USES OF THE VERB 'TO SAY' IN GAHUKU

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O.   It is probably a universal feature of language that certain morphemes have a wide range of sememic functions. In Indo-European languages prepositions are examples of such multi-functional morphemes. In English the preposition of is an outstanding example of a morpheme which is used to represent and signal a large number of sememic relationships between units.   Investigation of Gahuku[1] would indicate, however, that phrasal enclitics, the functional equivalent of prepositions, may not have so wide a range of sememic functions as a few verbs may have. This paper presents the functional uses of one verb in Gahuku, the verb 'to say'. Evidence [2] would indicate that this verb is also used for a wide range of functions in other Highland languages in New Guinea, and it is hoped that this paper may stimulate profitable investigation of similar uses of this and comparable verbs in other languages.

We will present first the use of the verb 'to say' to mark quoted speech and then its other uses.

1.   The verb l- 'to say' is a bound stem, as are all other verbs, and belongs to subclass 31 on the basis of the type of suffix allomorphs with which it occurs. [3] This verb functions as a transitive verb, and grammatically the quote (or a word which substitutes for the quote) functions as the object of the verb, as evidenced by clause order and analogy from case, where a single noun occurs as object. Since, as in other transitive clauses, the object follows the subject and precedes the verb (which is the final and only obligatory element in a clause), we would expect the order in a quotation to be

<p style="text-align:center">± subject + Quote + 'say'...</p>

Although this order is common, it is also quite common for a speaker to introduce a quote as well as to mark its closure. The pattern is then

<p style="text-align:center">± subject... + 'thus saying say'. + Quote + 'say'...</p>

Occasionally this morphemic construction for introducing a quote also follows the quote, instead of simply the verb 'to say' following it. These variations then give us the following means of setting off quotes:

a. ± subject + Quote + 'say'

Neqnisi [4]	oqe	luve		'I said "no" '.
I	no	I-said		

Keqisi	henoniloq	aliki	lima	vete	gehani
they	at-cargo	taking	descend	men	money

alitune	liake...
we-will-get	after-they-said

'After the men who took down the cargo said, "We will get money"...'

b.   + Quote   + 'say'

Gehani	nomive.	Usiq	alitave	luhaq.
money	is-not	tobacco	you'll-get	we-said

' "There is no money. You will get tobacco," we said'.

c.   + 'thus saying say' + Quote   + 'say'

... laqa	loko	live.	Mota	asuq	noize,	numutoka
thus	saying	said	now	ended	it-is	home

vilizo	lokago...
you-2-go	after-he-said

'He spoke thus: "It's finished now; go home." Then...'

d.   + Quote   +   'saying thus saying say'

Ganaq	naligo	nene[5]	oqe,	alemo.	Vegenaqmata
first	as-he-took		no	don't-take	us-people

mikasupamaloq	nenaze	loko	laqa	loko	lohaq.
at-the-land	since	saying	thus	saying	we-said

'At first when he took it, we said this: "No, don't take it, since it is on the land belonging to us." '

e.   + 'thus saying say. '   +   Quote   + 'thus saying say'

...laqa	loko	limoq:	Guivahaniqnemaka,	gizapa
thus	saying	he-said	My-Lord	watch

lamanaq	oketanogo	uve.	Laqa	loko	lokago
well	them-surely	I'll	Thus	saying	after-he-said

nene.....

'...he said, "My Lord, I will surely watch over them well."
After he said that...'

f.   Occasionally the formula 'thus saying say' is used not with a specific quote but to refer to speech whose contents have been previously given in the text.

...Izapeni	laqa	loko	lo	amuve.	Lo	amekugo...
Izape	thus	saying	say	I-gave	say	I-gave-him

'I told that to Izape. After I told him...'

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2.   An entire discourse which consists exclusively, or nearly so, of repeating what one individual has said uses special patterns of the verb 'to say'. For example, these special patterns are used when one is interpreting from another language into Gahuku. The patterns are :

a. The form -li 'he said'(or -la 'they said') which phonologically occurs as an enclitic on the cited speech. This is the usual form where a speech is being repeated (or interpreted) a sentence or so at a time. In one text comprising an interpretation from Neo-Melanesian, 42 of the 58 sentences ended with this enclitic. Only 7 sentences had no 'he said' indicator at all; the others had some other form of the verb 'to say'. If the cited speech does not end in a final independent or dependent verb, the predicative enclitic -ve 'it is' is affixed before the -li.   If the cited speech ends in a verb whose final suffix is the definitive aspectual suffix -moq, when the predicative enclitic -ve is affixed, morphophonemics dictates the change

$$- moq \quad + \quad -ve \longrightarrow - mole$$

before the suffix -li is added.

