

NOTES ON WOJOKESO MORPHO-PHONEMICS

by

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t > l

When a word-initial t is the second word in a compound, the t may become l.

e.g.

siki + toho > sikiloho 'lamp'  
nothing fire

siki + tongo > sikilongo 'wild animal'  
nothing animal

yahu + tohwa > yahulohwa 'pig hair'  
pig body hair

However, word-initial t in the second word of a compound remains t when the last syllable of the first word of the compound is lost.

e.g.

yuhufa + tohwa > yuhutohwa 'bird feather'  
bird body hair

halofa + tohwa > haletohwa 'cockatoo feather'  
bird body hair

fehwa + tohwa > fetohwa 'cassowary feather'  
cassowary body hair

tongo + tohwa > tontohwa 'fur'  
animal body hair

lu/l+ > s

Stem final syllable containing lu or l+ becomes s in the Second Person Singular Imperative construction.

e.g.

fe- + hulu + -o > fehuse 'Plant it!'  
 Imp plant 2 S  
 mkr Imp

ange mol+ + -o > ange meso 'Build a house!'  
 house build 2 S  
 Imp

fi- + l+ + -o > fiso 'Say it!'  
 Imp talk 2 S  
 mkr Imp

u- + l+ + -o > use 'Tell him/them!'  
 3 2 S  
 I=O talk Imp

f- + s- + l+ + -o > feso 'Tell us two!'  
 Imp 1-O talk 2 S  
 mkr Imp

fe- + na- + l+ + -o > fonaso 'Tell us!'  
 Imp 1-P talk 2 S  
 mkr Imp

i/l > t

When stems beginning with i or l are prefixed by First Person Marker n-, the stem-initial i and l become t.

e.g.

n- + iap + -a > ntape 'Give (it) to me!'  
me give 2 S  
Imp

n- + l+ + -ma + -so > nt+maso 'He talked to me.'  
me talk IP he  
mkR

However,

n- + l+ + -a > nja 'Tell me!' (Possibly l+ > a > j following n-  
me talk 2 S  
Imp talk

as in Second Person Singular Condition construction:

n + -soso > niaso 'if you eat..'  
eat 2 S  
Cond

j / k

## NOUNS

j > k

When a noun with j in its final syllable is the first root in a compound stem, the j becomes k and the final vowel is dropped.

e.g.

<u>sojo</u> stone	+	<u>ango</u> house	>	<u>sekango</u> 'stone-house'
<u>sojo</u> stone	+	<u>imo</u> hole	>	<u>sekimo</u> 'cave'

## PRONOUNS

k j

The k's in the First Person Singular and Second Person Singular Personal Pronouns become j's when suffixed by the Possessive marker -e to form the Possessive Pronouns.

e.g.

<u>ngke</u> I	+	<u>-e</u> Poss mkr	>	<u>nje</u> 'my'
<u>k+ke</u> you	+	<u>-e</u> Poss mkr	>	<u>j+je</u> 'your'

However,

<u>kako</u> 3 S	+	<u>-e</u> Poss mkr	>	<u>kakoe</u> 'his, hers'
<u>siko</u> 2/3 D	+	<u>-e</u> Poss mkr	>	<u>sikoe</u> 'yours (D), theirs (D)'
<u>haf+ke</u> they	+	<u>-e</u> Poss mkr	>	<u>haf+koe</u> 'theirs'

i / k (cont'd)

# VERBS

Wojokeso verbs are tentatively divided into four classes depending, among other things, on the set of Immediate Future affixes that they take.

## \*k > i

In class II verbs containing ku in stem-final syllable, syllable final k becomes i when followed by suffixes beginning with -a or -e in all constructions. (Stem-final vowel u is lost before suffixes beginning with vowels.) In the Future Sequence and Immediate Past constructions and in the Infinitive form, stem-final k becomes i throughout the paradigm regardless of the following initial vowel of the suffix. Only four verbs have thus far been noted in this category:

\*fanku 'hit'  
 \*ifaku 'line up stones'  
 \*fajiku 'harvest (certain) nut'  
 \*yaku 'remove, take off (clothing, etc.)'

e.g.

