

## WARIS CASE SYSTEM AND VERB CLASSIFICATION

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### 0. BACKGROUND

The purpose of this paper is to describe the case system of the Waris language.\* The systems of cases developed by Grimes (1975) and Longacre (1976) are basically followed but no theoretical position on case is taken. Rather, the goal is to select those case roles which adequately describe the semantic relations used by Waris speakers. Then a semantic classification of Waris verbs is suggested based on these case roles.

Foley (forthcoming: section 4.5) defines case as expressing semantic "relations between the nominal and its governing verb or between it and another nominal." Waris is an instance of a language with eight overt case marking suffixes with AGENT unmarked. Waris is no exception to Foley's observation that "[in Papuan languages] core case relations ... are primarily signaled by concordial verb affixes." Thus, Waris verbs mark number of syntactic subject, number of syntactic object, and number of Benefactive. (I consider BENEFACTIVE a core case in Waris.) However, the most interesting aspect of Waris case marking is the Dative, *-m*, which has been generalized to mark even some core cases. Fitting Waris into his typology of Papuan case systems, Foley feels that the occurrence of *-m* with animate PATIENT or BENEFACTIVE is for the purpose of disambiguating those roles from AGENT. This agrees with my analysis. Furthermore, he points out that the occurrence of *-m* with inanimate GOAL, indicating no change of state of the GOAL, is "widely attested cross-linguistically," even if not before in PNG. Finally, he agrees with my analysis of a partial ergative system in Waris in which *-m*, ABSOLUTIVE, marks syntactic subjects when associated with any of a small set of intransitive verbs expressing uncontrolled change.

In this attempt to analyze Waris cases I subscribe to the conclusion of Wierzbicka (1980: xviii): "Surface cases, like other morphological categories, provide an important (though insufficient) guide to the underlying structure."

**0.1 ABBREVIATIONS**

acc	accompaniment
bene	benefactive
cont	continuous tense
emph	emphatic
incl	inclusive
inter	interrogative
IO	indirect object
NP	noun phrase
obj/O	object
past	past tense
pl	plural
poss	possessive
pres	present tense
r.	recent
recip	recipient
sg	singular
subj/S	subject
V	verb
y.	younger
1st	first person
2nd	second person
3rd	third person
*	impossible form

**0.2 THE WARIS LANGUAGE**

Waris is a Papuan language of the Waris family, spoken by more than 3,000 people in the Amanab District, West Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea and adjacent area of Irian Jaya. Waris shares all of Wurm's (1982: 48ff) typological features of Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages except:

- 1) it has no medial-final verb distinction,
- 2) it has an /l/-/r/ phonemic contrast,
- 3) it has a first person plural inclusive pronoun, and
- 4) its pronouns do not fit neatly into any of the classes Wurm proposes.

Waris has three unambiguous grammatical (syntactic) roles of subject, object and indirect object. All three govern number agreement on the verb. Basic word order is

S-O-V. If IO is a BENEFACTEE, word order is S-IO-O-V. If IO is a RECIPIENT, word order is S-O-IO-V<sup>1</sup>.

The phonemes of Waris are /p, t, k, b, d, g, ɸ, s, x, r, l, m, n, w, y, i, e, ε, æ, a, ə, u, o, ɒ/. The orthography employed in this paper includes the non-phonemic prenasalization that occurs on the voiced stops. The symbol *v* is a voiced bilabial fricative, *h* is a voiceless velar fricative, *é* is a mid central vowel, *ó* is a low back vowel, *ei* is a mid front open vowel, *æ* is a mid front close vowel, and *a* is a low front vowel.

All examples are numbered consecutively throughout the paper. Since neither verbs nor pronouns mark gender, many examples are arbitrarily glossed as ‘he ...’

## 1.0 INVENTORY OF MORPHOLOGICAL CASE MARKERS AND THEIR RESPECTIVE CASE ROLES

Waris has eight suffixes that signal morphological cases. In this paper each is given a grammatical name in lower case letters, e.g. Dative. This is to distinguish them from their respective case roles, which are written in capitals, e.g. AGENT. These case markers display what Blake (1977) calls “case syncretism.” That is, some markers signal more than one case role depending on context.

The order of Table 1 on the following page is arbitrary. In section 1.2 the case roles are inventoried in alphabetical order. In section 2 the order followed is the same as in Table 1, with number agreement. For example, examples of Genitive are found in section 2.0.7. Some case roles, listed in Table 1 as no. 8, are not marked with a case suffix. This is discussed in section 2.0.8.

This analysis recognizes that although some of the case markers were probably polymorphemic at a previous stage of the language, at this stage further morpheme identification is unclear except in the few cases that will be mentioned.

### 1.1 CASE SYNCRETISM

The case roles signaled by the case suffixes are divided into two classes called primary and extended case roles. This is seen in Table 1. The distinction between primary case role and extended case role signaled by a given suffix is based on the following two criteria:

1) Frequency. Most occurrences of *-na*, Genitive mark GENITIVE and a few mark INSTRUMENT. Therefore, INSTRUMENT is called an extension of GENITIVE.

Table 1  
Case Suffixes and Their Roles

Markers	Label of Marker	Primary Case Role	Extended Case Role	
1	<i>-i</i>	Comitative	COMITATIVE	
2	<i>-nam</i>	Manner	MANNER	
3	<i>-elm</i>	Telic	TELIC	
4	<i>-ra</i>	Locative	Non-Human LOCATIVE	CAUSE
	<i>-ina</i>		Human Singular LOCATIVE	CAUSE
	<i>-inda</i>		Human Plural LOCATIVE	CAUSE
	<i>-val</i>		Body Part LOCATIVE	
5	<i>-ram</i>	Allative	Non-Human ALLATIVE	PURPOSE
	<i>-inam</i>		Human Singular ALLATIVE	
	<i>-indam</i>		Human Plural ALLATIVE	
6	<i>-rini</i>	Ablative	Non-Human ABLATIVE	DERIVATION, CAUSE
	<i>-namini</i>		Human ABLATIVE	
7	<i>-na</i>	Genitive	GENITIVE	INSTRUMENT, COMITATIVE
8	$\emptyset$	(None)	AGENT, FORCE, Inanimate PATIENT, ESSIVE, RESULT	
9	<i>-m</i>	Dative	GOAL, Animate PATIENT, ABSOLUTIVE, BENEFACTIVE/RECIPIENT	

2) Arbitrary assignment of real-world reference to primary case role. The marker *-rini*, Ablative can mark both ABLATIVE and DERIVATION:

(1) *Hi -mba tendó-rini loh -v.*  
 2nd topic men Ablative exist pres  
 'He is a man.'

(2) *Hi -mba deuv -rini pró -v.*  
 2nd topic house Ablative come pres  
 'He is coming from (his) house.'

In (1) Ablative marks derivation or separation of one man from the whole class of men. In (2) it marks actual physical movement away from a source, the house. We view (2) as more "physical" than (1) and therefore, conclude DERIVATION is an extended meaning of Ablative while ABLATIVE is the primary meaning of this marker. I believe this approach has the value of making clear the semantic features Waris speakers combine in Ablative. In a grammar written by them the form *-rini*, Ablative, would probably be assigned just one meaning.

## 1.2 INVENTORY OF CASE ROLES

The following is an inventory of the case roles used in this analysis listed in Table 1, together with definitions. The cases are in alphabetical order. Examples are given in section 2.

ABLATIVE is the case of movement away from a source (Blake 1977: 55).

ABSOLUTIVE is the case indicating lack of control by the NP so marked over the action of the verb in the clause where it occurs.

AGENT is the case of an animate instigator of a process or condition. It differs from FORCE in that the latter is inanimate and non-responsible.

