

PRELIMINARY PAPER ON WAJOKESO INDEPENDENT VERBS

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Free Pronouns

sub η -ka
ka-ka
ka-ka

ne-kwa

si-ka

si-ka/hi-ka

na-kwa

se-kwa

hi-fu-ka

obj above + ima ('w-i' \Rightarrow u)

Poss. above + e (sometimes 1st det; 1st kae \Rightarrow činče, 2nd kae \Rightarrow čičinčiče
Following sub: -na emphatic, -něi 'with', -ne 'for' -laha 'interrog. predic.
" poss. & referent (-ně)' -taha interrog, -faha indic, -maha 'neg', -nahana 'only

0.0.0. Introduction. The independent verb in Wajekeso has been defined as a unit composed of a stem which obligatorily inflects for tense and subject. It always occurs clause final and is in no way dependent on other verbs. This paper will be limited to the verb on the word level only, therefore, there will be no discussion of verb tenses which require a verb phrase for expression in which case the verbs are dependent on auxiliary forms or other verbs.

Both final and medial verbs have been observed in Wajekeso and they are distinguished in the following ways:

- 1) Medial verbs take different person/number morphemes.
- 2) The number of slots in a medial verb is very limited in comparison to an independent verb.
- 3) Final verbs usually have 7 contrasts in person/number, whereas medials have only 4 or 5 as is illustrated below:

Final verb - 'to eat'- regular past tense/aspect

	S	D	P
1	<u>numale</u>	<u>numalehwayo</u>	<u>numalehwone</u>
2	<u>numahnno</u>	<u>numasyio</u>	<u>numalofo</u>
3	<u>numase</u>	<u>numasyio</u>	<u>numalofo</u>

Medial verbs - 'if I had eaten'

	S	D	P
1	nontententesi	nontentasi	nontentasi
2	nontententesi	nontententesi	nontifitentesi
3	nontententesi	nontententesi	nontifitentesi
	- 'ate and...'		
1	nonji	nontaya	nontoni
2	nonji	nonji	nontifi
3	nontō	nonji	nontifi

At this point of investigation verb stems appear to fall into three major types--transitive and intransitive, which are determined internally by an indirect object slot for transitive verbs which can take a personal indirect object, and externally by optional object and indirect object slots on a higher level,--and imperative verbs, which are distinguished by a limited number ~~number~~ of slots and different sets of person/number markers.

Formulas for these verbs are as follows:

- 1) $tv = \pm \text{dub/inter} \pm \text{neg/pos inten} + (tv \text{ nuc}) \pm \text{mood} \pm \text{sen fin.}$
- 2) $itv = \pm \text{dub/inter} \pm \text{neg/pos inten} + (itv \text{ nuc}) \pm \text{mood} \pm \text{sen fin.}$
- 3) $impv = +(impv \text{ nuc}).$

$$tv \text{ nuc} = + \left(\begin{smallmatrix} \pm io + tvs_1 \\ + tvs_2 \end{smallmatrix} \right) / \text{itvs} + t/a + p/n.$$

$$itv \text{ nuc} = +itvs + t/a + p/n.$$

$$impv \text{ nuc} = + \left(\begin{smallmatrix} \pm io + tvs_1 \\ + tvs_2 \end{smallmatrix} \right) / itvs + imp \text{ p/n:neg/pos}$$

$$tv_2 = \pm \begin{smallmatrix} v_{HLC} \\ v_{HLC} - v_{LC} \end{smallmatrix}$$

$$-vs_2 = +22.2 - +tv_2$$

Transitive verb equals an optional dubiative or interrogative marker, an optional negative or positive intention marker, an obligatory transitive verb nucleus, an optional mood marker and an optional sentence final marker.

a thru out.

Intransitive verb equals an optional dubiative or interrogative marker, an optional negative or positive intention marker, an obligatory intransitive verb nucleus, an optional mood marker and an optional sentence final marker.

Imperative verb equals an obligatory imperative verb nucleus.

