. Thus <u>mopoko</u> means 'he is going to get something', and <u>monoko</u> means 'he is coming to get something.' Both affixes are virtually unrestricted in the active verb roots with which they associate. The verbs of stative and active-stative constructions are, however, never inflected for directional activity.

9.3.1 Examples of Verbs With Directional Suffixes.

<u>to mo.po.ko.me ene.ka</u> (saw get.g<u>o</u>.m-pst.he see.pst-he) When he went to get the saw, he saw it.

<u>enikani yene.pa pine.le po.te ene.po.ko.i</u>; <u>eno.a kini poi t.a.neya</u> (those-kind people.s-cl base.at go.pl see.g<u>o</u>.pst.they; see.st-f they fight do.st-f.neutral) Those particular people went off to take a close look (at the situation); when they saw (the enemy) they set to fighting.

<u>pade kiyane ago.no yapu ne no.po.kala to.k.o.ye</u> (another red man. poss house food eat.g<u>o</u>.emph do.p.we.d-sp) At various times we go to eat at another European's house.

<u>mo.na.mene</u> (get.come.imp) <u>Come</u> and get (it).

<u>Yemu.lawe no.ka.le ena.mo.po.ke.te</u> .... (Jim.for-instance come.pst-he.m-s see.get.g<u>o</u>.m-pst.pl ....) For instance it was like when we went to get Jim when he came ....

<u>modo me.ni.k.i</u> (sweet-potato give.<u>come</u>.p.they) They are coming to give (you) sweet potato.

<u>ipe to.pi.k.i</u> (farm do.go.p.they) They are going off to work on the farm.

9.3.2 The Negative Suffix -mV. The negative suffix -mV follows the
aspectual suffix -tape, but precedes the causative suffix -moto of
the middle (stem formative) sector of the verb. It has a variable
vowel which behaves like the variable vowel of Class 2 roots, not
like the variable vowel of such affixes as the stem formative -tV,
and multisubject indicator -lV. It is also consistently preceded by
the stem formative -a, a feature shared with no other verbal affix
dealt with so far. The stem formative associated with the negative
suffix behaves morphophonemically like the stem formative -a
associated with the 1st person singular imperative suffix -da. It
dissimilates the variable vowel of a preceding Class 2 root to o, and
has no dissimilating effect on a preceding root final a of a Class 1
verb.

The variable vowel of the negative suffix -mV behaves the same
as the variable vowel of Class 2 roots when followed by the regular
tense and subject affixes, by the medial tense suffixes -de (medial
future) and -ke with its variant -ko (medial past), and by the
causative suffix -moto. When followed by the neutral suffix -neya
or the reported situation suffix -de, its vowel is e (as with the
Class 2 roots pV- and nV-), but the suffix -ke does not stand between
it and these suffixes (as it does when pV- and nV- take the suffixes
-neya and -de). No stem formative stands between it and the neutral
suffix, and the stem formative -a usually stands between it and the
reported situation suffix -de. When the negative suffix is followed
by imperative affixes, the variable vowel of -mV is e with a 2nd

person subject. But with 1st person subjects the combination of the
negative plus imperative suffixes results in ⁻mada (1st singular),
⁻mata (1st dual) and ⁻mato (1st plural). A similar situation obtains
when the negative suffix is followed by the medial future tense suffix
⁻de. The resulting combination is ⁻made⁻, though if the combination
were regular, the result would have been ⁻moade.

Combinations of the negative suffix with various following tense-
subject affixes are indicated in Table XIV.

9.4 The Secondary Future Tense Suffix ⁻te. Verbs inflected for
secondary future tense consist of a verb root plus the stem formative
⁻a plus the secondary tense suffix ⁻te plus regular tense and subject
suffixes (Table XII) with the following restrictions. The regular
tense suffix which immediately follows the secondary future suffix
⁻te is most commonly the present tense suffix ⁻k, and never the future
tense suffix ⁻o. Such a verb may function as predicate of an elementary
sentence, in which (by definition) it is the only predicate verb, but it
has not yet been found as the final verb of a standard medial sentence,
or an irrealis sentence.

