

# 24 *On interclausal reference in Kewa*

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APOI YARAPEA

## 1 Introduction

The main purpose of this paper is to propose new switch-reference markers for Kewa, particularly those of East Kewa.<sup>1,2</sup> Franklin (1971, 1983) describes Kewa as having a switch-reference system,<sup>3</sup> comparable to those in other Papuan languages (cf. Roberts 1997). Franklin (1983) describes coreference and switch-reference markers of Kewa. He states that reference is marked in coordinate medial clauses only, as in examples (1) and (2) below, taken from Franklin (1983:40).

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- <sup>1</sup> An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the Second International conference on New Guinea languages and linguistics at Goroka in Papua New Guinea on the 26th September 1997. My thanks are due to members of my supervisory panel, Professor Andrew Pawley and Dr Tom Dutton, for their comments on various drafts of this paper. I am grateful to Dr Karl Franklin for his comments on an earlier version and for his intellectual support. However, Dr Franklin may not agree entirely with the proposals presented here and I take responsibility for weaknesses that may remain.
  - <sup>2</sup> Kewa language is spoken by over 60,000 speakers in Ialibu, Pangia, Kagua, Erave, Poroma and Mendi districts of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. Kewa belongs to the Trans New Guinea Phylum (TNGP), West-Central (Engan) Family, and Angal-Kewa Subfamily (SIL data base, Ukarumpa, PNG). It shares some of the main features of TNGP languages. It has SOV word order, serial verbs, and medial clauses. Dr Karl Franklin and his wife Joyce Franklin have researched the language since 1958 and published extensively in linguistic, anthropological and literacy fields. Karl Franklin's publications include a grammar (1971) and a dictionary (1978). The author's study of East Kewa – his mother-tongue dialect – commenced in 1991 with a MPhil dissertation submitted to the University of Sydney in 1992. Currently he is undertaking PhD research on morphosyntax and discourse features of Kewa, in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.
  - <sup>3</sup> The term 'switch-reference' was coined by Jacobsen (Roberts 1997:103). Matthews (1997:365) defines switch-reference as a grammatical system in which a marker indicates whether a subject or other argument of a following verb has or has not the same referent as that of the verb preceding. Haiman and Munro (1983) define switch-reference as an inflectional category of the verb, which indicates whether or not its subject is identical with the subject of some other verb.

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399

- (1) *Ni piru-a na-wa.*  
 I sit-SEQ:SS eat-NP:1SG<sup>4</sup>  
 'I sat down and ate.'
- (2) *Ne ripina-ina-loa ni ta-lua.*  
 you grab-2SG:DS-SEQ I hit-FU:1SG  
 'You grab him and then I'll hit him.'

Both (1) and (2) have coordinate medial reference-marking clauses. In (1) the suffix *-a* 'SEQ:SS' (West Kewa) or *-ma* 'SEQ:SS' (East Kewa) marks coreference, i.e. the subject NP of the medial clause is the same (SS) as that of the final clause. Note that there is no subject agreement suffix marker. In (2) the pronominal subject agreement suffix *-ina* '2SG' is described as a switch-reference marker, i.e. the subject NP of the medial clause is different (DS) from that of the final clause. In this paper it will be argued that the pronominal subject agreement suffix of the subjunctive clause<sup>5</sup> is not a switch-reference marker. Instead the sequential marker *-loa* 'SEQ:DS' (West Kewa) or *-loma* 'SEQ:DS' (East Kewa) is the switch-reference marker.

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<sup>4</sup> Abbreviations used in the paper:

1	first person	IRR	irrealis verb (mood)
2	second person	JUSS	jussive mood
3	third person	NEG	negation marker
AGN	agentive case	NOM	nominaliser
ASP	aspect	NP	near past tense
AUG	augment form	OBJ	object relation
BEN	benefaction	PERM	permissive mood
CF	contrastive focus	PL	plural
COMP	complementiser	POS	possessor
COMPL	completive aspect	PR	present
DESI	desiderative modality	RP	remote past tense
DL	dual	S	subject
DS	different subject (switch of reference)	SEQ	sequential relation
DUR	durative relation	SG	singular
EMPH	emphatic assertion	SIM	simultaneous temporal relation
excl.	exclusive of addressee	SS	same subject (coreference)
EXHORT	exhortative mood	SURP	surprise assertion
FU	future tense	TOP	topicaliser
HRS	hearsay evidential	tr./trans	transitive verb
IMPER	imperative clause	V	verb
incl.	inclusive of addressee	VAD	validated assertion or assertion validated as a true proposition
intr./intrans.	intransitive verb		

<sup>5</sup> In Kewa a subjunctive clause has a medial non-finite verb which is suffixed by subject-agreement suffixes. The use of the subjunctive clause in Kewa is not like the use of subjunctive in European languages (see Haiman 1987:361; Matthews 1997:365) where they are used to express uncertain statements or the speaker's lack of commitment to the truth of what s/he is reporting. It occurs as complement clauses of reported speech as in English (see Hurford 1994). As an independent mood clause, it encodes obligative and permission modes, as in Upper Asaro (see Strange 1973), and is used to impose obligation (as in the sense of Sweetser 1990) based on inferential knowledge or self-ascribed knowledge of the speaker (see Peacocke 1997) of the need or necessity to realise the action by the subject (actor) of the subjunctive clause.