Transitive verb nucleus equals either an optional indirect object marker and an obligatory transitive verb stem₁, OR an obligatory transitive verb stem₂, AND an obligatory tense/aspect marker, and an obligatory person/number marker.

Intransitive verb nucleus equals an obligatory intransitive verb stem, an obligatory tense/aspect marker, and an obligatory person/number marker.

Imperative verb nucleus equals an obligatory imperative marker, either an optional indirect object marker and an obligatory transitive

verb stem₁, OR an obligatory transitive verb stem₂, OR an obligatory intransitive verb stem, AND an obligatory imperative person/number marker.

Transitive verb stem₁ equals an obligatory transitive verb stem which does not have an indirect^{object} marker as an inherent part of the stem.

Transitive verb stem₂ equals an obligatory indirect object marker and an obligatory transitive verb root.

The items of these three formulas will be discussed in ~~this~~ order from left to right. The brackets indicate alternate slots. If the left-hand slot is filled with the marker indicated the right-hand slot would be empty and visa versa. Rules governing this will be discussed.

As a thorough study of morphophonemics has not yet been completed, morphophonemic rules will be discussed as they apply to the matters presented.

1.0.0. Transitive verbs.

1.1.0. Prefixes.

1.1.1. Dubiative. The dubiative prefix marker /ka/ expresses the idea of 'I don't know whether or not...' It occurs on verbs only in Present continuous and Immediate Past tenses. On the Regular Past tense it can occur either as a suffix or prefix with apparently no change in meaning. Elsewhere it occurs in the suffix mood slot in the form of /lokino/ or /tokino/ (See section 1.3.1.)

ka-ma-Ø-syio.
dub-tvs-imme-2,3D
get past set4

'I don't know whether or not
they (2) got it.'

ka-n-alofo-ho.
dub-tvs-pe-3S
eat set2

'I don't know if he is in the
process of eating or not.'

ka-nu-ma-lofo.
dub-tvs-past-2,3P
eat set3

'I don't know whether or not
they ate.'

1.1.2. Interrogative. The interrogative prefix marker /la/ follows the same pattern described above for dubiative /ka/.

la-ma-Ø-hino.
inter-tvs-imme-2S
get past set4

'Did you get it now (or today)?'

la-n-aloku-no
inter-tvs-pe-2S
eat set2

'Are you eating now?'

la-kalo-²ma-lo-fo
inter-tvs-sub-past-2,3P
cut 612

'Did they cut it up before?'

1.1.3. Negative. The negative prefix negates the verb with which it occurs. It's allomorphs are (ma...m) ~ (ma). The discontinuing morpheme (ma...m) occurs only with Past Tense and Remote Past. (Ma) occurs elsewhere.

ma-kalo- ¹ -m-ma-le.	'I did not cut it before.'
neg-tvs-sub-neg-past-1S	
cut c12 set3	
ma-nu-m-ment-uhwono.	long
neg-tvs-neg-far-1P	'We did not eat it/before.'
eat past set4	

In the Present Continuous and Immediate Past tenses a negative form of the verb stem combines with the verb 'to do' and becomes a verb phrase.

ma-kalo-f-oho	y-ohono.	'I did not cut it.'
neg-tvs-sub-un-	tvs-1S	
cut c12 in-	do set 4	
flected		
particle		
ma-kalo-f-aloku	y-ohono.	'I am not in the process of
neg-tvs-sub-pe	tvs-1S	cutting it.'
c12	do set4	

In the future and present tenses the positive intention marker is replaced with /ma/ and a new set of tense/aspect morphemes are included plus group 4 set of person/number endings. This new set of tense/aspect morphemes has not been fully identified, but for the present will be considered as non-past negative tense/aspect.

