SANIO-HIOWE VERB PHRASES

SANDRA C. LEWIS

Sanio-Hiowe[1] is spoken south of the Sepik River in the West Sepik District of New Guinea. It is a member of the Sepik Hill language family (Dye, Townsend, and Townsend, 1968), which consists of fourteen culturally homogeneous and related languages in the foothills of the Central Range from the Karawari River tributary of the lower middle Sepik to the Leonard Schultze River tributary of the upper middle Sepik. Approximately 1000 people speak the two major dialects of Sanio-Hiowe, scattered along the banks and foothills of the April, Wogamous, and Leonard Schultze drainages. Sanio is spoken along the lower reaches of the Wogamous River and its tributaries and the upper reaches of the April River. The Hiowe dialect is spoken along the upper reaches of the Wogamous River and its tributaries and the upper reaches of the Leonard Schultze River.

The Sanio-Hiowe verb phrase is made up of one or more verbs, verb clusters, and optional auxiliaries. All the verbs in a verb phrase, except the aspectual ones, take place in a sequence in time, and their inclusion within a single verb phrase signifies that there are no gaps in the time sequence.

opai onu aru we *(cook sit stop past) 'Cooked it and set it down.'*

ati owei te na we *(load down plural continuative past) 'Loaded the canoe and went down.'*

isau wa'are heri na ti *(grab carried hangup continuative perfect) 'Grabbed it, carried it, and hung it up.'*

onu wanu na we *(sit listen continuative past) 'Sat down and listened.'*

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ACCENTUAL QUALITIES

Each verb, auxiliary, or auxiliary compound within the verb phrase is accented. If the verb phrase is dependent, there is a rising or level pitch, symbolised by a comma. If the verb phrase is independent, there is a falling and fading pitch, symbolised by a period. When two verb phrases fall adjacent to each other, they form two clauses. Certain auxiliaries can be made into compound auxiliaries. These are aspects ro, na combined with tense, the causal mo before tense, and the emphatic te combined with the equative ne. These compounds have accents only on the first syllable; accent is therefore symbolised only in this set of examples.

'teine 'pasiye 'mo-we, 'tei 'wa 'te *(poundsago night causal-past, sleep present plural) 'As a consequence of pounding sago at night, we will sleep here.'*

'eimawi-ye 'ta'ase 'na-we, 'ta'ase 'ani-ye *(senttoget-past cook continuative-past, cook get-past) 'He sent me to get it and we cooked it and cooked it.'*

'tewi 'tawesi 'eiwawiyei-ye *(shoot bind thisway-past) 'Shot and tied it in this way.'*

'tahei 'fu 'noeinoei 'ro-wo, 'aru 'ro-wo *(pullup put properly durative-conjunction, stop durative-conjunction) 'Pull it up and put it aside properly, then stop.'*

AUXILIARIES

There are two types of auxiliaries. One group occurs phrase initial and the other group occurs phrase final.

The auxiliaries that precede the verbs are imperative, jussive, and prohibitive modes. In the narrative texts examined these only occur as quotations. However, they are also common in conversations.

The imperative is fu:

fu ani asi *(imperative get load) 'Get these things and load the canoe!'*

fu atati onu ro-wo *(imperative goaround sit durative-conjunction) 'Go around and sit down!'*

The jussive fa is a third person imperative. It can be translated *'let him':*

fa fu owei r-ai *(jussive put down come) 'Let him come down and put it!'*

fa howei r-i *(jussive sleep go) 'Let her go sleep!'*

fa howei yo *(jussive sleep vocative) 'Let him sleep!'*

The prohibitive is o. The imperative can never occur with the negative because o takes the place of a negative imperative.

o ani-ye *(prohibitive get-past) 'Don't get it!'*

o aiwawi asi ro-we *(prohibitive thisway load durative-past) 'Don't load the canoe in that way!'*

o fu fariari-ye *(prohibitive put lie-past) 'Don't lie about putting it!'*

The auxiliaries that come after the last verb of the phrase state plurality, tense, negation, question, equative, pre-requisite, causal, verbaliser, and vocative. All auxiliaries have their own accent except the ones that form compounds.

There are seven ordered sets of final auxiliaries.

