

VERB STUDIES IN FIVE NEW GUINEA LANGUAGES

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VERB STUDIES
IN FIVE
NEW GUINEA
LANGUAGES

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Introduction

This volume presents descriptions of the verb systems of five New Guinea languages. These representatives of four different language families are spoken in separated areas of the island. In each of the languages, however, the verb appears to be a focal point of structure. Within the verb are expressed the relationships of actor to action to object, as well as the time, modal, or aspectual relationships involved. The verb in each case is nuclear and obligatory to clause units. In addition, within the verb the time and subject relationships between clauses are expressed, making description of the verb basic to description of the sentence.

Such similarities of structure from language to language, as well as others which will be noted in the papers, suggest the underlying genetic relationship of these languages (postulated by Wurm [1961], though his work did not include Wantoat).

These papers were prepared in connection with a linguistic workshop held in New Guinea under the direction of Kenneth L. Pike. Preliminary editing of them was done by Dr. Harland Kerr and Alan Pence.

The following languages have a sketch presented in this volume.

Awa is an Eastern Highlands language, spoken by some 1,500 people living north and south of the Lamari River,

Kainantu Subdistrict. Awa belongs to the Kainantu group of languages including Tairora, Gadsup, Auyana, and Awa as the major representatives. A survey of Awa noun suffixes (Loving, 1962) is the only previously published descriptive work on Awa.

Bena-bena is a language of the Gahuku subfamily of the Gende-Siane-Gahuku-Kamano-Fore language family (Wurm, 1960, 1961, 1961) in the Eastern Highlands District. It is spoken by an estimated 12,000 people, who live, for the greater part, east of the township of Goroka. A comparative phonology of four of the languages of the family (including Bena-bena) has been published (Young, 1962).

Gadsup is spoken by about 7,000 people living in the Kainantu area of the Eastern Highlands District. The language is related to others in the area including Tairora, Auyana, and Awa. Descriptive papers on other members of the family (Awa, Tairora, and Usarufa) appeared in an Oceania Linguistic Monograph (1962) along with a study of Gadsup noun affixes (Frantz, 1962). Gadsup is divided into about three major dialects.

Kewa is spoken in the Southern Highlands District of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. It is described by Wurm (1960), (1961), and (1962) as being a member of the Enga-Huli-Pole-Wiru language family (referred to by him as Kewa-Pi and Kewapi). In the family there are 253,000 speakers divided into eleven languages. There are no published linguistic materials for other members of this family (other than the surveys of Wurm, referred to) although extensive analytical work has been carried out in several of them, viz., in Pole (Unevangelized Fields Mission); Mendi (UFM, Methodist Mission); Enga (Lutheran Mission — Missouri Synod); Huli (UFM); Kyaka (Baptist Mission); and Wiru (SIL). Kewa itself seems to be divided into three main dialects comprising at least 25,000 speakers. An analysis of Kewa phonology has been published (Franklin, 1962).

The Wantoat language is spoken by about 5,000 persons

who live in the Wantoat Valley, a headwaters region of the Leron River, in the Morobe District. The language appears to be closely related to other non-Melanesian language groups in the Huon Peninsula; however no accurate classification has yet been made. There is no previously published work on the Wantoat language.

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All the above SIL field workers received initial linguistic training at the summer institutes conducted by SIL.

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AWA VERBS PART I:

The Internal Structure of Independent Verbs

Richard Loving and Howard McKaughan

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3. Nonsubject person morphemes
4. Aspect-like morphemes
5. Mode-like morphemes
6. Summary of independent verb structure

0. Introduction. Verbs in Awa¹ are central to the clause. When inflected, they may stand alone manifesting the clause with its obligatory grammatical relations of subject and predicate. No other part of speech may occur as the predicate of a clause, nor indicate these two relations. When occurring as predicate, a verb must contain morphemes to indicate subject and tense. Morphemes to indicate

¹For classification of New Guinea highland languages see Wurm (1960), (1961), and (1962).

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an object and the categories of aspect and mode may also occur with verb bases.

The present paper deals only with the internal structure of independent verbs. It is meant as a preliminary survey to set the direction of research rather than as a definitive statement. Research is not yet complete.² Further investigation may modify present results, and will most certainly add to them. However, sufficient data are at hand to give a good picture of the complications encountered in the verb structure of a New Guinea language.

The independent verb has the following characteristics: (1) It contrasts with dependent verbs in that it may not contain morphemes to anticipate following clauses, nor may it occur subordinate to other verbs. (2) The independent verb must always contain morphemes to indicate the subject of the clause, and the tense of the verb base. (3) This verb occurs as the predicate of independent clauses: i. e., those clauses which may occur as a sentence, independent of other constructions. (4) Its general internal structure includes, besides the stem, a direct or indirect object (obligatory with some stems, optional with others), certain optional aspect-like morphemes, obligatory tense-subject affixes, and optional mode-like affixes, generally in the order given here.

1. Morphophonemics. The following is a summary of some of the general morphophonemic facts. Variation in individual morphemes will be mentioned when the particular morpheme is discussed. Additional research will be necessary before we can give a complete study of the morphophonemic variation within the verb structure.

1.1. Verb stems. We define a verb stem as a nuclear morpheme or morphemes which potentially occurs with

²Loving is responsible for preliminary analysis, while McKaughan has been responsible for the theoretical framework and presentation.

markers to indicate a subject referent (and sometimes an object referent) as well as other grammatical categories such as tense, aspect, and mode.

1.11. Verb stems fall into two major classes. Affixes are morphophonemically different for each class. In general, Class I includes stems whose last vowel is /a/, and Class II those stems whose last vowel is /i/, /u/, /e/, /ë/, or /ä/.³ Certain stems do not follow this phonological classification and must therefore be listed. The last vowel of some stems may be followed by a consonant (usually alveolar nasal or glottal stop). For purposes of description, we set up as basic, or as a point of reference consonant final forms or vowel final forms in cases where a final consonant may not occur. Morphophonemic statements are therefore related to the basic forms. The following are a few examples of the two classes. Class I: pëbeq- 'to turn', pugeq- 'to untie', súq- 'to throw away', suga- 'to sleep', taga- 'to look, see it', tátoq- 'to hold'; Class II: irar- 'to say', kekí- 'to burn', kogän- 'to sew', paban- and suëq- both meaning 'to split', pagun- 'to shove', s- 'to come', subíq- 'to hit', sánsá- 'to count', úq- 'to plant', wíré- 'to laugh'.