	S	D	P
1	ma-n-omn-ehono	ma-n-ohne-hwayo	ma-n-one-hwone
2	ma-n-otne-hino	ma-n-osiha n -isyio	ma-n-ifitmo-hefo
3	ma-n-one-he	ma-n-osiha n -isyio	ma-n-ifitmo-hefo
	neg-tys-neg t/a eat	neg-tys-neg t/a eat	neg-tys-neg t/a eat

1.1.4. Positive intention. The positive intention marker

/wa/ is obligatory on immediate future and regular future tenses, though it does not occur with verbs with initial /u/.

(It is also obligatory on desiderative tense but in this case it

becomes a verb phrase and thus will be discussed in a later paper.)

This marker is mutually exclusive with the negative marker /ma/.

wa-nu-mo
pos-tys-1S
inten eat set5

'I'M going to eat.'

wa-n-ant-ono-ho
pos-tys-fut-1P-fut
inten eat set1

'We will eat.'

1.2.0. Verb nucleus. The verb nucleus consists of the verb stem,

tense/aspect marker, and person/number marker, all of which ^{are} obligatory. This is considered as a unit which can be expanded and modified as more information about the tenses and aspects is identified.

1.2.1. Transitive Verb Stem. The transitive verb stem is divided into two subclasses. Transitive verb stem, takes an indirect object prefix when a human indirect object is implied. But this stem can also occur without the prefix when a non-human indirect

/u/ + /hon/ /uhwon/

wa-no-hon-ono. 'He looks at me.'
 pos-1S-tyr-3S
 inten io see set5

u-hwon-ono. 'He looks at it.'
 3rd-tyr-3S
 see set5

Verb stems in general are sub-divided into the following categories:

ies:

1) regular u-hwonu-mo. 'I see it.'
 3rd-tyr-1S
 io see set5

2) those which take a glottal stop before initial /m/

suffixes. wa-ma-'-mo 'I'll get it (from a distance).'
 pos-tyr-2a-1S
 inten get set5

2_b) Those which take a glottal stop before initial /m/

suffixes, and in present tense, as well as in some medial verbs,

take a /p/ added to the stem for 2,3P, and elsewhere an /f/ is added.

wa-kalo-'-mo. 'I'll cut it.'
 pos-tyr-2a-1S
 inten cut set5

wa-kalo-f-oho. 'We (2) will cut it now.'
 pos-tyr-2b-1P
 inten cut set5

wa-kalo-p-ifi. 'They will cut it now.'
 pos-tyr-2b-2,3P
 inten cut set5

There ^{are} is no external differences in these sub-classes. In the im-

perative mood they take different person/number suffixes.

Vowel changes following the verb stem occur as follows:

When the final stem vowel is /a/ or /æ/ it predominates *round* the initial suffix vowel which is lost. This rule applies whenever affixes are brought together. Elsewhere when a suffix vowel occurs the stem vowel or preceding suffix final vowel is lost.

1.2.1.1. Indirect object marker. The indirect object marker occurs obligatorily with all transitive verbs when they take a personal indirect object. Only the verb 'to see' /hon/ ~~so~~ /uhwon/ takes the same marker for 3rd person as for general objects.

Sig contrasts are shown in the indirect object marker.

	S	D	P
1	nV	e	ne/na
2	kV	ee	ee
3	u	u	u

Though analysis is not complete the *vowel* V of 1,2S tends to harmonize with the following consonant (y or w) or vowel. When the initial letter of the verb root is /u/ one of the ũ's is lost for third person.

n-upa'n-yo
1S-tvs,-2S imp.
hear

'listen to me'

e-l-ehoho 'They said to us two.'
 1D-tvs-3P
 talk set4

se-lu-ma-so-ta-ho 'Who told you?'
 2D,P-tvs-past-3S-inter-senfin.
 talk set3

This marker also seems to have the meaning of reflexiveness
 when occurring with verbs expressing feelings or emotions.

nko mijoho ni-y-ehoho. 'I'm hungry. (literally, I
 I hunger 1S-tvs-3S hunger is doing to me.'
 do

koko wonyo la-k-ume'ninko@ho. Are you feeling bad? *in negation*
 you bad inter-2S- feel - 3S
 TVs₂

1.2.3. Tense/aspect. As all tense/aspects have not yet been identi-
 fied in Wajokeso verbs, this area needs more investigation. However,
 including tense/aspect as a part of the verb nucleus allows this
 unit to be expanded and modified as different types are discovered.

