

Kewapi Verbal Morphology and Semantics

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1 Introduction

Kewapi is the eastern dialect of the Kewa language located in the Southern Highlands Province. Franklin (1971) places it the West-Central family along with Enga, Ipili, Huli, Mendi, and Sau. Foley (1986) calls this the Engan family. As noted by Foley (1986), Kewa is the best documented language in the family due to the work of Franklin (1964, 1965, 1968, 1971), and Franklin and Franklin (1978). In this paper I discuss the morphology and semantics of independent verbs in Kewapi. I draw special attention to areas in which my analysis differs from that of Franklin.

Independent verbs may occur as complete sentences. Verbs are those word stems marked by verbal affixes. There are only two verbal prefixes: *na-* 'NEGATIVE' and *ma-* 'CAUSATIVE'. Most other affixes described in this paper are verbal suffixes which mark the grammatical categories of aspect, person/number/tense (PNT), mood, directionals and evidentials.

The order for affixation is given in (1).

- 1) (NEG) + (CAUS) + stem + (DIR) + (ASP) + (PNT) + (EVID)

An example of an independent verb with all these inflections is given in (2).

- 2) *na-ma-mina-saa-pa-ripa-de.*

NEG-CAUS-lift-UP-COMPL-3s:NP:A-WITN¹

'He did not cause him to complete lifting something upwards for someone else, as witnessed by you and me.'

¹ The following abbreviations are used in glosses:

A	allocentric	DS	different subject	MAT	material	REPORT	reported
AGN	agentive	DUR	durative		evidence	RP	remote past
ASSUM	assumed	E	ergocentric	NEG	negative	SEEN	seen
CAUS	causative	ERG	ergative	NP	near past	SUB	subjunctive
COMPL	completive	FUT	subjunctive	PR	present	UP	upwards
DESID	desiderative	HAB	habitual	PROL	prolonged	WITN	witnessed
DOWN	downwards	IMP	imperative	RECALL	recalled	dp	dual/plural

2 Person/Number/Tense Suffixes

The grammatical categories of tense, number, and person (which occur in this order in the verb) are marked by alternating verbal suffixes which vary with the stem of a verb. Although it is possible to morphologically separate these categories (see Franklin 1971:58), it is economical to treat them as portmanteau morphemes. PNT suffixes agree in person and number with the subject nominal and indicate the tense of the verb. In addition, PNT suffixes mark benefaction. In section 2.1 I discuss the marking of benefaction, then in section 2.2 I discuss the marking of tense.

2.1 Benefaction

PNT suffixes are marked for benefaction of the event, i.e. whether the action undertaken by the subject nominal is intended to benefit himself (egocentric) or others (altrocentric). Consider examples (3-5). In each pair, the (a) sentence is marked for egocentric benefaction and the (b) sentence is marked for altrocentric benefaction:

- 3) a. *ne-me pea-lo.*
 1s-ERG do-1s:PR:E
 'I am doing (something) for myself.'
- b. *ne-me pea-ato.*²
 1s-ERG do-1s:PR:A
 'I am doing (something) for someone.'
- 4) a. *ne-me pea-le.*
 2s-ERG do-2s:PR:E
 'You are doing (something) for yourself.'
- b. *ne-me pea-ate.*
 2s-ERG do-2s:PR:A
 'You are doing (something) for someone.'
- 5) a. *ipu-me pi-a.*³
 3s-ERG do-3s:PR:E
 'He is doing (something) for himself.'
- b. *ipu-me pea-ata.*
 3s-ERG do-3s:PR:A
 'He is doing (something) for someone.'

² Sequences of identical vowels are degeminated when nonfinal. Sequences are posited on morphological grounds.

³ Most verbs have allomorphs which are conditioned by PNT and benefaction. The morpheme 'do' has the allomorphs *pea* and *pi*, and *pe* (in (19)).