1.12. All verb stems with initial /m/, /s/, or voiceless stops (/p/ /t/ /k/), when following morphemes basically ending with a vowel, have alternants beginning with /w/, /y/, or a voiced obstruent (/b/ /r/ /g/) respectively:

³ Tentatively the phonemes of Awa include consonants p, t, k, q [ʔ], b, r, g, s, m, n, y, and w. In general voiced plosives are stops following front vowels, fricative or the alveolar flap elsewhere; /n/ is velar before velar phonemes, alveolar elsewhere; /y/ is a retroflexed grooved fricative before /l/, and a nonsyllabic semivowel elsewhere. Vowels include i, e, and ë, high, mid, and low front vowels; u and o, high and mid back vowels; ä and a, mid and low central vowels. The distribution of alternants distinguished by tone has not yet been determined. Loving is at present analyzing Awa tone. In this paper we have marked high (ˆ), low (no diacritic), rising (ˆ) and falling (ˆ).

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mewe + maro > mewe waro 'take and put it!', suga- + suga + iq > sugàyugàiq 'he kept sleeping', anîmâi + pokiq > anîmâi bokiq 'the boy went', taga + taga + iq > tagaragaiq 'he kept looking'.

1.13. Verb stems which may occur with final glottal stop have allomorphs (1) with the glottal stop, (2) without the glottal, and (3) with final /r/.

(1) Stem alternants with final glottal occur preceding suffixes with initial nasal: tătôq- + -marëq > tătôqmarëq 'he touched it', mugiq- + -nintëq > mugiqnintëq 'he vomited on me'. Alternants with final glottal stop also occur preceding suffixes with initial vowels which mark an indirect object referent: tătôq- + -(a)t-ëq > tătôqatëq 'he held it [for him]!.

(2) Stem alternants without final glottal occur preceding consonants other than nasals: tătôq- + tătôriq > tătôtătôriq⁴ 'he repeatedly held it', subiq- + subiriq > subisubiriq 'he repeatedly hit it'. Stems from Class II have alternants without the final glottal preceding vowels other than those initial to morphemes marking the possessed direct object: tûq- + -îq > tûîq 'he came downhill', mugiq- + -ewëq > mugiewëq 'he vomited a lot'.

(3) Stems from Class I which have final /q/ in the basic form have alternants with final /r/ preceding vowels other than those of the indirect object morphemes: tătôq- + -ëq > tătôréq 'he held it', pugeq- + -ana > pugeranâ 'he will untie it'.

Stems which have a basic final alveolar nasal have alternants without the final nasal preceding the past tense marker, the first and second person plural indirect object morpheme, and morphemes with an initial nasal: paban- + (-rai q ~ -tai q) > pabatâiq 'he has chopped it', paban- +

⁴When following stems that have a final /q/ basically, the voiceless stops remain.

-(i)těq > pabaitěq 'he chopped it for us', pagun- + -marěq
> pagumarěq 'he pushed'.

1.15. Stems of both classes listed with final vowels appear sometimes with and sometimes without that final phoneme. The distribution of these alternants has not yet been completely defined. The following general observations are made as an indication of the type of distribution found.

(1) Stems having final /a/ have alternants without that vowel preceding suffixes beginning with vowels other than /i/: taga- + -ěq > tagěq 'he looked', suga- + -ana > sugana 'he will sleep'!

(2) Stems with final /ë/ and /ä/ usually retain these vowels: sänsä- + -iq > sänsáíq 'he counts', wirë- + -ewěq > wiréewěq 'he laughed'.

(3) Stems having final /i/ have alternants without that vowel preceding suffixes with initial /i/: keki- + -iq > kekíq 'he burns', api- + -ina > apinâ 'he will cut'.

1.2. Verb affixes. Throughout the paper we give paradigms to illustrate the allomorphic variations that occur in general with Class I and Class II stems. In most cases, specific alternants must be described for each morpheme. Sometimes verb stems which act as Class I stems with some affixes, seem to cross lines and act as Class II stems with other morphemes. We do not attempt a classification and subclassification of stems at this time.

One general comment can be made here regarding lateral morphemes sometimes occurring with initial /r/. Such affixes appear with initial /s/ following stems which occur with final /q/, or if the affix is initial in the word: pugeq- + -ruwěq > pugesúwěq 'he finished untying it', síyúq (from -riy + -uq) 'I gave them', but keki- + -ruwěq > kekirúwěq 'he finished burning it'. In one instance, that of the past tense morpheme, the alternant has initial /t/: paban- + -arai + -q > pabatâiq 'he chopped it'.

We now turn to a discussion of the various morphemes found in the Awa independent verb.

2. Tense-subject compounds and portmanteaus. Awa independent verbs, as we have indicated, must include the subject of the clause. This subject may or may not be more explicitly defined by a noun⁵ (or its phrase) or a free pronoun: wëgà póéráq tagëq 'man pig saw-he' (the man saw the pig), we tàgëq 'he saw-it' (he saw it), tagëq 'he-saw-it'. Awa independent verbs must also contain a morpheme to indicate the time of the action: tense and subject morphemes are obligatory.

The following tenses occur: near past, indicating an action that has recently taken place, or is still in process: tagoq 'I saw it [today]'; past, indicating an action which has taken place previous to the day a person is speaking, but within easy memory: tagaràuq 'I saw it [yesterday or before]'; far past, indicating an action that has taken place at some time in the remote past: tagäwaq 'I saw it a long time ago'; and future, indicating an action that has not taken place: taganì 'I will see it'.

Awa subjects indicated in the verb are first, second or third persons, in singular, dual, or plural number. At some place in the system, (certitative, 5.13) all nine contrasts occur. Not all paradigms illustrate the same contrasts.