Most
 Each tense/aspect morpheme has^{ve} several allomorphs which corresponds
 to person/number suffixes.

Future tense/aspect is a discontinuing morpheme with the follow-
 ing allomorphs: (m) (ant) (mt)ho[#]

-m -ant morpheme?
 (m) occurs with 1,2S (mt) occurs with 3S, and (ant) occurs

elsewhere.

Nko wa-maen-no...ho
 I_{inten} pos-tvs-fut-1S-fut
 get (setl)

'I will get it.'

wa-ma-nt-ife...ho
 neg-tvs-fut-3P-fut
 inten get

'They will get it.'

*(Alternate analysis)

The usual sentence closure morpheme is /ho/ which occurs only sentence final. This is always preceded by a mood marker /fa/ indicative, /'ma/ negative, or /ta/ interrogative. In non-past tenses /fa/ indicative marker never occurs. Either the prefix /wa/, at present considered positive intention, could be analyzed as the indicative marker in non-past tenses and the final /ho/ of the future tense as the final^{sentence} marker, OR that in non past tenses the /fa/ indicative marker is a /ø/ morpheme and the /ho/ is the usual sentence closure marker. Present and present continuous tenses do not take the /ho/ suffix, and present continuous does not take the /wa/ prefix.

Present Continuous tense/aspect. (Tentative analysis)—The present continuous morpheme consists of two parts: 'ale'—present continuous and 'ku'—active. This analysis is suggested because the verb 'to be' and 'to sleep' does not take the 'ku' morpheme.

Present continuous active has the following allomorphs:

{alofo/} ∪ {aleku/}. (Alofo) occurs with 3S only, and (aleku) occurs elsewhere.

n-alekw-eno 'I am eating.'
~~tvs-pres-con-~~ 1S2
~~eat~~ active

(ku + suffix initial vowel = kw)

n-alofo-ho 'He is eating.'
~~tvs-past-~~ 3S
~~eat~~ act. Set2

This tense does not take an indicative marker /fo/ or a sentence final marker /ho/.

Regular Past tense/aspect. Since the regular past tense/aspect suffix is /ma/ it does not interact with the stem final vowel and thus that vowel is determined from this tense.

The regular past tense/aspect marker is used to express time from yesterday up to remote past. (Remote past takes a different marker.)

This marker occurs with group 3 set of person/number markers. (see section 1.2.4.)

~~ly-ma-~~ le-fo-ho
~~tvs-~~ past-1S-ind-senfin

'I spoke before.'

upa'nu-ma-lofo-fo-ho
~~tvs-~~ past-3P-ind-senfin
 hear

'They heard before'

Remote past tense/aspect. This tense/aspect morpheme is /mento/ and takes group 4 set of person/number endings.

nu-ment-oh-fo-ho	'I long ago ate.'
tye-remote-1S-ind-senfin	
eat past	

Present or Immediate Future tense/aspect, and Immediate Past tense/aspect. Both of these tense/aspects take /ø/ morpheme, but different sets of person/number markers, set 5 and set 4 respectively. Present/Immediate Future tense/aspect covers now (noncontinuous) and immediately following in the same day.

Kako suajo-mo u-hwon-ono.	'He sees the dog.'
He dog-1ø 3S-tye-3S	
see	

wa-n-oh.	'Let's eat.' (we 2)
tye-tye-1D	
intend eat	

Immediate Past tense/aspect covers time happening before now, but during the same day.

Nko ma-hono	'I got it (today).'
I tye-1S	
get	

The marker for this tense/aspect is Present habitual tense/aspect. /we'ninki/ and could be interpreted as 'in the habit of...'. Set 4 person/number occurs with this tense/aspect.

