

WAFFA SYNTAX--VERBS AND VERB PHRASES

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## 0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe the verbs and verb phrases of the Waffa language of New Guinea.

Action relationships occurring between one clause and another in the Waffa language are shown by the suffixation on the verb manifesting the Predicate slot. Many of these action relationships are shown by verb phrases. In the following paper <sup>verb phrase types</sup>seventeen have been described with a number of sub-types.

The Waffa language is a member of the Eastern Family.<sup>1</sup>

It is spoken by approximately 900 people living in five villages located at the headwaters of the Waffa river. The area is in the Morobe District south of the Markham River in the Kaiapit Sub-District of New Guinea.

## 1. Verb Morphology

## 1.1. Stem Formation

Verbs are divided into three classes on the basis of the stem formation. Each stem has three forms primary, secondary and tertiary. These stem variations differ within each stem class as <sup>shown in Chart A.</sup> follows:

CHART A

CLASS I	CLASS II	CLASS III
(All stems end with /aa/ in the primary form.)	(All stems end with /ia/ or /ua/ in the primary form.)	(All stems end with /kia/ or /kua/ in the primary form.)

e.g.

PRIMARY nnaa<sup>2</sup> 'eat'

varia 'sit'

buaakia 'search'

hitua 'unhook'

mmadakua 'carry

on back'

SECONDARY <u>nnee</u> 'eat'	<u>vari</u> 'sit'	<u>buai</u> 'search'
	<u>hiti</u> 'unhook'	<u>mmadai</u> 'carry on back'

TERTIARY <u>nnaa</u> 'eat'	<u>vari</u> 'sit'	<u>buaama</u> 'search'
(free form)	<u>hitu</u> 'unhook'	<u>mmadau</u> 'carry on back'

Secondary stems occurring <sup>in</sup> ~~with~~ the Far Past Tense <sup>Dependent</sup> ~~verbs~~ <sup>constructions</sup> have backed vowels.

e.g. <u>nnoo</u> 'eat'	<u>varu</u> 'sit'	<u>buaa</u> 'search'
	<u>hitu</u> 'unhook'	<u>mmadau</u> 'carry on back'

Each of these stems occurs in fixed patterns with various suffixation in the Independent and Dependent verbs.

e.g.

Primary stems <sup>occur</sup> ~~are shown~~ with the second person Imperative Independent suffix -nee.

<u>nnaa-nee</u> .	eat-2nd Pers Imp	'You sit.'
<u>varia-nee</u> .	sit-2nd Pers Imp	'You eat.'
<u>hitua-nee</u> .	unhook-2nd Pers Imp	'You unhook (it).'
<u>buaakia-nee</u> .	search-2nd Pers Imp	'You search.'
<u>mmadakua-nee</u> .	carry on back-2nd Pers Imp	'You carry (it) on your back.'

Secondary stems <sup>occur</sup> ~~are shown~~ with the Far Past tense-person-number suffix -ra. There is no distinction for person or number.

<u>nnee-ra-vai</u> .	eat-Far Past Tense Pers Number-Stat	'He ate.'
<u>vari-ra-vai</u> .	sit-Far Past Tense Pers Number-Stat	'He sat.'

biti-ra-vai. unhook-<sup>er</sup>FP<sup>er</sup> Tense Pers Number-Stat

'He unhooked (it).'

buai-ra-vai. search-Far Past Tense Pers Number-Stat

'He searched.'

mmadai-ra-vai. carry on back-Far Past Tense Pers Number-

Stat 'He carried (it) on his back.'

iya varu-duu... they sit-Seq (Far Past) DS... 'They sat...'

The tertiary stems are free forms which occur without

affixation in verb phrases.

nnaa ki-oo... eat do-Sequence action 3rd Pers Sing

'Having eaten...'

vari ki-oo... sit do-Seq 3rd Pers Sing 'Having sat...'

hitu ki-oo... unhook do-Seq 3rd Pers Sing 'Having unhooked  
(it)....'

buaama ki-oo... search do-Seq 3rd Pers Sing 'Having  
searched...'

mmadau ki-oo... carry on back do-Seq 3rd Pers Sing  
'Having carried (it) on his back...'

#### CHART B

~~The following matrix~~ shows the occurrence of the primary  
and secondary stems in Independent and Dependent verb  
constructions..

CHART B  
INDEPENDENT

	CLASS I	CLASS II	CLASS III
Declarative			
Far Past	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
Past	Primary	Primary 3rd pers sing: Secondary	Primary 3rd pers sing: Secondary
Future	Primary	sing: Secondary plural: Primary	sing: Secondary plural: Primary
Imperative	Primary	Primary	Primary
Dubitative	Primary	Primary	Primary
DEPENDENT			
Sequential			
Same Subject	<del>4 syllable</del> stems sing: Primary plural: 1 Syll stems Secondary <u>2 &amp; 3 syll stems</u> <del>sing: Primary</del> <del>plural: Primary</del> (reduced)	sing: <del>Primary</del> <u>1 syllable</u> stems <del>are</del> Secondary <u>2 &amp; 3 syll stems</u> Primary plural: Secondary	Secondary
Different Subject			
Far Past	1st pers sing & plural: Primary 2&3 pers sing &	1st pers sing & plural: Primary 2&3 pers sing &	1st pers sing & plural: Primary 2&3 pers sing &

	plural:	plural:	plural:
	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
Past	Primary	Primary <sup>3rd Pers Sing</sup> Secondary	Primary <sup>3rd Pers Sing</sup> Secondary
Future	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
Perfect			
Future	Primary	Primary	Primary
Nominalised			
Verb	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary

All other occurrences of verb stems with verb constructions not particularly shown above ~~are verb stem plus tense-person-number~~ and they follow the same pattern as outlined for the Declarative Independent <sup>✓</sup>Past, Far Past and Future tenses and the Sequential Dependent <sup>✓</sup>different subject Past, Far Past and Future tenses, according to the tense-person-number suffixation.

## 1.2. Morphophonemics

Only morphophonemic changes pertinent to the verb morphological structure will be noted here.

Low vowels plus /i/ and /u/ become /ai/ and /au/ respectively.

i.e. a;aa + i = ai

a;aa + u = au

e.g. varia + ivee = variaivee sit-3rd Pers Sing Imp

'He must sit.'

nnaa + i + noo = nnainoo eat-3rd Pers Sing Past-

Pres Indicative 'He is eating.'

varia + i + noo = variaivee sit-3rd Pers Sing Imp



varia + u + noo = variaunoo sit-1st Pers Sing Past-

Pres Ind 'I am sitting.'

nnaa + u + noo = nnaunoo eat-1st Pers Sing Past-

Pres Ind 'I am eating.'

~~/ai/ and /au/ plus /i/ become /ai/ and /au/ respectively.~~

~~i.e. ai;au + i = ai;au~~

e.g. buai + i + noo = buainoo search-3rd Pers Sing Past-

Pres Ind 'He is searching.'

kua + u + i + vo = kuauvo... go-1st Pers Sing Past-

i 'to do'-Perfect 'He had gone...'

/ai/, /au/ and high and mid lengthened vowels plus /i/ causes elision of

the /i/.  $ai + i = ai$

$au + i = au$

i.e.  $ii + i = ii$

$uu + i = uu$

$ee + i = ee$

$oo + i = oo$

e.g. ii + i + noo = iinoo do-3rd Pers Sing Past-Pres Ind

'He is doing.'

haitatuu + i + noo = haitatuunoo look carefully-

3rd Pers Sing Past-Pres Ind 'He is looking carefully.'

piee + i + noo = pieenoo weave-3rd Pers Sing Past-

Pres Ind 'She is weaving.'

kaukoo + i + noo = kaukoonoo carry child on back-

3rd Pers Sing Past-Pres Ind 'She is carrying

a child on her back.'

The high vowel /u/ plus /i/ becomes /uu/. One instance of the high vowel /i/ plus /i/ occurs with the Class II verb

stems and the 3rd person singular Past tense Independent verb suffixes. (However, with one syllable stems and the suffix -vai, i + i = ii.) In this instance /i/ plus /i/ becomes /i/. Also in noun suffixation /i/ plus /i/ becomes /ii/.

i.e. u + i = uu

i + i = i (with verb stems, except as above)

i + i = ii (with noun stems)

e.g. varu + Ø + i + vo... = varuuvo sit(Far Past)-3rd

Pers Sing Far Past-i 'to do'-Perfect 'He had sat...'

vari + i + noo = varinoo sit-3rd Pers Sing Past-

Pres Ind 'He is sitting.'

nni + i + vai = nniivai come-3rd Pers Sing Past-Stat

'He came.'

vaiddi + ivo... = vaiddiivo man-Subject 'The man...'

Low vowels occurring preceding mid lengthened vowels drop out and the mid lengthened vowels take precedence.

i.e. a;aa + ee = ee

a;aa + oo = oo

e.g. varia + ee... = variee sit-Seq 1st&2nd Pers Sing

'I am sitting and...'

nnaa + ee... = nnee eat-Seq 1st&2nd Pers Sing

'I am eating and...'

varia + oo... = varioo sit-Seq 3rd Pers Sing

'He is sitting and...'

nnaa + oo... = nnoo eat-Seq 3rd Pers Sing

'He is eating and...'

Suffixes which are CVV delete the final vowel in reduplication

(this signals continuous action of the <sup>actual</sup> ~~succeeding~~ clause).

i.e. kai + kai = kakai

duu + duu = duduu

e.g. varia + u + kai + kai... = variaukakai sit-1st Pers

Sing Past-Seq diff subj-Continuous 'He sat and  
sat and...'

varu + duu + duu = varududuu sit-Seq ds Cont (Far  
Past) 'He sat and sat and...'