ALLATIVE is the case of movement toward a goal. BENEFACTIVE is the case of the benefactee of a volitional action or state.

CAUSE is the case of the prior cause of an action or state. Blake (1977: 57) identifies such a case in Australian languages. Grimes (1975: 127f, 131f) distinguishes animate CAUSER and non- instigative FORCE and since Waris marks them differently, I analyze them as different cases.

COMITATIVE is the case of an animate entity that accompanies another of equal rank.

DERIVATION or PARTITIVE is the case of an entity derived from a source or singled out from among its class.

ESSIVE is the case of identification or class membership. Longacre (1976: 95 and note 4) has theoretical reservations about calling it a case role, but it is necessary to analyze stative/ equative predications.

FORCE is the case of an inanimate non-volitional cause of an action.

GENITIVE is the case of possession or close association.

GOAL is the case of the point of termination of an action, which does not experience any change of state (ibid: 33).

INSTRUMENT is the case of a means by which an action is accomplished.

LOCATIVE is the case of stationary location.

MANNER is the case of manner or time of an action or state.

PATIENT is the case of an entity that undergoes a change of state or location, or of an inanimate entity of which a state or condition is predicated (ibid: 28).

PURPOSE is the case of an inanimate reason or purpose for an action or state. Longacre (ibid: 35) includes this role in sentence, not clause structure; it is used in this analysis since in Waris it is included within the scope of the clause.

RECIPIENT is the case of a human receiver.

RESULT is the case of the syntactic object of verbs of speech.

TELIC is the case of the end of a process or purpose of a state (Austing 1977: 15).

We follow a wide definition of “case” here, and include two functions that do not strictly involve the relationship between a NP and a verb. GENITIVE involves the internal structure of a NP, as does COMITATIVE. However, note that the same marker (-*na*) that signals GENITIVE can also signal INSTRUMENT, which case does involve a NP with a verb.

## 2.0 CASE MARKERS AND THEIR ROLES

The order followed in this section is the same as in Table 1.

### 2.0.1 COMITATIVE -*i*

COMITATIVE is the case of equal-rank accompaniment.

- (3) *Yon -i Luk -i e -nga-i.*  
 John Comitative Luke Comitative dual go r.past  
 'John and Luke have just gone together.'

John and Luke are of equal rank; that is, they are not related as parent-child or older sibling-younger sibling, in which case the younger is obligatorily marked as PATIENT with the Dative and the verb is prefixed with *wai-*, 'accompaniment':

- (4) *Kav -na boasalel -m ka -va wai-pró -i.*  
 1st:emph Genitive y.brother Dative 1st topic acc come r.past  
 'I just brought my younger brother.'

### 2.0.2 MANNER *-nam*

MANNER is the case of adverbial manner or time.

- (5) *Pil sambla-nam ne -wol -o!*  
 pill two Manner eat non-sg obj imperative  
 'Take the pills two at a time!'
- (6) *Hi -mba okómba-nam pró -i.*  
 3rd topic sun Manner come r.past  
 'He came in the daylight.'
- (7) *Hi -mba dando -nam ishu -n -vna.*  
 3rd topic strong? Manner speak pl bene cont  
 'He spoke to them strongly.'

### 2.0.3 TELIC *-elm*

TELIC is the case of the end of a process or the purpose of a state.

- (8) *Popoli andava -elm nilha -na.*  
 cocoon butterfly Telic change into past  
 'The cocoon changed into a butterfly.'

- (9) *Guru -elm hi -mba loh -vna.*  
 teacher Telic 3rd topic exist cont  
 'He was a teacher.'

TELIC also performs a syntactic function in the formation of verb phrases, where its meaning of purpose is still retained.

- (10) *Maket -ram hi -mba i -a -nga-v bayar ve -wol -elm.*  
 market Allative 3rd topic carry pl subj go pres buy do pl obj Telic  
 'They are taking (food) to the market for (people) to buy.'

## 2.0.4 LOCATIVE

2.0.4.1 LOCATIVE is the case of stationary location. Waris distinguishes human and non-human domains. Within the human domain singular, plural and body part are further distinguished.

	human	non-human
sg	-ina	-ra
pl	-inda	
body part	-val	

- (11) *Ovla deuv -ra ka -ina dihel-v.*  
 knife house Locative 1st Locative exist pres  
 'The knife is at my house.'
- (12) *Hi -mba ku -val hevra-na tenga-na.*  
 3rd topic head Locative hit past stick Genitive  
 'He hit (him) on the head with a stick.'
- (13) *Yi -mba Bov-inda a -vna -ma?*  
 2nd topic Bob Locative sit cont inter  
 'Were you sitting at Bob's house (with) the people (there)?'

2.0.4.2 Locative also signals CAUSE. CAUSE may be the inanimate non- instigative cause of an action or state. Contrasts with FORCE, section 2.0.8.3.



- (14) *Ka -m -ba kanandha-na obat -ra.*  
 1st Dative topic get well past medicine Locative  
 'The medicine made me well.'
- (15) *Po -ra mona-m -ba indkokla ve -v.*  
 rain Locative road Dative topic be bad do pres  
 'The road is bad because of the rain.'
- (16) *Tuv -pa vuvi -ra péthai.*  
 door topic wind Locative close r.past  
 'The wind closed the door.'

CAUSE may also be the animate cause of an action:

- (17) *Hona sala -va he -inda pho -na.*  
 this offence topic 3rd Locative arrive past  
 'This offence took place because of them (They did this wrong).'

Waris combines the far deictic *no* 'that' with *-inda*, Locative, to form the most common conjunction for indicating a reason-result relationship between clauses:

- (18) *Hi -mba piha-na noinda daha.*  
 3rd topic fall past therefore die  
 'He fell (from a tree) and so died.'

Another use of CAUSE is with the introduced vehicle, the airplane. Instead of being marked as INSTRUMENT it is marked CAUSE.

- (19) *Ka -va mongla-na pró -na.*  
 1st topic leg Genitive come past  
 'I came by foot.'

- (20) *Ka -va kapol -la pró -na.*  
 1st topic airplane Locative come past  
 'I came by airplane (The airplane brought me).'

In (20), *-la* arises from *-ra* by the following rule:  $r \rightarrow l/l$ .

Example (20) is not merely LOCATIVE, a relationship that would be expressed differently:

- (21) *Ka -va kapol -me -ra pró -na.*  
 1st topic airplane inside Locative come past  
 'I came inside the airplane.'

## 2.0.5 ALLATIVE

2.0.5.1 ALLATIVE is the case role of movement toward a goal. Waris distinguishes non-human and human singular and plural goals.

	human	non-human
sg	<i>-inam</i>	<i>-ram</i>
pl	<i>-indam</i>	

- (22) *Deuv -ram Luk -inam ka -va ga-v.*  
 house Allative Luke Allative 1st topic go pres  
 'I am going to Luke's house.'

- (23) *Hi -mba misin -indam nonga -v.*  
 3rd topic mission Allative descend valley pres  
 'He is going down to the mission (to the people there).'

2.0.5.2 Allative also signals the case role PURPOSE.

- (24) *Hona ti -mba deuv -ram naloh -v.*  
 this wood topic house Allative exist:stacked pres  
 'This timber is stacked for the purpose of (someone later building) a house.'

(25) *Hona di -va inne-ram dihel-v.*

this money topic food Allative exist pres

'This money is for the purpose of (buying) food.'

(26) *Hi -mba téh -ram ka -m di dembraho-lm ó -na.*

3rd topic firewood Allative 1st Dative money give Telic say past

'He said (he will) give me money for firewood.'

