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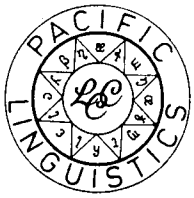
THE VERB MORPHOLOGY OF MORI, SULAWESI

Linda A. Barsel



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Dedicated to

Rev. Sri Swami Satchidananda

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE vii

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS viii

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION 1
- 1.1 Language background 1
- 1.2 Review of written materials on the Mori language 2
- 1.3 Database 3
- 1.4 Theoretical background 5
- 1.5 Summary 9

CHAPTER 2 – PHONOLOGICAL SKETCH 11
- 2.1 Segmental analysis 11
- 2.2 Systematic analysis 19
- 2.3 Stress 25
- 2.4 Syllabic structure and canonical shape of morphemes 27

CHAPTER 3 – WORD CLASSES 30
- 3.1 Bases 31
- 3.2 Numbers 37
- 3.3 Substitutes 38
- 3.4 Particles 47
- 3.5 Interjections 51

CHAPTER 4 – GRAMMATICAL BACKGROUND: SIMPLE SENTENCE STRUCTURE 52
- 4.1 Subject 52
- 4.2 Predicate 52
- 4.3 Inflection on the predicate 54
- 4.4 Case 65

CHAPTER 5 – VERB MORPHOLOGY: THE VERB ROOT 68
- 5.1 V-root Class 1: V-roots that occur unaffixed 68
- 5.2 V-root Class 2: V-roots that occur with monosyllabic reduplication 70
- 5.3 V-root Class 3: V-roots that occur with *ko*$_1$- 70
- 5.4 V-root Class 4: V-roots that occur with *mo-* 70
- 5.5 V-root Class 5: V-roots that occur with *ma-* 71
- 5.6 V-root Class 6: V-roots that occur with *me-* 71
- 5.7 V-root Class 7: V-roots that occur with *mo-ko*$_1$- 71
- 5.8 V-root Class 8: V-roots that occur with *te-* 72
- 5.9 V-root Class 9: V-roots that occur with *Pe*$_1$- 72
- 5.10 V-root Class 10: V-roots that occur with *Pe*$_2$- 73

5.11 V-root Class 11: V-roots that occur with *Pe$_2$-N-* 74
5.12 V-root Class 12: V-roots that occur with *-um$_1$-* 74
5.13 V-root Class 13: V-roots that occur with *PoN-* 75
5.14 V-root Class 14: V-roots that occur with *PoN-*, *-um$_2$-* and *-in-* 76
5.15 V-root Class 15: V-roots that occur with derivational affixes 76
5.16 Discussion of the V-root Classes 76

CHAPTER 6 – VERB MORPHOLOGY: THE VERB STEM 80
6.1 V-stem Class 1: verbal V-stems 80
6.2 V-stem Class 2: nominal V-stems 81

CHAPTER 7 – VERB MORPHOLOGY: THE VERB BASE 83
7.1 V-base Class 1: fundamental V-bases 83
7.2 V-base Class 2: derived V-bases 83

CHAPTER 8 – TEXT ANALYSIS 127

REFERENCES 139

PREFACE

This study is based upon my doctoral dissertation, which I submitted for the completion of my doctorate in philosophy to the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University in New York City. I am therefore sincerely grateful to my academic advisors, Professors Harvey Pitkin, Hanni Woodbury, Robert Austerlitz and Alan Stevens, as well as to Professor Isidore Dyen for their careful reading of this manuscript at the dissertation level and for their helpful criticisms and suggestions.

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Finally, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to my parents and my husband for their encouragement and moral support and to my beloved Gurudev for teaching me patience and perseverance.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

SYMBOLS

#	word boundary
+	morpheme boundary
.	syllable boundary
( )	optional
{ }	either/or
< >	base used as verb stem
/ /	phonemic transliteration
// //	morphophonemic transliteration
[ ]	phonetic transliteration
$[\ ]_{p}$	prefix
$[\ ]_{vs}$	verb stem
$[\ ]_{vb}$	verb base
$[\ ]_{dm}$	demonstrative pronoun
$[\ ]_{sf}$	suffix
$[\ ]_{MR}$	monosyllabic reduplication
$[\ ]_{vb\text{-}SB}$	verb base uninflected for the subject
$\{\ \}_{AG}$, etc.	agentive case, etc.
⇒	becomes
/	in the environment of
~	alternates with

PHONOLOGICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Ç	articulated forward in mouth
V:	lengthened vowel
Ṽ	nasalised vowel
'CV	primary stress
,CV	secondary stress
'...'	gloss
*	does not occur/incorrect
C	consonant
V	vowel
N	nasal
^{N}C	prenasalised consonant
C_{lb}	labial consonant
C_{-v}	voiceless consonant
C_{vl}	velar consonant
V-o	any vowel except /o/
Mp1, etc.	morphophonemic rules

PRONOMINAL ABBREVIATIONS

SG1	1st person singular
SG2	2nd person singular
SG2R	2nd person singular, respect
SG3	3rd person singular
SG3R	3rd person singular, respect
DU1EXC	1st person dual, exclusive
DU1INC	1st person dual, inclusive
DU2	2nd person dual
DU3	3rd person dual
PL1EXC	1st person plural, exclusive
PL1INC	1st person plural, inclusive
PL2	2nd person plural
PL3	3rd person plural
IS-SG1, etc.	Emphasised 1st person singular, etc.
MT-SG1, etc.	Mitigated 1st person singular, etc.
SG1.AVC, etc.	1st person singular, adverbial clause
SG1.DO, etc.	1st person singular, direct object
SG1.EM, etc.	1st person singular, emphatic
SG1.F, etc.	1st person singular, future tense
SG1.IO, etc.	1st person singular, indirect object
SG1.IT, etc.	1st person singular, imperative
SG1.OS, etc.	1st person singular, 'by oneself'

SG1.PA, etc.	1st person singular, agent of passive construction
SG1.PS, etc.	1st person singular, possessive
SG1.SB, etc.	1st person singular, subject

MORPHOLOGICAL ABBREVIATIONS

AB	abrupt mode
AC	accusative case
AG	agentive semantic case
AJ	adjunct
AJ.NI	adjunct new information
AN	antipassive
AP	aptative mode
AQ	acquired mode
AR	arbitrary mode
AR.CT	arbitrary continuative mode
AS	associative semantic case
ASM	associative mode
AV	adverbial marker
AVC	adverbial clause
B	beneficiary
BC	benefactive semantic case
BR	bisyllabic reduplication
CA	causative mode
CC	complementing semantic case
CN	common noun marker
CR	cardinal number mode
CT	continuative mode
CT.IR	continuative intrinsic mode
DC	dative case
DE	de-emphasised
DO	direct object
DP	dependent clause
DR	directional mode
DS	distributive mode
DU	dual
DV	derived verb/derivational verbal affixes
DV-bases	derived verb bases
EA.IR	easy intrinsic mode
EC	excessive mode
EC.CT	excessive continuative mode
EC.DS	excessive distributive mode
EM	emphatic
EM.F	future emphatic
EM.NF	non-future emphatic
EP	experiential semantic case
EXC	exclusion of the addressee in 1st person plural
F	future
FV-affixes	fundamental verb affixes
FV-bases	fundamental verb bases
G.TR	general transitive
IC	instrumental grammatical case
ID.CA	intended causative mode
IF	infix(es)
IL	instrumental semantic case
IM	imitative mode
INC	inclusion of the addressee in 1st person plural
INT	intransitive
IO	indirect object
IR	intrinsic mode
IS	intense mode
IS.CT	intense continuative mode
IS.EC	intense excessive mode
IS.IR	intense, intrinsic mode
IT	imperative
ITT	iterative mode
k.o.	kind of
LC	locative grammatical case
LK	linking morpheme
LP	locative particle/prefix
LS	locative semantic case
ME	measurative mode
MN	simple manner mode
MR	monosyllabic reduplication
MT	mitigated mode
MT.CA	mitigated causative mode
MT.OB	mitigated observational mode

MT.RS	mitigated resembling mode
MV	moving mode
N-base	noun base
NC	nominative case
NF	non-future
NI	new information
NM	nominaliser
NP	noun phrase
O	object
OB	observational mode
OC	objective semantic case
OL	olfactory mode
OR	ordinal number mode
OS	by oneself, alone
o.s.	oneself
PA	agent of a passive V-base
PD	predicator
PD.NI	predicate, new information
PF	prefix(es)
PL	plural
PM.CA	permanent causative mode
PN	proper noun
PNM	proper noun marker
PR.ST	pronominal set
PS	possessor
PSS	passive
Q	question marker
QL	simple quality mode
RC	reciprocal action
RF	reflexive action
RQ	requesting mode
RS	resembling mode
RS.CA	resembling causative mode
RT	restricted mode
S	state (or process)
SB	subject
SB.NI	subject new information
SF	suffix(es)
SG	singular
SL	solitary mode
SP.CA	specific causative
SP.EV	specific event
SP.TR	specific transitive
s.t.	something
TR.RF	transitive-reflexive
TS	testing mode
UID	unintended mode
UID.CA	unintended causative mode
V-base	verb base
VP	verb phrase
V-root	verb root
V-stem	verb stem

CHAPER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

Mori is an Austronesian language, spoken in the eastern districts of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. It was first classified by Esser (1938) as a member of the Bungku-Laki subgroup of the Sulawesi languages and then later by Salzner (1960) as a member of the Bungku-Mori subgroup of south-west Indonesian languages. Recently, it has been reclassified by Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979) as a member of the Bungku-Mori subgroup of the West Central Sulawesi group of south-west Indonesian languages.

The first written reference to the Mori language appears in 1900 in an article by Adriani in which several word lists are presented and the western Mori dialects are classified as the "Morisch" language and the eastern dialects as a separate language referred to as "Petasia'sch". Later in the third volume of *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja van Midden-Celebes* (Adriani & Kruijt 1914), he revises these earlier classifications and includes the eastern dialects under the heading of "Morisch". Esser (1927) accepts Adriani's later classification of the western and eastern dialects as one language and then further divides it into four basic dialects: the Mokole dialect, the Upper Mori dialect, the Karunsi'e-Watu dialect and the Padoe dialect. He subdivides the Mokole dialect into the Mokole, Tiu and Moiki sub-dialects, the Karunsi'e-Watu dialect into the Watu and Karunsi'e sub-dialect, and the Upper Mori dialect into Upper Mori, Molia'o, Impo, Molongkuni and Ulu'uwoi-Tambee sub-dialect, leaving Padoe in a class by itself.

Mori is spoken as the first language of approximately 30,000 people living in the Mori homelands in Central and South Sulawesi and approximately 10,000 people living in the urban centres of Sulawesi and of other Indonesian islands.[1]

Geographically, the area in which Mori is spoken is bounded to the west and the north by the Pamona (the Bare'e-speaking Toraja), to the north-east and south-east by the Bungku, and to the south-west by the Bugis. Within the last 100 years the Bugis have also migrated into the eastern Mori regions near the sea, establishing several communities along the eastern coast of Sulawesi and up the Laa River. In the rural areas approximately eighty per cent of the population is bilingual in Mori and Indonesian, and even though Mori is still the medium of everyday conversation, the people freely switch from one language to another. In urban centres, however, bilingualism is as high as ninety-eight per cent among Mori adult inhabitants and Indonesian is rapidly replacing the local language as the medium of daily speech, the language of the home, and the first language taught to children.

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1 These are my rough estimates of the Mori population. In Voegelin and Voegelin (1977:100) the population of the Mori is listed as 200,000. I have not found any past or present census material to substantiate this number.

Before the turn of the century the Mori lived in fairly isolated settlements cultivating dry rice and sago. Their major contact with the outside world was with Buginese traders from Malili in the south-west and with Chinese and Buginese ships that would stop and trade on the eastern coast of Central Sulawesi near Kolonodale. Sporadic warfare restricted inter-village channels of communication and reinforced the village unit as the major speech community as well as the major social, economic, political and religious unit. Periodic famines, on the other hand, would splinter these well-defined units and force people to flee, seeking the charity of distant communities. The result of these centrifugal and centripetal forces on the pre-colonial speech communities is extreme diversity in language behaviour among Mori villages. No two villages speak exactly the same variety of language, and even within the dialects and sub-dialects established by Esser (1927) there is considerable diversity in the speech of different villages.

The first contact that the Mori had with the West was in 1899 when Adriani, A. Kruijt, and their Minahasan assistants made an exploratory expedition from Lake Poso to the Teluk To Mori for the Nederlandsch Zendeling-genootschap (Dutch Mission Society). By 1906 the Dutch colonial military forces had arrived and brought the Mori homelands under Dutch rule. After 15 years of military occupation and Dutch colonial administration, the Nederlandsch Zendeling-genootschap returned to the area and set up a Protestant mission in the Mori lowlands near Kolonodale. Through the efforts of the first missionaries, J. Kruijt, A. Kruijt and H. Reppie, and later H. and A. Reidel, the Mokole dialect of Mori was established as the standard dialect and used as the language of school, church and government. During this period, Malay, already the colonial language, was also introduced in the Mission schools and in the local colonial government and promoted as the national language. Unlike the Minahasans of North Sulawesi, who were brought under colonial rule in an earlier period, the Mori always spoke Malay or their own language with the colonial officials and therefore had very little exposure to Dutch or any other Western language.

1.2 Review of written materials on the Mori language

The first written materials on the Mori language appeared in the early part of the twentieth century and consisted of word lists, folktales, and a classification of dialects. As already mentioned, the first written reference to the Mori language appears in 1900 in an article by Adriani. In 1914, Mori was established as a language separate from Bungku in the third volume of *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja van Midden-Celebes* by Adriani and Kruijt. In 1918 and 1919, Adriani, van Eelen and Ritsema published three Mori folktales (Adriani, van Eelen and Ritsema 1918-1919), and J. Kruijt published an article on the Mori numerals (Kruijt 1919).

The only grammar written on Mori is Esser's (1927) descriptive work, reflecting the linguistic theory of the early twentieth century. In it Esser organises a large corpus of excellent field data into twelve chapters. His monograph is a synchronic description of the parts of speech and the noun and verb affixes, which includes a section on ethnographic notes, a brief analysis of Mori dialects, a phonemic and phonetic description, and diachronic speculation.

The only other material available on Mori, in which the language is analysed linguistically, is an unpublished senior thesis on Mori pronouns (see Lingkua 1969).

The materials written in the Mori language consist of two books of Bible stories (Adriani 1928a, 1928b), translated into Mori by J. Kruijt, and the New Testament, translated by Riedel (1948).

1.3 DATABASE

The database of this work is primarily from texts, words and phrases that I collected in eastern Central Sulawesi between September 1976 and September 1978.[2]

1.3.1 FIELD SITE

During the two-year period of my fieldwork I resided in a small village (pop. 504[3]) situated 30 kilometres from the eastern coast of Central Sulawesi. I chose this village as my field site, firstly, because almost all of its inhabitants were native speakers of the Mokole dialect of Mori, the only dialect with materials written in it and the dialect used at an earlier period by both the government and the Protestant Church as the lingua franca in the Mori districts; secondly, because its population was of average size for the area and within a manageable range for a single fieldworker; and thirdly, because it was located in the heart of the Mori homelands and had only a minimal amount of influence from any of the neighbouring languages, such as Buginese or Pamona.

1.3.2 INFORMANTS

Throughout the two years of my fieldwork I employed the service of three primary informants. The first was born in 1934. He was bilingual in Mori and Indonesian and a native speaker of the Mokole dialect of Mori. His father was from a Molongkuni village and his mother from the village under study. As a child his parents spoke both Mori and Indonesian in the home, and they lived in several villages throughout the Mori and Bungku areas. He spent four years in Tentena, a Pamona-speaking town, where he attended a teachers' high school. Upon graduating he returned to his native village. For nineteen years he taught at the local elementary school. Then he took a position in the district government office. While he was a schoolteacher he was also the Protestant minister of his native village for four years and then a church elder for another three years. Presently he is a member of the council of village elders, that interprets and executes the law and customs of the village. His wife was born and raised in the village under study, and they always spoke Mori to their children.

My second informant was also born in 1934. He was bilingual in Mori and Indonesian and was also a native speaker of the Mokole-dialect of Mori. He was born and raised in the village under study. Both of his parents are monolingual, his father being from the village under study and his mother from a Molongkuni village. He first left his village to attend a junior high school in Kolonodale, a Mori-speaking town. After graduating he worked for a year in Luwuk, a city to the north-east of the Mori homelands, and then went to Tentena to attend a teachers' high school. From there he returned to the Mori areas to begin his career as

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2 Under the auspices of an NIMH predoctoral grant and research fellowship award (number 5F31MH05211).

3 This figure was obtained in a village census that I took in 1979.

an elementary teacher. He has taught school in three different Mori villages and in Poso, a city to the north-west of the Mori homelands, and is presently the head of the elementary school in the village under study. His wife is from a Molongkuni village, and they always speak Mori with each other and with their children.

My third informant was born in 1924. She was bilingual in Indonesian and Mori and a native speaker of the Mokole-dialect of Mori. Both of her parents were from the village under study and were monolingual in Mori. She was born and raised in the village under study and has lived there all of her life except for four years when she lived in a neighbouring Molongkuni village. She attended three years of elementary school and then helped her family with household duties and farming until she was married. Her husband was from a Molongkuni village, and they always spoke Mori with their children. When she visits her grandchildren in a Mori town on the coast, however, she speaks Indonesian with them since they are not being taught the local language.

In addition to these three primary informants I also had two field assistants, one who was born in 1954, and another who was born in 1945. They were both bilingual, native speakers of Mori and had attended elementary school to the sixth grade. They assisted by helping me transcribe my recorded texts, take a village census, and administer questionnaires on the linguistic background of individuals and on language attitudes.

1.3.3 Preparation for the field study

Before leaving for Indonesia I studied the Indonesian language for two years and then took an intensive Indonesian language course for two and a half months at IKIP-Malang in East Java. When I arrived at my field site I could speak the national language fluently and had no problems communicating with the people. Initially I began my elicitation of Mori in Indonesian and then slowly switched to eliciting in Mori as I became more fluent in the local language. After the first year I used only Mori in elicitation and in daily conversation.

1.3.4 Methodology

I used four basic methods to collect the data for this study:

1. *Participant observation.* While living in the village I collected hours of texts, in which I recorded members of the community speaking in a variety of situations ranging from formal (e.g. sermons, speeches at weddings and funerals) to informal (e.g. conversations after dinner). With this method I was able not only to observe verbal behaviour in context but also to test the use of different lexical items, phrases and grammatical constructions with different individuals (e.g. old versus young).
2. *Formal interviews.* I collected background information on all the members of the community, interviewing them on the composition of their households, their marriage and kinship relationships, their linguistic backgrounds, their education, and their attitudes towards language use.
3. *Elicitation of oral literature and songs.* I recorded Mori folktales, songs and accounts of oral history using a variety of speakers from different age groups.

Then, with my informants, I analysed the transcribed texts for grammar and lexicon and slip-filed the lexical, morphological and syntactic data.

4. *Elicitation of grammatical forms.* Using my slip-file as a base I isolated basic roots, verbal affixes and syntactic structures and elicited new words and syntactic forms in Mori.

1.4 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This monograph is a descriptive study, which uses a structural, taxonomic model of analysis. The model used is essentially the model discussed by Eugene A. Nida (1949) in *Morphology: the descriptive analysis of words*. In accordance with this model of analysis, the existence of certain basic universal concepts, such as *phoneme*, *morpheme*, *allomorph* etc., are assumed in this study.

In addition to the basic structural model, certain concepts introduced by Fillmore (1968), Chafe (1970) and Aronoff (1976) are also employed in this study. From Fillmore, the separation of grammatical and semantic case and the division and definition of the different semantic cases are adopted. From Chafe, the analysis of new information, the semantic features of different types of verbs, and the corresponding semantic cases of accompanying noun-phrases are adopted. From Aronoff (p.21), the hypothesis that "all regular word-formation processes are word-based" is adopted.

The structural, taxonomic model was employed in this study instead of one of the more modern generative or generative semantic models due to the limitations of the data. As discussed earlier, the data used in this study consists of a limited number of texts. The structural model, being descriptive, presents rules that restrict the description to the grammar of recorded data. The generative models, however, are productive, having rules that produce utterances, whether previously uttered or not, that native speakers of the language should find grammatical. Without a native speaker's insight to check the output of such rules, the generative models prove to be too powerful for this study.

The terminology and structure of this study, while essentially structural, also conform with the conventions already established by other Austronesian linguists. Due to the structure of the Mori language, however, there are a few differences in terminology and the analysis of basic units.

Firstly, in the discussion of word classes (section 3.1.2), the verb is defined by the occurrence of a morphophonemic rule (Mp5) on a root (section 2.2), or by the occurrence of certain affixes on a root or stem. The verb so defined has a range of functions that is much broader than the verbs of many other Austronesian languages. It can head or modify verb phrases (VPs) or noun phrases (NPs). The verbs that head NPs and that modify VPs contrast with other word classes that occur in the same positions, but those that modify NPs only contrast with the substitutes. For this reason all the words that function as adjectives in Mori are classified as verbs.

The second major point of difference between this analysis and that of other Austronesian grammars is the placement of word boundaries. In some Austronesian grammars the sets of pronominal markers are, for the most part, established as separate words. In this analysis of Mori six sets of pronouns are established as separate words and five sets are classified as prefixes and suffixes. There are two reasons for this change in convention. Firstly, the emphatic suffixes, *-po* 'future' and *-mo* 'non-future', always occur at the end of a word.

When a pronoun from one of the sets established as separate words occurs before the verb these suffixes are suffixed to the pronouns, as shown in examples 1.1 and 1.2.[4]

1.1 *Oŋkue-mo-um$_1$-lako* /lumako/.
SG1-EM.NF-INT-go
I (am the one who) went.

1.2 *Aku-mo-um$_1$-lako* /lumako/.
SG1.F-EM.NF-INT-go
I'm going to go.

When the other prepositional pronouns occur, these suffixes are suffixed to the verb base. For example:

1.3 *Ka ku-um$_1$-lako-mo* /kulakomo/.
and.then SG1.SB-INT-go-EM.NF
And then I went.

Secondly, the infixes, *-um$_1$-* and *-um$_2$-*, and the prefixes beginning with the morphophoneme //P// behave differently with different sets of prepositional pronouns. When another word, a pause, or a pronoun from one of the sets established as words precedes the verb, *-um$_1$-* and *-um$_2$-* occur as *-um-* and //P// becomes /m/, as demonstrated above in examples 1.1 and 1.2, and below in examples 1.4 - 1.6.

1.4 *Aku PoN-nahu* /monahu/.
SG1.F G.TR-cook
I will cook.

1.5 *Oŋkue-um$_2$-nahu-o* /numahuo/ *inahu atuu.*
SG1-SP.TR-cook-SG3.DO vegetable that
I (am the one who) cooked those vegetables.

1.6 *-um$_1$-lako-aku-mo* /lumako'akumo/.
INT-go-SG1.SB-EM.NF
I went.

When the other prepositional pronouns occur, *-um-* goes to zero and //P// becomes /p/, as demonstrated above in example 1.3 and below in example 1.7.

1.7 *Hieno ku-PoN-nahu* /kuponahu/.
earlier SG1.SB-G.TR-cook
I cooked earlier.

The placement of the word boundaries between nouns and their modifiers in this analysis of Mori also differs from other Austronesian grammars. In Mori whenever a pre-positional verb or a noun modifies a noun they are linked by the homorganic nasal *-N-*. In both cases the vowel-doubling rule Mp5, which only applies to unaffixed verb roots, does not apply. For this reason nouns modified by a prepositional verb or a noun are considered compound words rather than two separate words. For example:

---

4 The key to the abbreviations used in this work is given in the list of Symbols and Abbreviations. Where morphophonemic rules apply to morpheme sequences within a word the resulting pronunciation is indicated by the sequence of phonemes enclosed within slashes immediately following that word.

1.8 *Asa-o* /aasa/ *keu.*
one-SG3.SB tree
There is one tree (lit. the tree is one).

1.9 *asa-N-keu* /asaŋkeu/
one-LK-tree
one tree

1.10 *aN-wawo-N-tahi* /awawontahi/
LP-top-LK-sea
above the sea

Examples 1.8 and 1.9 both have the same basic units, but example 1.8 is a complete sentence in which the predicate is the verb *aasa* '(is) one', which undergoes the vowel-doubling rule Mp6, and the subject is *keu* 'tree, wood'. Example 1.9, on the other hand, is only the NP *asaŋkeu* 'one tree'. Example 1.10 is a locative phrase in which the noun *wawo* 'top' is modified by the noun *tahi* 'sea', creating the compound noun *wawontahi* 'area above the sea' (see Schachter & Otanes 1972).

The analysis of this linking *-N-* differs from that of the linker in Philippine languages in that the linker is treated as a separate particle that occurs between two words or as a suffix that is suffixed to the first of two words.

The definition of verb base (V-base) in the literature on Austronesian languages varies somewhat from language to language and from one school of analysis to another. Here the V-base is defined as any uninflected verb root (V-root), or any uninflected stem with verb-forming affixes that can occur as an independent word. On a taxonomic level, the V-base is distinct from the V-root, the verb stem (V-stem), and the inflected verb (section 3.1.2 and Chapter 5).

The definitions of mode, aspect and tense also vary from language to language in the Austronesian literature. Often certain features classified as mode in one language are classified as aspect in another, and other features classified as aspect in one language are classified as tense in another (see Benton 1971; Elkins 1970; Wolfenden 1971). In this study, since the Mori language does not grammatically distinguish between aspect and tense, the term 'aspect' is not used, tense refers to measurements of time, and mode to any other semantic features that are grammatically depicted including repetition over time and space.

This study again differs from other Austronesian grammars in its analysis of a new grammatical category, which is referred to as 'new information'. Unlike the Philippine languages, Mori does not have a system of focus in which the topic and the complement of a sentence are marked by different sets of pronouns or different sets of prepositional articles before the NPs. Instead, it has a system in which the subject, the predicate, or the adjunct/object is formally marked as the new information or the most significant information by the presence or absence of different sets of pronominal markers. For example:

Subject as the new information:

1.11 *I sema meN-PoN-nahu* /mponahu/ *inahu.*
PNM who PL-G.TR-cook vegetable
Who is cooking (some) vegetables?

1.12 *Ana-N-sikola* /anansikola/ *(meN-PoN-nahu* /mponahu/
child-LK-school PL-G.TR-cook

inahu).[5]
vegetable
The pupils are cooking (some) vegetables.

Predicate as the new information:

1.13 *MeN-PoN-^{m}bio-'ira* /mpo^{m}bio'ira/ *ana-N-sikola* /anansikola/?
PL-G.TR-do.what-PL3.SB child-LK-school
What are the pupils doing?

1.14 *MeN-PoN-nahu-'ira* /mponahu'ira/ *inahu*
PL-G.TR-cook-PL3.SB vegetable

(*ana-N-sikola* /anansikola/).
child-LK-school
They (the pupils) are cooking (some) vegetables.

Adjunct/Object as the new information:

1.15 *Hapa do-meN-PoN-nahu* /domponahu/ *ana-N-sikola* /anansikola/?
what PL3.SB-PL-G.TR-cook child-LK-school
What are the pupils cooking?

1.16 *Inahu do-meN-PoN-nahu* /domponahu/
vegetable PL3.SB-PL-G.TR-cook

(*ana-N-sikola* /anansikola/).
child-LK-school
They (the pupils) cooked vegetables.

or alternatively,

1.17 *Do-meN-PoN-nahu* /domponahu/ (*ana-N-sikola* /anansikola/)
PL3.SB-PL-G.TR-cook child-LK-school

inahu.
vegetable
They (the pupils) cooked vegetables.

1.18 *I-sua do-meN-PoN-nahu* /domponahu/ *ana-N-sikola* /anansikola/?
LP-where PL3.SB-PL-G.TR-cook child-LK-school
Where did the schoolchildren cook?

1.19 *I-sikola do-meN-PoN-nahu* /domponahu/ (*ana-N-sikola* /anansikola/).
LP-school PL3.SB-PL-G.TR-cook child-LK-school
They (the pupils) cooked at school.

or alternatively,

---

5 Entire words or phrases that occur in parentheses in the first line of an example are understood in the context of speech.

1.20 *Do-meN-PoN-nahu* /domponahu/ *i-sikola* (*ana-N-sikola* /anansikola/).
PL3.SB-PL-G.TR-cook LP-school child-LK-school
They (the pupils) cooked at school.

1.21 *ⁿDi'ipia* *do-meN-PoN-nahu* /domponahu/ *ana-N-sikola* /anansikola/?
LP-when.NF PL3.SB-PL-G.TR-cook child-LK-school
When did the pupils cook?

1.22 *Hieno* *do-meN-PoN-nahu* /domponahu/ (*ana-N-sikola* /anansikola/).
earlier PL3.SB-PL-G.TR-cook child-LK-school
They (the pupils) cooked earlier.

Even though this system puts one component of a sentence 'in focus', it differs too radically from the Philippine systems to be referred to as a system of focus. For example, in the Philippine systems the component in focus is always an NP while in Mori it may be an NP or a VP. In the Philippine systems the complement rather than the topic in focus can be the new information (see Schachter & Otanes 1972:60), while in Mori the emphasised component is always the new information. For these reasons the Mori system will be referred to as the system of new information. Finally, this study differs from other Austronesian grammars in its analysis of the underlying structures of the verb. In other grammars of Austronesian languages, such as Tagalog, which resemble Mori in the complexity of their verb morphologies, the V-roots are said to occur with several different prefixes, infixes or complex morphemes. Assuming Aronoff's hypothesis (1976:21) that "all regular word-formation processes are word-based", this analysis proposes a basic set of V-root classes into which all the V-roots of the language are divided. These V-root classes are based on whether the V-root occurs as a V-base unaffixed, with one particular affix, or with one affix from a set of affixes. These basic V-roots plus their V-root class prefix/infix become the building blocks of the Mori verb: they can become V-bases, or the V-stems of other verbs. When they become V-stems of other V-bases they are usually prefixed, infixed or suffixed by the derivational prefixes, infixes or suffixes. The original V-root class prefix or infix of the V-stem is either retained, deleted or optionally deleted depending on the derivational prefix, infix or complex morpheme that is attached to the V-stem.

The major reasons that this analysis of the Mori verb is used in this study are (a) the occurrence of a homorganic nasal before some V-roots prefixed by certain monosyllabic prefixes and not before others, (b) the optional occurrence of certain monosyllabic prefixes on the V-stem of certain verbs, and (c) the change in meaning of certain prefixes and infixes when attached to different stems. In almost all cases these inconsistencies in the Mori grammar can be explained by dividing the Mori V-stems into two categories: the V-root and the V-stem derived from a V-base or a noun base (N-base).

1.5 SUMMARY

In discussing the verb morphology of Mori Chapters 2-4 present the phonological and grammatical background of the language. The phonological background is presented in Chapter 2, which includes both a segmental and systematic analysis of the Mori sound system. Besides the description of the phonemes, the most important points in this discussion are the presentation of the rules governing the occurrence of (1) nasals before consonants, (2) the infix *-um-*, (3) double vowels in unaffixed V-bases, and (4) the morphophoneme //P//.

In Chapter 3, Mori words are divided into four major word classes, in which the verbs are listed as a subclass of the bases. The verbs in Mori have a wide range of functions that include a verbal function, an adjectival function, an adverbial function and a nominal function.

In Chapter 4, most Mori verbs are described as monovalent predicators, in which the verb occurs with only a subject. Those verbs prefixed by *PoN-* or infixed by *-um₂-* may occur as bivalent predicators, and either mono- or bivalent verbs may occur with an extra NP if suffixed by *-ako*, or one of the suffixes of Pronominal Set 3.

The Mori predicate may consist of an NP, a VP or a locative phrase. If it is an NP or a VP, the pivotal base of the phrase may be inflected with the plural prefix *meN-* or an affix from Pronominal Sets 1, 2 or 4. The pivotal base of a verbal predicate may also be inflected with an affix from Pronominal Sets 3 and 5. These predicate affixes along with the future pronominal particles and the independent pronouns mark the various NPs of the clause for number, person, respect, and inclusion of the addressee in first person plural, and can mark the NPs as the subject, direct object, indirect object, or adjunct, and as the significant (new) or insignificant (known) information of the clause.

In Chapter 5, the formation of the V-base from V-roots is discussed. The Mori V-roots are divided into 15 classes, of which 14 are determined by the capacity of a V-root to occur as a V-base either without an affix or with a particular FV-prefix, -infix, -complex morpheme or -set of prefix/infixes. The fifteenth class consists of a few miscellaneous V-roots that usually only occur with derivational affixes. The one reduplicated prefix, MR, marks the V-base for mode only, whereas the rest of the FV-affixes mark the V-base as a state or action and for voice, transitivity, semantic case, and/or mode.

In Chapters 6 and 7, the formation of a derived V-base (DV-base) is discussed. The V-stem of a DV-base is always a V-base, an N-Base, an NP or a compound stem in which the first member of the compound is a V-base or N-base and the second member is always an N-base. There are five major sets of derivational affixes: (1) the FV-prefixes, -infixes or -complex morphemes that may or may not occur with the linking *-N-*; (2) the derivational verbal prefixes that may or may not occur with the linking *-N-*; (3) single suffixes; (4) complex morphemes that consist of two or three prefixes or an infix and one or two prefixes; and (5) circumfixes that consist of a prefix or complex morpheme and a suffix. The reduplicated prefixes, MR, BR_1, and BR_2, mark the V-base for mode only; the derivational prefixes, infixes, complex morphemes and circumfixes mark the V-base as a state or action and for voice, transitivity, semantic case and/or mode; and the derivational suffixes mark the V-base for grammatical case, semantic case and/or mode.

In Chapter 8, the analysis of the Mori verb presented in the preceding seven chapters is applied in the text analysis of a Mori folktale.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGICAL SKETCH

This chapter presents a sketch of the phonology of the Mokole dialect of the Mori language[6] and introduces those phonological rules that pertain to the discussion of the Mori verb morphology.

2.1 SEGMENTAL ANALYSIS

The Mori language has twenty-three segmental phonemes: eighteen consonants and five vowels. These phonemes can be established by a set of eighteen articulatory features that are functionally contrastive. Twelve of these features establish the consonants and five establish the vowels.

2.1.1 CONSONANTS

The consonantal features involve a minimal contrast between the point of articulation and the manner of articulation. Four of the consonantal features mark a contrast in the flow of breath: bilabial, dental-alveolar, velar and glottal. The remaining nine mark a contrast in the manner of articulation: nasal, fricative, trilled, lateral and stop, the last of which occurs with the distinctive features of prenasalised, imploded and voiceless.

CHART 2.1: THE CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental-Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Nasals:	*m*	*n*	*ŋ*	
Stops:				
Voiceless	*p*	*t*	*k*	'
Voiced	*b*	*d*	*g*	
Prenasalised	^{m}b	^{n}d	^{ŋ}g	
Fricatives:	*w*	*s*		*h*
Trill:		*r*		
Lateral:		*l*		

6 From this point on the Mokole dialect of Mori being described will be referred to by its generic name, Mori.

2.1.1.1 NASALS

The nasal consonants are characterised by the flow of breath through the nasal cavity and a complete stoppage of breath in the oral cavity. The flow of breath through the nasal cavity usually begins slightly before the articulation of these consonants and continues after giving the adjacent vowels a strong nasal quality, for example, /maama/: [mã:mã] 'uncle'.

/m/: [m] bilabial nasal

mata	eye, source
ama	father
mpena	in vain

/n/: dental-alveolar nasal

/n/ ⇒ [n̪] (dental nasal) / ___*t*

ntu'u [n̪tu'u]	very much
koonta [kɔ:n̪ta]	it is stuck

/n/ ⇒ [n] (alveolar nasal) / elsewhere

naina [naina]	aunt
ana ['ana]	child (term of address)

/ŋ/: [ŋ] velar nasal

ŋaŋa	mouth
aŋa	a type of tree
ŋkemu	a rattling sound

2.1.1.2 STOPS

The stops are characterised by a complete stoppage of breath in the oral cavity.

2.1.1.2.1 VOICELESS STOPS

The voiceless stops are marked by total stoppage of breath in the oral cavity and the absence of voice and aspiration.

/p/: [p] voiceless bilabial stop

pau	talk
mo'apa	barren
mpiha	continually

/t/: [t] voiceless dental stop

tama	man
ata	slave
bonti	wild boar

/k/: [k] voiceless velar stop

kaa^{m}ba	(it is) swollen
aka	older sibling
biŋku	hoe

/'/: [ʔ] glottal stop

ine ['ine]	mother
mo'a'e	to scrub

/'/ occurs before all word-initial vowels except those that begin the independent pronouns (e.g. *omue* 'second person singular (SG2)'), the pronominal prefixes (e.g. *i-* 'third person singular subject marker (SG3.SB)'), the common noun and proper name markers, *o* and *i*, respectively, and the locative prefixes, *i-* and *aN-*. Because these word-initial glottal stops are predictable, they are not written in phonemic transliteration of Mori words and particles in this book.

2.1.1.2.2 VOICED STOPS

The voiced stops are marked by total stoppage of breath in the oral cavity and the presence of voice. The bilabial and alveolar voiced stops are also characterised by implosion while the velar voiced stop is not.

/b/: [ɓ] imploded bilabial stop

bau	meat
molaba	large, coarse

/d/: [ɗ] imploded alveolar stop

dahu	dog
lada	chilli pepper

/g/: [g] voiced velar stop

gau	custom
Aga	name of a man

2.1.1.2.3 PRENASALISED STOPS

The prenasalised stops are fully voiced stops whose articulation is characterised by the flow of breath initially channelled through the nasal cavity. These stops can occur word initially or intervocalically. For example:

/^{m}b/: [^{m}b] prenasalised bilabial stop

^{m}bo'u	again
a^{m}ba	white mould

/^{n}d/: [^{n}d] prenasalised alveolar stop

^{n}de	because
mo'a^{n}da	to catch a wild bull using a cow as bait

/ᵑg/: [ᵑg] prenasalised velar stop

ᵑgapu	cat
mo'aᵑga	to work

These stops have been analysed as a separate series of stops rather than the sequence of a nasal and a voiced consonant because of two morphophonemic processes. Firstly, the nasal part of [mb], [nd] and [ŋg] can never be analysed as a part of a separate morpheme. For example:

2.1 *PoN-ⁿdoe-o*[7] /moⁿdoe/ *punti.*
G.TR-suspend-SG3.SB banana
He suspended the bananas.

2.2 *Onae-um₂-ⁿdoe-o* /ⁿdumoeo/ *punti atuu.*
SG3-SP.TR-suspend-SG3.DO banana that
He was the one who suspended those bananas.

The nasal part of [mp], [nt], [ns] and [ŋk], however, can be a part of a separate morpheme. For example:

2.3 *PoN-soe-o* /monsoe/ *nana'ote.*
G.TR-bouncing.cradle-SG3.SB child
He bounces the children in a cradle.

2.4 *Onae-um₂-soe-o* *uai-no.*
SG3-SP.TR-bouncing.cradle-SG3.DO younger.sibling-SG3.PS
He was the one who bounced his younger sister in a cradle.

Secondly, when a homorganic nasal is prefixed to the voiced consonant, it goes to zero. Whereas, when it occurs before the voiceless consonants /p/, /t/, /s/ and /k/, it becomes the nasal consonants /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/, respectively. For example:

2.5 *PoN-dolo-o* /modolo/ *nana'ote.*
G.TR-bathe-SG3.SB child
She bathes the children.

2.6 *PoN-tadi-o* /montadi/ *kuli-N-benu.*
G.TR-throw.out-SG3.SB skin-LK-coconut
He throws out the coconut husks.

2.1.1.3 FRICATIVES

The fricatives are voiceless and characterised by partial obstruction or constriction of the flow of breath.

/w/: [ɸ] bilabial fricative, very lenisly articulated

watu	rock
aawa	(it is) enough

---

7 *-o* 'SG3.SB' goes to zero when followed by a word boundary (see section 4.3.4.2).

/s/: [s] alveolar fricative

sampa	branch
asa	one
lansa	a type of fruit

/h/: [h] glottal fricative formed by constricting the glottis

hapa	what
mo'aha	to carry s.t. by leaning it against the shoulder

2.1.1.4 TRILL

The trill in Mori is voiced and consists of two to three light taps of the apex of the tongue against the alveolar ridge.

/r/: [r] alveolar trill

raha	house
ara	home-brewed liquor

2.1.1.5 LATERAL

This consonant is articulated by voicing and the release of air along the sides of the tongue.

/l/:[l] alveolar lateral

lahi	too
mo'ala	to fetch

2.1.2 VOWELS

As stated above, there are six distinctive features that delineate the vowels. Three of these features, high, mid and low, involve a minimal contrast in the height of the tongue. The remaining three, front, central and back, mark a minimal contrast in the position of the body of the tongue. (See Chart 2.2.)

CHART 2.2: THE VOWELS

	Front	Central	Back
High	*i*		*u*
Mid	e		*o*
Low		*a*	

All the vowels in Mori are slightly nasal in quality.

2.1.2.1 FRONT VOWELS

The front vowels are characterised by the main body of the tongue being in the front of the mouth and the lips being unrounded.

/i/: [i] high front vowel

ili	saliva dripping from the mouth
uai	younger sibling

/e/: mid front vowel

/e/ ⇒ [e] (higher mid front) / ___ $\left\{\begin{matrix}(C)u \\ e \\ \#\end{matrix}\right\}$

beebe [be:be]	he is dumb (incapable of talking)
keu [keu]	tree
ine ['ine]	mother

/e/ ⇒ [ɛ] (lower mid front)/ elsewhere

ineno ['inɛno]	the mother
bebe [bɛbe]	duck
keakea [kɛakɛa]	type of cockatoo

2.1.2.2 CENTRAL VOWEL

The central vowel is characterised by the body of the tongue being in the centre of the mouth, that is, neither front nor back, and the lips being unrounded.

/a/: [a] low central vowel

kae	arm, hand
koa	only, just

2.1.2.3 BACK VOWELS

The back vowels are characterised by the main body of the tongue being in the back of the mouth and the lips being rounded.

/u/: [u] high back vowel

ulu	head
bou	fish

/o/: mid-low back vowel

/o/ ⇒ [o] (higher mid back) / ___*(C)u*

/ $\left\{\begin{matrix}C \\ V\text{-}o\end{matrix}\right\}$ ___#

olu ['olu]	market
elo ['ɛlo]	tongue

/o/ ⇒ [ɔ] (lower mid back) ~ [ɒ] (low) /elsewhere

boo [bɔ:]	sash, belt
moro [mɔro]	perhaps

2.1.3 DOUBLE VOWELS

Phonetically, long counterparts of all the Mori vowels occur. For example:

[i:li]	it is dripping
[a:]	cave
[wu:]	hair
[mɔbe:]	he is crying
[bɔ:]	waistband

These phonetic long vowels have been analysed as phonemic double vowels because of the stress patterns of the words in which they occur. In Mori primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of any simple phrase (see section 2.3). In words containing the phonetic long vowels, the stress pattern treats the sequence [(C)V:] as two syllables, that is, (C)VV. For example, in the words *'boo* 'waistband' and *pe'bee* 'cry! (a command)', the loudness and higher pitch that mark primary stress fall on the first half of the phonetic long vowel. The second half of these two phonetic long vowels are marked by falling pitch and mitigated loudness: *boo* is treated as a bisyllabic word and *pebee* as a trisyllabic word. If these two words are suffixed by a monosyllabic suffix, the stress falls on the second half of the long vowel, for example, *boo'no* 'his waistband' and *pebee'mo* 'cry! (a command with emphasis)'.

