

IPILI FINITE VERB FORMS

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Ipili is spoken in the Pogera and Paiyafa regions of the Enga Province in the Papua New Guinea highlands. It belongs to the West-Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock (Wurm 1982). Very little has previously been published on the language although some duplicated materials have been produced by researchers and missionaries.

Ipili has a rich set of inflected verb forms as well as phrases with auxiliaries. This paper will focus on the formation of the 53 basic finite forms that indicate person, number, tense, aspect and mood. Verbs are inflected by means of suffixes, with person markers for the most part following tense and aspect suffixes. Sample paradigms are given in Table 1. It should be noted that there is some variation in pronunciation among speakers but these forms seem to be the most common. These basic inflections can be further elaborated by the addition of affixes for negation, negative commands or warnings, customary or previous action, and a remote future imperative.

The basic finite forms are inflected for three numbers: singular, dual, and plural, in all but the Imperative/Desiderative and First Future, the idiosyncracies of which will be discussed later. Inflections also distinguish three persons in the singular but only first person from non-first (i.e. second and third) person in the dual and plural. Again the exceptions are First Future and Imperative/Desiderative which have separate forms for second and third person in the non-singular but do not differentiate dual and plural. Unlike some European languages which also use third person verb forms for second person in formal address, Ipili does not distinguish non-singular second and third persons by means of personal pronouns.

Verbs are also inflected for Present tense and for three past tenses, which can be roughly characterized as referring to events that occurred today, yesterday, and before that. Future can be indicated by two inflectional paradigms as well as a phrase with an auxiliary. The paradigm which I call First Future is used for simple future and is said to mean the same as the phrase consisting of a future participle plus the auxiliary *pu* 'go' in the present tense. However, in form the First Future is more similar to the Desiderative/Imperative paradigm than to the present and past tenses. The less frequent Second Future, which is most often used in subordinate clauses or with the suffix *-ne* as a negative command or warning, follows the pattern of the present and past tenses.¹ There is in addition an aspect for events perceived non-visually. The various uses of Ipili tenses and aspects cannot be covered in a few brief statements. Therefore, the semantic characterizations attached to them in this paper represent only their stereotypical use.

¹ Terry Borchard in his unpublished lessons for learning Ipili considers this Second Future to be a contracted form of the phrasal future consisting of a future participle plus a present tense auxiliary. While this is probably historically true, in the texts I collected the usage of the two seems to differ. The future participle verb phrase occurs commonly as the main verb of a sentence but the Second Future is rare in that position. Furthermore when Second Future occurred in recorded texts it was not given as the longer phrase in slow dictation for transcription.

Table 1
Ipili Finite Verb Forms

	anda 'see'			mandi carry		
	singular	dual	plural	singular	dual	plural
Present						
1	andeyo	andeyapa	andeyama	mandeyo	mandeyapa	mandeyama
2	andele	andeyapi	andeyai	mandele	mandeyapi	mandeyai
3	andeya	"	"	mandeya	"	"
First Past						
1	andalo	andalapa	andalama	mandiyo	mandiyapa	mandiyama
2	andale	andalapi	andalai	mandili	mandiyapi	mandiyai
3	andala	"	"	mandiya	"	"
Second Past						
1	andauwa	andaipa	andaima	mandiuwa	mandipa	mandima
2	andapi	andapiapi	andapii	mandipi	mandipiapi	mandipiai
3	andapia	"	"	mandipia	"	"
Third Past						
1	andewa	andepa	andema	mandewa	mandepa	mandema
2	andea	andepai	andelai	mandea	mandepai	mandelai
3	andea	"	"	mandea	"	"
First Future						
1	andokale	andapakale	andamakale	mandukale	mandipakale	mandimakale
2	andola	andalapale	>	mandula	mandiyapale	>
3	andeakale	->	->	mandeakale	->	>
Second Future						
1	andolowa	andolopa	andoloma	manduluwa	mandulupa	manduluma
2	andole	andolapi	andolai	mandule	mandulapi	mandulai
3	andola	"	"	mandula	"	"
Desiderative/Imperative						
1	andoa	andapa	andama	mandua	mandipa	mandima
2	anda	andalapa	->	mandi	mandiyapa	>
3	andeakale	>	->	mandeakale	>	>
Sensed						
1	andaluwa	andalupa	andaluma	mandiyuwa	mandiyupa	mandiyuma
2	andaluale	andaluapi	andaluai	mandiyuale	mandiyuapi	mandiyulai
3	andalua	"	"	mandiyua	"	"