The predicate function of such verbs seems to be a secondary
function, rather than the primary function. The primary function of
such a verb seems to be realized in the context of clauses functioning
as expressions of time, place or manner. As previously indicated,
clauses of time or space are commonly formed by suffixing the locational
affixes ⁻ka or ⁻ta to the independent final verb of a clause functioning
as a sentence. Such clauses substitute for temporal or spatial pronouns
or noun expressions. Similar clauses in which the suffix ⁻le attaches
to the verb substitute for such pronouns of manner as ile 'the way I

TABLE XIV.   EXAMPLES OF VERBS INFLECTED FOR NEGATION

Verb Class

Tense-Subject Affixes	Class 1 pi- 'to place'	Class 2 pV- 'to go'
Regular		
1st sing. pres.	piamuku	poamuku
2nd sing. pres.	piamoko	poamoko
3rd plur. pres.	piamiki	poamiki
3rd sing. past	piamoka	poamoka
Medial		
1st sing. pres.	piamoane	poamoane
2nd sing. pres.	piamoa	poamoa
3rd plur. pres.	piamoa	poamoa
1st sing. past	piamekene	poamekene
2nd sing. past	piamokome	poamokome
3rd plur. past	piamekete	poamekete
1st sing. fut.	piamadene	poamadene
3rd plur. fut.	piamadete	poamadete
Imperative		
2nd sing.	piamea(mene)	poamea(mene)
1st sing.	piamada	poamada
1st plur.	piamato	poamato
3rd sing.	piamomota	poamomota
Neutral and Reported Situation		
neutral	piameneya	poameneya
reported	piame(a)deko	poame(a)deko

am doing it' <u>winile</u> 'the way you are doing it', and <u>enile</u> 'the way he is doing it'. The suffixes -ta, -ka and -le affix to verbs carrying the regular present and regular past tense affixes -k and -ko respectively, but so far have not been found affixed to verbs carrying the regular future tense affix -o. This deficiency is made good by verbs inflected for secondary future tense. Such verbs regularly, and most commonly, attach the suffixes -ta, -ka, -pete and -le.

Clauses commonly function as attributive elements of nominal expressions. Such clauses usually precede the head noun of the nominal expression, and optionally attach the clitic -na to the last item of the attributive clause, the verb. The verb retains the regular tense and subject affixes it carries when an independent final verb. However, the verb of a clause functioning as attributive to a noun never carries the regular future tense suffix -o. This deficiency is again made good by a verb inflected for secondary future tense.

CHAPTER X

EMPTY VERB COMPOUNDS

An empty verb compound is named by the lexically empty verb root of the final verb of the compound of which it is an integral part. It consists of a sequence of two verbs which are always immediately adjacent to each other. The root of the first verb is the lexical nucleus of verb compound. The root of the second verb is lexically empty. This lexically empty root attaches tense and subject affixes only. It attaches medial tense-subject affixes when the clause in which it functions is a medial clause, and the tense-subject affixes of an independent final verb when the clause of which it is a part is the final clause of the sentence.

There are various types of empty verb compounds. Some are characteristic of the sentence type of which they are an integral part. Others are not characteristic of any particular sentence type, and occur as predicate of medial clauses, and independent final clauses. All such compounds, however, have an affix or affixes which are never a feature of the independent final verb of a sentence, and in the verb compound always attach to the first verb. The first verb additionally carries any or all of the optional affixes for which the verb of a noncompound verb expression may be inflected.

10.1 Simple Empty Verb Compounds. Simple empty verb compounds are not characteristic of any particular sentence type. Such a verb compound is commonly the predicate of an independent final clause, but may manifest the predicate of either independent final clauses, or medial clauses.

Three simple empty verb compounds have been identified. Each compound has its specific affix, which takes final position in the first (semantically nuclear) verb of the compound. It may perhaps be said to displace the obligatory tense-subject affixes from the nuclear verb to the second lexically empty verb tV-. These tense-subject affixes are the only affixes carried by the verb tV-, which is equated with the verb 'to do' and glossed accordingly.

The three specific affixes are -kala 'emphatic' -tVkakala 'repetitive' and -ai 'intensive or regular'. The affix -kala also inflects nonverbal expressions, and may consist of two segments -ka and -la. Both -ka and -la like -kala appear to signal emphasis. -tVkakala specifies repeated activity, and may also be a complex form. The initial segment -tV may a stem formative suffix. If it is not -tVkakala is the only instance of the variable affix vowel in an affix of which it is not the final phone. If, however, -tV is separated as a stem formative, the residue -kakala is still longer than other suffixes, and may also be complex.

The suffix -ai refers to an action carried out intensively or regularly over a period of time. In the one example recorded in which it is immediately preceded by the causative suffix -moto, the final segment -to of -moto is reduced.