This analysis of double vowels is further strengthened by the fact that there are no monosyllabic verb or noun roots in the language.

2.1.4 NEAR MINIMAL PAIRS

The phonemes are established as distinctive in the following near minimal pairs.

THE CONSONANTS:

ama	father	*ana*	child	*aŋa*	type of tree
a^{m}ba	white mould	*mo'a^{n}da*	to catch a wild bull with a cow	*mo'a^{ŋ}ga*	to work
molaba	course	*lada*	chilli pepper	*Aga*	man's name
mo'apa	barren	*ata*	slave	*aka*	older sibling
mo'a'e	to scrub	*aawa*	it is enough	*asa*	one
mo'aha	to carry on shoulder	*mo'ala*	to fetch	*ara*	distilled liquor

THE VOWELS:

ili	saliva dripping from the mouth	*ulu*	head		
ele	name of endearment for a girl	*olo*	vinegar	*Ala*	name of God

2.1.5 DISTRIBUTION AND FREQUENCY OF THE PHONEMES

Of the five Mori vowels, /a/ occurs approximately 29% of the time in the formation of morphemes and /o/, /u/, /i/ and /e/ occur 20.5%, 18%, 17.5% and 15% of the time, respectively.

The vowels may occur in the following environments:

$$\# \text{ — } \left\{ \begin{matrix} C \\ V \end{matrix} \right\}$$

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} C \\ V \end{matrix} \right\} \text{ — } \#$$

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} C \\ V \end{matrix} \right\} \text{ — } \left\{ \begin{matrix} C \\ V \end{matrix} \right\}$$

Four of the vowels, /i/, /a/, /u/ and /o/, may occur in word-initial position without being preceded by a glottal stop. Their occurrence in this position is limited to a set of independent pronouns, a set of pronominal prefixes, a set of demonstratives, the locative prefixes, and the proper name and common noun markers, for example: *oŋkue* 'first person singular (SG1)', *u-* 'second person singular subject marker (SG2.SB)', *arau* 'that yonder', *aN-* 'locative', *o* 'common noun marker'.

Within and across morpheme boundaries the sequences of two vowels, that is, either -CVV- or -VVC- are very common in Mori. Within morpheme boundaries all the possible sequences of vowels occur, of which the most frequent and the most infrequent are listed below.

MOST FREQUENT:

repetition of the same vowel	*aa*	hole
	boo	waistband
/ai/	*mowai*	rancid
/ia/	*mentia*	pregnant
/oa/	*mentoa*	to jump down
/ua/	*moruana*	inexpensive

MOST INFREQUENT:

/ao/	*metao*	to be married
/ie/	*mananto'ie'ie*	to smell of the living
/ei/	*beine*	woman
/ou/	*bou*	fish

Sequences of three or more vowels within morpheme boundaries also occur in Mori but are fairly infrequent. Examples of these sequences are: *suai* 'melon', *buaea* 'crocodile'.

All of the vowels may occur between two consonants, CVC, or in word-final position, V#. The approximate percentages of the occurrence of each of the vowels in these two positions are listed below for roots and particles.

CHART 2.3: THE FREQUENCY OF THE VOWELS		
Vowels	CVC	V#
/a/	31.0%	27.5%
/e/	13.5%	14.5%
/i/	15.5%	19.5%
/o/	22.5%	19.5%
/u/	17.5%	19.0%

The consonants occur in the following positions:

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} \# \\ V \end{matrix} \right\} \quad __ \quad V$$

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} \# \\ V \end{matrix} \right\} N \quad __ \quad V$$

The only consonant clusters in Mori consist of /mp/, /nt/, /ns/ or /ŋk/, for example: *umpeda* 'near', *tedonta* 'to fall', *inso* 'from', and *kooŋko* '(she) is present'. These clusters may occur in word-initial position or in intervocalic position. Those in word-initial position are rare, consisting of a few adverbs, an emphatic pronoun, and a word describing a sound, for example: *mpena* 'in vain', *ntu'u* 'very much', and *ŋkuda* 'me too'.

All of the consonants may occur word-initially or intervocalically. Those consonants that occur most frequently in word-initial position in the formation of roots and particles are the voiceless consonants /p/, /t/, /k/, /'/, /s/ and the voiced consonants /b/ and /l/, for example: *pana* 'dart', *soe* 'cradle', *lahi* 'too much'. Those that occur most infrequently are the nasal and prenasalised consonants and /g/, for example: *meene* 'daytime', *ⁿde* 'because', *guguru* 'to gurgle'. In intervocalic position the most frequently occurring consonants in the formation of roots and particles are /l/ and /b/, for example: *halo* 'soot' and *karu* 'foot, leg', and the most infrequently occurring consonants are /b/, /g/ and /ᵑg/, for example, *labu* 'iron', *montagulaga* 'to boil vigorously', and *saᵑgara* 'cookie'.

The initial consonant of a root or particle appears to influence the selection of the second consonant. When the initial consonant is a labial, the second consonant is seldom another labial other than the one in initial position. Likewise with velars, when the initial consonant is a velar, the second consonant is seldom another velar other than the one in initial position.

2.2 SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS

There are 21 morphophonemic rules (Mp) pertinent to this study that change the value of the segmental phonemes when occurring in an utterance. The first four morphophonemic rules, Mp1, Mp2, Mp3 and Mp4, restrict the occurrence of the nasal consonants /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/.

Mp1 $N \Rightarrow m$ / ___ p

n / ___ $\left\{ \begin{matrix} s \\ t \end{matrix} \right\}$

η / ___ k

Ø / elsewhere

Mp2 $N \Rightarrow$ Ø / $[___]_p + [C_{-v}VNC_{-v}]_{vs}$

Mp3 $N \Rightarrow$ Ø / $[C_{-v}VNC_{-v}]_{vs} + [___]_p +$

Mp4 $N \Rightarrow$ Ø / $\#[N]_p + [___]_p\#$

Mp1 indicates that the nasal consonants only occur before the voiceless consonants /s/, /p/, /t/ and /k/. Mp2, 3 and 4 regulate the occurrence of the final homorganic nasals in prefixes or of prefixes that consist of a single homorganic nasal. Mp2 indicates that the final homorganic nasal of a prefix goes to zero when prefixed to a V-stem beginning with a voiceless consonant followed by a vowel, a nasal, and another voiceless consonant, respectively. Mp3 indicates that a homorganic nasal prefix will go to zero when occurring after a V-stem beginning with a voiceless consonant followed by a vowel, a nasal, and another voiceless consonant, respectively. Mp4 indicates that a prefix consisting of or ending in a homorganic nasal will go to zero when prefixed by another prefix ending in a nasal. For example:

Mp1: 2.7 *Nana'ote arau wela PoN-bee-o* /mobee/ *wiwi-no.*
child that always G.TR-stretch-SG3.SB lip-SG3.PS
That child is always sticking out his (lower) lip.

2.8 *Nana'ote arau wela PoN-pee-o* /mompee/ *boo-no.*
child that always G.TR-tighten-SG3.SB waistband-SG3.PS
That child is always tightening his waistband.

Mp2: 2.9 *aN-sinsi-no* /asinsino/
LP-ring-SG3.PS
on her ring

2.10 *aN-sisi-no* /ansisino/
LP-flower-SG3.PS
on her flower

Mp3: 2.11 *konso-N-konau* /konsokonau/
bud-LK-sugar.palm
sugar palm bud

2.12 *lewe-N-konau* /leweŋkonau/
leaf-LK-sugar.palm
sugar palm leaf

Mp4: 2.13 *PoN-pasi-N-<PoN-kita>-'aku*[8] /mompasikita'aku/ *mia.*
G.TR-UID-LK-<G.TR-see>-SG1.SB person
I accidentally saw some people.

2.14 *Ku-um$_2$-pasi-N-<PoN-kita>-'ira* /kupasiŋkita'ira/ *mia arau.*
SG1.SB-SP.TR-UID-LK-<G.TR-see>-PL3.DO person that
I accidentally saw those people.

Mp5 doubles the vowel of an unaffixed, bisyllabic V-root that occurs as a V-base, that is, the minimal verbal lexeme.

Mp5 V ⇒ VV / #[C___(N)(C)V]$_{vb}$#

For example:

Mp5: 2.15 *Awa-o* /aawa/ *kinaa.*
sufficient-SG3.SB cooked.rice
The rice was sufficient.

2.16 *Napo i-'awa* /i'awa/ *kinaa.*
not.yet SG3.SB-sufficient cooked.rice
The rice is not yet sufficient.

In example 2.15 the first vowel of the bisyllabic V-base, *awa* 'sufficient' is doubled when it occurs without affixation. In example 2.16 the same base occurs without the double vowel when prefixed by the third person singular subject prefix *i-*.

Mp6 and Mp7 govern phonological changes that occur in vowels that have been reduplicated.

Mp6 *a* ⇒ *o* / [(N)C___]$_{MR}$ + (N)CV

opt. Mp7 *e* ⇒ *o* / [(N)C___]$_{MR}$ + (N)CV

Mp6 states that when a syllable is reduplicated with monosyllabic reduplication (MR) and the vowel of that syllable is an /a/, then the /a/ becomes an /o/. Mp7 states that when a syllable is reduplicated by MR and the vowel of the syllable is /e/, then the /e/ optionally (indicated by 'opt.' in front of the rule) becomes an /o/. For example:

Mp6: 2.17 *PoN*-MR-*saᵑgara-'aku* /monsosaᵑgara'aku/.
G.TR-CT-cookies-SG1.SB
I'm making cookies for a prolonged period.

Mp7: 2.18 *PoN*-MR-*te^{m}bi-'aku* /montote^{m}bi'aku/.
G.TR-CT-basket.carried.on.back-SG1.SB
I'm carrying a basket on my back for a prolonged period.

2.19 *PoN*-MR-*te^{m}bi-'aku* /montete^{m}bi'aku/.
G.TR-CT-basket.carried.on.back-SG1.SB
I'm carrying a basket on my back for a prolonged period.

Example 2.17 demonstrates Mp6 when the /a/ of the reduplicated syllable of *Ponsaᵑgara* 'to make cookies' becomes /o/. Example 2.18 demonstrates Mp7 when the /e/ of the

8 See Chapter 7 for the deletion of the prefixes of V-stems.

reduplicated syllable of *Ponte^{m}bi* 'to carry in a basket on the back' becomes /o/. Example 2.19 shows the same verb presented in example 2.18 unaffected by Mp7.

Mp8 and Mp9 are two optional rules that govern the behaviour of initial vowels that occur next to word boundaries. Although most lexical entities in Mori begin with a consonant, a few particles and prefixes begin with vowels. In these cases, if the vowel occurs next to a word boundary, a /'/ is optionally inserted between the word boundary and the vowel. If the vowel is an /o/ or /a/ followed by an optional nasal and a word or morpheme boundary, then an /i/ is optionally inserted before the vowel. These processes are described in the following rules.

opt. Mp8 $\emptyset \Rightarrow$ ' / # ___ V

opt. Mp9 $\emptyset \Rightarrow i$ / # ___ $\left\{ \begin{matrix} o \\ a \end{matrix} \right\}$ (N) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \# \\ + \end{matrix} \right\}$

For example:

Mp8: 2.20 *Oŋkue* /'oŋkue/ *-um$_{I}$-lako* /lumako/.
SG1 -INT-go
I (was the one who) went.

or alternatively,

2.21 *Oŋkue* /oŋkue/ *-um$_{I}$-lako* /lumako/.
SG1 -INT-go
I (was the one who) went.

Mp9: 2.22 *o* /io/ *mokole*
CN king
a/the king

Mp10, Mp11 and Mp12 describe the assimilation of vowels in final and initial positions. Mp10 indicates that the vowels /i/, /u/ and /o/ go to zero when followed by a word boundary and /i/ or /u/. Mp11 indicates that the vowel /a/ or /o/ goes to zero when preceded by the sequence of a vowel and a word boundary. Mp12 indicates that the vowel /a/ optionally goes to zero when occurring initially on a demonstrative pronoun that is suffixed by *-o* 'third person singular subject marker (SG3.SB)'or *-do* 'third person plural possessive marker (PL3.PS)'.

Mp10 $\left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ u \\ o \end{matrix} \right\} \Rightarrow \emptyset$ / ___ # $\left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ u \end{matrix} \right\}$

Mp11 $\left\{ \begin{matrix} a \\ o \end{matrix} \right\} \Rightarrow \emptyset$ / V#___

Mp12 $a \Rightarrow$ # / # [___]$_{dm}$ + [affix]

For example:

Mp10: 2.23 *Nahi u-um$_{I}$-lako* /nahulako/.
not SG2.SB-INT-go
You didn't go.

2.24 *anu-no* *i* *Nua* /'anuninua/
that-SG3.PS PNM PN
the property of Nua

2.25 *anu-no* *inu-a* /'anuno'inua/
that-SG3.PS drink-NM
the property of (alcoholic) drinks

Mp11: 2.26 *mia* *mo-'ito* *arau* /mia mo'ito rau/
person QL-black that
that black person

2.27 *mia* *mo-'ito* *aroa-no* /mia mo'ito'aroano/
person QL-black seat.of.emotions-SG3.PS
the black-hearted person

Mp12: 2.28 *Arau-do* *mia* /raudo mia/.
that-SG3.PS person
There are the people.

Mp10 is illustrated first in example 2.22 when the final /i/ of *nahi* 'not' is assimilated by the initial /u/ of *ulako* 'you (singular) go'. In example 2.24 it is illustrated when the final /o/ of *anuno* 'the property (of)' is assimilated by the initial /i/ of *i Nua* 'proper name of a man'. Example 2.24 contrasts with example 2.25, in which the final /o/ is unaffected when followed by the sequence /'i/ in *'inua* 'drink'. Mp11 is illustrated in example 2.26 when the initial /a/ of *arau* 'that' is assimilated by the final vowel of *mo'ito* 'black'. Again, example 2.26 contrasts with example 2.27, in which the final vowel of *mo'ito* 'black' does not affect the /'a/ of /'aroano/ 'the seat of emotions' because of the initial /'/. Mp12 is illustrated in example 2.28, in which the initial /a/ of *arau* 'that' goes to zero when suffixed by *-do* 'PL3.PS'.

Mp13, Mp14 and Mp15 describe the phonological processes that cause the homonyms *-um$_1$-* 'simple intransitive' and *-um$_2$-* 'specific transitive' to go to zero. Mp13 states that these infixes go to zero when infixed into adverb stems beginning with a labial consonant. Mp14 states that they go to zero when the V-base into which they are infixed is affixed by another prefix or infix. Mp15 states that these infixes optionally go to zero when followed by another V-base uninflected for the subject.

Mp13 $um \Rightarrow \emptyset \,/\, ___ + [C_{lb}]_{vs}$

Mp14 $um \Rightarrow \emptyset \,/\, \text{prefix/infix} + [C + ___ + V]_{vb}$

opt. Mp15 $um \Rightarrow \emptyset \,/\, \# \; [___]_{vb} \; \# \; [\quad]_{vb\text{-}SB}$

For example:

Mp13: 2.29 *Aku-um$_2$-basa-o* /basao/ *wunta-no.*
SG1.F-SP.TR-read-SG3.DO letter-SG3.PS
I'm going to read his letter.

2.30 *Aku-um$_2$-oliwi-o* *wunta-no.*
SG1.F-SP.TR-send-SG3.DO letter-SG3.PS
I'm going to send his letter.

Mp14: 2.31 *Napo* *i-um$_1$-lako* /ilako/ *ana-no.*
not.yet SG3.SB-INT-go child-SG3.PS
Her child hasn't gone yet.

2.32 *Um$_1$-lako-o* /lumako/ *ana-no.*
INT-go-SG3.SB child-SG3.PS
Her child went.

Mp15: 2.33 *Aku-um$_1$-lako* /lako/ *-um$_2$-kita-o* /kumitao/.
SG1.F-INT-go -SP.TR-see-SG3.SB
I'm going to go to see him.

2.34 *Aku-um$_1$-lako* /lumako/.
SG1.F-INT-go
I'm going to go.

In example 2.29 *-um$_2$-* goes to zero when infixed to the verb *basao* 'to read s.t.', which begins with a labial consonant. This example contrasts with the verb *umoliwo* 'to send s.t.' in example 2.30. In example 2.31 *-um$_1$-* goes to zero when the V-base *lumako* 'to go' is prefixed by *i-* 'SG3.SB', producing the inflected verb *ilako* '(he) goes'. This example contrasts with the verbs in example 2.32, in which the infix *-um$_1$-* does not go to zero. In example 2.33, *-um$_1$-* goes to zero when the verb *lumako* 'go' is followed by another V-base *kumitao* 'to see him'. This example contrasts with example 2.34, in which *lumako* 'go' is the sole verb in the clause and *-um$_1$-* does not go to zero.

Mp16 and Mp17 describe the morphophonemic processes that affect the morphophoneme //P//. Mp16 states that when a prefix or infix is attached to a morpheme beginning with //P// then the //P// becomes /p/. Likewise, Mp17 states that when an initial //P// is preceded by a word boundary then the //P//becomes an /m/.

Mp16 $P \Rightarrow p$ / prefix/infix + ___

Mp17 $P \Rightarrow m$ / #___

For example:

Mp16: 2.35 *Napo* *i-PoN-kaa* /ipoŋkaa/ *ama-no.*
not.yet SG3.SB-G.TR-eat father-SG3.PS
His father hasn't eaten yet.

Mp17: 2.36 *PoN-kaa-o-mo* /moŋkaaomo/ *ama-no.*
G.TR-eat-SG3.SB-EM.NF father-SG3.PS
His father has already eaten.

Mp18 describes the morphophonemic process in which the sequence CV(N) goes to zero when situated between two syllables both beginning with either the consonant /k/ or /p/ and ending in a back vowel.

Mp18 $\mathrm{CV(N)} \Rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{matrix} p \\ k \end{matrix} \right\} \left\{ \begin{matrix} u \\ o \end{matrix} \right\}_1 \left[\begin{matrix} +\mathrm{str} \\ __ \end{matrix} \right] \left\{ \begin{matrix} p \\ k \end{matrix} \right\} \left\{ \begin{matrix} u \\ o \end{matrix} \right\}_2$ when CV_1 is the same as CV_2

For example:

Mp18: 2.37 BR_1-*PoN-po-<PoN-puai>-o* /mompopopuai/ *lauro.*
MT-G.TR-CA-<G.TR-put.in.sun>-SG3.SB rattan
She unintentionally put the rattan in the sun.

In example 2.36 bisyllabic reduplication is prefixed to the V-stem *Pompopuai* 'to cause to be put in the sun' producing *Pompopompopuai*, which is reduced to *mompopopuai* 'she unintentionally causes s.t. to be put in the sun' by Mp18.

Mp19 is an optional rule that describes a morphophonemic process that causes the sequence CV to go to zero when situated between an initial syllable that begins with /m/ and another syllable that begins with /m/.

opt. Mp19 CV $\Rightarrow$ Ø / #*m*V(N)___*m*V

For example:

Mp19: 2.38 BR_1-*<ma-haki>-o* /momahaki/ *ana-ku.*
MT-<IS-sickness>-SG3.SB child-SG1.PS
My child is a little sick.

In example 2.37 bisyllabic reduplication is prefixed to the V-stem *mahaki* 'to be sick', producing *mahamahaki* 'to be rather sick', which is reduced to *mamahaki* by Mp18 and then to *momahaki* 'to be rather sick' by Mp6.

Mp 20 describes a morphophonemic process in which the /k/ of the suffix *-ki* becomes /p/ when suffixed to a V-stem containing a velar consonant.

Mp20 $k \Rightarrow p$ / [(. . .)C_{vl} . . .]$_{vs}$ + [__*i*]$_{sf}$

For example:

Mp20: 2.39 *Nana'ote atuu <Pe_2-'aŋga>-ki* /me'aŋgapi/.
child that <AN-grasp>-EC
The child grabs everything and anything for no reason.

Mp21 describes a morphophonemic process, in which the /p/ of the suffix *-piki* becomes an /l/ when suffixed to a V-stem containing a labial consonant.

Mp21 $p \Rightarrow l$ / [(. . .)C_{lb} . . .]$_{vs}$ + [__*iki*]$_{sf}$

For example:

Mp21: 2.40 *<Pe_2-pau>-piki* /mepauliki/ *nana'ote ko_1-dei.*
<CA-talk>-AR child ME-small
The baby was talking without a reason.

2.3 STRESS

There are two kinds of stress in Mori, primary and secondary, both of which are repredictable and distinguished by loudness and pitch.

2.3.1 PRIMARY STRESS

Primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of any simple phrase. Each phrase is pronounced with a middle range pitch and loudness that raises to high pitch and increased loudness on the penultimate syllable and drops to low pitch and decreased loudness on the last syllable. For example:

me'ene	daylight	*'siru*	spoon
mee'neno	the next day	*si'rumu*	your spoon
lu'mako	to go	*lumako''aku*	I go

There are three exceptions to this rule. The first two exceptions are the monosyllabic particles *ke* 'question marker' and *ma* 'emphasis marker'. These particles always receive primary stress. The third exception is the sequence...(C)V(+)V + CV#, which optionally receives primary stress on the third syllable to the left of the word boundary. For example:

2.41 /po'lai/[9] *Ø-Pe$_2$-lai!*
SG2.IT-INT-flee
Flee!

2.42 /pola'imo/ *Ø-Pe$_2$-lai-mo!*
SG2.IT-INT-flee-EM.NF
Flee!

2.43 /po'laimo/ *Ø-Pe$_2$-lai-mo!*
SG2.IT-INT-flee-EM.NF
Flee!

2.44 /iˌsua ulako 'ke/ *I-sua u-um$_1$-lako ke?*
LP-where SG2.SB-INT-go Q
Where are you going?

2.45 /oˌnae 'ma/ *Onae ma!*
SG3 EM
That's it!

2.3.2 SECONDARY STRESS

Secondary stress is determined by the presence of primary stress and word and morpheme boundaries. All stress, whether primary or secondary, is placed on the penultimate syllable of units of two or three syllables that are usually defined by either morpheme or word boundaries. Secondary stress falls on any bi- or trisyllabic morpheme or any morpheme cluster to the right of pause and to the left of primary stress. For example:

2.46 /meˌ'alaˌ'ala'kiko/ BR$_2$-<*Pe$_2$-'ala-ki*>-*ko.*
ITT-<AN-take-EC>-SG2.SB
You arbitrarily take anything whether it belongs to you or not.

2.47 /moˌŋkoko'awa/ *N*-BR$_1$-*mo-ko$_1$-awa.*
MT.OB-sufficient-SG3.SB
He is comical.

---

9 *Po-* is an allomorph of the prefix *Pe$_2$-*. (See Chapter 5.)

2.48 /ˌmepetuˌluŋi''aku/ *Pe₂-Pe₁-<PoN-tuluŋi>-'aku.*
RQ-<G.TR-help>-SG1.SB
I asked for help.

There are a few borrowed V-stems in Mori that have more than three syllables. These stems behave like compound stems. For example:

2.49 /ˌakumepara'misi/ Aku *Pe₂-paramisi.*
SG1.F AN-permission
I would like to be excused.

2.50 /ˌparalu'uno/ *paraluu-no*
need-SG3.PS
the need

2.4 SYLLABIC STRUCTURE AND CANONICAL SHAPE OF MORPHEMES

There are three possible syllable structures in Mori: V, C_1V and NC_2V, where C_1 is any consonant and C_2 is /s/, /p/, /t/ or /k/.

2.4.1 MONOSYLLABIC MORPHEMES

Most of the monosyllabic morphemes in Mori are bound affixes.

The prefixes and the suffixes take two possible syllable combinations:

V : *i-* 'SG3.SB' C_1V : *-mo* 'EM.NF'

Among the monosyllabic prefixes, a few have the underlying structure (C)VN-, such as the locative prefix *aN-*. When attached to a nominal base, however, the final nasal of this prefix becomes a part of the first syllable of the base. For example:

2.51 /a.nsi.ko.la/ *aN-sikola*
LP-school
at school

The infixes in Mori have the structure VC. When an infix is attached to a V-stem it is inserted between the first consonant and vowel of the V-stem, and the syllable boundary is placed between the vowel and the consonant of the infix. For example:

2.52 /su.mo.wi/ *-um-sowi-o.*
INT-harvest-SG3.SB
He was harvesting.

Besides these bound morphemes, there is a small number of monosyllabic particles that are independent. They all have the syllable structure C_1V, such as the adverbial particle *da* 'still' and the conjunction *ⁿde* 'because'.

2.4.2 BISYLLABIC MORPHEMES

Most of the roots in Mori are bisyllabic. They always begin with a consonant and occur in three possible syllabic structures: CVV, CVCV and CVNCV. For example:[10]

		FREE MORPHEMES		BOUND MORPHEMES	
CVV	:	*'aa*	cave	*-tao*	marry
		tia	part	*-kuu*	dive
		liu	immediately	*-maa*	yawn
		boe	pig	*-'eu*	change
CVCV	:	*'eŋe*	nose	*-hehe*	laugh
		ᵑgapu	cat	*-dada*	force
		sine	but	*-ⁿdidi*	shake
		wela	always	*-pute*	white
CVNCV	:	*sampa*	branch	*-deŋke*	stand on toes
		bonti	wild boar	*-kampi*	stuck
		miŋki	would like	*-rempe*	low
		sinsi	ring	*-lonto*	float

In addition to noun, verb and adverb roots and conjunctions, there are also a few bisyllabic prefixes and suffixes.

The prefixes have two possible structures: CVCV and CVNCV. For example:

CVCV : *maᵐbe-* 'RC'
/maᵐbepehohawa/ *maᵐbe-<PoN-Pe₂-MR-hawa>*
RC-<CA-G.TR-CT-love>
to be in the state of continually loving one another

CVNCV : *monte-* 'EA.IR'
monte-<te-kuda>
EA.IR-<DE-angry>
to become angry easily

The suffixes have the following three structures:

CVV : *-miu* 'PL2.PS'
wuu-miu
hair-PL2.PS
your hair

CVCV : *kipi* 'IS.EC'
<Pe₂-pisi>-kipi /mepisikipi/
<INT-pinch>-IS.EC
to pinch in any manner, at any time to an extreme

VCV : *-ako* 'indirect object in the instrumental semantic case'
<PoN-'aⁿdu>-ako /mo'anduako/
<G.TR-massage>-IO
to massage with s.t.

---

10 The /'/ is written in the following examples so that one does not forget there is actually a consonant before all verb, noun and adverb roots.

2.4.3 POLYSYLLABIC MORPHEMES

The roots that fall into this category are basically either borrowed roots, stems with unproductive affixes that are no longer separable from the V-root, and onomatopoeic words. For example, a few indigenous and onomatopoeic roots that are polysyllabic are:

CVCVV	:	*luria*	durian
CVVCV	:	*aiwa*	come
CVNCVV	:	*laŋkai*	big
CVNCVCV	:	*dompipi*	reed bag
CVVVV	:	*buaea*	crocodile
CVCVCVVCV	:	*-kokoroido*	cockadoodle-do

A few examples of borrowed roots are:

CVCVCV	:	*garusu*	iron
CVNCVCV	:	*bansala*	meeting house
CVCVCVV	:	*berasii*	clean

CHAPTER 3

WORD CLASSES

The word in Mori is defined as the basic unit in an utterance, which is set off from other units by juncture and by initial and final elements. The Mori word is enclosed in word junctures (#) (1) when preceded by a pause, a particle, a substitute, a suffix or a root, and (2) when followed by a pause, a particle, a substitute, a prefix or a root.

$$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{(pause)}\\ \text{(particle)}\\ \text{(substitute)}\\ \text{(suffix)}\\ \text{(root)}\end{array}\right\} \quad \#\ \text{word}\ \# \quad \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{(pause)}\\ \text{(particle)}\\ \text{(substitute)}\\ \text{(prefix)}\\ \text{(root)}\end{array}\right.$$

The presence or absence of these word junctures operates on a phonological level in the following rules:

Mp5 $V \Rightarrow VV \ / \#[C__(N)(C)V]_{vb}\#$

opt. Mp8 $\emptyset \Rightarrow \text{‘} \ / \#__V$

opt. Mp9 $\emptyset \Rightarrow i \ / \#__ \left\{\begin{array}{c} o \\ a \end{array}\right\} (N) \left\{\begin{array}{c} \# \\ + \end{array}\right\}$

Mp10 $\left\{\begin{array}{c} i \\ u \\ o \end{array}\right\} \Rightarrow \emptyset \ / __\# \left\{\begin{array}{c} i \\ u \end{array}\right\}$

Mp11 $\left\{\begin{array}{c} a \\ o \end{array}\right\} \Rightarrow \emptyset \ / V\#__$

Mp12 $a \Rightarrow \emptyset \ / \#[__]_{dm} + [\text{affix}]$

opt. Mp15 $um \Rightarrow \emptyset / \ \#\ [__]_{vb}\ \#\ [\ \ ]_{vb\text{-}SB}$

Mp17 $P \Rightarrow m / \#__$

opt. Mp19 $CV \Rightarrow \emptyset / \#mV(N)__mV$

All of the words in Mori can be divided into five major classes: bases, substitutes, particles, determiners and interjections.

3.1 BASES

The bases[11] are defined as an open class of words that may occur as the predicate of a sentence. They consist minimally of a root, that is, the monomorphemic part of the base that carries the basic meaning, and maximally, of a root plus nominal or verbal affixation. This affixation, however, does not include inflectional affixes, which mark the base as the predicator or various stated or understood NPs as subject, object or possessor.

The bases are divided into two subclasses: nouns and verbs.

3.1.1 NOUNS

The noun, or N-base, in Mori is defined as (1) a root that may occur as a base without affixation, (2) a root that occurs with the nominal suffix *-a*, and (3) a stem, that is, an incomplete part of the base, derived from another base that occurs with the following nominal affixes: *pe-*, *poN-*, *-a*, *-no*, the possessive pronominal suffixes, *pa- -a*, *pe- -a*, *poN- -a*, *pe- -no*, *ko- -a*, or *ko-* + possessive suffix. (Due to the limited scope of this work, the nominal affixes will not be discussed here.)

The N-base in Mori has a wide range of functions. It can function as the head of a noun phrase that occurs as the subject of a sentence, as the predicate, as the direct or indirect object of a sentence, or the object of a prepositional phrase, as shown, respectively, in the following three sentences.

3.1 *I* *Ani* *i-um$_2$-po-wee-ako'ira* /ipoweeako'ira/ *ama-no* *doi.*
PNM PN SG3.SB-SP.TR-CA-give-SG3R.IO father-SG3.PS money
Ani gave her father some money.

3.2 *MeN-sorodadu-'ira* /mensorodadu/ *aka-ku.*
PL-soldier-PL3.SB older.sibling-SG1.PS
My older brothers are soldiers.

3.3 *-um$_1$-lako-kami* /lumakokami/ *i-'olu.*
INT-go-DU1EXC.SB LP-market
We went to the market.

In example 3.1, *Ani* 'proper name' functions as the subject, *amano* 'her father' as the indirect object, and *doi* 'money' as the direct object. In example 3.2, *akaku* 'my older sibling' functions as the subject and *sorodadu* 'soldier' as the nucleus of the predicate *mensorodadu'ira* '(they are) soldiers'. In example 3.3, *olu* 'market' is the object of the locative phrase *i'olu* 'to the market'.

N-bases can function to modify other N-bases either by linking the two N-bases with a possessive pronominal suffix or by forming a compound noun, that is, the modifying N-base is linked to the N-base being modified by the linking morpheme *-N-*. For example:

3.4 *Pe$_2$-'ia-o* /mo'ia/ *aN-wawo-no* /awawono/ *tahi.*
INT-dwell-SG3.SB LP-top-SG3.PS sea
He rested on the top of the sea.

---

11 Note that the definition of the Mori base differs in part from the different definitions of base presented in both tagmemic and structural grammars written on Philippine languages.

3.5 *Pe_2-nee-o* /menee/ *aN-wawo-N-tahi* /awawontahi/.
INT-fly-SG3.SB LP-top-LK-sea
He flew above the sea.

3.1.2 VERBS

The verb, or V-base, in Mori is defined as (1) a root that may occur as a base unaffixed with the application of the vowel lengthening rule Mp5:

Mp5 $V \Rightarrow VV / \#[C___(N)(C)V]_{vb}\#$

(2) a root that occurs with monosyllabic reduplication, (3) a root that occurs with the following verb prefixes (PF), infixes (IF), or morpheme clusters: *ko_1-*, *mo-*, *ma-*, *me-*, *mo-ko_1-*, *te-*, *Pe_1-*, *Pe_2-*, *Pe_2-N-* *-um_1-*, *PoN-*, *-um_2-* and *-in-* (see Chapter 5), and (4) a stem derived from another base or occasionally a root that occurs with the following verb prefixes, infixes or suffixes (SF): MR-, *ko_1-N-*, *mo-N-*, *ma-N-*, *me-N-*, *mo-ko_1-*, *te-*, *Pe_1-*, *Pe_2-*, *-um_1-*, *PoN-*, *-um_2-*, *-in-*, BR_1-, BR_2-, *mara-N-*, *maka-N-*, *monte-*, *ma^mbe-*, *moro-N-*, *mana-N-*, *polo-N-*, *Poko-N_1-*, *-ki*, *-kipi*, *-piki*, *-li*, *-si*, *-wi*, *-ako_1*, *-ako_2*, *-lako*, *ka-BR_2-*, *ko_2-BR_2-*, *maka-li-*, *N-BR_1-mo-ko_1-*, *Pe_1-um_1-*, *PoN-$Poko_1$-*, *PoN-Po-*, *PoN-$Poko_2$-*, *PoN-pa-*, *PoN-Pe_2-*, BR_1*-PoN-Po-*, *PoN-pasi-N-*, *Pe_2-Pe_1-*, *te-po-*, *PoN-i*, *PoN-hi*, *PoN-pi*, *PoN-ari*, *Pe_2-li*, *Pe_1-ako_1*, *Pe_1-ako_2*, *Pe_1-hako*, *Pe_1-sako* and *Pe_1-lako*.

A fully expanded V-base has the following structure:

(PF/IF) + PF + PF + V-stem + SF + SF[12]

The order of the particular affixes will be discussed in Chapter 7.

The verb-forming affixes listed above can mark the verb as having voice, transitivity, semantic case, and mode, and as being a state or action.

3.1.2.1 VOICE

Voice marks the relation of the subject to the action of the V-base. In Mori there are two voices: active and passive. Active voice indicates that the verb is transitive, that the referent of the subject NP performs or experiences the action or state of the V-base, and that the referent of the direct object receives the action of the V-base. Passive voice indicates that the referent of the subject NP receives or undergoes the action of a VP produced by an agent.

3.1.2.2 TRANSITIVITY

Transitivity indicates the capacity of V-bases that describe actions to take a grammatical direct object. Such V-bases can be classified as transitive or intransitive. Transitive V-bases take a subject, the referent of which is an agent that performs or causes the action of the verb, and a direct object, the referent of which is usually a patient that receives the action of the verb. However, one circumflex in this language, *PoN-ari*, creates 'transitive-reflexive' verbs, in which the action of the verb is reflexive, the referent of the grammatical subject

[12] See Chapter 7 for the constraints on the co-occurrence of the different prefixes, infixes and suffixes.

performs the action to or on him/herself, making the grammatical subject both the agent and patient, and the grammatical direct object is the location where the action is performed.

All transitive V-bases are classified as either 'generalised', in which the action of the V-base is habitual and generalised or the patient is generalised, or they are classified as 'specific', in which the action of the V-base is specific or directed towards a specific patient.

Intransitive V-bases are V-bases that describe actions, which cannot take a direct object. They are classified as:

1. simple intransitive, in which the referent of the subject produces an action that cannot have a patient;
2. antipassive, in which the referent of the subject produces the action and the semantic patient occurs grammatically in locative case;
3. experiential, in which the referent of the subject experiences a process;
4. passive, in which the referent of the subject is the patient of an action produced by an agent;
5. de-emphasised, in which the referent of the subject is the patient of the action and the agent is unknown or insignificant;
6. reflexive, in which the referent of the subject performs an action to or on him/herself;
7. reciprocal, in which the referent of the subject is plural and they perform an action to each other.

3.1.2.3 SEMANTIC CASE

Semantic case refers to a set of situational roles that the different NPs of a sentence take in relation to the V-base. There are eight such roles in Mori:

1. agentive, in which an action or state is performed/produced by an agent, that is, a person, animal, or thing that can perform/produce an action or state by its own internal power;
2. objective, in which an action or state is received by or identified with a patient;
3. benefactive, in which an action or state is performed/produced or exists for the benefit of a beneficiary;
4. instrumental, in which an action or state is performed/produced with the use of an instrument;
5. locative, in which an action or state is performed/produced or exists at a certain location in time or space;
6. experiential, in which an action or state is experienced by an experiencer, that is, an animate being that can experience;
7. associative, in which an action or state is linked to an associate, that is, an NP somehow associated in a parallel way with another referent;
8. complementing, in which an action is completed or more narrowly defined by a complement.

These cases will be more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.4) and linked to the verb-forming affixes discussed in Chapters 5 and 7.

3.1.2.4 MODE

Mode is defined here as the manner in which an action is performed, or the manner in which a state or process occurs. In Mori mode is an elaborate system of differentiating states and actions. Often it is the determining factor of which verbal affixation will occur on a V-stem. Some of the modes refer to fairly simple straightforward situations; whereas others are very specific with subtle nuances. There are 45 modes, which are divided into the following six categories: (1) quality, (2) intensity, (3) experience, (4) causation, (5) movement and (6) repetition.

The modes that refer to quality describe qualitative dimensions of an action or state. There are sixteen modes of quality:

1. Simple quality mode describes a state that is a quality.
2. Measurative mode describes a state that is a measurement.
3. Cardinal number mode describes a state that can be counted as a cardinal number.
4. Ordinal number mode describes a state that is ordered as an ordinal number.
5. Acquired mode describes a state that is acquired, that is, one that does not occur naturally.
6. Intrinsic mode describes a state that occurs naturally or intrinsically.
7. Easy intrinsic mode describes a state in which one is naturally inclined to perform a particular action or exhibit a particular trait and does so easily.
8. Continuative intrinsic mode describes a state in which one is naturally inclined to perform a particular action or exhibit a particular trait and is constantly performing that action or exhibiting that trait.
9. Intense intrinsic mode describes a state in which one is naturally inclined to perform a particular action or exhibit a particular trait very frequently, often to an extreme.
10. Resembling mode describes the action or state that resembles the action or state of the V-stem in a real or metaphoric manner.
11. Mitigated resembling mode describes the action or state of the V-base as somewhat resembling the action or state of the V-stem.
12. Imitative mode describes an action or state that is intentionally imitated.
13. Restricted mode describes a restricted or specialised action or an action that is directed toward a restricted or specialised object.
14. Associative mode describes a situation in which the V-stem that is derived from an N-base is associated with the subject of the V-base.
15. Aptative mode describes an action or a state that has the potential to occur.
16. Unintended mode describes an action that is executed without intention.

Intense intrinsic and mitigated resembling modes also mark the verb for intensity and continuative intrinsic mode for repetition (see below).

The modes that refer to intensity describe the degree to which an action or a state occurs. There are six modes of intensity:

1. Mitigated mode describes an action or state that occurs to a degree less than normal.
2. Intense mode describes an action or state that occurs to a degree greater than normal.
3. Excessive mode describes an action or state that occurs anywhere, at any time, and/or for any reason to the point of excess.
4. Intense, excessive mode describes an action or state that occurs anywhere, at any time, for any reason beyond the point of excess.
5. Arbitrary mode describes an action or state that occurs arbitrarily.
6. Abrupt mode describes an action that is abruptly executed.

The modes that refer to experience describe experiencing an action or a state using the senses or intuition. There are four modes of experience:

1. Olfactory mode describes a state that is perceived through the sense of smell.
2. Observational mode describes a state that is observed or perceived by either intuition, internal feeling, the senses or the intellect.
3. Mitigated observational mode describes a state that is somewhat observed or perceived by either intuition, internal feeling, the senses or the intellect.
4. Testing mode describes an action or a state that is directly tested by tasting, touching or lifting.

Because all of these experiential modes specify the use of a channel to experience states, they mark the V-bases as being subjective. The V-base, therefore, indicates that an action or state either 'is perceived as' or 'smells like' the state of the V-stem without reference to the validity of these perceptions.

The modes that refer to causation describe how an action or state is caused or produced. There are eight causative modes:

1. Simple causative mode describes an action or state that is caused or produced by an agent.
2. Intended causative mode describes an action or state that is intentionally caused by an agent.
3. Unintended causative mode describes an action or state that is accidentally caused by an agent.
4. Resembling causative mode describes an action or state that is caused by an agent and resembles the action or state of the V-stem in either a real or metaphoric manner.
5. Permanent causative mode describes a state that is permanently caused.
6. Specific causative mode describes a specific state that is caused.
7. Mitigated causative mode describes an action or state that is indirectly caused.

8. Requesting mode describes an action that is asked to be executed or a state that is asked to be produced. In this manner the action or state is potentially being indirectly caused by the one who asks.

In addition to marking the V-base for causation, the resembling causative mode marks it for quality and the mitigated causative mode for intensity.

The modes that refer to manner describe the manner in which an action is executed. There are three modes of manner:

1. Simple manner mode describes an action or a state being executed in the manner described by the V-stem.
2. Directional mode describes an action that is executed in a particular direction.
3. Moving mode describes an action that is executed with movement or locomotion in the manner of the V-stem.

The modes that refer to repetition describe the occurrence of an action or a state over time and space. There are eight modes of repetition:

1. Solitary mode describes an action or state that occurs once.
2. Iterative mode describes an action or state that repeatedly occurs and ceases.
3. Continuative mode describes an action or state that continues over a period of time through repeating or prolonging a single action.
4. Distributive mode describes an action or a state that occurs randomly over time and space.
5. Intense continuative mode describes an action or state that continues without ever stopping.
6. Excessive continuative mode describes an action or state that continues beyond normal limits.
7. Arbitrary continuative mode describes an action or state that continually occurs arbitrarily, often in the wrong manner, towards the wrong patient, without a proper reason or without the proper skill.
8. Excessive distributive mode describes an action or state that occurs over time and/or space to the point of excess.

Again the intense continuative, the excessive continuative and the excessive distributive modes straddle the modal categories of intensity and repetition.

Examples of these modes and a more thorough discussion will be presented in Chapters 5 and 7.

3.1.2.5 FUNCTIONS OF THE V-BASE

Like the N-base, the V-base has a wide range of functions. It can function as the head of a VP or an NP, or it can modify an N-base or a V-base. These functions are demonstrated below in the following examples.

V-base functioning as a verb:

3.6 *MeN-PoN-nako-'ira* /mponako'ira/ *nana'ote.*
PL-G.TR-steal-PL3.SB child
The children steal.

V-base modifying an adjective:

3.7 *Mo-sa'o aroa-no mia PoN-nako* /monako/ *atuu.*
QL-evil seat.of.emotions-SG3.PS person G.TR-steal that
That person who steals has an evil heart (lit. that stealing person has an evil heart).