Ipili has an unusually small number of verb roots -- only about 70 phonologically distinct roots have been encountered in many hours of recorded text. Most of these forms express more than one meaning either through polysemy or homophony. There is no verb derivation by means of affixation although compounding may occur. Other verbal concepts are represented by a phrase consisting of a particle plus a verb root or by use of two or more verbs in a kind of serial verb construction. Most verb roots end in /a/ and a smaller number in /i/. Two verbs end in /u/ (*pu* 'go' and *ipu* 'come') and also exhibit some other anomalies which will be presented later.

For the majority of the inflected forms, it is both possible and feasible to posit underlying morphemes from which the resulting surface forms are derived by the application of a few phonological rules. Many of the remaining inflected forms partially resemble rule-derived forms and only a few are truly idiosyncratic. Most of the forms can be easily analyzed as combinations of the tense/aspect and person/number suffixes presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Tense and Person Suffixes

Tense		Person				
Present	-el-	1 sg	-wa ²	1 du	-pa	1 pl -ma
1st Past	-l-	2 sg	-e			
3rd Past	-e-	3 sg	-a	2/3 du	-api	2/3 pl -ai
2nd Future	-olo					
Sensed	-lu-					
2nd Past	-i/-u/-pi					

Where several alternates are given their occurrence is not entirely predictable on phonological grounds.

Partial resemblance in the person markers makes a further breakdown into person and number tempting. For example, the third person could be considered to be *-a* with number indicated by zero in the singular, *-pi* in the dual and *-i* in the plural. However this analysis would apply only to the third person since number is not indicated this way in first and second persons or with nouns.

Morphophonemic rules that derive most of the surface forms from the underlying suffixes are given in Table 3. Vowel changes are of three common types: insertion, vowel harmony and deletion. A less common rule in terms of universal tendencies is the delateralization of /l/ to /y/ which occurs when preceded by a front vowel and followed by a back vowel³. This rule applies not only to the suffixes but also to the root of the verb *peya* 'hit', which has an underlying form *pela-* that surfaces only when followed by a non-low vowel (e.g. *peleyo* 'I am hitting'). The /l/ - /y/ alternation will be further illustrated in the discussion of individual verb forms.

² The first person singular has morphologically determined variants *-o* and *-oa*. *-o* occurs in the Present, First Past and First Future. *-oa* occurs in the Desiderative.

³ The phonemic distinctness of /l/ and /y/ can be shown by such minimal pairs as *lu* 'long' and *ly* 'ground'. Intervocalically, /l/ and /y/ may occur in identical vowel environments: *polo* 'a plant' and *poloko* 'rat'.

Table 3 Morphophonemic Rules

- 1 Vowel Insertion /a/ is inserted between consonants
- 2 Vowel Harmony
 - a Progressive Affix mid vowels (/e o/) become high (/i u/) if the preceding vowel is /i/
 - b Regressive High vowels become mid if the following vowel is mid
- 3 Vowel Deletion
 - a Coalescence of two identical vowels
 - b Final Root Vowel Deletion before a suffix beginning with a vowel
 - c Second Future Suffix Final /o/ Deletion before a vowel
- 4 Delateralization of /l/ when preceded by a front vowel and followed by a back vowel

Because Ipili does not permit consonant clusters, vowel insertion occurs whenever a suffix beginning with a consonant follows a suffix ending in a consonant