10.1 Examples of Simple Empty Verb Compounds: Regular Verb Compounds.

(1) Emphatic

Miti Mati one pade.pete mukiti na.k.o.lo pi.kala to.k.o (Mrs Marie she another.time back ache.p.it.m-s lie.emph do.p.she) Whenever Marie's back aches, she just goes and lies down.

to.ta.pa pade.pete pade kiyane ago.no yapu ne no.po.kala to.k.o.ye (We.two.s-cl some.time some red man.poss house food eat.go. emph do.p.we.d-sp) At various times we go to some European's house and have a meal.

yono tuku.ke ali.kiti me.ka.kala ti.k.i (arm joint.at man.emph sit.trans.emph do.p.they) Men wear/place (armbands) on the joints of their arm.

yene pea.me komo o.kala ela mo.kala to.ko.i.ye (peple all.agent tears articulate.emph sorrow hold.emph do.pst.they.do-sp) Everyone wept and felt very sorrowful (on receipt of the letter).

Mate Alo ne epene.mo w.a.mo.k.o pe w.a.ne o.kala to.ko.u (Mr. Harland you good.talk say.st-f.negative.p.he question say.st-f.I speak.emph do.pst.I) I said, "Harland won't be speaking kindly to you (for doing this), will he?"

ali atoa pe.ke.te.pa tu.kala ti.k.i (men women go.mpst.pl.s-cl die.emph do.p.they) If men and women go (fall into the hole) they surely die.

tutu to.a tutu to.a lipu.kala t.anea (another do.st-f another do.st-f join.emph do.neutral) These pieces and those pieces have all been joined together.

tu.ka.le yo.no.kala t.o.u (dies-down.pst.m-s light.come.emph do. will.I) If the fire dies down, I will indeed come and light it.

(2) Examples of the Emphatic Suffix Affixed to a Nonverb.

pade.le pene to.k.o.le ede.le.kala titi.a to.k.o pe w.a a.ke.neya (some.le just do.p.he.le what.le.emph begin.st-f do.p.he question say.st-f say.m-pst.neutral) They said what is this new thing that he is commencing to do now?

modo pea to.ka pa.kala pi.a.ne .... (sweet-potato all do.pst-it just.emph sleep.st-f.I ....) The sweet potatos were all finished. I slept without (eating anything) ....

(3) Intensive

o.pa toe kue u.a Tialea pitiko.ai ti.k.i (now.s-cl firewood stones carry.st-f Tialea throw.int do.p.they do.p.they) They are gathering together a good supply of firewood and stones at Tialea.

ako.lono pi.ai t.a.neya (outside.place put.int do.st-f.neutral) She has taken (all her things) outside.

ue nate.ya mati no.mo.ai to.k.o.ya (water little-ya very drink.
cause.<u>int</u> <u>do</u>.p.he.s-cl) He must be given just a little water to
drink at regular intervals.

eni boku eno.ai t.a.mene (that book see.<u>int</u> <u>do</u>.st-f.you-imp) Read
that book regularly.

pade ali.ke weamutu.kaya wa toe.le wi.ai yo.to.ke.te ti.k.i (some
man.to spread.appr wa fire.in strike.<u>int</u> burn.st-f.m-pst.pl
<u>do</u>.p.they) Lest they (dead lepers) spread their disease to another
they are always burnt at once in the fire.

(4) <u>Repetitive</u>

tu.tukakala to.k.o (die.<u>repetitive</u> do.p.it) It (the fire) keeps on
dying down.

bolo mo.to.ku.pe.ke.ne to.a.ne pita.tekakala to.k.o (elephant-bug
get.st-f.adv.go.m-pst.I do.st-f.I fall.<u>repetitive</u> do.p.it) The
bug keeps on falling (from my hand) as I try to pick it up.

<u>10.2 Inabilitative Verb Compounds</u>. Inability to perform an action

is expressed by an empty verb compound. The lexically nuclear first

verb has for its distinctive final affixes the negative suffix -<u>mV</u>

manifested as -<u>me</u> and the final suffix -<u>le</u>. In one example the

suffix -<u>ne</u> (possibly related to the first segment of the neutral

suffix -<u>neya</u>) occurs between -<u>me</u> and -<u>le</u>. The second, a lexically

empty verb, is <u>tV</u>-, the same root which functions in the same relative

role in regular verb compounds. This verb is equated with the active

verb <u>tV</u>- 'to do'. It attaches the obligatory tense-subject affixes

of the verb expression, and is additionally inflected for negation.