## 1.3. Independent Verbs.

Independent verb suffixation is shown in Chart C.

CHART C      STEM    TENSE, PERS, NO.      ASPECT      MOOD

Present or

Near Past

Declarative	vs + {	{	{	-noo Ind.						
Interrogative					{	{	-nnee Ig.			
Sympathetic								{	{	-nnara Sym.
Avolitional										
	<-u> Past +									
	<-nara> Fut +									

Past, Far Past,	vs + {	{	{	-vai Stat.	+	{	-vee Ind																																									
Future								{	{	{	-ra Far Past +	{	-nnee Ig.																																			
Declarative														{	{	{	{	{																														
Interrogative																			{	{	{	{	{																									
(Stative																								{	{	{	{	{																				
Perfect																													{	{	{	{	{															
Frustrative																																		{	{	{	{	{										
Benefactive																																							{	{	{	{	{					
Dubitative)																																												{	{	{	{	{
	{	{	{	{	{																																											

Imperative      vs +

<-nee> Imp

The Past tense-person-number suffixes represented by <-u> are as follows:-

-u	1st Pers Sing
-nna	2nd Pers Sing
-i	3rd Pers Sing
-unna	1st Pers Pl
-a	2nd & 3rd Pers Pl

When these suffixes occur with the Indicative suffix -noo they form Present or Near Past tense. When occurring with the Interrogative the construction is also Present or Near Past.

e.g. na kua-u-noo I go-1st Pers Sing Past-Ind 'I am going.'

na kua-u-nnee I go-1st Pers Sing Past-Ig 'May I go?'

When an interrogative word or ha occurs in the clause the interrogative suffix is not obligatory in the 2nd person singular.

The Sympathetic mood suffix -nnara occurs with the Past tense-person-number suffixes. It is used in a situation where the person is reminiscing over an event.

e.g. boo iva aa-vau vari-oo yeenna-ivaa nna-i-nnara. boo

vaa vi-oo kia-i-nnara. sorry he this-on sit-Seq

3rd Pers Sing SS food-Obj eat-3rd Pers Sing Past-

Sym. sorry Past go-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS do-3rd

Pers Sing Past-Sym. 'Sorry, he sat here and

ate food. Sorry, he has gone.'

It also occurs with the imperative negative, <sup>and this combination is</sup> ~~used to express~~ ~~meaning of~~ exaggeration.

sa aayanna utua-a-nnara. Imp neg. call out hold-3rd

Pers Pl Past-Sym. 'They called out very loudly.'

The Future tense-person-number suffixes represented by

<-nara> are:-

-nara 1st, 2nd & 3rd Pers Sing

-ara 1st, 2nd & 3rd Pers Pl

In the singular form -nara the -ra is optional when followed by the -vai Stative, <-vai> Perfect or -vee Indicative suffixes.

e.g. fai na kua-nara-vee. Fut I go-1st Pers Sing Fut-Ind

'I will go.'

fai na kua-na-vee. Fut I go-1st Pers Sing Fut-Ind

'I will go.'

The avolitional mood suffix -innoo occurs with the Future tense-person-number suffixes.

e.g. haruri-nara-innoo. fall down-Sing Fut-Avol. 'It

is not good that you fall down.' or 'Be careful

lest you fall down.'

The stative aspect suffix -vai occurs with the Past tense - person-number suffixes to form the Past tense. Occurring with the Future tense-person-number suffixes it forms a subjunctive. i.e. It might happen in the future.

e.g. na kua-u-vai. I go-1st Pers Sing-Stat 'I went.'

na kua-nara-vai. I go-Sing Fut-Stat 'I might go.'

The -vai 'Stative' suffix following the Far Past tense-person-number suffix -ra is obligatory.

The -vee Indicative suffix adds emphasis to the action.

e.g. vaa vi-ra-vai-vee. Past go-Far Past-Stat-Ind.

'He (any person) definitely went.'

The Perfect Aspect suffixes represented by <-vai> are:-

-vai/ -va 1st & 3rd Pers Sing

-kua 2nd Pers Sing

-ya / -da 1st, 2nd & 3rd Pers Pl

The singular -va and the plural -da suffixes are used of a specific person or group. <sup>o number</sup>

e.g. a dee-pi kua-nna-kua-nnee. you what-place go-2nd Pers  
Sing Past-Ig 'Where have you been?'

vaa oota kua-a-da-vee Past a long time go-3rd Pers Pl  
Past-Ind 'They (a special group previously  
mentioned) have been gone a long time.'

The Frustrative aspect occurs with the Past, Far Past and Future tense-person-number suffixes. This suffix <sup>is used to express</sup> ~~portrays the~~ ~~meaning of~~ frustration or exasperation.

e.g. vaa na mmia-u-nana-vee. Past I give-1st/Pers Sing  
Past-Frus-Ind 'I definitely gave (it) (to him).'

The Benefactive consists of the Past tense-person-number suffixes plus the combined Perfect Aspect plus -no suffix.

e.g. Hama a kua kia-nna-kuaa-no-nnee. Neg. you talk  
say-2nd Pers Sing Past-2nd Pers Sing Perf-Ben-

ig 'Why aren't you speaking (for your benefit)?'  
(The Perfect aspect suffix -kua becomes -kuaa preceding -no.)  
The Imperative mood suffixes represented by <-nee> are:-

-nee 2nd Pers Sing

-tee 2nd Pers Pl

-ivee 2nd & 3rd Pers Sing & 1st Pers Sing (which only occurs  
in the final clause of Future Dependent constructions).

e.g. kua-nee. go-2nd Pers Sing Imp 'You go.'

The Dubitative Aspect occurs in restricted environments.

When suffixed by -vee Indicative or -nnee Interrogative, it  
<sup>on both verbs</sup> occurs in juxtaposed clause relationship or in the second clause  
of a Future Dependent construction.

e.g. taara kuraaga tummua-ivaa-nnee taara-voo-ma kuraaga  
tummua-ivaa-nnee. two moon come down-Dub-Ig two-one

-connective moon come down-Dub-Ig 'Will they  
 come in two months or three.'

na vi-ee tara-no ivo ngia-ivaa-nnee. I go-Seq 2nd  
 Pers Sing SS pass through-Seq 3rd Pers Sing DS

he-come-Dub-Ig 'When I pass through will he come?'



## 1.4. Dependent Verbs

Dependent verb suffixation is shown in Chart D

CHART D	STEM	TENSE-PERSON-NUMBER OF actual clause	NOMINAL & DESID	ACTION HELP & CONT. ACTION	REL P & CONT. ACTION	of actual clause	of suc. clause
<u>Sequential</u>							
Same Subject							
Past, Far Past and Future	vs +			<-ee(na)>	+ <-na>		+ <-ina>
Different Subj							
Past		<-u> +		<-kai>	<-kai>		
Far Past	vs +	<-a> +		-duu	+ -duu		+ <-ina>
Future				<-nai>	<-nai>		
<u>Continuing</u>							
Different Subj							
vs +		<-u>; <-a> +		-paya(naa-nna)			+ <-ina>
<u>Impending</u>							
Same Subj	vs +	<-nara> +	-i +	<-na>			+ <-ina>
Different Subj	vs +	<-nara> +	-i +	<-nai>			+ <-ina>
<u>Perfect</u>							
Same Subj	vs +	<-u>; <-a> +	-i +	<-vo <sub>1</sub> >			+ <-ina>
Past, Far Past							
Post, Far Past							
Future	vs +		-i +	<-vo <sub>2</sub> >			+ <-ina>
Benefactive	vs +	<-u> +	-i +	( <-vo <sub>1</sub> > + -no )			
Avolitional	vs +			( <-noo> + -ra )			
Desiderative	vs +	<-nara> +	-ee +	<-na>			
<u>Simultaneous</u>							
Perfect	vs +			-u			
Comparative	vs +	<-u>; <-a> +		-neema			
Contrary to Fact	vs +	<-u>; <-a> +		-ti(ri)			

The sequence action relationship suffixes showing the same subject and the tense-person-number of the succeeding clause are represented by  $\langle \text{ee}(\underline{\text{na}}) \rangle$  and are as follows:-

-ee(na) 1st Pers Sing

-ee(nna) 2nd Pers Sing

-oo(nho) 3rd Pers Sing

-da 1,2 & 3rd Pers Pl (-ra dual occurs with -da)

These suffixes are used for the Past (or Present), Far Past and Future.

When suffixed to Class I and Class II verb stems the latter part of the singular forms (-na, -nna & -nno) are optional except when followed by further suffixation.

e.g. na vari-ee ta-u-vai. I sit-Seq 1st Pers Sing SS  
see-1st Pers Sing Past-Stat <sup>While</sup> 'I sat ~~saw~~ saw (it).'

With Class III verb stems only the latter part of the singular forms is used and it is obligatory.

e.g. na buai-na ta-u-vai. I search-Seq 1st Pers Sing SS  
see-1st Pers Sing Past-Stat <sup>While</sup> 'I searched ~~saw~~ saw (it).'

This latter part of the <sup>singular</sup> suffixes <sup>(-na, -nna, -nno)</sup> is repeated to form the continuous action of the verb.

e.g. na vari-eena-na ta-u-ko... I sit-Seq 1st Pers Sing  
SS-Cont see-1st Pers sing Past-Seq DS <sup>While</sup> 'I continued  
to sit <sup>I</sup> ~~saw~~ saw....'  
ta vari-da-da ta-unna-no... we sit-Seq 1st Pers  
Pl Past-Seq DS... <sup>While</sup> 'We continued to sit <sup>we</sup> ~~saw~~ saw....'