## 2 Previous work on interclausal reference in Kewa

Franklin (1971, 1983) describes medial clauses and suffixes that mark coreference and change of reference in Kewa. Tables 1 and 2 present Franklin's same-subject (SS) and different-subject (DS) suffixes that monitor interclausal reference in two dialects of Kewa.

**Table 1:** Coreference markers in Kewa (Franklin 1983:42)

	Paradigm: SS Suffixes			
	WEST Kewa		EAST Kewa	
	-BEN	+BEN	-BEN	+BEN <sup>6</sup>
SEQ	(V)-a	wa	(V)ma	oma
SIM				
unit	V	aa	V	au
split	ri	ama	ri	ara

**Table 2:** Switch-reference markers in Kewa (Franklin 1983:44)

	Paradigm: DS Suffixes		
	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	no	pana	mana
2.	ina	(li)pina	(li)mina
3.	(V)na	(V)na	(V)na

Franklin (1983:40-41) lists the following characteristics of medial and final verbs in Kewa which are common to many Papuan languages (Longacre 1985; Haiman 1987; Roberts 1997):

- (a) person, number, and tense are always marked on the final verb;
- (b) temporal and logical relationship between clauses is always marked on the medial verb;
- (c) switch-reference is always marked on the medial verb;
- (d) reference chains may be interrupted by particles which specify distinct interclausal relationships such as reason–result, thesis–antithesis, and cause–effect;
- (e) medial verbs combine with deictic forms to link sentences in discourse.

He (1983:41) distinguishes medial coordinate and subordinate clauses:

Medial verbs are, in an intuitive sense, *dependent* on the following verb (this is the meaning of properties (b) and (c): but they are not *subordinate*, and the relationship between medial and the following clause is generally one of coordination. The term subordinate is reserved for medial verbs occurring with one of the diacritic particles [subordinating conjunctions] of (d)

<sup>6</sup> Benefaction is a distinct grammatical category marked invariably by the morpheme *-a* in East Kewa. It is not part of the switch-reference monitoring morphology, therefore falls outside the scope of this paper.

In this paper we will propose the following revisions of Franklin's account of medial clause and reference marking in Kewa:

1. Adverbial subordinate non-finite medial clauses are morphologically distinct from adverbial subordinate non-final finite clauses.
2. Adverbial subordinate non-finite medial clauses are morphologically distinct from coordinate medial non-finite clauses.
3. The subjunctive is an independent mood clause and does not exist only to mark switch-reference. Thus subject-agreement suffixes of the subjunctive clauses are not switch-reference markers.

### 3 Subordinate and coordinate medial clauses of Kewa

Generally, any clause in a sentence which is not a final main clause is a non-final or a medial clause. It modifies the main clause unless it is in an addition relation with the main clause. We distinguish non-finite and finite non-final clauses and further distinguish subordinate and coordinate medial clauses. The following examples illustrate these differences.

- (3) *Naaki ipu-la-da ni pu-lu.*  
 boy come-PR:3SG-because I go-PR:1SG  
 'Because the boy is coming, I am going.'
- (4) *Nogo agale la-ri epa-a.*  
 girl talk say-SIM:SS come-NP:3SG  
 'As the girl was talking, she came.'
- (5) *Ali ipu-ma pua-a.*  
 man come-SEQ:SS go-NP:3SG  
 'The man came and went.'
- (6) *Winya pe-na-loma nogo epa-a.*  
 man go-3SG-SEQ:DS girl come-NP:3SG  
 'The woman had gone and the girl came.'
- (7) *Ipu-luaa-no pua-a.*  
 come-DUR:DS-1SG go-NP:3SG  
 'While I was coming, he went.'

Sentence (3) has a finite adverbial subordinate medial clause whose subject NP has a disjoint reference from the subject NP of the main clause. Sentence (4) has a non-finite adverbial subordinate medial clause whose subject NP is coreferential with the subject NP of the final clause. Sentence (5) has a non-finite coordinate medial clause marked for coreference with the subject NP of the final clause. Sentence (6) has a non-finite coordinate medial clause marked for switch-reference with the subject NP of the final clause. The switch-reference marker is the sequential different subject marker *-loma* and not the subject agreement suffix *-na* '3SG'. Sentence (7) has an adverbial subordinate non-finite clause which is marked for change of reference by the durative different subject marker *-luaa*.

We make the following points:

1. Only medial non-finite clauses mark coreference or change of reference.
2. Non-final finite adverbial subordinate clauses are irrelevant as they are not marked by switch-reference monitoring morphology.
3. Both non-finite subordinate and coordinate medial clauses are marked by reference monitoring morphology. A simultaneous temporal marker marks a medial clause as an adverbial subordinate<sup>7</sup> medial clause and a sequential temporal marker marks a medial clause as a coordinate medial clause.
4. Final clauses are marked for tense, subject agreement and mode. Absolutive tense and mode (both modality and speech act) may never be marked on non-finite medial clauses marking switch reference; they are dependent on the final clauses for these categories.

#### 4 Subject agreement suffixes of Kewa

In order to establish coreference and switch-reference markers of Kewa, and to make the point that subjunctive clause subject-agreement suffixes are not switch-reference markers, we contrast subject-agreement suffixes of Kewa mood clauses.

##### 4.1 Mood clauses of Kewa

Kewa has three grammatical mood clauses – the declarative, the imperative and the subjunctive. Tables 3, 4 and 5 present the subject-agreement suffixes of these mood clauses in East Kewa.