In one example the clause of which the compound verb is the predicate

is a medial clause followed by a final clause manifested by the stative

verb expression <u>agopa toko</u> 'to be unknown, to be ignorant'. While this

expression is not grammatically negative (i.e. it does not carry the

negative suffix -<u>mV</u>), it is semantically negative. <u>agopa toko</u> assumes

the function of the negative suffix -mV of the lexically empty verb tV- of the compound expression, and this suffix -mV is dropped from the second verb tV- of the compound.

The tense of the verb compound is usually restricted to present tense, and the subject suffix to 3rd person singular, though the free subject of the clause may be 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, singular, dual or plural.

10.2 Examples of Simple Empty Verb Compounds: Inabilitative Verb Compounds.

no lobutu.ka.me.le to.a.mo.k.o (I go-inside.trans.neg.le do.st-f. neg.p.it) I can't fit (the shoes) on. I can't fit myself into (the shoes).

atu pi.a.me.le to.a.mo.k.o (spirit lie.st-f.neg.le do.st-f.neg.p. it) I could not sleep.

to.a.me.ne.le to.ko.me agopa to.k.o (do.st-f.neg.neutral.le do.m-pst. it not-know do.p.it) He isn't able to do it, he doesn't know how.

CHAPTER XI

ADJECTIVE-LIKE VERB ROOTS

Constructions which might even tentatively be treated as
adjectival noun phrases are rare in Witu if in fact they ever do
occur. Those words or constructions which are attributive to a head
noun are such things as relative clauses(p.o.u.no wene pi.k.o yene
(go.f.I.clitic thought lie.p.he people) The people who intend to go.);
possessive pronouns (one yapu his house); demonstrative pronouns
(wini koda the ball there by you); numerals (ali tebolo three men),
or the numeral substitute pade (ali pade another man) or muno
(ali muno the first man, the head man).

The following examples, however, approximate adjectival phrases:
ludu ali 'a tall man,' tube ali 'a big man,' and de ali 'a little
man.' Each of these phrases involves a size adjective-like root. Each,
however, is found in predicate function in such sentences as the follow-
ing; ali tube.ya 'he is a big man,' ali dede.ya 'he is a little man,'
and ludu.kiya 'it is tall, it is a long way off.' Since the three
roots ludu, tube, and de do occur in predicate function, and since
anything approximating an adjectival phrase is restricted to noun phrases
with these roots as the attributive, the three roots are treated as verb
roots, but as a special subclass. Their distinctness from regular verb
roots is indicated by such things as the following. de when it functions
as a predicate root is reduplicated (a feature restricted as far as
present evidence shows to this root); tube- and dede- in final
predicate function are the only roots which simply attach the suffix

-ya with no other verbal affix, or stem formative; the suffix which
attaches to <u>ludu</u> in predicate function is unique to this root. One
other feature of <u>ludu</u> sets it apart as a unique root. It commonly
occurs in postposition-like function with a preceding noun in a
directional noun phrase e.g. <u>ka ludu ya.k.o</u> (road long wander.p.he)
He is wandering along the road. This extended function of the root
<u>ludu</u> is perhaps more significant in light of the fact that roots are
rarely found functioning in more than one class of words. Few examples
have yet been found of a noun root functioning as a verb root or vice
versa.

Such predicate verbs as <u>tubeya</u> 'it is big', <u>dedeya</u> 'it is little',
and <u>ludukiya</u> (which may perhaps be <u>ludukeya</u>) 'it is long' may equate
with constructions in which a regular verb root is inflected for
neutrality: <u>po.a.neya</u> (bad.st-f.neutral) 'It is bad', <u>pi.a.neya</u>
(lie.st-f.neutral) 'It is lying (there)'. Note with respect to the
verb <u>ludukiya</u> (possibly <u>ludukeya</u>) that a small subgroup of verb roots
inflected for neutrality take the suffix -<u>ke</u> in place of the regular
stem formative -<u>a</u>: <u>pe.ke.neya</u> (go.st-f.neutral) 'He went, He has gone'
(see Table XV).