### IMMEDIATE FUTURE (today)

<u>wa-</u>	* <u>fanku</u>	<u>-imo</u>	>	<u>wafanku'imo</u>	'I'll hit (it).'
will	hit	I			
"	"	<u>-aho</u>	>	<u>wafonjahs</u>	'We two will hit (it).'
		we 2			
"	"	<u>-ano</u>	>	<u>wafonjano</u>	'We'll hit (it).'
		we			
"		<u>-fe</u>	>	<u>fongkufe</u>	'Hit (it)!!'
		you			
"		<u>-ihnyo</u>	>	<u>fongkihnyo</u>	'You two hit (it)!!'
		you 2			
"		<u>-pmno</u>	>	<u>fongkupmno</u>	'You all hit (it)!!'
		you P			
"	"	<u>-ono</u>	>	<u>wafonjeno</u>	'He'll hit (it).'
		he			
"	"	<u>-isyiyo</u>	>	<u>wafongkisyiyo</u>	'They two will hit (it).'
		they 2			
"	"	<u>-p+fe</u>	>	<u>wafongkup+fe</u>	'They'll hit (it).'
		they			

\* See NOTE on page 13

VERBS, k > j examples (cont'd.)

REGULAR FUTURE (beyond today)

<u>wa-</u> will	<u>fongku</u> hit	<u>-'monnoho</u> I/you S	>	<u>wafongku'monnoho</u>	'I/you will hit (it).'
"	"	<u>-antaeho</u> we 2	>	<u>wafonjantaeho</u>	'We two will hit (it).'
"	"	<u>-antonoho</u> we	>	<u>wafonjantonoho</u>	'We'll hit (it).'
"	"	<u>-anjiyoho</u> you/they D	>	<u>wafonjanjiyoho</u>	'You/they two will hit (it).'
"	"	<u>-antifeho</u> you/they P	>	<u>wafonjantifeho</u>	'You/they all will hit (it).'
"	"	<u>-'montenoho</u> he	>	<u>wafongku'montenoho</u>	'He'll hit (it).'

CONDITIONAL

<u>fongku</u> hit	<u>-'meso</u> I	>	<u>fongku'meso</u>	'If I hit...'
"	<u>-asoso</u> we	>	<u>fonjasoso</u>	'If we hit...'
"	<u>-ijoso</u> 2 S	>	<u>fongkijoso</u>	'If you (S) hit...'
"	<u>-isisoso</u> 2/3 D	>	<u>fongkisisoso</u>	'If you/they two hit...'
"	<u>-pijoso</u> 2/3 P	>	<u>fongkupijoso</u>	'If you/they all hit...'
"	<u>-ososo</u> he	>	<u>fonjesoso</u>	'If he hits...'

CONTRARY TO FACT

<u>fongku</u> hit	<u>-'mtentis</u> I	>	<u>fongku'mtentis</u> / <u>*fonj+'mtentis</u>	'If I had hit...'
	<u>-ontentas</u> we	>	<u>fonjententas</u>	'If we had hit...'
"	<u>-ijalontes</u> / <u>-alontentes</u> you S	>	<u>fongkijalontes</u> / <u>fonjalontentes</u>	'If you (S) had hit.'

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\*One informant said this was the correct way to say this form, the other would not accept it. The other fluctuations were accepted by both informants as being correct.