A characteristic of Awa verb structure is the close knit phonological relation between tense and subject morphemes. Recurring partials occur for each, but the distribution of allomorphs is so interdependent that contrastive forms are found in the combinations rather than entirely in the individual morphemes. In some cases the phonological fusion of morphemes has progressed to the degree that partials are difficult to define and describe as such. In the latter case we refer to the fusion as a portmanteau, but if individual

⁵See Loving (1962).

morphemes can be identified, we refer to the combination as a compound.⁶

2.1. Near past tense-subject compounds.

2.11. The following matrix⁷ illustrates compound morphemes which indicate the various person subjects with the near past tense. We use tag-, an alternant of taga- 'to see', a Class I stem.

Number	Person ⁸		
	1	2	3
S	tag(oq)	tag(ánaq)	tag(ëq)
D	tag(óyaq)	tag(éyaq)	
P	tag(ónaq)	tag(äq)	

Contrast for all three persons is found only in the singular, and for the three numbers in first persons as opposed to non-first persons. In this set, we identify the tense morpheme as -o ~ -ä ~ -ë, the first allomorph occurring before first person morphemes, the second before the second person singular and non-first person plural morphemes, and the third before the third person singular and non-first person

⁸ See Pike (1961).

⁷ We use the term 'matrix' instead of 'paradigm' since we wish to indicate the way contrastive features of person and number intersect, forming a cell whose occupant is thus illustrated relative to the occupants of other cells. We are indebted to Pike for this suggestion (see Pike, 1962). The matrix is arranged in this particular format in order to highlight tense morphemes in a column. The usual paradigmatic listing does not do this.

⁸ We use the following abbreviations: 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person; S, singular; D, dual; and P, plural.

dual morphemes. In turn, we note that *-yaq* indicates dual number for all persons, *-naq* the first person plural and the second person singular subjects, and *-q* the first and the third singular, and the non-first plural subjects. Further examples follow: *tâtor(oq)* 'I held it', *pêber(ânâq)* 'you turned it', *me(éq)* 'he took it'.

However, we observe that the sequences of morphemes *-oq*, *-ëq*, and *-äq* contrast, as do *-oyaq* and *-ëyaq*, as well as *-onaq* and *-änaq*. We recognize, for example, the combination *-onaq* as 'near past we' but *-änaq* as 'near past you': *meonâq* 'we took it', *meänâq* 'you took it'. The meaning carried by the suffixes thus is overtly indicated by the combination of the morphemes. We readily identify the partials, but the combined form is needed to recognize the meaning of the two in sequence.

2.12. Class II verb stems occur with alternants of the same compounds. We illustrate with the stem *wirë-* 'to laugh'.

Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	<i>wiré(uq)</i>	<i>wiré(ónaq)</i>	<i>wiré(iq)</i>
D	<i>wiré(úyaq)</i>	<i>wiré(óyaq)</i>	
P	<i>wiré(únaq)</i>	<i>wiré(oq)</i>	

With Class II stems, the near past tense alternants are *-u* ~ *-o* ~ *-i*, the first alternant occurring before first person markers, the last before third person singular, and the second before the others. Further examples follow: *kekí(úq)* 'I burned it', *mugi(onâq)* 'you vomited', *iwiá(iq)* 'he thought'.

2.13. The morphemes indicating person of subjects have alternants in various environments which help to separate

first singular, third singular, and second-third plural subject morphemes. A matrix of principal alternants follows:

Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	-ga ~ -q	-na ~ -naq	-ra ~ -q
D	-ya ~ -yaq	-ya ~ -yaq	-ya ~ -yaq
P	-na ~ -naq	-wa ~ -q	-wa ~ -q

Note the lack of contrast for different persons in the dual, the lack of contrast between second and third persons except in the singular, and the fact that first person plural and second person singular are marked by the same (or homophonous) morpheme(s). The distribution of person allomorphs follows. Alternants with the final glottal stop occur in final position, i. e., when not followed by another morpheme: see above matrices. Alternants occur having only the initial consonant of the first form listed in the matrix when preceding the interrogative or augmentative morphemes: *kekio-(n)ô* 'did you burn it today?', *pokù(g)e* 'I went!' Vowel final allomorphs occur elsewhere:⁹ *tagë(ra)pómo* 'he might have seen it!', *tagë(ya)pómo* 'you two might have seen it'.

2.2. Past tense-subject compounds. Compounds marking the past tense and various persons of subject can be indicated by the following matrix.

⁹ Person allomorphs appear as \emptyset in some places with dependent verbs. Such instances are described in Part II:

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Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	tag(aràuq) ¹⁰	tag(aronâq)	tag(aràiq)
D	tag(aràuyâq)	tag(aroÿâq)	
P	tag(aràunâq)	tag(arôq)	
S	wírê(uràuq)	wírê(uronâq)	wírê(uràiq)
D	wírê(uràuyâq)	wírê(uroyâq)	
P	wírê(uràunâq)	wírê(urôq)	

The variants of the past tense morpheme are thus -arau ~ -aro ~ -arai with Class I stems, and -urau ~ -uro ~ -urai with Class II stems. With both sets of allomorphs, the first occurs with first person morphemes, the third with third singular, and the second with other person markers. Further modifications to this general statement are (1) that alternants without the initial vowel (-rau ~ -ro ~ -rai) occur following most Class II stems with final /i/:¹¹ keki(rai)q 'he has burned it', and (2) alternants with initial /t/ (-tau ~ -to ~ -tai) occur following stems of either class (or suffixes) which may have final /n/ or /q/: paban- + -arai + -q > paba(tài)q 'he has split it', tâtoq- + -arau + -yaq > tâto(tau)yaq 'we two held it'. Further examples of the past tense-subject compounds follow: pok(uronâq) 'you have

¹⁰ Note the form keki-a-t-aràuq (hyphens used to indicate morpheme divisions) where the past tense-subject compound has initial /a/. We therefore, by analogy, suggest that the stem taga- 'to look' has an allomorph tag-, the /a/ belonging to the compound suffix rather than to the stem.

¹¹ Alternants without the initial vowel have also been observed with a few Class II stems with final /a/: sansa(rai)q 'he counted'.

gone', *keki(ràiq)* 'he has burned it', *sug(arôq)* 'they have slept'.

2.3. Far past tense-subject compounds. The following matrix illustrates the far past tense-subject compounds, and the distribution of the various allomorphs.

Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	<i>tag(ăwaq)</i>	<i>tag(onaq)</i>	<i>tag(ôq)</i>
D	<i>tag(ăwayâq)</i>	<i>tag(oyaq)</i>	
P	<i>tag(ăwanâq)</i>	<i>tag(oq)</i> ¹²	
S	<i>wíré(owaq)</i>	<i>wíré(unaq)</i>	<i>wíré(úq)</i>
D	<i>wíré(owayâq)</i>	<i>wíré(uyaq)</i>	
P	<i>wíré(owanâq)</i>	<i>wíré(uq)</i>	

The far past tense morpheme then is *-ăwa ~ -o*¹³ with Class I stems, and *-owa ~ -u* with Class II stems, the first with first person morphemes, and the second with the other person morphemes. Further examples follow: *keki(ówaq)* 'I burned it a long time ago', *pëber(ăwânaq)* 'we turned it a long time ago'.

¹² Note that *tagoq* 'they saw it long ago', and *tagoq* 'I saw it today' (as well as other verb forms in these cells) are homophonous. Homophonous forms may be distinguished in Awa by the use of the free pronouns. These include *né* 'I', *are* 'you', *we* 'he', *ite* 'we, we two, you two and you all', and *se* 'they': *se tagoq* 'they looked a long time ago', *né tagoq* 'I looked today', *we tagôq* 'he saw it long ago'.

¹³ The distribution of the alternants distinguished by tone has not yet been determined.

2.4. Future tense-subject portmanteaus. The following matrix illustrates the fusion of future tense and various subject morphemes. Though some phonemes occur in these fusions which also occur in the compounds just discussed, note that the relative order of such is reversed, and that a description assigning all phonemes in the sequences to some morpheme would unduly complicate the description.

Number		Person
	1	2, 3
S	tag(anɿ)	tag(ankè)
D	tag(ayè)	
P	tag(anè)	tag(agè)
S	wíré(ini)	wíré(inkè)
D	wíré(oyë)	
P	wíré(onë)	wíré(igè)

Second and third person forms contrast only for singular and plural. Perhaps for this reason, speakers sometimes use what seem to be dependent medial verb forms in third person independent constructions. These forms are as follows:

	3 (Class I)	3 (Class II)
S	tag(anâ)	wíré(inâ)
D	tag(ayëera)	wíré(oyëera)
P	tag(anëera)	wíré(onëera)

Future portmanteaus also occur to indicate first person, exclusive of hearer, subjects. These forms are as follows:

	1	(exclusive)	1
D	tag(ayëeta)		wíré(oyëeta)
P	tag(anëeq)		wíré(onëeq)

Sequences *-eta*, *-eq*, and *-era* (third person) occur with dependent verbs as morphemes, but here these morphemes have lost their meaning, so we consider them a part of the portmanteau.¹⁴

In many of the future portmanteaus we note the recurring partial /ë/, perhaps characteristic of this tense. Further, in the dual forms, we note the phoneme /y/. Again the phoneme /n/ occurs with forms indicating 'we' and 'you', but this phoneme also occurs in all singular forms, and also with the 'they' forms. We cannot directly equate a future tense morpheme with the phoneme /ë/, nor person morphemes with those identified so far. We conclude that there is a fusion of morphemes to indicate future tense with various subjects and call the fusions portmanteaus.

The following observations are pertinent to the distribution of the portmanteaus. Following Class I stems, portmanteaus have initial /a/; following Class II stems, they have initial /i/ with singular forms and with the second and third nonsingular form, and an initial /o/ in other subject-future forms.

The following illustrate further the future portmanteaus: *keki(oyë)* 'we two will burn it', *sug(anëera)* 'they will sleep', *pok(onëeq)* 'we but not you will go', *tag(agë)* 'you two or more will see it', 'they will see it', 'they two will see it'.

2.5. The verb structure with (T)ense-(Su)bject complexes may be represented in summary by the following diagram. Commas are to be read as "or."

¹⁴See 1.12 Part II for these morphemes.

In most verbs, these morphemes occur directly following the stem: *keki(nuw)éq* 'he burned that which is mine' or 'he burned mine'. This sentence may be expanded: *wegà néne sòn keki(nuw)éq* 'he my garden burn-(mine) he-near-past' (he burned my garden).

Two verb stems, *-äb-* 'to please, like', and *-äri-* 'to displease, not like', require a possessed direct object morpheme, and in these cases that morpheme is a prefix. An allomorph *suw-* instead of *-ruw* 'theirs', occurs with these stems (see 1.2). Examples follow: *(nuw)äbéq* 'he/it pleases me', *(auw)äriéq* 'it displeases him/you', *(suw)äriéq* 'it displeases them'.

The verbs 'to hit' and 'to give' must occur either with a possessed object, or an indirect object morpheme described in the next section, though the two morphemes may not occur with the same stem at the same time. The following illustrates: *subiq-* 'to hit': *wegà néne póéráq subiq(núw)-éq* 'he my pig hit (mine) he-near-past' (he hit my pig), *subiq(nuw)éq* 'he hit what is mine'.

The verb 'to give' is indicated in Awa by the absence of any verb stem, leaving only the combination of affixes. The affix complex requires both the subject, and either a possessed direct object indicator, or an indirect object morpheme. Note the following: *wegà néne póéráq (núw)éq* 'he my pig (mine) he-near-past' (he gave my pig), *wegà sene póéráq (súw)éq* 'he gave their pig', *(áuw)éq* 'he gave what is yours/his'. The combination of affixes with the indirect object to indicate 'to give' follows in the next section.

3.2. Indirect object morphemes.

3.21. Obligatory indirect object morphemes. We have noted that the verbs 'to hit' and 'to give' require either the possessed direct object morphemes, or the indirect object indicators. The set of morphemes indicating indirect object contrast with the possessed direct object morphemes since

they are expanded in the clause by different constructions: compare the examples in the previous section with the following: *wegà néne póéráq món aní (aw)íre* 'he my pig another child (to-him) near-past-I-augmentative' (he gave my pig to another person!). In this latter instance, the indirect object marker (-aw) refers to the individual indicated by *món aní*, the indirect object, whereas -nuw in a similar sentence in the last section referred to the 'pig', the direct object. The indirect object morphemes used initially in a sequence of affixes to indicate the verb 'to give' follow:

-niy 'me'	-iy 'us, you all'
-aw 'you, him'	-siy 'them'

Allomorphs of these markers occurring with *subiq-* 'to hit' are *n-* 'me', \emptyset - 'you, him, them', and *iy-* 'us, you all'. These alternants replace the first phoneme of the stem except in the case of \emptyset -: *nubíq* 'he hit me', *subíq* 'he hit him, you, them', *iyubíq* 'he hit us, you all'.