**Table 3:** Subject suffixes in the declarative mood

Person/number	Present	Near Past	Remote Past	Future	Habitual
1 SG	<i>-lo</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-lua</i>	<i>-e</i>
2SG	<i>-le</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-si</i>	<i>-li</i>	<i>-le</i>
3SG	<i>-la</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-sa</i>	<i>-lia</i>	<i>-a</i>
1 DL	<i>-lepa</i>	<i>-pa</i>	<i>-sipa</i>	<i>-lipa</i>	<i>-pa</i>
2/3 DL	<i>-lepe</i>	<i>-pa</i>	<i>-sipi</i>	<i>-lipi</i>	<i>-pe</i>
1 PL	<i>-lema</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-sima</i>	<i>-lima</i>	<i>-ma</i>
2/3 PL	<i>-leme</i>	<i>-me</i>	<i>-simi</i>	<i>-limi</i>	<i>-me</i>

The declarative predicate has subject suffixes in first, second and third persons. These suffixes have singular, dual and plural forms which vary with tense and occur as portmanteau (or fused) tense-subject-number suffixes.

<sup>7</sup> In Papuan linguistics 'clause chaining' involving medial verbs is generally considered a case of coordination (e.g. Reesink 1983:226; Franklin 1971, 1983). In Kewa simultaneous medial clauses are adverbial clauses which express presupposition and simultaneous and durative temporal relation. They modify the final clause. The morpheme *-ri ~ re ~ ra* which marks coreference is a topic marker which also marks subordinate conditional clauses. Only the medial non-finite clause marked by a sequential relation marker *-ma* occurs in a linear addition relation. No presupposition is expressed by coordinate medial clauses.

**Table 4:** Subject suffixes in the imperative mood

Immediate imperative	Non-immediate imperative	Negative imperative
Singular: Verb (stem)	Singular: <i>V-pe</i>	Singular: <i>na- 'NEG'V-pe</i>
Non-singular: <i>V-lepa</i> (tr.) <i>V-lupa</i> (intr.)	Non-singular: <i>V-lepape</i> (tr.) <i>V-lupape</i> (intr.)	Non-singular: <i>na- 'NEG'V-lepape</i> (tr.) <i>na- 'NEG'V-lupape</i> (intr.)

The imperative verb has second person subject suffixes which contrast singular and non-singular. The non-singular subject suffixes are marked.

**Table 5:** Subject suffixes in the subjunctive mood

Number	First person	Second person	Third person
Singular	<i>V-no</i>	<i>V-ina</i>	<i>V-na</i>
Dual	<i>V-pono</i>	<i>V-lipina</i>	<i>V-na</i>
Plural	<i>V-mono</i>	<i>V-limina</i> <i>V-mena</i> , only with the verb <i>te</i> 'to say/tell' in the irrealis mood	<i>V-na</i>
	Inclusive: <b>dual:</b> <i>V-pona</i> '1SG+2SG' <b>plural:</b> <i>V-mina</i> '1+2PL'		

The subjunctive verb subject suffixes are in first, second and third persons. Only the first and second person have singular, dual and plural suffixes, whereas the third person makes no number distinction. Free pronouns as subject NPs must occur to indicate number in the clause when third persons are subjects.

Note that imperative and the subjunctive clauses have irrealis mood, i.e. both express events to be realised after the speech moment and they lack tense marking. The declarative and the subjunctive are similar in that they are both statements.

## 4.2 Coreference and switch-reference markers of Kewa

As the subjunctive mood clause exits as an independent mood clause, which is marked for speech-act categories like the declarative and the imperative, we suggest that the subject-agreement suffixes are not switch-reference markers. Instead we propose sequential, simultaneous and durative markers as coreference and switch-reference markers. Table 6 presents East Kewa reference markers.

Table 6: Reference markers of East Kewa

Same subject (coreference)	Different subject (switch reference)
Non-finite coordinate medial declarative clause: <i>-ma</i> 'SEQ:SS'	Non-finite coordinate medial subjunctive clause: <i>-loma</i> 'SEQ:DS' (human subject) <i>-loma</i> 'SEQ:SS' (inanimate subject)
Declarative non-finite subordinate medial clause: <i>-ri</i> 'SIM:SS' <i>-luara</i> 'SIM:SS' (intrans. motion verbs) <i>-loara</i> 'SIM:SS' (trans. motion verbs) <i>-lupiri</i> 'SIM:SS' (intrans. non-motion verbs) <i>-lopiri</i> 'SIM:SS' (trans. non-motion verbs)	Subjunctive non-finite subordinate medial clauses: <i>-luaa</i> 'DUR:DS' (intrans. motion verbs) <i>-loaa</i> 'DUR:DS' (trans. motion verbs) <i>-lupisa</i> 'DUR:DS' (intrans. non-motion verbs) <i>-loписа</i> 'DUR:DS' (trans. non-motion verbs)

A declarative clause is used as a medial for marking a coreferential relation between two clauses. The final clause may be a declarative, an imperative or a subjunctive clause. For example, sentences (8) and (11) have declarative final clauses, sentences (9) and (12) have non-immediate imperative final clauses, and sentences (10) and (13) have subjunctive final clauses.