## VERBS, Contrary to Fact (cont'd)

- fongku -isisontentis/-ontentis > fongkisisontis/fonjontentis 'If you/they two had hit...'  
hit 2/3 D
- " -pinontentis/-ifijontentis\* > fongkupijontentis/fonjifijontentis\* 'If you/they had hit...'  
2/3 P
- " -ontentis > fonjontentis 'If he had...'  
he

## REGULAR PAST (before today)

- fongku -malenofeho > fongku'malenofeho 'I hit (it).'  
hit I
- " -malohwayofeho > fongku'malohwayofeho 'We two hit (it).'  
we 2
- " -malohwonefeho > fongku'malohwonefeho 'We hit (it).'  
we
- " -mahnnofeho > fongku'mahnnofeho 'You (S) hit (it).'  
you S
- masyiyofeho > fongku'masyiyofeho 'You/they two hit (it).'  
2/3 D
- " -malofefeho > fongku'malofefeho 'You/they all hit (it).'  
2/3 P
- " -masofeho > fongku'masofeho 'He hit (it).'  
he

## PAST SEQUENCE

- na- fongku -onji > nafonjonji 'I/you (SD)/they (D) hit (it) and...'  
? hit 1/3 S
- ontae > nafonjontae 'We two hit (it) and...'  
1 D
- ontani > nafonjontani 'We all hit (it) and...'  
1 P
- antifi > nafonjantifi 'You/they all hit (it) and...'  
2/3 P
- " -anto > 'He hit (it) and...'

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\*This alternate form is an exception to the rule.

VERBS, k > j examples (cont'd.)

## FUTURE SEQUENCE

<u>na-</u>	<u>fongku</u>	<u>-i'me</u>	>	<u>nafojji'me</u>	'I will hit (it) and...'
?	hit	I			
"	"	<u>-uhwasi</u>	>	<u>nafojjuhwasi</u>	'We'll hit (it) and...'
		we			
"	"	<u>-ohoji</u>	>	<u>nafojjofoji</u>	'You'll hit (it) and...'
		2 S			
"	"	<u>-ohosisi</u>	>	<u>nafojjochosisi</u>	'You/they two will hit (it) and...'
		2/3 D			
"	"	<u>-ukuji</u>	>	<u>nafojjukuji</u>	'You/they all will hit (it) and...'
		2/3 P			
"	"	<u>-uhwasi</u>	>	<u>nafojjuhwasi</u>	'He'll hit (it) and...'
		he			

## IMMEDIATE PAST (today)

<u>fongku</u>	<u>-ohono</u>	>	<u>fojjothono</u>	'I hit (it).'
hit	I			
"	<u>-uhwayo</u>	>	<u>fojjuhwayo</u>	'We two hit (it).'
	we 2			
"	<u>-uhwono</u>	>	<u>fojjuhwono</u>	'We hit (it).'
	we			
"	<u>-ohino</u>	>	<u>fojjothino</u>	'You (S) hit (it).'
	2 S			
"	<u>-isiyiye</u>	>	<u>fojjiisiyiye</u>	'You/they two hit (it).'
	2/3 D		2/3 D	
"	<u>-ohofo</u>	>	<u>fojjothofo</u>	'You/they all hit (it).'
	2/3 P			
"	<u>-ohoho</u>	>	<u>fojjothoho</u>	'He hit (it).'
	he			

## INFINITIVE

<u>fongku</u>	<u>-ukwato</u>	<u>fojjukwato</u>	'to hit'
hit	Inf		



VERBS (cont'd.)

iw > ku

In class II verbs containing iw in the stem-final syllable the iw becomes ku before suffixes beginning with consonants or the high vowel -i in all constructions except Immediate Past and Future Sequence. In the Immediate Past and Future Sequence constructions and in the Infinitive form, stem syllable final iw becomes iu before suffixes beginning with the high vowels -i or -u. (Initial -i or -u of suffixes beginning with -i or -u is lost in all constructions.) Only four verbs have thus far been noted in this category:

fisajw 'open book'  
hotojw 'block off water'  
hatujw 'cut rope'  
lojw 'twist string'

e.g.