V-base modifying an adverb:

3.8 *Pe*$_2$-BR$_2$-*arai* /me'ara'arai/ *i-Pe*$_2$-*lempa* /ipelempa/.
INT-IS-go.slowly SG3.SB-INT-walk
He walked slowly.

V-base functioning as a noun:

3.9 *-um*$_1$*-lako* /lumako/ *tehine nahi i-moiko* /moiko/.
INT-go long.time not SG3.SB-good
Going for a long time is not good.

3.10 *Mo-taha-o-mo kinaa.*
QL-ripe-SG3.BS-EM.NF cooked.rice
The rice is done.

3.2 NUMBERS

Unlike many Austronesian languages, the numbers in Mori do not constitute a separate word class. Rather they are classified as either V-bases, N-bases or adverbs according to their affixes and their function.

There are four sets of numbers in Mori: (1) the cardinal numbers, (2) the ordinal numbers, (3) numbers that refer to the number of times an event occurs, and (4) numbers that refer to the number of days passing.

The cardinal numbers and the ordinal numbers are both classified as V-bases. The third set of numbers referring to times occurring function as adverbs in a clause even though these numbers are formed by the nominalising complex morpheme *pe-N-*. The fourth set of numbers referring to days passing also function as adverbs. The first two members of this set are irregular in that they are technically compound N-bases formed by the V-roots *asa* 'one' and *rua* 'two' and the N-root *woŋi* 'night, darkness'. The rest of the members of this set are formed by the locative prefix *i-* and a numeric V-root. The first five numbers of these four sets are demonstrated in Chart 3.1.

CHART 3.1: THE NUMBERS				
No.	Cardinal	Ordinal	# of times	# of days
1	*asa*	*ko'asa*	*pohona*	*asawoŋi*
2	*orua*	*ko'orua*	*pe^{n}dua*	*ruawoŋi*
3	*otolu*	*ko'otolu*	*pentolu*	*itolu*
4	*opaa*	*ko'opaa*	*pempato*	*ipato*
5	*olima*	*ko'olima*	*pelima*	*ilima*

Examples of these four sets are:

3.11 *O*[13]*-rua-'ira* *ana-no.*
CR-two-PL3.SB child-SG3.PS
She has two children (lit. her children are two).

3.12 *Anu* *ko$_1$-<'o-tolu>* BR$_1$*-Pe-'ia* /mo'ia'ia/.
that OR-<CR-three> MT-INT-stay
The one that was third stayed a while.

3.13 *Pe-N-hona* /pohona/ *i-um$_1$-lako* /ilako/.
NM-LK-once SG3.SB-INT-go
He went once.

3.14 *Pe$_1$-tao-'ira* /metao'ira/ *i-tolu.*
RC-marry-DU3.SB LP-third
They were married on the third day.

3.3 SUBSTITUTES

The substitutes are a small closed class of words which replace NPs or VPs. This class is divided into five smaller subclasses: the personal pronouns, the spatial deictic pronouns, the interrogative pronouns, the dependent pronoun and the negative VP substitute.

3.3.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

There are six sets of personal pronouns in Mori that can be classified as words.

3.3.1.1 INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The first set is referred to as the independent personal pronouns (see Chart 3.2).

CHART 3.2: INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS					
oŋkue	SG1	*ontae*	DU1INC,[14] PL1INC	*omami*	DU1EXC, PL1EXC
omue	SG2	*omiu*	SG2R, DU2, PL2		
onae	SG3	*o^{n}dae*	SG3R, DU3, PL3		

[13] In Chapter 5 (section 5.3) *-o* will by analysed as an allomorph of *ko$_1$-*.

[14] Dual is marked only in the subject by the presence of a dual/plural pronominal marker and the absence of the plural prefix *meN-*.

When these pronouns are not preceded by a pause, the initial /o/ is often assimilated by the preceding vowel according to rule Mp11.

$$\text{Mp11} \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} a \\ o \end{matrix} \right\} \Rightarrow \emptyset \ / \text{V\#__}$$

For example:

3.15 *-um$_1$-lako-o* /lumako/ *onae* /nae/ *i-'olu.*
INT-go-SG3.SB SG3 LP-market
He went to the market.

Firstly, these pronouns are used obligatorily to replace the subject of a sentence when the subject is the new information of the sentence. For example:

3.16 *Oŋkue-um$_1$-lako* /lumako/.
SG1-INT-go
I (am the one who) went.

Secondly, these pronouns are used optionally to add emphasis to the NP being replaced or to the content of the sentence as a whole. These pronouns can replace the subject of a sentence when it is not the new information of the sentence, the direct or indirect object, or the possessor of an NP. For example:

3.17a *PoN-^{m}bio-o* /mo^{m}bio/ *i* *Ede?*
G.TR-do.what-SG3.SB PNM PN
What did Ede do?

3.17b *-um$_1$-lako-o-mo* /lumakoomo/ *onae* /nae/.
INT-go-SG3.SB-EM.NF SG3
He left.

3.18a *^{n}De* *te-^{m}bio* *ka* *i-Pe$_2$-ŋese* /ipeŋese/ *i* *Ede?*
because UID-do.what so.that SG3.SB-INT-cry PNM PN
Why is Ede crying?

3.18b *O* *nana'ote i-um$_2$-poko-<ma-susa>-o* /ipokomasusao/ *onae* /nae/.
CN child SG3.SB-SP.TR-CA-<IS-sad>-SG3.DO SG3
A child made him sad.

3.19a *Hapa i-um$_2$-po-wee-akono* /ipoweeakono/ *i* *Ede?*
what SG3.SB-SP.TR-CA-give-SG3.IO PNM PN
What did he give to Ede?

3.19b *I-um$_2$-po-wee-akono* /ipoweeakono/ *onae* /nae/ *kinaa.*
SG3.SB-SP.TR-CA-give-SG3.IO SG3 cooked.rice
He gave him some cooked rice.

3.20a *O^{n}dae* *i* *Tanta do-um$_2$-uŋke-o* /do'uŋkeo/ *ana-do.*
SG3R PNM Aunt SG3R.SB-SP.TR-look.for-SG3.DO child-SG3R.PS
Aunt is looking for her child.

3.20b *I-sua* *ana-do* *o^{n}dae* /^{n}dae/?
LP-where child-SG3R.PS SG3R
Where is her child?

Thirdly, they are used with the following three particles to add more emphasis: *da('a)* 'also,' *ke* 'question marker,' and *ma* 'emphasis marker'. For example:

3.21 *Omiu da omiu* /miu/ *a^{n}dio* /^{n}dio/ *susua-o-mo*
PL2 also PL2 now different-SG3.SB-EM.NF

gau-miu.
manner-PL2.PS
Your ways are different.

3.22 *Onae koa ma oŋkue* /ŋkue/ *-um$_2$-'ala-o* *doi-mu.*
SG3 only EM.NF SG1 -SP.TR-take-SG3.DO money-SG2.PS
He was the one, I tell you, that took your money.

3.23 *Nahi ko^{m}ba i-um$_2$-ala-o* /i'alao/ *ke mue.*
not not SG3.SB-SP.TR-take-SG3.DO Q SG2
He didn't take it, I tell you.

As demonstrated in examples 3.22 and 3.23, when *ke* and *ma* occur with the independent pronouns, the pronouns do not necessarily have to refer to one of the constituents of the sentences.

Fourthly, the pronouns *omiu* 'SG2R' and *o^{n}dae* 'SG3R' are used in conjunction with a title as a show of respect. For example:

3.24 *Aku-um$_1$-lako* /lumako/ *^{n}di o^{n}dae i Ama.*
SG1.F-INT-go LP SG3R PNM Father
I'm going to go to Father.

The independent personal pronouns described above are the most flexible of all the pronouns since they have a wide range of functions and can occur in an utterance without other constituents. For example:

3.25 *I sema-um$_1$-lako* /lumako/? *Oŋkue.*
PNM who-INT-go SG1
Who went? I (did).

3.3.1.2 INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS MEANING 'BY (ONE)SELF'

The independent pronouns can be suffixed by the possessive pronominal suffixes, forming a new set of pronouns meaning 'by (one)self'. (See Chart 3.3 and the following examples.)

CHART 3.3: INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS MEANING 'BY (ONE)SELF' ALONE'					
oŋkueku	SG1.OS	*ontaeto*	DU1INC.OS, PL1INC.OS	*omamimami*	DU1EXC.OS PL1EXC.OS
omuemu	SG2.OS	*omiumiu*	SG2R.OS, DU2.OS, PL2.OS		
onaeno	SG3.OS	*o^{n}daedo*	SG3R.OS, DU3.OS, PL3.OS		

3.26 *Aku-um$_{I}$-lako* /lumako/ *oŋkueku.*
SG1.F-INT-go SG1.OS
I'm going to go by myself.

3.27 *MeN-PoN-'a^{ŋ}ga-kita* /mpo'a^{ŋ}gakita/ *ontaeto.*
PL-G.TR-work-PL1INC.SB PL1INC.OS
We worked by ourselves.

3.3.1.3 POLITE, DE-EMPHASISED INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

If the first two syllables of one of the independent personal pronouns are reduplicated (BR_1 'mitigated'), the new form indicates a polite, de-emphasised pronoun. (See Chart 3.4 and the following examples.)

CHART 3.4: POLITE, DE-EMPHASISED INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS					
oŋku'oŋkue	MT-SG1	*onta'ontae*	MT-DU1INC, MT-PL1INC	*oma'omami*	MT-DU1EXC MT-PL1EXC
omu'omue	MT-SG2	*omi'omiu*	MT-SG2R, MT-DU2, MT-PL2		
ona'onae	MT-SG3	*o^{n}da'o^{n}dae*	MT-SG3R, MT-DU3, MT-PL3		

3.28 BR_1-*omami* /oma-'omami/ *i* *Sia-um$_{I}$-lako* /lumako/.
MT-DUlEXC PNM PN-INT-go
Sia and I went.

3.29 BR_1-*omue* /omu'omue/ *ma-susa-ko?*
MT-SG2 IS-sad-SG2.SB
Are you sad?

3.3.1.4 EMPHASISED PERSONAL PRONOUNS

If the last two syllables of the independent personal pronouns are reduplicated (BR_2-'intense'), then the new form indicates a heavily emphasised form. (See Chart 3.5 and the following examples.)

CHART 3.5: EMPHASISED PERSONAL PRONOUNS					
oŋkueŋkue	IS-SG1	*ontaentae*	IS-DU1INC, IS-PL1INC	*omamimami*	IS-DU1EXC, IS-PL1EXC
omuemue	IS-SG2	*omiumiu*	IS-SG2R, IS-DU2, IS-PL2		
onaenae	IS-SG3	*o^{n}dae^{n}dae*	IS-SG3R, IS-DU3, IS-PL3		

3.30 BR$_2$-*onae* /onae-nae/ *ta* -*um$_1$-lako* /lumako/.
IS-SG3 SG3.F INT-go
He will go.

3.31 BR$_2$-*oŋkue nahi ku-behe.*
IS-SG1 not SG1.SB-want
I didn't want to.

3.3.1.5 EMPHATIC PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The fifth set of pronouns is an optional set of words used for emphasis, which mean approximately '(pronoun) too'. (See Chart 3.6 and the following examples.)

CHART 3.6: EMPHATIC PERSONAL PRONOUNS					
ŋkuda('a)	SG1.EM	*ntada('a)*	DU1INC.EM, PL1INC.EM	*mamida'a*	DU1EXC.EM, PL1EXC.EM
muda('a)	SG2.EM	*mida('a)*	SG2R.EM, DU2.EM, PL2.EM		
nada('a)	SG3.EM	*^{n}dada('a)*	SG3R.EM, DU2.EM, PL3.EM		

3.32 *Ø-PoN-'ema-akita* /po'emaakita/ *ntada'a bou-no!*
SG2.IT-G.TR-ask-PL1INC.IO PL1INC.EM fish-SG3.PS
Ask for some of his fish for us too!

3.33 *Ø-um$_2$-wawa-akita* /wawaakita/ *muda inisa a^{n}dio!*
SG2.IT-SP.TR-carry-PL1INC.IO SG2.EM husked.rice this
Would you also carry this husked rice for us!

The emphatic personal pronouns resemble particles (see section 3.4) in that they cannot occur independently as the subject or predicate of a sentence but rather only as the modifiers of other constituents. For example:

3.34 *Oŋkue ŋkuda'a!*
SG1 SG1.EM
Me too!

3.35 **ŋkuda'a*

3.3.1.6 FUTURE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The last set of pronouns marks the predicate for future tense and the subject for person, number, inclusion and respect. (See Chart 3.7 and the following examples.)

CHART 3.7: FUTURE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

aku	SG1.F	*kita*	DU1INC.F, PL1INC.F	*kami*	DU1EXC.F, PL1EXC.F
(i)ko	SG2.F	*(i)komiu*	SG2R.F, DU2.F, PL2.F		
ta	SG3.F	*ira*	SG3R.F, DU3.F, PL3.F		

3.36 *Ira roŋa meN-PoN-kaa* /mpoŋkaa/.
PL3.F quickly PL-G.TR-eat
They will eat very soon.

3.37 *Kita-mo Pe$_1$-dolo* /medolo/.
DU1INC.F-EM.NF RF-bathe
The two of us will bathe.

3.38 *Aku-um$_2$-ala-o to^{n}de-ku.*
SG1.F-SP.TR-fetch-SG3.DO cup-SG1.PS
I'm going to fetch my cup.

Like the emphatic pronouns, the future pronouns are similar to particles. They form a part of the predicate but cannot occur by themselves as the predicate. In many ways they resemble the pronominal prefixes and suffixes that will be presented in Chapter 4. They, however, have been established as separate words because they trigger rule Mp17 that indicates the presence of a word juncture, they do not trigger rule Mp16 which shows the absence of word juncture, and they can be suffixed by the emphatic suffixes *-po* 'future emphatic (EM.F)' and *-mo* 'non-future emphatic (EM.NF)', which always occur at the end of a word.

3.3.2 SPATIAL DEICTIC PRONOUNS

There are three basic sets of spatial deictic pronouns. Almost all of the members of these sets are derived from the roots: *^{n}di* 'near speaker', *tu* 'near addressee', *ra* 'away from speaker and addressee but equal in height', *tah* 'away from and higher than speaker and addressee', and *lo* 'away from and lower than speaker and addressee'. (See Chart 3.8.)

CHART 3.8: SPATIAL DEICTIC PRONOUNS

	Referential		Locative		Directional
a^{n}dio	this or here, near the speaker	*i-^{n}di'ai*	here, near the speaker	*ramai*	towards speaker
atuu	that or there, near the addressee	*i-tu'ai*	there, near the addressee		
arau	that, away from the speaker and addressee	*i-ra'ai*	there, away from the speaker and addressee	*raane*	far away, equal ground
atahu	that up there	*i-tahai*	up there	*tahane*	far away and up
alou	that down there	*i-lo'ai*	down there	*loane*	far away and down

The substitutes of the first set of these spatial deictic pronouns either modify or replace NPs or predicates. The pronouns of this set are formed by the deictic roots and the demonstrative circumfix *a- -u*, producing *atuu* 'that near the addressee', *arau* 'that away from speaker and addressee', *atahu* 'that up there', and *alou* 'that down there'. When this circumfix combines with *ⁿdi*, the *-u* irregularly appears as *-o* to form *aⁿdio* 'this'. For example:

3.39 *Peɪ-<'aroa>-'ira* /me'aroa'ira/ *mia* *mo-<ta'u>* *atuu.*
ASM-<(kind) heart>-SG3R.SB person QL-<year(s)> that
That old person is kind-hearted.

3.40 *Arau mia* *ma-N-<haki>.*
there person IS-LK-<sickness>
Over there (away from speaker and addressee) is a sick person.

3.41 *Nahi i-alou* /lou/ *ana-ku.*
not SG3.SB-that.down.there child-SG1.PS
My child is not down there.

3.42 *Da meN-atuu-komiu* /mentuukomiu/*?*
still PL-there-PL2.SB
Are you still there?

The initial vowel of these demonstratives goes to zero when preceded by a vowel (Mp11) or when the entire demonstrative is suffixed by a suffix (Mp12). Rule Mp11 is demonstrated above in example 3.41 and rule Mp12 in example 3.42.

These demonstratives can optionally be suffixed by the possessive pronoun *-do* 'PL3.PS' to indicate plurality in the NP being modified or replaced.

3.43 *MeN-Peɪ-sikola-'ira* /mpesikola'ira/ *nana'ote* *aⁿdio-do* /ⁿdiodo/.
PL-ASM-school-PL3.SB child this-PL3.PS
These children go to school.

3.44 *Aⁿdio-do* *mia* *mo-<ta'u>.*
this-PL3.PS person QL-<year(s)>
Here are the elders.

As shown in examples 3.43 and 3.44, these demonstratives occur optionally with the initial /a/ when suffixed by *-do* 'PL3.PS'. This phonological process is presented in rule Mp12 (see section 2.2).

When acting as predicate substitutes, these demonstratives belong to a small set of verbs and particles that can be suffixed by *-o* 'SG3.SB' without having this suffix become zero when followed by a word boundary (see section 4.3.4.2). For example:

3.45 *ⁿDio-o* /ⁿdioo/ *leᵐba-ku* *anu* *te-<Pontadi>* /tetadi/.
this-SG3.SB dress-SG1.PS that UID-<to.throw.out>
This is my dress that disappeared.

The substitutes of the second set of spatial deictics basically replace the NP of locative phrases. These deictics are formed by the five basic deictic roots, the suffix *-'ai* 'locative', which only occurs with these roots, and the locative prefix *i-* 'to, at'. They are *iⁿdi'ai* 'here', *itu'ai* 'there near the addressee', *ira'ai* 'there away from speaker and addressee', *itahai* 'up

there' and *ilo'ai* 'down there'. When *-'ai* is suffixed to the root *tah*, the final /h/ causes the /'/ to go to zero. For example:

3.46 *I-um$_2$-naa-o* /inaao/ *i-tahai* *i-dunsi.*
SG3.SB-SP.TR-put-SG3.DO LP-up.there LP-loft
He put it up there in the loft.

3.47 *Pe$_2$-'ia-'aku* /mo'ia'aku/ *i-^{n}di'ai* *i-'inia* *a^{n}dio* /^{n}dio/.
INT-reside-SG1.SB LP-here LP-village this
I live here in this village.

Occasionally these spatial deictics are suffixed by the possessive pronominal suffixes when the point of reference is a specific part of a larger entity (e.g. a point on the body). For example:

3.48 *Tompa-o* /toompa/ *koa* *i-^{n}di'ai-ku* *o* /io/ *uwoi.*
end-SG3.SB only LP-here-SG1.PS CN water
The water only came up to here on me.

The substitutes of the third set of deictics are directionals. Three of the members of this set are formed from the roots, *ra*, *tah* and *lo*, and the directional suffix *-ane*, producing the words: *raane* 'over there, far away from us (equal height with the speaker)', *tahane* 'up there, far away from us', and *loane* 'down there, far away from us'. The fourth member of this set is the irregular directional *ramai* 'towards the speaker'.

These spatial deictics can replace the predicate of a sentence, point in the direction of a particular location, or occur with the locative prefix *^{n}di-* to replace the NP of a locative phrase when a wide, undefined area is indicated. For example:

3.49 *MeN-ramai-'ira* /meramai'ira/ *ana-N-sikola* /anansikola/.
PL-towards.speaker-PL3.SB child-LK-school
The pupils are coming towards us.

3.50 *-um$_1$-lako-o-mo* /lumakoomo/ *tahane* *i-torukuno.*
INT-go-SG3.SB-EM.NF up.there LP-mountain
He already went up there to the mountain.

3.51 *O* *hapa* *gau-miu* *^{n}di-raane?*
CN what custom-PL2.PS LP-over.there
What are your customs over there (in America)?

When a direction indicates movement from one point to another, the members of this third set of deictics are prefixed by *N-*, a non-productive adverbial locative (AV), and the directional prefix *koN-* producing: *ŋkoraane* '(moving) in the direction of over there', *ŋkontahane* '(moving) in the direction of up there', *ŋkoloane* '(moving) in the direction of down there', and *ŋkoramai* '(moving) in the direction of the speaker'. For example:

3.52 *MeN*-BR$_2$-*<Pelulu>'ira* /mpelululu'ira/ *nana'ote*
PL-ITT-<to.run>-PL3.SB child

N-ko-raane /ŋkoraane/ *N-ko-ramai* /ŋkoramai/
AV-DR-away.from.speaker AV-DR-towards.speaker
The children are running back and forth all over.

3.3.3 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

The interrogative pronouns that belong to the word class of substitutes are *sema* 'who', *hapa* 'what', *sua* 'where', and *umpe* 'how', which all occur in interrogative sentences.

The pronoun *sema* 'who' always occurs with the personal name determiner *i* or the locative prefix *ⁿdi* and replaces NPs that involve people or mythical characters that behave as people. For example:

3.53 *I sema wali-miu?*
PNM who friend-SG2R.PS
Who is your friend?

3.54 *ⁿDi-sema u-um₁-lako* /ulako/*?*
LP-who SG2.SB-INT-go
To whose house are you going (lit. to whom are you going)?

The pronoun *hapa* 'what' replaces an NP in a sentence or a modifier of an NP. When it replaces an NP, it can optionally occur with the common noun marker *o*. For example:

3.55 *O hapa u-um₂-'ala-akune* /u'alaakune/*?*
CN what SG2.SB-SP.TR-fetch-SG1.IO
What did you fetch for me?

3.56 *O mia hapa onae?*
CN person what SG3
What kind of person is he?

The pronoun *sua* 'where' always occurs with the locative prefix *i-* and replaces the NPs of locative phrases. For example:

3.57 *I-sua ba u-um₁-lako* /ulako/*?*
LP-where if SG2.SB-INT-go
Where are you going?

The pronoun *umpe* 'how' always occurs with the particle *kana* 'like, as' and modifies VPs in a sentence. For example:

3.58 *Kana umpe u-um₁-lako* /ulako/*?*
like how SG2.SB-INT-go
How did you go?

There are two other interrogative adverbs and one interrogative V-root that do not belong to this word class. The two adverbs are derived from the V-root *-ipi* 'to dream, imagine' and the nominalising suffix *-a* to form the word *ipia*[15] 'the time that is imagined'. *Te-* 'aptative' combines with *ipia* to form *te'ipia* 'when (future)', and *ⁿdi-* 'specific (past) event' combines with it to form *ⁿdi'ipia* 'when (past)'. The V-root *-ᵐbio* 'do what?' combines with the transitive affixes, *PoN-* and *-um₂-*, the passive infix *-in-*, and the de-emphasised intransitive prefix *te-*, resulting in four interrogative verbs, including *teᵐbio* 'why'. For example:

3.59 *Te'ipia komiu Pe₁-tao* /metao/*?*
when.F DU2.F RC-marry
When will you two marry?

---

15 These two adverbs are the only contexts in which *ipia* occurs. If one wishes to speak about dreams or dreaming, a verbal or nominal prefix must be used.

3.60 *^{n}Di'ipia i-hawe?*
when.NF SG3.SB-arrive
When did he arrive?

3.61 *Te-^{m}bio ka u-Pe$_2$-ŋese* /upeŋese/?
DE-do.what so.that SG2.SB-INT-cry
Why are you crying?

3.62 *PoN-^{m}bio-ko* /mo^{m}bioko/?
G.TR-do.what-SG2.SB
What are you doing?

3.3.4 THE DEPENDENT PRONOUN

There is only one dependent pronoun in Mori, *anu* 'that, which'. This pronoun introduces dependent clauses that modify or replace NPs. For example:

3.63 *Tekosi beine atuu anu inso i-Poso.*
beautiful woman that that from LP-PN
That woman who is from Poso is beautiful.

3.3.5 NEGATIVE COMMAND SUBSTITUTE

The negative command substitute, *osi'i* 'don't', replaces negative imperative VPs. For example:

3.64 *Osi'i! Si i-Pe$_2$-N-toro* /pentoro/ *i-tu'ai!*
don't not.IT SG2R.IT-INT-LK-sit LP-there
Don't! Don't sit there!

3.4 PARTICLES

The particles are a closed set of words which cannot occur as the predicate of a sentence. They are divided into five subclasses according to their function in a sentence. The occurrence of the particles in Mori is governed by a set of very complex syntactic rules. Due to the limited scope of this monograph, however, only a few of the more general rules will be discussed.

3.4.1 PARTICLES THAT ONLY MODIFY NPS: THE DETERMINERS

There are two particles that occur before NPs in Mori: *i* 'proper personal name marker (PNM)' and *o* 'common noun marker (CN)'. The particle *i* marks an NP as the proper name of a person or a mythical character behaving as a person, or it marks the interrogative substitute *sema* 'who' as a person. The particle *o* marks an NP as a common noun or marks the interrogative substitute *hapa* 'what' as a non-person. The *i* is obligatory while the *o* is optional. The *o* is occasionally pronounced as *io* due to rule Mp9. For example:

3.65 *KoN-toŋa-a-no* /kontoŋaano/ *PoN-nahu* / monahu/ *i Sia.*
ME-middle-NM-SG3.PS G.TR-cook PNM PN
Sia is in the process of cooking.

3.66 *Te-<Pontadi>-o* /tetadi/ *o* /io/ *seu-ku.*
UID-to throw out-SG3.SB CN needle-SG1.PS
My needle disappeared.

3.4.2 PARTICLES THAT ONLY MODIFY VPS AND ADVERBIAL PARTICLES

There are twelve particles in Mori which only modify VPs or adverbial particles within VPs. Of these twelve particles, there are eight that occur after the word or phrase that they modify. Seven of these eight indicate intensity: (1) *gege* 'extremely (unfavourable)', (2) *lahi* 'too much', (3) *lapu* 'extremely (favourable)', (4) *loke* 'extremely', (5) *ntu'u* 'very much', (6) *luwu* 'all', and (7) *tedei* 'a little', and one indicates time, *ari* 'occurring before something else'. For example:

3.67 *Mo-ke^{n}do-o* /moke^{n}do/ *ntu'u mia* *PoN-'a^{ŋ}ga* /mo'a^{ŋ}ga/.
QL-tired-SG3.SB very person G.TR-work
The people who are working are very tired.

3.68 *Ø*-BR$_1$*<po'ia>-mo* /po'ia'iamo/ *ari.*
SG2.IT-MT-<to.stay>-EM.NF first
Before you do anything else, stay a while.

Four of these twelve particles occur before the VP that is being modified: *dapo* 'just recently', *napo* 'not yet', *namo* 'not any more', and *nahi* 'not'. For example:

3.69 *Dapo do-meN-PoN-kaa* /domponkaa/.
just PL3.SB-PL-G.TR-eat
They just ate.

3.70 *Nahi ku-Pe$_2$-wuatako* /kupewuatako/.
not SG1.SB-INT-climb.up
I did not enter (the house) (lit. I did not climb up).

These four particles are a very peculiar subdivision of this word class. Firstly, all of these words seem to be derived from words that at one time could have been broken down into smaller units. *Dapo* 'just, recently' is probably a shortened version of the VP *da iaopo* (*da* 'still', *'ia* 'reside', *o* 'SG3.SB', *po* 'EM.F') 'just recently' even though this phrase functions differently than *dapo* in a sentence. The three negative particles *napo* 'not yet', *namo* 'not any more', and *nahi* 'not' all begin with the same syllable *na-*; *napo* and *namo* end in the two emphatic suffixes *-po* 'EM.F' and *-mo* 'EM.NF', and *nahi* is probably a shortened version of the VP *nahina* 'there is none/no...', even though their functions are different in a sentence.

These four particles differ from the other particles in that they can be uttered alone like verbs, and when they are uttered alone, they are affected by the vowel-lengthening rule Mp5. For example:

3.71 *naamo*
not.any.more
not any more

They, however, cannot be inflected for person or plurality as a verb can.

3.72 **namoomo*

3.4.3 PARTICLES THAT ONLY MODIFY THE PREDICATE

This is the largest subclass of particles. There are twenty-six particles that modify the predicate, which in Mori can be either an NP or a VP.

Twenty-two of these particles occur before the predicate, modifying it for time, manner, desire, capability, intensity and negation. They are as follows: *da* 'still', *hori* 'ever', *mpena₁* 'to take the opportunity after a long period, to be in the state/process of', *a^{m}ba* 'initially', *umari* 'finished', *sani* 'always', *wela* 'always', *wali* 'again', *^{n}di* 'specific event', *liu* 'immediately', *mansa* 'directly', *roŋa* 'quickly', *polio* 'capable', *miŋki* 'to like to', *behe* 'to want (used in negative phrases)', *buku* 'to want (polite-form, used in negative phrases)', *sapa* 'to have courage (used in negative phrases)', *para* 'extremely', *tedoa* 'extremely', *tai* 'absolutely, absolutely not', *lahue* 'absolutely not', *ko^{m}ba* 'not', *si* 'not (imperative)'. For example:

3.73 *Da tuwu-'ira mia mo-<ta'u>-no.*
still live-DU3.SB person QL-<year(s)>-SG3.PS
Her parents are still living.

3.74 *Wela Pe₁-kule* /mekule/ *ŋgapu-mami.*
always RF-return cat-PL1EXC.PS
Our cat always returns.

3.75 *Nahi ku-buku Pe₂-to^{n}da* /meto^{n}de/.
not SG1.SB-want AN-follow
I don't want to follow.

3.76 *Ko^{m}ba ana-N-beine* /anabeine/ *onae.*
not child-LK-woman SG3
She is not an unmarried woman.

The remaining five particles of this subclass: *hieno* 'earlier', *te'iŋka* 'in a little while', *tehine* 'a long time', *^{n}di'awi* 'yesterday', and *tisomo* 'tomorrow', occur either before or after the predicate that they modify. For example:

3.77 *^{n}Di'awi i-hawe.*
yesterday SG3.SB-arrive
She arrived yesterday.

3.78 *Ta koa hawe tisomo.*
SG3.F EM arrive tomorrow
She will indeed arrive tomorrow.

3.4.4 PARTICLES THAT MODIFY BOTH NPS AND VPS

There are seventeen particles that modify both VPs and NPs. Four of these particles, that is, *ko^{n}de* 'even, not even', *butu* 'only', *lano* 'indeed', and *moro* 'perhaps', always occur before the phrase that they modify. For example:

3.79 *Butu onae* BR₂-*<Pe'ua>.*
only SG3 ITT-<fistfight>
Only he got into a fight.

3.80 *Moro ira meN-hawe* /mehawe/ *tisomo.*
perhaps PL3.F PL-arrive tomorrow
Perhaps they will arrive tomorrow.

Another twelve of these particles occur after the phrase being modified, that is, *da'a* 'too', *ᵐbo'u* 'again', *mpiha* 'continually', *mpena₂* 'in vain', *bela* 'indeed, don't you know', *kada* 'reaffirmation', *ma* 'emphatic marker', *ⁿde'e* 'reaffirmation', *tokoa* 'surprise', *kua* 'it is alleged', *kuri'a* 'it is alleged', and *koa* 'emphatic marker'. For example:

3.81 *Onae ᵐbo'u-um₁-lako* /lumako/.
SG3 again-INT-go
Again it was he who went.

3.82 *MeN-PoN-'aᵑga-'ira* /mpo'aᵑga'ira/ *mpena.*
PL-G.TR-work-PL3.SB in.vain
They worked in vain.

Syntactically, *koa* 'emphatic marker (EM)' is more flexible than the other eleven particles listed above in that it can also modify the future personal pronouns or the particle *ⁿdi* 'specific event (SP.EV)'. For example:

3.83 *ⁿDi-ko koa Pe₂-<gaupi>* /megaupi/.
SP.EV-SG2.SB EM INT-<lie>
You told a lie at that time.

3.84 *Ira koa tedoa tekuda ama-ku.*
SG3R.F EM extremely angry father-SG1.PS
My father is going to be very angry.

The last member of the subclass is *ke* 'question marker (Q)', which can occur either before or after the phrase being modified, as demonstrated in the following examples:

3.85 *Ke-um₁-lako-o-mo* /lumakoomo/ *i Sia?*
Q-INT-go-SG3.SB-EM.NF PNM PN
Did Sia already go?

3.86 *-um₁-lako-o-mo* /lumakoomo/ *ke i Sia?*
INT-go-SG3.SB-EM.NF Q PNM PN
Did Sia already go?

3.4.5 Conjunctions

There are ten conjunctions in Mori: *ka* 'and, then', *ba* 'if', *tewala* 'if', *sine* 'but', *kana* 'as if, like', *maŋka* 'except (if)', *nine* 'that', *ⁿde* 'because', *ranta* 'until', and *sa* 'as soon as'. These particles can link NPs, VPs or entire clauses. For example:

3.87 *Sa ku-PoN-kaa* /kupoŋkaa/ *-um₁-lako-'ira-mo* /lumako'iramo/.
as.soon.as SG1.SB-G.TR-eat -INT-go-SG3R.SB-EM.NF
As soon as I ate, he left.

3.88 *Pe₂-lempa-o* /melempa/ *kana mia.*
INT-walk-SG3.SB like human.being
It walked like a human being.

3.5 INTERJECTIONS

The last word class in Mori, the interjections, consists of a set of words usually said in isolation and which indicate a wide range of emotions. For example:

3.89 *Adidi!*
Ouch!

3.90 *Saa dada!*
Aha! (I caught you.)

3.91 *Ho'io!*
Oh yes, on the contrary! (said in response to a negative question)

CHAPTER 4

GRAMMATICAL BACKGROUND: SIMPLE SENTENCE STRUCTURE

The nucleus of a simple sentence in Mori is composed of a subject and a predicate.

4.1 SUBJECT

The subject consists of an NP, that is, a phrase headed by an N-base, or a word functioning as an N-base that has reference within the sentence. For example:

4.1 *Te-donta-o* /tedonta/ *nana'ote atuu.*
UID-fall-SG3.SB child that
That child fell.

In example 4.1, *nana'ote atuu* 'that child' is the NP that represents the subject of the verb *tedonta* 'fall'.

4.2 PREDICATE

The predicate may be non-verbal or verbal. If it is a non-verbal predicate, it consists of either an NP or a locative phrase, as demonstrated respectively in the following two examples.

4.2 *MeN-sorodadu-'ira* /mensorodadu'ira/ *aka-ku.*
PL-soldier-PL3.SB older.sibling-SG1.PS
My older brothers are soldiers.

4.3 *AN-wawo* /awawo/ *meda owu.*
LP-top table machete
The machete is on top of the table.

In example 4.2, the NP *mensorodadu'ira* '(are) soldiers' forms the predicate, and in example 4.3, the locative phrase *awawo meda* 'on top of the table' is the predicate.

If the predicate is verbal, it consists of a VP, that is, a phrase headed by a V-base. For example:

4.4 *Napo i-Pe$_2$-turi* /ipoturi/ *i Ede.*
not.yet SG3.SB-INT-sleep PNM PN
Ede is not yet sleeping.

In example 4.4, *napo ipoturi* 'is not yet sleeping' is the VP that represents the predicate of the sentence.

4.2.1 PREDICATOR

The word that heads the VP of a verbal predicate or the NP of a nominal or locative predicate will be referred to as the predicator in Mori. The predicator acts as the pivot of a sentence, to which at least one NP, the subject, and possibly other phrases (e.g. direct object, adverbial phrases, etc.) are related.

4.2.2 VALENCY

The number of NPs[16] that may be related to the predicator is referred to as the valency of the predicator. If only one NP can occur with a particular predicator, it has a valency of one and the predicator is referred as a one-place predicator. If a maximum of two NPs can occur with a predicator, it has a valency of two and is referred to as a two-place predicator.

All of the non-verbal predicators in Mori and most verbal predicators are one-place predicators. Those V-bases prefixed by the transitive prefix *PoN-* or infixed by the transitive infix *-um$_2$-* may occur as two-place predicators (see sections 5.13-14, 7.2.2.3). Monovalent or bivalent V-bases may occur with an extra NP if suffixed by *-ako* (see section 7.2.4) or one of the pronominal suffixes that mark the V-base for an additional object (see section 4.3.4.3). No predicator in Mori has a valency higher than three. Monovalent, bivalent, and trivalent predicators are exemplified below in examples 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7, respectively.

4.5 *Pe$_2$-wuatako-o* /mewuatako/ *i* *Ele.*
INT-climb.up-SG3.SB PNM PN
Ele entered (the house) (lit. Ele climbed up [e.g. into a house]).

4.6 *PoN-nahu-o* /monahu/ *inahu* *i* *Ele.*
G.TR-cook-SG3.SB vegetable PNM PN
Ele is cooking vegetables.

4.7 *I* *Ele* *i-um$_2$-Po-wee-akono* /ipoweeakono/ *uai-no*
PNM PN SG3.SB-SP.TR-CA-give-SG3.IO younger.sibling-SG3.PS
wunta.
letter
Ele gave her younger sister a letter.

Valency differs from transitivity in that transitivity refers to the capability of a V-base to take a direct object; whereas valency refers to the number of NPs that are related to the predicator. Thus, a transitive V-base and an intransitive V-base suffixed by *-ako* both have a valency of two. However, with a transitive V-base, the second NP is a direct object, and with an intransitive V-base suffixed by *-ako*, it is an indirect object. For example:

4.8 *Doito-ako-o* /doitoako/ *ule* *nana'ote.*
afraid-IO-SG3.SB snake child
Children are afraid of snakes.

4.9 *I-um$_2$-Poko-N-doito-o* /ipokodoitoo/ *ule* *nana'ote.*
SG3.SB-SP.TR-CA-LK-afraid-SG3.DO snake child
The snake frightened the child.

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16 These NPs do not refer to the NPs preceded by a locative.

4.3 INFLECTION ON THE PREDICATE

The predicate in Mori can be marked for number, tense and new information. These three features are determined by the presence and absence of inflectional affixes on the predicator, which consist of the plural prefix *meN-* and five sets of pronominal affixes.

A fully expanded predicate with inflection has one of the following two structures:

future: # future pronoun # plural marker + predicate + pronominal suffix #

non-future: # pronominal prefix or infix + plural marker + predicate + pronominal suffix #

4.3.1 NUMBER

Number refers to the number of subjects, direct objects, indirect objects and possessors. There are three types of number: singular, dual and plural. Singular refers to one referent or to a homogeneous group. In the subject, it is marked by a singular future pronoun (see section 3.3.1.6) with or without a singular independent pronoun (see section 3.3.1), or by a singular pronominal affix (see sections 4.3.4.1-2, 4.3.4.5) with or without a singular independent pronoun. In the direct or indirect object and in a possessor, it is marked by a singular pronominal suffix with or without the independent pronouns (see sections 4.3.4.2-4). For example:

4.10 *-um$_1$-lako-o* /lumako/ *mia.*
INT-go-SG3.SB person
1. The person left.
2. The people left together.

4.11 *Aku* *Pe$_2$-ula* /me'ula/ *aN-'oto* /a'oto/.
SG1.F INT-climb.into LP-motor.vehicle
I'm going to climb into the lorry.

4.12 *Pe$_2$-lai-o* /molai/ *nana'ote.*
INT-flee-SG3.SB child
The children fled. (children = a homogeneous group)

4.13 *I-um$_2$-Po-wee-akono-mo* /ipoweeakonomo/ *to^{n}de-no.*
SG2R.IT-SP.TR-CA-give-SG3.IO-EM.NF drinking.glass-SG3.PS
Please give him his glass.

Dual usually refers to two referents, but it can also refer to a small number of referents greater than two, that form a small homogeneous unit, such as someone's children. It is only marked in the subject. It is marked by the use of a plural independent pronoun, a plural future pronoun, or a plural pronominal affix without the plural prefix *meN-*. For example:

4.14 *Pe$_1$-tao-'ira* /metao'ira/ *^{n}diawi.*
RC-marry-DU3.SB yesterday
The two of them were married yesterday.

4.15 *To-PoN-kaa-mo* /topoŋkaamo/!
DU1INC.IT-G.TR-eat-EM.NF
Let's eat! (you and I)

4.16 *Ko$_1$-paa-ira* /opaa'ira/ *ana-no.*
CR-four-DU3.SB child-SG3.PS
She has four children (lit. her children are four).

Plural refers to more than two referents in the subject that are often not homogeneous in kind or synchronised in experiencing or performing the predicate at the same time or place. Plurality in the subject is marked by a plural pronominal affix and the plural inflectional prefix *meN-*, which is prefixed directly to the predicator. For example:

4.17 *MeN-um$_1$-lako-'ira* /melako'ira/ *mia.*
PL-INT-go-PL3.SB person
Many people left at different times.

4.18 *^{n}Di'upua* *ki-meN-ma-rasai*/kimemarasai/.
in.the.distant.past PL2EXC.SB-PL-IS-suffer
In the past we suffered.

The prefix *meN-* can also inflect the predicate for a singular subject that experiences or performs the predicate in many places. For example:

4.19 *MeN-mo-ko$_1$-kato-o* /memokokato/ *koroi-no.*
PL-OB[17]-itch-SG3.SB body-SG3.PS
His body itches in many different places.

4.20 *MeN-<ka^{m}ba>-'aku* /meŋka^{m}ba'aku/.
PL-<swollen>-SG1.SB
Parts of my body are swollen.

4.21 *MeN-<seko>-o* /menseko/ *sala.*
PL-<grass>-SG3.PS path
Parts of the path were grassy.

This prefix has two allomorphs: *N-* and *meN-*. *N-* occurs on V-bases that are prefixed by *ko$_2$-*, *te-*, *Pe$_1$-*, *Pe$_2$-*, *PoN-*, or *mokoko-* (i.e. BR$_1$-*mo-ko$_1$*), and *meN-* occurs on all other predicators. For example:

4.22 *MeN-te-kuda-'ira* /ntekuda'ira/ *mia* *mo-<ta'u>.*
PL-DE-angry-PL3.SB person QL-<year(s)>
The elders were angry.

4.23 *Nahi* *do-meN-koŋko* /domeŋkoŋko/ *mia* *meN-Pe$_2$-<lere>* /mpelere/.
not PL3.SB-PL-present person PL-CA-<dry.rice.field>
The farmers were not present.

When the allomorph *N-* occurs on a V-base beginning with BR$_1$-*mo-ko$_1$-*, it is irregularly prefixed to the second syllable. For example:

4.24 BR$_1$-*mo-ko$_1$-<Pe'ii>-'aku* /mokoko'ii'aku/.
MT-QL-OB-<to.show.teeth>-SG1.SB
I feel embarrassed (in front of one person).

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17 *Mo-ko$_1$-* is a complex morpheme and thus has only one gloss.

4.25 *MeN-<mokoko'ii>-'aku* /moŋkoko'ii'aku/.
IS-<to.feel.embarrassed>-SG1.SB
I feel embarrassed (in front of many).

Occasionally, when the speaker wishes to emphasise a plurality with a great diversity in the subject or intensity in action or state, he will use the allomorph *meN-* on V-bases beginning with the prefixes *ko*$_2$-, *te-*, *Pe*$_1$-, *Pe*$_2$- or *PoN-*. For example:

4.26 *MeN-PoN-saku-'ira* /memponsaku'ira/ *tama.*
PL-G.TR-chop.sago-PL3.SB man
The men were constantly chopping sago.

4.27 *MeN-PoN-saku-'ira* /mponsaku'ira/ *tama.*
PL-G.TR-chop sago-PL3.SB man
The men were chopping sago.