The root <u>nate</u>- should perhaps be added to the list of adjective-
like roots, though it does not occur in such adjectival-like phrases
as <u>tube ali</u>. The root <u>nate</u>- means 'small' and may perhaps be mutually
exclusive with the other root <u>de</u> with the same meaning in such construc-
tions. <u>nate</u> is, however, found in a phrase-like construction <u>nate koto</u>
(which may finally prove to be a single word) meaning little day

(i.e. Saturday, a half day of rest) paralleling <u>tube</u> <u>koto</u> meaning
big day (i.e. Sunday, a full day of rest from Administration work).
<u>nate</u> in simple verbal function is also inflected like <u>tube</u>, and <u>dede</u>
with the single suffix -<u>ya</u> as in the sentence <u>wini</u> <u>tue</u> <u>nate.ya</u>
(there-by-you dog little) That dog by you is little.

CHAPTER XII

MORPHOPHONEMICS AND IRREGULARITIES

The morphophonemic processes of Witu involve assimilation,
dissimilation and reduction of vowels. Processes of assimilation
involve only the variable vowel of certain roots and affixes already
mentioned. Processes of dissimilation involve the variable vowel of
such roots and affixes under the influence of a vowel a in a contiguous
syllable, and also involve a regular vowel a under the influence of an
immediately following stem formative -a associated with certain types
of tense and subject affix of the final verb sector. Processes of
reduction reduce certain two vowel sequences across a morpheme boundary
to a single vowel. Such two vowel sequences have the vowel o or a as
the second member, and the vowel e or a as the first member of the
sequence. It is apparent from the foregoing that the vowel a is more
often involved in morphophonemic processes (either as the affected or
affecting vowel) than the other four vowels.

12.1 The Variable Affix and the Variable Root Vowel. With respect to
morphophonemic processes two types of variable vowel have been recognized,
the variable vowel of affixes, and the variable vowel of roots, or root-
like affixes. The variable vowel of the affixes -tV (stem formative),
-lV (multisubject indicator) and -tV (directional location suffix) is
determined by the vowel of the preceding syllable. The variable vowel
of Class 2 roots and the root-like negative suffix -mV is determined by
the vowel of the following syllable. Both types of variable vowel always
harmonize with the vowel of the relevant contiguous syllable unless the
vowel is a.

mo- 'to get'   plus -tV 'stem formative' becomes moto-

pi- 'to sleep'   plus -tV   becomes piti-

me- 'to give'   plus -tV   becomes mete-

The same process of harmonizing is illustrated in Tables VII and VIII with the multisubject marking suffix -lV. The directional suffix -tV harmonizes in the same way (Table X).

The variable vowel of the Class 2 roots and of the negative suffix -mV followed by the regular tense-subject affixes of Table XII or the medial past tense suffix -ke/-ko of Table XIII harmonizes in combinations such as the following:

	-ku	-ko	-ki	-kene
pV-	puku	poko	piki	pekene
-mV	-muku	-moko	-miki	-mekene

Dissimilation of a variable affix vowel under the influence of a vowel a in the preceding syllable is illustrated by the following examples.

ya- 'to hear' plus -tV 'stem formative'   becomes yate-

a-   'up'   plus -tV 'directional'   becomes ate

toka 'he did'   plus -lV 'multisubject   becomes tokale
                           marker'

The variable vowel of Class 2 roots and the negative suffix -mV followed by the vowel a associated with regular tense-subject affix -ka of Table XII and the medial present and future tense-subject affixes of Table XIII dissimilates to o.

	-ka	-ane	-adene
tV-	toka	toane	toadene
-mV	-moka	-moane	-moadene

When the vowel <u>a</u> is the stem formative of the affixes -<u>neya</u> 'neutral' and -<u>de</u> 'reported or inferred situation', or is the stem formative associated with 2nd person imperative, the vowel of the negative suffix -<u>mV</u> dissimilates to <u>e</u>:

	-<u>aneya</u>	-<u>adeko</u>	-<u>a</u>
-<u>mV</u>	-<u>meneya</u>	-<u>meadeko</u>	-<u>mea</u>

<u>12.2 The Medial Stem Formative Vowel -<u>a</u></u>. The vowel <u>a</u> functioning as the stem formative of medial tense-subject affixes always dissimilates a preceding vowel <u>a</u> to <u>o</u>. The preceding vowel <u>a</u> may be a root vowel or a suffix vowel. Thus <u>lata</u>- (Class 1) 'to recover plus -<u>a.ne</u> becomes <u>lato.a.ne</u>; <u>kete.ka</u> (<u>kete</u>- (Class 1) 'to shut, close' plus -<u>ka</u> 'benefactive) plus -<u>a.ne</u> becomes <u>kete.ko.a.ne</u>; <u>yaka</u> (Class 4) 'to hear' plus -<u>a.ne</u> becomes <u>yako.a.ne</u>; <u>pitika</u>- (Class 5) 'to throw' plus -<u>a.ne</u> becomes <u>pitiko.a.ne</u>.