- (8) *Rai mu-ma pa-li.*  
 axe get-SEQ:SS go-FU:2SG  
 'You will get the axe and go.'
- (9) *Rai mu-ma po-pe.*  
 axe get-SEQ:SS go-IMPER  
 '(You) get the axe and go (non-immediate command).'
- (10) *Rai mu-ma pa-ina.*  
 axe get-SEQ:SS go-2SG  
 'After you get the axe, you should go.'
- (11) *Ada pu-luara rai gi-a.*  
 house go-SIM:SS axe give-NP:3SG  
 'While s/he was going home, s/he gave me the axe.'
- (12) *Wepo la-ri po-pe.*  
 whistle say-SIM:SS go-IMPER  
 'As you whistle, go.'
- (13) *Eda na-ri po-no.*  
 food eat-SIM:SS go-1SG  
 'While I am eating food, I should go.'

Sentences (8)–(10) are coordinate sentences characterised by their medial clauses being marked by the sequential coreference marker *-ma* 'SEQ:SS', and sentences (11)–(13) are adverbial sentences characterised by their medial clauses being marked by simultaneous SS marker *-luara* 'SIM:SS' and simultaneous SS marker *-ri* 'SIM:SS'.

A subjunctive clause is employed syntactically as a medial clause for marking a change of reference between two clauses. The final clause may be a declarative (14), an imperative (15) or a subjunctive clause (16).

- (14) *Rai mea-ina-loma epa-wa.*  
axe get-2SG-SEQ:DS come-NP:1SG  
'You had got the axe and I come.'
- (15) *Ada pu-luaa-na tya-pe.*  
house go-DUR:DS-3SG hit-IMPER  
'While s/he is going home, (you sg.) hit someone.'
- (16) *Rai mea-loaa-no pa-ina.*  
axe get-DUR:DS-1SG go-2SG  
'While I am getting the axe, you should go.'

Sentence (14) is a coordinate sentence characterised by the sequential different subject marker *-loma* 'SEQ:DS', and sentences (15) and (16) are adverbial sentences characterised by the durative markers *-luaa* and *-loaa*.

It is important to note that when the subjunctive clause is syntactically employed medially to mark switch-reference the semantic obligative or permission mode (depending on pragmatic context) encoded by the subjunctive mood clause is neutralised. When the subjunctive clause occurs as a final clause or as an adverbial subordinate clause without the switch-reference morphology, it encodes obligative or permission mode (see §5 for a detailed discussion of the syntactic and semantic functions of the subjunctive clause).

#### 4.2.1 *Subject-agreement markers are not switch-reference markers*

In this section we demonstrate that subject-agreement markers of the subjunctive clause are not switch-reference markers. We have a perfect example in (17) of the subjunctive clause in a thought-reporting clause where there is no change of reference.

- (17) *Ni po-no kone sa-lo.*  
I go-1SG thought put-NP:1SG  
'I think "I have to/should go".' (lit. 'I am putting thought "I have to go"'.')

Example (18), from Franklin (1983:46), is a West Kewa example of a change of reference between the subject NP of the reported clause which functions as an object complement and the subject NP of the reporting clause. Franklin claims that the subjunctive clause subject-agreement suffix is the switch-reference marker in (18).

- (18) *Go-a lo-a-re go-re*  
that-and utter-SEQ:SS-TOP that-TOP  
'*sukulu gima-ina* *si-mi-de.*  
school leave-2SG utter-RP.3PL-COMPL  
'Having said that, they said "You should leave school".'

There is no switch-reference marking in (18). The reported clause is a subjunctive clause. This example contradicts Franklin's implicit claim that linear adjacency of a subjunctive clause and a non-subjunctive clause is a case of coordination involving switch-reference marking. He states (Franklin 1983:45) "since switch-reference is not normally marked between a

complement clause and a superordinate clause, this is a remarkable fact: but it is generally the case that the complement of a verb of quotation is treated in this way". Another problem of treating the independent subjunctive clause as a medial coordinate clause is demonstrated in Franklin given below as example (19).

- (19) *Ne sapi na-ina gia-no.*  
 you sweet.potato eat-2SG give-1SG  
 'You should eat sweet potato, and I give it to you.'  
 ['You have to eat sweet potato, (so) I have to give it to you.'  
 OR: 'Can I give you sweet potato to eat?' (if there is a question intonation)]

This author's translation is in the square brackets. Again there is no switch-reference marker. The two clauses are simply two independent subjunctive clauses in juxtaposition, and therefore linked by inference. Franklin interprets (19) as a coordinate construction, but suggests that the whole construction be treated as a subjunctive in the absence of a final finite clause.

We have so far claimed that the switch-reference marker is the sequential DS marker *-loma*, which marks the subjunctive clause occurring medially in a coordinate sentence. This claim needs to be qualified by illustrating cases where *-loma* does not mark a change of reference. Consider the examples below.

- (20) *Ne-me repona wi-na lo-ma pua-wa.*  
 I-AGN wood leave-it say-SEQ:SS go-NP:1SG  
 'I said, "wood has to stay" and went.'
- (21) *Ne-me repona wi-na-loma pua-wa.*  
 I-AGN wood leave-it-SEQ:SS go-NP:1SG  
 'I left the wood and went.'
- (22) *Ipu-me repona wi-na-loma pua-a.*  
 he-AGN wood leave-3SG-SEQ:SS go-NP:3SG  
 'He left the wood and went.'