Whenever there is a string of two or more V-bases that have a plural subject, the first member of the string is optionally inflected with the prefix *meN-*. For example:

4.28 *Pe*$_2$*-lempa-'ira* /melempa'ira/ *meN*-BR$_1$-<*Pe*$_2$*-nani*> /mpenaninani/
INT-walk-PL3.SB PL-MT-<CA-sing>

meN-BR$_1$-<*Pe*$_2$*-pau*> /mpepaupau/.
PL-MT-<CA-talk>
They walked along singing a little and talking a little.

The plural prefix *meN-* also occurs in conjunction with monosyllabic reduplication of the verb stem. By itself, MR indicates a continuing action or an action that occurs again and again. Together the two prefixes indicate a referent of the subject that is a non-homogeneous group in which some of its members have undergone the state or performed action of the predicate and some have not. For example:

4.29 *MeN*-MR-<*mo-'ai*>-*'ira* /memo'o'ai'ira/ *raha* *i-*^{n}*di'ai.*
PL-CT-<QL-burnt>-PL3.SB house LP-here
Some of the houses here were burnt.

4.30 *MeN*-MR-<*Pe*$_2$*-N-siro*>-*'ira* /mpesisiro'ira/ *i-dunsi.*
PL-CT-<AN-DR-look.down>-PL3.SB LP-loft
Many of them were looking down from the loft.

In the direct or indirect object and a possessor, plural refers to two or more referents that often do not form a homogeneous group. It is marked by a plural pronominal affix with or without a plural independent pronoun.

4.3.2 TENSE

Tense refers to the manifestation of an action or state in time. There are two tenses in Mori: future, which refers to an unmanifested action or state, and non-future (NF), which refers to an action or state that is manifested in the present or past. Future tense is marked by the presence of the future pronouns (see section 3.3.1.6). Non-future is marked by the absence of these pronouns. For example:

4.31 *Ira* *meN-PoN-pu'u* /mpompu'u/ *tisomo.*
PL3.F PL-G.TR-begin tomorrow
They will begin tomorrow.

4.32 *MeN-PoN-pu'u-'ira* /mpompu'u'ira/ *kana* BR$_2$-*a^{n}dio* /^{m}dio^{n}dio/.
PL-G.TR-begin-PL3.SB as IS-now
They are beginning right now.

Tense will be further discussed in conjunction with the pronominal affixes (see section 4.3.4).

4.3.3 New information

New information refers to the NP, VP, V-base or adverbial phrase that is grammatically marked as the new information, or the most significant information in the sentence. There are three types of new information in Mori: subject (SB.NI), predicator (PD.NI), and adjunct (AJ.NI), which are marked by the presence or absence of the different pronominal markers and to some extent, by syntax. For example:

SB.NI 4.33 *Guru Tole PoN-pa-<guru>* /mompaguru/.
teacher PN G.TR-CA-<teacher>
Guru Tole is (the one who is) teaching. (Guru Tole = new information)

PD.NI 4.34 *PoN-pa-<guru>-o* /mompaguru/ *Guru Tole.*
G.TR-CA-<teacher>-SG3.SB teacher PN
Guru Tole is teaching. (*mompaguru* = new information)

AJ.NI 4.35 *Nana'ote do-PoN-pa-<guru>* /mompaguru/.
child SG3R.SB-G.TR-CA-<teacher>
He (Guru Tole) teaches children. (*nana'ote* = new information)

or

4.36 *Do-PoN-pa-<guru>* /mompaguru/ *nana'ote.*
SG3R.SB-G.TR-CA-<teacher> child
He (Guru Tole) teaches children. (*nana'ote* = new information)

New information will be further discussed in conjunction with the pronominal affixes (see section 4.3.4).

4.3.4 Pronominal affixes

There are five sets of pronominal affixes that inflect the predicator for person, number, respect, and inclusion of the addressee in first person plural in an NP that has a particular relationship to the predicator. They may inflect a verbal predicator for the subject, direct object, indirect object, or the agent of a passive predicator, and they may inflect a nominal predicator for the subject or a possessor.

As mentioned earlier, together with the future personal pronouns, they mark the predicator for tense, and in combination with syntax, they indicate which NP or VP is the new or significant information of the clause.

4.3.4.1 PRONOMINAL SET 1

The first set of pronominal affixes is a set of prefixes that act as subject markers. It is referred to as Pronominal Set 1 (PR.ST1). Its members inflect the predicator for a subject that is known or insignificant. They are prefixed to the left of the plural prefix *meN-*. In some cases, they also mark the predicator for non-future tense, and their presence indicates that an object or adjunct is the new information of the clause. (See Chart 4.1 and the following examples.)

CHART 4.1: PRONOMINAL SET 1

ku-	SG1.SB	*to-*	DU1INC.SB, PL1INC.SB	*ki-*	DU1EXC.SB, PL1EXC.SB
u-	SG2.SB	*i-*	SG2R.SB, DU2.SB, PL2.SB		
i-	SG3.SB	*do-*	SG3R.SB, DU3.SB, PL3.SB		

4.37 *Tehine* *ki-meN-um*$_1$*-lako* /kimelako/.
long.time PL1EXC.SB-PL-INT-go
It was a long time that we went. (*tehine* = new information)

4.38 *Do-um*$_2$*-'ala-o* /do'alao/ *wunta-do.*
SG3R.SB-SP.TR-fetch-SG3.DO letter-SG3R.PS
He fetched his letter. (*wuntado* = new information)

4.3.4.2 PRONOMINAL SET 2

The second set of pronominal affixes is a set of suffixes that are suffixed to the predicator. It is referred to as Pronominal Set 2 (PR.ST2). On monovalent predicators or on bivalent predicators that have a generalised action or object, its members act as subject markers, mark the predicator for non-future tense, and indicate that the predicator is the new information in the clause. On bivalent predicators that have a specific direct object, its members act as direct object markers. On trivalent predicators that have a specific direct object, *ira* 'SG3R.DO, PL3.DO', is the only member of that set that can be suffixed to the predicator. If this pronominal suffix does occur on a trivalent predicator, then it will occur to the right of the indirect object suffix. (See Chart 4.2 and the following examples.)

CHART 4.2: PRONOMINAL SET 2

-'aku	SG1.SB or DO	*-kita*	PL1INC.SB or DO DUINC.SB	*-kami*	PL1EXC.SB or DO DU1EXC.SB
-ko	SG2.SB or DO	*-komiu*	DU2.SB, SG2R.SB or DO, PL2.SB or DO		
-o	SG3.SB or DO	*-'ira*	DU3.SB, SG3R.SB or DO, PL3.SB or DO		

4.39 *Ma-N-haki-'aku* /mahaki'aku/.
IS-LK-sickness-SG1.SB
I am sick.

4.40 *MeN-PoN-nahu-kami* /mponahukami/ *inahu.*
PL-G.TR-cook-PL1EXC.SB vegetable
We cooked some vegetables.

4.41 *<Lewe>-N-<'uwi>* /lewe'uwi/ *i-meN-um₂-nahu-o* /imenahuo/.
<leaf>-LK-<cassava> PL2.SB-PL-SP.TR-cook-SG3.DO
You cooked cassava leaves.

When the third person singular suffix occurs as a subject marker, it goes to zero when followed by a word boundary. For example:

4.42 *Pe₂-'<ana>-o* /me'ana/ *ine-no.*
CA-<child>-SG3.SB mother-SG3.PS
His mother gave birth.

4.43 *Pe₂-'<ana>-o-mo* /me'ana/ *ine-no.*
CA-<child>-SG3.SB-EM.NF mother-SG3.PS
His mother has already given birth.

The occurrence of PR.ST1 and PR.ST2 is determined by the constituent of the clause that is the new information, the valency of the predicator, tense and mood.

4.3.4.3 PRONOMINAL SET 3

The third set of pronominal affixes is a set of suffixes that mark the predicator for an indirect object. It is referred to as Pronominal Set 3 (PR.ST3). Its members are suffixed to the right of the predicator and to the left of the PR.ST2 suffix *'ira* 'SG3R.DO, PL3.DO'. When a monovalent V-base or a bivalent V-base prefixed by the generalised transitive *PoN-* has a beneficiary, a member of this set will be suffixed to the V-base to represent the beneficiary (B). Otherwise, when a V-base infixed by *-um₂-* is suffixed by *-ako*, a member of this set marks the indirect object and the *-ako* goes to zero. (See Chart 4.3 and the following examples.)

CHART 4.3: PRONOMINAL SET 3

-akune	SG1.IO	*-akita*	PL1INC.IO	*-akami*	PL1EXC.IO
-akomu	SG2.IO	*-akomiu*	SG2R.IO, PL2.IO		
-akono	SG3.IO	*-ako'ira*	SG3R.IO, PL3.IO		

4.44 *<Ana>-N-<beine>* /anabeine/ *Pe₂-laemba-ako'ira* /molaembaako'ira/
<child>-LK-<woman> CA-kind.of.song-PL3.IO.B

mia mo-<ta'u>.
people QL-<year(s)>
The young, unmarried women sang the *laemba* for the elders.

4.45 *Ku-um₂-Po-wee-akono* /kupoweeakono/ *nana'ote saᵑgara.*
SG1.SB-SP.TR-CA-give-SG3.IO child cookie
I gave the child some cookies.

4.46 *Aku PoN-'aŋga-akomiu* /mo'aŋgaakomiu/ *tisomo.*
SG1.F G.TR-work-SG2R.IO.B tomorrow
I'll work for you tomorrow.

The occurrence of PR.ST3 is determined by (1) the presence of an indirect object that is a beneficiary, or (2) a V-base affixed by *-um₂-ako.*

4.3.4.4 PRONOMINAL SET 4

The fourth set of pronominal affixes is a set of suffixes that may be suffixed to an N-base or a V-base, which may or may not be the predicator of a clause. It is referred to as Pronominal Set 4 (PR.ST4). When it is suffixed to a predicator, it is suffixed to the right of the base and to the left of an emphatic marker, and it does not co-occur with any other pronominal affixes. (See Chart 4.4.)

CHART 4.4: PRONOMINAL SET 4

-ku	SG1.PS, etc.	*-to*	PL1INC.PS, etc.	*-mami*	PL1EXC.PS, etc.
-mu	SG2.PS, etc.	*-miu*	SG2R.PS, PL2.PS, etc.		
-no	SG3.PS, etc.	*-do*	SG3R.PS, PL3.PS, etc.		

PR.ST4 has six fairly diverse functions. Firstly, it marks an N-base as having a possessor (PS). For example:

4.47 *Si Ø-um₂-'inu-o* /'inuo/ *ara-ku.*
don't SG2.IT-SP.TR-drink-SG3.DO palm.liquor-SG1.PS
Don't drink my palm liquor.

4.48 *Me-walo-o-mo pae-mami.*
QL-fat-SG3.SB-EM.NF growing.rice-PL1EXC.PS
Our rice plants are already fat with kernels.

Secondly, its members can mark a passive verb as having an agent (PA). For example:

4.49 *O manu -in-Po-wee-do* /pinoweedo/ *mia mo-<ta'u>.*
CNM chicken PSS-CA-give-PL3.PA people QL<year(s)>
A chicken was given by the elders.

Thirdly, *-no* '3SG' can be suffixed to N-bases to form adverbs (AV). For example:

4.50 *Asa-N-lako-no* /asalakono/ *aku-um₁-lako* /lumako/ *tisomo.*
one-LK-way-AV SG1.F-INT-go tomorrow
I will definitely go tomorrow.

Fourthly, *-no* '3SG' can be suffixed to V-bases to form a dependent clause (DP) meaning 'when something occurred'. For example:

4.51 *Woŋi-no-mo meN-Pe₁-kule-'ira* /mpekule'ira/.
dark-DP-EM.NF PL-RF-return-PL3.SB
When it was dark, they returned home.

Fifthly, the members of this pronominal set can be suffixed to an adverb to form an adverbial clause (AVC). Within such a construction, the PR.ST4 marker refers to the subject of the clause. For example:

4.52 *Mansa-do* *Pe$_1$-tao* /metao/ *Pe$_2$-'ia-'ira* /mo'ia/ *i-^{n}di'ai.*
directly-DU3.AVC RC-marry INT-reside-DU3.AVC LP-here
After they married, they lived here.

Finally, the members of this pronominal set occur on two or more V-bases prefixed by *ko$_1$-* + BR$_2$- and suffixed by *-mo* to form a construction meaning 'the more PR.ST4 (first verb)-ed, the more PR.ST4 (second verb)-ed'. For example:

4.53 *Ko$_1$*-BR$_2$-*laŋkai-no-mo* /kolaŋkalaŋkainomo/
ME-IS-big-SG3.SB-EM.NF

ko$_1$-BR$_2$-*tekosi-no-mo* /kotekotekosinomo/.
ME-IS-beautiful-SG3.SB-EM.NF
The bigger she grew, the more beautiful she became.

The different functions of the PR.ST4 suffixes demonstrate one of the ambiguous areas between the verb and noun in Mori. As stated earlier (see section 3.1.2), the Mori V-base can function as a noun, a verb, an adverb or an adjective. Because a nominal predicate can be inflected in the same manner as a verbal predicate, it is impossible to determine whether a PR.ST4 suffix on a passive V-base is functioning as a verb or a noun. Thus, example 4.49 can be interpreted either as 'a chicken was given by the elders' or 'a chicken was that which was given by the elders'.

4.3.4.5 PRONOMINAL SET 5

The fifth set of pronominal markers are a set of prefixes that mark the predicator for the imperative mood. It is a set of subject markers, referred to as Pronominal Set 5 (PR.ST5). The prefixes of PR.ST5 are identical to those of PR.ST1 except that the imperative second person singular prefix is *Ø-* instead of *u-*. Like any other pronominal prefix or infix, this *Ø-* morpheme triggers Mp16 so that the morphophoneme //P// becomes /p/. (See Chart 4.5 and the following examples.)

CHART 4.5: PRONOMINAL SET 5

ku-	SG1.IT	*to-*	DU1INC.IT, PL1INC.IT	*ki-*	DU1EXC.IT, PL1EXC.IT
Ø-	SG2.IT	*i-*	SG2R.IT, DU2.IT, PL2.IT		
i-	SG3.IT	*do-*	SB3R.IT, DU3.IT, PL3.IT		

4.54 *Ø-Pekule* /pekule/!
SG2.IT-go.home
Go home!

4.55 *I-Poŋ-kaa-mo* /ipoŋkaamo/!
DU2R.IT-eat-EM.NF
Please eat!

4.56 *I-um$_2$-rako-ko* /irakoko/ *buaea!*
SG3.IT-catch-SG2.DO crocodile
May a crocodile catch you!

The first and third person imperative prefixes are used in curses or blessings, such as *irakoko* 'may it catch you' in the last example. They produce commands that the subject may undergo the action of the verb in the future.

4.3.4.6 NEW INFORMATION, NON-FUTURE TENSE AND THE PRONOMINAL MARKERS

Non-future tense is marked by the absence of a future personal pronoun and the constituent of a clause that is the new information marked by the presence or absence of a PR.ST1 or PR.ST2 affix. If the subject is the new information of a sentence, then the subject is not marked on the predicator with a pronominal affix. However, the presence of a subject NP or an independent personal pronoun representing the subject is obligatory in such a clause. If an adjunct or an object is the new information, then the subject is marked on the predicator with a PR.ST1 prefix. If the predicator is the new information and it is not marked with a pronominal suffix referring to an object, then the subject is marked on the predicator with a PR.ST2 suffix. If the predicator is the new information and it is marked with an object suffix, then the subject is marked on the predicator with a PR.ST1 suffix. This paradigm is demonstrated in Chart 4.6.

CHART 4.6: NEW INFORMATION AND NON-FUTURE TENSE

New information	Subject affix	Presence of object suffix
Subject	unmarked	+/-
Adjunct/Object	PR.ST1	+/-
Predicator	PR.ST2	-
Predicator	PR.ST1	+

Examples of the subject, predicate and an adjunct as the new information of a non-future sentence are shown in examples 4.57, 4.58 and 4.59, respectively.

SB.NI 4.57 *O^{n}dae meN-um$_{I}$-lako* /melako/ *^{n}diawi.*
PL3 PL-INT-go yesterday
They (were the ones that) went yesterday. (*o^{n}dae* = new information)

PD.NI 4.58 *MeN-um$_{I}$-lako-'ira* /melako'ira/ *^{n}diawi mia.*
PL-INT-go-PL3.SB yesterday people
The people went yesterday. (*melako'ira* [*^{n}diawi*] = new information)

AJ.NI 4.59 *^{n}Diawi do-meN-um$_{I}$-lako* /domelako/ *mia.*
yesterday PL3.SB-PL-INT-go people
Yesterday (was when) the people went. (*^{n}diawi* = yesterday)

Syntax also plays a role in marking a clause for new information. In a clause in which the subject is the new information, the subject comes first followed by the predicate. In a clause in which the predicate is the new information, the predicate usually comes first followed by the subject. Occasionally, in a clause with a subject, a monovalent predicator, and an adverbial phrase, the verb comes first, followed by the subject, and then by the adverbial phrase. In a clause in which an adjunct is the new information, either the adjunct comes first followed by the verb or the verb comes first followed by the adjunct.

4.3.4.7 NEW INFORMATION, FUTURE TENSE AND THE PRONOMINAL MARKERS

As stated earlier (see section 3.3.1.6), future tense is marked by the presence of a future personal pronoun. These pronouns also serve to mark one of the constituents of the sentence as new information. If the subject is the new information of a sentence, then a future pronoun, which always refers to the subject, is inserted before the predicator. An obligatory subject NP or independent personal pronoun is, in turn, inserted before the future pronoun. If the predicator is the new information, then again a future pronoun is inserted before the predicator. In this case, either the subject NP may be deleted, or it may occur before or after the predicator or after the entire predicate. If an object or an adjunct is the new information, then future tense is unmarked. The subject is marked with a PR.ST1 prefix just as it is with non-future tense, and the subject NP is usually deleted or occurs after the predicate. This paradigm is demonstrated in Chart 4.7.

CHART 4.7: NEW INFORMATION AND FUTURE TENSE

New information	Subject NP	Future pronoun	Other subject affix
Subject	obligatory	+	Ø
Predicator	optional	+	Ø
Adjunct/Object	optional	-	PR.ST1

Examples of the subject, the predicator, and an adjunct as the new information in the sentence with future tense are shown in examples 4.60, 4.61 and 4.62, respectively.

SB.NI 4.60 *O^{n}dae ira meN-um$_{1}$-lako* /melako/ *tisomo.*
PL3 PL3.F PL-INT-go tomorrow
They (will be the ones who) will go tomorrow. (*o^{n}dae* = new information)

PD.NI 4.61 *Ira meN-um$_{1}$-lako* /melako/ *tisomo.*
SG1.F PL-INT-go tomorrow
They will go tomorrow. (*ira melako* [*tisomo*] = new information)

AJ.NI 4.62 *Tisomo do-meN-um$_{1}$-lako* /domelako/ *mia.*
tomorrow PL3.SB-PL-INT-go people
Tomorrow (is when) the people will go. (*tisomo* = new information)

The syntactic patterns of clauses marked for future tense are the same as those marked for non-future.

4.3.4.8 NEW INFORMATION, TRANSITIVITY AND THE PRONOMINAL MARKERS

There are two transitive affixes in Mori, *PoN-* and *-um$_{2}$-*, and one passive infix, *-in-* (see sections 5.13-14, 7.2.2.3). These three affixes are used interchangeably on all V-stems that occur as transitive verbs except for a closed set of V-roots that occur only with *PoN-* (see section 5.13).

PoN- marks the verb for either a generalised object or a generalised action that is often habitual. Neither the direct object nor an indirect object introduced by the suffix *-ako* is marked on a *PoN*-verb by a pronominal suffix. Examples of the inflection on a *PoN*-verb are:

SB.NI 4.63 *Oŋkue PoN-baba* /mobaba/ *nana'ote.*
SG1 G.TR-carry.in.a.sarong child
I (was the one that) carried a child in a sarong. (*oŋkue* = new information)

PD.NI 4.64 *PoN-baba-ako-'aku* /mobabaako'aku/ *le^{m}ba nana'ote.*
G.TR-carry.in.a.sarong-IO-SG1.SB dress child
I carried a child using a dress as a sling. (*mobabaako'aku* [*le^{m}ba*] = new information)

AJ.NI 4.65 *Le^{m}ba ku-PoN-baba-ako* /kupobabaako/ *nana'ote.*
dress SG1.SB-G.TR-carry.in.a.sarong-IO child
I used a dress as a sling to carry a child. (*le^{m}ba* = new information)

AJ.NI 4.66 *Nana'ote ku-PoN-baba-ako* /kupobabaako/ *le^{m}ba.*
child SG1.SB-G.TR-carry.in.a.sarong-IO dress
I used a dress as a sling to carry a child. (*nana'ote* = new information)

The suffixes of PR.ST3 can occur on such a verb, however, when the indirect object is a beneficiary. For example:

AJ.NI 4.67 *Ku-PoN-baba-akono* /kupobabaakono/ *i Sia nana'ote.*
SG1.SB-G.TR-carry.in.a.sarong-SG3.IO PNM PN child
I carried a child in a sarong for Sia. (*i Sia* = new information)

The infix *-um$_2$-* marks the verb for either a specific action or a specific object. Whenever *-um$_2$-* occurs on a transitive stem, then either a direct or indirect object must be marked on the verb by a pronominal suffix. If a predicate only has a direct object, then the direct object is marked on the *-um$_2$*-verb with a PR.ST2 suffix. If it has a direct object and an indirect object, then the indirect object is marked on the verb with a PR.ST3 suffix. For example:

SB.NI 4.68 *I Ali-um$_2$-a^{n}du-o* /uma^{n}duo/ *ana-ku.*
PNM PN-SP.TR-massage-SG3.DO child-SG1.PS
Ali (was the one who) massaged my child. (*i Ali* = new information)

PD.NI 4.69 *I-um$_2$-'andu-o* /i'anduo/ *ana-ku i Ali.*
or SG1.SB-SP.TR-massage-SG3.DO child-SG1.PS PNM PN
AJ.NI Ali massaged my child. (*i'anduo* [*ana-ku*] or *ana-ku* = new information)

PD.NI 4.70 *I-um$_2$-'andu-akono* /i'anduakono/ *lana ana-ku (i Ali).*[18]
or SG3.SB-SP.TR-massage-SG3.IO oil child-SG1.PS PNM PN
AJ.NI He (Ali) used oil when he massaged my child. (*i'anduakono* [*lana*] or *lana* = new information)

PD.NI 4.71 *I-um$_2$-'andu-akono* /i'anduakono/ *ana-ku lana (i Ali).*
or SG3.SB-SP.TR-massage-SG3.IO child-SG1.PS oil PNM PN
AJ.NI He (Ali) massaged my child with oil. (*i'anduakono* or *anaku* = new information)

As these examples show, when the verb is infixed by *-um$_2$-* there is no grammatical differentiation marked for PD.NI or AJ.NI. In the spoken language, however, the verb is emphasised in PD.NI and the adjunct is emphasised in AJ.NI. The presence or absence of pronominal object suffixes on transitive verbs is shown in Chart 4.8.

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18 In such a sentence, *i Ali* would probably be old information and therefore understood.

CHART 4.8: VERB INFLECTION FOR AN OBJECT

Transitive affix	Indirect object	Direct object	Indirect object suffix	Direct object suffix
PoN-	+/-	+	unmarked, except PR.ST3 = beneficiary	unmarked
-um₂-	-	+	n/a	PR.ST2
-um₂-	+	+	PR.ST3	(only *'ira*)

The infix *-in-* marks the verb for passive voice and produces a monovalent predicator. For example:

SB.NI 4.72 *Ana-ku* *in-a^{n}du.*
child-SG1.PS PSS-massage
My child (was the one who) was massaged.

PD.NI 4.73 *In-a^{n}du-o-mo* *ana-ku.*
PSS-massage-SG3.SB-NF.EM child-SG1.PS
My child has (already) been massaged.

AJ.NI 4.74 *Hieno i-'in-a^{n}du* *ana-ku.*
earlier SG3.SB-PSS-massage child-SG1.PS
Earlier my child was massaged.

As mentioned earlier (see section 4.3.4.4), the agent can be marked on a passive V-base by a suffix from PR.ST4 (see Chart 4.4). For example:

SB.NI 4.75 *Ana-ku* *in-a^{n}du-no* *i* *Ali.*
child-SG1.PS PSS-massage-SG3.PS PNM PN
My child (was the one who) was massaged by Ali.

4.4 CASE

Case is defined here as the different relationships that the NPs of a clause, including the NPs of locative phrases, have to the predicator. It is analysed on two levels. Firstly, case refers to the grammatical functions of the NPs, which are language specific to Mori and marked by inflection on the predicate and by syntax. Secondly, it refers to their semantic functions, which are a set of situational roles.

4.4.1 GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS OF CASE

The NPs in Mori may take one of four grammatical roles: (1) nominative case (NC), which refers to the subject; (2) accusative case (AC), which refers to the direct object, that is, the referent that receives the action of the verb; (3) dative case (DC), which refers to an indirect object, that is, the referent that is the beneficiary or the instrument of the action/state, the location in which the action/state is occurring, to which it is going, or from which it is coming; and (4) locative case (LC), which refers to the object of a prepositional phrase prefixed by the locative prefixes *aN-*, *i-* or *^{n}di.* These grammatical cases are demonstrated in the following example:

4.76 *{ISia}*$_{NC}$*-um*$_2$*-tunu-ako'ira* /tumunuako'ira/ *{ine-no}*$_{DC}$
PNMPN-SP.TR-roast-SG3R.IO mother-3SG.PS

{kopi}$_{AC}$ *{i-'awu}*$_{LC}$.
coffee (beans) LP-kitchen
Sia roasted coffee (beans) for her mother in the kitchen.

4.4.2 SEMANTIC FUNCTIONS OF CASE

There are eight semantic relations that the NPs of a simple sentence in Mori can have with the predicator: (l) agentive (AG), in which the NP is the agent; (2) objective (OC), in which the NP is a patient; (3) benefactive (BC), in which the NP is a beneficiary; (4) instrumental (IC), in which the NP is an instrument; (5) locative semantic (LS), in which the NP is a location; (6) experiential (EP), in which the NP is the experiencer; (7) associative (AS), in which the NP is an associate; and (8) complementing (CC), in which the NP is a complement.

The agentive case occurs with action verbs, in which an action is performed, or with action-process verbs, in which a state or process is produced. This case indicates an agent, which performs or produces such an action or state. An agent may be a person, animal, or thing that can perform an action by its own internal power. For example:

4.77 *{O haki}*$_{AG}$ *PoN-Pe*$_2$*-pate* /mompepate/ *{hadio mia}*$_{OC}$.
CN disease G.TR-CA-die many person
The disease killed many people.

The objective case occurs with verbs that describe states, actions, action-processes and experiences. It indicates a patient, which receives the action of the verb or is identified with the state of the verb. Examples of this case are shown above in example 4.77 and below in examples 4.78 and 4.79.

4.78 *{Hadio mia}*$_{OC}$*-in-Pe*$_2$*-pate* /pinepate/.
many person-PSS-CA-die
Many people were killed.

4.79 *I-um*$_2$*-to'ori-o /ito'orio/* *{i Ali}*$_{EP}$ *{mia arau}*$_{OC}$.
SG3.SB-SP.TR-know-SG3.DO PNM PN person that
Ali knows that person.

The benefactive case occurs with any type of verb. It indicates a beneficiary, for whose benefit an action is performed or for the benefit of which a state exists. For example:

4.80 *{Ku}*$_{AG}$*-PoN-buri-akono* /kupoburiakono/ *{uai-ku}*$_{BC}$
SG1.SB-G.TR-write-SG3.IO younger.sibling-SG1.PS

{wunta}$_{OC}$.
letter
I write letters for my younger brother.

The instrumental case occurs with any type of verb. It indicates an instrument, which is a person, object, force or idea used to perform an action or cause a state or event. An instrument so defined is to be understood in its broadest sense, which includes persons, concrete objects and abstract ideas, which are usually referred to as reasons. For example:

4.81 *PoN-'a^{n}du-ako-{o}*$_{AG}$ /mo'a^{n}duako/ *{lana}*$_{IC}$.
G.TR-massage-IO-SG3.SB oil
She massages with oil.

4.82 *Ma-N-haki-ako-{o}*$_{EP}$ /mahakiako/ *{piho-no}*$_{IC}$.
IS-sickness-IO-SG3.SB boil-SG3.PS
She is sick because of her boil.

The locative case, which indicates a semantic function, occurs with any type of predicator. This semantic case should be distinguished from the locative grammatical case, which was discussed in section 4.4.1. This locative semantic case indicates a 'location', which may be a position where the action or state of the predicator occurs, a time at which it occurs, a goal to which it is directed, or a source from which it comes. For example:

4.83 *{Ku}*$_{AG}$*-um*$_{2}$*-'oliwi-akono* /ku'oliwiakono/ *{i Sia}*$_{LS}$ *{wunta}*$_{OC}$.
SG1.SB-SP.TR-send-SG3.IO PNM PN letter
I sent Sia a letter.

The experiential case occurs on verbs that describe states or experiences. It indicates an experiencer that experiences the state or the process of such verbs. For example:

4.84 *PoN-kita-o* /moŋkita/ *{mia Po-dero* /modero/*}*$_{OC}$
G.TR-see-SG3.SB person ethnic.dance

{uai-ku}$_{EP}$.
younger.sibling-SG1.PS
My younger brother saw some people dancing the 'modero'.

The associative case occurs on verbs that are semantically or syntactically linked to an associate. An associate is an NP which is somehow associated in a parallel way with another referent in the action or state of the verb. For example:

4.85 *{Guru}*$_{AG}$ *ta PoN-Pe*$_{2}$*-roŋa-ako* /momperoŋaako/ *{nana'ote}*$_{AS}$
teacher SG3.F G.TR-CA-together-IO child

-um$_{1}$*-lako* /lumako/ *i-Dale.*
INT-go LP-PN
The teacher will accompany the children going to Dale.

The complementing case occurs with predicators that indicate an action or state that is able to be completed or more narrowly defined. This case indicates a complement, which completes or specifies more narrowly the meaning of the predicator. For example:

4.86 *{O beine}*$_{AG}$ *PoN-nani* /monani/ *{pe-nani Mori}*$_{CC}$.
CN woman G.TR-sing NM-sing PN
The women were singing Mori songs.

4.87 *{Sorodadu}*$_{PD}$ *{onae}*$_{CC}$.
soldier SG3
He is a soldier.

CHAPTER 5

VERB MORPHOLOGY: THE VERB ROOT

The verb root (V-root) is the monomorphemic part of the verb that carries the basic meaning of the verb. The V-root consists of a minimum of two syllables and a maximum of five syllables, of which a sequence of CV forms the first syllable and a sequence of (N)(C)V forms the following syllables, for example, CV(N)(C)V. Examples of V-roots are as follows: *doito* 'afraid'; *-'ia* 'reside'; *-tulaga* 'boil vigorously'; *-kuu* 'dive'.

As discussed in section 3.1.2, almost all V-roots may occur as a V-base either unaffixed with the application of the vowel-lengthening rule Mp5, prefixed with monosyllabic reduplication, or prefixed or infixed with one of the following verb prefixes, infixes or complex morphemes: *ko*$_1$*-*, *mo-*, *ma-*, *me-*, *mo-ko*$_1$*-*, *te-*, *Pe*$_1$*-*, *Pe*$_2$*-*, *Pe*$_2$*-N-*, *-um*$_1$*-*, *PoN-* and *-um*$_2$*-*. These prefixes, infixes and complex morphemes are referred to as the fundamental verb affixes (FV-affixes). They mark the V-base as a state or an action and indicate the semantic case of the subject NP and the object NP, when it occurs. Depending upon the particular FV-affix, these affixes may also mark the V-base for voice, transitivity and/or mode.

The V-roots are divided into fifteen classes (see Chart 5.1). Fourteen of the classes are established by the capacity of the V-roots to occur unaffixed or with one of the FV-affixes listed above. The fifteenth class consists of the few V-roots that only occur with miscellaneous derivational affixes.

All of the V-bases formed by V-roots and their class affix(es) are referred to as fundamental verb bases (FV-bases). Together they form a basic set of V-bases from which other V-bases are derived. (See Chapter 7.)

5.1 V-ROOT CLASS 1: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR UNAFFIXED

V-root Class 1 consists of all V-roots that occur as complete verbs without any affixation. The members of this unmarked V-root class always indicate a state or process. For example:

5.1 *Laŋkai-o*/laŋkai/ *ntu'u ana-no.*
big-SG3.SB very child-SG3.PS
His child is very big.

5.2 *Ŋasa-o* /ŋaasa/.
panting-SG3.SB
She was panting.

CHART 5.1: VERB ROOT CLASSES

Class	Affix	State or action	Voice	Transitivity	Meaning of affix: Semantic case	Mode	Class meaning of root
1	none	S	_____	_____	_____	_____	state/process
2	MR	S	_____	_____	_____	continuative	sound/shape
3	*ko₁-*	S	_____	_____	objective	measurative cardinal number	measurement
4	*mo-*	S	_____	_____	objective	simple quality intrinsic	qualities
5	*ma-*	S	_____	_____	objective	intense	intense qualities
6	*me-*	S	_____	_____	objective	simple quality acquired	qualities/states
7	*mo-ko₁-*	S	_____	_____	objective	observational	physical sensations
8	*te-*	A	_____	de-emphasised	objective	_____ unintended	action, action-process
9	*Pe₁-*	A	_____	de-emphasised	objective	_____	action, action-process
				reflexive	objective/agentive	_____	
				reciprocal	objective/agentive	_____	
10	*Pe₂-*	A	_____	simple intransitive	agentive	_____	action, action-process
				antipassive	agentive	_____	
				experiential	experiential	_____	experiential state or process
11	*Pe₂-N-*	A	_____	simple intransitive antipassive	agentive	directional	action
12	*-um₁-*	A	_____	simple intransitive	agentive	_____	enduring acts/sounds
13	*PoN-*	A	active	general transitive	agentive	_____	action, action-process
14	*PoN-*	A	active	general transitive	agentive	_____	action, experiential state or process
	-um₂-	A	active	specific transitive	agentive	_____	action, experiential state or process
	-in-	A	passive	passive	objective	_____	action, experiential state or process
15	DV-affix						miscellaneous

5.2 V-ROOT CLASS 2: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR WITH MONOSYLLABIC REDUPLICATION

V-root Class 2 consists of a set of V-roots that occur as complete verbs only when prefixed by monosyllabic reduplication. The members of this class describe states or processes involving sounds or shapes. MR marks the root for the continuative mode (CT), in which the feature described in the V-root is repeated again and again. MR does not mark the V-root for semantic case. However, because this class of V-roots describes only states and processes, the subject NP is always in the objective semantic case. For example:

5.3 MR-*^{m}buru-o* /^{m}bu^{m}buru/ *api.*
CT-crackling-SG3.SB fire
The fire was crackling.

5.4 MR-*puruku-o* /pupuruku/ *wuu-no.*
CT-kinky-SG3.SB hair-SG3.PS
Her hair was kinky.

5.3 V-ROOT CLASS 3: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR WITH *ko$_{l}$-*

V-root Class 3 consists of V-roots that occur as complete verbs only when prefixed by *ko$_{l}$-*. The V-roots of this class all describe measurements. *Ko$_{l}$-* marks the V-root for having a subject in the objective semantic case and for either the generalised measurative mode (ME) that describes a state in which something such as size or distance is measured or the more specific cardinal number mode (CR), which marks a numerical root as a cardinal number.

This prefix has two allomorphs: *ko-* and *o-*, both of which are conditioned by the particular V-roots with which they occur. For example:

5.5 *Ko$_{l}$-dei-o* /kodei/ *lahi* *raha-no.*
ME-small-SG3.SB too.much house-SG3.PS
His house is too small.

5.6 *Ko$_{l}$-paa-ira* /opaa'ira/[19] *ana-no.*
CR-four-PL3.SB child-SG3.PS
She had four children (lit. her children are four).

5.7 *Da* *ko$_{l}$-lai-o* /olai/ *inia-mami.*
still ME-far-SG3.SB village-PL1EXC.PS
Our village was still far away.

5.4 V-ROOT CLASS 4: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR WITH *mo-*

V-root Class 4 consists of V-roots that occur as V-bases only when prefixed by *mo-*. The V-roots of this class all describe qualities. *Mo-* marks the V-root for having a subject in the objective semantic case. It also marks the V-roots for either simple quality mode (QL) or intrinsic mode (IR). Simple quality mode describes a state that is a quality, and intrinsic mode describes a state that occurs naturally or intrinsically. For example:

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[19] The plural prefix *meN-* is not used in this example because of the homogeneity of the referent of the subject.

5.8 *Mo-rawo-o* /morawo/ *mia arau.*
QL-blind-SG3.SB person that
That person is blind.

5.9 *Mo-pa'i-o* /mopa'i/ *ntu'u pakuli a^{n}dio.*
IR-bitter-SG3.SB very medicine this
This medicine is very bitter.

At this level of the FV-bases, the distinction between simple quality mode and intrinsic mode seems arbitrary. However, when this same prefix is applied to derived verb stems in Chapter 7, the ambiguities between these two modes will be clarified.

5.5 V-ROOT CLASS 5: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR WITH *ma-*

V-root Class 5 consists of V-roots that occur as V-bases only when prefixed by *ma-*. The V-roots of this class all describe qualities that naturally occur with a degree of intensity. *Ma-* marks the V-roots for the intense mode (IS), which describes an action or state that occurs to a degree greater than normal. It also marks the V-root for having a subject in the objective semantic case. For example:

5.10 *Napoi-ma-nasa* /napimanasa/ *lahi pe-tao-a.*
not.yet SG3.SB-IS-definite very NM-marry-NM
The wedding is not very definite yet.

5.11 *Ma-pari-'aku ntu'u.*
IS-hurried-SG1.SB very
I was really in a hurry.

5.6 V-ROOT CLASS 6: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR WITH *me-*

V-root Class 6 consists of V-roots that occur as V-bases only when prefixed by *me-*. The V-roots of this class describe qualities or states. *Me-* marks the V-root for either simple quality mode or acquired mode (AQ), which describes a state that is acquired. It also marks the V-root for having a subject in the objective semantic case. For example:

5.12 *Me-ko^{m}be-o* /meko^{m}be/ *beine atuu.*
AQ-insane-SG3.SB woman that
That woman is insane.

5.13 *Me-roku-o* /meroku/ *pe-nani-no.*
AQ-forceful-SG3.SB NM-sing-SG3.PS
His song was loud.

5.7 V-ROOT CLASS 7: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR WITH *mo-ko$_{I}$-*

V-root Class 7 consists of V-roots that occur with the complex morpheme *mo-ko$_{I}$-*. The V-roots of the class describe physical sensations. *Mo-ko$_{I}$-* marks the V-root for the observational mode (OB), which describes a state that is observed or perceived by either intuition, internal feeling, the senses or the intellect. It also marks the V-root for having a subject in the objective semantic case. For example:

5.14 *Mo-koɪ-niŋgo-'aku.*
OB-hungry-SG1.SB
I'm hungry.

5.15 *Mo-koɪ-rara-ko.*
OB-hot.from.the.heat.of.a.fire-SG2.SB
You're hot (from the heat of a fire).

5.8 V-ROOT CLASS 8: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR WITH *te-*

V-root Class 8 consists of a set of V-roots that occur as V-bases only when prefixed by *te-*. The V-roots of this class describe actions or action-processes. *Te-* marks the V-root as de-emphasised (DE), in which the referent of the subject is the patient of the action and the agent is unknown or insignificant. It also marks all of the V-roots for having the subject in the objective semantic case, and some of the V-roots for being in the unintended mode (UID), in which the action of the verb is caused unintentionally. For example:

5.16 *Te-donta-'aku.*
UID-fall-SG1.SB
I fell down.

5.17 *Te-nono-o* /tenono/ *uwoi.*
DE-recede-SG3.SB water
The water (e.g. of a river) receded.

5.18 *Te-kuda-o* /tekuda/ *ama-no.*
DE-angry-SG3.SB father-SG3.PS
His father was angry.

Example 5.18 reflects a bias of the language, in which a referent that executes an action without total control is viewed as the patient of the action and the action as de-emphasised (see section 7.2.2.3).

5.9 V-ROOT CLASS 9: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR WITH *Peɪ-*

V-root Class 9 consists of a set of V-roots that only occur as V-bases when prefixed by *Peɪ-* and that describe actions or state-processes. The prefix *Peɪ-* marks the V-roots either as a de-emphasised action with the subject in the objective semantic case, or as a reflexive (RF) or reciprocal (RC) action with the subject in both the agentive and the objective semantic case. For example:

5.19 *Peɪ-baba-o* /mebaba/ *uai-no.*
DE-carry.in.a.sarong-SG3.SB younger.sibling-SG3.PS
His younger brother was being carried in a sarong.

5.20 *MeN-Peɪ-dolo-'ira* /mpedolo'ira/ *aN-korono* /aŋkorono/.
PL-RF-bathe-PL3.SB LP-river
They bathed (themselves) in the river.

5.21 *MeN-Peɪ-dulu-kami* /mpedulukami/ *meN-PoN-'ese* /mpo'ese/.
PL-RC-exchange-PL1EXC.SB PL-G.TR-cut.grass
We took turns cutting grass for each other.

In example 5.19, *Pe1-* marks the V-roots *-baba* 'to carry in a sarong' as de-emphasised intransitive, in which the subject is the patient and the agent is de-emphasised. In example 5.20, *Pe1-* marks the V-root *-dolo* 'to bathe' as reflexive, in which each member of a plural subject performs the action of the V-root for himself or herself and the subject is both the agent and the patient of the action. In example 5.21, *Pe1-* marks the V-root *-dulu* 'to exchange' as reciprocal, in which the members of a plural subject perform the action of the V-root for each other and the subject is again the agent and the patient of the action.

Occasionally V-roots of this class may be classified as either de-emphasised intransitive or reciprocal depending upon whether they occur with an inanimate or animate subject. For example:

5.22 *Pe1-salo-o* /mesalo/ *inahu.*
DE-mix-SG3.SB vegetable
The vegetables were mixed (with each other).

5.23 *MeN-Pe1-salo-'ira* /mpesalo'ira/ *mia.*
PL-RC-mix-PL3.SB person
The people were mixing with each other.

5.10 V-ROOT CLASS 10: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR WITH *Pe2-*

V-root Class 10 consists of V-roots that only occur as V-bases when prefixed by *Pe2-* and that describe actions, state-processes, experiential processes or experiential states. The prefix *Pe2-* marks the V-roots as actions that are (1) simple intransitive (INT), in which the referent of the subject produces an action that cannot have a patient, (2) antipassive (AN), in which the referent of the subject produces the action and the semantic patient occurs grammatically in the locative case, or (3) experiential (EP), in which the referent of the subject experiences a process. When *Pe2-* marks the V-root as simple intransitive or antipassive, the referent of the subject is in the agentive semantic case and when it marks the V-root as experiential, the referent of the subject is in the experiential semantic case.

Pe2- has two allomorphs: *Pe-* and *Po-*. The occurrence of these allomorphs is conditioned by the particular V-root with which they occur. For example:

5.24 *MeN-Pe2-lempa-'ira* /mpelempa'ira/ *nana'ote.*
PL-INT-walk-PL3.SB child
The children were walking.

5.25 *Pe2-'aŋga-'ira* /me'aŋga'ira/ *mia arau aN-keu* /aŋkeu/.
AN-work-PL3.SB person that LP-tree
That person is holding onto a tree.