The stem formative -<u>a</u> of medial tense-subject affixes also dissimilates the root final vowel <u>e</u> of certain verbs to <u>o</u>. Thus <u>ene</u>- (Class 1) 'to see' plus -<u>a.ne</u> becomes <u>eno.a.ne</u>; <u>tete</u>- (Class 1) 'to split wood' plus -<u>a.ne</u> becomes <u>teto.a.ne</u>. The root final <u>e</u> of such a Class 1 verb as <u>kete</u>- 'to close' does not dissimilate in this way. <u>kete</u>- plus -<u>a.ne</u> becomes <u>kete.a.ne</u>. It is not yet known why the final <u>e</u> of <u>tete</u>- dissimilates, and the final <u>e</u> of <u>kete</u>- does not. The difference may be conditioned by the tone placement, but this problem has yet to be carried through to a final solution. It might also reflect a difference in origin. The root <u>kete</u>- might be a simple underived root, while <u>tete</u>- might include the fossilised stem formative -<u>tV</u>. Until a final solution is forthcoming, Class 1 verbs like <u>tete</u>-

and ene- are set up as a special subtype of Class 1 verbs, Class 1b.
Class 1a represents the majority of Class 1 verbs which exhibit no
morphophonemic irregularity.

Within Class 1 the verbs ka- 'to stand' and na- 'to eat'
represent a third subtype, 1c. When inflected for neutrality the
stem formative -a is replaced by -ke. Thus ka- plus -a.neya becomes
ka.ke.neya. na- plus -a.neya becomes na.ke.neya. Inflection for
reported or inferred situation (-de) results in the same irregularity.
In this behaviour they parallel the Class 2 roots pV 'to go' nV- 'to
come' and V- 'to speak'.

The verbs ka- 'to stand' of Class 1 and ka- 'to chop down' of
Class 3 exhibit a common irregularity when inflected for medial tense-
subject. A segment w is interpolated between the root and the follow-
ing stem formative -a.[1] Thus ka- plus -a.ne becomes ka.w.a.ne and
ka- plus -a.ne becomes ka.w.ane. The interpolated w may reflect a
feature of length of the root vowels. So far there is no evidence for
contrastive vowel length. However, the vowel of monosyllabic roots is
commonly longer than the final vowel of polysyllabic roots. Assuming
that both ka- and ka- can be represented with phonetically long
vowels (kaa- and kaa-), the vowel representing the second mora of
phonetic length might dissimilate under the influence of the following
stem formative -a to become o. Thus kaa- plus -a.ne would become
kao.a.ne and kaa- plus -a.ne would become kao.a.ne. The shift to
ka.w.ane and ka.w.ane would follow.

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[1]This is true also of other monosyllabic roots of Class 3 which
are vowel a final.

12.3 The Stem Formative Vowel -a of 1st Person Singular Imperative and the Negative Suffix -mV. The stem formative vowel -a associated with the 1st person singular imperative suffix -da and the negative suffix -mV causes the variable vowel of Class 2 roots to dissimilate to o, and the roots ka- and ka- to interpolate the segment w between the root vowel and the stem formative -a.

With roots of Class 1b the combination of the final root vowel e and the stem formative is followed by reduction of the root vowel e. Thus tete- plus -a.da becomes tetada, and tete- plus -a.mV becomes tetamV-.

The juxtaposition of the stem formative -a with a preceding root or affix vowel a is followed by reduction of the sequence aa to a single a. Thus lata- plus -a.da becomes latada. lata- plus -a.mV becomes latamV-.

When the negative suffix -mV is immediately followed by the 1st person singular imperative suffix -a.da, the resulting combination is -mada; tetamada 'I absolutely refuse to split (the wood).'

12.4 The Stem Formative Vowel -a of 1st Dual 1st Plural and 2nd Singular Imperative. The combination of the stem formative vowel -a of 1st dual, 1st plural and 2nd singular imperative with a preceding vowel a of a root of suffix is followed by reduction of the sequence to a single vowel a. Thus lata- plus -ato becomes latato, -ka 'benefactive' plus -a '2nd singular imperative' becomes -ka and so on.