Example (20) presents a well-formed coordinate sentence where the non-final clause has an embedded object complement clause, but it is semantically odd as speakers do not often speak to themselves. Here the medial subjunctive clause has an inanimate subject NP which fills the object complement slot of a coordinate medial verb *lo* 'to say'. One way of raising the underlying subject of the subjunctive clause to a surface subject NP is to reanalyse the medial coordinate verb *lo-ma* 'say-SEQ' as a coordinating suffix *-loma* 'SEQ:SS', as in (21) and (22), and a switch-reference marker *-loma* 'SEQ:DS', as in (23). This is what is likely to have happened diachronically.<sup>8</sup> The reanalysis of medial verbs as conjunctions is pervasive in Kewa. Another example is *go-a* (West Kewa) or *gu-ma* having done that then' (East Kewa) in sentence (18) above.

Notice that in examples (21) and (22) there is no switch-reference marking despite the marking of the medial clause by the sequential and coordination marker *-loma*. The explanation for this fact is that switch-reference monitors only topical animate referents, prototypically human referents, as in examples (23)–(25).

<sup>8</sup> This process of clause reduction and reanalysis is hypothesised by Haiman (1987) to be responsible for medial verb creation in many Papuan languages.

- (23) *Ipu eda ne-na-loma epa-me.*  
 s/he food eat-3SG-SEQ:DS come-NP:3PL  
 'S/he had eaten food, and they came.'
- (24) *Ipu-luaa-na pua-wa.*  
 come-DUR:DS-3SG go-NP:1SG  
 'While s/he was coming, I went.'
- (25) *Agale la-lopisa-ina pa-simi.*  
 agale say-DUR:DS-2SG go-RP:3PL  
 'While you were talking, they went.'

As in examples (23)–(25) the presence of sequential and simultaneous relation or switch-reference markers neutralises the deontic modality of the subjunctive clause and it becomes employed syntactically as a medial reference-marking clause. Note that (23) is not a case of sloppy coreference, because s/he is excluded from the third person plural 'they'.

In sum we have demonstrated coreference and switch-reference marking in both subordinate adverbial and coordinate medial clauses. The markers also encode semantic categories of aspect (sequential–completive aspect and simultaneous and durative–imperfective and durative aspects, and relative tenses). Table 7 summarises the proposed coreference and switch-reference markers for two dialects of Kewa.

**Table 7:** Coreference (SS) and switch-reference (DS) markers of Kewa

East Kewa	West Kewa
<i>-ma</i> 'SEQ:SS'	<i>-a</i> 'SEQ:SS'
<i>-loma</i> 'SEQ:SS' (inanimate NP in the subjunctive)	<i>-loa</i> 'SEQ:SS' (inanimate NP in the subjunctive)
<i>-loma</i> 'SEQ:DS' (human (animate) NP) in the subjunctive medial clause	<i>-loa</i> 'SEQ:DS' (human (animate) NP) in the subjunctive medial clause
Non-subjunctive subordinate medial clause temporal markers:  <i>-ri</i> 'SIM:SS' <i>-luara</i> 'SIM:SS' (intrans. motion verbs) <i>-loara</i> 'SIM:SS' (trans. motion verbs) <i>-lupiri</i> 'SIM:SS' (intrans. non-motion verbs) <i>-lopiri</i> 'SIM:SS' (trans. non-motion verbs)	Non-subjunctive subordinate medial clause temporal markers:  <i>-ri</i> 'SIM:SS'
Subjunctive subordinate medial clauses temporal markers:  <i>-luaa</i> 'DUR:DS' (intrans. motion verbs) <i>-loaa</i> 'DUR:DS' (trans. motion verbs) <i>-lupisa</i> 'DUR:DS' (intrans. non-motion verbs) <i>-lopisa</i> 'DUR:DS' (trans. non-motion verbs)	*Durative markers for West Kewa are not clear from Franklin (1983) but we can expect to find East Kewa equivalents in West Kewa.

Kewa has a canonical switch-reference system, one which meets the following formal and functional conditions (cf. Stirling 1993:6-7):

(1) The Locality Condition

The switch-reference relation holds between just two clauses. The relation between the marked and the controlling clause is a local one, i.e. the clauses are linearly adjacent.

(2) The Dependency Condition

The medial clause marking switch-reference is dependent on the final clause for absolutive tense and mood.

(3) The Realisation Condition

Switch-reference is marked by contrastive suffixation on the verb of the dependent clause. The normal order of the two clauses is marked clause followed by the controlling clause.

(4) The Subject Condition

Switch-reference monitors surface syntactic subject of the marked and controlling clause.

(5) The Functional Condition

Switch-reference signals obligatory co/disjoint reference between the subject NPs.

## 5 Syntactic and semantic functions of the subjunctive mood clause

In languages that have subjunctive mood it occurs syntactically in subordinate contexts, expressing irrealis mood (Saeed 1997:129; Haiman 1987). In this section we will look at the main syntactic and semantic functions of the subjunctive mood clause in Kewa.

### 5.1 Syntactic functions

The main syntactic functions of the subjunctive clause are as object complements of reported clauses, adverbial clauses and medial switch-reference marking clauses. Each of these uses is exemplified with excerpts of natural discourse in examples (26)–(44) below.

#### 5.1.1 Object complement function

The subjunctive mood clause occurs in reported speech as the object complement clause of the reporting clause. The main verb of reporting is *la* ‘to say/talk’ or its irrealis forms *te/to*. Also a thought is expressed as a reported thought by the mental verb *kone sa* ‘to think’.