Goiq	oko	nene	gelemuhaqma	neveli
before	being		we-didn't-know	it-is-he-said

' "Previously we didn't know, " he said ' .

...keleqmo	vatiq	imoleli	(= imoq + -ve + -li)
made-them	fine	he-did-he-said	

'... "he helped them, " he said ' .

b. A more fully inflected form of the verb 'to say' usually follows an interrogative or question sentence, and it rarely follows a declarative sentence in citing a number of utterances by one speaker.

...Zohaneq	makoq	nene	lelitoka	nene	noihe
John	any		to-us		is-he?

nolimoq.	'... he says, "Is there any other John with us?" '
he-is-saying	

...nana	netakumuq	gelekunike	noune	nolimoq.
what	thing-about	we-heard	we-are	he-is-saying

'... he is saying, "What is it that we have heard about (and have come here)?" '

c. A form of the verb 'to say' plus the verb 'to ask' may follow a quoted interrogative, either a simple one or one which queries alternatives.

...utoq	imoq	nehe	loko	nene	lokaq	noimoq.
appear	did	?	saying		ask	he-is

'... he is asking, "Did he appear?" '

Nosaqnetakumuq	gelekunike	noupe	itoq	izamuq	gelekunike
about-food	after-we-heard	we-are?	and	about-pigs	after-we-heard

noune	loko	lekeliq	lokaq	noi.
we-are	saying	you (pl)	asks	he-is.

'He is asking you, "Are we here because we want food or because we want pigs?" '

It should be noted that in a quoted question (containing a question word) the final verb may be either interrogative or declarative in form. This contrasts with normal unquoted structure, in which an interrogative clause (seeking a yes/no answer) occurs with an interrogative ending and a question clause always occurs with a declarative ending.

...nana	itiqihe	likaslike...
what	we-2-will-do?	after-they-2-said

'...they both said, "What will we do?"...'

...loq	hilaqagutiq	aleko	oko	gizatiqive	likasike...
wood	from-where	get	come	we-2-will burn	they-2-said

'...they both said, "Where will we get firewood from and burn it?"...'

3.   The verb 'to say' also occurs in constructions which indicate not uttered speech but the thought content of the person to whom the speech is imputed.

...livisekative	liake	mosiakaq	amoq.
it-might-make-us-sick	saying	abstained	they-did

'...they always abstained, thinking they might get sick '.

...veegenaq	kepeleko	nokakaq	ozaha	netive	loko	gelekade...
people	smiting	eating	old-man	must-be	saying	after-he-felt

'...after he realized it must be an old man that killed and ate people...'

4.   Closely related to the above is use of the verb 'to say' to put in a quoted speech form other sensory activities or activities related to speech. In such cases the supposed quote is followed by the successive action auxiliary loko/liki[6] of the verb 'to say' and some other verb indicating the nature of the action.

Numuni	apaq	Wanimakave	liki	gizi	milave.
house	place	Wanima-is	saying	write	they-put

'They wrote that the village was Wanima'.

Gizapa	ve	loloq	noketave	loko	aqniguhale.
watch	men	make	he-is-to-them	saying	we-saw

'We saw that he was making them officials'.

...loq	aleko	atove	loko	imoqma	nene...
wood	take	I'll come	saying	he-was	

'...(when) he was about to bring back the wood...'

...lusa	getatune	liki	kagata	giliki...
medicine	we'll-put-on-him	saying	their-ears	hearing

'...thinking that they would work medicine on him...'

5.   When the verb 'to say' is preceded by an interrogative verb at the end of the supposedly quoted speech, and not followed by the verb 'to ask', it indicates that this "quoted speech" is the content of what the speaker was supposing or wondering about. It is often implied that the supposition was an incorrect one.

Neniq	ozegipama	nehe	loko	gizapa	lamanaq	uke...
my	child	is-it?	saying	watch	well	I-did

' I watched over it as though it were my child...'

Lamanaq	lasihe	like	gilikakaq	asimoq.
true	they-2-spoke?	saying	sensed	they-2-did

'They both always thought they were telling the truth '.

Ovakekigoq	vitiqihe	loko	agata	nogiligo...
only-with-Ovake	we'll-go?	saying	his-ear	as-he-heard

'...as he was thinking that only he and Ovake would go...'

Laq	amitape	loko	geikumuq	miluma	noguluve.
thus	you'll-not-do?	saying	about-you	pain	I'm sensing

'I'm concerned about you whether you won't do that'.

        If the two interrogative clauses precede the verb 'to say', the sense is 'to determine whether A or B. '

...lamanaq	onihe	golesa	onoihe	loko	goha	sekimi	oko
good	is-it?	bad	is-it?	saying	again	check	doing

'...checking it again to determine whether it is good or bad...'