Some verb stems always occur with an indirect object morpheme. The stem *-ärab-* 'to call' requires these affixes preceding the stem, while *te-* 'to call' requires indirect object suffixes. The first has a zero alternant for 'you, him': *(niy)árabíq* 'he called me', *(\emptyset)árabíq* 'he called him, you', *(síy)árabíq* 'he called them'. With *te-* 'to tell it', and with other verb stems when it applies, allomorphs without the final /y/ occur preceding consonants or the vowel /i/: *te(nfy)éq¹⁶* 'they told it to me', *te- + -niy + -iq > teníq* [by reduction of like vowels] 'he told it to me', *te(aw)íq* 'he told it to him'.

The following stems are usually idiomatic, and occur

¹⁶Allomorphs of various morphemes occur with initial /e/ instead of the /o/ indicated in matrices illustrating occurrences with Class II stems (cf. 2.12). The stems *s-* 'to come' and *irar-* 'to say' are other examples.

only with the near past third person singular subject compound. The indirect object prefix is obligatory with these stems. All known stems are -er- 'to hurt, pain', -ärerak- 'to recall, remember', -witag- 'to forget', -rupib- 'to hunger', -yäbankir- 'to be full', and -waqnäw-¹⁷ 'to rest'. A zero alternant of the morpheme 'you, him' occurs with the first two verbs listed. The other verb stems occur with the alternant -a for this person. Since these are prefixes, siy- occurs instead of -riy 'them'. Examples follow: (∅)ériq 'it hurts you, him', (nÍy)ériq 'it hurts me', (a)bitagiq 'it was forgotten to him, he forgot', (iy)ärerakéq 'it is remembered to us, we remember it'.

3.22. Optional indirect object morphemes. Indirect object morphemes are optional with verbs not discussed in the previous section; but in such cases, must be followed by the benefactive morpheme -t. With the benefactive, the indirect object markers indicate the person to whom, for whom, upon whom, or instead of whom the action is performed. A direct object is always implied, and may or may not be manifested by a noun or free pronoun. But the direct object cannot be indicated in the verb when the benefactive morpheme is present. The indirect object markers occur with the following forms preceding the benefactive indicator:

-n ~ -in ~ -nin 'me'	-i 'us, you all'
-a 'you, him'	-ri 'them'

¹⁷The compound allomorph -aq occurs with this stem: awaqnäwaq 'it is resting to him, he rests'. Some of the morphemes making up the verb stems above follow: -ärerak- 'to recall' from perhaps äre 'ear' and ra 'on'; -rupib- 'to hunger' from aru 'insides'; -yäbankir- 'to be full' from ayäba 'stomach' and kiq 'full'. Some nouns have obligatory possessive prefixes (body parts usually) which are similar to the indirect object prefixes obligatory to some verb stems.

Examples follow: taga(nín)t-éq 'he saw it (for me)', tag(a)-t-éq¹⁸ 'he saw it (for you, him)', wëgà ábotàne póéráq tag(a)téq 'man Abota'a pig saw (for him) he' (the man saw Abota's pig for him).

3.3. Verb structure with the possessed (D)irect (O)bject or (I)ndirect (O)bject morphemes may be summarized as follows: (T)ense-(Su)bject subnumerals with S indicate different (S)tems.

$$(1) + S_1 \quad \pm \left\{ \begin{array}{l} DO \\ IO \end{array} \right\} \quad + T-Su$$

$$(2) + DO \quad + S_2 \quad + T-Su$$

$$(3) + S_3 \quad + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} DO \\ IO \end{array} \right\} \quad + T-Su$$

$$(4) + IO \quad + S_4 \quad + T-Su$$

$$(5) + S_5 \quad + IO \quad + B \quad + T-Su$$

4. Aspect-like morphemes. Awa independent verbs optionally include in their internal structure aspect-like morphemes. These affixes are grouped together (1) because of their semantic similarity--dealing with kind of action or time span, and (2) because they occur preceding tense-subject complexes.

Morphemes included in this section mark punctiliar, completive, benefactive, continuative, habitative, repetitive, and inceptive actions. The first three are mutually exclusive; the continuative may occur with the first three, and with the repetitive, but not with most habitative forms. The habitative and the repetitive may occur with the punctiliar completive and the benefactive as well as the continuative.

¹⁸ See 1.15 (1) for tag- as the stem alternant here.

4.1. Punctiliar. A punctiliar morpheme indicates that the action of the verb occurs at a point in time, momentarily, or that the action is to be viewed in its entirety: tag(ar)éq 'he saw it, he glimpsed it, he caught a glimpse of it'. The punctiliar morpheme includes -ma ~ -mar ~ -a ~ -ar. Alternants with initial /m/ follow /q/, the first preceding past tense or reduplicated stem, and the second elsewhere: uq-(ma)tàiq 'he has planted it', tâtòq(mar)éq 'he held, touched it'. Alternants with initial vowel follow morphemes with finals other than /q/, the first preceding past tense, the second elsewhere: anti(a)tàiq 'he has poured it', keki(ar)-éq 'he has burned it'.

4.2. Completive. A completive morpheme indicates that the action has been finished: taga(rúw)éq 'he finished looking'. Allomorphs include -ru ~ -ruw ~ -aruw: the first precedes consonants, the second precedes vowels, and the third follows reduplicated stems. Examples follow: keki-(ru)tàiq 'he has finished burning it', keki(rúw)éq 'he finished burning it a bit ago', kekigeki(arúw)éq¹⁹ 'he burned it over and over'.