From text about a bride-price negotiation

- (26) *Ni epa-ya-la-me-ai-ri go-ai kama la-mina*  
 I come-call-say-NP:3PL-NOM-TOP this-NOM only say-1PL

*loma la-me-pa?*

COMP say-NP:3PL-or?

‘As for your calling me, did you say that we should talk only about this (matter)?’

From text about negotiating a pig sale

- (27) *Ipu abola kala-pona loma la-lo-pe.*  
 he first give-1DL COMP say-PR:1SG-EMPH  
 'I am saying that we should give it (money) to him first.'

From text about a truck dispute

- (28) ...*Semesi-mi pea-mina la-a-da la-le-pa lu-ka?*  
 James-AGN do-1PL say-NP:3SG-COMP say-PR:2SG-or? say-RP:1SG  
 'I said, "Did James say that we should do it"?"

From text about a truck dispute

- (29) ...*go agale kama paga-mono ta-pa la-lo-pe.*  
 that talk only hear-1PL say-1DL say-PR:1SG-EMPH  
 'I am saying, "You two talk, we must hear it".'

- (30) *Kare warua-pe ada meda pea-mina li-sa.*  
 car make-IRR house one:INDEF do-1PL say-RP:3SG  
 'He said, "We should build a workshop for fixing cars".'

From text about Kasa's pig

- (31) *Ne-me go la-lo-ai abola le-na kone sa-lo.*  
 I-AGN that say-PR:1SG-NOM first say-3SG thought put-PR:1SG  
 'I think, "It (tape recorder) should play back (lit. say) the one I am saying first".'

As in (26) and (27), the medial clause *lo-ma* 'say-SEQ' functions as a complementiser *loma* 'that' when it is followed by a clause, especially one with a reporting verb. It is not a switch-reference marker because the subjunctive clause expresses modality.

### 5.1.2 Subordinate adverbial function

Subjunctive adverbial subordinate clauses also encode deontic modality. The following examples provide evidence for this point.

From text about a truck dispute

- (32) *Dia-le te-mena, te-me-dare te-mena.*  
 no-so say-2PL say-FU:2PL-if say-2PL  
 'No, so you should talk about it, if you will talk about it, you should talk about it.'

In example (32) there are two sentences in apposition. Each sentence has a subjunctive final clause. The subject agreement suffix *-mena* '2PL' occurs when the verb *te* 'to say' has irrealis status (subjunctive or future tense). The subjunctive encodes the actor's obligation, which may be imposed by the speaker, to realise an event rather than expressing a non-commitment.

From text about a bride-price negotiation

- (33)a. ...*seteke deke ta-mina-loma epa-wa.*  
 statutory declaration hit-1PL-and.so come-NP:1SG  
 '...we should write a statutory declaration and [that's why] so I came.'

- b. ...seteke deke ta-mina-lo-ma epa-wa.  
 statutory declaration hit-1PL-DESI-and come-NP:1SG  
 ‘...I want us to write a statutory declaration and [that’s why] I came.’

Utterance (30) may be analysed as (33)a where there is a causal relation between the subjunctive and the final declarative clause or as (33)b where *-lo* functions as a desiderative mode marker and *-ma* ‘and’ links the clauses sequentially. In both cases there is no prototypical switch-reference because the subjunctive clauses encode modality.

From text about a bride-price negotiation

- (34) *Baradi parasi sa-mina-ya-da epa-ma.*  
 bride price put-1PL-be:DESI-because come-NP:1PL  
 ‘Because we want us (incl.) to fix [put] bride price, we came.’

From text about Kasa’s pig

- (35) *Abi-ri tukiloko pea-a-na-le po-no.*  
 now-TOP 2.o’clock do-NP:it-INF-so go-1SG  
 ‘It is two o’clock, so I should/must go.’

The adverbial subordinate clauses are linked by subordinators *-da* ‘because’ in (34) and *-le* ‘so’ in (35). In these sentences the subjunctive clauses express desiderative and obligative modalities respectively. There is no switch-reference marking in either sentence.

### 5.1.3 Switch-reference marking function

We have previously described switch-reference marking in subjunctive non-finite clauses. Here we provide a few more examples.

#### 5.1.3.1 Switch-reference marking in adverbial subordinate clauses

As the examples from natural discourse below show, genuine change of reference is only marked on the subjunctive clause by simultaneous and sequential markers. When these temporal markers occur the modality encoded in the subjunctive clause is neutralised so that it no longer expresses modality when functioning as a subordinate adverbial medial clause (or as a coordinate medial clause), as the examples below demonstrate.

From Waba’s wood-chopping story

- (36) *Ni-ri po-relè-pea-loaa-limina epa-wa-de.*  
 I-TOP chop-split-do-DUR:DS-2PL come-NP:1SG-VAD  
 ‘While you were splitting the wood, I came.’

In (36) *-loaa* ‘DUR:DS’ is the switch-reference marker which gives the medial clause its subordinate clause status.

From text about Kasa’s pig

- (37) *Pa ma-lu-pi-a-sa-de, ni so Ialibu aa-no.*  
 just get-hit-do-AUG-RP:3SG-VAD I upward Ialibu stand:be:DUR:DS-1SG  
 ‘He just got and killed it (the pig), while I was at Ialibu.’