The Allative markers are analyzable into smaller units, Locative plus Goal:

*-ram = -ra + -m*

*-inam = -ina + -m*

*-indam = -inda + -m*

This may be a clue to the development of the present case system, but is more interesting as an example of the generalization of the use of *-m*, meaning Goal, to other cases. Note that *-m* also occurs on the Telic marker (*-elm*). Thus we would say that *-m* in Waris has a meaning something like "point of termination" with ALLATIVE, GOAL and TELIC cases.

## 2.0.6 ABLATIVE

ABLATIVE is the case role meaning movement away from a source. This can apply after the fact as in example (29). Human and non-human sources are distinguished.

human	non-human
<i>-namini</i>	<i>-rini</i>

(27) *Ótól -va skola -rini a -nga-i.*

children topic school Ablative pl go r.past

'The children have left school.'

(28) *Ka -va Dand-namini pró -v.*

1st topic Dand Ablative come pres

'I am coming from Dand's (house).'

- (29) *Men -ba tambkó Wasengla -po -rini.*  
 this topic fish Wasengla river Ablative  
 'These (are) fish from the Wasengla river.'

Ablative also marks the phrase-level semantic role of DERIVATION or PARTITIVE. Thus it occurs with members of a small class of human nouns whose base forms are inherently plural and which form the singular by suffixation with Ablative. First we list the nouns and then give examples of their occurrence with Ablative.

<i>tendó</i>	'men'	<i>indhana</i>	'people'
<i>ungevli</i>	'women'	<i>tuendis</i>	'boys'
<i>ótól</i>	'children'	<i>mutundis</i>	'girls'

- (30) *Ótól -lini men a -v.*  
 children Ablative here sit pres  
 'A child is sitting here.'
- (31) *Tendó-rini -sambla men ah -a -v.*  
 men Ablative two here dual sit pres  
 'Two men are sitting here.'
- (32) *Ungevli -rini ten pró -v ósó -rini.*  
 women Ablative there sg come pres garden Ablative  
 'A woman is coming there from the garden.'

Finally we give one example of Ablative marking CAUSE, a case role usually marked by Locative.

- (33) *Emak-rini ye -m sahré-v.*  
 back Ablative 2nd Dative mess up pres  
 'You are being messed up by (your) back (Your back is killing you).'

## 2.0.7 GENITIVE

2.0.7.1 The GENITIVE is the case role of possession or close association. The first example is one of possession through ownership.

- (34) *Men -ba ka -na wonda vil -v.*  
 this topic 1st Genitive bilum exist pres  
 'This is my bilum.'

Another type of possession is kinship.

- (35) *Ten -ba ka -na aral loh -v.*  
 that topic 1st Genitive father exist pres  
 'That (man) is my father.'

The next several examples are of close association.

- (36) *Men -ba pelor tuaua-na dihel-v.*  
 this topic shell bird Genitive exist pres  
 'This is a shot shell for (shooting) birds.'

- (37) *Hi -mba englis -na moa ishó -i.*  
 3rd topic English Genitive words speak r.past  
 'He talked English.'

- (38) *Kav -na ósó -andra ka -va ve-v.*  
 1st;emph Genitive garden work 1st topic do pres  
 'I am doing my garden work.'

- (39) *Po -na vuvi -na óló -rini pró -na.*  
 rain Genitive wind Genitive mountain Ablative come past  
 'The rain and wind came together from the mountain.'

- (40) *Inne wan -na dihel-v.*  
 food salt Genitive exist pres  
 'The food has salt on it.'

2.0.7.2 The following example is of Genitive meaning COMITATIVE (see section 2.0.1), the case of animate accompaniment. The focus in this construction is on the men and women sitting together:

- (41) *Hi -mba ungevli -na -tendó-na -m ishu -n -na.*  
 3rd topic women Genitive men Genitive Dative speak pl bene past  
 'He spoke to the men and women (together).'

### 2.0.7.3 The Genitive also signals INSTRUMENT:

- (42) *Hi -mba ovla -na tha -i.*  
 3rd topic knife Genitive cut off r.past  
 'He cut (it) off with a bushknife.'

The following example is interesting because the semantic relation between the pig and the person reclining is AGENT-PATIENT, since the pig has previously bitten him. What is signaled by the Genitive marker on 'pig' is a downplaying of the AGENT role, giving a passive type of meaning:

- (43) *Yi -mba mie-na hélva-lm li -v -ma?*  
 2nd topic pig Genitive bite Telic recline pres inter  
 'Are you sleeping because you were bitten by (the) pig?'

Blake (1977: 26-27) gives an example from an Australian language where the instrumental case is used to form a passive construction. Wierzbicka (1980: 129) indicates that this is not unusual cross-linguistically.

### 2.0.8 NO CASE MARKING

This signals either AGENT, inanimate PATIENT, ESSIVE, FORCE or RESULT.

These five cases are differentiated by syntactic relationships as well as semantic. Seiler (1985: section 4.3) feels that syntactic and semantic information overlap in defining the role of each NP<sup>2</sup>. The following table gives enough information to allow any instance of no case marking to be assigned a role:

Case Role	Marked on Verb?	Semantics - animateness?
AGENT	subject number	+
PATIENT	object number	-
ESSIVE	unmarked	±
FORCE	subject number	-
RESULT	object number	-

RESULT and inanimate PATIENT are differentiated by transformation potential; the former can undergo transformation to INSTRUMENT (see 2.0.8.5).

**2.0.8.1 AGENT** is the case of an animate instigator of an action.

(44) *Ka -va ti he -v.*  
 1st topic tree cut down pres  
 'I am chopping down a tree.'

(45) *Hi -mba kin gua -na.*  
 3rd topic burden carry past  
 'He carried a burden.'

**2.0.8.2 PATIENT** is the case of an entity which undergoes a change of state or location as in examples (44) and (45) respectively. Recipients of action which are incompletely affected are marked differently in Waris, with Dative as GOAL (see section 2.0.9.1 below). Animate PATIENTS are also marked with the Dative; this analysis is treated in section 5. PATIENT is also the case of an inanimate entity of which a state or movement is predicated.

(46) *Po li -v mona-ra.*  
 water exist pres road Locative  
 'Water is on the road.'

(47) *Vuvi pró -vna.*  
 wind come cont  
 'Wind was blowing.'

**2.0.8.3 FORCE** is the case of the non-instigative cause of an action. Contrasts with CAUSE, section 2.0.4.2.

- (48) *Ku ka -m -ba ve -mna -v.*  
 head 1st Dative topic do bene pres  
 'I have a headache' (literally, 'My head is doing for me.')
- (49) *Endeumb ka -m ha -i.*  
 nettle 1st Dative irritate r.past  
 'Stinging nettle scratched and irritated me.'
- (50) *Nitata ye -m -ba vi -n -v -ma?*  
 sleepy eyes 2nd Dative topic do pl bene pres inter  
 'Are you all sleepy?' (literally, 'Are sleepy eyes doing for you all?')

**2.0.8.4 ESSIVE** is the case of identification.

- (51) *Deuv -pa ten -ba loh -v.*  
 house topic that topic exist pres  
 'That (thing) is a house.'
- (52) *Yi -mba tendó-rini loh -v -ma?*  
 2nd topic men Ablative exist pres inter  
 'Are you a (married) man?'

In (51) and (52) 'that' and 'you' are analyzed as PATIENT and 'house' and 'man' are analyzed as ESSIVE, identifying the PATIENT.

**2.0.8.5 RESULT** is the case of the resulting speech of verbs of speaking. RESULT and inanimate PATIENT are both unmarked, but are analyzed as different case roles because RESULT undergoes transformation to INSTRUMENT, as exemplified in examples (105) and (106).