When the same stem formative -a follows the vowel e of a Class 1b root, or the variable vowel of a Class 2 root, the two vowel sequence

is reduced and only the final vowel <u>a</u> (the stem formative vowel) is
retained. Thus <u>ρV</u>- plus -<u>ata</u> becomes <u>ρata</u>, and <u>tete</u>- plus -<u>ato</u>
becomes <u>tetato</u>.

When the same stem formative -<u>a</u> attaches to the root <u>ka</u>-, the
segment <u>w</u> is not interpolated. Thus <u>ka</u>- plus -<u>ata</u> becomes <u>kata</u>, and
<u>ka</u>- plus -<u>a</u> becomes <u>ka</u>. When this stem formative -<u>a</u> attaches to the
Class 3 root <u>ka</u>-, however, the segment <u>w</u> is interpolated. Thus <u>ka</u>-
plus -<u>a</u> becomes <u>kawa</u>.

12.5 <u>The Stem Formative Vowel</u> -<u>a</u> <u>of the Neutral and Reported Situation</u>
<u>Suffixes</u> -<u>neya</u> <u>and</u> -<u>de</u>. The combination of the stem formative vowel
-<u>a</u> of the neutral and reported situation suffixes -<u>neya</u> and -<u>de</u> with
a preceding root or suffix vowel <u>a</u>, or the vowel <u>e</u> of Class 1b roots
is followed by reduction, and only the one vowel <u>a</u> is retained. Thus
<u>tete</u>- plus -<u>a.neya</u> becomes <u>tetaneya</u>, <u>lata</u>- plus -<u>a.de</u>- becomes <u>latade</u>-,
-<u>ka</u> 'benefactive' plus -<u>a.neya</u> becomes -<u>kaneya</u> and so on.

When, however this stem formative and the neutral or reported
situation suffix attach to the roots <u>ρV</u>, <u>nV</u>- and <u>V</u>- of Class 2, the
stem formative vowel -<u>a</u> is replaced by -<u>ke</u> . Thus <u>ρV</u> plus -<u>a.neya</u>
becomes <u>ρekeneya</u>. The combination <u>V</u>- plus -<u>a.neya</u> is even more
irregular. The variable vowel <u>V</u>- becomes <u>a</u>- (presumably reflecting
the replaced stem formative -<u>a</u>) and the combination becomes <u>akeneya</u>.

The negative suffix -<u>mV</u> followed by -<u>a.neya</u> becomes -<u>meneya</u> but
when followed by -<u>a.de</u>- fluctuates between -<u>meade</u>- and -<u>mede</u>-: thus
<u>meameadeko</u> 'it seemed that he was not there' in a final clause but
<u>meamedekolo</u> in a medial clause.

12.6 The Stem Formative Vowel of the Medial Future Tense Suffix -de.

The medial future tense suffix -de with the preceding stem formative
-a is listed in Table XV under the medial present tense plus 1st person
singular combination -ane. The stem formative vowel -a associated with
the future tense suffix -de conditions the shift of a preceding vowel
a or the vowel e of Class 1b roots to the vowel o. Thus tete- plus
-a.de.ne becomes tetoadene which fluctuates with tetadene. yaka-
Class 4b plus -adene becomes yakoadene which fluctuates with yakadene.
lata- plus -a.de.ne becomes latoadene which fluctuates with latadene.

12.7 The Future Suffix -o. When the future suffix -o immediately
follows a root or suffix vowel a, or the vowel e of Class 1b roots, the
two vowel sequence reduces to the single vowel o.

When the future vowel o combines with a preceding root vowel o
and is followed by another vowel (a subject vowel -u, -i or -o), the
three vowel sequence reduces to two moras, and one of the vowels of
the oo sequence is lost. Thus mo- (Class 4) plus -o plus -i becomes
moi.

12.8 The Composite Table. The various classes of verb root in combina-
tion with those affixes which result in dissimilation or reduction of the
final root vowel are listed in Table XV. Within this table certain
combinations which involve the same morphophonemic process are united
within a common boundary line. One boundary line unites those combina-
tions which result in dissimilation of the root vowel to o, or which
results in the interpolation of the segment w between the root vowel
and the following suffix vowel. Another boundary includes those verb
roots which replace the stem formative suffix -a with -ke when the

following suffix is the neutral suffix -neya or the reported or
inferred situation suffix -de.