Franklin (1965:274) defines benefaction in terms of the speaker: in egocentric benefaction “the predication is for the benefit of the speaker,” while in altrocentric benefaction “the predication is for the benefit of someone or someone other than the speaker.” However, examples (3-5) show that benefaction has to do with the actor and not the speaker.

2.2 Tense

Kewapi has five tense distinctions including the habitual tense. The tenses are a remote past (RP), for events three days or more prior to the time of speaking; a near (recent) past (NP), for events completed prior to the moment of speaking up to two days previous; a present (PR), for events occurring at or on-going at the time of speech event; a habitual (HAB), for events habitually done; and a future (FUT), for events yet to occur.

Kewapi time orientation is in terms of days from the time of the utterance. The temporal notion ‘now’ refers to the moment of speaking and is marked in the verb. There is no lexical form. However, ‘today’ is marked by the lexical word *abi* which refers to the time ‘from this morning to tonight’. One day prior to *abi* is *abala* ‘yesterday’; two days prior to *abi* is *abane* and so on, up to five days.

The set of PNT suffixes used in Kewapi to indicate edocentric benefaction are presented in Table 1, while the PNT suffixes used to indicate altrocentric benefaction are presented in Table 2. Where alternants are given, the second alternant is used for certain generic verbs occurring in adjunct constructions.

TABLE 1: EGOCENTRIC SUBJECT/TENSE SUFFIXES

Per/Num	Present	Nr Past	Rem Past	Future	Habitual
1sg	-lo	-wa	-ka	-lua	-e
2sg	-le~li	-e~ae	-si	-li	-le
3sg	-la~a	-a	-sa	-lia	-a
1dl	-lepa~pa	-pa~apa	-sipa	-lipa	-pa
2/3dl	-lepe~pi	-pe~ape	-sipi	-lipi	-pe
1pl	-lema~ma	-ma~ama	-sima	-lima	-ma
2/3pl	-leme~mi	-me~ame	-simi	-limi	-me

TABLE 2: ALTROCENTRIC SUBJECT/TENSE SUFFIXES

Per/Num	Present	Nr Past	Rem Past	Future	Habitual
1sg	-ato	-aripu	-akua	-alua	-ayo
2sg	-ate	-aripi	-asi	-ali	-ale
3sg	-ata	-aripa	-asa	-alia	-aya
1dl	-atepa	-apa	-asipa	-alipa	-aepa
2/3dl	-atepe	-ape	-asipi	-alipi	-ape
1pl	-atema	-arima	-asima	-alima	-aema
2/3pl	-ateme	-arimi	-asimi	-alimi	-ame

In the following sections, each of the tenses will be dealt with in turn.

2.2.1 *The remote past.* The remote past is used for events completed three or more days prior to the time of the speech event. Below are examples of remote past tense which are given in egocentric and altrocentric forms.

- 6) a. *ipu monumane ipi-sa.*
 3s three.days come-3s:RP:E
 'He came three days ago.'
- b. *ipu onumane epa-asa.*⁴
 3s three.days come-3s:RP:A
 'He came on someone's behalf three days ago.'
- 7) **ne abane enda ni-si.*
 2s two.nights food eat-2s:RP:E
- 8) a. *ne abane enda na-e.*⁵
 2s two.nights food eat-2s:NP:E
 'You ate food two days ago.'
- b. *ne-me abane enda na-aripi.*
 2s-ERG/AGN two.nights food eat-2s:NP:A
 'You ate food on someone's behalf two nights ago.'

Example (6) shows that events which occurred three days ago are marked with the remote past. Example (7) shows that evented which occurred two days ago cannot be marked with the remote past, but must be marked with the recent past as shown in (8).

⁴ The morpheme 'come' has the allomorphs *ipi* and *epa* (in (6)), *ipu* and *epi* (in (12)), and *epe* (in (17)).

⁵ The morpheme 'eat' has the allomorphs *ni* and *na*, and *no* (in (26)).