- (53) *Moa hi -mba ishó -v.*  
 words 3rd topic speak pres  
 'He is talking.'



- (54) *Sangal sinim sevri -vna.*  
 song night say:pl cont  
 '(They) were singing at night.'

### 2.0.9 DATIVE -m

Dative signals either GOAL, ABSOLUTE, animate PATIENT, BENEFACTIVE or RECIPIENT.

2.0.9.1 GOAL is the case of the point of termination of an action which does not involve a change of state or location. The next two examples contrast GOAL and PATIENT.

- (55) *Ka -va ti -m he -the -v.*  
 1st topic tree Dative chop down process pres  
 'I am chopping on a tree.'

- (56) *Ka -va ti he -v.*  
 1st topic tree chop down pres  
 'I am chopping down a tree.'

The meaning contrast in (55) and (56) parallels that of the English examples given by Anderson (1971: example (13)):

John chewed on his steak.

John chewed his steak.

The former is the marked construction signaling an unknown degree of completion. The unmarked construction signals completed action. The next two examples show purpose-type GOAL.

- (57) *Ungevli -rini téh -m ga-v.*  
 women Ablative firewood Dative go pres  
 'A woman is going (to get) firewood.'

- (58) *Ka -va Amanab-m ga-v.*  
 1st topic Amanab Dative go pres  
 'I am going to Amanab.'

(58) has a slightly different meaning from (59):

- (59) *Ka -va Amanab-ram ga-v.*  
 1st topic Amanab Allative go pres  
 'I am going to Amanab.'

The meaning contrast can be made clearer by paraphrasing (58) as 'I am going with the purpose of arriving at Amanab.' The same meaning contrast is seen with the Dative and Allative markers attached to *mana* 'why?':

- (60) *Mana-m yi -mba ga-v?*  
 why Dative 2nd topic go pres  
 'For what purpose are you going?'

- (61) *Mana-ram yi -mba ga-v?*  
 why Allative 2nd topic go pres  
 'Where are you going?'

**2.0.9.2 BENEFACTIVE and RECIPIENT** are other cases signaled by Dative. **BENEFACTIVE** is the case of the benefactee of the action. It is explicitly marked on the verb as well as on the noun phrase. Singular and plural benefactee are distinguished.

sg	pl
-mna	-in

- (62) *Ka -va ye -m ishu -n -v.*  
 1st topic 2nd Dative speak bene:pl pres  
 'I am talking to you all.'

- (63) *Inne phu -n -v ósó -ra.*  
 food arrive bene:pl pres garden Location  
 'Food is coming up in the garden (for people).'

Example (63) has no NP benefactee but the plural benefactive suffix on the verb combined with context allows 'people' to be supplied. The next example might be called malefactive rather than benefactive.

- (64) *Hi -mba mie-m sha -mna -na sinim.*  
 3rd topic pig Dative sleep:pl bene past night  
 'They slept (waiting) for a pig at night (to shoot it).'

Verbs of giving occur with a different Benefactive suffix I call RECIPIENT. Singular and plural recipient are distinguished.

sg	pl
-ho	-hun

- (65) *Hi -mba buku ka -m vra-ho -i.*  
 3rd topic book 1st Dative get recip r.past  
 'He just got a book for me (gave me a book).'

2.0.9.3 Dative can also mark ABSOLUTIVE, the case of the syntactic subject of certain verbs where there is lack of volitional control by the subject over the action or state. (In section 3.1.4 we demonstrate that it is in fact the syntactic subject that is so marked.)

- (66) *He -m daha-i.*  
 3rd Dative die r.past  
 'He just died (something killed him).'

- (67) *Ka -m takole -na.*  
 1st Dative trip and fall past  
 'I tripped and fell (something tripped me).'

Example (68) shows an optional CAUSE, marked with Locative:

(68) *Obat - ra ka -m -ba kanandha-na.*  
 medicine Locative 1st Dative topic get well past  
 'I got well because of the medicine (the medicine made me well).'

(69) *Besel hev -m loh -v.*  
 good 3rd:emph Dative exist pres  
 'He is handsome.'

Contrast example (69) with example (74).

#### 2.0.9.4 The final case that Dative can mark is animate PATIENT.

(70) *Ka -va ye -m hélvakomandha-v.*  
 1st topic 2nd Dative kill pres  
 'I kill you.'

The question of why animate and inanimate PATIENT are marked differently is discussed in section 5.

A subdivision of animate PATIENT marked by the Dative is that of the objects of the verbs of accompaniment. These are accompanied by an animate AGENT of higher rank. Singular and plural accompanied are distinguished by the obligatory verb prefix that co-occurs.

sg	pl
<i>wai-</i>	<i>won-</i>

(71) *Aral ombol-m wai -a -v.*  
 father son Dative acc sit pres  
 'A father sits with (his) son.'

(72) *Etel boasalel -m won-ga-i.*  
 older sibling y.sibling Dative acc go r.past  
 'An older brother just took (his) younger brothers.'

- (73)\**Boasalel etel -m wai-loh -v.*  
 y.sibling older sibling Dative acc stand pres  
 'A younger brother stands accompanying (his) older brother.'

Dative marking accompanied object is classified here with Dative marking PATIENT; the former is marked with the verb prefixes described above, while plural PATIENT is marked by verb suffix.

### 3.0 WARIS VERB TYPES

This section is an outline of a classification of Waris verbs. Although there is little morphological marking to indicate grammatical verb classes, a semantic classification is posited on the basis of case frames.

First, a broad division is made on the basis of the number of core noun phrase (NP) arguments associated with the verb. Then a finer distinction is made within each resulting subgroup on the basis of the case roles that cluster with each verb.

#### 3.1 SINGLE PLACE PREDICATES

There are five verb types taking a single core verb argument. They are Orientation-Existence Verbs, Motion Verbs, Change of State Verbs, Pseudo-Passive Verbs, and Body-Function Verbs.

##### 3.1.1 ORIENTATION-EXISTENCE VERBS

[AGENT/PATIENT (LOCATIVE) (COMITATIVE) (INSTRUMENT)]

Waris has a class of existential verbs each of which has an associated class of nouns. The semantic content of each verb includes the characteristic shape, posture or mode of existence of the associated nouns.

Verb	Gloss	Some Associated Nouns
<i>lohv</i>	'stand'	man, tree, house
<i>av</i>	'sit'	woman, taro in garden
<i>liv</i>	'recline'	water, snake
<i>dihelv</i>	'sit'	inanimate object
<i>nalohv</i>	'be stacked'	firewood
<i>endv</i>	'hang'	fruit, rattan
<i>vilv</i>	'lie crumpled'	net bag, clothes
<i>diav</i>	'lie scattered'	trees cut for garden
<i>vilóv</i>	'exist (plural)'	(any)

We analyze animate subjects of these verbs as AGENT because they are volitional. We analyze inanimate subjects as PATIENT, and this element is obligatorily present in the clause.

(74) *Hi -mba besel loh -v -ma?*  
 3rd topic good exist pres inter  
 'Is he good (Is he well)?'

(75) *Ungevli -rini e -na a -v.*  
 women Ablative belly Genitive exist pres  
 'The woman is pregnant.'

In certain cases the speaker may predicate the posture intrinsically associated with one noun class of another noun:

(76) *Tendó-mba ten avul -v.*  
 men topic there sit:pl pres  
 'The men are sitting there.'

Some semantic constraints exist; in the following example the verb *end* requires a noun phrase PATIENT that naturally hangs, even if it is a peanut hanging on its stalk underground.

(77)\**Ti end -v.*  
 tree exist pres  
 'A tree hangs.'

(78)\**Tendó-rini dihel-v.*  
 men Ablative exist pres  
 'A man sits like an inanimate object.'