4.3. Benefactive. The benefactive morpheme -t must be preceded by an indirect object marker. The benefactive indicates that the subject acts on behalf of, instead of, onto, or to another party: kekiri(t)éq 'he burned it for them', néne póéráq wegà kabaranín(t)éq 'my pig he search-me-(for)-he-did' (he looked for my pig for me).

4.4. Continuative. The morpheme -ew indicates that an action continues over a limited period of time. This morpheme may either follow the other aspect-like morphemes or occur without them, preceding the tense-subject markers.

¹⁹Unless otherwise noted, morpheme alternants following Class I stems also follow other suffixes.

With the punctiliar, -ew indicates a series of individual acts. Examples of the continuative follow: tag(éw)anîe 'I will watch', u(ew)aràiq 'plant (cont.) past he' (he has been planting it), p(éw)éq 'he continually shot'.

4.5. Habitulative. Habitulative and repetitive concepts are generally indicated by some form of reduplication--usually of the verb stem. The habitulative indicates an action that always takes place--a matter of habit. The repetitive stresses the fact that the action takes place over and over.

The habitulative is usually indicated by the complete reduplication of the stem: (tagaraga)iq 'he always looks'. The reduplicated stem may be followed by -aruqarur, perhaps a reduplicated form of the completive morpheme. No additional meaning seems to be indicated: tagaraga(arûqarur)iq 'he always looks'. Note that allomorphs of tense-subject complexes which follow Class II verb stems also follow forms indicating the habitulative regardless of the class of the verb stem. Some stems may occur with -aruqarur with or without stem reduplication, though the former is more common: (wíré-wíré)(aruqarur)iq, wíré(aruqarur)iq 'he always laughed'.

Stems which may only occur with the third person singular subject are marked for the habitulative by the suffix -weguw ~ -waguw ~ -aguwaguw. The first two of these occur with stems having /g/ in the final syllable, the choice of vowel depending on the vowel preceding /g/--/e/ following /e/, /a/ following other vowels: megu(weguw)iq 'it is always falling', taqnobàgu(waguw)iq 'it is always lost', torágu(waguw)iq 'it is always burnt'. Other stems of this group occur with the third allomorph: arupibi(aguwaguw)iq 'he is always hungry', níyér(aguwaguw)iq 'it is always hurting me'.

Habitulative forms may occur with punctiliar and completive morphemes. In such cases, the punctiliar and completive morphemes are repeated with the stem reduplication: (subiq-ma)(subiq-mar)iq 'he is always hitting', (taga-ru)-

(taga-rur)iq²⁰ 'he is always looking, finishes and looks again'.

4.6. Repetitive. The repetitive contrasts with the habituative in that (1) repetitive forms act as do Class I stems, but habituative forms always act as do Class II stems with reference to suffix allomorphs, and (2) punctiliar and completive morphemes occur following the repetitive reduplicated form²¹ but these morphemes may be repeated with habituative forms. Note the following examples: (pugepuger-ar)éq 'he unties it over and over', pugeq(ma)-pugeq(mar)éq 'he always unties it', (kekigeki-arúw)éq 'he finished burning it over and over', (tagaraga-rúw)éq 'he is looking repeatedly'.

The continuative morpheme may not occur with -aruqarur of the habituative. However -ew does occur with -waguw (and other allomorphs) with the effect that the action becomes a continued repetitive: torágu(waguw-ew)éq 'it is continually repeatedly burned'.

Punctiliar or completive morphemes may also occur with the continuative and repetitive forms. The resultant meanings express continual repetition either of completed acts, or individual acts. When the continuative morpheme occurs with the repetitive and either a punctiliar or a completive morpheme, the latter may optionally be repeated with the reduplication: (pugepuger-àr-ew)éq or (pugeq-ma)(pugeq-mar-éw)éq 'he continued to untie and untie and untie', (pugepugey-arúw-ew)éq or (pugesu)(pugesur-éw)éq 'he continually finished untying'.

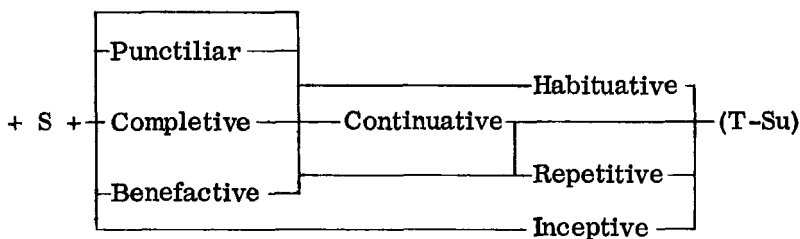
4.7. Inceptive. The sequence of a future portmanteau

²⁰ The completive morpheme has an alternant -rur before vowels, probably from -ruq acting as do Class I stems with final /q/.

²¹ When the continuative occurs with the repetitive, it is possible to have a repetition of the punctiliar or completive morphemes.

and one of the tense compounds indicates an action which is about to take place. We discuss this sequence as an aspect because it occurs in the same relative position as do other aspects, and because of the parallel in meaning. Future portmanteaus preceding tense compounds have -ana with 'I' and -anie with 'you' forms. Other forms are the same as the first person exclusive, and the third person portmanteaus described in 2.4. Tense compounds following the future have the same initial vowels as occur with Class II stems. The following illustrate: tag(anà-uq) 'I am about to see it', tag(anìe-unaq) 'you were about to see it a long time ago', tag(anà-uràiq) 'he was about to see it'; wíré(oyèeta-uyaq) 'we two are about to laugh', wíré(onèe-uroq)²² 'you all were [past] about to laugh', wíré(onèera-uq) 'they were about to laugh a long time ago'.

4.8. The relative distribution of aspect-like morphemes may be summarized as follows:



5. Mode-like morphemes. We have grouped the remaining affixes under this section, calling them mode-like since they express the manner in which the action is conceived by the subject, and since they follow the tense-subject complexes. The modes are imperative, avolitional, certitutive, dubitative, interrogative, and augmentative. The first three of these modes are marked by fusions which include tense-

²² The final /q/ of the portmanteau does not occur in this environment.

subject-mode morphemes. The rest of the mode markers occur as separate morphemes.