2.2.2 *The near past.* The near past is used for events completed up to two days prior to the moment of utterance. Because the past tense marks completed actions, this tense is not a present tense. Examples of past are given in egocentric and altrocentric pairs.

- 9) a. *ipu-me mena ta-a.*
 3s-ERG pig kill/hit-3s:NP:E
 'He killed a pig for himself.'
- b. *ipu-me mena ta-aripa.*
 3s-ERG pig kill-3s:NP:A
 'He killed a pig for someone.'
- 10) a. *ipu pu-a.*
 3s go-3s:NP:E
 'He went for his own business.'
- b. *ipu pu-aripa.*
 3s go-3s:NP:A
 'He went (somewhere) for someone's business.'
- 11) a. *naa enda na-ma.*
 1p food eat-1p:NP:E
 'We (plural) ate food.'
- b. *naa-me enda na-arima.*
 1p-ERG food eat-1p:NP:A
 'We (plural) ate food on someone's behalf.'

As shown in the above examples, the subject nominals of altrocentric transitive (and ditransitive) clauses are always marked by the ergative case marker *-me* to indicate that the subject nominal is the responsible agent who realises the action, whereas the unmarked subject nominal in the egocentric transitive versions carry no such responsibility; he actualises an action on his own discretion. Subject nominals of both egocentric and altrocentric intransitive clauses are never marked.

2.2.3 *The present.* The present tense is used to refer to events on-going at the moment of speaking. The present is an aspectual category where tense and aspect merge. The aspect of the present tense is the progressive aspect (see section 3.2 below for non-completive aspect distinctions). Consider the example clauses in (12).

- 12) a. *ipu ipu-la.*
 3s come-3s:PR:E
 'He is coming now.'

2.2.5 *The future*. The future tense is used to express events which will occur after the moment of speaking up to an indefinite time in the future. Temporal nouns are used to specify specific times in the future. Examples with future tense are given below with egocentric and altrocentric benefaction.

- 20) a. *ni enda go-pisa na-lua.*
 1s food this-moment eat-1s:FUT:E
 'I am will eat food after this moment (of speaking) for my benefit.'
- b. *ne-me enda go-pisa na-alua.*
 1s-ERG food this-moment eat-1s:FUT:A
 'I will eat food this moment on someone's behalf.'
- 21) a. *ni enda abi na-lua.*
 1s food today eat-1s:FUT:E
 'I will eat food today for myself.'
- b. *ne-me enda abi na-alua.*
 1s-ERG food today eat-1s:FUT:A
 'I will eat food today on someone's behalf.'
- 22) a. *ne kana burika mi-li.*⁷
 2s money tomorrow get-2s:FUT:E
 'You will get money tomorrow for yourself.'
- b. *ne-me kana burika me-ali.*
 2s-ERG money tomorrow get-2s:FUT:A
 'You will get money tomorrow for someone.'

In example (20) the action will take place soon after the moment of speaking whereas the action in example (21) will take place sometime between the moment of speaking and nightfall. In example (22) the action will occur after one day from the moment of speaking and before the second day.

3 Aspect

There are two main aspectual contrasts; the completive aspect, and the non-completive aspects. The structure and the function of each are described below.

⁷ The morpheme 'get' has the allomorphs *me* and *mi*.

3.1 The Completive Aspect

The completive aspect expresses an event which is completed. There are two suffixes marking completive aspect: *-ba*, which specifies action completed with egocentric benefaction; and *-pa*, which specifies action with altrocentric benefaction.⁸ An example contrasting egocentric and altrocentric benefaction is given in (23).

- 23) a. *ipu kogono pu-ba-a.*
 3s work do-COMPL-3s:NP:E
 'He finished the work.'
- b. *ipu-me kogono pu-pa-aripa.*
 3s-ERG work do-COMPL-3s:NP:A
 'He finished the work for someone.'

Other examples of completive aspect showing egocentric benefaction are given in (24).