Example (78) fails because the PATIENT noun phrase must be inanimate.

Examples (79) and (80) illustrate the optionally-associated case roles.

(79) *Putá -va ala -na loh -v.*  
 old man topic walking stick Genitive stand pres  
 'An old man is standing with a stick.'

(80) *Basoa -i Bov-i ah -a -v.*  
 Basoa Comitative Bob Comitative dual sit pres  
 'Basoa and Bob are sitting together.'

Orientation-Existence Verbs and their frames undergo the following transformations:

1) adding another noun argument, ESSIVE case role, to become Stative/Equative Verbs, discussed in section 3.2.1. Stative/Equative Verbs are the same lexical items; in the Waris lexicon they would be marked with a different subscript.

2) adding verb affixation as well as more noun arguments to become Motion Verbs (section 3.1.2) or Accompaniment/Possession Verbs (section 3.2.3).

### 3.1.2 MOTION VERBS

[PATIENT (RANGE) (GOAL) (INSTRUMENT) (CAUSE)]

(RANGE includes the complex of LOCATIVE, ABLATIVE and ALLATIVE case roles.) Some representative Motion Verbs are:

<i>gav</i>	'go'
<i>próv</i>	'come'
<i>piv</i>	'arrive from downvalley'
<i>lohvhav</i>	'stand up'
<i>kinvehev</i>	'move down from weight'

- (81) *Hi -mba Wainda-rini ga-v misin -ram.*  
 3rd topic Wainda Ablative go pres mission Allative  
 'He is going from Wainda to the mission.'
- (82) *Yi -mba po -mona-m pró -i -ma?*  
 2nd topic river road Dative come r.past inter  
 'Did you just come by way of the river?'
- (83) *Kav -na mongla-na ka -va pró -i.*  
 1st:emph Genitive leg Genitive 1st topic come r.past  
 'I just came by foot.'

Example (84) illustrates CAUSE.

- (84) *Tikla kinvehe -v movol-la.*  
 branch move down pres fruit Locative  
 'A tree branch is weighed down because of (its) fruit.'

Finally, examples (85) and (86) illustrate Motion Verbs formed by affixation of Orientation-Existence Verbs (section 3.1.1).

- (85) *Hi -mba hovra loh -vha -na.*  
 3rd topic middle stand process past  
 'He stood up in the middle.'



- (86) *Ka -va doa li -the -i.*  
 1st topic Completive recline process past  
 'I have already assumed a reclining position (already gone to bed).'

### 3.1.3 CHANGE OF STATE VERBS

#### [PATIENT]

This is a small class with the following typical members:

<i>ovóvó vilov</i>	'be wilted'	<i>indkokla lohv</i>	'be bad'
<i>brawal vev</i>	'be rotten'	<i>nung vev</i>	'stink'

- (87) *Amb doa ovóvó viló -i.*  
 greens completive wilt exist r.past  
 'The greens have wilted.'

- (88) *Tata-mba nung ve-v.*  
 meat topic stink do pres  
 'The meat stinks.'

### 3.1.4 PSEUDO-PASSIVE VERBS

#### [ABSOLUTIVE (CAUSE) (INSTRUMENT)]

This small set has the following typical members:

<i>dahav</i>	'die'
<i>kanandhav</i>	'get well'
<i>takolev</i>	'trip and fall'

The syntactic subject of these verbs is obligatorily marked with the Dative, meaning ABSOLUTIVE, the case of lack of volitional control. This is emphasized by the possible co-occurrence of a CAUSE, marked by *-ra*, Locative, or by an INSTRUMENT, marked by *-na*, Genitive.

- (89) *Obat -ra ka -m -ba kanandha-na.*  
 medicine Locative 1st Dative topic get well past  
 'The medicine made me well.'

- (90) *Pul -na weihala-na he -m -ba daha-na.*  
 betelnut Genitive eat Genitive 3rd Dative topic die past  
 'He died of sorcery ((someone) killed him by sorcery) with betelnut.'

That it is in fact the syntactic subject that is marked with *-m* and not the object is clear from the following. Suppletive verb stems in Waris invariably mean 'plural (more than two) subject', never 'plural object.'

- (91) *Hi -mba li -v.*  
 3rd topic recline pres  
 'He is sleeping.'

- (92) *Hi -mba sha -v.*  
 3rd topic recline:pl pres  
 'They are sleeping.'

With this fact in mind, we look at a paradigm for the verb 'to die.'

- (93) *He -m daha-v.*  
 3rd Dative die pres  
 'He is dying.'

- (94) *He -m e -ndaha-wol -v.*  
 3rd Dative dual subj die dual obj pres  
 'The two are dying.'

- (95) *He -m dal -v.*  
 3rd Dative die:pl pres  
 'They are dying.'

Example (94) is ambiguous, since the verb is not only prefixed for dual subject but also suffixed for dual object, and *he-m* might be either. In example (95) this ambiguity does not exist.

In this analysis we view the ABSOLUTIVE as the possible remnant of a more extensive Ergative-Absolutive system. It seems basically fixed in use with only a few verbs, but there are a few examples that suggest it can be productive, as (96) and (97).

- (96) *He -m pil -vna.*  
 3rd Dative inanimate object lies cont  
 'He was (just) lying there (dead).'

The verb *pilv* 'an inanimate object lies' occurs elsewhere in the data with inanimate subjects not marked ABSOLUTIVE.

- (97) *He -m mundkola ve-na.*  
 3rd Dative old do past  
 'He became an old man.'

Example (97) contrasts with (98) in the marking of the subject.

- (98) *Hi -mba mundkolal loh -v.*  
 3rd topic old person exist pres  
 'He is an old man.'

### 3.1.5 BODY FUNCTION VERBS

#### [AGENT]

This small class has the following representative members:

<i>aembsa vev</i>	'sneeze'
<i>telp vev</i>	'urinate'
<i>wineng vev</i>	'cough'

- (99) *Yi -mba aembsa ve -i.*  
 2nd topic sneeze do r.past  
 'You sneezed.'

We analyze the subject of Body Function Verbs as AGENT because from the Waris viewpoint they are all volitional. Thus, parents will order their children to stop sneezing or coughing, lest they become sick.

### 3.2. TWO PLACE PREDICATES

There are eight verb types taking two core noun phrase (NP) arguments. They are Stative/Equative Verbs, Speech/Translative Verbs, Accompaniment/Possession Verbs, Experience Verbs, Force Verbs, Telic Verbs, Goal Verbs, and Patient Verbs.

#### 3.2.1 STATIVE/EQUATIVE VERBS

[PATIENT, ESSIVE]

Stative/Equative Verbs are the same as the Existential Verbs of section 3.1.1.

(100) *Hi -mba tendó-rini loh -v.*  
 3rd topic men Ablative exist pres  
 'He is a (married) man.'

(101) *Mani ten -ba vil -v?*  
 what that topic exist pres  
 'What is that (thing) there lying crumpled (like a bilum)?'

In examples (100) and (101) 'he' and 'that (thing)' are analyzed as PATIENT (non-volitional). 'Man' and 'what' are analyzed as ESSIVE, identifying them. Both *lohv* and *vilv* reveal, as Existential Verbs, how the speaker perceives the PATIENT. In (101) the speaker indicates that he/she sees the object as being intrinsically soft and capable of being crumpled or folded, as a bilum or clothing.