5.1. Compounds including mode morphemes. The imperative and avolitional mode indicators occur in compounds including the near past tense and various subject markers, while the certitudinal mode indicator occurs with future tense-subject portmanteaus. Tense morphemes seem to have lost their particular time difference, overshadowed by the mode.

5.11. Imperative. Compounds including the imperative indicate that the subject must perform the action designated in the stem: tagáno 'you look at it'. The imperative compound has not been observed following punctiliar, completive, or continuative aspects, though it may occur following the others. The following matrix illustrates these compounds. Forms appear only with second person subjects.

	Class I Stems	Class II Stems
S	tag(áno)	wíré(úno)
D	tag(átao)	wíré(otao)
P	tag(áro)	wíré(oro)

In these compounds we may assign tense to the first vowel (-ä ~ -u ~ -o), imperative mode to the last vowel (-o), and the second person with the various numbers to the remainder (-n, -ta, and -r). Note that the first vowels are similar, but not the same in distribution, to vowels indicating the near past tense discussed in 2.1. Person-number indicators except for -n as second person singular, are not paralleled elsewhere. Further, certain stems, which must be listed from the two classes, occur with -o in the singular instead of -áno or -uno: póbi(o) (Class I) 'blow it', tir(o) (Class II)

'cook it'. This circumstance would necessitate describing zero alternants of the tense and person indicators in this instance. We prefer, then, to treat the sequence as a fusion, partials recognizable, but interdependent in the compound.

The compounds, then, occur with initial vowel /ä/ following Class I stems, and initial /u/ with singular forms, or /o/ with dual and plural forms following Class II stems. This statement is modified by the listing of certain stems occurring with -o for the entire compound marking imperative second singular.²³

5.12. Avolitional. Certain compounds include a negative imperative mode, or the avolitional as we term it. These compounds indicate warnings by the speaker against the performing of the action expressed in the verb stem: tagëyëò 'we-two shouldn't look at it', 'it isn't good that he look'. The following matrix illustrates the compounds.

Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	tag(ëñëò)		tag(ëñëò)
D	tag(ëyëò)		
P	tag(ëñëò)	tag(ëò)	
S	wírë(onëò)	wírë(inëò)	wírë(ínëò)
D	wírë(oyëò)		
P	wírë(onëò)	wírë(iyëò)	

In these compounds we suggest the general possibility of

²³ Additional stems occurring with the -o alternant for the singular imperative are tãtoq- 'to hold', agi- 'to broil', sabiq- 'to pick', sãnsã 'to count', keki 'to burn', api 'to cut'.

final /o/ being imperative, the preceding /ë/ being the negative aspect of the mode, the consonants /n/ and /y/ being person-number indicators, and the first vowel being tense. Again variants of the morphemes in the specific distributions would necessitate complicated description. Note that the mode indicators are the least variable, but that the tense vowel is the most, changing from /ä/ to /ë/ of the imperative after Class I stems before the avolitional; and from /u/ or /i/ after Class II stems to /o/ of the imperative throughout with the first person indicators, and /i/ elsewhere before the avolitional.

We further call attention to the fact that with compounds including avolitional, contrasts between singular and plural first persons are neutralized with Class I stems, that second and third person as well as dual and plural contrasts are all neutralized, and that due to phonological conditioning, even the first and second person contrast in the singular is neutralized with Class I stems.

5.13. Certituative. Compounds which include the certituative mode also include the future-subject portmanteaus. These compounds, besides marking the subject, indicate that the action is certain to take place: taganâuq 'I will certainly look at it'. Note the following:

Number	Person		
	1	2	3
S	tag(anà-uq)	tag(anë-wóq)	tag(anà-wiq)
D	tag(ayëeta-uq)	tag(ayëeta-woq)	tag(ayëera-woq)
P	tag(anëeq-múq)	tag(anëeq-móq)	tag(anëera-woq)

Compounds with Class II stems have initial /i/ with singular subjects and initial /o/ with other subjects.

Note that the pattern of allomorphic variations for the

certitutive morpheme (-uq ~ -muq ~ -moq ~ -woq ~ -wiq) is now a familiar pattern: allomorphs with /u/ found with first persons, with /i/ following third singular, and those with /o/ elsewhere (cf. allomorphs with Class II stems in 2.1). In addition alternants with initial /m/ occur with first and second plural compounds, initial vowel with first singular and dual, and initial /w/ elsewhere.

The future-subject portmanteaus occurring with the certitutive morphemes are the same as those occurring to mark the inceptive (see 4.7).

5.2. Individual mode morphemes. Morphemes to mark dubitative, interrogative, and augmentative occur as individual morphemes, not parts of compounds. These morphemes may also occur with other parts of speech.²⁴ Various morphemes occur with verbs to indicate doubt or question. We describe the morphemes expressing doubt under dubitative and interrogative sections, and the morpheme indicating emphasis under augmentative.

5.21. Dubitative. The morphemes -pomo and -popoq express doubt. The exact difference in meaning has not yet been determined. It is possible that the first directs attention to a question, whereas the second expresses a statement of doubt: tagëra(pómo) 'he saw it? maybe' tagëra(pópoq) 'maybe he saw it'. The morpheme -mo seems to freely replace -pomo, with the same meaning: tagëra(mo) 'he might have seen it, possibly'.

Dubitative morphemes follow tense-subject compounds: tag-aroyâ(pómo) 'you two may have seen it?', tagâwanâ(pópoq) 'we may or may not have seen it a long time ago'.

Dubitative morphemes with the future tense-subject portmanteaus occur following a sequence of a future tense-

²⁴See Loving (1962) 1.23 where six morphemes expressing some question or doubt are described, occurring with nouns.

subject portmanteau, plus the interrogative morpheme, plus a subject morpheme. In the following matrix -popoq could replace -pomo.

Number	Person	
	1	
S	tag(anà-bu-ga-pómo)	
D	tag(ayèeta-bu-ya-pómo)	
P	tag(anèera-bu-na-pómo)	
	2	3
S	tag(anìe-bo-na-pómo)	tag(anà-bi-ra-pómo)
D	tag(ayèeta-bo-ya-pómo)	tag(ayèera-bo-ya-pómo)
P	tag(anèera-bo-wa-pómo)	

The future portmanteaus occurring first in the sequence are the same as those used in the certitative mode compounds, except that -anèera occurs with first and second plural forms rather than -anèeq (cf. 5.13). The dubitative morpheme occurs last, and is directly preceded by the regular subject morphemes, though redundant (cf. 2.13). The interrogative morpheme, following the future portmanteaus, with its alternants here of -bu ~ -bi ~ -bo,²⁵ seems to redundantly emphasize the doubt. Note the familiar pattern of alternation: -bu with first persons, -bi with the third person singular, and -bo with the other persons.