The dual is formed by the suffix -ra following the plural suffix -da. This is the only occurrence of a dual suffix within the verb.

e.g. td vara-dara-ida tummua-unna-noo. we get-Seq 1st  
 Pers Dual SS-Cont come down-1st Pers Pl-Ind  
 'We (two) got it and are coming down.'

When -da is repeated for Continuous action the -ra follows the Continuous suffix.

e.g. ta mmoori vara-da-dara-ida tummua-unna-noo. we garden  
 get-Seq 1st Pers Pl SS-Cont Dual-Cont <sup>come down 1st Pers Pl-Ind</sup> 'We (two)  
 worked and worked and are coming down.'

The continuous action suffixes represented by <-ina> show the continuous action of the succeeding clause. These suffixes can also be suffixed to any clause level slot within a clause giving continuous sense to the Predicate which it affects.

e.g. na mmoori var-eena-na-ina/igia-u-noo. I garden get-  
 Seq 1st Pers Sing SS-Cont -Cont come-1st Pers  
 Sing Past-Ind 'I continued to work and work and  
 am coming.'

The Past tense-person-number suffixes represented by <-u> are the same as the Past tense-person-number suffixes described under Independent Verbs (1.3.).

The Past (or Present) sequence action relationship suffixes showing the action relationship between the two clauses and the different subject and tense-person-number of the succeeding clause are represented by <-kai> and are as follows:- (-ai and -i denote persons other than 3rd person singular and -o denotes 3rd person singular.)

When succeeded by persons other than 3rd person singular:-

- kai 1st Pers Sing
- ni 2nd Pers Sing & 1st, 2nd & 3rd Pers Pl
- kiai 3rd Pers Sing

When succeeded by 3rd person singular:-

- ko 1st Pers Sing
- no 2nd Pers Sing & 1st Pers Pl
- kio 3rd Pers Sing
- vo 2nd & 3rd Pers Pl

e.g. na varia-u-ko ni gioonna-ivo... I sit-1st Pers Sing  
Past-Seq 1st Pers Sing DS my wife-Subj... 'I  
sat and my wife...'

When this sequence action relationship suffix is repeated  
it shows continuous action of the actual clause.

e.g. na varia-u-ko-ko ni pirisa-i-noo. I sit-1st Pers  
Sing Past - Seq 1st Pers DS-Cont me tired-3rd  
Pers Sing Past-Ind 'I continue to sit and sit  
and I am tired.' (i.e. 'I continue to sit and sit  
and it tires me')

The Far Past tense-person-number suffixes represented by

<-a> are as follows:-

- a 1st Pers Sing
- nna 2nd Pers Sing
- anna 1st Pers Pl
- Ø 2nd Person Pl and 3rd Pers Sing & Pl

e.g. na kua-a-duu vi-ra-vai. I go-1st Pers Sing Far  
Past-Seq DS go-Pers Number Far Past-Stat  
'I went and he went.'

It has been noted that the form of the verb, stem plus Far Past

2nd person plural or 3rd person sing or plural, can be used for 2nd person singular and 1st person plural. This is noticeable in the younger generation.

The Far Past sequence action relationship suffix -duu showing the different subject of the succeeding clause has no distinction for person and number.

The Future sequence action relationship suffixes showing the different subject and tense-person-number of the succeeding clause are represented by <-nai> and are as follows:-

When succeeded by persons other than 3rd person singular:-

-nai 1st, 2nd & 3rd Pers Sing

-kia 1st, 2nd & 3rd Pers Pl

When succeeded by the 3rd person singular:-

-no 1st, 2nd & 3rd Pers Sing

-kio 1st, 2nd & 3rd Pers Pl

e.g. a vari-nai na kua-nara. You sit-Seq Sing DS I go-

Sing Fut 'You will sit and I will go.'

ti-no ngia-ivee. say-<sup>Seq Sing DS</sup>~~Cond~~ come-3rd Pers Sing Imp.

'Say (i.e. tell) (him) and he must come.' or

'When you tell (him) he must come.'

~~The Future Conditional action relationship suffixes showing~~

~~a change of subject in the succeeding clause are the same as the~~

The Future sequential <sup>ce action</sup> change of subject ~~action relationship~~ suffixes, may also be translated as Future Conditional.

However, a further suffix -i 1st, 2nd & 3rd person singular

or plural may replace the Future sequence suffixes <-nai>,

and <-kiai>. This suffix only occurs with the secondary stem of the verbs 'go,' 'come,' 'say' and 'do' and has the meaning of "allow".

e.g. vi-i kua-ara. go-Cond go-1st Pers Plu Fut 'If(when) you go, we will go.' or Let's go!'

Immediately following the suffixes showing the action relationship

and tense-person-number of the succeeding clause (<-kai>, -duu and <-nai>) the suffixes represented by <-ina> <sup>may be reduplicated.</sup> ~~can be repeated.~~

This intensifies the continuous action of the succeeding clause.

The Continuing action relationship suffixes showing a different subject in the succeeding clause represented by -paya(naa-nna) are:-

-paya(naa-nna) and pari(naa-nna). There is no distinction shown for tense-person-number and reason for the difference in form and the optional occurrence of the -naa and -nna is not evident.

e.g. ... kiannu-udaa | hud-oonno-nno' | ta-i-parinaanna |  
Arisaa-va | kua-i-parinaanna... | wild fowls eggs-Pl(inc)  
 cook-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS-Cont look-3rd Pers Sing  
 Past-Contg man's name-Subj go-3rd Pers Sing Past-Contg  
 '...he continued to cook the wild fowls eggs and  
 while he was looking Arisaa (was coming) and while  
 he came... (he carefully took the eggs and ran  
 away into the bush).

The suffixes represented by <-nara> in the Impending Action verb are the Future tense-person-number suffixes described under Independent Verbs (1.3.)

The suffixes represented by <-na> are the latter part of the same subject sequence action singular suffixes and the same subject sequence action plural suffix -da (see 1.4.)

The Past and Far Past Perfect action relationship suffixes showing the same subject and tense-person-number of the succeeding clause are represented by <-vo<sub>1</sub>> and are as follows:-

-vo/-va            1st and 3rd Pers Sing

-kua                2nd Pers Sing

-ya/-do            1st, 2nd & 3rd Pers Pl

The -ya and -do forms <sup>are</sup> ~~seem to be used~~ <sup>of a specific person or group.</sup> ~~for emphasis.~~

e.g. ta ngia-unna-i-ya hama sabi nookia-unna-noo.

we come-1stPers Pl Past-Nom-Pl Perf Neg

aimlessly walk about-1st Pers Pl Past-Ind

'We have come and we are not walking about aimlessly.'

hama kua-a-ni vakia-unna-i-do pata-i-krai... Neg

go-3rd Pers Pl Past-Seq DS sleep-1st Pers Pl Past-

Nom-Pl Perf light-3rd Pers Sing Past-Seq DS...

'they didn't go and after we had slept ( a special group) it became morning and...'

After example

The Perfect suffixes (except 2nd pers sing) are homophomous with the noun subject and object suffixes. Therefore with some forms it is very difficult to tell the difference between the Perfect construction and a relative clause.

In certain constructions with the verb 'to say' inflected with the Perfect Aspect suffixes a change of subject form has been noted. The nominal plus the Perfect action relationship

plus the continuous action suffixes are suffixed to the verb stem and must agree with the tense-person-number of the succeeding clause.

e.g. vaa na kua-i-noo kia-u-kua-inna a hara ki-ee varia-nna-noo. Past I go-3rd Pers Sing-Ind say-1st Pers Sing Past-(i Nom, morphophonemically lost)-2nd Pers Sing Perf-2nd Pers Sing Cont you ~~stick~~-push do-Seq 2nd Pers Sing SS sit-2nd Pers Sing Past-Ind 'I have already said, "He is going," and you are still sitting here.'

The Future Perfect action relationship suffixes showing tense-person-number of the succeeding clause are represented by  $\langle -vo_2 \rangle$  and are as follows:-

-vo 1st, 2nd & 3rd Pers Sing

-ya/-do 1st, 2nd & 3rd Pers Pl

e.g. a kua-i-vo-onna kiasa mma-nee. you go-Nom-2nd Pers Sing Perf Fut-Cont say give-2nd Pers Sing Imp 'When you will have gone, tell them.'

The Benefactive is formed the same as the Perfect Dependent Verb with the inclusion of the benefactive mood suffix -no combining with the Perfect suffixes. This combination is the same as described under Independent Verbs (1.3.).

e.g. Hama a teepi nnaa-nna-i-kuua-no tii-ni utua-nee.

Neg you bean eat-2nd Pers Sing Past-Nom-2nd Pers Sing Perf-Ben us-Ben plant-2nd Pers Sing Imp. 'You haven't eaten beans (for your benefit), (so) plant (them) for us.' (Said in a sarcastic or taunting manner.)



The Avolitional action relationship suffixes, -noo singular and -voo plural, occur with the secondary stem of the verb and are combined with the suffix -ra 'purposive'.

e.g. ti tee-voo-ra akiairaa vi-kiai,... us see-Avol-  
Pur quickly vo-Seq Fut... 'Lest they see us,  
when you quickly go (we will go and hide).' or 'Lest  
they see us let us go quickly and hide.'  
hama ivaa rumooqee-noo-ra hama seen-oo kua-i-vai.  
Neg it break-Avol-Pur Neg run-Seq 3rdPers  
Sing SS go-3rd Pers Sing Past-Stat 'Lest he not  
break them (eggs) he did not go quickly.'