I	II	III
te *'pluraliser'*	ro *'durative'*	ye ∿ we *'past'*
	na *'continuative'*	ya ∿ wa ∿ Ø *'present'*
	mo *'causal'*	yei ∿ wei *'future'*
		wo *'conjunction'*

IV	V
su *'conditional'*	ta ∿ ata ∿ ta'ama *'negative'*
asu *'probable conditional'*	awere *'question marker'*
te *'emphatic'*	

VI	VII
ne *'equative'*	se *'nominaliser'*

The auxiliary te states that the subject of the action is plural. This always comes after the last verb in the phrase. It is homophonous with te which is emphatic, but occurs only after the stem.

ahowa tase pe uwei ere te na-we *(no oneday settingmarker walk carefully continuative-past) 'We walked around carefully for some time.'*

ai atu te na-we *(cross fight plural continuative-past) 'The men were fighting cross.'*

asi owei te na-we *(load godown plural continuative-past) 'We loaded the canoe and went down.'*

The tense auxiliaries act differently from the other auxiliaries because the same ones can also be verb suffixes. When they are verb

suffixes they are not in compounds, do not have their own accent, and are not followed by a pause. These will be discussed later under verbs. The auxiliary tense is either accented or in a compound. Except for a few exceptions in auxiliaries the y occurs after front vowels and the w elsewhere.

The past tense auxiliaries are ye ∿ we:
wanu we *(hear past) 'heard it'*
atati uto we *(around down past) 'went around and down'*
ani asi na-we *(get load continuative-past) 'Got it and loaded it.'*

wei ∿ yei are future tense auxiliaries:

piyare onu wei ne *(kill sit future equative) 'the fish will be killed and set aside'*

ani nehi ti na-wei *(get find go continuative future) 'I will find him and go'*

nehi yei ne *(find future equative) 'will be found'*
siye yei ta'ama *(see future negative) 'will not see'*

ya ∿ wa ∿ Ø are present tense markers:
eine to wa *(sagopudding turn present) 'makes sago pudding'*
itero wa *(quickly present) 'goes quickly'*
ta'ase ya *(cook present) 'he cooks'*

There are two aspect auxiliaries, ro *'durative'* and na *'continuative'*. Durative is an action that is completed over a period of time. Continuous, on the other hand, is a single action repeated over a period of time. These can also be verb suffixes in which case they have no accent of their own.

ei ro ata *(say durative negative) 'not able to say'*
ani asi ro wo *(get load durative conjunction) 'get and load and...'*

ani sutaite ro wa *(get carry durative present) 'getting and carrying her'*

There are two negative auxiliaries, ta ∿ ata ∿ ta'ama. ata occurs after ro and ta occurs before ne within a quotation. ta'ama occurs elsewhere.

nomo so'oru ta ne *(we know negative equative) 'we don't understand'*
ainei ye ta'ama *(fight past negative) 'did not fight'*
ute ye ta'ama *(down not fall down) 'didn't fall down'*
noeinoei ta'ama *(properly negative) 'not properly'*
siye ri ro ata *(see go durative negative) 'can't go look'*

iyei rai ro ata *(ontop come durative negative) 'is not able to come on top'*

The auxiliary awere is placed after interrogative phrases. Unlike the English question intonation, it is used after both *'yes'* and *'no'* questions and phrases with interrogative words.

eiworo urei yei awere *(who stay future question marker) 'Who is staying?'*

peri ei awere *(talk say question marker) 'Is he talking?'*
piye ne fi awere *(why you go question) 'Why did you go?'*
fai awere *(come question) 'Did he come?'*

The emphatic te intensifies the action:

mei eite towesi yei su ru mase aine tera'e yei ne te ne *(tree this break future conditional men with strike kill future equative emphatic equative) 'If this tree breaks it will kill the men.'*

taune nau fu te *(women sago put emphatic) 'The women put it in the sago.'*

nomo ta nau taine pasiye wa te *(we ourselves sago pound night present emphatic) 'We are pounding sago during the night!'*

The equative auxiliary ne indicates that the second item is appositional or descriptive.

fara'u ne *(all-right equative) 'it is all right'*
amou ne *(taboo equative) 'it is taboo'*
iyei ta'ame ne *(ontop negative equative) 'it is not on top'*

The prerequisite auxiliaries are asu and su. asu is probable conditional and can be translated *'when'*. su is conditional and can be translated *'if'*. This phrase is a prerequisite to what happens in the next clause.

so'oru su *(know prerequisite) 'if the women know...'*
towesi yei su *(breaks future prerequisite) 'if the tree breaks...'*

efariyaiye ro asu *(redhot durative prerequisite) 'when the stones are red hot...'*

aiye ro asu *(come durative prerequisite) 'when he comes...'*

The auxiliary mo is causal. It indicates that the phrase that follows the phrase with mo is the consequence of the first. The phrase with mo is always dependent.

arawi mo we haiye piyariye meni eite to ani opai ani ere mo we *(break consequence past fern* piyariye *man this cut get cook get carefully*

consequence past) 'He broke off leaves and then this man Piyariye cut and heated stones and carefully laid them aside...'