IMMEDIATE FUTURE (today)

<u>wa-</u> will	<u>fisajw</u> open book	<u>-mo</u> I	>	<u>wofisaku'mo</u>	'I'll open the book.'
"	"	<u>-aho</u> 1 D	>	<u>wofisajwaho</u>	'We two will open the book.'
"	"	<u>-ano</u> 1 P	>	<u>wofisajwano</u>	'We'll open the book.'
"	"	<u>-fo</u> 2 S	>	<u>fisakufo</u>	'Open the book!'
"	"	<u>-ihnyo</u> 2 D	>	<u>fisakuhnnyo</u>	'You two open the book!'
"	"	<u>-pmno</u> 2 P	>	<u>fisakupmno</u>	'You all open the book!'
"	"	<u>-ono</u> he	>	<u>wofisajwono</u>	'He'll open the book.'
"	"	<u>-isyiyo</u> 3 D	>	<u>wofisakusyiyo</u>	'They two will open the book.'
"	"	<u>-p+fe</u> 3 P	>	<u>wofisakup+fe</u>	'They all will open the book.'

VERBS, jw > ku (cont'd.)

## REGULAR FUTURE (after today)

- wo- fisajw -'monnoho > wofisaku'monnoho 'I/you (S) will open the book.'  
 will open book 1/2 S
- " " -antaeho > wofisajwantaeho 'We two will open the book(s).'  
 1 D
- " " -antonoho > wofisajwantonoho 'We'll open the book(s).'  
 1 P
- " " -anjiycho > wofisajwanjiycho 'You/they two will open the book(s).'  
 2/3 D
- " " -antifeho > wofisajwantifeho 'You/they all will open the book(s).'  
 2/3 P
- " " 'montonoho > wofisaku'montonoho 'He'll open the book.'  
 3 S

## CONDITIONAL

- fisajw -'meso > fisaku'meso 'If I open the book...'  
 open book 1 S
- " -asoso > fisajwasoso 'If we open the book(s)...'  
 1 DP
- " -ijosso > fisakujosso 'If you (S) open the book...'  
 2 S
- " -isisoso > fisakusisoso 'If you/they two open the book(s)...'  
 2/3 D
- " -pijosso > fisakupijosso 'If you/they all open the book(s)...'  
 2/3 P
- " -ososo > fisajwasoso 'If he opens the book...'  
 3 S

## CONTRARY TO FACT

- fisajw \*-melantantis/-'mtontis > fisaku'melantantis/fisajwo'mtontis 'If I had  
 open book 1 S opened the book...'
- " -ontontas > fisajwontontas 'If we had opened the book(s)...'  
 1 DP
- " \*-ojientis/-iontontas > fisajwojientis/fisakujontontas 'If you (S) had  
 opened the book...'

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\*The two informants disagreed at these points as to which is the proper forms.

VERBS, iw > ku (cont'd.)

CONTRARY TO FACT (cont'd.)

fisajw -isisontantis > fisakusisontantis 'If you/they two had opened the book(s)...'  
open 2/3 D  
book

" -pijontantis > fisakupijontantis 'If you/they all had opened the book(s)...'  
2/3 P

-ontantis > fisajwentantis 'If he had opened the book...'  
3 S

REGULAR PAST (before today)

fisajw -malenwefoho > fisaku'malenwefoho 'I opened the book.'  
1 S

" -malohwayefoho > fisaku'malohwayefoho 'We two opened the book(s).'  
1 D

" -malohwonwefoho > fisaku'malohwonwefoho 'We all opened the book(s).'  
1 P

" -mahnwefoho > fisaku'mahnwefoho 'You (S) opened the book.'  
2 S

" -masiywefoho > fisaku'masiywefoho 'You/they two opened the book(s).'  
2/3 D

" -malowefoho > fisaku'malowefoho 'You/they all opened the book(s).'  
2/3 P

-maswefoho > fisaku'maswefoho 'He opened the book.'  
3 S

PAST SEQUENCE

na- fisajw -onji nafisaiwonji 'I/you (SD)/they (D) opened the book(s) and...'  
? open 1/2 S  
book 2/3 D

" " -ontae nafisaiwontae 'We two opened the book(s) and...'  
1 D

" " -ontani nafisaiwontani 'We all opened the book(s) and...'  
1 P

" -antifi nafisaiwantifi 'You/they all opened the book(s) and...'  
2/3 P

" " -anto nafisaiwanto 'He opened the book and...'  
3 S

VERBS, jw > ku (cont'd.)