In (37) the verb *aa* 'to stand or be' is stative verb which is functioning also as a switch-reference marker (see §6 below for a discussion on the origin of coreference and switch-reference markers). The linear order of switch-reference marking subordinate clause and the controlling clause is not structurally fixed, as in (37), whereas it is in coordinate clauses. This is further evidence of its subordinate status.

From text about negotiating a pig sale

- (38)     ...*epa-sa-pisa-no*                    *abi-ri*    *sarere lapo apo koma-la*.  
           come-keep-sit:DUR:DS-1SG now-TOP week two there die-PR: it  
           'It is now two weeks since (duration) I've brought the pig.'

In (38) the stative verb *pisa* 'to sit or to be' functions as a switch-reference marker. As long as the subject NP of the subjunctive clause is human, the subject NP of the final clause may be inanimate.

### 5.1.3.2 *Switch-reference marking in a coordinate clause*

As we have demonstrated earlier, the subjunctive clause is employed syntactically as a medial non-finite coordinate clause when marked by the sequential marker *-loma* 'SEQ'. For *-loma* 'SEQ' to mark a canonical switch-reference situation, the subject NP of the subjunctive clause must at least be animate if not human. The sequential marker effectively neutralises the deontic modality of the subjunctive clause, as (39), (40) and (41).

From text about a truck dispute

- (39)     *Tabulu po-pe-na-loma ni makira-sa-ya*.  
           Tambul go-do-3SG-SEQ:DS I fool-RP:3SG-HRS  
           'He had gone to Tambul, and he fooled me.'
- (40)     *Naaki epe-na-loma pua-me*.  
           boy come-3SG-SEQ:DS go-NP:3PL  
           'The boy had come, and they went.'
- (41)     *Ni kana mea-no-loma kaba-mina*.  
           I money get-1SG-SEQ:DS buy-1PL  
           'After I get the money, we (incl.) can buy it.'

As in examples (39)–(41) a change of reference between the same-person category, e.g. third person or first person, is possible. Sequential additional relation allows switch-reference between same-person categories, but not same-person and same-number.<sup>9</sup> As in (41), the

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<sup>9</sup> When the subjunctive clause is a coordinate medial clause a change in number is treated as a change of reference. It is not possible for speakers to monitor switch-reference as Franklin (1983:46) suggests: "the speaker has the option of treating them [subjects] as coreferential (SS) or different (DS on the verb)". In subordinate subjunctive medial clause it is impossible for the same person to be part of an activity of another person at the same time. Therefore we have disjoint reference. Switch-reference is grammaticalised by grammatical relation markers and by the selection of irrealis mood clauses, and not determined by pragmatic factors as Reesink (1983:229) or Franklin (1983:46) suggest for Kewa. The exception is where the subject NP of the switch-reference marking clause (the subjunctive) is inanimate, and the controlling clause subject is animate, prototypically human, where there is coreference (SS) as demonstrated in §4.2.1.

subjunctive clause occurring as a final clause encodes modality. Note that (41) is a coordinate sentence and not a subordinate adverbial clause as the translation seems to indicate because both clauses are in an addition (sequential) relation.

## 5.2 Semantic functions of the subjunctive mood clause

The subjunctive is an irrealis mood and semantically it expresses obligative or permission mode. Speech acts are marked by speech act morphology, as in the declarative and the imperative mood clauses.

### 5.2.1 Unmarked modes: obligative and permission mode

As an independent clause, the subjunctive clause encodes obligative, as in example (42), or permission mode, as in (43). The pragmatic context determines the interpretation of obligative and permission mode.

From text about a pig's problem

- (42) *Mo mena-re ora ma-koma-pona.*  
 that pig-TOP really cause-die-IDL  
 'We must really kill that pig.'

From text about negotiating a pig sale

- (43) *Winya epe-te-a-re winya ma-kato-a, winya-da pua-ko-te-a-dare*  
 lady good-say-it-if lady get-give-FU:1SG lady-CF go-bad-say-it-if  
*go-re ipi-na mi-lipina la-a-de.*  
 that-TOP(then) you:DL-POS get-2DL say-NP:3SG-VAD  
 'He said that if the bride-price negotiation is successful, I will get (the pig) and give it to the lady, if the bride-price is unsuccessful, then you two can get it.'

### 5.2.2 Marked speech acts of subjunctive clauses

Various speech-act markers express categories of irrealis mood in independent clauses.

#### 5.2.2.1 Surprise assertion

As in example (44), the morpheme *-ra* marks surprise assertion, while *-wa* marks pending aspectual meaning.

From text about negotiating a pig sale

- (44) *O mena ipu-na agiara lopo-me ta-pe pi paga-pona-wa-ra.*  
 here pig it-POS parent dual-AGN say-IRR talk hear-IDL-ASP-SURP  
 'We have to hear what the pig's owners will say.'

5.2.2.2 *Permission*

The morpheme *-ya* marks permissive mode. The speaker seeks permission from the addressee to do something or seeks permission on behalf of a third person.

- (45)a. *Repona mea-pono-ya?*  
 wood get-1DL-PERM  
 'Shall we (two) get wood?'  
 b. *Rai naga-pi-na-ya?*  
 axe sharpen-do-3SG-PERM  
 'Shall he sharpen the axe?'

5.2.2.3 *Jussive mode*

The jussive mode is marked by *-wa*. This morpheme concurrently marks events pending completion (imperfective aspect). The speaker allows himself or a third person to do something (that is pending completion) by restraining the addressee.