to ani opai ani ere mo we nau seya'u eite hi yaro sa wi *(cut get cook get carefully consequence sago* seya'u *this down there it went.) 'He cut and carefully cooked the sago* seya'u *consequently put it down below.'*

netai mo we onu kohuneti yo irowe matiye *(shoot consequence past sit noise past bird* matiye*) 'He shot the bird* matiye *and consequently the noise made the bird fall.'*

The auxiliary se is used to verbalise a noun or adjective.

ahowa ta mo pe ta'oriyei se *(no some plural setting-marker lazy verbaliser) 'No, some were lazy.'*

ta ate haiye homai yei ariari se *(some this leaves break future lie verbaliser) 'Some lied and said they were going to break off leaves.'*

ta sase fu wei ariari se i wo *(some hook put future lie verbaliser go present) 'Some lied and said they were going to place fish hooks.'*

nomo i ti se kanakana sato tei na we *(we go perfect verbaliser bush-man here stay continuative past) 'We went, the bushman stayed.'*

yo ~ wo are vocative. They are put on the end of all verb phrases when they are trying to communicate over a distance. yo is used before front vowels and wo elsewhere. This is homophonous with wo which is a conjunction.

ei ye, i yo *(said past go vocative) 'He said, Go!'*
ei ye, fene i yo *(say past, you go vocative) 'He said, You go!'*
wei yo *(wait vocative) 'Wait!'*

The conjunction auxiliary wo is always attached to ro and can be translated *'and then'*. This is most common in procedural discourse.

ani asi ro wo *(get load durative conjunction) 'Get it and load it and then...'*

eine fu atati onu ro wo *(sago pudding direction around sit durative conjunction) 'The sago pudding was taken around and then...'*

tu ru ta'uwe ro wo *(first men gathertogether durative conjunction) 'First the men gather together and then...'*

wesi ta'ane noeinoei ro wo *(house work properly durative conjunction) 'Work the house properly and then...'*

ASPECTUAL VERBS

When the last verb in the sequence is aspectual, i.e. motion verbs, tei *'perfect'*, tapa'asi, po'ute, or aru *'terminators'*, the entire preceding sequence is included in the scope of the aspect.

If the motion aspect r-ai or r-i *'come'* or *'go'* respectively is the final verb and the motion is not mentioned in the previous phrase, the sequence is the purpose of the motion. Other motion verbs can be put in this position also but they have no prefix on them.

wanu we, ei na r-ai *(hear past, say continuative purpose-come) 'When we heard, we came to tell them.'*

temeniyei ye omo ta'i siye uwei ye ta'ama *(die past mountain one see walk past negative) 'The man died we did not walk around to tell just one place.'*

If the final verb is the aspectual motion r-ai or r-i and the action is mentioned in the previous verb phrase, then the actions in the sequence happened simultaneously with the motion.

nomo ta'u fai. te'e na r'ai *(we ourselves came. talk continuative simultaneous-come) 'We came. We talked as we came.'*

owei r-ai wa. iyatu r-ai *(downstream simultaneous-come. pole simultaneous-come) 'We came downstream. We came poling.'*

fai. sa'i tone r-ai. nomo siye na r-ai *(come. water cross simultaneous-come. we see continuative simultaneous-come) 'We came. We came crossing the water. We saw it as we came.'*

The final verb can be ai *'come'* or i *'go'* with a t- prefix. In this case it is just a sequential phrase.

none t-i nau *(give sequence-go continuative) 'We gave it, it went.'*

nehi atati t-i ye *(find around sequence-go past) 'We found it, we walked around and we went.'*

koroka atahe fi, fi, nomo ta kare sahe nihe tei t-i na we *(went we ourselves car in eye sleep sequence-go continuative past) 'Went close to Goroka, we slept and came to Goroka.'*

If the last verb in the sequence is the aspectual tei *'perfect'* the action of the sequence of verbs is complete but its results continue.

onu tei ye *(sit perfect past) 'We sat down'*

anite tawesi tei ye *(got-it held-it perfect past) 'We got it and held it'*

siye tei ye ne *(see perfect past equative) 'We looked at it'*

If a terminator aspect tapa'asi *'finish'*, po'ute *'finish'* or aru *'stop'* is the last verb, the action of the entire phrase is terminated.