The Desiderative is formed with the Independent Future suffixes plus -ee 'desiderative' plus the suffixes represented by <-na> described above. (see Impending Action)

e.g. puara nakaara-ivo iya-ra ti-n-ee-nno nni-noo.  
pig owner-Subj Obj Pl-Ref say(call out)-Sing  
Fut-Des-Seq 3rd Pers Sing come-Ind 'The owner  
of the pigs is coming to call them.'

The Simultaneous Perfect is a restricted form with the primary stem plus the suffix -u taking the place of the more frequent simultaneous action verb phrase. (see 2.2.6.)

e.g. vaidi-iya kaayau kiannu-uyauvaa hitua-u nna-a-vo  
hama ivo kua-i-noo. man-Subj Pl plenty wild fowl's  
eggs-Obj Rft/Pls ~~gáthet~~-Simul Perf eat-3rd Pers Pl-  
Seq 3rd Pers Sing DS Neg he go-3rd Pers Sing Past-  
Ind 'While the men have been gathering and eating  
plenty of wild fowls eggs he is not going.'

The Comparative relationship suffix -neema is used in a restricted sense with an Imperative mood occurring in the following clause.

e.g. na funnua-u-neema funnua-nee. I sew-1st Pers Sing  
Past-Com sew-2nd Pers Sing Imp. 'Like I am  
sewing (it) sew (it).'

The Contrary to fact action relationship suffix -ti(ri)  
<sup>on the verbs</sup> always occurs <sup>^</sup> in two related clauses in an utterance. ~~The final~~  
~~clause in the utterance which includes the form~~ <sup>The second of these verbs with the suffix</sup> -ti(ri) may be  
optionally followed by the Indicative mood suffix -vee. The  
shortened form -ti is mostly used by the younger generation and  
when further suffixation occurs the -ri is obligatory.

e.g. airi-ma va-i-tiri airi i mmia-u-tiri. plenty-conn  
be-3rd Pers Sing Past-Ctf plenty you give-  
1st Pers Sing Past-Ctf 'If there was plenty I  
would give you plenty.'

## 2. Verb Phrases

Verb phrases are divided into two main sections, nominal  
and periphrastic.

The nominal verb phrases consist of an obligatory margin filled by a noun, and an obligatory nucleus filled by specific verbs. The periphrastic verb phrases consist of an obligatory margin filled by any verb (except for the Repetitive action phrase which is restricted to motion verbs) and an obligatory nucleus filled by specific verbs. The periphrastic verb phrases are further divided into distribution classes, transitive (T),

intransitive (IT) and di-transitive (DT) as determined by the ~~class of~~ verb which manifests the margin slot. Any restrictions of occurrence will be shown in the formulae.

These verb phrases contrast as to:- (a) a different particular verb plus inflection manifesting the nuclear slot. (Some have restricted inflection which will be shown in the formulae.)

(b) restricted nouns without inflection (in the nominal phrases) and any verb with particular restricted inflection (in the periphrastic phrases) manifesting the margin slot.

Two other verb phrases, ~~the positive interrogative,~~ the negative, and the unit verb phrase (showing two actions looked at as one) occur. These contrast as to:- (a) any verb plus inflection (particular restricted inflection in ~~each of the two~~ former) manifesting the nuclear slot and (b) particular morphemes (~~in each of the two~~ <sup>in</sup> the ~~two~~ former) and transitive verb stems (in the latter) manifesting the margin slot.

The ~~reflexive and benefactive action~~ <sup>reflexive and benefactive action</sup> sustained <sup>action</sup> phrases have particular contrasting features which will be clearly shown and discussed further in the paper.

Nesting occurs within the verb phrases. For simplicity of presentation the order and particular co-occurrence restrictions will be discussed ~~at the end of this~~ <sup>in</sup> section ~~2.4.~~ <sup>2.4.</sup>

## 2.1. Nominal Verb Phrases.

There are three nominal <sup>verb</sup> phrases, desiderative, idiomatic and onomatopoetic.

### 2.1.1. Desiderative

V = +Mar:n + Nuc: { vb raa 'to move' + any usual 3rd pers sing inflection }

Nouns which manifest the margin slot are of a restricted set including anything which one could desire to eat. Nouns other than those above which are included in the set are vuru 'sleep', kausa 'perspiration', vaati 'husband', nnaata 'wife'. These nouns are not inflected with usual noun suffixation. The verb manifesting the nucleus slot is always inflected for 3rd person singular. One further restriction, other than those shown in the formula, occurs as a contrasting feature of this phrase. It always occurs in an impersonal clause which has an obligatory object.

e.g. ni nnoori ra-i-noo. me water move-3rd Pers Sing-Ind 'I am thirsty.' (i.e. 'It is moving me for water.')

ni vuru ra-i-noo. me sleep move-3rd Pers Sing-Ind 'I am sleepy.' or 'I want to sleep.' (i.e. 'It is moving me to ~~want to~~ sleep.')

### 2.1.2. Idiomatic

V = + Mar: { n restricted } + Nuc: { vb<sub>T</sub> AS + any usual inflection }

Poss N.                      or Possessive noun phrases

A certain restricted set of nouns<sub>A</sub> occur in the margin slot. Each of these nouns occurs with a particular verb of a particular set of verbs manifesting the nucleus slot. Most of these nouns occur with suffixation in clause level slots but in this particular verb phrase suffixation does not occur. An exception to this occurs when this phrase nests within the periphrastic contiguous action verb phrase (2.2.2.) In this instance the object suffix occurs on the noun (see e.g. below).

The noun manifesting the margin slot is not obligatory when understood in the context.

Clause level slots do occur between the margin and nucleus slots. When they occur suffixation may also occur on the noun. In these instances the context seems to show that the nucleus is acting for the whole verb phrase. (see e.g. below)

e.g. mmoori vara-i-vsi. garden get-3rd Pers Sing-Stat

'He was working.'

nnoori ra-u-noo. water move-1st Pers Sing-Ind

'I am washing.'

vaati vara-i-noo. husband get-3rd Pers Sing-Ind

'She is getting married.'

kuaru ra-i-noo. sing move-3rd Pers Sing-Ind

'He is dancing.'

na ai-yara ni mmuduuya rua-u-vai. I you-concerning  
my heart hit-1st Pers Sing Past-Stat 'I love  
you.' (i.e. 'Concerning you I hit my heart.')

kuaru-uvaa r-oo vari r-oo vari-kio dance-Obj move-  
Seq SS sit-Seq DS... 'he continued to dance  
and dance and...'

siina-ivaa nnoori i-vaki raa-nee. bow-string-Obj  
water that-in move-2nd Pers Imp 'Wash the bow-  
string in that water.'

(water here is  
in locative  
slot)

### 2.1.3. Onomatopoeitic

V = + Mar: onom. + Nuc: { vb kia 'to say' + any usual  
inflection }

e.g. huau huau ti-i-vai. huau huau say-3rd Pers Sing  
-Stat 'It (the dog) barked.'

na kafura-ivaa fee fee ti-nara-vee. I pipe-Obj fee fee  
say-1st Pers Sing Fut-Ind 'I will definitely  
play the flute.'

pa pa ti-i-vai. pa pa say-3rd Pers Sing-Stat  
'It (the bird) flew.'

## 2.2. Periphrastic Verb Phrases.

The periphrastic verb phrases divide into twelve different contrastive phrase types. The last phrase can further be divided into three sub-types. These phrase types are determined by the particular verb manifesting the nucleus slot and by particular inflection or lack of inflection on verbs manifesting the marginal slot.

The particular verbs manifesting the nucleus slot are:-  
kiaa '~~to~~ do'; varia '~~to~~ sit, ~~or~~ be' or vakia '~~to~~ be'; taa '~~to~~ see' or rikiaa '~~to~~ hear' (~~to~~ understand); kia '~~to~~ say'; pikiaa '~~to~~ leave'; raa '~~to~~ move'; iikia '~~to~~ do'; daa (meaning unknown) {does not occur as a simple verb}; taa '~~to~~ desire' (does not occur as a simple verb); and the motion verbs kua '~~to~~ go'; ngia '~~to~~ come' and tummua '~~to~~ come down'. The meanings which these (except for kiaa, daa and taa) have as simple verbs, manifesting the Predicate slot of a clause are lost when they occur in the nucleus of a periphrastic verb phrase. In this position they show the action relationship of the clause (in which the particular phrase is manifesting the Predicate slot) to the succeeding clause. These action relationships are as follows:- Completion, Continuous, Progressive, Conditional, Unfulfilled Purpose, Impending (Past), Volitional, Compound, Simultaneous, Purposive, Repetitive, and Desiderative.

In the following phrases verb stem refers to the tertiary form of the stem which only occurs in verb phrases. The primary and secondary stems occur within the verbs depending on the particular inflection which follows. (see 1.1.)

### 2.2.1. Completive Action

V= + Mar: vs ... + Nuc: { vb kiaa 'to do' + any usual inflection }

The verb kiaa 'to do' only occurs in this particular verb phrase. ~~the same form occurs with the clause level directional adverbs but in this case it seems to be a shortened form of the verb~~ yapa kiaa 'to put completely'.

This completive action verb phrase is discontinuous. The clause level slots occurring between the margin and nucleus slots are limited <sup>to</sup> ~~being~~ the location and object slots. The occurrence of object slots is rare but two forms of the location manifesting the locatives ivau 'on that (there)' and ivaki 'at that (there)' occur more frequently. A verb phrase may nest between the margin and nucleus slots.