6.   The verb 'to say' is used to express purpose. That which is purposed occur as the direct quote in the future declarative tense-aspect, followed by the successive action auxiliary loko/liki of the verb 'to say' and then the main thesis.

Ganaq	kopiq	zuhaq	itune	loko	gihisi	agomaq	nalune.
first	coffee	plant	we'll	saying	grass	clearing	we-make

'In order to plant coffee we first clear off the grass '.

...loq	legeko	atove	loko	vumoq	nene...
wood	secure	I'll-come	saying	I-went	

'...when I went to secure and bring back some firewood...'

...nosaqnetaq	natune	loko	ale	nupa	amune.
food	we'll-eat	saying	make	gather	we-didn't

'...we are not gathered here to eat food '.

When the verb in the main thesis is also the verb 'to say', the whole construction becomes a means of expressing desire.

...gehani	aqminaloq	limitive	loko	noluni.
money	at-that	he'll-give-us	saying	we're-saying

'... we want him to give us money for that ! .

...geqisi	nene	aqnigatane	loko	nene	noluni.
you		you'll-see-it	saying		we're-saying

'...we want you to see it '.

...Nigisa	nene	nagamiq	zenetamitane	loko	noluve.
my-feet		water	you'll-not-hit-for-me	saying	I-say

'I don't want you to wash my feet '.

7.   The verb 'to say' is also used for naming and identification. The construction consists of the phrase containing the object or person mentioned, the predicative enclitic (-ve following a vowel, ave following a glottal stop) plus a form of the verb 'to say'. In some cases the construction ends with a verbal adjective preceding a noun, giving a sense of 'the person whom we call/who is named X.'

Loseeq	ave	liki	mila		ve
Loseeq	it-is	saying	they-put		man

'the man they called Loseeq'

Wanimapiq	ave	likakaq	nia	ve
Wanimapiq	it-is	saying	they-are	man

'the man they call Wanimapiq'

In some cases the construction using the successive action auxiliary loko/liki of the verb 'to say' occurs with no dependency on or relationship with any other verb in the sentence; in such cases the predicative enclitic, if it occurs, and loko/liki are untranslatable.

...lemeko	nene	Vainesokave	loko	nene	ne.
descending		Vainesoka-is	saying		is

'...down there is Vainesoka' .

...agulizaq	Gopiniqmove	liki	milalo.
his-name	Gopiniqmo	saying	put

'...call him Gopiniqmo'.

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'...aqmina   goni   ha   neze,   Liqnumakave   loko.
 that   bamboo still exists   Liqnumuka   saying

'...that bamboo, Liqnumuka, still exists'.

...leqlisi   Magetoq   ve   loko   nene...   '...we Magetoq men...'
 we   Magetoq   men saying

...aqminaloq   Hatenonive   liki   apeleve.
 at-that   Hatenoq   saying they-killed

  '...right there they killed Hatenoq'.

8.   The verb 'to say' occurs in a special construction to indicate 'for the sake of, on account of'. The construction consists of a clause or phrase followed by the referential enclitic (ku)muq plus the predicative enclitic[7] followed by loko/liki and the main thesis clause.

Leliq   lihimamule   loko   hilimoq.
our   sins-about-it-is   saying   he-died

'He died for the sake of our sins'.

Nenemule   loko   geiq   gugulizaq   o   gemekakaq
that-about-it-is   saying   your   your-name   giving -you

nounize.   'We are calling on your name on account of that'.
we-are

        However, the referential enclitic (ku)muq (plus predicative enclitic) on the end of a future tense clause (omitting loko/liki) is used to express a strong exhortation.

Mota   itiqna   kipilitakumule   lokuke...
just   now   they'll-kill-them-about-it-is   after-I-said

'After I said, "They ought to kill them right now!."....'

9.   The verb 'to say' occurs following the locative enclitic - loq/toq $\pm$ location enclitic -ka to indicate 'inquire of'.

...gimisigi   vetini   ameqipinimaloq   lilizo.
 with-bows   men's   father-to   you-2-speak

  '... you two inquire of the policemen's boss' .

10.   The verb 'to say' occurs with the verb 'to go' in a special construction indicating continuance of an action over a long period. The construction consists of the main verb in its compound action form (stem plus vowel) plus the successive action auxiliary loko/liki of the verb 'to say' plus some form of the verb 'to go'. Informant reaction is to join the loko/liki to the preceding verb.

...hoza   gamena   molo-loko   vanike...
 work   day   put-saying   you-went

'...as you kept on setting work days...'

...gilatoketo-loko   vike...
wipe-for-them-saying   he-went

'...as he kept going along wiping (their feet) for them...'

...hiluluq   i-liki   vake...
shove   do-saying   they-went

'...as they kept on shoving it...'

...mino-loko   voko   minuhatoq...
stay-saying   going   to-(where)-we-stayed

'...where we continually kept on staying...'