Terminator verbs are used to terminate events on two levels. If the terminator is a complete verb phrase in itself, with no other verbs in the phrase, then the whole paragraph of which it is a part is terminated. If, however, the terminator is the last simple verb and is linked to the previous verb by the repetition of that verb, it terminates only that action included in the link.

arauwi tapa'asi ye *(split finish past) 'finish splitting the wood'*
ta'ane tapa'asi ye *(work finish past) 'finish doing it'*
hu tapa'asi ye *(wash finish past) 'finish washing it'*

po'ute is used to complete an action:
siye po'uti ye *(see finish past) 'finish looking'*
howei po'uti ye *(sleep finish past) 'finish sleeping'*
ta'ane po'uti ye *(work finish past) 'finish working'*

aru seems to be used in free fluctuation with both tapa'asi and po'ute:
opai onu aru we *(cook sit stop past) 'cook it and set it aside'*
fu aru na ti *(put stop continuative perfect) 'put aside'*
howei yaru we *(sleep stop past) 'finish sleeping'*

VERBS

The verb is made up of a verb stem which may or may not have affixes.

The verb stem itself can be a variety of things, i.e. verb roots, directionals, verbalised nouns and qualifiers.

The verb roots are action words.

i-ye *(go-past) 'went'*, ai-ye *(come-past) 'came'*, onu *'sit'*, sineti-ye *(stand-past) 'stood'*, te'e *'talk'*, eniai-ye *(eat-past) 'ate'*, uwei *'walk'*, howei *'sleep'*, siye *'see'*, itero *'run'*.

The verbs can have past tense and aspect suffixes. These are homophonous with the tense and aspect auxiliaries. However, as suffixes they do not have their own accent and are not followed by a pause.

isau-we au fu we *(grab-past directional put past) 'he grabbed it and put it up'*

o-we onu we *(cutit-past sit past) 'cut it and set it down'*

owei-ye t-ai *(godown-past sequence-come) 'we went down then came'*

toti-nau tapa'asi ro wo *(think-continuative finish durative-conjunction) 'thought then finished'*

The directionals and qualifiers are verbs, but they can also modify another verb and form verb clusters.

The directionals in a verb cluster are always placed before the verb that they modify. These directionals can also occur without another verb following.

atati uto we *(around down past) 'came around and down'*
iyei r-ai nau *(ontop come continuative) 'come on top'*

itero owei r-ai wa *(quickly down come present) 'he is coming down quickly'*

wi r-ai *(inside simultaneous-come) 'come inside'*

There is another type of directional that is different in that it is also a verb root. fu *'put'* as a directional means *'away from the speaker'*. This is homophonous with the imperative auxiliary fu. ani *'get'* as a directional means *'toward the speaker'*, au *'give'* as a directional means *'toward something else'*. These directions must occur before another verb.

fu asi ye *(from speaker load past) 'load the canoe'*
ani ta'o we *(towardspeaker breakoff past) 'break off'*
ani he'ei ye *(towardspeaker fasten past) 'close the door'*
au koko tei ye *(towardspeaker split perfect past) 'split the wood'*

The qualifying verb in a verb cluster comes after the word it modifies or it can be a verb itself.

ta'ane noeinoei ro wo *(work good durative conjunction) 'do it well'*

tawesi no'o ti ye *(carry futilely perfect past) 'carried her but it didn't do any good'*

ti fesi'i yei *(fasten securely future) 'will close the door securely'*

nowe pasiyei ye *(time night past) 'night came'*

sa is a reversal that occurs only before the final motion verb i *'go'*. It shows that the object of the first part of the phrase is performing the action of the motion and is departing from the subject of the first action.

siye po'ute sa wi *(see finish reversal go) 'we saw it already and it went'*

fu sa wi *(put reversal went) 'threw it'*

ani tahei fu sa wi na ti *(towardspeaker pullup put directional go continuative perfect) 'pull up and throw it away'*

po'ute sa wi ro wa *(finish reversal go durative present) 'We will finish and it will go.'*

NOTES

1. The field work for this paper was done in the village of Wourei on the Wogamous River in the Hiowe dialect. The stories gathered were taken from a number of informants both young and old, from October 1968 through January 1971. The analysis was done under the auspices of the New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, during a workshop partially funded by National Science Foundation Grant GS-3180 and supervised by Joseph E. Grimes. The same grant covered computer processing of a concordance of Sanio-Hiowe texts at the University of Oklahoma Computer Laboratory.

Sanio-Hiowe consonant phonemes are /p, t, k, ' (glottal stop), f, s, h, m, n, r (tap), w, y/. Vowel phonemes are /i, e, ɛ, a, u, o/. I write the /e/ as ei and the /ɛ/ as e.

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COMPUTER PROCESSED CONCORDANCE OF SANIO-HIOWE TEXTS

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