# FUTURE SEQUENCE

- na- fisajw -i'mo > nafisajw'mo 'I'll open the book and...'  
 ? open book 1 S
- " " -uhwasi > nafisajuhwasi 'We'll open the book(s) and..'  
 1 D/P
- " " -ohaji > nafisajwohaji 'You (S) will open the book and...'  
 2 S
- " " -ohosisi > nafisajwosisi 'You/they two will open the book(s) and...'  
 2/3 D
- " " -ukuji > nafisajukuji 'You/they all will open the book and.'  
 2/3 P
- " " -uhwosi > nafisajwosi 'He'll open the book and.'  
 3 S

# IMMEDIATE PAST (today)

- fisajw -ohono > fisajwohono 'I opened the book.'  
 open book 1 S
- " -uhwayo > fisajuhwayo 'We two opened the book(s).'  
 1 D
- " -uhwono > fisajuhwono 'We all opened the book(s).'  
 1 P
- " -hino > fisajwohino 'You (S) opened the book.'  
 2 S
- " -isyiyo > fisajusyiyiyo 'You/they two opened the book(s).'  
 2/3 D
- " -ohofa > fisajwofo 'You/they all opened the book(s).'  
 2/3 P
- " -ohoho > fisajwohoho 'He opened the book.'  
 3 S

# INFINITIVE

- fisajw -ukwato > fisajukwato 'to open book'  
 open book Inf mkr

## VERBS (cont'd)

NOTE

The stems fengku 'hit', ifaku 'line up stones', fojiku 'harvest nut' and yaku 'remove, take off' could be interpreted as fenj, ifaj, fojjj and yaj respectively. Then, the syllable final j of the stem would become ku before all suffixes beginning with consonants and become k before suffixes beginning with the high vowel -i in all constructions except Future Sequence and Immediate Past.

f > hm/h

The stems f 'shoot' and fV 'crush' become hm before suffixes beginning with -mV. In some speakers these stems become h before suffixes beginning with -an. The stem f 'shoot' also becomes hm before suffixes beginning with -im.

e.g.

## IMMEDIATE FUTURE

<u>me</u> arrow	<u>wa-</u> will	<u>f</u> shoot	<u>-mo</u> 1S	>	<u>me wahmo</u> 'I'll shoot'	<u>hwotoho</u> foot- print	<u>wa-</u> will	<u>fV</u> crush	<u>-mo</u> 1S	>	<u>hwotoho wahmo</u> 'I'll crush'
"	"	"	<u>-ano</u> 1P	>	<u>me wafano</u> 'We'll shoot'	"	"	"	<u>-ano</u> 1P	>	<u>hwotoho wafano</u> 'We'll crush'
"	"	"	<u>-ano</u> 3S	>	<u>me wafano</u> 'He'll shoot'	"	"	"	<u>-ano</u> 3S	>	<u>hwotoho wafano</u> 'He'll crush'
"	"	"	<u>-+fe</u> 3P	>	<u>me waf+fe</u> 'They'll shoot'	"	"	"	<u>-+fe</u> 3P	>	<u>hwotoho waf+fe</u> 'They'll crush'
"	<u>f+-</u> Imp mkf	"	<u>-inyo</u> 2D	>	<u>me f+finyo</u> 'You 2 will shoot!'	"	<u>f+-</u> Imp mkf	"	<u>-inyo</u> 2D	>	<u>hwotoho f+finyo</u> 'You 2 will crush!'
"	"	"	<u>-ano</u> 2P	>	<u>me f+fano/hmo</u> 'You all will shoot!'	"	"	"	<u>-ano</u> 2P	>	<u>hwotoho f+fano/hmo</u> 'You all will crush'