5.26 *Pe2-turi-o-mo* /moturiomo/ *ana-no.*
INT/EP-sleep-SG3.SB-already child-SG3.PS
1. Her child has already lain down to fall asleep. (INT)
2. Her child has already fallen asleep. (EP)

5.27 *MeN-Pe2-'ia-'ira* /mpo'ia'ira/ *i-lere.*
PL-INT/EP-reside-PL3.SB LP-farm
1. They took up residence on the farm. (INT)
2. They reside on the farm. (EP)

When *Pe₂-* combines with experiential V-roots, as demonstrated above in examples 5.26 and 5.27, it marks the V-root for a two-part event. In the initial part of the event, an action is performed by an agent. In the latter part, an experiential state or process is experienced by an experiencer. If such a V-base refers to the initial action, then *Pe₂-* marks the V-root as simple intransitive with the subject in the agentive semantic case. If it refers to the following experiential state or process, then *Pe₂-* marks the V-root as experiential with the subject in the experiential semantic case.

Pe₂- does not mark the V-root for intention or lack of intention. Thus, when it is attached to V-roots that describe actions, the V-base can describe either a voluntary or involuntary action, as demonstrated in the following examples:

5.28 *Pe₂-heᵑge-o* /meheᵑge/ *mia* *ma-N-<haki>.*
INT-cough-SG3.SB person IS-LK-<sickness>
The sick person coughed.

5.29 *Pe₂-maa-o* /momaa/ *ana-ku.*
INT-yawn-SG3.SB child-SG3.PS
My child yawned.

5.11 V-ROOT CLASS 11: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR WITH *Pe₂-N-*

V-root Class 11 consists of a set of V-roots that always occur as V-bases when prefixed by *Pe₂-N-* and that describe actions. *Pe₂-N-* marks the referent of the subject for the agentive semantic case and the V-root as simple intransitive or antipassive. It also marks the V-root for directional mode (DR), in which the action is executed in a particular direction.

The initial prefix of *Pe₂-N-* has two allomorphs: *Pe-* and *Po-*. As with the single prefix *Pe₂-*, the occurrence of these allomorphs is conditioned by the particular V-root with which they occur. For example:

5.30 *Pe₂-N-toᵐbu-o* /mentoᵐbu/ *mia* *arau* *aN-seru* /anseru/.
AN-DR-look.up-SG3.SB person that LP-cloud
That person looked up at a cloud.

5.31 *Pe₂-N-tiⁿdulu-o* /montiⁿdulu/ *ine-no.*
INT-DR-walk.downhill-SG3.SB mother-SG3.PS
His mother walked downhill.

5.12 V-ROOT CLASS 12: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR WITH *-umₗ-*

V-root Class 12 consists of V-roots that only occur as V-bases when infixed by *-umₗ-* and that describe enduring actions and sounds. The infix *-umₗ-* marks the V-root as simple intransitive and for having the referent of the subject in the agentive semantic case. For example:

5.32 *-umₗ-lako-ko* /lumakoko/ *i-'olu.*
INT-go-2SG.SB LP-market
You went to the market.

5.33 *-um$_1$-so^{m}ba-o* /sumo^{m}ba/ *i* *Kotupanabi.*
INT-sail-SG3.SB **PNM** **PN**
Kotupanabi was sailing.

5.34 **-um$_1$-so^{m}ba-o* /sumo^{m}ba/ *baŋka* *i* *Kotupanabi.*
INT-sail-SG3.SB boat PNM PN

Mp13 - Mp15, which are repeated below, describe the environments in which *-um$_1$-*, and also *-um$_2$-* (discussed in section 5.14), go to zero.

Mp13 *um* ⇒ Ø / ___ + $[C_{lb}]_{vs}$

Mp14 *um* ⇒ Ø / prefix/infix + [C + ___ + V]$_{vb}$

opt. Mp15 *um* ⇒ Ø / # [___]$_{vb}$ # [ ]$_{vb\text{-}SB}$

For example:

5.35 *Aku-um$_2$-basa-o* /basao/ *wunta-no.*
SG1.F-SP.TR-read-SG3.DO letter-SG3.PS
I'm going to read his letter.

5.36 *Napo* *i-um$_1$-lako* /ilako/ *ana-no.*
not.yet SG3.SB-INT-go child-SG3.PS
Her child hasn't gone yet.

5.37 *Aku-um$_1$-lako* /lako/ *-um$_2$-kita-o* /kumitao/.
SG1.F-INT-go -SP.TR-see-SG3.DO
I will go to see him.

5.13 V-ROOT CLASS 13: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR WITH *PoN-*

V-root Class 13 consists of a set of V-roots that only occur as V-bases when prefixed by *PoN-* and that describe actions and action-processes. The prefix *PoN-* marks the V-root as general transitive (G.TR), in which the action of the V-base is habitual and/or generalised, or the object is generalised. It also marks the V-base for having the referent of the subject in the agentive semantic case. Unlike the V-roots in the following class, the members of this class are a closed set and do not also occur with the specific transitive infix (SP.TR) *-um$_2$-* or the passive infix (PSS) *-in-*. For example:

5.38 *MeN-PoN-nako-'ira* /mponako'ira/ *manu* *nana'ote.*
PL-G.TR-steal-SG3.SB chicken child
The children steal chickens.

5.39 **Nana'ote meN-um$_2$-nako-o* /menakoo/ *manu-no.*
child PL-SP.TR-steal-SG3.DO chicken-SG3.PS

5.40 **Manu-in-nako* /ninako/.
chicken-PSS-steal

5.41 *Nana'ote atuu PoN-maru-o* /momaru/ *benu.*
child that G.TR-climb.up-SG3.SB coconut
That child climbs up coconut trees.

5.14 V-ROOT CLASS 14: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR WITH *PoN-*, *-um₂-* AND *-in-*

V-root Class 14 consists of a set of V-roots that can occur as V-bases with the general transtive prefix *PoN-*, the specific transitive infix *-um₂-* or the passive infix *-in-*. The transitive affixes mark the V-base for having the referent of the subject in the agentive semantic case and for having the ability to take an object, and the passive infix marks it for having the referent of the subject in the objective semantic case. *PoN-*, however, marks the V-base for a generalised transitive action in which either the action is generalised or it is directed towards a generalised referent of the object, and *-um₂-* marks the V-base for a specific transitive action, in which either the action is specific or it is directed towards a specific referent of the object. Pronominal object markers only occur on V-bases prefixed by *PoN-* when the object is a beneficiary and always occurs on V-bases infixed by *-um₂-*. For example:

5.42 *PoN-nahu-'aku* /monahu'aku/ *<lewe>-N-<'uwi>* /lewe'uwi/.
G.TR-cook-SG1.SB <leaf>-LK-<cassava>
I'm cooking cassava leaves.

5.43 *Aku-um₂-nahu-o* /numahuo/ *<lewe>-N-<'uwi>* /lewe'uwi/ *aⁿdio.*
SG1.F-SP.TR-cook-SG3.DO <leaf>-LK-<cassava> this
I'm going to cook these cassava leaves.

5.44 *-in-nahu-o-mo* /ninahuomo/ *<lewe>-N-<'uwi>* /lewe'uwi/.
PSS-cook-SG3.SB-EM.NF <leaf>-LK-<cassava>
The cassava leaves are already cooked.

The V-roots of this class are an open set of roots that describe actions, action-processes, experiential states and experiential processes.

5.15 V-ROOT CLASS 15: V-ROOTS THAT OCCUR WITH DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

V-root Class 15 consists of the few V-roots that occur as V-bases only when prefixed, infixed or suffixed by derivational affixes. For example:

5.45 *PoN-pa-lintu-'aku* /mompalintu'aku/.
G.TR-SP.CA-follow.procedures.to.cure.migraine.headache-SG1.SB
I'm following the procedures to cure a migraine headache.

5.46 BR₂-*um₁-suki-o* /sumukisuki/ *saŋka.*
CN-INT-kind-SG3.SB thing
There were various kinds of things.

5.16 DISCUSSION OF THE V-ROOT CLASSES

The V-bases produced by the roots and affixation of V-root Classes 1 - 7 are similar in that they all describe states. Those produced by the V-roots of Class 1 are distinguished from the others in that they can occur as V-bases without any verbal affixation and they are not marked for mode. For example:

5.47 *Laŋkai-o* /laŋkai/ *ntu'u ana-no.*[20]
big-SG3.SB very child-SG3.PS
His child is very big.

5.48 *Ɲasa-o* /ŋaasa/.
panting-SG3.SB
She was panting.

The rest are distinguished by the mode of their FV-prefix(es). MR marks the V-base for continuative mode, *koɩ-* marks it for measurative or cardinal number mode, *mo-* marks it for simple quality mode or intrinsic mode, *ma-* for intense mode, *me-* for simple quality or acquired mode, and *mo-koɩ-* for observational mode, as demonstrated in the following examples:

5.49 MR-*puruku-o* /pupuruku/ *wuu-no.*
CT-kinky-SG3.SB hair-SG3.PS
Her hair was kinky.

5.50 *Koɩ-ⁿdalo-o* /oⁿdalo/ *uwoi.*
ME-deep-SG3.SB water
The water was deep.

5.51 *Mo-pa'i-o* /mopa'i/ *ntu'u pakuli aⁿdio.*
IR-bitter-SG3.SB very medicine this
This medicine is very bitter.

5.52 *Ma-rero-o* /marero/ *ana-no.*
IS-mischievous-SG3.SB child-SG3.PS
His child is mischievous.

5.53 *Me-meke-'aku* /memeke'aku/.
AQ-have.a.cold-SG1.SB
I have a cold.

5.54 *Mo-koɩ-niᵑgo-'aku.*
OB-hungry-SG1.SB
I'm hungry.

The prefixes *te-* of V-root Class 8, *Peɩ-* of V-root Class 9, and *-in-* of V-root Class 14 are distinguished from the other FV-affixes in that they mark the V-base for an action with the referent of the subject in the objective semantic case. The affix *-in-* differs from *te-* and *Peɩ-* in that it marks the V-base as passive, in which the referent of the subject receives or undergoes the action of the V-root that is intentionally produced by an agent: *te-* and *Peɩ-* mark the V-base as de-emphasised, in which the agent is either unknown or insignificant; *te-* differs from *Peɩ-* in that it can also mark the V-base for the unintended mode while *Peɩ-* leaves the V-base unmarked for mode. For example:

5.55 *-in-wawa-o* /winawa/ *owu-no.*
PSS-bring-SG3.SB machete-SG3.SB
His machete was brought. (The action was executed by an agent, who is important in the context of this sentence.)

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20 Repeated examples, such as example 1, are renumbered for reader convenience.

5.56 *Pe$_1$-baba-o* /mebaba/ *uai-no.*
DE-carry.in.a.sarong-SG3.SB younger.sibling-SG3.PS
His younger brother was being carried in a sarong. (The action was executed by an agent, who is not important in the context of this sentence.)

5.57 *Te-donta-'aku.*
UID-fall-SG1.SB
I fell down. (The action was caused without intention, therefore there is no agent.)

The *Pe$_2$-* of V-root Class 10, the morpheme cluster *Pe$_2$-N-* of V-root Class 11, and the *-um$_1$-* of V-root Class 12 are similar in that they all mark the V-base as intransitive with the subject in the agentive semantic case. *Pe$_2$-N-*, however, marks the V-base for the directional mode, and *Pe$_2$-* and *Pe$_2$-N-* can mark the V-base as antipassive. For example:

5.58 *Pe$_2$-'a^{ŋ}ga-'ira* /me'a^{ŋ}ga'ira/ *mia arau aN-keu* /aŋkeu/.
AN-work-PL3.SB person that LP-tree
That person is holding onto a tree.

5.59 *Pe$_2$-N-to^{m}bu-o* /mento^{m}bu/ *mia arau aN-seru* /anseru/.
AN-DR-look.up-SG3.SB person that LP-cloud
That person looked up.

5.60 *-um$_1$-so^{m}ba-o* /sumo^{m}ba/ *i Kotupanabi.*
INT-sail-SG3.SB PNM PN
Kotupanabi was sailing.

The V-roots of V-root Class 13 are distinguished from those of V-root Class 14 in that those of V-root Class 13 only occur with the prefix *PoN-*, whereas those in V-root Class 14 occur with *PoN-*, *-um$_2$-* and *-in-*. For example:

5.61 *MeN-PoN-nako-'ira* /mponako'ira/ *manu nana'ote.*
PL-G.TR-steal-SG3.SB chicken child
The children steal chickens.

5.62 **Nana'ote meN-um$_2$-nako-o* /menakoo/ *manu-no.*
child PL-SP.TR-steal-SG3.DO chicken-SG3.PS

5.63 **Manu-in-nako* /ninako/.
chicken-PSS-steal

5.64 *PoN-nahu-'aku* /monahu'aku/ *<lewe>-N-<'uwi>* /lewe'uwi/.
G.TR-cook-SG1.SB <leaf>-LK-<cassava>
I'm cooking cassava leaves.

5.65 *Aku-um$_2$-nahu-o* /numahuo/ *<lewe>-N-<'uwi>* /lewe'uwi/ *a^{n}dio.*
SG1.F-SP.TR-cook-SG3.DO <leaf>-LK-<cassava> this
I'm going to cook these cassava leaves.

5.66 *-in-nahu-o-mo* /ninahuomo/ *<lewe>-N-<'uwi>* /lewe-'uwi/.
PSS-cook-SG3.SB-NF.EM <leaf>-LK-<cassava>
The cassava leaves are already cooked.

The prefix *PoN-* of V-root Classes 13 and 14 and the infix *-um$_2$-* of V-root Class 14 are distinguished from the other FV-affixes in that they mark the V-base as transitive. They

differ one from the other in that *PoN-* marks the V-base as generalised transitive and *-um₂-* marks the V-base as specific transitive. For example:

5.67 *PoN-'uŋke-o* /mo'uŋke/ *benu* *i* *Sia.*
G.TR-look for-SG3.SB coconut PNM PN
Sia was looking for coconuts.

5.68 *I* *Sia-um₂-uŋke-o* *benu-no.*
PNM PN-SP.TR-look.for-SG3.SB coconut-SG3.PS
Sia was looking for her coconut.

The derivational affixes that occur with the V-roots of V-root Class 15 will be discussed in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 6

VERB MORPHOLOGY: THE VERB STEM

The verb stem (V-stem) in Mori is that part of the verb which carries the basic meaning of the verb. It consists of one or more morphemes, which may be a single V-root, V-base, N-base, NP, or a combination of a V- and N-base with a linking affix. With the exception of those V-stems that come from V-root Class 1 or verbal compound V-stems, the V-stem lacks the verb-forming prefix or infix, for example, an FV-affix (sections 5.2-5.14), which is needed to create a new V-base. The Mori V-stems can be divided into two classes: verbal and nominal.

6.1 V-STEM CLASS 1: VERBAL V-STEMS

V-stem Class 1 consists of V-stems that are either V-roots, V-bases, or combinations of a V-base, an N-base and a linking affix. This class can be further subdivided into three subclasses according to the structure of its members.

6.1.1 SUBCLASS 1: SIMPLE V-STEMS

Subclass 1 of V-stem Class 1 consists of 'simple' V-stems, that is, V-roots or V-stems derived from FV-bases or from other derived V-bases. For example:

6.1 *Mo-rina-o* /morina/ *raha-ku.*
QL-clean-SG3.SB house-SG1.PS
My house is clean.

6.2 *Aku-um*$_2$*-PokoN-<mo-rina>*[21]*-o* /mokorinao/ *raha-ku.*
SG1.F-SP.TR-CA-<QL-clean>-SG3.DO house-SG1.PS
I'm going to clean my house.

In example 6.1, the V-root *-rina* 'clean' is the V-stem of the V-base *morina* 'to be clean'. In example 6.2, the V-base *morina* 'to be clean' is the V-stem of the derived V-base *mokorinao* 'to be made clean'.

6.1.2 SUBCLASS 2: COMPOUND V-STEMS

The second subclass of V-stem Class 1 consists of compound V-stems, that is, V-stems which are composed of a V-base joined to an N-base by the linking morpheme *-N-*. Each of the compound stems has its own meaning, which can be quite different from the meanings of its segments. For example:

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21 The rules that cause the FV-affix on the V-stem to go to zero will be discussed in Chapter 7.

6.3 *<Pe$_2$-lempa>-N-<karu>-kita* /melempaŋkarukita/.
<INT-to.walk>-LK-<foot>-DU1INC.SB
We went by foot.

6.4 *-um$_1$-<Pe$_2$-lele>-N-<wana>-o* /lumelewana/ *seru.*
RS-<INT-to.creep>-LK-<thick.forest>-SG3.SB cloud
The clouds are moving along the top of the forest like someone creeping.

In example 6.3, the V-base *Pelempa* 'to walk' is linked to the N-base *karu* 'foot', forming the compound V-stem *Pelempaŋkaru* 'to go by foot'. In this case, a derivational affix is not needed to complete the V-base. Thus, the V-stem has the same form as the V-base (see section 7.2.1). In example 6.4, the V-base *Pelele* 'to creep' is linked to the N-base *wana* 'thick forest' by the linking *-N-*, forming the compound V-stem *Pelelewana* 'to creep along the top of the thick forest'. In this case, the V-stem requires the derivational infix *-um$_1$-* 'resembling mode' to form the V-base *lumelewana* 'to move across the top of the forest like someone creeping' (see section 7.2.2.3).

6.2 V-STEM CLASS 2: NOMINAL V-STEMS

The second class of V-stems consists of V-stems that are derived from N-bases or NPs. This class can be further subdivided into three subclasses which are described below.

6.2.1 SUBCLASS 1: SIMPLE V-STEMS

The first subclass of V-stem Class 2 is composed of V-stems that are derived from N-bases. For example:

6.5 *Ma-N-<haki>-'ira* /mahaki'ira/ *i* *maama.*
IS-LK-sickness-SG3R.SB PNM uncle
Uncle is sick (lit. uncle is in the state of a sickness).

6.6 *Hina-o* *haki.*
exist-SG3.SB sickness
There was a sickness.

6.7 *Pe$_2$-<heŋgera>-o* /meheŋgera/ *mia* *arau.*
AN-<phlegm>-SG3.SB person that
That person coughed up some phlegm.

6.8 *Mo-N-<kuni>-o* /moŋkuni/ *heŋgera-no.*
QL-<yellow>-SG3.SB phlegm-SG3.PS
His phlegm was yellow.

6.2.2 SUBCLASS 2: COMPOUND V-STEMS

The second subclass of V-stem Class 2 consists of compound V-stems that are composed of at least two N-bases joined by the linking morpheme *-N-*. Each of these compound stems has its own meaning that can be quite different from the meanings of its segments. For example:

6.9 *MeN-Pe$_1$-<pae>-N*[22]*-<kompo>-ira* /mpepaekompo'ira/.
PL-RC-<rice>-LK-<belly>-PL3.SB
They are siblings.

6.10 *Aku PoN-Pe$_2$-<ana>-N-<beine>* /mompe'anabeine/.
SG1.F G.TR-IM-<child>-LK-<woman>
I'm going to pretend to be an unmarried woman.

In example 6.9, the V-stem of the verb *mpepaekompo'ira* 'they are siblings' is *-paekompo* 'sibling', which consists of the two N-bases *pae* 'rice' and *kompo* 'belly'. In a similar manner, in example 6.10, the V-stem of the verb *Pompe'anabeine* 'to imitate a young unmarried woman', is *anabeine* 'young, unmarried woman', which consists of the N-bases *ana* 'child' and *beine* 'woman'. The compound V-stems that form the members of this subclass may or may not occur independently as N-bases within a clause. For example, the compound V-stem of example 6.9 *-paekompo* 'sibling' cannot occur independently as an N-base, whereas the V-stem of example 6.10 *anabeine* 'young, unmarried woman' can, as demonstrated below.

6.11 **o^{n}dae paekompo*

6.12 *Miŋki-o-mo ana-N-beine* /anabeine/.
would.like-SG3.SB-EM.NF child-LK-woman
She is almost a young woman.

6.2.3 SUBCLASS 3: V-STEMS DERIVED FROM NPS

The last subclass of V-stem Class 2 is composed of V-stems which are NPs consisting of two or more words. For example:

6.13 *Pe$_1$-<le^{m}ba-mo-taha>-o* /mele^{m}bamotaha/ *ana-ku.*
ASM-<dress-QL-red>-SG3.SB child-SG1.PS
My child is wearing a red dress.

In example 6.13, the V-stem of the verb *mele^{m}ba-motaha* 'is wearing a red dress' is the NP *le^{m}ba-motaha* 'red dress', which is composed of two words, *le^{m}ba* 'dress, shirt' and *motaha* 'red'. This NP can occur independently within a clause, as demonstrated in the following example:

6.14 *Te-kosi-o /tekosi/ le^{m}ba mo-taha a^{n}dio.*
DE-beautiful-SG3.SB dress QL-red this
This red dress is beautiful.

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22 The linking *-N-* goes to zero according to Mp2.

CHAPTER 7

VERB MORPHOLOGY: THE VERB BASE

The verb base (V-base) is the minimal verbal unit that can occur independently within a clause. As defined earlier (see section 3.1.2), the V-base is (1) a V-root from V-root Class 1 that may occur as a base unaffixed with the application of the vowel-doubling rule Mp5, (2) a V-root that occurs with a FV-prefix or infix, or (3) a root from V-root Class 15 or a stem derived from another base that occurs with one of the following verb affixes: MR, *ko$_1$-N-*, *mo-N-*, *ma-N-*, *me-N-*, *te-*, *Pe$_1$-*, *Pe$_2$-*, *-um$_1$-*, *-um$_2$-*, *PoN-*, *-in-*, BR$_1$, BR$_2$, *mara-N-*, *monte-*, *maka-N-*, *moro-N-*, *mana-N-*, *ma^{m}be-*, *polo-N-*, *Poko-N$_1$-*, *-ki*, *-kipi*, *-piki*, *-li*, *-si*, *-wi*, *-ako$_1$*, *-ako$_2$*, *-lako*, *mo-ko$_1$-*, *N*-BR$_2$-*mo-ko$_1$-*, *maka-li-*, *Pe$_1$-um$_1$-*, *PoN-Pe$_1$-*, *Pompe-*BR$_2$, *-um$_1$*-BR$_1$-, *-um$_1$*-BR$_2$-, *Pe$_2$-te-*, *PoN-Poko$_1$-*, *PoN-Po-*, *PoN-Poko$_2$-*, *PoN-pa-*, *PoN-Pe$_2$-*, BR$_1$-*PoN-Po-*, *PoN-pasi-*, *Pe$_2$-Pe$_1$-*, *te-po-*, *ka*-BR$_2$-, *ko$_2$*-BR$_2$-, *PoN-i*, *PoN-hi*, *PoN-pi*, *PoN-ari*, *Pe$_2$-li*, *Pe$_1$-ako$_1$*, *Pe$_1$-ako$_2$*, *Pe$_1$-hako*, *Pe$_1$-sako*, *Pe$_1$-lako*.

Mori V-bases can be divided into two major classes that are discussed below.

7.1 V-BASE CLASS 1: FUNDAMENTAL V-BASES

The first class of V-bases is composed of the fundamental V-bases (FV-bases), that is, V-bases consisting of a V-root plus its V-root class prefix or infix (see Chart 5.1). The FV-bases form the building blocks of the Mori verb. They can occur as independent or inflected V-bases, as shown in the following examples, or as the V-stems of other verbs.

7.1 *-um$_1$-lako-'aku* /lumako'aku/ *PoN-kita* /moŋkita/.
INT-go-SG1.SB G.TR-see
I went to take a look.

7.2 *Ma-gasi i-Pe$_2$-lempa* /ipelempa/.
IS-fast SG3.SB-INT-walk
He walks fast.

More examples of this class can be found in Chapter 5.

7.2 V-BASE CLASS 2: DERIVED V-BASES

The second class of V-bases is composed of derived V-bases (DV-bases), that is, V-bases whose stems are either compound V-stems (see section 6.1.2) or V-stems derived from N-bases or other V-bases.

The DV-bases may be unaffixed or affixed. The unaffixed DV-bases consist solely of compound V-stems whose first member is a V-base. The affixed DV-bases are formed by being prefixed by one of nineteen prefixes, infixed by one of three infixes, suffixed by one of nine suffixes, prefixed/infixed by one of twenty sets of complex morphemes that consist

of two or three prefixes, or an infix and a prefix, or prefixed/infixed and suffixed by one of ten sets of circumfixes that consist of a prefix or infix and a suffix. For example:

7.3 V-stem = *biŋku* 'hoe' (N-base)
PoN- 'G.TR'-<*biŋku*> = *Pobiŋku* 'to hoe, use a hoe'

7.4 V-stem = *Pe'a^{n}du* (*Pe$_2$-'a^{n}du*) 'to massage' (FV-base)
<*Pe'a^{n}du*>-*ki* 'excessive mode' = *Pe'a^{n}duki* 'to massage anywhere, in any manner'

7.5 V-stem = *kuli* 'skin' (N-base)
ko$_2$-BR$_2$- 'excessive continuative mode' <*kuli*> = *kokulikuli* 'to continually go around with one's skin (upper torso) showing'

7.6 V-stem = *Pentoro* (*Pe$_2$-N-toro*) 'to sit down' (FV-base)
PoN- 'G.TR'- <*Pentoro*> - *ari* 'DO = locative semantic case' = *Pompentoroari* 'to sit down on s.t.(location)'

All of the derivational affixes are applied cyclically. For example:

7.7 V-stem = *ŋisi* 'tooth' (N-base)
Pe$_1$- 'associative mode' <*ŋisi*> = *Peŋisi* 'to have teeth'
MR 'CT'-<*Peŋisi*> = *Peŋiŋisi* 'to continually have/show teeth (i.e. smile)'
mara-N- 'continuative intrinsic mode' <*Peŋiŋisi*> = *marampeŋiŋisi* 'to always be smiling'

If a V-stem is derived from a prefixed/infixed V-base and is in turn prefixed/infixed by a derivational prefix/infix, then the original prefix/infix on the V-stem will either be deleted or retained depending upon the derivational affixation. The meaning of a deleted prefix or infix, however, is retained in the meaning of the new V-base. For example:

7.8 V-stem = *taku* 'gourd' (N-base)
mana-N- 'olfactory mode' <*taku*> = *manantaku* 'to smell like a gourd'
moro-N- 'mitigated mode' <*manantaku*> = *morontaku* 'to smell a little like a gourd'

If a V-stem that is derived from a V-base that has a circumfix or a suffix is, in turn, suffixed, then the original suffix is optionally deleted if it ends in /i/ and is retained if it ends in /ako/. The meaning of the deleted suffix, however, is retained in the meaning of the new V-base. For example:

7.9 V-stem = *Pompe'aŋii* (PoN 'G.TR'-*Pe$_2$* 'simple causative mode'-<*'aŋi*> 'wind'- *i* 'DO = locative semantic case') 'to arrange s.t. so that it is blown in the wind' (DV-base)
<*Pompe'aŋii*>-*ki* 'excessive mode' = *Pompe'aŋiki* 'to arrange s.t. in the wind anywhere at any time so that it is destroyed'

7.10 V-stem = *Pe'asipako* (*Pe$_2$-ako$_2$* 'simple manner mode'-<*'asi*> 'clamp') 'to clamp in between' (DV-base)
<*Pe'asipako*>-*piki* 'arbitrary mode' = *Pe'asipakopiki* 'to clamp in between in any manner'

All of the DV-affixes, except for the reduplicating prefixes, MR, BR$_1$ and BR$_2$, are directly affixed to the V-stem. BR$_1$ is prefixed to the root of the V-stem, or to the first two

syllables of the entire V-stem, and MR and BR_2 are prefixed to the V-root of the V-stem. For example:

7.11 V-stem = *mo'ahi* (*mo-'ahi*) 'to be sweet' (FV-base)
BR_1 'mitigated (mode)'-<*mo'ahi* = *mo'ahi'ahi* or *mo'amo'ahi*> 'to be a little sweet'

7.12 V-stem = *Poŋkita* (*PoN-kita*) 'to see' (FV-base)
BR_2 'iterative mode'-<*Poŋkita*> = *Poŋkitakita* 'to see again and again'

7.13 V-stem = *Poŋkita* 'to see' (FV-base)
MR 'CT'-<*Poŋkita*> = *Poŋkikita* 'to continually look at'

7.2.1 SUBCLASS 1: DV-BASES THAT OCCUR WITHOUT AFFIXATION

Subclass 1 of V-base Class 2 consists of DV-bases that occur within a clause without any derivational affixes. These DV-bases consist solely of compound V-stems whose first segment is a V-base and whose second segment is an N-base. For example:

7.14 <*Sala*>-*N*-<*laro*>-*'aku* /salalaro'aku/.
<wrong>-LK-<interior>-SG1.SB
I was suspicious.

7.15 *Sala-o* /saala/.
wrong-SG3.SB
He was wrong.

7.16 <*Pelempa*>-*N*-<*karu*>-*'aku* /melempaŋkaru'aku/.
<to.walk>-LK-<foot>SG1.SB
I went on foot.

7.17 *Pe_2-lempa-'aku* /melempa'aku/.
INT-walk-SG1.SB
I walked.

7.2.2 SUBCLASS 2: DV-BASES FORMED BY AN FV-AFFIX WITH OR WITHOUT THE LINKING -*N*-

Subclass 2 of V-base Class 2 consists of all the FV-affixes except *Pe_2-N-*. These affixes can occur as DV-affixes by forming V-bases from V-stems derived from N-bases or other V-bases. These affixes and their meanings are demonstrated in Chart 7.1. When occurring on V-bases, the stative prefixes, *ko_1-*, *mo-*, *ma-* and *me-*, always occur with the linking *-N-*.

For the most part, when these FV-prefixes and -infixes occur on DV-stems, their semantic range varies from their FV-base counterparts in mode only. In some cases, the meaning of these affixes on DV-stems is broader and more regular than their meaning on V-roots (e.g. *ma-* and *te-*); in other cases, the meaning is more restricted (e.g. *-um_1-*). For example:

7.18 V-stem = *Pesalo* (*Pe_1-salo*) 'to be mixed' (FV-base)
ma-N- 'intense mode' <*Pesalo*> = *mansalo* 'to be very mixable/mixed'

7.19 V-stem = *Pobiŋku* (*PoN-<biŋku>*) 'to hoe' (DV-base)
te_1- 'unintended mode'-<*Pobiŋku*> = *tebiŋku* 'to be hoed accidentally'

CHART 7.1: FV-AFFIXES THAT OCCUR ON DV-STEMS

Prefix/infix	State/ action	Voice	Transitivity	Semantic case of the subject	Mode	V-stem
ko₁-N-	state	_____	_____	objective	ordinal number	state
					measurative	state
mo-N-	state	_____	_____	objective	simple quality	state
					intrinsic	action
ma-N-	state	_____	_____	objective	intense	state/action
					intense intrinsic	state/action
me-N-	state	_____	_____	objective	acquired	state
mo-ko₁-	state	_____	_____	objective	observational	state/action
te-	action	_____	de-emphasised	objective	unintended	state/action
					simple aptative	state/action
					_____	state/action
Pe₁-	action	_____	de-emphasised	objective	_____	state/action
				associative	associative	state
			reflexive	agentive/objective	_____	state/action
			reciprocal	agentive/objective	_____	state/action
Pe₂-	action	_____	simple intransitive	agentive	_____	state/action
			antipassive	agentive	simple causative	state
-um₁-	action	_____	simple intransitive	agentive	resembling	state/action
PoN-	action	active	general transitive	agentive	_____	state/action
					simple causative	state/action
					resembling	state/action
-um₂-	action	active	specific transitive	agentive	_____	state/action
					simple causative	state/action
					resembling	state/action
-in-	action	passive	passive	objective	_____	state/action
					simple causative	state/action
					resembling	state/action
MR	_____	_____	_____	_____	continuative	state/action

7.20 V-stem = *Pelele* (*Pe₂-lele*) 'to creep' (FV-base)
-um₁- 'resembling mode'*<Pelele>* = *lumele* 'to move like someone creeping'

7.2.2.1 DV-BASES MARKED ONLY FOR MODE

As discussed in section 5.2, MR marks the V-base for the continuative mode. As a DV-prefix, however, it only occurs singularly on V-stems that indicate actions. For example:

7.21 MR-*<Poŋkita>-'aku* /moŋkikita'aku/ *mia* *Pe₂-<dero>* /modero/.
CT-<to.see>-SG1.SB person CA-<kind.of.circle.dance>
I was looking at the people dancing the circle dance.

7.22 MR-*<Petidu>-'ira* /metitidu'ira/ *tama.*
CT-<to.hit.each.other.with.fists (once)>-PL3.SB man
The two men were hitting each other with their fists.

7.2.2.2 DV-BASES MARKED AS STATES

Four of the prefixes and one complex morpheme in this subclass mark the V-base as a state and the subject for the objective semantic case. When occurring on V-stems derived from V-bases, the initial prefix or infix of a V-stem is always deleted when prefixed by *mo-N-*, *ma-N-*, *me-N-* and *mo-ko₁-* and always retained when prefixed by *ko₁-N-* with one exception.

The first stativising prefix, *ko₁-N-*, primarily occurs as a single prefix on V-stems that indicate numbers, marking the V-base as an ordinal number. This mode is referred to as the ordinal number mode (OR). For example:

7.23 *MeN-ko₁-N-<'otolu>-'ira* /meŋko'otolu'ira/.
PL-OR-LK-<three>-PL3.SB
They are third.

The one example, in which *ko₁-N-* does not occur on a numerical V-stem is *kolai* 'to be old and tall (i.e. a tree)'. In this case, *ko₁-N-* marks the V-base for measurative mode (see section 5.3), and the V-stem *olai* 'far' irregularly loses its initial prefix.

7.24 *Ko₁-<olai>-o* /kolai/ *ntu'u benu* *arau.*
me-<far>-SG3.SB very coconut that
That coconut tree is very old and tall.

The second stativising prefix, *mo-N-*, marks the V-base for the simple quality mode, that is, for having the quality of the V-stem, when the V-stem is stative. For example:

7.25 *Mo-N-<'olo>-o* /mo'olo/ *baru.*
QL-LK-<sour.juice>-SG3.SB palm.wine
The palm wine was sour (lit. the palm wine has the quality of sour juice).

7.26 *Mo-N-<bela>-'ira* /mobela'ira/ *mia* *anu* *Pe₁*-MR-*'ua* /me'u'ua/.
QL-LK-<wound>-DU3.SB people that RC-CT-fight
The people who were (fist)fighting have wounds.

When occurring on V-stems that indicate actions, *mo-N-* marks the V-stem for the intrinsic mode, that is, for having an intrinsic quality. For example:

7.27 *Nana'ote atuu mo-N-<Pekuu>-o* /moŋkuu/ *aN-'uwoi* /a'uwoi/.
child that IR-LK-<to.dive>-SG3.SB LP-water
That child has a natural inclination to dive.

7.28 *Nahi i-mo-N-<Pentoro>* /montoro/ *to^{n}de a^{n}dio.*
not SG3.SB-IR-LK-<to.sit.down> glass this
This glass does not naturally sit well.

The third stativising prefix, *ma-N-*, can occur with either active or stative V-stems. As discussed in section 5.5, it marks V-roots for intense mode, that is, for occurring to a degree greater than normal. When prefixed to DV-stems, it either marks the V-base for this same mode (see examples 7.29 and 7.30), or for the intense intrinsic mode (IS.IR), that is, for having an intrinsic quality that occurs to a degree greater than normal (see examples 7.31 and 7.32).

7.29 *Ma-N-<mo'odo>-o* /ma'odo/ *mia arau PoN-'uŋke* /mo'uŋke/.
IS-LK-<unlucky>-SG3.SB person that G.TR-seek (a livelihood)
That person is extremely unlucky in seeking a livelihood.

7.30 *Ma-N-<dinolo>-o* /madolo/ *lahi uai-no.*
IS-LK-<to.be.bathed>-SG3.SB too.much younger.sibling-SG3.PS
His younger brother is bathed too often.

7.31 *Ma-N-<Po'uri>-o* /ma'uri/ *ko^{m}bia-no.*
IS.IR-LK-<to.ration>-SG3.SB spouse-SG3.PS
His wife is stingy (lit. his wife has a natural inclination to ration everything to an extreme).

7.32 *Ma-N-<saki>-o* /mansaki/ *keu a^{n}dio.*
IS.IR-LK-<to.ignite>-SG3.PS wood this
This wood is very ignitable.

The fourth stativising prefix, *me-N-*, occurs only on stative V-stems. It marks the V-base for the acquired mode, that is, for having an acquired quality. For example:

7.33 *Me-N-<rea>-o* /merea/ *kae-no.*
AQ-LK-<blood>-SG3.SB hand-SG3.PS
His hand was bloody.

7.34 *Me-N-<pupu>-o-mo* /mempupuomo/ *pae-mami.*
AQ-LK-<little.bundle>-SG3.SB-EM.NF rice-PL1EXC.PS
Our rice has budded.

The last of the stativising prefixes is the complex morpheme, *mo-koɪ-*, which occurs only on V-stems that indicate states; it marks the V-base for observational mode, which indicates a state that is observed or perceived by either intuition, internal feeling, the senses or the intellect. For example:

7.35 *Mo-koɪ-<'oleo>-o* /moko'oleo/.
OB-<sun>-SG3.SB
The heat of the sun can be felt.

7.36 *Mo-koɪ-<tiporo>-o* /mokotiporo/ *i-^{n}di'ai.*
OB-<mosquito>-SG3.SB LP-here
A few mosquitoes can be felt here.

7.37 *Mo-ko$_1$-<ma'iso>-aku* /moko'iso'aku/.
OB-<stuffy>-SG1.SB
I am perspiring (lit. I am internally experiencing stuffiness).

The five stativising prefixes are distinguished one from another in the type of mode with which they mark the V-base: *ko$_1$-N-* marks the V-base for ordinal number mode, *me-N-* for acquired mode, *mo-N-* for intrinsic mode, *ma-N-* for intense intrinsic mode, and *mo-ko$_1$-* for observational mode. For example:

7.38 *Meŋ-ko$_1$-N-<'otolu>-'ira* /meŋko'otolu'ira/.
PL-OR-LK-<three>-PL3.SB
They are third.

7.39 *Me-N-<pupu>-o-mo* /mempupuomo/ *pae-mami.*
AQ-LK-<little.bundle>-SG3.SB-EM.NF rice-PL1EXC.PS
Our rice has budded.

7.40 *Nana'ote atuu mo-N-<Pekuu>-o* /moŋkuu/ *aN-'uwoi* /a'uwoi/.
child that IR-LK-<to.dive>-SG3.SB LP-water
That child has a natural inclination to dive.

7.41 *Nana'ote atuu ma-N-<Pekuu>-o* /maŋkuu/ *aN-'uwoi* /a'uwoi/.
child that IS.IR-LK-<to.dive>-SG3.SB LP-water
1. That child can dive under the water for a long time.
2. That child has a natural inclination to dive in the water to the point of excess.

The prefix *mo-ko$_1$-* contrasts with the other stativising prefixes in that it marks the V-base for observational mode. For example:

7.42 *Mo-ko$_1$-<tiporo>-o* /mokotiporo/ *i-^{n}di'ai.*
OB-<mosquito>-SG3.SB LP-here
A few mosquitoes can be felt here.

7.2.2.3 DV-BASES MARKED AS ACTIONS

Subclass 3 of DV-Class 2 consists of four prefixes, *te-*, *Pe$_1$-*, *Pe$_2$-* and *PoN-*, and three infixes, *-um$_1$-*, *-um$_2$-* and *-in-*, all of which mark the V-base as an action.

When a V-stem derived from a V-base is prefixed by *Pe$_1$-* or *Pe$_2$-*, or infixed by *-um$_1$-*, the initial prefix or infix of the V-stem is always deleted. When *te-*, *PoN-*, *-um$_2$-* or *-in-* is prefixed or infixed to a V-stem derived from a V-base, the initial prefix or infix of the V-stem is either always deleted or optionally deleted depending upon the set of V-bases from which the V-stem is derived.

The first activising affix, *te-*, occurs on V-stems that describe states or actions. As a derivational prefix, *te-* can either leave the V-base unmarked for mode or mark it for unintended mode or for aptative mode, in which an action has the potential to occur. For example:

7.43 *Te-<Pobiŋku>-o-mo* /tebiŋkuomo/ *<puu>-N-<raha>-ku* /puurahaku/.
DE-<to.hoe>-SG3.SB-EM.NF <area.at.base.of>-LK-<house>-SG1.PS
My yard has been hoed.

7.44 *Te-<Pobiŋku>-o* /tebiŋku/ *karu-ku.*
UID-<to hoe>-SG3.SB foot-SG1.PS
My foot was accidentally chopped with a hoe.

7.45 *Te-<Pobiŋku>-o* /tebiŋku/ *koa* *<puu>-N-<raha>-ku* /puurahaku/.
AP-<to.hoe>-SG3.SB indeed <area.at.base.of>-LK-<house>-SG1.PS
My yard is capable of being hoed.

7.46 *Te-<'eme>-o* /te'eme/ *ana-no.*
UID-<to.urinate>-SG3.SB child-SG3.PS
Her child urinated.

The last example demonstrates the tendency of this language to classify actions of which the initiator is not in total control as de-emphasised actions and the initiator as a patient (see section 5.8).

When *te-* marks a stative or passive V-stem for aptative mode, then the initial prefix/infix of the V-stem is retained. For example:

7.47 *I-Po-wee-akune* /ipoweeakune/ *te-<'orua>* /te'orua/.
SG2R.SB-CA-give-SG1.IO AP-<two>
Give me two.

7.48 *I-PoN-'isa* /ipo'isa/ *te-<Peroku>* /teperoku/.
SG2R.SB-CA-pound AP-<vigorous>
Pound (the rice) vigorously.

These examples demonstrate that *te-* indicates future or potential states when it occurs on stative or passive V-stems rather than just the ability for a state to be realised.

The second activising affix, *Peɟ-*, occurs on V-stems that indicate states or actions. *Peɟ-* marks the V-base (1) as a reflexive action, (2) as a reciprocal action, or (3) as a de-emphasised action. If *Peɟ-* marks the V-base as de-emphasised and the V-stem is derived from a V-base, then it leaves it unmarked for mode. If it is derived from an N-base, then it marks the V-base for the associative mode (ASM). For example:

7.49 *Peɟ-<'upu>-o* /me'upu/ *maŋalitau* *atuu.*
RF-<to.end>-SG3.SB young.man that
That young man committed suicide (lit. that young man ended himself).

7.50 *Peɟ-<gaga>-'ira* /megaga'ira/ *mia* *Peɟ-MR-<ko^{m}bia>* /mekoko^{m}bia/
RC-<argue>-DU3.SB person RC-CT-<spouse>

atuu.
that
That husband and wife are arguing with each other.

7.51 *Peɟ-<merete>-o* /merete/ *wala.*
DE-<to.be.level>-SG3.SB fence
The fence is level (and capable of being changed or changing).

7.52 *Peɟ-<'owu>-o* /me'owu/ *tama arau.*
ASM-<machete>-SG3.SB man that
That man is wearing/carrying a machete.

7.53 *Pe$_1$-<kae>-o* /mekae/ *to^{n}de.*
ASM-<arm>-SG3.SB glass
The glass has a handle.