- 24) a. *ni enda na-ba-wa.*
 1s food eat-COMPL-1s:NP:E
 'I have finished/completed eating food.'
- b. *ni enda na-bu-ka.*
 1s food eat-COMPL-1s:RP:E
 'I had finished eating the food.'

Other examples of completive aspect showing altrocentric benefaction are given in (25).

- 25) a. *ne-me enda na-pa-aripu.*
 1s-ERG food eat-COMPL-1s:NP:A
 'I have finished eating food on your behalf.'
- b. *naa-me repona kisa-pa-asima.*
 1p-ERG wood burn-COMPL-1p:RP:A
 'We had finished burning the wood for someone'
- c. *ipu-me kogono pu-pa-alia.*
 3s-ERG work do-COMPL-3s:FUT:A
 'He will finish doing the work for someone.'

⁸ Franklin (1978:63) categories *-ba* 'inceptive' aspect which specifies action that has begun at some point in time and *-pa* 'completive' which specifies action completed with altrocentric benefaction in Kewa. But in Kewapi they mark egocentric and altrocentric benefaction respectively.

- d. *ipu-me kogono pu-pa-aya.*
 3s-ERG work do-COMPL-3s:HAB:A
 'He does finish work for someone.'

All the examples above show that within a given time frame the action is completed, had been completed or is likely to be completed for the benefit of someone.

3.2 Non-completive Aspects

There are three non-completive aspects. The first, the progressive aspect for events simultaneous with the moment of speaking, was discussed in section 2.2.3 since it forms a portmanteau with the present tense suffix. The other two are durative aspect for continuing events and prolonged aspect in which the first event is prolonged while the second or subsequent events occur. Durative aspect may occur with the future, near and remote past, and habitual tenses, but not the present tense. It is marked by serial verb constructions, that is, either of the generic verbs *pisa* 'to sit' or *aa* 'to stand' are added to the verb stem as shown in (26).

- 26) a. *ni enda no-pitu-a.*
 1s food eat-DUR:E-1s:FUT
 'I will be eating the food.'
- b. *ni enda no-pisa-wa.*
 1s food eat-DUR:E-1s:NP
 'I have been eating the food.'
- c. *ni enda no-piru-ka.*
 1s food eat-DUR:E-1s:RP
 'I had been eating the food.'

The verbs *pisa* and *aa* have lexicalised durative aspectual meanings.

The prolonged aspect may occur with any tense, including the present tense. It is marked by either of *-lopisa*, as shown in (27), or *-loaa*, as shown in (28-29).

- 27) a. *ni enda na-lopisa-no ipu ipu-la.*
 1s food eat-PROL-1s:DS 3s come-3s:PR:E
 'While I am eating the food, he is coming.'
- b. *ni enda na-lopisa-no ipu epa-a.*
 1s food eat-PROL-1s:DS 3s come-3s:NP:E
 'While I was eating the food, he came.'

- c. *ni enda na-lopisa-no ipu ipi-sa.*
 1s food eat-PROL-1s:DS 3s come-3s:RP:E
 'While I had been eating the food, he came.'
- 28) *ni ipu-luaa-no pua-a.*
 1s come-PROL-1s:DS go-3s:NP:E
 'While I was coming, he went.'
- 29) *enda na-loaa-no ta-a.*
 food eat-PROL-1s:DS hit-3s:NP:E
 'While I was eating, he hit (something).'

The prolongations markers *-lopisa* and *-loaa* may be segmented into *-lo* 'PRES' and *-pisa* 'sit', or *-aa* 'stand'. Their semantic differences are postural and speed. The prolonged aspect marker *-lopisa* indicates slow action, while *-loaa* indicates quicker action or event.

4 Directionals

Directionals are encoded in the verbal morphology. Kewapi contrasts downward and upward motions. There are two suffixes *-niaa* 'downward motion' and *-saa* 'upward motion'. Franklin (1971:50) categories these suffixes as aspectual suffixes. Morphological evidence indicates that they are not aspectuals but directionals because they co-occur with aspectual suffixes as shown in (30-32).