Ipili vowel harmony restricts the occurrence of mid and high vowels in adjacent syllables. In most suffixes, mid vowels (/e o/) become high (/i u/) if the underlying preceding vowel is /i/. However, the Present Tense (-el) and the Third Past Tense (-e) do not participate in vowel harmony. In fact, the vowel in these suffixes becomes the governing vowel causing high vowels in a verb root to become mid before these two tenses. The clearest example of a verb root vowel harmony is *piti* 'sit' which becomes *pet-* before /e/ (e.g. *peteya* 'is sitting'). This progressive and regressive vowel harmony has been discussed in Ingemann (1981).

The exception of non-participating mid vowel suffixes could be eliminated by positing underlying high vowels for morphemes which agree in harmony with the preceding vowel. However, /a/ is a neutral vowel with regard to harmony (cf. *take* 'a small tree', *taku* 'caterpillar' and *peteya* 'is sitting', *pitya* 'sat-1Pst-3s⁴'). Because suffixes after an /a/ surface with the mid vowel variant (*minale* 'you held-1Pst-2s, not **munali*), it seems best to regard the underlying form as having /e/.

⁴ Abbreviations used in interlinear and literal translations are

Pres	Present	1	First Person
1Pst	First Past	2	Second Person
2Pst	Second Past	3	Third Person
3Pst	Third Past	s	Singular
1Fut	First Future	d	Dual
2Fut	Second Future	p	Plural
Sn	Sensed		
Dc	Desiderative		
Imp	Imperative		

Optionally, additional progressive vowel harmony may spread beyond the vowels described above. For example, the first person present tense of *muna* is normally *muneyo* but occasionally is pronounced *munyo* or even *munyu*.

Deletion is a little more complex since vowel sequences involving /a/ are permitted in Ipih. Two identical vowels simplify to a single vowel although word final length may represent the fact that there are two underlying vowels. The final vowel of a verb root is deleted before tense suffixes beginning with an underlying non-high vowel. Because the root-final vowel is often the conditioning factor for vowel harmony, deletion takes place after vowel harmony. The final vowel of the Second Future suffix *-oto* is also deleted before vowels.

Some unpredictability is encountered with verb roots ending in two vowels as to whether both vowels or only the final vowel will be deleted. Roots ending in /ai/ delete only the final vowel but those ending in /ia/ delete both except for *ha* 'hang', in which the /i/ is retained and suffix vowels are deleted. Compare the following verbs in the present tense second person singular: *mai* 'give him', *maele* 'you are giving him', *mia* 'get', *mele* 'you are getting', *ha* 'hang', *hle* 'you are hanging'. *ambua* 'fill' may optionally delete both vowels: *ambuele* or *ambele* 'you are filling'.

There are in addition some further phonetic changes which normally occur in the pronunciation of the forms as written in the paradigms of Table 1.

sequences of 2 vowels frequently are pronounced as a diphthong
/ai/ is pronounced [e] or [ei] after /y/, /e/, and /i/
/t/ and /d/ are affricated and palatalized before /ea/

Tense Aspect and Mood

The application of the obligatory phonological rules is illustrated below in the discussion of the tense and person markers.

Present

The Present tense marker *-el* becomes *-ey* before a back vowel. In addition, the final vowel of the verb root is deleted before this suffix producing forms such as *andele* 'you see' but *andeya* 'he sees', as in (1).

(1)	andele 'you see'		andeya 'he sees'	
	anda -el -e		anda -el -a	Underlying Form
	see Pres 2s		see Pres 3s	
	and -eɭ -e		and -el -a	Vowel Deletion (b)
	NA ²		and -ey -a	Delateralization

² No change takes place

First Past

The First Past *-l* has the alternate form *-y* which occurs between a front vowel and a back vowel. Since this suffix does not delete root final vowels, the alternation only occurs with verbs ending in /i/. This alternation is illustrated in (2).