7.54 *Nahi i-Pe$_1$-<le^{m}ba>* /ipelemba/ *i Ede.*
not SG3.SB-ASM-<shirt> PNM PN
Ede is not wearing a shirt.

7.55 *Pe$_1$-<rea>-'aku* /merea'aku/.
ASM-<blood>-SG1.SB
I have my menstrual period.

7.56 *Pe$_1$-<sorodadu>-o* /mesorodadu/ *maama-no.*
ASM-<soldier>-SG3.SB uncle-SG3.PS
His uncle is a soldier.

In example 7.49, *me'upu* 'to end oneself, commit suicide' demonstrates a reflexive action, and *megaga'ira* 'are arguing with each other', in example 7.50, a reciprocal action. In example 7.51, *merete* 'is level' demonstrates a state that is capable of being changed. In this case, such a situation is induced by an agent. Examples 7.52 - 7.56 demonstrate the wide semantic range of the associative mode: *me'owu* 'is wearing/carrying a machete' in example 7.52 and *ipele^{m}be* 'is (not) wearing a shirt' in example 7.54 show association through wearing or carrying; *mekae* 'has an arm' in example 7.53 shows association through having as an appendage; *merea'aku* 'I have my menstrual period' in example 7.55 shows association through undergoing a biological process; and *mesorodadu* 'is a soldier' in example 7.56 shows association through having a profession or playing a particular role.

The third activising affix, *Pe$_2$-*, occurs only on V-stems that describe states. *Pe$_2$-* marks the V-base as a simple intransitive or an antipassive action. When it marks the V-base as simple intransitive, it leaves it unmarked for mode. All of the V-stems of such V-bases are derived from N-bases. Therefore, the meaning of such V-bases is basically 'X executes the action of the V-stem' or 'X uses the V-stem'. When *Pe$_2$-* marks the V-base as antipassive, it marks it for causative mode (CA), in which the state named in the V-stem is produced by the agent.

As discussed in section 5.10, *Pe$_2$-* has two allomorphs: *Pe-* and *Po-*. Their occurrence is conditioned by the particular V-stem to which either one is attached. Examples of this prefix marking the V-base as a simple intransitive action are:

7.57 *Pe$_2$-<ta^{m}bu>-'aku* /meta^{m}bu'aku/ *aN-'inisa* /a'inisa/.
INT-<scoop>-SG1.SB LP-uncooked.rice
I scooped the rice.

7.58 *MeN-Pe$_2$-<dui>-kami* /mpoduikami/ *mpiha.*
PL-INT-<pointed.stick>-PL1EXC.SB always
We are always using pointed sticks (i.e. eating sago).

Examples of it marking the V-base as an antipassive action in causative mode are:

7.59 *Pe$_2$-<su'ului>-o-mo* /mesu'uluiomo/ *manu.*
CA-<egg>-SG3.SB-EM.NF chicken
The chicken has laid its eggs.

7.60 *MeN-Pe$_2$-<lae^{m}ba>-'ira* /mpolae^{m}ba'ira/ *mia* *mo-<ta'u>.*
PL-CA-<folksong>-PL3.SB person QL-<age>
The old people are singing the *lae^{m}ba.*

The fourth activising affix, *-um$_1$-*, occurs on V-stems that indicate states or actions; *-um$_1$-* marks the V-base as a simple intransitive action in resembling mode (RS), in which the action of the V-base resembles the action or state of the V-stem in a real or a metaphoric manner. For example:

7.61 *Ru^{n}du-um$_1$-<Pelele>-o* /lumele/.
thunder-RS-<to.creep>-SG3.SB
The thunder rolled slowly like someone creeping.

7.62 *Um$_1$-<elo>-o-mo* /umeloomo/ *pae.*
RS-<tongue>-SG3.SB-EM.NF rice
The rice has budded (become tongue-like).

The fifth, sixth and seventh activising affixes are the prefix *PoN-*, the infix *-um$_2$-* and the infix *-in-*, which occur on V-stems that indicate states and actions. As discussed earlier (see section 5.13), these three affixes are unique in that they occur on the same set of V-stems, in which *PoN-* marks the V-base for general transitive voice, *-um$_2$-* for specific transitive voice, and *-in-* for passive voice. For example:

7.63 *I* *Sia* *-um$_2$-<Pe'ini>-o* /uminio/ *ana-no.*
PNM PN SP.TR-<to.grab>-SG3.DO child-SG3.PS
Sia grabbed her child.

7.64 *PoN-<biŋku>-'aku* /mobiŋku'aku/
G.TR-<hoe>-SG1.SB

<puu>-N-<raha>-ku /puurahaku/.
<area.at.base.of>-LK-<house>-PL2EXC.PS
I hoed my yard.

7.65 *-in-<biŋku>-o* /biniŋku/ *<puu>-N-<raha>-mami* /puurahamami/.
PSS-<hoe>-SG3.SB <area.at.base.of>-LK-<house>-SG1EXC.PS
Our yard has been hoed.

As derivational affixes, these three affixes may leave the V-base unmarked for mode, or they may mark it either for simple causative mode or resembling mode. For example:

7.66 *Ku-um$_2$-<molori>-o* /kulorio/ *wuu-no.*
SG1.SB-SP.TR.CA-<smooth>-SG3.DO hair-SG3.PS
I smoothed out his hair.

7.67 *-in-<ŋisi>-o-mo* /ŋinisiomo/ *wuwu.*
PSS.CA-<tooth>-SG3.SB-EM.NF fishtrap
The fishtrap has already been made (i.e. has been given teeth).

7.68 *I* *Maama* *PoN-<Perete>* /momperete/ *wala.*
PNM Uncle G.TR.CA-<to.be.level > fence
Uncle is the one that levels the fences.

7.69 *PoN-<Peguru>-o* /mompeguru/ *tama atuu.*
G.TR.RS-<to.be.a.teacher>-SG3.SB man that
That man behaves like a teacher.

7.70 *PoN-<Pesaele>-o* /mompesaele/ *pido.*
G.TR.RS-<to.cradle.in.arms>-SG3.SB bottle
He cradled a bottle in his arms like a baby.

When these affixes occur on a small set of V-stems prefixed by *Pe₁-* or *Pe₂-*, the initial prefix of the V-stem is retained as shown in examples 7.68 - 7.70.

The seven activising affixes are distinguished one from another in the type of semantic case, transitivity, or mode with which they mark the V-base. Three of these affixes, *te-*, *Pe₁* and *-in-* mark the V-base for a referent of the subject in objective semantic case; *-in-*, however, marks the V-stem for a passive action, in which the role of an agent and the completion of the action are emphasised, while *te-* and *Pe₁-* both mark the V-base for an intransitive action in which the role of an agent is de-emphasised or non-existent. For example:

7.71 *-in-<biŋku>-o* /biniŋku/ *<puu>-N-<raha>-mami* /puurahamami/.
PSS-<to.hoe>-SG3.SB <area.at.base.of>-LK-<house>-SG1EXC.PS
Our yard has been hoed.

7.72 *Te-<Pobiŋku>-o-mo* /tebiŋkuomo/ *<puu>-N-<raha>-ku* /puurahaku/.
DE-<to.hoe>-SG3.SB-EM.NF <area.at.base.of>-LK-<house>-SG1.PS
My yard has been hoed.

7.73 *Te-<Pobiŋku>-o* /tebiŋku/ *karu-ku.*
UID-<to.hoe>-SG3.SB foot-SG1.PS
My foot was accidentally chopped with a hoe.

7.74 *Te-<Pobiŋku>-o* /tebiŋku/ *koa puu-N-raha-ku* /puurahaku/.
AP-<to.hoe>-SG3.SB indeed area.at.base.of-LK-house-SG1.PS
My yard is capable of being hoed.

7.75 *Pe₁-<merete>-o* /merete/ *wala.*
DE-<to.be.level>-SG3.SB fence
The fence is level (and capable of being changed or changing).

7.76 *Pe₁-<kae>-o* /mekae/ *to^{n}de.*
ASM-<arm>-SG3.SB glass
The glass has a handle.

As demonstrated in examples 7.72 and 7.73, *te-* contrasts with *Pe₁-* and *-in-* in that it can mark the V-base for unintended mode or for aptative mode. In example 7.75, *Pe₁-* contrasts with *-in-* by demonstrating the insignificance of an agent, and in example 7.76, it contrasts with both *-in-* and *te-* by marking the V-base for associative mode.

Pe₁- contrasts with *Pe₂-* in semantic case. *Pe₁-* marks the V-base for a referent of the subject in the objective or associative semantic case, or in a combined agentive/objective case while *Pe₂-* only marks the V-base for a referent of the subject in the agentive case, as demonstrated in examples 7.75 - 7.81.

7.77 *Pe$_1$-<'upu>-o* /me'upu/ *maŋalitau atuu.*
RF-<end>-SG3.SB young.man that
That young man committed suicide (lit. that young man ended himself).

7.78 *Pe$_1$-<gaga>-'ira* /megaga'ira/ *mia Pe$_1$-MR-<ko^{m}bia>* /mekoko^{m}bia/
RC-<argue>-DU3.SB person RC-CT-<spouse>
atuu.
that
That married couple is arguing with each other.

7.79 *Pe$_1$-<'owu>-o* /me'owu/ *tama arau.*
ASM-<machete>-SG3.SB man that
That man is wearing a machete.

7.80 *Pe$_2$-<ta^{m}bu>-'aku* /meta^{m}bu'aku/ *aN-'inisa* /a'inisa/.
INT-<scoop>-SG1.SB LP-uncooked.rice
I scooped the rice.

7.81 *Pe$_2$-<su'ului>-o-mo* /mesu'uluiomo/ *manu.*
CA-<egg>-SG3.SB-EM.NF chicken
The chicken has laid its eggs.

The affix *-um$_1$-* contrasts with *Pe$_2$-* in that it marks the V-stem for resembling mode. For example:

7.82 *Ru^{n}du-um$_1$-<Pelele>-o* /lumele/.
thunder-RS-<to.creep>-SG3.SB
The thunder rolled slowly like someone creeping.

Two of these affixes, *PoN-* and *-um$_2$-*, mark the V-stem for transitive voice. *PoN-*, however, marks it for a generalised action or a generalised referent of the object, and *-um$_2$-* marks it for a specific action or a specific referent of the object. For example:

7.83 *I Sia PoN-<Pe'ini>* /mo'ini/ *nana'ote.*
PNM PN G.TR-<to.grasp> child
Sia was holding onto some children.

7.84 *I Sia-um$_2$-<Pe'ini>-o* /uminio/ *ana-no.*
PNM PN-SP.TR-<to.grasp>-SG3.DO child-SG3.PS
Sia grasped her child.

7.2.3 SUBCLASS 3: DV-BASES FORMED BY A DV-PREFIX WITH OR WITHOUT THE LINKING *-N-*

Subclass 3 of Class 2 consists of a set of prefixes that only occur as derivational prefixes. (See Chart 7.2.)

CHART 7.2: DERIVATIONAL PREFIXES					
Prefix	State/ action	Transitivity	Semantic case	Mode	V-stem
BR_1	_____	_____	_____	mitigated	state/action
BR_2	_____	_____	_____	intense	state
	_____	_____	_____	iterative	action
mara-N-	state	_____	objective	continuative intrinsic	action
monte-	state	_____	objective	easy intrinsic	state/action
maka-N-	state	_____	objective	excessive distributive	state/action
moro-N-	state	_____	objective	mitigated	state
mana-N-	state	_____	objective	olfactory	state
ma^{m}be-	state	reciprocal	agentive/ objective	continuative	action
polo-N-	state	_____	objective	solitary	sounds
Poko$_1$-N-	action	_____	objective	aptative	action

7.2.3.1 DV-BASES MARKED ONLY FOR MODE

The first two prefixes of this subclass, BR_1, and BR_2, mark the V-base only for mode. The initial prefix or infix of the V-stem is always retained when prefixed by one of these modal prefixes.

The first modal prefix, BR_1, occurs on V-stems that indicate states or actions, marking the V-base for mitigated mode. It may be prefixed to the first two syllables of the V-stem, or to the first two syllables of the V-root. For example:

7.85 BR_1-*<mahaki>-o* /mahamahaki/ *ana-ku.*
MT-<to.be.sick>-SG3.SB child-SG1.PS
My child was rather sick.

7.86 BR_1-*<Poŋkaa>-ko* /moŋkaakaako/ *koa.*
MT-<to.eat>-SG2.SB only
You are only eating a little.

BR_1 has two allomorphs: MR and BR. The monosyllabic allomorph is conditioned by morphophonemic rules Mp18 or Mp19, which are repeated below.

Mp18 CV(N) $\Rightarrow$ Ø/ $\begin{Bmatrix} p \\ k \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} u \\ o \end{Bmatrix}_1 \begin{bmatrix} +\text{str} \\ __ \end{bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} p \\ k \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} u \\ o \end{Bmatrix}_2$ when CV_1 is the same as CV_2

Mp19 CV $\Rightarrow$ Ø / #*m*V(N)___*m*V

Mp18 causes a stressed syllable to go to zero when situated between two syllables both beginning with either /k/ or /p/ and ending in /o/ or /u/. This rule mainly affects the prefixes of complex morphemes. For example:

7.87 *-N-*BR$_1$*-mo-ko$_1$-<Peŋiŋisi>-o* /moŋkokopeŋiŋisi/
MT.OB-<to.smile>-SG1.SB

<ana>-N-<beine> /anabeine/ *atuu.*
<girl>-LK-<woman> that
That young woman is smiling a little.

Mp19 causes the second syllable of a V-base to go to zero when the initial syllable begins with /m/ and the third syllable begins with /m/. If the vowel of the remaining reduplicated syllable is /a/ or /e/, that vowel will become /o/ according to Mp6 and Mp7, respectively. For example:

7.88 BR$_1$ + *mahaki* 'to be sick' = *mahamahaki*
mahamahaki + Mp18 = *mamahaki*
mamahaki + Mp6 = *momahaki* 'to be a little sick'

The bisyllabic allomorph occurs in all other environments.

The second modal prefix, BR$_2$, when occurring on stative V-stems, marks the V-base for intense mode. For example:

7.89 BR$_2$*-<mo'ai>-o* /mo'ai'ai/ *raha.*
IS-<to.be.burnt>-SG3.SB house
The house was totally burnt.

When occurring on V-stems that indicate actions, it marks the V-base for the iterative mode, which indicates that the action or state of the V-stem repeatedly occurs and ceases. For example:

7.90 BR$_2$*-<Poŋkita>-'aku* /moŋkitakita'aku/ *mia.*
ITT-<to.see>-SG1.SB person
I looked at the people again and again.

Like BR$_1$-, BR$_2$- has two allomorphs: MR and BR. The allomorph MR is conditioned by rule Mp18 (see following example), and BR occurs in all other environments.

7.91 MR*-maku-N-<ransa>-o* /makukuransa/ *mia arau.*
IS-DS-LK-<scaly>-SG3.SB person that
That person is extremely scaly and scabby all over.

These two prefixes contrast with one another, and with FV-prefix MR, in the following examples:

7.92 MR*-<Poŋkita>-'aku* /moŋkikita'aku/ *mia Pe$_2$-<dero>* /modero/.
CT-<to.see>-SG1.SB person CA-<kind.of.circle.dance>
I was looking at the people dancing the circle dance.

7.93 BR$_1$*-<Poŋkita>-'aku>* /moŋkimoŋkita'aku/ *te-dei.*
MT-<to.see>-SG1.SB DE-little
I see just a very little.

7.94 BR_2-*<Poŋkita>-'aku* /moŋkitakita'aku/ *mia.*
ITT-<to.see>-SG1.SB person
I looked at the people again and again.

7.95 BR_1-*<Poŋkaa>-ko* /moŋkaakaako/ *koa.*
MT-<to.eat>-SG2.SB only
You are only eating a little.

7.2.3.2 DV-BASES MARKED AS STATES OR ACTIONS

The next seven prefixes of this subclass, *mara-N-*, *monte-*, *maka-N-*, *moro-N-*, *mana-N-*, *ma^{m}be-* and *polo-N-*, mark the V-base as a state, and the last prefix, *Poko$_1$-N-*, marks it as an action.

As shown in Chart 7.3, the initial prefix/infix of the V-stem is never deleted when prefixed by *mara-N*, *monte-* and *Poko$_1$-N-*, and always deleted when prefixed by *moro-N-*, *ma^{m}be-* and *polo-N-*. When prefixed by *maka-N-* and *mana-N-*, it is always deleted except when the initial prefix is *ma-* or *mo-*, in which case the initial prefix is optionally deleted.

CHART 7.3: DELETION OF THE INITIAL V-STEM PREFIX/INFIX

DV-prefix	Always deleted	Optionally deleted	Never deleted
mara-N-	_____	_____	all
monte-	_____	_____	all
maka-N-	all but *ma-*, *mo-*	*ma-*, *mo-*	_____
moro-N-	all	_____	_____
mana-N-	all but *ma-*, *mo-*	*ma-*, *mo-*	_____
ma^{m}be-	all	_____	_____
polo-N-	all	_____	_____
Poko$_1$-N-	_____	_____	all

The first stativising prefix, *mara-N-*, only occurs on V-stems that indicate actions. It marks the V-base for the continuative intrinsic mode (CT.IR), that is, for having an intrinsic quality that is continually being realised. For example:

7.96 *Mara-N-<tebite>-o* /marantebite/ *a^{m}bau-mami.*
CT.IR-LK-<severed>-SG3.SB buffalo-PL1EXC.PS
Our buffalo has a natural inclination to get severed (from his rope).

7.97 *Mara-N-<Po'inu>-o* /marampo'inu/ *i Naina.*
CT.IR-LK-<to.drink>-SG3.SB PNM Aunt
Aunt has a natural inclination to always be drinking.

The second stativising prefix, *monte-*, occurs on active or stative V-stems derived from verbs. It marks the V-base for the easy intrinsic mode (EA.IR), that is, for having an

intrinsic quality that is easily realised. This prefix has two variations, *monte-* and *mo^{n}de-*, both of which may occur on the same V-stem. For example:

7.98 *Monte-<molaŋu>-kita* /montemolaŋukita/.
EA.IR-<drunk>-PL1INC.SB
We have a natural inclination to get drunk easily.

7.99 *Monte-<tekuda>-o* /mo^{n}detekuda/ *ama-no.*
EA.IR-<angry>-SG3.SB father-SG3.PS
His father has a natural inclination to get angry easily.

The third stativising prefix, *maka-N-*, occurs on V-stems that indicate both states and actions. It marks the V-base for the excessive distributive mode (EC.DS), that is, for a state that occurs to an excess over time and space. This prefix has two allomorphs: *maka-N-*, which occurs on V-stems derived from N-bases, or stative or passive V-bases, and *tuma-N-*, which occurs on V-stems derived from V-bases prefixed with *Peɪ-*. The allomorph *maka-N-* has the variations *maka-N-*, *maku-N-*, *moku-N-* and *mapa-N-*. For example:

7.100 *Maka-N-<lelua>-o* /makalelua/ *nana'ote.*
EC.DS-LK-<movement>-SG3.SB child
The child is squirming around (lit.the child has all kinds of movements).

7.101 *Maka-N-<mahaki>-o* /makumahaki/ *mia* *mo-<ta'u>-no.*
EC.DS-LK-<sick>-SG3.SB person QL-<year(s)>-SG3.PS
His parents have all kinds of different sicknesses in different parts of their bodies.

7.102 *Maka-N-<'ineu>-o* /mapa'eu/ *kapala.*
EC.DS-LK-<changed>-SG3.SB boat
The (cargo of the) boat was repeatedly changed to the point of excess.

7.103 *Maka-N-<mahaki>-o* /mokuhaki/ *mia* *i-'inia.*
EC.DS-LK-<sick>-SG3.SB person LP-village
Lots of different people of the village were sick.

7.104 *Maka-N-<Pe^{m}buu>-o* /tuma^{m}buu/ *benu.*
EC.DS-LK-<thud>-SG3.SB coconut
The coconuts made many 'thudding' sounds (over time and space).

The variation *maka-N-* differs from the other three variations of the allomorph *maka-N-* in that it may occur as a complex morpheme with the prefix *li-*: *maka-li-*. This complex morpheme will be discussed in section 7.2.5.2.

The fourth stativising prefix, *moro-N-*, only occurs on stative V-stems. It marks the V-base for the mitigated mode. For example:

7.105 *Moro-N-<motaha>-o* /morontaha/ *le^{m}ba-no.*
MT-LK-<red>-SG3.SB shirt-SG3.PS
Her shirt was a reddish colour.

7.106 *Moro-N-<toŋawoŋi>* /morontoŋawoŋi/ *i-Peɪ-kule* /ipekule/.
MT-LK-<midnight> SG3.SB-RF-return
He returned around midnight.

The fifth stativising prefix, *mana-N-*, only occurs on V-stems that indicate states. It marks the V-base for the olfactory mode (OL), that is, for smelling like the V-stem. For example:

7.107 *Mana-N-<taku>-o* /manantaku/ *baru* *a^{n}dio.*
OL-LK-<gourd>-SG3.SB palm.wine this
This palm wine smells like a gourd.

7.108 *Mana-N-<mo'olo>-o* /manamo'olo/ *inu-a* *atuu.*
OL-LK-<sour>-SG3.SB drink-NM that
That drink smells sour.

The sixth stativising prefix, *ma^{m}be-*, only occurs on V-stems indicating actions. It marks the V-base as a reciprocal action in the continuative mode. Thus, it describes a state in which a reciprocal action is continually performed. For example:

7.109 *Ma^{m}be-<Pompehohawa>-'ira* /ma^{m}bepehohawa'ira/.
RC.CT-<to.love>-PL3.SB
They have a long, enduring love for each other.

7.110 *Ma^{m}be-<Pesulo>-'ira* /ma^{m}besulo'ira/ *mia* *arau.*
RC.CT-<to seek revenge>-PL3.SB person that
Those people are (in a state of) continually seeking revenge with one another.

The last stativising prefix, *polo-N-*, occurs on V-stems that indicate sounds. It marks the V-base for the solitary mode (SL), in which the state described in the V-stem only occurs once. For example:

7.111 *Polo-N-<Pe^{m}buu>-o* /polo^{m}buu/ *benu.*
SL-LK-<thud>-SG3.SB coconut
The coconut made a single 'thudding' sound.

The only activising prefix of this subclass, *Poko-N-*, only occurs on V-stems that indicate actions. It marks the V-base for the aptative mode (AP), which indicates that the V-stem has the potential to occur. For example:

7.112 *Poko-N-<te'eme>-o* /mokonte'eme/ *ana-no.*
AP-LK-<to.urinate>-SG3.SB child-SG3.PS
His child has to urinate.

7.113 *Nahi ku-Poko-N-<Poŋkaa>* /kupokompoŋkaa/.
not SG1.SB-AP-LK-<to.eat>
I couldn't eat.

The prefixes *mara-N-*, *monte-*, as well as the two FV-prefixes *mo-N-* and *ma-N-*, all mark the V-base for a type of intrinsic mode: *mara-N-* marks it for continuative intrinsic mode, *monte-* for easy intrinsic mode, *mo-N-* for intrinsic mode, and *ma-N-* for intense intrinsic mode. These prefixes are contrasted in the following five examples:

7.114 *Nana'ote atuu mara-N-<Pekuu>* /marampekuu/.
child that CT.IR-LK-<to.dive>
That child has the natural inclination to always be diving in the water.

7.115 *Mara-N-<tekuda>-o* /marantekuda/ *ama-no.*
CT.IR-LK-<angry>-SG3.SB father-SG3.PS
His father has a natural inclination to always get angry.

7.116 *Monte-<tekuda>-o* /mo^{n}detekuda/ *ama-no.*
EA.IR-<angry>-SG3.SB father-SG3.PS
His father has a natural inclination to get angry easily.

7.117 *Nana'ote atuu mo-N-<Pekuu>-o* /moŋkuu/ *aN-'uwoi* /a'uwoi/.
child that IR-LK-<to.dive>-SG3.SB LP-water
That child has a natural inclination to dive.

7.118 *Nana'ote atuu ma-N-<Pekuu>-o* /maŋkuu/ *aN-'uwoi* /a'uwoi/.
child that IS.IR-LK-<to.dive>-SG3.SB LP-water
1. That child can dive under the water for a long time.
2. That child has a natural inclination to dive in the water to the point of excess.

The prefixes *mara-N-* and *ma^{m}be-* mark the V-base for a continuative mode: *mara-N-*, however, marks it for the continuative intrinsic mode while *ma^{m}be-* marks it for a state of reciprocity in the continuative mode, as shown in the following two examples:

7.119 *Mara-N-<Pesulo>-o* /marampesulo/ *mia arau.*
CT.IR-LK-<to.seek.revenge>-SG3.SB person that
That person has the natural inclination to always be seeking revenge.

7.120 *Ma^{m}be-<Pesulo>-o* /ma^{m}besulo'ira/ *mia arau.*
RC.CT-<to.seek.revenge>-SG3.SB person that
Those people are (in a state of) continually seeking revenge with one another.

The prefix *polo-N-* contrasts with *maka-N-* in that *polo-N-* marks the V-base for singular mode and *maka-N-* marks the V-base for excessive distributive mode. For example:

7.121 *Polo-N-<Pe^{m}buu>-o* /polo^{m}buu/ *benu.*
SL-LK-<to.thud>-SG3.SB coconut
The coconut made a single 'thudding' sound.

7.122 *Maka-N-<Pe^{m}buu>-o* /tuma^{m}buu/ *benu.*
EC.DS-LK-<to.thud>-SG3.SB coconut
The coconuts made many 'thudding' sounds over time and space.

The prefix *moro-N-* contrasts with the other stative prefixes in that it marks the V-base for mitigated mode, and *Poko-N-* contrasts with the stative prefixes in that it marks the V-base as an action in aptative mode. For example:

7.123 *Moro-N-<mo'olo>-o* /moro'olo/ *taipa.*
MT-LK-<sour>-SG3.SB mango
The mango is a little sour.

7.124 *Poko-N-<te'eme>-o* /mokonte'eme/ *ana-no.*
AP-LK-<to.urinate>-SG3.SB child-SG3.PS
His child has to urinate.

7.2.4 Subclass 4: DV-bases formed by a single suffix

Subclass 4 of DV-base Class 2 consists of DV-bases formed by a stem derived from a V-base and one of four suffixes. (See Chart 7.4.)

CHART 7.4: SUFFIXES THAT OCCUR SINGULARLY ON DV-STEMS				
Suffix	Semantic case of the object	Grammatical case of the object	Mode	V-stem
-ki	_____	_____	excessive	state/action
-kipi	_____	_____	intense excessive	state/action
-piki	_____	_____	arbitrary	state/action
-li	_____	_____	distributive	state/action
-si	_____	_____	intense	state/action
-wi	_____	_____	continuative	action
-ako$_1$	benefactive, instrumental, or associative	dative	_____	action
-ako$_2$	_____	locative	directional	action
-lako	_____	_____	moving	action

The suffix *-ako*$_1$ can be suffixed to V-stems derived from any class of V-bases. When suffixed to a V-stem that already has been suffixed, the original suffix is retained except when the suffix is the allomorph *-ako* of the suffix *-ako*$_2$, in which case it is always deleted.

The suffixes *-ki*, *-kipi* and *-piki* can be suffixed to V-stems that are almost all derived from V-bases that indicate actions even though they occasionally occur on stative V-stems. They can occur on V-stems already suffixed by the other members of this subclass. When the V-stem is derived from a V-base that is already suffixed, then the original suffix is optionally deleted. For example:

7.125 *<Pe*$_1$*teahi>-ki-o* /meteaki/ *maŋalitau atuu* ^{n}*de*
<to.stiffen.o.s.>-EC-SG3.SB young.man that because

mara-N-<Pe'u'ua> /marampe'u'ua/.
CT.IR-LK-<to.fight>
That young man is always gathering up his courage anywhere, anytime, for any reason because he has a natural inclination to fight.

7.126 *<Pe*$_2$*siwui>-ki-o* /mesiwuki/ *beine atuu.*
<to.pour.hot.water.on.s.t.>-EC-SG3.SB woman that
That woman pours hot water without knowing the proper method.

The remaining suffixes of this subclass can only be suffixed to unsuffixed V-stems: *-si* can be suffixed to V-stems that indicate states or actions, *-li* and *-ako*$_2$ to transitive or intransitive V-stems, *-wi* only to transitive V-stems, and *-lako* only to intransitive V-stems.

The first suffix of this subclass is *-ki*, which marks the V-base for the excessive mode (EC), in which the action or state of the V-stem occurs anywhere, at any time, and/or for any reason to the point of excess. For example:

7.127 *<Peto^{n}da>-ki-o* /meto^{n}daki/ *uai-no.*
<to.follow>-EC-SG3.SB younger.sibling-SG3.PS
His younger brother follows any and everyone.

7.128 *<Maroa>-ki-o* /maroaki/ *petaoa atuu.*
<noisy>-EC-SG3.SB wedding that
That wedding was too loud and disorderly without any reason.

The suffix *-ki* has two allomorphs: *-ki* and *-pi*. The allomorph *-pi* is conditioned by morphophonemic rule Mp20, which states that *-ki* becomes *-pi* when suffixed to a V-stem with a velar consonant. For example:

7.129 *Si (Ø)-<Poŋkaa>-ki* /poŋkaapi/ *<wua>-N-<keu>* /wuaŋkeu/.
don't SG2.IT-<to.eat>-EC <fruit>-LK-<tree>
Don't eat any old kind of fruit.

7.130 *Mia arau <Pe'a^{ŋ}ga>-ki* /me'a^{ŋ}gapi/ *lahi.*
person that <to.grasp>-EC too.much
That person takes things that don't belong to him (lit. that person grabs onto any old thing too often).

The second suffix of this subclass is *-kipi*. This suffix marks the V-base for intense excessive mode (IS.EC), which indicates an action or state that is very arbitrary and very excessive. For example:

7.131 *<Poŋkaa>-kipi-ko* /moŋkaakipiko/ *lahi bou mo-boo.*
<to.eat>-IS.EC-SG2.SB too.much fish QL-rotten
You're eating rotten fish too much.

7.132 *<Peto^{n}da>-kipi-o* /meto^{n}dakipi/ *uai-no.*
<to.follow>-IS.EC-SG3.SB younger.sibling-SG3.PS
His younger brother too often follows any and everyone, whether it is proper or not, whether he has a reason or not.

The third suffix of this subclass is *-piki*. This suffix marks the V-base for arbitrary mode (AR), which indicates an action or state that occurs for an arbitrary reason. For example:

7.133 *<Peto^{n}da>-piki-o* /meto^{n}dapiki/ *uai-no.*
<to.follow>-AR-SG3.SB younger.sibling-SG3.PS
His younger brother follows for any old reason.

7.134 *<Masusa>-piki-o* /masusapiki/ *beine atuu.*
<to.be.sad>-AR-SG3.SB woman that
That woman is sad for any old reason.

The suffix *-piki* has two allomorphs: *-piki* and *-liki*. The allomorph *-liki* is conditioned by Mp21, which states that *-piki* becomes *-liki* when suffixed to a V-stem with a labial consonant in its V-root. For example:

7.135 *<Pepau>-piki-o* /mepauliki/ *nana'ote koɩ-dei.*
<to.talk>-AR-SG3.SB child ME-little
The baby is talking without any reason.

7.136 *<Pebinta>-piki-o* /mebintaliki/ *mia arau.*
<to.leave>-AR-SG3.SB person that
That person leaves for the slightest reason.

The fourth independent suffix is *-li.* This suffix marks the V-base for distributive mode (DS), which indicates that the action of the V-stem occurs randomly over time and/or space. For example:

7.137 *<Memata>-li-o* /mematali/ *i Ede.*
<to.look>-DS-SG3.SB PNM PN
Ede is letting his eyes wander in every direction.

7.138 *<Mehe^{ŋ}ge>-li-'aku* /mehe^{ŋ}geli'aku/.
<to.cough>-DS-SG1.SB
I have a bad spasmodic cough.

The fifth independent suffix is *-si.* This suffix marks the V-base for intense mode, which indicates an action or state that occurs to a greater degree than normal. For example:

7.139 *<Pekaru>-si-kita* /mekarusikita/ *ba i-um$_2$-kiki-kita* /ikikikita/
<to.scratch>-IS-PL1INC.SB if SG3.SB-SP.TR-to.bite-PL1INC.DO
tiporo.
mosquito
We scratch very hard and a lot when a mosquito bites us.

7.140 *<Pebinta>-si-o* /mebintasi/ *mia arau.*
<to.leave>-IS-SG3.SB person that
That person suddenly left.

7.141 *<Marero>-si-o* /marerosi/ *sa^{m}be'e-ku.*
<mischievous>-IS-SG3.SB friend-SG1.PS
My friend is very mischievous.

The sixth independent suffix is *-wi.* This suffix marks the V-base for continuative mode, which indicates an action that continues over a period of time through repetition or prolongation. For example:

7.142 *<Sinalo>-wi-o* /sinalowi/ *inahu.*
<to.be.mixed>-CT-SG3.SB vegetable
Many different vegetables are mixed together.

7.143 *I-<'uma^{n}du>-wi-o* /i'a^{n}duwio/ *kompo-ku.*
SG3.SB-<to.massage>-CT-SG3.DO belly-SG1.PS
She repeatedly massaged my belly.

This suffix has two allomorphs that occur singly on V-bases: *-wi,* as shown in examples 7.142 and 7.143, and *-ri,* as shown in example 7.144. The occurrence of these allomorphs is conditioned by the particular V-stems to which they are suffixed.

7.144 *Nana'ote arau <Peto^{n}da>-ri-o* /meto^{n}dari/ *aN-'ine-no* /a'ineno/.
child that <to.follow>-CT-SG3.SB LP-mother-SG3.PS
That child is always following his mother.

The seventh independent suffix of this subclass is *-ako$_1$.* This suffix allows the V-base to take an additional object occurring in the dative grammatical case. Regardless of the valency

of the V-base, this object is referred to as the indirect object (IO). The semantic case of this object may be benefactive, instrumental or associative. For example:

7.145 *O api <saki>-ako₁ /sakiako/ onae-no.*
CN fire <to.ignite>-IO SG3-SG3.PS
The fire started on its own.

7.146 *O sa^{n}du <Polaho>-ako₁ /molahoako/ mia ma-N-<haki> /mahaki/*
CN midwife <to.make.steam>-IO person IS-LK-<sickness>

<lewe>-N-<ta'u^{m}bu> /lewenta'u^{m}bu/.
<leaf>-LK-<k.o.leaf>
The midwife made a vapour for the sick by using *ta'u^{m}bu* leaves.

7.147 *<Po'ia>-ako₁-'aku /mo'iaako'aku/ karu mo-N-<bela> /mobela/.*
<to.reside>-IO-SG1.SB foot QL-LK-<wound>
I'm staying at home because of a wounded foot.

The eighth suffix of this subclass is *-ako₂*, which marks the V-base for the directional mode, in which the action of the V-stem is directed towards a location or goal. When the goal of the action is stated, it occurs in the grammatical locative case, which is marked by a locative prefix. For example:

7.148 *<Hawe>-ako₂-o /haweako/ i-Dale.*
<to.arrive>-DR-SG3.SB LP-PN
He went as far as Dale.

This suffix has six allomorphs: *-ako*, *-mako*, *-ŋako*, *-pako*, *-rako* and *-tako*. The occurrence of these allomorphs is conditioned by the particular V-stems, to which they are suffixed. For example:

7.149 *<Pekuu>-ako₂-o /mekuumako/ bou.*
<to.dive>-DR-SG3.SB fish
The fish dived downwards (and disappeared).

7.150 *Nahi i-<Ponto'ori>-ako₂ /iponto'oriŋako/ lele.*
not SG3.SB-<to.know>-DR news
He did not know about the news.

7.151 *Aku <Po'asi>-ako₂ /mo'asipako/ wunta*
SG1.F <to.clamp>-DR letter

aN-<'api>-N-<rere> /a'apirere/.
LP-<layer>-N-<wall>
I'm going to clamp this letter under one of the shingles that make up the wall.

7.152 *<Petutu>-ako₂-komiu /metuturakokomiu/ Pe₁-pa-<guru> /mepaguru/.*
<to.go.directly>-DR-SG2R.SB DE-CA-<teacher>
You are very diligent in your studies (lit. you are directed /focused/ without digressions in studying).

7.153 *<Po'ia>-ako₂-o /me'iatako/ ko^{m}bia-no.*
<to.reside>-DR-SG3.SB spouse-SG3.PS
Her husband catatonically stays in one place.

The ninth suffix of this subclass is *-lako*, which marks the V-base for the moving mode (MV), in which the action of the V-stem is executed while the referent of the subject is in motion. For example:

7.154 *<Tedupa>-lako-'aku* /tedupalako'aku/.
<to.bump.into.s.t.>-MV-SG1.SB
I groped around bumping into things.

7.155 *<Pesuu^{m}be>-lako-o* /mesuu^{m}belako/ *ama-no.*
<to.extend.both.legs>-MV-SG3.SB father-SG3.PS
His father played (with his children) by swinging them on his legs.

The suffixes *-ki*, *-kipi* and *-piki* are distinguished by the type of mode for which they mark the V-base. For example:

7.156 *<Peto^{n}da>-ki-o* /meto^{n}daki/ *uai-no.*
<to.follow>-EC-SG3.SB younger.sibling-SG3.PS
His younger brother follows any and everyone.

7.157 *<Peto^{n}da>-kipi-o* /meto^{n}dakipi/ *uai-no.*
<to.follow>-IS.EC-SG3.SB younger.sibling-SG3.PS
His younger brother too often follows any and everyone, whether it is proper or not, whether he has a reason or not.

7.158 *<Peto^{n}da>-piki-o* /meto^{n}dapiki/ *uai-no.*
<to.follow>-AR-SG3.SB younger.sibling-SG3.PS
His younger brother follows for any old reason.

The suffixes *-li*, *-wi* and *-si* are all very similar in meaning: *-li*, however, indicates that an irregular repetition of the V-base is dispersed over time or space, *-wi* indicates a regular repetition in one place, and *-si* indicates intensity which may modify the action as one intense act or a series of intense acts. For example:

7.159 *<Memata>-li-o* /mematali/ *i* *Ede.*
<to.look>-DS-SG3.SB PNM PN
Ede is letting his eyes wander in every direction.

7.160 *I-<'uma^{n}du>-wi-o* /i'a^{n}duwio/ *kompo-ku.*
SG3.SB-<to.massage>-CT-SG3.DO belly-SG1.PS
She repeatedly massaged my belly.

7.161 *<Pebinta>-si-o* /mebintasi/ mia *arau.*
<to.leave>-IS-SG3.SB person that
That person suddenly left.

The suffix *-ako$_{I}$* is distinguished from the others in this subclass in that it is the only one that enables the V-base to take an additional object, as demonstrated in the following example:

7.162 *O* *sa^{n}du* *<Polaho>-ako$_{I}$* /molahoako/ *mia* *ma-N-<haki>* /mahaki/
CN midwife <to.make.steam>-IO person IS-LK-<sickness>

<lewe>-N-<ta'u^{m}bu>/lewenta'u^{m}bu/.
<leaf>-LK-<k.o.leaf>
The midwife made a vapour for the sick by using *ta'u^{m}bu* leaves.

The suffixes *-ako*$_2$ and *-lako* contrast with one another in that *-ako*$_2$ indicates a direction towards a goal while *-lako* indicates movement without a specific direction, as demonstrated in the following examples:

7.163 *<Hawe>-ako*$_2$*-o* /haweako/ *i-Dale.*
<to.arrive>-DR-SG3.SB LP-PN
He went as far as Dale.

7.164 *<Tedupa>-lako-'aku* /tedupalako'aku/.
<to.bump.into.s.t.>-MV-SG1.SB
I groped around bumping into things.

7.2.5 SUBCLASS 5: DV-BASES FORMED BY COMPLEX MORPHEMES THAT ARE PREFIXED AND/OR INFIXED TO THE V-STEM

Subclass 5 consists of DV-bases that are formed by a V-stem derived from an N- or V-base and one of nineteen complex morphemes that are prefixed or infixed to the V-stem. (See Chart 7.5.)

Except for *ka*-BR$_2$- and *ko*$_2$-BR$_2$-, the initial prefix or infix of these complex morphemes or the prefix after BR$_1$ can occur singly on a V-stem and retains part or all of the semantic information that it carries as a single affix. These initial prefixes and infixes make the V-base a state or an action and mark it for transitivity and semantic case. Whenever the transitive prefix *PoN-* is listed as the initial prefix or the prefix after BR$_1$-, it can be substituted for the transitive infix *-um*$_2$- or the passive infix *-in-*.

7.2.5.1 DV-BASES UNMARKED AS STATES OR ACTIONS

There are two complex morphemes, *ka*-BR$_2$- and *ko*$_2$-BR$_2$-, that do not mark the V-base as a state or an action. With these two complex morphemes, if the V-stem is a state, then the V-base will be a state; if the V-stem is an action, the V-base will be either a de-emphasised, simple intransitive or antipassive action. When either of these complex morphemes occurs on a V-stem derived from a V-base, the initial prefix/infix of the V-stem is optionally deleted.

The complex morpheme *ka*-BR$_2$- occurs only on a few V-stems. It marks the V-base for intense mode, which indicates a state or an action that occurs to a degree greater than normal, or for intense continuative mode (IS.CT), which indicates a state or an action that continues without ever stopping. For example:

7.165 *Ka*-BR$_2$-*<Pentaea>-o* /kantaentaea/ *api.*
IS-<to.spread.out>-SG3.SB fire
The fire suddenly started and spread all over.

7.166 *Ka*-BR$_2$-*<lumpa>-o* /kalumpalumpa/ *pana'api.*
IS.CT-<to.bang>-SG3.SB gun
The guns were always making a banging sound.

CHART 7.5: COMPLEX MORPHEMES PREFIXED TO DV-STEMS

Complex morpheme	State/ action	Transitivity	Semantic case	Mode	V-stem
ka-BR$_2$[a]	———	———	———	intense intense continuative	states/actions
ko$_2$-BR$_2$[a]	———	———	———	excessive-continuative arbitrary-continuative	states/actions
N-BR$_1$-*mo-ko*$_1$-	state	———	objective	mitigated-observational	actions
maka-li-N-	state	———	objective	excessive-distributive	states
Pe$_1$-*um*$_1$-	action	de-emphasised	objective	continuative	states/actions
PoN-Pe$_1$-	action	transitive	experiential agentive	observational experiential	states states/actions
Pompe-BR$_2$-	action	simple intransitive	agentive	imitative	states/actions
um$_1$-BR$_1$-	action	simple intransitive	agentive	resembling	states
um$_1$-BR$_2$-	action	simple intransitive	agentive	continuative	states/actions
Pe$_2$-*te-*	action	antipassive	agentive	———	states/actions
PoN-Poko$_1$-*N-*[b]	action	transitive	agentive	aptative	actions
PoN-Po-[b]	action	transitive	agentive	simple causative intended-causative	states/actions states/actions
PoN-Poko$_2$-*N-*[b]	action	transitive	agentive	simple causative resembling-causative	states/actions states/actions
PoN-pa-[b]	action	transitive	agentive	simple causative specific-causative	states/actions states/actions
PoN-Pe$_2$-[b]	action	transitive	agentive	simple causative permanent-causative	states states
BR$_1$-*PoN-Po-*[b]	action	transitive	agentive	mitigated-causative	states/actions
PoN-pasi-N-[b]	action	transitive	agentive	unintended-causative	states/actions
Pe$_2$-*Pe*$_1$-	action	antipassive	agentive	requesting	states/actions
te-po-	action	reciprocal	objective	unintended	actions

a See section 7.2.5.1 for a discussion of transitivity and semantic case for these complex morphemes.

b The *PoN-* in these complex morphemes is the same generalised transitive prefix discussed in section 7.2.2.3 (see p.92). It may be substituted by the specific transitive infix *-um*$_2$-, or the passive infix *-in-*.