    Also included in Table XIV (at the foot of the Table) are the
affixes -ka (representing both the benefactive and transitive suffix)
and -mV (negative) in combination with the affixes listed at the head
of the table. A common boundary unites those combinations of the
negative suffix -mV and a following suffix which results in the
appearance of the vowel e in the negative suffix.

TABLE XV. COMPOSITE MORPHOPHONEMIC TABLE

Verb Class	Stem	-ka₁	-aneya / -adeko	-a	-ata / -ato	-ada / -amV	-ane / -adene	-ka₂	-o
1 a	me-	meka-	meanea / meadeko	mea	meata / meato	meada / meamV-	meane / meadene	meka	meo-
	lata-	lataka-	lataneya / latadeko	lata	latata / latato	latada / latamV-	latoane / latoadene	lataka	lato-
b	tete-	teteka-	tetaneya / tetadeko	teta	tetata / tetato	tetada / tetamV-	tetoane / tetoadene	teteka	teto-
	ene-	eneka-	enaneya	ena	enata	enada	enoane	eneka	eno-
c	ka-	kaka-	kakeneya / kakedeko	ka	kata / kato	kawada / kawamV-	kawane / kawadene	kaka	kao-
	na-		nakeneya / nakedeko	na	nata / nato	noada / noamV-	noane / noadene	naka	noo-
2 a	pV-	potoka-	pekeneya / pekedeko	pa	pata / pato	poada / poamV-	pone / poadene	poka	poo-
b	V-	aka-	akeneya / akedeko	a	ata / ato	oada / oamV-	oane / oadene	oka	oo-
c	tV-	taka-	taneya / tadeko	ta	tata / tato	toada / toamV-	toane / toadene	toka	too-

Suffixes

TABLE XV. COMPOSITE MORPHOPHONEMIC TABLE
(CONTINUED)

Verb Class	Stem							
3a	tei- / teika	teianeva	teia	teiata	teiada	teiane	teika	teio-
b	ka- / kaka	kawaneva / kawadeko	kawa	kawata / kawato	kawada / kawamV	kawane / kawadene	kaka	kao-
4a	moto- / motoka	motaneva / motadeko	moa	moata / moato	moada / moamV	moane / moadene	motoka	moo-
b	vate- / vateka	vakaneva / yakadeko	yaka	yakata / yakato	yakada / yakamV	yakoane / yakoadene	vateka	yako-
5	epete- / epeteka-	epetaneva			epetamV		epeteka	epeto-
Affixes								
-ka benefactive		kaneva / kadeko	ka	kata / kato	kada / kamV	koane	-kaka-	-ko-
mV negative		meneva / meadeko	mea	mata / mato	mada	moane / moadene	moka	moo-

The Meanings of Roots and Affixes of Table XV

Roots

1a	me-	'to sit'		3a	tei-	'to cut'
	lata-	'to get well'		3b	ka-	'to cut down'
1b	tete-	'to split wood'		4a	mo(to)-	'to get'
	ene-	'to see'		4b	ya(te)-	'to hear'
1c	ka-	'to stand'		5	epete-	'to hear'
	na-	'to eat, to bite'				
2a	pV-	'to go'				
2b	V-	'to speak'				
2c	tV-	'to do'				

Affixes

-ka₁	'benefactive, transitive'		-ada	'1st singular imperative'
-aneya	'neutral'		-amV-	'negative'
-adeko	'reported situation'		-ane	'medial present tense 1st singular subject'
-a	'2nd person singular imperative'		-adene	'medial future tense 1st singular subject'
-ata	'1st dual imperative'		-ka₂	'2nd-3rd person singular subject past tense'
-ato	'1st plural imperative'		-o-	'final future tense'

CHAPTER XIII

SUMMARY

This grammatical description of Witu has not used any one particular descriptive model. It has been essentially a working analysis of particularly, although not exclusively, the verbal constructions. We have taken the sentence as a starting point, going on to verb morphology and morphophonemics in the latter chapters.

The structures described are illustrated from Witu text. It is hoped that the number of illustrations will help the reader understand the patterns. Tables have been used to portray paradigmatic sets or to depict multi-dimensional categories.

Although the statement is preliminary, it is a stepping stone to further insights into the grammatical structure of one of the languages of the many yet to be analyzed.

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