11.   The verb 'to say' may be preceded by a noun or adjective which functions as its
object. In many cases the combined unit is translated by a single lexeme in English. The
examples given here are selected from the corpus mentioned and are representative but not
exhaustive.

...eza   gakoq   lokago...
he   talk   after-he-spoke   '...after he spoke...'

...neneqmini   mogona   litoze.   '...I'll speak about that practice.'
of-that   basis   I'll-speak
...Oqmasi   agepoka   like... '...he praised God/prayed...'
God   his-praise   he-spoke

...monoq   nama   mako   likago...   '...after they sang a hymn...'
religious   song   one   they-spoke

Gitene   makoq   litoze.   'I'll tell a story.'
story   one   I'll-tell

...sele   ligo...
call   after-he-spoke   '...after he called him...'

Geqnika   litimoq.   'He will object'.
objection-talk   he'll-say

Negeqnegeka   liko   liko...
request-talk   when-he'll-say   when-he'll-say

'After he continues to request it...'

Izaq   namaga .   li   kemego...
pig   song-talk   say   after-give-them

"When they tell them the pig-festival talk...'

Vitagaka   lokago..
search-talk   after-he-spoke   'After he felt the need of...'

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...monoq	anoka	nilago...	'...as he spoke on fearlessly...'
wisdom	sound-talk	as-they-said	

...gelekeleka	nene	ma	likakaq	amoq
servitude-talk		some	spoke	they-did

'...they always gave orders'.

...gekeq	gekeq	loko...	'...crying in great sorrow...'
sorrow	sorrow	saying	

la	netaq	lami	netaq	'everything'
they-said	thing	not-said	thing	

lo-gele	ha-gele	'conversation'
speak-hear	nothing-hear	

Lamanaq	lihe	'Is he telling the truth?'
true	he-speak?	

Haqnahaqna	lamitunize.	'We will not speak at length'.
long-long	we'll-not-speak	

Lo	amive	'He spoke to him'.
say	he-gave-him	

Lo	utoq	ive	'He revealed it'.
say	apparent	he-did	

Vi	aliq	nilake...	'As they approached...'
go	near	as-they-spoke	

12.   The benefactive form of the verb 'to say' signifies 'to command/order'.

Nosaqnetaq	nene	aliki	nalo	loko	loketamoq
food		get	eat!	saying	he-said-for-them

'He ordered them to get some food and eat it' .

One final feature of constructions involving the verb 'to say' deserves mention. Basically all quoted speech is direct, not indirect, and thus the pronouns used in quoted speech are the same ones that would have been used by the original speaker. There is one exception to this rule: A verb-affix pronominal form in the quoted speech whose referent is the person or persons who are doing the quoting is a first-person pronoun instead of a second-person pronoun as would have been used by the original speaker. [8]

Leliq	nemoqza,	mota	limitove	lokake...
ours	is-but	now	I'll-give-to-us	after-he-said

'It is ours, but after he said "I'll give it to you now..."'

...nenitoka	nosaqnetaq	makoq	ahulonetatune	liki
to-me	food	some	we'll-send-me	saying

'... (those who) say they will send me some food...'

...gapo	hamagokoq	gahe	segeletove	loko
road	only-one	door	I'll-open-for-us	saying

amuza	nomolako...
strength	as-you-are-putting

'...as you are striving to open the door of a single way for us...'

Footnotes

(1)   Research in Gahuku under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics was begun in 1959 and continued through 1963 and from 1967-70 in the village of Wanima, some thraee miles north of Goroka in the Eastern Highlands. The writing of this paper was supported by the NewGuinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics Research Fund. Examples in this paper are drawn from a corpus of some 150 typed pages of text.

(2)   Obtained primarily in conversations with colleagues of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

(3)   See my "The Application of Matrix to Gahuku Verbs," Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications (=Pacific Linguistics), Series A, 3:17-26 (1964), and "The Grammatical Structure of Gahuku" in Workshop Papers 2: Grammar, S.I.L. Ukarumpa, 1963 (mimeographed).

(4)   /q/ symbolizes glottal stop.

(5)   The word nene serves primarily as a "pause" between clauses and phrases and in such cases is untranslatable.

(6)   A large number of verbal and other affixes in Gahuku have two forms depending on whether the referent is monofocal   (first person or singular) or polyfocal (neither first person nor singular). Here loko is monofocal, liki is polyfocal. A verb in which person and number are fully specified must follow loko/liki.

(7)   As noted before, when predicative enclitic -ve follows glottal stop, the glottal is lost and the predicative enclitic becomes -le.

(8)   For a formal handling of the problem of pronominal referents in quoted speech, see Ivan Lowe, "An Algebraic Theory of English Pronominal Reference," Semiotica 1: 397-421 (1969).