The complex morpheme *ko*$_2$-BR$_2$- occurs on a large number of V-stems. It marks the V-base for excessive continuative mode (EC.CT), in which an action or state continues beyond the normal limits, or for arbitrary continuative mode (AR.CT), in which an action or state occurs arbitrarily, often in the wrong manner, towards the wrong patient, without a proper reason, or without the proper skill. For example:

7.167 *Ko*$_2$-BR$_2$-*<rea>-o* /korearea/ *ulu-no.*
EC.CT-<blood>-SG3.SB head-SG3.PS
His head won't stop bleeding (lit. his head continued bleeding beyond normal expectations).

7.168 *Ko*$_2$-BR$_2$-*<lumpa>-o* /kolumpalumpa/ *pana'api.*
EC.CT-<to.bang>-SG3.SB gun
The guns were repeatedly making a banging sound to the point of excess.

7.169 *Ko*$_2$-BR$_2$-*<Peŋgere>-o* /koŋgereŋgere/ *dahu-no.*
AR.CT-<to.growl>-SG3.SB dog-SG3.SB
His dog is always growling at any and everything.

7.170 *Ko*$_2$-BR$_2$-*<Pepau>-o* /kopaupau/ *i Ede.*
AR.CT-<to.talk>-SG3.SB PNM PN
Ede constantly talks about things that he doesn't know anything about.

These two complex morphemes contrast in mode as demonstrated below:

7.171 *Ka*-BR$_2$-*<lumpa>-o* /kalumpalumpa/ *pana'api.*
IS.CT-<to.bang>-SG3.SB gun
The guns were always making a banging sound.

7.172 *Ko*$_2$-BR$_2$-*<lumpa>-o* /kolumpalumpa/ *pana'api.*
EC.CT-<to.bang>-SG3.SB gun
The guns were repeatedly making a banging sound to the point of excess.

7.2.5.2 DV-BASES MARKED AS STATES

Two of the complex morphemes in this subclass, *-N*-BR$_1$-*mo-ko*$_1$- and *maka-li-N-*, mark the V-base as a state and the subject NP as a patient. These two complex morphemes always occur with the linking *-N-*. When *-N-* occurs with *-N*-BR$_1$-*mo-ko*$_1$-, it is always prefixed to the first *ko-*.

The initial prefix of the V-stem is optionally deleted when prefixed by *-N*-BR$_1$-*mo-ko*$_1$- and always deleted when prefixed by *maka-li-N-* except when the initial prefix of the V-stem is *ma-* or *mo-*, in which case it is optionally deleted.

-N-BR$_1$-*mo-ko*$_1$-, which occurs as *moŋkoko-* according to Mp18, occurs on either active or stative V-stems, which are all derived from V-bases. It marks the V-base for mitigated observational mode (MT.OB), which indicates a mitigated state that is observed or perceived by either intuition, internal feeling, the senses or the intellect. For example:

7.173 *-N*-BR$_1$-*mo-ko*$_1$-*<Poturi>-'aku* /moŋkokoturi'aku/.
MT.OB-<to.sleep>-SG1.SB
I rather feel as if I could sleep.

7.174 *-N-*BR$_1$*-mo-ko$_1$-<Peŋese>-o* /moŋkokopeŋese/ *ine-no.*
MT.OB-<to.cry>-SG3.SB mother-SG3.PS
His mother rather felt as if she would cry.

7.175 *-N-*BR$_1$*-mo-ko$_1$-N-<te'eme>-o* /moŋkokonte'eme/ *ana-no.*
MT.OB-LK-<to.urinate>-SG3.SB child-SG3.PS
His child feels a little as if he has to urinate.

*-N-*BR$_1$*-mo-ko$_1$-* has been established as a unique complex morpheme, rather than BR$_1$ being prefixed to a V-stem prefixed by *mo-ko$_1$-* because *-N-*BR$_1$*-mo-ko$_1$-* occurs on many more V-stems than does *mo-ko$_1$-* .

The complex morpheme *maka-li* only occurs on V-stems that indicates states: *maka-li-N-* marks the V-base for excessive distributive mode, which indicates a state that occurs over time and/or space to the point of excess. For example:

7.176 *Maka-li-N-<pau>-o* /makalimpau/ *mia arau.*
EC.DS-<talk>-SG3.SB person that
That person does a lot of talking, a lot of which is not true.

7.177 *Maka-li-N-<'api>-o* /makali'api/ *wunta.*
EC.DS-<layer>-SG3.SB paper
The papers were piled in an extremely disorderly way.

These two complex morphemes contrast with each other and with *mo-ko$_1$-* and *maka-N-* in mode, as demonstrated in the following examples.

7.178 *-N-*BR$_1$*-mo-ko$_1$-<Poturi>-'aku* /moŋkokoturi'aku/.
MT.OB-<to.sleep>-SG1.SB
I rather feel as if I could sleep.

7.179 *Mo-ko$_1$-<ma'iso>-aku* /moko'iso'aku/.
OB-<stuffy>-SG1.SB
I am perspiring (lit. I am internally experiencing stuffiness).

7.180 *Maka-li-N-<'api>-o* /makali'api/ *wunta.*
EC.DS-<layer>-SG3.SB paper
The papers were piled in an extremely disorderly way.

7.181 *Maka-N-<lelua>-o* /makalelua/ *nana'ote.*
EC.DS-LK-<movement>-SG3.SB child
The child is squirming around (lit. the child has all kinds of movements).

7.2.5.3 DV-BASES MARKED AS ACTIONS

Fifteen of the complex morphemes in this subclass mark the V-base as an action: *Pe$_1$-um$_1$-*, *PoN-Pe$_1$-*, *Pompe-*BR$_2$-, *um$_1$*-BR$_1$-, *um$_1$*-BR$_2$-, *Pe$_2$-te-*, *PoN-Poko$_1$-N-*, *PoN-Po-*, *PoN-Poko$_2$-N-*, *PoN-pa-*, *PoN-Pe$_2$-*, BR$_1$*-PoN-Po-*, *PoN-pasi-N-*, *Pe$_2$-Pe$_1$-* and *te-po-*. Subsets of these complex morphemes also mark the V-base for transitivity, semantic case, and mode.

As mentioned earlier (see section 7.2.2.3), the *PoN-* in *PoN-Poko$_1$-N-*, *PoN-Po-*, *PoN-Poko$_2$-N*, *PoN-pa-*, *PoN-Pe$_2$-*, BR$_1$*-PoN-Po-* and *PoN-pasi-N-* is the generalised transitive

prefix, which may be substituted by the specific transitive infix *-um₂-* or the passive infix *-in-*.

Three of the complex morphemes, *PoN-Poko₁-N-*, *PoN-Poko₂-N-* and *PoN-pasi-N-*, occur with the linking *-N-*.

As demonstrated in Chart 7.6, the initial prefix or infix of the V-stem is either always deleted, optionally deleted or never deleted depending upon the complex morpheme, or in some cases, upon the initial prefix of the V-stem.

CHART 7.6: DELETION OF THE INITIAL PREFIX/INFIX OF THE V-STEM

Complex morpheme	Always deleted	Optionally deleted	Never deleted
Pe₁-um₁-	all	____	____
PoN-Pe₁-	1. *Pe₁-* 2. all except *Pe₂-*	____	____
Pompe-BR₂-	____	all	____
um₁-BR₁-	all	____	____
um₁-BR₂-	all	____	____
Pe₂-te-	all	____	____
PoN-Poko₁-N-	____	all	____
PoN-Po-	*PoN-*, *Po*-set of *Pe₂-*	all but *PoN*, *Po*-set of *Pe₂-*	____
PoN-Poko₂-N-	____	*Pe₁-*, *Pe₂-*	all but *Pe₁-*, *Pe₂-*
PoN-pa-	all	____	____
PoN-Pe₂-	all	____	____
BR₁-*PoN-Po-*	____	all	____
PoN-pasi-N-	____	all	____
Pe₂-Pe₁-	all but *ma-*, *mo-*	*ma-*, *mo-*	____

The first activising complex morpheme is *Pe₁-um₁-*, which occurs on V-stems that indicate states or actions. *Pe₁-um₁-* marks the V-base as a de-emphasised action in the continuative mode with the referent of the subject in the objective semantic case. For example:

7.182 *Pe₁-um₁-<'aŋi>-o* /me'umaŋi/ *ntu'u.*
CT-<wind>-SG3.SB very.much
It is really windy.

7.183 *Pe₁-um₁-<Poŋkaa>-o* /mekumaa/ *rasa-no.*
CT-<to.eat>-SG3.SB skin.disease-SG3.PS
His skin disease is spreading.

The second activising complex morpheme is *PoN-Pe$_1$-*. It marks the V-base as a transitive with the referent of the subject either in the experiential or agentive semantic case. It also marks the V-base for the observational mode, in which the referent of the subject perceives a state by intuition, internal feeling, the senses or the intellect. For example:

7.184 *PoN-Pe$_1$-<molea>-'aku* /mompemolea'aku/ *inahu.*
OB-<spicy>-SG1.SB vegetable
1. I perceive that the vegetables are spicy.
2. The vegetables seem spicy to me.

7.185 *PoN-Pe$_1$-<mo'ahi>-'aku* /mompemo'ahi'aku/ *saŋgara.*
OB-<sweet>-SG1.SB cookie
1. I perceive that the cookies are sweet.
2. The cookies seem sweet to me.

In a few isolated cases, the prefix of a V-base will be deleted when prefixed by *PoN-Pe$_1$-*. In these cases, the V-base is marked for testing mode (TS), in which a state is directly tested by tasting, touching or lifting. For example:

7.186 *PoN-Pe$_1$-<mo'ahi>-'aku* /mompe'ahi'aku/ *saŋgara.*
TS-<sweet>-SG1.SB cookie
I tried the cookies to see if they were sweet.

The third activising complex morpheme is *Pompe*-BR$_2$-, which occurs on V-stems that indicate states or actions. It marks the V-base as a simple intransitive action in the imitative mode (IM), in which the referent of the subject intentionally imitates the action or state of the V-stem. For example:

7.187 *Pompe*-BR$_2$-*<molea>-'aku* /mompemolemolea'aku/.
IM-<spicy>-SG1.SB
I was pretending that something was spicy.

7.188 *Pompe*-BR$_2$-*<Podoa>-o* /mompedoadoa/ *nana'ote.*
IM-<to.count>-SG3.SB child
The children are pretending to count.

The fourth activising complex morpheme is *um$_1$*-BR$_1$-, which occurs on V-stems that indicate states. It marks the V-base as a simple intransitive action in the mitigated resembling mode (MT.RS), in which the referent of the subject performs an action that somewhat resembles the state of the V-stem in a metaphoric way. The allomorph MR of BR$_1$ always occurs with this complex morpheme. For example:

7.189 *Um$_1$*-BR$_1$-*<taku'ihi>-'ira* /tumotaku'ihi'ira/ *o^{n}dae i Maama.*
MT.RS-<contents.of.a.gourd>-SG3R.SB SG3R PNM Uncle
Uncle plainly told us what was on his mind.

7.190 *Um$_1$*-BR$_1$-*<'a^{m}bau>-o* /umo'a^{m}bau/ *i Ede.*
MT.RS-<buffalo>-SG3.SB PNM PN
Ede is walking on all fours like a buffalo (i.e. crawling).

The fifth activising complex morpheme is *um$_1$*-BR$_2$-, which occurs on V-stems that indicate actions. It marks the V-base as simple intransitive in the continuative mode. For example:

7.191 *Um$_1$*-BR$_2$-<*Pehoŋi*>-*'ira* /humoŋihoŋi'ira/ *beine atuu.*
CT-<to.chatter>-DU3.SB woman that
Those two women are continually talking about everything.

7.192 *Um$_1$*-BR$_2$-<*Pe'ase*>-*o* /umase'ase/ *ko^{m}bia-no.*
CT-<to.gossip>-SG3.SB spouse-SG3.PS
His wife is continually gossiping.

The sixth activising complex morpheme is *Pe$_2$-te-*, which occurs on V-stems that indicate states and actions. It marks the V-base as an antipassive action. For example:

7.193 *Pe$_2$-te-*<*Pebaba*>-*'ira* /metebaba'ira/ *o^{n}dae i ue.*
AN-<be.carried.in.a.sarong>-SG3R.SB SG3R PNM grandparent
Grandmother was carrying (a child) slung in a sarong.

7.194 *Pe$_2$-te-*<*Pe'awi*>-*o* /mete'awi/ *i Sia.*
AN-<to.be.held.in.a.lap>-SG3.SB PNM PN
Sia held (someone) in her lap.

The seventh activising complex morpheme is *PoN-Poko$_1$-N-*, which occurs on V-stems derived from V-bases marked for a subject in the agentive semantic case. It marks the V-base as transitive in the aptative mode, in which the action of the V-base has a potential to occur. For example:

7.195 *PoN-Poko$_1$-N-*<*Ponaŋi*>-*o* /mompokonaŋi/ *iwali.*
AP-<to.win>-SG3.SB enemy
The enemy is capable of winning.

7.196 *PoN-Poko$_1$-N-*<*Pekule*>-*'aku* /mompokompekule'aku/ *koa.*
AP-<to.return>-SG1.SB EM
I can indeed return.

PoN-Poko$_1$-N- is treated as a complex morpheme here instead of the single prefix *PoN-* being prefixed to a V-stem beginning in *Poko$_1$-N-* because of the optional deletion of the initial prefix of the V-stem. When *Poko$_1$-* occurs singularly on a V-stem, the initial prefix of the V-stem is never deleted. (See section 7.2.3.2.)

The next seven complex morphemes of this subclass mark the V-base as transitive and causative with the referent of the subject in the agentive semantic case. Four of these, *PoN-Po-*, *PoN-Poko$_2$-N-*, *PoN-pa-* and *PoN-Pe$_2$-*, are very similar in meaning and contrast in only a few examples: *PoN-Po-* and *PoN-Poko$_2$-N-* occur most frequently. *PoN-Po-* primarily occurs on V-stems derived from transitive V-bases, whereas *PoN-Poko$_2$-N-* primarily occurs on V-stems derived from intransitive and stative V-bases. For example:

7.197 *I Sia PoN-Po-*<*Poŋkita*>-*o* /mompokita/ *le^{m}ba.*
PNM PN G.TR-CA-<to.see>-SG3.SB dress
Sia showed off some dresses.

7.198 *Ku-um$_2$-Poko$_2$-N-*<*Pekule*>-*o* /kupokompekuleo/ *nana'ote.*[23]
SG1.SB-SP.TR-CA-LK-<to.return>-SG3.DO child
I made the child return.

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[23] Note that in this example, as in many of the following examples, *PoN-* is replaced by *-um$_2$-* whenever the action or the direct object is specific. (See section 7.2.2.3, p.92 and section 7.2.5.3, p.109.)

They both, however, occur on V-stems derived from stative V-bases without affixation and from a set of intransitive V-bases. In many cases, there is not a difference in meaning between the V-bases prefixed by *PoN-Po-* or by *PoN-Poko$_2$-N-*. In other cases, *PoN-Po-* is used when an agent intentionally produces an action or state, (i.e. intended causative mode (ID.CA)), and *PoN-Poko$_2$-N-* is used when an action or state is produced without an agent (i.e. it is unmarked for intention), as demonstrated in examples 7.199 and 7.200. In other cases, *PoN-Po-* occurs on a V-base that is a real state/action, and *PoN-Poko$_2$-N-* marks the V-base for the resembling causative mode (RS.CA), in which an action or state is caused that metaphorically resembles the action or state of the V-stem, as demonstrated in examples 7.201 - 7.204.

7.199 *I Sia PoN-Po-<bote>-o* /mompobote/ *osole.*
PNM PN G.TR-ID.CA-<pop>-SG3.SB maize
Sia made the maize pop.

7.200 *O api PoN-Poko$_2$-N-<bote>-o* /mompokobote/ *osole.*
CT fire G.TR-CA-<pop>-SG3.SB maize
The fire made the corn pop.

7.201 *I-um$_2$-Po-<bebe>-o* /ipobebeo/ *mia Pe$_1$-<rasu>* /merasu/
SG3.SB-SP.TR-CA-<dumb>-SG3.DO person ASM-<poison>

nana'ote atuu.
child that
The witch made the child dumb.

7.202 *I-um$_2$-Poko$_2$-N-<bebe>-'aku* /ipokobebe'aku/ *mia arau.*
SG3.SB-SP.TR-RS.CA-<dumb>-SG1.DO person that
That person made me be quiet by humiliating me.

7.203 *PoN-Po-<tosi>-'aku* /mompotosi'aku/ *sala.*
G.TR-CA-<short>-SG1.SB path
I took a short cut.

7.204 *PoN-Poko$_2$-N-<tosi>-o* /mompokontosi/ *pau mia mo-<ta'u> atuu.*
G.TR-RS.CA-<short>-SG1.SB talk person QL-<year(s)> that
That elder says only the most essential.

The complex morpheme *PoN-pa-* occurs on a closed set of V-stems derived from transitive, intransitive and stative V-bases. As with the other two causative complex morphemes discussed above, there are many cases in which both *PoN-pa-* and another causative complex morpheme occur on the same V-stem with no difference in meaning. In these cases, *PoN-pa-* marks the V-base for the specific causative mode (SP.CA), in which the action or state is caused in a very specialised manner. For example, *PoN-pa-* is contrasted to *PoN-Po-* in examples 7.205 and 7.206, and to *PoN-Poko$_2$-N-* in examples 7.207 and 7.208.

7.205 *Ama-no PoN-pa-<ta^{n}da>* /mompata^{n}da/ *wala.*
father-SG3.PS G.TR-SP.CA-<high> fence
His father raised a few pickets on the fence.

7.206 *Ira meN-PoN-po-<ta^{n}da>* /mpompota^{n}da/ *wala mia.*
PL3.F PL-G.TR-CA-<high> fence person
The people are going to make the fence higher.

7.207 *PoN-pa-<monoŋko>-o* /mompanoŋko/ *anu uai.*
G.TR-SP.CA-<light.in.weight>-SG3.SB that younger.sibling
The youngest put things in order.

7.208 *PoN-Poko₂-N-<monoŋko>-o* /mompokomononko/
G.TR-CA-LK-<light.in.weight>-SG3.SB

-in-<te^{m}bi> /tine^{m}bi/ *ama-no.*
-PSS-<to.carry.on.back> father-SG3.PS
His father lightened the load that was being carried.

The complex morpheme *PoN-Pe₂-* occurs on V-stems that are prefixed by *Pe₁-* or *Pe₂-* and on a few stative V-stems. Again *PoN-Pe₂-* contrasts with the other causative complex morphemes only in a few examples in which it marks the V-base for the permanent causative mode (PM.CA), in which a permanent state is caused. For example:

7.209 *Onae PoN-Pe₂-<rete>* /momperete/ *wala.*
SG3 G.TR-PM.CA-<even> fence
He is the one who makes fences even (when he builds them).

7.210 *Onae PoN-Po-<rete>* /momporete/ *wala.*
SG3 G.TR-CA-<even> fence
He is the one who makes fences even (to repair them).

7.211 *Aku PoN-Pe₂-<mo'ito>* /mompe'ito/ *te^{m}bi.*
SG1.F G.TR-PM.CA-<black> kind.of.bark
I'm going to blacken the *te^{m}bi* bark (e.g. by putting it out in the rain to mould).

7.212 *PoN-Poko₂-N-<mo'ito>-o* /mompokomo'ito/ *rupa-no nana'ote.*
G.TR-CA-LK-<black> -SG3.SB face-SG3.PS child
The child blackened his face (e.g. with soot).

The last three causative complex morphemes of this subclass all vary in the type of mode with which they mark the V-base.

BR₁*-PoN-Po-* occurs on V-stems that indicate states and actions. It marks the V-base for mitigated causative mode (MT.CA), that is, as a state or action that is indirectly caused. Within the context of a sentence, it often refers to demonstrated actions, accidental actions that have agents, or actions that indirectly cause a situation. For example:

7.213 BR₁*-PoN-Po-<Pepuai>-o* /mompopopuai/ *ompeo i Sia.*
MT.CA-<be.put.in.sun>-SG3.SB mat PNM PN
1. Sia accidentally put the mats in the sun.
2. Sia demonstrated how to put mats in the sun.

7.214 BR₁*-PoN-Po-<Poŋkita>-o* /mompopokita/ *pa^{n}de-no nana'ote.*
MT.CA-<to.see>-SG3.SB cleverness-SG3.PS child
The child let everyone see how clever he is.

7.215 BR_1-*PoN-Po-<Po'inu>-'ira* /mompopo'inu'ira/ *totoka* *o^{n}dae* *i*
MT.CA-<to.drink>-SG3R.SB guest SG3R PNM

Naina.
Aunt
Aunt gives her guests something to drink.

As demonstrated in these examples, when *PoN-Po-* is reduplicated the second *PoN-* is deleted according to rule Mp24. BR_1-*PoN-Po-* is considered to be a complex morpheme rather than the single prefix BR_1- prefixed to a V-stem beginning with *PoN-Po-* because BR_1-*PoN-Po-* occurs on many more V-stems than does *PoN-Po-*.

PoN-pasi-N- occurs on V-stems marked for agentive case. It marks the V-base for a causative action that is unintentionally or accidentally produced by an agent, that is, the unintended causative mode (UID.CA). For example:

7.216 *I-um$_2$-pasi-N-<Poŋkita>-o* /ipasiŋkitao/ *ba-hapa-no*
SG3.SB-SP.TR-UID.CA-LK-<to.see>-SG3.DO if-whatever-SG3.PS

mia.
person
He accidentally saw someone's genitals.

7.217 *PoN-pasi-<Pompuai>-o* /mompasipuai/ *ompeo.*
G.TR-UID.CA-<to.put.in.the.sun>-SG3.SB mat
He accidentally put the mat in the sun.

The fourteenth activising complex morpheme of this subclass is *Pe$_2$-Pe$_1$-*, which occurs on V-stems that indicate states and actions. *Pe$_2$-Pe$_1$-* marks the V-base as an antipassive action in requesting mode (RQ), in which an action is asked to be executed or a state is asked to be produced. For example:

7.218 *Pe$_2$-Pe$_1$-<Pebaba>-o* /mepebaba/ *i* *Ele.*
RQ-<to.be.carried.in.a.sarong>-SG3.SB PNM PN
Ele asked to be carried in a sarong.

7.219 *Pe$_2$-Pe$_1$-<Po'olu>-'aku* /mepe'olu'aku/ *aN-pe-tao-a* /ampetaoa/.
RQ-<to.invite>-SG1.SB LP-NM-marry-NM
I asked to be invited to the wedding.

V-stems beginning with *Pe$_2$-Pe$_1$-* can, in turn, be prefixed by the transitive prefix PoN- or transitive infix *-um$_2$-*. For example:

7.220 *Ku-um$_2$-<Pepebaba>-o* /kupepebabao/ *i* *Ele.*
SG1.SB-SP.TR-<to.ask.to.be.carried.in.a.sarong>-SG3.DO PNM PN
I asked that Ele be carried in a sarong.

7.221 *Ku-um$_2$-<Pepe'olu>-o* /kupepe'oluo/ *uai-ku.*
SG1.SB-SP.TR-<to.ask.to.be.invited>-SG3.DO younger.sibling-SG1.PS
I asked that my younger brother be invited.

The last activising complex morpheme *te-po-* occurs on V-stems that indicate states and actions. It marks the V-base as a reciprocal action in the unintended mode. For example:

7.222 *Te-po-<Pemata>-'ira* /tepomata'ira/.
UID.RC-<to.gaze>-PL3.SB
Their eyes met (accidentally).

7.223 *Te-po-<Pe'odo>-ira* /tepo'odo'ira/.
UID.RC-<to.bend.over>-PL3.SB
They accidentally bent over at the same time and bumped heads.

The following complex morphemes are distinguished one from another in semantic case or mode.

Pe$_1$-um$_1$- and *te-po-* contrast with the other activising complex morphemes in that they do not mark the V-base for having the referent of the subject in the agentive semantic case. *Pe$_1$-um$_1$-* marks it as a de-emphasised action with the referent of the subject in the objective semantic case, and *te-po-* marks it for a reciprocal action with the referent of the subject in a combined agentive and objective semantic case. For example:

7.224 *Pe$_1$-um$_1$-<Poŋkaa>-o* /mekumaa/ *rasa-no.*
CT-<to.eat>-SG3.SB skin.disease-SG3.PS
His skin disease is spreading.

7.225 *Te-po-<Pemata>-'ira* /tepomata'ira/.
UID.RC-<to.gaze>-PL3.SB
Their eyes met (accidentally).

Pompe-BR$_2$-, *-um$_1$*-BR$_1$- and *-um$_1$*-BR$_2$- all mark the V-base as a simple intransitive action but differ in mode: *Pompe*-BR$_2$- marks it for imitative mode, *-um$_1$*-BR$_1$- for mitigated resembling mode, and *-um$_1$*-BR$_2$- for continuative mode. For example:

7.226 *Pompe*-BR$_2$-*<molea>-'aku* /mompemolemolea'aku/.
IM-<spicy>-SG1.SB
I was pretending that something was spicy.

7.227 *Pompe*-BR$_2$-*<guru>-o* /mompeguruguru/ *nana'ote.*
IM-<teacher>-SG3.SB child
The child is pretending to be a teacher.

7.228 *-um$_1$*-BR$_1$-*<'a^{m}bau>-o* /umo'a^{m}bau/ *i* *Ede.*
MT.RS-<buffalo>-SG3.SB PNM PN
Ede is walking on all fours like a buffalo (i.e. crawling).

7.229 *-um$_1$*-BR$_2$-*<Pe'ase>-o* /umase'ase/ *ko^{m}bia-no.*
CT-<to.gossip>-SG3.SB spouse-SG3.PS
His wife is continually gossiping.

Pe$_2$-te- and *Pe$_2$-Pe$_1$-* both mark the V-base as an antipassive action. However, *Pe$_2$-te-* leaves the V-base unmarked for mode, whereas *Pe$_2$-Pe$_1$-* marks it for requesting mode. For example:

7.230 *Pe$_2$-te-<Pebaba>-'ira* /metebaba'ira/ *o^{n}dae* *i* *ue.*
AN-<be.carried.in.a.sarong>-SG3R.SB SG3R PNM grandparent
Grandmother was carrying a child slung in a sarong.

7.231 *Pe$_2$-Pe$_1$-<Pebaba>-o* /mepebaba/ *i* *Ele.*
RQ-<to.be.carried.in.a.sarong>-SG3.SB PNM PN
Ele asked to be carried in a sarong.

The remaining prefixes are all transitive. *PoN-Pe$_1$-* and *PoN-Poko$_1$-N-* contrast with the other transitive complex morphemes in that they do not mark the V-base for causation. *PoN-Pe$_1$-* marks the V-base for observational mode, whereas *PoN-Poko$_1$-N-* marks it for aptative mode. For example:

7.232 *PoN-Pe$_1$-<molea>-'aku* /mompemolea'aku/ *inahu.*
OB-<spicy>-SG1.SB vegetable
1. I perceive that the vegetables are spicy.
2. The vegetables seem spicy to me.

7.233 *PoN-Poko$_1$-N-<Pekule>-'aku* /mompokompekule'aku/ *koa.*
AP-<to.return>-SG1.SB EM
I can indeed return.

7.234 *Ku-um$_2$-Poko$_2$-N-<Pekule>-o* /kupokompekuleo/ *nana'ote.*
SG1.SB-CA-LK-<to.return>-SG3.DO child
I made the children return.

The remaining complex morphemes are all causative and can all mark the V-base for simple causative mode. However, they occasionally contrast with one another by marking the V-base for a specific causative mode: *PoN-Po-* can mark the V-base for intended causative mode, *PoN-Poko$_2$-N-* for resembling causative mode, *PoN-pa-* for specific causative mode, *PoN-Pe$_2$-* for permanent causative mode, BR$_1$-*PoN-Po-* for mitigated causative mode, and *PoN-pasi-N-* for unintended causative mode. The following examples demonstrate the changes in meaning when these different causative complex morphemes are used on the same V-stem:

7.235 *I* *Sia* *PoN-Po-<bote>-o* /mompobote/ *osole.*
PNM PN ID.CA-<pop>-SG3.SB maize
Sia made the maize pop.

7.236 *O* *api* *PoN-Poko$_2$-N-<bote>-o* /mompokobote/ *osole.*
CT fire G.TR-CA-<pop>-SG3.SB maize
The fire made the corn pop.

7.237 *Ama-no* *PoN-pa-<ta^{n}da>* /mompata^{n}da/ *wala.*
father-SG3.PS G.TR-SP.CA-<high> fence
His father raised a few pickets on the fence.

7.238 *Ira* *meN-PoN-Po-<ta^{n}da>* /mpompota^{n}da/ *wala* *mia.*
PL3.F PL-G.TR-CA-<high> fence person
The people are going to make the fence higher.

7.239 *Onae* *PoN-Pe$_2$-<rete>* /momperete/ *wala.*
SG3 G.TR-PM.CA-<even> fence
He is the one who makes fences even (when he builds them).

7.240 *Onae* *PoN-Po-<rete>* /momporete/ *wala.*
SG3 G.TR-CA-<even> fence
He is the one who makes fences even (to repair them).

7.241 *Aku* *PoN-Pe$_2$-<mo'ito>* /mompe'ito/ *te^{m}bi.*
SG1.F G.TR-PM.CA-<black> kind.of.bark
I'm going to blacken the *te^{m}bi* bark (e.g. by putting it out in the rain to mould).

7.242 *PoN-Poko$_2$-N-<mo'ito>-o* /mompokomo'ito/ *rupa-no* *nana'ote.*
G.TR-CA-LK-<black>-SG3.SB face-SG3.PS child
The child blackened his face (e.g. with soot).

7.243 *Aku* *PoN-Po-<Pobo^{n}de>* /mompobo^{n}de/ *nana'ote.*
SG1.F G.TR-CA-<to.weed.with.spade> child
I am going to make the children weed with a spade.

7.244 *Aku* BR$_1$-*PoN-Po-<Pobo^{n}de>* /mompopobo^{n}de/ *nana'ote.*
SG1.F MT.CA-<to.weed.with.spade> child
I am going to show the children how to weed with a spade.

7.245 BR$_1$-*PoN-Po-<Poŋkita>-o* /mompopokita/ *pa^{n}de-no* *nana'ote.*
MT.CA-<to.see>-SG3.SB cleverness-SG3.PS child
The child let everyone see how clever he is.

7.246 *I-um$_2$-pasi-N-<Poŋkita>-o* /ipasiŋkitao/ *ba-hapa-no*
SG3.SB-SP.TR-UID.CA-LK-<to.see>-SG3.DO if-whatever-SG3.PS
mia.
person
He accidentally saw someone's genitals.

7.2.6 SUBCLASS 6: DV-BASES FORMED BY CIRCUMFIXES THAT ARE PREFIXED AND SUFFIXED TO THE V-STEM

Subclass 6 consists of DV-bases that are formed by a V-stem derived from a V-base and one of ten circumfixes. (See Chart 7.7.)

As shown above, all of the circumfixes of this subclass except *Pe$_1$-ako$_1$* occur on V-stems derived from V-bases that indicate states or actions. Four of these circumfixes, *PoN-i*, *PoN-hi*, *PoN-pi* and *PoN-ari*, mark the V-base as transitive, *Pe$_1$-ako$_1$* marks it as de-emphasised, and the rest mark it as reflexive.

The initial *PoN-* of the first four circumfixes can be substituted with the infixes *-um$_2$-* or *-in-* or the complex morpheme *PoN-Pe$_2$-*, depending upon the new information of the clause in which it occurs and the intention of the speaker.

If the initial prefix or infix of the V-stem is any prefix or infix except *Pe$_1$-*, *Pe$_2$-* or *PoN-*, it is always deleted when circumfixed by any of the circumfixes except *PoN-ari*. When the initial prefix is *Pe$_1$-*, *Pe$_2$-* or *PoN-*, then it is optionally deleted. When *PoN-ari* is circumfixed to a V-stem, the initial prefix/infix of the V-stem is always deleted except when prefixed by *mo-*, *ma-*, *Pe$_1$-*, *Pe$_2$-* or *PoN-*. When the initial prefix of a V-stem circumfixed by *Pon-ari* is *mo-*, *ma-*, *Pe$_1$-*, *Pe$_2$-* or *PoN-*, the initial prefix is optionally deleted.

CHART 7.7: CIRCUMFIXES ATTACHED TO DV-STEMS

Circumfix	State/ action	Transitivity	Semantic case Subject	Direct Object	Mode	V-stem
PoN-i	action	transitive	agentive	locative, objective	_____	states or intransitive actions
			agentive	objective	restricted	transitive actions
			agentive		directional, causative	states/actions (closed set)
PoN-hi	action	transitive	agentive	locative, objective	1. causative 2. restricted 3. unintended 4. intense	states/actions (closed set)
PoN-pi	action	transitive	agentive	objective	continuative	states/actions (closed set)
PoN-ari	action	transitive-reflexive	agentive/ objective	locative	causative	states actions
Pe$_2$-li	action	reflexive	agentive	_____	distributive	states/actions (closed set)
Pe$_1$-ako$_1$	action	de-emphasised	objective	instrumental	_____	states
Pe$_1$-ako$_2$	action	reflexive	agentive/ objective	_____	1. simple manner, causative 2. directional, causative	states/actions (closed set)
Pe$_1$-hako	action	reflexive	agentive/ objective	_____	intense, causative	states/actions
Pe$_1$-sako	action	reflexive	agentive/ objective	_____	abrupt, causative	states/actions
Pe$_1$-lako	action	reflexive	agentive/ objective	_____	moving	states

The first circumfix of this subclass is *PoN-i*, which occurs on an open set of V-stems. *PoN-i* marks the referent of the subject of the verb as being in the agentive semantic case and the referent of the direct object as being in the objective or locative semantic case. *PoN-i* does not mark it for mode on most stative and intransitive V-stems, as demonstrated in the following examples:

7.247 *Aku PoN-<moŋkuni>-i* /moŋkunii/ *le^{m}ba.*
SG1.F G.TR-<to.be.yellow>-LS blouse
I'm going to make the blouses yellow.

7.248 *Bonto-um$_2$-<Pesala>-i-o* /mesalaio/ *pewowa*
aristocrat-SP.TR-<make.a.path>-LS-SG3.DO doorway

-in-weweu-ku /wineweuku/.
PSS-made-SG1.PS
The aristocrat went through the doorway that I made.

When it occurs on transitive V-stems and on a few intransitive and stative V-stems, it marks the V-base for restricted mode (RT), in which an action is either restricted or specialised or directed toward a restricted or specialised object. For example:

7.249 *Aku-um$_2$-<Ponsiŋgeraha>-i-'ira* /sumiŋgerahai'ira/ *o^{n}dae i Naina.*
SG1.F-SP.TR -<to.visit>-RT-SG3R.DO SG3R PNM Aunt
I'm going to visit Aunt.

7.250 *Aku-um$_2$-<Pentoro>-i-o* /mentoroio/ *ompeo po-turi-a-ku.*
SG1.F-SP.TR-<to.sit>-RT-SG3.DO mat NM-sleep-NM-SG1.PS
I'm going to sit on my sleeping mat.

7.251 **aku mentoroio kadera.*
chair

7.252 *Ku-um$_2$-<modato>-i-o* /kudatoio/ *wita.*
SG1.SB-SP.TR-<to.be.dense>-RT-SG3.DO ground
I'm indirectly making the ground firm (indicating over a period of time).

On a few V-stems prefixed by *Pe$_1$-*, *PoN-i* marks the V-base for causative and directional mode, in which the state of the V-stem is directed towards or away from a goal. For example:

7.253 *Moiko ba to-PoN-<Pewuku>-i* /topompewukui/ *bou ari.*
good if PL1INC.SB-G.TR-<to.have.bones>-DR fish first
It's good if we debone the fish first.

The second circumfix of this subclass is *PoN-hi*, which occurs on a closed set of V-stems. When the V-stem is stative or intransitive, *PoN-hi* marks the V-base for causative mode with the referent of the subject in the agentive semantic case and the referent of the direct object in either the objective or locative semantic case. For example:

7.254 *Ku-um$_2$-<motea>-hi-o* /kuteahio/ *mia arau.*
SG1.SB-CA-<stiff>-LS-SG3.DO person that
I encouraged that person.

7.255 *Aku* *Pe$_1$-kule* /mekule/ *-um$_2$-<Pemata>-hi-o* /mematahio/ *oleo*
SG1.F RF-return -CA-<to.have.a.source>-LS-SG3.DO day

laŋkai.
big
I'm going to return on Christmas Day.

When it occurs on transitive V-stems, it marks the V-base for restricted mode and often for causative mode. For example:

7.256 *Do-meN-um$_2$-<Podulu>-hi-o* /domeduluhio/ *i* *Ali*
PL3.SB-PL-SP.TR-<to.take.turns>-RT-SG3.DO PNM PN

anu *ka* *do-meN-MR<Petidu>* /dompetitidu/.
that when PL3.SB-PL-CT-<to.hit.each.other.with.fists (once)>
They took turns beating Ali when they got into a (fist)fight.

PoN-hi has seven different allomorphs. The first member *PoN-* remains the same or may be replaced by *PoN-Pe$_2$-*. The second member *-hi* occurs as *-hi*, *-ki*, *-mi*, *-ŋi*, *-pi*, *-ri* and *-ti*. The occurrence of these allomorphs is conditioned by the V-stem with which it occurs. For example:

7.257 *Ira* *PoN-Pe$_2$-<molue>-hi* /mompeluehi/ *lere-do.*
PL3.F G.TR-CA-<to.be.wide>-OC farm-SG3.PS
They are going to widen their fields.

7.258 *Nana'ote* *arau* *i-um$_2$-<Pebee>-hi-o* /ipebeekio/ *ama-no.*
child that SG3.SB-SP.TR-<to.cry>-OC-SG3.DO father-SG3.PS
The child cried for his father.

7.259 *PoN-<montaso>-hi-'ira* /montasomi'ira/ *owu* *o^{n}dae* *i* *Maama.*
CA-<to.be.sharp>-OC-SG3R.SB machete SG3R PNM Uncle
Uncle sharpens machetes.

7.260 *Si* *Ø-um$_2$-<masola>-hi-o* /solaŋio/ *sipeda-ku!*
don't SG2.IT-CA-<to.be.damaged>-OC-SG3.DO bicycle-SG3.PS
Don't damage my bicycle!

7.261 *Ku-um$_2$-<modato>-hi-o* /kudatopio/ *wita.*
SG1.SB-CA-<to.be.dense>-OC-SG3.DO ground
I made the ground solid (by direct action).

7.262 *I-um$_2$-<mosia>-hi-o* /isiario/ *wali-no.*
SG3.SB-CA-<to.be.brave>-OC-SG3.DO friend-SG3.PS
He ordered his friend to fight (be brave).

7.263 *Woŋi* *anu-um$_2$-<madara>-hi-'aku* /dumarasi'aku/.
night that-CA-<hurried>-OC-SG1.DO
It was the night that hurried me.

7.264 *Mia* *arau* *PoN-<buke>-hi-o* /mobuketi/ *taru.*
person that CA-<full>-OC-SG3.DO basket
That person filled the basket.

In one case *-ni* occurs as a variation of the allomorph *-ti*, as shown in the following two examples:

7.265 *Aku* *PoN-<Peroŋa>-hi* /moroŋani/ *mia* *meN-Pe$_1$-tao* /mpetao/
SG1.F CA-<to.join>-OC person PL-RC-marry

ba *aku* *Pe$_1$-tao* /metao/.
if SG1.F RC-marry
I'm going to join the people getting married if I get married.

7.266 *Kita* *PoN-<Peroŋa>-hi* /moroŋati/ *mia* *meN-Pe$_1$-tao* /mpetao/.
PL2INC.F CA-<to.join>-OC person PL-RC-marry
We are going to join the people in getting married.

In a few cases, *PoN-hi* may also mark the V-base for simple causative along with either unintended mode or intense mode. For example:

7.267 *PoN-<Pentoro>-hi-'aku* /mompentoroki'aku/ *rege.*
CA-<to.sit>-UID-SG1.SB mud
I accidentally sat on some mud.

7.268 *Ku-um$_2$-<mobea>-hi-o* /kubeatio/ *-in-te^{m}bi* /tine^{m}bi/.
SG1.SB-CA-<to.be.heavy>-IS-SG3.DO -PSS-to.carry.on.the.back
I made the load on my back heavier.

The third circumfix of this subclass is *PoN-pi*, which occurs on only one V-stem, *Ponahu* 'to cook'. *PoN-pi* marks the V-base for the continuative mode. For example:

7.269 *I* *Sia* *PoN-<Ponahu>-pi* /momponahupi/ *mia* *anu*
PNM PN G.TR-<to.cook>-CT person that

meN-PoN-'a^{ŋ}ga /mpo'a^{ŋ}ga/.
PL-G.TR-work
Sia is the cook for the people who are working.

The fourth circumfix is *PoN-ari*, which occurs on an open set of V-stems. It marks the V-base as a transitive-reflexive action in the simple causative mode, in which the referent of the subject causes an action to be done to him/herself in a particular place. The referent of the subject is, therefore, in the combined agentive/objective semantic case, and the referent of the direct object is in the locative semantic case. For example:

7.270 *Kita-um$_2$-Pe$_1$-<maroa>-ari-o* /memaroaario/ *bansala.*
PL1INC.F-TR.RF-CA-<to.be.merry>-LS-SG3.DO meeting.hall
We are going to make ourselves merry in the meeting hall.

7.271 *Ama-no-um$_2$-<Pentoro>-ari-o* /mentoroario/ *kadera.*
father-SG3.PS-TR.RF-CA-<to.sit>-LS-SG3.DO chair
His father sat in the chair (lit. his father caused himself to sit in a chair).

The fifth circumfix is *Pe$_1$-li*, which occurs on a closed set of V-stems. It marks the V-base as a reflexive action in the distributive mode, in which the action or state occurs repeatedly over time and space. For example:

7.272 *Pe$_1$-<modi^{ŋ}ge>-li-o* /medi^{ŋ}geli/ *mia* *arau.*
RF-<to.limp>-DS-SG3.SB person that
That person persevered by limping all over.

7.273 *Pe$_1$-<modoko>-li-o* /medokoli/ *ana-no.*
RF-<greedy>-DS-SG3.SB child-SG3.PS
Her child is greedy for everything.

The sixth circumfix is *Pe$_1$-ako$_1$*, which occurs on a closed set of stative V-stems. It marks the V-base as a de-emphasised action in which the referent of the subject is in the objective semantic case and a direct object is in the instrumental semantic case (IL). For example:

7.274 *Mata-no* *Pe$_1$-<'iti>-ako$_1$-o* /me'itiako/ *rea* *haŋa-no*
eye-SG3.PS DE-<to.drip>-IL-SG3.SB blood reason-SG3.PS

te-<Poduhu>-o.
UID-<pierce>-SG3.SB
His eyes were dripping blood because they were accidentally pierced.