## REGULAR FUTURE

"	<u>wa-</u> will	"	<u>-moncho</u> 1/2S	>	<u>me wahmoncho</u> 'I/you will shoot'	"	<u>wa-</u> will	"	<u>-moncho</u> 1/2S	>	<u>hwotoho wahmoncho</u> 'I/you will crush'
"	"	"	<u>-antoncho</u> 1P	>	<u>me wafantoncho</u> 'We'll shoot'	"	"	"	<u>-antoncho</u> 1P	>	<u>hwotoho wafantoncho</u> 'We'll crush'
"	"	"	<u>-montoncho</u> 3S	>	<u>me wahmontoncho</u> 'He'll shoot'	"	"	"	<u>-montoncho</u> 3S	>	<u>hwotoho wahmontoncho</u> 'He'll crush'
"	"	"	<u>-ant+feho</u> 2/3P	>	<u>me wafant+feho</u> 'You/they will shoot'	"	"	"	<u>-ant+feho</u> 2/3P	>	<u>hwotoho wafant+feho</u> 'You/they'll crush'

## CONDITIONAL

"	<u>f</u> shoot	<u>-meso</u> 1S	>	<u>me hmeso</u> 'If I shoot...'	"	<u>fV</u> crush	<u>-meso</u> 1S	>	<u>hwotoho hmeso</u> 'If I crush...'
"	"	<u>-asoso</u> 1D/P	>	<u>me fasoso</u> 'If we shoot...'	"	"	<u>-asoso</u> 1D/P	>	<u>hwotoho fasoso</u> 'If we crush...'
"	"	<u>-asoso</u> 3S	>	<u>me fasoso</u> 'If he shoots'	"	"	<u>-asoso</u> 3S	>	<u>hwotoho fasoso</u> 'If he crushes...'

f <sup>2</sup> hm/h, examples (cont'd.)

## REGULAR PAST

me f -malefoho > me hmalefoho  
arrow shoot 1S 'I shot'

hwotoho fV -malefoho > hwotoho hmalefoho  
foot print crush 1S 'I crushed'

" " -malohwayofoho > me hmalohwayofoho  
1D 'We 2 shot'

" " -malohwayofoho > hwotoho hmalohwayofoho  
1D 'We 2 crushed'

" " -malohwonefoho > me hmalohwonefoho  
1P 'We shot'

" " -malohwonefoho > hwotoho hmalohwonefoho  
1P 'We crushed'

" " -mahnnfoho > me hmahnnfoho  
2S 'You shot'

" " -mahnnfoho > hwotoho hmahnnfoho  
2S 'You crushed'

" " -masyiyofoho > me hmasyiyofoho  
2/3D 'You/they 2 shot'

" " -masyiyofoho > hwotoho hmasyiyofoho  
2/3 'You/they 2 crushed'

" " -malofofoho > me hmalofofoho  
2/3 P 'You/they shot'

" " -malofofoho > hwotoho hmalofofoho  
2/3P 'You/they crushed'

" " -masofoho > me hmasofoho  
3S 'He shot'

" " -masofoho > hwotoho hmasofoho  
3S 'He crushed'

## FUTURE SEQUENCE

" na- f -'me > me nahm'me  
? shoot 1S 'I'll shoot and...'

" na- fV -'me > hwotoho nafe'me  
? shoot 1S 'I'll crush and...'

" " " -uhwasi > me nafuhwasi  
1D/P 'We'll shoot and...'

" " " -uhwasi > hwotoho nafehwasi  
1S/D 'We'll crush and...'

" " " -ohoji > me nafehoji  
2S 'You'll shoot and...'

" " " -ohoji > hwotoho nafehoji  
2S 'You'll crush and...'

" " " -ukuji > me nafukuji  
2/3P 'You/they'll shoot and...'

" " -ukuji > hwotoho nafekuji  
2/3P 'You/they'll crush and...'