Third person future portmanteaus may precede the dubitative: taganà(bomo) 'will he perhaps see it?' In such instances, -bo may replace -bomo: taganà(bô) 'will he perhaps see it?'

²⁵ See 1.12.

5.22. Interrogative. The interrogative mode is signaled by -po which has various alternants. Alternant -o follows the tense-subject compounds. Except with forms including 'you all, they', -o replaces the vowel of the subject morpheme in the near past and past compounds, as well as the vowel of 'you' and 'you two' forms of the far past compounds: wíréoyô 'did you two just laugh?', tagonô 'did you see it a long time ago?' With 'you all' and 'they' forms, this alternant replaces the entire subject marker: tagä(ô) 'did they just see it?', tagar(ô) 'did they see it?', tago(ô) 'did they see it a long time ago?', tagó(ô) 'did he see it a long time ago?' This alternant of the interrogative morpheme follows 'we two' and 'we' forms of the far past compound: tagäwaya(o) 'did we two see it?', tagäwana(o) 'did we see it?'

The alternant -o may replace -pomo in the matrix given in the last section. When so occurring, the -o replaces the final vowel of all person markers, and replaces the entire person marker in the 'you all, they' form: taganabirô 'he might see it?', taganëeraboô 'they, you all might see it'. Such forms seem to be abbreviations for those listed in the matrix.

The interrogative has further alternants occurring directly after the future portmanteaus. These are -nkono ~ -nkoyo ~ -bo. The first of these occurs with portmanteaus including 'I' and 'we'; the second with 'we two', and the third with the other persons: taganî(nkonô) 'will I see it?', tagayè(nkoyô) 'will we two see it?', taganà(bô) 'will he see it?' The future subject portmanteaus including second person occurring with the interrogative are -ani (singular) -ayë (dual), and -anë (plural):²⁶ taganîbô 'will you see it?', tagayëbô 'will you two see it?', taganëbô 'will you all see it?' The forms tagankëbô and tagagëbô are only used to

²⁶ These forms may be from the first person portmanteaus, or from other portmanteaus with certain modifications. The phoneme sequences of /eta/ and /era/ may be morphemes. See 2.4.

refer to third person subjects freely alternating with the other third person forms (cf. 2.4).

The alternant *-bo* also follows mode morphemes, and in such cases questions whether or not the statement was made: *tagáno* 'you look!', *tagáno(bô)* 'you look!? (is that what you said?)'. This alternant may also follow the emphatic marker used with tense-subject complexes with the same meaning: *tagërè(bô)* 'he saw it!? (is that what you said?)'.

5.23. Augmentative. The suffix *-e* adds emphasis to the verb complex. With tense-subject compounds the augmentative replaces the vowel of the subject morpheme: *tagër(e)* 'he just now saw it!', *tagaràir(e)* 'he saw it!', *tagäwày(e)* 'we two saw it a long time ago!' It replaces the entire subject morpheme in the case of the first and third singulars of the far past: *tagäwa(e)* 'I saw it long ago!', *tagó(we)* 'he saw it long ago!' Note in the last example that with the third singular far past forms, the augmentative occurs as *-we*.

The augmentative may follow the future-subject portmanteaus: *tagankë(e)* 'you, he just saw it!', *taganë(e)* 'we saw it!'

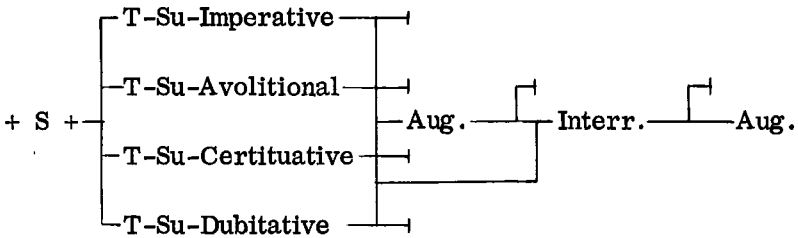
The augmentative may also occur following mode markers. In these cases, the *-e* emphasizes that the statement it occurs with, in fact, has been made: *tagáno(e)* 'look at it! (that's just what I said!)'.

Following the certitative mode compound, the augmentative requires the person subject markers preceding it: *taganëwóq + -naq + -e > taganëwóne* 'you certainly will see it!' With 'you all' and 'they' forms the augmentative is added directly to the certitative form without the person subject: *taganëeqmó(e)* 'you all certainly will see it!', *taganëerawò(e)* 'they certainly will see it!'

The augmentative may occur with tense-subject complexes, followed by *-bo* to question the occurrence of the statement (not its fact), and then *-bo* in turn may be followed

by a second -e to augment the force of -bo: tag-äw-(e)-bô-(e) 'they saw it!?' (is that exactly what was said!?)'.

5.3. Mode-like morphemes may be graphed as follows for their relative distribution:



6. Summary of independent verb structure. We have indicated specific distributions as we have discussed the various morpheme sequences and complexes. In general, the direct or indirect object morphemes occur contiguous to the stem (preceding or following depending on the stem). Aspect morphemes may follow the object morphemes, or the stem. The obligatory tense-subject complexes may follow the stem, the object morphemes or the aspect morphemes. Mode morphemes follow the tense-subject complex, occurring with objects and/or aspects optionally. A summary diagram representing in general the internal structure of the Awa independent verb follows:

$$+ S_1 \quad \pm \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{DO} \\ \text{IO} \end{array} \right\} \quad \pm \text{Aspect} \quad + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Tense-subject}^{27} \\ \text{Tense-subject-mode} \end{array} \right\} \quad \pm \text{Mode}$$

²⁷ Dubitative mode, being mutually exclusive with mode compounds, follows only tense-subject compounds, not mode compounds.