The reasons for treating this as a phrase and not two clause level slots are:- 1. The tertiary form of the verb stem manifesting the margin slot, 2. the absence of kiaa 'to do' as a verb manifesting the Predicate slot of a clause, and 3. the pressure of symmetry where ten of the following <sup>eleven</sup> ~~nine~~ periphrastic verb phrases consist of obligatory margin plus obligatory nucleus with no occurrence of clause level slots between the two.

e.g. nnaa kia-u-vai. eat do-1st Pers Sing Past-Stat

'I have finished eating.'

huda kia-da... cook do-Seq Pl SS 'they finished cooking...'

yapa i-vau ki-oonno... put that-on do-Seq 3rd Pers

Sing SS 'he put (it) there...'

haara puara-ivaa i-vau kia-i-vai. shoot pig-Obj that-on

3rd Pers Sing Past-Stativ 'I shot the pig (completely) there.'

With the intransitive motion verbs, 'go', 'come' and 'come down' the sequence action person number suffixes occur.

V = + Mar: vb<sub>IT</sub><ee(na)> + Nuc: {vb kiaa 'to do' + any usual inflection}

e.g. vi-oo kia-i-vai. go-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS do-3rd Pers

Sing-Stat 'He went (completely).'

nai-da kiaa-vo... come-Seq Pl SS do-Seq 3rd Pers

Sing 'they came (completely) and he...'

These intransitive motion verbs occur as shown in the above phrase with three different verbs manifesting the nucleus slot.

They occur with kua 'to go' and varaa 'to get', and taraa 'to pass through'. With kua the meaning is still completive but

the utterance comes from someone who has seen the action with a shorter time lapse than the above examples. (someone who has seen the person or thing come and go.)

e.g. vaa ngi-oo kua-i-vai. Past come-Seq 3rd Pers Sing

SS go-3rd Pers Sing-Stat 'He has already come

and gone.'

With varaa the action emphasis is on no time lapse at all.

e.g. ivo vi-oo var-oo numa vai-vai. he go-Seq 3rd Pers

Sing SS get-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS come be-Stat

'He went (with no sign of slacking) came and was.'



vaa vi-oo tar-oo kua-i-kiai... Past go-Seq 3rd Pers  
Sing SS pass through-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS go-3rd  
Pers Sing-Seq DS... 'He has already passed  
through and gone...'

Continuous Action

V = + Mar: vb<ee> + Nuc: { vb varia 'te sit or be' + any  
vakia 'te be' usual inflection }

e.g. ngi-oo vari-noo. come-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS sit-3rd  
Pers Sing-Ind 'He is continuing to come.'  
di-ee vakia-nee. stand-Seq 2nd Pers Sing SS be-2nd  
Pers Sing-Imp 'Continue to stand (there).'

V = + Mar: {vb  $\left\langle \begin{smallmatrix} -ee \\ -kai \end{smallmatrix} \right\rangle$ } + Nuc: {vb  $\left\langle \begin{smallmatrix} \text{taa} \text{ 'to see'} \\ \text{rikiaa} \text{ 'hear'} \end{smallmatrix} \right\rangle$ } + any usual inflection }

The sequence action suffixes of the same subject or different subject series occur as inflections in the verb manifesting the margin slot. Apart from the specific meanings the verbs *taa* 'to see' and *rikiaa* 'to hear' have the meaning of 'understand'.

e.g. ti-kio riki-oo... say-Seq 3rd Pers Sing DS hear-Seq  
3rd Pers Sing SS... 'while he spoke he heard...'  
vi-ee ta-u-ko... go-Seq 1st Pers Sing<sup>ss</sup><sub>A</sub> see-1st Pers  
Sing Past-Seq 3rd Pers Sing DS 'while I was  
going I saw...'

na aataru-uvau vi-ee ta-u-vai. I path-on go-Seq 1st

Pers Sing SS see-1st Pers Sing-Stat 'While I

was going on the road I saw (it).

#### 2.2.4. Conditional Action

$$V = + \text{Mar:} \left\{ \text{vb} \begin{matrix} \langle \text{-nara} \rangle + \text{-ee} \\ \langle \text{-u} \rangle + \text{-noo} \end{matrix} \right\} + \text{Nuc:} \left\{ \text{vb } \underline{\text{kia}} \text{ 'to say' } + \begin{matrix} \text{any usual} \\ \text{Dependent} \\ \text{inflection} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

The verb manifesting the margin slot can either be inflected with the Independent verb future tense person number suffixes plus the desiderative -ee or by a set of Past tense person number suffixes, only found with the verb phrases, plus -noo. These Past tense person suffixes differ from the Independent Past tense person number suffixes in that there is no distinction made for 2nd and 3rd person singular and plural. -u is 1st, 2nd, & 3rd person singular and -unna is 1st, 2nd, & 3rd person plural. The future form of this phrase is also used for the future as well as conditional.

e.g. a vari-nar-ee ti-ee... you sit-2nd Pers Sing Fut-Desid say-Seq 2nd Pers Sing SS... 'If you want to sit (stay)...

a yapa-u-noo ti-ee... you put-Sing 1st Past-noo say-Seq 2nd Pers Sing SS... 'If you have put it...'

#### 2.2.5. Unfulfilled Purpose Action

$$V = + \text{Mar:} \left\{ V \text{ Cond (Fut) } + \begin{matrix} \text{-ivaa} \\ \text{-nna} \end{matrix} \right\} + \text{Nuc:} \left\{ \text{vb } \underline{\text{pikiaa}} \text{ 'to leave' } \langle \text{-ee}(\underline{\text{na}}) \rangle \right\}$$

The future form of the Conditional Action phrase embeds in the margin slot of the above phrase. The inflection on the verb manifesting the nucleus slot of Conditional Action phrase is Past tense-person-number. This is further inflected with either -ivaa or -nna to form the margin<sup>slot</sup> of the above phrase.

-ivaa and -nna are the object suffixes of the nouns 01-04.

The nucleus slot is manifested by the verb pikiaa 'to leave' plus sequence action same subject suffixation.

e.g. na oro iya t-ee nni-n-ee kia-u-nna piki-ee i-vaki

iya tasipa vari-ee... I go up them see-Seq 1st

Pers Sing come-Sing Fut-Desid say-1st Pers Sing

Past-Obj leave-Seq 1st Pers Sing that-on them

with sit-Seq 1st Pers Sing... 'I went up to

see them and come but I didn't come, I stayed

there with them... (i.e. I went up, wanting to

see them and come, I left (that<sup>plan</sup>) and sat there

with them...)

## 2.2.6. Impending Action (Past)

V = + Mar: vb <u> + Nuc: {vb kia 'to say' <-ee(na)>}

The verb manifesting the margin slot consists of any verb with the Past tense suffixes described above. (2.2.4.) Only the sequence action same subject suffixes occur with the verb kia 'to say' manifesting the nucleus slot.

e.g. na kua-u ti-ee... I go-Sing Past say-Seq 1st

Pers SS 'I was about to go...'

nia kua-unna ti-da... you(pl) go-Pl Past say-Seq

Pl SS 'You were about to go...'

## 2.2.7. Avolitional Action

V = + Mar: vb <-noo> + Nuc: kia 'to say'

The suffixation on the verb manifesting the margin slot is the avolitional Dependent suffixes -noo singular and -voo plural (see 1.4.). The verb stem is secondary. A further

restriction in this verb phrase is that the nucleus is always filled by the tertiary stem of the verb '~~to~~ say' (i.e. kiaa). In other constructions when the form kiaa occurs (usually following a quotation) it means '~~to~~ think'.

e.g. ni tee-voo kiaa na hatakua-u-noo. me see-Pl Avol  
say I hide-1st Pers Sing Past-Ind 'Lest they  
see me I am hiding.'

### 2.2.8. Compound Action

V = + Mar: { vb varaa 'to get' <-ee(na)> + <-ina> } ... + Nuc:  
vitaa 'to get'

{ vb (motion) + any usual inflection }

The two verbs manifesting the margin slot are used for inanimate and animate objects. i.e. varaa for inanimate and vitaa for animate objects. The inflection on these verbs is the usual sequence action same subject suffixes with the optional occurrence of the continuous action suffixes.

The verbs kua '~~to~~ go', naia '~~to~~ come' and tummua '~~to~~ come down' manifest the nucleus slot.

With the sequence action suffixes occurring on the verb manifesting the margin slot this verb phrase could be analysed as two clauses. However, in certain constructions it is clear that the margin and nucleus slots are acting as a unit and not two clauses. This is particularly seen when noun suffixation occurs forming a relative clause.

e.g. yeenna-ivaa iya vara-da kua-ivaa ti mmi-da... food-  
Obj they get-Seq Pl SS go-Obj us give-Seq

Pl SS... 'They gave us the food which they brought...'

nuka hatoka vara-da ngia-a vaidi-iya kia-ara.

poisonous vine cut get-Seq Pl SS come-3rd Pers

Pl man-Subj Pl say-Pl Fut 'The men who cut  
and brought the vine will say.'

The only clause level slot which occurs between the margin  
and nucleus slots is the locative and this is not frequent.

e.g. iya puara-ivaa vara-da ngia-a-noo. They pig-Obj  
get-Seq Pl SS come-3rd Pers Pl Past-Ind 'They  
brought the pig.'

fai-vo hayoo-va-inno var-oo mmeemee-vau-nno kua-i-noo.

dog-Subj wallaby-Obj-Cont get-Seq 3rd Pers Sing

SS down a long way on the other side-on-Cont

go-3rd Pers Sing Past-Ind 'the dog continued

to take the wallaby way down on the other side.'

The Directional verbs, comprised of a closed set filling  
a slot on the clause level, also occur manifesting the nucleus  
slot. These directional verbs are:- oro 'go up', oto 'go down',  
oo 'go along', numa 'come up or along' and tuma 'come down'.

e.g. hayoo-vaa var-oo oto nnoori mmaaga-ivaki...

wallaby-Obj get-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS go down

water bank-on... '(The dog) took the wallaby

down on the bank of the river...'