- 30) *ipu-me mena mina-saa-ba-a.*
 3s-ERG pig lift-UP-COMPL-3s:NP:E
 'He has finished lifting the pig.'
- 31) *ne-me repona kisa-niaa-pa-kua.*
 1s-ERG wood burn-DOWN-COMPL-1s:RP:A
 'I had finished burning the firewood downwards for someone.'
- 32) *wina-me modo awa-niaa-lia.*
 woman-ERG sweet.potato dig-DOWN-3s:FUT:E
 'The woman will dig the sweet potato downwards.'

As in the above examples, directionals are mainly marked in motion verbs. They are distinct grammatical categories, and co-occur with aspectual markings, mainly in independent verbs.

5 Evidentials

Evidentiality refers to the speaker's judgement of the actuality or validity or truthfulness of a realised event based on evidence. Evidentials in Papuan languages are mainly found in the Engan Family (Foley 1986).⁹

In Kewapi there are at least six evidential types which are marked by verbal suffixes in the independent verb. The first, *-ha* 'SEEN' expresses an event seen by the speaker as illustrated in (33).

- 33) *ipu-me enda kisa-a-ha.*
 3s-ERG food cook-3s:NP:E-SEEN
 'He cooked the food.'

The second, *-de* 'WITNESSED' expresses an event seen, heard or remembered by the speaker and the addressee(s) as illustrated in (34).

- 34) *ipu-me enda kisa-a-de.*
 3s-ERG food cook-3s:NP:E-WITN
 'He cooked the food.'

The third, *-na* 'MATERIAL EVIDENCE' expresses an event judged by the speaker to be realised based on evidence available to him.

- 35) *ipu-me enda kisa-a-na.*
 3s-ERG food cook-3s:NP:E-MAT
 'He has cooked the food.'

The fourth, *-ra* 'RECALL' expresses an event judged to be realised because the speaker can recall the event.

- 36) *ipu-me enda kisa-a-ra.*
 3s-ERG food cook-3s:NP:E-RECALL
 'He cook the food, I recall.'

The fifth, *-ya* 'REPORTED' expresses an event judged to be realised because of hearsay, or a report available to the speaker from third parties.

- 37) *ipu-me enda kisa-a-ya.*
 3s-ERG food cook-3s:NP:E-REPORT
 'He has cooked the food.'

Finally, *-da* 'ASSUMED' expresses an event assumed to be seen, heard or remembered.

⁹ Foley (1986:165) based on Franklin (1971 and elsewhere) illustrates two evidential contrasts in Kewa: events seen by the speaker, and events not seen by the speaker.

- 38) *go ma-ipu-lu-da*.¹⁰
 there get-come-1s:PR:E-ASSUM
 'I am bringing (it) there, I guess.'

Franklin (1971:50) describes some of these verbal suffixes as aspectual categories in Kewa: *-de* 'punctiliar aspect', *-na* 'reported seen action', and *-ya* 'reported unseen action'. In Kewapi, however, the aspectual suffixes discussed in section 3 may co-occur with evidentials. Therefore, I am separating aspect from evidentials. The evidential suffix *-da* 'ASSUMED' can only occur in the present tense with reference to spatial orientation. All other evidentials occur only in the past (both recent and remote) and in the habitual tenses. All evidentials may be negated by adding the negative prefix *na-* to the verbs marked with evidentials.

6 Mood

The suffixes discussed above are all in the indicative mood. Two other moods which can be marked in Kewapi are the imperative mood and the desiderative mood.