#### 3.2.2 SPEECH/TRANSLATIVE VERBS

[AGENT, RESULT (INSTRUMENT) (LOCATIVE) (PATIENT)]

The members of this class are:

<i>ishóv</i>	'speak'	<i>sevrav</i>	'say, sing'
<i>néngthav</i>	'call, name'	<i>novol vev</i>	'write'
<i>wunuhóv</i>	'call out'	<i>sahv</i>	'ask'
<i>óv</i>	'sound'		

In the following examples AGENT and RESULT case roles will be clear. RESULT of the verb *novol vev* 'write' is marked with the Dative *-m* while RESULT of the verbs of speaking is unmarked.

(102) *Hi -mba moa ishó -i.*

3rd topic words speak r.past  
'He spoke.'

(103) *Indhana-mba os ningthi-na bas.*

people topic thus call past bus  
'People called (it) 'bus'.'

(104) *Nama-m -sna kav -na -m hi -mba*  
name Dative at first 1st:emph Genitive Dative 3rd topic

*novol ve-na tombai-ra.*  
write do past paper Locative  
'At first he wrote down my name.'

(105) *Manasa os -m u -v maivéthe-v*  
Manassah thus Dative say:pl pres forget pres

*Hibru -na moa -na.*  
Hebrew Genitive words Genitive  
'(By) 'Manassah' (people) thus say 'forget' in (the) Hebrew language  
'Manassah' means 'forget' in Hebrew).'

Example (105) illustrates the transformation of RESULT into INSTRUMENT, by the use of the Genitive marker *-na*. Example (106) shows the same thing.

(106) *Ka -va indhana-na moa -na ishó -v.*

1st topic people Genitive words Genitive speak pres  
'I am speaking by means of people's talk (I am talking the vernacular).'

The verb *óv* 'make sounds, say' undergoes transformation of its case frame to form other single and double place predicates. Rather than set up additional verb classes with only one member to cover these transformations, we simply mention them here. The basic meaning of *óv* is 'make sounds characteristic of what is sounding.'

(107) *Es yi -mba ó -i?*  
 how 2nd topic say r.past  
 'What did you say?'

(108) *Tuaua ó -v.*  
 bird say pres  
 'A bird is singing.'

Example (109) illustrates the addition of a PATIENT to the case frame of *óv*.

(109) *Ka -va vuv ó -v.*  
 1st topic horn say pres  
 'I sound a (wooden) horn.'

Finally, example (110) illustrates how the PATIENT can be promoted to subject with deletion of AGENT.

(110) *Vuv ó -v.*  
 horn say pres  
 'A (wooden) horn is sounding (because someone is blowing it).'

Speech verbs may be transformed by adding benefactive suffixation and an additional noun phrase (NP) argument of benefactee into Ditransitive Speech Verbs (section 3.3.1).

### 3.2.3 ACCOMPANIMENT/POSSESSION VERBS

[AGENT, PATIENT/BENEFACTIVE (LOCATIVE)]

These verbs are based on Orientation-Existence Verbs with the added meaning of accompaniment or possession in appropriate prefixes.

	Accompaniment (animate)	Possession (inanimate)
sg	<i>wai-</i>	<i>wul-</i>
pl	<i>won-</i>	<i>i-</i>

(111) *Ka -va ye -m wai-loh -v.*  
 1st topic 2nd Dative acc stand pres  
 'I stand with you.'

(112) *Etel -va boasalel -m won -pró -i.*  
 older sibling topic y.sibling Dative acc:pl come r.past  
 'The older brother just brought his younger brothers.'

(113) *Wan yi -mba wul -a -v -ma?*  
 salt 2nd topic possess sit pres inter  
 'Do you have (some) salt?'

(114) *Anakskola pensil i -lvah -v.*  
 school children pencil possess stand:pl pres  
 'The school children have pencils.'

In examples (111-114) the two noun phrases are analyzed as having AGENT and PATIENT case roles. Example (115) illustrates an Accompaniment Verb not built on an Orientation-Existence Verb. It is analyzed as having AGENT and BENEFACTIVE case roles, because the verb is marked with Benefactive which is cross-referenced on the pronoun with Dative.

(115) *Ka -va ye -m onkai -n -na.*  
 1st topic 2nd Dative go and get bene:pl past  
 'I went and got for your (pl) benefit (I went and got you).'

### 3.2.4 EXPERIENCE VERB

[AGENT, GOAL/BENEFACTIVE]

Syntactic subjects of these verbs are analyzed as AGENT rather than a role like EXPERIENCE because like other AGENTs they are unmarked. In Waris thinking many

of them seem to have a strong element of volitionality, and such an analysis avoids adding another case role to the inventory. The Experience verbs fall in two classes; those occurring with GOAL and those occurring with BENEFACTIVE. With both types the object NP is marked with Dative *-m* but only with the BENEFACTIVE is the verb suffixed.

Occurring with GOAL		Occurring with BENEFACTIVE	
<i>héllev</i>	'hear'	<i>néngv</i>	'think'
<i>nonglev</i>	'see'	<i>wavrovohav</i>	'pity'
<i>maivéthev</i>	'forget'	<i>pem vev</i>	'fear'
<i>duvus vev</i>	'worry'	<i>musk vev</i>	'be angry'
<i>novvev</i>	'look for'	<i>und vev</i>	'love'

Example (116) illustrates an Experience Verb occurring with GOAL. Examples (117) and (118) occur with BENEFACTIVE.

(116) *Ka -va ye -m hélle -v.*  
 1st topic 2nd Dative hear pres  
 'I am listening to you.'

(117) *Ka -va ye -m néng -mana-v.*  
 1st topic 2nd Dative think be ne pres  
 'I am thinking about you.'

(118) *Hi -mba pem vi -mni -vna.*  
 3rd topic fear do:pl bene cont  
 'They were afraid of him.'

In example (118) the singular form of the Benefactive suffix on the verb indicates that there was one person whom the people were fearing.

### 3.2.5 FORCE VERBS

[FORCE, PATIENT/BENEFACTIVE (CAUSE)]

Force Verbs occur with inanimate syntactic subjects and inanimate objects which, depending on the verb, are either PATIENT or GOAL. Some verbs may take an additional inanimate CAUSE, marked with *-ra*, Locative.



Occurring with PATIENT		Occurring with BENEFACTIVE	
<i>lów</i>	'shoot'	<i>nihovovra vénav</i>	'be tired'
<i>hav</i>	'scratch'	<i>nitata vemnav</i>	'be sleepy'
<i>vuvrév</i>	'heat'	<i>nelpang vemnav</i>	'be cold'
		<i>evavul vemnav</i>	'be sick'
		<i>teihnung vemnav</i>	'smell an odor'
		<i>ku vemnav</i>	'head aches'

Examples (119) and (120) illustrate the use of PATIENT case role, and (121) and (122) the use of BENEFACTIVE case role.

(119) *Okómba ka -m vuvré-v.*  
 sun 1st Dative heat pres  
 'The sun is making me hot.'

(120) *Endeumb ka -m ha -i.*  
 nettle 1st Dative irritate r.past  
 'Stinging nettle just scratched and irritated me.'

(121) *Andra-ra ka -m -ba nihovovra v -éna -v.*  
 work Locative 1st Dative topic tiredness do bene pres  
 'Tiredness is doing for me because of work (I am tired from working).'

(122) *Ka -m -ba teihnung ve-mna -v.*  
 1st Dative topic odor do bene pres  
 'An odor is doing for me (A bad odor is bothering me).'

### 3.2.6 TELIC VERBS

[AGENT/PATIENT, TELIC]

Telic Verbs are *nilhav* 'change into', *sihav* 'enter', or one of the Existence Verbs (3.1.1). The subject is either AGENT or PATIENT depending on whether it is human and volitional, or non-volitional.

(123) *Popoli andava -elm nilha -na.*  
 cocoon butterfly Telic change into past  
 'The cocoon changed into a butterfly.'