Many  
clauses  
have  
slot

## 2.2.9. Simultaneous Action

V = +Mar: vs + Nuc: {vb raa- 'to move' <-ee>}

This phrase is usually followed by a motion verb manifesting the Predicate slot of the succeeding clause.

...ivaa-ra kiaa re-da fai rapua-ara-vai. that-Obj-  
 þur say move-Seq Pl DS Fut fight-Pl Fut-Stat  
 '...while arguing about that they might fight.'

$$V = + \text{Mar:} \left\{ \text{vb} \langle \underline{\text{-nara}} \rangle \langle \underline{\text{-ina}} \rangle \right\} + \text{Nuc:} \left\{ \text{vb } \underline{\text{iikia}} \text{ 'to do' + any usual} \right. \\ \left. / (\text{motion}) \text{ inflection} \right\}$$

e.g. na nnaa-nara iikia-u-kai... I eat-Sing Fut do-  
1st Pers Sing-Seq DS 'I am wanting to eat...'  
(i.e. 'For the purpose of eating I am doing...')

ngia kua-ara-ida iikia-a-nnee. you(pl) go-Pl-Fut-  
Cont do-3rd Pers Pl-Ig 'Do you want to go?'  
(i.e. 'For the purpose of going are you doing?')

na taa-na kua-nara. I see-Sing Fut go-Sing Fut  
'I will go to see.'

### 2.2.11. Repetitive Action

$$V = + \text{Mar:} \left\{ \text{vb (motion)} + \langle \text{-nara} \rangle + \text{-ma} \right\} + \text{Nuc:} \left\{ \text{vb daa-} + \langle \text{-ee} \rangle \right\}$$

The verb manifesting the margin slot is restricted in that only motion verbs ~~stems~~ occur. These <sup>verb</sup> stems are followed by the set of Independent Future suffixes represented by -nara (see 1.3.) plus -ma. This suffix (-ma) is similar to the suffix -ma which occurs in the tertiary form of the Class III verbs ending in -kia. It acts in a similar manner making the filler of the margin slot a free form which occurs in the above verb phrase.

e.g. puara-ivo nni-nara-ma d-oo kavi-ivaa naa-i-vai.

pig-Subj come-Sing Fut-ma d(aa)-Seq 3rd Pers  
Sing SS sweet potatoes-Obj eat-3rd Pers Sing-  
Stat. 'The pig came over and over again and ate  
the sweet potatoes.'

ta kua-ara-ma dee-da kuaru-uvaa i-vau ra-unna-vai.

We go-Pl Fut-ma dee-Seq Pl SS dance-Obj that-  
on move-1st Pers Pl-Stat. 'We went over and  
over and danced there.'

### 2.2.12. Desiderative Action

The desiderative action verb phrase is divided into three sub-types with only one contrasting feature apparent in the formula. This difference is in the inflections found in the

verb in the nucleus slot.

V = + Mar: vs + Nuc: { vb taa 'to desire' + (1) any usual 3rd Pers Sing inflection }  
 (2) specific inflection }  
 (3) -ma + <-ina> }

This sub-type one verb phrase functions the same as the Nominal Desiderative verb phrase (2.1.1.) It contrasts with this phrase in the forms manifesting the margin and the nucleus slots. A verb stem manifests the margin slot and the verb taa 'to desire' manifests the nucleus slot. Two further contrasting features are the same as those in the Nominal Desiderative Verb Phrase. (1) It occurs in an impersonal clause which has an obligatory object and (2) the verb manifesting the nucleus slot is always inflected for 3rd person singular.

e.g. ni kua tā-i-noo. me go desire-3rd Pers Sing-Ind  
 'I want to go.' (i.e. 'It is making me want to go.')  
i varia ta-i-kiai... you sit desire-3rd Pers  
 Sing-Seq 3rd Pers Sing 'You wanting to sit...'  
 (i.e. It making you want to sit...')

In sub-type two (1) there is no inflection for person and number (2) suffixes -vai 'stative', -ivaa 'dubitative', and -vee 'indicative' occur and the clause in which it occurs is in 'should-but' dependent relationship with the following clause.

e.g. e nnaa taa-vai na nna-u-noo. you eat desire-  
 Stat I eat-1st Pers Sing Past-Ind 'You should  
 eat (this) but I am eating (it).' (used in a  
 taunting manner.)



This verb phrase ~~des~~ not occur sentence final. With the -vai 'stative' suffix it is usually inflected with the continuous suffixes <-ina> forming a construction which only occurs sentence non-final.

e.g. na nee-ta kua taa-va-ina varia-u-noo. I Emp  
pro-Acc go desire-1st Pers Sing Past-Ind sit-  
1st Pers Sing Past-Ind. 'I should go but I am  
staying.'

e.g. of the Dubitative aspect suffixation.

na kua ta-ivaa varia-u-vai. I go desire-Dub  
sit-1st Pers Sing Past-Stat 'Maybe I should  
have gone but I stayed.'

With the -vee 'Indicative' suffix it is always followed by a form of the verb 'to say' acting like an indirect quotation.

e.g. na kua taa-vee ti-eena varia-u-noo. I go  
desire-Ind say-Seq 1st Pers Sing SS sit-1st  
Pers Sing-Ind 'I should go (I am saying) but  
I am staying.'

In sub-type three the suffix -ma which makes this phrase into a construction which occurs in other verb phrases, (see 2.2.11.) occurs with the optional continuous suffixes represented by <-ina>. It occurs in the margin slot of the continuous (2.2.2.) and purposive (2.2.8.) action phrases.

In this sub-type the meaning of desire is more prominent.

e.g. haa taa-ma vai-nai haa-nee. shoot desire-ma  
~~be-Cond~~ DS shoot-2nd Pers Sing-Imp 'If it is  
there wanting to be shot, shoot (it).'

ti haa taa-ma ii-noo. us shoot desire-ma do-Ind

'He is wanting to shoot us.'

### 2.3. Further Verb Phrases

Other verb phrases not included in the nominal or periphrastic verb phrases are:- negative, unit phrase, sustained action, reflexive and benefactive.

#### 2.3.1. Negative

The negative verb phrase shows that the action of the clause in which this phrase occurs does not take place before the action of the following clause. There are three sub-types determined by the inflection of the verb manifesting the nucleus slot and resultant distribution.

$$V = + \text{Mar: Neg...} + \text{Nuc:} \left\{ (\text{vs} + \underline{\text{ra}}) \pm \begin{matrix} (1) & \underline{-i} & + & \langle \underline{-na} \rangle & + & \langle \underline{ina} \rangle \\ (2) & \langle \underline{-va} \rangle & & & & \\ (3) & \underline{-ma} & & & & \end{matrix} \right\}$$

Both forms of the negative hama and sa occur manifesting the margin slot. The clause level slots which occur between the margin and nucleus slots in this verb phrase are:- Object, Indirect Object and Accompaniment.

The verb manifesting the nucleus slot consists of the nominalised form of the verb (secondary stem plus -ra 'nominaliser') plus optional inflection.

The first sub-type is inflected the same as the action Impending action Dependent verb, (see 1.4.) except for the lack of the Future tense-person-number suffix. This form of the negative verb phrase shows that there is still a possibility for the action to be carried out.

e.g. a hama ni mi-ra-i-nna-inna... you Neg me give-  
Nomr-Nom<sub>3</sub>-Seq 2nd Pers Sing SS-Cont 'You haven't  
given it to me yet...'

The second syb-type is inflected with a restricted set of  
Perfect aspect suffixes. (i.e. -va singular and -ya plural.)

e.g. hama fayai-nna<sup>a</sup>-ta hee-ra-va ari nnau-ki oro  
var-i-noo. Neg animal-Obj-Acc shoot-Nomr-Perf

his house-in go up sit-3rd Pers Sing Past-Ind

*having shot any animals*  
'Without animals which he did not shoot he ~~has~~  
*went*  
~~gone~~ up and is sitting in his house.'

The third sub-type inflected with the suffix -ma *becomes a close knit unit which*  
~~only~~ manifesting the margin slot of the Completive verb phrase.  
~~(The -ma suffix makes this verb phrase into a construction which~~  
~~then occurs in the completive verb phrase. (see 2.2.12. sub-~~  
~~types 3.)~~<sup>1</sup>

e.g. hama ni mi-ra-ma ki-ee... Neg me give-Nomr-ma  
do-Seq 2nd Pers Sing SS 'You didn't give it to me...'

This form of the phrase does occur without the completive  
action nucleus slot but the meaning is still completive.

e.g. a hama ni mi-ra-ma inna mmia-nna-noo. you  
Neg me give-Nomr-ma him give-2nd Pers Sing-Ind  
'You didn't give (it) to me and you are giving  
(it) to him.'

### 2.3.2. Unit Verb Phrase

This unit phrase shows the action relationship where two  
actions are looked at as one.

$$V = + (\text{Mar: } \text{vs}_{\text{T}})^4 \dots + \text{Nuc: } \text{vb}_{\text{T}, \text{DT}}$$

The clause level slots occurring between the margin and nucleus slots (or between margin and margin slots) are the location and object slots. Their occurrence is the same as described in 2.2.1. (Completed action). With Di-transitive verbs there is also a possibility of Benefactive and Indirect Object slots occurring between the margin and nucleus slots. - check

The superscript 4 indicates that the margin slot has been noted to occur up to four times.

e.g. vara hiri var-oo... get hang up get-Seq 3rd Pers

Sing SS 'he got (it) and hung (it) (on his shoulder), getting (it)....'

utu raririima yapa ki-oo... hold pull put do-Seq

3rd Pers Sing SS 'he held, pulled and put (it) completely....'

huda nii-ni mmi-i... cook me-Ben give-Cond.