Nko wapayo na-wo'nink-ohe-fo-ho.
 I kaukau tvs-habit.-1S-ind-senfin
 eat

'I habitually eat kaukau.'
 OR
 'It is my fashion to eat
 kaukau.'

Past Completed habitual tense/aspect. The marker for this tense/aspect

is /mot/ and could be interpreted as 'used to all the time...'. It takes the same endings for person/number as the Present Continuous tense/aspect, Set 2, except for 3S which is usually irregular.

Hafoke mote numot-ofo-fe-ho.
 They rat tvs-pas-3P-ind-senfin.
 eat hab

'They used to eat rats.'

1.2.4. Person/number.

Person number endings usually show 7 contrasts--1S, 1D, 1P, 2S, 3S

23D, and 23P. At present 5 sets have been identified.

	S	D	P	
1. 1)	ono	ayo	ono	Future Tense
2)	ono	syio	ife	
3)	ono	syio	ife	
2. 1)	eno	hwayo	hwono	Present Continuous Past Habitative
2)	no	syio	ofo	
3)	ho	syio	ofo	
3. 1)	le	lehwayo	lehwone	Regular Past
2)	hnhe	syio	lofo	
3)	so	syio	lofo	
4. 1)	ohe	uhwayo	uhwone	Immediate Past Remote Past Pres. Habitative
2)	ohino	isyio	ohofe	
3)	oso	isyio	ohofe	
5. 1)	mo	oho	ono	Pres/Imme. Future
2)	-yo (Imperative endings)			
3)	ono	io	ife	

1.3.0. Suffixes. At present only the following suffixes have been identified following the independent final verb.

1.3.1. Mood. Five moods have been identified in Wajekeso verbs as follows: Dubiative, Interrogative, Indicative, Negative, and Imperative.

Dubiative and Interrogative moods pattern alike -- taking a prefix marker in Present Continuous, Immediate Past tenses and optionally in Regular Past. *new paragraph* Dubiative mood is expressed by the morpheme (tokino) (lokino). (lokino) occurs 3S Future tense only. (tokino) occurs elsewhere.

nu-ma-lofo-tokino.
tvs-past-3P-dub.
eat

'I don't know if they ate before
or not.'

Interrogative mood is expressed by the morpheme (ta) (la). *other ways of expressing* (la) *yes, no* occurs only with 3S Future tense. (ta) occurs elsewhere.

nu-ma-hnne-ta-he
tvs-past-2S-inter-senfin
eat

'Did you eat before?'

The indicative mood marker is (fo). It occurs only on verbs in sentence final position.

nu-ma-le-fo-he.
tvs-past-1S-ind-senfin
eat

'I ate it before.'

The Negative mood is expressed by the morpheme ('ma) which simply negates the positive statement.

u-hwonu-ment-ghwone-'ma-ho 'We didn't see it a long time ago.'
 3rd-tvr-remote-1P-neg-senfin.
 see past

Imperative tense does not take a specific mood marker, but takes an imperative prefix in some instances and a different set of person/number endings. (See Section 3.0~~2~~0)

1.3.2. Sentence final marker. Sentence final marker /ho/ occurs on all tenses except Future, Present/Immediate Future, and Present Continuous. ^{not below} This contrasts with /so/ which occurs on independent verbs when they occur non-sentence final which will be discussed more fully on a higher level.

ma-he-fo-ho. I got it now.
 tvg-1S-ind-senfin
 get

2.0.0. Intransitive Verbs. Intransitive verbs take the same prefixes and suffixes as the transitive verbs. The only difference is the verb stem never takes an indirect object marker.

In the intransitive present continuous tense/aspect a stative

form has been observed which has not occurred with transitive stems.

Present continuous non-active has the following allomorphs:

(alo) \hookrightarrow (a) ---this occurs only with the verb 'to be'.

(alo) occurs with 1s,d,p and 2,3,p.