- (46)a. *Ni ada po-no-wa.*  
 I home go-1SG-JUSS  
 'Allow me to go home.'  
 b. *Imu eda ne-na-wa.*  
 they food eat-3SG-JUSS  
 'Allow them to eat food.'

5.2.2.4 *Exhortative mode*

The exhortative mode is marked by the suffix *-pea* in East Kewa and *-paa* in West Kewa (Franklin 1971:113). It is derived from the reanalysis of an imperative clause *pe-a* '(you) do something'. The speaker exhorts second and third persons to do something with him. The inclusive first person pronominal subject-agreement markers of the subjunctive clause *-pona* '1SG:2SG' and *-mina* '1:2PL' are used in exhortative constructions.

- (47)a. *Repona mea-pona-pea.*  
 wood get-1DL-EXHORT  
 'Let us (incl.) get the wood.'  
 b. *Eda mea-mina-pea.*  
 food take-1PL-EXHORT  
 'Let us (incl.) take the food.'

## 6 Origin of reference markers

Diachronically interclausal reference markers appear to have developed from lexical verbs. Evidence from East Kewa indicate the following observations.

## 7 Conclusion

This paper has made the following observations about Kewa interclausal reference system.

- (1) Coreference and change of reference are marked only by simultaneous and sequential markers which encode the semantic categories of aspect (imperfective and perfective aspects respectively) and not by subject-agreement suffixes.
- (2) Coreference and change of reference is marked in non-finite clauses in both subordinate and coordinate medial clauses, rather than only in coordinate medial clauses.
- (3) A canonical switch-reference situation exists when a subjunctive clause is marked by sequential and durative markers resulting in medial clause status and neutralisation of the modality of the subjunctive mood clause.

Based on these observations, typologically Kewa is like the majority of languages in the Trans New Guinea Phylum (TNGP) that have suffixes marking different subject (DS) which are distinct from the suffixes marking person and number of the subject of the verb (cf. Roberts 1997:193).

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**-ma 'SEQ:SS'**. The form *ma* has many functions in East Kewa. As a serial verb preceding a transitive verb it has the meaning *to get*, e.g. *ma-gi* 'get-give = get it and give me' or *mea pu* -> *ma-pu* 'get-go = get it and go'. Before intransitive verbs in serialisation it functions as a causative verb derivational affix, e.g. *ma-pua* 'make/get-go = cause to go'. As a discourse linker it often combines with deictic or demonstrative forms, e.g. *gu-ma* 'that-cause' or *go-pu-ma* 'that-do-cause = having done that', etc. Franklin and Franklin (1978:176) states that *-mea* is used as a same subject (or sequential marker) in some areas of West Kewa. It seems clear from these distributions that *ma* is a medial verb form of the lexical verb *mea* 'to get'.

**-loma 'SEQ:DS'**. This morpheme is a reanalysed serial verb *lo-ma* 'say-get => say:SEQ'. The verb *lo* 'to say' grammatically relates the subjunctive clause as an object complement and the sequential marker *-ma* marks the subjunctive clause as a medial coordinate clause. Diachronically through a process of clause reduction and/or reanalysis, the suffix morpheme *-loma* 'SEQ' has evolved in Kewa. The reduction of clauses to form clause or discourse linkers is transparently pervasive in Kewa synchronic grammar.

**-ri 'SIM:SS'**. The morpheme *-ri* ~ *re* is a topic marker at the sentence level. The marked constituent is often interpreted as a subordinate adverbial clause, e.g. *ali-re* 'as for the man', *epa-lia-re* 'if he comes', *na-ri* 'as someone was eating'. In the relative clauses it functions as a realis verb, e.g.

- (48) *Yana-me mena-me re pu na-a.*  
 dog-AGN pig-AGN emit urine eat-NP:it  
 'The dog consumed urine which was excreted or emitted by the pig.'

The physical process of emission of something from a source seems to have been extended metaphorically to represent a cognitive process of recall as in topic-comment structures and express mental states such as surprise assertion, e.g. *epa-a-na-ra* 'come-NP: he-INF-SURP = (I infer that) he has come (to my surprise)'. In sum it is suggested that the morphemes *-re* 'a realis form' and *-ra* 'an irrealis form' possibly originated from the lexical verb *raa* 'to emit', and has been extended metaphorically, semantically and structurally.

**-luara 'SIM:SS'**. The composition of this morpheme is transparent; it comes from a serial verb sequence *-lu-a-ra* 'say-stand-emit', reanalysed syntactically as a temporal clause linker. The same is true of *-lo-a-ra* 'say-stand-emit'.

**-luaa 'DUR:DS' or -loaa 'DUR:DS'**. Again the composition is *-lu/lo-aa* 'say-stand'.

**-lupiri/lopiri or lupisa/lopisa 'DUR:SS'**. This suffix comes from a serial verb sequence *lu/lo-pira/pisa* 'say-sit'.

**Aa 'stand' and pisa 'sit'**. These are stative verbs which follow the verb *lo/lu* 'say' in the imperfective form. They are reanalysed as suffixes and reinterpreted as durative DS markers in non-finite subordinate syntactic contexts.

In sum, lexical verbs have been reanalysed morphosyntactically as affixes, motivated initially by pragmatic or discourse processes to expand the grammatical resources of the language in an economic way.

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