'when you cook and give for me....'

vita ni mia-nee. get me give-2nd Pers Imp 'Get

(it) and give (it) to me.'

### 2.3.3. Sustained Action

$$V = \left\{ (+ \text{Nuc: } \text{vb} \langle \underline{ee} \rangle \text{ Class I \& II (sing)})^2 \right\}^n$$

Only the Class I and II verb stems inflected with the sequence action singular suffixes are repeated to show sustained or prolonged action. This verb phrase can be repeated again

and again for emphasis.

e.g. vi-oo vi-oo... go-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS go-Seq 3rd  
Pers Sing SS... 'He went and went...'

vari-oo vari-oo... sit-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS sit-  
Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS... 'he sat and ~~sat~~...'

The Class III verb stems inflected for singular and plural and the Class I and II stems inflected for plural show this action by the occurrence of the Continuous suffixes represented by  $\langle -na \rangle$  (see 1.4.) or by <sup>reduplication</sup> ~~the repeat~~ of the stem plus the continuous suffixes.

e.g. vi-da-da... go-Seq Pl SS-Cont 'they went and went...'

nuai-nno-nno... walk-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS-Cont 'he  
walked and walked...'

nua(i) nuai-nno-nno... walk walk-Seq 3rd Pers  
Sing SS-Cont 'he walked and walked'.

vi vi-da-da... go go-Seq Pl SS-Cont 'they went  
and went...'

Sustained action is also shown with all three verb class stems by a repeat of the tertiary stem plus -ma. (The vowel on the final stem of Class II verbs is lengthened and Class III stems ending in -ma have a reduced form.) (For -ma see 2.2.11.) There is an optional occurrence of the continuous action suffix of the succeeding clause <sup>Suffix</sup>  $\langle -ina \rangle$  (see 1.4.)

e.g. na yeenna-ivaa huda nnaa nnaa-ma-ina ngia-u-noo.  
I food-Obj cook eat eat-ma-Cont come-1st Pers  
Sing Past-Ind. 'I cooked food and ate and ate  
and (now) I am coming.'

vaa na idaa yeenna mmi mmii-ma kua-u-vai. Past

I them(Pl inc) food give give-ma go-1st Pers  
Sing Past-Stat. 'I have already given and given  
food to them and gone.'

ta buaa buaa-ma tee-da... we search search-ma  
see-Seq Pl SS... 'We searched and searched and saw...'

The Completive and Continuous verb phrases also repeat to  
show sustained or prolonged action.

e.g. Completive Action verb phrase.

puara-ivaa h-oo vara ki-oo vara ki-oo h-oo...

pig-Obj shoot-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS get do-Seq 3rd  
Pers Sing SS get do-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS shoot-Seq  
3rd Pers Sing SS 'he shot and got pigs over and  
over again...'

Continuous Action verb phrase

fayai-vaa h-oo vari-kio h-oo vari-kio-kio...

animal-Obj shoot-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS sit-Seq 3rd  
Pers Sing Ds shoot-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS sit-Seq  
3rd Pers Sing Ds-Cont 'he continued to shoot animals  
over and over again...'

#### 2.3.4. Reflexive Action

$V = (+ \text{Mar: Emp}_{\text{pro}} + \text{Nuc: vs})^2 + \text{any usual inflection}$

The margin slot is manifested by the 3rd person emphatic  
pronouns ari singular and ngiari plural. The nucleus slot is

manifested by the tertiary verb stem. (Class III stems ending in -ma have a reduced stem). This unit is repeated twice (with the vowel on the final stem of Class II verbs lengthened) and

then it acts like a Class III verb which ends in kia. <sup>When the -ma suffix occurs this phrase functions as a tertiary stem which occurs in other verb phrases.</sup>

e.g. ari mmi ari mmiikia-a-noo. himself give himself

give-3rd Pers Pl-Ind 'they gave among each other.'

Note: 'Give' is a Class II verb but in this verb phrase becomes a Class III verb.

ari mmi ari mmii-ma ra-da... himself give himself  
give-ma move-Seq Pl SS... 'while giving to each other...'

ngiari utu ngiari utuu-da rapua-a-vai. themselves  
hold themselves hold-Seq Pl SS fight-3rd Pers  
Pl Past-Stat 'They held each other and fought.'

ari utu ari utuu-ma r-oo... himself hold  
himself hold-ma move-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS...  
'while holding each other...'

nnummua-ra ngiari buaa ngiari buaa-ma ra-da...  
lice-Pur themselves search themselves search-ma  
move-Seq Pl SS 'while they were searching for  
lice among themselves...'

### 2.3.5. Benefactive Verb Phrase

$$V = + \text{Mar:} \left\{ \text{vs} \langle \underline{-u} \rangle + \langle \underline{\text{vo}_1} \rangle + \underline{-no} \right\} + \text{Nuc:} \left\{ \text{vb } \underline{kia} \text{ 'to say'} + \langle \underline{-ee(na)} \rangle \right\}$$

The margin slot is manifested by a verb inflected with the Past tense-person-number suffix plus the Perfect Aspect-Benefactive

combined suffix plus -ra 'purposive'. The nucleus slot is manifested by the verb kia 'to say' inflected by sequence action same subject suffixes.

e.g. a yoosinna varia-nna-kuaa-no-ra ti-eenna... you  
place sit-2nd Pers Sing Past-2nd Pers Sing Perf-  
Benef-Pur say-Seq 2nd Pers Sing... 'You sat  
in the village for the purpose of benefitting  
yourself...'

This verb phrase also occurs with a noun manifesting the margin slot. (i.e. Mar: n +  $\langle$ -nnaa $\rangle$  + -no + -ra )

e.g. ni fayai-nnaa-no-ra ti-oo ni t-oo va-i-noo.  
my animal-Obj-Ben-Pur say-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS  
me se-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS be-3rd Pers Sing Past-Ind.  
'My animal (being for the purpose of my benefit)  
is looking at me.'

The suffix -nnaa represents a particular form of Object suffix which occurs with nouns when certain suffixation follows. When nouns end with lengthened vowels or ai or au the suffix is -nnaa. When ending in single vowels the suffix is -aa.

#### 2.4. ~~Nesting~~ Embedding.

It is possible for certain of the verb phrases described above to be embedded within another verb phrase.

The possible occurrence of these phrases manifesting the margin slots of the completive, continuous, progressive, & simultaneous phrases is as follows.

Completive action phrase has possible embedding of:-

change  
embedded  
etc. to  
next?



- unit verb phrase
- idiomatic verb phrase
- reflexive verb phrase
- progressive action
- sustained action
- negative verb phrase

Continuous action phrase has possible embedding of:-

- completive action
- unit verb phrase
- idiomatic verb phrase
- reflexive verb phrase

Progressive action phrase has possible embedding of:-

- completive action
- unit verb phrase
- idiomatic verb phrase
- reflexive verb phrase
- sustained action
- impending action

The simultaneous action phrase has possible embedding of:-

- reflexive verb phrase

The purposive action phrase has possible embedding of:-

- conditional action

The unit verb phrase has possible embedding in the nucleus slot of:-

completive action  
idiomatic verb phrase  
continuous action  
simultaneous

The sustained action phrase occurs embedded within the Completive action phrase.

Further expansion has been noted where up to four of these verb phrases are embedded within each other. Up to three embedded phrases are more usual.

The general ordering is:-

{	UNIT	}	COMPLETIVE	CONTINUOUS	PROGRESSIVE
	IDIOMATIC				

The combinations noted are:-

UNIT	COMPLETIVE	PROGRESSIVE
<u>hara</u>	<u>suvuai</u>	<u>kiooduu</u>
<u>push</u>	<u>do</u>	<u>teeda...</u>
<u>stick</u> block	<u>pushing</u>	see

"While he was sticking (something) and blocking (it), they saw..."

COMPLETIVE CONTINUOUS PROGRESSIVE

COMPLETIVE      CONTINUOUS      PROGRESSIVE

ruputu      kiee      variee      tauko...

hit      do      sit      see

'While I was in the process of hitting completely, I saw...'

UNIT      COMPLETIVE      CONTINUOUS      PROGRESSIVE

huda      nnaa      kiada      varida      taunnano...

cook      eat      do      sit      see

'While we were in the process of cooking and eating completely, we saw...'

IDIOMATIC      COMPLETIVE      CONTINUOUS      PROGRESSIVE

nnoori      raara      kieea      variee      kitauko...      taunnano...

water      move      do      sit      see

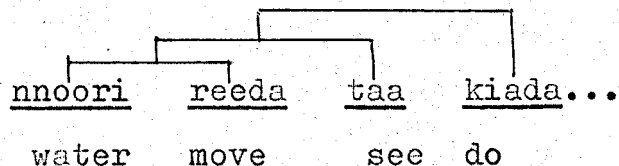
'While I was in the process of washing completely, I saw...'

The completive and idiomatic phrases embedded within the unit verb phrase. When this takes place these two phrases cannot occur after the unit phrase (as shown in the general order).

An example of IDIOMATIC      PROGRESSIVE      COMPLETIVE has been observed. The occurrence of the progressive action prior to the completive action eliminates the possibility of the

progressive action occurring after the completive as shown in the general order.

e.g. IDIOMATIC      PROGRESSIVE      COMPLETIVE



'While we were washing we saw completely...'