7.275 *Pe$_1$-<maliga>-ako$_1$-'aku* /meligaako'aku/ *pakuli.*
DE-<healthy>-IL-SG1.SB medicine
I became healthy with medicine.

The seventh circumfix is *Pe$_1$-ako$_2$*, which occurs on a closed set of stative and intransitive V-stems. It marks the V-base either as a de-emphasised or a reflexive action in directional mode or in simple manner mode (MN), in which the referent of the subject makes him/herself perform an action in the manner of the V-stem. This circumfix does not mark the V-base for a direct object. For example:

7.276 *Pe$_1$-<tepoli>-ako$_2$-o* /metepoliako/ *-um-lako* /lumako/
RF-<possible>-DR-SG3.SB -INT-go

aN-pe-tao-a /ampetaoa/.
LP-NM-marry-NM
She made it possible for herself to go to the wedding.

7.277 *Pe$_1$-<monoŋko>-ako$_2$-o* /menoŋkoako/ *-um$_1$-lako* /lumako/
RF-<light>-MN-SG3.SB -INT-go

ine-no.
mother-SG3.PS
His mother made an effort to go quietly.

The second member of this circumfix has four allomorphs: *-mako*, *-ŋako*, *-pako* and *-rako*, as demonstrated in the following examples:

7.278 *Pe$_1$-<melaho>-ako$_2$-o* /melakomako/ *ingoreno*
DE-<to.be.steamy>-MN-SG3.SB her.fritters

i *Sia.*
PNM PN
The aromas of Sia's fritters travelled (outwards) into another room.

7.279 *Pe$_1$-<meŋkaa>-ako$_2$-o* /mekaaŋako/ *i* *Sia.*
RF-<to.be.alert>-MN-SG3.SB PNM PN
Sia awoke and listened.

7.280 *Pe$_1$-<mansolo>-ako$_2$-'aku* /mesolorako'aku/ *PoN-'aŋga* /mo'aŋga/.
RF-<quick>-MN-SG1.SB G.TR-work
I made an effort to quickly work.

7.281 *Pe$_1$-<molusa>-ako$_2$-'aku* /melusapako'aku/.
RF-<to.be.soft>-MN-SG1.SB
I politely excused myself (from working).

The eighth circumfix is *Pe$_1$-hako*, which occurs on an open set of V-stems. It marks the V-base as a reflexive action in intense mode. For example:

7.282 *Pe$_1$-<ta^{n}de>-hako-'aku* /meta^{n}dehako'aku/.
RF-<to.be.high>-IS-SG1.SB
I made an effort to stand up straight.

7.283 *Pe$_1$-<molusa>-hako-'ira* /melusahako'ira/ *o^{n}dae i Ama.*
RF-<to.be.soft>-IS-SG3R.SB SG3R PNM Father
Father made an effort to be polite (to avoid fighting).

The ninth circumfix is *Pe$_1$-sako*, which occurs on an open set of V-stems. It marks the V-base as a reflexive action in abrupt mode (AB), in which the action or state of the V-stem is abruptly executed. For example:

7.284 *Pe$_1$-<molusa>-sako-o* /melusasako/ *i Ali.*
RF-<to.be.soft>-AB-SG3.SB PNM PN
Ali suddenly made himself go limp.

7.285 *Pe$_1$-<ta^{n}de>-sako-'aku* /meta^{n}desako'aku/.
RF-<to.be.high>-AB-SG1.SB
I suddenly made myself stand up straight.

The last circumfix of this subclass is *Pe$_1$-lako*, which occurs on a small closed set of V-stems. It marks the V-base as a reflexive action in moving mode (MV), in which the agent makes him/herself move in the manner of the V-stem. For example:

7.286 *Aku Pe$_1$-<magasi>-lako* /megasilako/ *-um$_1$-lako* /lumako/
SG1.F RF-<to.be.fast>-MV -INT-go

PoN-kita /moŋkita/ *mia PoN-'a^{ŋ}ga* /mo'a^{ŋ}ga/.
G.TR-see person G.TR-work
I will make myself move quickly so that I can go and see the people working.

7.287 *Pe$_1$-<ta^{n}de>-lako-o* /meta^{n}delako/ *nana'ote.*
RF-<to.be.high>-MV-SG3.SB child
The child jumped up and down.

These circumfixes are distinguished one from another in terms of semantic case and mode. *PoN-i* and *PoN-hi* both mark the V-base for restricted mode (i.e. for a specialised action or object). When they contrast, *PoN-i* usually indicates the most restricted or marked use of the V-stem. For example:

7.288 *I Naina -um$_2$-<Pemata>-i-o* /memataio/ *ompeo.*
PNM Aunt CA-<to.have.a.pattern>-RT-SG3.DO mat
Aunt put a pattern in the mat.

7.289 *Aku* *Pe$_1$-kule* /mekule/ *-um$_2$-<Pemata>-hi-o* /mematahio/ *oleo*
SG1.F RF-return CA-<to.have.a.source>-LS-SG3.DO day

laŋkai.
big
I'm going to return on Christmas Day.

7.290 *I-um$_2$-<Pekule>-i-o* /ipekuleio/ *daŋke-no.*
SG3.SB-SP.TR-<to.return>-RT-SG3.DO sweetheart-SG3.PS
He returned to his girlfriend (after breaking up).

7.291 *I-um$_2$-<Pekule>-hi-o* /ipekuletio/ *ko^{m}bia-no.*
SG3.SB-SP.TR-<to.return>-RT-SG3.DO spouse-SG3.PS
He returned to his wife.

7.292 *Ku-um$_2$-<modato>-i-o* /kudatoio/ *wita.*
SG1.SB-CA-<to.be.dense>-RT-SG3.DO ground
I'm indirectly making the ground firm (indicating over a period of time).

7.293 *Ku-um$_2$-<modato>-hi-o* /kudatopio/ *wita.*
SG1.SB-CA-<to.be.dense>-OC-SG3.DO ground
I made the ground solid (by direct action).

PoN-i and *PoN-hi* also contrast in that *PoN-i* can indicate intention while *PoN-hi* can indicate a lack of intention (i.e. unintended mode). For example:

7.294 *Aku-um$_2$-<Pentoro>-i-o* /mentoroio/ *ompeo po-turi-a-ku.*
SG1.F-SP.TR-<to.sit>-RT-SG3.DO mat NM-sleep-NM-SG1.PS
I'm going to sit on my sleeping mat.

7.295 *PoN-<Pentoro>-hi-'aku* /mompentoroki'aku/ *rege.*
CA-<to.sit>-UID-SG1.SB mud
I accidentally sat on some mud.

PoN-pi contrasts with the other circumfixes in that it marks the V-base for continuation, as demonstrated in the following example:

7.296 *I* *Sia* *PoN-<Ponahu>-pi* /momponahupi/ *mia* *anu*
PNM PN G.TR-<to.cook>-CT person that

meN-PoN-'aŋga /mpo'aŋga/.
PL-G.TR-work
Sia is the cook for the people who are working.

PoN-i contrasts with *PoN-ari* in that it can mark the V-base for for restricted mode (i.e. a specialised action or object). For example:

7.297 *Aku-um$_2$-<Pentoro>-i-o* /mentoroio/ *ompeo po-turi-a-ku.*
SG1.F-SP.TR-<to.sit>-RT-SG3.DO mat NM-sleep-NM-SG1.PS
I'm going to sit on my sleeping mat.

7.298 **aku mentoroio kadera*
chair

7.299 *Ama-no-um$_2$-<Pentoro>-ari-o* /mentoroario/ *kadera.*
father-SG3.PS-CA-<to.sit>-LS-SG3.DO chair
His father sat in the chair (lit. his father caused himself to sit in a chair).

Pe$_1$-ako$_1$ differs from the other circumfixes of this subclass in that it marks the V-base for a direct object whose referent is in the instrumental case. For example:

7.300 *Pe$_1$-<maliga>-ako$_1$-'aku* /meligaako'aku/ *pakuli.*
DE-<healthy>-IL-SG1.SB medicine
I became healthy with medicine.

7.301 *Pe$_1$-<monoŋko>-ako$_2$-o* /menoŋkoako/ *-um$_1$-lako* /lumako/
RF-<light>-MN-SG3.SB -INT-go
ine-no.
mother-SG3.PS
His mother made an effort to go quietly.

Pe$_1$-ako$_2$, *Pe$_1$-hako*, *Pe$_1$-sako* and *Pe$_1$-lako* all contrast in the type of mode with which they mark the V-base. For example, *Pe$_1$-ako$_2$* marks it for simple manner mode, *Pe$_1$-hako* for intense mode, *Pe$_1$-sako* for abrupt mode, and *Pe$_1$-lako* for moving mode.

7.302 *Pe$_1$-<molusa>-ako$_2$-'aku* /melusapako'aku/.
RF-<to.be.soft>-MN-SG1.SB
I politely excused myself (from working).

7.303 *Pe$_1$-<molusa>-hako-'ira* /melusahako'ira/ *o^{n}dae i Ama.*
RF-<to.be.soft>-IS-SG3R.SB SG3R PNM Father
Father made an effort to be polite (to avoid fighting).

7.304 *Pe$_1$-<molusa>-sako-o* /melusasako/ *i Ali.*
RF-<to.be.soft>-AB-SG3.SB PNM PN
Ali suddenly made himself go limp.

7.305 *Pe$_1$-<ta^{n}de>-hako-'aku* /meta^{n}dehako'aku/.
RF-<to.be.high>-IS-SG1.SB
I made an effort to stand up straight.

7.306 *Pe$_1$-<ta^{n}de>-sako-'aku* /meta^{n}desako'aku/.
RF-<to.be.high>-AB-SG1.SB
I suddenly made myself stand up straight.

7.307 *Pe$_1$-<ta^{n}de>-lako-o* /meta^{n}delako/ *nana'ote.*
RF-<to.be.high>-MV-SG3.SB child
The child jumped up and down.

CHAPTER 8

TEXT ANALYSIS

The analysis of the Mori verb, which is presented in the preceding seven chapters, is applied below in the text analysis of a Mori folktale.

In line A, the Mori text is presented. In line B, the text is broken down into morphemes. In line C, the English gloss is given for each morpheme. In line D, the section in which each morpheme or word class is discussed is listed. In line E, the morphophonemic rules are listed for morphophonemic processes, and the pertinent sections are listed for the deletion of affixes and the occurrence of allomorphs that are different from the morphemic form listed in line B. In line F, references to the sections of the pertinent word classes are listed when a word (e.g. V-base) has an atypical function (e.g. NP). In line G, the English translation is given.

A	*Tutuludi*			*Uho,*		*i*	
B	*tutulu-do*	#	*i*	#	*Uho*	# *i*	#
C	story-PL3.PS		PNM		Water.Snail	PNM	
D	3.1.1-4.3.4.4		3.4.1		3.1.1	3.4.1	

A	*Tumamparo*
B	*maka-N-<ma-paro>* #
C	EC.DS-LK-<IS-hoarse>:Mudwasp
D	7.2.3.2-5.5
E	Mp10 7.2.3.2 (allomorph *tuma-N-* conditioned by V-stem)-7.2.3.2 (*ma* ⇒ Ø)
F	3.1.2 (V-base = NP)

A	*ka*		*i*		*Do^{n}doli.*	
B	*ka*	#	*i*	#	*Do^{n}doli*	#
C	and		PNM		Red.Ant	
D	3.4.5		3.4.1		3.1.1	

G The Story of Water Snail, Mudwasp and Red Ant.

A	*Mepaupau'ira*		*mpeduludulu*
B	*meN*-BR$_1$-<*Pe$_2$*-<*pau*>>-*'ira*	#	*meN*-BR$_1$-<*Pe$_1$-dulu*>
C	PL-MT-<CA-<talk>>-PL3.SB		pl-MT-<RC-reciprocate>
D	4.3.1-7.2.3.1-7.2.2-3.1.1-4.3.4.2		4.3.1-7.2.3.1-5.9
E	4.3.1 (*meN-* ⇒Ø)-Mp17		Mp1-Mp16

A	*mpobo^{n}de*		*aleredo.*	
B	*meN-Pe$_2$-<bo^{n}de>*	#	*aN-lere-do*	#
C	PL-CA-<garden>		LP-dry.farmland-PL3.PS	
D	4.3.1-7.2.2-3.1.1		4.4.1-3.1.1-4.3.4.4	
E	Mp1-Mp16-7.2.2 (allomorph *Po-* conditioned by V-stem)		Mp1	

G They were all talking a little about working together cultivating each other's farmland.

A	*Gaagi,*		*pohona*		*melako'ira*	
B	*gagi-o*	#	*pohona*	#	*meN-um$_1$-lako-'ira*	#
C	become-SG3.SB		once		PL-INT-go-PL3.SB	
D	5.1-4.3.4.2		3.2		4.3.1-5.12-4.3.4.2	
E	Mp5-4.3.4.2 (*o-* ⇒ Ø)				Mp1-Mp14	

A *mpobo^{n}de.*
B *meN-Pe$_2$-<bo^{n}de>* #
C PL-CA-<garden>
D 4.3.1-7.2.2-3.1.1
7.2.2 (allomorph *Po-* conditioned by V-stem)
E Mp1-Mp16
G So once they went and worked on a garden.

A	*Memokoni^{ŋ}go'iramo*	*Mpepaupau'iramo:*
B	*meN-mo-ko$_1$-ni^{ŋ}go-'ira-mo* #	*meN*-BR$_1$-*<Pe$_2$-<pau>>-'ira-mo* #
C	PL-OB-hungry-PL3.SB-EM.NF	PL-MT-<CA-<talk>>-PL3.SB-EM.NF
D	4.3.1-5.7-4.3.4.2-3.3.1	4.3.1-7.2.3.1-7.2.2-3.1.1-4.3.4.2-3.3.1
E	Mp1	Mp1-Mp16

G They felt hungry. They talked a little:

A	*Ke*		*i*		*sema*		*ta*		*mekule*	*monahuako'ira?*	
B	*ke*	#	*i*	#	*sema*	#	*ta*	#	*Pe$_1$-kule* #	*PoN-nahu-ako'ira*	#
C	Q		PNM		who		SG3.F		RF-return	G.TR-cook-PL3.IO	
D	3.4.4		3.4.1		3.3.3		3.3.1.6		5.10	5.14-4.3.4.2	
E									Mp17	Mp17-Mp1	

G Who would go home to cook for them?

A	*Gaagi*		*i*		*Do^{n}doli*		*ta*		*mekule*		*monahuako'ira.*	
B	*gagi-o*	#	*i*	#	*Do^{n}doli*	#	*ta*	#	*Pe$_1$-kule*	#	*PoN-nahu-ako'ira*	#
C	become-SG3.SB		PNM		Red.Ant		SG3.F		RF-return		G.TR-cook-PL3.IO	
D	5.1-4.3.4.2		3.4.1		3.1.1		3.3.1.6		5.10		5.14-4.3.4.3	
E	Mp5-4.3.4.4 (o- ⇒ Ø)								Mp17		Mp17-Mp1	

G So it happened, Red Ant would go home and cook for them.

A	*Mansano*[24]		*mekule,*		*monahu*		*i*		*Do^{n}doli*	
B	*mansa-no*	#	*Pe$_1$-kule*	#	*PoN-nahu-o*	#	*i*	#	*Do^{n}doli*	#
C	directly-SG3.PS		RF-return		G.TR-cook-SG3.SB		PNM		Red.Ant	
D	3.4.3-4.3.4.4		5.10		5.14-4.3.4.2		3.4.1		3.1.1	
E			Mp17		Mp17-Mp1-4.3.4.2 (o- ⇒ Ø)					

F 4.3.4.4 (adverb + PR.ST4 = conjunction)

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24 When occurring in this construction, *mansano* is best translated as the conjunction 'after'.

A	*ipelelekio*	*io*	*wiwino*
B	*i-um$_2$-<Pe$_2$-lele>-hi*[25]*-o* #	*o* #	*wiwi-no* #
C	SG3.SB-CA-<INT-creep>-LS-SG3.DO	CN	lip-SG3.PS
D	4.3.4.1-7.2.6-5.10-7.2.6-4.3.4.2	3.4.1	3.1.1-4.3.4.4
E	Mp14-Mp16	Mp9	

A	*kurono*	*inahuno*	*ka*
B	*kuro-no* #	*inahu-no* #	*ka* #
C	pot-SG3.PS	vegetable-SG3.PS	and
D	3.1.1-4.3.4.4	7.2.2.3-4.3.4.4	3.4.5
F		3.1.2 (V-base = NP)	

A	*ite'emekio*	*inahuno.*
B	*i-um$_2$-<te-<'eme>-hi>-o* #	*inahu-no* #
C	SG3.SB-<SP.TR-<DE-urinate>-LS>-SG3.DO	vegetable-SG3.PS
D	4.3.4.1-7.2.5-7.2.2.3-3.1.1-7.2.5-4.3.4.2	7.2.2.3-4.3.4.4
E	Mp14	
F		3.1.2 (V-base = NP)
G	After Red Ant went home, he prepared the food by creeping along the rim of the pot of vegetables and urinating on the vegetables.	

A	*Motahaomo*	*iponahu*	*ka*
B	*mo-taha-o-mo* #	*i-PoN-nahu* #	*ka* #
C	QL-red(ripe)-SG3.SB-EM.NF	SG3.SB-G.TR-cook	and
D	5.4-4.3.4.2-3.3.1	4.3.4.1-5.14	3.4.5
E		Mp16-Mp1	

A	*i'a^{m}ba*[26]	*booli'ira*	*i*
B	*i-'a^{m}ba* #	*-um$_2$-booli-'ira* #	*i* #
C	SG3.SB-initially.then	-SP.TR-call-PL3.DO	PNM
D	4.3.4.1-3.4.3	5.14-4.3.4.1	3.4.1
E		Mp13	

A	*Tumamparo*	*ka*
B	*maka-N-<ma-paro>* #	*ka* #
C	EC.DS-LK-<IS-hoarse>:Mudwasp	and
D	7.2.3.2-5.5	3.4.5
E	7.2.3.2 (allomorph *tuma-N-* conditioned by V-stem)-7.2.3.2 (*ma* ⇒ Ø)	
F	3.1.2 (V-base = NP)	

A	*i*	*Uho.*
B	*i* #	*Uho* #
C	PNM	Water.Snail
D	3.4.1	3.1.1
G	He cooked them until they were done and then he called Mudwasp and Water Snail.	

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25 *-um$_2$-* and *-hi* are members of a single circumfix.

26 The sequence *ka* # PR.ST1-*'a^{m}ba* is best translated as 'and then'.

A	*Mansado*		*haawe,*		*ka*		*dompoŋkaa,*
B	*mansa-do*	#	*hawe*	#	*ka*	#	*do-meN-PoN-kaa* #
C	directly-DU3.PS		arrive		and		PL3.SB-PL-G.TR-eat
D	3.4.3-4.3.4.4		5.1		3.4.5		4.3.4.1-4.3.1-5.14
E			Mp5				Mp1-Mp1-Mp16

F 4.3.4.4 (adverb + PR.ST4 = conjunction)

A *mpompemo'ahi'ira.*
B *meN-PoN-Pe₁-<mo-'ahi>'ira* #
C PL-OB-<QL-sweet>-PL3.SB
D 4.3.1-7.2.5.3-5.4-4.3.4.2
E Mp1-Mp16
G After they arrived and they ate, they found it very tasty.

A	*Dopotae*		*i*		
B	*do-Pe₂-tae*	#	*i*	#	
C	DU3.SB-INT-say		PNM		
D	4.3.4.1-5.10		3.4.1		

E Mp16-5.10 (allomorph *Po-* conditioned by V-stem)

A	*Tumamparo*		*i*	
B	*maka-N-<ma-paro>*	#	*i*	#
C	EC.DS-LK-<IS-hoarse>:Mudwasp		PNM	
D	7.2.3.2-5.5		3.4.1	

E 7.2.3.2 (allomorph *tuma-N-* conditioned by V-stem)-7.2.3.2 (*ma* ⇒ Ø)
F 3.1.2 (V-base = NP)

A *Uho:*
B *Uho* #
C Water.Snail
D 3.1.1
G Mudwasp and Water Snail said:

A	*"I*	*Do^{n}doli*		*mpiha*		*wela*		*monahuakita*		*^{n}de*	
B	*i*	#	*Do^{n}doli*	#	*mpiha*	#	*wela*	#	*PoN-nahu-akita*	#	*^{n}de*	#
C	PNM		Red.Ant		continually		always		G.TR-cook-PL1INC.IO		because	
D	3.4.1		3.1.1		3.4.4		3.4.3		5.14-4.3.4.3		3.4.5	
E									Mp17-Mp1			

A	*mo'ahi*		*onae*		*iponahu".*	
B	*mo-'ahi*	#	*onae*	#	*i-PoN- nahu*	#
C	QL-sweet		SG3		SG3.SB-G.TR-cook	
D	5.4		3.3.1.1		4.3.4.1-5.14	
E					Mp16-Mp1	

G "Red Ant should always cook for us because his cooking is delicious".

A	*Umarido*		*mpoŋkaa,*	*melako'ira*
B	*umari-do*	#	*meN-PoN-kaa* #	*meN-um$_1$-lako-'ira* #
C	finished-SG3.PS.:after		PL-G.TR-eat	PL-INT-go-PL3.SB
D	3.4.3-4.3.4.4		4.3.1-5.14	4.3.1-5.12-4.3.4.2
E			Mp1-Mp16-Mp1	Mp1-Mp14
F	4.3.4.4 (adverb + PR.ST4 = conjunction)			

A	*^{m}bo'u*	*mpobo^{n}de.*	
B	*^{m}bo'u* #	*meN-Pe$_2$-<bo^{n}de>* #	
C	again	PL-CA-<garden>	
D	3.4.4	4.3.1-7.2.2.3-3.1.1	
E		Mp1-Mp16-7.2.2.3 (allomorph *Po-* conditioned by V-stem)	
G	After they finished eating, they again went to work in their garden.		

A	*Ka*	*iwoŋi*	*ka*	*dompekule*
B	*ka* #	*i-woŋi* #	*ka* #	*do-meN-Pe$_1$-kule* #
C	and	SG3.SB-dark	and	PL3.SB-PL-RF-return
D	3.4.5	4.3.4.1-5.1	3.4.5	4.3.4.1-4.3.1-5.9
E				Mp1-Mp15

A	*mpoturi.*
B	*meN-Pe$_2$-turi* #
C	PL-INT-sleep
D	4.3.1-5.10
E	Mp1-Mp16
	5.10 (allomorph *Po-* conditioned by V-root)
G	After it became dark, then they went home and went to sleep.

A	*Meeene,*	*melako'iramo*	*^{m}bo'u*
B	*meene-o* #	*meN-um$_1$-lako-'ira-mo* #	*^{m}bo'u*
C	daylight-SG3.SB	PL-INT-go-PL3.SB-EM.NF	again
D	5.15-4.3.4.2	4.3.1-5.12-4.3.4.2-3.3.1	3.4.4
E	Mp5	Mp1-Mp14	

A	*mpobo^{n}de.*
B	*meN-Pe$_2$-<bo^{n}de>* #
C	PL-INT-<garden>
D	4.3.1-7.2.2.3-3.1.1
E	Mp1-Mp16
	5.10 (allomorph *Po-* conditioned by V-root)
G	At daybreak they again went to work in their garden.

A	*Ko'orua*		*oleonomo*	*mansado*
B	*ko$_1$-<ko$_1$-rua>*	#	*oleo-no-mo* #	*mansa-do* #
C	OR-<CR-two>		day-SG3.PS-EM.NF	directly-PL3.PS
D	7.2.2.2-5.3		3.1.1-4.3.4.4-3.3.1	3.4.3-4.3.4.4
E	5.3 (allomorph *o-* conditioned by V-root)			
F	4.3.4.4 (V-stem + PR.ST4 = adverbial phrase)			

A	*mpobo^{n}de,*		*tempo*
B	*meN-Pe$_{2}$-<bo^{n}de>*	#	*tempo* #
C	PL-INT-<garden>		time
D	4.3.1-7.2.2.3-3.1.1		3.1.1
E	Mp1-Mp16		
	5.10 (allomorph *Po-* conditioned by V-root)		
F	4.3.4.4 (adverb + PR.ST4 = conjunction)		

A	*monahuntoŋa'oleo*
B	*<PoN-nahu>-N-<<toŋa>-N-<'oleo>>*
C	<G.TR-cook>-LK-<<middle>-LK-<day>>
D	5.14-6.1.2-3.1.1-6.2.2-3.1.1-7.2.1 (DV-base without DV-affix)
E	Mp15-Mp1-Mp1-Mp1

A	*dotenaomo*		*^{m}bo'u*		*i*		*Do^{n}doli.*
B	*do-um$_{2}$-tena-o-mo*	#	*^{m}bo'u*	#	*i*	#	*Do^{n}doli* #
C	PL3.SB-SP.TR-order-SG3.DO-EM.NF		again		PNM		Red.Ant
D	4.3.4.1-5.14-4.3.4.2-3.3.1		3.4.4		3.4.1		3.1.1
E	Mp14						
G	On the second day, after they worked in their gardens, it was time to cook the midday meal, so they ordered Red Ant...						

A	*ka*		*onae*		*^{m}bo'u*		*lako*		*monahu*
B	*ka*	#	*onae*	#	*^{m}bo'u*	#	*-um$_{1}$-lako*	#	*PoN-nahu* #
C	and		SG3		again		-INT-go		G.TR-cook
D	3.4.5		3.3.1.1		3.4.4		5.12		5.14
E							Mp15		Mp17-Mp1

A	*^{n}de*		*mo'ahi*		*onae*		*iponahu.*
B	*^{n}de*	#	*mo-'ahi*	#	*onae*	#	*i-PoN-nahu* #
C	because		QL-sweet		SG3		SG3.SB-G.TR-cook
D	3.4.5		5.4		3.3.1.1		4.3.4.1-5.14
E							Mp16-Mp1
G	...so that he would be the one to go and cook because his cooking was delicious.						

A	*Mansano*		*lumako*		*i*		*Do^{n}doli*	
B	*mansa-no*	#	*-um$_{1}$-lako*	#	*i*	#	*Do^{n}doli*	#
C	directly-SG3.PS		-INT-go		PNM		Red.Ant	
D	3.4.3-4.3.4.4		5.12-3.4.1				3.1.1	
F	4.3.4.4 (adverb + PR.ST4 = conjunction)							

A	*monahu*		*ka*		*ite'emekio*		*^{m}bo'u*	
B	*PoN-nahu*	#	*ka*	#	*i-um$_{2}$-<te-<'eme>-hi>-o*	#	*^{m}bo'u*	#
C	G.TR-cook		and		SG3.SB-SP.TR-<DE-<urinate>-LS>-SG3.DO		again	
D	5.14		3.4.5		4.3.4.1-7.2.5-7.2.2.3-3.1.1-7.2.5-4.3.4.2		3.4.4	
E	Mp17				Mp14			

A *inahuno.*
B *inahu-no* #
C vegetable-SG3.PS
D 7.2.2.3-4.3.4.4
F 3.1.2 (V-base = NP)
G After Red Ant went to cook, he then urinated on the vegetables again.

A	*Ka*	*i'a^{m}ba*		*moboi'ira*		*i*	
B	*ka* #	*i-'a^{m}ba*	#	*-um$_{1}$-Po-boi-'ira*	#	*i*	#
C	and	SG3.SB-initially.then		-SP.TR-CA-call-PL3.DO		PNM	
D	3.4.5	4.3.4.1-3.4.3		7.2.4.2-5.15-4.3.4.2		3.4.1	
E				Mp13-Mp17			

A *Tumamparo*
B *maka-N-<ma-paro>* #
C EC.DS-LK-<IS-hoarse>:Mudwasp
D 7.2.3.2-5.5
E 7.2.3.2 (allomorph *tuma-N-* conditioned by V-stem)-7.2.3.2 (*ma* ⇒ Ø)
F 3.1.2 (V-base = NP)

A	*i*	*Uho*		*^{n}de*		*motahaomo.*	
B	*i* #	*Uho*	#	*^{n}de*	#	*mo-taha-o-mo*	#
C	PNM	Water.Snail		because		QL-ripe-SG3.SB-EM.NF	
D	3.4.1	3.1.1		3.4.5		5.4-4.3.4.2-3.3.1	

G And then he called Mudwasp and Water Snail because (the meal) was ready.

A	*Ka*	*dohawe*		*ka*[27]		*dompoŋkaa.*	
B	*ka* #	*do-hawe*	#	*ka*	#	*do-meN-PoN-kaa*	#
C	and	DU3.SB-arrive		and		PL3.SB-PL-G.TR-eat	
D	3.4.5	4.3.4.1-5.1		3.4.5		4.3.4.1-4.3.1-5.9	
E						Mp1-Mp16-Mp1	

G After they arrived, they ate.

A *Dopotae:*
B *do-Pe$_{2}$-tae* #
C DU 3.SB-INT-say
D 4.3.4.1-5.10
E Mp16-5.10 (allomorph *Po-* conditioned by V-stem) 4.3.4.2 (*-o* ⇒ Ø)

A	*"Mo'ahi*		*ntu'u*	
B	*mo-'ahi-o*	#	*ntu'u*	#
C	QL-sweet-SG3.SB		very.much	
D	5.4-4.3.4.2		3.4.2	

27 *Ka...ka...* is best translated in English as 'After (dependent clause)...,(main clause)...'.

A	*inahuni*			*Do^{n}doli.*	
B	*inahu-no*	#	*i* #	*Do^{n}doli*	#
C	vegetable-SG3.PS		PNM	Red.Ant	
D	7.2.2.3-4.3.4.4		3.4.1	3.1.1	
F	3.1.2 (V-base = NP)				

A	*Onae*	*mpiha*		*monahuakita".*	
B	*onae* #	*mpiha*	#	*PoN-nahu-akita*	#
C	SG3	continuously		G.TR-cook-PL1INC.IO	
D	3.3.1.6	3.4.4		5.14-4.3.4.3	
E				Mp17-Mp1	

G They said: "Red Ant's vegetables are very tasty".

A	*Mansado*		*melako*	
B	*mansa-do*	#	*meN-um$_1$-lako*	#
C	directly-PL3.PS		PL-INT-go	
D	3.4.3-4.3.4.4		4.3.1-5.12	
E			Mp1-Mp13	
F	4.3.4.4 (adverb + PR.ST4 = conjunction)			

A	*mpobo^{n}de,*		*ka*		*iwoŋi*		*ka*		*dompekule*	
B	*meN-Pe$_2$-<bo^{n}de>*	#	*ka*	#	*i-woŋi*	#	*ka*	#	*do-meN-Pe$_1$-kule*	#
C	PL-INT-<garden>		and		SG3.SB-dark		and		PL3.SB-PL-RF-return	
D	4.3.1-7.2.2.3-3.1.1		3.4.5		4.3.4.1-5.1		3.4.5		4.3.4.1-4.3.1-5.9	
E	Mp1-Mp16								Mp1-Mp16	

G After they went and worked in their garden, after a while it became dark and they went home.

A	*Meeneomo*		*melako'iramo*	
B	*meene-o-mo*	#	*meN-um$_1$-lako-'ira-mo*	#
C	daylight-SG3.SB-EM.NF		PL-INT-go-PL3.SB-EM.NF	
D	5.1-4.3.4.2-3.3.1		4.3.1-5.12-4.3.4.2-3.3.1	
E			Mp1-Mp14	

G When it was light, they went again and worked in their gardens.

A	*Ko'otolu*		*oleonomo*		*ka*	
B	*ko$_1$-<ko$_1$-tolu>*	#	*oleo-no-mo*	#	*ka*	#
C	OR-<CR-three>		day-SG3.PS-EM.NF		and	
D	7.2.2.2-5.3		3.1.1-4.3.4.4-3.3.1		3.4.5	
E	5.3 (allomorph *-o* conditioned by V-root)					
F	4.3.4.4 (V-stem + PR.ST4 = adverbial phrase)					

A	*dompobo^{n}de.*		*Tempo*	
B	*do-meN-Pe$_2$-<bo^{n}de>*	#	*tempo*	#
C	PL3.SB-PL-INT-<garden>		time	
D	4.3.4.1-4.3.1-7.2.2.3-3.1.1		3.1.1	
E	Mp1-Mp16-7.2.2.3 (allomorph *Po-* conditioned by V-stem)			

A	*monahuntoŋa'oleo*
B	*<PoN-nahu>-N-<<toŋa>-N-<'oleo>>*
C	<G.TR-cook>-LK-<<middle>-LK-<day>>
D	5.14-6.1.2-3.1.1-6.2.2-3.1.1-7.2.1(DV-base without DV-affix)
E	Mp17-Mp1-Mp1-Mp1

A	*dotenaomo*			*i*	*Do^{n}doli*	
B	*do-um$_2$-tena-o-mo*		#	*i*	# *Do^{n}doli*	#
C	PL3.SB-SP.TR-order-SG3.DO-EM.NF			PNM	Red.Ant	
D	4.3.4.1-5.14-4.3.4.2-3.3.1			3.4.1	3.1.1	
E	Mp14					

A	*ka*	*ipekule*		*monahuako'ira.*	
B	*ka* #	*i-Pe$_1$-kule*	#	*PoN-nahu-ako'ira*	#
C	and	SG3.SB-RF-return		G.TR-cook-PL3.IO	
D	3.4.5	4.3.4.1-5.9		5.14-4.3.4.3	
E		Mp16		Mp17-Mp1	

G On the third day they worked in the garden. When the time came to cook the midday meal, they ordered Red Ant to go home and cook for them.

A	*Mansano*			*mekule*		*i*		*Do^{n}doli*	
B	*mansa-no*		#	*Pe$_1$-kule*	#	*i*	#	*Do^{n}doli*	#
C	directly-SG3.PS			RF-return		PNM		Red.Ant	
D	3.4.3-4.3.4.4			5.9		3.4.1		3.1.1	
E				Mp17					
F	4.3.4.4 (adverb + PR.ST4 = conjunction)								

A	*monahuako'ira,*		*melele*		*awiwino*		*kuro.*	
B	*PoN-nahu-ako'ira*	#	*Pe$_2$-lele-o*	#	*aN-wiwi-no*	#	*kuro*	#
C	G.TR-cook-PL3.IO		INT-creep-SG3.SB		LP-lip-SG3.PS		pot	
D	5.14-4.3.4.3		5.10-4.3.4.2		4.4.1-3.1.1-4.3.4.4		3.1.1	
E	Mp1-Mp17		Mp17-4.3.4.2 (*-o* ⇒ Ø)		Mp1			

G After Red Ant went home to cook for them, he crept up onto the edge of the pot.

A	*Ta*	*tume'emekiako'ira*			*^{m}bo'u*	
B	*ta* #	*um$_2$-<te-<'eme>-hi>-ako'ira*		#	*^{m}bo'u*	#
C	SG3.F	SP.TR-<DE-<urinate>-LS>-PL3.IO			again	
D	3.3.1.6	7.2.5-7.2.2.3-3.1.1-7.2.5-4.3.4.3			3.4.4	

A	*inahuno*		*tedonta*		*maate.*	
B	*inahu-no*	#	*te-donta-o*	#	*mate-o*	#
C	vegetable-SG3.PS		UID-fall-SG3.SB		die-SG3.SB	
D	7.2.2.3-4.3.4.4		5.8-4.3.4.2		5.1-4.3.4.2	
E			4.3.4.2 (*-o* ⇒ Ø)		Mp5-4.3.4.2 (*-o* ⇒ Ø)	
F	3.1.2 (V-base = NP)					

G He was going to urinate on the vegetables again, but he fell (in the pot) and died.

A	*Ka*	*dopo'ia*	*i*
B	*ka* #	*do-Pe₂-'ia* #	*i* #
C	and	PL3.SB-INT-reside	PNM
D	3.4.5	4.3.4.1-5.10	3.4.1
E		Mp16	

A	*Tumamparo*	*i*
B	*maka-N-<ma-paro>* #	*i* #
C	EC.DS-LK-<IS-hoarse>:Mudwasp	PNM
D	7.2.3.2-5.5	3.4.1
	7.2.3.2 (allomorph *tuma-N-* conditioned by V-stem)-7.2.3.2 (*ma* ⇒ Ø)	
F	3.1.2 (V-base = NP)	

A	*Uho*	*sumisikorio*	*ba*	*ibooli'ira.*
B	*Uho* #	MR-<*um₂-sikori*>-*o* #	*ba* #	*i-um₂-booli-'ira*
C	Water.Snail	CT-<SP.TR-wait>-SG3.DO	if	SG3.SB-SP.TR-call-PL3.DO
D	3.1.1	7.2.2.1-5.14-4.3.4.2	3.4.5	4.3.4.1-5.14-4.3.4.2
E				Mp14

G In the meantime Mudwasp and Water Snail were staying in their garden waiting for him to call them.

A	*Namihori*		*booli'ira.*	*ᴺdi'iramo*
B	*namo* #	*i-hori* #	*-um₂-booli-'ira* #	*ⁿdi-'ira-mo* #
C	not.again	SG3.SB-ever	-SP.TR-call-PL3.DO	non-recurring-PL3.SB-EM.NF
D	3.4.2	3.4.1-3.4.3	5.14-4.3.4.2	3.4.3-4.3.4.2-3.3.1
E	Mp10		Mp13	

A	*mekule.*
B	*Pe₁-kule* #
C	RF-return
D	5.9
E	Mp17

G But he never called for them again. (So) they went home.

A	*Hawe'ira*	*iraha*	*ka*	*do'uŋkeo,*
B	*hawe-'ira* #	*i-raha* #	*ka* #	*do-um₂-uŋke-o* #
C	arrive-DU3.SB	LP-house	and	DU3.SB-SP.TR-look.for-SG3.DO
D	5.1-4.3.4.2	4.3.1-3.1.1	3.4.5	4.3.4.1-5.14-4.3.4.2
E				Mp14

A	*nahi*	*rau.*
B	*nahi* #	*i-arau* #
C	not	SG3.SB-there
D	3.4.2	4.3.4.1-3.3.2
E		Mp10-Mp12

G When they arrived home and looked for him, he wasn't there.

A	*Mansado*	*kumitao*	*kuro'inahu,*
B	*mansa-do* #	*-um₂-kita-o* #	*<kuro>-N-<'inahu>* #
C	directly-DU3.PS	-SP.TR-see-SG3.DO	<pot>-LK-<vegetable>
D	3.4.3-4.3.4.4	5.14-4.3.4.2	3.1.1-6.2.2-3.1.1
E			Mp1
F	4.3.4.4 (adverb + PR.ST4 = conjunction)		

A	*louomo*	*i*	*Do^{n}doli*	*ilarono*
B	*lou-o-mo* #	*i* #	*Do^{n}doli* #	*i-laro-no* #
C	down.there-SG3.SB-EM.NF	PNM	Red.Ant	LP-inside-SG3.PS
D	3.3.2-4.3.4.2-3.3.1	3.4.1	3.1.1	4.4.1-3.1.1-4.3.4.4

A	*kuro'inahu*	*maate.*
B	*<kuro>-N-<'inahu>* #	*mate-o* #
C	<pot>-LK-<vegetable>	die-SG3.SB
D	3.1.1-6.2.2-3.1.1	5.1-4.3.4.2
E	Mp1	Mp5-4.3.4.2 (-*o* ⇒ Ø)
G	Once they saw the vegetable pot, there was Red Ant, down inside the (vegetable) pot, dead.	

A	*Meŋese'iramo.*	*I'antai*		
B	*Pe₂-ŋese-'ira-mo* #	*i-um₂-'anta-o* #	*i* #	
C	INT-cry-DU3.SB-EM.NF	SG3.SB-SP.TR-force.out-SG3.DO	PNM	
D	5.10-4.3.4.2-3.3.1	4.3.4.1-5.14-4.3.4.2	3.4.1	
E	Mp17	Mp14	Mp10	

A	*Uho*	*ŋuruno,*	*te'anta*
B	*Uho* #	*ŋuru-no* #	*te-<PoN-'anta>-o* #
C	Water.Snail	mucus-SG3.PS	UID-<G.TR-force.out>-SG3.SB
D	3.1.1	3.1.1-4.3.4.4	7.2.2.3-5.14-4.3.4.2
E			7.2.2.3 (PoN- ⇒ Ø)-4.3.4.2 (-*o* ⇒ Ø)

A	*ihino,*	*maate.*
B	*ihi-no* #	*mate-o* #
C	filling-SG3.PS	die-SG3.SB
D	3.1.1-4.3.4.4	5.1-4.3.4.2
E		Mp5-4.3.4.2 (-*o* ⇒ Ø)
G	They began to cry. While Water Snail was trying to blow the mucus from his nose, he accidentally blew his whole body out (of its shell) and died.	

A	*I'alao*	*i*
B	*i-um₂-'ala-o* #	*i* #
C	SG3.SB-SP.TR-take-SG3.DO	PNM
D	4.3.4.2-5.14-4.3.4.2	3.4.1
E	Mp14	

A	*Tumamparo*
B	*maka-N-<ma-paro>* #
C	EC.DS-LK-<IS-hoarse>:Mudwasp
D	7.2.3.2-5.5
E	7.2.3.2 (allomorph *tuma-N-* conditioned by V-stem)-7.2.3.2 (*ma* ⇒ Ø)
F	3.1.2 (V-base = NP)

A	*tampi'owuno*	*ka*
B	*<tampi>-N-<'owu>-no* #	*ka* #
C	<tie>-LK-<machete>-SG3.PS	and
D	3.1.1-6.2.2-3.1.1-4.3.4.4	3.4.5
E	Mp1	

A	*ipeeo,*	*te'opu*
B	*i-um₂-pee-o* #	*te-<PoN-'opu>-o* #
C	SG3.SB-SP.TR-draw.tight-SG3.DO	UID-<G.TR-snap.off>-SG3.SB
D	4.3.4.1-5.14-4.3.4.2	7.2.2.3-5.14-4.3.4.2
E	Mp14	7.2.2.2 (*PoN-* ⇒ Ø)-4.3.4.2 (*-o* ⇒ Ø)

A	*toŋano,*	*maate.*
B	*toŋa-no* #	*mate-o* #
C	middle-SG3.PS	die-SG3.SB
D	3.1.1-4.3.4.4	5.1-4.3.4.2
E		Mp5-4.3.4.2(*-o* ⇒ Ø)
G	While Mudwasp got his machete belt and drew it tightly around him, his waist accidentally snapped in two and he died.	

A	*Tampula.*[28]	*Namihina*		*ᵐbo'u*	*medulu.*
B	*tampula-o* #	*namo* #	*i-hina* #	*ᵐbo'u* #	*Pe₁-dulu* #
C	finished-SG3.SB	not.again	SG3.SB-exist	again	RC-reciprocate
D	5.1-4.3.4.2	3.4.2	4.3.4.1-5.1	3.4.4	5.9
E		Mp10			Mp17
G	That's the end. There isn't anyone left to take turns working in each other's garden.				

A	*Memate'iramo*	*luwu.*
B	*meN-mate'ira-mo* #	*luwu* #
C	PL-die-PL3.SB-EM.NF	all
D	4.3.1-5.1-4.3.4.2-3.3.1	3.4.2
E	Mp1	
G	They all died.	

28 The prefix *ta-N-* of *-tampula* 'finished' is no longer separable from the stem *-pula.*

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