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| (2) | mandi <i>-l -e</i> | mandiya 'he carried' | |
| | carry 1Pst 2s | mandi <i>-l -a</i> | Underlying Form |
| | | carry 1Pst 3s | |
| | mandi <i>-l -i</i> | NA | Vowel Harmony |
| | NA | mandi <i>-y -a</i> | Delateralization |

Third Past

The Third Past has only one form (*-e*), which causes deletion of the root-final vowel as illustrated in (3). There is also vowel coalescence when it occurs with second person *-e*.

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| (3) | mande 'you carried' | mandea 'he carried' | |
| | mandi <i>-e -e</i> | mandi <i>-e -a</i> | Underlying Form |
| | carry 3Pst 2s | carry 3Pst 3s | |
| | mandi <i>-e⁶</i> | NA | Vowel Deletion (a) |
| | mand <i>-e</i> | mand <i>-e -a</i> | Vowel Deletion (b) |

Second Future

The final vowel of the Second Future *-olo* is deleted before a suffix beginning with a vowel. Vowel harmony changes both occurrences of /o/ to /u/ after verb roots ending in *-i* as illustrated in (4). Note that this harmony does not affect the second person singular suffix *-e*. Verb final vowels are then deleted before the Second Future suffix, as shown in (5).

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| (4) | andola 'he will see' | mandula 'he will carry' | |
| | anda <i>-olo -a</i> | mandi <i>-olo -a</i> | Underlying Form |
| | see 2Fut 3s | carry 2Fut 3s | |
| | NA | mandi <i>-ulu -a</i> | Vowel Harmony |
| | and <i>-olo -a</i> | mand <i>-ulu -a</i> | Vowel Deletion (b) |
| | and <i>-ol -a</i> | mand <i>-ul -a</i> | Vowel Deletion (c) |
| (5) | andole 'you will see' | mandule 'you will carry' | |
| | anda <i>-olo -e</i> | mandi <i>-olo -e</i> | Underlying Form |
| | see 2Fut 2s | carry 2Fut 2s | |
| | NA | mandi <i>-ulu -e</i> | Vowel Harmony |
| | and <i>olo -e</i> | mand <i>-ulu -e</i> | Vowel Deletion (b) |
| | and <i>-ol -e</i> | mand <i>-ul -e</i> | Vowel Deletion (c) |

⁶ In slow, careful speech the second person singular affix may be retained creating a long vowel.

Sensed

The Sensed aspect, used for events not directly perceived visually, is signaled by the suffix *-lu*, which becomes *-yu* after verbs ending in /i/, as illustrated in (6). The Sensed aspect most frequently occurs in the third person singular although other persons have been documented in texts and speakers have no difficulty in producing forms for all persons when requested.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| (6) | andalua | mandiyua | Surface Form |
| | anda -lu -a | mandi -lu -a | Underlying Form |
| | see Sns 3s | carry Sns 3s | |
| | NA | mandi -yu -a | Delateralization |

Second Past

The Second Past tense does not have a single underlying form. In the first person it is a high vowel *-i* in the dual and plural, *-u* in the first person singular. The first person singular *-u* could be considered an assimilation of *-i* to the /w/ in the first person singular suffix but assimilation on the basis of backness is not found elsewhere. Like other instances of the phonemic sequence /uwa/, the pronunciation is often phonetically [uwua] or [wua]. The first person singular undergoes no other phonological changes. In the dual and plural, there is vowel coalescence of verb final /i/ and the Second Past tense marker. Examples of Second Past in the first person dual are given in (7).

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| (7) | andaipa 'we saw' | mandipa 'we carried' | |
| | anda -i -pa | mandi -i -pa | Underlying Form |
| | see 2Pst 1d | carry 2Pst 1d | |
| | NA | mandi -pa | Vowel Deletion (a) |

In the second and third person, the Second Past tense marker is *-pi*. The only phonological change involves the raising of the second person singular suffix *-e* to *-i* through Vowel Harmony and the subsequent vowel coalescence of the two identical vowels, as shown in (8).