An example of the ~~completive~~ action verb phrase nesting in the margin slot of another completive action verb phrase has been noted. This occurs when two completive action verb phrases occur as a unit and this compound action is completed. When this takes place in the Far Past certain contractions take place with the 2nd and 3rd person singular and the plural. The nucleus slots of the two verb phrases acting as a unit are always inflected with sequence action same subject suffixes. The full form of the extended phrase as seen in the 1st person is as follows:-

na rau ki-ee rada ki-ee kia-a-du-duu... I fasten  
do-Seq 1st Pers Sing SS unfasten do-Seq 1st Pers Sing  
SS-do-1st Pers Sing Far Past-Seq DS-Cont 'I fastened  
(completely) unfastened (completely) and completed  
this over and over again...' (speaking of a fence)

The two completive verb phrases rau kieee rada kieee act as a unit (this unit can be repeated to emphasise the repeated

action) and this unit manifests the margin slot of a further completive verb phrase. The action of this verb phrase is then done continually.

With the second person the form is:-

a rau ki-ee rada ki-eenna-nna ki-oo-duu... you fasten  
do-Seq 2nd Pers Sing SS unfasten do-Seq 2nd Pers Sing  
SS-Cont do-Seq DS...' 'You fastened (completely)  
unfastened (completely) and completed this over and  
over again....'

The continuous action suffix occurs on the compound action verb manifesting the margin slot instead of on the verb manifesting the nucleus slot.

The third person example following shows the omission of the verb manifesting the nucleus slot and the inflection occurs on the margin slot.

e.g. ivo rau ki-oo rada ki-oo-du-duu... he fasten  
do-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS unfastened do-Seq 3rd  
Pers Sing SS-Seq DS-Cont.... 'He fastened (completely)  
unfastened (completely) and completed this over  
and over again....'

(In the Past tense, only the third person singular shows this contraction. All other persons are regular with the verb kiaa 'to do' occurring in the nucleus slot.)

In the plural the stem of the verb kiaa is lost and -u plus following inflection occurs suffixed to the margin slot.

e.g. ta rau kia-da rada kia-da-u-du-duu... we fasten  
do-Seq Pl SS unfasten do-Seq Pl SS-u-Seq DS-Cont...  
'We fastened (completely) unfastened (completely)  
and completed this over and over again...'

## 2.5. Other Uses of the Independent and Dependent Verbs

Independent verbs occur in dependent constructions and dependent verbs occur in independent constructions when certain inflection is added.

### 2.5.1. Independent verbs in dependent constructions

Verbs with usual independent verb inflection when inflected with -vai Stative,  $\langle -vai \rangle$  Perfect or  $(\langle -vai \rangle + -no)$  Benefactive occur in dependent constructions with the continuous action suffixes represented by  $\langle -ina \rangle$  added. In the following examples the pertinent verb is double underlined.

e.g. nene kavii-vaa nnaasu huda nn-ee varia-u-vai-nna  
a nii-ni hayoo-vaa ruputu var-ee ngia-nna-noo.

I(emphatic) sweet potato-Obj only cook eat-Seq  
lost Pers Sing SS sit-1st Pers Sing Past-Stat-Cont  
you me-Ben wallaby-Obj hit get-Seq 2nd Pers  
Sing SS come-2nd Pers Sing Past-Ind 'I myself

sat and cooked and ate sweet potatoes only and  
you killed and are bringing a wallaby for me.'

nnaaru ta iya pikia-da tii-ra-ya-ida vari-da-da  
tummua-a-noo. a long time ago we you(pl) leave-

Seq Pl SS come down-Far Past-Pl Perf-Cont sit-

Seq Pl SS-Cont come down-2nd Pers Pl Past-Ind

'We had left you a long time ago and come down  
and you sat and sat and are coming.'

hama a vaa aa-vau vari-ee nnaa-nna-kuaa-no-onna

na numa... Neg you Past this-on sit-Seq 2nd Pers

Sing SS eat-2nd Pers Sing Past-2nd Pers Sing

Perf-Ben-Cont I come up... 'You haven't

already sat here and eaten for your benefit and

I come up...'

Verbs inflected with the usual independent Imperative  
suffixes form a dependent construction when further suffixed  
with the suffix -ra purposive.

e.g. a rikiaa-nee-ra na i kia-u-kai hama a rikiaa-  
nna-noo. you hear-Sing Imp-Pur I you say-1st

Pers Sing Past-Seq 2nd Pers Sing DS Neg you

hear-2nd Pers Sing Past-Ind. "So that you might

hear I am speaking to you and you are not

listening.'

## 2.5.2. Dependent verbs in independent constructions

Dependent constructions in the Far Past tense have a particular Far Past verb stem (see 1.1.) and Far Past tense-person-number suffixes (see 1.4.). These verb stems plus suffixes occur with certain independent verb suffixes making the construction independent. These suffixes are -na Narrative, <sup>(only occurs of his stuff)</sup> -nnara Sympathetic -nnee Interrogative, or <-vai> Perfect.

e.g. vuai-vaa toori-ivo vi-oo taro-na. one-Obj bamboo-Subj go-Seq 3rd Pers Sing SS pass through-Narr.  
'One's bamboo was long.'

boo a aa-vau vari-oo nnoo-nna-nnara. sorry you this-on sit-Seq 2nd Pers Sing SS eat-2nd Pers Sing Past-Sym 'Sorry, you sat here and ate.'

nnaaru a too-duu vaidi-ivo varuu-nnee. a long time before you see-Seq Far Past DS man-Subj sit-Ig 'A long time ago did you see this man when he was living?'

## Perfect

With the independent suffixes occurring with the Far Past dependant verb stems, the construction still shows a certain dependency upon the following sentence.



e.g. yo vaa na nau tummuaa-va. AaOnna kua-nara.  
 yes Past I yesterday come-1st Pers Sing Perf  
 this-Obj go-Sing Fut. 'Yes, I already came  
 yesterday. I will go today.'

The suffixes -vee Indicative and -nnee Interrogative occur suffixed to the sequence action same subject suffixes with certain restrictions. The -vee only occurs on the verb manifesting the predicate of the clause following a particular future conditional action. (This construction is described under Future Conditional Action 1.4.)

e.g. ki-i na aa-vau yapa ki-ee-vee. do-Cont I this-  
 on put do-Seq 1st Pers Sing SS-Ind 'If you  
 allow say, I must put it here.' (i.e. 'Allow me to  
 put it here.') Note that when -vee occurs with  
 Class I and II verbs the full form of the sequence  
 action same subject suffix (see  $\langle -ee(na) \rangle$  1.4.)  
 does not occur.

The -nnee suffix occurs on ~~the full form of~~ the sequence action  
 same subject <sup>relationship</sup> suffixes. (With Class I & II verbs ~~it occurs on the full form of the~~  $\langle -eena \rangle$ . <sup>Singular</sup>  
 see 1.4.)

e.g. a vari-eenna-nnee. you sit-Seq 2nd Pers Sing SS-Ig  
 'Are you sitting?' (i.e. 'Are you there?')

The -nnee Interrogative suffix also occurs suffixed to a shortened form of the Negative Verb phrase. The nucleus slot of the verb phrase is omitted and the interrogative is suffixed to the form of the verb manifesting the margin slot.

e.g. mo hama a mmi-ra-ma-nnee. well Neg you give-Nomr-  
ma-Ig 'Well, didn't you give (him any)?' (The  
 meaning is the same as if the whole phrase were  
 there.)

## 2.6. Conclusion

This study of the verbs and verb phrases has helped determine and clarify a number of morphemes with homophonous forms. The action relationships within the phrases and the particular relationship of verbs and verb phrases with the succeeding clause has also been clarified. The study of the particular details of the great number of phrases described, and the combinations seen in the nesting of these phrases has given deeper insight into the intricate verb structure of the Waffa language.

## Footnotes.

<sup>1</sup>The Eastern Family of languages (Gadsup-Auyana-Awa-Tairora) ~~is~~ defined by S.A. Wurm in "Australian New Guinea Highlands Languages and the Distribution of their Typological Features" (American Anthropologist, Part 2, Vol. 66, Number 4). The authors lived in the village of Kusing at the <sup>h</sup>Headwaters of the Waffa river and collected material for this paper over a total of three years during 1962-1969. Grateful acknowledgement is given to members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who assisted with analysis, particularly Richard Lloyd who gave helpful comments on the first draft of this paper. ? 9w p3.

<sup>2</sup>The Phonemes of Waffa have been described in "Waffa Phonemes" (Mary Stringer & Joyce Hotz) which is to be published in Te Reo and are as follows: b,d,g,p,t,k,q,v,f,s,h,m,n,ng,mm,nn,y,r,a,e,i,o,u.

<sup>3</sup>Described in "Nominal Slot Fillers in Waffa", unpublished paper by Joyce Hotz and Mary Stringer 1969. m.s.

## Key to Examples

Avol - Avolitional  
 Ben - Benefactive  
 Com - Comparative  
 Cond - Conditional  
 Cont - Continuous  
 Contg - Continuing  
 Ctf - Contrary to Fact  
 Desid - Desiderative  
 DS - Different Subject  
 DT - Ditransitive  
 Dub - Dubitative  
 Emp - Emphatic pronoun  
 Frust - Frustrative  
 Fut - Future  
 Ig - Interrogative  
 Imp - Imperative  
 inc - inclusive  
 Ind - Indicative  
 IT - Intransitive  
 Narr - Narrative  
 Neg - Negative  
 Nom - Nominal  
 Nomr - Nominaliser  
 Obj - Object  
 Perf - Perfect  
 Pers - Person  
 Pl - Plural  
 Pres - Present  
 Pur - Purposive  
 Reft - Referent  
 Seq - Sequence  
 Simul - Simultaneous  
 Sing - Singular  
 SS - Same Subject  
 Stat - Stative  
 Subj - Subject  
 Suc - Succeeding  
 Sym - Sympathetic  
 T - Transitive