USES OF THE VERB 'TO SAY' IN GAHUKE

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

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

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

\[ \text{subject } + \text{ Quote } + \text{'say'}...\]

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

\[ \text{subject... } + \text{'thus saying say'}. + \text{ Quote } + \text{'say'}...\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Neqnsi (4)} & \quad \text{qge} & \quad \text{luve} & \quad '\text{I said "no"}.' \\
\text{I} & \quad \text{no} & \quad \text{l-said} \\
\text{Keqnsi} & \quad \text{henoniloq} & \quad \text{aliki} & \quad \text{lima} & \quad \text{vete} & \quad \text{gehani} \\
\text{they} & \quad \text{at-cargo} & \quad \text{taking} & \quad \text{descend} & \quad \text{men} & \quad \text{money}
\end{align*}
\]
alitune  liake...
we-will-get  after-they-said

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

b.  + Quote  + 'say'

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

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

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

... laka  loko  live.  Mota  asq  noize,  numutaka
thus  saying  said  now  ended  it-is  home

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

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

d.  + Quote  + 'saying thus saying say'

Ganaq  naligo  nene(5)  aqe,  alemo.  Vegenaqmata
first  as-he-took  no  don't-take  us-people

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

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

'  

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

... laka  loko  limaq:  Guivahanigmakani,  gizapa
thus  saying  he-said  My-Lord  watch

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

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

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

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

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

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

\[-\text{moq} + -\text{ve} \rightarrow -\text{mole}\]

before the suffix -li is added.

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

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

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

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

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

...Zohaneq makao nene lelitoka nene noithe John any to-us nere is-he?

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

...nana netakumug gelekunike nounce nolimog.
what thing-about we-heard we-are he-is-saying

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

c. A form of the verb 'to say' plus the verb 'to ask' may follow a quoted interrogative, either a simple one or one which queries alternatives.
"... he is asking, "Did he appear?"
' He is asking you, "Are we here because we want food or because we want pigs?"
'It should be noted that in a quoted question (containing a question word) the final verb may be either interrogative or declarative in form. This contrasts with normal unquoted structure, in which an interrogative clause (seeking a yes/no answer) occurs with an interrogative ending and a question clause always occurs with a declarative ending.

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

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

...they always abstained, thinking they might get sick.
...after he realized it must be an old man that killed and ate people...

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

They wrote that the village was Wanima'.
'We saw that he was making them officials'.
...log aleko atove loko imoqma nene...
wood take I’ll come saying he-was

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ovakekigog vitiqhe loko agata nogiligo...
only-with Ovake we’ll-go? saying his-ear as-he-heard

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

...log legeko atove loko vumoq nene...
wood secure I’ll-come saying I-went

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

...nosaqnetaq natune loko ale nupa amune.

food we'll-eat saying make gather we-didn't

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

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

...gehani aqminalaq limitive loko noluni.

money at-that he'll-give-us saying we're-saying

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

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

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

...Nigisa nene nagamig zenetamitane loko nolune.

my-feet water you'll-not-hit-for-me saying I-say

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

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

Loseeq ave liki mila ve

Loseeq it-is saying they-put man

'the man they called Loseeq'

Wanimapiq ave likakaq nia ve

Wanimapiq it-is saying they-are man

'the man they call Wanimapiq'

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

...lemeko nene Vainesokave loko nene ne.
descending Vainesoka-is saying is
down there is Vainesoka'.

...agulizag Gopiniqmove liki milalo.
his-name Gopiniqmo saying put
call him Gopiniqmo'.
...aqmina goni ha neze, Liqnumakave loko.
that bamboo still exists Liqnumuka saying

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

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

...aqminalog Hatononeve liki apleleve.
at-that Hatenoq saying they-killed

'...right there they killed Hatenoq'.

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

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

'He died for the sake of our sins'.

Nenemule loko geiq gugulizaq o gemekakaq
that-about-it-saying your your-name giving-you nounize.
we-are 'We are calling on your name on account of that'.

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

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

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

9. The verb 'to say' occurs following the locative enclitic -loq/toaq + location enclitic -ka to indicate 'inquire of'.

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

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

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

...hoza gamena molo-loko vanike...
work day put-saying you-went
...as you kept on setting work days...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

...neneqmini mogona litoze. '...I'll speak about that practice.'
of-that basis I'll-speak

...Qamasi agepoka like... '...he praised God/prayed...'
God his-praise he-spoke

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

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

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

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

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

'After he continues to request it...

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

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

Vitagaka lokago...
search-talk after-he-spoke 'After he felt the need of..."
...monog  anoka  nilago...  "...as he spoke on fearlessly..."
    wisdom  sound-talk  as-they-said

...gelekeleka  nene  ma  likakaq  amog
    servitude-talk  some  spoke  they-did
    "...they always gave orders'.

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

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

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

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

Hagnahaqna  lamanutize.
    long-long  we'll-not-speak
    'We will not speak at length'.

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

Lo  utaq
    say  apparent  he-did
    'He revealed it'.

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

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

Nosaqnetaq  nene  aliqi  nalo  loko  loketamog
    food  get  eat!  saying  he-said-for-them
    'He ordered them to get some food and eat it'.

One final feature of constructions involving the verb 'to say' deserves mention.

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

Lelig  nemoqza,
    ours  is-but

mata  limitove  lokake...
    now  I'll-give-to-us  after-he-said

'It is ours, but after he said "I'll give it to you now..."'
...nenitoka nosaqnetaq makoq ahulonetatune liki to-me food some we'll send me saying '... (those who) say they will send me some food...'

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

amuzo nomolako...
strength as you are putting

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

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

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


(4) /q/ symbolizes glottal stop.

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

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

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