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| (8) | andapi 'you saw' | mandipi 'you carried' | |
| | anda -pi -e | mandi -pi -e | Underlying Form |
| | see 2Pst 2s | carry 2Pst 2s | |
| | anda -pi -i | mandi -pi -i | Vowel Harmony |
| | anda -pi | mandi -pi | Vowel Deletion (a) |

Desiderative

The First Future and Desiderative/Imperative paradigms are irregular. Because some of the First Future forms appear to be based on Desiderative and Imperative forms, the Desiderative and Imperative will be presented first.

There is no overt marker of Desiderative for first person. The Desiderative first person singular is *-oa*, which is a variant form of the first person singular *-wa*. Examples of Desiderative first person singular are given in (9) and the dual in (10).

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|--|
| (9) | andoa 'let me see' | mandua 'let me carry' |
| | anda Ø - oa | mandi Ø - oa Underlying Form |
| | see Des 1s | carry Des 1s |
| | NA | mandi - ua Vowel Harmony |
| | and - oa | mand - ua Vowel Deletion (b) |
| (10) | andapa 'let's see' | mandipa 'let's carry' |
| | anda Ø - pa | mandi Ø - pa Underlying Form |
| | see Des 1d | carry Des 1d |

The third person of the Desiderative is unusual in two ways. First, it does not distinguish number but it does differ from the second person, contrary to the neutralization of non-singular second/third person in other tenses. Second, it seems to be formed from the third person singular of the Third Past tense (-*e-a*) plus -*kale*, as shown in (11). Although this analysis is semantically unlikely, there is no other morpheme to which this /e/ might be linked.

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (11) | andeakale 'let him see' | mandeakale 'let him carry' |
| | anda - e - a - kale | mandi - e - a - kale Underlying Form |
| | see 3Pst 3s Des | carry 3Pst 3s Des |
| | and - e - a - kale | mand - e - a - kale Vowel Deletion |

Imperative

The second person inflection corresponding to the Desiderative first and third persons is the Imperative. Like the Desiderative, there is no overt marker of mood. In the singular, the Imperative is expressed by the unaffixed verb root e.g. *anda* 'see'. The imperative has no dual/plural distinction, both being formed with -*lapa*, as in (12).

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|---|
| (12) | andalapa 'see' | mandiyapa 'carry' |
| | anda - lapa | mandi - lapa Underlying Form |
| | see Imp2d/p | carry Imp2d/p |
| | NA | mandi - yapa Delateralization |

First Future

The first and third persons of the First Future are formed with -*kale*. The third person is in fact identical in form with the Desiderative. The first person adds -*kale* (sometimes pronounced -*kole*) to the Desiderative except that the singular takes the form of -*o* or optionally -*wa*. -*kale* differs from other tense markers in that it follows the person suffix rather than preceding it. Examples of the first person singular are given in (13).

- (13) **andokale** 'I will see' **mandukale** 'I will carry'
anda -wa -kale **mandi -wa -kale** Underlying Form
 see 1s 1Fut carry 1s 1Fut
- anda -o -kale** **mandi -o -kale** 1s Alternate Form
 NA **mandi -u -kale** Vowel Harmony
and -o -kale **mand -u -kale** Vowel Deletion (b)

The second person of the First Future is also an exception to the general pattern of finite verb formation. In the singular, it is *-ola* (e.g. *andola* 'you will see'). The form looks as if it begins with the /ol/ found in the Second Future, but /a/ is elsewhere a third person, not second person marker. With verbs ending in /i/, there is even more irregularity. As is expected, /o/ becomes /u/ by vowel harmony (e.g. *mandula* 'you will carry') but with verbs ending in /ai/ there is sometimes metathesis (e.g. *mai* 'give him', *malua* 'you will give him') and sometimes vowel insertion (e.g. *wai* 'chop', *waulua* 'you will chop').