(124) *Hi -mba Yesus-tindi -elm siha -na.*  
 3rd topic Jesus lineage Telic enter past  
 'He became a believer in Jesus.'

(125) *Yi -mba guru -elm loh -v -ma?*  
 2nd topic teacher Telic exist pres inter  
 'Are you a teacher?'

Compare example (125) with example (100) to see the partial overlap between these two sections.

### 3.2.7 GOAL VERBS

#### [AGENT, GOAL]

The syntactic object of a Goal Verb is marked with *-m*, Dative, meaning GOAL and is viewed as undergoing incomplete change, in contrast with the object of a Patient Verb (3.2.8). Here are some examples from this large class.

<i>hethev</i>	'chop on'	<i>hevrev</i>	'hit'
<i>véndv</i>	'beat'	<i>tuhv</i>	'touch'
<i>léngv</i>	'clear'	<i>vélavhav</i>	'open'
<i>sev</i>	'pick lice'		

The following examples are given in pairs with the first member of each pair illustrating GOAL and the second member illustrating contrasting PATIENT from the next verb class (3.2.8).

(126) *Ka -va ti -m he -the -v.*  
 1st topic tree Dative chop down process pres  
 'I am chopping on a tree.'

- (127) *Ka -va ti he -v.*  
 1st topic tree chop down pres  
 'I am chopping down a tree.'

In examples (126) and (127) the difference in form of the verbs involves the morpheme *-the* 'action to achieve a goal'; that is, *hethev* 'chop on' is the action one takes to achieve *hev* 'chop down.'

- (128) *Ka -va wóng-m vénd-v.*  
 1st topic drum Dative beat pres  
 'I am beating a drum.'

- (129) *Ka -va wóng vénd-v.*  
 1st topic drum beat pres  
 'I am beating a drum (and it resounds).'

- (130) *Ka -va ósó -m léng -v.*  
 1st topic garden Dative clear pres  
 'I am clearing land (with the goal of making a) garden.'

- (131) *Ka -va ósó léng -v.*  
 1st topic garden clear pres  
 'I am making a garden.'

Goal Verbs undergo transformation by adding Benefactive to the verb and an additional NP of benefactee. Such verbs are called Two- Goal Verbs (section 3.3.2).

### 3.2.8 PATIENT VERBS

[AGENT, PATIENT (CAUSE)]

Patient Verbs contrast with the above Goal Verbs in taking a PATIENT which experiences change. This may be a change of location or a change of state. This conceptual distinction is supported by the common occurrence of Benefactive with Change of Location Verbs and its less common occurrence with Change of State Verbs.

Change of Location		Change of State	
<i>guav</i>	'carry'	<i>hélvakomandhav</i>	'kill'
<i>vrvav</i>	'get'	<i>hev</i>	'cut down'
<i>puetv</i>	'pick fruit'	<i>véndv</i>	'beat'
<i>valaihav</i>	'open'	<i>léngv</i>	'clear land'
<i>endhav</i>	'plant'	<i>puisv</i>	'cut meat'
<i>véthev</i>	'put on'	<i>innesoa vev</i>	'cook'
<i>wolaihav</i>	'release'	<i>nev</i>	'eat'

- (132) *Hi -mba kin gua -na.*  
 3rd topic burden carry past  
 'He carried a burden.'
- (133) *Hi -mba talana véthe -v.*  
 3rd topic trousers put on pres  
 'He is putting on trousers.'
- (134) *Hi -mba timov puet-v.*  
 3rd topic fruit pick pres  
 'He is picking fruit (from a tree).'
- (135) *Ka -va tata puis -v.*  
 1st topic meat cut up pres  
 'I am cutting up meat.'
- (136) *Ka -va inne ne -v.*  
 1st topic food eat pres  
 'I am eating food.'

Example (137) illustrates how animate PATIENT is marked with the Dative *-m* unlike the inanimate PATIENTs above. (See section 5.0)

- (137) *Ka -va ye -m hélvakomandha-v.*  
 1st topic 2nd Dative kill pres  
 'I kill you.'

Some change of state type Patient Verbs can undergo PATIENT promotion to syntactic subject with the deletion of AGENT. Inanimate CAUSE then is optional.

(138) *Ka -va ti tovha-na.*

1st topic wood break past  
'I broke a stick.'

(139) *Milukul hev ambo tovha-na.*

post 3rd:emph merely break past  
'A (house) post broke merely of itself.'

(140) *Ka -va tuv pétha-i.*

1st topic door close r.past  
'I just closed the door.'

(141) *Tuv pétha-i (vuvi -ra).*

door close r.past (wind Locative)  
'The door just closed (because of the wind).'

Certain change of location type Patient Verbs can occur with Benefactive suffixation in which case a noun phrase (NP) encoding the Benefactee is added to the clause constituents. Such verbs are called Ditransitive Giving Verbs (section 3.3.3).

### 3.3 THREE PLACE PREDICATES

There are three ditransitive verb types taking three core NP arguments: Ditransitive Speech Verbs, Two-Goal Verbs and Ditransitive Giving Verbs. All such verbs require the occurrence of Benefactive marking on the verb with the optional co-occurrence of a noun phrase (NP) encoding Benefactee, which is obligatorily animate.

#### 3.3.1 DITRANSITIVE SPEECH VERBS

[AGENT, BENEFACTIVE, GOAL/RESULT]

The BENEFACTIVE marks the recipient of the speech while the GOAL may be a third party talked about. Both GOAL and BENEFACTIVE are marked with Dative *-m* but are disambiguated by word order, since BENEFACTIVE immediately follows

AGENT while GOAL may be clause initial or final depending on discourse considerations involving topic continuity.

(142) *Ye -m ka -va pater -m sah-mana-v.*  
 2nd Dative 1st topic priest Dative ask bene pres  
 'I ask the priest concerning you.'

(143) *Hi -mba ye -m -ba manevema -mba ishó -mn -i.*  
 3rd topic 2nd Dative topic something topic speak bene r.past  
 'He spoke to you (about) something.'

In (143) 'something' is the RESULT.

### 3.3.2 TWO GOAL VERBS

[AGENT, BENEFACTIVE, GOAL]

As with Ditransitive Speech Verbs both BENEFACTIVE and GOAL are marked with Dative *-m* but are disambiguated by word order, BENEFACTIVE coming right after AGENT.

(144) *Hi -mba ka -m tuv -m hevra-mna -na.*  
 3rd topic 1st Dative door Dative hit bene past  
 'He beat on the door for my benefit (to wake me up).'

(145) *Ka -va ye -m tuaua-m indtoha -mna -v.*  
 1st topic 2nd Dative bird Dative point to bene pres  
 'I point to a bird for your benefit (to show you).'

### 3.3.3 DITRANSITIVE GIVING VERBS

[AGENT, PATIENT, BENEFACTIVE/RECIPIENT (PURPOSE)]

PATIENT is the entity given while BENEFACTIVE or RECIPIENT is the recipient.

(146) *Indhana-m ka -va inne moang vi-n -v.*  
 people Dative 1st topic food distribute do bene:pl pres  
 'I distribute food to people.'

(147) *Hi -mba di ka -m dembra-ho -i inne -ram.*  
 3rd topic money 1st Dative give recip r.past food Allative  
 'He gave me money (in return) for food.'

(148) *Aral -m ka -va ótól holvo -ra -ho -i.*  
 father Dative 1st topic child living thing get recip r.past  
 'I just got the child for (its) father (I gave it to its father).'

The post-AGENT position in these clauses is reserved for PATIENT. GOAL may be fronted to become clause-initial in discourse.