(a) occurs elsewhere

, 2, 3d

(oto) \hookrightarrow (e) ---occurs only with the verb 'to sleep'.

(e) occurs with 3S

(oto) occurs elsewhere.

huma-l-ene
itvs-pres-1S
to be

'I am here'.

(When the stem vowel is /a/ it predominates the suffix vowel, and when the following suffix has an initial vowel the preceeding suffix final vowel is lost. This /alo/ in this instance is /l/.

fasyaw-e-ho.
itvs-pres-3S
sleep cont

'He is sleeping.'

3.0.0. Imperative Verbs.

3.1.0. The imperative prefix marker is (fV) \hookrightarrow (hm) \hookrightarrow (\emptyset).

(hm) occurs only before the verb 'to eat'. This has been the only

occurrence of this prefix observed.

hm-n-inye.	'You (2) eat.'
imp-tvs-2D	
eat	

(Ø) occurs before verbs with initial vowels (except i), initial m, or initial f.

fV occurs elsewhere.

The V of fV generally takes the form of the following consonant (w or y) or vowel.

fV + wa	= fuwa
fV + li	= fili
fV + ha	= faha
fV + fi	= fē (the prefix vowel is lost)

3.2.0. Imperative Stem. Either transitive verb stem 1 or 2, or intransitive verb stem can occur as the imperative verb stem.

3.3.0. Person/number endings. ~~Positive person/number endings~~

3.3.1. Positive. There are primarily two sets of imperative positive person/number endings. Set 1 occurs with sub class 1 stems (see section 1.2.1.) as follows:

S	e	hm-n-e	'You eat.'
D	inye	hm-n-inye	'You two eat.'
P	imno	hm-n-imno	'You all eat.'
		imp-tvs-	
		eat	

There is some variation from this general pattern and the following rules attempt to explain some of the changes.

1) Verb stems ending in /p/ take /e/ for 2S, the regular form for dual and in plural the vowel /i/ is lost between the two bilabials p and m.

fi-p-e	'You come.'
fi-p-inyo	'You two come.'
fi-p-mno	'You all come.'
imp ² ts- p/n	
come	

2) Verb stems ending in /k/ change to /j/ for 2S and take regular forms in dual and plural, except the suffix vowel in plural becomes /u/.

mtu ² noj-e	'Make it'
mtu ² mek-inyo	'You two make it.'
mtu ² mek-umno	'You all make it.'
ts, - p/n	
make	

The second set of endings occurring with subclass 2 stems are not as regular. A potential analysis for this class of stems is that each stem has a consonant following it. Stem₂ + C + p/n. C = /'/, /f/, /h/, or /p/. For 2P the C is always /p/. And elsewhere before an /m/ suffix the C is always /'/. But /f/ and /h/ are not as easily predictable.

fasyawo-f-o 'Sleep'
 fasyawo-h-nyo
 fasyawo-p-mno

fanku-f-o 'Hit'
 fanku-h-nyo
 fanku-p-mno

ma-h-o 'Get'
 ma-h-nyo
 ma-p-mno

fi-lo-f-o 'Cut'
 fi-lo-p-nyo
 fi-lo-p-mno

3.3.2. Negative person/number. These endings are regular for

all classes of stems.

S hotoho
 D hosiloho
 P kutoho

na-ma-hotoho 'Don't get it.'
 imp-tvs-lSneg
 neg get

Stems ending in /ma/ take /fu/ preceding the 2P p/n marker.

na-ma-fu-kutoho. 'Don't you all get it.' 2P.
 imp-tvs-?-2Pneg
 neg get

The final /ho/ could be analyzed as the sentence final marker,

but as it doesn't occur on the positive person/number ending, for

the present it will be left as a unit.

*This may not simply be a negative imperative (straight) but a form
 that is meaning of "Don't" interrogative?*

*This could be
 part of a stem which
 is lost in some cases,
 because it precedes
 & takes up preceding*