In the second person non-singular, as in the Imperative, there is no distinction between dual and plural. In fact, the First Future seems to be based on the non-singular Imperative to which *-le* is added. It is possible that *-le* might be a shortened form of *-kale* but there is no supporting evidence for this analysis.

Person Markers

Ipili finite verbs are marked for the person and number of the subject. The suffixation of the person markers given in Table 2 is in general straight forward. Application of the phonological processes given in Table 3 to person markers are shown in examples (14) - (16).

- (14) **andalapa** 'we saw' **mandiyapa** 'we carried'
anda -l -pa **mandi -l -ma** Underlying Form
 see 1Pst 1d carry 1Pst 1p
- anda -l a -pa** **mandi -l a -ma** Vowel Insertion
 NA **mandi -y a -ma** Delateralization
- (15) **mandele** 'you carry' **mandili** 'you carried'
mandi -el -e **mandi -l -e** Underlying Form
 carry Pres 2s carry 1Pst 2s
- NA **mandi -l -i** Vowel Harmony
mand -el -e NA Vowel Deletion (b)
- (16) **ande** 'you saw' **andapi** 'you saw'
anda -e -e **anda -pi -e**
 see 2Pst 2s see 2Pst 2s
- NA **anda -pi -i** Vowel Harmony
anda -e **anda -pi** Vowel Deletion (a)
and -e NA Vowel Deletion (b)

There are, however, some non-phonologically predictable variants of person markers described below

First Person Singular

The first person singular has variants that are not completely predictable phonologically -*wa*, -*o* (and its vowel harmony alternate -*u*) and -*oa(-ua)*. As might be expected, -*o* tends to occur after consonants and -*wa* after vowels. However, before -*ne*, -*wa* is used instead, as shown in (17)

(17)	andalo 'I saw'	andalawane 'I customarily see'
	anda -l -wa	anda -l -wa -ne Underlying Form
	see 1Pst 1s	see 1Pst 1s * ⁷
	NA	anda -l a -wa -ne Vowel Insertion
	anda -l -o	NA 1s Variant

Some speakers also use -*wa* where others use -*o*. For example, 'I will see' may be *andawakale* as well as *andokale*. In addition, as previous mentioned, -*oa* occurs only in the Desiderative.

Second Person Singular

The most common marker for second person singular is -*e* or its vowel harmony alternate -*i*. However, the following variants occur in the paradigms indicated

First Future	- <i>ola</i> (and variants mentioned previously)
Imperative	∅
Sensed	- <i>ale</i>

Second Person Non-Singular

Non-singular second person is usually not differentiated from third person. However, in the Imperative it is -*lapa* (or delateralized -*yapa*) and in the First Future -*lapale* (or delateralized -*yapale*).

Second and Third Person Dual

Although the second/third person dual marker is usually -*api*, the final vowel /i/ lowers to /e/ in regressive harmony before the -*ne* suffix, which appears in the variant form -*le* after the second/third person dual marker (e.g. *peteapi* 'they sat', *peteapele pia* 'they ate said to have sat')

⁷ -*ne* has a number of different uses when added to finite verb. For this reason, there is no single convenient semantic tag which can be used in interlinear translations. With the First Past forms, the meaning becomes customary or previous action.

The Verbs *pu* 'go' and *ipu* 'come'

The verbs *pu* 'go' and *ipu* 'come' in most inflected forms delete the /u/. Because the /u/ does not raise suffix vowels to high, these verbs inflect for the most part like verb roots ending in /a/. In situations where the root-final vowel is normally not deleted the /u/ becomes /o/ or /a/, as shown in (18)

(18)	pala 'he went'		polo		
	pu -l -a		pu -l -wa		Underlying Form
	go 1Pst 3s		go 1Pst 1s		