#### 4.0 DEGREE OF TRANSITIVITY OF VERBS

Bruce (1979: 345ff) has applied the Transitivity Hypothesis of Hopper and Thompson (1980) to Alambalak verbs. I have attempted to do the same with representative verbs of each class in this paper. The scale I arrive at is a preliminary one because the parameters of transitivity of Hopper and Thompson (kinesis, aspect, volitionality, affectedness of object, etc.) are not given in a scale of relative importance but merely listed. .PP Because of verbal and nominal affixation patterns in Waris it seems profitable to put more weight on volitionality, action, and affectedness of object when they occur, also on the number of participants. In Table 2 (pp. 40-41) is a preliminary ranking of the verb classes. Following is a brief discussion of three significant morphosyntactic correlations. .PP One salient correlation is that Three-Place Predicates, which Hopper and Thompson rate as of high transitivity, are constructed in Waris only by using the Benefactive (see section 3.3). That is, the verb is obligatorily marked with the Benefactive with cross-references one of the NPs as Benefactee or Recipient. The three classes of verbs which enter into such constructions are:

- 1) Ditransitive Speech Verbs (section 3.3.1),
- 2) Two Goal Verbs (section 3.3.2), and
- 3) Ditransitive Giving Verbs (section 3.3.3).

Another correlation is with the least transitive animate predicates, exemplified by *dahav* 'die.' We rank this as of low transitivity since it is not volitional (even though the subject is highly affected). The syntactic correlation is that subjects of such verbs are marked ABSOLUTIVE (see section 3.1.4).

A third correlation is that between the degree of transitivity of verbs taking GOAL or PATIENT and the syntactic marking of the GOAL or PATIENT (see sections 3.2.7 and 3.2.8). PATIENT of such verbs is totally affected, indicating higher transitivity, while GOAL is not affected. The syntactic correlation is that NP GOAL is marked with *-m* Dative and NP PATIENT is unmarked.

Table 2

## Preliminary Ranking of Waris Verbs in Order of Increasing Transitivity

1	Change of State Verbs (section 3.1.3)	<i>Amb doa ovóvó viló -i.</i> greens completive wilt exist r.past 'The greens have wilted.'
2	Pseudo-Passive Verbs (section 3.1.4)	<i>Ka -m -ba daha-v.</i> 1st Dative topic die pres 'I am dying (from something).'
3	Existential Verbs (section 3.1.1)	<i>Ka -va loh -v.</i> 1st topic exist pres 'I exist.'
4	Body Function Verbs (section 3.1.5)	<i>Ka -va aembsa ve -v.</i> 1st topic sneeze do pres 'I sneeze.'
5	Motion Verbs (section 3.1.2)	<i>Ka -va pho -v.</i> 1st topic arrive pres 'I arrive.'
6	Force Verbs (section 3.2.5)	<i>Ku ka -m -ba ve -mna -v.</i> head 1st Dative topic do bene pres 'I have a headache.'
7	Possession Verbs (section 3.2.3)	<i>Wan ka -va wul -a -v.</i> salt 1st topic poss sit pres 'I have salt.'
8	Stative/Equative Verbs (section 3.2.1)	<i>Ka -va tendó-rini loh -v.</i> 1st topic man Ablative exist pres 'I am a man.'



Table 2 (Continued)

9 Telic Verbs (section 3.2.6)	<i>Ka -va guru -elm loh -v.</i> 1st topic teacher Telic exist pres 'I am a teacher.'
10 Speech Verbs (section 3.2.2)	<i>Ka -va moa ishó -v.</i> 1st topic words speak pres 'I am talking.'
11 Ditransitive Speech Verbs (section 3.2.2)	<i>Ka -va ye -m moa</i> 1st topic 2nd Dative words <i>ishó -mna -v.</i> speak bene pres 'I am talking to you.'
12 Experience Verbs (section 3.2.4)	<i>Ka -va tuaua-m nongle-v.</i> 1st topic bird Dative see pres 'I see a bird.'
13 Accompaniment Verbs (section 3.2.3)	<i>Ka -va ye -m wai-loh -v.</i> 1st topic 2nd Dative acc stand pres 'I stand up with you.'
14 Patient Verbs with change of location (section 3.2.8)	<i>Ka -va kin gua -v.</i> 1st topic burden carry pres 'I carry a burden.'
15 Goal Verbs (section 3.2.7)	<i>Ka -va ti -m hethe -v.</i> 1st topic tree Dative chop on pres 'I chop on a tree.'
16 Two-Goal Verbs (section 3.3.2)	<i>Ka -va ye -m tuaua-m</i> 1st topic you Dative bird Dative <i>indtoha -mna -v.</i> point to bene pres 'I point to a bird for you.'
17 Patient Verbs with change of state (section 3.2.8)	<i>Ka -va ti he -v.</i> 1st topic tree chop down pres 'I chop down a tree.'
18 Ditransitive Giving Verbs (section 3.3.3)	<i>Ka -va ye -m ótól</i> 1st topic 2nd Dative child <i>holvo -ra -ho -v.</i> living thing get recip pres 'I hand you the child.'

In summary, it appears that the scale of Waris transitivity has significant morphosyntactic correlations at the extreme ends of the scale, with very high and very low transitivity verbs. Those in the middle are fuzzy as to their morphosyntactic reflexes.

## 5.0 UNSOLVED ISSUES

In this analysis, inanimate syntactic objects may be either GOAL or PATIENT, which are marked respectively with *-m* Dative or unmarked. GOAL is viewed as unaffected by the action of the verb, while PATIENT is affected. The problem then arises in explaining why all animate objects are marked with the Dative, including what an analyst would call PATIENT as well as GOAL.

(149) *Ka -va ye -m h lle-v.*  
 1st topic 2nd Dative hear pres  
 ‘I am listening to you.’

(150) *Ka -va ye -m h lvakomandha-v.*  
 1st topic 2nd Dative kill pres  
 ‘I kill you.’

There are at least two possible explanations:

1) This is further evidence of a remnant Ergative-Absolutive system in Waris. In section 2.9.4 above it was described how certain (animate) intransitive subjects are marked ABSOLUTIVE with the Dative.

(151) *Ye -m daha-v.*  
 2nd Dative die pres  
 ‘You are dying.’

However, Prof. Bernard Comrie (personal communication) kindly pointed out that the analysis of an Ergative-Absolutive system in this data is unusual and suspect because it is usual for Ergative to be the marked case, rather than Absolutive.

2) Dative (*-m*) marking on animate objects is necessary to disambiguate AGENT and PATIENT. Basic word order is S-O-V but O is frequently fronted to signal local topic. Since the topic marker does not serve to disambiguate AGENT and GOAL/PATIENT the following ambiguity could arise in discourse:

(152) *Ka ye hélvakomandha-v.*    *Ye ka hélvakomandha-v.*  
           1st 2nd kill                    pres    2nd 1st kill                    pres  
           'I kill you/You kill me (??)'

Foley (forthcoming: section 4.5) agrees with this analysis of the disambiguating function of *-m*.<sup>3</sup>

## NOTES

- \*The author is grateful for the advice of Cynthia Farr and Robert Conrad. The author assumes responsibility for mistakes.
1. By "unambiguous" I mean that because of case marking and word order it is generally clear what syntactic role is to be assigned to a given NP. After this paper was drafted, the work of Seiler (1985) on Imonda, a closely related language, was published. Its grammar is very similar to that of Waris but Seiler is not convinced of the core status of O and IO. Readers should consult sections 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 of Seiler's book.
  2. Seiler (ibid) assigns a 'syntactic' role to *-m* and not merely a semantic case role. See sections 7.3 and 4.3 of his book.
  3. Seiler (ibid) analyzes Imonda *-m* this way (section 7.3.7).

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