6.1 Imperative Mood

The basic imperative verbal suffixes are shown in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3: IMPERATIVE VERBAL SUFFIXES

	Egocentric	Altrocentric
Singular	Ø	<i>-a</i>
Non-sing.	<i>-lepa/pa</i>	<i>-tepa</i>

In the imperative mood the speaker may command either the addressee (the second person singular) or the addressees (the second person dual or plural, i.e. non-singular). In addition, just as in the case of the indicative mood, the action commanded can be for the benefit of the addressee (egocentric) or for the benefit of another (altrocentric). Some examples are given in (39-41).

- 39) a. *na-Ø*.
 eat-IMP:s:E
 'You eat immediately.'

¹⁰ The morpheme '1s:PR:E' has *-lu* as an allomorph.

- b. *na-a*.
eat-IMP:s:A
'You eat on someone's behalf immediately.'
- 40) a. *na-lepa*.
eat-IMP:dp:E
'You two/plural eat immediately.'
- b. *na-tepa*.
eat-IMP:dp:A
'You two/plural eat immediately on someone's behalf.'
- 41) a. *na-pa-lepa*.
eat-COMPL-IMP:s:E
'You (non-sing.) eat to finish (it) immediately.'
- b. *na-ba-tepa*.
eat-COMPL-IMP:dp:A
'You (non.sing.) eat to finish (it) immediately on someone's behalf.'

The verbs in (41) are marked with the completive suffixes *-pa* and *-ba*. Note that the suffixes *-ba*, which marks egocentric completive action, must be used with *-tepa*, which marks the egocentric imperative. Similarly, *-pa*, which marks altrocentric completive action, must be used with *-lepa*, which marks the altrocentric imperative.

The imperative suffixes in table 3 are used when the action commanded is to be effected immediately (almost simultaneous with the moment of speaking). Non-immediate imperative mood is marked by the suffix *-pe* 'future subjunctive'¹¹ following the imperative suffix. Haiman (1980:163) calls the non-immediate imperative a future imperative in his description of Hua because the action commanded may take place any time after the time of command to an indefinite time in future. Examples of non-immediate commands are given in (42-43).

- 42) a. *enda na-Ø-pe*.
food eat-IMP:s:E-FUT.SUB
'You eat food later.'
- b. *enda na-a-pe*.
eat-IMP:s:A-FUT.SUB
'You eat later on someone's behalf.'
- 43) a. *kogono pi-pa-pe*.
work do-IMP:dp:E-FUT.SUB
'You (non-sing.) work later.'

¹¹ Franklin (1971:39; 1978) describes *-pe* as marking immediate command in the imperative mood in Kewa, but this is not possible (at least in Kewapi) because this verbal suffix generally marks unrealised events or yet to be realised actions. Thus in the imperative mood it marks non-immediate action, and this contrasts with unmarked immediate action.

- b. *kogono pea-tepa-pe.*
 work do-IMP:dp:A-FUT.SUB
 'You (non-sing.) work later for someone.'

The negative prefix *na-* 'negation' can only be used in the future imperative, that is, the verb must be marked with *-pe* 'future subjunctive' suffix. It cannot be used in the immediate imperative.

- 44) *enda na-na-a-pe.*
 food NEG-eat-IMP:s:E-FUT.SUB
 'You do not eat.'
- 45) *kogono na-pea-tepa-pe.*
 work NEG-do-IMP:dp:A-FUT.SUB
 'You (non-sing.) do not work for someone.'

6.2 Desiderative

The desiderative is marked by the verbal suffix *-ro* added to the future imperative. It expresses the speaker's desire for an action to eventuate. Consider the examples below.

- 46) *ipu epa-a-pe-ro.*
 3s come-IMP:s:A-FUT.SUB-DESID
 'I want him to come.'
- 47) *imu-me kana wea-tepa-pe-ro.*
 3p-ERG money send-IMP:dp:A-FUT.SUB-DESID
 'I want them to send the money.'

As shown in (46-47), in a desiderative expression, the wisher is the speaker and the actor is a third person. If the desire is realised, the actor is fulfilling someone else's (the speaker's) desire. Thus benefaction marking is always the altrocentric benefaction.

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