Furthermore, the vowels of *ipu* usually lower before suffixes containing mid or low vowels so that the inflected stem is *ep-* or *epo-* *epeyo* 'I am coming', *epokale* 'I will come', *epala* 'he came', etc

Other irregularities of these verbs include the dual/plural imperative which is *-lupa*, instead of *-lapa*. In addition, in the Desiderative and First Future first person plural of *pu*, the root is deleted entirely *ma* 'let's go' and *makale* 'we will go'. For the dual, not only is the root deleted but the stop of *-pa* voices *ba* 'let's(2) go', *bakale* 'we(2) will go'

Other Common Finite Verb Affixes

In addition to the affixes listed below there are suffixes that function as conjunctions. These are not described in this paper.

na-

Negation is indicated by the only prefix in the language *na-*. Negation may be added directly to the inflected form *na-adea* 'he didn't see', or to the inflected auxiliary *pi* 'do' in a verb phrase *anda na-pea*, without any change in meaning.

-ne

-ne (and its vowel harmony alternate *-ni*) added to finite verbs serves a number of different functions. In the second/third person dual, the suffix has the form *-le andeapele pia* 'they are said to have seen'. The relationship of this verb suffix to the *-ne/-ni* inalienable noun suffix needs further study.

Followed by *-ko*, the definite determiner, *-ne* is added to the finite verb to form a relative clause *one mindi epeane-ko* 'a white person who came'.

-ne added to First Past indicates customary or previous action *mandiyamane* 'we customarily carry' or 'we carried (prior to the time of the main verb in the sentence)'

Although the *na-* prefix may negate Desiderative/Imperative forms, it is more common to add the suffix *-ne* to Second Future forms to express a negative imperative or desiderative *andolene* 'do not look', *andolane* 'let him not see'.

-ne is also used after a Third Past form and before the particle indicating a nonwitnessed event *andearni pia* 'they are said to have seen'. In the third person singular the suffix has the form *-e andeae pia* 'he is said to have seen'. After the dual second/third person suffix this suffix has the form *-le andeapele pia* 'they two are said to have seen'.

-pe

A command can be made less urgent by the addition of the suffix *-pe* to the imperative *andape*, *andalapape*. This form is used for actions which are not to be carried out at once or as polite forms. This suffix may optionally lower high vowels *gipe* or *gepe* 'please give me', *pupe* or *pope* 'go when you like'.

Clitics

Finite verbs are usually the last word of an Ipili clause. However, there are a number of morphemes which follow finite verbs with a status between that of an affix and an independent word. They are normally said as part of a phonological word although they do not enter into vowel harmony and may be dictated back in slow speech as a separate word. Furthermore, many of them may also occur at the end of noun phrases. These include

ko

ko occurs after finite verbs either at the end of a main clause indicating that the event is evident or at the end of a subordinate clause with meanings determined by context. It possibly may be the same as the *-ko* that indicates definiteness in nouns and embeds a relative clause in a noun phrase.

kola

kola 'and' conjoins two clauses. It may be analyzable into the definite *-ko* and the conjomer *-la* 'and' that occurs with nouns.

ote/wete

ote or its optional alternate pronunciation *wete* is an emphatic which can be used with other parts of speech as well as verbs.

pe

An interrogative *pe* (or optionally *pa*) may be added to an inflected form to make a question *andele-pe* 'do you see?'. This is not strictly verbal affix since it can be added to other word classes as well *aki-pe* 'what?'. It may even be used alone to prompt a hearer to respond to what has been said.

pia

pia is used to distance the speaker from the narrative. Most commonly it is used with the remote past to indicate that the speaker did not actually witness the events but there is an occasional use in first person narrative to put the account in a story-telling mode. It is always preceded by the *-ne/-ni/-le/-e* suffix mentioned above. It is not clear whether the *pia* used with verbs is the same as the definite *pia* which occurs with noun phrases or is a short form of *lapia* 'he said (2Pst)', which occasionally occurs in place of *-pia* especially in chanted tales.

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